

# Notes

## Prologue: The New Camp

- 3 “*like gentlemen*”: “Friends Tell of Kind Work for the Poor,” *San Francisco Call*, July 21, 1902.
- 3 “*That’s what Jack*”: “The Ophir Bonanza in 1859,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 16, p. 48, citing a personal interview with H. L. Slosson, one of Mackay’s friends.

## Chapter 1: A Rough Irish Lad

- 6 *with the family pig*: Grant Smith, “The Mackay Family in San Francisco and in Paris,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 8, citing interviews with Alexander O’Grady.
- 6 “*in many districts*”: Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger: Ireland, 1845–1849* (New York: Old Town Books, 1962), p. 24.
- 6 *that number had bloated to*: Jay P. Dolan, *The Irish in America: A History* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008), p. 55.
- 7 “*superstitious papists*” and “*illiterate ditch diggers*”: *Ibid.*, p. 42.
- 7 “*any color will*”: Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: The 19th-Century New York City Neighborhood That Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World’s Most Notorious Slum* (New York: Free Press, 2001), p. 128.
- 7 *came from tiny Ireland: Historical Statistics of the United States, 1879–1945*. United States Department of Commerce, 1949.
- 7 *New York’s population*: “Population of the 100 largest urban places, 1840,” [www.census.gov](http://www.census.gov). <https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027/tab07.txt> (accessed July 17, 2015).
- 7 *took quarters on Frankfort Street*: “Mackay’s Good Fellowship,” *New York Times*, July 27, 1902.
- 8 *difficult for established Yankees to comprehend*: Enrique Alonso and Ana Recarte, “Pigs in New York City: A Study on 19th-Century Urban ‘Sanitation.’” University of Alkali, Spain: Friends of Thoreau Environmental Program, Research Institute of North American Studies; Anbinder, *Five Points*; Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Richard Henry Dana, “Visit to the Red Light District, 1843,” [www.eyewitnesstohistory.com](http://www.eyewitnesstohistory.com), [www.eyewitnesstohistory.com/redlight.htm](http://www.eyewitnesstohistory.com/redlight.htm) (accessed July 14, 2015); Dolan, *The Irish in America*; Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825–1863* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1994); Edward K. Spann, *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840–1857* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981); Rebecca Yamin, “New York’s Mythic Slum: Digging Lower Manhattan’s

- Infamous Five Points,” *Archeology*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 1977; *New York Daily Tribune*, December 6, 1848.
- 10 *Only about half*: Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825–1863*, p. 140.
  - 11 *ardent spectators at prizefights and cockfights*: “Newsboys,” *New York Daily Times*, 12/21/1854; Anbinder, *Five Points*, pp. 129–31.
  - 12 “*Saint Patrick’s vermin*”: Dolan, *The Irish in America*, p. 19.
  - 12 *shipbuilders generally refused to employ*: Anbinder, *Five Points*, 114; Tyler Anbinder personal email to the author, October 5, 2015.
  - 13 *certain he’d found gold*: John S. Hittell, “The Discovery of Gold in California,” and Charles B. Gillespie, “Marshall’s Own Account of the Gold Discovery,” both in *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, vol. 41, November 1890 to April 1891, pp. 525–31; John A. Sutter, “The Discovery of Gold in California,” *Hutchings’ Illustrated California Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 5, November 1857, pp. 193–98; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. 6 (San Francisco: History Company, 1888), 26–41.
  - 14 “*GOLD MINE FOUND*”: “The History of California Newspapers,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 25, 1858; Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. 6, p. 54, footnote 2.
  - 14 “*the gold fever*”: “The History of California Newspapers,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 25, 1858.
  - 14 “*Gold! Gold! Gold*”: Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. 6, p. 56.
  - 15 “*The whole country*”: *Ibid.*, p. 60.
  - 15 *The Star survived*: “The History of California Newspapers,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 25, 1858.
  - 15 “*the yellow fever*”: *The Polynesian*, July 15, 1848.
  - 15 *Only the prodigious efforts*: *New York Daily Tribune*, April 10, 1848; John Harrison Morrison, *History of New York Ship Yards* (New York: William F. Sametz & Co., 1909), pp. 102–4.
  - 15 “*gold mine discovered*”: *New York Herald*, August 19, 1848. This article was likely cribbed from one of the 2,000 copies of a special edition of the *Californian* dated April 1, 1848, that Brannan sent overland from California back to the Missouri frontier.
  - 16 “*gold for the gathering*”: *New York Herald*, September 19, 1848.
  - 16 *Those were astronomical sums*: *New York Daily Tribune*, September 20, 1848.
  - 17 “*The accounts of*”: *New York Daily Tribune*, December 6, 1848; <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/historicspeeches/polk/stateoftheunion1848.html>, accessed October 19, 2015.
  - 17 “*The gold of*”: *New York Daily Tribune*, December 6, 1848.
  - 17 “*resemble[d] Asiatic Cholera*”: *New York Daily Tribune*, December 6, 1848.
  - 18 *four new cases*: *New York Daily Tribune*, December 7, 1848.
  - 18 “*the three C’s*”: *New York Daily Tribune*, December 11, 1848.
  - 19 “*pieces from 1 to 6 ounces*”: *New York Daily Tribune*, December 8, 1848; William Tecumseh Sherman, *Personal Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman* (New York: Charles L. Webster & Co., 1890), pp. 77–88.
  - 19 “*sneers of the unbelievers*”: *New York Daily Tribune*, December 14, 1848.
  - 19 “*Genuine*”: *New York Daily Tribune*, December 11, 1848.
  - 19 “*Infallible Remedy*”: *New York Daily Tribune*, December 14, 1848.
  - 19 *Cedar and Greenwich*: *New York Daily Tribune*, December 12, 1848.
  - 20 “*The spirit of emigration*”: *New York Herald*, January 11, 1849.

## Chapter 2: Gilded Dreams—and the Hard Fist of California Reality

- 22 “*unhallowed crusade for*”: “The California Exodus,” *New York Evening Post*, February 3, 1849.
- 22 “*Mammon*”: “California—Gold and Soil,” *New York Tribune*, July 4, 1849, reprinting a letter to the *Jamestown Journal*.
- 22 “*worse than the cholera*”: Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado, or Adventures in the Path of Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), 1949, xi.
- 22 “*the cholera blossomed*”: John Noble Wilford, “How Epidemics Helped Shape the Modern Metropolis,” *New York Times*, April 15, 2008.
- 23 “*don’t record whether Mackay went*”: “Mackay’s Life and Career,” *Salt Lake City Tribune*, July 21, 1902, says he came via Panama (the paper was owned by two of Mackay’s old friends whom Mackay had helped set up in business); “Death of Millionaire John W. Mackay,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 21, 1902, and others say Mackay came to California around Cape Horn. That he came via Panama seems most likely to the author.
- 24 “*composed chiefly of*”: Daniel Bates Woods, *Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggings* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851), p. 46.
- 24 “*accomplished in a day*”: Taylor, *Eldorado*, xvii; John Mackay was one of the 27,000-odd hopefuls who landed in San Francisco in 1851: Hittell, *A History of San Francisco*, p. 166.
- 24 “*Nothing is strange*”: Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe, *The Shirley Letters from California Mines, 1851–1852* (San Francisco: Thomas C. Russell, 1922), p. 74.
- 25 “*80 percent male*”: Robert M. Senkewicz, *Vigilantes in Gold Rush San Francisco* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 12.
- 25 “*Chrysopylae*,” the “*Golden Gate*”: John C. Frémont, *Geographical Memoir Upon Upper California* (Washington, D.C.: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, Printers, 1848), p. 32.
- 27 “*The sand-shoveler*”: Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco and Incidentally, of the State of California* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Company, 1878), p. 461; also, “California Gossip, December 23, 1863,” *New York Times*, January 24, 1864.
- 27 “*A population of about three thousand*”: “From the Exterior,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 23, 1852.
- 29 “*five to eight grains*”: Woods, *Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggings*, p. 52.
- 31 “*There are but*”: A letter from Virginia City written on November 26, 1859, published in *Marysville Express*, December 28, 1859.
- 31 “*a shadow of*”: “The Post Office Department,” *Placer Times*, December 29, 1849.
- 31 “*typically 5, 8, or 10 percent*”: “Sacramento and Its Tributaries,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 24, 1851; 10 percent: Holliday, *Rush for Riches: Gold Fever and the Making of California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 131.
- 32 “*When caught in*”: Charles Ross Parke, September 18, 1848, quoted in Holliday, *Rush for Riches*, 122.
- 32 “*the sanctifying influence*”: Shirley, *The Shirley Letters from the California Mines, 1851–1852*, pp. 49–50.
- 32 “*The thoughts of*”: Holliday, *Rush for Riches*, p. 337.
- 33 “*Mining camps always*”: Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 10, “Mark Twain in Nevada—Final Ms,” p. 37.

- 33 “*charged with gold*”: “Waifs of Travel, by ‘Chaos,’ to the Boise Mines, Sunday at Boise,” *Daily Alta California*, July 19, 1863.
- 33 *a makeshift liberty pole*: Ibid.
- 33 “*Drinking has become*”: J. S. Holliday, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), p. 336, quoting William Swain to his brother George Swain, March 17, 1850.
- 33 “*We come and*”: Joann Levy, *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), p. 108, quoting Franklin A. Buck, *A Yankee Trader in the Gold Rush*.
- 34 “*every man has*”: Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2: Folder 6; “Comstock Characteristics,” 156.
- 35 “*a man in California either grows*”: Allen Grosh to Dear Father, April 6, 1855, Ronald M. James and Robert E. Stewart, eds., *The Gold Rush Letters of E. Allen Grosh and Hosea B. Grosh* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2012), p. 115.
- 36 “*the palmy days*”: Joseph T. Goodman, “What We Owe Nevada,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 31, 1892.
- 36 “*Miners Making \$8*”: “Arrival of the Columbia,” *Daily Alta California*, April 4, 1858.
- 36 “*Fraser fever*”: “City Items,” *Daily Alta California*, June 10, 1858.
- 36 “*unabated ardor*”: “Summary of the Fortnight’s News,” *Daily Alta California*, May 20, 1858.
- 36 “*wild, ungovernable excitement*”: “City Items,” *Daily Alta California*, June 21, 1858.
- 36 “*every steamer fit*”: “Summary of the Fortnight’s News,” *Daily Alta California*, July 5, 1858.
- 36 “*while there was*”: Joseph T. Goodman, “What We Owe Nevada,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 31, 1892.
- 36 *twenty-five thousand men*: “Let Us Reason Together,” *Daily Alta California*, July 8, 1858; official port records showed 12,700 Fraser-bound passengers departed San Francisco between April 20 and August 8, 1858, while acknowledging “the number of passengers reported is considerably below the truth”; “The Rise and Fall of the Fraser River,” *Daily Alta California*, August 12, 1858; The editor of *Prices Current* estimated that “upwards of 20,000” had gone to Fraser River, *ibid*.
- 36 “*a cholera patient*”: “The Present and Future of California,” *Cincinnati Daily Press*, October 19, 1861, quoting “Washoe and Our Eastern Trade,” *Stockton Independent*.
- 37 *15 percent*: San Francisco City Directory of 1861.
- 37 “*The extent to*”: Goodman, “What We Owe Nevada.”
- 37 *3,532 ounces*: “By the State Telegraph Line,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 9, 1858.
- 37 “*The Fraser swindle*”: “What Has the Fraser River Gold Bubble Cost California?” *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, October 8, 1858.
- 37 *Hundreds, then thousands*: Other Fraser River sources: Hittell, *Mining in the Pacific States of North America* (New York: John Wiley, 1862), pp. 29–35; “The Fraser Bubble Burst,” *Daily Alta California*, November 13, 1858.
- 38 “*magnitude and importance*”: “The News,” *Daily Alta California*, August 29, 1858.
- 38 “*a full sense*”: “The Celebration,” *Daily Alta California*, September 22, 1858.
- 38 “*acres of many-hued*”: “The Cable Jubilee,” *Daily Alta California*, September 29, 1858.
- 38 “*one vast crystal*”: “The Celebration Continued,” *Daily Alta California*, September 30, 1858.

- 39 “unrestrained rejoicing”: “The Grand Jubilee,” *Daily Alta California*, September 29, 1858.
- 39 “the most magnificent”: Ibid.
- 39 “throw a slap jack”: Mackay summary, “Probably Mr. Pratt,” Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/II/3.
- 39 “lighter hearted in”: Grant Smith Collection, UCB, “Introduction to Unpublished Mackay MSS, 7, citing an interview Smith did with Gracey, who died in Virginia City in 1933, the last town resident who had rushed to the Comstock Lode in 1860.
- 39 admitted John Mackay to its membership: Grant Smith Collection, UCB, “Introduction to Unpublished Mackay MSS, p. 7, citing the records of the secretary of the Grand Lodge at San Francisco.
- 40 “All I want”: “Death of John W. Mackay Removes a Typical American,” *New York Herald*, July 21, 1902; Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 4, Folder 2, citing interviews with Robert Gracey and William E. Sharon.
- 41 “Mackay worked like”: Grant Smith Collection, UCB, “Introduction to Unpublished Mackay MSS, p. 7, citing Smith’s personal interview with Pride.
- 42 five dollars a day: “Carson Valley,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 6, 1859, citing the *Territorial Enterprise*, April 2, 1859.
- 42 On April 21: *Territorial Enterprise*, April 21, 1859, quoted in Ronald M. James “Drunks, Fools, and Lunatics: History and Folklore of the Early Comstock,” *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 4, Winter 1992. (I have not been able to locate the original.)
- 42 “remarkably well”: *Territorial Enterprise*, April 28, 1859, reprinted in “Late from Carson Valley,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 9, 1859.
- 42 “Comstock & Co”: “Letter from Carson Valley,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 30, 1859.
- 42 “considerable of a stir”: Almarin B. Paul, “Early History of the Comstock,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 16, 1882, quoting his dispatch from Grass Valley to *San Francisco Bulletin*, June 29, 1859.
- 42 “the diggings are”: “El Dorado,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 14, 1859, citing the *Placerville Observer*, July 13, 1859.
- 42 “large quantities of”: “Domestic Summary,” *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, July 22, 1859.
- 42 “remembrance of Fraser”: “The New Silver Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 10, 1859.

### Chapter 3: The Lure of the Washoe Diggings

- 46 discovered in 1849 and 1850: Will Bagley, ed., *Frontiersman: Abner Blackburn’s Narrative* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), pp. 101, 140 (Sally Zanjani, *Devils Will Reign: How Nevada Began* [Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2006], pp. 7–11). “Nevada’s First Nugget,” *Daily Alta California*, May 17, 1880; Dan de Quille, *A History of the Comstock Mines* (Virginia, NV: F. Boegle, 1889), pp. 32–33; Davis, *History of Nevada*, p. 350, credits William Prouse with having made the first gold discovery in 1849.
- 47 “rags or any old stuff”: Reese’s memories of Fenimore already established in Gold Cañon: John Reese, “Mormon Station,” *Nevada Historical Society Papers*, Volume 1, 1913–1916, pp. 186–89.

- 47 “no other white man”: John Reese, “Mormon Station,” *Nevada Historical Society Papers*, Volume 1, 1913–1916, pp. 186–89. Confounding Reese’s early vision of Fenimore alone in Gold Cañon through the winter of 1850–51 are the recollections of Stephen A. Kinsey, one of the men who accompanied John Reese west from Salt Lake. Although he, too, wrote at thirty years’ remove, he remembered James Fenimore as one of the twelve teamsters in their wagon train who saw the train through the desert to Mormon Station in the spring of 1851, then backtracked to join the “not over six miners” already working Gold Cañon: Myron Angel, ed., *History of Nevada* (Oakland, CA: Thompson & West, 1881), p. 31; the early history of Old Virginy is uncertain—*Daily Alta California*, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*, remembered that “he [Fenimore] came from California to this Territory in October 1857” in an obituary: *Daily Alta California*, July 22, 1861; Dan de Quille, in *The Big Bonanza*, p. 10, remembered Fenimore as a “resident of Johntown in the early days,” by which he seems to mean 1852–53; Eliot Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners* (Berkeley, CA: Howell-North Books, 1959 [reprint of the 1883 edition]), p. 34, says Fenimore had been working in Gold Cañon since 1851, citing Mrs. L. M. Dettenrieder.
- 48 *Fenimore had been born*: <http://www.genealogy.com/forum/surnames/topics/fenimore/20/>, accessed April 7, 2016; author’s emails with Martin Fenimore, March 26 and 27, 2016.
- 48 “a good many”: John Reese, “Mormon Station,” *Nevada Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 1, 1913–1916, p. 188. In 1880, Comstock historian Eliot Lord estimated 120 miners worked Gold Cañon in the 1851–52 mining season and that 150 worked the cañon in 1852–53: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, 24; Dan de Quille’s *The Big Bonanza*, p. 10, reports “a considerable number of men” working Gold Cañon in the spring of 1852.
- 49 *at thirty cents per pound*: H. van Sickles, “Utah Desperados,” *Nevada Historical Society Papers*, Volume 1, 1913–1916, p. 191
- 49 “with good prospects”: *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 8, 1854.
- 49 *five dollars per day*: “Why the Comstock Went So Long Undiscovered,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 8, 7.
- 49 “Arcadian” simplicity: R. M. Bucke, “Twenty Five Years Ago,” *Overland Monthly*, Vol. I, No. 6, June 1883.
- 50 “a reasonable stock”: Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers, No. 2,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, July 29, 1876.
- 50 *sold for four dollars*: Tennessee letter to *San Francisco Herald*, April 16, 1859, *The Tennessee Letters from Carson Valley, 1857–1860*, compiled by David Thompson.
- 50 *as savage “diggers”*: For a dissertation on the pejorative “Digger Indian,” see: Allan Lönnerberg, “The Digger Indian Stereotype in California,” *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Winter 1981), pp. 215–23.
- 51 *striking one of the ore bodies*: Grant Smith Collection, “Why the Comstock Went So Long Undiscovered,” Box 1, Folder 8; also, “Gold Cañon was richest in gold from the mouth up three or five miles”: William Hickman Dolman, *Before the Comstock, 1857–1858*, p. 32. Many historians incorrectly suppose that the ignorance and sloth of the early miners delayed discovery of the Comstock for most of a decade—those persons are incorrectly appreciating the mining conditions of Gold Cañon and taking facile swipes at the early miners, all of whom had much experience.
- 51 *three or four dozen*: Dr. Richard M. Bucke, “Twenty Five Years Ago,” *Overland Monthly*, June 1883, p. 553; Allen Grosh to Dear Father, September 7, 1857, James

- and Stewart, eds., *The Gold Rush Letters of E. Allen Grosh & Hosea B. Grosh*, p. 174, says the mining population of Gold Cañon numbered “less than fifty.”
- 51 *In a letter Comstock wrote*: In a letter to *Sacramento Daily Union*, H. T. P. Comstock claimed “three years mining residence in that locality”: *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 31, 1859, but in a letter he wrote to *Saint Louis Republican* reprinted by de Quille in *The Big Bonanza*, p. 49, Comstock said that he first appeared in Washoe in 1853; biographical details: “The Comstock Lode—Letter from HTP Comstock,” *New York Herald*, December 30, 1878; De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, pp. 49–53.
- 51 *“a singular genius”*: “The Comstock Lode—Letter from HTP Comstock,” *New York Herald*, December 30, 1878.
- 51 *“wild and visionary”*: Austin E. Hutcheson, ed., “A Life of Fifty Years in Nevada: The Memoirs of Penrod of the Comstock Lode,” *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 3, Winter Issue, March 1958, p. 133.
- 51 *“fond of the bottle”*: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 52.
- 52 *Downhill, in one of*: Austin E. Hutcheson, ed., *Before the Comstock, 1857–1858: Memoirs of William Hickman Dolman*, p. 23, said they were located “a few hundred feet” below the bench; Manny Penrod, in Austin E. Hutchinson, ed., “A Life of Fifty Years in Nevada: The Memoirs of Penrod of the Comstock (Part 2),” *Nevada State Historical Society*, Vol. 1, No. 3, Winter 1958, p. 132, says the first Six Mile Cañon diggings were located “at a point about a half mile east of where the discovery of the Comstock Lode was made,” and De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 13, states that the first 1857 diggings in Six Mile Cañon “first struck paying ground nearly a mile below the place where silver ore was afterwards found in the Ophir mine.” Below the Virginia City Cemetery, according to “Sketch of Early Times,” the *Territorial Enterprise*, June 20, 1875, reprinted in “The Story of the Water Supply for the Comstock,” *Geological Professional Survey Paper*, Volume 779, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949.
- 52 *needed to be “puddled”*: Austin E. Hutcheson, ed., *Before the Comstock, 1857–1858: Memoirs of William Hickman Dolman*, p. 23; De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 13.
- 52 *five dollars to the hand*: S. H. Marlette, *Annual Report of the Surveyor-General of the State of Nevada for the Year 1865*, pp. 19–20; Austin E. Hutchinson, ed., “A Life of Fifty Years in Nevada: The Memoirs of Penrod of the Comstock (Part 2),” *Nevada State Historical Society*, Vol. 1, No. 3, Winter 1958, pp. 132–34; Austin E. Hutcheson, ed., *Before the Comstock, 1857–1858: Memoirs of William Hickman Dolman*, pp. 32–34; Grant Smith Collection, “Why the Comstock Lode Remained So Long Undiscovered,” UCB, Box 1, Folder 8.
- 52 *dark, crumbly rocks*: Allen Grosh to Dear Father, July 29, 1855, Ronald M. James and Robert E. Stewart, eds., *The Gold Rush Letters of E. Allen Grosh & Hosea B. Grosh*, p. 126.
- 52 *“mastered the rock”*: Austin E. Hutchinson, ed., *Before the Comstock, 1857–1858: The Memoirs of William Hickman Dolman*, p. 29.
- 52 *Desperados murdered the man*: Interview with Mrs. Laura M. Dettenrieder, Myron Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 52; Allan Grosh to Dear Father, August 16, 1857, Ronald M. James and Robert E. Stewart, eds., *The Gold Rush Letters of E. Allen Grosh and Hosea B. Grosh*, pp. 166–68.
- 52 *“frightful gash”*: Allen Grosh to Dear Father, September 7, 1857, James and Stewart, eds., *The Gold Rush Letters of E. Allen Grosh & Hosea B. Grosh*, p. 169.

- 52 *had managed to amass*: Additional Grosh brothers source: Sam Davis, *History of Nevada*, pp. 382–86, citing an interview with Johnson Simmons.
- 54 *California's various quartz*: A video of a vintage five-stamp California mill in operation is available on the Mariposa Museum & History Center's website: <http://mariposamuseum.com/on-the-museum-grounds/our-stamp-mill/>. A number of other videos are available on YouTube.
- 54 *"Pioneer Quartz Company"*: The Pioneer Quartz Company was the first quartz claim in what would become the state of Nevada: "The Pioneer," *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 2, 1863, citing *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 54 *They sank a round post*: Arastra description: "Californian Discoveries in the Amalgamation of Silver," *Daily Alta California*, October 23, 1863; Professor L. Lanzweert, "The Problem of Gold and Silver Extraction—A General Review," *Mining and Scientific Press*, July 29, 1865.
- 55 *"cold bath"*: Austin E. Hutchinson, ed., *Before the Comstock, 1857–1858: The Memoirs of William Hickman Dolman*, p. 27.
- 55 *"Boys, I believe"*: An October 9, 1863, article in the *Virginia City Union* (presumably the *Virginia Daily Union*), quoted at length in the footnote on pp. 109–10 of Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. XXV: History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540–1888* (San Francisco: History Company Publishers, 1890).
- 55 *January 28, 1859*: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 21, says that Gold Hill was located on "Saturday, January 28, 1859"—however, only one of those data points can possibly be true because in 1859, January 28 was a Friday; Alfred James, "Early Days in Washoe," *Historical Society of Southern California and Pioneer Register*, Vol. 5, 1901, p. 189, says that "an item in the *Enterprise* of January 29, 1859," mentions the new diggings, which makes it plausible that the Gold Hill locations were made a few days before, since it's hard to imagine news reaching Genoa in a single day.
- 56 *"decidedly not Gold"*: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 23, quoting Bishop.
- 56 *they settled on*: The Gold Hill discovery: The most convincing are the account of John Bishop in De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, pp. 21–23; excerpts of an October 14, 1863, article in the *Virginia City Union* (presumably the *Virginia Daily Union*) published in footnote 34 on pp. 109–10 of Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, Vol. XXV, and "Pioneer Reminiscences in Washoe," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 10, 1863, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, October 7, 1863; also "Letter from Washoe," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 8, 1860 (which includes the usual characters and tells a variant of the John Bishop tale, but places the discovery in November 1858); "Sketch of Early Times," *Territorial Enterprise*, June 20, 1875, reprinted in "The Story of the Water Supply for the Comstock," *Geological Survey Professional Paper*, Volume 779, pp. 1–2, which claims Gold Hill was named on February 8, 1859, and that mining began in mid-April; Myron Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 55, which repeats *The Big Bonanza* testimony of John Bishop; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 35–36, citing a *Territorial Enterprise* story of October 7, 1863, and other newspaper and interview sources; Charles Howard Shinn, *The Story of the Mine* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1896), pp. 35–38; Grant Smith collection, UCB, Box 4, Folder 1; and Grant Smith Collection, "The Original Gold Hill Bonanza: The Discovery," UCB, Box 1, Folder 8.
- 56 *"pass upon"*: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 23.
- 56 *"Johntown unbelievers"*: Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 56.



- 57 “We the undersigned”: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 35; “Litigation in Washoe,” *Daily Alta California*, June 3, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*; *A General Business and Mining Directory of Storey, Lyon, Ormsby, and Washoe Counties, Nevada* (Virginia City: John D. Bethel & Co., 1875), transcription in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/III/8.
- 58 “every man naturally”: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 49.
- 58 *William Sides stabbed John Jessup*: “People’s Trial in Carson Valley in the case of William Sides,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 1, 1859; *A General Business and Mining Directory of Storey, Lyon, Ormsby, and Washoe Counties, Nevada*, p. 8; Hutchinson, ed., *Before the Comstock*, p. 16; Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers No. 13,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 12, 1876.
- 58 *to say them nay*: Hutchinson, ed., *Before the Comstock*, p. 38; the story of McLaughlin and O’Reilly jumping the claim while the others were at the Sides trial is also in *Annual Mining Review and Stock Ledger* (San Francisco: Verdenal, Harrison, Murphy & Co., 1876), p. 12.
- 58 “scarcely an inch”: “The New Silver Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 9, 1859.
- 59 *they’d gleaned nearly*: Commonly reported figure for the first day’s clean up; the closest to contemporary source for this I have found is “Rich Discovery Near Washoe Valley,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 2, 1859, reprinting from *Nevada Journal*, July 1, 1859, which says, “He took out in half a day three hundred dollars, with two hands.”
- 59 *June 8 and June 12*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 37–38, says the strike was made on June 8, 1859, citing the testimony of James Corey, March 29, 1877, in *S. C. Barnes et al. vs. California Mining Company*; testimony in *Kinney v. Consolidated Va. Min. Co. et al.*, November 1, 1877, Circuit Court D, California, Case No. 7,827, p. 9, says the strike was made on June 10; *ibid.*, p. 20, Circuit Judge Sawyer says the strike was made on June 10 or 11.
- 59 *Comstock rode up*: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 25.
- 59 “*You have struck*”: Angel, *History of Nevada*, p. 56.
- 60 “*honesty and good*”: Henry DeGroot, “Comstock Papers No. 12,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 16, 1876.
- 60 “*something good*”: Austin E. Hutcheson, ed., “A Life of Fifty Years in Nevada: The Memoirs of Penrod of the Comstock Lode,” *Nevada State Historical Society*, Vol. I, No. 3, Winter 1958, p. 133.
- 60 “*superannuated*”: “Letter from the Washoe Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 28, 1859.
- 60 “*bob-tail horse*”: “The New Silver Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 9, 1859.
- 60 “*divers bottles of*”: Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers, No. 2,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, July 29, 1876
- 60 “*a fact which*”: *Ibid.*
- 60 *No matter the exact*: Some of the details in the two accounts attributed to Penrod don’t agree: on p. 133 of “A Life of Fifty Years in Nevada: The Memoirs of Penrod of the Comstock Lode,” *Nevada State Historical Society*, Vol. I, No. 3, Winter 1958, Penrod says that Comstock got the signatures of three of the four others on the bill of sale for \$35, but in the October 1880 letter he wrote for Myron Angel’s *History of Nevada* (pp. 56–57), Penrod says that he personally acquired the signatures and

paid \$50, with Comstock contributing “an old blind horse” to the deal; hoary mining legend often include bottles of ardent fluids in the transaction, such as in Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers, No. 2,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, July 29, 1876, which says that “Finney received some bottles in consideration for his part of the claim”; “Letter from the Washoe Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 28, 1859, says that Finny “sold out his interest for \$45, taking his pay in superannuated horseflesh and lightning whisky”; S. H. Marlette, *Annual Report of the Surveyor-General of the State of Nevada for the Year 1865*, p. 20, also mentions Comstock purchasing the claim of “Kirby and others.”

- 60 “a continuation of”: Letter from Emanuel Penrod, October 1880, in Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 56.
- 60 “The troublesome black stuff”: “Not So Very Strange,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 9, 1863. This is the closest-to-contemporary source I have found that describes the original discoverers using this term. The last paragraph of the story says that the person who wrote it was “the same gentleman who first assayed the Comstock silver ore,” presumably Melville Atwood.
- 61 *forty-five degrees*: “The New Silver Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 9, 1859, reported the vein dipping downward to the west at forty-eight degrees; also, “Mining Education,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 23, 1863, quoting from a November 2, 1859, letter written to *Sacramento Daily Union* by Melville Atwood (likely the letter sourced in the November 9 article cited above).
- 61 “only a crevice”: *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- 62 “a horse and \$20 in coin”: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 29.
- 62 *four feet wide*: “Rich Discovery Near Washoe Valley,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 2, 1859.
- 62 *awarded Comstock and Penrod*: Penrod’s two accounts say that he and Comstock were given the 100 feet because they’d taken the time to stake out the claim as a quartz mine; however, F. J. Hughes, who bought a 50-foot interest later in 1859 (25 feet from J. Cora and 25 feet from Comstock), asserts that Comstock and Penrod traded their spring water to the whole company in exchange for the segregated 100 feet: “Statement as to the Mexican, Ophir, and Atchison Mines,” *Virginia Evening Bulletin*, January 29, 1864, photostat in the Grant Smith Collection, UCB; also, “The Mexican Mine,” *Daily Alta California*, September 27, 1863, which claims the members of the original Ophir Company traded 100 feet of their ground “to a company of Spaniards” for the water rights to a small spring higher up Spanish Ravine. If true, “the Ophir gave over one million dollars for the piece of moist ground.” See also Austin E. Hutcheson, ed., “A Life of Fifty Years in Nevada: The Memoirs of Penrod of the Comstock Lode,” *Nevada State Historical Society*, Vol. I, No. 3, Winter 1958, pp. 132–38; Hutcheson, ed., *Before the Comstock*, pp. 38–39; Emanuel Penrod letter, October 1880, in Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, pp. 56–57; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 37–55; De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, pp. 24–29; Grant Smith Collection, “The Ophir Discovery,” UCB, Box 1, Folder 19, pp. 42–49.
- 62 “a drink all”: Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers, No. 2,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, July 29, 1876.
- 62 *Amid the claiming*: A copy of the notice is published in Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 57, but as is noted, the original contains several irregularities and erasures and is likely backdated—typical of the “location notices” from this period in Comstock Lode mining history.

- 63 *Go to Washoe*: The Stone-Harrison-Walsh-Ott-Atwood assay chain; original Comstock assay date; assay value; advice of the other assayists: Melville Atwood to Donald Davidson, June 30, 1859, and Melville Atwood letter, July 15, 1859, both printed in Sam Davis, *History of Nevada*, 388–89; “Rich Discovery Near Washoe Valley,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 2, 1859, reprinting from *Nevada Journal*, July 1, 1859; “Personal,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 9, 1867; Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers, No. 3,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 12, 1876; Almarin B. Paul, “Early History of the Comstock,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 16, 1882; also, Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 55; De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 33.
- 66 “*united the usual vice*”: “The New Silver Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 9, 1859.
- 66 “*injure the sale*”: Hutcheson, ed., “A Life of Fifty Years in Nevada,” p. 136.
- 67 “*kiting*” *the mine*: Hints of Comstock’s state of mind can be found in a letter he wrote to *San Francisco Bulletin* published on October 29, 1859, and reprinted in *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 31, 1859. “By far the richest mines are quartz leads,” he wrote, “and of course they require machinery to work them, which requires capital.” And capital, he did not have.
- 68 “*the Ophir mine*”: The “village of Ophir” is referred to in Walsh’s agreement with Comstock: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 42.
- 68 “*turn out to*”: Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers, No. 3,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 12, 1876.
- 68 *sales on August 12*: Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers No. 8,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 4, 1876, says the sale was agreed upon on August 10; De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 42, says the sale took place on August 12.
- 68 “*blue stuff*”: “The New Silver Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 9, 1859.
- 68 “*ranche on the*”: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 42; \$11,000 and \$6,200: various sources cite different sums, generally in this neighborhood: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 42, quotes the original agreement written into the records of the Virginia Mining District, and Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers, No. 3,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 12, 1876, written in consultation with Judge James Walsh. Note: they do not agree. Penrod says he received \$5,500. Walsh told Henry de Groot he paid \$6,200. The initial sales: It is difficult to sort out the precise timing and the dollar amounts: Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers, No. 3,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 12, 1876; letter from Manny Penrod published in Angel, *History of Nevada*, pp. 56–57; De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, pp. 42–43; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 58–62; Ronald M. James, “Drunks, Fools, and Lunatics: History and Folklore of the Early Comstock,” *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 4, Winter 1992, pp. 224–26; Hearst, *The Way It Was*; “Early Ophir Sales,” the Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 7; “The Discoverers Soon Sell Out,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 16; “Nevada,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 2, 1859.
- 68 “*the California Rock*”: Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers, No. 2,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, July 29, 1876.
- 69 *Nobody knew*: “The New Silver Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 9, 1859.
- 69 “*I’ve fooled the*”: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 60, citing an interview with Henry de Groot; although, de Groot said that Curry received “not over six or seven thousand dollars and Gould still less” in Comstock Papers No. 13, *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 23, 1876.

