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BOOMTOWN TO OUTDOOR MUSEUM:
AN EXAMINATION OF NEVADA CITY, MONTANA
FOR PLACEMENT ON THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

By

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B. A. Environmental Studies, Cultural Context, Carroll College, Helena, Montana, 2003

Thesis

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An Examination of Nevada City, Montana, for Placement on the NRHP

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This thesis presents a study of Nevada City, Montana to examine the eligibility potential for a historic district nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Founded in 1863, Nevada City experienced a gold mining heyday from 1863-1869. As easily attainable placers diminished and strikes were reported elsewhere, the town was nearly abandoned. Many of the remaining buildings were demolished, used for firewood, or salvaged by Nevada City's remaining residents.

Senator Charles Bovey began preservation work in 1944 at nearby Virginia City, Montana. Bovey had already amassed several buildings and countless artifacts that he had on display at the Great Falls Fairgrounds as the "Old Town" exhibit. In the late 1950s Bovey was asked to remove his exhibit from the fairgrounds. He purchased several acres of land containing what remained of Nevada City and began relocating buildings to Nevada City's vacant lots in 1958. By the end of the Bovey era (1958-1978) the museum contained over 100 structures. The collection of original, relocated, and reconstructed buildings were intended to represent the 1860s-1900 period of Montana's history. In 1997 the State of Montana purchased Bovey's Nevada City and Virginia City properties and artifacts to continue the preservation and tourist legacy begun in 1944.

Research methods for this project required the analysis of books, articles, archaeology reports, and primary historical documents. This research was conducted to place the outdoor museum within its historical context and to explore Nevada City's NRHP eligibility. Historic contexts associated with Nevada City include nineteenth-century westward migration in the American Mining West, with subthemes including historic mining and related commerce, along with mining ghost town tourism. NRHP Criteria A, B, C, D, and Criterion Considerations B and G, were found to be applicable for eligibility determination.

A successful district nomination for Nevada City's eligible buildings will include a categorized building list for the entire outdoor museum, as well as clearly defined historic context and applicable NRHP criteria and considerations. Ineligible buildings will be included as non-contributing entities, with the understanding that as they reach their 50 year mark (in age or in situ) they will be considered contributing.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents a study of the gold rush town, Nevada City, Montana. Founded in 1863, Nevada City experienced a mining heyday from 1863-1869 (Figures 1 and 2). In addition to examining the history of this community, this thesis is dedicated to building a case of Nevada City's eligibility for nomination, as a historic district, to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Nevada City is a unique and complicated property consisting of original, relocated, and reconstructed buildings, many less than fifty years old. While many of Nevada City's characteristics initially appear to be ineligible for the NRHP, this thesis will present sufficient evidence to support its significance and to develop the groundwork for a successful district nomination. All information collected subsequently focused on determining the historic significance of Nevada City's outdoor museum for a future historic district nomination to the NRHP.

Nevada City is significant for its association with the emergence of the outdoor museum as a preservation tool, the rise of heritage tourism, the influence of Charles Bovey, and, of course, its architecture. Given these traits the proposed district is eligible for the NRHP under NRHP Criterion A since the community's Gold Rush history and related migration and tourism represent events that have made contributions to American history. The proposed district is also considered eligible under Criterion B due to Nevada City's association with Charles A. Bovey, a pioneer in preservation from the 1940s-1970s. In addition, the proposed district has unique built resources characteristic of a time, period, and method of construction that render it eligible under Criterion C. Finally, many buried resources beneath Nevada City have remained relatively

undisturbed since the initial boomtown phase, which means that it also retains archaeological data potential with regard to life in a western mining camp during the historic period. It is therefore also eligible under Criterion D. Details of NRHP criteria, considerations, and Nevada City's potential eligibility for the NRHP as a historic district are outlined in Chapter 6 herein.

Nevada City's history and character evolved from a mining boomtown to a tourist destination. The reasons for its original establishment, mining, are not the same as the reasons that caused it to persist beyond a typical boomtown's borrasca, or "bust" phase. Nevada City was originally established in 1863 as a residential and commercial settlement supported by the activity and spending habits of the local gold placer mining population. By the late 1860s, as mining activity decreased and strikes were reported elsewhere, (e.g., Last Chance Gulch in Helena, Montana) the transient mining population migrated to newer and more promising mining districts. Those who remained behind adapted to the technological advances facing them. Companies resorted to hydraulicking and dredging the land to gain access to the deeper deposits that were inaccessible to traditional mining. As dredging decreased, tourism gradually established itself as the new industry of the area which persists to this day.

Nevada City is a remarkably well preserved example of one of the earliest cases of mining ghost town tourism. Nevada City's character is derived from its rural location, eclectic history, and transition from boomtown to outdoor museum. Today less than 15 buildings remain that represent the original, 1860s-era Nevada City. Most of the south side of the original city was lost to dredging that began in 1878 and continued into the 1930s. Many of the remaining buildings either succumbed to the harsh climate or were

recycled into firewood by local residents as early as 1868 (McKay 1999b:14). The remaining buildings were incorporated, along with reconstructed and relocated buildings, into the “Nevada City Town Museum” beginning in 1958. This privately-funded museum was developed as a result of the foresight and tenacity of Montana State Senator Charles A. Bovey.

Charles “Charlie” A. Bovey, heir to the Minneapolis-based Royal Milling Company (later General Mills), had been passionate about history and related material culture since his childhood in Minnesota. By the time Charlie and his wife, Sue, visited Virginia City and Nevada City, Montana in the fall of 1944, he had already amassed artifacts and buildings that had been on display since 1941 as “Front Street in Old Town” at the Great Falls Fair Grounds in the Livestock Pavilion, affectionately referred to as the “Old Town Building” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:10). Virginia City immediately captivated Charlie, yet the building decay and dismemberment of Montana’s second Territorial Capital inspired him to salvage extant built resources. Bovey immediately began buying some of Virginia City’s historic properties. His initial small restoration projects quickly turned into a business of heritage tourism that would later include Nevada City.

Charlie’s work with Nevada City began in 1958 when the Great Falls Fairgrounds asked him to remove his “Old Town Exhibit.” Nevada City provided an opportune location for Charlie’s structures. Since there was no plat map of Nevada City, or written documentation as to its original layout, Charlie used a historic photograph (1865) of Nevada City’s Wood Street (Figure 3) as a model to reconstruct the town’s vacant streets as accurately as he could (Jarvis 2001:6). Part of this endeavor involved the relocation of

buildings from all over Montana into the empty lots in Nevada City. Other buildings in Nevada City were reconstructed by Charlie and his crew using period materials to ensure historical accuracy. The collection of original, relocated, and reconstructed buildings were intended to represent the 1860s-1900 period of Montana's history. Charlie spent the remainder of his life devoted to the surrounding Alder Gulch area, preserving resources and providing visitors with a sense of Montana's historic mining heritage. Bovey's work in Nevada City is significant for his use of the outdoor museum as a preservation tool and as a pioneering example of the development of heritage tourism in Montana. His preservation efforts saved numerous buildings from destruction and his artifact collection of western memorabilia is considered to be the largest outside of the Smithsonian.

