BODIE, CALIFORNIA: UNDERSTANDING THE ARCHITECTURE AND BUILT ENVIRONMENT OF A GOLD MINING TOWN

by

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A THESIS

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Constructed between 1878-1900, the architecture of Bodie is principally vernacular, representing familiar architectural styles that were being constructed during the times, using a hodgepodge of diverse construction techniques. Bodie, like many western mining towns, was considered temporary when initially constructed. Reuse of building parts and relocation of entire structures were two repetitive problems common when examining mining town architecture.

This thesis research is a historic architectural survey of the California State Park of Bodie that analyzes extant buildings' styles, histories, and construction techniques for three specific building types: residential, commercial, and public. In Bodie, fifteen buildings were surveyed and seven were chosen for formal architectural descriptions, which revealed similarities as well as differences. The purpose of this thesis was to complete full architectural descriptions on standing buildings and their auxiliaries that include full historical research.

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DEDICATION

To my little sister Jamie. . . for assisting me to record Bodie.
With limited architectural experience, a brilliant memory and a keen eye,
you will always amaze me.

AND

To the heavy-metal music of Metallica . . . for lending me your high-voltage thoughts.
During the wee hours of the morning over a steaming cup of coffee,
you calmed and piloted the storm within me.

"Turn the Page . . ."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	Thesis Methodology	12
II.	CALIFORNIA MINING HISTORY: MOTHER LODE TO VIRGINIA CITY	17
	Placer Mining	18
	Hard Rock and Cyanide Mining	20
	Virginia City, Nevada	22
	Mining Town Construction and Establishment	27
III.	THE HISTORY OF BODIE	33
	Early History: 1859-1877	33
	The Excitement: 1877-1881	38
	Decline: 1881-1890	44
	Revival: 1891-1911	46
	Ghost Town: 1912-1927	49
	Revival: 1928-1931	50
	Ghost Town: 1932-1954	53
	California State Park: 1954-Present	54
IV.	THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT	60
	Systems	62
	Streets and Transportation	62
	Water	65
	Fire	67
	Districts	69
	Chinatown	69
	Red-Light	74
	Commercial	78
	Residential	84
	Paiute Indians	86
	Cemeteries	89

Page

V. ARCHITECTURE OF BODIE 91

Building Construction 95
Foundations 95
Walls 97
Roofs 102
Heating System 103
Lighting 104
Architectural Details and Styles 105
Outbuildings 110

VI. BODIE SURVEYS 112

Residential Architecture 114
J.S. Cain House 116
Lottie Johl House 123
Patrick Reddy House 133
Moyle-North House 141
Commercial Architecture 144
Boone Store and Warehouse 147
Mortuary 158
Civic Architecture 161
Bodie Jail 164

VII. CONCLUSION 169

FIGURES 175

APPENDIX 273

A. HISTORIC PRIMARY DOCUMENTS 274

B. BODIE SURVEYORS 280

BIBLIOGRAPHY 285

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.	Robert "Bobby" T. Bell with His Black Dog, Lady	176
2.	Map of Northern California	177
3.	Mother Lode Area	178
4.	Malakoff Diggings, California State Historic Park	179
5.	North Bloomfield, California State Historic Park	179
6.	Standard Mill of 1899, Bodie, California	180
7.	Interior of a Bodie Cyanide Plant Showing Leaching Vats	180
8.	Modular Building Coming in or out of Bodie by Way of the Railway	181
9.	A Dugout in Candelaria, Nevada	181
10.	The Savage Mansion, Virginia City, Nevada	182
11.	An Italianate Cottage on "B" Street in Virginia City, Nevada	182
12.	San Francisco, Circa 1875	183
13.	Old Sacramento Commercial District in Sacramento, California	183
14.	Nevada City Commercial District in Nevada City, California	184
15.	False Front Commercial Building in Marietta, Nevada	184
16.	Back View of a Commercial Building from "D" Street in Virginia City, Nevada	185
17.	Front View of a Commercial Building from "C" Street in Virginia City, Nevada	185
18.	A Firehouse in Nevada City, California	186
19.	A Schoolhouse in North Bloomfield, California	186

Page

20. A Courthouse in Virginia City, Nevada 187
21. Bodie Area Map 188
22. Main Street after the 1892 Fire 189
23. Galactic Mining District on Bodie Bluff 189
24. Bodie Bowl Area, 1999 190
25. Historic View of Chinatown, Looking West 191
26. Historic View of Chinatown, Looking East 191
27. Red-Light District of Bonaza Street behind Main Street in Bodie 192
28. Drafted Drawing of Historic Image Seen in Figure 27 193
29. Historic Interior of Ernest Mark's Saloon 194
30. Bodie Bank and the Post Office, Photographed by Frasher, Circa 1927 194
31. Paiute Indian Wigwam 195
32. Paiute Indian Fixed House 195
33. Frank Hessel House in Bodie 196
34. Foundation of the Selhorn House 197
35. Foundation of the Dolan House 197
36. Tin-Covered Foundation of the McDonald House 198
37. Tin-Wrapped Joists of the Murphy House 198
38. Cellar and Foundation of the Selhorn House 199
39. West Elevation of the Conway House 199
40. Post-on-Stone Foundation of the Miners' Union Hall 200
41. Balloon Frame Construction on the Harvey House 200
42. False-Front Facade of the Swazey Saloon 201

Page

43. Wallpaper Layers of the Murphy House 201
44. Drooping Wallpaper in the Sturgeon House 202
45. Wallpaper in the Seiler House Kitchen 202
46. Patterned-Tin in the Wheaton Hotel 203
47. Brick Facade of the Dechambeau Hotel 203
48. Brick Vault of the Bodie Bank 204
49. Brick Nogging on the Andrews House 204
50. Plaster on a Brick Nogged Building 205
51. Ruins of a Stone Doorway on Main Street 205
52. Ruins of a Stone Foundation of a Warehouse Building 206
53. Tin-Sheathing on the Dog-Face George House 206
54. Tin-Sheathing on the Indian House 207
55. A Crimping Machine 207
56. Decorative Pressed-Tin on the Exterior of a Bodie Building 208
57. Asphalt Shingles on the Bodie Railroad's Office 208
58. New Cedar Roof of the Sturgeon House, 1985 209
59. Cedar Roof of the Sturgeon House, 1997 209
60. The Hydroelectric Building 210
61. Transformers in the Hydroelectric Building 210
62. The Two-Room Kelly House 211
63. Lean-to Additions on Bodie Houses 211
64. Scrollwork Brackets on the Kirkwood House 212
65. Three-Cornered Window in the Burkham Boarding House 212

Page

66. Box-Bay Window of the McDonald House 213
67. Box-Bay Window of the Murphy House 213
68. Six-Lite Door on the Brown House 214
69. Six-Lite Door on the Murphy House 214
70. Rectangular Partition Wall in the Brown House 215
71. Arched Partition Wall in the Klipstein House 215
72. Stairwell in the D.V. Cain House 216
73. Decorative Linoleum in the Conway House 216
74. Eastlake Hardware in the Seiler House 217
75. Iron Stove in the Conway House 217
76. U.S. Hotel, Destroyed in the 1932 Fire 218
77. Mono House, Destroyed in the 1892 Fire 218
78. Occidental Hotel, Destroyed in the 1932 Fire 219
79. 1880 International Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF) Hall 219
80. Back View of Dechambeau Hotel and the IOOF Hall 220
81. 1883 Methodist-Episcopal Church 220
82. Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist, Destroyed in an Isolated Fire in 1928 221
83. Front Facade of the Wheaton Hotel and U.S. Land Office 221
84. Gas Fixtures in the Miners' Union Hall 222
85. Interior Decor of the Methodist Church 222
86. Outhouse 223
87. Tom Miller's Icehouse and Stable 223

Page

88. Interior Ice Stalls of the Tom Miller's Icehouse and Stable 224
89. Gambrel Barn Behind the Mortuary 224
90. Bodie, 1890-1899 225
91. D.V. Cain House, Circa. 1879 226
92. L.E. Bell House, Circa. 1890 226
93. J.S. Cain House Photographed in the 1930s 227
94. East Elevation of the J.S. Cain House 227
95. Southeast View of the J.S. Cain House 228
96. Historic View of the J.S. Cain House, Photographed on the 4th of July 228
97. Detail of a Pilaster on the South Elevation on the J.S. Cain House 229
98. South Elevation of the J.S. Cain House 229
99. Cross-Section View of the J.S. Cain House, Drafted by HABS in 1962 230
100. North Elevation of the J.S. Cain House 230
101. Park Service Addition to J.S. Cain House 231
102. Roof Plan of the J.S. Cain House 232
103. First and Second Floor of the J.S. Cain House 233
104. Fireplace Detail from HABS Drawings 234
105. Interior View of the Parlor of the J.S. Cain House 234
106. Historic Image of the Interior of the Lottie Johl House 235
107. Northeast View of the Lottie Johl House 236
108. Southwest View of the Lottie Johl House 236
109. Roof and Interior Plan of the Lottie Johl House 237

Page

110. Bargeboard Silhouette of the Lottie Johl House 238
111. Historic View of the Exterior of the Lottie Johl House 238
112. Double Bracketed Windows of the Lottie Johl House 239
113. Hooded Entryway of the Lottie Johl House 239
114. Grained Panels in Entryway of the Lottie Johl House 240
115. Parlor Space of Lottie Johl House 240
116. Parlor Ceiling of the Lottie Johl House 241
117. Parlor Wallpaper of the Lottie Johl House 241
118. Parlor Wood Stove 242
119. Dining Room Ceiling of the Lottie Johl House 242
120. Muslin Located in the Dining Room of the Lottie Johl House 243
121. Dining Room of the Lottie Johl House 243
122. East Elevation of the Pat Reddy House 244
123. Wood Mill Built by J.S. Cain in the 1930s 244
124. Charles and Annie Donnelly House 245
125. Foundation of the Pat Reddy House 245
126. Northwest View of the Pat Reddy House 246
127. Southwest View of the Pat Reddy House 246
128. Roof and Interior Plans of the Pat Reddy House 247
129. Wood Stove of the Pat Reddy House 248
130. Linoleum Floor Covering of the Pat Reddy House 248
131. Dining Room of the Pat Reddy House 249
132. Kitchen of the Pat Reddy House 249

Page

133. Historic Waterheater of the Pat Reddy House 250
134. East Elevation of the Moyle-North House 251
135. Roof and Interior Plan of the Moyle-North House 251
136. Interior of the Moyle-North House 252
137. Mary McCann House on Wood Street 252
138. Sam Leon's Bar and Barbershop on Main Street 253
139. North Elevation of the Boone Store 254
140. South Elevation of the Boone Store 254
141. Historic View of the South Elevation of the Boone Store 255
142. Historic View of the False-Front of the Boone Store 255
143. Southeast View of the Boone Store 256
144. Northwest View of the Boone Store 256
145. Roof Plan of the Boone Store 257
146. Interior Plan of the Boone Store 258
147. North Interior Store Space of the Boone Store 259
148. South Interior Store Space of the Boone Store with Electric Lightbulb 259
149. Patterned-Tin on the Ceiling in the Boone Store 260
150. Wood Stove in the Boone Store 260
151. Office Spaces of the Boone Store 261
152. Interior Storage Area of the Boone Store, Reinforced by the California State Park 261
153. Double Iron and Wooden Doors to the Boone Store Brick Warehouse 262
154. Sod Wall Next to the Boone Store Brick Warehouse 262

Page

155. Gas Pumps Outside Boone Store Installed by J.S. Cain in 1927 263
156. East Elevation of the Mortuary 264
157. Fifteen-Lite Front Door of the Mortuary 264
158. West Elevation of the Mortuary 265
159. Roof and Interior Plan of the Mortuary 265
160. Interior Door of the Mortuary 266
161. Lincrusta on the North Wall of the Mortuary 266
162. Full-Length Door of the Mortuary 267
163. Viewing Room of the Mortuary 267
164. Roof and Interior Plan of the Bodie Jail 268
165. South Elevation of the Bodie Jail 269
166. North Elevation of the Bodie Jail 269
167. Interior Cross-Paneling in the Bodie Jail 270
168. Interior Door, Between Front Space and Cells of the Bodie Jail 270
169. Ceiling of the Front Space of the Bodie Jail 271
170. Wallpaper Detail of the Bodie Jail 271
171. Wallpaper in the Jailer's Residence of the Bodie Jail 272

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I was first introduced to Bodie State Historic Park in August, 1985, at the age of 17 when my mother persuaded my younger brother, Craig, and me to go see the ghost town. She had read about the town in tourist magazines and decided on a whim during a Yosemite trip to take us there. I can remember being very impressed that much of the town was still standing, after fifty years of abandonment in an area that was practically void of trees in the middle of nowhere. The architecture and rustic nature of the buildings intrigued me, imprinting an image that to this day is still alive and was reinvigorated in this thesis research.

In 1989 while I was enrolled at West Valley Community College in Saratoga, California, my mother returned to Bodie with my 9-year-old sister, Jamie, and family friend Lorene Elder. Through the photographs she took, memories of my original trip to the ghost town of Bodie came back to me. By then I had taken my first Art History class in Spring 1989, and her visits gave me the idea of taking on Bodie's vernacular architecture as a potential research project. In September, 1992, while an undergraduate at the University of California, Santa Cruz, I returned for my second visit to Bodie, in a ghost town adventure with my friend Larry Guenther. Traveling through the eastern Sierra Nevada region down interstate California-Nevada Highway 395, I visited at least ten ghost towns, with Bodie as the final site. During this trip, I noticed that no ghost town or mining camp was comparable to Bodie. Ghost town sites, I have found, are either a bronze plaque

on the side of the road, a desolate scattering of vandalized shanties, or an attraction reconstructed for tourists, such as the towns of Virginia City, Nevada or Tombstone, Arizona. These "pristine" ghost towns were infected with a "Graceland" mentality, full of tacky Wild West souvenirs, old-time photo shops, and candy stores. No ghost town in the Sierra Nevada was preserved and intact, with an immense amount of 1880s architecture as I found in Bodie.

The main goal of this thesis is to understand the architecture and the built environment of Bodie from the time it was an active gold mining town to its present use as a California State Park. Prior to my work, no research has been completed on the subject of Bodie's architecture or on the architecture of 1880s Sierra Nevada mining towns. Gold was discovered in 1859, but the town did not boom until the late 1870s when approximately 2,000 structures were built to serve a population of 7,000-8,000 people.[1] With an "excitement" that only lasted three years, the town began to show signs of a decline as early as June, 1880. With the assistance of new mining and milling procedures, electric power, and leasing operations, Bodie continued forward as a somewhat established mining town through the turn-of-the-century, although the population was gradually declining. In 1942, the town was emptied of all but a handful of residents who watched over and showed the then-ghost town to tourists. In 1962, Bodie was purchased from private owners by the California State Park system to be preserved in its ghost town state as a state park.

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[1] The population during "the excitement" is conjectural. The US Federal Census of 1880 recorded the population at 5,410 people. Unfortunately, there is a very significant difference between these two numbers. This 8,000 is likely a more accurate number for Bodie's population, than the recorded census number. The approximate 3,000 difference may be simply unaccounted individuals who were transient, resided on or around the Bluff, or were not considered residents of the town by the census takers. It is also known that the 1880 census takers did not record everyone (Bodie Daily Standard, 5 September 1880 and Daily Free Press, 14 September 1880).

For over seven years, I have been in the process of coming to understand the 1880 gold mining town of Bodie, as well as its built environment. As a National Register Historic Place (1962), National Historic Landmark (1991), and World Heritage Site (1993), Bodie State Historic Park is one of few historic cultural resources that is preserved as a ghost town. Created in 1962 as a California State Park, Bodie has been left a ghost town physically unchanged with only internal stabilization; it attracts around 320,000 tourists to the park every year. With over 150 structures presently standing, Bodie is one of the best examples of both a ghost town and an 1880s gold mining camp. The architecture of the town represents the work of migrating "enthusiasts" that came to the town from the late 1870s, established homes and businesses, and then moved on to other prospering mining towns.

In mining history, Bodie is well known and distinguished. As a brief competitor to the Nevada silver mining town of Virginia City, Bodie was perceived as a rival and drew away over 3,000 people as Virginia City began to show signs of a depression starting between 1875-78. Nearly half of Bodie's Chinese population of over 300 people is believed to have come from Virginia City due to harsh restrictions on their culture.[2] Many entities were affected by Virginia City's decline, in particular the San Francisco Stock and Exchange. Rich San Francisco investors, profiting on Virginia City since the early 1860s, saw the stocks slump and began to look for new prosperous mining strikes. Besides the depression in the mining stock market, Virginia City miners were beginning to migrate to Bodie. During this period of 1877-1880, Bodie saw at least 10 to 25 new arrivals a day and mining stocks jumped from 50 cents to $54.00 per share.[3] Unable to

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[2] H.L. Smith, "The Bodie Era: The Chronicles of the Last Old Time Mining Camp," (Unpublished manuscript of newspaper documents from the Bodie Daily Standard, the Bodie Weekly Free Press, and the Bodie Chronicle, 1877-1883. Sacramento: California State Library, January 1934): 11.

[3] In today's monetary standards, $1.00 in 1880 is the equivalent to approximately $18.28 presently. Therefore, 50 cents is the equivalent to $9.14 and $54.00 is $987.12 per share.

support such a rush of people, Bodie struggled with unemployment and housing problems as it succeeded with difficulty to accommodate its eighty-eight percent male population. During this brief period Bodie's fame arose as a rough-natured town, and the term "Bad Man from Bodie" became a well-known commentary throughout the West.[4] Hostilities arose and were quite frequent in Bodie between the enormous number of unemployed miners, intoxicated men, and common outlaws. The familiar saying of "Do we have a Man for Breakfast," was common in Bodie during the excitement, which insinuated that there may have been a murder or death in the night.

Bodie's mining processes are also important to its mining history.[5] The inventor of the San Francisco Cable Car system, A.S. Halladie, constructed an aerial cable tramway between the Standard Mill and its mine in late 1877. Stretching a distance of 2,500 feet, this tramway was built only five years after the construction of Halladie's San Francisco success, and truly economized the transportation of ore from mine to mill.[6] Changes in the mining and milling processes also allowed Bodie to survive over the years, from steam-powered stamp mills to hydroelectric generated systems to the refined cyanide

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(See Rob Grunewald, "Cost of Living from 1850-2000," <http://woodrow.mpls.frb.fed.us/economy/calc/hist1800.html>).

[4] The term "Bad Man from Bodie" was a common phrase in the town and the region that were found in period newspapers of Bodie as well as California and Nevada in general. Its origin is unknown but begins to appear in the newspapers as early as 1877.

[5] Though there have probably been many mining claims established in the world with the name "Bodie" attached to it, one town was located, which reassures Bodie's name and influence in mining in the United States. In the state of Washington in Okanogan County, Bodie was founded in 1900 and is 12 miles from the Canadian border. As a logging and mining community, the town of Bodie, Washington, at one time comprised of a general store, a post office, a cookhouse, a bunkhouse, and a hotel. A stamp mill in the town ran until it was destroyed by a fire in 1962, which crippled the town. Today, board-and-batten and log buildings still stand and can be visited by tourists coming into the area. (Norman D. Weis, Ghost Towns of the Northwest (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1993): 111-114).

[6] Frank S. Wedertz, Bodie 1859-1900 (Bishop, California: Sierra Media, Inc., 1969): 183.

plants located further down from the town. Rich in a history full of gold mining, rivalry, and harsh weather conditions, Bodie became quite notable for its large number of surviving buildings after the last, major mining company closed down and paid its last dividend in 1913. From this action, the once prominent mining town began to be admired more as a ghost town. Because of its many vacant buildings, a new crowd of people traveled in automobiles to the town to visit a relic of the Old Wild West.

Settled in the fall of 1859, Bodie's beginnings are ambiguous due to limited documentation. Mining records in the Mono County Courthouse in Bridgeport note that in 1859, the Bodie Mining District was first claimed as "Bodey Diggings" named after Wakeman S. Bodey.[7] Within that year, "Bodie Diggings" begins to be the common spelling. One story flourishes suggesting that "Bodey" was changed to "Bodie," due to an illiterate sign painter in Aurora, Nevada, a town 12 miles from Bodie. From what is found in the Mono County Mining Records, sloppy penmanship or phonetic spelling explanations could be possible, especially in 1860 as claims were rapidly being purchased and recorded. J. Ross Browne, a mining expert and author, visited in 1864 the new town of Bodie for Harper's Weekly. In "A Trip to Bodie Bluff and the Dead Sea of the West" Browne describes how treacherous and wild Bodie was with badger-dog fights and precarious mining adventures due to crude hoisting equipment. Spending three days in Bodie, Browne recorded the town as having "fifteen or twenty small frame and adobe houses erected for the use of the workmen; a boarding-house is already established; lots and streets are laid out by means of stakes; new houses are springing up in every direction, and speculation in real estate is quite the fashion."[8] In addition, Browne explains real estate speculators were "decanting upon the brilliant future of the embryo city."[9]

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[7] See Chapter III, "History of Bodie," page 31-35, for a more accurate definition on Bodey.

[8] J. Ross Browne, "A Trip to Bodie Bluff and the Dead Sea of the West (Mono Lake) in 1863," (Golden Colorado: Outbooks, 1981): 39. Though this particular book will be referred to in this thesis, the recorded reprint date is inaccurate. Browne went through

Obscured by the Nevada mining excitements of Aurora and Virginia City, Bodie's excitement did not happen until the winter of 1877. Writing in 1878 during the "excitement," another author, Joseph Wasson in Bodie and Esmeralda, recorded Bodie as "a wooden town, and in itself contains about 250 structures; some very presentable ones."[10] Most of this document describes in detail the mines and mills of the Bodie Mining District. In addition, Mark Twain writes in Roughing It interesting facts about the geothermal saline Mono Lake region.[11] Though Twain lived and mined in Aurora during the Esmeralda excitement, he omits Bodie in his literature, but offers wonderfully accurate descriptions of the area and weather. Though Browne, Wasson, and Twain were all traveling through or around Bodie, they were primarily interested in mining in the area, and deliver limited information on the town itself. Bodie's prosperity can be credited specifically to Wasson and Browne, who promoted the mines for interested mining engineers, prospectors, and speculators. In addition, they were not only writing for the western reader but for the eastern investor as well, as all eyes looked to mining "excitements" in the West. By 1877, the prosperous Nevada excitements of both Aurora and Virginia City were declining; Bodie was viewed as the next Virginia City in the eyes of many.[12]

Bodie in 1864, not 1863, and published his accounts in New Harper's Weekly in August and September 1865 (Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, January 2000). It was again republished in 1869 in Browne's Adventures in Apache County.

[9] Browne, "A Trip to Bodie Bluff," 39.

[10] Joseph Wasson, Bodie and Esmeralda (San Francisco: Spaulding, Barto, & Co., Steam Book and Job Printers, 1878).

[11] Mark Twain [Samuel Clemens], Roughing It (Chicago: F.G. Gilman & Company, 1872).

[12] Corri Jimenez, "The Bodie Excitement: An architectural comparison between the big city of San Francisco and the ghost town of Bodie" (Art history independent study at University of California, Santa Cruz, 1993). Copyright. Washington: Library Congress, 1994.

To understand the Bodie excitement of 1877-1881, one can turn to the five newspapers published in Bodie that provide day-to-day descriptions of events but are unfortunately problematic. Biased views written for certain audiences, as well as wild exaggerations of success in the mines and town life are significant problems in the newspapers when it comes to deciphering Bodie's history. In addition, newspapers after 1884 in repositories are limited, and history on the town is fragmented. The greatest collection of surviving Bodie newspapers is archived at UC Berkeley's Bancroft Library. This collection starts with the Bodie Weekly Standard, Bodie's first newspaper published in the beginning of October, 1877. Unfortunately, newspapers were changing, merging, and moving constantly like everything else during a mining excitement. In Richard E. Lingenfelter's Newspapers of Nevada: A History and Bibliography, 1854-1979, this constant change of transaction is well summarized, even with newspapers that were published but not located in a historical repository.[13] Eighteen different newspapers were recorded on Bodie in this book by Lingenfelter, serving the town from 1877 to 1912 as tri-weeklys, weeklys or dailys, which varied from month to month and newspaper to newspaper. The newspapers also were merging two to three times in their existence with other Bodie newspapers or newspapers in Mono County. The last printing of a newspaper in Bodie, according to Lingenfelter's research, was the Bodie Miner in 1912.

Another document that records Bodie's fate during the boom era is by H.L. Smith, "The Bodie Era: The Chronicles of the Last Old Time Mining Camp," an unpublished manuscript located in the California State Library in Sacramento. In the 1930s, Smith examined newspaper articles from the Bodie Daily Standard, the Bodie Free Press, and the Bodie Chronicle from 1877-1883, and transcribed them into a comprehensive history of the boom era. Written in a month-year fashion, the manuscript gives an incredible amount

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[13] Richard E. Lingenfelter, Newspapers of Nevada: A History and Bibliography, 1854-1979 (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984): 302-303.

of history about Bodie's excitement. Since the original newspapers are secured in the Bancroft Library, Smith's "The Bodie Era" is a useful primary source in understanding the boom via newspapers. The only problem with Smith's manuscript is a researcher cannot distinguish the newspapers individually because they were all lumped together.

A second newspaper source written by Russ and Anne Johnson is The Ghost Town of Bodie: As Reported in the Newspapers of the Day. Separated into chapters on different topics, the Johnson book has extracts of accounts published in Bodie's newspapers.[14] This source also depicts turn of the century historic photographs from private collections.

During 1962, a "critical bibliography" was produced by W. Turrentine Jackson, known as Historical Material on the Mining Town of Bodie, California.[15] This thirty-nine page manuscript cites newspapers, journals, articles, and archival information all pertaining to Bodie and its history. From this one source, valuable archival information was located that helped to color this thesis research. In Jackson's bibliography, full citations are given with small descriptions of what the material includes and if historically valuable. This resource alone was incredibly handy in tracking down many resources, particularly newspaper and journal articles.

Besides newspapers, another author who experienced the boom was Grant H. Smith. His essay, "Bodie: The Last of the Old-Time Mining Camps," is an excellent account of the excitement and describes the town through the eyes of a 14-year-old boy.[16]

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[14] Russ and Anne Johnson, The Ghost Town of Bodie: As Reported in the Newspapers of the Day (Bishop, California: Chalfant Publications, 1967).

[15] W. Turrentine Jackson, Historical Material on the Mining Town of Bodie, California (Sacramento: California Division of Beaches and Parks, 1962).

[16] Grant H. Smith, "Bodie: The Last of the Old-Time Mining Camps," California Historical Quarterly 28 October 1924: 64-80.

Printed in 1924, he gives vivid descriptions of the architecture and built environment during the excitement in his recollections.

After the excitement of 1877-1881, Bodie became more of a family community compared to its rough and ill-famed beginning. By the year of 1890, the population decreased to 2,002 people. With 966 people recorded in the 1900 Census, the town continued to drop to a population 698 people in 1910 and then plummeted dramatically to 110 people in 1920. These Censuses reinforced gaps found in the research, giving important information on the demographics, individual names, population, as well as other interesting historical fragments that are connected to a year. All the U.S. Federal Censuses that have been microfilmed on Bodie—1880, 1900, 1910, and 1920—were carefully analyzed and entered into a computer spreadsheet to determine who was living in the town during specific years. This research delivered useful details and will be referred to throughout this thesis.

F.W. McIntosh's Mono County, California: The Land of Promise for the Man of Industry published in 1908 is another book on Bodie's history.[17] McIntosh writes for all of Mono County but dedicates about five pages to Bodie. Types of businesses that are in operation during 1908 are noted in this book, and four historic images of the town are reproduced.

Three decades after the initial boom, the term "ghost town" in reference to Bodie is first used in 1915 in a series called "Ghost Cities of the West" by Charles E. Van Loan.[18] With the term "ghost town" now applied to the once thriving mining town, Bodie's role as a built environment changed and no longer was viewed as an obvious excitement. Many

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[17] F.W. McIntosh, Mono County ,California: The Land of Promise for the Many of Industry (Compiled and published by F.W. McIntosh for the Board of Supervisors of Mono County, November 1908): 76-81.

[18] Charles E. Van Loan, "Ghost Cities of the West," Saturday Evening Post 21 September 1915: 18-19, 55.

smaller newspaper articles followed during the 1920s-40s, appearing in the San Francisco Chronicle and Los Angeles Times, which describe Bodie as an abandoned town as well as a tourist attraction. Playing on this newfound fame, the town of Bodie advertised itself as a ghost town, as old-timer James S. Cain guided tourists through the town, relating exciting stories. During this time, automobile travel was the popular way of transportation to the town and directions are given in these articles on how to get to this ghost town.

After the turn of the century, historical writing is often poorly researched and ambiguous. Bodie authors published during the last fifty years fill in these gaps, reminiscing heavily on the excitement although they may have never witnessed any part of it. Ella M. Cain and Emil W. Billeb are two Bodie residents who lived in the town from about 1910 to 1920, and have published historical information on the town. Born in 1882, Ella M. Cain wrote The Story of Bodie, the first book on the town, published six years before Bodie became a California State Park.[19] In Cain's book, Bodie's history is relayed through stories of people who lived in town, such as Cain's father-in-law J.S. Cain, artist Lottie Johl, and prostitute Rosa May. Cain recounts wonderful memories specific to her remembrances as a resident of the town, adding romance to her stories, especially in recalling the excitement days she heard second-hand from old timers. Due to the excess of her amorous descriptions and lack of supporting research with dates, her historical information maybe regarded somewhat skeptically. History is documented only through physical fact.

On the other hand, Emil W. Billeb, born in 1886, writes in Mining Camp Days his account of living in the town from 1908-1920.[20] As a superintendent on the Bodie Railroad, Billeb describes not only the railroad but also mining in Bodie. In addition,

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[19] Ella M. Cain, The Story of Bodie (San Francisco: Fearson Publications, 1956).

[20] Emil W. Billeb, Mining Camp Days (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1968).

Billeb (with the descendants of J.S. Cain) is one of the prime individuals who helped to secure Bodie as a California State Park.

Two other authors who have published in the last fifty years are descendants of Bodieites: Warren Loose and Frank Wedertz. Frank S. Wedertz in Bodie: 1859-1900 delivers accounts of Bodie through newspapers and family histories as owners of the Bodie Meat Market on Main Street in 1900.[21] This book has the most extensive historical information on the town and is organized into chapters dedicated to specific districts or active businesses. The greatest problem with his research is its limited citations. Since it is second-hand research, it is unknown if Wedertz lived in the town or is just repeating what he has heard from the Wedertz family, other Bodieites, or actually researched personally. Another author is Warren Loose (whose grandfather was W.A.R. Loose and came to Bodie during the excitement) who lived in the town to about 1920-1930. The Bodie Bonanza: The True Story of a Flamboyant Past by Warren Loose relates history from the heyday of 1879-1881.[22] Loose is one author who writes as an experienced historian and his book gives excellent accounts of the mining operations located on Bodie Bluff. Both of these authors conducted an enormous amount of research though it is questionable how reliable their research is as a secondary source due to discrepancies that have been found. Of these two authors, Loose is the most reliable, even though information on the built environment of Bodie is minimal.

Though not a Bodie resident, Roger D. McGrath wrote Gunfighters, Highwaymen, and Vigilantes: Violence on the Frontier as a history Ph.D. dissertation at the University of California, Los Angeles, that was published ten years later as a book.[23] Describing

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[21] Frank S. Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900 (Bishop, California: Sierra Media, Inc., 1969).

[22] Warren Loose, Bodie Bonanza: The True Story of a Flamboyant Past (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1979).

[23] Roger D. McGrath, Gunfighters, Highwaymen, and Vigilantes: Violence on the Frontier (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

frontier violence, McGrath delivers historical facts taken from newspapers, jail records, and archival information. Though this source is not primary to my research it is excellently written, giving vivid descriptions of murders, vigilantes activity, stagecoach robberies, and saloon brawls with accurate citations.

Another primary resource to this thesis are oral histories. Interviews have been conducted with two residents of Bodie. In 1994, Doris Dolan Folsom (born in Bodie in 1910) was recorded though she remembered limited information on Bodie's town life. In May, 1999, interviews were collected on Robert T. "Bobby" Bell, born in Bodie in 1914 (Figure 1). As a miner in the town and later state park employee, Bell's personal remembrances ranging from the late-1920s are very valuable and help bridge inconsistencies in research questions on specific buildings.

Thesis Methodology

Archival research, oral histories, and field surveys are three forms of documentation that were used in this thesis research. Archival research included material from the town's heyday located in special collections in Northern California as well as in the California State Park's collected files. The Bodie Daily Standard (1877-80) as well as H.L. Smith's newspaper manuscript, "The Bodie Era," were the only two resources used that told of the Bodie excitement accurately, through the standpoint of the newspapers. Maps depicting the town, such as Leo Scowden's 1880 tax lot plat map and the 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, were two other forms of archival materials that were analyzed (see Appendix A). These two maps depict an image of the town during 1880 that precedes the 1892 fire, which destroyed much of Main Street. All of the maps listed in Appendix A helped to explain what areas of the town were inhabited, as well as what types of buildings were constructed and who owned them. In addition, the maps were cross-referenced with collected archival information to connect data to specific sites. Though it is

not clear which buildings were destroyed in Bodie during the 1892 fire, images taken during the 1900s give a good depiction of the built environment after 1892.

Photographs during 1890-1932 are extensive but problematic because buildings were constantly being moved to new locations to even reused or recycled. In addition, attempts were made to understand what buildings were destroyed in the devastating 1932 fire. Oral histories with former Bodie residents were used to bridge this gap as to what the town looked like before the 1932 fire. One specific individual who has volunteered his memories is Bobby Bell. As one of the few Bodie residents who survives, Bell is important to my research to understand the town before the 1932 fire. For an 86-year-old man, Bell is a wealth of information with an excellent memory.

In Bodie State Historic Park, field surveys were gathered and analyzed on existing structures in May, 1999. The exteriors and interiors of fifteen buildings were initially surveyed to evaluate historic materials, construction techniques, and architectural styles. Basic measurements were completed on the perimeter of the building and room flow was analyzed in the interiors. The final product of this research is a historic architectural description of the three existing building types that represent Bodie—residential, commercial, and civic—that also includes auxiliary buildings. These seven architectural descriptions will examine the present condition of surveyed buildings and will in addition be correlated to historic archival research.

There is no comprehensive architectural literature on mining towns, especially in California or Nevada. This thesis will help to alleviate this emptiness, by providing an analysis of Bodie's physical architecture and its history as a mining camp and ghost town. In 1993, I completed an art history architectural study at the University of California, Santa Cruz, "The Bodie Excitement," in which I deciphered the town's architectural styles. "The Bodie Excitement" looked at the extensive financial investment of San Franciscans in Bodie, and at Virginia City's decline, about the gold mining town of Bodie's desires to

become the next Virginia City. The relationship of these three towns was depicted in the manuscript.

Recorded in 1962 as a Historic American Building Survey (HABS) project by the National Park Service, Bodie was documented by a team of four other architects under the supervision of A. Lewis Koue, AIA. Five buildings were principally documented—the Miners' Union Hall, the Methodist Episcopal Church, the J.S. Cain House, the D.V. Cain House, and the Lottie Johl House. Due to time constraints, the only drawings accessed from the Library of Congress HABS/HAER Collection were those of the J.S. Cain House. This house has been included in this thesis because of its high-style architecture, though its interior has been altered by the park service for its reuse as a park residence (see "J.S. Cain House," pages 111-118).

Only one book has been published on the architecture of this region, and it is mainly Nevada centered. In The Architecture of Necessity and Opportunity in Nevada Ghost Towns, Dave Basso discusses the construction materials used in the Sierra Nevada region and the State of Nevada. Unfortunately, this book is brief, and not helpful to my research.[24] The information recorded the architecture of ghost towns, abandoned but still standing. The Architecture of Mining Towns in the West is another architectural reference by Glenna Dunning, and refers to many productive mining towns, such as Virginia City, Nevada and Bisbee, Arizona.[25] Written as a bibliography, Bodie is not mentioned in its breadth.

Regionally, literature on western mining towns and conditions is very limited but extremely interesting and significant. The U.S. Federal Censuses delivers useful information, particular on demographics. Unfortunately, districts such as the Red-light, the

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[24] Dave Basso, The Architecture of Necessity and Opportunity in Nevada Ghost Towns (Sparks, Nevada: Falcon Hill Press, 1988).

[25] Glenna Dunning, The Architecture of mining towns in the West (Monticello, Illinois: Vance Bibliographies, 1981).

Chinatown, and the vicinity of the Paiute Indians are all ambiguous due to biased views of the period against these individuals. Written information on these areas differs depending on the subject. However, there is quite a lot written on prostitution and the treatment of Chinese in the West in the Sierra Nevada, yet very little has been published on Bodie when it comes to these two topics. Soiled Doves: Prostitution in the Early West by Anne Seagraves is one book that does touch on the life of former prostitute Lottie Johl.[26] Seagraves is not an accurate historian and complications have been found in her research as she romanticizes too much on her material. Ella Cain also delivers historical information on prostitutes Rosa May and Lottie Johl, but her information is minimal too due to her romanticizing. Two other excellent books on Sierra Nevada prostitution during this period are Comstock Women by Ron James and Gold Diggers and Silver Miners by Marion Goldman.[27] Both books are, unfortunately, focused on the large red-light district of Virginia City, Nevada, but nonetheless yield informative insight on conditions at the time that are contemporary to Bodie. In addition, many prostitutes did come to Bodie from Virginia City, and Rosa May is known to be one of those.

The Chinese district in Bodie is another variable of the built environment. Ella Cain delivers excellent information on Bodie's Chinese district. The Chinese in mining towns were disliked because they were willing to work cheaply as well as diligently, and rejected the values of western culture.[28] Derogatory names, such as "Celestials" or "Charles Crocker's pets," indicate how they were viewed in a mining town. As with red-light

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[26] Anne Seagraves, Soiled Doves: Prostitution in the Early West (Hayden, Idaho: Wesanne Publications, 1994).

[27] Ron James, Comstock Women, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998); Marion Goldman, Gold Diggers and Silver Miners (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1981).

[28] Corri Jimenez, "A City within a City: The Chinatowns of San Francisco, California; Virginia City, Nevada and Bodie, California," (Unpublished History paper, University of Oregon, July 1997).

districts, there is a good amount of history written on Chinatowns, specifically in regard to Virginia City. Of particular interest, it has been recorded in period newspapers that inhabitants of Bodie's entire Chinatown came from Virginia City.[29] Since Virginia City was so important to Bodie's growth, many of these sources concerning Virginia City are also valuable regarding Bodie. This information is addressed as additional research in "Chapter IV" of this thesis.

Another interesting fact is that there is very little written on the Paiute Indians and their role in the town of Bodie. The U.S. Federal Censuses record them in each of the four censuses that were analyzed. In Louise Sartor's article entitled "I Remember Bodie," there is useful but limited information about the Paiutes as well as the Chinese in Bodie.[30] As with Paiutes, there is nothing written on Sierra Nevada African-Americans. The 1880 Census recorded 19 African-Americans out of as enumeration of over 5,400 people. Only sporadic references were found in Bodie newspapers.

Furthermore, published information on town utilities and services, such as domestic water, road, electricity, or construction techniques used during this period, is limited concerning Sierra Nevada mining towns. Much of this information can be extrapolated from period newspapers. It is unknown if Bodie is unique or typical when it comes to its town services and conditions described in this research. Nor is it clearly known how it compares architecturally to other mining towns in the Sierra Nevada or other mining towns as a whole.

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[29] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 11.

[30] Louise Sartor, "I Remember Bodie," Desert Magazine 15 December 1952: 12-15.

CHAPTER II

CALIFORNIA MINING HISTORY: THE MOTHER LODE TO VIRGINIA CITY

Gold was officially discovered in the present state of California in January, 1848, during the construction of a sawmill by James W. Marshall. Located on the north branch of the American River, the mill site was fifty miles from Sutter's Fort, also known as New Helvetia, which is in present-day Sacramento. During the excavation of this site, brilliant particles of gold attracted Marshall's attention were found in the stream beds. When Marshall reported his findings to his employer, Captain John Sutter, both men agreed that the discovery would be kept a secret. As with any new discovery of gold, word leaked out. Soon thousands of people flooded into the goldfields and settlements were established in the Sacramento Valley. The port city of San Francisco grew rapidly on a daily basis as ships docked and men scurried to the mining fields. By May, 1848, approximately two thousand men were "scratching like hens in the sand and gravel of the Sacramento Valley."[31] As gold was uncovered on the American, Yuba, and Feather Rivers, as well as their tributaries, stream beds were quickly stripped of gold as prospectors panned them. One observer of 1848 records that 4,000 individuals were mining the stream beds in the area.[32] Within two years, on September 9, 1850, California was awarded statehood, all

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[31] Herbert Asbury, The Barbary Coast (New York: Alfred A. Knorpf, 1933): 9.

[32] John Frost, L.L.D, History of the State of California (New York: Hurst & Co., Publishers, circa. 1882): 89.

the result of the 1848-49 Gold Rush and the thousands of people flocking to the minefields.

The techniques used for extracting gold during the early days of California mining are necessary components to consider in the establishment of a community. Mining required manpower, whether it was digging hydraulic ditches to channel water for sluices or working in the hard rock tunnels and shafts in a mine. To accommodate these enterprises, townships developed in and around the mining fields. Businesses, residences, and civic buildings were initially formed as makeshift cloth tent structures that could be moved from location to location. As the gold mining developed, more permanent buildings were constructed first of wood and then of brick.

Placer Mining

Western placer mining techniques were originally crafted in the Southern states of Georgia and the Carolinas in the Appalachian Mountains, where there had been gold mining as early as 1799. Placer mining is the process of separating gold from gravel using water. In California, the introduction of the American flat-bottomed pan was allegedly introduced at Coloma by Isaac Humphreys of Georgia.[33] The flat-bottomed American pan was the traditional tool and easily used by prospectors. Besides the pan, a four-foot long box, also known as a "cradle" or "rocker," was used in the fields. Gravel was shoveled into the box, where water was poured in and gold would then be sifted out.

As more and more people came to California, a newly defined region was identified known as the "Mother Lode." The Mother Lode area stretched along the western slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains as far south as the towns of Sonora and as far north

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[33] Otis Young, Western Mining (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970): 109.

as Chico and the metropolis Sacramento on the west (Figure 2, Figure 3). The term "Mother Lode" is derived from the belief that all gold came from a single vein or lode located high in the mountains. It was thought that pieces of the lode had broken off and washed down the canyons into the stream beds. Most miners thought they would eventually find the source of these gold particles, or the "Mother Lode" as they called it.[34] In addition, the term "lode" is historically applied to the geologic plate the mining district sits on. Simple gold panning, though successful on the surface, did not access the Mother Lode, and more invasive techniques were soon developed, such as hydraulic mining. In California, hydraulic mining was the principal technique used in the counties of Nevada, El Dorado, Placer, Yuba, and Butte.

One well-known hydraulic mining field in California that is preserved as a California State Park is the town of North Bloomfield and the minefields of the Malakoff Diggings in Sierra County, California (Figure 4).[35] The Malakoff Diggings were once mountains, but due to hydraulic mining, they have been eroded away by dozens of "giants" or "monitors" that directed high-pressure water to the auriferous cliffs. The town of North Bloomfield was established in 1853 and grew by the early 1880s to be as large as 2,000 people (Figure 5). As of 1910, the diggings were abandoned and the town went into a decline by 1941.

As the mountains in these counties were being worn away by hydraulic mining, the agricultural fields of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys were covered by "slickens,"

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[34] Bob Wyckoff, Hydraulicking North Bloomfield and the Malakoff Diggings State Historic Park (Nevada City, California: Robert M. Wyckoff, 1993).

[35] "Diggings" or "diggins" was usually the beginning of a mining camp. Many mining camps would begin as "diggings" that would prosper and could eventually become a prestigious town. In Mono County, Bodie was once "Bodey Diggings" and the same can be said with "Mono Diggings," which became Monoville or "Old Dry Diggings" that became Placerville. Many diggings stayed diggings as little developed, like Flowery Diggings or Indian Diggings in California.

or "sluice tailings," that were comprised of hydraulic runoff.[36] Because of the incredible amount of harm the debris from hydraulic mining was doing to California's agricultural industry, the Sawyer Act of 1884 was passed to stop hydraulicking "except under such conditions as made it unprofitable."[37] The chief effect of this act was the disposal of the slickens and a roundabout way to prevent slickens downstream through the construction of empoundment dams and ponds. Hydraulic mining eventually did not stop in California until approximately 1930.

Hard Rock and Cyanide Mining

Another type of mining in California was hard rock mining, historically known as lode and quartz mining, that was similar to placer mining in that the goal was to get the "lode" from the mountain. Brought to America from tin and copper mining districts of Cornwall, England, hard rock mining was the sinking of shafts and driving of tunnels into a hillside following a prosperous vein of gold. The ore would then be hoisted up in buckets and freighted to a nearby stamp mill. The quartz ore would be finely crushed; the precious metals (gold as well as silver and copper) would be separated from the ore.[38]

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[36] The term "tailings" is the remains of ore after it has gone through a milling process. With hydraulic mining, sluice tailings were known as slickens, or the run-off from a stirred-up river. Other forms of hydraulic tailings are recognized as piles of organized cobbles and rocks. This is different from the finely crushed quartz particles that would come out of a stamp mill, known as "mill tailings." These forms of tailings were white piles located next to a mill or the site of a mill. Another form of mining remains that are mistaken as tailings are "dumps," which are found next to mines and consists of waste rock that was not selected to be milled.

[37] Young, Western Mining, 131.

[38] "Quartz is the main constituent in gold ore, which is often associated with silica-rich rocks such as granite and sandstone. The crystalline silicon dioxide can be separated from gold with the use of mercury, also known as quicksilver. Through the amalgamation process, mercury adheres to the gold but rejects the quartz" (Larry Guenther, personal telephone conversation, 2 May 2000).

Many of the early miners in California actually came from mining and milling regions in the British Isles and, because of their previous experiences, provided California and Nevada hard rock mining districts with important technical advancements.

Hard rock mining and milling in California's Mother Lode region was mainly centered near the townships of Grass Valley and Nevada City. The milling process came very early to California due to principals that existed in England, and the migration of Cornish emigrants who heard about the discovery of gold in California. The first quartz mill in North America was built by a miner named MacKnight, who in 1850 found and began to exploit a quartz ledge near Grass Valley. With two-foot long pine logs banded with iron at their ends, MacKnight made a mill of four stamps that were ingeniously raised and dropped upon pieces of quartz as he shoveled them under.[39] This mechanism was the ancestor of many mills that peppered the hillsides of the Sierra Nevadas.

The Comstock Lode was one of the largest hard rock mining areas in the West, sustaining three towns and an overall population of between 20,000-40,000. Millions of dollars of precious metals, particularly silver, were excavated from underneath Virginia City, Gold Hill, Silver City, and there nearby hills, financially building through mining stock investment the ostentatious Victorian homes and businesses in San Francisco. California architectural historian, Randolph Delehanty, states simply: "Virginia City was sometimes called San Francisco's richest suburb.[40] Bodie was a hard rock mining community that followed Virginia City's decline in the late 1870s. The 20-stamp Standard Mill of 1899 on High Peak, one of four hills that make up Bodie Bluff, is preserved by the California State Park Service and represents the best surviving 19th-century gold stamp mill in the United States (Figure 6).

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[39] Roger P. Lescohier, The Stamp Mill for Recovery of Gold from Hard Rock (Grass Valley, California: Empire Mine Park Association, 1991): 17-18.

[40] Randolph Delehanty, In the Victorian Style (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1991): 35.

The principal techniques of reaching the quartz lode in hard rock mining were driving tunnels and sinking shafts. Waste rock and ore would be transported through a rail system in mine cars or hoisted out in "buckets." Not far from the mine, a mill would be constructed for processing the mined ore.

Introduced in 1890, the cyanide process refined the old stamp mill tailings and captured the smaller particles of precious metals that were lost in the milling process. As a process, cyanidation was not as dangerous as it sounds and a very small amount of cyanide was actually used: 0.66 ounces of cyanide to one ounce of gold.[41] Tailings would be soaked in containing vats in a weak solution of sodium or potassium cyanide and water. The cyanide would dissolve the gold from the crushed rock. The cyanide solution containing the dissolved gold would than be carried over zinc shavings and the gold and silver would be precipitated as solids. In both Virginia City and Bodie, cyanide plants followed stamp mills as an important part of the milling process. Bodie is known to have had at least ten cyanide plants, prospering in the area from 1894-1942 (Figure 7).[42]

Virginia City, Nevada

To understand the development and history of Bodie, the rise and fall of Virginia City needs to be explained as well as the relationship of both towns to San Francisco. The mining district known as "the Comstock" was found in the spring of 1859 by placer miners who were prospering in Six-Mile Canyon near present day Gold Hill, Nevada.[43] Though there were miners placer mining in the area as early as 1857, it was not until the

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[41] Roger P. Lescohier, The Cyanide Plant: More Gold from the Same Ore (Grass Valley, California: Empire Mine Park Association, 1993): 20.

[42] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, October 1998.

[43] Young, Western Mining, 239.

1859 strike that people were drawn in numbers to the area. These miners were originally looking for placer gold; however, they discovered that their gray discarded black sand was not debris, but a silver compound known as "sulphurets." Samples of silver sulphurets were assayed in Placerville, California, and were valued at $3,000 in silver and $867 in gold to a ton of ore.[44] Quickly, message of this discovery got back to the Mother Lode mining towns and to the mining investors in San Francisco—Nevada was the new strike. Thousands of miners traveled to the Comstock Lode in what would be known as the "Washoe excitement." Writer and illustrator for Harper's Weekly, J. Ross Browne, wrote in 1860: "Let us be off! Now is the time! A pack-mule, pick and shovel, hammer and frying pan will do. You need nothing more. HURRAH FOR WASHOE!"[45]

The eagerness and "fever" in a prospector's eyes concerning this strike can best be expressed by Browne, who poetically describes these mining frenzies:

> . . . SILVER—solid, pure SILVER! Beds of it ten thousand feet deep! Acres of it—miles of it—hundreds of millions of dollars poking their backs up out of the earth ready to be pocketed![46]

Though this is an extremely melodramatic and exaggerated excerpt, Browne summarized the definition of an excitement, which consumed a miner as he traveled to Virginia City in 1860. By the end of 1860, "over a hundred buildings, were in the process of construction, besides the uncounted number of shanties that dotted the side of Mt. Davidson. The town contained "thirty-eight stores, twenty-five saloons, ten livery stables, two quartz mills, five lumber yards, nine restaurants, eight hotels and boarding houses, and eight law offices, besides bakeries, [and] blacksmith shops."[47] During the town's inception in 1860, the

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[44] Young, Western Mining, 239.

[45] J. Ross Browne, "A Peep at Washoe," Harper's Weekly 1860 (Reprint. Balboa Island, California: Paisano Press, 1959): 12.

[46] Browne, "A Peep at Washoe," 11.

[47] Charles Howard Shinn, The Story of the Mine (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1980): 73.

population of Virginia City was no more than 500 individuals, but by the summer of 1861 the town's populace soared to 3,284 people.[48] Virginian-born James Finney, known to others as "Old Virginny," had christened the camp "Virginia City," and it was later incorporated in 1861 as an established township. By 1863, the Comstock mining district had produced an estimated $10 million from surface deposits that were 75 percent silver and 25 percent gold.[49] On October 31, 1864, Nevada was brought into the Union as a state, and like California, this was principally due to its mineral wealth and the masses of people rushing to the Nevada excitements.

Because of the discovery of silver in Nevada in 1859, San Francisco investors saw an opportunity to make profits and established the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board to manage the investment of Comstock mining stocks. San Francisco's population had been rising dramatically since the discovery of gold during 1848-49. By 1850, San Francisco's population was estimated at 150,000 people due to activity in distant mining fields. By the late 1870s, the city's population had grown a whopping fifty-seven percent from 149,470 in 1850 to 233,960.[50] The city's influence had reached out to neighboring Nevada with the discovery of silver in 1859 .

Between 1859 and 1877, Virginia City through monetary investment opportunities was considered to have largely built San Francisco.[51] It is estimated $200 million was produced in Virginia City from approximately 4,000,000 tons of ore that averaged $50 per

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[48] Thomas Harold Kinnersley, "Virginia, Nevada, 1859-1890, a Study of Police, Water, and Fire Problems," (Ph.d dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1974): 55.

[49] Mary B. Ansari, Mines and Mills of the Comstock Region Western Nevada (Reno: Camp Nevada Monograph No. 8, 1989): 1.

[50] Delehanty, In the Victorian Style, 35.

[51] Delehanty, In the Victorian Style, 35.

ton.[52] As the boom progressed, Virginia City's estimated population was between 25,000 and 40,000 people who lived within the town and the adjoining areas of Washoe City, American Flat, Silver City, and Gold Hill.[53] By May 2, 1881, however, the town became disincorporated, confirming the end of Virginia City and its excitement, though the town continued strong into the 1900s.

Virginia City's importance to the West is significant on a multitude of levels. In mining history, Virginia City established mining on the east side of the Sierra Nevada mountain range, outside of California's Mother Lode region. The mines of the Comstock were extraordinarily rich in silver and transformed not only San Francisco but also the state of Nevada and the West. Its mines produced $400 million dollars and were larger than any other district in the West.[54] As the archetype of a mining community, thousands came to the city to establish their homes and businesses. Among the San Francisco investors who made millions of dollars on the Comstock were Adolph Sutro, William Sharon, William C. Ralston, Charles De Young, Darius Ogden Mills, and George Hearst. Mansions still stand in San Francisco that were built with Virginia City silver. Other prominent men who made their living on the Comstock were the "Bonanza Four"—John W. Mackey, James G. Fair, James C. Flood, and William S. O'Brien. This firm connected the communities of both San Francisco and Virginia City from 1869-1877, with Flood and O'Brien managing the San Francisco stock market end, and Mackey and Fair located in Virginia City supervising the mines.

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[52] Ansari, Mines and Mills of the Comstock Region Western Nevada, 1.

[53] Ronald James [Nevada State Historic Preservation Officer], "Censuses of Population Size in Storey County of Males and Females during Boom Period," n.p. Handout.

[54] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, 5 May 2000.

In January, 1875, Virginia City mines began to show a depletion, as ten leading Comstock stocks depreciated over $17 million in value in twenty-four hours.[55] Prices fluctuated to lower levels everyday, while the owners of the prestigious Consolidated Virginia, James Fair, issued misleading reports that the mines were doing well even though they were starting to deplete on the 1,650-foot level. In addition, Virginia City's Bank of California was closed briefly in 1875 due to the death of William C. Ralston. Many individuals holding stocks in Virginia City lost as "their money was locked up and their stocks largely sacrificed."[56] Another great blow to Virginia City came early in the morning on October 26, 1875, as fire consumed the greater part of the city within four hours as winds carried the flames.[57] To control the fire, dynamite was used to explode buildings. By the time the fire was contained, over a half a mile square had been destroyed and damage exceeded $10,000,000.[58] Immediately afterwards, the town quickly rebuilt itself, attempting to equal its past splendor, but decline had already set in and the rich booming days of Virginia City were over.

By 1877, most of the Comstock's treasures had been exhausted, and production fell to $12,758,603 per year and continued to decrease.[59] Conveniently, for the newly constructed mining town of Bodie, Virginia City's decline was welcomed as thousands of people migrated to Bodie. Former Bodie and Virginia City resident, Grant Smith, recalls that "when the camp of Bodie came into prominent notice in 1878 through the discovery of some extraordinary bodies of gold ore, the Comstock was on the decline and the same can

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[55] Grant Smith, History of the Comstock Lode (University of Nevada Bulletin, no 3, vol. 27, 1 July 1943): 176.

[56] Smith, History of the Comstock Lode, 191.

[57] Smith, History of the Comstock Lode, 192.

[58] Smith, History of the Comstock Lode, 193.

[59] Smith, History of the Comstock Lode, 200.

be said of many other camps in the West. Again the adventurous heard the call; this time to Bodie."[60]

Meanwhile, the Virginia City Territorial Enterprise published on January 24, 1878, a slanderous article against Bodie, which hurled jealous and envious insults at their budding neighbor. The anonymous author comments:

> . . . Bodie has taken from us some good men, and that is not good for us. It has, however, in compensation, drawn away some others of our people who could be spared from any community without serious loss to the place from which they emigrated. . .we wish to suggest to men who are miners and who have a little money, whether, it is not worth their serious thought to consider the possibilities which Nevada presents for them to become mine owners, rather than go to a district where, at best they can but play with the foam which the big swimmers throw up.[61]

This Enterprise article demonstrates a great amount of bitterness and animosity to Bodie's new fame and emphasizes two important historical points. First is that San Francisco had taken up a financial interest in Bodie and second, that the Comstock Lode and opulent Virginia City was dying slowly, and it was ill-favored.

Mining Town Construction and Establishment

Spurred by reports of mining activities, people flocked to California to get rich. The Gold Rush metaphor to "see the elephant" was a common phrase in 1849, which meant to undergo a trying and unpleasant experience and get the best of it, or at least to come out alive.[62] Merely surviving in the midst of the crime and ethnic diversity in these towns, was an act of endurance.

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[60] Smith, "Bodie: The Last of the Old-Time Mining Camps," 66.

[61] Virginia City Territorial Enterprise, 24 January, 1878: 1.

[62] John Walton Caughey, Seeing the Elephant: Letters of R.R. Taylor, Forty-Niner (Los Angeles: The Ward Richie Press, 1951): v. The definition "to see the elephant" was adopted by a joke: "A farmer learned that the circus was in town and featured a wondrous

Towns in the Mother Lode, such as Grass Valley, Nevada City, North Bloomsfield, Sonora, Columbia, and Auburn, were once substantial population centers as well as hubs for mining activity. Many of these towns sprouted up quickly and depending on mining activity, and would either prosper or decline. Many towns from the early mining days of 1849-1860 had quick booms or, in miner's terms, were "excitements."

An excitement usually began with the discovery of precious metals that brought large numbers of people to the area. If it was rich enough, there would result in the establishment of a town. In addition, many miners were "humbugged," or fooled by exaggerated reports of precious metals.[63] Depending on the amount of precious metals discovered, a town could prosper or bust. Grass Valley, Nevada City, Auburn and Sonora are four towns in the Mother Lode region which started as excitements and became communities which still stand to this day. These towns would grow to a population of approximately 5,000 to 10,000. The "Washoe excitement" in Virginia City and the "Bodie excitement" in Bodie are two common phrases that were used among the miners in this industry to explain the next feverish area of new endeavor.