- 69 *Walsh's mule train started*: "The New Silver Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 9, 1859; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 59, says that Walsh sent a sample sack ahead at an earlier date.
- 69 *On the three thousand pounds*: "Ore from the Virginia Lead," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 18, 1859; G. Kustel, "Remarks on the reduction of silver ores," *Daily Alta California*, March 30, 1860; "Mossheimer's Smelting Works": "Pecksniff Paper No. 1—On Washoe," *Daily Alta California*, March 17, 1860; "Mosheimer & Kustel": Henry de Groot, "Comstock Papers No. 3," *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 12, 1876.
- 69 *he'd profited \$4,871*: The profits on Walsh's first trip to San Francisco; Walsh and Woodworth's purchase: Henry DeGroot, "Comstock Papers No. 3," *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 12, 1876, which de Groot wrote in consultation with Judge Walsh; "Washoe Diggings," *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 29, 1859, says that Walsh and Woodworth had purchased by this date, but may refer to their option to purchase; "The New Silver Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 9, 1859.
- 69 *September 23, 1859*: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 42.
- 69 *John "Kentuck" Osborne*: Housworth and Osborne sales, O'Reilly sold for \$40,000 on October 20: "The New Washoe Diggings," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 21, 1859; "The Carson Valley Discoveries," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 5, 1859, says Housworth sold for \$3,500; Tennessee letter to *San Francisco Herald*, November 6, 1859, David Thompson, ed., *The Tennessee Letters: From Carson Valley, 1857–1860* (Reno: Grace Dangberg Foundation, 1983), p. 93.
- 69 *"wild enthusiast"*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners* p. 60.
- 70 *Ophir Mining Company*: The exact dates, sums, and parties are difficult to precisely ascertain; the data vary between sources, but the figures given are likely reasonably accurate: "Gold Hill and Ophir Diggings," *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 21, 1859, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*; "The New Washoe Diggings," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 21, 1859; "The Washoe Diggings," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 31, 1859, reprinting a letter from H. T. P. Comstock published in *San Francisco Bulletin* on October 29; "The Washoe Diggings," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 5, 1859; "The New Silver Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 9, 1859; "Notes and Sketches of the Washoe Country," *Hutchings' California Magazine*, Vol. IV, No. 10, April 1860, p. 434; Henry de Groot's Comstock Papers, No.1 through No. 14, published in *Mining & Scientific Press* between July 22, 1876, and December 30, 1876; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 58–62; Angel, *History of Nevada*, p. 56; De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, pp. 42–43; "Early Ophir Sales," Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 7; "The Discoverers Soon Sell Out," Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 16.
- 70 *Comstock and Penrod also sold*: Sale of the segregated hundred feet, which became the Mexican or Spanish Mine: "Statement as to the Mexican, Ophir, and Atchison Mines," *Virginia Evening Bulletin*, January 29, 1864, photostat copy in the Grant Smith Collection, UCB; "The New Silver Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 9, 1859, gives the sales figures as \$7,000 and \$8,000.
- 70 *Comstock's intended to open*: "The Washoe Diggings," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 5, 1859.
- 71 *"The miners at"*: "Carson Valley," *Daily Alta California*, September 28, 1859, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*, September 24, 1859.
- 71 *"indicative of his"*: "Letter from the Washoe Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, Oc-

tober 28, 1859; "Notes and Sketches of the Washoe Country," *Hutchings' California Magazine*, Vol. IV, No. 10, April 1860, p. 435, also credits the camp as named for Old Virginny.

- 71 "Virginia City is": "The New Silver Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 9, 1859.
- 71 "savage and dirty": "The Washoe Country," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 30, 1859, reprinting from *North San Juan Press*.
- 72 "Washoe zephyrs": Mark Twain, *Roughing It*, p. 156.
- 72 "often blew the": Henry de Groot, "Comstock Papers No. 5," *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 2, 1876.
- 72 fifteen arastras: "The Washoe Country," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 25, 1859, reprinting from *Placerville Observer*, October 22, 1859.
- 72 "at which six": Ibid.
- 72 "Rum mills are": "Virginia Silver Mines," *Daily Alta California*, October 25, 1859.
- 72 The camp boasted: "Gold Hill and Ophir Diggings," *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 21, 1859, reprinting from *Territorial Enterprise*; "The New Carson Valley Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 20, 1859, reprinting from *Placerville Observer*; "The Washoe Country," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 25, 1859, reprinting from *Placerville Observer*, October 22, 1859, and from *North San Juan Press*; "Virginia Silver Mines," *Daily Alta California*, October 25, 1859; *A General Business and Mining Directory of Storey, Lyon, Ormsby, and Washoe Counties, Nevada*, 1875, Virginia City: John D. Bethel & Co., 1875, transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/II/8, p. 9.
- 72 the mayor of Placerville: "The New Carson Valley Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 20, 1859; also, "Virginia Silver Mines," *Daily Alta California*, October 25, 1859; "Political Bearings," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 26, 1859.
- 72 \$5 to \$600: "Big Stories from Carson Valley and Vicinity," *Daily Alta California*, October 23, 1859.
- 72 foundries tooled up: "State Summary," *The California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, November 11, 1859.
- 72 steamship Uncle Sam: "News of the Morning," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 21, 1859.
- 72 On Gold Hill, the miners: "The Washoe Diggings," *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 13, 1859, reprinting from *Butte Record*; "The Washoe Country," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 25, 1859, reprinting from *Mountain Messenger*, October 22, 1859; "Letter from the Washoe Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 28, 1859; "The New Silver Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 9, 1859; Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 1.
- 73 center of everybody's obsession: Summary of sentiment in late 1859, additional sources: "The New Carson Valley Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 20, 1859; "The Washoe Country," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 25, 1859, reprinting from *North San Juan Press*; Henry de Groot, *Sketches of the Washoe Silver Mines*, p. 20.
- 73 "far richer than": "Carson Valley Silver Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 18, 1859.
- 73 "It is the universal": "Letter from Virginia City, November 26, 1859," *Daily Alta California*, December 28, 1859, reprinted from *Marysville Express*.
- 74 tried a different approach: Tennessee letter to *San Francisco Herald*, October 22,

- 1859, including information from a recent issue of *Territorial Enterprise*, David Thompson, ed., *The Tennessee Letter: From Carson Valley, 1857–1860*, p. 91.
- 74 *Mexican patio process “saved”*: A detailed description of the “Mexican method” or “Patio Process” is found in James Napier, “The Mexican Method of Amalgamation,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 2, 1863, March 9, 1863, March 16, 1863, March 23, 1863, and March 30, 1863.
- 74 *ten days to three months*: G. Kustel, “Remarks on the Reduction of Silver Ores,” *Daily Alta California*, March 30, 1860.
- 74 *“probably surpasses in richness”*: “Letter from the Washoe Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 28, 1859.
- 74 Virginia city mining conditions in September, October, and early November: “The Washoe Diggings,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 13, 1859, reprinting from *The Butte Record*; “Interior Items,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 3, 1859; “Placer—The Courier,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 4, 1859; “The Washoe Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 7, 1859; “The Washoe Country,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 25, 1859, reprinting from *The Mountain Messenger* and *The North San Juan Press*; “The Carson Valley Discoveries,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 5, 1859; “The New Silver Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 9, 1859; “From California,” *New York Times*, February 27, 1860.
- 74 *“commanded little faith”*: Hittell, *Mining in the Pacific States of North America*, p. 35.
- 75 *bars of resultant bullion*: Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers No. 3,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 12, 1876; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners* p. 65. Both sources written years after the fact. I have not been able to locate a contemporary source describing the Alsop display.
- 75 *Fraser River–related recession*: *San Francisco Call*, April 17, 1863, quoted in Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 16; “The Discovery of Silver Revives California,” p. 12; Joseph T. Goodman, “What We Owe Nevada,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 31, 1892.
- 75 *“Washoe [was] all”*: *San Francisco Bulletin*, December 1, 1859, transcribed in the Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder: “Comstock Notes 1858–1863”; “Letter From Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, December 2, 1859.
- 75 *“without intermission”*: “Late From Carson Valley,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 10, 1859, quoting *Territorial Enterprise* of December 3, 1859; foul weather in late November, “Matters in the Mountains,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, December 2, 1859, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder “Comstock Notes, 1858–1863”; “Letter From Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, December 2, 1859; “Snow at Washoe,” *Daily Alta California*, December 7, 1859; Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers No. 5,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 2, 1876.
- 75 *Mackay excavated a dugout*: “Early Days on the Comstock: How John W. Mackay and His Mates Roughed It in 1860,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1884, reprinting from *Territorial Enterprise*, June 25, 1884 (the article has Patrick S. Corbett in place of Kinney Said); Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 4, Folder 1, p. 37 (which includes Kinney Said as one of the original four companions).
- 75 *renamed “Mount Davidson”*: “From Carson to the Silver Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 18, 1859. Donald Davidson bought most of the Ophir Company’s ore in San Francisco and also owned an interest in the mine.
- 76 *“prospecting gentry”*: “The New Silver Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November

- 10, 1859 (the second part of a two-part letter); also, "Letter from Carson City," *Daily Alta California*, December 29, 1859.
- 76 *the California Company struck*: "From Carson Valley," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 29, 1859; "By Magnetic Telegraph," *Daily Alta California*, December 12, 1859, quoting *Territorial Enterprise* of December 10, 1859; Henry de Groot, *Sketches of the Washoe Silver Mines*, p. 20.
- 76 *Some owners became willing*: "By Magnetic Telegraph," *Daily Alta California*, December 12, 1859, quoting *Territorial Enterprise* of December 10, 1859; also, "The Washoe Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 27, 1859, citing correspondence from Virginia City written on December 18, 1859.
- 77 *"forty-nine prices"*: "From Genoa," *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 19, 1859.
- 77 *After that, they ran out*: "Early Days on the Comstock," *New York Times*, and Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 4, Folder 1, p. 37.
- 77 *"You boys come"*: Grant Smith, citing an interview with William E. "Billy" Sharon (a Comstock mine superintendent and nephew of the William Sharon who will play a large part later in this story), Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 4, Folder 1, p. 40.
- 77 *isolation seemed to diminish*: "Our Washoe Correspondence, April 4, 1860," *Daily Alta California*, April 15, 1860.
- 77 *Local developments held more*: "Recovering," *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 22, 1859; Hearst's sale and purchase: "From Carson Valley," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 29, 1859.
- 77 *"a very heavy"*: "Our Washoe Correspondence," *Daily Alta California*, March 14, 1860.
- 77 *"a lump [of silver]"*: "State Summary," *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, January 6, 1860.
- 77 *fifty-eight thousand ounces*: "The Influence of Washoe on the Exchanges of the World," *Daily Alta California*, February 10, 1860.
- 77 *"hard fisted men"*: *San Francisco Weekly Bulletin*, February 25, 1860, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/VI/6 "Washoe."
- 78 *"Go where you"*: "Washoe and Fox-Lox," *Daily Alta California*, February 19, 1860.
- 78 *"Are you going"*: "Letter from Washoe," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, February 29, 1860.
- 78 *talk in all the saloons*: "Dottings [SIC] of the Times," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, March 2, 1860.
- 78 *"the Ho!"*: "The Washoers," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, March 8, 1860.
- 78 *proposed trans-Sierran rush*: Other Washoe rush sources: "California Gossip, February 20," *New York Times*, March 12, 1860; "From California, February 20, 1860," *New York Times*, March 12, 1860; "The Mines of Washoe," *New York Times*, March 13, 1860; "From California, March 2, 1860," *New York Times*, March 22, 1860; "From California, March 9, 1860," *New York Times*, March 30, 1860.
- 78 *"heartrending"*: "Cattle Dying in Carson Valley," *Daily Alta California*, January 29, 1860.
- 78 *fifteen thousand horses*: "Our Washoe Correspondence. A Fearful Winter," *Daily Alta California*, May 1, 1860; also, "Letter from Washoe," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 8, 1860; severe winter conditions in Carson Valley, Virginia City, and Gold Hill, winter of 1859-60: "Interesting news from the land of silver," *Daily Alta California*, January 18, 1860; *San Francisco Herald*, January 20, 1860; "Cattle Dying in Carson Valley," *Daily Alta California*, January 29, 1860; "Letter from Carson Valley, Virginia City, Jan. 20, 1860," *Daily Alta California*, February 1, 1860; "Carson Valley Corre-

spondence,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 3, 1860; “Letter from Carson City,” *Daily Alta California*, February 10, 1860; “Carson Valley,” *Visalia Weekly Delta*, February 11, 1860, quoting a letter to the *Iowa Hill Patriot*; “The Other Side About Washoe,” *Daily Alta California*, February 16, 1860; “Letter from Carson Valley,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 20, 1860; “More Testimony Against the Bulkhead,” *Daily Alta California*, March 16, 1860; “Our Washoe Correspondence,” *Daily Alta California*, April 15, 1860; “Our Washoe Correspondence—A Fearful Winter, April 24,” *Daily Alta California*, May 1, 1860.

- 78 “freezing and starving”: “Honey Lake News—Indians Freezing and Starving,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 24, 1859.
- 78 *alleviate the native misery*: Ibid.; “Interesting News from the Land of Silver,” *Daily Alta California*, January 18, 1860; *San Francisco Herald*, January 20, 1860.
- 78 “The recent discoveries”: “The New Silver Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 10, 1859.

#### Chapter 4: The Rush to Washoe—and an Indian War

- 82 “an article of faith”: J. Ross Browne, “A Peep at Washoe,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, December 1860, p. 10.
- 82 “execrable brandy, warrented”: “A Returned Washoeite’s Narrative,” *Daily Alta California*, March 16, 1860.
- 82 “stopping now and”: Browne, “A Peep at Washoe.”
- 82 “like a great”: Ibid., p. 12.
- 83 *to reach the new mines*: On the rush to Washoe, see “A Returned Washoeite’s Narrative,” *Daily Alta California*; *San Francisco Herald*, March 23, 1860, quoted in Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder “Comstock Notes 1858–1863”; Adolph Sutro, “A Trip to Washoe,” *Daily Alta California*, April 11, 1860; “Notes of Washoe,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 27, 1860 (a letter written on April 18, 1860); “Letter from Washoe, April 28, 1860,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 8, 1860; Browne, “A Peep at Washoe.”
- 83 *a lone rider galloping toward them*: Adolph Sutro, “A Trip to Washoe, Continued,” *Daily Alta California*, April 14, 1860; the Pony Express leaves San Francisco: “The Pony Express,” *Daily Alta California*, April 4, 1860.
- 83 *averaged eight miles per hour*: “Starting of the Pony Express,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 5, 1860.
- 84 “a primitive wilderness”: “A Returned Washoeite’s Narrative,” *Daily Alta California*.
- 84 “the concentrated energy”: “Our Washoe Correspondence, April 4, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, April 15, 1860.
- 85 “corralled” *all of the*: Ibid.
- 85 “good tidings from”: “The Present Effect of Washoe Upon Business,” *Daily Alta California*, March 22, 1860.
- 85 *one Mr. Peck*: “The Mineral Rod Man,” *Territorial Enterprise*, February 10, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 85 *Mr. Winn, who owned*: “Washoe Items,” *Daily Alta California*, April 26, 1860.
- 85 *one man in fifty*: “Our Washoe Correspondence, April 4, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, April 15, 1860.
- 85 “Endless chaffering”: Ibid.



- 85 “*made good use of*”: Ibid.; see also Adolph Sutro, “A Trip to Washoe,” *Daily Alta California*, April 11, 1860.
- 85 *thickening ore vein*: “From California, February 6, 1860,” *New York Times*, February 27, 1860; *San Francisco Herald*, March 23, 1860, quoted in Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder: “Comstock Notes 1858–1863”; “Interesting from the Washoe Country,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, April 26, 1860.
- 85 *large returns expected*: On Virginia City, Gold Hill, and Comstock lode conditions, April 1860: “A Letter from Washoe, April 2, 1860,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 9, 1860; Frank Soule, “Our Washoe Correspondence, April 4, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, April 15, 1860; Adolph Sutro, “A Trip to Washoe (written April 8, 1860),” *Daily Alta California*, April 11, 1860; “A Trip to Washoe, Continued (written April 8, 1860),” *Daily Alta California*, April 16, 1860; Frank Soule, “Our Washoe Correspondence, April 15, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, April 21, 1860; “Washoe Items,” *Daily Alta California*, April 26, 1860
- 85 “*under-current*”: “Washoe,” *Daily Alta California*, April 22, 1860.
- 86 “*It makes a difference*”: “Pecksniff Papers, No. 1,” *Daily Alta California*, March 17, 1860; “Later from Washoe,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, September 28, 1860, confirms the site of the Uncle Billy Rogers mine.
- 86 *The practice ruined several*: “Our Special Washoe Correspondence, May 8, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, May 15, 1860.
- 86 “*a view toward maintaining*”: “Our Washoe Correspondence, April 4, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, April 15, 1860.
- 86 “*entirely out of*”: Ibid.
- 87 “*laboring, panting, staggering*”: “Our Special Washoe Correspondence, May 3, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, May 12, 1860.
- 87 “*ten kegs of*”: “Our Washoe Correspondence, April 4, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, April 15, 1860.
- 87 “*two bits a glass*”: “Our Washoe Correspondence, April 4, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, April 15, 1860. Other articles commenting on the quantity of whisky in camp and its “renewable” characteristics: Frank Soule, “Our Special Washoe Correspondence, April 15, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, April 21, 1860; Frank Soule, “Our Special Washoe Correspondence, April 24, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, May 3, 1860; Frank Soule, “Our Special Washoe Correspondence, May 3, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, May 12, 1860; also, J. Ross Browne, “A Peep at Washoe (second paper),” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, January 1861, pp. 150–51.
- 87 *dust devil whirlwinds*: “Our Special Washoe Correspondence, May 6, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, May 13, 1860.
- 87 *first westbound Pony Express rider*: “Arrival of the Central Overland Pony Express at Carson City,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 13, 1860.
- 87 “*Only those who*”: “City Items—Arrival of the Pony Express,” *Daily Alta California*, April 13, 1860.
- 88 *an inch, at any price*: “A Letter from Washoe,” written April 2, 1860, *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 9, 1860; “Our Washoe Correspondence,” written April 4, 1860, *Daily Alta California*, April 15, 1860; Frank Soule, “Our Washoe Correspondence,” written April 9, 1860, *Daily Alta California*, April 16, 1860; Adolph Sutro, “A Trip to Washoe, Concluded,” *Daily Alta California*, April 14, 1860; “California Gossip, April 20, 1860,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1860.

- 88 *refused an offer of \$150,000*: “Interesting News from the Washoe Country,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, April 26, 1860.
- 88 *“plenty as blackberries”*: “A Returned Washoeite’s Narrative,” *Daily Alta California*, March 16, 1860.
- 88 *“many very rich”*: Tennessee letter to *San Francisco Herald*, April 23, 1860, David Thompson, ed., *The Tennessee Letters from Carson Valley, 1857–1860*, p. 134.
- 89 *county mining records do show*: 5 feet to C. B. Land of California on February 24; 20 feet to A. E. Kennedy on May 9; 15 feet from John L. Newman on June 14; 15 feet to E. Said on July 8; Margaret M. Quinlan, Office of Storey County Recorder and Auditor to Grant Smith, August 19, 1930, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.
- 89 *“ore of rich”*: “Washoe Items,” *Daily Alta California*, April 26, 1860.
- 89 *“a company owning”*: “California Gossip, April 20, 1860,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1860.
- 90 *“five days in every week”*: Margaret M. Quinlan, Office of Storey County Recorder and Auditor to Grant Smith, August 19, 1930, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.
- 90 *Indian massacre at Williams Station*: “From California, May 21, 1860,” *New York Times*, May 21, 1860; Frank Soule, “Our Special Washoe Correspondence, June 1, 1869,” *Daily Alta California*, June 9, 1860, says four whites were killed; Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1883), p. 71, says that when her people saw [the girls’] condition, “they at once killed both brothers and set fire to the house.”
- 91 *“not fond of”*: Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, p. 51.
- 91 *“There is no”*: Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 151.
- 91 *“That sovereign cure”*: “From California, May 21, 1860,” *New York Times*, May 21, 1860.
- 91 *“chastise the savages”*: “Our Washoe Correspondence. Carson City, May 9, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, May 15, 1860.
- 92 *“a vast deal”*: Frank Soule, “Our Special Washoe Correspondence, May 8, 9, and 10, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, May 15, 1860.
- 92 *“clean out the”*: “The Carson Valley Massacre,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 15, 1860.
- 92 *“truly amusing”*: Tennessee letter to *San Francisco Herald*, May 13, 1860, Thompson, ed., *The Tennessee Letters from Carson Valley, 1857–1860*, p. 135.
- 92 *“an Indian for”*: Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 153.
- 92 *“toughs”*: William Stewart, *Reminiscences of Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada*, p. 124.
- 93 *“hollow and threatening”*: Frank Soule, “Our Special Washoe Correspondence, May 11, 12, and 13, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, May 18, 1860.
- 94 *“high glee”*: Samuel S. Buckland, “Indian Fighting in Nevada,” *Nevada Historical Society Papers*, Vol. I, 1913–1916, p. 172.
- 94 *“heavy wind and snow”*: “The Fight Near Pyramid Lake,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 21, 1860, reprinted from *San Francisco Bulletin*.
- 97 *“No, sir, it”*: *Ibid.*
- 98 *“Don’t kill me”*: Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 157.
- 98 *“returned heroes”*: “Another Version of the Battle,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 24, 1860 (sarcasm drips from the usage).

- 98 *55 white deaths*: J. B. Trask, "The Western Utah Massacre," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 8, 1860, reprinted from *San Francisco Bulletin*; 39 returned alive: "From California, May 21, 1860," *New York Times*, June 13, 1860; Ferol Egan, author of *Sand in a Whirlwind: The Paiute War of 1860* (New York: Doubleday, 1972), p. 155, claims 70 white dead; Ronald M. James, *The Roar and the Silence: Virginia City and the Comstock Lode* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998), p. 40, claims 76 whites died.
- 99 "too numerous for": "Our Washoe Correspondence. Carson City, May 18, 1860," *Daily Alta California*, May 22, 1860.
- 99 *and two slain horses*: First Battle of Pyramid Lake: Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, pp. 145–65 (much of Angel's account was compiled from the Indian perspective; Angel's brother, Eugene Angel, died in the fight); Samuel S. Buckland, "Indian Fighting in Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Papers*, Vol. I, 1913–1916, pp. 171–74; Dennis Cassinelli, "The Pyramid Lake Indian Wars, Part 2: The First Battle," <https://denniscassinelli.com/2014/04/05/pyramid-lake-indian-wars-first-battle/>, accessed August 13, 2016; Ferol Egan, *Sand in a Whirlwind: The Paiute Indian War of 1860*; Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, pp. 70–75; William C. Miller, "The Pyramid Lake Indian War of 1860: Commentary, Notes, and Transcription," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, Summer Issue, September 1957, pp. 37–53; De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, pp. 73–84; Stewart, *Reminiscences of Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada*, pp. 123–25; Scott R. Trepel, "The Impact of Indian Attacks on the Pony Express in 1860," PDF downloaded August 11, 2016, [https://siegelauctions.com/enc/Pony\\_Indians.pdf](https://siegelauctions.com/enc/Pony_Indians.pdf); Sally Zanjani, *Devils Will Reign: How Nevada Began*, pp. 126–41; contemporary newspaper accounts: "City Items," *Daily Alta California*, May 14, 1860; "The Indian Massacre," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 14, 1860; "The Latest from Carson Valley," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 14, 1860; Frank Soule, "Our Special Washoe Correspondence, May 8, 9, and 10, 1860," *Daily Alta California*, May 15, 1860; "Our Washoe Correspondence. Carson City, May 9, 1860," *Daily Alta California*, May 15, 1860; "Latest Dispatches from Carson Valley," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 15, 1860; Frank Soule, "Our Special Washoe Correspondence, May 11, 12, and 13, 1860," *Daily Alta California*, May 18, 1860; "From California, April 16, 1860 (a misprint, must be May 16, 1860)," *New York Times*, June 8, 1860; Frank Soule, "Our Special Washoe Correspondence, 2 P.M., May 13, 1860," *Daily Alta California*, May 17, 1860; "Facts of the Battle," Tennessee Letter to *San Francisco Herald*, May 18, 1860, Thompson, ed., *The Tennessee Letters from Carson Valley, 1857–1860*, pp. 138–41; "From California, May 21, 1860," *New York Times*, June 13, 1860; "The Fight Near Pyramid Lake," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 21, 1860, reprinted from *San Francisco Bulletin*; "Another Version of the Battle," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 24, 1860, reprinting from *Nevada Democrat*; "The Indian Fight at Pyramid Lake," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 26, 1860, reprinting from *San Francisco Herald*; "Letter from Carson Valley [From a Lady Correspondent], May 29, 1860," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 4, 1860; "The Western Utah Massacre," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 8, 1860; "War with the Indians," *New York Times*, June 12, 1860, quoting "The Carson Enterprise," presumably *Territorial Enterprise*, May 15, 1860.
- 99 *war of extermination*: "The Indian Massacre," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 14, 1860.
- 99 "agog": "City Items," *Daily Alta California*, May 14, 1860.
- 99 "in full war paint": "From California," *New York Times*, May 21, 1860.

- 99 “clearing out Carson Valley”: “The Latest from Carson Valley,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 14, 1860.
- 99 *The Territorial Enterprise estimated*: “From California, May 21, 1860,” *New York Times*, June 13, 1860, reported *Territorial Enterprise* estimate.
- 99 “females and children”: “The Latest from Carson Valley,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 14, 1860.
- 100 *a jackass caught*: “From California, May 21, 1860,” *New York Times*, June 13, 1860; “The Late Fight Near Pyramid Lake,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 19, 1860.
- 100 “*It is deplorable*”: “Our Washoe Correspondence,” *Daily Alta California*, May 22, 1860, almost certainly written by Frank Soule.
- 100 “*frightened hombre*”: “Map Traps of Virginia,” *Daily Alta California*, July 17, 1862.
- 100 *Major Daniel E. Hungerford*: I. I. Murphy, *The Life of Colonel Daniel E. Hungerford*; Ellin Berlin, *Silver Platter: A Portrait of Mrs. John Mackay*; William Downie, *Hunting for Gold*, pp. 180–86; Grant Smith, “The Hungerford Family,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB; “Colonel Daniel Hungerford,” Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/III/3.
- 100 “*look after some*”: Edmund Bryant to My Dear Father, May 31, 1860, John B. Reid and Ronald M. James, eds., *Uncovering Nevada’s Past: A Primary Source History of the Silver State* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004.), pp. 14–15; Bryant is also mentioned in “From California, May 21, 1860,” *New York Times*, June 13, 1860.
- 101 “*the protestations of*”: “Matters in Washoe,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 26, 1860.
- 102 *heads of the astonished soldiers*: Frank Soule, “Our Special Washoe Correspondence,” *Daily Alta California*, June 9, 1860.
- 102 “*plenty of sign*”: “The Indian War—Letters from an Officer of the Volunteers,” *Daily Alta California*, June 16, 1860.
- 102 *Second Battle of Pyramid Lake*: Frank Soule, “Letter from the Indian Country, May 28, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, June 7, 1860; Frank Soule, “Our Special Washoe Correspondence,” *Daily Alta California*, June 9, 1860; “The Washoe War,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 12, 1860, reprinted from *San Francisco Bulletin*; Frank Soule, “Our Special Washoe Correspondence: The Chase After the Redskins,” *Daily Alta California*, June 15, 1860; “The Indian War—Letters from an Officer of the Volunteers,” *Daily Alta California*, June 16, 1860.
- 102 “*The proportions of*”: “The War in Western Utah,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 20, 1860.
- 102 “*I hesitate not*”: Tennessee Letter to San Francisco Herald, July 12, 1860, Thompson, ed., *The Tennessee Letters from Carson Valley, 1857–1860*, p. 155.
- 103 *Mackay dedded twenty feet*: Margaret M. Quinlan, Office of Storey County Recorder and Auditor to Grant Smith, August 19, 1930, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.

### Chapter 5: Surrounded by Riches—and Unable to Get Them Out

- 105 “*silver veins are*”: “Letter from Washoe, January 8, 1861,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 14, 1861 (a retrospective story that looks back on the previous year).
- 106 “*swapping of coats*”: “Interesting Intelligence from the Washoe Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, June 21, 1860.
- 106 “*a downward tendency*”: “The Ups and Downs of Washoe,” *Daily Alta California*, May 13, 1860.

- 106 “*Washoe stock, as*”: Almarin Paul letter to *San Francisco Bulletin*, cited in the Grant Smith Collection, Box 1, Folder: “Comstock Notes 1858–1863.”
- 106 “*squally business*”: “California Gossip, April 20, 1860,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1860.
- 106 “*put their foot*”: “The Late Failure in San Francisco,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 22, 1860; other sources for the spring setback: “The Results of Washoe,” *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, June 22, 1860;
- 106 “*You became victims*”: *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 8, 1860, quoted in Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 77–78.
- 106 “*a grand humbug*”: “The Hidden Wealth,” *Daily Alta California*, July 25, 1860.
- 106 “*glaring and barefaced*”: “A Picture of Washoe,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 16, 1860, cited in the Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder : “Comstock Notes 1858–1863”; other complaints about Washoe swindling: “Food and Speculation at Washoe,” *Daily Alta California*, May 13, 1860; “A Picture of Washoe,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 16, 1860; “The Late Failure in San Francisco,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 22, 1860; “The Results of Washoe,” *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, June 22, 1860; “Notes from Virginia City, July 5, 1860,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 10, 1860; “The Hidden Wealth,” *Daily Alta California*, July 25, 1860.
- 107 *a tank winched up*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 88.
- 107 *Mules hitched to*: Shinn, *The Story of the Mine*, p. 94; alluded to but not specifically attributed to the Ophir in other sources.
- 107 *double expansion twenty-four-inch caloric engines*: “California Gossip, April 20, 1860,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1860.
- 108 *thousands of tons of lower-grade*: “Notes of a Hasty Trip to the Washoe Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, September 27, 1860.
- 109 *less than sixty days*: “City Items,” *Daily Alta California*, March 23, 1861, says construction took fifty-seven days.
- 109 *Four days later*: Every other Comstock history, including ones written by Almarin Paul and others written with his help, claim that the mill started work on August 11, 1860. However, those accounts were written fifteen to twenty years after the fact. A “Letter from Washoe, Silver City, August 15, 1860,” to *Sacramento Daily Union* (published August 29, 1860) says that “actual operations commenced on August 13 under the supervision of Almarind K. Paul [*sic*]”; “Silver City Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 25, 1860, confirms the date.
- 109 “*monster institution*”: “Washoe Items,” *Red Bluff Beacon*, October 3, 1860, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*, September 22, 1860.
- 110 *The milling boom unleashed*: “Letter from Washoe, Silver City, August 15, 1860,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 29, 1860; “Notes of a Trip Through the Western Utah Territory, September 9, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, September 17, 1860; “Silver City Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 25, 1860; “City Items,” *Daily Alta California*, March 23, 1861; “Notes on Washoe, June 1, 1861,” *Daily Alta California*, June 16, 1861; Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers, No. 15,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 3, 1877; Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers, No. 16,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 10, 1877; Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers, No. 17,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 24, 1877; J. Ross Browne and James W. Taylor, *Mineral Resources of the United States*, pp. 29–30; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Min-*

- ers, pp. 80–89 (based largely on an 1880 interview with Paul); Shinn, *The Story of the Mine*, pp. 80–89.
- 110 “cloth cabins”: “Mining Region in Utah,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 8, 1860.
- 110 “deprived a number”: “Letter from Washoe,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, citing *Territorial Enterprise* of September 22, 1860.
- 110 in *Virginia City*: Henry de Groot took the census in August, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder “Comstock Notes 1858–1863.”
- 111 “first came the”: Marion S. Goldman, *Gold Diggers and Silver Miners: Prostitution and Social Life on the Comstock* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), p. 1.
- 111 *just like the men around*: Roland M. James and Kenneth H. Fliess, “Women of the Mining West: Virginia City Revisited,” in Ronald M. James and C. Elizabeth Raymond, eds., *Comstock Women: The Making of a Mining Community* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998), pp. 21–22, synthesizes information about the occupations of Comstock women in 1860.
- 111 “calling him the”: “The Shooting Affair at Virginia City,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 1, 1860.
- 111 *captured none of the assailants*: “Shooting Affair at Virginia City,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 28, 1860; “The Shooting Affair at Virginia City,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 1, 1860.
- 111 “raising a row”: “More Shooting in Virginia,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 7, 1860.
- 112 “bloodshed, violence”: Henry de Groot, “Sketches of the Washoe Silver Mines—No. 13,” *Daily Alta California*, March 17, 1860.
- 112 “shadow and shield”: “Letter from Washoe,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 20, 1860.
- 112 “Sodom festering”: “Nevada Territory,” *Visalia Weekly Delta*, December 1, 1860.
- 113 “float shadows”: “Letter from Washoe, September 17, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, September 21, 1860.
- 113 *evidence that made it seem*: “The Mines of Utah,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 23, 1860.
- 113 “contrariety of opinion”: “Notes on a Trip Through Western Utah, September 9, 1860,” *Daily Alta California*, September 17, 1860.
- 113 “You bet”: “Letter from Washoe, September 28, 1860,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 1, 1860.
- 113 *ladies intended to stick*: “From Virginia City, September 13, 1860,” *Red Bluff Independent*, September 21, 1860.
- 114 *recalled working alongside*: Grant Smith interview with John B. Shaw, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 6, “Mackay’s First Years on the Comstock,” p. 62; “Mr. Mackay’s Career,” *New York Times*, February 25, 1892, also claims that Mackay worked for the Mexican, as does “Outline of Life of John W. Mackay” and “John W. Mackay, Chronology,” both in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/II/8 (both likely written by Grant Smith); also “Mackay’s First Years on the Comstock,” Grant Smith Collection, Box 2, Folder 6. (This author is not fully convinced by these sources, as the Mexican mine employed mostly men experienced in Mexican silver mines and notoriously eschewed extensive timbering—a decision that would cost it dearly in 1863, as shall be seen.)
- 114 “a continuous sheathing”: Shinn, *The Story of the Mine*, p. 95.

- 115 *155 feet below the surface*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 89, citing *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, October 24, 1860; also, "Later from Washoe," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, November 11, 1860, citing *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 115 "discharged so rapidly": "The Mines of Utah," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 23, 1860.
- 115 "much elated": "Later from California," *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, November 9, 1860.
- 115 *formerly a ship captain*: "Notes of Travel in Nevada Territory, June 25, 1862," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 29, 1862, says Dall commanded the steamship *J. L. Stephens* before the Comstock era; maritimeheritage.org places him at the helm of *SS Columbia*; <http://www.shippassengers.com/ships/steamships#SSColumbia>, accessed October 17, 2016. Both vessels served in the Pacific Mail Steamship Company fleet during the 1850s.
- 119 "strong, heavy timbers": "A Visit to Virginia City," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 4, 1861.
- 119 "striking contrast": "Ophir and Potosi," *Daily Alta California*, March 29, 1861, citing an article in *Marysville Democrat*.
- 119 "ingenious frames of": "Notes of Nevada Travel, June 25, 1862," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 28, 1862.
- 119 *novel square-set timbering system*: Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, pp. 572–74; De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, pp. 89–92; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 89–90; Shinn, *The Story of the Mine*, pp. 94–98; William H. Storms, *Timbering and Mining: A Treatise on Practical American Methods* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1909), pp. 187–204; Glenna Dunning, "Philipp Deidesheimer and the Comstock Lode," *German Life*, May, 2001, p. 39; Otis E. Young, Jr., "Philipp Deidesheimer, 1832–1916: 'Engineer of the Comstock,'" *Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. 57, No. 4, Winter 1975, pp. 361–69; Deidesheimer's claim that the Ophir made him superintendent in the spring of 1861 is suspect. "Notes of Washoe," *Daily Alta California*, May 16, 1861, describes the Ophir as "under the superintendence of Capt. Dall." The first contemporary reference to Deidesheimer as superintendent I found is in "A Visit to Virginia City," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 4, 1861. Also, according to "Washoe Items," *Daily Alta California*, October 3, 1861, the forty-horsepower engine Deidesheimer claimed to have installed immediately upon assuming the reins of the Ophir was in transit to Washoe on that date.
- 120 *five to ten tons of ore per shift*: "From Nevada Territory," *Red Bluff Independent*, December 6, 1861.
- 120 *The Mexican mined on the dip*: Hittell, *Mining on the Pacific Slope of North America*, pp. 106–7, footnote quoting an article in *San Francisco Bulletin*.
- 121 *Sources don't reveal*: Storey County Mining Records don't record Mackay making a single transaction in 1861. A few sources published after his death claimed that Mackay went to Aurora and made an unsuccessful investment in the Esmeralda District (Sam Davis, ed., *History of Nevada*, Volume II, p. 1063; also, Mackay Summary, "Probably Mr. Pratt," Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/II/3). That claim is difficult to reconcile with an entry in the Storey County Records that shows Mackay receiving 225 feet of Milton Company ground in late November 1862 for completion of the tunnel he'd agreed to build for the Buck Ledge back in March of 1860. The original contract required Mackay to "run said tunnel five days in every week till his contract is completed"; the November 1862 transaction records the "full satisfaction thereof," and passed to Mackay the feet of mine he'd earned with diligent labor.