In order to present the significance of Bovey's efforts and an argument for Nevada City's NRHP eligibility as a historic district, Chapter 2 describes the ways in which this mining community was and still is connected to a world/global economic system. Chapter 3 outlines the project methodology, while Chapters 4 and 5 provide historical overviews of the mining west, Nevada City, Montana, and Charlie Bovey's pioneering preservation endeavors. Chapter 5 is an important component of this thesis in that it details not only the life of Bovey, but also the roots of his interest in preservation, and the impetus behind the creation of the Nevada City outdoor museum. The historical significance of Nevada City as an outdoor museum is directly linked to Bovey's preservation work in Montana. This historically significant connection of Bovey and Nevada City is an integral component in establishing the NRHP eligibility of the community. Chapter 6 ties information presented throughout the thesis with NRHP criteria to facilitate an argument for Nevada City's significance and to support this

community's nomination for the NRHP as a historic district. Chapter 7 concludes with a discussion of the results of this community study.

CHAPTER 2

NEVADA CITY: PART OF A WORLD SYSTEM THEN AND NOW

Nevada City cannot be adequately understood without an examination of its economic placement and function within local, regional, and world systems. National trends associated with this community, such as migration, gold rushes, and tourism stemmed from and were supported by capitalist markets. Extractive industries, such as mining in Nevada City, reflect the global expansion of capitalist world systems (Hardesty and Little 2000:101). World-systems theory will be used to explain the diverse economic ties between Nevada City and the capitalist world economy since 1863. The term “world system” refers to trade networks which connect an economic unit like Nevada City to regional and global economic systems. Geographically isolated boomtowns such as Nevada City are components of a world system because they were in regular contact with economic centers in the Eastern and Western United States, as well as Europe, for exchanges of goods, information, and services.

Sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein developed world-systems theory as a protest against prevailing modes of economic interpretation. World-systems theory uses a combination of economic history and historical sociology to examine long-term, large-scale social change within the capitalist world-economy. Wallerstein added a hyphen to world-systems, world-economies, and world-empires to, “underline that we are talking not about systems, economies, empires of the (whole) world, but about systems, economies, empires *that are* a world” (Wallerstein 2005:16-17). Wallerstein described the capitalist world-economy as, “marked by an axial division of labor between core-like production processes and peripheral production processes, which resulted in an unequal

exchange favoring those involved in core-like production processes” (Wallerstein 2005:17). Core states have the highest accumulation of capital and power, often exploiting the peripheral states to their advantage. “Some states have a near even mix of core-like and peripheral products. We may call them semiperipheral states” (Wallerstein 2005:28). Hardesty and Little (2000) note, “Wallerstein argues that essential goods reflect the unequal relationship between core and periphery. Essential goods are the things used in everyday life, such as tableware, food, and clothing. Peripheries have high percentages of essential goods coming from core regions” (Hardesty and Little 2000:73). Nevada City is an example of, “an extractive frontier or periphery of capitalist world systems in the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries” (Hardesty and Little 2000:101).

Historical archaeologist Donald Hardesty (1988) cites the importance of Immanuel Wallerstein’s (1974, 1980) world-systems for understanding the factors that shaped the mining west. “Here, the mining frontier is viewed as a network of ‘islands’ colonized by miners. Island colonies participate in world systems, linking the frontier to the heartland of America and European civilization...” (Hardesty 1988:ix). Hardesty points out three kinds of interactions found in all world systems. While the application of interaction spheres has been critiqued by pre-historians (e.g. Caldwell), Hardesty uses it to explain the connections of the mining west to the world system the three interactions or spheres include the materials interaction sphere, the population interaction sphere, and the information sphere (Hardesty 1988:1). The materials interaction sphere refers to a trade network connecting mining boomtowns to larger centers of commerce. The population interaction sphere refers to the migration network from which boomtowns draw their citizenry. Finally, the information sphere refers to the exchange of

information, ideas, and symbols (Hardesty 1988:1-4). Applying the three interaction spheres to Nevada City, Montana reveals the remote boomtown's network of world-wide connections that affected the transportation, communications, demographic, and economic stability of the area (Hardesty 1988:1).

MATERIALS INTERACTION SPHERE

Nevada City, Montana, like other boomtowns, had economic dependencies on large-scale world systems (Hardesty 1986:5). Nevada City was tied to the world economy through trade networks via its neighbor, Virginia City, Montana. "From its earliest days Nevada City, Center City, and other small mining camps in Alder Gulch were tied economically to Virginia City, where businesses, services, a post office, and a booming population were located" (USDI 1990a:5). Transportation routes were needed to connect Alder Gulch to the outside world of other mining towns and larger centers of commerce. Supplies were vital in remote mining boomtowns and bullion had to be shipped out. In the 1860s supplies were brought into Montana either by freight, up the Missouri River by steamboat, or by mule and ox teams. Transport lines in the early 1860s were, "crude wagon roads [that] linked the mining camps with the Oregon Trail to the south and Fort Benton on the Missouri River to the north" (Jackson 1979:4) (Figure 4).

By July 1863 Alder Gulch had regular stagecoach services operating out of nearby Virginia City. "A. J. Oliver had the first coaching business, running three coaches weekly to Utah via Bannack" (Pace 1970:31). Freight of passengers, mail, or merchandise was big business. Historian Dan Cushman points out that, "a full half of all

freight coming to Virginia City consisted of clothes, mining equipment, liquor, printing presses, square pianos, mail and newspapers, drugs and chemicals, quicksilver, strap iron and horse shoes, etc” (Cushman 1973:101). It could take weeks or months for supplies to reach a remote mining camp in Montana’s harsh climate. Author T. J. Kerttula states, “in 1863 merchandise was brought in from Colorado and Utah by large ox and mule trains. The trip, through dangerous Indian country, required from three to four months” (Kerttula 1940:1). Eventually, transportation networks became more efficient and consumer friendly.

In 1867, “almost all of the goods came up the Missouri River to Fort Benton and were shipped from there” (Kerttula 1940:1). The completion of the transcontinental railroad through Wyoming to northern Utah in 1869 transformed commerce in southwestern Montana. “With the Union and Central Pacific Railroad completed, competition between eastern and western merchants for Montana’s business increased” (Kerttula 1940:1). Competition was also increased between shipping ports, like Fort Benton, with the freight teams coming up from Corinne, Utah, a station on the Central Pacific Railroad. The route connecting the rail station to the southwestern Montana mining camps was known as the Corinne-Virginia City Road, or the Salt Lake Trail (Malone et al. 1991:75) (Figure 4). With the connection to the Union and Central Pacific Railroad completed, the Corinne-Virginia City Road became Montana’s primary transportation route.

Business records from a Nevada City mercantile (1866-1869) and a Virginia City mercantile (1878-1880) illustrate the two boomtowns’ connections to outside market systems through trade networks. Freight transported to Alder Gulch was delivered to

main offices in Virginia City. Located less than two miles apart, Virginia City and Nevada City experienced similar materials interaction spheres. Documentary records, such as bills, receipts, invoices, and bills of lading from the French and Thomas Company mercantile in Nevada City and for S. R. Buford and Company in Virginia City (Special Collections, Montana Historical Society Research Center, Helena) illustrate the attachment of the boomtown to outside market systems through trade networks.