In a mining excitement, there occurs a boom in construction and cultural activity. Businesses are established to serve the masses of people flooding into an area. Lack of gender diversity was a significant issue in these communities. Most of the individuals in a mining town were single males or married men who left their wives and families behind to venture to California to get rich in the minefields. The female presence in these

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Indian elephant, something he had always wanted to see. Thinking to combine the experience with a marketing trip, he loaded the wagon with a month's produce in eggs, vegetables, and fruits. As he drove into town, the elephant appeared from an alley beside the livery stable, frightened the farmer's horses so that they panicked, reared, bucked, and bolted, dumping the wagon, smashing eggs, spoiling the fruits and vegetables, and tossing the farmer to the ground, breaking his nose, an arm, and a leg. 'Never mind,' he told his wife when he was carried back home. 'I have seen the elephant'" (Conlin, Bacon, Bean, and Galantines, 5).

[63] Caughey, Seeing the Elephant: Letters of R.R. Taylor, Forty-Niner, 64.

communities, whether large towns or smaller encampments, was usually either as an accompanying wife or a working prostitute. Red-light districts contained businesses that ranged from prominent brothels to individual cribs. Prostitution was found in a red-light district as well as outside its area in dance halls, saloons, and hotels.

The individuals who flocked to these newly established mining towns came from diverse ethnic regions. The ethnicity in any given township would vary over time. During California's early mining days, there were no restrictions specifically set on minorities desiring to mine so Native Americans, African Americans, emigrating Chinese, and Mexicans could be seen working claims adjacent to "white" prospectors. As mining became established and more people settled in the same vicinities, these rules changed and restrictions were set up that targeted minorities so that "white" miners could prosper. Hostilities to these cultures could be found in nearly every mining town. Most of the restrictions found in mining laws in these areas were against the Chinese. Many minorities, primarily the Chinese, were comforted by their own districts, known as Chinatowns.

Since the ethnicity of a township could be diverse and reliable to its community, the architecture and the construction of the buildings are also different due to vernacular building traditions of the builders. This variability can be seen both in commercial and residential architecture.

What is not a variable is that a miner's home, as well as the mills and businesses, were considered temporary. The miner, storekeeper, and businessman would often physically move the building from one location to another, whether it is within the town or to another town, or by the demolition via mining. This is apparent in most mining landscapes. Hydraulic miner Taliesin Evans wrote in 1883: "most of the buildings in these mining towns are not of a permanent character."[64] In Bodie, buildings were

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[64] Taliesin Evans, "Hydraulic Mining in California," Century Magazine 25, no. 3, (January 1883): 332.

shuffled around, brought into town or moved out of town (Figure 8). It is also believed by Bodie scholars and rumored by old-timers that many Bodie buildings now stand in nearby towns though more research is required for this hypothesis. Evans noted in 1883 that "mining operations have compelled a removal of an entire town to a new site." It was also common to completely destroy structures for financial gain by basically mining the town away. On the other hand, miners would burrow and mine so far underneath that, in some cases, the buildings would become structurally unsound. Hence, mining town buildings were not meant to last.

In addition to human destruction, fires were frequent in mining towns. Most mining towns could claim to have had two to three major fires in their lifetimes. When times were getting rough, some business and home owners would result to arson in collecting fire insurance. Bodie's devastating 1892 fire was believed to be connected to an arsonist.[65]

Residential architecture in these mining areas varied greatly and depended on the builders, the owners' needs, and their status. Evans summarizes: "it is no uncommon thing to find the miner's cottage embowered in roses and surrounded by a productive orchard bearing choice fruit."[66] His description suggests that, though the miners lived in isolated towns, they valued the comforts of home and imported them, whether fruit trees or familiar architectural styles. Pattern books and mail-order catalogues had been published as early as 1820 in large urban centers such as New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. With the western migration in full vigor in 1860, building was prolific and it was essential for towns to acquire building supplies for the growing market of builders, engineers, and architects located in these western mining towns. These pattern books were likely available

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[65] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 77-78.

[66] Evans, "Hydraulic Mining in California," 336.

in general dry good stores or even architectural trade stores in some mining towns. Bodie is known to have had three of these architectural stores that carried a selection of wallpapers, carpets, patterned tin, as well as information on skilled tradesmen in town.[67] Manufactured doors, windows and architectural elements were supplied at the local lumberyards, though were ordered on bulk or made on site.

Residences in mining towns ranged from simple fundamental buildings to large Victorian mansions. One rustic shanty in Candelaria, Nevada, was the "dug-out" that can traditionally be seen in many mining towns; such dug-outs kept the miner cool during the warm seasons and provided a roof over his head during the winter (Figure 9). Besides this rustic example, Virginia City offers two other surviving residential examples, such as the Second Empire Savage Mansion of 1876 or this one-story Queen Anne Italianate cottage (Figure 10, Figure 11). These are architectural extremes due to Virginia City's financial security but elude to what could be found in many towns.

Commercial buildings were the most traditional of structures built in a community. These building types did not significantly break from established standards as defined in other cities in the East and West (Figure 12). Characterized by false fronts, these buildings would tower over the sidewalk and create an ambiance of a big city with tall buildings (Figure 13, Figure 14). Behind the false front, the structure could be a one-story shanty, such as an example found in Marietta, Nevada (Figure 15). The back was usually a hodgepodge of reused doors, unwanted materials, and possible trash heaps as demonstrated by one Virginia City example of the Gillig Building of 1875 (Figure 16). The front, on the other hand, always followed the pretty front model (Figure 17). Architectural styles were traditional and ranged depending on the period of construction. Most of the styles used in commercial mining architecture were either Classical or

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[67] Brownell Merrill, "Map of Bodie, Mono County, California-1880" (published by Brownell Merrill, 1991). See Chapter VI, pages 86-89, for details on these companies.

Italianate with decorative fronts and windows. One attractive Classical example, found in North Bloomfield in the Malakoff Diggings, demonstrates the simple pedimented gable with cornice returns (see Figure 5).

Civic buildings in mining towns were influenced by both prevailing architectural styles and ethnic diversity. Stylistically, they blend in with what was being constructed generally in the commercial architecture and would be usually be side by side among these buildings. One example in Nevada City is a decorative Queen Anne firehouse, presently used as a Chinese museum, and still equipped with its original hoses and hay lofts (Figure 18). Another isolated example is a Federal looking schoolhouse in North Bloomfield with cornice returns and quoins (Figure 19) which is demure in comparison to the elaborate Italianate Storey County Courthouse of 1875 in Virginia City (Figure 20).

Comparable to the building types found in various mining camps in the Mother Lode region and in Virginia City, Bodie's architecture presents the same diversity, and will be addressed in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF BODIE

Early History: 1859-1876

The history of Bodie begins as a placer mining claim in the fall of 1859, established by four exploring miners from "Mono Diggings," later to be known as the mining camp of Monoville (Figure 21). Settled in July, 1859, Monoville (as well as the sister community of Dogtown) were both beginning to prosper, attracting placer miners panning on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada mountain range in the vicinity of Sonora, approximately 80 miles away. With Sonora and the Mother Lode region overcrowded with miners, many small tent communities were quickly appearing on the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada. Though these strikes and encampments were short lived, miners were constantly scouting around for better areas to mine, looking for what they called, "pay dirt."

Due to limited original historical material concerning Bodie's founding in 1859, documents and interviews written on Bodie pioneers during 1879 give the best accounts of these events.[68] One well-known partner of Bodey was Terence Brodigan whose accounts are relayed in these articles. Eighteen years after the 1859 strike, Brodigan came back and

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[68] Bodie newspaper articles that give accounts of Body and this early history can be found in "Bodie's Discover," Daily Bodie Standard, 4 August 1879; "The End," Daily Bodie Standard, 27 October 1879; "Body's Body," Bodie Morning News, 28 October 1879; Daily Bodie Standard, 29 October 1879; "Storms In The Sierras," Daily Free Press, 16 March 1882; "Bodey," Bodie Chronicle, 29 August 1903.

resided in Bodie during the town's boom and is recorded in the 1880 Census as a married, 63-year-old teamster. According to Bodie scholar Warren Loose, Brodigan "operated a successful business delivering pure spring water to the hotels, restaurants, saloons, and private subscribers of the camp."[69]

In these newspaper documents, Brodigan and Bodey are said to have been acquainted with each other in Sonora; according to hotel records, Bodey was a resident in Brodigan's hotel in Sonora.[70] As a Protestant from Donover, Ireland, Terence Brodigan arrived in Sonora in 1851 where he owned a hotel and livery business. With his family growing, Brodigan heard about the Dogtown Diggings, established in 1858, and decided to try his luck in these new mining fields. Accompanied with Wakeman S. Bodey, the two men traveled over the Sierra Nevada in October of 1859.

Leaving his four children and wife behind in Poughkeepsie, New York, Wakeman Bodey traveled around the Horn in 1848 on the *Matthew Vassar.* From San Francisco, he journeyed south to the Tuolumne County diggings and met Brodigan and other miners in Sonora. The spelling of Bodey's name has been one idiosyncrasy that has been explored by both present historians and past Bodieites. The town's founder has been recorded in various history books and articles as not only a Wakeman S., but also as a Waterman S., Wateman S., and William S. In addition to this, the spelling of his last name has been a dilemma too, having been recorded as Body, Bodie, and Bodey in these same documents. This author feels that the Dutch pronunciation of both "Wakeman" and "Bodey" may have given rise to the different spellings and pronunciations of his name that have made this a complicated issue in history books. According to the June, 1845, Directory for the Village of Pooghkeepsie prepared by G.F. Luyster, "Wakeman S. Body" was recorded as living at "Hamilton cor montg'y" as well as working at "354 Main in a tin manufactury in

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[69] Loose, Bodie Bonanza, 17.

[70] Loose, Bodie Bonanza, 17.

Pooghkeepsie."[71] Both the 1850 Census and 1860 Census record the spelling as "Wakeman S. Bodey" of Poughkeepsie, although it is known that Bodey was not there during these specific years.[72] In this thesis, Wakeman S. Bodey will be used for the founder of Bodie due to identical recording of his surname in the two mentioned U.S. Federal Censuses.

Besides the misunderstanding of the name Bodey, the misspelling of the town name has historically been credited to an illiterate sign painter in Aurora, Nevada. Historic mining deeds found in the Mono County Courthouse in Bridgeport record "Bodie" first being used in connection to the district as early as the spring of 1860. Within a year, "Bodey Diggings" became "Bodie Diggings," and this may be due to illegible accounts in the mining records for the newly established Bodie Mining District.

Two parties, the Brodigan Party and the Bodey Party, known as "prospering tours;" were formed at Leavett's Station between Monoville and Bridgeport in October of 1859. Bodey, Brodigan, Pat Garraty, and William Boyle composed these parties. Traveling north of Mono Lake up the now Sonora-Bodie road, the group hunted for ore samples over the mountains up to where the town of Aurora would later be established. The parties made several prospect holes, but owing to the threatening attitude of the Paiute Indians, nothing definite resulted.[73] Returning to Monoville with their samples, the parties decided to keep their discoveries a secret until the spring of 1860. With the winter

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[71] Helen Myers, "Specter of City Man Lives Again as California Revives Ghost' of Wild, Wicked Bodie;" Poughkeepsie Journal 5 February 1961: 1-6; G.F. Luyster, June 1845 Directory for the Village of Pooghkeepsie, 4. It is the understanding of this author that the spelling of his last name is incorrect in the 1845 Directory. Both the 1850 and 1860 U.S. Federal Censuses spells the founder's name as "Bodey."

[72] Bodey was abroad in California during these years and his wife, Sarah, must have recorded him in the New York censuses. In addition, she must have not been notified Bodey had passed away in 1859, when she recorded him in 1860.

[73] Daily Bodie Standard, "The End," 27 October 1879.

imminent, on November 22, 1859, Brodigan decided to return to Sonora where Bodey hooked up with half-Cherokee, E.S. "Black" Taylor, and traveled back to the new established mining claim. Unexpectedly, both men were caught in a severe blizzard, incapacitating Taylor and killing Bodey. Taylor is recorded to have left Bodey under a tree; heading for the stone dugout cabin Brodigan and Bodey had built under a rock shelter at the head of present-day Green Street. Having warmed himself in the cabin, Taylor ventured out into the storm to relocate Bodey . Searching in the heavy snow, Taylor was unable to find Bodey, until the snow melted in late May, 1860. Taylor then buried Bodey in a three and half foot grave with stones placed on top to keep scavengers out. The body was later exhumed by Bodie townspeople in October, 1879.[74]

After his partner's death, Taylor became known as "Bodey Taylor" due to his connection with Wakeman Bodey. Because no written documents survive concerning the beginning of Bodie, physical descriptions of how many miners resided in the area are lacking. Partnered with Taylor was Judge J.G. McClinton who discovered the body of Bodey and later recorded the early stories of Bodie, which were published in town newspapers in 1879. Both Taylor and McClinton are credited with digging the first tunnel in Bodie but unfortunately, Taylor was killed by Paiute Indians in the area.[75]

Between 1860-1863, Bodie was growing more as a "suburb" to Aurora and its mining district, approximately 12 miles northeast of Bodie. Located on the border of the states of California and Nevada, the Esmeralda Mining District had been discovered with

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[74] In 1879, the skeleton of Bodey was unearthed and meticulously analyzed. A lion's head bowie knife in a leather scabbard, blanket and a silk necktie were two artifacts found that are well described in the 1879 newspapers articles which recorded the event ("Body's Body" Bodie Morning News, 28 October 1879; "The End-The Question Settled as to Body's Grave," Daily Bodie Standard, 27 October 1879; Loose 107). Bodey was then given with a proper "Christian burial" by the small community of Bodie, but it is unknown where his grave is located.

[75] Piatt, personal telephone interview with author, 11 August 1999.

the township of Aurora on August 25, 1860 by James Braly, J.M. Corey, and E.R. Hicks. Gold was unearthed and by March, 1861, the first quartz mill was shipped to Aurora by the San Francisco incorporations of S.M. Culiver and Company, and the district was named the Esmeralda Mining District.[76] With an excitement that only lasted three years, Aurora brought even more people to the eastern Sierra Nevada mountains and was the premise to the start of Bodie's excitement of 1877.

Though Aurora was built principally of brick, having aspirations of becoming the next Virginia City, the town had a population as high as 3,000 in 1863.[77] A highway, or toll road, was constructed between the mining fields of Sonora and Aurora that, passed through Bodie Diggings, later to become the Bodie-Sonora route, after Aurora slipped into a decline in 1863. During his visit to Mono County in 1864, J. Ross Browne recorded a toll-gate a mile from Bodie known as Haskell's Toll-Gate; he also recorded Bodie's population at about 10-12 men.[78] In addition, Browne noted had Bodie that some fifteen to twenty small frame and adobe houses erected as well as a boarding house. Town lots and streets were laid out and new houses were springing up in every direction.[79]

Although Aurora was declining, mining in the area was still active. During 1863, California Governor Leland Stanford activated the Bodie Bluff Consolidation Company by "consolidating" claims to make a mining district. In 1864-65, the New York investment firm of the Empire Gold and Silver Mining Company built a 16-stamp mill, known as the

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[76] Loose, Bodie Bonanza, 25.

[77] Robert E. Stewart, Aurora: Ghost City of the Dawn (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1996): 11. During the Esmeralda excitement, Virginia City was so worried about new competition that "Comstock mine owners and speculators hired men to ride the roads leading to Aurora telling all travelers that Aurora was washed up as a mining center and that they should head for Virginia City before all the good ground on the Comstock was claimed" (Nevada Historical Society, Nevada State Journal, 22 February, 1976).

[78] Browne, "A Trip to Bodie Bluff," 8.

[79] Browne, "A Trip to Bodie Bluff," 8.

Empire Mill, until was purchased by the Syndicate Company in 1875-1876.[80] Built in the Gothic architectural style, many mills in the area were alike the Syndicate, such as the 30-stamp Real Del Monte Mill and Antelope Mill in Aurora.

Between the years of 1860-1876, the township and mining district of Bodie was barely surviving, like many small mining camps in the West. Families were residing in Bodie, and it is known that the first child born in Bodie was Elizabeth Anne Butler, daughter of Roger and Marietta Butler Horn on April 3, 1869.[81] In addition to settlement, it is estimated that $4 million was mined during 1860-1876, a significant amount of money for a small community of miners.[82]

The Excitement: 1877-1881

Though Aurora had declined in 1863-64, many people there were beginning to migrate to Bodie, cashing in on the wealth of this new neighboring excitement. In 1876, the inception of the town of Bodie as a community began with twenty-one votes cast for the presidential election of Hayes and Tilden.[83] During 1876-77, the competitive mining town of Virginia City was slowly dying, as the mines there were showing signs of mineral depletion. In 1877, San Francisco mining investors, Daniel and Seth Cook established a second mill at the foot of Bodie Bluff's High Peak. This was the Standard Mill and was so successful that during the "first year of actual operations, the Standard took out

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[80] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, 28 November 1999.

[81] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 93.

[82] Charles W. Chesterman, Roger H. Chapman, and Cliffton H. Gray, Jr. Geology and Ore Deposits of the Bodie Mining District, Mono County California, Bulletin 206 (Sacramento: California Department of Conservation, 1986): 32.

[83] J.F. Parr, "Reminiscences of the Bodie Strike," Yosemite Nature Notes May 1928: 35.

considerably more than enough money to pay for the mine and mill and all improvements."[84]

Increasingly, businesses began to come and settle in the area. J.F. Parr, who came to Bodie in 1875, recalls that in the fall of 1877 "there were more people in Bodie than could be taken care of."[85] Due to limited lumber and materials, Silas B. Smith moved his entire building and stock from Aurora to Bodie.[86] This represents the first known building to be moved to Bodie, a practice soon common due to the expense and investment in purchasing lumber and labor for a new building. In addition, Smith opened a post office and express office in the back of his store.[87] Parr remembered the winter of 1877-78 as overcrowded with people and "no house room or adequate sleeping quarters" were available in town. During this winter, conditions were particularly harsh, as the thermometer dropped to -20 degrees Fahrenheit and pneumonia "raged all winter and many young and strong men died as well as the older ones."[88] During November, 1877, the Bodie Daily Standard noted:

> Bodie continues as lively as ever. New faces appear on the street daily, and new buildings are seen in every direction. The entire available force in the town and vicinity, of mechanics, carpenters, and builders are kept constantly employed seven days a week and cannot then begin to fill the order for new houses and business places. The success and permanency of the district is already assured. No mining district upon the Pacific Coast has as promising an outlook and future as Bodie.[89]

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[84] Smith, "Last of the Old time Mining Camps," 68.

[85] Parr, "Reminiscences of the Bodie Strike," 36.

[86] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 8.

[87] Smith, "Last of the Old-time Mining Camps," 4.

[88] Parr, "Reminiscences of the Bodie Strike," 36.

[89] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 3.

The Bodie excitement had begun. Grant Smith, a Bodieite and a primary source for the excitement era claims in November, 1877, that the town shined with a "lively appearance." Smith also denotes that there were three general merchandising houses, twelve saloons, six restaurants, one tin shop, one shoemaker, and other businesses represented within the town. As a messenger for the telegraph company in town, Grant Smith was 14-years-old during the excitement, and gives a good summary of what Bodie was like. Smith records the architecture and construction of Bodie initially as "poorly built" consisting of "mere shacks."[90] Smith continues that "the boarding houses and lodging houses were of the flimsiest character and poorly heated except in the immediate vicinity of the stove; the homes of the miners and townspeople were built of rough boards, and very small, as a rule."[91] On the outskirts of Bodie, by the mines, Smith recalls many people were living in tents and dugouts. In all of these buildings, heating was difficult and inadequate, toilets were outdoors, and coal-oil lamps and candles provided light. For heat as well as construction there was pine-nut wood, which was both knotty and full of pitch, making an excellent fuel. In January, 1878, H.L. Smith further describes this picture with this account:

> These buildings and in fact all of the buildings in Bodie, are constructed after the usual method of mining camp structures. The floor is close to the ground, the walls are of one-inch boards with battens over the cracks and the roof is steep and covered with shingles. The interior is covered with muslin to which is pasted wallpaper. The sheet iron stove pipe goes through the roof with a sheet iron flashing to prevent fires and one bathes in a basin with water from the town well. The sanitary arrangements are provided in the structure known as a privy located some distance from the house, and a very trying place with the thermometer standing at 20 degrees below zero.[92]

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[90] Smith, "Last of the Old-time Mining Camps," 70.

[91] Smith, "Last of the Old-time Mining Camps," 70.

[92] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 11-12.

With the rush on at full steam, wood was one of the most urgent needs of Bodie. In January, 1878, 40,000 square feet of lumber was ordered from Reno on freight wagons and the price set per thousand was fixed between $85.00 to $110.00; this is the equivalent today to between $1,551.25 to $2,010.80 per thousand.[93] Town lots were going from $100.00 to $1,000.00 depending on their locations and sizes; today this approximates $1,828.00 to $18,280.00.[94] By February, 1878, arrivals coming into Bodie were between 15 to 25 a day, with hardly anyone departing.[95] These arrivals kept increasing throughout the excitement, and it was recorded in August, 1879, an average of 35 arrivals were entering Bodie, with departures averaging about fifteen per day.[96]

In early 1878, accommodations in town were so limited that one Bodie newspaper urged other newspapers in the area to "do us a favor by cautioning such of their readers who intend to come to Bodie to defer their trip for at least three months."[97] In addition, in February, 1878, Bodie was recorded having 1,400-2,000 people—the population growing another thousand by March. In July, 1878, another Bodie newspaper quoted the number of new buildings being erected as being out of all proportion to the needs: "yet as soon as completed they are occupied and new arrivals clamoring for more."[98] By the 1880 Census, the population was 5,410, though the town was estimated in the newspapers to have been as large as 8,000.[99]

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[93] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 10.

[94] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 14.

[95] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 13. See Footnote 3 for monetary conversion.

[96] Bodie Daily Standard, 29 August 1879.

[97] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 13.

[98] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 32.

[99] The 1880 Census taken in June has been questioned. According to two Bodie newspapers, the census takers were missing people (Daily Free Press, 14 June 1880 and Daily Bodie Standard, 15 July 1880).

In addition, every working miner supported about six people in town, and it was hoped that the "exodus would relieve that burden so that money could be distributed among the businessmen, instead of the gaming tables."[100] It was calculated that $70,000.00 was distributed to the laborers during March, 1878, on payday, which is the equivalent of $1.3 million.[101] In May, 1878, the Standard Mill alone was recorded to have shipped a total bullion equaling $78,215.37.[102] Between January to June, 1881, the total income from Bodie between 1877-1880 was calculated at $8,547,301.09; today this is a little under $17.1 million.[103]

Between 1878-1879, the community of Bodie began to see itself in a new light, the residents filled with hope as they viewed themselves as the next "Virginia City." With many of the inhabitants in Bodie having come from Virginia City, Aurora, or other mining towns in the area, the newspapers really dramatized this:

> Now that the present growth of Bodie is in itself an assurance that we are to have a lively camp next summer, and all indications are that we shall justly become the Virginia City of California, perhaps it would not be out of place to state that the real facts on which the above statements have been made are that there is nothing in this vicinity to build or sustain a town but the mineral wealth in the neighboring hills.[104]

Other California newspapers picked up and repeated such accounts. The Sacramento Daily Record quotes in January, 1879 that "Bodie is described as a 'red hot' mining camp."[105]

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[100] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 15.

[101] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 15.

[102] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 17.

[103] Johnson, The Ghost Town of Bodie: As reported in the Newspapers of the Day, 69; Smith, "The Bodie Era," 136.

[104] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 14.

[105] Sacramento Daily Union, 15 January 1879: 1.

In June, 1879, San Francisco's Daily Alta California ran on the front page a complete article on Bodie entitled: "BODIE, How to Get There—What the Town Looks Like—Sixty Saloons and no Church—Something About the Mines—A Very Encouraging Outlook—The Newspaper Rivals—A Scarcity of Water and Timber—The Placers—A Short Account of Lake District."[106] This type of reporting fueled the Bodie excitement.

The best account regarding what types of people resided in Bodie during the excitement comes from the 1880 Census. Of the 5,410 people officially counted, half were foreign-born— the majority coming from Ireland (850), Canada (750), and England (550). Of the total population, only twelve percent were women and children.

During the excitement, many types of individuals are known to have come to the camp, eager to make their fortune in Bodie. The Bodie Daily Standard reflected in early 1878 that "about 600 of whom are out of employment and of which a number, not over 250, would work could they find it to do so."[107] Unemployment and lawlessness was high in town, which gave rise to many vices including gambling, fighting, and murder. The legend of the "Bad Man from Bodie" created earlier in the rush was eclipsed at the end of the excitement as jobs were slim, alcohol was prolific, and tension was high. Between 1880 to 1881, the town was confronted with these problems as crime and violence were on the uprise, according to the newspapers. In January, 1881, French-Canadian Joseph DeRoche was hanged for the murder of a good-natured man, Thomas Treloar. As an ultimatum to other Bad Men, DeRoche was hanged with a note-attached to his body stating: "All others take warning. No one cut him down. Bodie 601."[108]

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[106] Daily Alta Californian, 16 June 1879: 1.

[107] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 14.

[108] McGrath, Gunfighters, Highwaymen, and Vigilantes: Violence on the Frontier, 241. Vigilantism was one justice that was alive in Western mining towns, and it is known that both San Francisco and Virginia City.

Decline: 1881-1890

The decline of the excitement started to be apparent as early as June that became more apparent between October and December of 1880. Promising excitements began to pull people away from Bodie to Tombstone, Arizona; Butte City, Montana, as well as mining towns in Utah.[109] With the rough-natured class abandoning the town for these newer excitements, the town of Bodie became more of an established family community. Two examples of the settling down of Bodie was the construction of the Catholic Church and Methodist Church, both built in 1882. One Bodie newspaper recorded in June, 1881, "the population of Bodie at one time was 7,000 people, but at present is no more than 2,000 or 2,500."[110] Dramatically, the town was declining as more and more buildings were vacated between July, 1880 to June, 1881. Again, the newspapers describe this scene well in late 1880.

> The north end of Main Street is growing more deserted and dreary every day. At one time—three years ago—that section was the flourishing part of Bodie, but the town has moved up and left it demoralized. The signs "For Rent" and "For Sale" are frequent, and the houses are falling into decay. What were one-time handsome saloons are now old rookeries, covered with cobwebs, dust and gloom.[111]

Though the population was decreasing considerably, the mines were doing well on the Bluff. Production of ore in the Bodie Mining District in 1880 totaled a high of $2.9 million and in 1881, $3.1 million was recorded. One explanation of why the mines were doing well, though the population was decreasing, is the mines were able to support the town as

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[109] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 133, 134.

[110] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 139.

[111] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 133.

well as prosper.[112] Therefore, the decline of the town was not due to the economy of the mines, but more of a quieting down or settling as the rougher elements moved on to other tempting strikes in the West.[113] In addition, Grant Smith reflects "the curse of Bodie, as it was of 'The Comstock,' was the stock market, which was manipulated by stock-gamblers in San Francisco for their own profit, regardless of the merits of the mines."[114]

With the mines producing well, a 3-foot narrow gauge railroad was constructed between February to November, 1881, from a sawmill at Mono Mills 32 miles south of Bodie.[115] The Bodie Railway and Lumber Company was built solely to supply lumber for the mines on the Bluff; the transportation of people, commerce, and goods were not its purpose. Founded by Henry M. Yerlington, this railroad was also a link to Yerington's other railroads—the Carson & Colorado Railroad and the Virginia & Truckee Railroad.[116] White and Chinese labor graded the railroad and laid the tracks, working though hostilities side by side that are reflected in the newspapers in 1881.[117] At the junction of the C & C Railroad and the Bodie Railway, the town of Hawthorne, Nevada, was established as a railroad community in 1881.[118] In 1883, houses at the lower end of Bodie were being

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[112] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, October 1999. Piatt and the author discussed this concept thoroughly where this theory was devised.

[113] It is the belief of this author that the rough class in Bodie during 1880 went on to the Arizona strikes, and would explain a lot of history of the rough character of Tombstone. Further research would need to be gathered in understanding the connection of Bodie to Tombstone.

[114] Smith, "Last of the Old Time Mining Camps, 77.

[115] Karen Colbourne McAlbeer, "The Bodie Railroad," (MA History thesis. California State College, Sonoma 1973); Alvin A. Fickewirth, California Railroads (San Marino, California: Golden West Books, 1992).

[116] McAlbeer, "The Bodie Railroad," 19.

[117] Carson City Index, 27 May 1881: 3.

[118] Carson City Index, 25 February 1881: 3.

"demolished" and taken to Hawthorne, and may have been moved with the assistance of this railroad.[119] Between 1882-1917, the railroad was reorganized and renamed many different times.[120]

When the 1890 Census came to Bodie the population of the townsite was recorded at 2,002.[121] The Sanborn Fire Insurance Map in November of this same year claimed the town as having a population of 400, though this appears to be significantly inaccurate (Appendix A-5). Without question the number of vacant buildings in Bodie outweighed the number of inhabitants. Forty-six vacant buildings were recorded, as well as ten storage buildings and fourteen stables. However, the Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Map covered only the main business district, which was half of the town (Appendix A-5).

Revival: 1891-1911

Following the invention of the cyanide process in 1889, the one of the first cyanide plants in Bodie was the Standard Tailings Plant, built in October, 1894. Approximately ten cyanide plants were constructed on or around Bodie Bluff, High Peak, and Silver Hill, refining the abandoned tailings down Bodie Creek.[122] Thanks to the cyanide process, more gold was extracted from the mill tailings. In addition, college-educated mining

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[119] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 159. Emil Billeb depicts an example of a building being moved either to or from Bodie in Figure 8 and it could be speculated that these buildings may have been moved by the railroad. More research needs to be collected on both of these topics.

[120] Fickewirth, California Railroads, 18.

[121] In 1921, the 1890 Census records were destroyed in a fire in the Bureau of Census in Washington DC. (U.S. Federal Census, "Report on Population of the U.S. at the Eleventh Census: 1890," (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895). See "States and Territories Statistics of Population-Counties," Table 4, Mono, California, page 11).

[122] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, 19 September 1998.

engineers were brought into Bodie, like Theodore Hoover (younger brother of President Herbert Hoover, trained at Stanford University). Trained at Columbia's School of Mines, Thomas Haight Leggett is another who enhanced Bodie's recovery with cyanide or introducing it to electric power in 1893.[123] A hydroelectric power plant was constructed on Green Creek. Thirteen miles of two wire transmission line was strung from the Green Creek plant to the Standard Mill, which was one of the earliest transmissions of electricity over long distance. From all this investment, the town saw flourishing activity, as Bodie residents visualized a second excitement.

In 1892, the town's first devastating fire swept through Bodie on July, 25. All of the buildings on the west side of Main Street were erased, from the Miners' Union Hall up to the Bodie Bank. Jumping the street, the fire consumed buildings on the eastside, including the Goodson Building and Occidental Hotel.[124] The fire's origin was linked to a restaurant kitchen on Main Street owned by Mrs. James Perry.[125] The fire departments immediately were called to the scene but could not put out the fire because a main valve on the fire hydrants was turned off. With the hydrants not supplying water, people fought the fire with buckets from town wells. By the time water finally spurted out of the hoses, most of Main Street had been leveled, leaving many people homeless and hungry since the fire destroyed all of the eating and lodging establishments.[126] With the Standard Company prospering, the town was quickly rebuilt as well as shuffled to the area between King Street and Green Street. Many empty buildings that existed on side streets as well as

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[123] Thomas Haight Leggett, "Electric Power Transmission Plants and the Use of Electricity in Mining Operations," Twelfth Report of the State Mineralogist. Sacramento: A.J. Johnston, 1894. Manuscript is located in the Gaylord Files in the California State Park and Recreation.

[124] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 77; Cain, Story of Bodie, 48.

[125] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 77.

[126] Cain, Story of Bodie, 48.

abandoned structures on lower Main Street were moved forward and centralized in the newly vacant area. The buildings on Main Street that were moved forward after the 1892 fire were more ornate compared to the later ones (Appendix A-1, Figure 22).

Besides the 1892 fire on Main Street, another fire in October, 1898, destroyed the wooden Standard Mill of 1877. The mill was replaced with another wooden framed structure sheathed in corrugated sheetmetal. Miraculously, many of the original 1877 auxiliary buildings in the mill site still survive.[127]

In 1910, the Census recorded 698 people living in Bodie. The town at this time was very family-oriented with festivities on major holidays as well as a diversity of social events. In January, 1911, a newer hydroelectric plant was constructed on Jordan Creek on Mill Creek, 16 miles from Bodie, which brought electricity to the town.[128] Electricity had been introduced into working sections of the town as early as 1908, from the Green Creek power plant that was generating the Standard Mill.[129] With the construction of the Jordan hydroelectric plant, electricity would power the town, as well as other sparse communities in the area. During a heavy snowfall in March, 1911, ten feet of snow buried the town and its people, unfortunately destroying the new Jordan plant in an avalanche that killed eight people.[130] This plant was quickly replaced and still exists to this day.[131]

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[127] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, 19 September 1998.

[128] Billeb, Mining Camp Days, 157.

[129] Billeb, Mining Camp Days, 152.

[130] Billeb, Mining Camp Days, 161.

[131] Bell, personal telephone conversation with author, 12 January 2000.

Ghost Town: 1912-1927

In 1910, the population of Bodie was less than 700 although the mines were doing well, averaging around $250,000 a year. Within the town signs of a decline were exhibited, and the brief revival of the 1890s had passed. Bodie began to be looked upon as a "ghost town." The last Bodie newspaper, the Bodie Miner, was printed in 1912.[132] The Standard Consolidated Mine eventually faded and closed in 1913. With the Standard closed, the Bodie Bluff mines hit their lowest profits in 1914 of $6,821.[133] Since the late 1880s, banker and mine owner, James S. Cain had been purchasing properties throughout the town. As lots were forfeited due to delinquent taxes, or as property owners desired to move out, Cain bought more and more property, making him the principal landowner in the town. This constant purchasing is the primary reason why Bodie exists today. In 1890s, he also started purchasing mining claims on Silver Hill as well as others scattered around the district, including the Midnight Mine.

In 1915, Cain won a lawsuit against the Standard Mining Consolidated due to the infringement of his mining rights. In the suit, Cain physically acquired the whole Standard Mill property. Cain then began to lease the mine to former employees.[134] In this year, the mining profits returned $107,302.00, but unfortunately even this could not save the town's economy. In 1917, the railroad was abandoned and by the following year, the tracks were removed for scrap iron.

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[132] Lingenfelter, The Newspapers of Nevada, 303.

[133] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, 19 September 1998; Chesterman, Geology and Ore Deposits of the Bodie Mining District, Mono County, California, 32.

[134] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, 19 September 1998.

In addition, the Saturday Evening Post published in 1915 a series entitled, "Ghost Cities of the West." The first article identified Bodie as a "ghost town."[135] In this article, Bodie's past and history as a Wild West town are emphasized, though no information is relayed as to the town's state at that time. The San Francisco Chronicle in addition published an article in 1919 entitled: "Bodie Not Dead." This contradicted the Post article, exclaiming the town was not dead and clarified that "it was all wrong."[136] The Chronicle also encouraged the optimistic view that "Bodie will never die." Many people refuted the claim hope for another "excitement." The 1920 Census recorded 110 people in the town. The Chronicle published another article in 1921 commenting that a "number of large buildings in the once-noted mining town of Bodie, Mono County, are being wrecked and the lumber hauled away" to Bridgeport. [137] In addition to buildings being moved out of the town, the Chronicle claims that Bodie in this year had only 30 inhabitants and three businesses.

During these ghost town years, former Bodie residents Grant Smith and J.F. Parr published and relived Bodie's history with accounts as to what the town was like during the excitement.

Revival: 1928-1931

For three years, Bodie had a small revival as the J.S. Cain Company leased the Standard Mill and Mine to outside large, mining companies. In November, 1928, Clinton-

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[135] Charles Van Loan, "Ghost cities of the West: Bad B-a-d Bodie," Saturday Evening Post 21 September 1915: 18-19, 55.

[136] "Bodie Not Dead, Says Camp Representative," San Francisco Chronicle 28 January, 1919: 6.

[137] "Bodie Being Wrecked To Obtain Lumber," San Francisco Chronicle 1 May 1921: 48.

West and C.C. Julian leased Cain's investments, followed in September, 1929 the firm of Treadwell-Yukon took over the leases.[138] With mining operations active, the town had some prosperity as the leasing companies sent their own men to work in Bodie. Many buildings that had been locked up were reopened, including businesses. In an article published in the San Francisco Chronicle in 1930, the population was recorded to have 350 people.[139] Bodieite Bobby Bell recalls that the town was busy with activity after being stagnant for so long.

Auto-tourism also became popular, and Bodie as well as other old western boom towns were spots that were frequented as articles were published in magazines, such as Popular Mechanics and Touring Topics.[140] Ghost town enthusiasts visited Bodie as early as the 1920s, enjoying the town's Wild West essence. Residents living in the town would show vacant buildings and tell stories of the past and of the rough days of Bodie to these visiting tourists. J.S. Cain, the principal tour guide, showed guests into many abandoned buildings he owned and narrated stories of Bodie's excitement days. One interesting article entitled, "Bodie was a Swell Town!" printed in the Los Angeles Times in 1932, relates a tourist's memories when he came to the town during this short revival.[141] Written by Henry G. Eaton, the article records his tour by Cain through abandoned buildings in the Chinatown and commercial district. In addition, Eaton foretells how he looted a building

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[138] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, 19 September 1998.

[139] "Bodie Pins Hope on Gas, Electricity and Geology—In Search for 'Lost Vein' Historic California Mining Camp Takes on New Life as 'Great Gamble,'" (San Francisco Chronicle, 23 September 1930: 6). Due to a federal privacy act, the 1930 Census is unable for the public until 2002. This newspaper article is the best account as to how large the population was in the town.

[140] "Ghost Cities of the West" Popular Mechanics vol. 48, October 1927: 623-624; C.P. Russell, "The Bodie That Was," Touring Topics November 1929: 14-20.

[141] Henry G. Eaton, "Bodie was a Swell Town!" Los Angeles Times 31 July 1932: 10-11.

and "discovered rooms stacked with every variety of articles."[142] After being approached by a few concerned residents, Eaton went to Cain and listed the articles he had in his car. "The list only brought laughter from the Cains. Why in the world should anyone want any of the old junk that littered the houses of Bodie?"[143]

At this time, prohibition was in force and Bodie played an active role in "rum running" by supplying alcohol at a time when it was illegal. In Eaton's trip to Bodie, he recalls that the inhabitants of Bodie used every drop of water in the town to make beer. Cain felt "confident that he could locate a well somewhere, but after hours of trampling over the hills of Bodie had found all the wells bone dry . . . the citizens of Bodie would have to go dirty or bathe in beer!"[144] The San Francisco Chronicle noted in 1930 that "prohibition agents, with little regard for tradition, visited fourteen establishments on Bodie's main street last night."[145] Various illegal beverages were confiscated as fourteen proprietors were marched to the office of the Justice of the Peace, W. T. Powers, and their bail posted at $1,500 each for alleged violation of the prohibition law.[146] Bobby Bell remembers this event well as "the FBI came into town in big black sedans."[147] He says the individuals were only gone a few days. Upon their return, they resumed their businesses back in town.

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[142] Eaton, "Bodie was a Swell Town!" 31 July 1932: 10-11.

[143] Eaton, "Bodie was a Swell Town!" 31 July 1932: 10-11.

[144] Eaton, "Bodie was a Swell Town!" 31 July 1932: 10-11.

[145] "Ghost Town Awakened by Dry Raiders," San Francisco Chronicle 17 September 1930: 2.

[146] "Ghost Town Awakened by Dry Raiders," San Francisco Chronicle 17 September 1930: 2.

[147] Bobby Bell, personal telephone conversation with author, 20 February 2000.

Ghost Town: 1932-1954

By the end of 1931, the leasing companies had finished their operations of the mines on Bodie Bluff and the town went again into a quiet sleep. Buildings went vacant again and activity came to a standstill. Then, on July 23, 1932, the most devastating fire occurred in Bodie, obliterating twenty-four of Bodie's most prominent buildings. A small 3-year-old boy known as "Bodie Bill" in the newspapers was playing with matches behind the Sawdust Corner Saloon on Main Street. Dry, old buildings on this hot summer day went up rapidly as each building fed the flames. Many buildings that had escaped the 1892 fire on Main Street were not spared in 1932. As in 1892, the fire hoses were pointed on the flames but this time, due to non-maintenance over the years, only dirt and rocks only came out of the hoses. No insurance had been claimed on the lost buildings and the damages that occurred were severe as over thirty people were displaced. On July 25, the San Francisco Chronicle published this commentary:

> Among the landmarks destroyed were the Bodie Bank, through which passed millions of dollars in gold when the camp was at the height of its boom; the Masonic Temple, the famous Butterfly Saloon, where the lawless held forth, and the ancient United States Hotel . . . Today only three buildings remained in the down town section, and very few more in the residential district.[148]

From this event, many individuals began to look at Bodie differently—as a historic resource that might disappear. The mining and leasing was rejuvenated again, especially between 1936-1942 with the Roseklip Mining Company. In 1942, World War II gold mining restrictions were imposed on the Roseklip companies. Between the years of 1942-1946, the town was practically abandoned. The U.S. Post Office officially closed in 1942, and Bodie at this time had only a handful of residents.

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[148] "Fire Destroys Bodie, Toughest Gold Camp of Early Days," San Francisco Chronicle 25 June 1932: 23.

After the war the mining company of the Sierra Mines, Inc., another leasing company, came to Bodie to reactivate the cyanide plant but an accident occurred while repairs were being made, and the plant was destroyed in a fire in 1946. In 1954, the 1894 Standard Cyanide Plant accidentally burned to the ground. As the spokesperson for the J.S. Cain Company, Emil Billeb approached the State of California to see if Bodie could become a California State Park, warning that "the entire town would be lost through vandalism and accidental fires."[149]

California State Park: 1954-Present

After the 1954 cyanide plant fire, Emil Billeb worked with the California State Park system to see about getting Bodie preserved. In 1956, a Budget Bill was appropriated and passed by the California State legislature, although no monies were agreed upon. In January, 1963, $200,000 was allocated to Bodie, and the town was made a California State Historical Landmark.

Meanwhile, the town needed protection from increasing vandalism. The J.S. Cain Company employed Martin "Shorty" Gianettoni as a watchman while negotiations were being made with the State of California.[150] Gianettoni was deputized by the Mono County Sheriff to protect the town from the numbers of tourists coming into town. Bobby Bell was living in the town at this time and recalls that others were as well until the California State Park Service duly compensated them and evicted them in 1962.

As a ghost town, Bodie's vulnerability was self-evident as newspapers and magazines articles published and advertised the ghost town to tourists. Theft increased as

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[149] Letter to Walter and Patricia Cain from W. Kirk Williams J.D. C.P.L., (Reno, Nevada, 11 April 1990): 1-2. Letter located in the Galactic Records, in the Sierra District Park office, Tahoma, California.

[150] Billeb, Mining Camp Days, 210; Cain, Story of Bodie, 88.

tourists invaded abandoned buildings, and stole remaining items. In Billeb's book Mining Camp Days, one tourist with a metal detector was found scanning a Bodie cemetery looking for guns that were buried with the deceased.[151] Even the 200-pound fire bell in the firehouse belfry, Billeb recalls, was removed and traced all the way to Bridgeport before the culprits were caught and fined $200, and the bell was returned.[152]

Beginning in November, 1958, the "Report on State Park Potentialities of Old Town of Bodie, Mono County, California, Project 3033" was written by the California Department of Natural Resources. This report provides a legal description of the townsite:

> The old town of Bodie is located in T4N, R27E, Sections 8,9,17, and 16. The townsite contains 320 acres, 29 blocks and 855 lots. The principal owner is the Cain family with 208 lots. Forty-nine lots are owned by 14 private owners other than the Cains. Three lots have unknown owners. The remaining 596 lots are held in County trust. . .The lots held in County trust would be turned over to the State, in the event that Bodie became a State Historical Monument.[153]

In addition to this description the purpose of the project was presented: "To stabilize and preserve for public display the more significant buildings in the old town of Bodie.[154] In March of 1960, the "Factual Data Report Covering Old Bodie Townsite" was written and the 1880 Scowden plat map was copied that located surveyed lots and blocks to associated buildings (Appendix A-2). This particular report described and assigned ownership to specific lots as well as mentioned buildings on these lots, known as "improvements." Appraised values were set on these lots and their improvements, which record the amount

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[151] Billeb, Mining Camp Days, 209.

[152] Billeb, Mining Camp Days, 208.

[153] State of California Department of Natural Resources Division of Beaches and Parks "Report on State Park Potentialities of Old Town of Bodie, Mono County, CA, Project 3033," (Galactic Records, Sierra District Park office, 12 November 1958): 1-2.

[154] "Report on State Park Potentialities of Old Town of Bodie, Mono County, CA, Project 3033," 12 November 1958: 1.

reimbursed to an owner by the state. Oral interviews were also conducted with former Bodie residents and are recorded in this report. These interviews were slim in information and the formal interviews conducted by the park have unfortunately not been located.

In the same year, the San Francisco firm of Butterfield & Butterfield completed the "Appraisal Personal Property Bodie Project." This report was an inventory of items found within standing buildings, which assigned values to the Park Collection. The total appraised value of articles found in buildings within the townsite was set at $44,187.00, but excluded the buildings and lots listed in the "Factual Data Report." In both of these reports, historical significance was addressed.

To help the J.S. Cain Company protect the town while negotiations were underway, two lots equaling 1.38 acres were sold on December 5, 1962, by the Company to the California State Park. This purchase secured the first California State Park ranger, Jack Evans. This officially made California a state park, although the park continued to lease from the J.S. Cain Company the rest of the town until the Final Order of Condemnation was signed in 1967. In June, 1962, the National Park conducted a Historic American Building Survey (HABS), which documented 13 buildings; five buildings were recorded in ink-on-mylar drawings. The full survey can be ascertained from the Library of Congress' HABS/HAER Collection in Washington DC.

During the change of hands, as private properties became public state-owned buildings a few people were displaced who had lived in town all their life. Bobby Bell, for example, was asked to leave Bodie when the park service purchased the Bell family houses. Bell remembers that $500.00 was allocated to him for five houses his family owned.[155] In the 1980s, he continued to work with the park on Bodie buildings, offering interviews that are preserved in the Bodie Collection in the town's schoolhouse.

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[155] Bell, personal interview with author in Bodie, 22 May 1999. The properties his family owned were the Lester E. Bell House, the Pat Reddy House, and 2 empty lots recorded in the Factual Data Report; these totaled $230.00 in 1959 when they were assessed. The Metzger House, according to Bobby Bell was another property he claimed belonged to his

On September 12, 1964, a grand dedication was held in Bodie as former Bodie residents, park rangers, California state senators and interested individuals all joined together as four commemorating plaques were set up in the park. One plaque dedicated to J.S. Cain sits in front of the Bodie Bank in memory of his undertakings to preserve Bodie for future generations. Bobby Bell remembers about 500 people attended the dedication and a U.S. Marine marching band played for this big event. As of 1961, Bodie had been designated a National Historic Site and California State Historical Landmark. In 1970, Bodie township was nominated as a National Register Historic Place.

Between the 1956 initiative to make Bodie a state park and the Final Order of Condemnation signed in 1967, the State of California and the J.S. Cain Company negotiated slowly over Bodie's future. The Company desired to see Bodie preserved though did not want to relinquish the leasing of their mining claims on the bluff. A letter found in the Galactic files in the Sierra District office, where Bodie State Park resides, indicates Billeb and the Cain Company never expected that their mining investments could be restricted by making Bodie a park:

> To presume that future mining was not contemplated by the creators of the Park is grossly erroneous. It was always the intention of the J.S. Cain Company to preserve its mining rights. . . and it was always the hope and the dream of Emil Billeb, Victor Cain and their descendants that mining would return to the Bodie Mining District. The legacy of the Park was also a dream of Emil Billeb's; however, he never intended the Park's creation to eventually destroy the other side of his dream.[156]

To the J.S. Cain Company, the Bodie excitement was still alive as long as there were gold deposits on the hill and the Company continued leasing these mining claims into the 1990s.

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family, though this contradicts the Factual Data Report, which does not support this research.

[156] Letter to Walter and Patricia Cain from W. Kirk Williams J.D. C.P.L., (Reno NV, found in the Galactic Records, Sierra State Park office, 11 April 1990): 1-2

In 1988, the Canadian mining company of Galactic Resources, Ltd., had acquired leasing rights from the J.S. Cain Company for 550 acres on the backside of the hills, which would potentially endanger the townsite. During this year, exploratory drilling was conducted by Galactic. The park became concerned about this potential mining that could include possible damage to the "aesthetics" of major landforms, loss or removal of historic structures in the designated area due to this mining, as well as physical damage to buildings in the State Park from blasting activities.[157] This heavy equipment and traffic could devastate the fragile 1880 historic buildings of the Bodie townsite.

To prevent this devastating development, the California State Park and the National Park Service collaborated in designating Bodie a National Historic Landmark in 1991, with a boundary that included a large part of the mining district (Figure 23). Consequently, "The Bodie Protection Act of 1992," was created that called for the "withdrawal of federal public lands around Bodie that do not currently have valid mining claims, from mining activities."[158] A committee under the California State Park Rangers Association, known as "Save Bodie!" was created to advise the public and appeal to the U.S. Congress. The Save Bodie! Committee lobbied Congress to protect the park from the Galactic Resources, Ltd. and the threat of further mining. This Act was passed in 1994 by the 103rd Congress, assuring that Bodie would and its mining district be preserved as a cultural historic landmark for future generations. Bodie was additionally nominated in 1998-1999 as a World Heritage Site that is frequently watched by the World Monuments Watch.

Bodie State Historical Park represents 1,059 acres, and includes the townsite situated in Bodie Bowl as well as a good percentage of the four hills that comprise the mining district (Figure 24). Three rangers live in the town year-round both protecting the

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[157] Friends of Bodie Newsletter, "The Mining Issue," Winter 1992: 3.

[158] Friends of Bodie Newsletter, "The Mining Issue," Winter 1992: 3; US Congress, "Bodie Protection Act of 1992," 102nd Cong., 2d sess., 1992. S. Rept. 4370.

historic resources as well as showing it to tourists that venture into the state park. During the summer months when tourism can bring in over 300,000 people from all over the world, the staff is increased to approximately 20 people including maintenance and interpretive staff of differing classes. The preserved and arrested state park is now secured as a ghost town for future generations. The only dangers that threaten Bodie could be a burning cigarette of a misbehaving tourist or a harsh and heavy winter snowfall.

CHAPTER IV

BUILT ENVIRONMENT OF BODIE

As a built environment, the town of Bodie can best be interpreted by six significant maps that diagram Bodie and its evolution. These maps explain the history of the town from a bustling mining town to a barely surviving ghost town to its present setting as a California State Park (Appendix A). In addition to maps, historical photographs convey another active visual image. Unfortunately, images from between 1877 and 1880 are rare and in many cases fragmented. Sometime in 1880, this photo was taken and is the best example that records the Bodie excitement with a scenic view of the whole town from Bodie Bluff's High Peak (Appendix A-1). This historical image of Bodie suggests how large and grand the town was during its boom years. Districts, thoroughfares, stables, substantial businesses and a diverse selection of residences are illustrated in this historical photograph. In this image, the architecture is beautifully portrayed, delivering depth to Bodie's built environment and clearly indicating the location of particular buildings.

On August 9, 1880, Leo Scowden and E.C. Prather surveyed the town and drafted a plat map of Bodie that was later reproduced by the California State Park in January, 1963 (Appendix A-2). Though the town demonstrated signs of a decline as early as late-1880, mines flourished and was the principal reason why this particular map was completed. In this plat map, 831 tax lots were charted on 29 blocks, averaging 25x100 feet for commercial lots on Main Street and variably sized lots for residential buildings. Since Bodie was already an established community before this 1880 platting, this may explain

why these lots are oddly sized with unusual angles. Some lots in the township may have been placer mining claims, particularly ones on Bodie Creek. Established stage routes to other prominent cities, such as Bridgeport, Lee Vining, and Aurora became major streets in the town. Main Street, for example, was the 1863 Sonora-Aurora stage route where Green Street via Geiger Grade connected Bodie to Bridgeport skirting or essential base of Potato Peak. Three of the total five cemeteries in the town are also recorded on this plat map.

Brownell Merrill's "Map of Bodie, Mono County California, 1880" is another important map (Appendix A-3). Published in 1991, Merrill's map connects ownership and building types to particular lots and augments bridges the historic panoramic of Bodie by assigning names to depicted buildings. The core business area of Bodie and its special districts are delineated on this map. Using these three documents simultaneously, different levels are obtained and provide connections for understanding Bodie's built environment. Consequently, a single lot is assigned not only to an owner and business, but also to a visual image with the 1880 photograph. Viewed in combination, these aid in comprehending plans, elevations and other elements of the town's architecture.

The Bodie Fire Commission Records of 1888 were additionally located at the California State Archives, adding another visual image to the built environment puzzle (Appendix-4). During its heyday, Bodie feared fire since it was a wooden mining town in a dry climate. This historical record shows what lots were insured as well as occupied during 1888. This map also delivers a grand picture of what Bodie was like as a whole and what lots had structures on then as well as those on the outskirts of the town. In addition, owners' names and monetary cash values are attached to the lots, which aid this historic research.

Another significant map of the town is the 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map that records building footprints and denotes structures either vacant or inhabited (Appendix A-5). Unfortunately, the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map only catalogs half of the town, though

it does include the principal business district and many residences. Much of the outskirts of the town, as well as upper and lower Main Street, were not surveyed in this Sanborn Map.

The last map of Bodie is a brochure handed out by the California State Park Service (Appendix A-6). As a tourist map, this particular map assists as another overlay and documents the names now assigned to the buildings by the park service. In addition, the building footprints also match the 1890 Sanborn Map as well as Merrill's 1880 map.

Furthermore, Bodie's built environment can best be grasped by understanding the districts and utility systems that composed the town. Six prominent districts will be discussed that make up the town. In connection to these districts, areas occupied by Paiute Indians and Chinese will be addressed in how they played an active role in the built environment. All of these six districts will be clarified by their history and architectural development that shaped Bodie. Roads, fire and water departments are three additional important systems that were managed around these individual districts. Both the districts and the systems that are represented in Bodie are important assets that explain the town's built environment.

Systems

Streets and Transportation

Main Street was one of the major thoroughfares in town that ran on a north-south axis stretching over a mile. As the original 1863 Sonora-Aurora stage route, Main Street was 100 feet wide and was faced on both sides by false-fronted commercial businesses. The corner of Main Street and King Street was the original townsite of Bodie and as the town expanded, the original buildings in this area were either moved or demolished to

make room for new grand ones. In the winter, the street was kept clear of snow, whereas in the summer a "sprinkling cart" of water would be used to keep the dust down. Hay, freight, and ore wagons pulled by mules, oxen and horses would pass through as well as canvas-covered prairie schooners and various types of stages. Grant Smith recollects, "the streets were alive with men at all times of the day and night except during the inclement weather. A daily horse-market in the center of town was a feature, in summer, and an impromptu horse-race on the main street was not unusual."[159] Wooden sidewalks aligned Main Street's businesses, which the Bodie Daily Standard notes, was "a matter of supreme satisfaction to the boot and shoe dealers."[160] Since many businesses on Main Street had carpeted floors, the construction of sidewalks reduced the tracking of mud and debris into these spaces.

In addition, Main Street was geographically divided into a lower and a upper level. Upper Main Street had large respectable businesses and public buildings that still stand, such as the Odd Fellows' Hall, the brick Dechambeau Hotel or Post Office, and the Miners' Union Hall. On the other hand, Lower Main Street bordered the ill-reputed neighborhoods of Chinatown and the Red-light district. It was known that Lower Main Street and its vicinity was much more protected from winter storms and snow disappeared much better quicker in this vicinity.[161] One improvement to Lower Main Street was in the Triangle Block, which was the area of Standard Avenue, Mill Street and Main Street (Appendix A-3). With the creation of this block, the directions of the streets were changed on Mill and Standard for the convenience of ore wagons.[162]

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[159] Smith, "Bodie: Last of the Old Time Mining Towns," 70.

[160] Bodie Daily Standard, 15 February 1879.

[161] Bodie Daily Standard, 6 September 1879.

[162] Bodie Daily Standard, 12 September 1879.

The second major thoroughfare was Green Street which crossed Main Street and ran on an east-west axis, connecting the mines on the hill with the town, as well as Geiger Grade that went to Bridgeport. Most of Green Street was residential, though there were some buildings that were a combination of both residence and business, such as lodging and boarding houses. In August, 1879, a bridge was built on Green Street over a mining ditch for the convenience of teamsters and residents.[163] Bodie Creek was channeled through this ditch and led to placer mining areas in this part of town. The Bodie Morning News in May, 1879, recorded that placer miners were working in the area of Green Street and Wood Street. Real Estate Agent Jim Land "had the under pinning of his house shoveled away by miners, and is now up in the air on stilts," and were sluicing with rockers "suggestive of the old days of '49."[164]

The thirteen primary auxiliary streets in Bodie were between 40-60 feet in width, housing residences as well as combination residence/businesses. These streets were Park Street, Prospect Place, Lowe Street, Broadway, Fuller Street, Standard Avenue, and Mill Street (Appendix A). In addition, there were streets historically recorded, such as Pettigrew Street and Knob Street, though research has not revealed where they were located. There were also auxiliary streets for which no documentation was found, such as South Bodie Street, Browne Street, and Rankin Street. The principal auxiliary streets in town were often those that were residential or that ran through ill-favored neighborhoods; two examples are King Street and Bonanza Street, also known as Maiden Lane and Virgin Alley.

Bonanza Street was the Red-light district of town, with brothels, cribs, as well as a few scattered saloons. The Bodie Jail was found on Bonanza at the far northern end of the street. King Street also had some prostitute establishments, although it was primarily

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[163] Bodie Daily Standard, 13 August 1879.

[164] Bodie Morning News, 27 May 1879.

known as the Chinese district of Bodie. King Street was known to be a pungent quagmire of carelessly dumped washwater by the Chinese washhouses in the district. Ella Cain comments: "the stench that arose from the standing pools of wash water was said to be extremely malodorous, especially during summer months."[165] The Chinese, failing to realize that this practice was having an adverse effect on the standing community, ignored the brutal stench, soggy roadways, and dirty looks.[166]

On both of these streets as well as the fields, natural springs were at the west end of King Street. Three water companies, Pearson Brother's Bottling Works, Richard Brown's Mountain Spring Water Company, and Terence Brodigan's Bodie Water Works, were located there and bottled as well as delivered water to establishments in town. During the winter, both Bonanza Street and King Street would overflow with water and become frozen sheets of ice. The Bodie Daily Standard wrote in November, 1879, the water has "spread out between the houses on the flat to the west of the street, and made every yard a skating rink."[167]

Water

At first, public wells were the principal place where water was collected. In December, 1877, a free public well was dug that was financed by popular subscriptions.[168] As the population increased, water became an important issue as the old public wells in the town could not support the growing numbers. This issue became a big concern during the summer of 1879 as shallow wells on Bodie Bowl were drying up and the water shortage

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[165] McGrath, Gunfighters, Highwaymen, and Vigilantes, 137.