- 121 *"in a fret because"*: "Our Washoe Correspondence, February 5, 1861," *Daily Alta California*, February 8, 1861.
- 122 *roughly \$1 million worth of gold* (estimated, predominantly from the Central-Ophir-Mexican bonanza and the Gold Hill mines): Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 416. However, J. Ross Browne and James W. Taylor, *Reports Upon the Mineral Resources of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1867), p. 104, credits the Comstock with only \$100,000 of 1860 production, which is less than the Washoe bullion deposited at the San Francisco Mint in 1860.
- 122 *"pure silver white"*: "City Items," *Daily Alta California*, December 16, 1860.
- 123 *"Our position is"*: "A Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of the State of Mississippi from the Federal Union," text online at the Avalon Project, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th\\_century/csa\\_missec.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_missec.asp), accessed October 25, 2016.
- 123 *"There never were"*: "From California, April 20, 1860," *New York Times*, May 13, 1861.
- 123 *"California is better"*: "From Another Correspondent, January 1, 1860," *New York Times*, February 4, 1860.
- 123 *secret secessionist societies*: "Secessionists at Washoe," *Daily Alta California*, May 24, 1861; "Secession in Nevada Territory," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 30, 1861.
- 124 *"rag of treason"*: "Traitors in Virginia City," *Daily Alta California*, June 8, 1861.
- 124 *"obnoxious emblem"*: "The Secession Flag Flying in Virginia City," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 12, 1861, citing *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 124 *"a man is"*: "Matters in Virginia City, June 5, 1861," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 10, 1861.
- 124 *"rascal prophets"*: "Nevada Territory," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, December 1, 1860.
- 124 *"locked up in"*: "Mining News from Washoe," *Daily Alta California*, December 19, 1860.
- 124 *The Gould & Curry claim had*: "A Washoe Mining Company," May 4, 1860; "Mining Corporations Formed in 1860," *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 1, 1861; Grant Smith Collection, UCB, "The Gould & Curry Bonanza."
- 125 *"San Francisco moneyocratic"*: "The Mines of Gold Hill Compared with Those of Virginia," *Daily Alta California*, November 2, 1861, citing *The Silver Age*.
- 125 *which was quickly scooped up*: James D. Hague, *Report on the Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel, Vol. III, Mining Industry*, p. 172; *"freezing operations"*: "Notes of Nevada Travel," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 28, 1862; "The Mines of Gold Hill Compared with Those of Virginia," *Daily Alta California*, November 2, 1861, citing *The Silver Age*; "Letter from Nevada Territory, November 1, 1862," *Daily Alta California*, November 11, 1862; "Our Letter from Aurora," *Daily Alta California*, January 13, 1863; "Letter from Aurora, Cal., August 18, 1863," *Daily Alta California*, August 26, 1863; Gould & Curry's Lower Adit begun March 1861: "Gould and Curry Gold and Silver Mining Company," *Daily Alta California*, January 1, 1864; construction of the Gould & Curry mill begun: "Late from Virginia City," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 18, 1861, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, June 15, 1861.
- 125 *"curried [the mine] so slick"*: "The Mines of Gold Hill Compared with Those of Virginia," *Daily Alta California*, November 2, 1861, citing *The Silver Age*.
- 125 *the Potosi mine drove an adit*: "Ophir and Potosi," *Daily Alta California*, March 29, 1861, citing *Marysville Democrat*.



- 125 *hundredweights of bullion*: “Nevada Territory Items,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 1, 1861, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, May 25, 1861.
- 125 *Caledonia gold- and silver-mining*: The Caledonia was incorporated April 7, 1861: “Mining Corporation,” *Daily Alta California*, April 7, 1861.
- 125 *Observant citizens built*: Living improvements noted in: “Notes on Washoe, June 1, 1861,” *Daily Alta California*, June 16, 1861.
- 126 *“the vigor, energy”*: “Letter from Washoe, February 7, 1861,” *Daily Alta California*, February 11, 1861.
- 126 *June 20, around noon*: Fenimore’s accident and death: “Letter from Silver City, June 20, 1861,” *Daily Alta California*, June 23, 1861; De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, pp. 52–53.
- 126 *“at times dissipated”*: “Death of a Mineral Discoverer,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 8, 1861, citing *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 126 *“Uncle Sam’s authority”*: “Matters in Virginia City, June 5, 1861,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 10, 1861.
- 126 *“foreign capitalists”*; *“noisy amusements”*; and *“It is more”*: “Nevada Territorial Legislature, October 17, 1861,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 21, 1861.
- 127 *Winters attacked a man*: “Legislative Fight,” *Red Bluff Independent*, November 26, 1861.
- 127 *Bactrian camels*: “California, August 11, 1869,” *New York Times*, September 3, 1860; “More Bactrian Camels,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, November 17, 1861; “Gossip from San Francisco, April 11, 1862,” *New York Times*, May 8, 1862; *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 6, 1863; “Camel Train,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, October 9, 1863; Sam Davis, *History of Nevada*, p. 333.
- 127 *“one man on show-shoes”*: “State Summary,” *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, November 8, 1861.
- 127 *“on a visit of business”*: “Gone to Washoe,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 17, 1861.
- 128 *“dogs” or “gentlemen”*: “From Nevada Territory,” *Red Bluff Independent*, December 10, 1861.
- 128 *exacting as a supervisor*: “Famous Life of a Maker of Millions,” *San Francisco Call*, July 21, 1902.
- 128 *“circulating sunshine”*: “John W. Mackay and His Friends,” *New York Times*, July 27, 1902.
- 128 *never “put on the dog”*: Sam Davis, “He Was Manly, He Was Kind and He Was Honorable,” *San Francisco Examiner*, July 21, 1902.
- 128 *Mackay’s “truthfulness” and “sincerity”*: “Everybody Liked Him, Says Mr. D. O. Mills,” *New York Herald*, July 21, 1902.
- 129 *“the toil, privation”*: *New York World*, July 27, 1902, quoted in Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17, “Mackay Obituary Comments.”
- 129 *“stimulated every fiber”*: Grant Smith interview with James E. Walsh, February 10, 1931, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17, “Mackay.”
- 129 *“to win a name”*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 302, citing an interview with John Mackay, probably around 1880; also, “Mackay’s Ambition,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17.

## Chapter 6: Revving Up the Boom

- 132 “Alas, no more”: “History of the Pacific Telegraph,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, November 10, 1861, citing *San Francisco Bulletin*, November 7, 1861.
- 132 “roundly”: “History of the Pacific Telegraph,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, November 10, 1861, citing *San Francisco Bulletin*, November 7, 1861.
- 132 *a service that would*: Ibid.
- 132 “the principal element”: “The New Gold and Silver Territories,” *New York Times*, November 12, 1861.
- 132 “Ladies few; women”: “From Nevada Territory,” *Red Bluff Independent*, December 10, 1861.
- 132 “worth her weight”: “There Is Quite,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, January 23, 1863.
- 132 “walk into a”: “Feet,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 16, 1863.
- 132 “proposition from any”: J. Ross Browne, “Washoe Revisited,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, May 1865, p. 682.
- 133 “fixed fact”: “Telegraphic Celebration,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, December 3, 1861.
- 133 “a vast lake”: “Letter from Nevada Territory, January 12, 1862,” *Daily Alta California*, January 20, 1862.
- 133 “voyages of discovery”: Ibid.
- 133 “a want of patriotism”: “California Gossip, December 11, 1861,” *New York Times*, January 28, 1862.
- 134 “commerce rests”: [Article title illegible], *New York Herald*, July 14, 1862.
- 134 “a matter of”: “Financial and Commercial,” *New York Herald*, July 25, 1862.
- 134 “brisk demand”: “Greenbacks,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, October 31, 1862.
- 134 *his first recorded transaction*: The transaction was recorded on April 26, 1862: Jerome Quinlan, Recorder and Auditor, Storey County, to Grant H. Smith, August 19, 1930, p. 2, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.
- 134 “rats of the”: “Underground Life in the Silver Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, August 5, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 135 *receiving or deeding away*: Jerome J. Quinlan, Recorder and Auditor, Storey County, to Grant H. Smith, August 19, 1930, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.
- 135 *relocating a thousand feet*: On the relocation of the mine that became the Milton, I have not been able to determine *why* the company felt the need to relocate the mine. The transaction is noted among those in Jerome J. Quinlan, Recorder and Auditor, Storey County, to Grant H. Smith, August 19, 1930, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.
- 135 *sixty feet of “the Winters Co.”*: Ibid., transaction marked in pencil “#5.”
- 135 *Caledonia Gold and Silver Mining Company*: “News of the Morning,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 9, 1861.
- 135 *a series of assessments*: Caledonia Tunnel sources: “Mining Corporation,” *Daily Alta California*, April 7, 1861; “News of the Morning,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 9, 1861; “Mining Notices,” *Daily Alta California*, September 16, 1861; “Mining and Other Corporations formed in 1861,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 1, 1862; “Caledonia G. & S. M. Co.,” *Daily Alta California*, April 23, 1862; “Mining and Stock Notices,” *Daily Alta California*, August 21, 1862; work begun March 1861: “Caledonia Mining Company,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 24, 1864.
- 135 “running full time”: “Nevada Territory,” *Daily Alta California*, February 2, 1862, citing *The Silver Age*, January 26, 1862.

- 135 “not less than”: “The Ophir Works,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, January 10, 1862, citing *The Silver Age*.
- 135 *They rested secure*: Ibid.; “The Ophir Works and Railroad,” *Red Bluff Beacon*, January 30, 1862, citing *The Silver Age*; “Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers—No. 17,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 24, 1877; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 122–23.
- 136 “sheeted over with”: “Great Strike in the Comstock Lead,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 8, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, July 4, 1862.
- 136 *Gold Hill doubled in value*: “Prosperity of Nevada Territory,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, July 30, 1862.
- 136 “a well established fact”: “Sacramento Ore,” *Daily Alta California*, August 12, 1862.
- 136 “to procure fortunes”: “Nevada Territory News,” *Daily Alta California*, May 26, 1862.
- 136 “got down where”: Twain, *Roughing It*, p. 277.
- 136 “It is now proven”: “Letter from Virginia City, March 28, 1862,” *Daily Alta California*, April 3, 1862.
- 136 “There is room”: “Letter from the Nevada Territory, April 5, 1862,” *Daily Alta California*, April 11, 1862.
- 136 “Elbow grease is”: “Letter from Virginia City, March 28, 1862,” *Daily Alta California*, April 3, 1862.
- 137 “people do not”: “Prosperity of Nevada Territory,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, July 30, 1862.
- 137 “with the celerity”: “Nevada Territory,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, August 12, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, August 9, 1862.
- 137 “a general row”: “A General Mess,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 1, 1862.
- 137 *in less than thirty-six hours*: “Late from Washoe,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 22, 1862.
- 137 “mint juleps, sherry”: “Letter from Nevada Territory,” *Daily Alta California*, April 9, 1862.
- 137 “smart and fashionable”: “Notes of Nevada Travel, June 25,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 29, 1862 (part II of the letter; part I published the day before).
- 137 *the real muscle of Virginia City*: “Underground Life in the Silver Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, August 5, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 138 “choice works”: “Virginia City,” *Mariposa Gazette*, March 18, 1862.
- 138 “draped with great”: “Letter from Nevada Territory,” *Daily Alta California*, April 9, 1862.
- 138 *of 417 children*: “Schools in Nevada Territory,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 20, 1862.
- 138 *hares, sage hens, and ducks*: “Game in Washoe,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, November 18, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, November 15, 1862; “Game in Washoe,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 19, 1862.
- 138 *Knowing Washoeites as*: “Omnibus for Washoe,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 5, 1862.
- 138 “a grand dog”: “Letter from Nevada Territory,” *Daily Alta California*, May 8, 1862.
- 138 “Such men as”: “Becoming Civilized,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 15, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 138 *boy died of smallpox*: “The News,” *Pacific Appeal*, May 3, 1862; “Washoe Items,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 20, 1862; “Smallpox in Washoe,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 6, 1862.
- 138 “late of the”: “From Powder River,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 20, 1862, citing *Oregonian*, June 11, 1862.

- 138 “venture in the”: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 45.
- 138 \$12,000 and \$15,000: Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers No. 6,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 30, 1876. The range makes sense in the context of the sums mentioned in other sources.
- 139 sold his wife to Comstock: de Quille in *The Big Bonanza* (p. 45) claims Comstock bought the woman for “a horse, a revolver, and sixty dollars,” but a more contemporary source, “The Shooting at Gold Hill,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 25, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, July 22, 1862, says that “a man named Comstocks [sic]” bought the wife for \$350. I have cleaved to the more contemporary source. The *Union’s* July 25 article incorrectly asserts that “Comstocks” was “the same man who committed suicide last winter by blowing out his brains in Dayton,” but a correspondent’s letter published in the *Union* a few days later, on July 29, corrects the mistake, saying that “the Comstock *The Enterprise* speaks of is not the Comstock that committed suicide. . . . The Comstock *The Enterprise* has reference to is H. P. T. Comstock [sic], the one that discovered and located the Comstock Ledge,” and “the last was heard from him had gone to the new mines.” (The author of the correcting letter was related to the man who had committed suicide.)
- 139 “a long-legged”: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 47; the story of Comstock’s marriage is told Twainian fashion in De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, pp. 45–48; it is also mentioned in Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, Volume XXV, p. 107, note 29.
- 139 what remained of his “raise”: “Comstock Still Lives,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 19, 1864, citing an article in *Oregonian*, December 7, 1864.
- 139 doing well on a placer claim: “From Powder River,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 20, 1862, citing *Oregonian*, June 11, 1862.
- 139 nine hundred pounds of bullion: “Bullion,” *Red Bluff Independent*, June 27, 1862, citing *The Silver Age*.
- 139 \$500,000: The Ophir traded at about \$1,600 per foot that week (\$1,625 per foot on July 3, 1862: “Weekly Trade Summary,” *Daily Alta California*, July 3, 1862), making Comstock’s original share worth about \$375,000; half of the Mexican was probably worth more than \$100,000, and his original slice of Gold Hill would have sold for between \$10,000 and \$20,000.
- 139 considerable jealousy and resentment: “Notes from Washoe,” *Daily Alta California*, May 16, 1861.
- 139 “as rich as”: “Powder River and John Day Mines, August 15, 1862,” *Sonoma Democrat*, September 18, 1862. Other contemporary Comstock stories: “Letter from Virginia City, March 28, 1862,” *Daily Alta California*, April 3, 1862; “By Telegram to the Appeal,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 25, 1862; “By Telegraph to the Union,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 25, 1862. “Powder River Mines,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 17, 1862, citing *Dalles Mountaineer*, March 24, 1862; “How Towns Spring Up in the World,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, October 1, 1862; “The Ups and Downs of a Miner’s Life,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, October 21, 1863; “Comstock and His Feet,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 23, 1863; “Bear Creek, South Boise, December 3, 1863,” *Boise News*, December 26, 1863; also, Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, Volume XXXI, *History of Washington Idaho, and Montana, 1845–1889* (San Francisco: History Company Publishers, 1890), p. 415, note 19; “*The Boise News*,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, December 12, 1863, citing *Boise News*; also, Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, Volume XXXI: *History*

- of *Washington Idaho, and Montana, 1845–1889*, p. 257, note 47. Comstock wasn't alone in his humbling. Alva Gould, one of the original locators of the Gould & Curry, was cutting wood shingles in Washoe Valley.
- 139 “*Dixie-ite*”: “Commerce-Intercourse-Taxation,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 26, 1862
- 139 “*treasonous sentiments*”: “News of the Morning,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 17, 1862.
- 140 “*invoke the considerate*”: The phrase is in Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation, issued on January 1, 1863, but not in his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, issued on September 22, 1862; text of both online at Historynet.com, <http://www.historynet.com/emancipation-proclamation-text>, accessed December 7, 2016.
- 140 “*The effect of*”: “Opinions of the Press on the President’s Proclamation,” *Red Bluff Independent*, January 23, 1863, quoting *Washoe City Times*.
- 140 “*The thunder in*”: Ibid., quoting the *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 140 “*to forget the fearful*”: “Commerce-Intercourse-Taxation,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 26, 1862.
- 140 “*patriotic and union-loving*”: “The War Feeling in California,” *New York Times*, February 20, 1860.
- 140 “*whisky-begotten*”: “Arrests for Treason in Nevada Territory,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 26, 1862.
- 140 “*the big swear*”: “Letter from Esmeralda, August 19, 1862,” *Daily Alta California*, August 25, 1862.
- 140 “*three hundred millions*”: “Mountains of Silver,” *Cleveland Tri-Weekly Leader*, October 23, 1862, citing *The Silver Age*.
- 141 \$18 million: “Yield of the Washoe Mines,” *Sonoma Democrat*, October 23, 1862.
- 141 *topics of conversation*: “Letter from San Francisco, October 11, 1862,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 13, 1862.
- 141 “*There is not*”: *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 11, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, August 30, 1862.
- 141 “*handsome dividends declared*”: “News from San Francisco,” *New York Times*, August 29, 1862.
- 141 *Ophir stock soared past*: “Letter from Washoe, September 3, 1862,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 6, 1862.
- 141 “*fever, not to say mania*”: “Legitimate Profit vs. Wild Speculation,” *Daily Alta California*, October 23, 1862.
- 141 “*Are all [you] folks*”: “Letter from Nevada Territory, October 15, 1862,” *Daily Alta California*, October 20, 1862.
- 141 *The most successful speculators*: “Making Money,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, September 13, 1862.
- 142 “*perplexing question*”: “The Ophir Company,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 6, 1862.
- 142 *had advised the Ophir’s*: Adolph Sutro, “A Trip to Washoe, Part II,” *Daily Alta California*, April 13, 1860.
- 142 *stock market panicked*: “Gossip from California, October 21, 1862,” *New York Times*, November 14, 1862.
- 142 “*filibustering arrangement*”: “Commercial and Financial—Weekly Summary,” *Daily Alta California*, October 23, 1862.
- 142 “*a narrow escape*”: And description of the Virginia Ledge’s threat to the Ophir: “Gos-

- sip from San Francisco, December 11, 1862,” *New York Times*, January 18, 1863; also, “Compromised,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 15, 1862; “The Ophir Company,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 20, 1862; “Commercial and Financial,” *Daily Alta California*, October 20, 1862.
- 142 “*Stock job*” complete: *Daily Alta California*, October 24, 1862, brags about the San Francisco stock market’s “bulls,” “bears,” “operators,” and “sellers short.”
- 143 “*pasty conglomerate*”: Browne, “Washoe Revisited,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, May 1865.
- 143 *shop to shelter*: “Washoe Items,” *Daily Alta California*, November 13, 1862; “Mammoth Carpenter Shop,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 5, 1862.
- 143 *toward the mine’s southern boundary*: “Mining Stock Report,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 29, 1862. See also for other Gould & Curry developments: “Mining Operations About Virginia City,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 2, 1863; Gould & Curry developments: “Nevada Territory,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, September 28, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, September 25, 1862; “Lively Business,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 12, 1862; “Washoe Items,” *Daily Alta California*, December 18, 1862; “On the 15th Instant,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, December 20, 1862; *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 20, 1862; “Washoe Items,” *Daily Alta California*, December 23, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, December 17, 1862.
- 143 *Other Comstock mines*: “Washoe Items,” *Daily Alta California*, November 13, 1862; “Virginia City Items,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 15, 1862, citing the Virginia City papers of December 12, 1862; “Washoe Items,” *Daily Alta California*, December 18, 1862; “Tunneling in Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 20, 1860; “Washoe Items,” *Daily Alta California*, December 23, 1862, citing *Virginia Union*, December 17, 1862; “The Mines in Virginia City,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 24, 1862, citing *Virginia Union*; “Gold Hill Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 25, 1862.
- 143 *Smoke trailed from smokestacks*: “Hoisting Houses,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 13, 1862.
- 143 *penetrated fifteen hundred feet*: The Caledonia Tunnel was 1,700 feet long in mid-January 1863: “Mining Notabilia,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 19, 1863.
- 148 *levied another modest assessment*: “Mining and Stock Notices,” *Daily Alta California*, September 28, 1862.
- 148 *The water gushing from*: “Burst of Water,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 2, 1862
- 148 *\$450 per month*: “Caledonia Mining Company,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 24, 1864.
- 148 “*full satisfaction*”: James Keefe to J. W. Mackay, November 25, 1862, Storey County Records, Book I of Deeds, p. 188, quoted in Margaret M. Quinlan, Office of the Storey County Recorder and Auditor, to Grant H. Smith, August 19, 1930, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.
- 148 *deeded away thirty feet*: Mackay deeded twenty-five feet of the Milton to A. C. Wightman and five feet to S. W. Wulff on January 30, 1863: John Mackay to A. C. Wightman, January 30, 1863, Records of Gold Hill Mining District, Book H of Deeds, p. 397, and John Mackay to S. W. Wulff, Records of Gold Hill Mining District, Book K of Deeds, p. 132, quoted in Margaret M. Quinlan, Office of the Storey County Recorder and Auditor, to Grant H. Smith, August 19, 1930, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.

- 148 \$100 per foot: "Washoe Mines and Mining," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, February 7, 1863, citing *Territorial Enterprise*; "Washoe Stock Remarks," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 16, 1863.
- 148 "although not rich": "Washoe Stock Report," *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 19, 1863.
- 149 "formidable ledge": "Washoe Stock Report," *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 20, 1862
- 149 "exceedingly good rock" . . . "industry": "Mining Notabilia," *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 19, 1863
- 149 "utmost vigor": "Mining Operations about Virginia City," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 2, 1863; also, "San Francisco Mining Notices," *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 20, 1862.
- 149 \$1 million per month: "Mines at Virginia City," *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 22, 1862.
- 149 bars of Washoe bullion: *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 29, 1862.
- 149 \$470,000: *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 29, 1862.
- 149 mill finally began crushing: "The Gould & Curry Mill," *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 7, 1863.
- 149 dividend to \$100 per foot: "A Big Dividend" and "Mining Operations about Virginia City," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 2, 1863.
- 149 "impossible to portray": "Letter from Washoe, September 3, 1862," *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 6, 1862.
- 149 "I feel very much": Mark Twain, *The Works of Mark Twain: Early Tales & Sketches, Vol. 1, 1851–1864*, Edgar Marquess Branch, Robert H. Hirst, and Harriet Elinor Smith, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 192–98.

#### Chapter 7: The First Boom, Frenzied and Exuberant

- 151 "Our father Mammon": "Stock Broker's Prayer," *Red Bluff Independent*, October 20, 1863, citing the *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 152 "no place in": Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, Vol. I (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1912 [?]), p. 170.
- 152 "hard and long": Twain, *Roughing It*, p. 233.
- 152 "the bowels of": Samuel Langhorne Clemens to William A. Moffett, January 30 and February 1, 1862, Mark Twain Project, letters, <http://www.marktwainproject.org>, accessed October 19, 2016.
- 152 "blasting, and picking": Sam Clemens to Orion Clemens, April 28, 1862, Mark Twain Project, letters, <http://www.marktwainproject.org>, accessed January 2, 2017.
- 153 "a dead sure": Sam Clemens to Orion Clemens, June 22, 1862, Mark Twain Project, letters, <http://www.marktwainproject.org>, accessed January 2, 2017.
- 153 trying to sell writing: Sam Clemens to Orion Clemens, July 23, 1862, [www.marktwainproject.org](http://www.marktwainproject.org), letters, accessed January 2, 2017.
- 153 "They pay me": Samuel Langhorne Clemens to Jane Lampton Clemens and Pamela A. Moffett, February 16, 1863, [www.marktwainproject.org](http://www.marktwainproject.org), letters, accessed October 19, 2016.
- 153 preserved petrified man: *San Francisco Bulletin* reprinted "The Petrified Man" story from *Territorial Enterprise* on October 15, 1862, along with the in good faith comment about the interior journals.

- 154 “A Bloody Massacre”: “Bloody Massacre,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 30, 1863, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*, October 28, 1863; Mark Twain (edited by Branch, Hirst, and Smith), *The Works of Mark Twain: Early Tales & Sketches, Volume 1, 1851–1864* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 320–26, including detailed editorial commentary.
- 154 *convincing Virginia City legend*: Paul Fatout, *Mark Twain in Virginia City* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964), pp. 34–39.
- 154 “a large experience”: Ibid., p. 38, citing an essay Clemens contributed to a symposium, SLC to A. Arthur Reed, *Study and Stimulants*, March 14, 1882, p. 120.
- 155 *mine’s stock held firm*: “Letter from Nevada Territory, February 1, 1863,” *Daily Alta California*, February 8, 1863.
- 155 *assays made on ore samples*: “Good Average,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 10, 1863.
- 155 *A superintendent needed*: Three weeks after the first appearances of “Mark Twain,” *Mining & Scientific Press* summarized the knowledge required to successfully superintend a mine in “Mining Education,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 23, 1863.
- 155 “the first of”: Mark Twain, *The Autobiography of Mark Twain*, Volume 1, p. 85; also, “9 January 1906: Paragraph 18,” in *Autobiography of Mark Twain, Volume I*, <http://www.marktwainproject.org/xtf/view?docId=works/MTDTP10362.xml;style=work;brand=mtp;chunk.id=d1e9674#d1e9727>. Sam Clemens told the story at least two other times in his life, albeit with different details: Samuel L. Clemens, Louis J. Budd, and Mark Twain, “A Listing of and Selection from Newspaper and Magazine Interviews with Samuel L. Clemens 1874–1910,” *American Literary Realism, 1870–1910* 10, no. 1 (1977): ii–100, p. 78, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.sfpl.org/stable/27745782>, accessed January 4, 2017; and Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, Vol. I, p. 237; Mackay’s rich Irish burr: Grant Smith interview with James E. Walsh, February 10, 1931, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17, “Mackay.”
- 156 *pay streak fifty feet wide*: “The Mining Share Market,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 15, 1863.
- 156 *equal to the Gould & Curry’s best*: *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 13, 1863; Browne and Taylor, *Reports on the Mineral Resources of the United States, 1866–1867*, p. 81; the Savage paid its first dividend in August 1863, \$50 per foot: “The Mining Share Market,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 31, 1863.
- 156 *\$6 million in 1862*: “From San Francisco,” *New York Times*, January 11, 1863.
- 156 *Gould & Curry reinforced*: “The Wealth of Washoe,” *Daily Alta California*, February 25, 1863.
- 156 “inexhaustible”: Ibid.
- 157 “tumble over a boulder”: “The Great West,” *New York Times*, November 29, 1865.
- 157 *every San Franciscan carried*: “San Francisco’s Interest in Silver,” *Daily Alta California*, October 29, 1863; also, “California Gossip, April 23, 1864,” *New York Times*, May 22, 1864.
- 157 *the bullion raised*: “Mineral Wealth of Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, August 26, 1863.
- 157 “a Washoe man”: “California Gossip, December 23, 1863,” *New York Times*, January 24, 1864.
- 157 *feet on the brain*: “First Impressions of Esmeralda, March 5, 1863,” *Daily Alta California*, March 14, 1863; “Notes of a Trip to Washoe En Route to Reese River.—No. 1,” *Daily Alta California*, March 15, 1863.



- 158 “*the wearisome jargon*”: “An Excursion to the Lakes Tahoe and Silver,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 27, 1863.
- 158 “*Everything—positively everything*”: “*Mining & Scientific Press*, March 23, 1863, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*, March 11, 1863.
- 158 “*There was nothing*”: Twain, *Roughing It*, p. 279.
- 158 “*considerable ore from*”: Grant Smith, “John Mackay Manuscript,” p. 266, Grant Smith Collection, UCB.
- 158 “*a stride upwards*”: *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 6, 1863.
- 158 rose 450 percent: “San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 17, 1863.
- 158 “*As the Gould & Curry*”: Twain, *Roughing It*, pp. 274–75.
- 158 *five hundred men on its payroll*: “The Gould and Curry Mine,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, July 21, 1863,” citing *Virginia Daily Union*, July 16, 1863.
- 159 *Gould & Curry had previously*: “Washoe Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 25, 1863, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, June 21, 1863, which says the tunnel cut the lode four days before; “Letter from Nevada Territory, June 28, 1863,” *Daily Alta California*, June 11, 1863; “Gould & Curry Gold and Silver Mining Company,” *Daily Alta California*, January 1, 1864; *Report of the Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel Survey*, p. 170.
- 159 \$150 per foot: “News from California, June 25, 1863,” *New York Times*, June 28, 1863.
- 159 “*incontrovertible evidence*”: “Washoe Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 25, 1863, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, June 21, 1863.
- 159 *Gould & Curry reached*: “General Mining Stock Report,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 29, 1863.
- 159 “*We are marching*”: “The Comstock Mines,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, July 12, 1863, citing “the lively local” of *Territorial Enterprise*; Clemens had spent May and June in San Francisco—he returned to Virginia City on July 2, 1863, and supposedly went straight to work.
- 159 “*aglow with energy*”: “Our Letter from Nevada Territory, June 9, 1863,” *Daily Alta California*, June 12, 1863.
- 159 “*a perfect stampede*”: “Matters at Napa, April 20, 1863,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 22, 1863.
- 159 “*unabated fury*”: “Mr. Editor,” *Pacific Appeal*, June 6, 1863.
- 159 “*Washoe widows*”: “Napa,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 9, 1863.
- 159 “*exodus*”: “For Washoe,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 21, 1863; also, “Travel to Washoe,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 19, 1863.
- 159 *jammed the trans-Sierran*: “Washoe Travel,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 15, 1863.
- 159 *from four-horse teams*: “Nevada County,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, April 12, 1863.
- 159 *on curbstones*: “Legislative Proceedings,” *Daily Alta California*, April 22, 1863.
- 159 “*immense and astonishing*”: “Virginia City,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 17, 1863.
- 159 *fifty wagonloads of lumber*: “Lumber in Washoe,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, August 29, 1863.
- 160 *sixty-eight teams on C Street*: “Washoe Items,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, July 12, 1863, citing *Virginia Evening Bulletin*; other traffic jams: “THE Principal Street,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, July 25, 1863.
- 160 *Fish taken from Lake Tahoe*: *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 22, 1863, citing *Territorial Enterprise*.

- 160 *San Francisco housecats*: “Marysville,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, November 8, 1863.
- 160 *commerce raider Alabama*: “How Washoe Suffers,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 4, 1863; “General News,” *New York Times*, June 27, 1863.
- 160 *The flood submerged the bottom*: “Mines Flooded,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 23, 1863, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, January 20, 1863; *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 26, 1863; “The Flooded Mines,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 26, 1863; “Caving,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 27, 1863; *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 2, 1863; “Letter from Nevada Territory, February 1, 1863,” *Daily Alta California*, February 8, 1863; “The Spanish Mine,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 3, 1863; “More Water,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 16, 1863, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, January (presumably February), 12, 1863.
- 161 *Standing from 20 to 40 feet west*: “The Ophir,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 1, 1863, citing *Virginia Daily Union*, July 29, 1863; “The Ophir,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 31, 1863, citing *Virginia Daily Union*, August 20, 1863; *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 21, 1863; the west vein’s production: “The Ophir Mine, Early History, 1859–1865,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 7; west vein dimensions: Grant Smith, *The History of the Comstock Lode* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998), p. 81.
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- 162 *“an immense amount”*: “The Late Fire at Virginia,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 30, 1863, citing *Virginia Daily Union*, July 28, 1863.
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- 162 *“California-like”*: “Mackay’s Ambition,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17, citing John Mackay’s friend Dick Dey.
- 162 *scorning cigarettes as fit only*: Grant Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 29.
- 162 *“Do married women”*: “Virginia City,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, December 1, 1863.
- 162 *Many blamed the boomtime*: “Nevada Society,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, October 13, 1863, citing *San Francisco Bulletin*.
- 163 *“Washoe cities and villages”*: *Golden Era*, November 1, 1863, citing *Virginia Bulletin*.
- 163 *murderer named Jack Williams*: “News of the Morning,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 11, 1862.
- 163 *“brief artillery duel”*: “Letter from Nevada Territory, December 10, 1862,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 12, 1862.