The French and Thomas Company experienced the peak of the Alder Gulch strike. Oliver D. French and J. D. Thomas opened their Nevada City mercantile in 1866. The company sold, “staple and fancy groceries, boots and shoes, clothing, &,” and boasted of, “a choice stock of wines, liquors, and cigars always on hand” (French and Thomas Company Records, 1866-1869, Special Collections 308, MHSRC, Helena). Their remaining business records are the most complete documents representing a Nevada City business, but unfortunately, they are extremely limited. Bills of lading show that merchandise was purchased from as far away as New York City. An invoice dated May 1, 1868 from New York’s CHS. F. A. Hinrichs, “Dealers in German, French, and English Fancy Goods,” entails a list of merchandise purchased by the French and Thomas Company (French and Thomas Company Records, 1866-1869, Special Collections 308, MHSRC, Helena). The order consisted of common items like hairbrushes and tobacco pipe pieces, along with novelties such as chess sets and music boxes. The bills of lading detail the tedious trip of the merchandise from New York to Virginia City, Montana. First it was shipped by rail from New York City to Chicago. From there it continued on the Chicago North West Railroad to Sioux City, Iowa, where it was taken by steamboat to Fort Benton, Montana and finally freighted to Virginia City.

Simeon R. Buford was one of many freighters who drove ox teams (1865-1872) between Virginia City and Fort Benton; later, with the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad, Buford shifted his freighting routes to haul between Virginia City, Montana and Corinn, Utah (Arguimbau 2006:1). Buford along with partner Henry Elling opened their Virginia City mercantile in 1878. "S.R. Buford and Company became the largest store in Virginia City, gradually expanding its trade from wholesale groceries and liquor to general merchandise" (Arguimbau 2006:1). S. R. Buford and Company's 132 bills of lading from 1878 to 1880 illustrate Virginia City's ties to world marketing systems after the connection of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads at Corinn, Utah. Table 1 shows where commodities were purchased. More than half (73 or 55.30%) of the bills of lading were from Chicago businesses. Out of the 73 Chicago bills of lading 43 (32.57%) came from Chicago grocer's Sprague and Warner Company. The vast majority (102 or 77.27%) of the bills of lading originated in mid-west commercial centers of Chicago, Omaha, St. Louis, and Milwaukee, where a wide variety of commodities were purchased. The California commercial centers of San Francisco, Sacramento, and San Jose represented a much smaller (22 or 16.66%) portion of the bills of lading. The west coast commercial centers were primarily used for produce purchases.

Business records from the Nevada City and the Virginia City mercantile show a common mining boomtown materials interaction sphere. Hardesty (1988) describes the materials interaction sphere for the Cortez Mining District in central Nevada using business records from the Cortez Company, Ltd. store. Hardesty found the "effective" materials interaction sphere of the Cortez Mining District was regional in scale and that, "virtually nothing was purchased from local producers" (Hardesty 1988:1). Nevada City

and Virginia City also had “effective” materials interaction spheres that were regional in scale with little, if nothing purchased from local producers. All of French and Thomas Company and most of S. R. Buford’s bills of lading (93.93%) originate in commercial centers over 1,000 miles away. Montana’s remote setting required a regional interaction sphere. People and cargo had to travel long distances over rough terrain to reach Montana’s remote boomtowns. Long distances and rough terrain did little to halt the influx of population and commerce that came with boomtowns like Nevada City and Virginia City.

TABLE 1
GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS OF S. R. BUFORD AND COMPANY
BILLS OF LADING, 1878-1880

| <u>City</u> | <u>State</u> | <u>Invoices</u> | <u>% of Total</u> |
|---------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Chicago | Illinois | 73 | 55.30 |
| Omaha | Nebraska | 14 | 10.60 |
| St. Louis | Missouri | 13 | 9.84 |
| San Francisco | California | 9 | 6.81 |
| Sacramento | California | 9 | 6.81 |
| Ogden | Utah | 8 | 6.06 |
| San Jose | California | 4 | 3.03 |
| Milwaukee | Wisconsin | 2 | 1.51 |

POPULATION INTERACTION SPHERE

Montana followed the common gold strike pattern of an initial discovery that leads to a population boom. Donald Hardesty described Nevada's mining frontier as being "integrated into a migration network that linked the United States, Europe, and China, among other places, into a worldwide population pool" (Hardesty 1988:1).

Montana's early mining boomtowns were also linked into a worldwide population pool.

Nineteenth-century census records list a multitude of ethnicities as well as occupations.

"According to federal estimates, Montana's population peaked at roughly 28,000 in 1866 and then declined to 21,000-24,000 later in the decade. The 1870 census, Montana's first, listed the population as a mere 20,595" (Malone et al. 1991:68). Nevada City, located in Alder Gulch, lies within Madison County. The 1870 Madison County census is separated into two sections. The first section is labeled Madison County and the second is labeled Virginia City (US Census 1870). Individual communities, like Nevada City, are not distinguished. The absence of individual census data for Nevada City warrants the use of other primary sources to understand the late nineteenth-century demographics of that community. Montana historian Michael A. Leeson described Nevada City's population in 1869:

In 1869 the population fell to one hundred souls, and the mercantile representation to three general stores and two saloons. In April, 1872, the city contained one miners' store, one brewery, blacksmith shop, butcher shop, livery stable and a Masonic hall. Most of the citizens were engaged in mining pursuits, but some of the residents had farms and stock in the valley (Leeson 1885:783).

The Virginia City section of the 1880 census records reveals an eclectic population pool on the Montana mining frontier. People from all over the world converged on Alder Gulch. Historian Michael P. Malone explains that, "From the beginning Montana

attracted a wide variety of peoples. The fur trade attracted adventurers from France and Scotland, and the placer gold camps housed people from many different countries, especially Ireland, England, Germany, and Scandinavia ” (Malone et al. 1991:349-350).

The population demographics of the 1870 and 1880 census illustrate Nevada and Virginia City’s connection to a “worldwide migratory system” (Hardesty 1988:4). Only a year after the initial 1863 discovery of gold, Alder Gulch had an estimated population of 10,000, with 5,000 people residing in Virginia City and 1,000 in Nevada City (Grant 1998:68). By 1870 the Madison County census listed a total population of 2,684. Virginia City’s population accounted for a significant amount (867 or 32.30%) of the demographic data listed. The Virginia City census included 345 dwellings, 245 of which housed families. The data shows trends typical of other mining boomtown communities. Virginia City was a male dominated (642 or 74.04%) environment. Foreign-born males represented almost one-third of the male population. Of the 279 foreign born males, 272 were listed as Chinese. As placer mining declined many Chinese residents remained. Interpretive historian Ellen Baumler describes Virginia City’s Chinese population as a group that, “reworked abandoned claims and [were] the last living reminder of placer mining in Alder Gulch” (Baumler 1999:72). The foreign born population of Madison County (361) primarily consisted of white males. The most common country of origin listed was Ireland followed closely by England and Canada. The largest group represented was American-born. Montana was the most common birthplace listed, followed by New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Illinois. People from nearly all of the US states were represented in Virginia City’s “urban-like” environment.

In the 1880 census Nevada City is distinguishable as the “village of Nevada” (US Census 1880). “In the 1880 census it is clear that what had been a cosmopolitan town, had become a homogeneous little community consisting of eight families” (USDI 1990a:7). The Nevada City census included a population of 50 people occupying 16 dwellings. Nevada City was also a male dominated (33 or 66%) environment. Foreign born males represented a little over a third of the male population. Foreign born females represented almost a third of the female population. The most common country of origin listed was Wales followed by Ireland, Prussia, Germany, England, Canada, and Portugal. Children under the age of fifteen represented almost half (22 or 46%) of the total population and all of them were born in Montana. Nevada City’s population primarily consisted of “working class” immigrants. Occupations listed are consistent with remote working class boomtowns. Placer miner was the most commonly listed male occupation (11), followed by teamster (3), quartz miner (1), grocer (1), and lawyer (1). “All eight mothers were homemakers” (USDI 1990a:7). Many of Nevada City’s working class had a transient nature due to their occupations. The most commonly listed occupation of Nevada City’s working class was “placer miner.” The transient nature of these individuals was a necessary requirement due to the constant relocation to new placer diggings.