[166] Cain, Story of Bodie, 24.

[167] Bodie Daily Standard, 25 November 1879.

[168] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 6.

was evident. An additional problem was sickness in the camp due to "surface seepage" of discarded garbage, rubbish, and human waste was added to these public wells, tainting Bodie's drinking water.[169] Businesses in town that served this impure water were listed in Bodie newspapers in a "Guide to the Public," which forced the town to deal with the problem of unsanitary drinking water.

Water companies were established to alleviate this problem. One company was Richard Brown's Mountain Spring Water Company whose slogan was, "don't get poisoned by impure water." In June, 1880, Brown had five hotels, five restaurants, four chopstands, and twenty-one saloons using his spring water, whom were also published in the newspapers.[170] Old-timer and friend of Wakeman S. Bodey, Terrence Brodigan, came back to the camp and established a water company in the vicinity of these springs in 1880. Brodigan supplied spring water to the steam boilers at the mines for a dollar a barrel and was quite successful at it. Water was placed in barrels and hauled around by wagons all over town and the mining district, by these companies but not all were willing to pay for their water.[171]

Brodigan's company was bought out by the Pearson Brothers who began to construct an extensive water piping system in fall of 1882 that went from the headwaters of Rough Creek on Potato Peak to town. Pipes were manufactured and laid down Lowe Street to connect subscribing businesses and residences to this water system, assuring fresh drinking water for the town. In addition, the Pearson Brothers bottled their own soda water ,which was part of an underground flume three thousand feet in length that went to a stone reservoir that held 3,000 gallons.[172]

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[169] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 17.

[170] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 121.

[171] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 18.

[172] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 18.

Besides water for personal consumption, water was also needed for fire protection. As early as December, 1877, a fire department was organized and the first fire hit Bodie in February, 1878. Wooden holding tanks by the Champion and Mono mines collected water from the mines and the contents were used during the 1879 water shortage by many inhabitants.[173] These tanks were considered as the beginning for fire protection as a gravity reservoir was planned by town engineers and surveyors. Water companies were organized in October, 1879, by business owners who began issuing stocks for the construction of a 250,000 gallon reservoir constructed 300 feet from the Mono mine. Ten-inch double riveted pipes coated and dipped in asphalt were laid from this reservoir down Standard Avenue a distance of 700 feet to Main Street and then a distance of 1,800 feet down Main Street. Twelve tinsmiths and pipemakers were employed to manufacture the system that cost over $16,000; this system was officially completed on January 24, 1880. With a water system laid out for fire protection, fire departments were organized to work the eight hydrants placed every 300 feet of the 1,800 foot length of the west side of Main Street.

In the 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, this system is articulated in details as a gravity water system that had a 100,000 gallon reservoir tank with one hydrant having 50 pounds of water pressure (Appendix A-5).

Fire

The first firehouse in Bodie was the Babcock Engine House, which was organized in February, 1878, and was located on Standard Avenue by the mill. [174] By November, a

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[173] One trait in mining is as the shafts get deeper, the water table is reached and the shaft fills up with water. Pumps were usually employed to drain the water that filled the shaft. This was a common occurrence.

[174] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 73.

Babcock Chemical Fire Engine was purchased which was an expensive piece of fire fighting equipment.[175] By February, 1880, there were four firehouses in town that were centered around Main Street: Neptune Hose Company, Pioneer Hook and Ladder No 1, Champion Hose Company, and Babcock Engine Company. The Champion Hose Company and Neptune Hose Company were companies that were only equipped with hoses and hose carts which would be deployed to get to the hydrants in the case of fire. Over 200 volunteer firemen were employed in Bodie at these four companies: Babcock (46 men), Pioneer (20 men), Neptune (80 men), and Champion (65 men). In addition, there was a Fire Company Headquarters office that had weekly meetings as well as assisted in organizing firemen's balls and social events that were held at the Miners' Union Hall also at Babcock Engine House to raise money for uniforms and maintenance equipment. By the turn-of-the-century, the population was significantly smaller than the heyday, and the town was supported by volunteer fire departments.[176] The 1890 Sanborn records 85 volunteers in the town (Appendix A-5).

The principal fire fighting apparatus used in Bodie was a Babcock Fire Extinguisher manufactured in Chicago from San Francisco, which cost $2,000 and consisted of two "water cylinder of 60 gallons capacity each and 200 feet of hose reeled on a carriage that weighed 2,000 pounds when charged with water."[177] Two hose carts with 1,000 feet of hose, shipped from San Francisco, were put to use in the Champion and Neptune firehouses. These fire protection systems maintained correctly, served the town well.[178]

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[175] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, 26 May 2000.

[176] Donald I. Segerstrom, "Bodie Volunteer Fire Department," Early California Firehouses and Equipment (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1961).

[177] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 73.

[178] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 18.

Fire wardens would also examine defective stove pipes and chimneys in town to assess the potential dangers of where a fire might occur. These wardens commented that the cause of small fires were usually due to burning grease in a restaurant's kitchen or a defective stove pipe. The Bodie Daily Standard, published in August, 1879:

> Among the Chinese defective stove pipes were discovered in all parts of the town, and it may be predicted that when Bodie goes, the origin of the fire will be traced to some Chinese junk shop, opium den, or wash house. Their pipes were generally manufactured from all kinds of pieces of stolen from various places, and the joints are held together by bits of iron and wood. When asked by the Fire Warden to repair them, the answer is, "Me no save," or that "the boss is out." It is an unfortunate state of affairs, and the sooner our property holders devise some means of remedying the evil the better.[179]

Though this possible fire danger was in their neighborhood, no action was taken to correct it, nor was it accepted as a community problem that needed attending. Sadly, the Chinese were viewed as the scapegoat to most of the town's problems.

Districts

Chinatown

Chinatown, located on King Street, was perpendicular to the red-light district on Bonanza Street as well as Main Street where the commercial district was located (Appendix A-3, Appendix A-1). The Chinese people, a valuable asset to the town, were predominantly not accepted by the community. The Chinese supplied the town with cordwood, the mines with timbers, and produced charcoal for blacksmiths; they were also employed as cooks, laborers, gardeners, and domestics at inexpensive compensation.[180]

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[179] Bodie Daily Standard, 30 August 1879.

[180] Lee Motz, "Ground Penetrating Radar Survey and Test Excavation of the Bodie Cemetery," (Resource Management Division, Cultural Heritage Section, 30 June 1994): 5.

On January, 1878, the first mention of a Chinatown in a Bodie newspaper was made by H.L. Smith:

> It appears that we are to have a Chinatown as well as the other evidences of Pacific coast civilization as the following from the Virginia City Enterprise denotes: - 'The population in our Chinese quarter is said to have diminished nearly one half in the last few months. Many of the residents of that section of town have taken their donkeys and 'skipped out' for Bodie.'"[181]

This quote refers to Virginia City's Chinese, which were physically relocating to Bodie, due to anti-Chinese resentment that was stewing in their own city.[182] As in most mining towns, in Bodie too, Chinese were disliked and were given degrading names like "celestials," "creatures," or "heathens." The population in the China district during the excitement was estimated to be around 350-400, and Chinatown contained stores, gambling halls, markets, saloons, wash houses, as well as opium dens. The buildings in the district were two and three-stories high with balconies overlooking King Street (Figure 25, Figure 26). These buildings are typical for Chinatown architecture and it is unknown who was the builder of these buildings, whether white or Chinese.[183] Smaller shanties were located in the fields around Chinatown and were made of varying materials from

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[181] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 11. The Virginia City Territorial Enterprise also published on December 19, 1877, "the population in the Chinese quarter of this city is said to have diminished nearly one-half in the last year. Many of the residents of that section of the town have taken their donkeys and 'skipped out' for Bodie, Belmont, Tuscarora and other outside camps (3)."

[182] Virginia City scholar Thomas Kinnersley records "by the middle 1870s an anti-Chinese league, originally organized in the late 1860s, exerted increasing pressure particularly as economic conditions worsed to drive the Chinese from the Lode." He also continues that boycotting was taking place within the town on those white businesses which employed Chinese help (Kinnersley, "Virginia, Nevada, 1859-1890," 62).

[183] Christopher L. Yip, "A Chinatown of Gold Mountain: The Chinese in Locke, California," Images of an American Land (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997): 153-173.

wood, stone or sod. Bobby Bell remembers digging through abandoned sod buildings looking for trinkets, such as dishes or coins the Chinese hid inside the walls.[184]

In store shop windows dried fish, duck, chicken, and dressed hogs were traditionally hung.[185] The 1880 Census records eight stores, one restaurant, one drug store and numerous wash houses in Chinatown. The Chinese were content to live alone within their district, "clinging tenaciously to their native customs and dress."[186] Though whites would not let the Chinese work in the mines on the hill, they were allowed to be cooks, kitchen help and domestic servants, and they could own their own businesses. In the township, there were estimated fifty Chinese who worked and owned wash houses in Bodie.[187] One Bodie resident Louise Sartor recalls:

> The chief occupation of the majority was washing and ironing. Six heavy flat irons were heated on wood burning stoves—one in use, five waiting. A large wooden barrel of water stood next to the ironing board. With a long-handled dipper, the Chinese laundryman would fill his mouth to sprinkle through pursed lips the dry, clean garment on his board.[188]

Washhouses were given a negative outlook as the streets were a mess of smelly washwater that was considered by the community to cultivate disease in the stagnant water. As in other towns in the West, Chinese Bodieites were quick to attract negative attention in the eyes of the general populace, which was always reflected in literature. The Bodie Standard in July,1880, warned: "our China town is the filthiest, foulest and most degraded section

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[184] Bell, personal telephone conversation with author, November 1999.

[185] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 36.

[186] Sartor, "I Remember Bodie," 13.

[187] U.S. Federal Census, "Mono County, Bodie Townsite," 1880.

[188] Sartor, "I remember Bodie," 13.

on the whole green earth."[189] In addition, articles would run in Bodie's newspapers in support of San Franciscan Denis Kearny's anti-Chinese mantra: "The Chinese Must Go!"

Opium dens were another complaint the community had against the Bodie Chinese. In 1879, three or four opium dens were located on King Street, attracting a large number of clients, including white men and women.[190] One frequented opium den was Tong Sing Wo's General Merchandise Establishment. Ella Cain remarks the first floor was full of merchandise goods, the second floor had gambling tables of faro and fan-tan, and the third floor was the opium bunks, which were full of whites as well as Chinese.[191] Cain describes them as "teakwood bunks all closed in by silk curtains, if you wanted to pull them across."[192] The windows on the dens would be boarded up to keep the inside dark.

Some opium dens were marked at the street level with little red strips of paper with Chinese characters hung on dingy windows.[193] Cain recalls that "no effort was made to conceal the opium bunks...and spectators going up and down the streets could look into places where men, and women too, were lying in bunks smoking opium."[194] Countless whites were caught up in the opium addiction and would even take their own lives. Those that frequented opium dens were called in the newspapers as "opium fiends." The opium dens were considered the worst attribute to Bodie because of the amount of duress it brought to town. In December 27, 1878, the Bodie Standard recorded a "raid on Chinatown by a few special officers" that "disclosed the horrible habits of opium smoking

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[189] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 127.

[190] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 38.

[191] Cain, Story of Bodie, 152-153.

[192] Cain, Story of Bodie, 153.

[193] Cain, Story of Bodie, 20.

[194] Cain, Story of Bodie, 24.

in all its ghastliness. . .white people of all classes were surprised in their amliatious with the ugly Mongols."[195]

As for the females in the district, forty-two Chinese women were counted in the 1880 Census. Viewed culturally as property, "Chinawoman" was the only name attached to them. Eighteen of those women listed in Chinese households were not wives and may have been prostitutes or second wives.[196]

As a public building, the Chinese had a Josh House, or a religious Buddhist temple. In a 1911 photograph by Emil Billeb of the Chinatown, the middle 3-story building is the Joss House (see Figure 25). Ella Cain recalls that "on the altar was a large bronze figure of Confucius, surrounded by statues of the lesser gods."[197] Bobby Bell also recollects the Joss House rested on a well and the hole it was sitting on still survives.[198] The building he remembers was taken down and reused.

By the fall of 1880, the Bodie Standard reported "a large number of Chinamen have left town during the past few weeks. This change is noticeable from the presence of vacant wash houses and apparent desertion of the Chinese quarters. The fewer there are the better."[199] One hundred Chinese in June, 1881, were employed grading the road bed and laying tracks on the Bodie Railroad & Lumber Company, as low-cost labor although many whites were hostile to this action. In opposition to the employment of the Chinese on the railroad (as well as reflecting the nation's call for control of the Chinese), many Bodieites

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[195] Bodie Daily Standard, 27 December 1878.

[196] Chinese prostitutes were considered slaves, who were purchased from China and were treated very roughly by their Chinese male owners. For more information on Chinese prostitution, see Anne Seagraves, "The Chinese Slave Girls--A Life without Hope," Soiled Doves: Prostitution in the Early West, 134-148.

[197] Cain, Story of Bodie, 25.

[198] Bell, personal interview with author in Bodie, 22 May 1999.

[199] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 132.

placed the Chinese on an island in Mono Lake in 1881 to emphasize their seriousness. The 1900 Census records 72 Chinese in Bodie and by 1910, the population dropped even further to 11 Chinese. The Chinese district's buildings were taken down and reused.

Red-Light

The Red-light district in Bodie was located on Bonanza Street, also known as Maiden Lane, Virgin Alley and Virtue Alley (see Appendix A-3). The earliest reference of a Red-light district is noted in the Bodie Standard in March, 1878, where "15 houses of ill-fame" were recorded; and it can be assumed that the Red-light district was well established before this date.[200] Because the "respectable" community did not embrace prostitution, it is unknown what the accurate number of prostitutes was that worked in the town. Physically, prostitutes could be found in hotels, lodging houses and dance halls, which makes their population difficult to pinpoint. Proprietors of hotels and lodging establishments found prostitutes "the worst nuisance" as they set up their business in their private rooms.[201] This is one problem in acquiring an exact count on prostitutes. The second problem is that the major occupation recorded for females in the 1880 Census was "keeping house," which spoke for mothers, wives, and prostitutes.

Though forty women were counted in the 1880 Census within the immediate Red-light district on Bonanza Street, one estimate is that there were around 500-600 prostitutes in Bodie.[202] This enormous number includes actresses and hurdy dance hall girls, as well as those prostitutes that were not in their district. Besides cash payment for sexual favors, gold nuggets from the miners to pitchy wood from the woodchoppers were other accepted

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[200] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 70.

[201] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 66-67.

[202] McGrath, Gunfighters, Highwaymen, and Vigilantes, 149

payments. In addition, deaths were usually tragic for prostitutes. Half of the deaths recorded on prostitutes were suicides, either be by shooting or drug overdose. In the end, the women would be buried outside of the main fenced-in cemeteries, known as the Boot Hill cemetery. If they were admired by the community, they may have been given a "Christian" burial but were never buried within the "respectable" cemeteries.

In mining towns, prostitutes were a necessity, especially for the eighty-eight percent male population that inhabited Bodie. To men, prostitutes were the only female companionship they were acquainted with, and were respected by the men in town on a personal level, though never publicly accepted. The prostitutes' true profiles were ambiguous since the newspapers colored them inaccurately, though the papers give the only physical accounts of their existence in the town. Bodie newspapers dubbed them "fallen angels," "soiled doves," or "ladies of the night." Their names in the district were in many cases all aliases—such as Sailor Jack, Beautiful Doll or Carson Banger or perhaps real names, like Nellie Ash, Maude Bennett or Mabel Hill. One well-known mining town prostitute and gambler is Elenore Dumont, alias Madame Moustache, who came to Bodie in June, 1878, and managed the Magnolia Saloon on Main Street.[203] One newspaper reporter commented, "she appears as young as ever, and those who know her ever so many years ago would instantly recognize her now."[204] Born in 1829, she was a French woman who had worked in mining towns in Utah, Montana, Nevada, and Idaho and was renowned in Nevada City, California, in 1854. In September, 1879, Dumont borrowed $300 from a friend, and lost it all in a faro game. Depressed, she silently committed

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[203] Anne Seagraves, Women of the Sierra (Lakeport, California: Wesanne Enterprises, 1990): 162-165; Autumn Stephens, "Eleanor Dumont, aka 'Madame Moustache' (1829-1879)" Wild Women (Berkeley: Conari Press, 1992): 86-87.

[204] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 29-30.

suicide two miles south of Bodie, and an empty vial of morphine was found in her hand.[205]

On Bonanza Street, the two prominent types of Red-light buildings found were cribs and brothels (Figure 27, Figure 28). In one historic photograph of the district, the larger brothels are between the cribs on the left and the Bodie jail is on the right.

As a refined house of prostitution, the brothel was larger than a crib and was equipped with a kitchen and parlor besides the individual bedrooms. Though it is unknown if this was pursued in Bodie's brothels, a Chinese cook was sometimes employed to cook meals. In addition, the parlor was used as a waiting area for clients. A woman, or madame, would manage a few women who lived in the brothel and were under her care. Many madames were very motherly and protective of the women who lived with them. In a view of one brothel, two doors are visible and centered side-by-side with two parallel windows located at opposite ends of the house (see Figure 28). Another example is Madame Marie Jouret's Brothel, which has the same elevation as well as two stovepipes (see Figure 28). The interiors were usually well-furnished with luxury and femininity. In Bodie, Twin Cottages, the Palace, the Capital are some of the prominent brothels that were recorded in 1880 located on Bonanza Street and the vicinity (Appendix A-3).

Besides the brothel, the crib was another Red-light building type (see Figure 28). Crib prostitution was the lowest form of prostitution a woman could do. The crib was usually a string of small framed buildings and were wide enough for a door and two small windows.[206] As a studio space, also known as a crib, there was no more than a bed, chair and a basin.[207] The best description of a crib comes from Anne Seagraves Soiled Doves:

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[205] Bodie Daily Standard, 8 September 1879.

[206] Seagraves, Soiled Doves: Prostitution in the West, 60-61. Seagraves draws from information from Herbert Asbury, The Barbary Coast (New York: Alfred A. Knorpf, 1933).

[207] Goldman, Gold Diggers and Silver Miners: Prostitution and Social Life on the Comstock Lode, 63.

> The bedroom was just large enough for an iron bed, wash stand, kerosene stove and the woman's trunk. It always smelled of Lysol or carbolic acid. 'The bed itself was dirty and usually rickety and dilapidated. It was covered by coarse sheets and a bright covered spread, and across the foot of the bed was thrown a piece of red or brown oilcloth. This was to protect the spread's being soiled by the boots of shoes of the customers.' Although the men never removed their shoes, they always took off their hats when visiting the lady...[the] women who worked in a crib did not sell romance, the man was not allowed to remain unless he paid for the privilege.[208]

Though crib prostitution was the low end of the spectrum, it is unknown what the cribs may have been like in Bodie. These buildings according to Merrill's map were recorded as the "Ladies Club Rooms" (Appendix A-3). Visually, these buildings are very small with a door and a window, and seem to fit Anne Seagraves description.

The Gymnasium, Opera House, and the Sonora Consolidated Dance Hall on lower Main and King Streets were entertainment establishments in Bodie where prostitutes would socialize or even own. The 1880 Census recorded three women as bartenders in Bodie as well as nine women between the ages of 19-27 employed as "gays." A gay was a woman who worked in a dance hall and may have been in prostitution, though no definition has been found. Dance halls changed management as quick as the saloons and were just as violent. Larger dance halls, like the Sonora, provided rooms in the back for customers. In these establishments, a ticket was purchased and sometimes there would be a cover charge to enter. The customer would buy a drink for himself, as well as the woman, known as a "hurdy girl." The Sonora, on King Street ,was a Spanish dance hall that consisted of four rooms and a 25x42 feet dance area, a warehouse was located in the

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[208] Seagraves, Soiled Doves: Prostitution in the West, 60-61.

rear as well as four smaller buildings that customers frequented.[209] By 1883, all the dance halls had closed and "for the first time in her history, Bodie was without a dance hall."[210]

As the boom subsided, prostitution was minimized within the town. In the 1910 Census, three houses of prostitution were recorded on Bonanza Street. One well-known prostitute was Rosa May who owned her own brothel, the Highgrade. Rosa was well liked by the community for her generosity, and died helping out in a pneumonia epidemic in the winter of 1917.[211]

During the brief revival Bodie experienced in 1927-1931, prostitutes came back to the town and Bobby Bell recalls that Chinaman Sam Leon, who owned the U.S. Hotel on Main Street, rented rooms out to a few prostitutes, one of whom was known as Pink Rabbit.[212]

Commercial

The front doors of the cribs and brothels opened to the back doors of a large area of saloons located on lower Main Street, although the saloons were everywhere in town. The saloons were warm places full of activity and were favored more so than the drafty miner's home (Figure 29). These establishments were an important component of the town and made up over twenty-five percent of the commercial district, one saloon for every fifty

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[209] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 32.

[210] Bodie Evening-Miner, 27 February, 1883; Wedertz, Bodie 1859-1900, 35.

[211] George Williams III, Rosa May: The Search for a Mining Camp Legend (Dayton, Nevada: Tree By the River Publishing, 1980): 68.

[212] Bell, personal telephone conversation, 20 February, 2000; Piatt, personal telephone conversation with Bobby Bell, January 2000.

men.[213] These businesses were open seven days a week and twenty-four hours a day and worked in rhythm with the mines and mills .

In November, 1877, twelve saloons were recorded in the Bodie Township during the beginning of the excitement.[214] By March, 1878, sixteen saloons were recorded, and the number jumped to twenty-seven by August of the same year.[215] In 1880, Brownell Merrill recorded thirty-three saloons, seven chop stands, and four breweries in the township (Appendix A-3). These are the known establishments in town, excluded are the many smaller bars in hotels, lodging houses, restaurants, barber/bath shops, and dance halls. In addition, the 1880 Census recorded forty-nine saloonkeepers, twenty-five bartenders and four brewers in town. By 1890, the Sanborn Map records a significant drop of these business types with only nine breweries/saloons. The 1900 Census recorded fourteen saloon keepers/bartenders and one brewer, which was a significant difference compared to the 1880 heyday. During the brief revival in 1927-1931, Bodie could claim fourteen saloons—during a time when alcohol was illegal.[216]

Fireproofs or brick warehouses were also constructed for many stores, which included liquor warehouses supplying for saloons. There were approximately four liquor warehouses in town that stored barrels of whiskey as well as numerous bottles of champagne. A journalist from Eureka, Nevada, claimed that "Bodie whiskey. . .was made of old boots, scraps of iron, snow slides and climate, and it only takes a couple of snorts to

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213 Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 53.

214 Smith, "The Bodie Era," 4.

215 Smith, "The Bodie Era," 41.

216 Bodie resident Bobby Bell records 24 saloons were in the town at this time, though no facts support this (personal telephone conversation with author, 20 February 2000).

craze a man of ordinary brainpower."[217] This observation is more a reflection of the climate that shapes a Bodie resident.

Drinks in the saloons were either one or two bits; hence, the saloons were called "two-bit saloons."[218] Some saloons had "trade bits," which were coins that bore the establishments' name and was the equivalent of a free drink.[219] If a patron wished for one drink, the price was 15 cents where two drinks were a quarter.[220] In addition, each saloon served on a certain clientele. Grant Smith recalled John Wagner's Saloon located on the corner of King Street and Main Street:

> . . . a typical mining camp saloon, somewhat larger than any others. It was a barn-like room, fronting on the main street; probably 30 feet wide, 100 feet long and 15 feet high. To the left of the swinging-doors, as you entered, was the bar, stretched along the side of the room. Opposite the bar, and stretching along in similar fashion was a chop-house, or short-order restaurant, with a long counter and stools in front. The rear of the room was literally filled with gambling-tables of one kind and another, principally faro-banks, presided over by silent, watchful dealers, with hundreds, or even thousands, of dollars in gold and silver stacked up in front of them, and a gun always within reach.[221]

In this description, two other types of businesses are listed—the chopstand or chophouse, and the gambling rooms, also known as club rooms. The gambling rooms were not blatantly advertised in Bodie but recorded under the saloons' advertisements as "private rooms." Some facts that are not communicated in the history of saloons are the location of these gambling establishments since their practice was considered a vice.

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[217] Weekly Standard News, 22 December 1880; Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 56.

[218] A bit is the equivalent of 12 1/2 cents, and two bits are therefore 25 cents or a quarter. A drink in a "two-bit saloon" was the same as a $5.00 drink today. In addition, the saloons were also called "houses" and references of "two bit houses" are also exchangeable.

[219] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 54.

[220] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 54.

[221] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 71.

The other type of establishment was the chopstand. A chopstand is usually associated with the saloon or bar establishment as a type of meal counter, where a chophouse stood alone, like a restaurant though served the same type of food. This building type is not well-described in mining town literature but what can be understood from advertisements is that they were open 24 hours and was found in saloons. In the newspapers, the chopstands specialized in full meals of any style were served.

Most chopstands, as well as restaurants, worked on meal plans, which was like a type of "happy hour." Depending on the establishment, the meals were priced from 25 cents to $2.50, offering an inexpensive meal for one weekly price. These meal plans were known as "European plans" where there was one regular price. Another plan was the "San Francisco plan," in which lunches were free. The Parlor Saloon and Chopstand located on Main Street worked on the "San Francisco plan" where lunches were free everyday.[222]

Liquor, particularly whiskey, on the mining frontier was an important beverage, not only for its intoxicating effects but also because water in town was unacceptable to drink. To residences in Bodie, private spring owners, such as the Pearson Brothers and Terrence Brodigan delivered spring water. The Pearson Brothers not only sold spring water but also made non-alcoholic soda beverages.

In Bodie, there were twenty-eight grocery stores and dry good stores during the excitement. In addition, there were specialty stores like butchers, bakers, and pharmacists. Bodie had four meat markets in town that sold a wide range of meat that was slaughtered at the local slaughterhouse at the lower end of Main Street where a picnic area now stands. The Miners' Market advertised "a variety of diverse poultry and game, such as turkey, duck, quail, and goose." This market also carried "trout, shrimps, crabs and all kinds of salt water fish." During the excitement, there were six markets recorded. Dry goods stores carried sometimes the same type of stock but were non-perishables items, such as

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[222] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 55.

clothes, mining supplies, and toiletries. Silas B. Smith, Gillson & Barber, Page, Wheaton & Co., and Boone & Wright were the large dry good establishments in town and many of these particular companies owned other stores in the area.

Restaurants and chopstands were widely accepted in Bodie and preferred because of the enormous prices for groceries. In September, 1880, a Bodie newspaper advertised these items and prices:

Item	(1880)	(2000)
Peaches	20 cents per pound	$3.64 per pound
Plums	35 cents per pound	$6.37 per pound
Pears	25 cents per pound	$4.57 per pound
Oranges	15 cents each	$2.73 each
Watermelon	1.00 each	$18.28 each
Eggs	50 cents per dozen	$9.14 per dozen
Cabbage	10 cents each	$1.82 each
Cucumbers	50 cents per dozen	$9.14 per dozen
Green peppers	5-50 cents each	$4.57-9.14 each
Summer squash	20 cents per pound	$3.64 per pound
Fresh tomatoes	15-25 per pound	$2.73-4.57 per pound

To our 21st-century eyes, these prices look inexpensive, though the average miner made $4.00 a day in the mines and rent for a week was approximately $9.00 in the local boarding house.

Another important item served on the mining frontier, and in Bodie, were fresh oysters. At the Oyster Bay & Chopstand as well as other establishments in town, oysters were the delicacies that could be obtained and prepared in a variety of ways. In the Rosedale Saloon next door to Justice Peterson's courtroom, Henry Mahlsteadt advertised in the Bodie Standard "the freshest and best oysters, direct from Baltimore"[223] "Oyster loaves" were a specialty at this business. Oysters, like champagne, were always found in mining towns and were "symbols of wealth."[224]

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[223] Bodie Daily Standard, 29 January 1879.

[224] Conlin, Bacon, Beans, and Galantines, 119.

Another luxurious item was milk, which came to Bodie in May, 1879, where Almond and Moses Huntoon brought in fifty milk cows to supply dairy goods for the town. Five milkmen were employed by the Huntoon brothers to deliver fresh and pure milk around Bodie for the price of fifty cents a quart.[225]

By 1890, the grocery stores in Bodie diminished. The Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of 1890 records three grocery stores, one bakery, one drug store, one meat market and one produce store. By 1919, there were no stores in Bodie and individuals had to go to Bridgeport or Reno for supplies and groceries.[226] These grocery stores were reopened in 1928 briefly during Bodie's small revival. There were two restaurants recorded in town and the old Boone Store, known then as Cain's Store, was reopened as a grocery store.

Financially, Bodie had two banks during its heyday, the Mono County Bank and the Bodie Bank, two doors apart from the other on the westside of Main Street. Both banks had thousands of dollars of capital on hand and invested with the both the San Francisco Exchange Board and the New York Stock Exchange; they also dealt with foreign currency.

In October, 1879, a new Mono County Bank was built; the old one was sold and moved by Terence Brodigan. The Bodie Standard exclaims "the little old shell of a building, which the Mono Bank has outgrown like a butterfly, has been purchased by Terence Brodigan, who is having it moved up west of town near the Waltz spring, in which Mr. B has also acquired an interest."[227] The new Italianate Mono Bank was "the handsomest in Bodie. . .and it would do credit to the Bay City" (Figure 30).[228] Later after

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[225] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 40.

[226] Bell, personal telephone conversation, 28 November 1999.

[227] Bodie Daily Standard, 13 October 1879. This location is speculated to be the area above Chinatown on King Street where Brodigan had his spring business (See Appendix A-1).

[228] Bodie Daily Standard, 13 October 1879.

the decline, this building was renamed as the Bodie Bank, and owned by J.S. Cain who opened it every morning at 9 A.M. until it was destroyed in the 1932 fire.

Residential

The residential area is defined in two levels: housing as distinct from houses. Hotels, boarding houses, and lodging houses were diverse types of housing establishments found mainly among the commercial district, though some were spread out in suburb locations. The individual homes were also mixed in these suburban areas that surrounded the main commercial district.

Boarding houses were first noted in Bodie in 1864 when J. Ross Browne came through the town. Hotels and other types of "house" establishments numbered 22 in 1880 and were everywhere in the township as well as situated on the Bluff next to individual mines to keep the men out of the ill-reputed areas of town. These particular boarding houses appeared to have been mine-owned. One 1878 description of the International Hotel on Main Street details the building:

> There are now, forty rooms on the second floor furnished with clean, well-arranged spring beds and mattresses, with a window in each room. The main building extends back 80 feet and is 25 feet in width. An addition has been made on the southside of this building, which has also been utilized, as sleeping apartments. Connected with the hotel on the lower floor are an office, eating stand, and barbershop, with a large clubroom in the rear.[229]

Two other hotels were the Grand Hotel and the Magnolia Lodging House. The Grand Hotel on Main Street had "five bedrooms, dining room and kitchen, bar room and barbershop" whereas Magnolia Lodging House on Main had seventeen rooms. Besides established hotels, boarders were common living in individual houses. The 1880 Census

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[229] Bodie Daily Standard, 16 December 1878.

would sometimes note a "boarder" or "lodger" in the occasional family household. Also in this Census, hotelkeepers, lodging housekeepers, hotel proprietors, boarding house owners were recorded as well as cooks, waiters, domestic servants and kitchen help. Defining how many of these establishments existed is difficult. Also, the differences between a lodging house, rooming house, boarding house and a hotel. A rooming house differs from a boarding house in that the later served meals in dining rooms cooked up in the establishment. Both places would rent by the month where a hotel would rent rooms by the night but usually had rooms for monthly renters that was more common as the town began to decline and travelers were rare.[230]

In addition, definite residential areas were built in Bodie in a multitude of areas. One area was Prospect Street and Park Street, which was considered very respectable and had nicely sized homes (Appendix A). Bordered to the north by Chinatown and to the east by the commercial district, this residential area had good proximity to downtown. This area also still stands today; the houses all originally from the 1880s heyday. A second residential area was Green Street, stretching for about a half mile on an east-west axis. Residential homes as well as business/residences were located on this street, especially east of Wood Street. Many of these buildings still stand on Green Street, like the Miller's Rooming House. Other residential hubs were the Broadway and Fuller Street area, and Standard Street area by the mill.

In 1879, two tracts were advertised in the Bodie Standard: the Smith Tract and the Waltz Tract. The Smith Tract was located in the triangular area of Main Street, Standard Avenue, and Mill Street.[231] This location in 1880 was known as the "Triangular Block" according to Brownell Merrill's map, though this is not clear if this location is the referred Smith Tract. The Waltz Tract was another tract promoted as having the "most desirable

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[230] Piatt, personal conversation with author, 26 May 2000.

[231] Bodie Daily Standard, 18 July 1879.

lots for business and residence purposes."[232] The interesting part is two organized real estate tracts were located, though the research on both of them are minimal.

On the outskirts of the commercial district were a plethora of residences ranging from small shanties to significant houses (Appendix A-1). Although the commercial district has been well researched by past scholars and advertised thoroughly in the newspapers, there is unfortunately limited information on these smaller residential areas.

Paiute Indians

Scattered throughout the townsite and the mining district were Paiute, or Piute, Indians. In the 1880 Census, Paiutes totaled 136 with 36 recorded as children. In the census, their occupations and names were not listed, only their age and sex were given, though it is doubtful if this accurate since the enumerator only estimated instead of interviewing.[233] The Paiutes were designated in the Census in four principal areas: Peelers Canyon (46), Bodie Tunnel Mining Company (28), Mono Mine (29), and King Street Canyon, west of town (17). These listed locations were where they worked and lived, since they scoured mine dumps of active mines or worked placer mining areas on Bodie Creek:

> The Paiute Indians occupied no definite section in Bodie, but they contributed to the town's daily life as much as did the Chinese. The Paiute mode of living was altogether different; their homes were the hill themselves... Rude shelters made of rags and sagebrush gave adequate protection from the weather.[234]

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[232] Bodie Daily Standard, 13 June 1879.

[233] U.S. Federal Census 1880, "Mono County, Bodie Townsite," 41-43. The census taker noted: "ages approx. by two gentlemen who accompanied me."

[234] Sartor, "I Remember Bodie," 13.

In December, 1879, the Bodie Morning News recorded "the Indians have been making a good deal of money all summer, picking them [the dumps] over, and observed up and washing out the richest pieces."[235] The Bodie Morning News also published that the Paiutes in town "washed out a good deal of gold in the neighborhood, and were entirely self-supporting, something rare with Indians living among white people. Furthermore, no complaints were ever heard of drunkenness among them, a thing very common elsewhere."[236] Positive opinions seem to be the view concerning Bodie's Paiutes because of their self-sufficiency. Following the success the Indians were having on the hillsides, the mine dumps were then reworked by other miners.[237]

In the 1900 Census, 120 Paiutes were recorded with full descriptions that included names and occupations as well whether their houses were "movable" or "fixed." These Paiute houses were unique structures that were either traditional or assimilated structures. Their traditional "wigwams," were made of tules collected from Mono Lake (Figure 31). Though there is limited written information on these structures in Bodie, 23 out of 31 houses were recorded as "moveable" and were probably these types of structures. The other Paiute structure was houselike, and more fixed, like the extant "Indian House" in Bodie, which would have been bermed with earth, weeds, and other materials as a form of insulation (Figure 32). Eight of these types of houses were recorded in the 1900 Census. Mildred Hoover, wife of Standard mining superintendent Theodore Hoover, described the houses were "made of any material they could get, tin cans hammered out flat, boards, anything that would afford a little protection."[238]

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[235] Bodie Morning News, 19 December, 1879.

[236] Bodie Morning News, 13 November 1879.

[237] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, 28 November 1999.

[238] Mildred Brooke Hoover, Mildred Crew Brooke: An Unfinished Manuscript of Reminiscences and Some Extracts from Her Diary (Casa Del Oso, California: November, 1940): 53.

Paiute living conditions and descriptions are very limited in the literature. In the Censuses, they are recorded to have "American" names, such as Whiskey Smith, Bodie Joe, Carson Kid, and Jane Jake. Many Paiutes did not have English surnames and were given only first names such as Tom, Mannie, or Old Mary. In addition, Mildred Hoover was putting into writing the Paiute language as well as familiarized herself with their customs.[239] She recalls that Paiutes would sit silently on the ground and play a card game with tiny papooses strapped to their backs. Martha Cain, James S. Cain's wife, also had a Paiute basket collection that was displayed in her parlor.[240] Former Bodie resident Louise Sartor offers the best example of the Paiutes squaws' lifestyle:

> The Indian women wore dresses of the brightest possible fabrics. All the garments were made by hand and were worn one on top of the other in endless layers. Most of the sewing was done on the streets of the town while the squaws sat and chattered in their Paiute tongue. Many times three or four dresses could be counted on one squaw as she stopped or when they were blown by the wind. Tucked down in the bodice of her dress each Indian woman had a fat strip of bacon tied in a colored kerchief. She would fish out the salty meat and rub it over her face and hands many times a day, leaving a mirror-like glow on her red-brown skin. This was Paiute beauty—the shinier the skin, the more attractive the squaw.[241]

In 1910, forty-six Indians were recorded in the Census and only a total of eight by 1920. As the town declined, the Indians like the "whites" and Chinese in town, dispersed to other locations.

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[239] Hoover, Mildred Crew Brooke: An Unfinished Manuscript of Reminiscences and Some Extracts from Her Diary, 53.

[240] Doris Folsom, personal conversation with author, October 1994.

[241] Sartor, "I Remember Bodie," 13.

Cemeteries

In the present fenced-in area of Bodie there are three designated cemeteries: the People's or Ward's cemetery, the Free Masons' Ground, and the Miner's Union Plot. The fence outlined an area that distinguished the "respectable" from "those outside the pale of decency," or non-respectable. Non-respectable residents of the cemetery would include minorities and bad-natured people, as well as prostitutes, illegitimate children and Bodie Bad Men. Outside of this fence and located to the east were two other cemeteries—the Chinese Cemetery and Boot Hill. In 1994, ground exploration was conducted by the California State Park service on Bodie cemeteries and 160 graves were recorded: Ward's had 109, Miner's had 48 and Free Masons' had eight.[242] Graves listed for the Chinese Cemetery and the Boot Hill are not recorded and it is unknown how many are buried in this area.

The original first cemetery in Bodie was located 800 feet southeast from the visible cemeteries. Due to a high water table in this area, the graveyard was moved to its present location in 1877. It is unknown how many individuals were buried in this location originally. Before the creation of a Bodie cemetery, individuals were buried in Aurora's cemetery.

The Chinese buried in Bodie were considered a temporary situation and would later be reopened after several years, the bones shipped back to the deceased's home villages in China. They considered the burial ineffective unless the bones were returned to China. In June, 1880, one Bodie newspaper described the following:

> Too True--Over at Bodie the burial ground is so wet that they have to bail out the freshly dug graves to get the coffin in, and then they pile rocks on it to keep it from floating until the funeral is over, when the grave is filled with more rocks and with wet earth. At one place in the cemetery, there is a

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[242] Motz, "Ground Penetrating Radar Survey and Test Excavation of the Bodie Cemetery," 8.

> coffin, which is partly protruding from the ground, it having floated up from below. As the occupant was a Chinaman no notice can be taken of it. At the funeral service for these burials, the preacher is at a loss to know whether to read the baptismal or the burial service.[243]

As an interesting side note, this description delivers humor though it is unsure if it is factual. Nonetheless, where the cemeteries were located, was also where natural springs were located.

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[243] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 122.

CHAPTER V

ARCHITECTURE OF BODIE

Constructed quickly to serve the numbers of individuals coming to the camp in 1877-1878, the architecture of Bodie should be commemorated for withstanding harsh winters, dry heat, and 120 years of time. Under the care and supervision of the California State Park Service, Bodie's buildings have been preserved, maintained, and stabilized as they were found and purchased by the park in 1962. Since preservation of Bodie is not an issue, no recommendations will be offered in this thesis for Bodie's preservation. Identification of what is Bodie's architecture and how it was built will be the focus of this chapter.

Architecturally, the town of Bodie had formal trade stores as well as skilled tradesmen that were connected to various occupations. In 1880, the Census records 119 carpenters employed in various activities from erecting buildings to timbering the mines. Unfortunately, how many carpenters constructed buildings versus worked in the mines is unknown.

During the town's heyday, lumber was coming from as far away as the Nevada town of Carson City until a sawmill, Mono Mills, was constructed seven miles south of Mono Lake in 1881. Originally, finished lumber would travel into Bodie on animal drawn freight wagons to the lumber yards in town. One lumber company in town was the Eagle Mills-Lumber Yard owned by G.L. Porter & Company and was situated on the corner of Mono and Green Streets (Appendix A-3). The company furnished rough, clear and dressed lumber, as well as flooring, siding and ceiling boards. Doors, windows, blinds,

and mouldings were also available from this company. They also advertised their prices as the "lowest possible" and "furnished plans, specifications, and estimates."[244]

Independent craftsmen performed a diversity of architectural finishing. The 1880 Census records the following finishers in Bodie: four canvasers, two paperhangers, one plasterer, and one pattern maker. One company, W.A. Adams, located in Ward's Furniture Warerooms on Main Street, advertised "house and sign painting, paperhanging, kalsomining, graining, and glazing."[245]

Bricklayers and stone masons also peddled their trades in Bodie. The 1880 Census records eight stonemasons and four bricklayers active within the town.[246] The O'Day & Frasier Brickyard on Booker Flat Road had brick kilns which manufactured bricks for various types of buildings constructed in town. Historically, brick buildings were favored in Bodie, as in many mining towns, because of their fire resistant qualities. Elliott & Muckle were two brick and stone masons in town that practiced in Bodie as well as Aurora, offering to work "night or day."[247] Their office was located in the John Wagner Saloon in Aurora.

At least three furniture stores were represented in town: Kelley and Carder, Ward's Warerooms, and the Red House. The Red House on Main Street was an auction house handling unwanted belongings. An auction house is a quite convenient business in a town that alternates between wild booms and stark busts. One furniture company, the California Furniture and Upholstery store, on Main Street owned by J.M. Abbott advertised "spring

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[244] Bodie Daily Standard, December 1878.

[245] Bodie Daily Standard, December 1878.

[246] Interesting note is that there were three American and one Scottish bricklayer. As to stonemasons, they were mainly from Europe: two English, three Irish, one Canadian and one Prussian.

[247] This advertisement had a regular run in the Bodie Daily Standard during 1879.

beds, lounges, sofas, tables, stands, bedsteads, chairs, bureaus, desks, and everything in the general furniture line, kept on sale and manufactured to order." Catalogue books were necessities in isolated towns such as Bodie and were found in many businesses. Abbott's store also carried "a large stock of wallpaper, window shades, and silk floss mattresses" and provided services including "repairing, paper hanging and decorating." In 1880, one upholster was recorded in business in the town and probably worked independently in these furniture companies.

In addition, the 1880 Census recorded 25 tinsmiths employed in construction and in mining. Crimping of the surplus of tin cans to make sheetmetal for exterior use would be one characteristic job these men might have performed. Machines would be engaged to crimp the metal into various sized strips that were used as flashing, siding, and roofing. In interiors, tinsmiths would form patterned tin panels that decorated the interior of walls as well as ceilings.

Besides the contractors who were employed at Eagle Mills, four independent general contractors worked within the town. One example bid for building the Schoolhouse in September 1879 read as follows:

> For the erection of a one story wood, with stone basement building, to be located on Green street, and to be used as a public school house. For particulars apply to the undersigned, at Boone & Wright's store. The Board reserves the right to reject any or all bids. All bids must be accompanied with a certified check for $300, as a guarantee of good faith. Bids will be received until 12, noon. H.E. Battin, President of School Board.[248]

Another bid for the construction of the Catholic Church was advertised on September 10, 1879: "I will receive up to September 15, 1879, bids for building whole or in part a

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[248] Bodie Daily Standard, 25 September 1879. As a side note, this schoolhouse was constructed in 1879 but had a short life and was burned down within the same year by an angry delinquent. The present schoolhouse located in Bodie was a former lodging house that was moved to its present location and converted in 1880 to a schoolhouse.

Catholic Church in Bodie, according to plans and specifications to be shown at my residence. I reserve the right of rejecting any and all bids. J.M. Cassin.[249]"

Other architectural trades referred in the 1880 Census are housemovers and gas fitters. F.E. Houghton from England was recorded as a housemover. The Bodie Standard recorded on August 29, 1879: "House Moving—The eastside of Main street is fast assuming the proportion and fine appearance of the opposite side. Old buildings are being raised and moved to the suburbs nearly everyday."[250] Housemoving was extremely common. Residences were moved with the family. One example is the Hessel House that was built in Bodie but moved with the Hessels to Bridgeport, circa 1883 (Figure 33). Moving buildings is a characteristic that is seen in residences as well as businesses, and it is rumored that Bodie buildings were moved away to nearby towns in Mono County as well as other cities in Nevada. Bridgeport, California and Hawthorne, Nevada are two towns that carry Bodie buildings though no research has been performed in this area.[251]

In addition, there was also located one gasfitter in business who worked in the commercial district, installing pipes for coal oil or kerosene lighting. Coal oil lamps and oil lamps were the principal lighting types used until electricity came into Bodie in 1910. One example is the Miners' Union Hall on Main Street that has unique iron hanging gas lamps, though no research was found as to how gas accessed the building.

With the whole town constructed during the initial heyday, very little construction was completed after 1900. By the year 1900, Bodie was a significantly different place compared to the excitement. Architectural tradesmen did exist in the town, though they

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[249] Bodie Daily Standard, 10 September, 1879.

[250] Bodie Daily Standard, 29 August, 1879:

[251] Stanley Paher, personal telephone conversation with author, 19 October 1994; Frank Lortie, personal telephone conversation with author, 19 October 1994.

were scarce. The 1900 Census recorded twelve carpenters, two housepainters, two paperhangers, one mason, and one contractor as the tradesmen in Bodie.

Building Construction

To understand building construction of Bodie's architecture, the three principal building types of commercial, civic and residential will be analyzed. From these types, the three major systems of building construction—the foundation, the wall, and the roof—will be the essential in understanding their construction as a whole. In Bodie, these systems vary dramatically on every building but certain trends in these systems are evident in these specific types. In addition to these three major systems, lighting and heating will also be addressed. These trends will be identified in this chapter and further clarified on specific buildings that were selected for this historic survey.

Foundations

The most irregular system in Bodie's construction is the foundation. Foundations in Bodie, like many mining towns, were absent especially when it came to the simple miner's shanty. For residential architecture, the floor boards, exterior sill plate and joists of the building were laid directly on the ground in many cases (Figure 34). Moisture in the ground would cause deterioration of the wooden members, leading to the degeneration of the building. Post-on-stone foundations are also typical with the use of quarry stones as footings. Rubble rocks propping up a building, as in the Dolan House, constituted another foundation type (Figure 35). Sheetmetal would be tacked in front of the rock to hide its appearance (Figure 36). A foundation common on some buildings was wooden footings

or perhaps floor joist ends that were wrapped with tin cans (Figure 37). This type of foundation was found on at least three buildings surveyed: the Murphy House, the Conway House, and the Reddy House. Since it is difficult to gain access underneath some buildings, deciphering foundation construction is a problem. It is apparent that those residences that have survived time and harsh weather have some type of a foundation system.

Besides foundations, cellars were located under many residences (Figure 38). In a town that is both isolated at an elevation of 8,375 feet and built during a period when modern appliances were unavailable, cellars provided a form of refrigeration. One cellar dug under the Conway House went from the back of the house to the center. From the building's elevation, a cellar is not apparent, though physically there are steps down under house (Figure 39). Due to unsafe conditions, this space was not investigated. In another house, the Andrews House, a potato or root cellar was located under the house's floorboards.[252]

Commercial and civic buildings had foundations that were more substantial and usually constructed with a more reliable system. Many of these buildings either had a quarried granite stone foundation to lift the walls away from the ground (see Boone Store, Figure 139). Other buildings had a post-on-stone foundation, like the Miners' Union, where the posts are set on unsquared granite stones (Figure 40). These two examples are buildings of significant construction, and are different from smaller businesses that had mere floor joists on the ground.

In addition, the HABS documents completed in 1962 refer to underpinning, another foundation type found on two of the five foundations recorded: the D.V. Cain House and the Miners' Union Hall. Due to inaccessibility and unclear descriptions in the HABS data, it is unknown what this type of foundation may look like. The Odd-Fellows'

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[252] Peter Schultz, documentation field project with author, August 1997.

Hall is another building where the foundation was inaccessible because the wallboards came to the ground level. Unavailable foundations on some Bodie buildings were a problem. From those buildings surveyed and researched, it appears that foundations differed widely.

Walls

The majority of the buildings in Bodie are framed of wood with some type of wood sheathing. The wall framing used varied from board-and-batten box construction or stud-framed balloon construction. Box construction was simple and easy, as four board-and-batten walls are set up and nailed together at the corner boards. Box constructed board-and-batten buildings were also quick and inexpensive to erect compared to balloon framed buildings. On the exterior, horizontal tongue-and-groove dropsiding was applied, to make the wall more attractive. Besides its use as a form of insulation and aesthetic, horizontal dropsiding would strengthen the exterior wall by essentially making the wall three-boards thick. Non-drop, vertical plank siding was also used as a third form of wall sheathing, though it was limited compared with the other two.

On the other hand, balloon frame construction, created in 1833 in Chicago, was very popular in the West where buildings were being erected quickly to keep up with the masses of people arriving.[253] Just like box construction, horizontal dropsiding is applied to the stud framing. In Bodie, the more ambitious residences were balloon-frame constructed (Figure 41).

Commercial and civic buildings varied in construction often, depending on the adjoining buildings that assisted it as structural support. Two-story buildings were mostly

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[253] Leland M. Roth, A Concise History of American Architecture (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1979): 121.

balloon frame whereas one-story buildings would vary in construction. False fronts that lined Main Street, for example, were usually balloon frame constructed to acquire height over the building's gable and over the street (Figure 42).

For "insulation" on these wooden buildings, newspapers, magazine pages, patterned tin, or wallpaper were attached directly to the interior walls face of the structural walls. Sometimes, paper such as newspapers or "Beaver Board" would be used in between the board-and-batten framing and the exterior siding as additional insulation against Bodie's harsh climate. Wallpaper is widely evident as an insulation on all of the interiors surfaces, regardless of the building type. Cloth or muslin would be tacked up first to the interior walls and then wallpaper would be directly applied on the cloth (see Johl House, Figure 120). The weather in Bodie is extreme, with up to ten-feet snow deposits in a winter with winds of up to approximately 50 mile an hour. To keep out this harsh climate, layers of wallpaper were a solution. Over time, the wallpaper could be as many as three to seven layers thick (Figure 43). Besides being applied to the walls, this system would also be applied to the ceiling and is known to perpetually droop in the buildings as the paper becomes detached (Figure 44). The wallpaper patterns in the buildings ranged from Victorian to Art Deco and includes intricate border patterns that would outline the ceiling (Figure 45).

In addition to wallpaper, pressed tin was found on both ceilings and walls in many Bodie residences and businesses. According to this survey, the patterns were not duplicated in any of the buildings surveyed. The designs studied are very beautiful and the sheets are in good condition (Figure 46, see Boone Store, Figure 149). In one building, the Mortuary, lincrusta was found as a wall covering and shows two different patterns. (see Mortuary, Figure 161).

In fireproofing wooden buildings, it is unknown what methods may have been used, if any.[254] In the Odd-Fellows' Hall, there is a one-foot, three-inch space between the first floor and the second floor. As a method of fireproofing, it was common in many western towns to fill this air space with dirt to suffocate the flames. This practice has been observed in buildings in both the cities of Truckee, California as well as Virginia City, Nevada. Unfortunately, it is unknown if this is typical in Bodie.

When wood needs to be replaced today on Bodie buildings, the new materials duplicates the old. For example, true 2 by 4 feet stud lumber or band sawn planks are used to keep Bodie as historic as possible.

Besides wood as a wall material, buildings were also constructed of brick, adobe, sod and tin. These materials were infrequent compared to the number of wood buildings that were constructed. With a brickyard and kilns established in 1879 on Booker Flat Road, ten to twenty brick buildings are speculated to have been constructed in the town. One substantial hotel, the Dechambeau Hotel, was constructed of brick in 1880 and was originally the Post Office (Figure 47). Warehouses were always built of brick, due to their fire-resistant qualities. Two of these original 1879 warehouses, also known as fireproofs, still stand—the Boone Store Warehouse and the Hydroelectric Building. Recorded in the 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, these buildings were marked as "fire-proofed" buildings with heavy iron metal doors to secure the goods inside (Appendix A-4).[255] All these brick buildings were common bond construction with five stretcher courses for each header course, and a wythe was 22-inches thick.

In addition to large buildings made of brick, smaller ones were located that were 10 by 10 foot cold storage chambers. The brick vault of the Bodie Bank is another small brick

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[254] Presently, the park uses a fire-retardant on the buildings. (Frank Del Olmo, "Postcript: State to 'Stabilize' Ghost Town of Bodie to Preserve Its Aura," Los Angeles Times 26. June 1978: 1).

[255] See Boone store, page 149 for details on these brick warehouse buildings.

building that survives (Figure 48). The vault was enclosed in a wooden substructure that was consumed in the 1932 fire though the vault's valuables remained safe inside.

Besides brick commercial buildings, a few residences were known to have been built of brick. The Andrews House is a wooden house with interior walls constructed with brick-nogging (Figure 49). Taking a traditional balloon-framed building, bricks were placed between the stud framing of the interior walls, and clay or lime is then applied to the outside surface. Unfired bricks were found in the walls of the Andrews House and were pale white-colored, traditional for interior walls.[256] On another brick-nogged building near the Standard mill, lime plaster was found on the interior walls (Figure 50). As a form of "half-timbering," this architecture was typical on latter nineteenth-century buildings and has been found in other mining towns.[257] The DeRoche house, which later became the Mono County Hospital, was another brick residence. When DeRoche was hung in 1880 by the Bodie Vigilantes 601, his two-story brick house was seized by Mono County to be reused as a County Hospital. During the 1950s, brick hunters from Los Angeles salvaged the bricks of the hospital, which was also the fate of brick houses in the town of Aurora. Adobe blocks, as one of the first construction materials used, have also been cited as having been used in Bodie.[258] Unfortunately, no adobe buildings were located by this author.

In addition to brick, quarry stone were another building material used. A quarry was located outside of Bodie and stones from this quarry were used in construction of

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[256] Fred Walters [Architectural Conservator], personal conversation with author, 24 February 2000.

[257] Walters, personal conversation with author, 24 February 2000. For other U.S. examples see Fred B. Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective," Common Places Readings in American Vernacular Architecture (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1986): 161-163.

[258] Browne, "A Trip to Bodie Bluff and the Dead Sea of the West," 39.

many businesses, especially for warehouses in place of brick (Figure 51). In addition, reuse of stone is apparent on some buildings and is visible in this image.[259] The Occidental Hotel built a small stone warehouse behind its hotel that presently stands as a ruin. Besides this structure, many Chinese stone buildings remain that were carved out of the hillside along King Street (Figure 52).[260]

The last type of wall system is sod. Though there are no standing sod buildings located in Bodie, there is a sod wall built against a brick warehouse wall in the Boone Store, (see Boone Store, Figure 154). This sod wall is over six-feet-high and the individual blocks are nine-inches-thick and approximately one-foot-long. Though this is the only sod wall presently seen in Bodie, Bobby Bell recalls that this was a common building material used in the Chinatown.[261]

Tin sheathing was another wall covering material used. An excellent example of this is the Dog-Face George House, which is a stud framed building sheathed with tin cans (Figure 53, Figure 54). In the Dog-face George House, no insulation is evident on the walls compared to other buildings in Bodie. According to Bobby Bell, a machine was used that would take ordinary tin cans and crimp them together. Technology had advanced in the industrial age and in the book, Sheetmetal, a number of machines are illustrated showing how to crimp sheetmetals into different shapes and sizes (Figure 55).[262] Like sewing a piece of cloth, tin cans would be crimped together to form a sheet that would

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[259] Walters, personal conversation with author, 24 February 2000. Since these stones are original to their 1879 construction, it could be speculated that this material came from Aurora, where building materials were ready available for reuse.

[260] The remains of this foundation were once the Gilson and Barber Warehouse, which was reused later on as the Joss House for the Chinese (Bell, personal interview with author in Bodie, 22 May 1999).

[261] Bell, personal interview with author in Bodie, 22 May 1999.

[262] David Chase and Carolyn Laray, Sheetmetal (Washington: National Building Museum, 1988): 44-45.

cover a wall surface. Besides tin can sheathing, patterned interior tin was also employed on exterior walls (Figure 56). It is unknown if this sheathing was used for aesthetic use, if it was removed from a vacant building, or if it was purchased at a store. As a patch, this reused material works well and adds character to the exterior wall.

Another wall sheathing used on Bodie buildings, not as traditional as the others, is asphalt or asbestos shingles (Figure 57). A few buildings in the town have this type of material, installed on in the 1930s.

Roofs

Most of the roofs constructed in Bodie were gabled in form and can sustain heavy snow loads during the winters. In the 1880 photograph, this is the typical roof form (Appendix-A1). Hipped and L-shaped roof plans were also common on buildings, especially residences. Roofing materials used were primarily either wood or metal shingles. Jeffrey pine was the original wood shingle material used in the town. Presently, when roofs need replacing due to deterioration, the park service reshingles these buildings with cedar due to the natural preservant qualities of the wood (Figure 58). Though this material is not identical to the original, this is a preservation procedure, and helps ensure the future of the structure. In time, the shingles weather and look as old as the originals (Figure 59).

Another material used on Bodie roofs was tin cans and corrugated metal. As with wall sheathing, long metal strips of tin cans would cover roofs as well. This reuse of discarded cans eliminated soldering. To this day, the California State Park service continues this practice and replaces deteriorating tin roofs with tin sheets of the same

material. To dull the shininess of new tin panels, muriatic acid and chlorine are applied to oxidize the metal roof.[263]

Besides tin, corrugated galvanized sheetmetal was another material used in roofing. This material has existed in Bodie as early as 1899, and presently sheaths the Standard Consolidated Mill. Though there are few buildings in the town roofed with corrugated sheetmetal besides the Standard Mill and the Miners' Union Hall, it is applied as a patching material on buildings.

Roofs of fireproofed brick buildings were a combination of different layers that resulted in a substantial roof. The roof was supported by heavy timbers, and covered with a layer of lime, a layer of brick, another layer of lime, a layer of cement, and then five inches of earth.[264] This type of fireproofing was common in the west and was recognized on commercial buildings in Virginia City.[265] Due to its weight limit, it is believed this roof type is no longer present on extant brick buildings in Bodie.