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- 163 "for luck": "Shooting," *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 7, 1863, citing *Virginia City Daily Union*, March 5, 1863.
- 163 *as one of its delegates*: "Washoe Convention and Legislature," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, September 12, 1863, citing *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 163 "abused" Juana Sanchez: "Man Killed by a Woman," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 23, 1863, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, May 19, 1863.
- 163 Deborah Ann Phillips killed: "Woman Shoots Man," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, December 15, 1863; "Examination of Mrs. Phillips," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, December 16, 1863; Marion S. Goldman, *Gold Diggers and Silver Miners*, p. 142, citing *Gold Hill News* and *Virginia Evening Bulletin* of December 12, 1863, and *Gold Hill News* of March 30 and April 9, 1864.
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- 164 "To be a saloon-keeper": Twain, *Roughing It*, p. 307.
- 164 "Sure as there": "Brewing," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, December 6, 1863, citing *San Francisco Bulletin*; also, "Our Letter from Virginia, N. T.," *Daily Alta California*, October 16, 1863; "Virginia City," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, December 5, 1863, citing *Virginia Daily Union*, December 2, 1863.
- 164 "vestibule of hell": "A Blast from Washoe," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 3, 1863.
- 164 "Ophir holes, gopher": "A Distinguished," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, August 23, 1863.
- 164 "the belligerent elephant": "California Regiments for the War," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, September 7, 1862.
- 164 "threw up his": "For the Liberal Army," *Daily Alta California*, August 22, 1866.
- 164 *returned to the Pacific Coast*: "California Regiments for the War," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, September 7, 1862
- 165 *her husband, Dr. Edmund*: "Copy of Records," Sierra County, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.
- 165 *Louise and her best friend, Louise Meyer*: "The Hungerford Family," Grant Smith Collection, UCB, citing Smith's late-in-life interview with Louise Meyer Howland, Louise Hungerford Mackay's childhood friend; "Conversation with Mrs. Robert Howland," September 5, 1929, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.
- 165 *College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University*: Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/V/4, "Bancroft, Eleanor."
- 166 *November 12, 1861*: "Princess Colonna Gets Liberty," *New York Times*, April 6, 1895.
- 166 *Bryants in Downieville*: William B. Berry, *Lost Sierra: Gold, Ghosts & Skis*, p. 109; Virginia Lutes, "Life of a Gold Town Doctor and His Young Wife: Dr. Edmund G. Bryant and Marie Louise Hungerford," *The Sierran: A Publication of the Sierra County Historical Society*, Volume XXXIV, Spring 2016; the author's February 23, 2017, email with Katie Green, Sierra Country historian and author of *Like a Leaf Upon the Current Cast*.
- 166 *A "winsome," pleasant young*: Downie, *Hunting for Gold*, p. 182.
- 166 *consumed the Bryants' home*: "Professional Cards," *Daily Democratic Standard*, August 14, 1863, transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, Ellin Berlin/90-87/

- II/8; "Particulars of the Fire in Virginia City," *Daily Alta California*, August 30, 1863; Ellin Berlin, *Silver Platter*, p. 103, places them at No. 10 A Street, but doesn't mention the fire. The *Daily Alta California's* August 30 article specifically mentions the destruction of Dr. Bryant's office.
- 166 "the septic sore": Berlin, *Silver Platter*, pp. 109–10. I'm unclear on the exact sequence of events of Marie Louise's Virginia City existence. I haven't been able to ascertain whether the fire happened before or after baby Marie's death. If I had to guess, I would venture just before.
- 166 "acted like an": "Conversation with Mrs. Robt. A. Howland, September 5, 1929," "From Mrs. Howland," and "Dr. Bryant?" Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.
- 167 "Shameless!": *Gold Hill News*, March 11, 1864, article transcribed in the Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.
- 168 *whose names appeared on the mine's deed*: Margaret M. Quinlan, Office of the Storey County Recorder, to Grant H. Smith, November 23, 1929, and Margaret M. Quinlan, Office of the Storey County Recorder, to Grant H. Smith, December 19, 1929, both letters in the Grant Smith Collection, Box 1, Folder 17; the deed is recorded in Book "I" of Deeds, p. 277, Storey County Records; Smith documented Cole's and Hirschman's friendship with Mackay in a number of documents, through interviews with Hirschman's son, Marion.
- 168 "more difficult to": Eliot Lord, "The Mackay Memorial Statue," *World's Work*, Volume XIII (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907), p. 8162.
- 168 "rich Irish burr": Grant Smith interview with James E. Walsh, February 10, 1931, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17, "Mackay."
- 169 *scathing Irish wit*: Grant Smith interview with Alexander O'Grady, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 11, "John W. Mackay and the Comstock Story, Vol. 2," p. 312.
- 169 "tolerant of anything": Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 4, "Mackay Descriptions." (The friend quoted is not identified.)
- 169 "to the living": "Famous Life of a Maker of Millions," *San Francisco Call*, July 21, 1902.
- 170 "an agreeable man": Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 16, "The Kentuck Brings Mackay's First Fortune."
- 170 *An imposing, handsome man*: "Upon His Death Bed," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 2, 1895; "Once a Millionaire," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 4, 1895.
- 170 "good-looking quartz": "Gold Hill," *Daily Alta California*, March 6, 1863.
- 170 *Of the fifty-five local miners*: *Mercantile Directory of Virginia City, Gold Hill, Silver City, and American Flat, 1864–1865*, p. 251; the Bullion deed: Margaret M. Quinlan, Office of the Storey County Recorder, to Grant H. Smith, November 23, 1929, Grant Smith Collection, Box 1, Folder 17; the deed is recorded in Book "M" of Deeds, p. 547, Storey County Records; "Election," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 23, 1863.
- 170 *Freemasons: Roll of the Members of Escorial Lodge, No. 7, F. & A. M., Virginia, Storey County, Nevada, Also, a Short History of the Lodge to December 1st, 1867*.
- 171 *likely to great advantage*: Mackay owned at least fifty shares of the Caledonia Tunnel Company through the spring of 1864. Various delinquent notices from the Caledonia Tunnel and Mining Company in *Daily Alta California*: March 19, 23, and 28, 1864; April 28, 1864. He owned at least fifteen shares in July 1865: "Caledonia Tun-

- nel and Mining Company,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, July 25, 1865. He had quite possibly kept interests in the Milton. He deeded away all of his Union feet.
- 171 “J. W. Mickey”: “Election,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 23, 1864.
- 171 *installation of a forty-horsepower engine*: The Bullion steam machinery went into operation on Christmas Day, 1863: *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 2, 1864.
- 171 “regular old California”: Cedar Hill Float Rock and Surface Mining Company operations, summer 1862: “Notes of Nevada Travel, June 25, 1862,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 28, 1862; “Nevada Territory,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, August 12, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, August 6, 1862; also, “Mining in Washoe,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 26, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, June 21, 1862.
- 172 “thickly encrusted with”: “Rich Lump,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 5, 1862.
- 172 “fine threads and spangles”: “Mining in Washoe,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 26, 1862, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, June 21, 1862.
- 172 “I thought they”: Twain, *Roughing It*, p. 280.

### Chapter 8: A Tiny Sliver of Mine

- 173 “The more prominent”: “The Mining Share Market,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 24, 1863.
- 174 *stockholders had availed themselves*: *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 12, 1863; “California Gossip, December 23, 1863,” *New York Times*, January 24, 1864.
- 174 *By the end of 1863*: “San Francisco Stock Boards,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 2, 1864.
- 174 “700 pounds of bullion”: “Mining Items,” *Daily Alta California*, December 29, 1863, citing the Virginia City newspapers.
- 174 *Wells Fargo did the majority*: “Bullion,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 2, 1864.
- 174 *Washoe had problems*: “Blunders in Washoe Mining,” *Daily Alta California*, October 24, 1865.
- 174 “Adroit and profitable”: “Letter from San Francisco, November 6, 1863,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, November 8, 1863; “The Blunders in Washoe Mining,” *Daily Alta California*, October 24, 1865.
- 174 *At the Gould & Curry*: “City Stock Reports—San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 24, 1864.
- 175 *firm in his belief*: “California Gossip, December 23, 1863,” *New York Times*, January 24, 1864; George Thomas Marye, Jr., *From '49 to '83 in California and Nevada*, pp. 93–95. Marye claims Palmer’s salary was \$25,000 per year. I have used the *Times’* more contemporary figure.
- 175 “a good deal”: Marye, Jr., *From '49 to '83 in California and Nevada*, p. 95.
- 175 “the present generation”: “California Gossip, December 23, 1863,” *New York Times*, January 24, 1864.
- 175 *unhappy with the mine’s management*: *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 12, 1863; “California Gossip, December 23, 1863,” *New York Times*, January 24, 1864.
- 175 *the Ophir’s ore body narrowed*: Ferdinand Richthofen, *The Comstock Lode: Its Character and the Probably Mode of Its Continuance in Depth* (San Francisco, 1866), pp. 34–35; “Ophir Ore-Bodies,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 7; Smith, *The History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 81.
- 175 “money paradise”: “The Money Paradise of Lawyers,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 31, 1863.

- 175 “*The Grosch [sic] Consolidated Gold*”: “By Telegraph to the Union,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 4, 1863; “News of the Morning,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 4, 1863; “The Grosch [sic] Brothers, the Alleged Discoverers of Silver on the Pacific Slope,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 6, 1863, citing the newly published *Directory of Nevada Territory*, pp. 356–58; “The Grosch [sic] Company,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 28, 1863; “Court Proceedings, October 19, 1863,” *Daily Alta California*, October 20, 1863; “The Money Paradise of Lawyers,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 31, 1863; “By Telegraph to the Union,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 26, 1864; “By Telegraph to the Union,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 10, 1865.
- 175 “*mammoth incubus*”: “The Grosch [sic] Company,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 28, 1863.
- 175 “*largely interested*”: “Idaho Territory Correspondence,” *Sonoma Democrat*, August 20, 1864; Comstock in the South Boise mines: “Suit of the Grosch Co.,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 19, 1864
- 176 “*extent and richness*”: Captain John Mullan, *Miners and Travelers Guide to Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado via the Missouri and Columbia Rivers* (New York: W. M. Franklin, 1865), pp. 110–11, citing a correspondent of *Daily Oregon Times*, December 8, 1864.
- 176 “*an overshot water wheel*”: “Comstock Still Lives,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 13, 1864.
- 176 “*this famous prospector*”: “Comstock Still Lives,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 19, 1864, citing *Oregonian*, December 7, 1864.
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- 176 “*hadn’t reached him in time*”: “Suit of the Grosch Co.,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 19, 1864.
- 176 “*dismissed the lawsuit*”: “By Telegraph to the Union,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 10, 1865.
- 176 “*Did the Comstock Lode consist*”: The lawsuits are discussed in lengthy and occasionally entertaining detail in Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 131–80; Stewart, *Reminiscences of Senator William M. Stewart, of Nevada*; Smith, *The History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 66–74.
- 176 “*the “one ledge”*”: David A. Johnson, “Industry and the Individual on the Far Western Frontier: A Case Study of Politics and Social Change in Early Nevada,” *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 51, No. 3, August 1982, quoting *Gold Hill Evening News*, November 4, 1863.
- 176 “*The Great Grab-All*”: “The Money Paradise of Lawyers,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 31, 1863, citing *Virginia Daily Union*.
- 176 “*a moneyed effort*”: “The Ophir Monopoly,” *Daily Alta California*, September 4, 1863.
- 176 “*floated*”: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 69, 91.
- 177 “*Jarndyce v. Jarndyce*”: Grant Smith, “The Panic of 1865,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 7.
- 177 “*squandered \$1.3 million*”: S. H. Marlette, *Annual Report of the Surveyor-General of the State of Nevada for the Year 1865*, p. 28.

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- 178 “useless ornament”: “Blunders in Washoe Mining,” *Daily Alta California*, October 24, 1865.
- 178 *Before it all lay*: “Notes of Nevada Travel, June 25, 1862,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 28, 1862; “Mill and Reduction Works of the Gould & Curry Company,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 14, 1862; “Items from Washoe,” *Daily Alta California*, November 22, 1862; “The Gould & Curry Mill,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 31, 1863; “The Gould and Curry Mine,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, July 21, 1863, citing *Virginia Daily Union*, July 16, 1863; “Blunders in Washoe Mining,” *Daily Alta California*, October 24, 1865; Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers No. 17,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 24, 1877; Smith, *The History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 85; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 124–29.
- 178 *a lady could pass*: “California Gossip, December 23, 1863,” *New York Times*, January 24, 1863.
- 178 “why so much money”: “Notes of Nevada Travel, June 25, 1862,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 28, 1862.
- 178 *worse than the extravagance*: “Virginia City Correspondence—By Our Lady Contributor,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 17, 1864; “Annual Report of the Gould & Curry,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 24, 1864.
- 179 “pacing the roof”: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 125.
- 179 “Snake it out”: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 127, citing an interview with Alpheus Bull, president of the Gould & Curry, 1864–72.
- 179 “the deeper they”: “The Comstock Lead,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 23, 1863.
- 180 “clusters of virgin”: “A Visit to the Gould & Curry Mine,” *Los Angeles Star*, June 11, 1864, quoting *Virginia Daily Union*.
- 180 “a thousand merry”: “Virginia City, Underground,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 3, 1863, quoting the “local” of *Territorial Enterprise*, Dan de Quille or Mark Twain.
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- 181 *Few had much desire*: Gould & Curry descriptions: “A Visit to the Gould & Curry Mine,” *Los Angeles Star*, June 11, 1864, quoting *Virginia Daily Union* and “Virginia City, Underground,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 3, 1863, quoting the “local” of *Territorial Enterprise*, Dan de Quille or Mark Twain; also, Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent: A Stage Ride Over the Plains to the Rocky Mountains, the Mormons, and the Pacific States in the Summer of 1865 with Speaker Colfax* (Springfield, MA: Samuel Bowles & Company, 1869), pp. 317–20.
- 181 *lamented a recently struck*: “A Visit to the Gould & Curry Mine,” *Los Angeles Star*, June 11, 1864, quoting *Virginia Daily Union*; “Our Summary of Mining News,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, July 30, 1864.
- 181 *fifteen feet of third-class ore*: The Gould & Curry bonanza pinches out and pitches south, into the Savage: Smith, *The History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 34–35.
- 181 “big fish”: “Deserting,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 6, 1864.
- 181 *George Hearst, the consummate*: Hearst, *The Way It Was*.
- 181 *explained away the insiders’ move*: “California Gossip, June 13, 1864,” *New York Times*, July 10, 1864; Gould & Curry situation: “New Superintendent,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 2, 1864; also, “Mining Share Market,” *Mining & Sci-*

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- 182 *fortune in greenback arbitrage*: David Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible: William C. Ralston and Early San Francisco* (Palo Alto, CA: American West Publishing Company, 1975), p. 171.
- 182 "rousing, reaching, staving": "California Gossip, December 11, 1861," *New York Times*, January 28, 1862.
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- 182 *Ralston began the change*: "Donohoe, Ralston & Co.," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, October 27, 1863.
- 182 *The Bank of California formally*: "Certificate of Incorporation of the Bank of California," *Daily Alta California*, June 16, 1864; "A New Bank," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 16, 1864; "The Bank of California," *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 25, 1864.
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- 182 *The selling panic climaxed*: "Talk on 'Change," *Daily Alta California*, November 19, 1865; Gould & Curry at \$950, Ophir at \$415: "Mining Share Market," *Mining & Scientific Press*, July 30, 1864; "Fluctuations in Leading Mining Shares for the Past Six Months," *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 15, 1864.
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- 183 "completely destroyed": "Washoe Silver Mining in 1864," *Daily Alta California*, December 24, 1864.
- 183 "contact with the world": "A Checkered Career," *Daily Alta California*, November 14, 1885.
- 183 *too pronounced to*: H. H. Bancroft, *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth, Historical Character Study*, Volume IV (San Francisco: History Company, 1892), p. 29.
- 183 "distasteful": *Ibid.*
- 183 *two years at Athens College*: "A Checkered Career," *Daily Alta California*, November 14, 1885, and "Death of Sharon," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 14, 1885, both



- say two years; Bancroft, "William Sharon," *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth, Historical Character Study*, Volume IV, p. 29, says three years, as do most sources published after. I have cleaved to the most contemporary sources.
- 183 "Circumstances": Ibid.
- 184 "Frytown": *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Volume II, 1923–24, p. 207.
- 184 1856 Vigilance Committee: Robert M. Senkewicz, *Vigilantes in Gold Rush San Francisco*, p. 183.
- 184 owned in others: "Mining Items" *Daily Alta California*, December 18, 1863, mentions Sharon as trustee of the Chase and Cornwall Silver Mining Company and the Alpine Silver Mining Company, both in the Reece River mines; "Crockett Consolidated Mining Company," *Daily Alta California*, March 2, 1864, notes Sharon owning in the named mine, and "Napoleon Copper Mining Company," *Daily Alta California*, March 25, 1864, lists him as owing \$2,290 in assessments; "Death of Sharon," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 14, 1885, mentions Sharon losing money in the Hale & Norcross, and Michael J. Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock: William Sharon and the Gilded Age in the West* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2009), pp. 14–15, says Sharon lost a massive sum in a Washoe mine called the North American—a transaction in which Sharon always believed he'd been scammed.
- 184 "permanence": Bancroft, "William Sharon," *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth, Historical Character Study*, Volume IV, p. 47.
- 184 "every cent of": "Death of Sharon," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 14, 1885.
- 184 "the world before": "A Checkered Career," *Daily Alta California*, November 14, 1885.
- 185 luminaries among its directors: The Pacific Insurance Company ran daily newspaper ads featuring Ralston's and Sharon's names; Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p. 118, agrees that it seems likely they knew each other before 1858.
- 185 "manly action": *San Francisco Call*, November 14, 1885, quoted in Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, p. 24.
- 185 kept him afloat: Julian Dana, *The Man Who Built San Francisco: A Study of Ralston's Journey* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1936), p. 388.
- 185 "bird's-eye porphyry": "Death of Sharon," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 14, 1885.
- 186 He wired the idea: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 244–46; Smith, *The History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 49–51; Tilton, *William Chapman Ralston*, p. 136; Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible* pp. 167–87; James, *The Roar and the Silence*, pp. 77–79; Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, pp. 21–22.
- 186 "Come down, and": C. C. Goodwin, *As I Remember Them* (Salt Lake City Commercial Club, 1913), p. 127.
- 186 "He sounds like": Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, p. 25, citing "many sketches," including *San Francisco Examiner*, September 22, 1899, and Ira Cross, *Financing an Empire: Banking in California*, p. 405.
- 186 "Rattle him?": "Death of Sharon," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 14, 1885.
- 187 "superlatively grand": "SOMETHING ABOUT VIRGINIA, N.T.," *Golden Era*, May 22, 1864.
- 187 "keen-eyed": "Keen-Eyed Ki," *Daily Alta California*, November 18, 1885 (an interview with Ah Ki).
- 188 "No offence was more": "A Checkered Career," *Daily Alta California*, November 14, 1885.

- 188 *They hailed William Sharon*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 244–46; Tilton, *William Chapman Ralston*, pp. 141–42; Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, pp. 27–28; James, *The Roar and the Silence*, pp. 78–79.
- 188 *quickly accumulated influence*: “Gould and Curry,” *Territorial Enterprise*, December 7, 1871, transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6; “Stock Swindling. How Buyers Are Induced to Buy, and How They Are Cheated,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 23, 1872; Adolph Sutro, *Closing Argument of Adolph Sutro on the Bill Before Congress to Aid the Sutro Tunnel Delivered Before the Committee on Mines and Mining of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, Monday, April 22, 1872* (Washington, D.C.: McGill & Witherow, Printers and Stereotypers, 1872), pp. 43–44; Bancroft, *Chronicles of the Builders, Historical Character Study*, Volume IV, p. 53; Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 594.
- 189 *to seek fresh pastures*: Tom Fitch, “Nevada,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, August 1865.
- 189 *“a true fissure vein”*: Prussian geologist Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen (uncle of famed World War I flying ace Manfred von Richthofen, “The Red Baron”) inspected the Comstock mines in 1864–65. Although Richthofen’s report *The Comstock Lode: Its Character and the Probable Mode of Its Continuance in Depth*, wasn’t available to the general public until 1866, he’d published his “true fissure vein” opinion in Adolph Sutro’s pamphlet *The Advantages and Necessity of a Deep Drain Tunnel for the Comstock Lode* (San Francisco, February 1865), p. 21, in February 1865. William Sharon had likely been acting on Richthofen’s advice before that. (The *Mining & Scientific Press* announced the beginning of a mining survey that was probably Richthofen’s in its issue of November 26, 1864, just two months after Sharon opened the Bank of California’s Virginia City branch.)
- 189 *“The Bank Ring”*: For the Bank Ring’s rising influence in the Yellow Jacket and at the Chollar-Potosi, see Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, pp. 31–32, citing “Yellow Jacket Silver Mining Company Records 1861–1911,” Vol. 1, 1863, August 4, 1864, February 11, 1865, April 1, 1865, July 10, 1865, and July 9, 1866, UNR, Special Collections; “City Stock Reports—San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 8, 1865 mentions William Sharon becoming a trustee of the Overman mine; also, James, *The Roar and the Silence*, pp. 78–79.
- 190 *As the leading mines delved*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 233
- 190 *“Grand Drain Tunnel”*: Adolph Sutro, *The Advantages and Necessity of a Deep Drain Tunnel for the Great Comstock Ledge*, p. 9.
- 190 *“to devote, if”*: *Report of the Commissioners and Evidence Taken by the Committee on Mines and Mining of the House of Representatives of the United States in Regard to the Sutro Tunnel, Together with the Arguments and Report of the Committee Recommending a Loan by the Government in Aid of the Construction of Said Work* (Washington, D.C.: McGill and Witherow Printers and Stereotypers, 1872), p. 864.
- 190 *“for a century”*: Sutro, *The Advantages and Necessity of a Deep Drain Tunnel for the Great Comstock Ledge*, pp. 7–8.
- 190 *Physically massive and imposing*: Goodwin, *As I Remember Them*, p. 240.
- 191 *Sutro had been involved*: Adolph Sutro, “A Trip to Washoe, Part II,” *Daily Alta California*, April 13, 1860.
- 191 *unable to enjoy a laugh*: Mark Twain, “Letter from Dayton” (likely published in *Territorial Enterprise* between November 1863 and February 1864), in Branch, Hirst,

and Smith, eds., *The Works of Mark Twain: Early Tales & Sketches, Volume I, 1851–1864*, pp. 418–19.

- 191 *exclusive fifty-year franchise*: “From Our Exchanges,” *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, February 10, 1865; “A Great Project,” *Virginia Daily Union*, February 7, 1865, quoted in Adolph Sutro, *The Mineral Resources of the United States, and the Importance and Necessity of Inaugurating a Rational System of Mining, with Special Reference to the Comstock Lode and the Sutro Tunnel, in Nevada* (Baltimore, MD: John Murphy & Co., 1868), p. 208.
- 191 *Sutro threw himself into*: “Talk on ‘Change,” *Daily Alta California*, January 15, 1865; “By State Telegraph,” *Daily Alta California*, January 29, 1865; “The Nevada Legislature,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 31, 1865; “From Our Exchanges,” *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, February 10, 1865; “Important Enterprise,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 11, 1865; “The Great Drain Tunnel for the Comstock Lode,” *Daily Alta California*, March 12, 1865; “The Comstock Drain Tunnel,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 25, 1865; Sutro, *The Advantages and Necessity of a Deep Drain Tunnel for the Great Comstock Ledge*; Sutro, *The Mineral Resources of the United States, and the Importance and Necessity of Inaugurating a Rational System of Mining, with Special Reference to the Comstock Lode and the Sutro Tunnel, in Nevada*; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 233–43; Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 107–15.
- 191 *spontaneous rejoicing*: Although George D. Lyman’s *The Saga of the Comstock Lode: Boom Days in Virginia City* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1934), p. 327, says that the news broke in Virginia City on April 11 (citing *Territorial Enterprise*), “From the *Virginia Union*” and “The *Virginia Union*,” *Daily Alta California*, April 15, 1865, say that Virginia learned the news “on Monday morning.” Lee surrendered on April 9, 1865, a Sunday.
- 192 *missed their Tuesday issues*: “The *Virginia Union*,” *Daily Alta California*, April 15, 1865; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 209, citing *Virginia Union*, April 12, 1865; George D. Lyman’s *The Saga of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 327–29.
- 192 *mourning sheets draped nearby*: “City Items,” *Daily Alta California*, April 16, 1865.
- 192 *“low tones . . . expressive”*: “How Lincoln’s Death Was Received in Virginia City,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 16, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, April 18, 1865; Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, pp. 270–71.
- 193 *“very dissipated”*: “Conversation with Mrs. Robert Howland (Louise A. Meyer),” September 5, 1929, Grant Smith Collection, Box 1, Folder 18.
- 193 *Louise Meyer Howland*: Ibid.
- 193 *for the rest of her life*: “The Hungerford Family” and “Mackay’s Lonely Life,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 8, and Box 4, Folder 1; Berlin, *Silver Platter*, pp. 111–20.
- 193 *“one thing is” . . . “far famed and”*: “A Glimpse at the Washoe Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, May 27, 1865.
- 194 *Kentuck had received no mention*: “Washoe Mining Claims,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 13, 1863.
- 194 *said not a word about*: The December article about the Gold Hill mines that makes no mention of the Kentuck: “The Mines of Gold Hill District, Nevada Territory,” *Daily Alta California*, December 24, 1863; the author’s careful scrutiny of every issue of *Mining & Scientific Press* didn’t reveal a single mention of the Kentuck before the

mine's incorporation notice, which appeared in the October 7, 1865, issue (the Kentuck had incorporated on August 22, 1865), even though it sat between two of the most important mines south of Gold Hill; besides V. A. Houseworth's location notice in the Gold Hill record book, the earliest published mention of the Kentuck I've seen is the mine's incorporation notice, which appeared in *Daily Alta California* on August 24, 1865. Kentuck stock quotations appeared regularly thereafter. The Kentuck appeared in a comprehensive list of Comstock mines in *Daily Alta California* on March 19, 1866.

- 194 *Maps of the Comstock Lode*: "Map of Virginia, Gold Hill, Devils Gate, American Flat Gold and Silver Mining Districts, State of Nevada (1865)," Higgenson & Goldsworthy, UNR Special Collections; "Map of Gold Hill Front Lodes on the Comstock Range (N.T.)," Nelson Wescoatt, 1864, UNR Special Collections.
- 194 *Houseworth's claim antedated*: Margaret M. Quinlan, Office of the Storey County Recorder, to Grant H. Smith, September 15, 1930, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17, citing Gold Hill Mining District, Book 26 of Deeds, pp. 593; also, Grant Smith, "The Kentuck Brings Mackay's First Fortune," Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, folder 7.
- 194 *Valentine A. Houseworth*: Houseworth is recorded as "J. A. Houseworth," or "John A. Houseworth" in some sources, but as "V. A. Houseworth" in others. He is "Valentine A. Houseworth" in a quitclaim deed for the Kentuck mine in Book 35 of Deeds, Storey County Records, pp. 122–23, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17, "JM Walker." Precedence is given for documentation over which money changed hands.
- 195 *John "Kentuck" Osborne*: Henry de Groot, "Comstock Papers No. 7," *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 14, 1876. *The Report of the Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel*, Vol. III, p. 99, credits the Kentuck with a 93 $\frac{3}{4}$ -foot slice of the Comstock Lode.
- 195 *"modest circumstances"*: Henry de Groot, "Comstock Papers No. 7," *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 14, 1876.
- 196 *Houseworth conveyed a quitclaim*: Book 26 of Deeds, p. 593, Storey County Records, PDF image of the quitclaim provided to the author by Roberta Martinoni, Deputy Recorder, Storey County, April 14, 2017.
- 196 *The Kentuck incorporated with*: "List of Officers of Mining Companies and Incorporations," *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 7, 1865, said the Kentuck incorporated on August 22; "Court Proceedings, Wednesday, August 23," *Daily Alta California*, August 24, 1865, said the mine incorporated on August 23.
- 196 *Kentuck's principal owners*: Details of the Kentuck ownership are difficult to discern. Many people said Mackay made his first big "raise" from the Kentuck, many of whom heard it from Mackay himself. Confoundingly, on January 19, 1866, *Daily Alta California* published a list of Kentuck shareholders who had not paid the December 12, 1865, assessment. The list represents 1,618 of the mine's 2,000 shares and neither Mackay's nor Walker's name is among them. That presents several possibilities—one, Mackay and Walker owned the remaining 382 shares on which they had already paid the assessments and perhaps possessed themselves of many more shares in the January 9, 1866, transactions; two, some of the shares on the published list were actually already owned by Mackay and Walker and the shares were registered in other names to disguise their ownership, a tactic often employed to disguise speculative maneuvers; or three, with the expensive assessment depressing the value

of the stock, Mackay and Walker bought out some of their co-owners, a possibility that doesn't square with the oft-told story that Mackay and Walker pledged their entire fortune to fund Kentuck development.

- 196 *\$20,000 in exchange for*: Book 26 of Deeds, pp. 594, Storey County Records, PDF image of the quitclaim provided to the author by Roberta Martinoni, Deputy Recorder, Storey County, April 14, 2017.
- 196 *borrowed \$20,000*: Many sources (i.e., Oscar Lewis, *Silver Kings: The Life and Times of MacKay, Fair, Flood, and O'Brien, Lords of the Nevada Comstock Lode* [Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986], p. 69) say Mackay and Walker borrowed \$60,000, including Grant Smith, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17, "Conversation with James E. Walsh, September 12, 1929." However, James D. Hague and Clarence King, *Report of the Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel, Vol. III, Mining Industry* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 182, published in 1870, say they borrowed \$20,000. I've chosen to use the more modest figure because it is more contemporaneous and it seems possible that Hague and King obtained the number from Mackay himself, and because it "feels" like a more reasonable number.
- 197 *small workforce*: "Virginia City and Vicinity," *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 3, 1866, reported the Kentuck workforce as eleven men, which may or may not have included Mackay.
- 197 *"carrying full sail"*: "The Great West, November 29, 1865," *New York Times*, December 26, 1865.
- 197 *Most men thought*: "City Items: Talk on 'Change," *Daily Alta California*, October 1, 1865.
- 197 *"recent developments in"*: "Talk on 'Change," *Daily Alta California*, December 10, 1865.
- 197 *"fresh stampede"*: "From the Stock Circular of the Associated Brokers of the S. F. Stock & Exchange Board," *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 16, 1865; also, "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, December 13, 1865.
- 197 *assessment on Kentuck stock*: "Kentuck Mining Company," *Daily Alta California*, December 21, 1865.
- 197 *"reports of better"*: "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, December 30, 1865.
- 197 *Hale & Norcross struck*: "Encouraging News from the Comstock Lode," *Daily Alta California*, December 30, 1865; Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 87.
- 197 *"favorable indications"*: "From the Stock Circular of the Associated Brokers of the S. F. Stock & Exchange Board," *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 30, 1865.
- 198 *and signed the extension*: "Mackay Joins the Bullion Venture; The Kentuck Brings Mackay's First Fortune," Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 16, citing an interview with James E. Walsh, September 12, 1929. Walsh was manager of the Flood estate and connected to James Flood and John Mackay through much of his lifetime. He held a power of attorney for Mackay for the last ten years of Mackay's life. Walsh described Mackay as taking great delight in telling this story.
- 198 *"very rich"*: "Mining Summary," *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 13, 1866; *Gold Hill News*, January 3, 1866, said the strike was made at 275 feet; James Hague and Clarence King, *United States Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel, Vol. III, Mining Industry* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1870), pp. 42, 44.
- 198 *richest men in the world*: For sources for Mackay and Walker's Kentuck operation,

see R. L. Fulton, "Reminiscences of Nevada," *First Biennial Report of the Nevada Historical Society, 1907–1908* (Carson City, NV: State Printing Office, 1909), pp. 85–86; "Conversation with James E. Walsh, September 12, 1929," and "Kentuck," Grant Smith, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17; "Mackay Joins the Bullion Venture; The Kentuck Brings Mackay's First Fortune," Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 16; Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 103–6; Lewis, *Silver Kings*, pp. 68–70; Michael J. Makley, *John Mackay: Silver King in the Gilded Age* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2009), pp. 28–30.

### Chapter 9: The Rise of the Bank Ring

- 199 "come out right": "Washoe All Right," *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 13, 1866.
- 199 *Fearful storms assailed Washoe*: "Our Virginia City Letter, January 18, 1866," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, January 25, 1866.
- 200 *The December strike made*: "The Rich Deposit in the Hale and Norcross," *Daily Alta California*, February 11, 1866, citing *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 200 "an extraordinary advance": "IMPROVEMENT IN MINING STOCKS," *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 10, 1866.
- 200 *Working from the New Year's*: "From the Stock Circular . . .," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 24, 1866; Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 103–6.
- 200 *Of the 1,450 miners*: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 99, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, February 17, 1866.
- 200 "a considerable quantity": "Virginia City and Vicinity," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 17, 1866.
- 200 *they rescinded the mine's recent*: "Virginia City and Vicinity," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 17, 1866; "From the Stock Circular . . .," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 24, 1866; "Virginia City and Vicinity," *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 3, 1866; For the Kentuck's \$7.50 replacement assessment, see "Kentuck Mining Company," *Daily Alta California*, February 28, 1866.
- 200 *rescinded that one, too*: "Kentuck Mining Company," *Daily Alta California*, March 11, 1866.
- 200 *Yellow Jacket miners worked west*: "From the Stock Circular . . .," *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 10, 1866.
- 200 "west stratum": "From the Stock Circular . . .," *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 17, 1866; also, "From the Stock Circular . . .," *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 24, 1866; "The Virginia Union," *Daily Alta California*, April 8, 1866, citing *Virginia Union*; "Mining Summary," *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 14, 1866.
- 200 *Mackay worked the Kentuck*: "Washoe, Nevada," *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 7, 1866.
- 201 *sent about seven thousand tons*: "From the Stock Circular . . .," *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 21, 1866.
- 201 "full blast": "Virginia City and Vicinity," *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 23, 1866.
- 201 *receipts for the west stratum*: "From the Stock Circular . . .," *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 31, 1866, and April 14, 1866; "From the Stock Circular . . .," *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 2, 1866.
- 201 *from fifty to eighty dollars per foot*: "Mining Dividend," *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 17, 1866; "From the Stock Circular . . .," *Mining & Scientific Press*, May 12, 1866.

- 201 *exceeded the combined total*: “Nevada” and “Bullion Figures from Gold Hill, Nevada,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 23, 1866.
- 201 *The Comstock’s domination*: Adolph Sutro, *The Sutro Tunnel to the Comstock Lode in the State of Nevada: Importance of Its Construction, and Revenue to Be Derived Therefrom* (New York: John A. Gray & Green, Printers, Stereotypers, and Binders, September 1, 1866), p. 8.
- 201 *Mackay and Walker upped*: “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, July 21, 1866, citing *Territorial Enterprise*; “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, October 12, 1866; “Mackay Joins the Bullion, The Kentuck Brings His First Fortune,” p. 31, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, quoting *Gold Hill News*, June 21, 1866.
- 201 *product proved sufficient*: “Weekly Stock Circular,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 30, 1867.
- 201 *brought him happiness*: *New York World*, July 27, 1902, citing a letter Mackay wrote to the paper in answer to the question, “Does wealth bring happiness?” (the article doesn’t date Mackay’s letter), article transcribed in “Mackay’s Ambition,” Grant Smith Papers, UCB.
- 202 *“No property deteriorates”*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 246, citing an interview with Alpheus Bull.
- 202 *Sharon foreclosed on the mill*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 246.
- 202 *the lode’s millable ore*: “Comstock Ledge,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 27, 1866.
- 203 *“could be accommodated”*: “Stock Sharps: How the Mill Ring Got the Mills,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1872; also, “Mining Matters,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 20, 1872; “Stock Swindling,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 21, 1872; “Stock Swindling,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 23, 1872; “Stocks and Loans: The Irresistible Combination of Banking and Mining,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 24, 1872; Sam Davis, *History of Nevada*, Vol. I (Reno and Los Angeles: Elms Publishing, 1913), pp. 412–14; Shinn, *The Story of the Mine*, pp. 162–65; Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, says the Bank of California foreclosed on the Swansea on May 1, 1865, however, Eliot Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 246, says the bank acquired the Swansea in May 1866. The 1866 date is likely accurate.
- 203 *The Crown Point’s annual election*: “Our San Francisco Dispatch,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 5, 1867; “List of Officers of Corporations and Mining Companies,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 9, 1866.
- 204 *he had concluded contracts*: “The Drainage of the Comstock Lode,” *Daily Alta California*, April 2, 1866.
- 204 *nineteen leading Comstock mines: Report of the Commissioners and Evidence Taken by the Committee on Mines and Mining of the House of Representatives of the United States in Regard to the Sutro Tunnel, Together with the Arguments and Report of the Committee Recommending a Loan by the Government in Aid of the Construction of Said Work*, p. 52.
- 204 *and London*: *Ibid.*, p. 869.
- 204 *In Washington, Sutro lobbied*: “The Congressional Bill Relative to the Drainage of the Comstock Lode,” *Daily Alta California*, July 13, 1866; “The Sutro Tunnel Bill” and “The Sutro Tunnel in Congress,” *Daily Alta California*, July 16, 1866; “Passage of the Sutro Tunnel Bill,” *Daily Alta California*, August 1, 1866; Robert E. Stewart and Mary Francis Stewart, *Adolph Sutro: A Biography* (Berkeley, CA: Howell-North Books, 1962), pp. 53–54.