The nineteenth-century census demographics for Nevada City, Montana, show a high male/female sex ratio and multiple countries of origin consistent with Donald Hardesty’s 1988 study of Nevada’s mining populations. Hardesty’s study also found that typical mining camps had a low population of children (Hardesty 1988:4). Nevada City, on the other hand, differed from Hardesty’s “typical mining camps” in that there was a

high population of children. Nevada City's 1880 census shows that children under the age of 15 made up nearly half of the total population (46%) (US Census 1880). Based on census demographics Hardesty's population interaction sphere can be equally applied to Nevada City and Virginia City because like Hardesty's Nevada mining boomtowns they were "without question...linked into a worldwide migratory system" (Hardesty 1988:4).

INFORMATION SPHERE

Donald Hardesty states that, "world system structures are created by the exchange of information, ideas and symbols" (Hardesty 1988:4). Information is light and can traverse long distances. In early 1860s Montana, remote mining boomtowns relied on newspapers for the latest in world affairs. Newspapers from "The States" were hard to obtain. As historian Carlos A. Schwantes explains, "Before the advent of an overland telegraph connection in the 1860s, news tended to reach Montana along the shipping lanes, the longest of which reached from coast to coast via Cape Horn" (Schwantes 1999:1). Local papers were more common. Western historian Duane Smith observes that, "it was important that a camp or district have at least one newspaper" (Smith 1967:65). Virginia City resident, John Buchanan, began publishing the *Montana Post* in August of 1864 (Grant 1998:69). The *Montana Post* was the first newspaper of consequence in the Montana Territory and every issue was anxiously awaited. Montana's harsh climate made gathering news difficult. Snow packed winter months closed roads and cut off contact to the outside world. The mining camps on the nation's western fringes longed for swift transmission of information that a telegraph could provide. People living in these remote towns knew that, "for the businessman and his

fellow citizens, rapid communication with the outside world could mean the difference between a successful and an unsuccessful venture” (Smith 1967:172-173). Finally, in the summer of 1866, Virginia City businessman John Creighton received a contract from the Western Union Company to build Montana’s first telegraph line from Virginia City to Salt Lake City, Utah.

The newly constructed telegraph line connected Virginia City to the rest of the world on November 3, 1866. The connection to Salt Lake had been eagerly anticipated. A crowd gathered and anxiously waited to witness the first transmission sent by John Creighton in his stone “Creighton Block” building (Barsness 1962:195). Historian Carlos A. Schwantes stresses the enormous significance of the telegraph for Virginia City and its satellite communities, stating, “it radically redefined distance for their hitherto isolated settlement” (Schwantes 1999:1). The *Montana Post* celebrated the connection. Now they could deliver readers, “literally the news of the day,” and with Virginia City being at the end of the line, they had no competition (Barsness 1962:196). Before the advent of the telephone in 1876, the telegraph was “one of the best ways to end the isolated existence of the scattered camps and mines” (Smith 1967:174). Historian Ronald James points out that the telegraph “proved to be one of the most significant steps in dealing with the expansiveness of the West” (James 1998:42). Hardesty believes that, “The telegraph revolution in the information sphere complemented the materials sphere with the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869” (Hardesty 1988:4-5).

The need to access to mining communities and their capital markets represented the impetus behind railroad construction in Montana. In 1871, eastern capitalists agreed to finance a narrow-gauge railroad to connect Montana to the Union Pacific Railroad in

Utah, north of Salt Lake City (Malone et al. 1991:175). Montana miners, merchants, and farmers longed for the railroad. Regional and cultural historian Duane Smith emphasizes the overall importance of the railroad:

Both the farmer and the miner needed the railroad, for it was the cheapest and fastest way to get goods to and from the outside markets. The coming of the railroad was a momentous occasion for the mining community. It heralded as clearly as anything else the end of the old frontier and the beginning of a new era. All other forms of transportation gave ground to it. The reliance of horse and wagon faded before the iron rail and steam engine. The slowness and seasonal nature of wagon and riverboat were replaced by all-weather, fast, transcontinental transportation (Smith 1967:134).

The Utah and Northern Railroad reached Dillon, Montana, October 5, 1880. Dillon served as the railway's terminus until December 26, 1881 when the railroad reached its final destination in Butte, Montana (Figure 5) (Malone et al. 1991:175). According to an 1881 Union Pacific Railway time and rates pamphlet, passenger tickets from Omaha, Nebraska, to Virginia City, Montana cost 45 to 95 dollars. The ticket price included transportation from Dillon to Virginia City via Gilmer, Salisbury, and Company's stage line. The stage distance listed from Dillon to Virginia City was 56 miles with an estimated stage time of 12 hours (UPR 1881:1). The railroad revolutionized transportation and commerce in Montana. Architectural historian Kingston William Heath elaborated on the importance of the railroad explaining "the railroad track provided a steel umbilical cord between the established East and the burgeoning West, for the railroad brought to the western regions not only human cargo and supplies--it brought ideas" (Heath 1985:2). Like the telegraph, the railroad redefined perceptions of time and space.

Changes in the perceptions of "time" can be directly related to the prevailing Victorian ideals and culture of the day. Industrialism, urbanism, and large corporations

rapidly emerging in the late nineteenth-century, “required dramatic changes in work habits and social relations” (Hardesty 1988:5). Historian E.P. Thompson observed, “there is no such thing as economic growth which is not, at the same time, growth or change of a culture” (Thompson 1967:97). Industrialism brought about a division of labor in America creating an urban middle-class. The Victorian ideology of this new urban middle-class has been described as a Puritan discipline led by bourgeois exactitude.

As historian Daniel Walker Howe explains:

The cultural history of Victorianism is related to the social history of the new urban middle class: industrial as well as commercial, cosmopolitan in outlook, increasingly self-assertive, expressing its collective pride in literary and philanthropic organizations and in municipal improvement. Many patterns of Victorian culture (steady work, punctuality, compulsive behavior in general) were of direct practical utility to capitalist employers, and they were active agents in propagating them (Howe 1975:514).

Victorian ideology on the mining frontier is “most visible in the layout of settlements”

(Hardesty 1988:5). Architectural historians Scott and Beth Warren explain:

When the Victorian era began in the 1840s, the typical residence in the Rocky Mountains was a sod home, log cabin, or adobe structure. Shelter was a function of survival rather than a matter of taste...How Victorian architecture came to this land of rugged mountains and broad prairies is a story of urban conquest facilitated by a new type of settler (Warren and Warren 1989:9).