In the preservation of roofs, identical materials are replaced on buildings whether sheetmetal or wood. Asphalt shingles are not incorporated on buildings as a roof material, unless they were used originally.

Heating System

Fireplaces or wood stoves were the principal type of heating used in the town. According to the 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, stoves were used more so than fireplaces due to the expense employed for a brick fireplace (Appendix A-5). Firewood in

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[263] John Hughes [Bodie Park Ranger], personal interview in Bodie with author, 23 May 1999.

[264] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 13.

[265] Walters, personal telephone conversation, 24 February 2000; Bert Bedeau, personal telephone conversation, 27 March 2000.

Bodie was about as valuable as gold and the price of a cord of wood was extremely high. The price of wood ranged, and depending on the month and year, but would cost from $8.00 to $20.00 a cord of wood. In today's monetary standards, this is the equivalent of $146.24 to $365.60.[266] During the excitement, wood burned in the town was physically carried in on pack mules and burros by Mexican and Chinese laborers and animal-drawn freight wagons. In addition to this residential demand, firewood was also required to operate mining equipment. Steam-powered equipment, such as boilers in the mills and hoisting works in the mines, covered Bodie Bluff and made the competition for wood intense. In some cases, houses periodically would blow up due to gunpowder or sticks of dynamite hidden in pieces of wood to punish those caught stealing. These accidents are recorded in Bodie newspapers especially during the heyday and are common scenarios that demonstrate the necessity of wood to a household.

In later years, diesel oil was used as a form of cooking fuel as well as heating, and tanks would be buried in the ground by the building.[267] According to Bobby Bell, oil was cheaper than wood. He remembers oil during the 1940s being around 10 cents a gallon where wood was $10.00 a cord. In addition, he recalls in a typical winter that, approximately 10 cords was the normal amount of wood used by a household.[268]

Lighting

Electricity was used primarily for lighting, rather than for heating. With the construction of hydroelectric power plants on Jordan Creek in April 1910, electricity was available in Bodie by Christmas Day. The Bridgeport Chronicle-Union records on

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[266] See Footnote 3 for monetary conversion.

[267] Bell, personal interview with author in Bodie, 22 May 1999.

[268] Bell, personal interview with author in Bodie, 22 May 1999.

Christmas eve that year: "the Hydro Electric Company is stringing wires for the distribution of light and power to the residents of Bodie."[269] In the present Hydroelectric Building, large transformers are housed that have provided electricity to the residences and businesses in the town since 1910-1942 (Figure 60). This building contains the remains of an old system as well as a newer system that may have been put in by the Roseklip Mining Company around 1936 (Figure 61).[270]

Unlike state-controlled power, electricity in Bodie was subject to constant shut down. As mining companies left, the power was from year to year unavailable, particularly the years between 1915 and 1928 as well as post-1942.[271] Bobby Bell remembers the electricity was periodically being shut off and the backup lighting the Bells used when there was no electricity was by means of gasoline lanterns. Not only did J.S. Cain own much of the town residences, businesses, and mine claims he also owned the power plant at Green Creek. As the principal owner, he would lease the mining operations to companies and supply the mill with power when it was needed.[272] When there was a small population located in Bodie after 1915, there were many periods where electric power was not available.

Architectural Details and Styles

The vernacular architecture of Bodie is built in subtle details. No two residences, or businesses or civic buildings in the town are truly alike. Some windows and doors on

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[269] Bridgeport Chronicle-Union, 24 December 1910.

[270] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, October 1999.

[271] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author," October 1999; Bell, personal telephone conversation with author," 28 November 1999.

[272] Bell, personal telephone conversation with author, 28 November 1999.

particular buildings carry similarities to one another, where other details stand alone. In addition to catalogue bought furnishings, carpentry details can be found in the town like ornamental bargeboards, pilasters, faux finishes and elaborate chimneys. In the Victorian tradition, these details hint at how Bodie attempted to emulate familiar models seen in San Francisco and Virginia City.

One traditional and early residential house type found in Bodie, as well as other mining towns was the "dugout." According to Grant Smith in 1924, some of the first establishments in Bodie were "dugouts in the hillsides."[273] This building type was a hole dug into the mountainside enclosed in the front by a partition with a door and sometimes a window (see Figure 9). The roof was either a gable or a flat roof and made up of readily available materials, such as earth, gravel, twigs, sod, thatch, and sheetmetal. With the earth walls for insulation, warmth would not be a problem and heat during the winter was usually provided by a small wood stove with a pipe extending through the rooftop. Since a lot of Bodie is off limits to the public due to the danger of abandoned mine shafts and prospect holes, it is difficult to locate any extant dugouts.

A second type of residence built in Bodie was a small square or rectangular box (Figure 62). The Kelly House, for example, built circa 1880, was 13 by 21 feet with a height of approximately 7 feet. This little house was comprised of two rooms—a main room and a second room used as the bedroom. This building type example is found repeated over the landscape (Appendix A-1). Two room buildings were both easy to build and served the main purposes of a house.

From these building types, the third type was born, which was the quintessential and vernacular residential house in Bodie, as well as other mining towns in the West.[274]

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[273] Smith, "Bodie: The Last Old Time Mining Camp," 70.

[274] See C. Eric Stoehr, Bonanza Victorian: Architecture & Society in Colorado Mining Towns (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975): 33.

This building type is a regular rectangular house, like the Kelly House, with a lean-to attached to some side of the building. In the 1880 photograph, historic examples of this house shape are seen throughout the town and Bluff, and are symbolized by their back lean-to additions (Appendix A-1). Presently in the town, over fifteen Bodie residences exist that are characterized as a house with some type of lean-to addition (Figure 63). In many of these buildings, the back room would be built into the hill to use the earth as insulation for a pantry or even cellar (see Moyle-N House plan, Figure 135).

On Bodie buildings, details would be applied to the building that were either reconstructed or purchased from catalogue books. Many of the builders may have built what they were familiar with, though this concept has not thoroughly been researched. Most of the windows in the town have ornamented hoods that are set as far out as 3-6 inches from the house (see Cain House, Figure 98). Some windows are even highlighted with scrolled brackets (Figure 64). Most of the windows in town are double hung six-over-six, four-over-four, or two-over-two lites. Some windows were constructed with weights and pulleys with sashes. Counter-weighted windows are found especially on buildings located east on upper Green Street.

Specialty windows were also built that are unique in both their design and style. These windows are very creative and it is unknown if these windows were purchased from a catalogue, constructed or were common Bodie. The Burkham House, designed during the 1880s, is equipped with a three-corner window that looks down Standard Street to Lower Main Street (Figure 65). Typical during this period were Italianate bay windows that were curved or boxed (Figure 66; Figure 67). These types of windows are very extraordinary and original in design for a town far from centers of culture. It is unknown if there were other buildings, now gone, that had these window styles.

Doors on residences are typical of what could be purchased from a catalogue book. On many buildings there doors of four or eight-panels. The Murphy House, moreover,

has one door with two slender side lites between two broader lites. This motif appears on three residences— Sturgeon House and Brown House (Figure 68; Figure 69).[275] Most of the doors and windows seem to be catalogue-bought, though it is unknown when they were ordered.

Other exterior elements witnessed on Bodie residences are small but significant. The Lottie Johl House on Main Street is decorated with a lozenge-and-quatrefoil bargeboard pattern that reflects a silhouette when the sun hits it (see Johl House, Figure 110). On the J.S. Cain House, pilaster strips on the corner boards mimic columns (see Cain House, Figure 97). The Seiler House is equipped with a full porch with chamfered end posts. Many of these residences have beltcourses that run along the bottom of the building. All of these ornaments are significant for Bodie's architecture and show creative ambition for such an isolated town.

The ceilings in many of the buildings are between eight to ten feet in height. Diaphragm partition walls were recorded in many of the residences in Bodie. These walls were opened up by arches that connect two spaces, such as a parlor and a dining room (Figure 70; Figure 71). The D.V. Cain House on Green Street has a curved staircase that rises to the second-floor (Figure 72). Wallpaper used on the walls and ceilings of Bodie rooms show a variety of designs and borders. Besides wallpaper, faux finishing were found in the Lottie Johl House, and represent are noteworthy because of the amount of skill required for the job (see Johl House, Figure 114). In this faux finishing an underlining panel of light-colored wood is lightly painted in a darker color using feathers and tools to give the appearance of being a more costly piece of wood, such as knotty pine.

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[275] This exact door type was found in the Bush House in Salem, Oregon, constructed in 1877-78 and presently a City of Salem museum. This evidence eludes that this particular door and its 6-lite window design was probably a catalog purchase.

In addition, colored patterns linoleum from the 1910s-1930s covered the floors and many houses had this covering (Figure 73; see Reddy House, Figure 130). Originally, however, floors were either hardwood or carpeted.

Hardware fixtures located in the homes are typical of these advertised in catalogue books and are in the Eastlake styles of the 1880s (Figure 74). Many of the stoves viewed in the houses, whether wood or cooking, are also Eastlake in style (Figure 75). Wood stoves seen in the Conway House, Johl House and Reddy House were small in size (See Johl House, Figure 118; see Reddy House, Figure 129). These lighting fixtures and wood stoves are also regular items that would have been ordered from catalogues. Bare bulbs still hang from fabric-insulated wires from the ceilings in most of Bodie's buildings.

Commercial buildings in Bodie were very characteristic of what was being erected in other western mining towns. Main Street was the principal avenue of Bodie's commercial district but supplemental businesses were located on side streets within the town. As in other mining town, false fronts denoted a business, and were usually decorated in a variety of styles. False front pediments were mainly of a federal or classic style with wide cornice returns (Figure 76). Some buildings had fronts that were baroque, with curves (Figure 77). One well-known business, the Occidental, was a hotel, restaurant and saloon that was Queen Anne in style with round bay windows (Figure 78). The two-story Odd Fellows' Hall is another business in town that was Italianate in style (Figure 79). Constructed of brick, the Dechambeau Hotel is very exuberant for a mining town with a stepped Dutch colonial back end and a front facade with segmental arches (Figure 80).

Churches were constructed in the Gothic style. Built in 1883, the extant Methodist Church has pointed arched windows, a shingled steeple, as well as a rose window (Figure 81). Built at the same time as the Methodist Church, the catholic community erected the Church of St. John the Baptist that was Gothic as well with pointed arched windows and a wide cornice with eave returns on the corners (Figure 82).

The architectural details on commercial businesses are comparable to what was found on residential buildings. One business door type seen on the Mortuary is a more ornate door but very catalogue-looking (see Mortuary, Figure 157). This 15-lite-window is typical for businesses in Bodie with a transom lite located above the door. To provide ventilation, many businesses as well as residences had these transom lites fixed above their exterior and interior doors. Windows on commercial and civic buildings were big display windows, which allowed for light and also encouraged passersby to glance inside (Figure 83). Unique among buildings in Bodie, the Miners' Union Hall has natural gas light fixtures hanging from the ceiling (Figure 84). The ornate patterns on the lamps are Eastlake in design and likely are another catalogue purchase.

Historically, the interiors of many of these businesses were quite stylish. Unfortunately, the interiors of saloons had long counters, patterned wallpaper, and spittoons though can only be seen now in historic photographs (see Figure 29). One interior that survives, however, is that of the Methodist Church with its electric light hanging from the ceiling. The interior of the Methodist Church still exists as it was built with the words "Praise Waiteth for Thee God in Zion" inscribed above a gothic arch (Figure 85). The auditorium of the Odd-Fellows' Hall on Main Street still has its original soundboard, to reflect the voice of the Brother speaker.

Outbuildings

Besides residential, commercial, and civic buildings researched in this thesis, outbuildings were also necessary components to Bodie's architecture (Figure 86). Traditionally, practically everyone owned an outbuilding if an outhouse, barn, stable, icehouse, or a plain storage building. Tom Miller's Stable and Icehouse was surveyed though it is unknown if it was a business or used for personal use (Figure 87). The 66-

foot long building was constructed during the 1880s, and housed blocks of ice in one half of the building and horses in the other (Figure 88). For insulation in the icehouse part, sawdust was packed in the hollow of the walls. Other outbuildings are more barns or stables. This 1880 gambrel barn that exists behind the Mortuary was once part of the Johnson Hotel, destroyed in 1892 fire (Figure 89). In a historic 1880 photograph, this barn is visible (Appendix A-1). These secondary but essential structures probably outnumbered the public buildings in the town. Despite their secondary status, however, they make up a critical part of Bodie's character in its present-day decrepit ghost town state.

CHAPTER VI

BODIE SURVEYS

In writing the historic architectural descriptions for this thesis, specific documents were correlated to each other. The primary material for these descriptions is based on past historic surveys, written information, oral histories, and archival material. Included in this was the Historic American Building Survey (HABS) completed in 1962, as well as four individual park service surveys completed at different times during park ownership (Appendix B). These dates are approximations of when the buildings were constructed and need further research, though have been correctly amended by this author.

Thanks to Ann Huston in the National Park Service, Buck R. Nelson's surveys from 1970 were made available. After the park was established, Nelson surveyed principally the cost for stabilization for each building in the town. Some brief historical information attached to the building was included on how the building was built, construction dates, pictures, and some history. Nelson was a valuable person for the park service as many buildings were stabilized then that had not been maintained in many years. To this day, the park service staff can enter a building and denote a "Buck Nelson job," as it is called for his type of stabilization. During this time, Nelson also wrote a brief article on the preservation of the building in the town for a preservation conference of mining and ghost towns.[276] After Nelson, two other surveys were conducted but they were not analyzed by this author (see Appendix B).

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[276] Buck R. Nelson, "Bodie, California: A Ghost Town Stabilized," Ghost towns and Mining Camps: Selected Papers from the Ghost Towns and Mining Camps Preservation Conferences in Boise, Idaho, May 1974 and in Flagstaff, Arizona, April 1975, and the

One significant surveyor was Dr. Peter Schultz, California State Park Archaeologist. During the summers of 1995 and 1997, I assisted Peter in surveying specific buildings in Bodie. Seeing how he surveyed was important but the buildings chosen for this thesis were specifically buildings he had not surveyed. His style of surveying was HABS quality, and in the amount of time I had to survey I tried to match his style of surveying and expertise. In addition, many buildings chosen for this thesis were buildings for which I knew I might be able to obtain a lot of oral history or archival information.

In Bodie, I carried out fifteen surveys in May, 1999 and this documentation was the primary research for this thesis. Assisted with my sister Jamie Laguzza, a University of Nevada, Reno, geology undergraduate, we surveyed as a team measuring the buildings, drafting plans, and filling out surveys created ahead of time. Photographs were collected on the buildings that are used in this thesis. Since this is a seven-year interest, photographs made over the years on previous trips are also used in addition to those collected during the May, 1999 survey.

In conjunction with park surveys, the archival maps located in Appendix A were examined in connecting the buildings to the lots. Maps and historical research were drawn up from the following sources: The Story of Bodie by Ella Cain, The Bodie Bonanza by Warren Loose, Bodie 1859-1900 by Frank Wedertz and Mining Camp Days by Emil Billeb.

Developing Historic Districts in Small Towns and Cities Workshop in Salt Lake City, Utah, March 1975 (Washington: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1977): 5-8.

Residential Architecture

Residential architecture in Bodie is physically the most varied. Originally constructed as a wooden community in a high desert, treeless area, Bodie's residential architecture varies greatly as each building carries unique characteristics that can be seen in construction techniques and decorative ornamentation (See Chapter VI). Out of the seventy-three primary buildings still standing in the State Park, forty-nine (or sixty-seven percent) are residences. These structures were originally named in 1962 by the California Park Service, who collected oral histories from former Bodie residents who lived in the town before park ownership (Appendix A-6). These recorded interviewer tapes are located in the Bodie State Park collection:

EXISTING RESIDENCES

Andrews	Durham	Miller
L.E. Bell	Forsythe	Moyle-North
"Building G"	Gordon	Moyle-South
Brown	Gregory	Murphy
Burkham	Grey	Osborn
J.S. Cain	Harvey	Owen
D.V. Cain	Hoover	Parr
Cameron	Indian House	Quinville
Campana	Johl	Reddy
Cody	Kelley	Seiler
Conway	Kirkwood	Selhorn
Chinese Residence	Klipstein	Dr. Street
Dog-Face	Major	Sturgeon
Dolan	McDonald	Tong Sing Wo
Dolan-North	McGinnis	Tracy
Dolan-East	Mendocini	Donnelly
Metzger		

The names associated with these specific buildings vary historically from the last owner to the first owner and there is no consistency as to when the recorded owner may have lived on the property. Some buildings in Bodie have no known ownership or the research attached to it is limited, such as concerning "Building G." There are many auxiliary

buildings in the town that were recorded by the park service upon there taking custody. Therefore, the chain of ownership for some houses is somewhat vague. The J.S. Cain House, Reddy House, Johl House and Moyle-North House are the four surveyed residences that will be described in this thesis. These four represent a wide range of different types of residences, and are both low as well as high in their architectural style. These houses will be referred to by their park service names rather than their official historic names.

These residences are adorned with minimal to expressive decorations, and recall Victorian architectural traits seen in big cities, such as San Francisco or Virginia City, as well as other metropolises in the United States. The residences that presently stand in Bodie were primarily constructed during the excitement and survived the big fires of 1892 and 1932 that devastated most of the town, especially the commercial district. Due to areas being vacated by fire or buildings being moved out of Bodie, the remaining buildings within the town were constantly being shifted around in keeping the town more centralized. This was the leading problem encountered in this thesis in understanding the history, the ownership and sometimes the original location of the residences. Since mining architecture was considered temporary, reuse is another trait that is characterized many residences. Building materials from vacated buildings were constantly being recycled, or the buildings were dismantled entirely for other uses.

James S. Cain House, (1879)

Park Street
Block 12 Lot 15 (original)
Block 21, 32 Lot (moved c 1890)

Jesse B. McGath, Real Estate Agent (c.1879 -1888)
Unknown (1888-1900)
James S. Cain, Banker (1900-1935)
Unknown (1935-1946)
Park caretakers (1946-Present)

History

The most elaborate house in Bodie is the J.S. Cain House, located on the corner of Green Street and Park Street. James Stuart Cain and his family were well-known in Bodie and lived in the house from 1900 until 1935. Presently, the house is secured as a park ranger's residence and is inaccessible to the public. As a residence, the interiors have been altered by the park service for their convenience. The Historic American Building Survey (HABS) completed drawings of the house in 1962 and these were obtained from the Library of Congress as a way to understand the interior space of this beautiful building. As a high-style Classical vernacular building, this house is the best residential example standing in Bodie.

Constructed in August, 1879, by Jesse B. McGath, the house originally stood farther east on Green Street on Block 12, Lot 15 (Appendix A-2). The house is recognizable on the 1880 historic photograph as a large white house in the center (Appendix A-1). The Bodie Daily Standard in 1879 wrote an excerpt on the house:

> Green Street--This street, which crosses Main Street at the Bodie House, is fast assuming the position of the most important residence avenue in Bodie. Immediately west of the Eagle Mills Lumber Yard Jesse McGath has recently put up the handsomest residence in Bodie.[277]

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[277] Bodie Daily Standard, 13 August 1879.

Born in Virginia in 1835, McGath was recorded in the 1880 Census as being a single, 45-year-old real estate agent. In the mid-1880s, McGath married Elizabeth Ann Butler who was one of the first children born in Bodie.[278]

Sometime between 1888 and 1899, the house was moved to its current location.[279] During 1888, the house was not recorded on its original lot and Harvey Boone of the Boone Store is recorded as owning the lot the Cain House presently sits on, though it is unclear if this house is the Cain House or the previous house. The 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map records the footprint of the house; hence, the building was moved before November of that year. (Appendix A-5). Although some researchers have believed the house was moved to its current location in 1904, it is known to have been on this lot before 1899 (Figure 90). It is speculated that Boone lived in the extant Cain House during this time.

Born on October 28, 1853, in Rockburn, Quebec, James Stuart Cain arrived in Bodie from Carson City, Nevada, in 1879 with his wife Martha Wells Cain.[280] Martha Cain was born in 1862 in Willow Creek, Utah, and was living in Genoa, Nevada, when she met Cain. Between 1879 and 1888, the Cains lived in the still-standing D.V. Cain House on Green House where their first child, David Victor, was born in 1880 (Figure 91).[281] The Cain family moved to Park Street and is recorded in 1888 as living in the 5-

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[278] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 12.

[279] Ella Cain reminiscences in a humorous dialog that an "old fellow named Pat Manning took a contract to do it. He put it on rollers, an' the horse just paraded round and round a big spool windin' a rope attached to the house. Didn't even break the brick chimney, or fireplace. Old J.S. Cain said he hesitated 'bout payin' him, though, 'cause he failed to move th' well." (Cain, The Story of Bodie, 185).

[280] Bridgeport Chronicle-Union, 3 November 1938: 5.

[281] Cain, The Story of Bodie, 76. Unfortunately, the Cains were not recorded in the 1880 U.S. Federal Census so this part of history is missing.

bedroom L.E. Bell House (Figure 92).[282] According to the 1888 Fire Commission Records, Cain owned horses, chickens and a cow on the lot as well as paid $125.00 in taxes for improvements and $10.00 for the land.[283] The Bells and Cains were related to each other through marriage, as Martha's sister was Cherry Bell.[284] The Bell house was sold then to the Bells in approximately 1888. By 1900, Cain with his wife Martha and four children David Victor, Jessie Delilah, James Isaac, and Stuart Wells were residing in the 1-1/2 story Park Street house (Figure 93).

After arriving in Bodie, Cain worked as a teamster for G.L. Porter & Company's Eagle Mills, a prominent lumberyard in town. The company was situated on a large lot on the corner of Mono Street and Wood Street. Cain's next venture was barging lumber across Mono Lake for the Mono Lake Lumber Company in 1881 with his partner Thomas Holt.[285] With the purchase of a 60-foot steam boat, "Rocket," wood and lumber was hauled easier to town from a sawmill at Mono Mills.[286] This was a temporary situation while the railroad was being constructed to the sawmill. After the construction of the railroad, Cain went into partnership with J.W. Stewart on the Bodie Railway and Lumber Company, and sold cord and slab wood.

With A.J. McCone, Cain is believed to have constructed Bodie's first cyanide plant for processing tailing piles that the two purchased in and around Bodie.[287] Four other

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[282] Bodie old timer Bobby Bell recalls Cain once telling him that the Bell House was his first residence when he came to town. This is not all true since the L.E. Bell house was built after 1880 (Appendix A-1).

[283] 1888 Bodie Fire Commission Records, 26.

[284] Bell, personal telephone conversation with author, 28 November 1999.

[285] In the California State Archives, there was two ledgers found on the "Bodie Store" and "Holt Boarding House" owned by the "Holt and Cain Company" and dated 1886. No research was found on this information so needs further research.

[286] Billeb, Mining Camp Days, 45.

[287] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, 28 November 1999.

plants followed by Cain and McCone: the South End Plant (1895), the Victor (1896), as well as the Baldwin (1898) in located Fletcher, Nevada, and the Del Monte (1899), located in Aurora.[288] In addition, Cain owned the Midnight Mine, which abutted the Standard Mining Company. In 1914, Cain sued the company in a lawsuit, obtaining the entire company, which included the Standard Mill, Standard Cyanide Plant, Standard Mine, Green Creek Power Plant, plus numerous claims owned by the Company, such as buildings and tailings.[289] In 1915, he reopened the Standard Mill to leasing companies, and this practice continued until 1936.

In addition, Cain was also involved in the purchasing of water rights on major streams. The Cain Irrigation Company owned the rights to two streams, which supplied water to settlements in the area besides the townsite of Bodie. Both Hydroelectric plants on Green Creek and Mill Creek were owned by Cain and power as well as water was turned on sporadically by Cain between 1915-1930. When electricity was not available, the town would turn to kerosene or coal oil lamps and spring water.[290]

As the main business holder in town, J.S. Cain began right after the excitement to purchase properties in Bodie, and his own house apparently was one of these purchases. In 1888-1892, he purchased the Mono County Bank from former San Francisco cashier, E.L. Benedict. The Mono Bank was renamed the Bodie Bank and was operated solely by Cain until it was destroyed in the 1932 fire (see Figure 30). Besides banking, he was the Wells Fargo Company agent for the town until it was discontinued by the Parcel Post in 1912 due to high shipping rates for getting items to Bodie.[291]

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[288] Cain, The Story of Bodie, 84.

[289] Piatt, personal telephone conversation with author, 26 May 2000.

[290] Bell, personal telephone conversation with author, 22 May 1999.

[291] E.W Billeb, "Centennial of Bodie Mining District, Mono County, California (1859-1959)," n.p.: 7.

During the 1920s to 1930s, many people ventured into town and were given personal tours of Bodie from a descendant of the excitement. Traversing the ghost town with his guests, Cain would tell some tall tales of the rough days of Bodie's early years. In 1935 with his wife, J.S. Cain moved out of Bodie to San Francisco where he owned an office and there he died in 1938. His children as well as grandchildren continued to live in Bodie and operate the family business of leasing the mines on Bodie Bluff.

Thanks to Cain's energetic buying of properties in the town, there exists a Bodie today. With the assistance of the J.S. Cain Company, the park service now runs and operates the park as well as stabilizes the standing buildings.

Architecture

The J.S. Cain House is a one-and-half story Classical vernacular building originally painted white with decorative ornaments. On the east elevation is an entry way with a wide-cornice pediment gable with strong eave returns (Figure 94). Supported by thin brackets, a metal terne plate flared porch hood protrudes over the house's steps (Figure 95). An octagonal-paneled door is detailed with a transom as well as sidelights and newel posts decorate both sides of the steps. The windows on the house are either 2/2 or 6/6 double hung and are highlighted with thick flashed window hoods and decorative lintels. Historically, the house had shutters over the windows (Figure 96). Pilaster strips with capitals also are found on all the corners of the house (Figure 97). A sunroom with reused 6-lite windows was added to the east elevation by the Cains in approximately 1910. A quaint picket fence surrounds the front of the house, enclosing a small yard area. The same decorative window hoods and pilaster strips are found on the south elevation as the front, along with a pediment that repeats the porch entry with cornice returns (Figure 98). On top

of the house is a beautiful ornate brick chimney that tops the intersecting gables of the house.

Besides these elaborate decorations, the house has a cedar shingled roof and sits on a granite stone foundation that was probably added when the house was moved to this lot in approximately 1899. The foundation appears to have recently been repointed, though the mortar was not matched properly. The wall sheathing of the house is beveled horizontal tongue-and-groove dropsiding over vertical boards. Board-and-batten walls peek from behind this siding and may make up the wall. From HABS documents, the house appears to be platform construction with 1x4 inch joists with 3 inch thick walls (Figure 99). To keep out the winds, the walls and windows were caulked with cloth or a fiber that had the consistency of horsehair. This type of maintenance today is done by the park service for the ranger who resides inside.

The house originally had two intercepting gables on the north elevation. Between these gables, the space was bridged on the second story for a room that is sided with galvanized sheet iron (Figure 100). A small door opening was added to this space, probably for ventilation.

Two additions were later made to the house, on both the southwest and northwest elevations. The southwest addition was constructed by the park service after 1962 and is used as a park office for the public (Figure 101). On the northwest elevation, another addition made by J.S. Cain at the turn of the century, for a workspace and woodshed. An indoor bathroom was also added then as part of this addition.

From the HABS documents, plans of the J.S. Cain House were reconstructed for easier understanding as to how the interior was originally designed (Figure 102, Figure 103). Since the interior has been altered as a residence for park rangers, this reconstruction

is hypothetical. In addition, the Appraisal Report by Butterfield & Butterfield inventories items found in the house before November, 1960.[292] The items were valued at $3,945.00.

Inside the front door entrance there was a parlor on the southeast corner of the house, this had a luxurious brick fireplace designed with dentils and pilaster columns (Figure 104). The Appraisal Report records an upright Ivers & Pond piano manufactured in Boston in this space, as well as a Victor Victrola, and an 1807 Gilbert striking clock. In the HABS survey, a historic photo was collected of this room in 1962 and shows the fireplace as well as some of its furniture (Figure 105).

Across from the parlor was another room that was used as probably a bedroom though initially it may have been a study. A second bedroom appears to also be placed at the southwest corner of the house.

In 1879, this house is believed to have not been furnished with a kitchen or an indoor bathroom; both of these facilities were added to the house by Cain (see Figure 103). According to Bodie Cain's son-in-law, Emil Billeb, Cain had a Chinese cook named Charlie in 1916. From the Appraisal Report, the appliances found in the kitchen were a Servel Electrolux refrigerator and a 6-plate blue & white enamel Windsor oven/range.

On the second story, there were two original bedrooms and then an additional one added by the combination of two gables. Unfortunately, not much information is available regarding the second story. Graining was noted in the HABS documents as having been used on the woodwork in the house and the mouldings in the documents were quite substantial in shape.

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[292] Division of Beaches & Parks, "Appraisal Personal Property Bodie Project, Bodie California," 60-65.

Lottie Johl House, (c. 1878)

Main Street
(original location unknown)
Block 22, Lot 11 (moved)
Block 21, Lot 3

Henry Zenas Osborne, Publisher (1878-1889)
Eli & Lottie Johl, Butcher (1889 -1910)
Abandoned (1910-1932)
Mrs. Mary McDonell, Bodie Post Office (1932-1942)

History

Built circa 1878, the "Lottie Johl House" has a rich history from being moved at least twice as well as changed from a residence to a post office. Though it is problematic where the house may have been originally located in Bodie, two of its other locations are known. Nevertheless, the history of ownership in the house is detailed.

This house was first owned and built by Henry Zenas Osborne born in New York in 1848 .[293] This building was first located in the vicinity of lower Main Street, though no photographic research has been found to fix its exact location.[294] In 1889, Osborne sold the house to Lottie and Eli Johl, and historic fragmented photographs indicate the structure was a few doors down from Johl's butcher shop.[295] The house's original location appears to be a second location and no historical information was found as to the house's first location. Bobby Bell recollects the building originally was "two doors south of where the firehouse."[296] Though the present firehouse in Bodie was rebuilt by the Works

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[293] Cain, The Story of Bodie, 108; U.S. Federal Census, "Mono County, Bodie Townsite, 1880.

[294] Cain, The Story of Bodie, 108.

[295] Cain, The Story of Bodie, 108.

[296] Bell, personal interview with author in Bodie, 22 May 1999.

Progress Administration (WPA) in 1936, the Johl House would then be approximately four lots down from the current Firehouse. Additionally, Bell recalls the house was purchased and moved in the early 1920s, by J.S. Cain's son, Stuart Cain, because the ground was too wet for the building. Thanks to this relocation, the house was successfully moved out of the path of the 1932 fire. After this fire, when the second Bodie post office was consumed, the abandoned Johl House became the next post office during the years 1932 to 1942.

The original owner, Henry Z. Osborne, worked in printing and editing for the Bodie Daily Standard newspaper, with his younger brother Lester, in a "large two-story building, 19x24 feet, on south Main Street."[297] As the current International Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF) Building, the second floor of the newspaper building was composed of rooms that were used both as an editorial room and a business office. The first reference of Osborne is in April, 1878, in the Bodie Daily Standard newspaper: "Mr. H.Z. Osborne, late of New Orleans, Louisiana, will take full charge of the Bodie Daily Standard, editorially and typographically. Mr. Osborne is a gentleman of refinement and culture, and will bring to the Bodie Daily Standard much experience and a varied knowledge of the newspaper business."[298] Due to accusations that he was "using that office to fraudulently line his own pocket," Osborne sold the Bodie Daily Standard and bought the first newspaper of Bodie, the Bodie Free Press from Oregon-born, J.M. Dormer.[299]

In the newspaper business in Bodie, Osborne was considered very successful as an editor with the Bodie Daily Standard and editors who followed him had great success with the newspaper. As Bodie was slowing down in the 1880s, the Bodie Free Press began to

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[297] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 93.

[298] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 93.

[299] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 46-47.

suffer heavy losses that led to Osborne's resignation.[300] In addition to his newspaper business, Osborne was known to have been the superintendent of the White Cloud Mining Company, a small operation located on Silver Hill. Also, Osborne was involved in 1882 in writing a letter to United State representatives in Washington D.C. to urge relocation of the Chinese back to China. Due to the number of able "white" workers that were unemployed in Bodie in 1882, anti-Chinese resentment was strong and many Chinese moved out of town during this year due to these feelings.

While living in Bodie between 1878-1889, Osborne was married to a woman named Nellie, who lived in New York City. Two letters printed on "White Cloud" stationary to his wife and sons, Shirill and Harry, are kept at University of California, Berkeley's Bancroft Library. On May 17, 1878, Osborne wrote to his wife: "Bodie is the toughest little place I ever saw. I would not want to have a family here until it changes some."[301] Osborne's thoughts reveal how rough the town was in 1878, making it an unfit environment for a respectable family. It is not known if his family ever moved out to Bodie. The Bodie Daily Standard notes twice, in October and November of 1879, that Mrs. H.Z. Osborne is quite ill and "may soon become convalescent" though there is no mention that she is residing in Bodie.[302] In the second letter written on June 26, 1878, Osborne reacquaints: "I think it [Bodie] is fully one third larger than when I first came here. Some of the buildings are quite substantial."

After 1889, Osborne moved to Los Angeles where he befriended Governor Leland Stanford, and California Republican Congressmen William W. Morrow and Joseph McKenna; he soon became involved in politics in both Los Angeles and Washington DC. In 1916, Osborne was elected to the 10th Congressional District in the City of Los

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[300] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 46-47.

[301] University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, "Henry Zenas Osborne" File.

[302] Bodie Daily Standard, 17 October 1879; Bodie Daily Standard 19 November 1879.

Angeles.[303] As a Congressman candidate, he promised to restrict the immigration of the Chinese to the United States. Osborne was elected into office from March, 1917 to February, 1923. He died in office in Los Angeles.[304]

After Osborne, the second owner of the house was Eli Johl who purchased the residence in 1889 for his wife Lottie; lived in the house to about 1910.[305] Arriving in Bodie after 1880, Johl was a butcher at the City Market on Main Street with his partner Englishman Charles Donnelly. Born in 1842 in Germany, Johl had learned the butcher business back home from slaughtering to wrapping the meat for customers. Ella Cain recalls that "he was a rough, uncouth German . . . [who] knew more about the butcher business in a minute than Donnelly would know in a lifetime."[306] In addition, she observed he took the "worst end of it, mostly the slaughter house work, while Charlie stood behind the counter in a white apron."[307] As in many mining towns, men had difficulty meeting women because there were few women in the town, and those that were available were usually prostitutes. Those women who were single and available were usually prostitutes in the Red-light district. Johl's wife-to-be, Lottie, is believed to have been a former prostitute.

The history of Lottie is sketchy, since her maiden name is unknown. Anne Seagraves notes this: "without a surname or sobriquet, it is almost impossible to trace her travels through the West [because] there were many girls named Lottie." Therefore, much

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303 University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, "Henry Zenas Osborne" File.

304 California Blue Book, Legislative Manual or State Roster, 1924 (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1924): 336.

305 It is known that Johl lived in the house in 1908 but is not recorded in the 1910 Census. Some time between these two dates, he moved out of the house.

306 Cain, The Story of Bodie, 107.

307 Cain, The Story of Bodie, 107.

of her story is unknown and speculative because of her profession as a prostitute and her lack of acceptance in the social orders of the community. According to Seagraves, Lottie was born on a farm in rural Iowa in 1855 where she was married and had a little girl.[308] Though it is unknown what her early life was like, it is known that she received a divorce and had to give up her child either to her husband or her family due to the divorce. Her history in Bodie begins in the summer of 1882 at the age of 27. In a dance hall, Johl met Lottie and began to court her, showering her with jewels. A woman could make a decent living in a dance hall, providing comfort for men through dancing, conversation, and perhaps even sexual favors.[309] By 1889, Lottie and Eli were married. According to Ella Cain,

> Eli brought his wife a cottage, of five rooms, that had been built by Osborne of the Daily Free Press, on Main Street, a few doors above the butcher shop. It was furnished in the manner of the times, velvet carpets, point lace curtains, chenille drapes, and the best sideboard and piano that was ever brought into Bodie. When it came to decorating the walls—they must have paintings...[310]

Photographs of this house and its decor can be correlated to this description (Figure 106). As a detailed and vivid image of a historic interior of a Bodie residence, this image delivers a wonderful view of how it was decorated as well as what type of materials were used. Dating sometime in the 1890s, this view shows a room grandiose with luxury that

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[308] Seagraves, Soiled Doves, 75. Accounts of Lottie's early life were told to Seagraves by the great-granddaughter of Lottie Johl in 1992.

[309] Since Lottie is so anonymous and the information written on her by Ella Cain and Anne Seagraves is misleading as to whether she was a prostitute in Bodie's Red-light district, this author concludes she worked in a dance hall. Prostitution may have been one of her job requirements though no definite evidence was found. It is known that single women would come to mining towns in looking to get married and this may have been one of Lottie's objectives.

[310] Cain, The Story of Bodie, 107.

exemplifies the Victorian era. In addition, this image shows how Bodieites may have thought of themselves and the architecture they lived in.

In addition to the quote above, Cain comments on Lottie's painting experience. In the photograph, these paintings are visible hanging from the walls and can be seen also in the Bodie Museum in the state park. Cain comments that Eli Johl ordered special canvas, paints, and frames for the pictures his wife painted. Because Anne Seagraves (and Ella Cain) is a romantic when it comes to Lottie Johl, Seagraves account is suspect due to these sentiment. Because she was a former prostitute, much of her history is misinterpreted including her death. Lottie had fallen ill and was accidentally given a deadly poison instead of medicine because of the carelessness on the druggist.[311] Though it is unknown precisely when she died, it is known Eli Johl was a widower in 1910.[312] Since Lottie was affiliated somehow as a prostitute, the town of Bodie insisted that she be buried "outside of the fence" even though Johl protested in favor of his wife. It was agreed that she would be buried in the "upper cemetery." A high wrought-iron fence was placed around her grave which still stands in Bodie.[313] After her death, every Memorial Day Johl placed paper flowers and little flags that people would come and see, though they sarcastically called it: "Eli's Carnival Booth."[314]

The history of the house from 1910-1932 is unknown. Bobby Bell recalls the house was a rental. It is unknown when Johl sold the house but it is known that the house was sold to Stuart Cain, and relocated with a "4-wheel drive" in the early 1920s.[315]

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311 Cain, The Story of Bodie, 113.

312 U.S. Federal Census, Mono County, Bodie Townsite, 1910.

313 Unfortunately, Lottie is not noted in the Bodie Cemetery Inventory produced by the California State Parks.

314 Cain, The Story of Bodie, 115.

315 Bell, personal telephone conversation with author, 28 November 1999.

During these years, much of the town was being purchased by the J.S. Cain Company and Stuart was one of Cain's sons. In the fire of 1932, the U.S. Post Office located next to the Bodie Bank (see Figure 30) burned down and the Johl House was converted to become the next Post Office. At the age of 62, Mary McDonnell lived and worked in the house with her son Frank.[316] According to the 1910 Census, Mary McDonnell was born in Nevada in 1870, had eight children though only five of them survived and was married to miner Donald McDonnell. By 1942, she was 72 and it was at this date that the Post Office was locked up and decommissioned.

In 1959, the California State Park purchased the property with the Boone Store for $380.00 from D.V. Cain. Unfortunately, these two properties were not separated in the appraisal.

Architecture

The Lottie Johl House is a one-story L-shaped gingerbread vernacular that sits on the east side of Main Street. The building was originally built as a residence circa. 1878 but was last used as a Post Office in 1932-1942 (Figure 107). The Johl House is board-and-batten construction on a post-on-dirt foundation; and since the building was moved at least twice, this explains why there is no physical foundation. According to the 1962 HABS data pages, the wall construction was recorded as "typical board construction with studs set flat with rustic on exterior and square edged boards horizontal at inside." On site, this description is explained with exterior wall sheathing with dropsiding on board-and-battens, a construction technique common on many buildings in Bodie. The 1962 HABS documents record the wall thickness to be three-inches. The gabled roof is L-shaped and is

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316 The 1910 and 1920 Censuses, records Mary and her family as having the last name of McDonald. Ella Cain as well as Bobby Bell record the last name as McDonell which was incorporated for this thesis.

covered with wood shingles on the north and south sides, with corrugated sheetmetal on the west (Figure 108). A shed addition was attached to the back of the house, housing a very large kitchen (Figure 109).

Architecturally, the house shows a special combination of both gingerbread and Italianate features. Recalling of Gothic homes published by Andrew Jackson Downing, the Johl House has a gingerbread lozenge-and-quatrefoil design running along its bargeboard. When the sun shines on the bargeboard, a silhouette can be seen under this that replicates the design (Figure 110). A historic photo shows Lottie on the porch next to a smaller Gothic cottage that is designed with the same type of bargeboard (Figure 111). This image demonstrates that there were other houses like the Johl House in Bodie with the same type of detailing. Though Ella Cain records Osborne as "building" the house, this is not fully believed by this author. The craftsmanship found inside and outside of the house as well as the fact that there was a second house constructed next door complementary to the Johl House, suggests the work of a professional builder rather than a printer from New York.

The east or front facade of the house was painted red and has two double bracketed windows with 1/1 lites (Figure 112). These brackets were painted red and pink. The scroll pattern on these brackets also is similar to the brackets located above a hooded doorway (Figure 113). A vestibule is set into the house with grained paneled walls (Figure 114). This technique of painting light-colored pine wood to give the appearance of being grained or knotty, is a characteristic of the times and would have required a skilled artisan. Also, the vestibule was lit by electricity and is set off by two doors before entering the interior of the house. In all the rooms, electricity is present, with electrical outlets and hanging bare bulbs off cloth insulated wires.

The house's interior had been severely altered with the removal of interior walls in the parlor. Though it is unknown when this was done, it is suspected to have been altered

when the house was converted to a Post Office in 1932. In the parlor, the back wall between the parlor and a northeast bedroom was sealed (Figure 115). Besides this alteration, the vestibule hallway walls were removed. This ceiling shows that two different colors of paint were applied underneath tacks, which attached the wallpaper cloth. The ceiling height in this room was 10 feet 9 inches. The paint color on the ceiling in the hall was a sage green where the parlor ceiling was a mustard yellow (Figure 116). It is unknown if this paint is a primer used underneath the wallpaper or if the ceiling was originally painted then covered.

The wallpaper visible in the historic interior photo is best seen on the back parlor wall (Figure 117). The historic wallpaper applied during Lottie's ownership is faded from sunlight but is a pink color with a golden overlay pattern. (The same wallpaper pattern was also found in the showcase room of the Mortuary building, located on upper Main Street.) In the parlor is a decorative Champion Universal wood stove made of iron, situated on a tile pad (Figure 118). The external stovepipe that came out of the roof was terracotta, the only such stovepipe found in town that was made of this material.

In the middle of the house was the dining room, opening onto two rooms and the kitchen. The dining room had one 6/6 lite window on the north that brought in sunlight and a ceiling height of, 8 feet 7 inches. In the center of the room is a circular impression that may be the absence of some type of ceiling decoration, like a medallion, over the table (Figure 119). Also in the dining room, the wallpaper had been removed on the south wall, exposing its cloth liner (Figure 120). Printed on the muslin-type cloth are the words: "DWIGHT HANG CO. CABOT W." Though this was not a business in Bodie, it may have been a supplier.

Off the dining room was a smaller room that was equipped with a twin bed and an armoire (Figure 121). This room was well lit with three windows. The front had non-ornamented double 1/1 lite windows on the east as well as a 6/6 lite window on the north

(see Figure 107). The southern supporting wall in this room has been reinforced by the park service with 1x4 inch boards.

A door led off of the dining room to another more apparent bedroom. In this room is a 6/6 lite window and another door that led into the kitchen. This room appears to be an alteration under a shed roof.

The kitchen appears to have been an addition that was attached to the original L-shaped house and was equipped with a rear door that led out the back. Due to this back door, the house appears to be shotgun-like in plan, though this was probably coincidental (see Figure 109). The kitchen was also once divided in half, as is apparent in the paint colors. The north side was gray and blue where the south side was yellow. A "Charter Oak Stove and Range" wood stove was provided in the kitchen. On the east wall was written in pencil : "October 19. The Deacon and the Yukon Kid moved in—1940." So far research has failed to shed light on who these individuals may have been and is probably graffiti.

Twelve feet behind the Johl House, two wooden auxiliary buildings are located that once belonged to the previous buildings located on this site. The first outbuilding is a two-seater outhouse and the other is barn or stable building. On the northeast corner of the building, burn marks are apparent, probably due to the 1932 fire, which destroyed the other buildings that used to stand here. Since these buildings are not original to the Lottie Johl House, they were not included with this building's history.

Pat Reddy House, (c. 1879)

Prospect Street
Block 21, Lot 53

Pat Reddy, lawyer (1879-1889)
John Conway, blacksmith (1889-1916)
L.L. Bell, miner (1916-1950)
Bobby Bell, miner (1950-1985)

History

The early history of this house begins in 1879 when the prominent criminal lawyer and California Senator Patrick Reddy purchased the house. "Reddy was a hard worker, a heavy drinker and a bad man in a fight, but he soon became known for defending anyone who seemed to be the victim of an injustice of some sort."[317] Born in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, on February 15, 1839, Pat Reddy arrived in San Francisco on February, 1861, securing a job at twenty-two as a miner in Contra Costa County and Placer County, California. Like many other miners, Reddy was then enticed to Aurora's Esmeralda excitement (1863).[318]

In 1864 during a visit to Virginia City, Reddy was wounded in a shootout with Aurora saloonkeeper Jack Mannix. His arm was infected from the wound and had to be amputated at the shoulder by the physician. Back at his home in Aurora, Reddy hired a nurse to aide him, Emily M. Page, who would later become his wife. In Reddy's interest, she brought him law books to read while he was recovering from his injury. In addition, he hired Owen Valley attorney, Will Hicks Graham, as a law tutor to teach him law. Within three years in May, 1867, Reddy was admitted to the California bar, setting up his

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317 Philip I Earl, "Pat Reddy: Defender of the Downtrodden," Reno Gazette Journal This was Nevada section, 16 December 1984: 43.

318 San Francisco Chronicle, 27 June 1900: 3; Earl, "Pat Reddy: Defender of the Downtrodden," 16 December 1984: 43.

first law practice in Inyo County at Independence. By February, 1870, he was accepted to the Nevada bar. Grant Smith recollects, "Reddy failed twice in his examinations for admission to the bar, and was only admitted on the third trial."[319]

Moving to Bodie in 1879, he purchased a one-story house and established his office on the second floor of the Molinelli Building, on the corner of Main Street, Mill Street and Standard Street on the Triangle Block (Appendix A-3).[320] In partnership with his younger brother Edward, Reddy had two of the five rooms in the building, elegantly furnished.[321] Smith recalls, "I saw a great deal of him in his office, on the streets, in the saloons, and in the court."[322] Besides law, he was part owner of several mines and was becoming quite wealthy.[323] In addition to his law office in Bodie in 1881, he established another office in San Francisco on Pine Street's Academy Building.[324]

Over a hundred cases were won by Reddy for stage coach robbers, murderers, con artists, and thieves. In the town of Bodie, he became respected as a lawyer, as well as a defender of criminals.[325] "With his commanding voice, beautiful diction, and lilting Irish brogue, Reddy began to acquire a reputation for accepting and winning cases other

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[319] Smith, "Bodie: The Last of the Old-Time Mining Camps," 73-74.

[320] Merrill, "Map of Bodie, Mono County, California--1880." The Molinelli Building was a two story building that housed a saloon on the first floor and business office on the second. Reddy's business neighbors were Real Estate and Insurance Agent Frank Willard, and Doctors G.M. Summers, J.F. Summers, and Dr. M.J. Roe. Later, Reddy would own the whole second floor of the building and would be in partnership with his brother Ed and Paul Bennett. It is known that "two of the five rooms in the building were used by associates and all were elegantly furnished."

[321] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 122.

[322] Smith, "Bodie: The Last of the Old-Time Mining Camps," 73-74.

[323] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 122.

[324] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 158.

[325] Cain, The Story of Bodie, 23; Earl, "Pat Reddy: Defender of the Downtrodden," 16 December 1984: 43.

attorneys considered hopeless."[326] Grant Smith describes Reddy well with his first-hand observations:

> Outside of his office he was almost invariably accompanied by a large, quiet grey-haired man, whom everybody spoke of as 'Pat Reddy's gun man;' in other words, his guard. Reddy was a man without fear, and we assumed that his gun-man was to overcome, if occasion required, the disadvantage of a single arm . . . . When he [Reddy] went on a drunk, as he did occasionally, and proceeded from saloon to saloon accompanied by his 'gun man,' ordering drinks for everybody, no one dared to cross him. In the Justice's court, which was the only court we had in Bodie, he had things all his own way. He was a most difficult man to combat under any circumstances. If he defended a man charged with crime, an acquittal was almost assured.[327]

Among other endeavors Reddy was the founder of the Bodie chapter of the Land League of Ireland for Inyo and Mono Counties, an organization that looked at the politics of getting freedom for Ireland. While he lived in Bodie, he served on the California Senate for the districts of Inyo, Kern, Mono, Tulare, and Fresno Counties in 1883-1887. In 1889, he moved from Bodie to San Francisco where he opened a practice as well as served on the California Board of State Prisons. On June 26, 1900 at the age of 61, Patrick Reddy died of Bright's Disease and pneumonia in San Francisco. He was one of the most colorful characters in Bodie's rich history.

After moving in 1889 to San Francisco, Reddy sold his house to John and Mary Conway. John Conway was born in Canada and worked as a blacksmith to support his family, which included two young sons, Richie and George.[328] No archival information was found on the Conways beyond what is known from the 1900 Census records. By

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[326] Earl, "Pat Reddy: Defender of the Downtrodden," 16 December 1984.

[327] Smith, "Bodie: The Last of the Old-Time Mining Camps," 73-74.

[328] 1900 Census, "Mono County, Bodie Townsite." Since Reddy traveled from Bodie to San Francisco as early as 1881, it is unknown when he moved out of the house or if he rented the property. It is known that he paid his property taxes for the Bodie Fire Commission Board in 1888.

1910, the Conways had moved but continued to own the house, probably renting it out to boarders. The back workshop additions on the house are speculated to have been built by the Conways after 1890.[329]

According to Bobby Bell, his parents, Lester L. and Louise Barker Bell, purchased the house and property from the Conways in 1916 for $25.00.[330] Times were tough for many Bodieites between 1911-1927 and properties were being foreclosed by the county for failure to pay property taxes. Lester L. Bell had a family of two daughters and two sons: Robert "Bobby" T. Bell was one son, born in Bodie on March 9, 1914. Both Lester L. Bell and his sons worked as millmen in the Standard Mill, and the Bulwer and Noonday Mines. Working for James S. Cain operating the 20-stamp mill until its final run in 1936, the Bells were the last to have operated that mill. In addition, Bobby Bell has many fond remembrances of the equipment that is dispersed in Bodie State Park, as well as knowing where it was located originally and how it ran in the Bodie Mining District.

When the Reddy-Conway property was purchased, Bell comments the house was a shamble, and needed to be fixed up. A neighboring small house, located to the south of their house, had declined into a dilapidated state, and the family used it as firewood. The only alteration made by the Bells to the property was an addition on the northeast corner of the house (Figure 122).

In 1948, historical documents record that the property, in addition to Bobby Bell's grandfather's house—"the Lester E. Bell House" on Park Street (see Figure 92)—were both valued by the county for $285.00. When the park bought the property in 1962, Bobby Bell was paid approximately $500 for all five lots and houses his family owned. The property's value had clearly dropped. Afterwards, Bell moved to Nevada, but prides himself as being one of the last people who lived in the town before it was a state park. To

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[329] 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance map, "Bodie Townsite, California."

this day, at the age of 86 he travels to the town approximately five times a year and is well known by the park rangers in Bodie.

Architecture

In 1888, Reddy is known to have owned two empty lots, as well as two houses and which still stand. The Pat Reddy House is the primary house that was surveyed for this thesis but the other Reddy Houses owned were converted by J.S. Cain into the extant "Wood Mill," on Park Street next door to the J.S. Cain House (Figure 123). On the 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, two small buildings are shown where the wood mill is located; these are the buildings that Cain combined to make the wood mill building (see Appendix A-5). According to Bobby Bell in an interview with Bodie scholar, Michael Piatt, Cain and fellow townsmen made the wood mill out of these vacant buildings during the 1930s.[331] Bell remembers the wood mill was later used for chopping firewood and railroad ties.

The Pat Reddy House (c. 1879) is a one-story vernacular building that is typical of many simple residences constructed during Bodie's heyday (see Figure 122). The east front elevation of the house is very symmetrical, with a transom light vestibule entrance and two double hung 6/6 windows. Another house in Bodie that looks alike the Reddy House is the Charles and Anne Donnelly House (Figure 124). It is unknown why these two buildings have similar facades but it is known that the vestibule was added on at a later date, according to the 1880 view of Bodie. Though the Donnellys lived in the house during the 1900s, Emil and Dolly Cain Billeb later inhabited it until the park bought the property in 1959. Like the Reddy House, the Donnelly House also has a lean-to addition to the rear.

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[331] Ken Ruble, "The Bodie Firewood Mill," Narrow Gauge and Short Line Gazette 17, no. 1 (March/April 1991): 32-36; Piatt, personal telephone conversation with Bobby Bell, 14 March, 1996 and 19 April, 1996.

The foundation of the Reddy House is composed of post-on-stone and post-on-dirt construction where rocks are inserted where necessary. One interesting feature on the foundation is that the floor joists are wrapped in sheetmetal under the northeast side of the vestibule (Figure 125). This type of "metal-wrapped joist" foundation technique is used on other Bodie homes (see "Chapter VI," page 102). Essentially, the Reddy House is therefore composed of at least three different foundation systems.

As with many buildings in Bodie, the exterior sheathing on the Reddy House varies depending on the elevation, and is either dropsiding, vertical siding, or board-and-batten siding. The roof forms also vary and are a collection of gables, sheds and flat roofs, which are best understood by analyzing the back sides of the building (Figure 126, Figure 127). During the replacement of the roof by the park service in 1998, a tax lot map of the Red-light district on Bonanza Street was found that was approximately 3 by 7 feet in length, and is now stored in the Bodie Schoolhouse.

In the way of landscaping, Bobby Bell remembers his mother planted rhubarb near the fence, which still grows adjacent to the property. Besides rhubarb, she also planted hops that scaled the house's north elevation and gooseberries that grew under the north side dining room window.[332] To the south of the house were three connected outbuildings that were used as a garage and workspace.

The interior of the house is made up of 11 rooms, with the main rooms being a parlor, sitting room, bedroom, dining room, and kitchen (Figure 128). On the northeast of the house, the living or parlor room was located with a barrel stove in the corner. The old wood barrel stove, bears the inscription patented in "February 1897," as well as manufactured by "Hamilton O. Umpire Estate and F & L Kahn & Frost" (Figure 129). In

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[332] Hops grow on various buildings in Bodie which include the Cameron House, on Park Street, and the Conway House, on Green Street. As a sturdy plant, this is the only planted vegetation that reoccurs in the town. No evidence was found if these hops were used in the making of beer for these homeowners or were just a form of landscaping.

1916, L.L. Bell constructed an addition on this northeast corner of the house, which made this living space larger and is evident on the house's facade (see Figure 122). Bobby Bell remembers sleeping in this corner as a child. He also remembers a big radio in the space that "livened up" the room. Electricity lit all the rooms. Across from this room on the southeast side of the house was the bedroom of Olive and Arena, Bell's younger sisters. Between these two rooms and the dining room were diaphragm half walls and it is assumed that the sisters' bedroom was originally a sitting room, perhaps for Reddy's wife, Emily.

Set in the middle of the house was the dining room, which was paneled with vertical wainscoting and had two patterns of linoleum on the floor (Figure 130). In the northwest corner was a three-cornered cupboard and patterned sheetmetal covered the ceiling (Figure 131). This embossed pattern is also found in the room across from the dining room, which served as a bedroom for L.L. Bell, his wife Louise, and their young son, Lester. It is unknown what the original purpose of this room may have been since a sheetmetal ceiling is not a common material found in a bedroom. As in all the buildings in Bodie, cloth-lined wallpaper (with ceiling borders) coats the walls in both these rooms.

Behind this bedroom was a small narrow room that had been changed from a closet space to a bathroom. A closet and shelf space had been cut into the wall into the garage/workspace that was located behind the room. Across from this space was the kitchen equipped with a pantry, stove, another 3-cornered shelf, and an old clothes wringing washer, which drained out the back door (Figure 132). In the southwest corner of the room is an old tubular water heater (Figure 133). No trademarks were found on the heater, a unique element not found in any of the other surveyed buildings.

Besides these rooms in the house, there was a large garage with two connected smaller buildings and a double outhouse that was attached to the back of the house. Discarded tools and rubbish, were found in this space. Due to unsafe conditions, this

space was not thoroughly surveyed and the outbuilding to the south of the house also was not accessed. One outbuilding that was used by Bobby Bell, but associated with the Kirkwood House was adjacent to the north of the Reddy House it served as Bobby's assay office. Here, Bobby processed gold he mined from claims he owned and leased on the Bluff. Since this was connected as an outbuilding to the Kirkwood House, the outbuilding was not surveyed.

T.H Moyle North House (Unknown Date)

Prospect Street
Block 21, Lot 65

Stanley Moyle, miner (c. 1920)

History

Archival material connected to this house is very limited. No information was found on Merrill's 1880 map, the 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, nor the 1888 Fire Commission Records (Appendix A). Information on the building done by the state park is limited because the building is small and may have been considered insignificant in 1962 for full historical recording. According to the Bodie State Historic Park brochure, the house is recorded as owned by a "Thomas H. Moyle," a storeowner in Bodie. This house is known as the "Moyle-North House" because there are two Moyle Houses due to park service oral histories collected in 1959. The house will, therefore, be referred to in this survey as the Moyle-North House.

On August 11, 1970, Buck R. Nelson conducted the first survey of the Moyle-North House when the house was measured and briefly recorded. Nelson records the house as being built 1876, though it is unknown where this date was found since most of the architecture in the town was built during the excitement of 1878-80. To this author, this date seems highly conjectural.

Archival research turned up minimal information. According to the 1920 Census, a "Thomas N. Moyle," age 52, was recorded in Bodie as a merchant. He had a half-Paiute wife named Daisy and 6 children. If the couple lived in this house, they lived there with their two children—Stanley, age 13, and Herbert, age 10, both born in California. "T.N. Moyle" was recorded in the 1910 Census as residing on a "Country Road." Therefore, the Moyles occupied this house between 1910 to 1920, though it is unknown precisely when.