- 204 “explode”: *Report of the Commissioners . . .*, p. 876.
- 204 *blamed the Bank of California*: *Ibid.*, pp. 873–74.
- 204 *The Crown Point repudiated*: *Ibid.*, p. 54.
- 204 *The Savage reneged*: “Weekly Stock Circular,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 7, 1867; *Report of the Commissioners and Evidence Taken by the Committee on Mines and Mining of the House of Representatives of the United States in Regard to the Sutro Tunnel, Together with the Arguments and Report of the Committee Recommending a Loan by the Government in Aid of the Construction of Said Work*, p. 877.
- 204 *as a Washoe powerbroker*: *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 878.
- 205 *of Adolph Sutro in May 1867*: Other Sutro sources: “Nevada State Items,” *Daily Alta California*, April 30, 1866; “Acknowledgment,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, May 5, 1866; “The Sutro Tunnel,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 29, 1866; “The Present Condition of the Sutro Tunnel Project,” *Daily Alta California*, December 8, 1866; “The Sutro Tunnel,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 8, 1866; “Mining Companies on the Comstock Lode,” *Daily Alta California*, December 14, 1866; “The Sutro Tunnel,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 29, 1866; “Mr. Sutro’s Argument,” in *Report of the Commissioners and Evidence Taken by the Committee on Mines and Mining of the House of Representatives of the United States in Regard to the Sutro Tunnel, Together with the Arguments and Report of the Committee Recommending a Loan by the Government in Aid of the Construction of Said Work*, pp. 864–73; Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, pp. 504–7; Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 50–51, 107–10; Stewart and Stewart, *Adolph Sutro: A Biography*, pp. 46–58. (Although none of the other Comstock histories draws a tight connection between the evaporation of Sutro’s support from the Comstock mining companies and the incorporation of the Union Mill and Mining Company, it strikes this author as almost certainly the decisive factor.)
- 205 “insufferable egoism”: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 109.
- 205 “Owls would roost”: *Ibid.*, p. 110.
- 205 “feverish excitement”: “Too True,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 10, 1866.
- 206 “set all New York”: “Podgers’ Letter from New York, December 10, 1865,” *Daily Alta California*, January 10, 1866.
- 206 “Twain took his”: Ben Tarnoff, *The Bohemians: Mark Twain and the San Francisco Writers Who Reinvented American Literature* (New York: Penguin Press, 2014), p. 130, quoting a Bret Harte review of a Twain performance published in the *Springfield Republican*.
- 207 “hurricane of applause”: *Ibid.*, p. 131, citing Twain’s friend Steve Gillis.
- 207 “an entertainment of”: Alf Doten, *Territorial Enterprise*, November 1, 1866, in “Explanatory Notes,” commentary on Mark Twain to Jane Lampton Clemens, November 2, 1866, [www.marktwainproject.org/letters](http://www.marktwainproject.org/letters), accessed June 3, 2017.
- 207 “an immense success”: “Nevada State Items,” *Daily Alta California*, November 4, 1866.
- 207 “most uncomfortably genuine”: Twain, *Roughing It*, p. 500.
- 208 *as their own*: “Nevada State Items,” *Daily Alta California*, November 1, 1866; “Mark Twain’s Lecture at Virginia,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 3, 1866, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, November 1, 1866; “Nevada State Items,” *Daily Alta California*, November 4, 1866. For the robbery, see “Mark Twain Robbed,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 13, 1866; “Mark Twain and the Road Agents,” *Daily Alta California*, November 14, 1866; “A Robbery Joke,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November



- 15, 1866, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, November 13, 1866; Twain, *Roughing It*, pp. 497–502; see also, Tarnoff, *The Bohemians*, pp. 131–33.
- 208 “as the mine is”: “Mines of Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, January 12, 1867.
- 208 “superior class of”: “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 3, 1866, citing *Gold Hill News*, October 24, 1866; “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 1, 1866; “Nevada State Items,” *Daily Alta California*, December 6, 1866, citing *Gold Hill News*.
- 208 *Gold Hill’s Petaluma Mill*: “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 1, 1866; “Nevada Items,” *Daily Alta California*, February 18, 1867.
- 208 *bought the mill outright*: *Gold Hill News*, May 25, 1867, article transcribed in Grant Smith, “Kentuck,” UCB, Box 1, Folder 17.
- 208 Tetanus symptoms: Author’s email correspondence with Dr. Mark Robinson, MD.
- 209 *June 29, 1866*: “Died,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 10, 1866; Pioneer Memorial Park, Laurel Hill Cemetery Association to Grant Smith, September 2, 1930, says Dr. Bryant died on June 30, 1866, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.
- 209 *The doctor died in debt*: Grant Smith, “The Hungerford Family,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, citing an interview with Mrs. Wilson Lochlin; Berlin, *Silver Platter*, pp. 124–31.
- 209 “active operations”: “For the Liberal Army,” *Daily Alta California*, August 22, 1866; see also, “By Telegraph to the Union,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 22, 1866. Colonel Hungerford’s hagiographic biography *Life of Colonel Daniel E. Hungerford* (almost certainly financed by John Mackay) says he departed for Mexico in 1865. Contemporary newspaper articles make it apparent that he went south the following year, on July 24, 1866.
- 210 “went out by the day”: Janet I. Loverin and Robert A. Nylen, “Creating a Fashionable Society: Comstock Needleworkers from 1860 to 1880,” in James and Raymond, eds., *Comstock Women*, pp. 115–41.
- 210 *Daughters of Charity*: Anne M. Butler, “The Daughters of Charity in Virginia City,” in James and Raymond, eds., *Comstock Women*, pp. 142–64.
- 210 “having a hard”: Smith, “The Hungerford Family,” p. 48, Grant Smith Collection, UCB.
- 210 “beautiful, charming, and”: “From Mrs. Howland,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.
- 211 “the road to fortune”: Bancroft, *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth*, Volume IV, p. 214.
- 211 “filled his sacks”: *Ibid.*, p. 216.
- 211 “knew the exact”: Goodwin, *As I Remember Them*, p. 178.
- 211 *moved his family to Virginia City*: Several sources claim Fair started on the Comstock Lode in 1860. However, *The Mercantile Guide and Directory for Virginia City, Gold Hill, Silver City, and American City for 1864–5* lists no resident named Fair. “Nevada. The Fair Divorce Case,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, May 14, 1883, says the Fairs moved to Virginia City in 1866. Precedence is given to testimony delivered under oath.
- 211 *Fair shifted his shingle*: “Nevada State Items,” *Daily Alta California*, November 2, 1866, mentions a new man appointed as Ophir superintendent. For James Fair’s background, see “His Business Grasp,” *San Francisco Call*, December 29, 1894; “Death of Fair,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 29, 1884; “Ex-Senator Fair is Dead,” *New York Times*, December 30, 1894; De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*,

- pp. 403–5; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 302–5; Bancroft, *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth*, Volume IV, pp. 209–36; Lewis, *Silver Kings*, pp. 115–31; Makley, *John Mackay*, pp. 31–33.
- 212 “conversational powers”: *San Francisco Bulletin*, March 6, 1876.
- 212 *Snows hit the lode*: “Nevada State Items,” *Daily Alta California*, December 6, 1866, citing *Gold Hill News*.
- 212 “coasting”: “Nevada State Items,” *Daily Alta California*, December 7, 1866.
- 213 *Kentuck’s monthly returns*: “Weekly Stock Circular,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 12, 1867.
- 213 *For the month of August*: “Weekly Stock Circular,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, May 19, 1867.
- 213 “After diligent inquiry”: “Weekly Stock Circular,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, May 19, 1866.
- 213 *a trip to the East*: “Supt. Walker of the Bullion mine has returned from a trip east,” *Gold Hill News*, September 10, 1866, article transcribed in Grant Smith, “Kentuck,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17.
- 214 “When Walker had”: Grant Smith, “Kentuck,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17, citing an interview with James E. Walsh.
- 214 *disgorged bullion worth*: “Weekly Stock Circular,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 30, 1867, citing the report of the Kentuck secretary.
- 214 *Kentuck’s late-October election*: “By Telegraph to the Union,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 28, 1867; “Weekly Stock Circular,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 30, 1867.
- 214 *about a thousand feet downhill*: “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 2, 1867.
- 218 “beautiful and efficient”: Hague, *United States Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel, Volume III, Mining Industry*, p. 140; description of the Fair Shaft: pp. 97–147.
- 219 *down 75 feet*: “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 16, 1867.
- 219 *at 430 feet*: “Weekly Stock Circular,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 15, 1867.
- 219 *The mine’s stock price fell*: “Weekly Stock Circular,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 12, 1867.
- 219 *he bequeathed a gallon*: Annie M. Butler, “Mission in the Mountains: The Daughters of Charity in Virginia City,” in James and Raymond, eds., *Comstock Women*, p. 160, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, February 12, 1867.
- 220 “more generally regretted”: “Nevada State Items,” *Daily Alta California*, June 12, 1867.
- 220 *the rest of McCullough’s life*: “Mackay’s Lonely Life and Diversions,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 8.
- 220 “I am a”: Grant Smith, “Marriage,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 4, Folder 1, citing an interview with Mrs. Robert Howland (Louise Meyer, Marie Louis Hungerford’s childhood friend).
- 220 “superabundance of sparkling”: “Mackay-Bryant,” *Gold Hill News*, November 27, 1867, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/II/2.
- 221 “an old acquaintance”: *Daily Trespass*, quoted in “Mackay’s Lonely Life,” p. 41, Grant Smith Collection, UCB.
- 221 “It is seldom”: *Territorial Enterprise*, November 27, 1867, quoted in Makley, *John Mackay*, pp. 37.

- 221 *for \$5,000*: Storey County Recorder to Grant Smith, September 15, 1930, Grant Smith Collection, Box 1, Folder 17.

### Chapter 10: The Irish Coup

- 225 *five hundred tons of rock*: "A School of Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 17, 1868, reprinting from *New York World*, December 4, 1867, and citing J. Ross Browne, commissioner of mining statistics (and an excellent journalist).
- 225 *"a deficit of at least"*: "Weekly Stock Circular of Associated Brokers of the S. F. Stock and Exchange Board," *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 7, 1867.
- 226 *"I've mixed waste"*: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 93, citing Miriam Michelson's *The Wonderlode of Silver and Gold* (Boston: Stratford Company Publishers, 1934), p. 190.
- 226 *5:00 p.m.*: Oscar Shuck, *History of the Bench and Bar of California*, p. 489.
- 227 *Nor did any record*: "Virginia Gossip. How the Stockholders of the Mines Are Robbed," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 11, 1870.
- 228 *"made all of"*: Marye, Jr., *From '49 to '83 in California and Nevada*, 93.
- 228 *Hale & Norcross shares opened*: "By Telegraph to the Union," *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 1, 1868, giving the closing price for December 31, 1867.
- 229 *"How much of"*: "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, January 14, 1868, reprinting from *Territorial Enterprise*, January 10, 1868.
- 229 *"stock dabblers"*: "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, January 15, 1868, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*, January 11 and January 12, 1868.
- 229 *"blown up in"*: "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, January 14, 1868.
- 229 *"Everything was shrouded"*: "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, January 14, 1868, reprinting from *Territorial Enterprise*, January 10, 1868.
- 229 *"jolly good time"*: "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, January 15, 1868, reprinting from *Territorial Enterprise*, January 11 and January 12, 1868. Another source for the Hale & Norcross's supposed strike: "Weekly Stock Circular," *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 18, 1868.
- 230 *"within twenty feet"*: "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, January 15, 1868, reprinting from *Territorial Enterprise*, January 11 and January 12, 1868.
- 230 *draining the winzes*: "Weekly Stock Circular," *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 18, 1868; "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, January 23, 1868.
- 230 *"very fine ore"*: "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, January 23, 1868, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, January 17, 1868.
- 230 *another \$325*: *Daily Alta California*, January 21, 1868.
- 230 *"lots of boys"*: "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, January 15, 1868, reprinting from *Gold Hill News*, January 7, 1868.
- 230 *Tense crowds thronged*: "Weekly Stock Circular," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 29, 1868.
- 230 *Hale & Norcross sold for \$5,600*: "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, February 12, 1868.
- 231 *"apple of discord"*: "Weekly Stock Circular," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 15, 1868.
- 231 *two went for \$7,100*: "Stock Market," *Daily Alta California*, February 14, 1868.
- 231 *"There must be"*: "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, February 12, 1868.

- 231 "stray shares": "Weekly Stock Circular," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 15, 1868.
- 231 rumors claimed that: "By Telegraph to the Union," *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 13, 1868.
- 231 "a prominent banker": Joseph King, *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board*, p. 40; see also "Somebody Won," *Daily Alta California*, March 3, 1868.
- 231 Hale & Norcross election: "Office Hale & Norcross," *Daily Alta California*, February 26, 1868.
- 231 Bank Ring associates: "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, March 10, 1868; "Our San Francisco Dispatch," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, March 13, 1868; "Weekly Stock Circular," *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 14, 1868.
- 231 \$2,900: "Stock Market," *Daily Alta California*, March 13, 1868.
- 232 decided to sink the Fair Shaft: "Weekly Stock Circular," *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 14, 1868.
- 232 the new trustees restructured: The Hale & Norcross reorganization restructured the mine's capital stock from \$1,200,000 divided into eight hundred shares nominally valued at \$1,500 each to \$1,600,000 divided into eight thousand shares with a nominal value of \$200 each: "Stockholders' Notice," *Daily Alta California*, March 24, 1868; "By Telegraph to the Union," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 1, 1868.
- 232 had been footed about for years: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 250; Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 279.
- 232 "Virginia & Truckee Railroad": Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 280.
- 233 "spirited": "Reno," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 14, 1868.
- 233 \$30,000: "At the Sale of Reno," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 15, 1868.
- 233 "Hurrah for the": "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, May 8, 1868, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*, May 5, 1868.
- 233 The fastest runs employed: C. B. Glasscock, *The Big Bonanza: The Story of the Comstock Lode* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1931), pp. 195–97, citing *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 233 fifty-three and a half minutes: "Virginia City, May 8, 1869," *Daily Alta California*, May 9, 1869.
- 234 bypassed them entirely: "The Virginia and Truckee Railroad," *Daily Alta California*, May 20, 1867; "Utah and Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, May 22, 1867.
- 234 "Do it, and": "Letter from over the Mountain, February 22, 1868," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, March 1, 1868.
- 234 \$700,000: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 123, although James, *The Roar and the Silence*, p. 80, and endnote 17, p. 290, points out that the amount of the mines' contribution varies in different sources.
- 234 Yellow Jacket stockholders paid: Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, p. 47.
- 234 "Can you run": Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 251, citing an interview with I. E. James.
- 234 "the indefatigable": "Letter from Washington, March 14, 1869," *Daily Alta California*, April 18, 1869.
- 234 "a strong box": President Grant's Inaugural Address, March 14, 1869, text online at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25820>, accessed August 1, 2017.
- 235 "a favorable lead": "Letter from Washington, March 14, 1869," *Daily Alta California*, April 18, 1869.
- 235 improvements revolutionized capabilities: Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 594; sum-

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- 235 “a buoyant heart”: “Letter from Montana, February 28, 1868,” *Daily Alta California*, March 23, 1868, also citing Comstock's letter to *Missouri Republican*, December 10, 1867.
- 235 “scalping knife of”: Ibid.
- 235 “principal surface diggings”: “Dacotah,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 2, 1869, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*, December 27, 1868.
- 235 “Comstock, of Washoe”: “Matters in Dakota,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 9, 1868, quoting *Cheyenne Leader*, June 25, 1868.
- 236 “not more than”: “Dacotah,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 5, 1868, quoting *Idaho World*.
- 236 *deepest shaft in Nevada*: *Gold Hill News*, March 8, 1868.
- 236 *Using dynamite quickly became*: “Industrial Condition of the State,” *Daily Alta California*, May 3, 1869.
- 236 “dry as a”: “Heat and Moisture in the Deep Nevada Mines,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 12, 1868.
- 236 *found no ore*: “Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, May 17, 1868, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, May 15, 1868.
- 236 *sank an incline*: “Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, December 11, 1868; “Weekly Stock Circular,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 12, 1868.
- 237 *After their discovery*: Merle W. Wells, *Gold Camps & Silver Cities*, pp. 11, 45.
- 237 *Boyd Silver Mining Company*: “Law Intelligence,” *Daily Alta California*, May 27, 1868; “Filed,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 28, 1868.
- 237 *George Hearst and William Lent*: “Idaho,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 4, 1868, citing *Owyhee Avalanche*, December 14, 1867.
- 237 *Among the other delinquents*: “Rising Star Silver Mining Company,” *Daily Alta California*, October 24, 1868.
- 237 *to superintend the mine*: James, *The Roar and the Silence*, p. 103, citing *Territorial Enterprise*; Makley, *John Mackay*, p. 32.
- 237 *emerged as one of the trustees*: “New Incorporations,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 14, 1868.
- 238 “hard working class”: “Death of Flood,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 22, 1889.
- 238 *story of the generous stranger*: “Death of W. S. O'Brien,” *Daily Alta California*, May 3, 1878; “W. S. O'Brien,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 3, 1878, called the ship the *Tarolinta*, or *Farolinta*, the printing is unclear.
- 238 *In one set of stories*: “Death of Flood,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 22, 1889, says he mined on the Yuba River; “Death of W. S. O'Brien,” *Daily Alta California*, May 3, 1878, says O'Brien, Walker, and Flood mined together on the Feather River.
- 238 *Saloon on a corner of*: “City Statistics,” *Daily Alta California*, January 26, 1862.
- 239 “shrewd and thrifty”: “W. S. O'Brien,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 3, 1878.
- 239 *opened an office devoted*: *San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing October 1868*, p. 218.

- 239 *courage to make the change*: The San Francisco City Directory of September 1867 lists Flood and O'Brien at the Auction Lunch; the San Francisco City Directory of October 1868 lists them at the nearby office.
- 240 *"beautiful ruby silver"*: "Idaho," *Mining & Scientific Press*, July 18, 1868, and February 6, 1869.
- 240 *Kustel had recently taken*: "Improved Method of Working Roasted Gold and Silver Ores in Pans and Barrels by Amalgamation," *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 2, 1869; Guido Kustel, *Roasting of Gold and Silver Ores and the Extraction of Their Respective Metals Without Quicksilver* (San Francisco: Dewey & Company, 1870).
- 241 *"so injurious that"*: "Overcoming Difficulties in Amalgamation," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 20, 1869. Other Rising Star sources: "Idaho," *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 10, November 28, and December 28, 1868, and January 16, January 23, and January 30, 1869; Merle Wells, *Gold Camps & Silver Cities: Nineteenth Century Mining in Central and Southern Idaho*, p. 45; Richard Lingenfelter, *Bonanzas & Borrascas: Gold Lust and Silver Sharks, 1848-1884* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), p. 131.
- 241 *February 1869*: Merle W Wells, "Flint," *Idaho State Historical Reference Series*, Number 872, 1972, <https://history.idaho.gov/sites/default/files/uploads/reference-series/0872.pdf>, accessed February 16, 2017. For knowledge of Idaho mining and its history, the author is indebted to 2016 conversations with Ray Brooks while rock climbing at City of Rocks, Idaho, and to email exchanges in February and July 2017.
- 241 *cost him \$300,000*: Goodwin, *As I Remember Them*, p. 161.
- 241 *high hopes for nine-hundred-foot-level explorations*: "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, March 30, 1868.
- 241 *The first shares*: "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, May 11, 1868.
- 241 *value by 40 percent*: "Mining Stocks," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 19, 1868; "Weekly Stock Circular," *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 27, 1868.
- 241 *trustees levy an assessment*: "Weekly Stock Circular," *Mining & Scientific Press*, July 25, 1868.
- 241 *"shorts" and "holders"*: "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, August 1, 1868.
- 241 *"considerable quartz"*: "Weekly Stock Circular," *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 19, 1868. Strikes reported in the lowest levels of the Hale & Norcross: "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, August 2, 1868, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, August 1, 1868; "Brief Items," *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 5, 1868.
- 241 *Hale & Norcross bullion receipts*: "Weekly Stock Circular," *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 17, 1868.
- 241 *"Latterly, all information"*: "Weekly Stock Circular," *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 19, 1868.
- 242 *dropped 45 percent*: "Weekly Stock Circular," *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 28, 1868.
- 242 *"still shut up"*: "Holiday in the Bowels of the Earth," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, citing *Territorial Enterprise*; "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, December 31, 1868, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, December 29, 1868.
- 242 *"camping underground"*: "Still Camping Underground," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, January 3, 1869, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, December 31, 1868.
- 242 *"a strange sight"*: "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, December 31, 1868, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*, December 29, 1868.

- 242 “a farce”: “The Hale & Norcross Miners,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 16, 1869.
- 243 *to finance the final quarter*: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 117, citing an interview with James E. Walsh.
- 243 *Large volumes of Hale & Norcross*: “Weekly Stock Circular,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 3, 1869.
- 243 *Thursday, January 7*: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, January 8, 1869. (The mine had 8,000 shares; 4,001 were needed to control the election.)
- 244 *on the 1,030-foot level*: “Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, February 13, 1869, citing *Gold Hill News*, February 11, 1869.
- 244 “The approaching election”: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, February 8, 1869.
- 244 *several bodies of good ore*: “Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, February 20, 1869, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, February 17, 1869.
- 244 “J. G. Fair and Wm. Mackay”: “Pacific Coast Dispatches,” *Daily Alta California*, February 21, 1869. The news also appeared in *Daily Morning Chronicle* on that date.
- 244 “The mine is”: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, March 2, 1869, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 244 “high grade ore”: “Advices from Virginia,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 6, 1869; “Matters in Virginia, Nevada,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 8, 1869.
- 244 *reregistered their ownership*: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 117–18, citing an interview with James E. Walsh.
- 245 *rescinded the mine’s most recent*: “Mining Notices,” *Daily Alta California*, March 13, 1869.
- 245 *the old hoisting works back in operation*: “State Line Dispatches,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, March 20, 1869.
- 245 “wary tiger”: Grant Smith, “The Hale & Norcross Venture,” UCB, Box 1, Folder 16, 322, citing interviews with Sharon’s nephew, William E. Sharon and Richard V. Dey, Mackay’s longtime confidential secretary; “Outline of Life of John Mackay,” Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/II/8 (probably written by Grant Smith). See also Goodwin, *As I Remember Them*, pp 161–62. A different version of the story is in Wells Drury, *An Editor on the Comstock* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984), pp. 117–18.

## Chapter 11: The Lode’s Worst Day

- 248 “the most dreadful”: Edward Jenner, *On the Origin of the Vaccine Inoculation* (London: D. N. Shury, Berwick Street, Soho, 1801), p. 8.
- 248 “considerable excitement”: “San Francisco News,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 29, 1867.
- 248 *to other parts of the state*: “A Malignant,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, January 17, 1867; “Our San Francisco Dispatch,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, March 22, 1867; “San Francisco News,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 29, 1867; “Small Pox,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 2, 1867; “Smallpox,” *Marin Journal*, April 6, 1867, “Pacific Coast News Summary,” *Sonoma Democrat*, April 13, 1867, citing *The Examiner*; “Nevada State News,” *Daily Alta California*, June 7, 1867; “Small Pox,” *Mariposa Gazette*, October 12, 1867. (The last two articles mention it east of the Sierras, but don’t seem credible considering the dearth of other mentions.)
- 248 *along the stations of the*: “Small-Pox on the Railroad,” *Daily Alta California*, January

- 13, 1869. For the smallpox in Reno, see "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, December 17, 1868, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, December 15, 1868.
- 248 *east side of A Street*: *Weekly Alta California*, October 10, 1868, reprinting from *Territorial Enterprise*, October 1, 1868.
- 248 *about eighty cases*: "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, December 18, 1868, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, December 16, 1868.
- 248 *She'd lost a younger brother*: Daniel D. Hungerford died February 17, 1851: "Daniel D. Hungerford," Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/V/12, "Douglas, Elaine."
- 248 *"with almost as great rapidity"*: "New Sensations in San Francisco," *Daily Alta California*, February 8, 1869; "Advices from Virginia, Nevada," *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 22, 1869.
- 249 *Seven adepts racing*: "From Virginia, Nevada," *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 22, 1869.
- 249 *"rapid and easy"*: "Velocipedes," *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 19, 1868.
- 249 *lessons at the Athletic Hall*: "Advices from Virginia, Nevada," *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 22, 1869.
- 249 *referring to them as bicycles*: The first use of the word "bicycle" in *Daily Alta California* appears to be in late January 1869; *The Mining & Scientific Press* seems to have first used it on March 6, 1869.
- 249 *Their prime focus*: "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, January 19, 1869.
- 249 *refurbished the Hale & Norcross's*: "Weekly Stock Circular" and "Washoe," *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 2, 1869.
- 250 *"new and unheard-of"*: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 145.
- 250 *"Hundreds upon hundreds"*: Ibid., p. 146.
- 250 *"in every way"*: Ibid., p. 145.
- 250 *one death per week*: "Nevada Items," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 23, 1875, which includes the cited statistic in plain language.
- 250 *leg and collarbone*: "Casualty," *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 25, 1863.
- 250 *nitric acid*: "A Slight Mistake," *Daily Alta California*, January 12, 1862.
- 250 *ran over a child*: "Accidents in Washoe," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 10, 1862.
- 250 *collapsing pile of shoring*: "Serious Accident," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 17, 1862, citing *Silver Age*, June 14, 1862.
- 250 *stagecoach driver*: "Fatal Stage Accident," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, December 9, 1862.
- 250 *drove of hogs*: "Accidents in Nevada Territory," *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 20, 1863.
- 250 *A sill timber being lowered*: "Mining Accident," *Daily Alta California*, August 19, 1863.
- 250 *"at the run"*: "A Frightful Fall—Saved by Water," *Red Bluff Beacon*, October 14, 1863.
- 250 *eight-year-old boy*: "A Boy," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 18, 1864.
- 250 *Freddie Cowles*: "Horrible Death," *Marin Journal*, May 21, 1864.
- 250 *The brake of a loaded*: "Virginia City," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, December 18, 1863, citing *San Francisco Bulletin*.
- 251 *impaled on a collection of picks*: "Mining Accident," *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 11, 1864.
- 251 *mill worker trying to dislodge*: "Accidents in Nevada Territory," *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 5, 1863.



- 251 *severely scalded the back*: “Accidents in Nevada Territory,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 20, 1863.
- 251 *“insensible”*: “Casualties at Virginia,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 1, 1864, citing *Virginia Daily Union*, January 29, 1864.
- 251 *In the Chollar-Potosi*: “Virginia City Items,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 1, 1868, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*, April 29, 1868.
- 251 *Kennedy . . . A boy named Miles*: “Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, January 14, 1868, reprinting from *Territorial Enterprise*, January 10, 1868.
- 251 *John Russell and a gang*: “Matters in Virginia,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 30, 1868; “Virginia City (Nev.),” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 1, 1868.
- 251 *Chauncy Griswold*: *Weekly Alta California*, October 10, 1868, reprinting from *Territorial Enterprise*, October 1, 1868; “Virginia (Nev.),” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 2, 1868, reprinting from *Territorial Enterprise*, October 1, 1868.
- 252 *eight-year-old boy drowned*: “Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, December 17, 1868, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, December 15, 1868.
- 252 *negligent engineer*: “Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, February 8, 1869, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, February 5, 1869.
- 252 *Michael McGuire*: “Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, January 19, 1869, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, January 16, 1869.
- 252 *Patrick Price*: “Terrible Accident,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 8, 1867, citing *Daily Trespass*; “Virginia City Items, May 12, 1869,” *Daily Alta California*, May 13, 1869; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 219–20, citing *Gold Hill News*, October 7, 1867, and May 31, 1869.
- 254 *John Percival Jones*: “Over the Mountains,” *Daily Alta California*, November 12, 1868.
- 256 *“Murphy . . . Send me”*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 270, citing the testimony of John Murphy at the coroner’s inquest and *Gold Hill News*, April 26, 1869.
- 259 *“the poor women”*: “The Enterprise Account,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 10, 1869, extracting from *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 259 *“We are fast”*: “Terrible Accident and Loss of Life,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 8, 1869.
- 260 *“no blaze of”*: “The Burning Mines,” *Territorial Enterprise*, April 27, 1869.
- 260 *“It was such”*: “The Enterprise Account,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 10, 1869, extracting from *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 262 *“peculiar and sickening”*: “Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, April 14, 1869, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, April 10, 1869.
- 262 *“hot and charged”*: “The Fire in the Comstock Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, April 10, 1869.
- 263 *“loud and uncontrollable”*: “The Comstock Mine Fire,” *Daily Alta California*, April 14, 1869, citing *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 13, 1869.
- 264 *The bodies of three men*: “The Sharon and Jones Difficulty,” *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 16, 1872, transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 264 *most of whom would have died*: Fire sources: “Great Disaster at Gold Hill,” *Daily Alta California*, April 8, 1869, citing *Gold Hill News*, April 7, 1869; “News of the Morning” and “Terrible Accident and Loss of Life!” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 8, 1869; “The Comstock Mine Fire,” *Daily Alta California*, April 9, 1869; “The Gold Hill Disaster,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 9, 1869; “The Fire in the Comstock Mines,” “The ‘Enterprise’ Account,” “Second Dispatch,” and “SAD,” *Daily Alta Cali-*

- fornia, April 10, 1869; "The Calamity on Gold Hill," *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 10, 1869; "Pacific Coast Dispatches," *Daily Alta California*, April 12, 1869; "From Virginia, Nevada," *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 12, 1869; "Last Night's Dispatches" and "The Comstock Mine Fire," *Daily Alta California*, April 13, 1869; "A Fault Somewhere" and "From Virginia, Nevada—The Gold Hill Mines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 13, 1869; "The Comstock Mine Fire" and "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, April 14, 1869; "Nevada," *Daily Alta California*, April 18, 1869, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, April 16, 1869; "Washoe," *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 17, 1869; "Pacific Coast Dispatches," *Daily Alta California*, April 20, 1869; "From Virginia, Nevada," *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 20, 1869; "Pacific Coast Dispatches," *Daily Alta California*, April 21, 1869; "From Virginia, Nevada," *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 21, 1869; "From Virginia, Nevada," *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 22, 1869; "Gold Hill Mines Still Burning," *Territorial Enterprise*, April 24, 1869; "Pacific Coast Dispatches," *Daily Alta California*, April 24, 1869; "The Fires Not Yet Extinguished," *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 24, 1869; "Pacific Coast Dispatches," *Daily Alta California*, April 25, 1869; "The Burning Mines," *Territorial Enterprise*, April 27, 1869; "Pacific Coast Dispatches," *Daily Alta California*, April 28, 1869; "From Virginia, Nevada," *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 28, 1869; "Pacific Coast Dispatches," *Daily Alta California*, May 1, 1869; "From Virginia, Nevada," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 3, 1869; "Pacific Coast Dispatches," *Daily Alta California*, May 4, 1869; "Pacific Coast Dispatches," *Daily Alta California*, May 5, 1869; "The Disabled Mines" and "Still Burning," *Mining & Scientific Press*, May 29, 1869; "Beginning to Understand," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 13, 1872, transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6; James D. Hague and Clarence King, *Report of the Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel, Volume III, Mining Industry*, pp. 184–86, citing John Percival Jones's report; De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, pp. 126–31; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 269–77.
- 265 "saved their powder": "Virginia City, May 8, 1869," *Daily Alta California*, May 9, 1869.
- 265 "The last rail is laid": "The Great Event Consummated," *Daily Alta California*, May 11, 1869.
- 265 released everything capable: "Virginia City Gossip, May 10, 1869," *Marin Journal*, May 15, 1869; "Virginia City News, May 10, 1869," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 11, 1869.
- 265 "the greatest industrial": "By the Vallejo Route," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 12, 1869, quoting *San Francisco Bulletin*, May 11, 1869.
- 265 "the great National": "Virginia City News, May 10, 1869," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 11, 1869.
- 265 \$50,000: "Virginia News, August 26, 1869," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, August 27, 1869; "Press Dispatches," *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 27, 1869.
- 266 at Piper's Opera House: "From Virginia, Nevada, September 23, 1869," *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 24, 1869; *Report of the Commissioners and Evidence Taken by the Committee on Mines and Mining of the House of Representatives of the United States in Regard to the Sutro Tunnel, Together with the Arguments and Report of the Committee Recommending a Load by the Government in Aid of the Construction of Said Work*, pp. 48–66. Other sources: Shinn, *The Story of the Mine*, pp. 200–202; Stewart and Stewart, *Adolph Sutro*, pp. 76–80; James, *The Roar and the Silence*, pp. 88–89.

- 266 *bridge over Crown Point Ravine*: “Completed,” *Territorial Enterprise*, September 30, 1869; “Railroad Bridge Completed,” *Gold Hill Daily News*, September 30, 1869; texts online at <http://www.virginiaandtruckee.com>, accessed August 7, 2017.
- 266 *hefted a pick*: “Pacific Coast Dispatches,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 20, 1869; Stewart and Stewart, *Adolph Sutro*, pp. 81–84.
- 266 *“that famous tunnel”*: “Mr. Sharon’s Speech,” *Gold Hill Daily News*, October 7, 1869. (Sharon made the quip in reference to the start of grading the tunnel approach.)
- 266 *“shrill screech”*: “Virginia and Truckee Railroad,” *Territorial Enterprise*, November 13, 1869, text online at <http://www.virginiaandtruckee.com>, accessed August 7, 2017.
- 267 *“champagne and other”*: “Great Railroad Jubilee,” *Gold Hill Daily News*, November 13, 1869, text online at <http://www.virginiaandtruckee.com>, accessed August 7, 2017.
- 267 *unprofitable low-grade rock . . . delivered nearly four hundred tons*: “The First Ore Shipment,” *Gold Hill Daily News*, November 19, 1869. “Ore by the Railroad,” *Gold Hill Daily News*, November 18, 1869, citing *Carson Appeal*, November 18, 1869; texts online at <http://www.virginiaandtruckee.com>, accessed August 7, 2017.
- 267 *Transportation costs for other*: “San Francisco Mining Stock Market,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 1, 1870; “The Railroad and the Mines,” *Gold Hill Daily News*, January 8, 1870, text online at <http://www.virginiaandtruckee.com>, accessed August 15, 2017; “Coal or Wood,” *Territorial Enterprise*, March 23, 1870, transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6; “The Comstock Lode and High Wages,” *Daily Alta California*, July 8, 1870; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 254–55.
- 267 *lowest annual total since 1862*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 416. (Sources dispute the exact figures; not the overall trend.)
- 267 *would pay the cost of extraction*: “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 23, 1869; Becker, *Geology of the Comstock Lode and the Washoe District*, p. 17.
- 268 *“most excellent” ore*: “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 27, 1869.
- 268 *“black sulphurets and”*: “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 11, 1869.
- 268 *the most important development*: “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 27, 1869.