Eastern values (urban planning) were reflected in Virginia City, Montana’s town plat (McKay 1999b:15). “A brief two weeks after the initial rush, the Virginia City town site was platted like a proper eastern city with straight streets and square corners despite the rough uneven terrain” (Ellingsen et al. 1978:1). The straight streets and square corners or “universal grid” town layout reflects a “Victorian emphasis upon rationality and order” (Hardesty 1988:5). On the other hand, Nevada City, and the other surrounding satellite communities, reflected the embryonic development stages of haphazardly built

boomtowns laid out along a main street. The condition of Nevada City can be directly related to its residential population of “working class” immigrants. The transient nature of immigrant working class’ and the high costs of building materials and time led to boomtowns like Nevada City being built out of immediate necessity rather than for stability.

Victorianism also promoted a culture that placed high value on perceptions of time. “The adoption of standard time zones in the United States in 1883, undertaken at the initiative of the railroads, was a landmark of the Victorian modernization and standardization” (Howe 1975:523). Historian Carlos A. Schwantes points out that, “Idiosyncratic and imprecise timekeeping was perhaps a metaphor for a simpler age (at least when viewed from the perspective of our own time-mad era)” (Schwantes 1999:1). The Victorian emphasis placed on time-thriftiness and time-accounting can also be seen in the industrial workplace. The meaning of “time” was transformed and redefined for the new industrial workforce:

Those who are employed experience a distinction between their employer’s time and their ‘own’ time. And the employer must *use* the time of his labor, and see it is not wasted: not the task but the value of time when reduced to money is dominant. Time is now currency: it is not passed but spent (Thompson 1967:97).

The new American working middle class was introduced to another concept of time, “leisure time.” Historian Maxine Feifer points out that, “many workers were no longer tied to the land, so they were free to get away sometimes. The Industrial Revolution also provided the means for doing so, with the invention of the railway” (Feifer 1985:166). Railroads made travel more convenient, comfortable, economical, and faster. Tourism, or traveling for pleasure, became available to the masses and was no longer just a privilege of the elite (Feifer 1985:167).

Tourism actually preceded the railroad in Montana, becoming economically important towards the end of the nineteenth-century. In 1872, Yellowstone National Park was created and designated “America’s First National Park.” Beginning in the 1860s, Virginia City was the outfitting point for trips to the Yellowstone area and served as the first administrative site for the National Park (Virginia City, Chamber of Commerce 2004a). Railroads significantly enhanced Montana’s tourism industry through access and promotion. An 1881 Union Pacific Railway time and rates pamphlet used an etched picture of Bee-Hive Geyser in Yellowstone to promote travel to the area, with associated verbiage beckoning tourists: “The National Park and all its beauties and wonders is now for the first time accessible to the traveling public. A regular line of stages runs from Virginia City into this wonderland” (UPR 1881:1). The advent of the automobile fueled the slow decline of railway tourism.

The automobile built upon the transportation revolution started by the railways. Although the automobile was initially a toy for the elite, Henry Ford’s assembly line and mass production made automobiles more affordable to the general public. The combination of middle-class leisure time and affordable automobiles drastically affected American tourism. This new form of all-weather transportation allowed for individually paced travel no that was longer bound by strict railway schedules. The biggest obstacle faced by the automobile was the lack good roads to traverse. A 1904 roads survey concluded that the West had few ‘improved’ roads and even fewer in the isolated northwest. Montana only had about 65 miles of roads which amounted to little more than wagon routes (Athearn 1984:106). The construction of good roads was very important to westerners. As historian Robert G. Athearn observes, “the coming of the blacktop, or

'oiled' roads as westerners called them, was anticipated with nearly as much longing as had been the appearance of the railroads" (Athearn 1984:112). Historian Patricia Nelson Limerick notes that with the construction of roads and highways, "a new kind of landscape came to exist in support of automobile tourism" (Limerick 1998:48). This new landscape included gas stations, auto camps, roadside motels and restaurants, and tourist attractions.

Limited numbers of tourists have been traveling through the Virginia City area since the late nineteenth-century. The 1920s saw an increase in tourism as the popularity of automotive travel increased. By 1937 Virginia City had about 6,500 annual visitors (Virginia City Chamber of Commerce 2004b:3). Charles and Sue Bovey visited the area in 1944 and were troubled by the destruction and deterioration of its historic buildings. Through their efforts, "the town became the focus of a large-scale project launching one of the first preservation efforts in the West" (Baumler 1999:64). Charlie's preservation efforts were driven by his belief in the importance of preservation for future generations and public enjoyment. "In 1947, in response to requests from visitors, the Boveys moved into the tourist business. They formed the Virginia City Trading Company to provide services such as lodging, restaurants, theatre, gas station, and gift shops" (Virginia City Chamber of Commerce 2004b:4). As people heard about the Bovey's efforts, tourism to the area increased. "By the early 1950s, about 175,000 people were arriving annually in Virginia City to step into the 1860s" (Sievert and Sievert 1993:45). The Boveys preservation efforts grew to include Nevada City when Charlie was asked to remove his "Old Town" building collection from the Great Falls Fairgrounds in 1958. The Boveys devoted the remainder of their lives to preservation efforts in Virginia City and Nevada

City. In 1997 the State of Montana purchased the properties to continue the Bovey's preservation and tourist legacy.

The State of Montana's purchase of Nevada City and Virginia City led to an expansion of the information sphere. The Montana Heritage Commission (MHC) was formed by the state to oversee the management responsibilities of the two historic sites. To promote tourism to the area the MHC utilizes pamphlets, guide books, and the internet. The internet, above all other forms of promotion, brings world wide exposure to the area. Modern travel conveyances (cars, buses, and planes) and improved accessibility have also increased tourism to the area.

NEVADA CITY'S SIGNIFICANCE IN REGIONAL AND NATIONAL NETWORKS

Donald Hardesty describes the boomtowns along the Nevada mining frontier as islands stating "here, the mining frontier is viewed as a network of "islands" colonized by miners. Island colonies participate in world systems, linking the frontier to the heartland of American and European civilization" (Hardesty 1988:xi). Island colonies like Nevada City, Montana, are connected to world systems through a material interaction sphere, a population interaction sphere, and an information sphere. Business invoices from Nevada City merchants show the boomtowns trade network connection to larger centers of commerce referred to as their materials interaction sphere. Nevada City's population interaction sphere is illustrated through census records that reveal a world-wide migration network from which the boomtown drew its citizenry. Finally, the exchange of information, ideas, and symbols, between Nevada City and the outside world began slowly. Technological advances like the telegraph, trains, and automobiles accelerated

the amount and variety of information, ideas, and symbols available to the boomtowns citizenry. Applying the three interaction spheres to Nevada City, Montana reveals the remote boomtown's network of world-wide connections that affected the transportation, communications, demographic, and economic stability of the area (Hardesty 1988:1). Establishing Nevada City's connection to world systems is essential to the development of NRHP associations to regional and national historic themes, context, and trends. "State and national significance become clear only when the property is seen in relationship to trends and patterns of prehistory or history statewide or nationally" (NPS 1997a:1). Nevada City, Montana, for example, would fit under the theme of nineteenth-century westward migration in the American Mining West, with subthemes including historic mining and related commerce, along with mining ghost town tourism.