The house is extremely small for a family of four since it is a two-room house with a large kitchen. According to Bobby Bell, the house was a "rental property" when he lived in Bodie.[333] Of the Moyles that lived there, Bell remembers Stanley as the only Moyle who resided in the house. He also clarifies that the Moyles lived mainly in the other Moyle House in town. In addition, he says that these Moyles were descendants of the Moyles who owned the mercantile store in town, but were not the principal owners.

The house appears to be older than the 1920s, though no exact date could be placed on the house. According to the 1880 historic photograph, it is hard to discern if this house is visible on this site since many houses in Bodie look like the Moyle-North House (see Kelley House, Figure 62). Moreover, in Bodie, homes were constantly being moved around, and this house may have been one of those shuffled buildings.

Architecture

Though historical information is limited on the Moyle-North House, the Bodie residence is included in this thesis and surveyed as a significant architectural prototype of a house seen everywhere in town that has a lean-to addition (Figure 134). This type of residence once was scattered all over Bodie's landscape. Starting with a small rectangular building, the back of the house was extended by means of a lean-to to incorporate a kitchen and small added pantry (Figure 135). The house is box construction in board-and-batten with a gable roof and the floor joists sit partially on dirt and quarry stones. Additionally, the total size of the house is 16 feet 6 inches in width by 20 feet 3 inches in length with an 8 feet 2 inch in the added pantry. As noted, the structure is of box construction, but dropsiding was added to the front for a more fashionable facade. The roof was gabled, and was covered with both sheetmetal and wooden shingles.

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[333] Bell, personal interview with author in Bodie, 22 May 1999.

In the interior, four spaces constitute the Moyle-North House—a living room, a bedroom, a kitchen and a pantry; there is also a dilapidated outhouse in the backyard. The inside had a baby blue wallpaper that covered cloth in the living room or southeast room of the house (Figure 136). The house was equipped with electricity and possibly heated by oil, due to a pipe coming through the ground to the south of the house. Interestingly, the pantry extended into the ground approximately 2 feet, and this appears to be typical of other pantries in Bodie.

This house type again was common. Ella Cain, in her Story of Bodie, notes the home of Mary B. McCann, a janitor at the school, as like the Moyle-North House though she lived on the other end of town. According to the 1900 Census, Mary lived and owned the house on Wood Street. This house is identical to the Moyle-North House with a small kitchen in the lean-to addition (Figure 137). It is speculated that this was an ideal and common house in Bodie for many inhabitants because it was simple and small. McCann's house suggests this particular house type may have been common and perhaps mass-produced in Bodie by a builder. These small buildings were also found in the Red-light district (see Appendix A-1).

Commercial Architecture

Surviving commercial buildings in Bodie are very limited, compared to the amount of businesses which once existed in the town. Of the buildings presently in Bodie, nine are businesses, two are businesses/residences and three are auxiliary businesses, such as stables and warehouses. Of the eighteen counted, ruins and sites of businesses seem to be the other type of recorded information listed by the park in Bodie of commercial architecture (Appendix A-6):

EXISTING BUSINESSES

Barber Shop	Miller Boarding House
Boone Store & Warehouse	Tom Miller Stable & Icehouse
Chinese Laundry	O'Brian Station & Warehouse
Dechambeau Hotel	Swazey Hotel
Kirkwood Stables	Wheaton & Hollis Hotel
Sam Leon Saloon	Vault-The Bodie Bank
Morgue	Ruins-Moyle Warehouse
Mortuary	Ruins-Fulton's Stable
Miller Rooming House	Ruins-Mastretti Liquor Warehouse

The two businesses chosen and surveyed for this thesis are the Boone Store (1892) together with its brick Warehouse (1879) and the Mortuary (c. 1892), both located on Main Street. During the heyday, Main Street was recorded to be a mile long with over 250 one to two-story high, false-fronted businesses, with a wooden sidewalk covered by awnings and porches (Appendix A-1).

Besides these businesses on Main Street, smaller commercial businesses could be found on most side streets in town (see Appendix A-3). After a fire, isolated buildings would be moved forward. This is evident in the Sam Leon Bar and the Barber Shop, located on Main Street, that were moved forward after 1932 (Figure 138). Their original location is unknown. Curiously, these buildings look more like outbuildings or stables, than purpose-constructed businesses. Furthermore, most of these smaller businesses had

residences in them. The Miller Boarding House and Rooming House on Green Street in Bodie are two buildings, which still stand that served this dual purpose. Other businesses in Bodie were more supportive or auxiliary businesses, like warehouses and stables, but are considered commercial buildings have due to their built purpose. There are six standing warehouses and four stables in Bodie that fit this type of description.

Over time, Main Street has been notably altered. Fires have been the greatest agent in changing the commercial district of Bodie, reconstructing Main Street and its buildings (see Figure 22). The two devastating fires of 1892 and 1932 changed both sides of the north end of Main Street. Since it is unknown what buildings were destroyed by these fires, there are a lot of questions as to what used to exist at certain time periods. Moreover, the commercial district was also altered by its inhabitants who shuffled the buildings around so as to keep the business district centralized. The occupants not only moved buildings but also destroyed buildings, which influenced Main Street's appearance. The 1892 fire is believed to be the result of an arson. Due to these fires and hard times on those living in the town, buildings were also recycled for building materials as well as being used for firewood and moved to other towns in the area. One representative area is lower Main Street, which was once lined with businesses. Frank Wedertz records, "a number of men were reported at work in the lower end of town, tearing down buildings and loading them on wagons. A large number of vacant houses were shipped to Hawthorne, Nevada."[334]

Deciphering historical information on the commercial district is very difficult. According to Brownell Merrill's reconstructed 1880 Map of Bodie, 158 businesses were counted as well as 63 professionals who owned businesses. The number one type of business in the town was the saloon, which totaled 31, followed by 28 grocery stores and 22 lodging establishments. For professionals in the town, there were counted 14 lawyers followed by 10 physicians. After the excitement, the number of businesses dropped

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[334] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 72.

substantially to a little over fifty businesses and professionals, according to the 1888 Bodie Fire Commission Records. By the time the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map was made, the town was recorded as having 46 businesses and professionals. The Bodie Daily Free Press on January 7, 1883 describes this humorously as "heat expands, cold contracts. It is very cold in Bodie, just now, judging by the contraction of businesses."[335] Humor during the decline was how Bodieites dealt with their situation; they believed that the town was not dying.

Although, new excitements were around the corner, none were of the magnitude of the 1880s. Leasing companies came in and out of Bodie between 1927-1932 to work the Red Cloud Mine on Silver Hill, they reactivated the town to a degree. The commercial district fluctuated greatly depending on the particular year, on the number of people living in the town, as well as on the number of businesses serving these inhabitants.

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[335] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 45.

Boone Store (c. 1892)
Boone Warehouse (1879)

Main Street
Block 21, Lot 1-4

Chain of ownership:
Boone & Dolman (1877-1878)
Boone & Wright (1879-1882)
Harvey Boone (1882-1904)
Boone & Son (1904-1919)
Closed (1919-1927)
Cain's Store (1927-1932)

History

The Boone Store and brick warehouse has occupied the corner of Green Street and Main Street since 1878. Although the wooden store building has been rebuilt, possibly twice due to damages by fires, the 1879 brick warehouse, or "fireproof," located directly behind the store has survives. During a small four-lot fire in 1884 , the store and warehouse suffered $2,000 worth of damage; the 1892 fire later is believed to have destroyed the original store.[336] Therefore, the present store is post-1892.

Born in Pennsylvania in 1832, Harvey Boone (a direct descendant of the American frontiersman, Daniel Boone) arrived in Bodie on April 5, 1878, after walking several miles to town on the Sunshine road due to a heavy snowfall from the winter of 1877-78.[337] Searching a few days for a partner to do business with, Boone decided to form another partnership with a former business partner, William H. Dolman, with whom he had previously owned a store in Pioche, Nevada. On this lot, Boone & Dolman's Wholesale Grocery Store opened its doors to the public on July 4, 1878, and was one of twenty-eight

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[336] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 76; Ella Cain, Story of Bodie, 48.

[337] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 123-24.

dry good and mercantile stores located in Bodie in 1880. After a few months in business, Dolman sold his interests to Boone for $2,000.[338] Boone then sought and found another business partner who was both a well-known merchant from Pioche as well as San Francisco—J.W. Wright. Wright & Boone continued on in business from 1879 to 1882, owning other businesses in Bodie including the Boone & Wright Stable on Green Street and the old Gillson & Barber Store and brick warehouse, located on the corner of Main Street and King Street (see Appendix A-3). By 1882, Wright quit the mercantile business and moved out of Bodie, selling all his assets to Boone.

In 1884, Boone bought the Gillson & Barber Store, a prosperous business in Bodie, as well as the Sierras, with branch stores in the towns of Carson City, Nevada and Mammoth City, California. The two-story Gillson & Barber store was a well-known establishment in the region. Bodie newspapers raved that the store was "the largest mercantile establishment between the Sierra Nevada and Rocky Mountains," carrying a stock valued at $300,000 as well as bringing in regular business of $45,000 per month.[339] In 1884, Boone planned to move the entire Gillson & Barber building to Star City, a promising camp 30 miles north of Bodie in the Patterson mining district; he intended to open a branch of his Bodie store in the new town.[340] Although it is unclear if this action took place, it is known that the large building is missing from the 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map and may indeed have been moved to Star City. Since Wright had pulled out of business in 1882, Boone was left to run his store by himself for some years. Boone incorporated a new partner in 1904, his 24-year old son Harvey H. Boone. During this year, the business is recorded by the California State Archives to have been sold to J.S.

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[338] California State Archives, Sacramento, California, "Bodie Collection," Boone Store.

[339] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 101.

[340] Wedertz, Bodie 1859-1900, 43; Poag, Poag's Guide to Shopkeepers and Shootists, 53.

Cain though H.H. Boone continued to manage the store up to approximately 1919. By 1920, the Boones had moved out of Bodie.[341]

Afterwards, the store was sealed up and closed from 1919 until J.S. Cain and his family reopened the store between 1927-31 for the leasing companies that were mining on the Silver Hill.[342] Bobby Bell remembers that D.V. Cain managed and operated the grocery store. During these years, Cain installed the dual 10-gallon gas pumps outside of the store during this time for the leasing companies in town. In addition, motor traffic had increased in Bodie due to the Prohibition and interested ghost town enthusiasts. The store known as "Cain's Store," was closed around 1932 due to the fire and the number of people moving out of town when the mining companies quit in late 1931. In 1959, D.V. Cain sold the store to the California State Park Service for the amount of $380.00.[343] The Boone Store was recorded by the San Francisco appraisal company of Butterfield & Butterfield to be worth $7,663.00 in November 1960 because of the amount of artifacts still present in the store. The Boone family business is notable as being the second longest-lived and most successful single mercantile operation in Bodie.[344]

In conjunction with these stores, Boone also owned two brick warehouses, also known as "fireproofs." In August, 1879, Boone had constructed one of the first "fireproofs" that stands directly behind the wooden store. A brickyard had opened up

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[341] The California State Archives contains a ledger that ran from "1878-1919," which gave me the ending date of Boone's occupation of the store as 1919. In addition, the Archives record Cain purchasing the store in 1904.

[342] Bell, personal telephone conversation with author, 15 January 2000. Though the store was sealed in 1919, Bobby Bell recalls groceries were purchased in Gardnerville, which had a wholesale store that was less expensive than any grocery store in Bridgeport. According to Bobby Bell, no grocery store was in Bodie between 1919-1927 though the Cains owned the Boone building.

[343] California Division of Beaches and Parks, "Boone Store," Factual Data Report, 21.

[344] Wedertz, Bodie 1859-1900, 45.

during this year operated by O'Day and Frasier on the Booker Flat Road, south of town on upper Main Street, where clay deposits had been found and a brick kiln was constructed. According to the Daily Bodie Standard on August 13, 1879: "One of the partners had built a new brick residence. Another imposing brick building was being constructed by Harvey Boone; and there were plans for several more fireproofs, as they were called."[345] Warren Loose continues this description noting from a Bodie newspaper that "both Mr. Page, of Page, Wheaton & Company, and Mr. Boone, are pushing rapidly forward two beautiful brick blocks."[346] Both of these fireproofs presently stand in Bodie.

Besides mercantile stores, Boone (with Wright) owned a livery/stable business on the corner of Green Street and Mill Street (see Appendix A-3). The Boone & Wright Stable was located behind the Miners' Union Hall and not only served as a business to stock horses, but also provided a place for Cornish-style wrestling. On Saturday afternoon, May 17, 1881, "a capacity crowd of 1,200" witnessed the Cornish-style wrestling match between Rod McGinnis and James Pascoe.[347] In this match, stakes in the fight were as high as $500. All the seats in the corral were filled with bidders, and the Bodie Brass Band played in the intervals. Bodie historian Warren Loose comments that "from the standpoint of attendance and interest, it was the greatest sporting event in the history of the camp." In the 1890s, Boone ran a freight wagon operation in conjunction with this stable business. The freight business had an office in Masonic, Nevada, a mining town approximately 16 miles from Bodie. The Bridgeport-Chronicle Union on April 26, 1896 recorded: "Harvey Boone's two big teams, 14 horses each, one with three wagons and a small spring wagon, heavily loaded for Boone's store at Bodie, arrived from Carson on Wednesday, via the Antelope road."

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[345] Bodie Daily Standard, 10 August 1879.

[346] Loose, Bodie Bonanza, 95.

[347] Loose, Bodie Bonanza, 175.

According to Bobby Bell, the stable was a very large building, around 25 feet high, 75 feet long and 50 feet wide with a 15-foot high fence enclosing the lot. The building had a big loose hay loft that could hold around 20-30 tons of hay. Bell's recollections of this building are very keen and are a valuable source of information regarding the size of such a large barn. This information agrees with what is visible in the 1880 historic photograph (see Appendix A-1).[348] According to the Bodie Daily Standard, the corral accommodated 120 horses.[349] Bell remembers that the large building was torn down by the Roseklip Mining Company in the 1940s.

Five insurance records indicate the Boone Company and personal properties were worth in 1888 a total assessment of $8,641.00; the grocery stores alone were assessed at $5,000.00.[350] The store on the corner of Main Street and Green Street was valued at $125.00 for the land and $700.00 for the business.[351] Besides his noted businesses in Bodie—the Gillson & Barber Store, Boone Store, and the Boone Stable— Boone also owned other properties, including a vacant lot on Prospect Street as well as two additional houses. The monetary value set in 1888 was extremely high for such a declining town, making Boone one of the wealthiest individuals in the town.

For the benefit of the community, Harvey Boone joined with other merchants and property owners in forming a water company in October, 1879, after a small fire occurred.[352] The Bodie Water Company issued stock in raising money for the project that would protect property owners from the threat of fire (see Chapter III, "Water"). Though

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[348] Bell, personal telephone conversation with author, 15 January 2000.

[349] Bodie Daily Standard, August 2, 1879

[350] 1888 Bodie Fire Commission Records, 71.

[351] 1888 Bodie Fire Commission Records, 34, 71.

[352] Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900, 17.

Boone suffered damages in both the 1884 and 1892 fire, it is unknown how much money was recovered by way of fire insurance.

On a personal level, Boone had his family of two come to Bodie in July, 1878. In his essay "The Bodie Era," H.L. Smith recorded the death of Mrs. Harvey Boone sometime between October and December of 1881:

> At 1 o'clock the funeral of Mrs. Harvey Boone occurred at the Odd Fellows Hall . . . Mrs. Boone was an unusually devoted and unselfish wife and mother, leaves three little ones, the oldest three and a half years old, the next eighteen months, and the youngest but ten days, all deprived of that gentle care which a mother alone can bestow.[353]

Sometime between 1881-1891, Boone remarried a younger woman named Ada who had been born in California in 1852 and had worked as a bookkeeper in Boone's stores. In the 1900 Census, Boone is noted to have a daughter Julia and three sons: Harvey H., Leslie, and Stanley, all born in California. Both Harvey and Julia were from his first marriage as was a third child who either died during these years or may have moved away.

The Boone family lived in 1880 on Green Street, between Park Street and Mills Street (Block 21, Lot 30). In 1888, the Boones were recorded in the Fire Commission Records as owning and residing on the lot of the J.S. Cain House. Though it is known that the extant Cain House was moved to this location, it is unknown if J.S. Cain or Harvey Boone did it. It is speculated that Boone lived in the house that existed there before the Cain House.

Architecture

The Boone Store and Warehouse is a connected one-story building that is 102-feet long and 40-feet wide, located on the corner of Main Street and Green Street. The false

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[353] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 149.

fronted store represents a hodgepodge of different wall materials from sod to sheetmetal having been on this corner since 1892 for the store and 1879 for the brick warehouse. The Boone Store is on a pitched pink granite stone foundation visible on the northside, although the foundation is obscured on the southside of the building (Figure 139). On the north side, a brick three-bay wall sits on this visible foundation, and is constructed like the brick walls of the warehouse building. It is speculated that this wall was constructed as a party wall in 1879 when the warehouse was being built to serve as separation from the other buildings that bordered it as a form of fire protection.[354] The south elevation of the store is balloon frame construction with flattened tin cans attached to the wall as sheathing (Figure 140). Original to 1892, two 6/6 windows and a 6-lite door are located in this elevation that led into two office spaces between the back of the store space and the warehouse. Though no 1879 images of the Boone Store have been found, a historic circa 1900 image suggests these entrances are original (Figure 141). The roof is gabled, and is covered with sheetmetal and corrugated sheet metal attached to the false front by an iron tie-rod.

The front facade of the building is balloon frame construction with a false front that once had a porch attached to it (Figure 142). Figure 142 shows that the porch would have reached the top of the two double doors seen on the northeast corner (Figure 143). The bay display window and eight small lites on the front are additions that were put in while Cain owned the building in the 1930s. Like traditional false front buildings, the Boone store is very modest with two steps on each side of the front cornice. A wide cornice with returns and a broad entablature are two elements that articulate the front and lend simple, but unpretentious architectural character. Looking at the 1880 historic photo of Bodie, this building shows what Main Street was like during its heyday (see Appendix A-1).

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[354] Although the 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance map does not record this brick wall on this elevation, it is thought that this wall is original to 1879. No information has proven this.

The brick warehouse building located behind and attached to the Boone Store was constructed in 1879 as a fireproof brick box to secure the store merchandise in case of fire. The warehouse itself is divided into two spaces: one is the brick warehouse with an additional narrow side area located to the north as extra storage space that is accessible from the rear (Figure 144). The walls on the south, east and west are three-feet thick and the masonry is common bond with seven stretchers to each header course. On the southside of the warehouse there is a slight masonry decoration seen under the roof eave with two stretcher courses stepping out, supported by a header course, fastened by iron tie rods (see Figure 140; Figure 141). Double iron fireproof doors are accessible from this south elevation. An additional storage area was attached to the north wall of the warehouse, original to 1879, and is constructed of stone, propped up by external timbers (see Figure 144). It is unknown when this wall may have been reinforced, but it is possible that it was done by the park service. The roof of the warehouse is composed of corrugated sheetmetal with tin cans covering areas where the warehouse joins the store. A four-lite window is visible in this space. The back or west elevation of the warehouse is both brick and wood with a door to access the building's storage area. This door opens to a back door to the warehouse, as well, eliminating supplies being brought in through the front. Improper mortar patches are visible on the exterior, though the building as a whole is in good condition, showing no signs of deterioration. Strange characteristics in the brick wall can be found on select courses where individual bricks are missing of mortar. It is unknown why this is done.

The interiors of the Boone Store and brick warehouse are very unique when each component is analyzed (Figure 145; Figure 146). The wooden store interior was divided in half with the southside carrying grocery stock and the northside full of mismatched items such as butcher equipment, iron stoves, and other types of storage items (Figure 147, Figure 148). The ceilings and walls of both rooms were lined with a painted white fleur-

de-lis embossed sheetmetal pattern (Figure 149). The grocery store half on the southside carried supplies had shelf-stocked in historical boxes, bottles, and cans, all contemporary to the 1880s, until when the store was officially closed in 1932. All the material in this space have been inventoried and emptied to preserve its historic packaging. Besides these original artifacts, the original drop-wire lighting system from the 1900s that lights the store space still works (see Figure 148). A barrel-shaped, undated wood stove in the rear of the grocery store was marked as "Cole's Airtight No X23," manufactured in Chicago, Illinois (Figure 150).

Two small office spaces, located in the rear of the store had drafting tables and office equipment and overlooked into the grocery area (Figure 151). Glass interior windows and doors connect the office spaces with the grocery store. From the exterior, the door and windows on the south elevation access these offices. Various companies besides Boone's occupied these office spaces, though it is unsure what type of companies used this space. The Bodie & Mill Creek Stage Line is one business that is said to have worked out of here though the date is unknown.[355]

The interior of the brick warehouse is original to 1879; even the stone storage area located on the north side is original to this date and is recorded in the 1890 Sanborn Map. The only alterations to the interior of the warehouse space have been supports on the north added by the park service to keep the building standing (Figure 152).

In September, 1879, fireproof buildings were being constructed as ways of ensuring that the storage would be safe in case of a fire. Initiated in Bodie by W.A. Ellis, this warehouse building was a way to save goods and valuables in case of the "long predicted conflagration." A historical description appeared in the Bodie Standard:

> The building is of brick, 20x24 feet: walls, 22 inches thick, ceiling 10 feet in the clear and the roof supported by strong joice [sic], is covered with a layer of lime, brick, lime again, then cement followed by five inches of earth.

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[355] Poag, Guide to Shopkeepers and Shootests, 24.

> There are four ventilators in the walls of the room, and in the back wall adjoining a wood pile is arranged a hot air chamber in such a manner that it would be almost impossible for heat to penetrate to the inside. The entrance is guarded by one of Hall's Lock and Safe Co's latest improved iron and steel doors with combination lock, etc. The bolts of both the outer and inner doors shoot from either corner so that the hottest fire would have little or no effect in warping them out of shape, and they close into groves or sockets, making the aperture air tight. Altogether it is a creditable piece of work, and parties depositing valuables with Mr. Ellis may rest assured that they are perfectly secure.[356]

As a special architectural form known as a "fireproof," the interior of the warehouse is remarkable due to two iron clad doors and a paned glass wooden door that seals the merchandise in a solid brick box (Figure 153). The first set of iron doors are eight feet four inches high where the second pair is seven feet eight inches high. "H.B. Bodie CA" is chalked on the first set of doors, indicating Boone had ordered the doors. The doors on the south elevation are like these doors. In addition, doors like these were also found in the Hydroelectric building that was also surveyed. Iron doors were used on many buildings in mining towns, especially brick structures. These iron doors were crucial to seal merchandise in case of a fire and could be found outside normal doors and windows. Therefore, a "fireproof" is a special architectural type that has not been fully studied as a building type found mining towns.

To the right of these iron doors is another unique feature: the only sod wall in Bodie (Figure 154). This sod wall is 9 inches thick and 6 feet 7 inches high and 11 feet long. The building material is a combination of both grass and mud set in brick shapes one on top of another. Supported by the brick warehouse, the purpose of this wall is unknown though it may be that the brick warehouse was deteriorating in spots and the sod provided additional support. Another speculation is that a sod walled box once filled this 6 feet wide small area as an additional pantry for foodstuffs.

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[356] Bodie Daily Standard, 9 Sept 1879.

There are in addition two auxiliary structures: a barn and two 10-gallon gasoline pumps. J.S. Cain put in the gasoline pumps located in front of the store in 1927.[357] Located 17 feet north of the Boone Store, the two pumps are located on a pad 12 feet long pad by 3 feet wide and 1 foot high (Figure 155). The "Wayne Co., Fort Wayne, IND.," manufactured the pumps and a sign is attached to each pump that reads: "For use as a motor fuel only CONTAINS lead (tetraethyl)."

Besides the gasoline pumps, a rectangular stable outbuilding is located behind the store that is a board-and-batten gabled building with a corrugated metal roof. The building appears to be newer and was built with round nails though presently houses a carriage and blacksmith supplies.

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[357] Bell, personal interview with author in Bodie, 22 May 1999.

Mortuary, (circa 1900)

Main Street
Block 17, Lot 8

History

The Mortuary, located on the corner of Green Street and Main Street, was either constructed here or moved to this lot after the fire of 1892. The previous building on this lot was Johnson's Bottle House Hotel owned by Englishman William A. Johnson and was moved here in 1878. Johnson's Hotel originally was in Markleeville, California. An excerpt in the Alpine Chronicle, October 12, 1878 provides this information:

> FOR BODIE—John R. Smith has contracted to haul a number of buildings from Alpine county to Bodie. . . [One] is to be used as a hotel by Wm. A. Johnson, of Johnson's Hotel, Markleeville.[358]

Johnson's Hotel was a two-story structure that housed the Mill Creek Stage Line and is best depicted in the 1880 historic photo of Bodie (Appendix A-1). This two-story building was moved over 60 miles from Markleeville to Bodie. Unfortunately, there is no documentation on how this may have been conducted in 1878. Larry Poag in Poag's Guide to Shopkeepers and Shootists noted that the hotel was destroyed in a confined fire in 1888.[359] According to the 1888 Bodie Fire Commission records, this building was standing on this lot and was valued at $1,660.00, which included $200 worth of liquor, $230 worth of furniture, and an organ worth $25.[360] These Records note the building itself was worth $800, whereas the land was valued at $100, but no month was

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[358] Alpine Chronicle (Silver Mountain, California), 12 October 1878.

[359] Poag, Shootest and Saloonkeepers, 21.

[360] 1888 Bodie Fire Commission Records, "Block 17, Lot 8," 9.

given for this assessment. Since errors have been found in Poag's research, this information is suspect and needs corroboration. Though it is known that the 1892 fire crossed this lot, no building was there until after this date. According to Bobby Bell, the present standing Mortuary has been on this lot as far as he recollects.

In addition, Bell remembers the Mortuary was used as a residence though it is not known who lived in the building. Bell mentions that Billy Owens worked as the undertaker in 1923, though lived elsewhere. The 1920 Census records him as unemployed, and may have become the undertaker since there were none in town. Park service records in 1959 record the building as the "Undertaker and Barber Shop" and seem to agree with information Bell remembers. The California State Park records note that the owner of the lot was the Superior Court Judge, though no value was attached to the lot and building.[361] In 1959, the San Francisco appraisal company of Butterfield & Butterfield assessed the building at a total of $336.00 enumerating caskets, bedsteads, and other miscellaneous items were appraised at $211.00, meaning the building was worth $125.[362]

Besides the Mortuary on Main Street, there was a Morgue near the cemeteries. The Morgue was an open brick building that still stands and housed the hearse as well as stored caskets and coffins. The hearse, now stored in the Miner's Union Hall or Bodie Museum, could be rented by town's members during the 1900s.

Architecture

The Mortuary is a vernacular one-story gabled commercial building that has a stepped false front sheathed with dropsiding (see Figure 156). A wide cornice on the

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[361] California Division of Beaches and Parks, "Factual Data Report," 3.

[362] California Division of Beaches and Parks, "Appraisal Personal Property Bodie Project: Bodie California," 37-38.

building's front is traditional of many commercial buildings in western mining towns and was also seen on the Boone Store. The building is of box frame constructed with board-and-batten walls, with a partial stone foundation and a corrugated metal roof. Two 6/6 double hung windows are on the front of the building as well as a special 15-lite door with a 2 lite transom (Figure 157). On the north elevation, two connected double hung 6/6 windows deliver light into the center space of the building, which looks into the showcase room of the Mortuary. On the back, westside of the building was an addition, equipped as an attached outhouse (Figure 158). Traces of color discerned on the front a grayish blue with a door that was cream colored. In addition, the building was heated by a wood stove and was equipped with electricity in all the spaces by hanging cloth-wired light bulbs.

The plan shows five primary rooms (Figure 159). The front space is divided into two small front rooms, with an office on the northeast and a bedroom directly across. A door separated this front office area from the back showroom space, which housed caskets on display (Figure 160).

In the northeast corner of this room are two different patterns of lincrusta used as a backboard for the wood stove (Figure 161). Three-foot high wainscoting surrounds the perimeter of the room and was painted a turquoise color. In the showroom space were caskets and an interesting dividing wall that had a double door, disguised as a wall (Figure 162). The full-length double door was 4 feet wide and 9 feet 2 inches high. The double doors were designed to get a coffin out of the viewing room to the showcase room. Wallpaper over cloth lined the walls and the pattern on the paper was similar to wallpaper found in the Lottie Johl House (see Johl House, Figure 117). In the center of the wall was another door and small two-foot square window; the door opened to a viewing room on the south (Figure 163).

Civic Architecture

Like the commercial district, most of civic buildings were destroyed in the 1892 and 1932 fires. Nevertheless, there are five civic buildings that still stand in Bodie: the International Order of Odd-Fellows, the Jail, the Methodist Church, the Miner's Union Hall, and the Schoolhouse. The present Firehouse on Main Street was reconstructed as a Works Progress Administration (WPA) Project in 1933. Though this firehouse stands very close to its original site, the rebuilt building is a good replica of the original due to its belfry, and has been mistaken in many sources. Only one civic building surveyed for this thesis, was the Bodie Jail.

Civic architecture in Bodie in many cases is very inconspicuous, as it would usually be located in another building such as a saloon. The Odd Fellows' Hall, Miners' Union and Masonic Hall served as the usual meeting places for the community. Besides purpose-built civic buildings, civic activities could also be conducted in businesses. For example, in 1880 the Courtroom of R.L. Peterson, Justice of the Peace, was located above the Rosedale Saloon & Oyster Bay Chopstand. The Masonic Hall was above John Wagner's Saloon & Chopstand. The jail, located at the end of the Red-Light District, was once the 1880 Bon Ton Lodging House, and the brick County hospital at Mills and Lowe was once the residence of murderer, Joseph DeRoche. Many buildings though were built for their original purpose, such as banks and firehouses.

During the beginning of the excitement, Bodie had no church, firehouse or school, although it was understood that such buildings were necessary for an established, respectable community. For example in January, 1878, during the horrible winter of 1877-78, Mrs. I.W. Dawley opened her residence as the first public school."[363] By March, the school moved to the Gary Building and had 10 students though "forty are expected by

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[363] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 11.

Monday" and then in May the school had moved to the Miners' Union Hall.[364] Though the first schoolhouse was built (and then burned) in February, 1879, the present school, previously the Bon Ton Lodging House, was moved to the old school site in 1880 and served as the school until 1943.[365]

Besides the schoolhouse, the church is another civic building in Bodie. In 1880, a majority of the people in town prided themselves as being "a city of 8,000 inhabitants without a church."[366] Before the construction of churches, private residences were used as religious gathering places.[367] H.L. Smith records in October, 1880 that the Reverend Mr. Warrington was preaching at Odd Fellows' Hall and that the Reverend Father Cassin was conducting masses at the Miners' Union Hall. In addition, the Sabbath School was held at the Odd Fellows' Hall in the afternoon, and in the evening the Sunday School would hold a concert for the public."[368] Both Warrington and Cassin became prominent religious figures in Bodie and later constructed churches. The Catholic Church was built on September 10, 1882, followed by the Methodist Church on September 15, 1882. The establishment of churches suggests that the community had settled down to a more family-oriented community, moving away from the initial wild days of the excitement. The Methodist Church still stands in Bodie though the Catholic Church burned in an independent fire in 1928. On the other side of town, the Chinese also had a temple—a Buddhist Josh House—though little information is available on this building.

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364 Smith, "The Bodie Era," 17, 26.

365 Everett V. O'Rourke, The Highest School in California (Sacramento: Spilman Printing Colorado, 1978): 12.

366 Smith, "The Bodie Era," 132.

367 Wedertz. Bodie: 1859-1900. 50.

368 Smith, "The Bodie Era," 131.

In addition, Bodie like any mining town had a number of fraternal organizations. These too often met initially in other buildings such as the Miners' Union, Odd Fellows' Hall or Masonic Temple. Among the fraternal organizations were the Knights of the Pythias (1891-1901), International Order of Good Templars, International Order of Odd-Fellows and its female equivalent, Mila Rebekahs (1879-1934), the Ancient Order of United Workmen and its affiliates the Degree of Honor (1879-1934), the Ancient Order of Free & Accepted Masons (1878-1915), the Fraternal Burial Association (1898-1921), the Benevolent Society of Scottish, and the Knights' Templars (1878-1901). Besides these fraternities, the Chinese district was known to have its own Chinese Masonic society.[369]

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[369] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 156.

Bodie Jail, (1880)

King Street
Block 29, Lot 53 (original)
Block 27, Lot 1 (present)

History

The first jail in Bodie was built in late 1877 and constituted a cabin of two small, poorly ventilated cells.[370] As Bodie's population continued to grow, including its criminal class, the number of prisoners had increased, and were being forced to be lodged at a nearby cabin for accommodations. Due to these constraints, the town decided in 1880 to construct a new jail.

The extant Bodie jail was completed on August 27, 1880. Prostitutes, murderers, horse thieves, drug addicts, drunks, wife beaters, and the like were all housed in this building, originally located at the end of Bonanza Street near the cribs. Bonanza Street, also known as Virgin Alley and Maiden Lane, was the Red-light district of the town where over 300 prostitutes lived and worked. Cribs, brothels, and a few saloons lined this street, ending at the Bodie jail (see Figure 27, Figure 28, Appendix A-3). Figure 27 shows the Bodie jail without the addition which was probably taken during the heyday. It is unknown when this addition was actually incorporated onto the jail but it is speculated that it was added on the north around 1910 to house a constable.

East of Bonanza Street to the east was North Main Street, a rowdy part of town with saloon back doors emptying onto Bonanza Street. In 1880, five saloons, one brewery, and a dancehall known as the "Gymnasium" were located on Lower Main Street,

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[370] Bodie Daily Standard 28 November, 1877; Bodie Free Press, 17 July, 1880; Bodie Free Press, 3 August 1880. In February, 1878, H.L. Smith records "Porter & Co. have completed the new jail" (Smith, "The Bodie Era," 13). Research suggests the current standing jail may be the third jail constructed in Bodie.

and "supplied" many prisoners to the nearby jail. By 1888, the saloons in this particular area declined to approximately two saloons and by 1890, none were recorded by the Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. In addition to these drinking establishments and the Red-light district, the adjacent Chinatown the local character with opium dens. Later, the jail was moved approximately 1400 feet to the south, fronting present-day King Street on a lot that once housed John Wagner's Saloon. This move was probably completed after the 1892 fire to bring the jail closer to the town.

Constructed during the start of the decline, the jail was four-celled, with three bunks per cell and two feet in between each bunk. The Bodie Daily Free Press commented that the jail would be "furnished with all the articles for comfort that can be found in any jail on the coast."[371] In addition to this building, an exercise yard was built with an enclosed high planked fence (see Figure 27). According to Roger McGrath, two months after the new jail was completed, Bodie's first jail break occurred. While Deputy Sheriff John F. Kirgan was away, two prisoners managed to slip into the exercise yard and scale the high plank fence of the yard. The Bodie Daily Free Press amused their readers by observing "that the prisoners must have had pressing business on the outside.[372]

Born in Kentucky in 1828, Deputy Sheriff Kirgan was appointed constable in October, 1878 and administered town justice until his death in 1881.[373] Kirgan originally came to California in 1848 after serving in the Mexican War, where he won decorations for bravery at Monterey and Buena Vista.[374] Elected as Bodie's town constable in 1878, Kirgan served on and off as jailer until March, 1881, when he was fatally injured on Main Street. Kirgan was highly respected and well liked by many towns' members. A jailer in

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371 Bodie Daily Free Press, 27 August 1880.

372 McGrath, Gunfighters, Highwaymen, and Vigilantes, 118-119.

373 Daily Free Press, 9 March, and 2 April 1881; Smith, "The Bodie Era," 48.

374 McGrath, Gunfighters, Highwaymen, and Vigilantes, 118.

Bodie was appointed by the county sheriff and carried the title of deputy sheriff. Much of the time, however, Kirgan held simultaneously the jobs of both constable and jailer. In the 1880 Census taken in June, there were seven men recorded in the jail:

1. Frank Nicholson, (single, 31-year old engineer).
2. James English, (single, 22-year old printer).
3. James Raynor, (single, 33-year old miner).
4. James Doyle, (single, 34-year old miner).
5. John Flynn, (single, 39-year old cook).
6. Charley Pfant, (single, 44-year old shoemaker).
7. M.M. French, (single, 21-year old paperhanger).

Besides men, prostitutes and husband beaters were also placed in custody of the jail. Julia Hoffman, an alcoholic and 40-year-old prostitute in the Red-light district held the record for women for the most arrests and time in jail. In September, 1881, she was arrested for vagrancy and "exposure of her person on a public street." [375] Prostitutes were constantly being thrown in the jail not for only vagrancy but for fighting in their district as well. Quarrels were regular in the Red-light between the women and their clients.

According to Ella Cain, a law was passed about 1910 that the jail had to be fireproofed.[376] Then Constable Ed Gray "had to lay off work in the mines to watch it" in case a prisoner might be burned. Ella Cain also recollects that the last man locked in the jail sawed his getaway through the roof. In this survey, a hole about one foot square was found in the ceiling in the west cell. Besides Cain's remembrances, Bobby Bell also remembers this incident and recalls it happening in the 1930s. Though this was the last time the jail was used officially, Bell remembers that drunks were periodically being thrown in the jail to sober up, especially during Prohibition. In 1959, Edith Palmer Redman of Virginia City owned the jail, selling it to California state parks.[377]

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[375] McGrath, Gunfighters, Highwaymen, and Vigilantes, 154.

[376] Cain, The Story of Bodie, 170.

[377] Division of Beaches and Parks, "Oral interviews by the state park service," Factual Data Report, 1959.

Architecture

The Historic American Building Survey (HABS) in 1962 documented the jail through photographs and data pages. No measured drawings or detailed history was produced on the building. Measured drawings and documentation were made in May, 1999 to reconstruct a plan (Figure 164). A board-and-batten gabled structure, the jail is divided in half to form a guard's space as well as the prisoners' cells. Originally, the jail was a square gabled building but an addition was constructed on the eastside, visible from the building's facade (Figure 165). On the front, the fascia board and dropsiding clearly demonstrate an addition connected to the original building. It is unknown when this addition was built on, but it provided an office and a bedroom space.

Besides the dropsiding applied on the front, dropsiding is also apparent on the back (Figure 166). This wall surfacing is especially apparent on the west or backside of the jail where the building shows the original board-and-batten framing peeking through the attached dropsiding. Like many buildings in Bodie, the foundation is hard to discern because the siding comes to the ground. It is speculated that the building has wood floor joists on the ground.

For reinforcement, the exterior jail walls are held together with plenty of square-head nails. On the interior, another layer of boards was added in the individual cells with diagonal boards, making all the exterior walls 4-boards thick and the interior walls 5-inches thick (Figure 167). Wrought iron nails were then hammered into these exterior and interior wall boards with their points facing into the wood to not inflict injury. This type of wall reinforcement is especially apparent on the west side wall. The windows in the building all have iron-bars on them, and there are two interior doors besides the cell doors that have these small iron-barred windows set into them (Figure 168).

In addition, the ceiling is comprised of board-and-battens, a departure from other buildings in Bodie whose ceilings are constructed of tongue-and-groove boards (Figure 169). It is unknown why this type of construction was used, but may have been thought to provide extra reinforcement or for other reasons. As in all the buildings in Bodie, wallpaper was considered necessary, except in the cells. Wallpaper covers two areas in the jail—the main entrance room and the guard space (Figure 170). Ironically, the designs used in the jail are very feminine with pink and light blue colors (Figure 171).

Behind the jail was a shed addition that was used for storage or as a stable for a horse. No other outbuildings were found here, not even an outhouse.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

"Oh Bodie, dear Bodie, come back for a day.
We know you've had hardships, and not much in pay.
Your life has been tragic, simple and gay.
But that was the Bodie of yesterday.
So please come and tell us in your own little way.
To help us and guide us, so we aren't led astray."[378]

Written by an unknown author, this poem emphasizes much of Bodie's history as a town that has gone through many "hardships." Yet, this poem also speaks of hope. Those who lived in mining camps had hope that there would be another excitement, and the town would thrive again. As a tourist attraction, Bodie has realized this renewal, for every summer there is an "excitement" of tourists from all over the world who come to the Wild West mining town and reflect on its ghost town image.

Since Bodie is one of the best standing examples of an 1880 western gold mining town in the Sierra Nevada and the United States, this architectural study may prove helpful for the different types of consultants working on future mining surveys. For historic preservationists and architectural historians, this thesis offers an example for future identification and documentation for preservation techniques. As a ghost town in arrested decay, Bodie also bridges the gap between its present image and its past by educating the public as a California State Park, National Historic Landmark, and World Heritage Site.

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[378] California State Archives, "Bodie Collection," McDonald House Files.

The buildings in Bodie were built primarily of wood between 1878-1880 and are adorned with Victorian interior and exterior blandishments. The vernacular architectural styles and construction techniques are representative of what can be found in other western mining camps. In C. Eric Stoehr's Bonanza Victoria: Architecture and Society in Colorado Mining Towns, buildings like those in Bodie are described in Colorado, having horizontal overlapping boards or vertical board-and-batten siding used over a balloon-framed structure.[379] Box constructed board-and-batten buildings were common all over the United States as a basic, simple building technique that was convenient for the temporary housing needed in mining towns. Stoehr also describes Colorado mining town roofs as being constructed of board-and-batten, shingle, or metal covered over a pitched or occasional hip roof. In the South Dakota mining town of Deadwood, metal cyanide can lids were crimped together as a roof material.[380] For insulation, Colorado buildings would use sawdust within the cavity of the balloon-framed walls. In addition, walls and ceilings had coverings of newspaper, canvas, cloth, or wallpaper.[381] The process of attaching wallpaper to a wooden structure during the 19th-century is what is represented in Bodie's interiors. In Caring for Your Historic Home, T.K. McClintock describes this technique well. McClintock writes that "linings of fabric were less usual, except in cases where the wallpapers were transferred from another location or were displayed on a wooden strainer or frame to which the edges were secured with tacks or an adhesive."[382] He continues that wallpapers would be "adhered directly over an older paper, which

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[379] Stoehr, Bonanza Victorian, 32.

[380] Bedeau Bert [District Administrator of the Virginia City Comstock District], personal telephone conversation with author, 27 March 2000.

[381] Stoehr, Bonanza Victorian, 33.

[382] T.K. McClintock, "Wallpapers," Caring For Your Historic Home (New York: Harry N Abrams, Inc. 1998): 117.

served, in effect, as a lining for reinforcement."[383] In Bodie's case, as well as other high mining towns, this extra layer acted as insulation against winds which in Bodie can easily reach 50-60 miles per hour.

Brick fireproof buildings, too, were standard in other mining towns. Architectural Conservator Frederick Walters recalls seeing buildings like the Boone Store warehouse in mining towns in Idaho.[384] Jennifer Eastman Attebery in Building Idaho supports this with an example from the mining town of Idaho City which consisted of a common-bond, double wall brick structure with metal fire doors and shutters, freighted from San Francisco.[385] The "attic floor" on this Idaho building was protected with a layer of brick and a four-inch layer of dirt.[386] Another construction technique that was found in Bodie is brick-nogging, found throughout the United States from Illinois to Louisiana.[387] The only construction technique in Bodie that appears to be truly unique are floor joists wrapped with tin cans seen on the Reddy House, Conway House and Murphy House. All the other techniques can be found in other towns throughout the West and are represented in many early settlements.

Stylistically, Bodie also resembles other mining towns in the West in the three building types addressed in this thesis: commercial, residential, and civic. The period

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383 McClintock, "Wallpapers," 117.

384 Walters, personal conversation with author, 2 March 2000.

385 Jennifer Eastman Attebery, Building Idaho (Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho Press, 1991): 42.

386 Frederick L. Walters, personal conversation with author, 2 March 2000. Walters confirmed that this building technique had been found in mining towns he had assessed in Idaho and that it was "very common."

387 R.W. Brunskill, Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture (London: Faber and Faber, 1978): 70-71; John M. Coggeshall and Jo Anne Nast, Vernacular Architecture in Southern Illinois (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988): 29-30; Kniffen, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective," 162-163.

styles represented in Bodie are principally Classical or Italianate with a few Queen Anne examples. The Chinese and Red-light districts in Bodie also imitate characteristics found in districts in numerous mining towns. Early Chinese American architecture in California is sporadic but the best example of this architectural type is Locke, California, located in the Sacramento delta.[388] Chinatowns in the West are distinctive with two to three-story gabled buildings with balconies and awnings located on each level. The architecture of the Red-light district of Bodie with its select cribs and brothels can also be compared to similar examples located in Reno and Virginia City, Nevada, as well as examples in Alaska.[389]

Besides construction techniques and architectural styles, reuse and "itinerant" buildings are two other traits that can be related to Bodie's architecture and are traditional to mining towns in general. In such an ephemeral community isolated from conveniences, buildings in Bodie were disassembled throughout the town's history, an activity well documented in local period newspapers and oral histories (as in the interviews with Bobby Bell). Reuse is seen also in relocated buildings that are attached to other buildings, as in the Bodie Wood Mill. In extreme cases buildings were disassembled to provide firewood. On a smaller scale, everyday materials, such as tin cans and parts of dismantled buildings, became new building materials. Milling equipment was also constantly reused as mills and mines shut down, and the equipment sold off to other companies. Since this recycling has been insufficiently considered by historians, reuse in mining towns has not been

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[388] See Christopher L. Yip, "A Chinatown of Gold Mountain: The Chinese in Locke, California," Images of an American Land (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997): 153-173; Christopher L. Yip, "Chinese" America's Architectural Roots: Ethnic Groups that Built America, Edited by Dell Upton, (Washington DC: Preservation Press, 1986): 106-110.

[389] See Douglas McDonald, The Legend of Julia Bulette and the Red Light Ladies of Nevada (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1983): 20; Tom Robotham, Ghost Towns: How they were born, how they lived, and how they died (Philadelphia: Courage Books, 1993): 120; George Williams III, The Red-Light of Virginia City Nevada (Dayton, Nevada: The Tree By the River Publishing, 1990): 10.

carefully documented. Further research needs to be conducted on this subject in understanding its influence on the architecture of mining towns.

Moving buildings was also common.[390] The relocation of buildings to Bodie during the excitement as well as away during the decline is documented in the history of the town. Buildings were also constantly being shifted within the town to keep the architecture centralized as fires erased buildings or empty lots occurred due to relocating or reuse. According to authorities who work with cultural resources of mining towns, this is traditional though careful documentation is rare. House movers were customary in mining towns, since the investment in constructing a building was significant in an area where lumber was a scarce commodity. The 1880 Census of Bodie listed one house mover. The newspapers, also, commented on many mill buildings and other types of buildings being relocated in and out of the town. Building size was no issue in moving though the average miner's home typically was small. One example of a relocated building in the Sierra is the International Hotel of 1860, a whipsawed rough hewned two-story building originally located at the corner of Union and "C" Street in Virginia City.[391] In 1863, this large building was relocated approximately 100 miles to Austin, Nevada, on two wagons. The Humphrey Mill and Sherman Mill of Silver City, Nevada, a satellite camp of Virginia City, were both dismantled and moved to Bodie in early 1878.[392] On the site of the Bodie Mortuary, the Johnson Hotel is another building that was moved to Bodie from Alpine, California. Most of the buildings on lower Main Street in Bodie were moved out of town to Hawthorne in 1883 when the latter was booming. These are only the buildings clearly

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[390] John Obed Curtis, Moving Historic Buildings (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1979).

[391] Richard C. Datin, Elegance on C Street: The Story of the International Hotel (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1977): 5-6.

[392] Smith, "The Bodie Era," 14, 53.

documented as having been moved; it is likely that most of the buildings relocated during this period were not officially recorded.

The history assembled were on selected Bodie buildings is the most completed yet attempted on these structures. By combining oral histories, archival research, and the study of historical maps regarding specific lots, the individual stories become complete. It is hoped that over time similar complete descriptions and histories can be assembled for all standing buildings in the town.

Moreover, much of the research conducted on Bodie has been done by weekend scholars and is not only problematic but unclear as well. Many of these historians did not analyze all significant documents in reaching their conclusions. In other cases, their questions were not answered and their assumptions therefore were erroneous. More research needs to be conducted at repositories throughout California and the United States on other Bodie buildings and their owners. In addition, research needs to be gathered on relocated Bodie buildings that exist in other Nevada or California towns, such as Hawthorne, Bridgeport, and Lee Vining. This intriguing characteristic of Bodie architecture needs to be compared with what happened in other western mining towns.

With such thorough histories completed for all of Bodie's buildings, the town would be of even greater interest to tourists, historic researchers and genealogists, Wild West buffs, park rangers and seasonal aides. Presently, Bodie's history seems inconsistent and only a partial story. Though this thesis is only the beginning of a complete history on Bodie, it begins to outline what can be envisioned concerning other buildings within the town. With a complete history of all standing buildings, the Bodie Historic Park brochure can be correctly rewritten. Former Bodie residents have pointed out inaccurate information to this author which should be corrected. The archival research performed for this thesis has contradicted conventional information as well as uncovered new information that would be beneficial to this new brochure.

FIGURES



Figure 1. Robert T. "Bobby" Bell with his black dog, Lady. Photo by author.

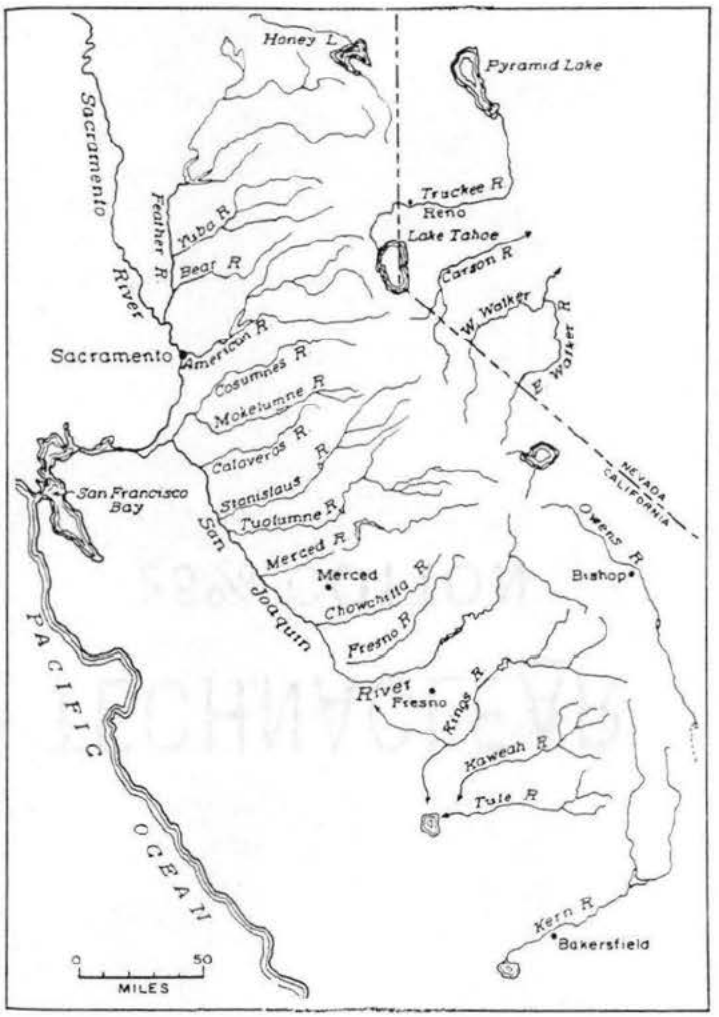


Figure 2. Map of Northern California. Source: Mary Hill, Geology of the Sierra Nevadas (Berkeley: University of California Press,1975): 41.



Figure 3. Mother Lode Area. Source: Mary Hill, Geology of the Sierra Nevadas (Berkeley: University of California Press,1971): 95.

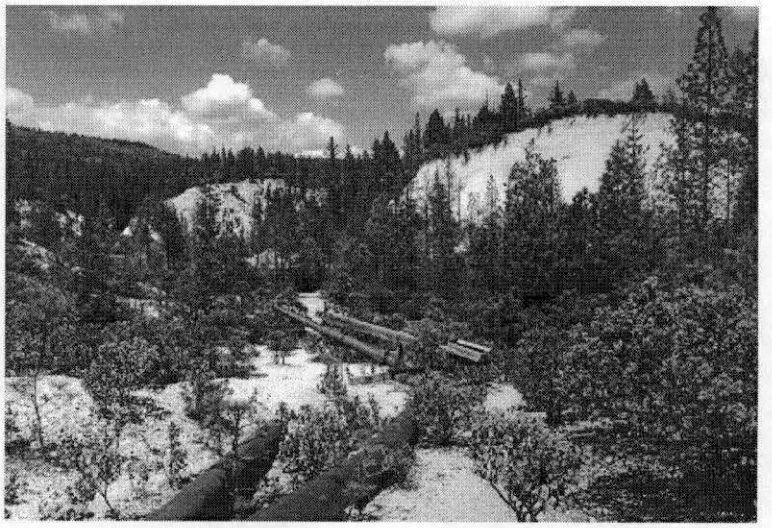


Figure 4. Malakoff Diggings, California State Historic Park. Photo by author.

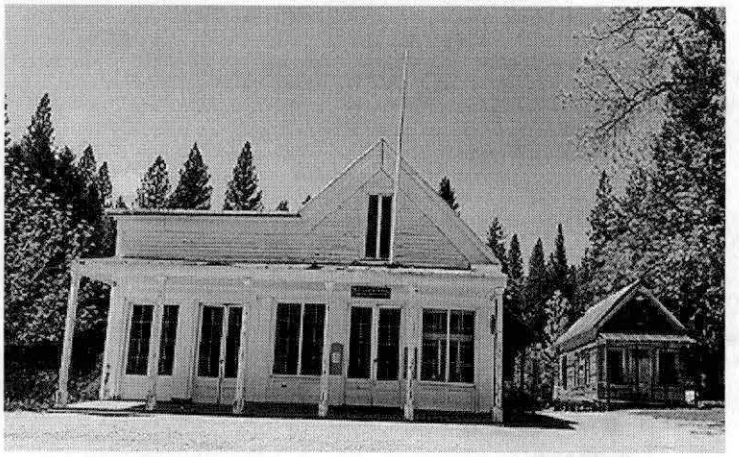


Figure 5. North Bloomfield, California State Historic Park. Photo by author.



Figure 6. The Standard Mill of 1899, Bodie, California. Photo by author.

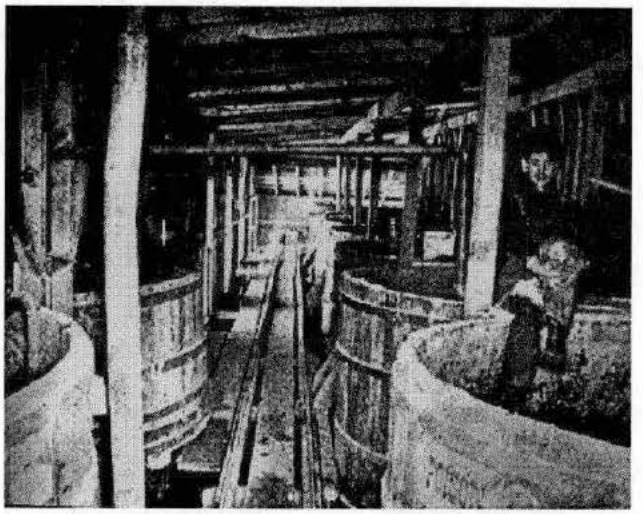


Figure 7. Interior of a Bodie Cyanide Plant Showing Leaching Vats. Source: Emil Billeb, Mining Camp Days (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1968): Illustration 6, between pages 92-93.

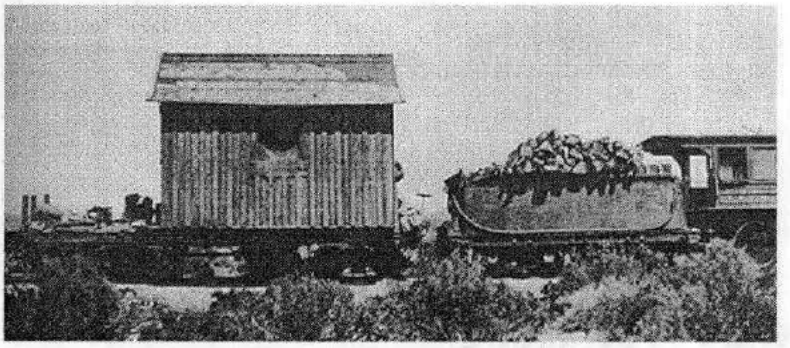


Figure 8. Modular building coming in or out of Bodie by way of the railway. Source: Emil Billeb, Mining Camp Days (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1968): 71.



Figure 9. A dugout in Candelaria, Nevada. Photo by author

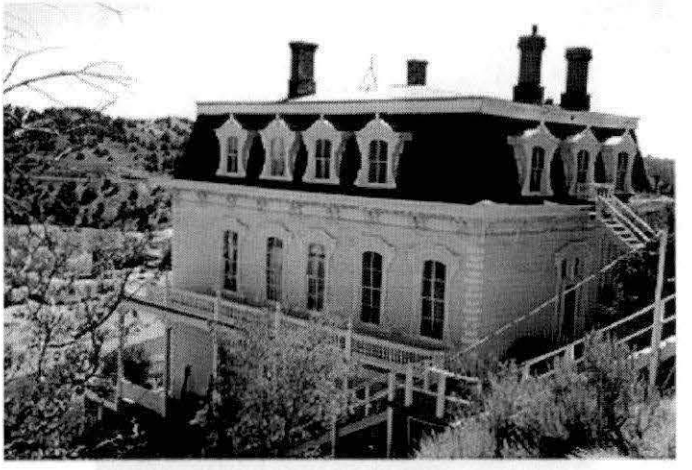


Figure 10. The Savage Mansion, Virginia City, Nevada. Photo by author.

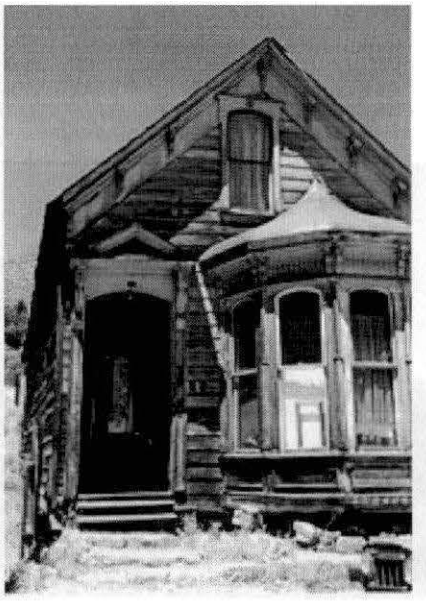


Figure 11. An Italianate cottage on "B" Street in Virginia City, Nevada. Photo by author.