## Chapter 12: Jones’s Sick Child

- 269 *“fierce tooting”*: “Through to Virginia,” *Gold Hill Daily News*, January 29, 1870, text online at <http://www.virginiaandtruckee.com>, accessed August 15, 2017.
- 270 *“hi-yah mule”*: “The Cars,” *Territorial Enterprise*, January 30, 1870, text online at <http://www.virginiaandtruckee.com>, accessed August 15, 2017.
- 270 *“built that road”*: Oscar T. Shuck, *History of the Bar and Bench of California*, p. 486.
- 270 *published notices warning*: “A Fair Warning,” *Gold Hill Daily News*, December 7, 1869, article online at <http://www.virginiaandtruckee.com>, accessed August 15, 2017.
- 270 *seven-year-old boy*: “Terrible Railroad Accident,” *Gold Hill Daily News*, January 8, 1870; “A Sad Railroad Accident,” *Territorial Enterprise*, January 9, 1870; text of both articles online at <http://www.virginiaandtruckee.com>, accessed August 15, 2017.
- 271 *railroad brought hard times*: “Hard Times,” *Daily Alta California*, January 20, 1870.
- 271 *and drowned himself*: “Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, January 22, 1870.
- 271 *“great cost”*: “Hardly Satisfactory,” *Territorial Enterprise*, March 26, 1870, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.

- 271 "colored citizens": "The Colored Citizens Celebration," *Territorial Enterprise*, April 8, 1870, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 272 *checked into the Grand Hotel*: "J. Mackay, Virginia" checked in, almost certainly our man, as recorded in "Arrivals," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 10, 1870. His wife and stepdaughter weren't mentioned, a common omission in nineteenth-century newspapers. Considering that Marie Louise gave birth in the Grand Hotel two months later, both of her parents still lived in San Francisco, and her well-known dislike of Virginia City, it seems probable she accompanied her husband and spent the rest of her pregnancy in San Francisco.
- 272 "the wealthier of": "The Big Hotels of San Francisco," *Marin Journal*, August 6, 1870. For the description of the Grand Hotel, see "The Grand Hotel," *Mining & Scientific Press*, May 21, 1870.
- 272 \$164,000 in dividends: Raymond, *Statistics of Mines and Mining West of the Rocky Mountains*, 1871, p. 103.
- 272 *Birth announcements*: "Born," *Daily Alta California*, August 13, 1870; "Born," *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 15, 1870.
- 273 *Yellow Jacket discharged*: "Brief Items," *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 8, 1870.
- 273 "not very encouraging": "The Comstock Lode and High Wages," *Daily Alta California*, July 8, 1870.
- 273 *Big Horn Expedition*: Executive Committee Big Horn and Black Hills Mining and Exploring Association to General Augur, undated, *Index to the Senate Executive Documents for the Second Session of the Forty-First Congress of the United States of America, 1869-1870, in Three Volumes*, Ex. Doc. No. 89, pp. 9-11; see also "Wyoming," *Mining & Scientific Press*, July 9, 1870, citing *Cheyenne Advocate*, June 23, 1870.
- 273 *who hadn't backtracked*: "Colorado," *Daily Alta California*, March 16, 1870; "Latest Eastern News," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, April 10, 1870; "The Big Horn Mining and Exploring Expedition," *New York Times*, April 16, 1870; "Brief Items," *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 18, 1870; "Last Night's Dispatches," *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 19, 1870; "From Cheyenne," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 7, 1870; "The Indian Problem," *Daily Alta California*, May 11, 1870; "From Cheyenne," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 11, 1870; "Omaha," *New York Times*, May 12, 1870; "Editorial Notes," *Daily Alta California*, May 14, 1870; "From Corinne," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 14, 1870; "President Grant" and "The Indians," *New York Times*, May 24, 1870; "Corinne," *Daily Alta California*, May 26, 1870; "The Big Horn Expedition," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, May 26, 1870; "Editorial Notes," *Daily Alta California*, May 28, 1870; "The Big Horn Expedition," *Daily Alta California*, June 2, 1870; "Eastern Telegraphic News," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 9, 1870; "Miscellaneous," *Daily Alta California*, June 16, 1870; "Montana," *Daily Alta California*, June 22, 1870; "The Indians," *New York Times*, July 10, 1870; "The Big Horn Expedition," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, July 27, 1870; "The Indians," *New York Times*, July 27, 1870; "From Cheyenne," *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 27, 1870; "The Indians," *New York Times*, July 28, 1870; "The Big Horn Expedition Heard From," *New York Times*, July 30, 1870; "The Big Horn Expedition," *Daily Alta California*, August 2, 1870; "The Big Horn Expedition," *New York Times*, August 19, 1870; "The Big Horn Expedition," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, September 15, 1870; Raymond L. Welty, "The Policing of the Frontier by the Army," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 3, August 1938, pp. 246-57; *Index to the Senate Executive Documents for the Second Session of the*

- Forty-First Congress of the United States of America, 1869–1870, in Three Volumes*, Ex. Doc No. 89, pp. 1–18.
- 274 *Henry Comstock clenched*: “Montana,” *Daily Alta California*, September 30, 1870; “News of the Morning,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 30, 1870; “A Noted Prospector Gone,” *Red Bluff Independent*, October 6, 1870; “Departed,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 8, 1870; “Haste Not to Be Rich,” *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, October 20, 1870.
- 274 *returns for the year ebbed*: Richard Lyle Garner, *The Comstock: Economic History of a Mining Bonanza, 1865–1885* (self-published), pp. 65–66.
- 274 *endangered the bank’s*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 279, citing an 1880 interview with William Sharon.
- 274 *“Virginia is dying”*: “Virginia City Declining,” *Red Bluff Sentinel*, September 3, 1870, citing *White Pine News*, August 27, 1870.
- 274 *“exhibits no change”*: “San Francisco Mining Stock Market,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 5, 1870.
- 274 *“drifting about in”*: “Local Mining Intelligence,” *Territorial Enterprise*, February 13, 1870, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 274 *At the morning session*: “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, November 12, 1870. (The lowest recorded price for a Crown Point sale the author could find.)
- 275 *more than \$1,000 per foot*: “San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board,” *Daily Alta California*, November 2, 1866. (No Crown Point shares changed hands during the November 2, 1866, sessions.)
- 275 *allow insiders to ditch*: “The Comstock Mines,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 21, 1873.
- 275 *The drift went 200 feet*: Mary Jane Simpson, “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 5 and 12, 1870.
- 275 *“well-defined clay seam”*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 282, citing an interview with John Percival Jones.
- 275 *“the discovery of”*: “Mary Jane Simpson, Virginia Gossip, December 1, 1870,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 3, 1870.
- 276 *price climbed to sixteen*: All stock quotations, “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, November 26 to December 4, 1870.
- 276 *“supposed” to be*: “Crown Point,” *Territorial Enterprise*, December 8, 1870, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 276 *Mary Jane Simpson explained*: Mary Jane Simpson, “Virginia Gossip: How the Stockholders of the Mines Are Robbed, December 8, 1870,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 11, 1870.
- 276 *“a handsome brunette”*: Mary Jane Simpson, “Virginia Gossip, December 29, 1870,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 1, 1871.
- 276 *“the very name”*: Mary Jane Simpson, “Virginia Gossip: How ‘the Ring’ Manages the Mines,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 26, 1870.
- 277 *“dangerously ill”*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 282, citing an interview with John Percival Jones.
- 277 *“out of the pockets”*: “A Corner in Stocks,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 19, 1871.
- 277 *rumors of \$400 rock*: The report was published the next day in *San Francisco Weekly Stock Circular*. Rossiter W. Raymond, *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States West of the Rocky Mountains*, 1872, p. 93.
- 278 *“The body of”*: “Is It a Corner?” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 15, 1871.

- 278 “sharp practice to”: Mary Jane Simpson, “Virginia Gossip,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 29, 1871.
- 278 “had bought stock”: Mary Jane Simpson, “Virginia Gossip,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 22, 1871.
- 278 *A crack had appeared*: Raymond, *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States West of the Rocky Mountains, 1872*, pp. 93–94; Raymond, *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States West of the Rocky Mountains, 1873*, p. 141; “The Comstock Mines,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 21, 1873; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 280–84; George Thomas Mayre, *From '49 to '83 in California and Nevada* (San Francisco: A.M. Robertson, 1923), pp. 123–26; Davis, *History of Nevada*, pp. 415–16; Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 126–31; Lingenfelter, *Bonanzas & Borrascas*, pp. 195–97; Tilton, *William Chapman Ralston*, pp. 220–24; Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, pp. 321–22.
- 279 *dodgy overnight exchange*: Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p. 285.
- 279 “spreading out in”: Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, p. 67, quoting C. C. Goodwin, *The Story of the Comstock Lode* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Job Printing Company, 1891), p. 20.
- 280 *Sharon owned nearly the entire*: Bancroft, *Chronicles of the Builders*, Vol. IV, pp. 60–61.

### Chapter 13: The Consolidated Virginia Mine

- 282 “When we say”: “The Fire—Two Lives Lost and \$75,000 in Property Destroyed,” *Territorial Enterprise*, February 2, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 282 *blessedly free from smallpox*: “The Health Of,” *Territorial Enterprise*, February 3, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 282 “grand blowout”: “A Grand Blowout,” *Territorial Enterprise*, February 3, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 282 *sleighting and “coasting”*: Mary Jane Simpson, “Virginia,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 5, 1871.
- 283 “perform feats that”: “The Skating Rinks,” *Territorial Enterprise*, February 3, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 283 “the most popular”: “The Rinks,” *Territorial Enterprise*, February 10, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 283 *splinted wrists and arm slings*: “Sprained Wrists,” *Territorial Enterprise*, February 2, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 283 “Skating is an”: “The Skating Rinks,” *Territorial Enterprise*, February 3, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 283 *deeper than any mine*: For the Hale & Norcross operations from January 1871 to April 1871, “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 21 and 28, February 11 and 25, March 4, 11, 18, and 25, and April 1 and 15, 1871.
- 283 *Taking Willie’s nurse, Alice O’Grady*: Mackay’s granddaughter Ellin Berlin’s historical novel *Silver Platter*, about her grandmother life, says that Louise’s mother and sister accompanied John, Louise, Eva, Willie, and their nurse on the European trip. Contemporary confirmation is difficult to locate. Mrs. Hungerford, Ada, and the nurse are not listed among the passengers who sailed with “Miss Mackay” and “Mr. Mackay wife and son” aboard the SS *City of Brooklyn* on April 8, 1871 (“Passengers

Sailed,” *New York Times*, April 9, 1871). Most compelling evidence that Ada and Mrs. Hungerford accompanied them is in an essay about John Mackay in *Sketches of Leading and Representative Men of San Francisco, Being Original Sketches from the Lives of the Prominent Politicians, Lawyers, Divines, Pioneers, Merchants, Orators, Etc., Etc., of San Francisco, 1875*, pp. 959–64 (based on an interview with Louise), which says that “Mrs. Mackay’s sister has just completed a brilliant education in Europe.” Colonel Hungerford likely stayed in San Francisco and Baja California in 1871–75. His biography says he traveled from Mexico to Belgium to meet them in 1874. (Colonel Hungerford donated a collection of Gulf of California marine life to the California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco on April 6, 1874 (“Academy of Sciences,” *Daily Alta California*, April 7, 1874), and he was elected to the Academy a month later (“San Francisco Academy of Sciences,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 6, 1874). Colonel Hungerford, his wife, and his daughter appeared on a list of “Californians in Paris” published in *Daily Alta California* on December 4, 1875. They were not on the list published on November 11. The author judges it likely that Mrs. Hungerford and Ada did not accompany the 1871 trip. Alice O’Grady definitely did accompany the trip, based on Grant Smith’s interviews with her son, Alexander O’Grady.

- 284 *aboard the steamship City of Brooklyn*: “Passengers Sailed,” *New York Times*, April 9, 1871.
- 285 *“a ramble of”*: “Personal,” *Territorial Enterprise*, October 4, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 285 *“in that section”*: “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 1, 1871.
- 285 *“absolutely immense”*: “The Belcher Mine,” *Territorial Enterprise*, October 21, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 285 *“a degree of”*: “The Belcher Mine—The Greatest Silver Mine in the World,” *Territorial Enterprise*, September 29, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 285 *Arthur Perkins*: “Murder in Cold Blood,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 7, 1871 (the murderer’s full name was Arthur Perkins Heffnan or Hefferner, but in Virginia City he was usually called Arthur Perkins).
- 286 *“epidemic of crime”*: “A Vigilance Committee,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 15, 1871.
- 286 *“Virginia wants weeding”*: Mary Jane Simpson, “Mary Jane Simpson,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 26, 1871.
- 286 *“Hung by Vigilance Committee”*: “Swift Retribution,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 26, 1871; “Vigilance Committee in Virginia City,” *Daily Alta California*, March 27, 1871; “Letter from Virginia City, March 25, 1871,” *Daily Alta California*, March 27, 1871, reprinted from “The Correspondence of *The Union*”; “More of the Virginia Vigilance Committee,” *Daily Alta California*, March 29, 1871. Some sources say he was hanged in the old Ophir works. The most immediate say the old works of the Mexican.
- 286 *found Kirk’s body dangling*: “Have We a Vigilance Committee—A Popular Mistake,” *Territorial Enterprise*, June 2, 1871; “The Vigilance Committee Again—Another Man Doubtless Hung,” *Territorial Enterprise*, July 14, 1871; “The Hanging of George B. Kirk,” *Territorial Enterprise*, July 15, 1871; “Lynch Law,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 15, 1871; “Coronor’s Inquest,” *Territorial Enterprise*, July 18, 1871; “Another Charge” and “Grand Jury and Charge of Judge Rising,” *Territorial Enterprise*, Au-

- gust 8, 1871; "Report of the Grand Jury for the June Term," *Territorial Enterprise*, September 28, 1871; "The Police and Grand Jury—A Counter Charge," *Territorial Enterprise*, September 28, 1871; text of all *Enterprise* articles transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 287 "bit" on the joke: "Rumors about the Belcher," *Territorial Enterprise*, October 10, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 287 *Pushing a 1,200-pound carload*: "A Mule 1,000 Feet Underground," *Daily Alta California*, October 1, 1871, citing *Gold Hill News*, September 29, 1871.
- 288 "a bed-tick stuffed": "A Pair of Mules Living and Working 1,100 Feet Underground," *Territorial Enterprise*, October 6, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6; "Washoe," *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 14, 1871.
- 288 *There had been "horses"*: "Rumors about the Belcher," *Territorial Enterprise*, October 10, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 288 "many long powwows": "A Pair of Mules Living and Working 1,100 Feet Underground," *Territorial Enterprise*, October 6, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6; also, "Mules 1,000 Feet Underground," *Pacific Rural Press*, October 14, 1871.
- 288 *to exceed \$400,000*: "Washoe," *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 18, 1871.
- 288 "singularly rich in": "A Vast Deposit of Ore," *Territorial Enterprise*, October 7, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 289 *5,853 tons of ore*: "The Belcher Mine," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 10, 1872, citing the Belcher secretary's annual report for 1871.
- 289 *Smith sent a third mule*: "Three of Them," *Territorial Enterprise*, January 19, 1872, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 289 *A series of underground floods*: Underground floods in the Hale & Norcross mentioned often in *Mining & Scientific Press* in the summer of 1871; *baser and less*: Smith, *The History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 119, 145.
- 289 *last dividend*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 306.
- 289 *six hours of running water per day*: Mary Jane Simpson, "Virginia Gossip, January 19, 1871," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 22, 1871.
- 289 *driest since 1850*: Only 6.094 inches of rain fell in Sacramento. "Rain Table for Sacramento," *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 6, 1872.
- 290 *Water shortages idled many*: "Our Mining Prospects," *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 13, 1872; "Mining Review for 1871," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 3, 1872.
- 290 *three hours a day*: Mary Jane Simpson, "Virginia Gossip, January 19, 1871," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 22, 1871.
- 290 "Anything can be": Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 323, citing an interview with J. B. Overton, superintendent of the Virginia City and Gold Hill Water Company.
- 290 *that supplied San Francisco*: "Hydraulic Engineering on the Pacific Coast," *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 13, 1873; Dan de Quille (William Wright), *A History of the Comstock Silver Lode & Mines*, pp. 63–68; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 322–25.
- 291 *He and his partners turned*: For Con. Virginia early history, see Raymond, *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains, 1870*, p. 90; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 446–49, 306–9; Smith, *The History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 145–47 (all of which contain errors).



- 291 “Why is it”: “Mines of Nevada, January 4, 1867,” *Daily Alta California*, January 12, 1867.
- 291 “dog in the”: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 307.
- 292 “The Consolidated Virginia”: “Consolidated Mining Company,” *Daily Alta California*, June 9, 1867. It isn’t easy to figure out the exact details of the original consolidation. Smith, *The History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 146, claims the Con. Virginia incorporated with 1,010 feet and 1,160 shares formed from the Sides, the White & Murphy, and the California mines. Confoundingly, historian Eliot Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 308–9, says the original Con. Virginia had 860 feet on the lode and included the Sides, White & Murphy, Kinney, and the Central No. 2; “Burke v. Flood,” *Daily Alta California*, December 10, 1880, makes it clear that the Firm acquired the Kinney ground through several purchases from several small holders in April 1872. Confusingly, “Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, May 21, 1868, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, May 19, 1868, describes the Con. Virginia as including “the California, Central, White & Murphy, and other claims”; “Mining Stocks,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 27, 1872, includes a table of all the Washoe mines that lists the Con. Virginia with 1,160 feet and 11,600 shares. Supporting Smith’s statement, “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, January 1, 1874, describes the creation of the “new” California mine from the Kinney, Central No. 2, California, and Central No. 1 (a consolidation managed by the Firm’s guiding hand). Before the consolidation, Central No. 2 and Central No. 1 traded independently (although were likely controlled by the Firm), and the Kinney (50 feet) and California (300 feet) belonged to the Consolidated Virginia. Con. Virginia shareholders received 58½ shares of the “new” California mine for every 100 shares of Con. Virginia stock they owned. (They owned 350 of the 600 feet involved.) They’d have received more if either the Central No. 2 or Central No. 1 had belonged to the Con. Virginia. However, “Burke v. Flood,” *Daily Alta California*, December 15, 1880, reporting on a court case, says, “stock in the Con. Virginia Company was always issued to holders of interests in the 1,160 feet comprised in that mining claim.” Davis, *History of Nevada*, p. 416, says the Bank Ring organized the Con. Virginia, a contention supported by the slate of incorporators.
- 292 “Why do [they] not”: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 308, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, August 27 and October 16, 1867.
- 292 *Con. Virginia bestirred*: “Incorporation,” *Daily Alta California*, May 19, 1868; “Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, May 21, 1868, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, May 19, 1868.
- 292 *ten dollars per share*: “Sales, May 26, 1868,” *Daily Alta California*, May 27, 1868.
- 292 “Wonder when they”: “Nevada,” *Daily Alta California*, May 21, 1868, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, May 19, 1868.
- 292 *two dollars per share*: “Sales of Stocks,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 15, 1869.
- 292 *The mine suspended work*: “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 15, 1870.
- 292 *ore above 500 feet*: “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 12, 1870; “Local Mining Intelligence,” *Territorial Enterprise*, February 13, 1870, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, 90-87/Box 6.
- 292 *their drifts and crosscuts*: Many contemporary mining updates include mildly optimistic Con. Virginia updates.
- 292 *mine’s trustees levied assessments*: “Consolidated Virginia Mining Company,” *Daily Alta California*, December 10, 1869; January 17, 1870; September 19, 1870; Decem-

- ber 9, 1870; February 28, 1871; May 6, 1871; August 2, 1871; December 3, 1871. Many other articles and advertisements announce the assessments.
- 292 *Con. Virginia's stock price dipped*: I have been unable to locate a daily quotation or a recorded sale at \$1½ in *Daily Alta California*, but “Bubble of the Day,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 4, 1872, includes a table that lists the lowest stock price of the leading mines in 1871 and places the Con. Virginia at \$1½, as does “The Highest and Lowest Prices of Mining Stocks During 1871,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 3, 1872; also, Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 308, citing the Consolidated Virginia Mining Company’s President’s Report for 1877.
- 292 *being properly developed*: “Consolidated Virginia,” *Territorial Enterprise*, February 1, 1872; “Consolidated Virginia,” *Territorial Enterprise*, August 31, 1871; both articles transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, 90-87/Box 6.
- 293 “*There is no law*”: John Russell Young, *Men and Memories: Personal Reminiscences*, Vol. II (New York: F. Tennyson Neely, 1901), p. 444.
- 293 *Con. Virginia stock fluctuated*: Con. Virginia stock quotations are from “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, October 1, 1871, to January 11, 1872.
- 293 *just over \$100,000*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 309, estimates that the Firm gained control for around \$50,000, which seems low (around \$4.30 per share); Henry de Groot, writing in John J. Powell’s *Nevada: The Land of Silver* (San Francisco: Bacon & Company, Book and Job Printers, 1876), p. 78, suggests an average figure of \$9 per share and a total cost of \$96,300; Shinn, *The Story of the Mine*, p. 179, suggests \$100,000 and Grant Smith concurs. The higher figures seem more reasonable, although perhaps still on the low side (\$8.62 per share). The Con. Virginia price never dipped below \$8.50 between October 1, 1871, and the January 11, 1872, election. Henry de Groot, “Comstock Papers No. 13,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 23, 1876, says Flood bought the fifty-foot-wide Kinney claim for \$1,200, however, “Burke v. Flood,” *Daily Alta California*, December 10, 1880, says that Flood bought 12½ feet from G. W. Kinney for \$1,250 (the reporting of sworn legal testimony); complicating matters, “Case No. 7,827, Kinney v. Consolidated VA Min. Co., et al, Circuit Court D. California, November 1, 1877,” says Kinney owned “one half part of . . . twenty and one-tenth feet on the ledge” and that he sold it for “\$1,200, gold coin of the United States,” as entered into evidence by George W. Kinney himself. The same article records several other purchases from other small holders of Kinney (and possibly Central No. 2) ground, for prices of \$390 and \$655 per foot, totaling \$34,875. If the Firm got the Con. Virginia at an average price of \$10 per share (which I suspect is *still* on the low side), their 75 percent share of the mine probably cost them about \$87,000. Adding the figures for the fifty-foot-wide Kinney pushes the total over \$100,000. “Case No. 7,827, Kinney v. Consolidated VA Min. Co., et al, Circuit Court D. California, November 1, 1877,” discusses the Firm’s April 1872 acquisition of Kinney’s interest in excruciating detail.
- 293 *three-dollar-per-share*: “By State Telegraph,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 21, 1872, and “Telegraphic,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, March 21, 1872, both said two dollars per share, but company advertisements that ran in most early April issues of *Daily Alta California* (e.g., “Consolidated Virginia Mining Company,” April 2, 1872) said that a three-dollar-per-share assessment had been levied on March 19 and was due on April 24. It seems likely the company would have corrected its ads if it had made a mistake.
- 293 “*all outstanding claims*”: “Case No. 7,827, Kinney v. Consolidated VA Min. Co., et

al, Circuit Court D. California, November 1, 1877,” which discusses the Firm’s April 1872 acquisition of G. W. Kinney’s interest in detail.

293 *wildest mining stock excitement*: “The Mines of the Comstock—A Tremendous Exhibit,” *Territorial Enterprise*, April 11, 1872, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.

294 *Savage from around \$65*: “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, February 4, 1872.

294 *quadrupled in four days*: “S.F. Stock Exchange Board,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 10, 1872. For how the Savage started the boom, see “San Francisco Market Review,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 17, 1872.

294 *“Everything goes up”*: “Bubble of the Day,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 4, 1872.

294 *“How are stocks?”*: “Mining Stocks,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 27, 1872.

294 *“no man can tell”*: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, February 11, 1872, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, February 8, 1872.

294 *“The Crown Point interest”*: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, February 14, 1872; see also, “Telegraphic,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, February 15, 1872.

Despite the common accusation among previous Comstock historians that Hayward and Jones “caused” the Savage boom as a stock manipulation (notably Grant Smith and Eliot Lord, who seem to be the primary sources cited by everybody else), it’s worth pointing out that the first major jump in Savage price occurred between February 2 and February 4, 1872—eight to ten days *before* “the Crown Point interest” made their massive purchases on February 12. It seems unlikely they’d have invested nearly \$2 million in the mine if they didn’t think the strike genuine and substantial. (Changing perceptions of future value drive most stock market fluctuations.)

294 *San Francisco Chronicle ran*: From the *San Francisco Chronicle*: “The Stock Market,” February 16, 1872; “Stock Sharps,” February 18, 1872; “Mining Matters,” February 20, 1872; “Stock Swindling,” February 21, 1872; “Stock Swindling,” February 23, 1872; “Stocks and Loans,” February 24, 1872.

295 *mule that had been sent down*: Since “Mary Jane Simpson—The Wonderful Mule of the Big Bonanza,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 27, 1876, says Mary Jane Simpson worked in the Belcher for eighteen months, and “A Strike,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 16, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, March 6, 1872, refers to the problematic mule as a female, it seems probable that it was the mule sent down in January that had to be hoisted out.

295 *“Susan B. Anthony”*: “A Strike,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 16, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, March 6, 1872.

295 *“Even in its”*: “Lively,” *Territorial Enterprise*, April 12, 1872, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.

295 *Savage peaked*: “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, April 26, 1872.

295 *\$30,000 per foot*: “S. F. Stock Exchange Board,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 27, 1872.

295 *Hundreds of miners . . . “realized the hard”*: “Good Effects of It,” *The Gold Hill Daily News*, May 3, 1872.

295 *“the largest dividend”*: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, May 7, 1872.

295 *the Savage and Hale & Norcross*: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, May 3, 1872.

296 *“no particular danger”*: “Local Mining Summary for the Week Ending May 4, 1872;”

- Gold Hill Daily News*, May 4, 1872, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, 90-87/Box 6.
- 296 "A sort of panic": "Financial and Commercial" and "Stock Market," *Daily Alta California*, May 8, 1872.
- 296 "all other motives": "Deviltry," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 8, 1872.
- 296 "eagerly bought up": "The Bombshell," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 9, 1872.
- 296 "sensational account": "Latest Telegrams," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 8, 1872, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, 90-87/Box 6.
- 296 "showed an appearance": "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, May 9, 1872.
- 296 "the pallid faces": "The Stock Panic," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 9, 1872.
- 296 "a put-up job": "Special Dispatches!—The Great Sensation," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 9, 1872, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, 90-87/Box 6.
- 296 Chronicle's same Wednesday article: "Deviltry," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 8, 1872.
- 296 "dead set": "Second Dispatch—Panic in Stocks," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 8, 1872, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, 90-87/Box 6.
- 297 "Bomber Tuesday": "Mining Stocks," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 12, 1872.
- 297 nature of the mine fire accusations: "Latest Telegrams," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 8, 1872, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, 90-87/Box 6; "Deviltry" and "The Paralysis of Gambling," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 8, 1872; "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, May 9, 1872; "The Stock Revulsion," *Daily Alta California*, May 9, 1872; "Sharon and Jones" and "The Bombshell," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 9, 1872; "The Sharon and Jones Difficulty" and "Special Dispatches," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 9, 1872; "Those Charges," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 10, 1872; "Full Investigation Demanded," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 10, 1872; "Light Breaking," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 11, 1872; "Subsiding," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 11, 1872; "Beginning to Understand," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 13, 1872; "In Status Quo," *Oakland Transcript*, May 13, 1872; "The Stock Market," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 14, 1872; "A Disclaimer from the Gold Hill Miners' Union," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 14, 1872; "The Last Prop Removed," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 15, 1872; "More Sensation," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 16, 1872, citing *San Francisco Call*, May 15, 1872; "San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board," *Mining & Scientific Press*, May 18, 1872; "Yellow Jacket," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 18, 1872; "The Great Crash," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 19, 1872; all *Gold Hill Daily News* articles transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, 90-87/Box 6.
- 297 "The devilish story": "Comments of the Press," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 9, 1872, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, May 8, 1872; also, "The Stock Revulsion," *Daily Alta California*, May 9, 1872.
- 297 "the lowermost depths": "The Stock Panic," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 17, 1872; also, "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, May 16, 1872; "The Earthquake in Mining Stocks" and "Black Wednesday," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 16, 1872; "Second Dispatch," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 17, 1872, and "The Bottom," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 18, 1872, both articles transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, 90-87/Box 6.
- 297 "lost bottom altogether": "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, May 21, 1872.
- 297 "strewn along the": "The Great Crash," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 19, 1872.

- 297 *pale, haggard faces*: “Stock Panic,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 21, 1872.
- 297 *“the heaviest ever”*: “The Great Crash,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 19, 1872.
- 297 *The mine fell from \$120*: “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, May 21, 1872; the Con. Virginia’s new shares (23,600 shares instead of 11,600) debuted on May 24.
- 297 *“discovering hidden motives” . . . “that’s all”*: “The Great Crash,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 19, 1872; also, “Mining Stocks,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 11, 1872.
- 298 *“merciless rapacity”*: “A Welcome to Mr. Sharon,” *Territorial Enterprise*, May 31, 1872, quoted in Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, p. 90.
- 298 *“the Commoner”*: Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 91.
- 298 *most entertaining storyteller*: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 135.
- 299 *the Tunnel was in 2,933 feet*: Sutro Tunnel sources from the middle of 1870 to the middle of 1872: *Report of the Commissioners and Evidence Taken by the Committee on Mines and Mining of the House of Representatives of the United States in regard to The Sutro Tunnel, Together with the Arguments and Report of the Committee Recommending a Load by the Government in Aid of the Construction of Said Work*, pp. 891–95; Lord, *Comstock Miners and Mining*, pp. 298–300; Stewart and Stewart, *Adolph Sutro*, pp. 91–102; “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 29, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, June 22, 1872.
- 299 *at even greater depth*: “Consolidated Virginia,” *Territorial Enterprise*, February 1, 1872.
- 299 *Eventually, the two veteran miners*: James D. Hague and Clarence King, *Report of the Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel, Vol. III, Mining Industry*, p. 99, credits the Best & Belcher with 250 feet; “Notes of Travel in Nevada—The Comstock Lode,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 19, 1872, gives the mine 224 feet, as does Dan de Quille’s diagram “Longitudinal Section of the North End of the Comstock Lode,” *The Big Bonanza*, p. 364.
- 299 *“I’ll help those”*: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p.149—the quip is perhaps apocryphal, since Smith included the quote without citation.

#### Chapter 14: The Strike

- 301 *Mackay left James Fair in charge*: Mackay’s movements in the spring of 1872 are difficult to establish. Berlin, *Silver Platter: A Portrait of Mrs. John Mackay* (New York: Doubleday, 1957), pp. 197–201, says Mackay wasn’t able to be in Paris for Eva’s June operation. She says Mackay went to Paris two months later (August) and returned to Nevada “after Christmas.” Hers is a factually based novel that cites no sources. However, I combed over her files of extensive research in the University of Nevada archives and discovered a *New York Times* item typed out by a research assistant that says a “John Mackay” arrived in New York from Liverpool aboard the SS *California* on September 19, 1872 (Box 90-87/V/12 “Douglas, Elaine”)—almost perfectly timed to be our John Mackay arriving in New York after having received a telegraphic summons from Fair or Flood reporting the September 12 discovery of the cross-fissure. They would have used a prearranged, innocuous-sounding message to make the summons—to avoid tipping telegraph operators that something was afoot in the mine. I examined the *New York Times* article (“Passengers Arrived,” *New York Times*, September 20, 1872), and although there is nothing specific that proves the John Mackay aboard the *California* is our John Mackay, among the list of other passengers is one “J. M. Walker.” In the absence of other evidence, it “feels”

most likely to me that Mackay would have timed his trip to Europe to coincide with both Eva's operation and the two months it would take to dig across the Best & Belcher, time during which there was no chance of a development significant to a Con. Virginia owner, and that he returned to Nevada after the September 12 discovery—a development of utmost significance to a Con. Virginia owner. Perhaps Mackay returned to the United States with his old Washoe partner, who is known to have done much European travel after the dissolution of their partnership. Also, Louise gave birth to Clarence Mackay on April 17, 1874, which makes the baby's most likely conception date between July 22 and July 30, 1873, further supporting the idea that John Mackay had reached Paris before the start of August. (There are no reports of John and Louise Mackay ever having *those* sorts of problems in their marriage.)

- 302 "We'll go broke": Berlin, *Silver Platter*, p. 201.
- 302 *Considering the penurious years*: Ibid., pp. 199–202.
- 302 *in the last week of June*: Rough calculations based on a drifting rate of slightly more than 4 feet per day. The drift was 50 feet from the Best & Belcher/Con. Virginia boundary on June 15, 1873 ("The Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, June 17, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, June 15, 1872), and 100 feet into Con. Virginia ground on July 23, 1873 ("The Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, July 23, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, July 20, 1872). That 150 feet divided by 35 days gives a rough drifting rate of 4.3 feet per day. Their drifting rate fell as they encountered increasing difficulties with heat, ventilation, and flooding.
- 302 *increased the number of shares*: "S. F. Stock and Exchange Board," *Mining & Scientific Press*, May 4, 1872; "San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board," *Mining & Scientific Press*, May 25, 1872; "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, May 25, 1872.
- 303 "The management . . . are": "Local Mining Summary for the Week Ending May 4, 1872," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 4, 1872, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6; *Gold Hill Daily News* expressed a similar sentiment in "The Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, July 29, 1872, and September 16, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, July 27, 1872, and September 14, 1872; *San Francisco Chronicle* mentioned the secretiveness of the Con. Virginia management in "Stocks," September 18 and 21, "Bulls and Bears," September 29, and again in "Stocks" on October 6, all articles in 1872.
- 303 "steadily prosecuted": "Local Mining Summary for the Week Ending May 4, 1872," *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 4, 1872, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 303 "nothing new": "The Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, July 10, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, July 6, 1872.
- 303 *almost two years before*: The *San Francisco Chronicle* noted that fact in "Stocks," October 13, 1872.
- 303 "the joke of": Berlin, *Silver Platter*, p. 201.
- 303 "dull, heavy": "APPALLING EXPLOSION," *Gold Hill Daily News*, July 15, 1872, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6; "Terrible Boiler Explosion and Loss of Life," *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 18, 1872, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*, July 16, 1872.
- 304 *likely place to find ore*: "The Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, July 23, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, July 20, 1872. For information on crosscutting west,

- see “The Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, July 29, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, July 27, 1872.
- 304 “very hard”: “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 7, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 31, 1872.
- 304 “important development”: “The Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, August 25, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 17, 1872.
- 304 *Con. Virginia stock gave up*: “Financial and Commercial” and “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, September 12, 1872.
- 305 *They turned the main drift*: Raymond, *Mining Industry of the States and Territories of the Rocky Mountains, Including Quartz, Placer and Hydraulic Mining; Amalgamation; Concentration; Smelting, Etc.*, 1874, p. 110; Smith, *The History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 149–50.
- 305 “No new developments”: “The Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, September 16, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, September 14, 1872.
- 305 “a put up job”: “Stocks,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 18, 1872.
- 305 *purchases of Central No. 1*: “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, September 18 and 19, 1872.
- 305 *under the Firm’s control*: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 157.
- 305 “jumping up and”: “Stocks,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 21, 1872.
- 305 “confidential whisperings”: “Bulls and Bears,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 29, 1872.
- 306 “confident of finding”: *Territorial Enterprise*, September 19, 1872, quoted in Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 150.
- 306 *Mackay landed in New York*: “Passengers Arrived,” *New York Times*, September 20, 1872. See the first note in this chapter for analysis.
- 306 *seven or eight days to reach Nevada*: Susan Coolidge, “A Few Hints on the California Journey,” *Scribner’s Monthly*, May 1873, pp. 25–31, <https://history.hanover.edu/courses/excerpts/336RR.html>, accessed October 28, 2017.
- 306 *assessment on September 26*: “Consolidated Virginia Mining Company,” *Daily Alta California*, September 27, 1872.
- 306 *V&T’s first passenger train from Reno*: “First Train,” *Gold Hill Daily News* and “Railroad Trains,” *New Daily Appeal* (probably meaning the *Carson Daily Appeal*), October 1, 1872, texts online at [virginiaandtruckee.com](http://virginiaandtruckee.com), accessed October 30, 2017.
- 306 “Why levy an’”: “Bulls and Bears,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 29, 1872.
- 307 *hoisting through the incline*: “The Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, September 9, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, September 7, 1872; September 23, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, September 21, 1872; October 1, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, September 28, 1872; October 28, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, October 26, 1872.
- 307 “in the subterranean”: “What’s in a Name?” *Oakland Daily Transcript*, November 15, 1872, and “Nevada Items,” *Daily Alta California*, November 16, 1872, both articles citing *Gold Hill Daily News*.
- 307 *The great contemporary furor*: “Unmasked!” *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 26, 1872.
- 307 “the most gigantic”: Robert Wilson, “The Great Diamond Hoax of 1872,” *Smithsonian*, June 2004, citing *San Francisco Chronicle*, text online at <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-great-diamond-hoax-of-1872-2630188/>, accessed October 31, 2017; Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, pp. 294–320.