Nevada City would not be part of the world economic system today without the preservation efforts of the Boveys. Virginia City always maintained a population with ties to the world economic system. On the other hand, Nevada City only maintained a meager population, which as of 1880, consisted of just eight families (Warhank and Jiuisto 2000a:7). A major fire at the Madison County Courthouse in 1972 destroyed records for the 1900 census. By the 1910 census Nevada City is no longer distinguished from Virginia City. At the end of the nineteenth-century Nevada City's small population had no business services that would link it to the world economic system. In 1958 Charlie Bovey moved his "Old Town" exhibit from the Great Falls Fair Grounds to Nevada City (Baumler and Ellingsen 2003a:1). In the summer of 1959 Nevada City regained its ties to the world economic system as a tourist destination when the Boveys opened up miner's cabins for lodging and the Star Bakery for dining. The Nevada City

Hotel opened in 1962. Due to the Bovey's efforts and the property acquisition by the state of Montana, Nevada City will indefinitely remain tied to the world economic system.

Nevada City's significance to regional and national history has long been overlooked. Nevada City is significant for being the first incorporated town in the Montana Territory, a contender for placement of the territorial capital, a place where the local chapter of the Union League of America met, the site of the first important miner's trial in Montana's history, and its emergence as one of the best outdoor museum examples of a late nineteenth-century western mining town. Most of Nevada City's building construction dates from the 1860s to the early 1870s. All of the buildings located within the museum originated in Montana. Despite these examples of significance Nevada City has never received any recognition as a historic landmark or a listing on the NRHP merely because it has been less than 50 years since many of the buildings were relocated to the outdoor museum. The NRHP set a minimum 50 year in situ guideline to ensure that enough time had passed to truly be able to identify what the lasting and important national trends individual buildings or districts represent. This thesis began with the knowledge that almost half (48.33%) of the buildings in Nevada City would be reaching their 50 year mark in 2009, making them eligible to be nominated as contributing to the proposed historic district on the NRHP. Historical research was required to provide appropriate evidence for this proposed district's inclusion on the NRHP. The next chapter outlines the historical research methods required to locate, compile, and document such evidence.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODS

Research methods for this project required the analysis of books, articles, archaeology reports, and primary historical documents. The books used were obtained from the University of Montana's Mansfield Library, Carroll College's Corette Library, and Virginia City's Thompson-Hickman Library. Scholarly articles used were primarily obtained from the Mansfield Library's print holdings and JSTOR. The archaeology reports used were all obtained from the State Historic Preservation Office in Helena, Montana. Finally, all primary historical documents, including manuscripts, microfilm, vertical files, oral histories, collections, and pictures were obtained from the Montana Historical Society's Research Center and Photograph Archives in Helena.

Despite the trove of sources examined, none contained a reasonably complete picture of Nevada City's character prior to the Bovey era. As historian Kathryn McKay notes:

Few sources discuss Nevada City specifically, at least not until the 1960s when Bovey Restorations began moving buildings to the site of the former mining camp....the history of all the towns from Summit to Junction, the 'Fourteen-mile City,' is so intertwined that it makes more sense to examine each subject as it relates to Alder Gulch as a whole. Most references, of course, concentrate on Virginia City, as that was the center of population after the first year or so of the mining rush (McKay1999c:1).

The minimal information available for pre-Bovey Nevada City posed quite a challenge for one of this thesis' goals to complete a history for the satellite boomtown to Virginia City. If anything, the data contained in these sources tended to present sparse accounts of daily life in Nevada City.

To develop a complete historical study of Nevada City's transition from boomtown to outdoor museum required further analysis. Additional sources included a conservation assessment, a historic resources analysis report, two Nevada City NRHP building nominations, and a historic building survey. The Nevada City/Virginia City conservation assessment included 73 buildings and their contents. The assessment included an examination of the internal and external settings of each structure as well as a list of building preservation and conservation suggestions. The historic resources analysis report consisted of a "building prioritization list of the 35 most critical resources" located in Nevada City and Virginia City. The two NRHP nominations for the Dr. Don L. Byam House/Fenner Barn and the Finney House, both in Nevada City, provided detailed information about the original construction of the structures, their histories, and their current status as part of the Nevada City Town Museum. Finally, the Nevada City building survey contained a listing of 120 structures with varying NRHP eligibility statuses and the date of their "appearance" at their current locations (1864-1978).

The Bovey era transformed the historic boomtown of Nevada City into an outdoor museum, consisting of original, relocated, and reconstructed buildings. Technical problems have kept the "building zoo" from being listed as a historic district on the NRHP. The most significant obstacle is the fact that most of the buildings were moved less than 50 years ago (1958-1978). The first of these buildings (4) will become eligible in 2008, while many others (33) will become eligible in 2009. The absence of specific information dealing with pre-Bovey Nevada City and the absence of comparative "building zoo" NRHP nominations made this study difficult and unique.

Given the complex nature of formatting a nomination for this proposed historic district, professional guidance was obtained from the Montana State Historic Preservation Office's National Register Coordinator, Kate Hampton, and Interpretive Historian, Ellen Baumler. Hampton noted that Nevada City's significance resides with the emergence of the outdoor museum as a preservation tool, the rise of heritage tourism, the influence of Charles Bovey, and, of course, its architecture. Hampton recommended looking at the proposed Nevada City district as a whole and focusing on post 1950s when Bovey was in the midst of preservation in Virginia City and Nevada City. Baumler assisted as a liaison with the Montana Heritage Commission and the SHPO's office as well as with the procurement of historical documents, maps, and photographs. Hampton and Baumler's contributions guided the historical study of Nevada City's transition from boomtown to outdoor museum.

Listing a property, or properties, on the NRHP involves researching their historical significance. The NRHP is "the official list of the nation's cultural resources considered worthy of preservation" (NPS 1997a:1). Getting a property listed is important because it "serves to authenticate the worth of a historic place and influence a communities attitude toward its heritage" (Hardesty and Little 2000:6). The National Park Service (NPS) defines historical significance as "the importance of a property to the history, architecture, archeology, engineering, or culture of a community, State, or the nation" (NPS 1997a:1). Historical significance can be achieved by linking the property, or properties, to important events, associations, physical characteristics, or archaeological potential to yield important information (NPS 1997a:1). To determine the historical significance of a property, research must be conducted to place the property within its

historical context. The research methods noted in the previous pages recovered information about Nevada City's historical context, which is the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Historical contexts are necessary for making determinations of eligibility for the NRHP. The National Park Service (NPS) defines historical context as “information about historic trends and properties grouped by an important theme in the prehistory or history of a community, State, or the nation during a particular period of time” (NPS 1997a:1). By establishing a historic theme, within a particular timeframe, historic site locations can be grouped and compared to show state or national trends. “It is within the larger picture of a community's history that local significance becomes apparent. Similarly state and national significance become clear only when the property is seen in relationship to trends and patterns of prehistory or history statewide or nationally” (NPS 1997a:1). Nevada City, Montana, for example, would fit under the theme of nineteenth-century westward migration in the American Mining West, with subthemes including historic mining and related commerce, along with mining ghost town tourism. To present Nevada City within the context of these subthemes and theme, a historical overview of the mining community follows, along with its first era of ghost town tourism. First a summary of nineteenth-century westward migration is presented to demonstrate the contexts and national trends associated with Nevada City’s history.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY MINING AND MIGRATION IN THE AMERICAN WEST

Wherever gold was found, it lured masses of people from all walks of life. “There were three major sequences of western gold rushes in the mid-nineteenth century—to California from 1849 through the 1850s, to Colorado between 1859 and

1862, and finally to Montana from 1862 to 1866” (Baumler 2003:ix). Lands previously viewed as undesirable or uninhabitable by early settlers rapidly began filling with thousands of people searching for fortunes as news of “strikes” circulated. “The gold rush was both a popular adventure and an industry that was international in scale” (Lawrence 2000:22). Gold, and later silver and copper, flooded the international marketplace. Gold fever began in California and rapidly spread north and east Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Colorado and Nevada.