Figure 12. San Francisco, circa 1875. This was a stereotype photograph of New Montgomery Street and Market.Street in San Francisco. Source: Bill Roddy, "San Francisco, circa 1875," <http://americahurrah.com/SanFrancisco/1875/4.html> (6 May 2000).

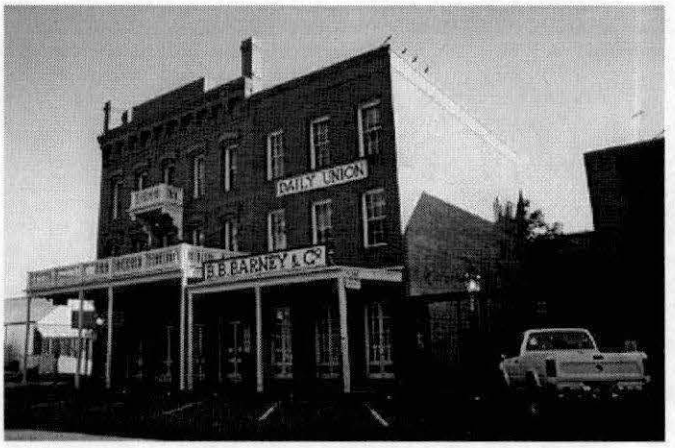


Figure 13. Old Sacramento commercial district in Sacramento, California. Photo by author.



Figure 14. Nevada City commercial district in Nevada City, California. Photo by author.

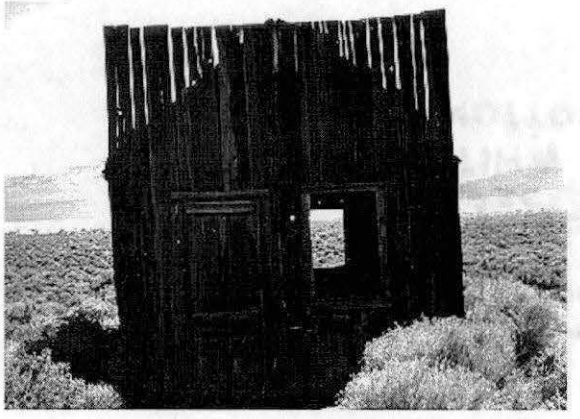


Figure 15. False front commercial building in Marietta, Nevada. Photo by author.

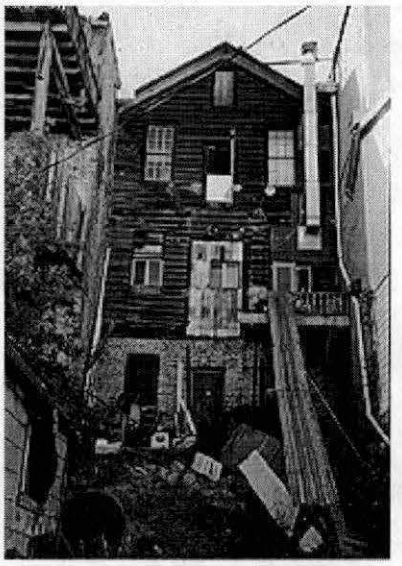


Figure 16. Back view of a commercial building from "D" Street in Virginia City, Nevada. Photo by author.

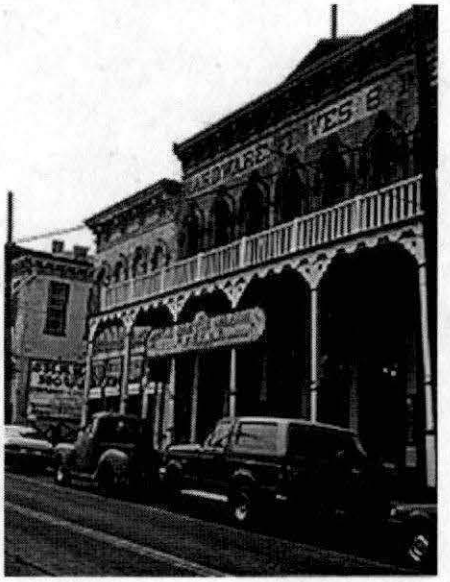


Figure 17. Front view of a commercial building from "C" Street in Virginia City, Nevada. Photo by author.

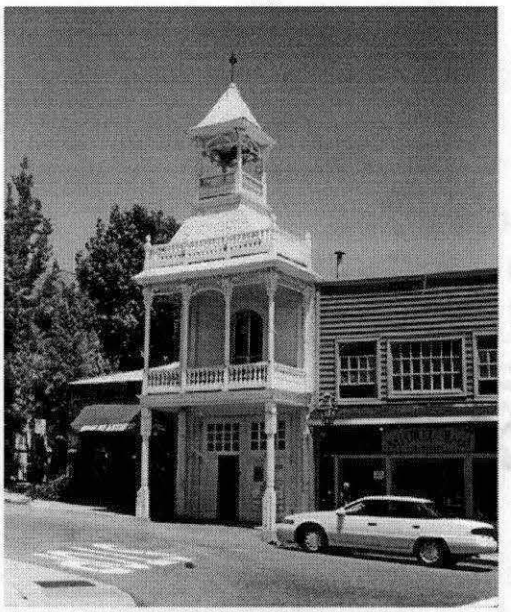


Figure 18. A firehouse in Nevada City, California. Photo by author.

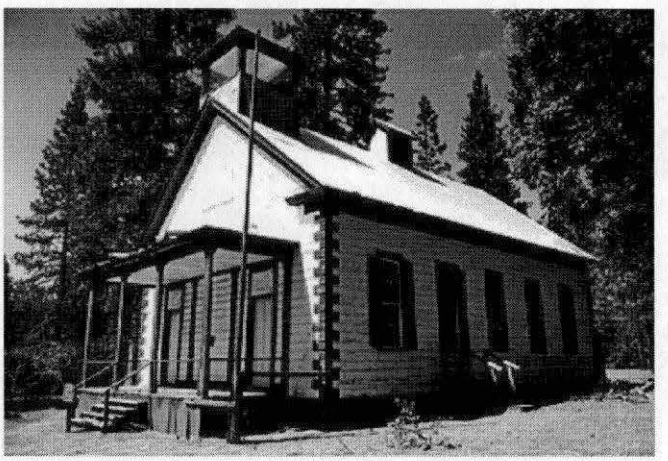


Figure 19. A schoolhouse in North Bloomfield, California. Photo by author.

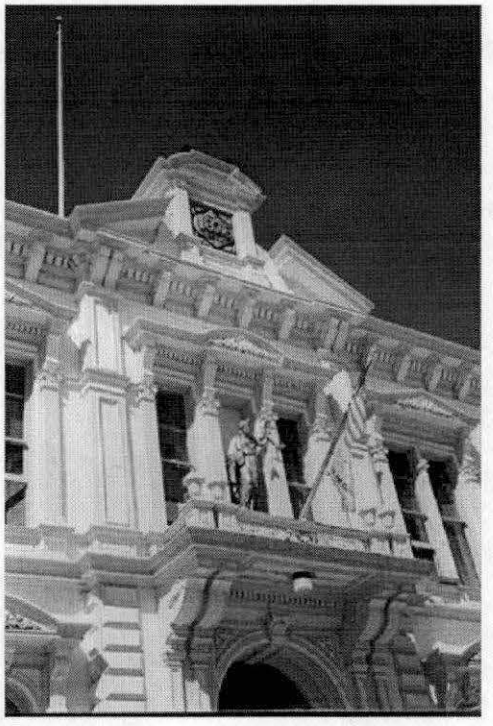


Figure 20. A courthouse in Virginia City, Nevada. Photo by author.

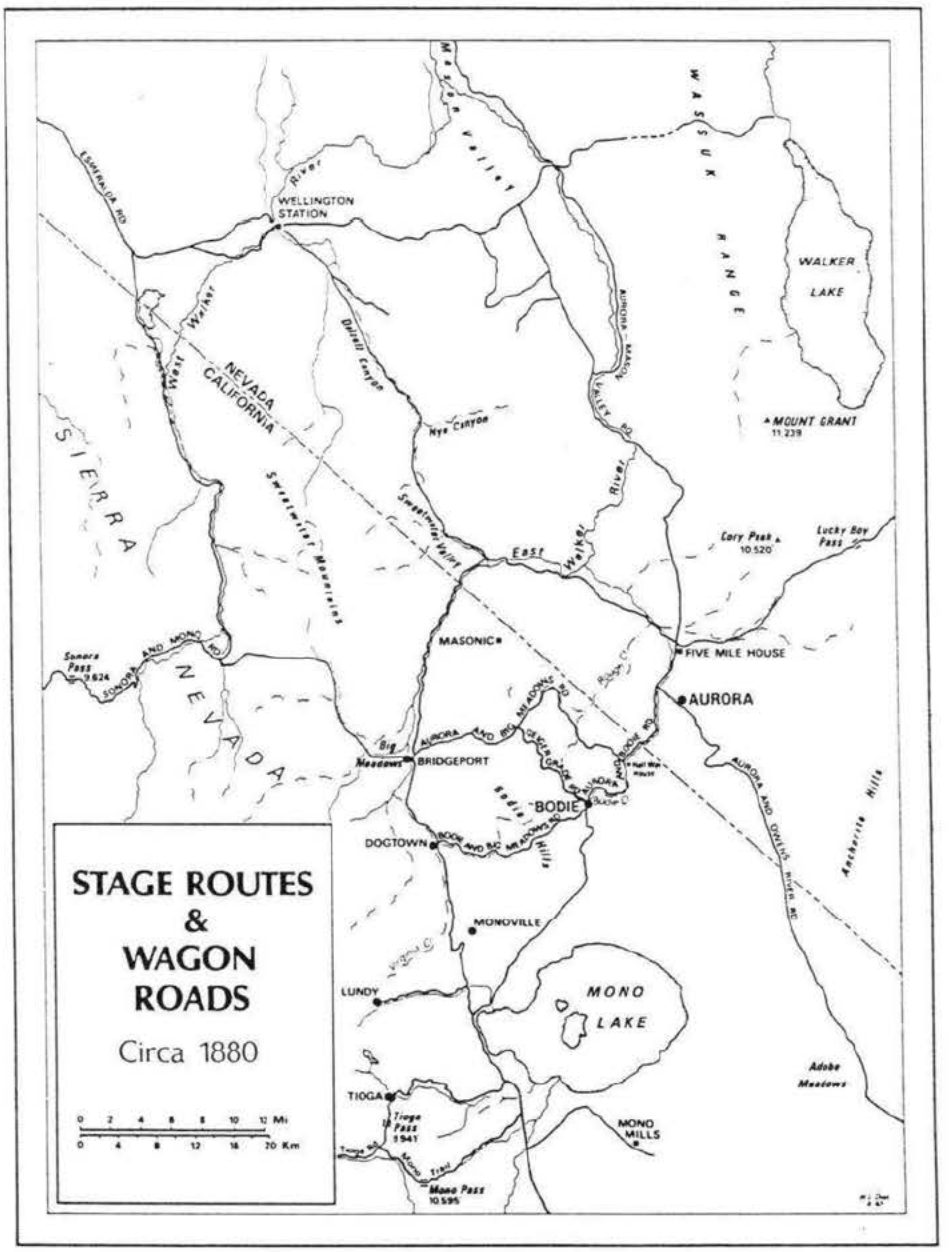


Figure 21. Bodie Area Map. (Douglas McDonald, Cartography by Noel Diaz. Gunfighters, Highwaymen and Vigilantes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974): 166.



Figure 22. Main Street after the 1892 Fire. Buildings in this photograph were either newly constructed after the fire or were moved from other locations within town. Source: Larry Poag, Poag's Guide to Shopkeepers and Shootests of Bodie (Lake Grove, Oregon: Western Places, 1997): 44.

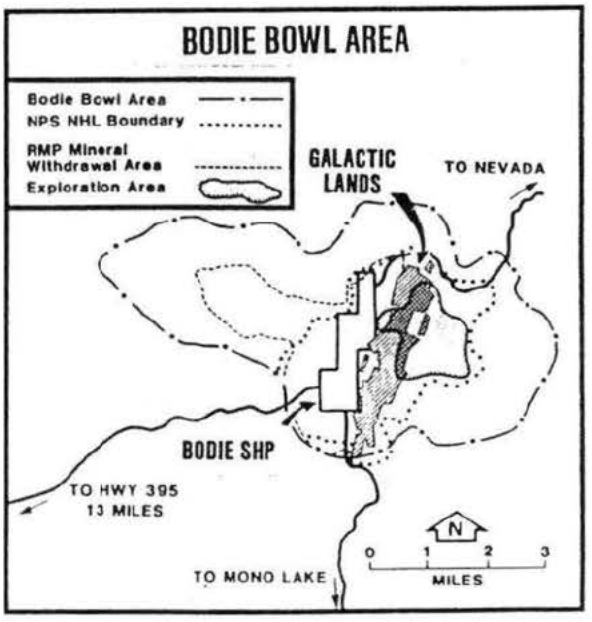


Figure 23. Galactic Mining District on Bodie Bluff. Source: Friends of Bodie (Bodie State Historic Park newsletter, Winter 1992): 3.

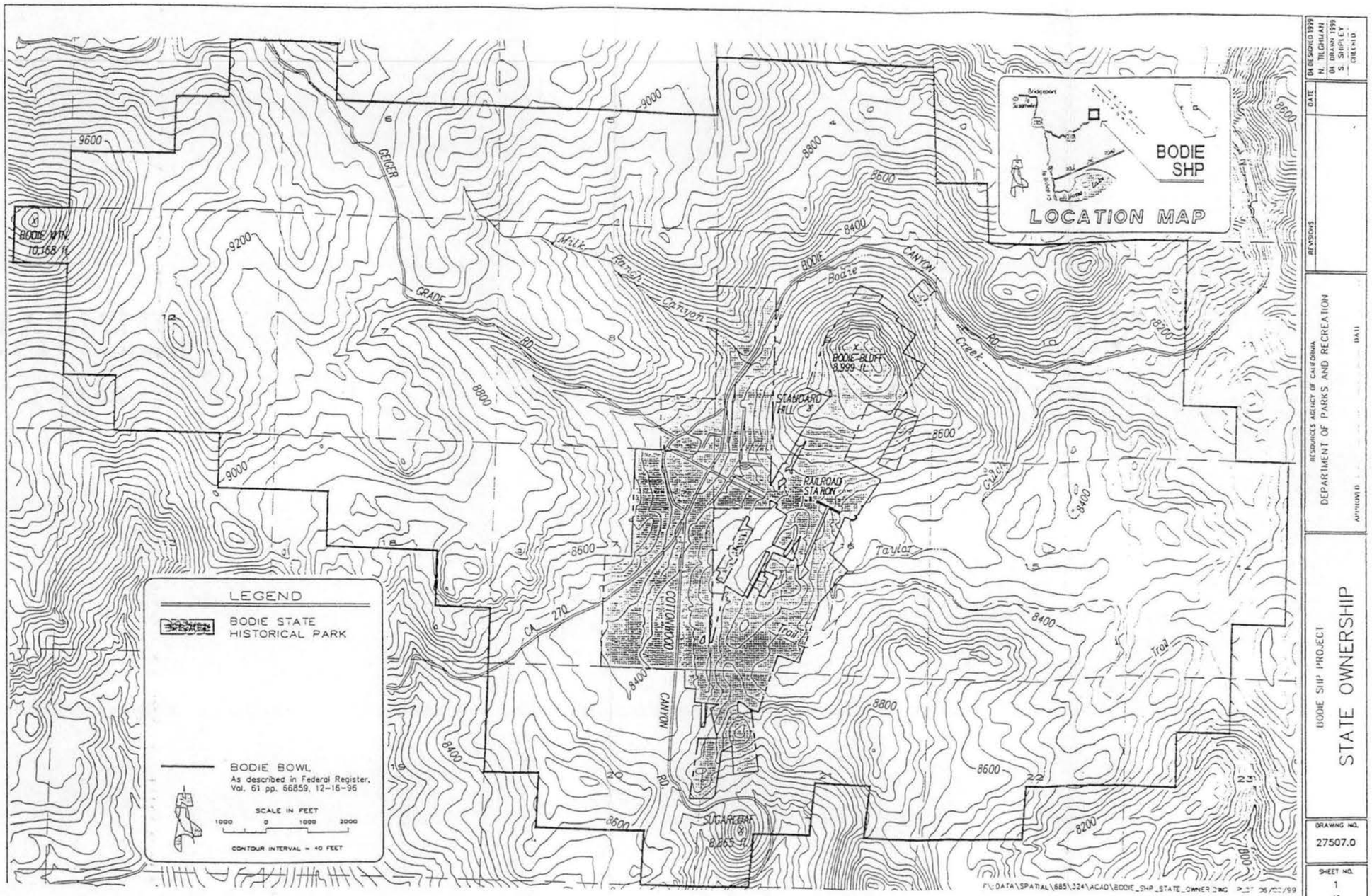


Figure 24. Bodie Bowl Area, 1999. Source: Courtesy of B. Noah Tilghman [Senior Park and Recreation Specialist, Sacramento. Resource Management Division] California State Park,



Figure 25. Historic view of Chinatown, looking west. Source: Emil Billeb, Mining Camp Days (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications,1968): 142.

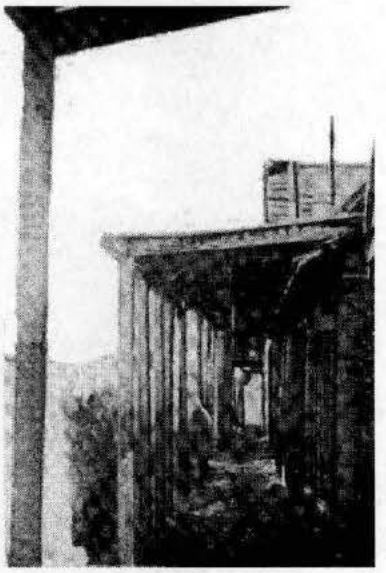


Figure 26. Historic view of Chinatown, looking east. Source: Ella M. Cain, The Story of Bodie (San Francisco: Fearson Publications,1956): 153.

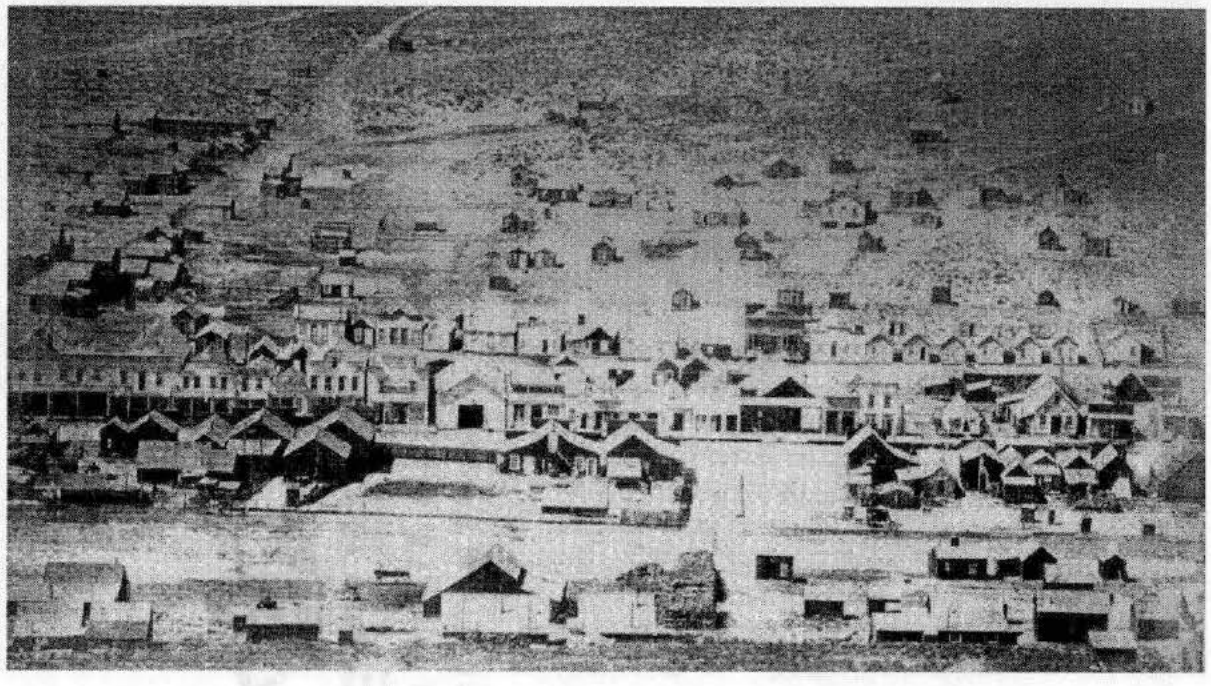
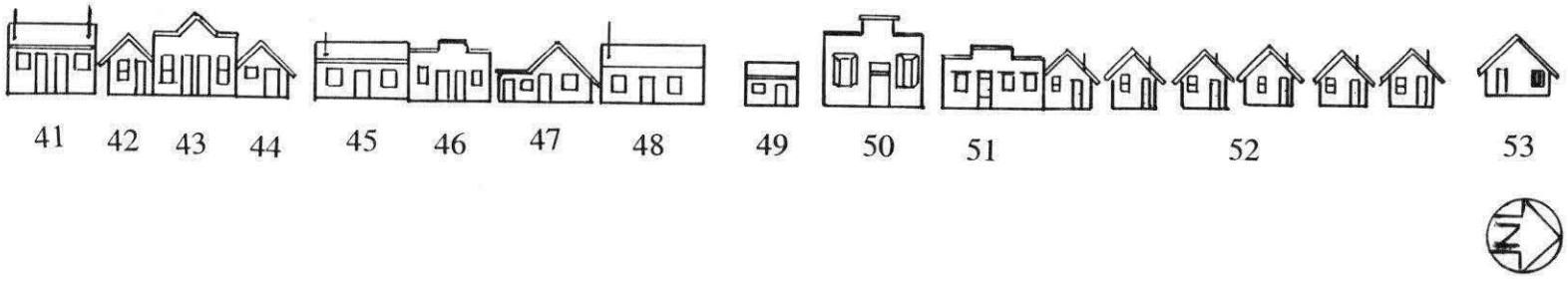


Figure 27. The Red-light District of Bonaza Street behind Main Street in Bodie. Source: Larry Poag, Poag's Guide to Shopkeepers and Shootests of Bodie (Lake Grove, Oregon: Western Places, 1997): 55.



Lot 41 Madame Jouret (brothel)
Lot 42 Crib
Lot 43 The Palace (brothel)
Lot 44 Crib
Lot 45 Ramona Negretta (brothel)
Lot 46 Annie Frank's The Capital (brothel)
Lot 47 Fred & Carrie Rathbone (saloon/residence)
Lot 48 Unknown (brothel)
Lot 49 Crib
Lot 50 Feliciana Soto (brothel)
Lot 51 Angela Soto (brothel)
Lot 52 The Ladies' Club (cribs)
Lot 53 Bodie Jail

Figure 28. Drafted drawing of historic image seen in Figure 27. Drawn by Corri Jimenez.. Source: Brownell Merrill, "Map of Bodie, California, Mono County-1880," Brownell Merrill, 1991.



Figure 29. Historic interior of Ernest Mark's Saloon. Source: Ella M. Cain, The Story of Bodie (San Francisco: Fearson Publications, 1956): 61.



Figure 30. Bodie Bank and Post Office, photograph by Frasher, circa 1927. Source: Courtesy of the University of California, Berkeley's Bancroft Special Collections.



Figure 31. Paiute Indian Wigwam. Source: Emil Billeb, Mining Camp Day (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1968): 146.

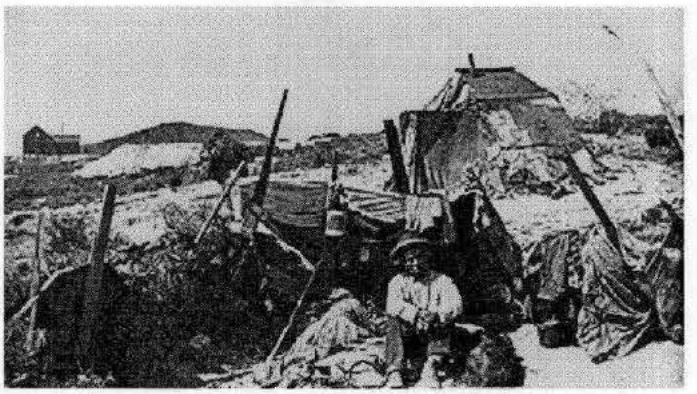


Figure 32. Paiute Indian Fixed House. Source: Emil Billeb, Mining Camp Days (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications,1968): 146.

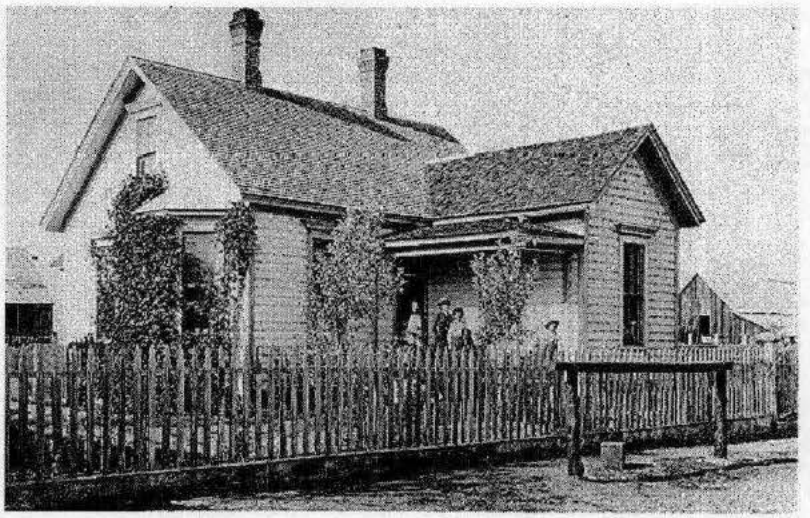


Figure 33. Frank Hessel House in Bodie. Source: Frank S. Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900 (Bishop: Sierra Media, Inc.,1969): 17.

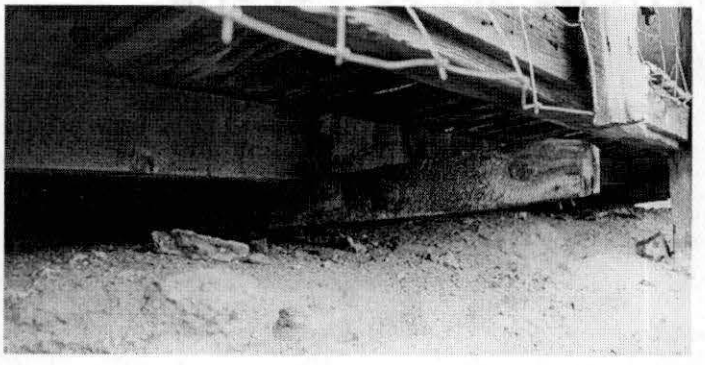


Figure 34. Foundation of the Selhorn House. Photo by author.

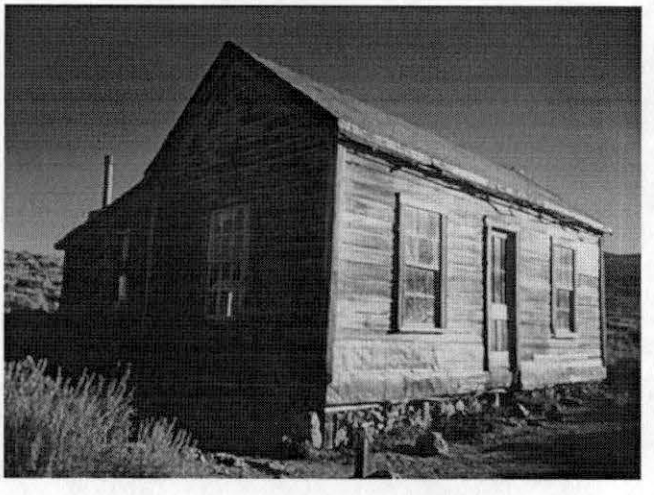


Figure 35. Foundation of the Dolan House. Photo by author.

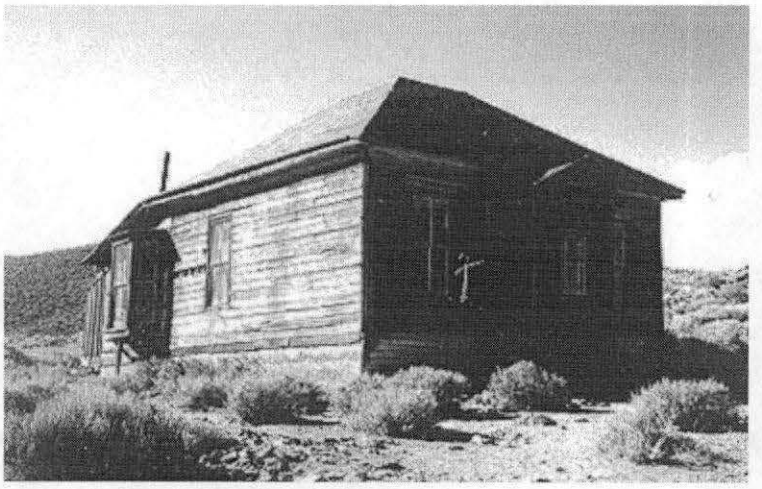


Figure 36. Tin-covered foundation of the McDonald House. Photo by author.

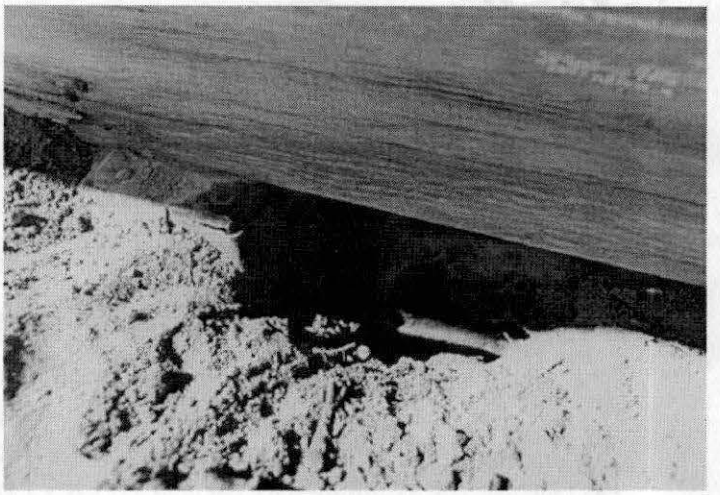


Figure 37. Tin-wrapped joists of the Murphy House. Photo by author.



Figure 38. Cellar and foundation of the Selhorn House. Photo by author.

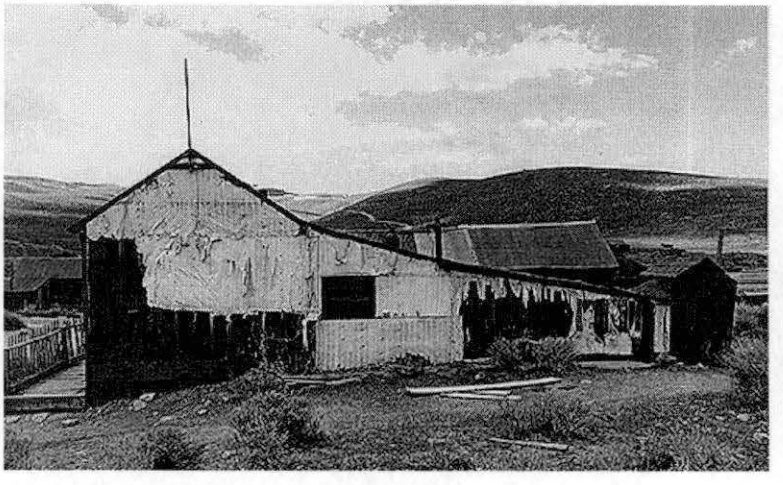


Figure 39. West elevation of the Conway House. Photo by author.



Figure 40. Post-on-stone foundation of the Miners' Union Hall. Photo by author.



Figure 41. Balloon frame construction on the Harvey House. Photo by author.

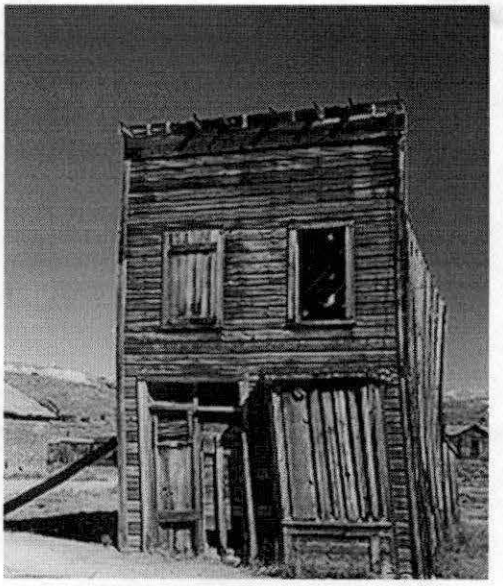


Figure 42. False-front facade of the Swazey Saloon. Photo by Lyn Laguzza.



Figure 43. Wallpaper layers of the Murphy House. Photo by Jamie Laguzza.

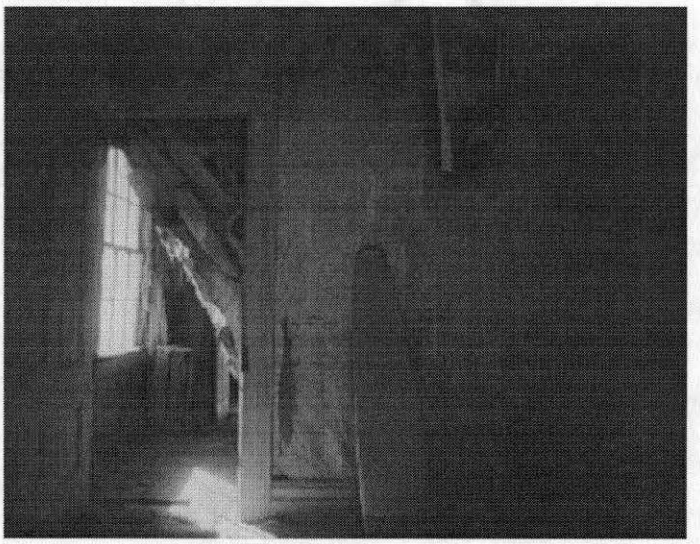


Figure 44. Drooping wallpaper in the Sturgeon House. Photo by author.

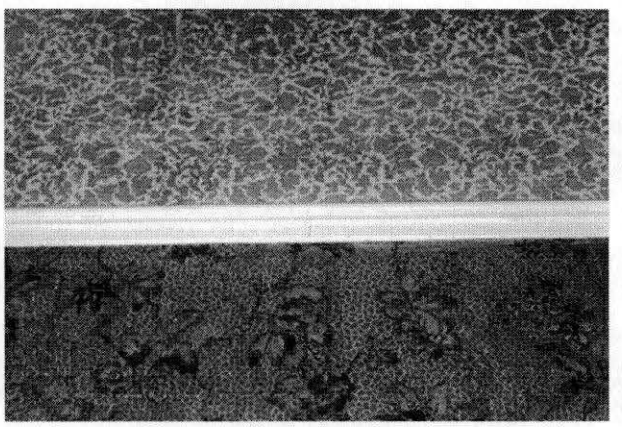


Figure 45. Wallpaper in the Seiler House kitchen. Photo by author.

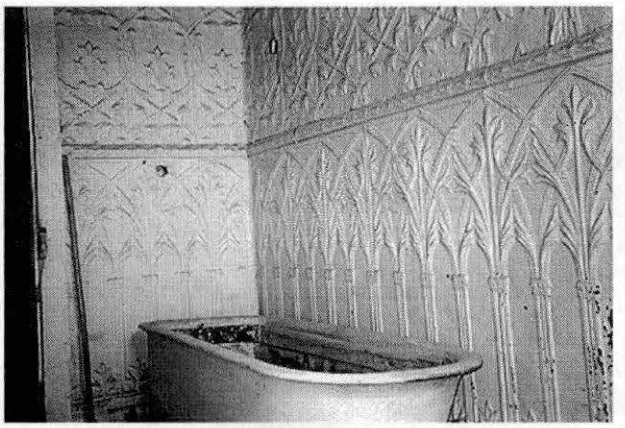


Figure 46. Patterned-tin in the Wheaton Hotel. Photo by author.

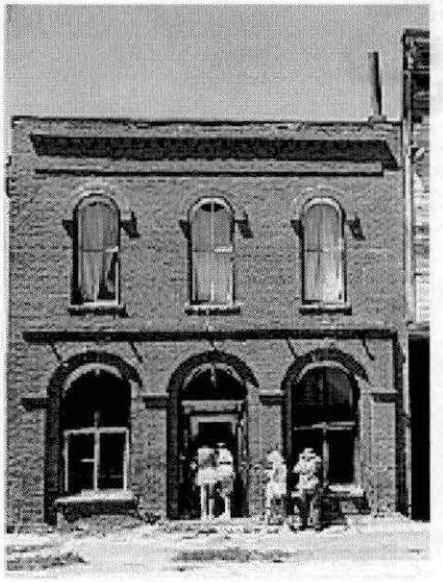


Figure 47. Brick facade of the Dechambeau Hotel. Photo by Lyn Laguzza.

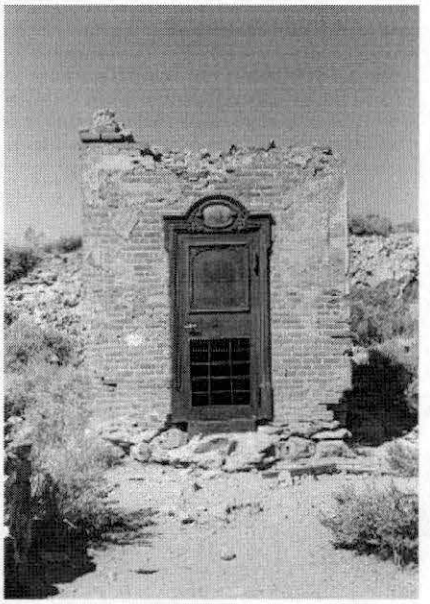


Figure 48. Brick vault of the Bodie Bank. The wooden building was destroyed in the 1932 Fire. Photo by author.

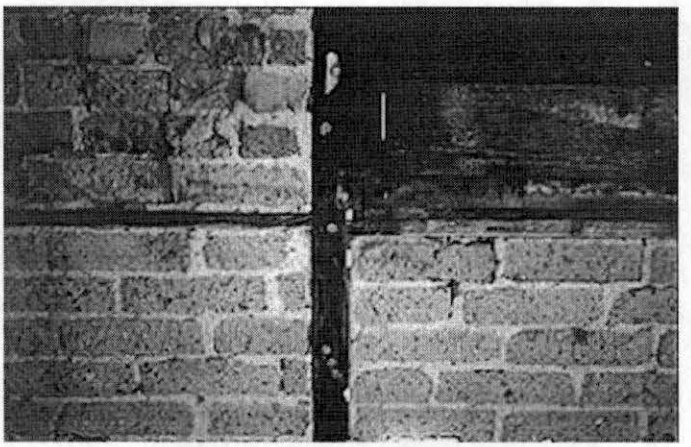


Figure 49. Brick nogging on the Andrews House. Photo by author.

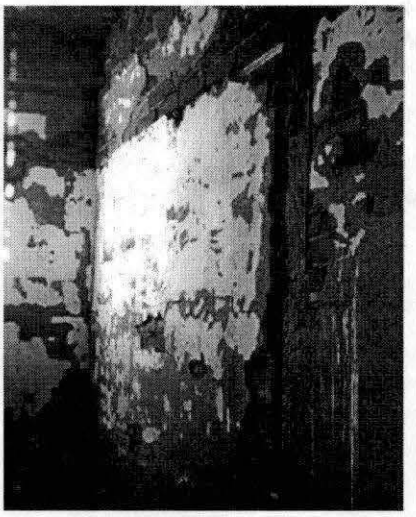


Figure 50. Plaster on a brick nogged building. Photo by author.

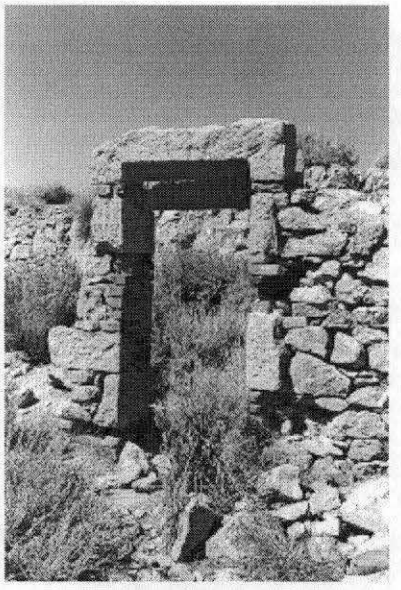


Figure 51. Ruins of a stone doorway on Main Street. Photo by author.



Figure 52. Ruins of a stone foundation of a warehouse building. Photo by author.

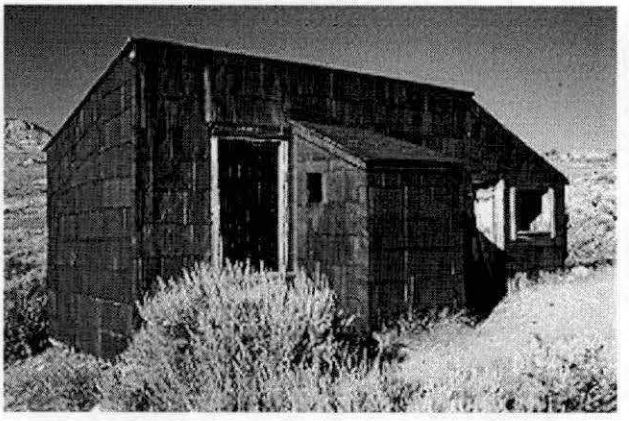


Figure 53. Tin-sheathing on the Dog-Face George House. Photo by author.

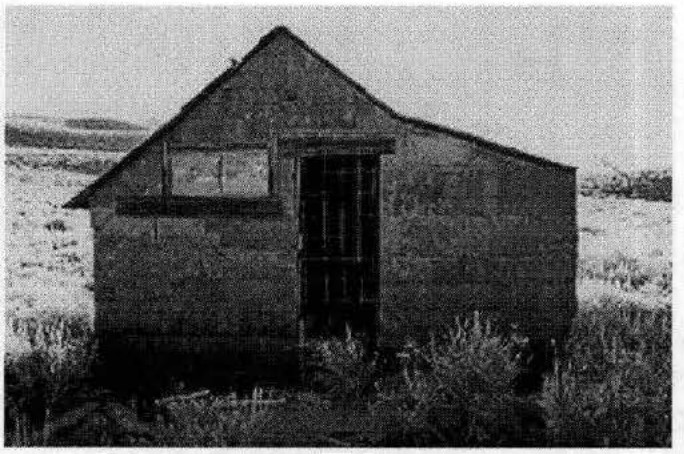


Figure 54. Tin-sheathing on the Indian House. Photo by author.

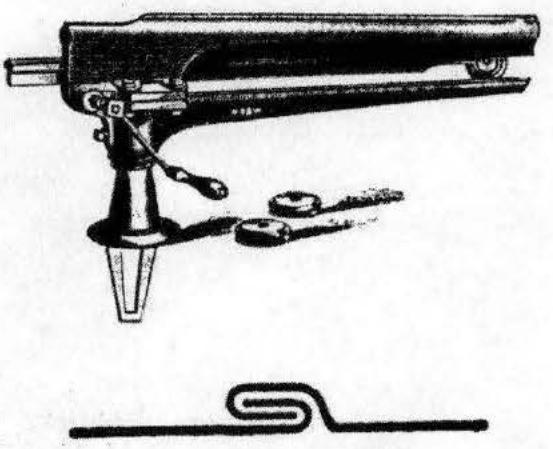


Figure 55. A crimping machine. Source: David Chase and Carolyn Laray, Sheetmetal (National Building Musuem, Washington DC, 1988): 74

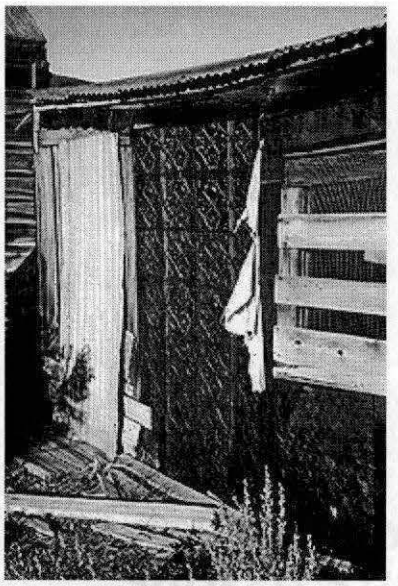


Figure 56. Decorative pressed-tin on the exterior of a Bodie building. Photo by author.

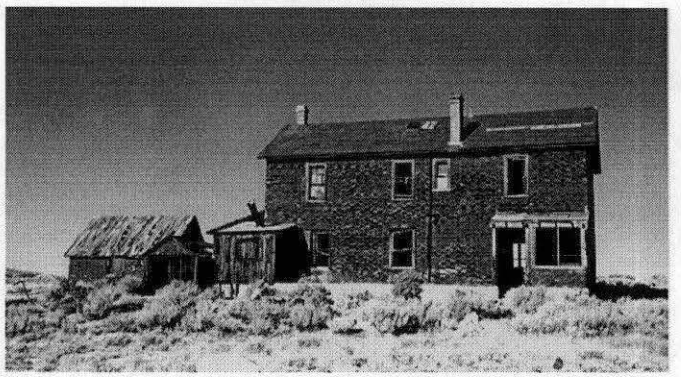


Figure 57. Asphalt shingles on the Bodie Railroad's Office. Photo by author.

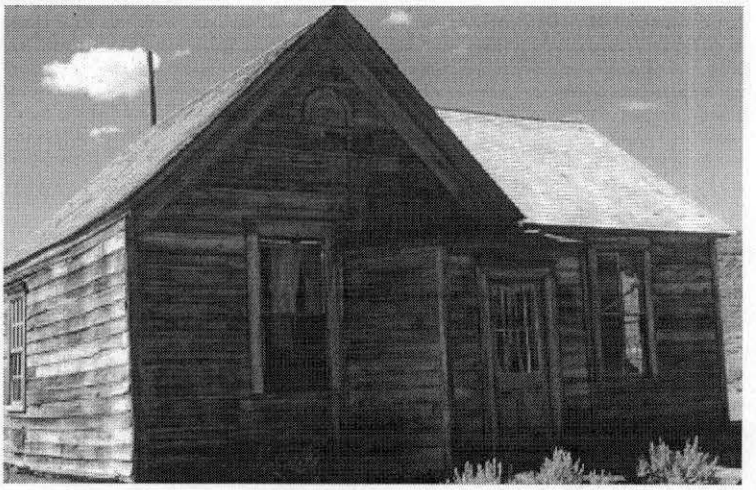


Figure 58. New cedar roof of the Sturgeon House, 1985. Photo by Lyn Laguzza.



Figure 59. Cedar roof of the Sturgeon House, 1997. Photo by author.

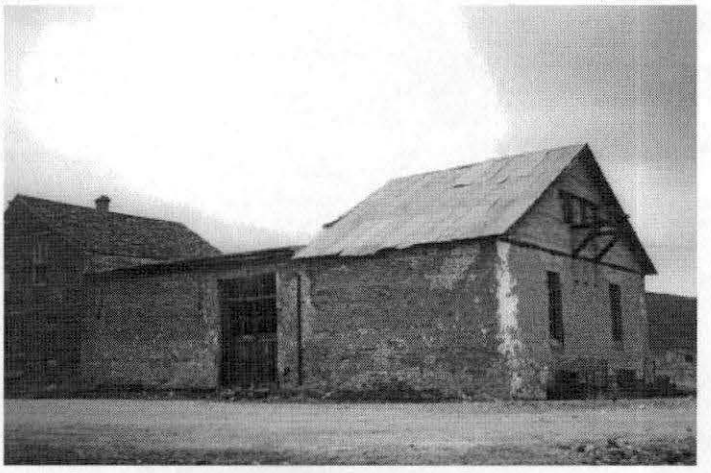


Figure 60. The Hydroelectric Building. Built in 1879, this building was once a fireproof warehouse for the Wheaton & Page Dry Goods Store. Photo by author.

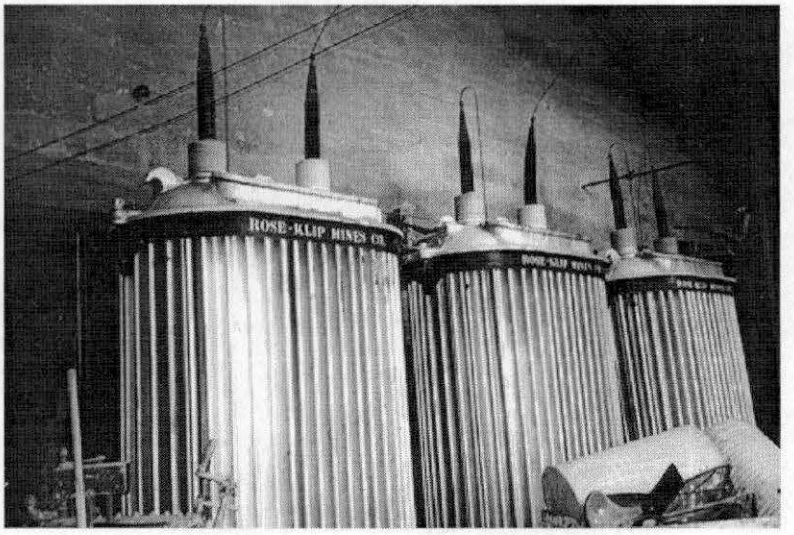


Figure 61. Transformers in the Hydroelectric Building. Photo by author.

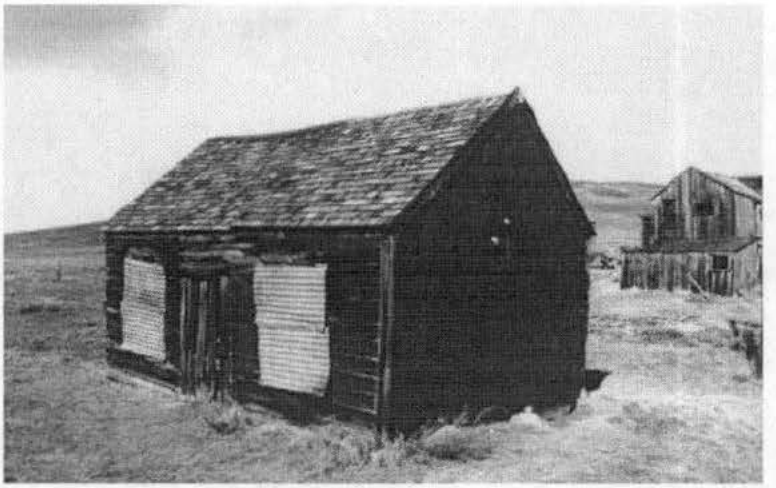


Figure 62. The two-room Kelly House. Photo by author.

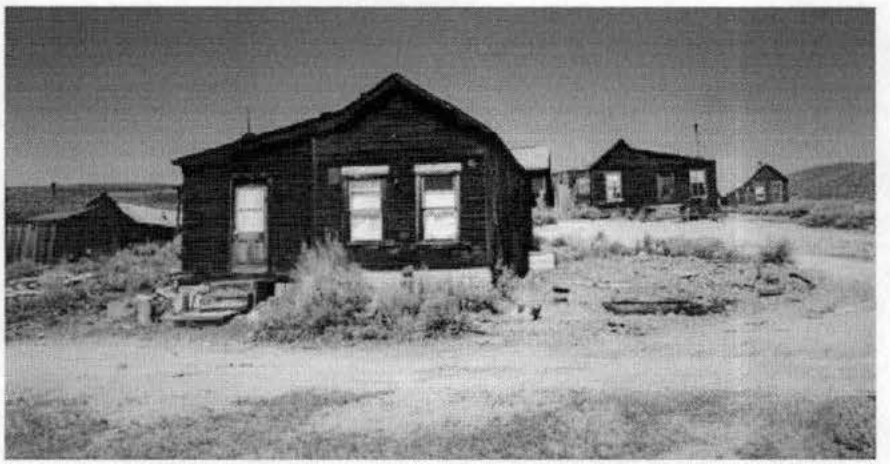


Figure 63. Lean-to additions on Bodie houses. Photo by author.



Figure 64. Scrollwork brackets on the Kirkwood House. Photo by author.



Figure 65. Three-cornered window in the Burkham Boarding House. Photo by author.

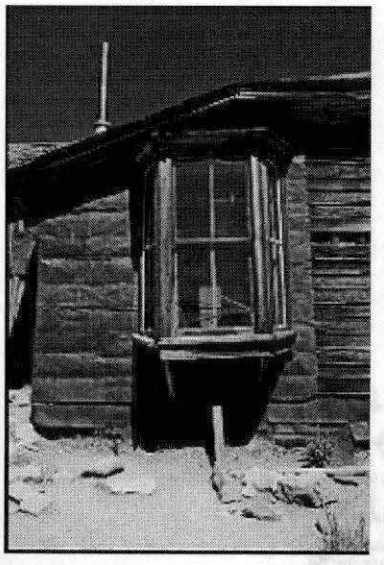


Figure 66. Box-bay window of the McDonald House. Photo by author.

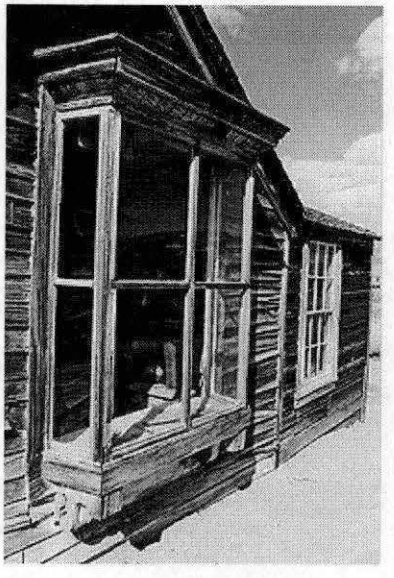


Figure 67. Box-bay window of the Murphy House. Photo by author.

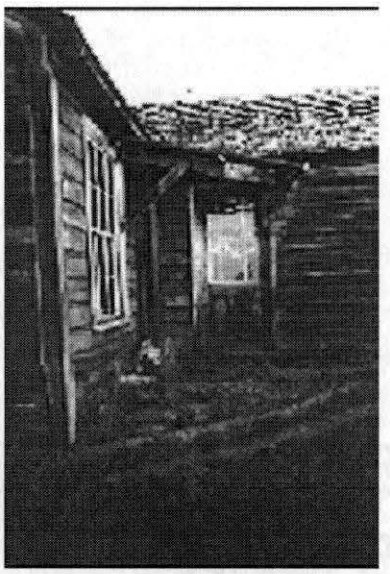


Figure 68. Six-lite door on the Brown House. Photo by author.

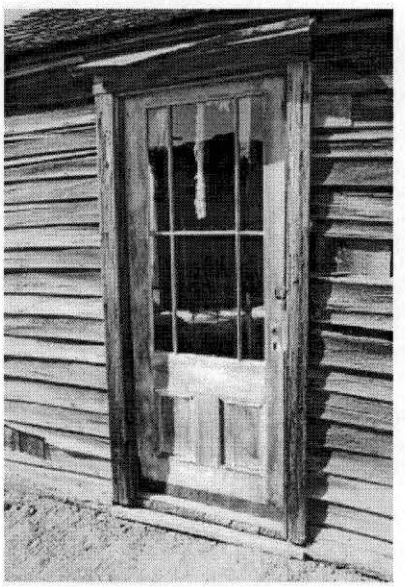


Figure 69. Six-lite door on the Murphy House. Photo by author.

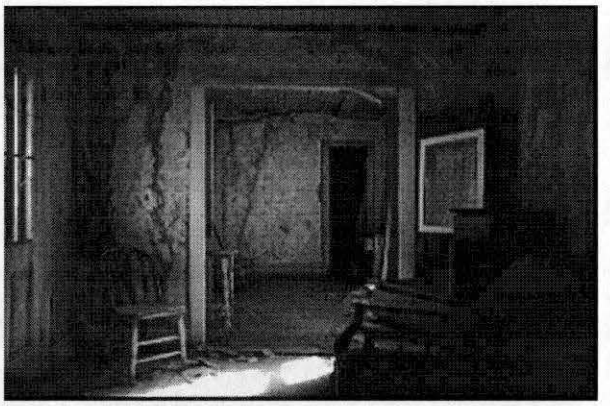


Figure 70. Rectangular partition wall in the Brown House. Photo by author.

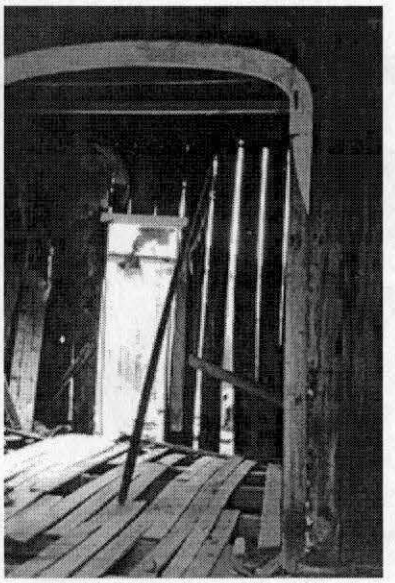


Figure 71. Arched partition wall in the Klipstein House. Photo by author.

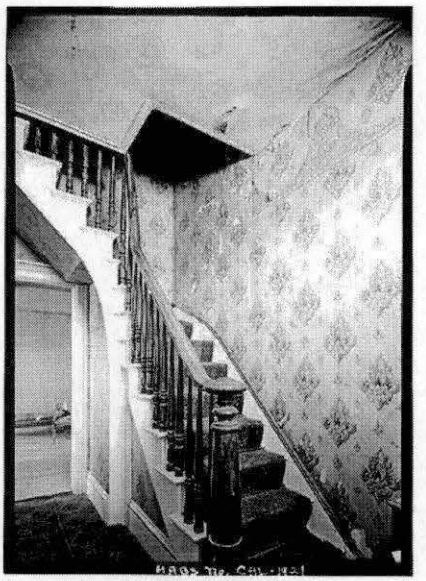


Figure 72. Stairwell in the D.V. Cain House. Source: HABS/HAER Collection, Courtesy of the Library of Congress,Washington DC..