- 307 *production had more than doubled*: “The Mining Interest in 1872,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 11, 1873; “The Bullion Product of Nevada,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 8, 1873; “Product of the Nevada Mines,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 15, 1873; Raymond, *Mining Industry of the States and Territories of the Rocky Mountains, Including Quartz, Placer and Hydraulic Mining; Amalgamation; Concentration; Smelting, Etc.*, 1874, pp. 108, 120.
- 307 “a high and”: Raymond, *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains*, 1874, pp. 178–79.
- 309 *Ralston had Mills elected*: Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, pp. 294–360.
- 310 *it did serve the interests of the Comstock*: Milton Friedman, “The Crime of 1873,” *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 98, no. 6 (December 1990), pp. 1159–94; Richard White, *The Republic for Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865–1896* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 260–64; Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, pp. 331–36.
- 310 “strongest and most durable manner”: “The Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, November 25, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, November 23, 1872.
- 310 “steamed up”: “The Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, December 23, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, December 21, 1872.
- 310 *The breakage of an air blower*: “The Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, November 18, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, November 15, 1872.
- 310 “excellent indications”: “The Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, September 23, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, September 21, 1872; “Washoe Mining Summary,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 23, 1872.
- 310 “hard, blasting porphyry”: “The Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, October 21, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, October 19, 1872.
- 310 “no extra favorable”: “The Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, October 7, 1872, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, October 5, 1872.
- 311 *and the Gould & Curry*: “S. F. Stock and Exchange Board,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 21, 1872; “Meetings and Elections,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 11, 1873.
- 311 “very rich rock”: “Stocks,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 18, 1873. Although the article was published more than two weeks later, it said that Flood had been making this claim “a few weeks since.”
- 311 “growing rumors of”: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, March 9, 1873; also, “The Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, March 10, 1873, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, March 8, 1873.
- 311 *The other was the tip*: Con. Virginia sources, August 1872 to March 1873: “The Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, citing *Gold Hill Daily News* of two or three days before, August 13, September 9; September 23, October 1, October 7, October 14, October 21, October 28, November 6, November 12, November 18, November 25, and December 2, 1872; January 6, January 13, January 20, January 27, February 3, February 11, February 17, 1873; also, “Washoe Mining Summary,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 23, 1872; “Washoe,” in every issue of the *Mining & Scientific Press* (a weekly) from August 31, 1872, to March 1, 1873.
- 311 “the withdrawal of”: “The Horse Epidemic,” *New York Times*, November 1, 1872.
- 312 *The epizootic swept*: The progress and consequences of the epizootic tracked through searches for “horse disease” and “epizootic” in *New York Times*’ TimesMachine,



<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com>, between the dates of October 1, 1872, and May 1, 1873, and the same bounded searches made at the California Digital Newspapers Collection, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu>, both searches made November 2, 2017.

- 312 “like a prairie fire”: “The Epizootic in Virginia City,” *Daily Alta California*, March 11, 1873; “The Epizootic,” *Carson Daily Appeal*, March 11, 1873; also, “Washoe,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 15, 1873.
- 312 *Mail, express, and staging*: “The Horse Disease,” *Carson Daily Appeal*, March 12, 1873; “Stopped by the Epizootic,” *Carson Daily Appeal*, March 13, 1873.
- 312 *Con. Virginia stock*: A table of “bear market” shrinkage in “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, March 12, 1873.
- 312 “under the influence”: “Financial and Commercial” and “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, March 19, 1873.
- 312 “All of which”: “Stocks,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 18, 1873.
- 312 “the most important”: “From Virginia City, March 19th,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, March 20, 1873.
- 313 *Mackay fired Sam Curtis*: Smith, *History of the Comstock*, p. 152, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, March 25, 1873.
- 313 *Considering the small-town nature*: The author is indebted to his son, Ryan, for this observation: “It’s like a small town. All these guys seemed to know each other, or else knew somebody who knew the other guy.”
- 313 *fired for talking too much*: “Stock Review,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 30, 1873.
- 313 *advice from the mine on March 23*: “Our Weekly Stock Review,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 29, 1873.
- 314 *They’d been aggressively advancing*: The *Territorial Enterprise* mentioned the plan and Mr. Schussler on May 28, 1872: “Nevada Items,” *Daily Alta California*, May 31, 1872, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, May 28, 1872.
- 314 “push the work”: “Virginia and Gold Hill Water Company,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 1, 1873, quoting *Gold Hill Daily News*.
- 314 “the blowing of a whale”: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 172.
- 314 “unbounded hilarity”: “Papers Just Received from Virginia City,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, August 8, 1873, presumably quoting one of them.
- 314 *Water Company were “jubilant”*: “Water Flows in Virginia City,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 2, 1873.
- 314 *Comstock’s previous supply*: “Hydraulic Engineering on the Pacific Slope,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 13, 1873; “Preface,” *A General Business and Mining Directory of Storey, Lyon, Ormsby, and Washoe Counties, Nevada*, Virginia City, compiled by John D. Bethel & Co., 1875, transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/II/8, pp. 11–15; Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 322–25; “The Firm Joins the Water Company, Which Brings a Supply from the Sierras,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2: Folder 8; John Debo Galloway, *Early Engineering Works Contributory to the Comstock* (Nevada Bureau of Mines, 1947), pp. 57–74; James, *The Roar and the Silence*, p. 110; Mark McLaughlin, “Historic Water Pipeline to Virginia City,” *Tahoe Weekly*, July 5, 2017, and “Historic Water Pipeline to Virginia City, Part II,” *Tahoe Weekly*, July 12, 2017.
- 314 “Thus it is”: “Preface,” *A General Business and Mining Directory of Storey, Lyon, Ormsby, and Washoe Counties, Nevada*, Virginia City, compiled by John D. Bethel & Co., 1875, transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/II/8, pp. 14.

- 315 “Pacific Coasters”: “Pacific Coasters in Paris,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 28, 1873.
- 315 *running total of the two mines’ dividends*: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, June 8, 1873, then adding the \$2 million for June.
- 315 \$20 and \$40 million: “The Two Great Mines of the Comstock,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, March 22, 1873.
- 315 “surface lumps”: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, June 8, 1873.
- 315 *proved a perfect failure*: “Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, August 18, 1873, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 16, 1873.
- 316 “Whether it is”: “The Bulls and Bears,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 6, 1873.
- 316 “a brilliant operation”: “Stock Etchings,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 20, 1873.
- 316 “long-forbidden lower”: “Consolidated Virginia,” *Daily Alta California*, November 1, 1873, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, October 29, 1873.
- 317 “very rich ore”: “The Consolidated Virginia,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 4, 1874.
- 317 *not to attempt*: “Notes of Travel in Nevada,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 19, 1872.
- 317 “a frolicsome rat” *attempted to jump*: “A Singular Accident,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 25, 1873.

#### Chapter 15: The Big Bonanza

- 320 *paid \$31,000 for a three-story house*: Real estate agent William Magee to Grant Smith, June 9, 1930, citing San Francisco Book 724 of Deeds, p. 264, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18. (The property had changed hands for \$7,000 three and a half years before—a price inflation that will feel familiar to modern San Franciscans.)
- 321 *list of thirty-seven failed banking*: “The Crisis,” *New York Herald*, September 21, 1873.
- 321 “money scared too”: “Financial and Commercial,” *New York Herald*, October 5, 1873.
- 321 *The crisis dropped the economy*: “Cooke’s Crash,” *New York Herald*, September 19, 1873; “The Crash,” *New York Herald*, September 20, 1873; “The Crisis,” *New York Herald*, September 21, 1873; White, *Railroaded*, pp. 79–87; White, *The Republic for Which It Stands*, pp. 260–73.
- 322 “endless-wire rope-way”: “Hallidie’s Endless-Wire Rope-Way,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 18, 1871.
- 322 “novel railroad”: “A Novel Railroad,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 27, 1873.
- 322 *2,250 passengers per day*: “Clay Street Railroad,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, May 30, 1874.
- 322 “a new Superintendent”: “New Superintendent of the Consolidated Virginia,” *Territorial Enterprise*, April 19, 1874, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6; “Births,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 19, 1874; “Born,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 20, 1874.
- 323 “looking as fresh”: “Personal,” *Territorial Enterprise*, May 22, 1874, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 323 *Years later, Alexander recalled*: “The Mackay Family in San Francisco and Paris,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 8, citing a series of interviews with Alexander O’Grady. (Alexander claimed that Colonel Hungerford went with the family to Europe in 1871–73. He is probably conflating memories of the 1871–73

trip with those of later years. Contemporary newspaper articles place Colonel Hungerford in Lower California and San Francisco until April 1874. The first mention of Colonel Hungerford in Europe discovered by the author occurred in December 1875. That makes sense in light of Mackay's rise. Mackay was a successful miner and mine owner from 1871 to 1873. Not until the opening of the Con. Virginia's fifteen-hundred-foot level in late 1874 would he become one of the richest men in the world.)

- 324 *The reorganization divided*: "A New Mining Company," *San Francisco Bulletin*, December 31, 1873; "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, January 1, 1874; "Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, January 5, 1874; "Our Weekly Stock Review," *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 10, 1874.
- 324 *the Firm owned the lion's share*: Other Comstock historians have decried the California consolidation as a stock market maneuver, generally based on Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 158, footnote 31, which says, "There was no need to divide the bonanza between two companies. The purpose was to create a new mine for the stock market." That is *not* true. Smith's logic depends on future developments. Given what was known about the ore body in late 1873, there was *no way* to combine the ground between the Best & Belcher and the Ophir into a single entity in a manner fair to existing Con. Virginia stockholders—the Con. Virginia had proven ore, all of it south of the shaft, and the two Central mines did not. The *only* way to simplify the ownership in a manner fair to Con. Virginia stockholders was to divide the ground into two mines, one with proven ore and one without. And since Con. Virginia stockholders couldn't be expected to give away the shaft and machinery they'd built, the most logical place to make the break was in unexplored ground just north of the shaft, exactly as was done. It *must* have been considered fair at the time, since every inch of the consolidation involved high-value mining property and it provoked no howls of outrage.
- 324 *What few reports escaped*: "Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, February 20, 1874, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, February 14, 1874; other sources for Con. Virginia development in January and early February 1874: "The Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, January 5, 12, 21, 26, February 2, and February 20, 1874, all citing *Gold Hill Daily News* of a few days before; "Our Weekly Stock Review" and "Washoe District," *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, February 7, and February 14, 1874; "Pacific Coast Items," *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 27, 1874.
- 325 *opening out splendidly*: "Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, April 11, 1874, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, April 9, 1874.
- 325 *very, very rich*: "The Consolidated Virginia," *Mining & Scientific Press*, April 4, 1874.
- 325 *growing brighter every day*: "Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, April 26, 1874, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, April 23, 1874.
- 325 *\$400,000*: "Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, May 3, 1874, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, April 30, 1874.
- 325 *the ore body had doubled*: "Washoe District," *Mining & Scientific Press*, May 2, 1874; "Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, May 9, 1874, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 7, 1874; May 18, 1874, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 14, 1874; May 29, 1874, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 21, 1874; May 29, 1874, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 21, 1874; June 1, 1874, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 28, 1874; June 6, 1874, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, June 4, 1874.

- 325 \$35 million: "Heavy Yield," *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 28, 1874; the Con. Virginia "bids fair" to rival the Crown Point and the Belcher: "The Gold Hill News of last evening," *Carson Daily Appeal*, May 10, 1874.
- 325 *though the Belcher alone*: "The Belcher," *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 19, 1874.
- 325 *Miners, carpenters*: "Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, May 29, 1874, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 21, 1874.
- 325 *The new pneumatic tools*: "New Machinery at the Consolidated Virginia," *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 13, 1874; "Burleigh Drills," *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 8, 1874.
- 325 *five Burleigh air compressors*: "Washoe District," *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 24, 1874.
- 325 *triple-decker safety cage*: "A New Mining Invention," *Mining & Scientific Press*, June 6, 1874; "The Consolidated Virginia Mining Company," *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 5, 1874.
- 326 *two hundred men at work*: "Consolidated Virginia Improvements," *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 1, 1874.
- 326 *"soft" Sierra water*: "Sierra Nevada Water," *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 17, 1874.
- 326 *"The sides and face of the drift"*: "The Heart of the Comstock," *Mining & Scientific Press*, November 7, 1874, citing recent issues of *Gold Hill Daily News* and *Territorial Enterprise*.
- 326 *"hitherto unknown"*: "The Exhaustless Comstock," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 9, 1874. See also Dan De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, pp. 366–67.
- 328 *The flurry of reports that emerged*: "Nevada Mines," *Daily Alta California*, December 6, 1874, citing *Gold Hill News*, December 3, 1874; "Washoe District," *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 12, 1874, citing the same source.
- 328 *"the great discovery"*: "Financial and Commercial," *Daily Alta California*, January 13, 1875.
- 328 *"the Big Bonanza"*: "The Big Bonanza," *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 16, 1875, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, January 6, 1875.
- 328 *ninety thousand tons of ore*: "Consolidated Virginia. Annual Report of the Consolidated Virginia Mining Company," *Daily Alta California*, January 20, 1875.
- 328 *"We are running"*: "The Big Bonanza," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 12, 1875.
- 328 *Mackay must have realized*: In February 1875, Mackay said, "We have not yet fairly started in upon the California. It will require steady work for at least six months to show what that mine really is" (De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, p. 368); for prospecting the upper levels "very nearly completed" on June 17, 1875, see "Mining," *Daily Alta California*, June 19, 1875, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, June 17, 1875.
- 328 *"stupendous mass of"*: Raymond, *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains; Being the Seventh Annual Report, 1875*, p. 196.
- 328 *"every foot of"*: "Mining," *Daily Alta California*, July 16, 1875.
- 329 *returned \$9.86 per ton*: "To Settle a Bet," *Mining & Scientific Press*, December 5, 1874.
- 329 *"succeeded to his"*: "The Mineral Rod Man," *Territorial Enterprise*, February 10, 1871, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/Box 6.
- 329 *"a certain amount of stock"*: "Ai Peck Again to the Front," *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, February 20, 1875, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, undated.

- 329 *marvelous reports emerging*: “Nevada Mines,” *Daily Alta California*, August 1, 1874, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*, July 30, 1874; “Washoe District,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 15, 1874; also, “Mining Stocks,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 10, 1874, and “The Ophir Mine,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 31, 1874.
- 330 *Ophir shares had more than doubled*: “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, September 26, 1874.
- 330 *“continuous and united”*: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, September 26, 1874.
- 330 *“disastrous”*: William M. Stewart, *Reminiscences of Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada* (New York and Washington: Neale Publishing Company, 1908), p. 261; also, Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, pp. 93–94.
- 330 *congratulated him on his victory*: Alf Doten, *The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849–1903* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973), p. 1240, entry for November 3, 1874.
- 330 *“Nevada enjoys the”*: “Honor to Whom Honor Is Due,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 10, 1875.
- 331 *more than 34,001 shares*: With 34,001 shares added to Baldwin’s 20,000, it would have given Sharon control. “The Crash,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 26, 1875, reported that the Bank Ring had 56,000 Ophir shares at the mine’s December election, which implies it held 36,000 before buying Baldwin’s chunk.
- 331 *“cold and selfish”*: “Lucky Baldwin,” *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, March 4, 1909.
- 331 *Sharon pried him loose*: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 162–63, citing *Virginia Evening Chronicle*, December 12, 1874; Dana, *The Man Who Built San Francisco*, p. 340; Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p. 376; Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, pp. 107–8. I surmise that the deal most likely went down between November 11, 1874, when “Brevities,” *Daily Alta California*, November 12, 1874, described the Ophir as “the centre [*sic*] of attraction . . . while the struggle over Lucky Baldwin’s promising mine continues,” and November 13, 1874, when “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, November 14, 1874, described the Ophir as “lower, selling down to \$78, indicating a settlement of control,” and “Pacific Coast Items,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, November 16, 1874, recorded control of the Ophir passing “from the management of Baldwin to that of Sharon & Co.”; the Ophir closed at \$80 on November 13, 1874: “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, November 13, 1875; although many sources claim this deal cemented Baldwin’s moniker, that likely isn’t the case—the *Daily Alta California* used it on November 12, 1874, before the deal closed. “Lucky” Baldwin took his proceeds and “retired from the fray,” according to Hubert Howe Bancroft’s hagiographic biography. He focused his energies on building the luxurious Baldwin Hotel at the corner of San Francisco’s Market and Powell streets and on developing an enormous forty-two-thousand-acre ranch at Santa Anita in the San Gabriel Valley, fifteen miles northeast of Los Angeles. A devotee of thoroughbred horseracing, Baldwin founded the Santa Anita Racetrack on the property. The Santa Anita’s Baldwin Stakes are run in his honor, and his name graces much Southern California geography, including the Baldwin Hills neighborhood of Los Angeles. (Bancroft, *Chronicles of the Builders*, Vol. III, p. 347.)
- 331 *“interested in mining”*: “The Crash in Mining Stocks,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 13, 1875.
- 331 *“They bought fine”*: “How Much Have We Lost?” *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 10, 1875.

- 331 “Go and put”: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, pp. 368–70.
- 331 \$300 million: “Perhaps There Is No,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 9, 1874.
- 331 A “free and easy talker”: “Deidesheimer. His Second Glance at the Great Bonanza,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 9, 1875. The article published the day after the sell-off started, but the content and tenor of the interview make it clear Deidesheimer had been spouting that advice since his visit to the mine with Dan de Quille in early December.
- 332 less than 1 percent of the total: Statistics for sales between December 31, 1874, and January 6, 1875: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, January 9, 1875.
- 332 Ophir touched a high: “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, January 7 and January 8, 1875.
- 332 shipped ten tons of bullion: “Nevada Items,” *Los Angeles Herald*, January 6, 1875.
- 332 leading thirty-one mines exceeded: “Valuation of Comstock Mines, January 1875,” Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 409.
- 332 \$70 million more: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 174.
- 332 “a reaction after”: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, January 9, 1875.
- 332 market closed “firm”: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, January 26, 1875.
- 332 Monday opened firm: “Stocks Down” and “Is There a Conspiracy to Steal the Bonanza?” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 26, 1875; also, “Financial and Commercial” and “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, January 26, 1875.
- 333 Tuesday was worse: “Financial and Commercial” and “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, January 27, 1875; “Black Tuesday,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 26, 1875.
- 333 “whole bottom”: “Letter from San Francisco, February 8, 1875,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 10, 1875.
- 333 “like leaves from”: “How Much Have We Lost?” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, February 10, 1875.
- 333 The final slaughter: For the prices at the close of February 6, 1875, see “Stock Market,” *Daily Alta California*, February 7, 1875.
- 333 “rolling in imaginary”: “Freaks of Fortune,” *New York Times*, March 7, 1875.
- 333 “in the majority”: “The Crash in Stocks,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, February 13, 1875.
- 333 \$2.5 million: Dana, *The Man Who Built San Francisco*, p. 340; general sources for the Ophir boom and bust: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 314–17; Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 162–79; Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, pp. 366–67; Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, pp. 107–9; Dana, *The Man Who Built San Francisco*, pp. 339–40.
- 333 “badly hurt”: “The Crash,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 26, 1875.
- 333 in the mansion he’d built: “Pen and Scissors,” *Territorial Enterprise*, April 21, 1874.
- 333 may have simply lost touch: The author finds the common historical story of Sharon “putting up” the Ophir deal to finance his senatorial campaign difficult to credit. Rather than that “Sharon kept boosting the stock” until his election, as claimed by Grant Smith and other historians, it seems much more probable that the bonanza in the Con. Virginia seeming likely to extend through the California into the Ophir started and sustained the Ophir’s price rise, and escaping knowledge that it did not—that the Ophir was working an independent, lower-quality ore body—

- caused the collapse and destroyed the wonderful fiction of unlimited wealth in the lower levels of the Comstock mines. Besides, Sharon's election to the state legislature happened four days *after* the Ophir began its long slide. Considering the state of nineteenth-century political campaigns, that Sharon liberally distributed Ophir shares among candidates standing for the state legislature seems very likely—stock in a skyrocketing mine would have been an even more generous gift to a “friend” or potential “friend” than gold coin. That Sharon “put up” the market and then smashed it as part of an evil plan seems less likely. He probably bought the mine hoping it shared in the Big Bonanza and then sold when he learned that it did not.
- 334 “*It is no affair*”: De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, pp. 368–69.
- 334 “*the roar of*”: “The Consolidated Virginia Mill,” *Daily Alta California*, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, undated.
- 335 *retorting room by two-thirds*: “The Big Mill,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 2, 1875; “Completion of the Consolidated Virginia Mill,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 4, 1875, citing *Virginia Evening Chronicle*, December 20, 1874; “The Big Bonanza,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 12, 1875; “The Consolidated Mill,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 14, 1875, citing *Virginia Evening Chronicle*, January 12, 1875; “The Consolidated Virginia Mill,” *Daily Alta California*, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, undated.
- 335 “*a crime against*”: “The Free-Love Ticket,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 14, 1872.
- 336 “*It makes nothing*”: Eliot Lord, “The Mackay Memorial Statue,” *World's Work*, Volume 13, 1906, p. 8161.
- 336 *The first battle—a change*: Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, pp. 122–30; Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 204–6; Makley, *John Mackay*, pp. 79–81.
- 337 *its own lumber company*: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, July 3, 1875.
- 337 “*build my own damn railroad*”: The *Reno Journal* reported Mackay and Fair contemplating construction of a narrow-gauge railroad from Virginia City to Reno in late April: “Nevada Items,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 24, 1875, citing *Reno Journal*; Davis, *The History of Nevada*, p. 419; Makley, *John Mackay*, p. 81.
- 338 *the institution's “soul”*: “O. F. Bank vs. Sharon,” *Daily Alta California*, December 20, 1884.
- 338 *Belcher dividends combined*: In 1873 and 1874 combined, the Belcher paid \$12.1 million in dividends (\$6.76 million in 1873: “Weekly Stock Review,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 31, 1874; \$5.304 million in 1874: “The Mining Interest in 1874,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 23, 1875). Before 1875, the Union mills had netted Darius Ogden Mills more than \$2 million and paid in excess of \$4 million *each* to Sharon and Ralston: Bancroft, “Life of William Sharon,” *Chronicles of the Builders*, Vol. IV, p. 57; the V&T paid its first dividend on July 20, 1874: Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p. 331.
- 339 “*the need . . . of a nail*”: “O. F. Bank vs. Sharon,” *Daily Alta California*, December 20, 1884.
- 339 *before construction reached*: Bancroft, “Life of William Sharon,” *Chronicles of the Builders*, Vol. IV, p. 63.
- 339 *pushed the total workforce*: “Work on the Palace Hotel,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, September 26, 1874; “An Ill-Advised Revolt by a Portion of the Industrial Army,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 30, 1874.
- 339 *ash from Oregon*: “Our Great Hotel,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, August 22, 1874.

- 339 “Where is this”: Eldridge, *History of California, Volume V, Special Articles*, p. 437.
- 339 “pull in his”: Makley, *The Infamous King*, p. 112, citing Albert W. Atwood, *Francis G. Newlands: A Builder of the Nation*, p. 13.
- 339 *Construction costs rose*: Benjamin E. Lloyd, *Lights and Shades in San Francisco* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1876), p. 52.
- 339 *\$6.5 million*: Bancroft, “Life of William Sharon,” *Chronicles of the Builders*, Vol. IV, pp. 63–64.
- 339 “gigantic enterprise”: “An Ill-Advised Revolt by a Portion of the Industrial Army,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 30, 1874.
- 340 “a dark menace”: Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, citing *San Francisco Real Estate Circular*, November 1874.
- 340 “vast pile”: “A VERY . . .,” *Marin Journal*, October 7, 1875.
- 340 *impact of the economic depression*: Between January 1 and August 1, 1875, \$19 million went east from California; \$2.3 million had gone east during the same period in 1874: “Suspension of the Bank of California,” *Daily Alta California*, August 27, 1875. In the year ending August 1, 1875, \$26.891 million had gone east: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, August 27, 1875.
- 340 *Ralston sold his half of the Palace*: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, May 13, 1875; “William C. Ralston,” *Los Angeles Herald*, May 18, 1875; “Real Estate Items,” *Daily Alta California*, June 3, 1875.
- 340 *largest real estate owner*: “Pacific Coast Items,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, June 3, 1875; “Real Estate Items,” *Daily Alta California*, June 3, 1875.
- 340 “worth at least”: “City Property,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 2, 1875. Although one of Ralston’s biographers said Sharon returned the deed two weeks later, never having paid the money (Dana, *The Man Who Built San Francisco*, p. 348), the registering of the transaction was announced in several newspapers. The author could find no contemporary retraction, which surely would have been interesting news.
- 340 “unrelenting” . . . “passed quietly into”: “Death of Mrs. Wm. Sharon,” *Daily Alta California*, May 16, 1875.
- 340 *at her San Francisco bedside*: “Brevities,” *Daily Alta California*, May 15, 1875; “News of the Morning,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, May 15, 1875.
- 340 *Sharon’s father died*: “Brevities,” *Daily Alta California*, May 28, 1875.
- 341 “a large interest”: “The Stock-Jobbing Juggernaut,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 20, 1875.
- 341 “Probably there is”: “A Financial Shock,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 20, 1875.
- 341 *Speculation before the Water Board*: “Calaveras No More,” *Daily Alta California*, June 8, 1875.
- 342 “a farcical pretense”: “The Water Supply Farce,” *Daily Alta California*, May 24, 1875.
- 342 “white heat of opposition”: “Brevities,” *Daily Alta California*, June 4, 1875, citing *San Jose Mercury*, undated.
- 342 *questioning the solvency*: Other Spring Valley Water Company sources: “Pacific Coast Items,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, June 3, 1875; “The Remedy Is with the People,” *Daily Alta California*, June 3, 1875; “Cowslips,” *Daily Alta California*, June 7, 1875; “Brevities,” *Daily Alta California*, June 8, 1875; “The Water ‘Job,’” *Daily Alta California*, June 8, 1875; Gray Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 84–89; Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, pp. 370–72.



- 342 *he watched the examiners*: Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, p. 114, citing the opinion of Superior Court Judge T. H. Reardon in *Odd Fellows Savings Bank vs. William Sharon*, December 19, 1884, and the Thomas Bell Statement, 1886.
- 342 *board of supervisors formally rejected*: “Spring Valley’s Ultimatum” and “Is the Dog Dead or Only Lamed?” *Daily Alta California*, July 31, 1875.
- 342 *overissued Bank of California stock*: “O. F. Bank vs. Sharon,” *Daily Alta California*, December 20, 1884; Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, pp. 114–115.
- 342 *Mills “relieved” Ralston*: “The Bulletin and the Bank,” *Daily Alta California*, September 5, 1875; “The Affairs of the Bank of California,” *Daily Alta California*, August 28, 1875. Sharon and Mills probably paid \$823,000 for stock worth \$1.5 million.
- 343 *“Son, do you”*: George Lyttleton Upshur, *As I Recall Them: Memories of Crowded Years* (New York: Wilson-Erickson Inc., 1936), pp. 92–93.
- 343 *“final dicker”*: “The Crash,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 26, 1875. The story says negotiations for the sale had started about a month before. It also described Ralston and “Senator Jones” representing the Bank Ring, when they surely meant “Senator Sharon.”
- 343 *Oriental Bank of London*: Eldridge, *History of California, Volume V, Special Articles*, p. 438.
- 343 *sold sixteen thousand acres*: “Pacific Coast Items,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 25, 1875.
- 343 *“nearly akin to”*: “The Crash,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 26, 1875.
- 343 *“those stocks most”*: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, August 26, 1875.
- 344 *“the existing pressure”*: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, August 25, 1875.
- 344 *“belonging to the”*: “The Crash,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 26, 1875.
- 344 *\$500,000 in coin*: Eldridge, *History of California, Volume V, Special Articles*, p. 438.
- 344 *\$1.4 million of the missing bullion*: Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p. 372; \$1.4 million worth of bonanza bullion: Grant Smith, “The Bank of California Suspends,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 8, p. 448, citing an article in *The Spirit of the Times* reprinted in *News Letter*, April 22, 1876; also, Upshur, *As I Recall Them*, pp. 93–94.
- 344 *between \$4 million and \$4.5 million*: Makley, *The Infamous King of the Comstock*, p. 117, citing Stephen Franklin’s biography of William C. Ralston (Franklin was the bank’s secretary in 1875) and an 1886 statement by bank director Thomas Bell, both in “Biography of William C. Ralston prepared for *Chronicles of the Kings*: and material used in its preparation, 1886–1889,” UCB.
- 344 *and refused the offer*: “The Great Bank Failure,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, August 28, 1875; “The Death of W. C. Ralston,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, August 30, 1875.
- 345 *“I fear that”*: “The Bank Excitement in San Francisco,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, August 28, 1875, quoting *San Francisco Bulletin*, August 27, 1875.
- 346 *left the bank shortly after 9:30*: For the scene at the bank and all quotes, see “The Bank of California,” *Daily Alta California*, August 27, 1875.
- 346 *“great hope and”*: “The Voice of the People,” *Daily Alta California*, August 29, 1875, citing an interview with A. A. Cohen, a lawyer, lobbyist, and speculator greatly involved with “the Associates” of the Central Pacific Railroad—see White, *Railroaded*, 179–85.

- 346 *directors met again at 1:00 p.m.*: “By State Telegraph,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, August 28, 1875.
- 346 *“fully understood” . . . “committee of one”*: “The Death of W. C. Ralston,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, August 30, 1875.
- 347 *“generally commented on”*: “Dead. William C. Ralston Drowned Off Black Point,” *Daily Alta California*, August 28, 1875.
- 349 *from the words they contained*: Death of Ralston and all quotes primarily from “Dead. William C. Ralston Drowned Off Black Point,” *Daily Alta California*, August 28, 1875. See also, “No Proof That Ralston’s Death Was Suicidal,” *Daily Alta California*, August 29, 1875; “The Inquest,” *Daily Alta California*, August 29, 1875.
- 349 *“Best thing he”*: Gertrude Atherton, *California: An Intimate History* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1914), p. 279.
- 349 *“Did you do”*: Grant Smith, “Ralston’s Death Stuns the Coast,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 8, p. 449, citing an interview with H. L. Slosson.
- 349 *“sad that such”*: “William C. Ralston,” *Daily Alta California*, August 28, 1875.
- 350 *Rumors abroad already claimed*: “The Financial Situation,” *Daily Alta California*, August 30, 1875.
- 350 *“resuscitated”*: “Brokers and Mining,” *Daily Alta California*, September 1, 1875.
- 351 *“proud and manly”*: “A Night of Rejoicing,” *Daily Alta California*, October 3, 1875.
- 351 *“a feat that”*: “The Bank of California,” *Daily Alta California*, October 3, 1875.
- 351 *net worth at \$75 million . . . “richest man”*: This is likely an estimate puffed up by the capital value of his stock holdings, which he couldn’t have sold without cratering their value. “The Effect in This City,” *New York Times*, August 28, 1875.
- 352 *“Fire!”*: “Virginia City Destroyed by Fire October 26, 1875,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 8, pp. 455–61.
- 352 *“lodging house [of]”*: “Virginia’s Calamity,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 28, 1875.
- 352 *“flamed like a”*: “Virginia City Destroyed by Fire October 26, 1875,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 8, pp. 455–61.
- 353 *“hideous and demoralizing”*: “The Burning of Virginia City,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 28, 1875.
- 353 *“with a rush”*: “The Burning of Virginia City,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 28, 1875.
- 353 *“cyclone of fire”*: “Virginia City Destroyed by Fire October 26, 1875,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 8, pp. 455–61.
- 354 *“Oh, Mr. Mackay”*: Goodwin, *As I Remember Them*, p. 161.
- 355 *“his old miner”*: “Characteristic,” *Territorial Enterprise*, October 28, 1875, photostat copy in the Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17.
- 355 *“superhuman”*: “Virginia’s Calamity,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 28, 1875.
- 356 *“all the small”*: “Latest Despatches,” *Daily Alta California*, August 28, 1875.
- 357 *turned to light rain*: For the Virginia City fire, see “Terrible Calamity,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 26, 1875; “A Disaster to San Francisco,” “A Terrible Fire!,” “Despatches to Senator Sharon,” “Financial and Commercial,” “Help Virginia City,” “The Virginia Disaster,” “Mining Stocks and Mining,” “The Very Latest on the Fire,” *Daily Alta California*, October 27, 1875; “Pacific Coast” and “Local Brevities,” *Los Angeles Herald*, October 27, 1875; “Conflagration at Virginia City,” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, October 27, 1875; “A Fortunate Precaution,” “The Great Fire,” and “The Vir-

ginia City Fire,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 27, 1875; “The Virginia Fire,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, October 27, 1875; “After the Fire,” “Financial and Commercial,” and “The Latest Despatches,” *Daily Alta California*, October 28, 1875; “Lessons of the Fire,” “Some Consequences of the Fire,” and “The Burning of Virginia City,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 28, 1875; “Virginia City. Condition of the Mines,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, October 28, 1875; “Financial and Commercial,” “The Future of Virginia City,” “Virginia City,” *Daily Alta California*, October 29, 1875; “After the Great Fire,” “The Future of Virginia City,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 29, 1875; “The Great Mining Camp Destroyed,” *Pacific Rural Press*, October 30, 1875; “Virginia City Destroyed by Fire October 26, 1875,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 8, pp. 455–61; Goodwin, *As I Remember Them*, p. 161. For all pertaining to Mary Jane Simpson and her death, see “Mary Jane Simpson. The Wonderful Mule of the Big Bonanza,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, January 27, 1876.