The first gold rush began January 24, 1848 in Coloma, California on the American River with an accidental discovery by James W. Marshall. Marshall, an experienced millwright from New Jersey, had formed a partnership with John A. Sutter to build a new sawmill. Sutter, a Swiss entrepreneur, had come over the Cascades in 1838 and became a naturalized Mexican citizen in 1840. He built a fort and trading post in the Sacramento River Valley on land obtained by an 1841 grant from California’s Mexican governor Juan B. Alvarado (Wolle 1953:107). Sutter had several business ventures, including a flour mill, in need of lumber. The men agreed that Sutter would supply the labor and supplies while Marshall would oversee construction and operation with an equal share of the proceeds.

The site chosen for the mill was on the south fork of the American River at a place now known as Coloma (Hittell 1897). Construction began in the fall of 1847 and was nearly completed by January 1848. On the evening of January 23, 1848, Marshall, checking the mills’ tailrace, spotted shiny flecks of gold (Brown 1894). The gold found by Marshall, “came from a mammoth lode of quartz 162 miles long” (Wolle 1953:107).

By August, 1848 news of the discovery reached the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic coast states. While most of the population resided in these areas, the news from California seemed so farfetched and unrealistic, that early reports were never published (Bieber 1948:15). As the evidence and first-hand accounts accumulated, the California discovery became impossible to pass off as a mere tall-tale. On December 5, 1848, President James K. Polk confirmed the validity of the California find in his annual message to Congress, sparking a worldwide stampede to the West (Bieber 1948:20). People abandoned their jobs as they were struck with “gold fever.”

Fortune seekers, adventurers, and others seeking new lives started a trend of population boom and bust that accompanied the boom and bust of mining prospects. This was a common pattern along the mining frontier. Every new area of discovery experienced a boom, that is, a large or small population influx, depending on the size of the deposits. In his discussion of general growth patterns of Rocky Mountain Mining camps, Duane Smith (1967) observed that ore discoveries were rapidly followed by population booms. Businesses appeared quickly, creating an immediate need for freighters and supply lines. As the community grew, regulatory laws were instituted. Beyond this point, growth was determined by the community’s mining success, and failure of mining brought decline (Smith 1967:45). Mining camps shared commonalities in community make-up, construction methods, and mining techniques. “Given the movement of people between rushes, it is not surprising that so much of the accumulating goldfields culture was shared” (Lawrence 2000:27).

News of strikes traveled fast, and everyone from miners to curious adventurers eagerly followed new leads. Historian Ronald James points out, “the lure of wealth in the

mining districts of the West enticed emigrants to leave family and friends and to endure a dangerous journey. So intoxicating was the promise of gold that even when disappointed, the same people often followed the next call of a mineral bonanza” (James 1998:23). The population influx was not entirely comprised of miners, however, as merchants and developers made fortunes by mining the miners. “People of all classes had departed for the diggings, including school teachers, mechanics, physicians, lawyers, tailors, clergymen, laborers, merchants, teamsters, cooks, gamblers, the first and second alcaldes, the sheriff, women and children, and even some old men” (Bieber 1948:10). A wide range of social classes were present in the goldfields, as well as an eclectic array of global cultures:

North Americans and the British predominated throughout the gold seeking areas around the Pacific Rim, but French, Germans, Poles, Italians and other Europeans were also represented at every rush. The Chinese specialized in alluvial workings and hydraulic sluicing and the Cornish and Welsh were sought for their skills in the hard rock mining conditions associated with reef gold. On the Californian goldfields Mexican and South American miners were numerous while many Pacific Islanders came to Australia and New Zealand (Lawrence 2000:26-27).

The Montana goldfields, discussed later in the chapter, had high populations of North Americans, Europeans, and Chinese, with noticeably absent populations of Mexicans, South Americans, and Pacific Islanders.

Following the construction trends of California’s early mining encampments, embryonic architecture, consisting of make-shift shelters generally close to claims, became the first sign of a new camp throughout the mining west. “Most of the claim holders rolled up in their blankets near their diggings, sleeping under the stars throughout the summer months. Others dug shallow caves or erected shallow huts for protection against sudden mountain storms” (Barsness 1962:13). Architectural historian Kingston

William Heath describes housing structures used in California, Colorado, and Idaho mining encampments as reemerging in Montana at Bannack and, later in, Alder Gulch. Heath notes, “frequently used at Bannack was the ‘wickiup’, crude huts of brush and poles. Others would simply tunnel into the mountain, making a dugout, or built out from a natural cave outcropping” (Heath 1985:21). Economics shaped the crude nature of initial shelters and businesses:

Speed was essential and construction costs high. Men were impatient to get on with the more important business of mining. As a result, little effort was made to achieve esthetics, comfort, or convenience. With typical carelessness, buildings went up in haphazard fashion, built along what approximated a main street. Evidence of the great rush and of the miners’ impatience was littered everywhere (Smith 1967:11).

The transient nature of mining dictated the rudimentary layout of a new mining camp. In addition, the gold deposits influenced the construction of boomtowns in harsh and hostile environments. Mining camps sprang up wherever gold was found. “[Generally] there were no railways, roads or older towns already in place to influence settlement patterns... planned towns were uncommon and the rectilinear grid pattern so characteristic of nineteenth-century towns was rare on goldfields” (Lawrence 2000:25-26). After miner’s established their housing arrangements they were then free to concentrate their efforts on mining.

The most common technique used by early miners of the California gold rush was placer mining. This method required water and little equipment, which made it economical for the single miner or small group. Placer deposits are the secondary formation of a primary vein:

Fissures occur in the earth’s crust. Water passes through the surrounding rocks and penetrates these fissures. The water takes into solution a part of the mineral contents of the rocks through which it passes gold along with the rest. In the lower

levels the water becomes heated and dissolves larger quantities of metals. This impregnated water frequently returns toward the surface through fissures which offer an easy passage, and as it rises and cools, it deposits its mineral contents upon the sides of the fissures (Meade 1897:2-3).

As the vein is broken down over time processes of weathering, water, and gravity move the broken particles down waterways. The gold particles are heavier than the surrounding debris causing them to collect and concentrate in areas where the water flow is impeded. These deposit areas include crevices of rocks, stream beds, stream ledges, and stream bars (Wolle 1953:12).

Since placer mining can only work relatively shallow deposits, easily attainable minerals would be depleted in an area within a short amount of time. Placer miners “used simple methods to extract the gold, relying on the weight of the mineral to cause it to sink faster than worthless sand” (James 1998:3). California became a fertile testing ground for the placer mining ingenuity. Methods employed by early placer miners included the use of rockers, cradles, long toms, arrastras, sluices, and gold pans. These methods all required the use of water to separate waste matter from gold. Rockers, cradles, and long toms were all variations of sluices wherein they consisted of a box with riffles (small cross bars) and a carpet that would trap gold as the lighter waste materials were washed away. Arrastras, on the other hand, were small circular mills that were used to grind and crush ores into a muddy mass that could then be panned or amalgamated to separate the gold (Pace 1970:64-67). Later miners, or mining companies with better financial backing, used more environmentally destructive methods, such as hydraulicking, dredging, and lode mining to separate gold ore from parent rock. Technological advances in the mining industry increased as capital backing from the East (and other locations) extended to the gold mining fields of the American West. As the

West expanded the over populated gold fields were quickly stripped of easily accessible placers creating a need for advanced mining technology. The discovery of gold and the technological advances it produced had a dramatic impact on the geographic expansion of the United States.