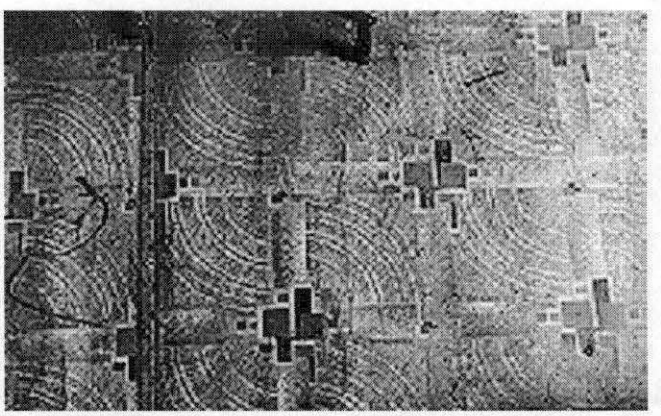


Figure 73. Decorative linoleum in the Conway House. Photo by author.

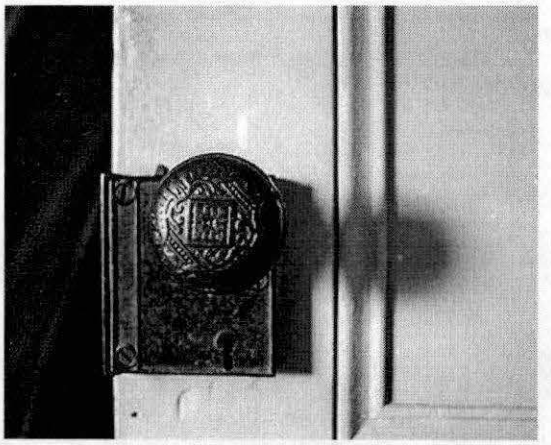


Figure 74. Eastlake hardware in the Seiler House. Photo by author.



Figure 75. Iron stove in the Conway House. Photo by author.



Figure 76. U.S. Hotel, destroyed in the 1932 Fire. Source: F.W. McIntosh, Mono County, California: The Land of Promise for the Man of Industry (Compiled and published by F.W. McIntosh for the Board of Supervisors of Mono County, November 1908): 78.

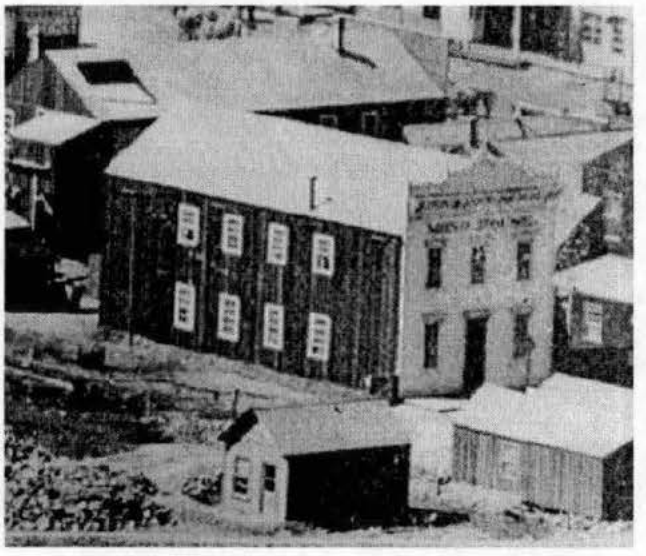


Figure 77. Mono House, destroyed in the 1892 Fire. See Appendix A-1. Source: 1880 Historic Photo of Bodie (Sacramento: California State Library).



Figure 78. Occidental Hotel, destroyed in the 1932 Fire. Source: F.W. McIntosh, Mono County, California: The Land of Promise for the Man of Industry (Compiled and published by F.W. McIntosh for the Board of Supervisors of Mono County, November 1908): 77.

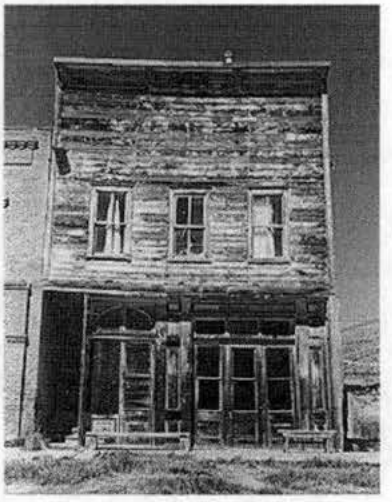


Figure 79. 1880 International Order of Odd Fellows' (IOOF) Hall. Photo by author.



Figure 80. Back view of Dechambeau Hotel and the IOOF Hall. Photo by author.

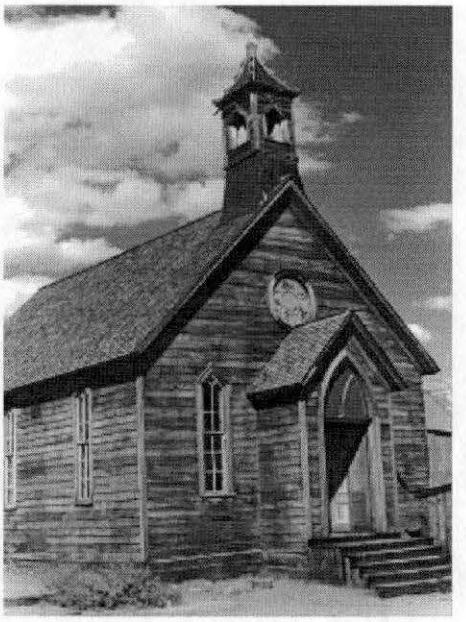


Figure 81. 1883 Methodist-Episcopal Church. Photo by Lyn Laguzza.



Figure 82. Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist, destroyed in an isolated fire in 1928. Source: F.W. McIntosh, Mono County, California: The Land of Promise for the Man of Industry (Compiled and published by F.W. McIntosh for the Board of Supervisors of Mono County, November 1908: 79.

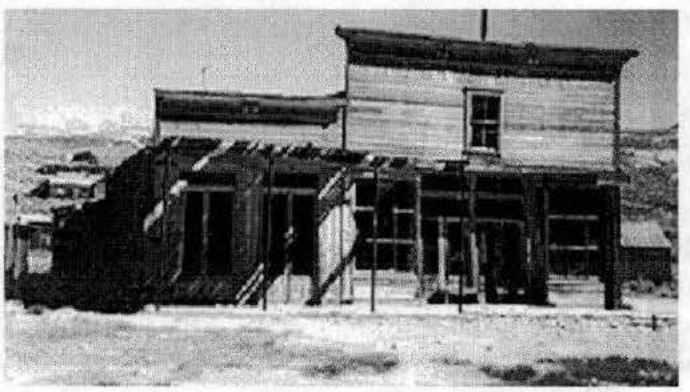


Figure 83. Front facade of the Wheaton Hotel and U.S. Land Office, built circa 1884. Photo by Lyn Laguzza.

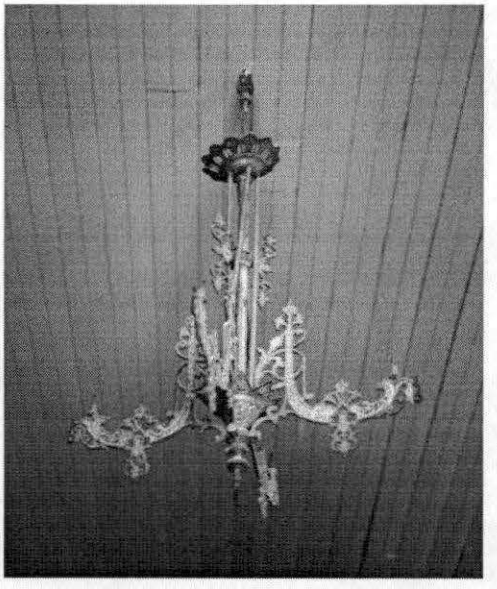


Figure 84. Gas fixtures in the Miners' Union Hall. Photo by author.

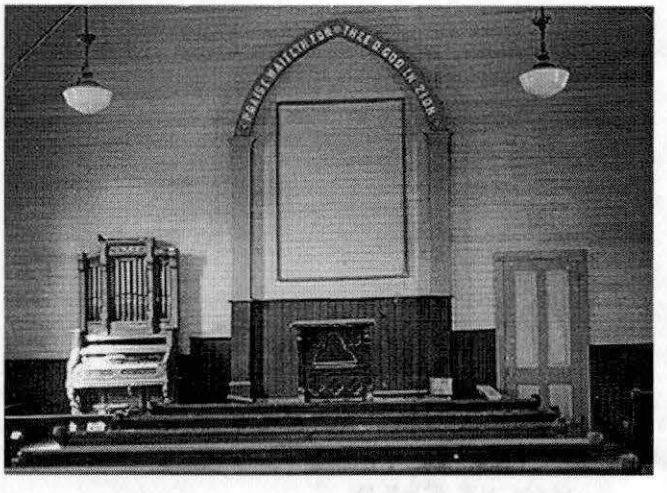


Figure 85. Interior decor of the Methodist Church. Photo by Lyn Laguzza.

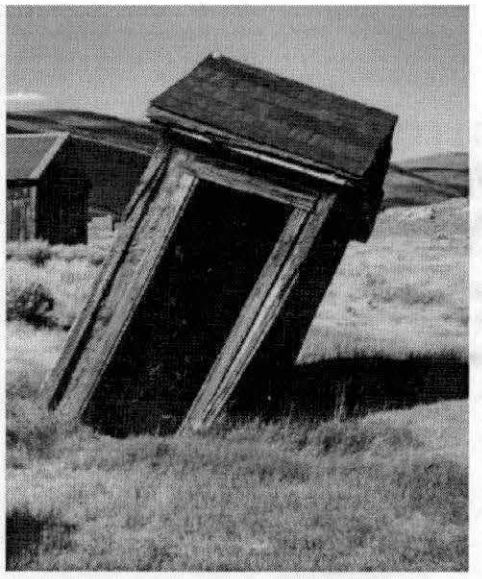


Figure 86. Outhouse. Photo by Lyn Laguzza.

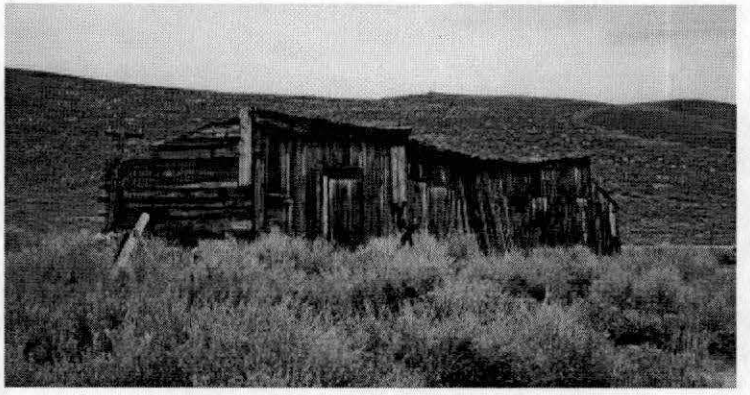


Figure 87. Tom Miller's Icehouse and Stable. Photo by author.

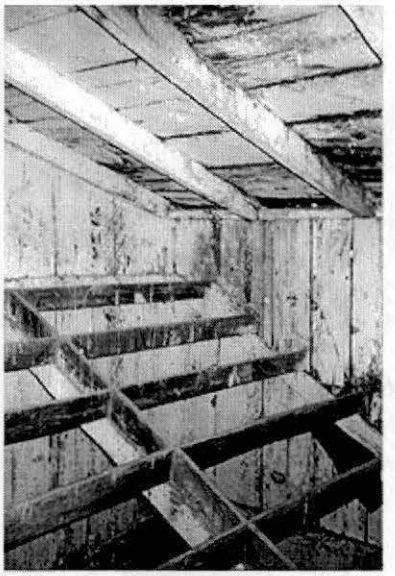


Figure 88. Interior ice stalls of Tom Miller's Icehouse and Stable. Photo by author.

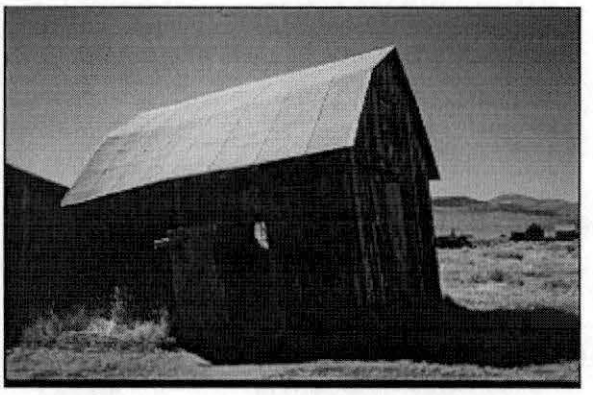


Figure 89. Gambrel barn behind the Mortuary. Photo by author.



Figure 90. Bodie, 1890-1899. The Cain House is to the right of the Methodist Church located in the left hand corner of this photograph. Source: Larry Poag, Poag's Guide to Shopkeepers and Shootests of Bodie (Lake Grove, Oregon: Western Places, 1997): 64.



Figure 91. D.V. Cain House, circa. 1879. Photo by author.



Figure 92. L.E. Bell House, circa. 1890. Photo by author.

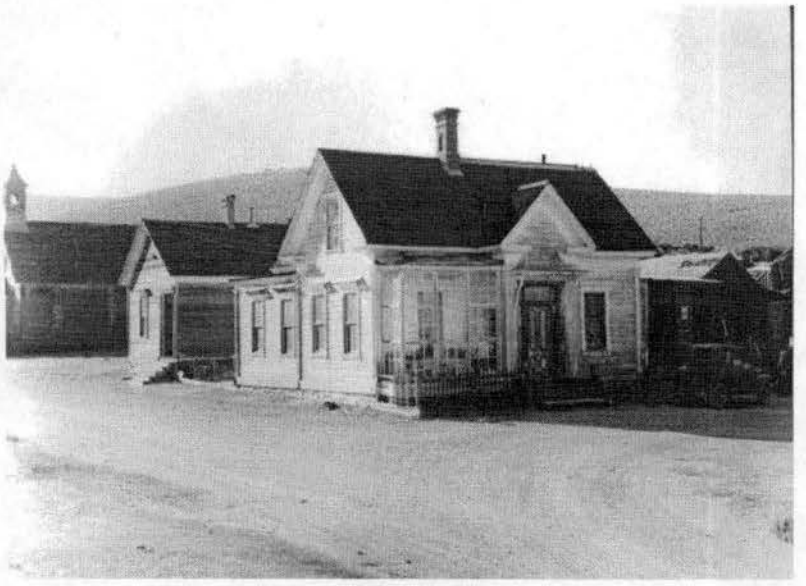


Figure 93. J.S. Cain House photographed in the 1930s. Source: Courtesy of the Nevada Historical Society, Reno, Nevada.



Figure 94. East elevation of the J.S. Cain House. Photo by author.

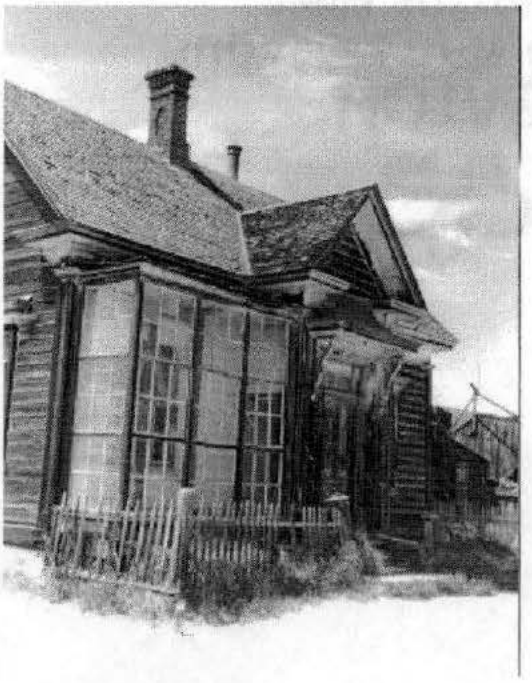


Figure 95. Southeast view of the J.S. Cain House. Photo by author.

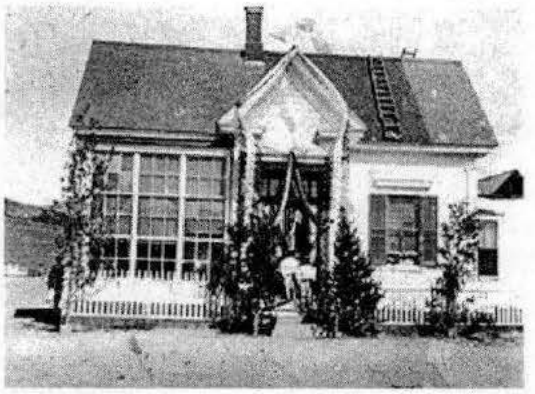


Figure 96. A Historic view of the J.S. Cain House, photographed on the 4th of July. The shrubbery in front of the house was an inport just for the holiday. Source: Douglas McDonald, Bodie: Boom Town-Gold Town! (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1988): 42.

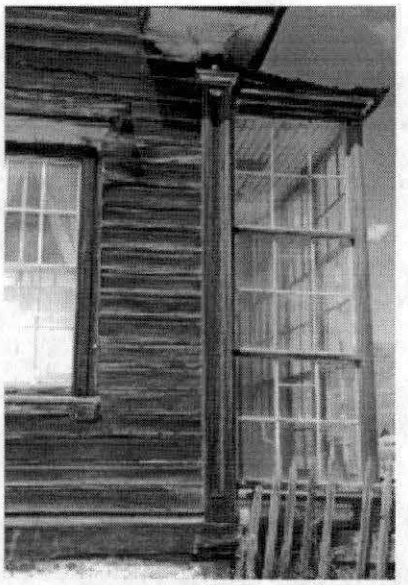


Figure 97. Detail of a pilaster on the south elevation on the J.S. Cain House. Photo by author.



Figure 98. South elevation of the J.S. Cain House. Photo by author.

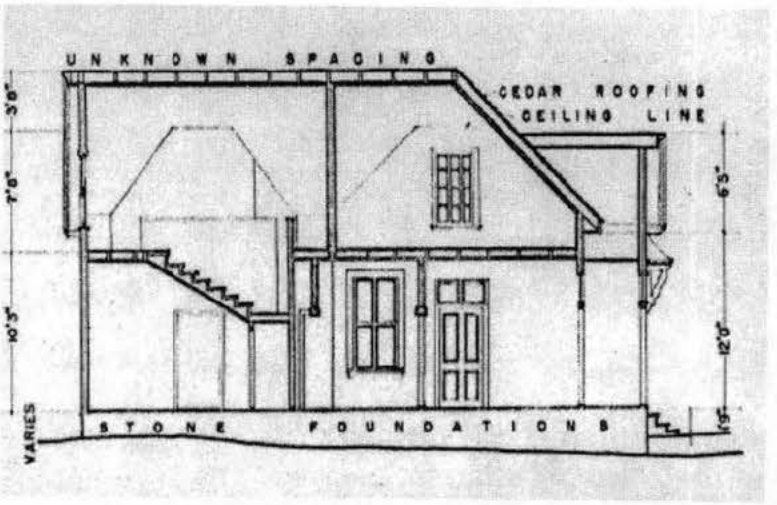


Figure 99. Cross-section view of the J.S. Cain House, drafted by HABS in 1962. Source: HABS/HAER Collection, Courtesy of the Library of Congress,Washington DC.



Figure 100. North elevation of the J.S. Cain House. Photo by author.

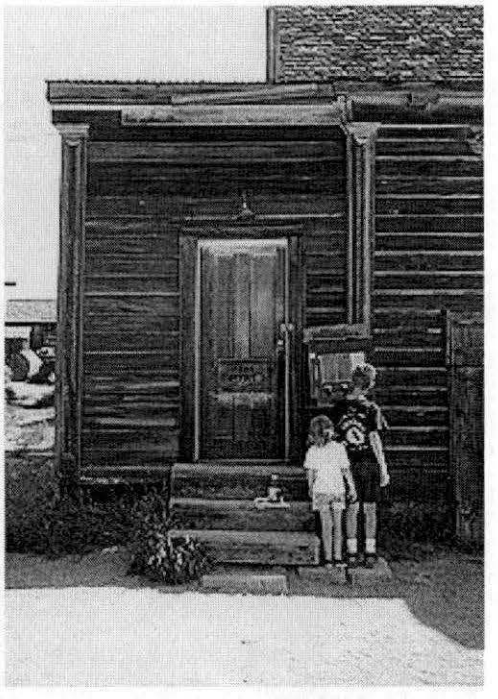


Figure 101. Park Service addition to J.S. Cain House. Photo by author.

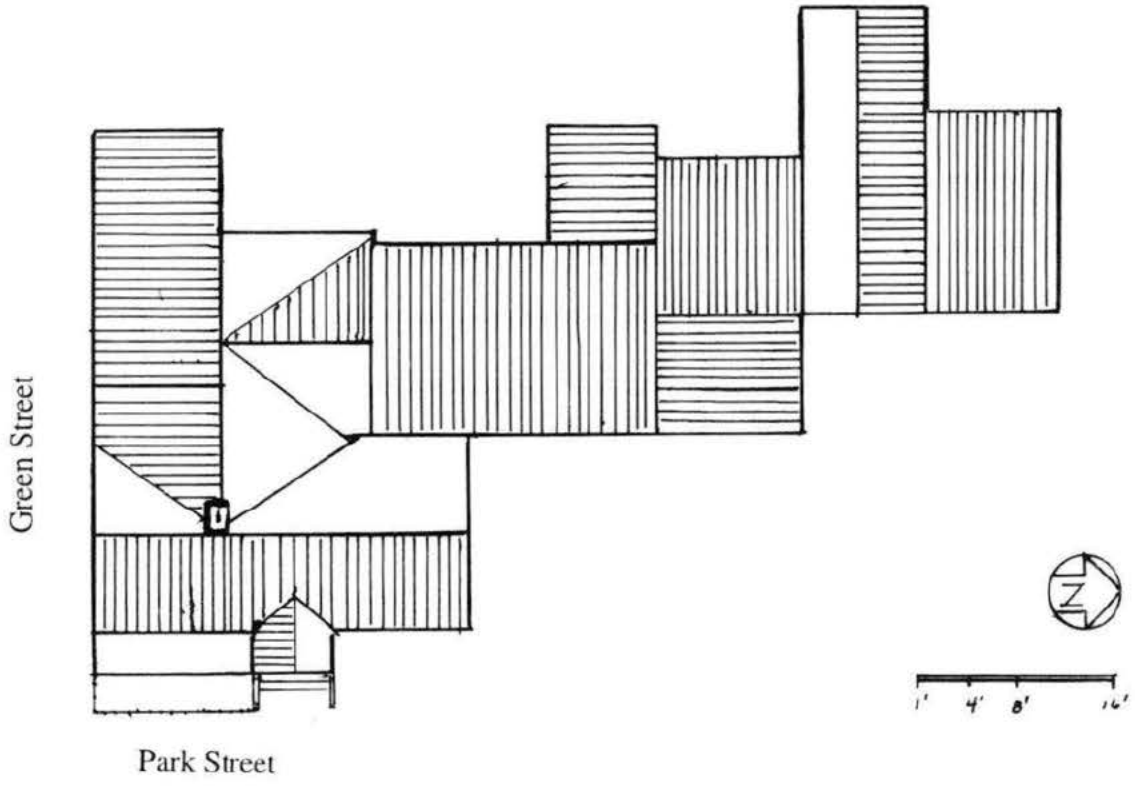


Figure 102. Roof plan of the J.S. Cain House. Redrawn and drafted by author from the HABS drawings.

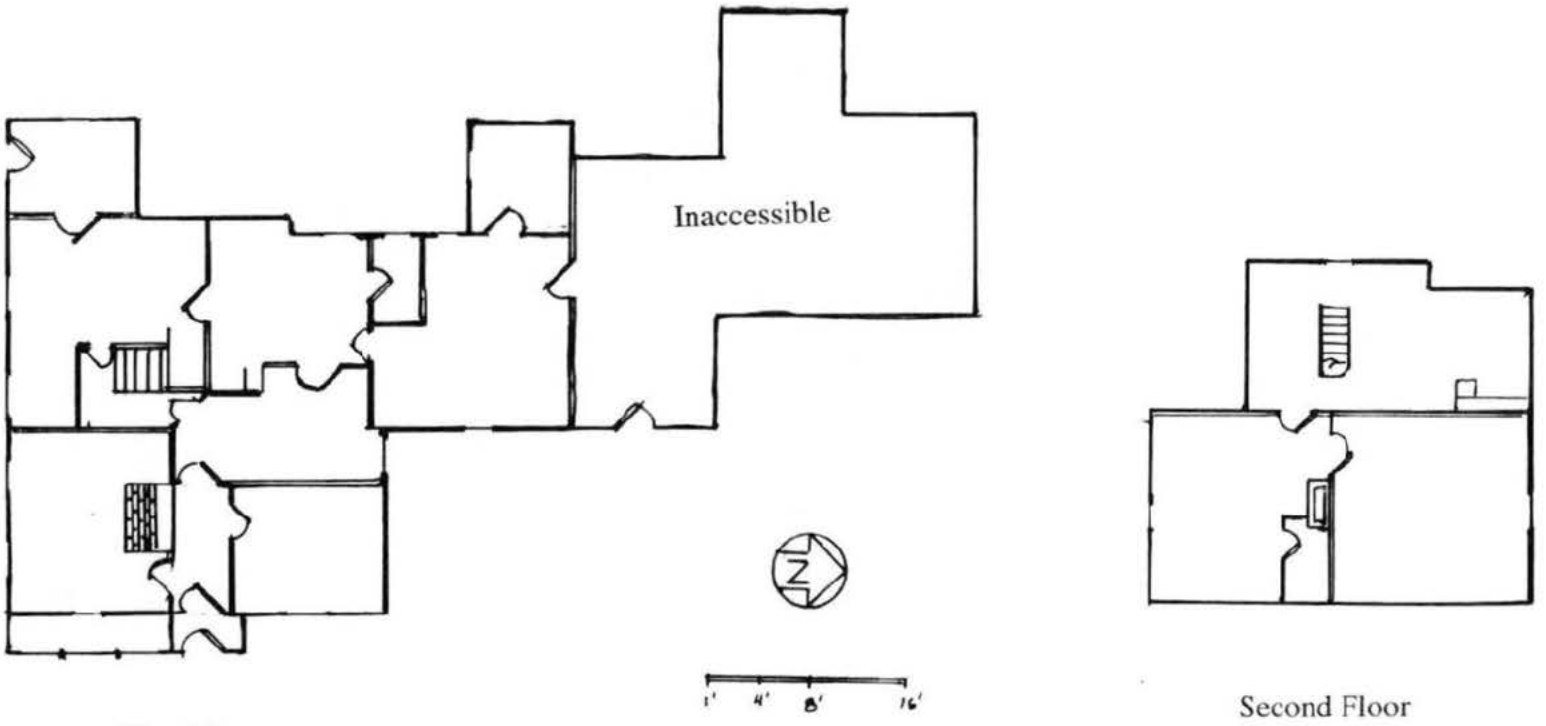


Figure 103. First and Second Floor of the J.S. Cain House. Redrawn by author from the HABS.

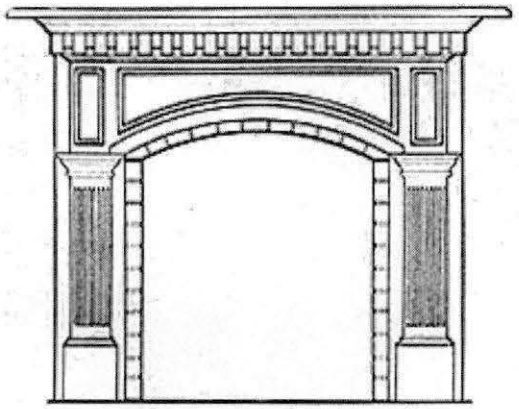


Figure 104. Fireplace detail from HABS drawings. Source: HABS/ HAER Collection, Courtesy of the Library of Congress,Washington DC.



Figure 105. Interior view of the parlor of the J.S. Cain House. Source: HABS/HAER Collection, Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington DC.



Figure 106. Historic image of the interior of the Lottie Johl House. Source: Ella M. Cain, The Story of Bodie (San Francisco: Fearson Publications, 1956): 107.

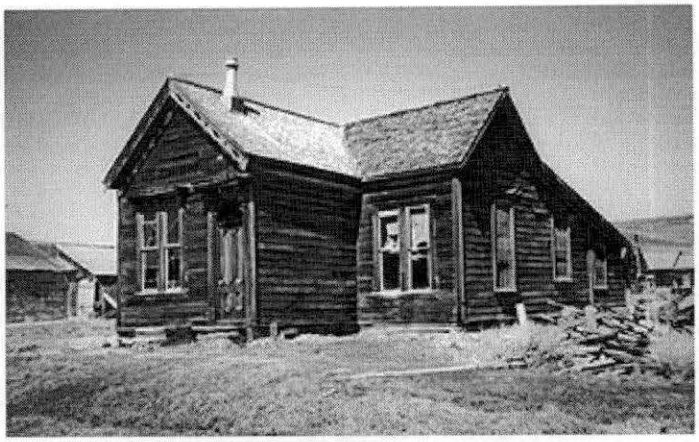


Figure 107. Northeast view of the Lottie Johl House. Photo by author.

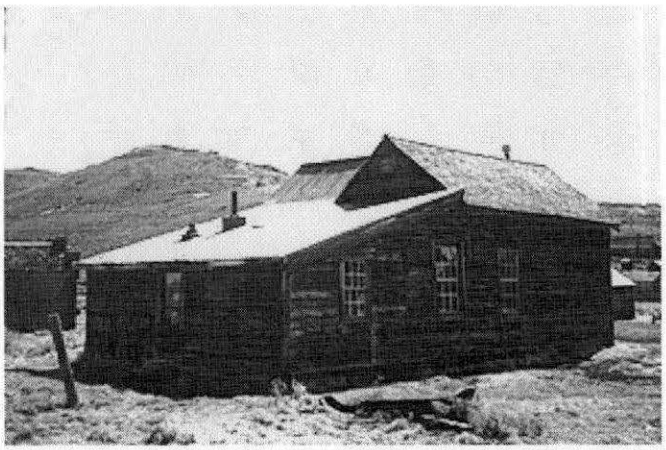


Figure 108. Southwest view of the Lottie Johl House. Photo by author.

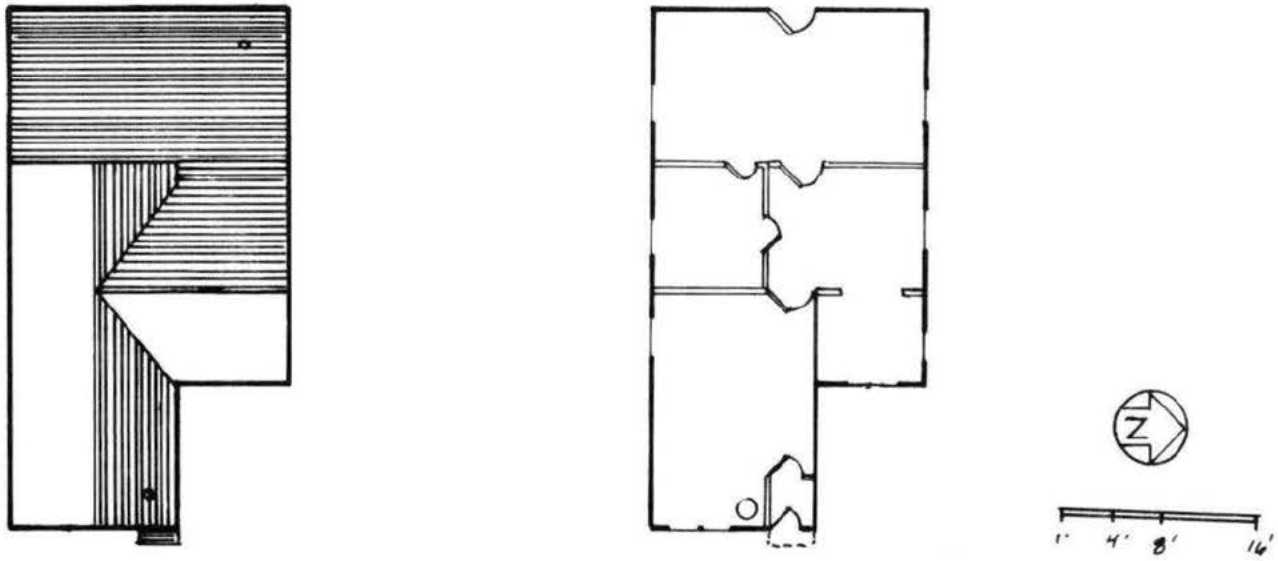


Figure 109. Roof and interior plan of the Lottie Johl House. Drafted by author.



Figure 110. Bargeboard silhouette of the Lottie Johl House. Photo by Jamie Laguzza.

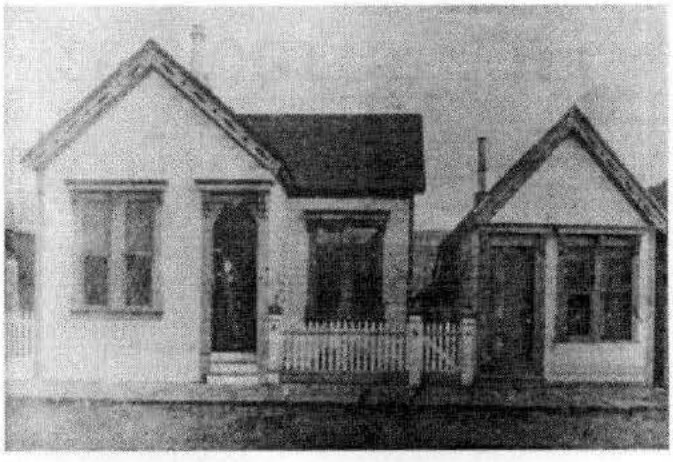


Figure 111. Historic view of the exterior of the Lottie Johl House. Source: Russ and Anne Johnson, The Ghost Town of Bodie: As reported in the Newspapers of the Day (Bishop, California: Chalfant Publications, 1967): 61.



Figure 112. Double bracketed windows of the Lottie Johl House. Photo by author.

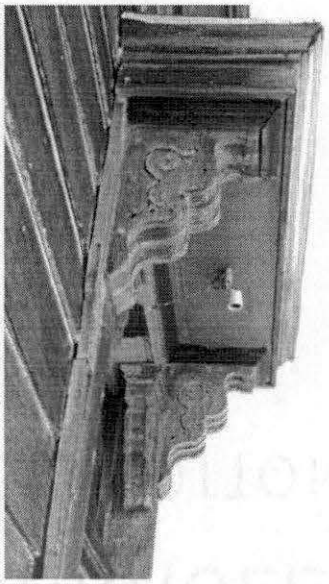


Figure 113. Hooded entryway of the Lottie Johl House. Photo by author.

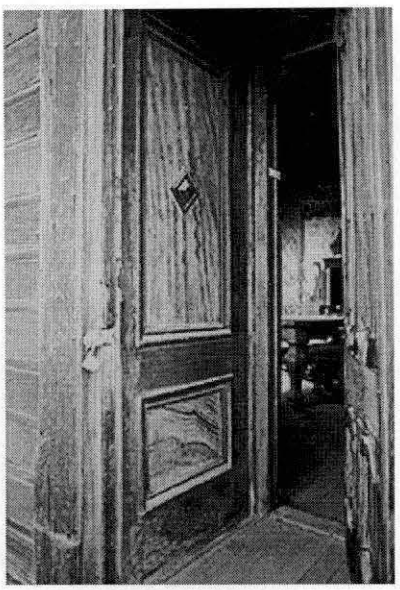


Figure 114. Grained panels in entryway of the Lottie Johl House. Photo by author.

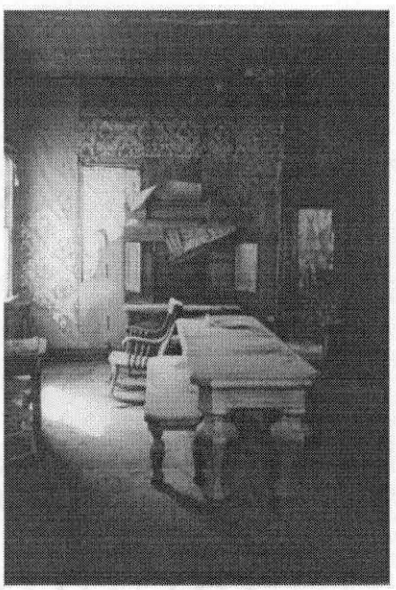


Figure 115. Parlor space of Lottie Johl House. Photo by author.

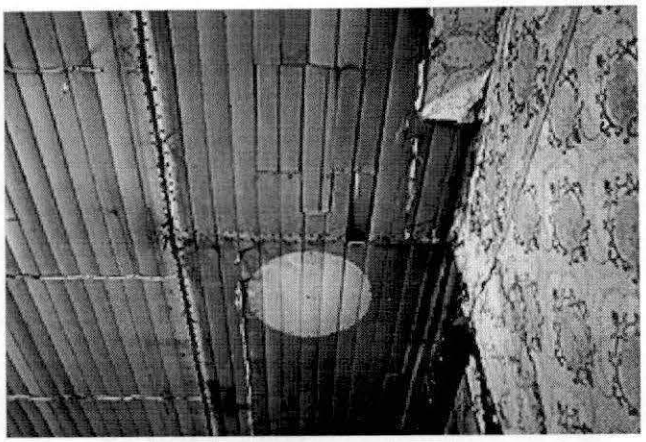


Figure 116. Parlor ceiling of the Lottie Johl House. Photo by author.

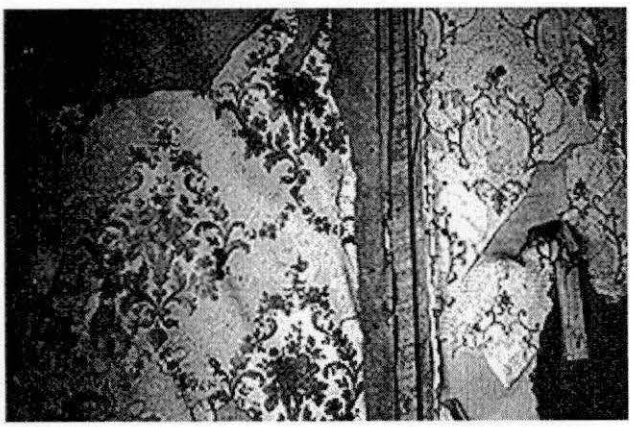


Figure 117. Parlor wallpaper in the Lottie Johl House. Photo by author.



Figure 118. Parlor wood stove. Photo by author.



Figure 119. Dining Room Ceiling of the Lottie Johl House. Photo by author.



Figure 120. Muslin located in the dining room of the Lottie Johl House. Photo by author.

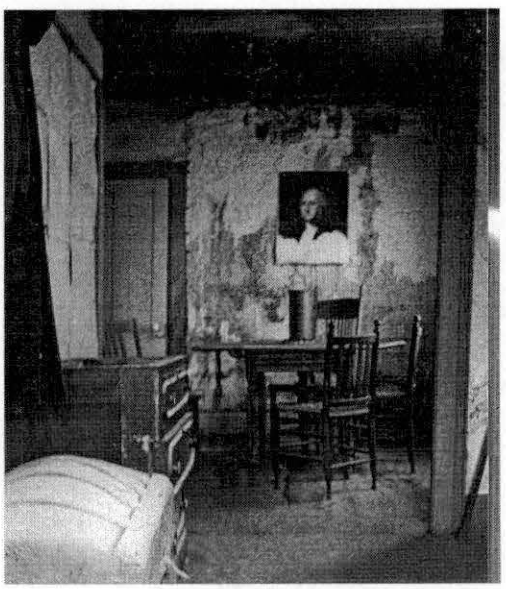


Figure 121. Dining room of the Lottie Johl House. Photo by author.



Figure 122. East elevation of the Pat Reddy House. Photo by author.



Figure 123. Wood mill built by J.S. Cain in the 1930s. Photo by author.

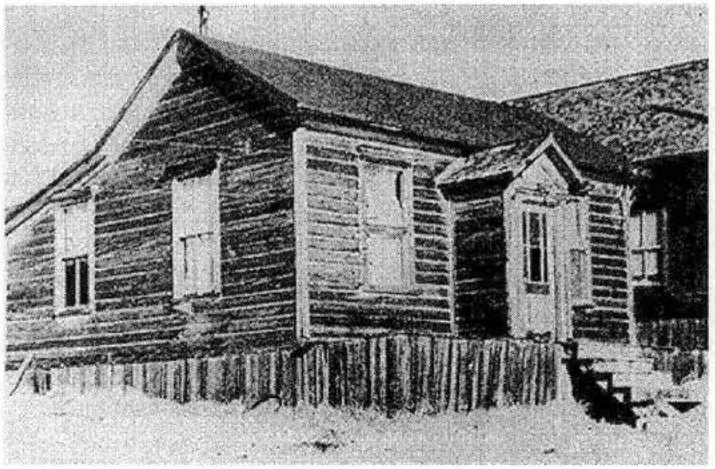


Figure 124. Charles and Annie Donnelly House. Source: Ella M. Cain, The Story of Bodie (San Francisco: Fearson Publications, 1956): 106.



Figure 125. Foundation of the Pat Reddy House. Note the center joist with the shiny metal end. Photo by author.

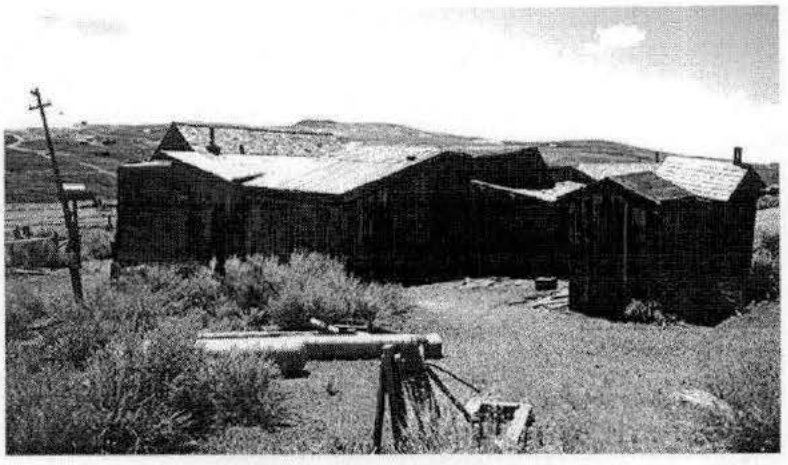


Figure 126. Northwest view of the Pat Reddy House. Photo by author.

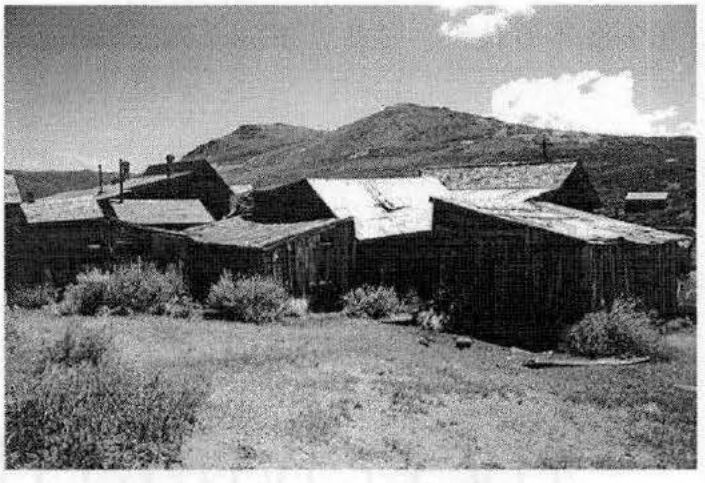


Figure 127. Southwest view of the Pat Reddy House. Photo by author.

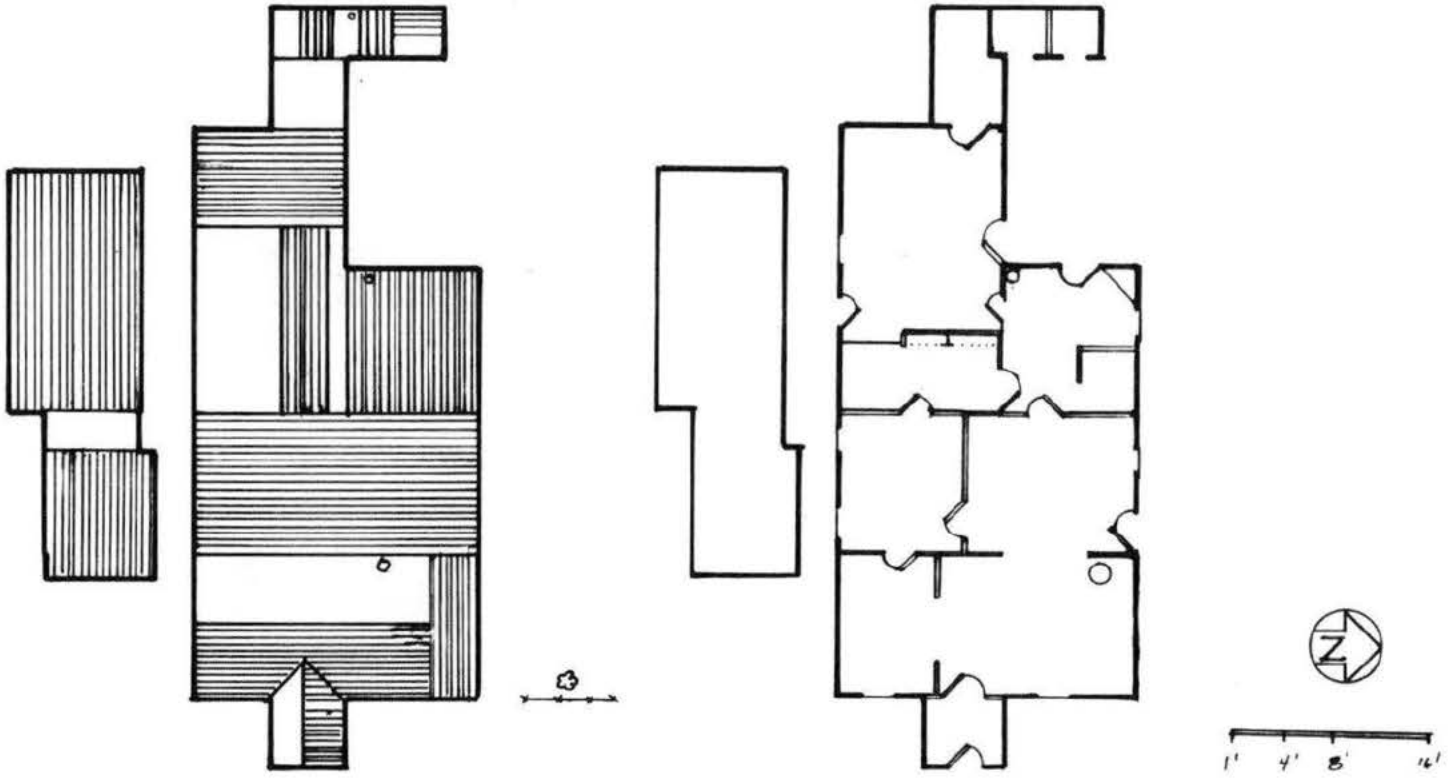


Figure 128. Roof and interior plans of the Pat Reddy House. Drafted by author.

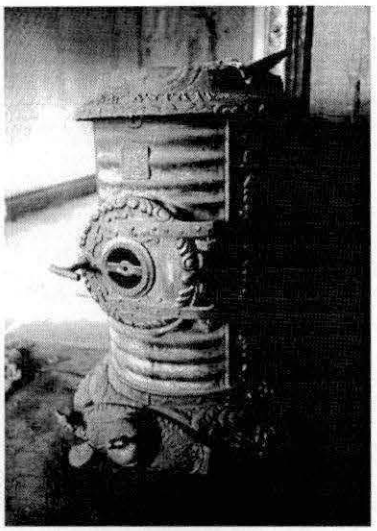


Figure 129. Wood stove of the Pat Reddy House. Photo by author.

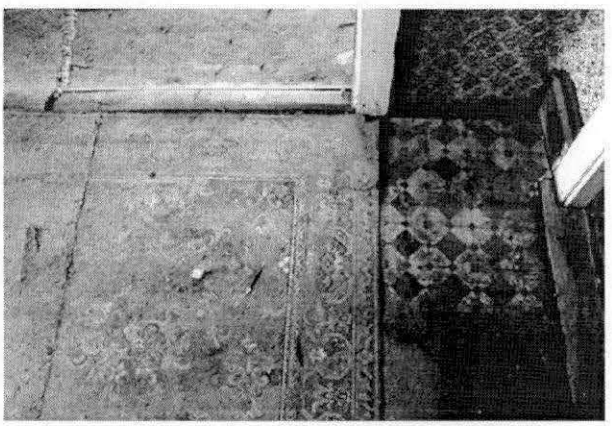


Figure 130. Linoleum floor covering of the Pat Reddy House. Photo by author.

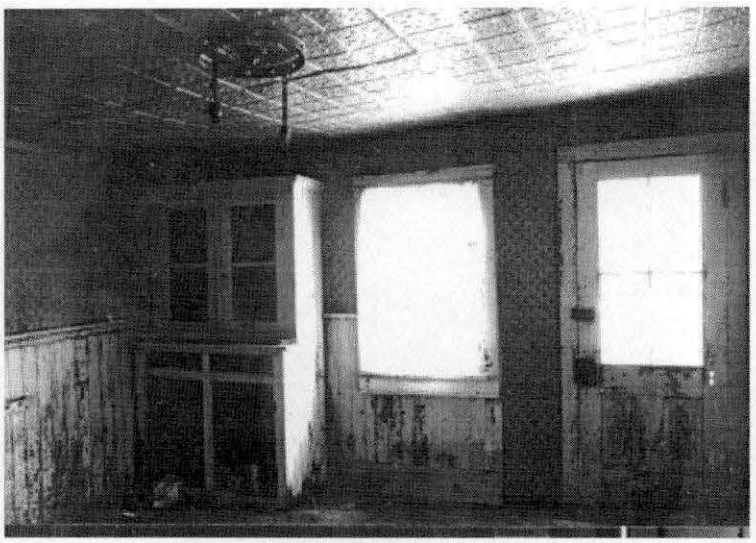


Figure 131. Dining room of the Pat Reddy House. Photo by author.

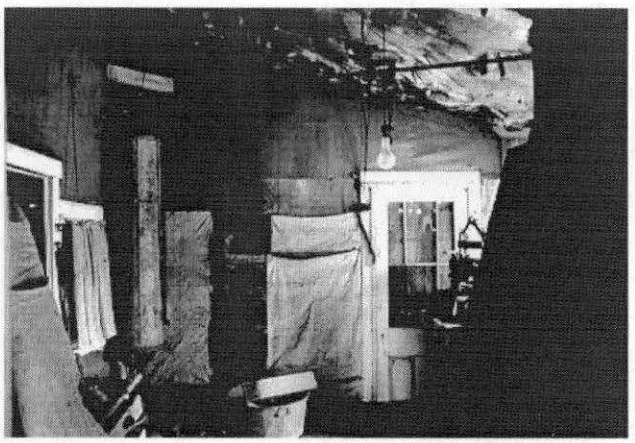


Figure 132. Kitchen of the Pat Reddy House. Photo by author.

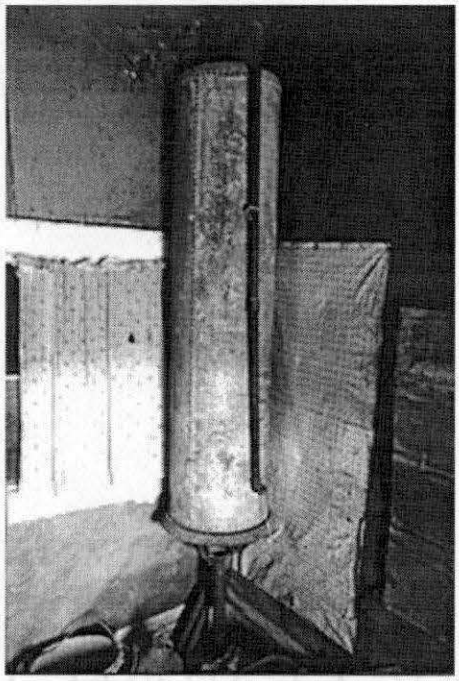


Figure 133. Historic waterheater of the Pat Reddy House. Photo by author.



Figure 134. East elevation of the Moyle-North House. Photo by author.

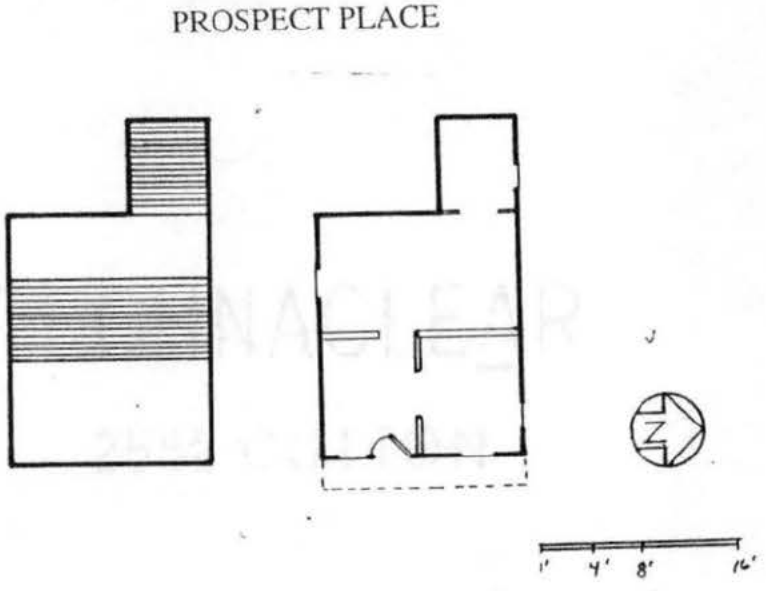


Figure 135. Roof and interior plan of the Moyle-North House. Drafted by author.



Figure 136. Interior of the Moyle-North House. Photo by author.

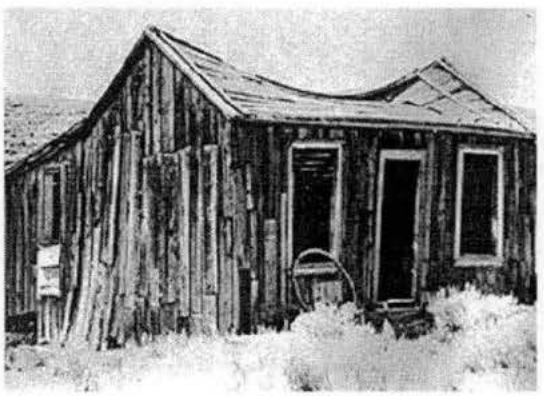


Figure 137. Mary McCann House on Wood Street. Source: Ella M. Cain, The Story of Bodie (San Francisco: Fearson Publications, 1956): 145



Figure 138. Sam Leon's Bar and Barbershop on Main Street. Photo by author.

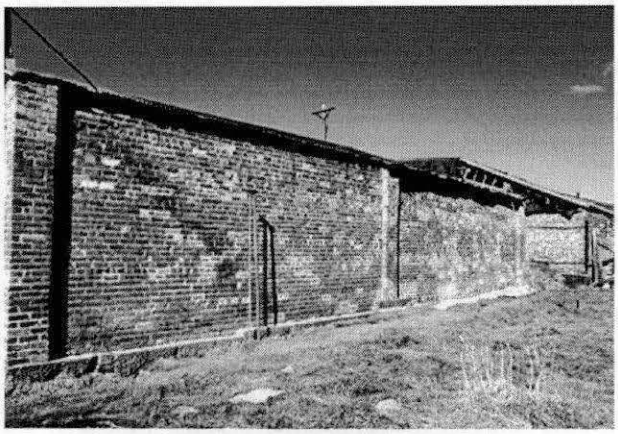


Figure 139. North elevation of the Boone Store. Photo by author.

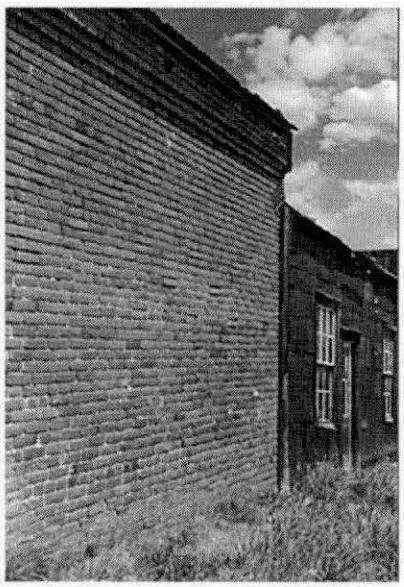


Figure 140. South elevation of the Boone Store. Photo by author.



Figure 141. Historic view of the south elevation of the Boone Store. Source: Frank S. Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900 (Bishop: Sierra Media, Inc., 1969): Illustrations between 10-11.

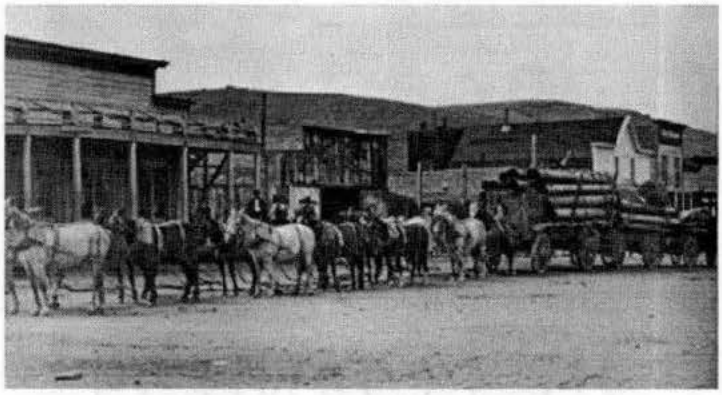


Figure 142. Historic view of the false-front of the Boone Store. Source: Frank S. Wedertz, Bodie: 1859-1900 (Bishop: Sierra Media, Inc., 1969): Illustrations between 10-11.

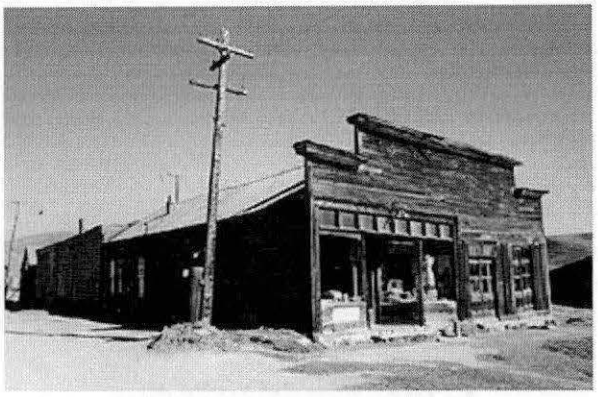


Figure 143. Southeast view of the Boone Store. Photo by author.