357 *A series of heavy showers*: Doten, *The Journals of Alf Doten*, pp. 1261–62, entries for October 26 and 27, 1875.

357 “*begrimed with dust*”: “Characteristic,” *Territorial Enterprise*, October 28, 1875, photostat copy in the Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17. (Plausibly, it was Dan de Quille who spoke.)

#### Chapter 16: The Bonanza King

359 “*determined to come*”: “Virginia Rising from Her Ashes,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 29, 1875.

359 *business was* O. C. Steele: “The Burning of Virginia City,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 28, 1875.

359 “*the Virginia sufferers*”: “Virginia Rising from Her Ashes,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 29, 1875.

360 “*Do it thoroughly*”: Goodwin, *As I Remember Them*, p. 161. In “Noted Actors Recipients of His Bounty,” *San Francisco Call*, July 21, 1902, the number is \$450,000.

360 “*no more fire*”: “The Bonanza Mines,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 29, 1875.

360 “*all right*”: “Reports in the City Yesterday,” John W. Mackay to Flood and O’Brien, *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 29, 1875.

360 “*coming from you*”: “Reports in the City Yesterday,” President S. F. S. and E. Board to John W. Mackay, *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 29, 1875.

361 “*sixty days will repair*”: Ibid.

361 “*The City Rapidly*”: “Virginia’s Energy,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 31, 1875.

361 “*Virginia comes up*”: Ibid.

361 “*I mean Mr. Mackay*”: Ibid.

362 “*keen, penetrating eyes*”: “Millionaire Mackay,” *Marin Journal*, September 29, 1881, citing *Washington Capital*, undated.

362 *worth many tens of millions of dollars*: “The Big Bonanza,” *New York Tribune*, August 27, 1875 (1875 estimates of Mackay’s worth varied wildly, but never seemed lower than \$20 million).

362 “*a fine Havana*”: “Virginia’s Energy,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 31, 1875.

362 “*Sacred to the Memory*”: “Mary Jane Simpson. The Wonderful Mule of the Big Bonanza,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, January 27, 1876.

362 *seven weeks after the fire*: Raymond, *Mines and Mining West of the Rocky Mountains*,

- Eighth Annual Report*, 1877, p. 154, citing James Fair's annual report for the year 1875.
- 363 *International Hotel rose*: Drury, *An Editor on the Comstock Lode*, p. 121.
- 363 *body was simply colossal*: Henry de Groot in John J. Powell, *Nevada: The Land of Silver*, pp. 94–95; George Becker's "Comstock Mine Maps, Number III," in the U.S.G.S.'s 1882 survey of the Comstock Lode.
- 363 *"about as high as"*: Young, *Men and Memories: Personal Reminiscences*, p. 442.
- 363 *wasn't on the lode for a period*: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 199, places Fair in the east; Lewis, *Silver Kings*, pp. 162–63; "Too Much for the Bonanza Firm," *New York Times*, December 12, 1879, mentions Fair "ailing"
- 363 *Mackay's cash income*: Calculations based on figures in "The Big Bonanza," *New York Tribune*, August 27, 1875, which said the Firm owned 62,000 of the Con. Virginia's 108,000 shares (57.4 percent) and 295,000 of the California's 540,000 shares (54.6 percent) and then calculating based on Mackay's three-eighths share of the Firm (57.4 percent of \$1.08 million = \$619,920;  $\$619,920 \times \frac{3}{8} = \$232,470$  from the Con. Virginia dividend) + (54.6 percent of \$1.08 million = \$589,680;  $\$589,680 \times \frac{3}{8} = \$221,130$  from the California dividend) = \$453,600 *per month*. High-end figures based on other sources claim the Firm's ownership reached 75 percent.
- 364 *half the states in the Union*: The Firm's nemesis Squire Dewey made the very comparison at the Con. Virginia's annual meeting in January 1877.
- 364 *length of the bank*: "San Francisco Items," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 16, 1878.
- 364 *"W-w-well"*: Grant Smith heard the story from William E. Sharon, nephew of William Sharon: Grant Smith Collection, Mackay MSS, 13, Box 4, Folder 2; versions of it are in "The Bonanza Boss," *New York Times*, July 8, 1878, citing *Paris Figaro* and "John W. Mackay Dies After a Brief Illness," *New York Herald*, July 21, 1902, quoting Robert Gracey.
- 364 *approximately 20,000*: *New York Tribune* reported 25,000 in Virginia City in the summer of 1875, but Storey County's 1875 census reported 19,528 in the whole county. That number probably increased in 1876 and 1877. Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 197.
- 364 *operated by the Bonanza Firm*: The Con. Virginia and California mines had 933 men on their payroll in October 1876: "Mining Intelligence," *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 14, 1876.
- 365 *"drinking saloons more"*: "The Big Bonanza," *New York Tribune*, August 27, 1875. Although written the previous year, I'm confident the article's observations hold true for the summer of 1876.
- 365 *"ask no better"*: "Sunday on the Comstock," *Mining & Scientific Press*, October 28, 1876.
- 365 *"one expects streets"*: *Pacific Tourist*, 1877, p. 210; see also Miriam Florence Leslie, *California: A Pleasure Trip from Gotham to the Golden Gate, April, May, June, 1877* (New York: G.W. Carleton & Co., 1877), p. 277. *"a curiosity to find"*: "Comstock Sparks and Cinders," *Daily Alta California*, November 14, 1875, citing *Gold Hill Daily News*.
- 366 *John and Louise decided*: Although *Silver Platter*, a fictionalized account of Louise Mackay's life written by John and Louise's granddaughter, Ellin Mackay Berlin, and accepted as gospel by many subsequent historians, makes much of Louise Mackay's moving to New York in the summer of 1876, having her attempts to break into "so-

ciety” brutally snubbed by Yankee aristocrats, and then boldly moving to Paris in the aftermath, events likely didn’t play out in such pat novelistic fashion. A small item in the April 16, 1876, issue of the *San Francisco Chronicle* gives evidence that John and Louise Mackay had the Paris move planned before they left California. The blurb said Mackay and his family would soon leave for the Centennial Exhibition and that “Mrs. Mackay will next proceed to Paris, where her father, Major Hungerford, now is.” Louise Mackay had passed through New York on several previous occasions. She was almost certainly well aware of the painful humiliations an up-jumped Catholic seamstress received in the foyers and parlors of Yankee blue-blood Protestant society. The author has found no contemporary evidence or memory attributed to one of the Mackays’ contemporaries that supports the account in Ellin Berlin’s novel, including in Ms. Berlin’s four boxes of research in the University of Nevada archives; also, the timeline doesn’t leave much opportunity for an attempted move to New York. The Mackays left California in mid-May, toured the Centennial Exhibition, then departed New York for Europe on June 10 or 11; Louise’s parents and sister had been in Paris since at least the previous November: “Californians in Paris,” *Daily Alta California*, December 4 and 16, 1875, and January 16 and 28, March 19, and June 7, 1876.

366 *escaped California in mid-May*: “Going to the Centennial,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 17, 1876.

366 *SS Adriatic*: “Passengers Sailed,” *New York Times*, June 11, 1876.

367 *Van Bokkelen had also been*: “The Virginia Calamity,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, July 5, 1873.

367 *1.5 million francs*: “Grant in Paris,” *New York Herald*, November 22, 1877.

367 *Mackay back in the Comstock*: “News Items from Nevada,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, August 15, 1876; “J. W. Mackay” had arrived in New York aboard the SS *St. Germaine* from Le Havre on August 3; *New York Times*, August 4, 1876.

367 *he sold the house*: Real estate agent William Magee to Grant Smith, June 9, 1930, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 18.

367 *Con. Virginia raised \$16.7 million*: “Nevada Production,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 20, 1877, although Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 200, credits the Con. Virginia with \$15.3 million for the year. I cleaved to the more contemporary number; California mine in 1876—\$13.4 gross yield, \$8.64 in dividends: “The California Bonanza” and “Nevada Production,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 20, 1877.

367 *That year, the three mints*: Mint statistics for 1876—\$46,583,450 in gold coin, \$24,245,257 in silver, \$70,828,707 total: “Financial and Commercial,” *Daily Alta California*, January 12, 1877.

367 *The root problem was*: “Fair’s Misleading Report,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB (box and folder unrecorded due to author oversight); Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 199–202; Makley, *John Mackay*, pp. 106–8.

368 *“good name”*: “Americans Mourn Loss of Mackay,” *San Francisco Call*, July 21, 1902, quoting P. H. Lannan.

368 *“like Jews”*: “San Francisco,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 12, 1878.

368 *“Square dealing”*: “The Bonanza Kings,” *New York Times*, May 21, 1885, quoting the correspondence of St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, May 9, 1885.

368 *“the sharpest and”*: Ibid.

- 368 “hired fighters”: “The Senatorship,” *Carson Morning Appeal*, September 30, 1882, which said Fair had kept the bodyguard “for years.”
- 368 “Those lads would”: “John W. Mackay and the Comstock Lode,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 12.
- 368 “the jolly millionaire”: “San Francisco, May 5, 1878,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 12, 1878.
- 369 “the most handsome”: “Frisco,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 2, 1877; Benjamin Lloyd, *Lights and Shades in San Francisco*, pp. 334–35.
- 370 “given their time”: For the smoking anecdote, see “Tales of His Life,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 30, 1894; Goodwin, *As I Remember Them*, pp. 180–81; “Flush Times on the Comstock,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 3, 1898; William Gillis, *Memories of Mark Twain and Steve Gillis* (Sonora, CA: Banner, 1924), pp. 94–96; John Taylor Waldorf, *A Kid on the Comstock: Reminiscences of a Virginia City Childhood* (Sanger, CA: American West Publishing Company, 1970), p. 62.
- 370 “the more oil”: “Frisco,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 2, 1877; Lloyd, *Lights and Shades in San Francisco*, pp. 334–35.
- 370 “Pat, have you”: Grant Smith, “Mackay as the Comstock Knew Him,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, citing an interview with “Pat,” who was probably too embarrassed to allow Smith to use his surname.
- 370 “What son-of-a-bitch stopped”: Grant Smith, “Mackay as the Comstock Knew Him,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, citing an interview with H. H. Bailey.
- 370 “I never received”: Sam Davis, “He Was Manly, He Was Kind, and He Was Honorable,” *San Francisco Examiner*, July 21, 1902.
- 371 “If I had”: Ibid.
- 371 “How much for”: Waldorf, *A Kid on the Comstock*, p. 62.
- 371 “on good terms”: Drury, *An Editor on the Comstock Lode*, pp. 135–37.
- 372 “I’ve lost the”: Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 4, Folder 1, citing Robert L. Fulton, of Reno.
- 372 “I always got”: Drury, *An Editor on the Comstock Lode*, pp. 65–66.
- 372 “It’s a John Mackay!”: Ibid., p. 65.
- 374 “dirty purse pride”: “Flood’s Foes,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 12, 1877; also, “Mining and Mining Stocks,” *Daily Alta California*, January 11 and 12, 1877; “Annual Meeting of Consolidated Virginia Stockholders,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, January 12, 1877; “Rights of Stockholders,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, January 20, 1877.
- 374 “We believe that”: “Mackey [sic] and White,” *Daily Alta California*, January 14, 1877.
- 374 “So explodes another”: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 204, citing *Daily Stock Report*, May 2, 1877.
- 374 “The Bonanza Kings”: “The Bonanza Kings,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 31, 1878.
- 374 “great disinclination to any”: “The Bonanza Kings,” *New York Times*, May 21, 1885, quoting the correspondence of *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, May 9, 1885.
- 375 “relaxing with his family”: “Pacific Coast Items,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 7, 1877.
- 375 “absence of five months”: “Brevities,” *Daily Alta California*, October 4, 1877.
- 375 “The dividends were financing”: Ron Chernow, *Grant* (New York: Penguin Press, 2017), p. 868.
- 375 “buy their old”: “The Mackay Family in San Francisco and Paris,” Grant Smith Col-

- lection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 8, citing a series of interviews with Alexander O'Grady, son of Alice O'Grady, the Mackay family nurse during those years. Both mother and son lived in the Mackay household through the Paris years. (The author could find no contemporary reference to the quip.)
- 376 *stepped down from the carriages*: "The Big Bonanza," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 7, 1877.
- 376 *switching between four languages*: "The Bonanza King," *Daily Alta California*, October 20, 1883, citing an interview with Colonel Tom Ochiltree.
- 376 *"an abundance of jewels"*: "The Big Bonanza," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 7, 1877.
- 376 *"everything that money"*: "Grant in Paris," *New York Herald*, November 22, 1877.
- 376 *"great sensational event"*: "Grant in Paris," *New York Herald*, November 22, 1877; "The Big Bonanza," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 7, 1877; "Paris astonished," *Memphis Public Ledger*, December 11, 1877, citing *New York World*.
- 377 *"social aurora borealis"*: "Paris Astonished," *Memphis Public Ledger*, December 11, 1877, citing *New York World*.
- 377 *"playing hostess to"*: "Frisco," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 2, 1877.
- 377 *"widely ambitious and"*: Ibid.
- 377 *Mackay seems to have spent*: "Brevities," *Daily Alta California*, May 22, 1878. For Mackay's arrival from Paris, see Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 225, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, October 18, 1878.
- 377 *"pièce de résistance"*: *Boston Gazette*, July 7, 1878, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin collection, UNR, 90-87/V/12/Douglas, Elaine.
- 377 *"one of the laws"*: "San Francisco," *Chicago Tribune*, May 12, 1878.
- 378 *"Fair is crazy"*: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 225, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, October 18, 1878.
- 378 *for much of that time*: "Too Much for the Bonanza Firm," *New York Times*, December 12, 1879.
- 379 *The 1881 "Bonanza Suits" ruling*: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, pp. 220–22.
- 379 *"wrongfully, wickedly, and"*: "San Francisco Items," *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 28, 1878.
- 379 *were convicted of fraud*: Makley, *John Mackay*, p. 133.
- 379 *"an old-fashioned Nevada"*: "The Bonanza King Fighting, August 5, 1879," *New York Times*, August 13, 1879.
- 379 *when General Grant visited*: "A Grand Greeting," *Daily Alta California*, October 28, 1879.
- 379 *in carriages with General Grant*: Ibid.
- 380 *Both Mackay and Fair kept*: "Tales of His Life," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 30, 1894.
- 380 *"might be proud"*: Eliot Lord, "The Mackay Memorial Statue," *World's Work*, Volume 13, 1906, p. 8161.
- 380 *"Mr. Mackay would make"*: Grant Smith, "Mackay Obituary Comments," Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 1, Folder 17, citing *New York Herald*, July 27, 1902.
- 380 *"Damn the heat!"*: Lord, "The Mackay Memorial Statue," *World's Work*, Volume 13, 1906, p. 8162.
- 380 *"'Tis a poor"*: Ibid.
- 381 *at around \$306 million*: Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, p. 417.

- 381 *Trinity Church*: Lord, "The Mackay Memorial Statue," *World's Work*, Volume 13, 1906, p. 8161.
- 381 *amounted to \$645,000*: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 220, footnote 3.
- 381 *fortune worth \$36 million*: Makley, *John Mackay*, p. 139, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, October 29, 1880.
- 381 *net worth at \$50 million*: "Men Who Are Worth," *Santa Cruz Weekly*, November 27, 1880.
- 382 *"habitual absentee"*: "The Result," *Sacramento Daily-Record Union*, November 6, 1880.
- 382 *"venality of the grossest"*: "The Nevada Senatorial Election," *Sacramento Daily-Record Union*, January 13, 1881.
- 382 *"rotten borough"*: "Mr. Fair's Seat," *Sacramento Daily-Record Union*, November 24, 1880.
- 382 *"more well supplied"*: *Gold Hill Daily News*, November 3, 1880.
- 382 *bagmen bribing voters*: "Nevada," *Sacramento Daily-Record Union*, November 3, 1880.
- 382 *Fair invested \$150,000*: "Pacific Coast Items," *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, November 29, 1880.
- 382 *"Colonel Jim Fair"*: *Gold Hill Daily News*, November 3, 1880.
- 382 *"saturnalia of corruption"*: Davis, *History of Nevada*, Vol. I, p. 422.
- 383 *arrived in Paris*: *Truth*, December 9, 1880, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/II/2.
- 383 *"like a sailor home"* . . . *John and Louise enjoyed*: Smith, "The Mackay Family in San Francisco and Paris," citing several interviews with Alexander O'Grady, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box and Folder unrecorded due to author oversight.
- 383 *"an immense oval turquoise"*: "Paris Gossip, December 24, 1880," *Chicago Tribune*, January 21, 1881.
- 383 *"a sumptuous ball"*: "Mackay," *Truth*, March 10, 1881, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/II/2.
- 383 *had retired hours before*: "Mrs. Mackay's Ball," *Chicago Tribune*, April 23, 1881.
- 384 *He added to his collection*: Makley, *John Mackay*, p. 123.
- 384 *Mackay in Rome*: "Miscellaneous," *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 11, 1881.
- 384 *most charitable woman in Paris*: "Mrs. Mackay's Ball," *Chicago Tribune*, April 23, 1881.
- 384 *"Louise, if you keep"*: For the descriptions of Mackay's personal habits in France: Smith, "The Mackay Family in San Francisco and Paris," citing several interviews with Alexander O'Grady, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box and Folder unrecorded due to author oversight.
- 385 *"family pride"*: "Mr. Mackay and 'The Herald,'" *New York Times*, September 18, 1885, citing an interview with John Russell Young.
- 385 *twenty-five-cents-per-word cost*: "Miscellaneous City News. Jay Gould's New Monopoly," *New York Times*, May 16, 1882.
- 385 *"Diamond Ball"*: "Foreign News," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 14, 1881; Berlin's *Silver Platter* has Bennett taking Mackay for a stroll after this party to interest Mackay in forming an alliance to fight Jay Gould's transatlantic telegraph "pool," but that likely didn't happen—Gould didn't organize the cartel until the spring of 1882.
- 385 *endless social triumphs*: "Mrs. Mackay's New Gown," *Los Angeles Herald*, May 29, 1881; "Foreign Facts," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 19, 1883. Paris Hilton, Kim



Kardashian, and other modern social media celebrities are direct descendants of Louise Mackay's telegraphic triumphs.

- 386 "Shoddy Abroad": *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 16, 1881; also, "The Parisians Boycott Mrs. Mackay," *Los Angeles Herald*, June 14, 1882, citing *London World*.
- 386 "Rank, fashion, and": "London," *Chicago Tribune*, May 31, 1881, "special correspondence" dated May 7, 1881.
- 386 *sudden appearance and dinner*: "Bonanza Mackay Gives a Dinner," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 3, 1881.
- 386 *Mackay passed through Los Angeles*: "Arrested on Suspicion—Mackay's Movements," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 15, 1881.
- 386 "epistletory bonanza": "An Epistletory Bonanza," [sic] *Carson Morning Appeal*, June 4, 1881.
- 386 *modest \$1 million investment*: "The Penalty of Wealth," *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 22, 1881, quoting *Territorial Enterprise*, March 20, 1881; also, "Letters to Mackay," *Helena Weekly Herald*, June 23, 1881.
- 386 *the worst annual showing*: Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode*, p. 230.
- 387 "as if he intended": "Mackay's Departure," *Carson Morning Appeal*, July 14, 1881.
- 387 *Mackay left New York*: "Passengers for Europe," *New York Times*, July 13, 1881.
- 387 *penned it from Moscow*: "John W. Mackay Among the Russians," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 17, 1881.
- 387 "the King and": "General Notes," *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 13, 1881.
- 387 *Mackay arrived on the Comstock*: "Passenger Lists" and "Died En Route," *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, July 8, 1882; "This Morning's News," *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, July 10, 1882.
- 387 "looking as fresh": "Mr. Mackay in the Lower Levels," *New York Times*, July 17, 1882, citing *Territorial Enterprise*, July 9, 1882.
- 387 *He spent much of the next*: "Comstock Mines," *Daily Alta California*, August 7, 1882.
- 388 "arch-trickster": "Editorial Article No. 4," *New York Times*, January 5, 1883.
- 388 *Gould's "pooling agreement" had*: "Miscellaneous City News. Jay Gould's New Monopoly," *New York Times*, May 16, 1882; Maury Klein, *The Life and Legend of Jay Gould* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 281, 312.
- 388 *Mackay returned to San Francisco*: "Senator Jones," *Carson Morning Appeal*, October 8, 1882.
- 388 *via the southern route*: "Local Brevities," *Los Angeles Herald*, October 11, 1882.
- 388 "if ornament it": "Mackay in the East," *Carson Morning Appeal*, October 19, 1882, datelined "Chicago, Oct. 18."
- 388 *continued across the Atlantic*: "In Brief," *Carson Morning Appeal*, October 20, 1882.
- 388 *wintered on the French Riviera*: "Social and Personal," *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, April 5, 1883.
- 388 *Gerard Douw's canvas*: "Telegraphic Trifles," *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, May 2, 1883.
- 388 "at loggerheads": "Nevada's Senator," *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, April 28, 1883, citing correspondence to *Chicago Herald*, either written on or published on April 17, 1883.
- 388 "wildcat claims": "The Unhappy Couple," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 8, 1883.
- 388 "countless infidelities": "Nevada's Senator," *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, April 28, 1883, citing correspondence to *Chicago Herald*, either written on or published on April 17, 1883.

- 388 “soiled the senatorial”: “The Unhappy Couple,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 8, 1883.
- 388 “suffer in silence”: “Nevada’s Senator,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, April 28, 1883, citing correspondence to *Chicago Herald*, either written on or published on April 17, 1883.
- 388 “flashing black eyes”: “Nevada’s Senator,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, April 28, 1883, citing correspondence to *Chicago Herald*, either written on or published on April 17, 1883.
- 389 “curtain lectures”: “The Unhappy Couple,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 8, 1883.
- 389 “on his ancient”: “Nevada’s Senator,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, April 28, 1883, citing correspondence to *Chicago Herald*, either written on or published on April 17, 1883.
- 389 “a chip off”: “Nevada’s Senator,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, April 28, 1883.
- 389 liberal enjoyment of liquor: “A Sensational Rumor,” *Los Angeles Herald*, April 17, 1883.
- 389 Paso Robles: “Late Telegrams,” *Los Angeles Herald*, April 18, 1883.
- 389 filed for divorce: “Nevada,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, May 14, 1883.
- 389 “Public opinion was”: “The Bonanza Kings,” *New York Times*, May 21, 1885, quoting the correspondence of *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, May 9, 1885.
- 389 “a matter of regret”: “The Senatorship,” *Carson Morning Appeal*, September 30, 1882.
- 390 “the present Emperor”: “Crowned Czar of Russias,” *New York Times*, May 28, 1883.
- 390 “the whole European”: “Foreign,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, June 4, 1883.
- 390 “one of the most interesting”: “Mackay Gives a Dinner,” *Los Angeles Herald*, June 1, 1883.
- 390 Mackay chatted pleasantly with: *New York Herald*, May 27, 1883, article transcribed in the Ellin Berlin Collection, UNR, 90-87/V/12 “Douglas, Elaine.”
- 390 thirty-five-year career: “Incidents of the Great Day,” *New York Times*, May 28, 1883.
- 390 best-dressed woman: “Mrs. Mackay Dies,” *New York Herald-Tribune*, September 28, 1928.
- 391 “profanely contemptuous”: “The Mackay Family in San Francisco and Paris,” Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 8, citing a series of interviews with Alexander O’Grady, son of Alice O’Grady, the Mackay family nurse during those years. The O’Grady’s lived in the Mackay household.

## Chapter 17: The Cable War

- 394 “a heap of clothes”: Eliot Felton Franklin, *The Secrets of Internal Revenue: Exposing the Whiskey Ring, Gold Ring, and Drawback Frauds; Divulging the Systematic Pillage of the Public Treasury and Filchings of the Revenue; with Astounding Disclosures of Organized Depredations, Conspiracies, and Raids on the Government and People, and Vivid Portrayals of Official Turpitude, Malfeasance, Tyranny, and Corruption* (Philadelphia: William Flint, 1870), p. 444.
- 394 “from thousands of people”: “How Great Fortunes Are Made,” *New York Times*, May 14, 1883.
- 394 “an unscrupulous gambler”: “The Bennett-Mackay Cable,” *New York Times*, May 23, 1884.
- 394 “His touch is”: Klein, *The Life and Legend of Jay Gould*, p. 3.

- 396 *and divided the traffic*: The history of transoceanic cable rates is nicely summed up in “The Cable Rate War in Its True Light,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1886.
- 396 *Gould’s controlling all traffic*: The summary of Gould’s career is drawn largely from Klein, *The Life and Legend of Jay Gould*; also, Edward J. Renehan, Jr., *Dark Genius of Wall Street: The Misunderstood Life of Jay Gould, King of the Robber Barons*.
- 396 “some special service”: Young, *Men and Memories*, p. 445.
- 397 *slow to adopt iron-hulled shipbuilding*: John H. Morrison, *History of New York Shipyards*, pp. 154–58.
- 397 *hired two telegraph experts*: “The New Telegraph Company,” *Nevada State Journal*, August 19, 1883.
- 397 *Rumor said he’d soon head*: “Social and Personal,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, August 2, 1883.
- 397 “Mackey’s New Venture”: *New York Times*, August 16, 1883; “Mr. Mackey in Control,” *New York Times*, August 17, 1883.
- 397 *had been created to combat*: “The Postal Telegraph Company,” *New York Times*, August 15, 1883.
- 397 *formed a syndicate*: “Mackey’s New Venture,” *New York Times*, August 16, 1883.
- 397 *Mackay retained control*: “The Postal Telegraph’s President,” *New York Times*, August 28, 1883.
- 398 “a want of system”: “The Postal Telegraph Scheme,” *New York Times*, July 8, 1883.
- 398 “betoken a resolute”: “The Postal Telegraph Company,” *New York Times*, August 15, 1883.
- 398 *Western Union telegraphers surrendered*: “Some Results of the Strike,” *New York Times*, August 18, 1883.
- 398 *Gould testified before Congress*: One of the articles about Gould’s Senate testimony: “The Preying Christian,” *New York Times*, September 6, 1883.
- 398 “gigantic opposition”: “The Postal Telegraph Company,” *Reno Gazette-Journal*, August 21, 1883; “The Postal Telegraph,” *Los Angeles Herald*, August 22, 1883.
- 398 *Gould was struggling*: Klein, *The Life and Legend of Jay Gould*, pp. 318–22.
- 398 “I am not fool”: “John Mackay,” *Nevada State Journal*, October 5, 1883.
- 398 *thirty-one-hundred-foot levels*: “The Lower Levels,” *Reno Gazette-Journal*, October 18, 1883.
- 398 *from Amelia Smallman*: “Looking for John Mackay,” *Reno Gazette-Journal*, September 28, 1883.
- 399 *mining property in Colorado*: “Jottings,” *Reno Gazette-Journal*, October 30, 1883.
- 399 Salt Lake City Tribune: “General Notes,” *New York Times*, November 22, 1883.
- 399 “doing Texas”: “Condensed Dispatches,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, November 27, 1883.
- 399 \$400,000 on the Peerless mines: “Arizona,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, December 7, 1883.
- 399 Quijotoa Mountains: “Arizona’s New Mining Boom,” *Daily Alta California*, December 17, 1883.
- 399 “National Cable Railway”: “Office, United Bank Building, No. 2 Wall Street,” *New York Tribune*, December 20, 1883.
- 399 *lacked a thorough understanding*: Mackay expressed this exact sentiment in a letter he wrote to Edward Stokes on April 30, 1885: “The Stokes–Mackay Suit,” *New York Times*, January 23, 1892.

- 399 *highest-quality technology available*: "The Postal Telegraph," *New York Times*, August 23, 1883.
- 399 *Postal strung new lines*: "Extending Postal Telegraph Wires," *New York Times*, August 31, 1883.
- 399 *blacklisted strike refugees*: "Many Rue Passing of Mackay's Name," *New York Times*, April 22, 1928.
- 399 *more comprehensive charter*: "Western Union's New Rivals," *New York Times*, December 2, 1883.
- 399 *The new Postal put*: "A New Cable Company," *New York Times*, October 19, 1883; "Against Western Union," *New York Times*, October 21, 1883; "Mr. Mackay Elected President," *New York Times*, January 1, 1884.
- 399 *swiftly morphed*: "Ocean Cable Company," *Reno Gazette-Journal*, October 1, 1883.
- 399 *construction of two new cables*: "Two New Cables to Be Laid," *New York Times*, October 18, 1883.
- 399 *incorporated a new enterprise*: "The New Cable Company," *New York Times*, December 13, 1883.
- 400 *"mild surprise"*: "Mr. Mackey [sic] on Jay Gould," *New York Times*, October 18, 1883; "Mackay and Gould," *Carson Morning Appeal*, October 25, 1883.
- 400 *"thank[ed] heaven"*: "Another Cable," *Daily Alta California*, October 29, 1883.
- 400 *monstrous monopoly*: "A Lightning Revolution," *Nevada State Journal*, August 28, 1883.
- 400 *London Truth "congratulated"*: "The London Truth," *Weekly State Nevada Journal*, December 15, 1883.
- 400 *bound for Liverpool*: "Marine Intelligence," *New York Times*, December 13, 1883.
- 400 *"in the happiest"*: "Sparks from the Wires," *Daily Alta California*, December 13, 1883.
- 400 *"Enemies are my"*: "John W. Mackay and His Friends," *New York Times*, July 27, 1902.
- 400 *"I'm as confident"*: "Personals," *Daily Alta California*, December 12, 1883.
- 400 *"transit a realm"*: Young, *Men and Memories*, p. 451.
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- 413 *"Mr. Gould never"*: "Wall Street Talk," *New York Times*, October 26, 1887.
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- 414 *"I have tried"*: Young, *Men and Memories*, p. 450. (If there is a contemporary reference for this quote, I have been unable to find it.)

## Chapter 18: Twilight

- 416 “[Mackay] never seemed”: “Mackay’s Fortune,” Grant Smith, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 4, citing Edgar Bradley.
- 417 *In the spirit of bygoners*: “The Week in Society,” *New York Tribune*, June 17, 1894.
- 417 “dying by inches” . . . *Flood died*: Makley, *John Mackay*, p. 191; “Death of Flood,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 22, 1889; “Death of James C. Flood,” *New York Sun*, February 22, 1889.
- 417 “Billy was my partner”: Young, *Men and Memories*, p. 443; also, “Very Near Death,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 21, 1893.
- 418 *Willie began serving*: J. W. Mackay, Jr., was listed among the Commercial Cable Company’s directors in “Commercial Cable Company Affairs,” *New York Times*, March 21, 1883. He may have gone on the board earlier.
- 418 *gave it to Louise on the occasion*: “Leinster House, the . . .,” *Sun and the Erie County Independent* of Hamburg, New York, May 1, 1891.
- 418 “a half-insane”: “John W. Mackay,” *New York Tribune*, February 25, 1893; “Mackay Shot,” *Reno Gazette-Journal*, February 24, 1893. Some sources name him William C. Rippey, others Wesley C. The latter seems most common in the contemporary San Francisco newspapers.
- 419 “one of the richest”: “Mr. Mackay’s Career,” *New York Times*, February 25, 1893.
- 419 “had not elevated him above”: “J. W. Mackay Is Shot,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 25, 1893.
- 419 “The crank that”: “John W. Mackay Will Soon Recover,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 26, 1893.
- 419 *Mackay convalesced rapidly*: “The Wounded Men,” *San Francisco Morning Call*, February 26, 1893.
- 419 *Willie joined them*: “Her Old Home,” *Oakland Tribune*, April 10, 1893.
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- 420 “a few days’ rest”: “Mrs. Mackay Resting,” *San Francisco Call*, April 12, 1893.
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- 420 *endless orange groves*: “John W. Mackay,” *San Bernardino Daily Courier*, April 27, 1893.
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- 421 “From this window”: “John W. Mackay and His Friends,” *New York Times*, July 27, 1902. The house itself was long gone.
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- 421 “feminine adornments”: “Squandered Mackay’s Money,” *New York Times*, November 30, 1893.
- 421 “couldn’t be expected”: “Tired of Her Prince,” *New York World*, November 29, 1893.
- 422 “contented himself with”: “Squandered Mackay’s Money,” *New York Times*, November 30, 1893.
- 422 “I am glad”: “Tired of Her Prince,” *New York World*, November 29, 1893.

- 422 *she fled with them*: “Princess Colonna in Retirement,” *New York Times*, February 13, 1894.
- 422 *Eighteen months later*: “Princess Colonna Gets Her Liberty,” *New York Times*, April 6, 1895.
- 422 *“Fair did not have”*: “Fair’s Will Filed,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 30, 1894.
- 422 *“who refused to”*: “The Bonanza Kings,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, January 9, 1895.
- 422 *Jonas M. Walker*: “Once a Rich Man,” *San Francisco Call*, January 3, 1895; “Died a Poor Man,” *San Francisco Call*, January 4, 1895.
- 423 *to have Dr. Bryant’s body moved*: Pioneer Memorial Park to Grant Smith, September 2, 1930, Grant Smith Collection, UCB.
- 423 *“it did not yield”*: “An Interview,” *Reno Gazette-Journal*, June 15, 1895.
- 423 *“trace upon him”*: “John W. Mackay,” *Reno Gazette-Journal*, October 11, 1895.
- 424 *“Notify father to”*: “Obituary No. 1—No Title,” *New York Times*, October 20, 1895; “J. W. Mackay, Jr. Dead,” *San Francisco Call*, October 19, 1895.
- 424 *funeral fit for a king*: “Funeral of J. W. Mackay, Jr.,” *New York Tribune*, October 23, 1895.
- 425 *John Mackay didn’t leave*: “Date of the Funeral Is Not Fixed,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 22, 1895; “John W. Mackay Going East,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 25, 1895.
- 425 *“Oh, God, what”*: “The Death of John W. Mackay, Jr.,” Grant Smith, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box and Folder unrecorded due to author oversight, citing Edmond Godchaux, one of the two San Francisco friends who stayed with Mackay that awful night.
- 425 *“the saddest journey”*: “The Death of John W. Mackay, Jr.,” Grant Smith, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box and Folder unrecorded due to author oversight, citing John Rosenfeld.
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- 425 *“deep regret”*: Frank Marshall White, “12 O’Clock,” *Buffalo Evening News*, June 21, 1897.
- 426 *“one of the very best”*: “John W. Mackay Is Dead,” *Brooklyn Daily Double Eagle*, July 21, 1902.
- 426 *“lighten her mourning”*: “What Is Doing in Society,” *New York Times*, January 3, 1899; also, “Women Leaders,” *Buffalo Commercial*, July 8, 1899; “What Is Doing in Society,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1899.
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- 427 *“the highest of all rich men”*: “John W. Mackay,” *Goodwin’s Weekly*, July 26, 1902.



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- 430 "services of the simplest": "Mackay at Funeral with Mrs. Berlin," *New York Times*, September 14, 1928.
- 431 *enormous chunk of ITT stock*: Grant Smith, "Cable Business," p. 692, Grant Smith Collection, UCB, Box 2, Folder 4.
- 432 *one of the most influential articles*: Ian Frazier's article "The Cabaret Beat" in the February 23 and March 2, 2015, issues of *The New Yorker* centers on Ellin Mackay's article.