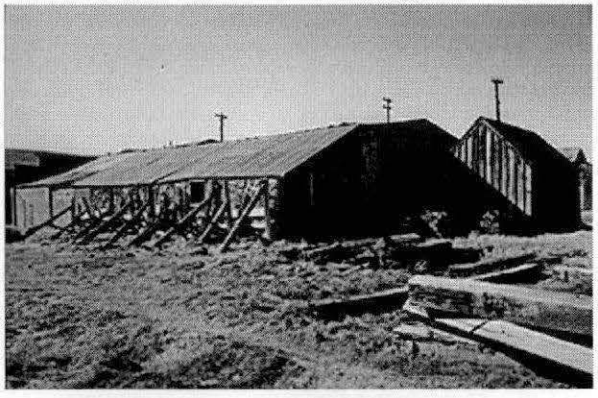


Figure 144. Northwest view of the Boone Store. Photo by author.

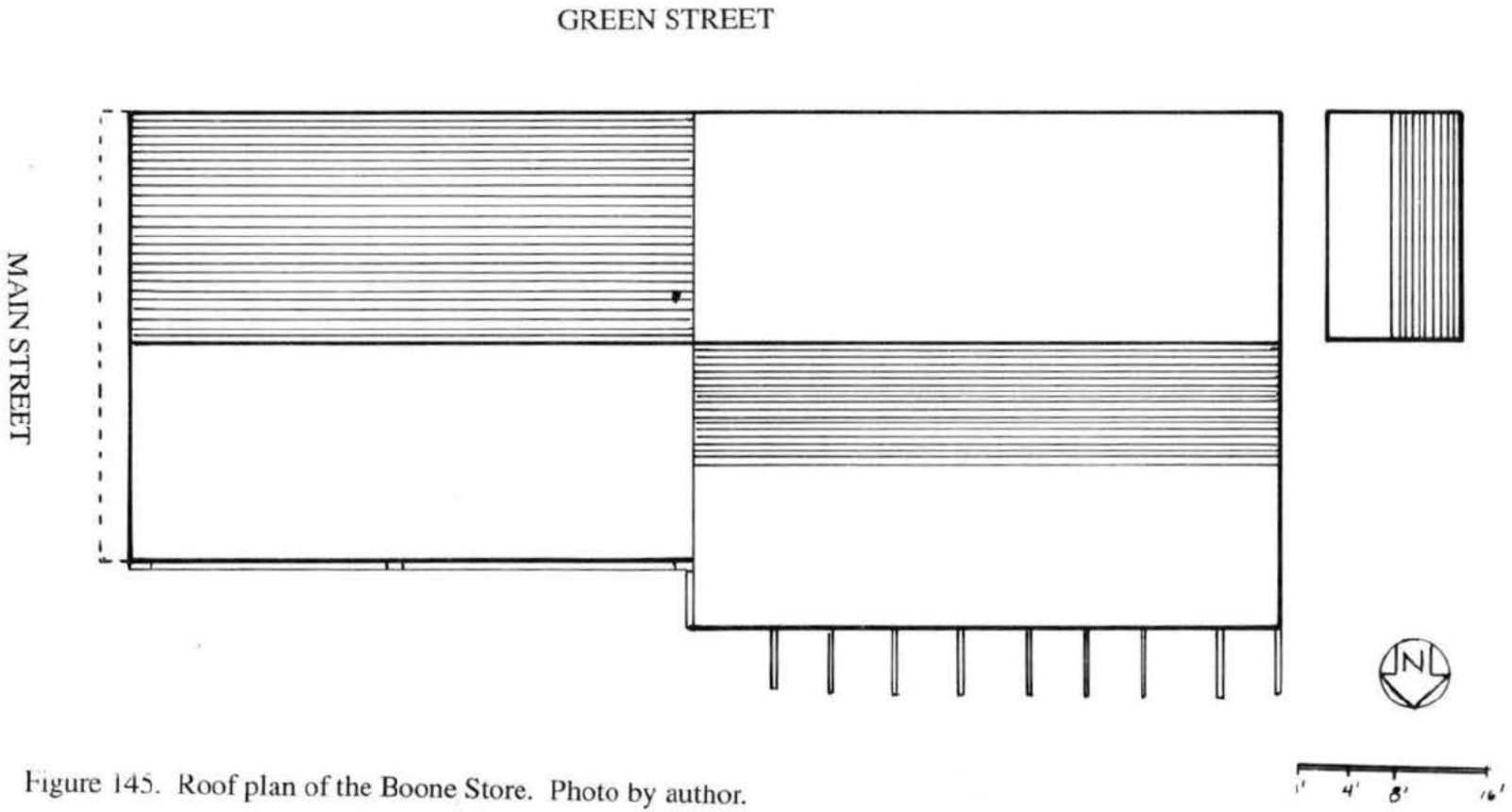


Figure 145. Roof plan of the Boone Store. Photo by author.

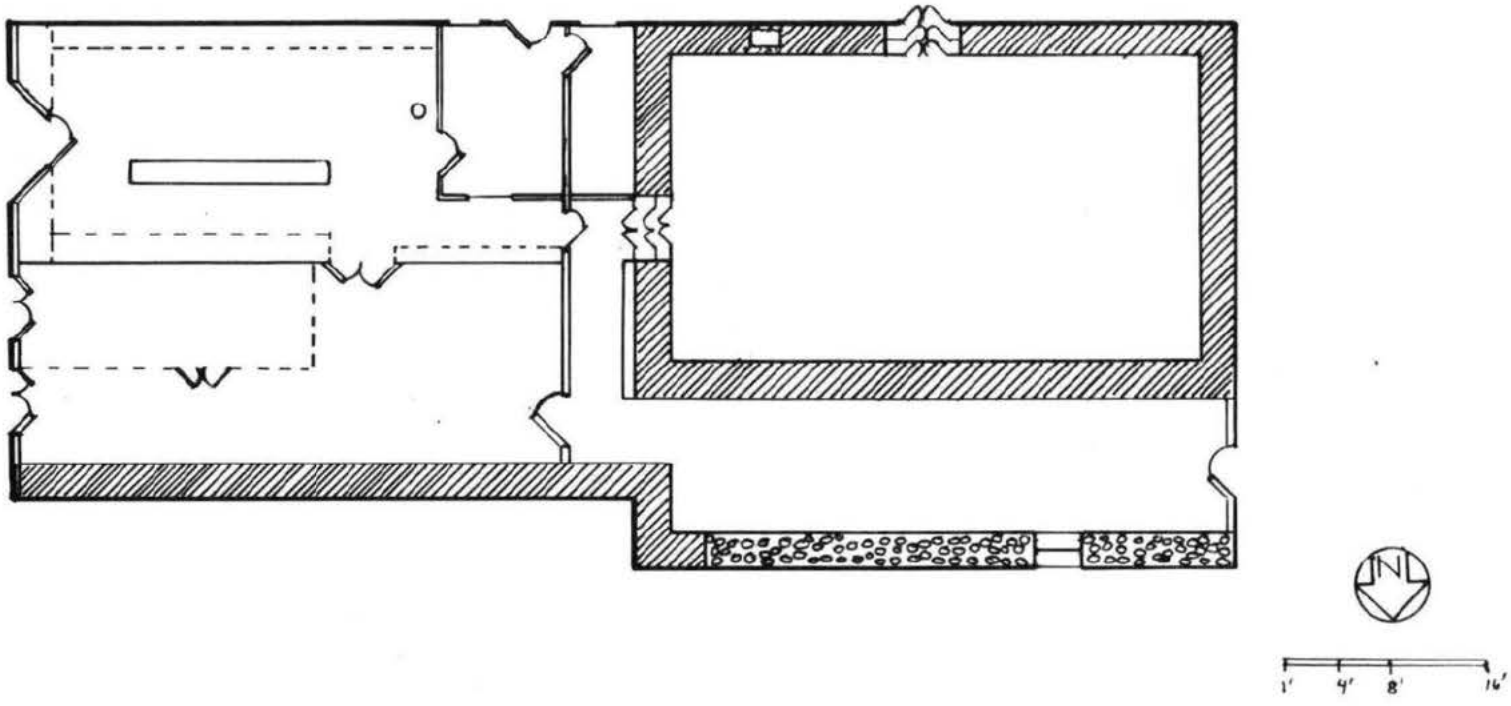


Figure 146. Interior floor plan of the Boone Store. Photo by author.

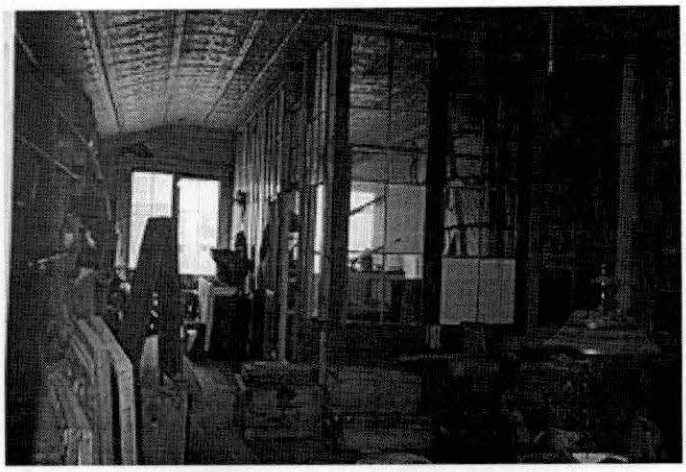


Figure 147. North interior store space of the Boone Store. Photo by Jamie Laguzza.



Figure 148. South interior store space of the Boone Store with electric lightbulb. Photo by Lyn Laguzza.

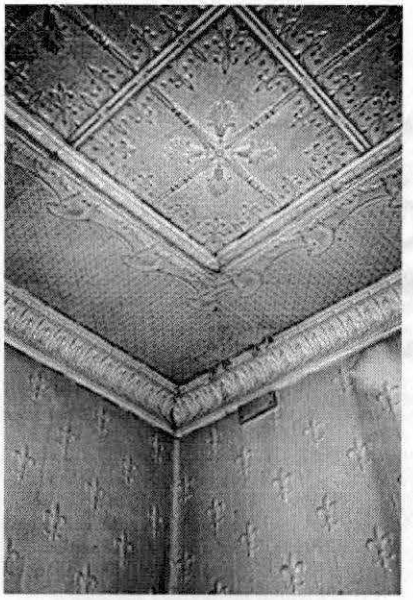


Figure 149. Pattern sheetmetal on the ceiling in the Boone store. Photo by Jamie Laguzza.

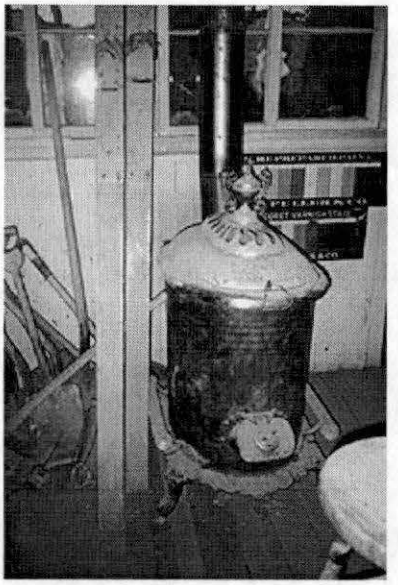


Figure 150. Wood stove in the Boone Store. Photo by Jamie Laguzza.

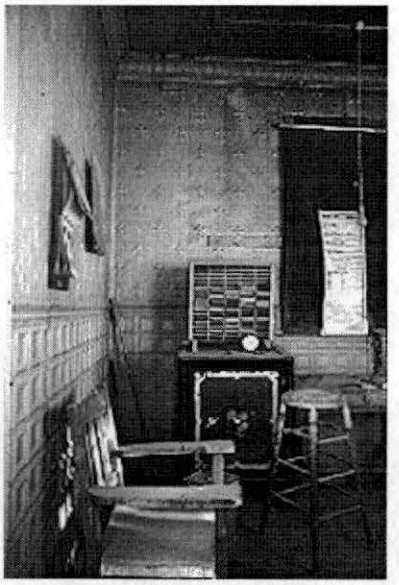


Figure 151. Office spaces of the Boone Store. Photo by author.

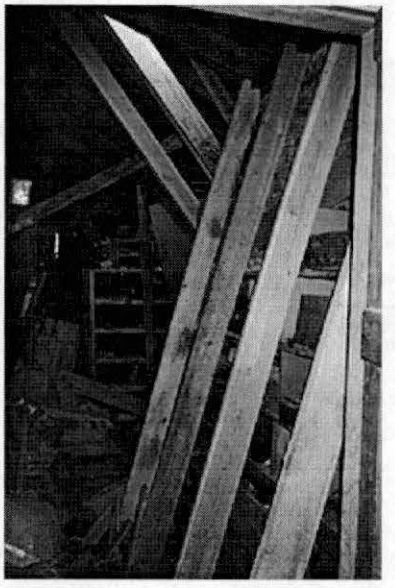


Figure 152. Interior Storage Area of the Boone Store, reinforced by the California State Park. Photo by Jamie Laguzza.

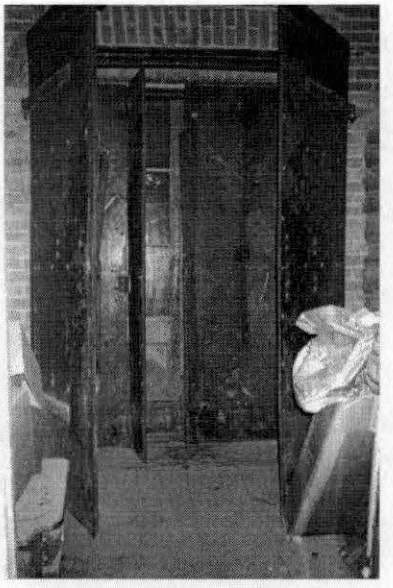


Figure 153. Double iron and wooden doors to the Boone Store brick warehouse. Photo by Jamie Laguzza.

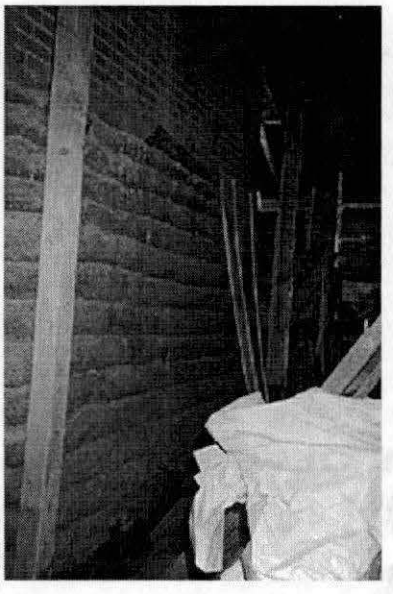


Figure 154. Sod wall next to the Boone Store brick warehouse. Photo by Jamie Laguzza.

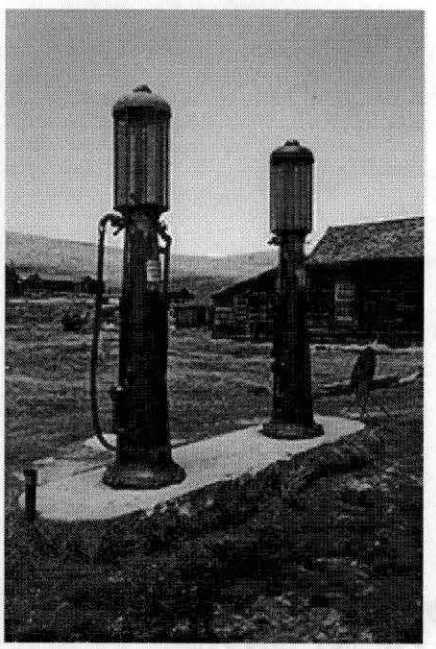


Figure 155. Gas pumps outside Boone Store installed by J.S. Cain in 1927. Photo by author.

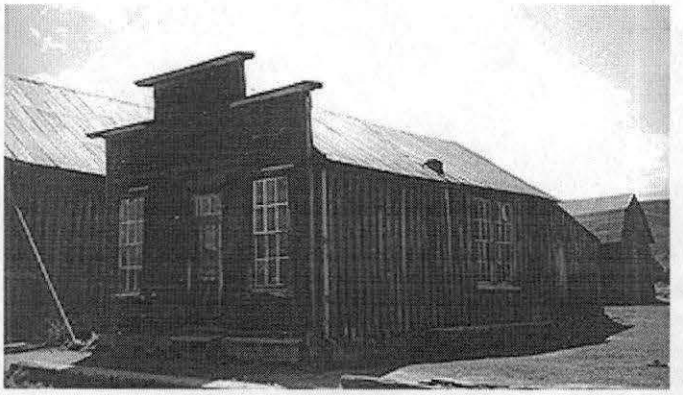


Figure 156. East elevation of the Mortuary. Photo by Jamie Laguzza.

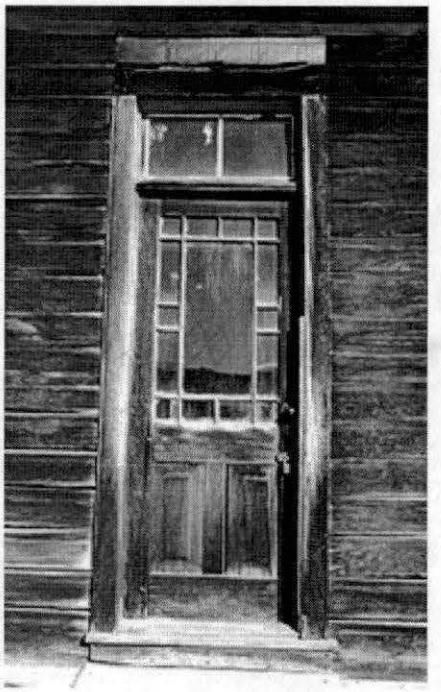


Figure 157. Fifteen-lite front door of the Mortuary. Photo by author.

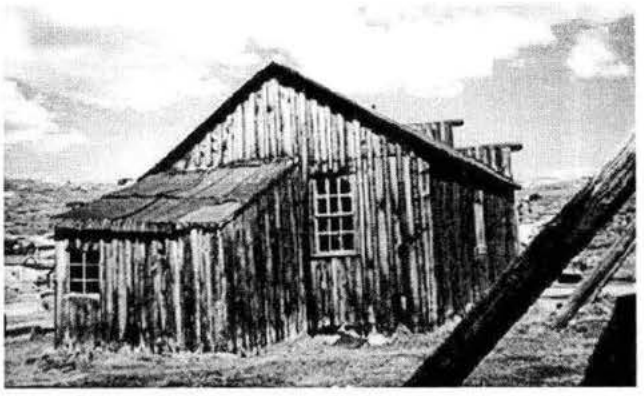


Figure 158. West elevation of the Mortuary. Photo by Jamie Laguzza.

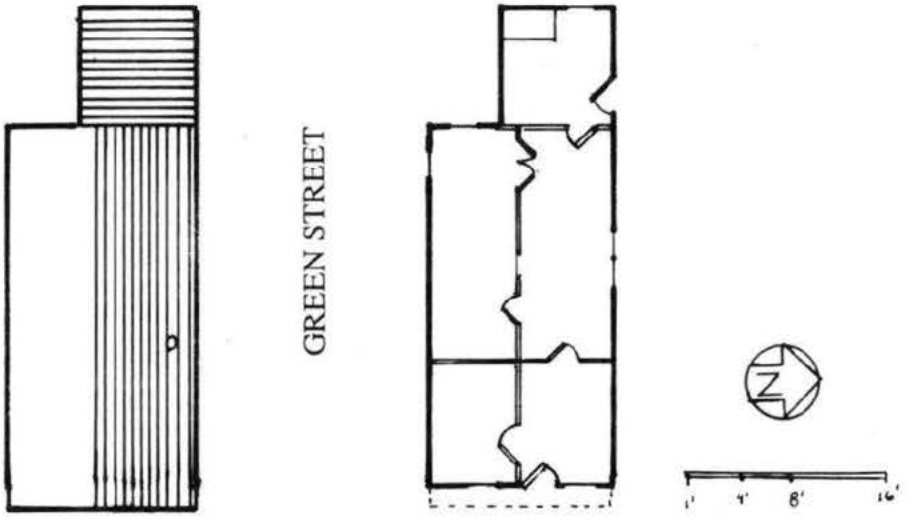


Figure 159. Roof and interior plan of the Mortuary. Drafted by author.

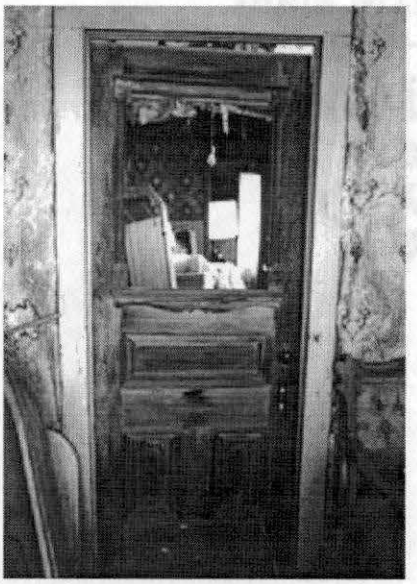


Figure 160. Interior door of the Mortuary. Photo by author.

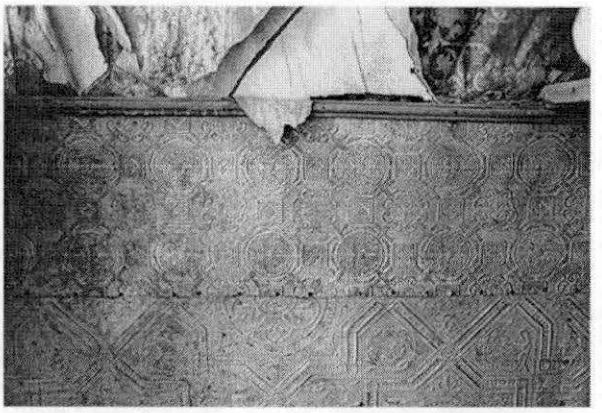


Figure 161. Lincrusta on the north wall of the Mortuary. Photo by author.

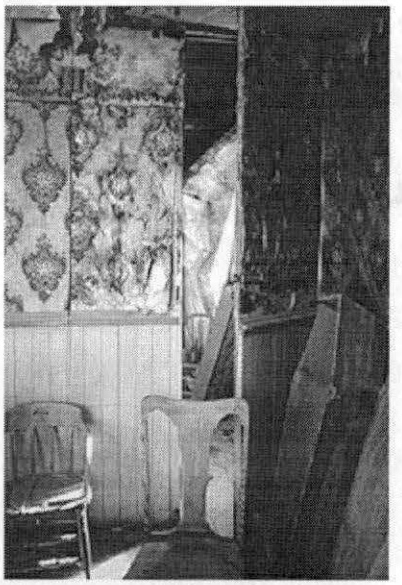


Figure 162. Full-length door in the Mortuary. Photo by author.

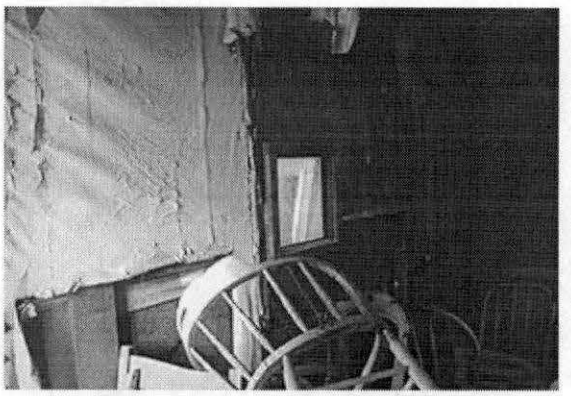


Figure 163. Viewing room in the Mortuary. Photo by author.

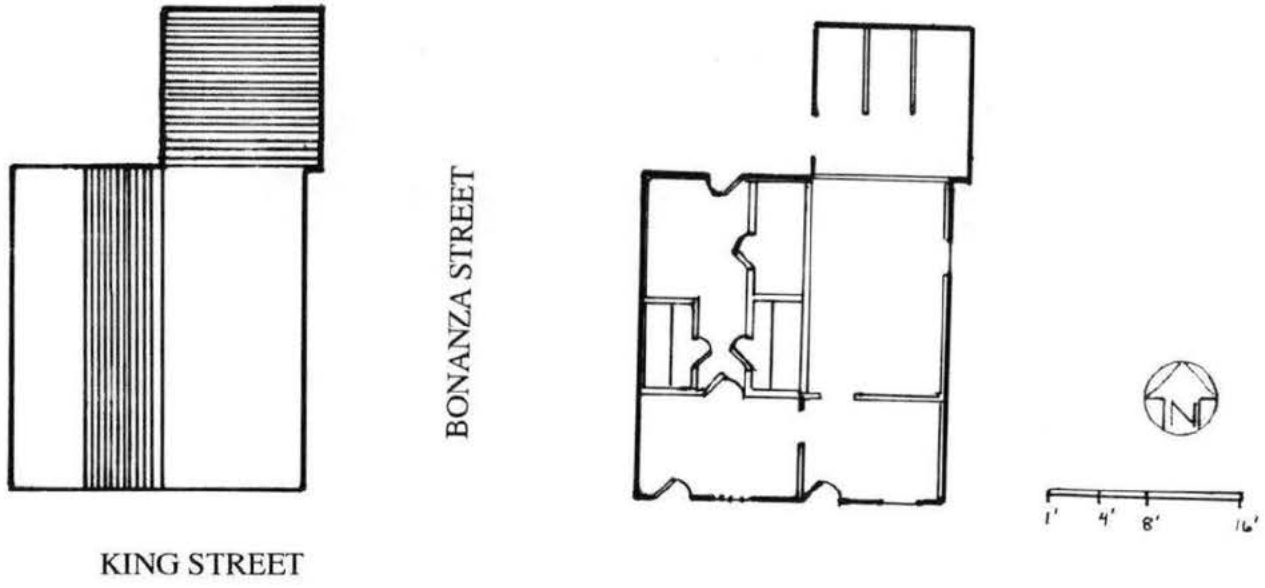


Figure 164. Roof and interior plan of the Bodie Jail. Drafted by author.



Figure 165. South elevation of the Bodie Jail. Photo by author.



Figure 166. North elevation of the Bodie Jail. Photo by author.

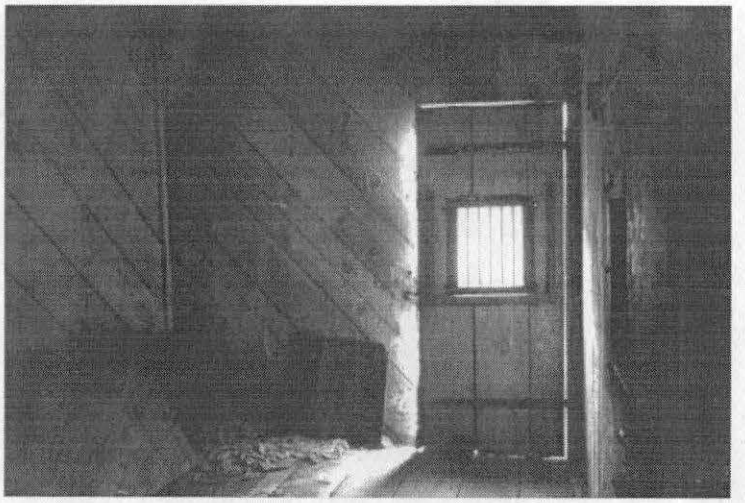


Figure 167. Interior cross-paneling in the Bodie Jail. Photo by author.

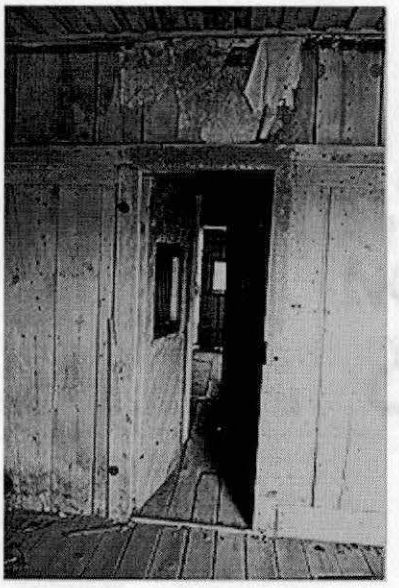


Figure 168. Interior door between front space and cells of the Bodie Jail. Photo by author.

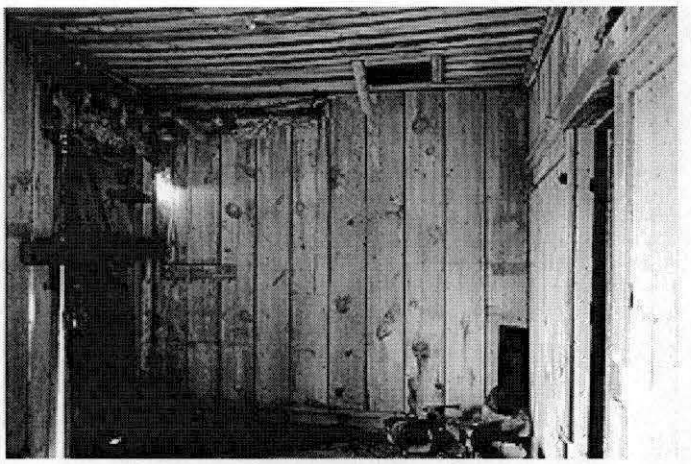


Figure 169. Ceiling of the front space of the Bodie Jail. Photo by author.

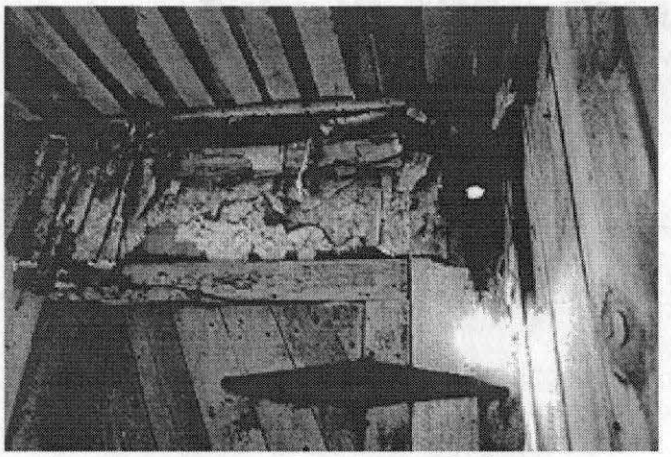


Figure 170. Wallpaper detail of the Bodie Jail. Photo by author.

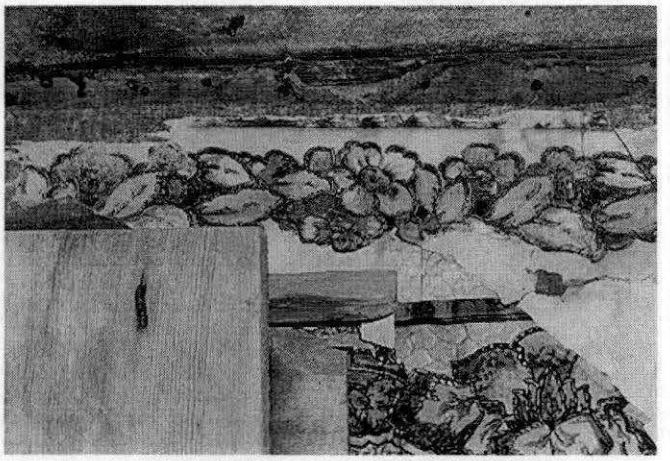


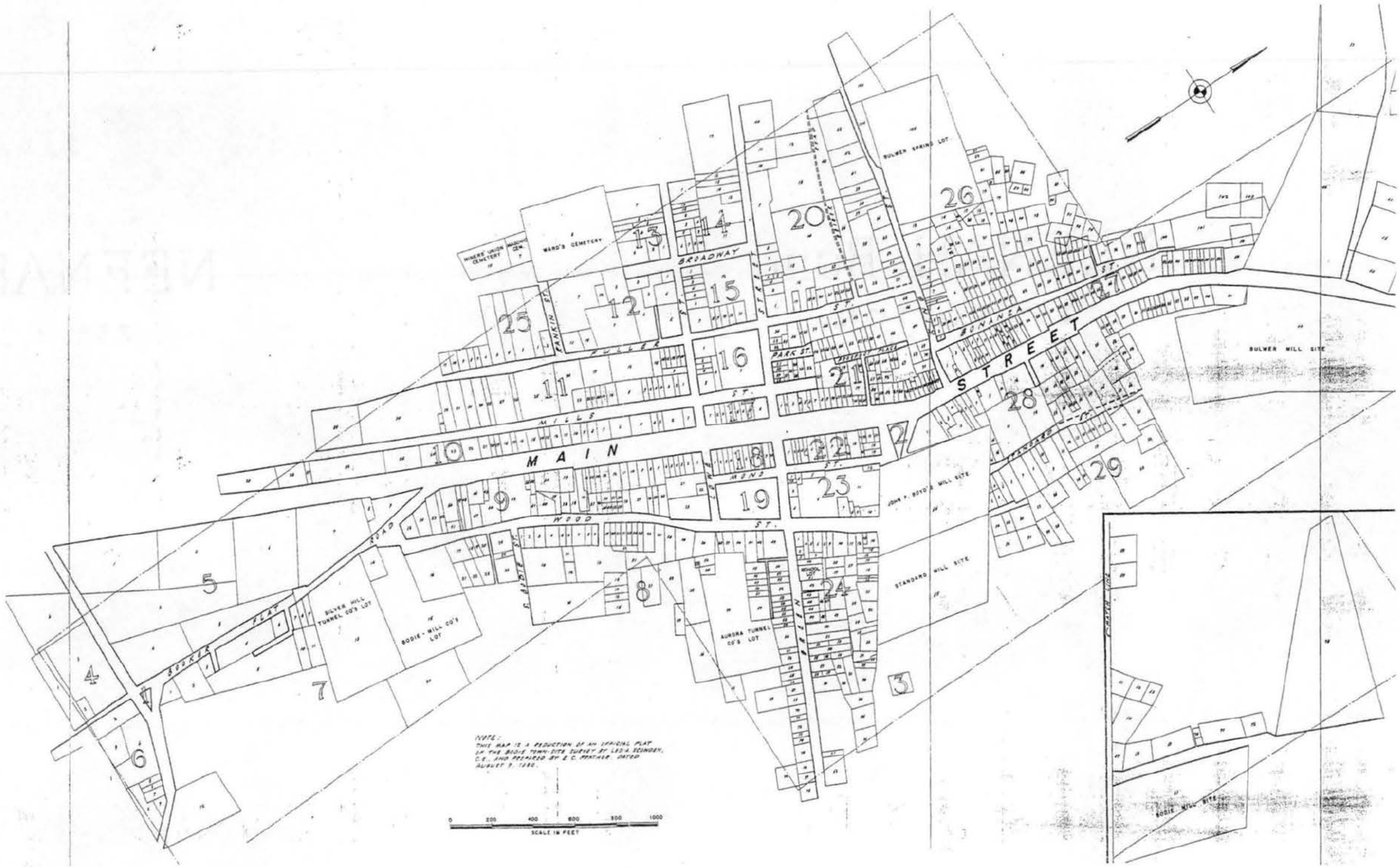
Figure 171. Wallpaper in the Jailer's Residence of the Bodie Jail.
Photo by author.

APPENDIX A

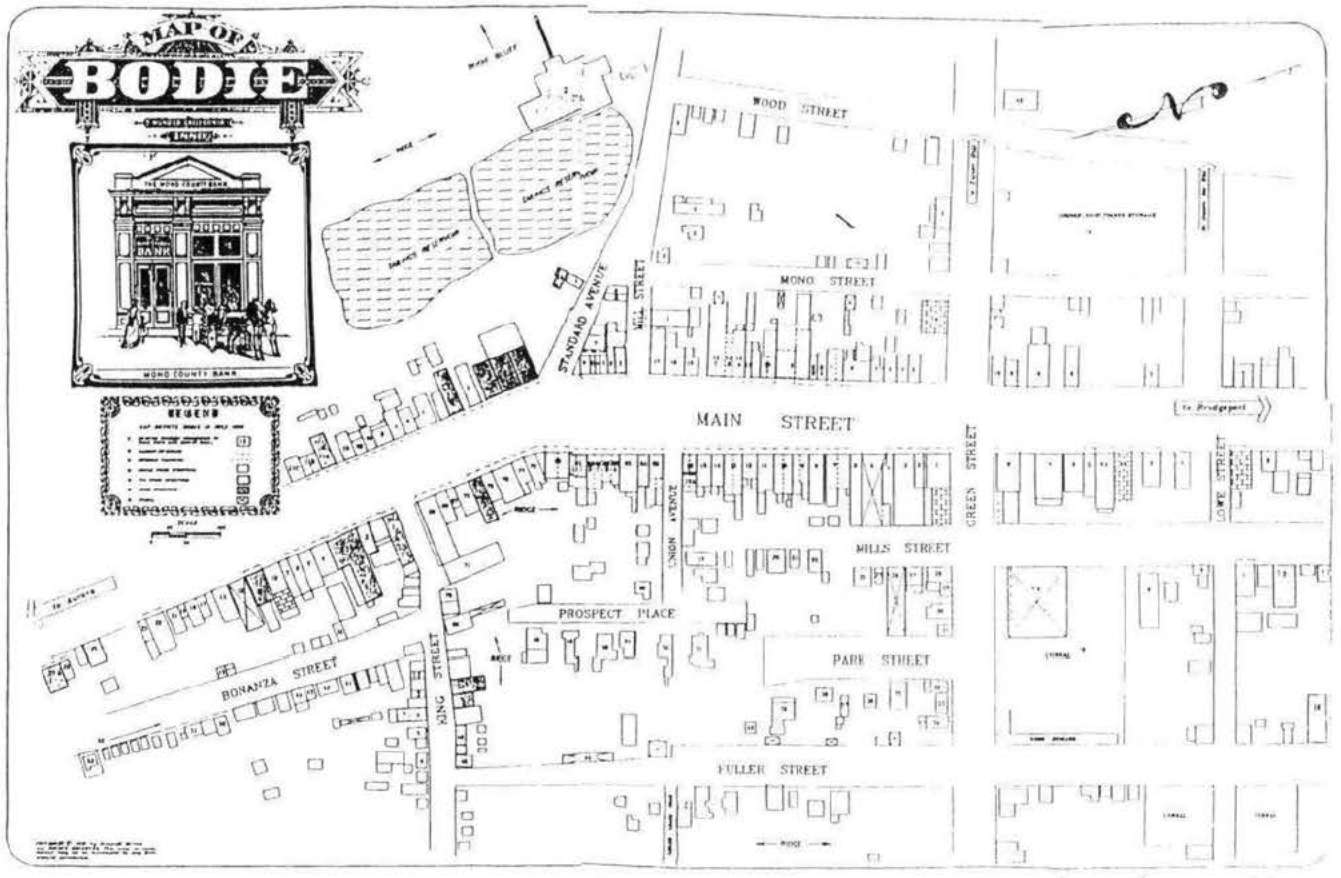
HISTORIC PRIMARY DOCUMENTS



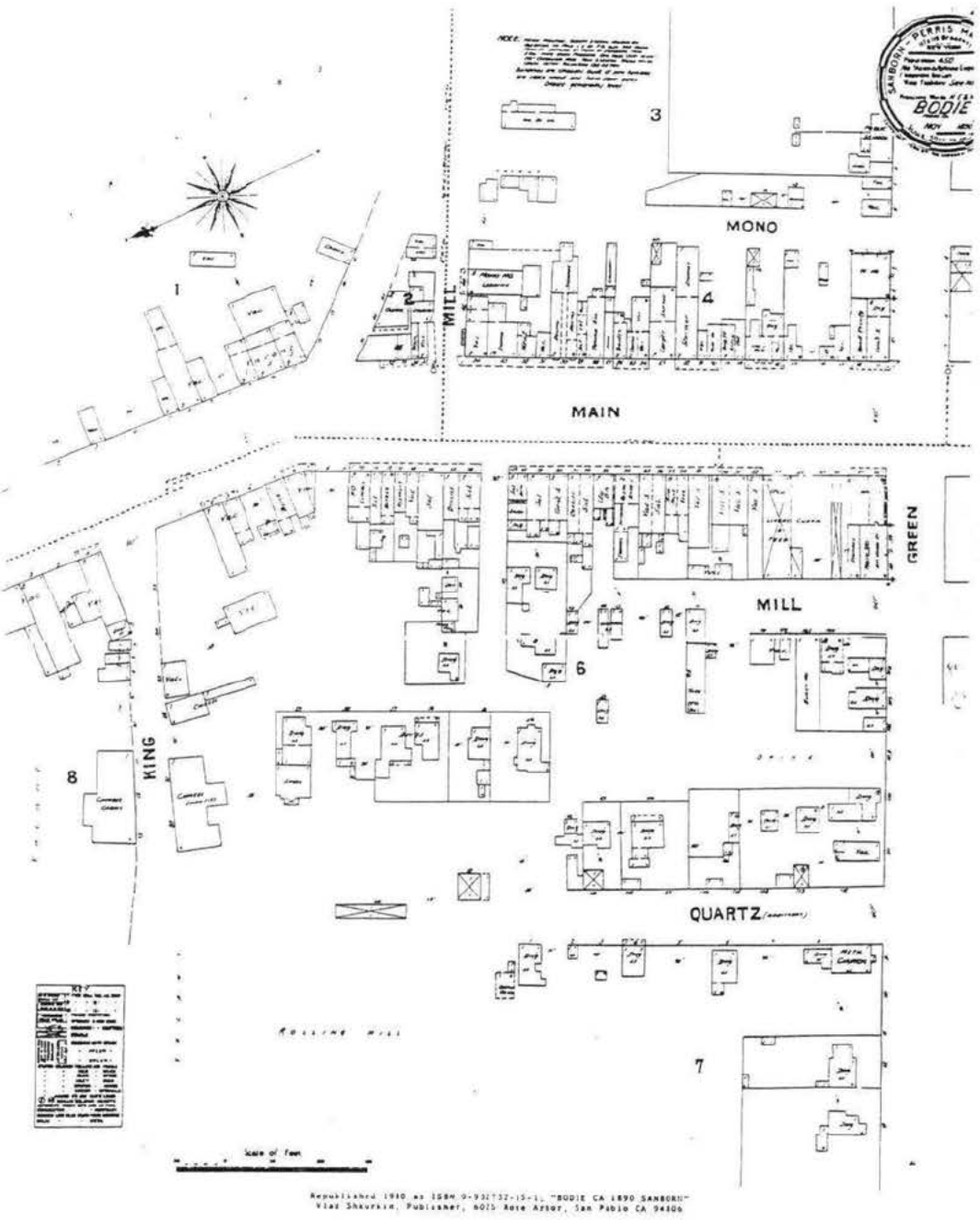
Appendix A-1. 1879 historic photograph of Bodie, California, looking southwest from Bodie Bluff. This historic photograph is believed to have been taken by landscape photographer R.E. Wood. Source: California State Library, Sacramento.



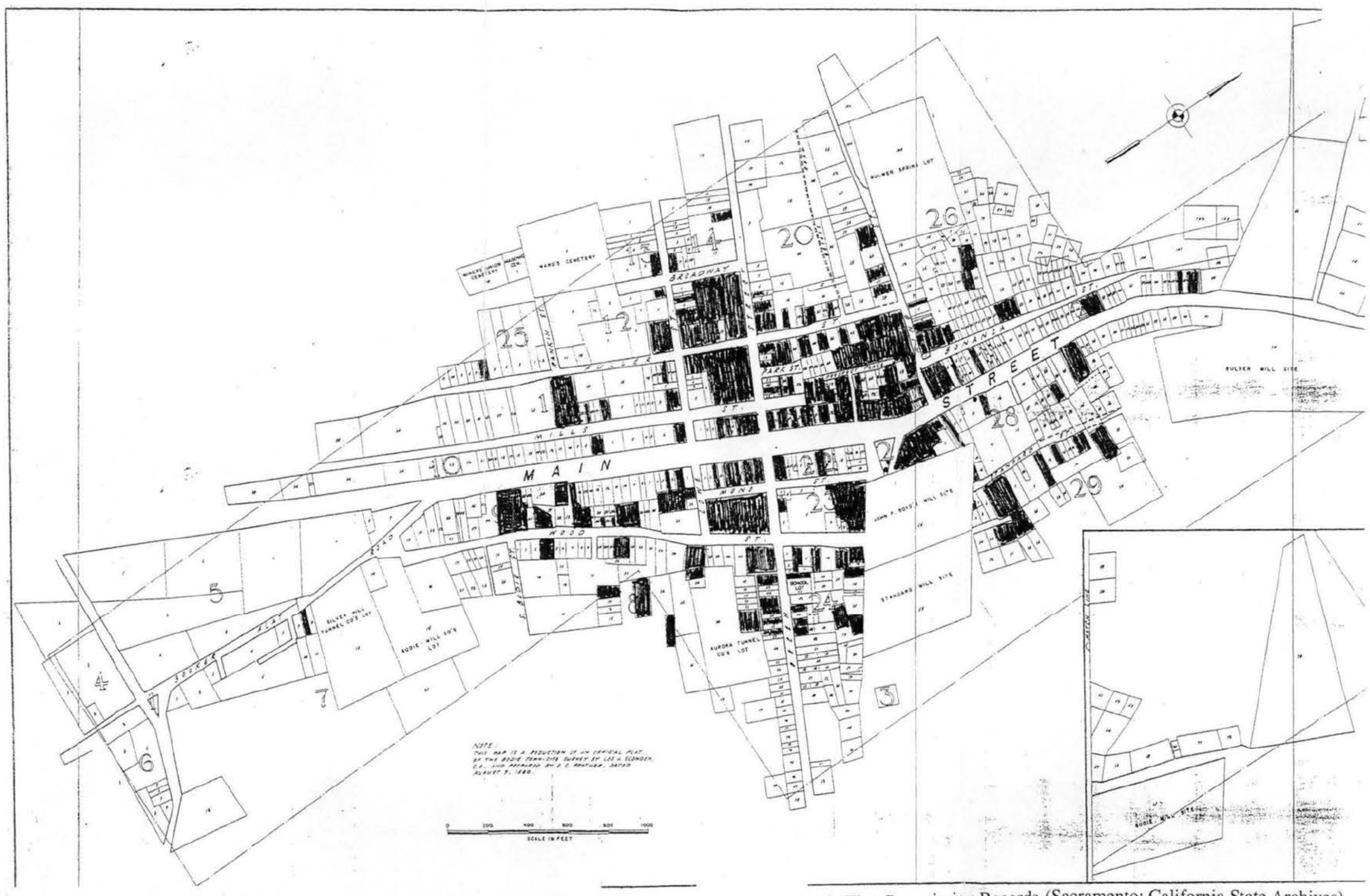
Appendix A-2. Leo Scowden 1880 Plat Map of Bodie Source: Courtesy of the California State Park Service, 1991.



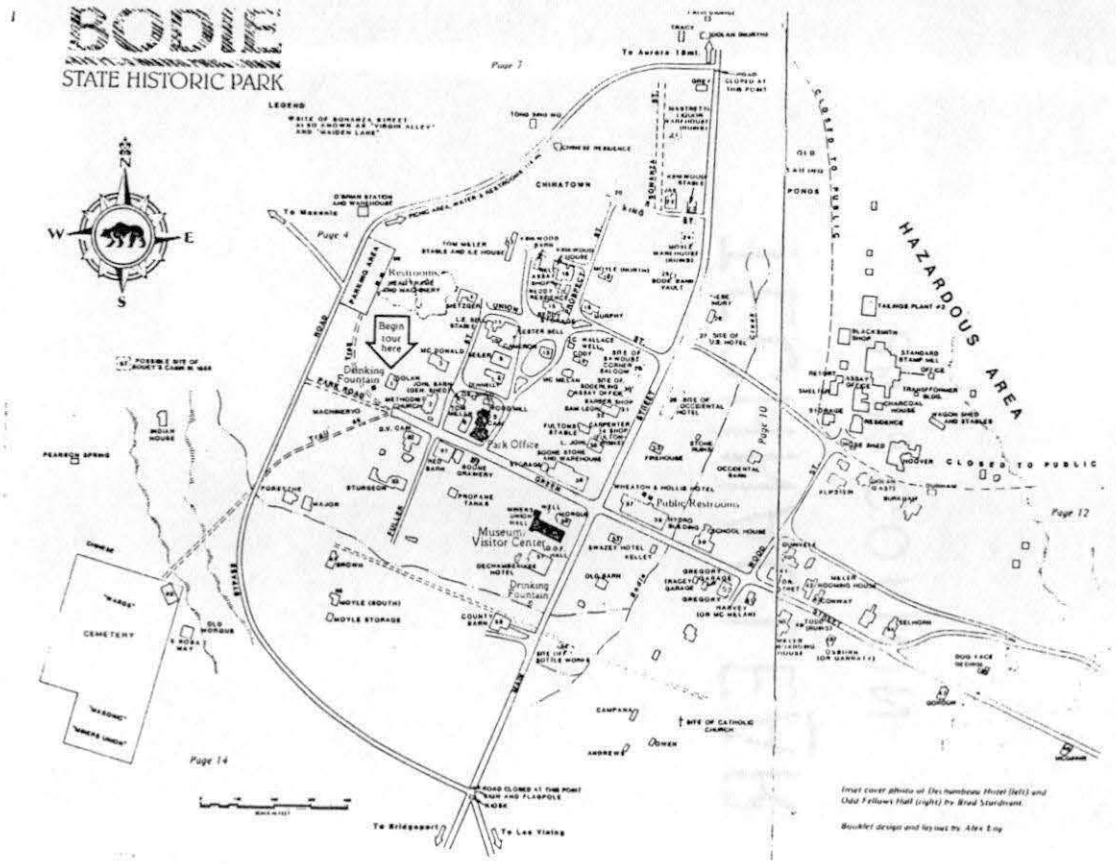
Appendix A-3. "Map of Bodie, California, Mono County-1880." Historical text component of map is not included. Source: Brownell Merrill, (Copyrighted by Brownell Merrill, 1991. Map).



Appendix A-4. 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map. Source: Vlad Shkurkin, "1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map," (San Pablo, California: Vlad Shkurkin, 1980. Republished).



Appendix A-5. 1888 Bodie Fire Commission Map overlapped on the 1880 Scowden plat map. Source: Bodie Fire Commission Records (Sacramento: California State Archives).



Appendix A-6. Bodie State Historic Park brochure. Source: Bodie State Historic Park, (Sacramento: California State Parks and Recreation Department, 1988).

APPENDIX B

BODIE SURVEYORS

These Bodie surveys for particular buildings were compiled from the "Index to Historic Resources Owned by the California Department of Parks and Recreation," prepared by Jim Woodward of the Cultural Heritage Section and Resource Management Division in Sacramento (revised in 1998). The only surveys that were collected were those recorded in 1970 by Buck R. Nelson. Nelson's dates to the construction of specific buildings are skeptical and further research needs to be ascertained. The dates listed on these buildings are a collection of his dates and my own that have been ammended.

Bodie surveys completed by State Archaeologist, Peter Schultz, (1994-1997) and the National Park Service's Historic American Building Survey (1962) were also accounted for in this list. Microfilmed copies of the HABS documentation were gathered, though the only drawings obtained were the J.S. Cain House. Peter Schultz surveys were not collected, though his list of surveyed buildings was obtained. The buildings chosen for surveying in the town were mainly cross-referenced to buildings not surveyed by Peter Schultz.

BODIE HISTORIC STATE PARK - EXISTING BUILDINGS (1959-1999)

National Register of Historic Places - District Nomination, Allen W. Welts (1970)
National Register of Historic Places - District expantion, H. Dallas Jr. & T. Wheeler (1984)
National Historic Landmark Nomination (1991)

	Park Bldg Name	Park Name-2	Park No.	Date	C. Jimenez	P. Schultz	N. Frye & L. Luckey	N. Frye & G. Walter	B. Nelson	HABS
					1999	1997-99	1982	1982	1970	1962
1	Andrews House		B-1952	c.1880		X			X	
2	Assay Office		C-3071	1896					X	
3	Res/Storage		C-3074	1896					X	
4	Coal Shed		C-3075	1896					X	
5	Bodie Bank Vault & Ruins		C-3080	1879					X	X
6	Bell's Shop & Assay		B-1883/4	1879		X			X	
7	Bob's Garage		B-1890	1880					X	
8	Boone's Granary	Saddle Room	B-1877	1892			X		X	
9	Boone's Store		B-1643	1892	X			X		X
10	Boone's Warehouse		B-1643	1879	X			X		X
11	Brown House		B-1876	1880		X			X	
12	Burkham House		B-1962	1880					X	
13	Cameron House		4006	1879			X			
14	Campana House		B-1950	1880		X			X	
15	Charles Fulton's Stable		B-1888	n/a					X	
16	Chinese Ruin		B-1897	1879					X	
17	Cody House		C-3076	1879		X			X	
18	Conway House		B-1941	1880	X				X	
19	County Barn		B-1900	1880			X			
20	Dechambeau Hotel		B-1924	1880		X			X	
21	Dr. Street House		B-1953	1880		X			X	
22	Dog Face George House		B-1937	1880					X	
23	Dolan House		B-1932	1880		X			X	
24	Dolan House- East		B-1963	1880					X	
25	Donnelly House		4012	1880			X			
26	Denham House		B-1961	n/a		X			X	
27	D.V. Cain House		B-1864	1879				X		X
28	Firehouse		C-3078	1932			X			
29	Forsythe House		B-1872	n/a					X	

	Park Bldg Name	Park Name-2	Park No.	Date	C. Jimenez 1999	P. Schultz 1997-99	N. Frye & L. Luckey 1982	N. Frye & G. Walter 1982	B. Nelson 1970	HABS 1962
30	Garage		B-1949	n/a					X	
31	Generator Shed		B-1869	n/a					X	
32	Gordon House		B-1938	1880			X			
33	Gray House		B-1933	n/a					X	
34	Gregory Garage		B-1945	1880			X			
35	Spence Gregory House		B-1945	1880			X	X		
36	Harvey House	McMillan House		1880					X	
37	Hinkle Parsonage Ruins		B-1640	n/a					X	
38	Hise Saloon (Sam Leon Bar)		B-1889	n/a					X	
39	Hoover House		B-1957	1880		X			X	
40	Icehouse & Tom Miller's Stable		B-1880	1880	X				X	
41	Indian House			1880		X				
42	I.O.O.F.		B-1929	1880		X			X	
43	Jail		B-1935	1880	X		X			X
44	J.C. Wallace Cabin		B-1894	n/a					X	
45	J.S. Cain House		4018	1879					X	X
46	Johl Barn (Generator Shed)		B-1865	1892					X	
47	Kelley House		B-1954	1880	X	X	X			
48	Kirkwood Barn		B-1943	1900			X			
49	Kirkwood House & Barn		B-1881/2	1879					X	
50	Klipstein House		B-1964	1880					X	
51	L.E. Bell		B-1879	1890	X		X			
52	Livery Stable		B-164	n/a					X	
53	Lottie Johl House		B-1887	1878	X				X	X
54	Majors House		B-1871	n/a					X	
55	Martin House	Cody House	C-3077	1879			X		X	
56	McDonald House		B-1866	1879					X	
57	McGinnis House		B-1936	1880					X	
58	McMillan House		B-1893	1880		X	X			
59	Mendocino House	Cody House	C-3076	1880					X	
60	Methodist Episcopal Church		#4008	1883				X		X
61	Metzger House		B-1867	1879		X	X			
62	Miller Rooming House		B-1942	1879	X				X	
63	Miller's Boarding House		B-1943	1879		X			X	
64	Miners Union Hall		B-1989	1877				X		X
65	Morgue		B-1873	1879	X				X	
66	Moyle House-North		B-1896	1880	X	X			X	

	Park Bldg Name	Park Name-2	Park No.	Date	C. Jimenez 1999	P. Schultz 1997-99	N. Frye & L. Luckey 1982	N. Frye & G. Walter 1982	B. Nelson 1970	HABS 1962
67	Moyle House-South		B-1875	1880		X			X	
68	Murphy House		B-1895	1879	X	X			X	X
69	O'Brien Stone Warehouse		B-1899	1879					X	
70	O'Brien House			1880		X				
71	Occidental Hotel Barn		C-3079	1880			X			
72	Osborn House		B-1940	1879					X	
73	Owen House		B-1951	1879		X			X	
74	Parr House Ruins-North		B-1932	n/a			X			X
75	Quinville House		B-1958	1879		X			X	
76	Red Barn		B-1641	1900		X	X			
77	Reddy House		B-1885	1878	X	X			X	
78	Residence		B-1948						X	
79	Ruins- northeast of mill		1-8	1880					X	
80	Brick House Ruins- Building G			1879		X				
81	Building C			1880		X				
82	Ruins- east of #B-1843		#9	1880					X	
83	Ruins- west of #B-1939		#10	1880					X	
84	Ruins- east of Quinville House		#11	1880					X	
85	Ruins- north of #B-1964		#12	1880					X	
86	Ruins- south of #B-1955		#14-15	1880					X	
87	Ruins- north of Lottie Johl House		#24	1880					X	
88	Sawmill	Woodmill	B-1878	1880			X		X	
89	Schoolhouse		C-3068	1880	X			X		X
90	Seiler House		B-1645	1879	X		X			
91	Selhorn House		B-1939	1880		X			X	
92	Standard Stamp Mill		B-1960	1899					X	
93	Standard Blacksmith		C-3069	1899		X			X	
94	Standard Retort		C-3070	1899		X			X	
95	Standard Smelter		C-3072	1899					X	
96	Stone Ruins, north of Firehouse		#19-20	1880					X	
97	Sturgeon House		B-1870	1880					X	
98	Swazey Hotel		B-1955	c. 1900					X	
99	Tailing Plant #2		C-3073	1894					X	
100	Tom Miller House		B-1644	1880			X			
101	Tong Sing Wo		B-1898	1879		X			X	
102	Tracey Garage		B-1947	1879			X			
103	Tracey House		B-1931	1879		X			X	

	Park Bldg Name	Park Name-2	Park No.	Date	C. Jimenez 1999	P. Schultz 1997-99	N. Frye & L. Luckey 1982	N. Frye & G. Walter 1982	B. Nelson 1970	HABS 1962
104	Tracey Shed		#21	1880					X	
104	Undertaker & Barber Shop		C-3067	n/a					X	
105	Voss House		B-1863	n/a					X	
106	Wagon Shed & Stable		B-1959	1880					X	
107	Wheaton Hotel		B-1956	1884		X			X	X
108	Hydro Building		B-1956	1879	X					

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