The West was forever changed by the largest mass migration in American history. In 1849 California experienced a population increase of 90,000, compared to only 400 the previous year (Lawrence 2000:26). By 1854 those totals reached 300,000 (Gale Group 1999:1). A decline in placer mining began in 1854 on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada (Dilsaver 1985:2). The decline was due to the depleted resources and lack of easily attainable placer gold. As the need for heightened technology increased, so did the initial investment. The single placer miner or small group of miners usually lacked the funding required for such costly ventures, and they subsequently migrated to newly discovered bonanzas.

Veterans of the California goldfields disbursed to new locations as news or rumors of promising areas circulated throughout the camps. As they wandered throughout the West, they transported their diverse experiences and cultures. These experienced miners knew that, “wealth would be cumulative, not concentrated, and strikes would emphasize the promise of the entire region, not of specific locations” (James 1998:3). In 1858, “fifteen thousand hardy men left California in four months” (Hubbard 1912:110). News of gold on the Fraser River in British Columbia drew hopeful miners northward as prospects in California declined. An Easterly migration from California's goldfields occurred in 1859 when gold was discovered in Colorado. During that same year, silver and gold promoted the “rush to Washoe” on Nevada's

Comstock mining district. Each new district heralded a rush of their own. These prospectors were nicknamed 'fifty-niners' who were, "...part of the backwash from the California 'forty-niner' days" (James 1998:2). The California rush had drawn so many people that individual profits did not last long. Other miners "ignoring the North-South sectional crisis and eventual Civil War, went into Idaho, Montana, and Colorado in the early 1860s" (Smith 1967:12).

MONTANA

Western expansion was intensified in the Montana Territory during the last half of the nineteenth-century due to yet another surge of gold fever. Gold was first recorded in what is now Montana in 1852 by Francois Finlay, who was more commonly known as "Benetsee." Finlay's discovery is said to have taken place just west of the Continental Divide in Gold Creek (Benetsee's Creek) (Figure 6). On August 8, 1860 a prospecting party led by Captain Elias D. Pierce, discovered gold on the Nez Perce Reservation in the Washington Territory, now Idaho. This discovery, at Oro Fino Creek (Canal Gulch) (Figure 7), was followed by another on July 28, 1862 by John White at Grasshopper Creek (Willard's Creek), now Montana (Figure 8). These events led to an influx of hopeful prospectors looking to make the next big strike in Montana (Pace 1962:4).

By the fall of 1862 Grasshopper Creek, originally named Willard's Creek by Lewis and Clark, was boasting a population of approximately 300 people. The early make-shift boomtown needed a name. The name "Bannack," derived from the Bannock Indians of the area, was given to the flourishing mining camp. By the summer of 1863 the population had more than tripled to nearly 1,000 (Pace 1962:5).

In February 1863, part of an expedition party of fifteen headed by brothers James and Granville Stuart left Bannack with intentions of searching for gold and future townsites in Big Horn and Yellowstone country (Wolle 1963:23). Those who stayed behind planned to purchase supplies at La Barge City (Deer Lodge, Cottonwood) and later rendezvous with the expedition. This small group of eight that stayed behind included guide Louis “Lew” Simmons, George Orr, Tom Cover, Henry Edgar, Barney Hughes, William (Bill) Fairweather, Mike Sweeney and Harry Rodgers (Pace 1962:8).

After spending almost two months in the Deer Lodge valley, the group was ready to depart. In early March an agreement was made with the Bannack contingent to meet at the mouth of the Beaverhead River on April 12, 1863 (Wolle 1963:23). George Orr decided to remain in the Deer Lodge valley, but the others left on March 23, 1863. The eager group reached the rendezvous a couple days ahead of schedule. The agreed upon meeting date came and went with no sign of the Stuart’s party. On April 15, 1863 tracks were found and the group decided to follow the trail heading eastward. On May 2, 1863, the seven men were detoured by a confrontation with the Crow Indians (Wolle 1963:23). The Crow took the prospectors to the main encampment of the Crow Nation, numbering at least 180 lodges (Cushman 1973:84, 85). Fortunately, Lew Simmons had previously lived with the Crow, spoke their language, and even had a Crow wife.

It should be noted that while Lew Simmons was well associated with the Crow Indians, accounts of the events that took place were only documented by Henry Edgar and retold by the members of the captured party. The result is a Eurocentric view of the events with no collaborative evidence from the Crow perspective. This is not uncommon because, “there has been no systematic study of the interactions of Native Americans

with Euroamericans on the mining frontier of Alder Gulch from the 1860s through the early 1900s” (McKay 1999c:15). Therefore the diary entries, letters, and reminiscences document a Euro-American perspective regarding these events.

On their way to the Crow encampment, Bill Fairweather’s antics and behavior fueled a legendary tale that is thought to have saved the party’s lives. Fairweather was famous for having the ability to freely handle poisonous snakes without danger, a skill he put to use as the group approached the Crow encampment. Henry Edgar noted in his journal:

As we were going toward the Indian village he [Fairweather] picked up a rattlesnake, and just at the outskirts he picked up another. When the Indians saw him come in with a rattlesnake on each arm they were awed. He put the snakes in his shirt bosom and Simmons told the Indians that he was the great medicine man of the whites (Wolle 1963:23).

Later at the Medicine Lodge, the men were paraded several times around a medicine bush in front of the medicine man sitting beside Red Bear and Little Crow, the two chiefs of the village. Growing tired of the repetitive routine, Edgar noted that, “Bill says if they take us in again we will pull up their medicine bush and whack the medicine man with it ... At the third time Bill pulls up the bush and Mr. Medicine Man gets it on the head. What a time!” (Cushman 1973:85). After that, the Indians fell back and pointed at Fairweather and not a word was spoken. Pace (1962:10) notes, “as Simmons tried to explain it, the Indians’ thought he was crazy and harming him would release the evil spirit that made him crazy.” As the men exited the tent they were followed by an angry crowd. Edgar and the rest of the prospectors united back-to-back in defense while Red Bear and Little Crow drove the crowd back with whips and declared peace. Edgar’s journal states that at that point, “Red Bear mounts his horse and started in on the longest

talk I ever heard of; I don't know what he is talking about; Simmons says he is talking for us” (Cushman 1973:86).

The following day the men were released upon the promise to leave the Indians’ country and return from where they came. Only Lew Simmons stayed while the other seven headed for home supplied with less desirable stock, discarded buffalo robes, and jerked meat for food, all courtesy of their abductors (Cushman 1973:86). As Edgar noted, “I got for my three horses an old horse, blind in one eye, and a yearling colt. For my three pairs of Oregon blankets I got a buffalo robe and a half, and for my grub, consisting of flour, bacon, coffee, beans, etc., I got a dozen dried buffalo tongues” (Wolle 1963:23).

On their way back to Bannack the party was followed by a group of young warriors from the encampment who objected to their release. Evading their trackers by traveling nights and taking alternative routes, the group finally made it out of Crow country. The trackers may have just followed the group to ensure their exile. With Fairweathers’ group equipped with less than desirable stock it would not have been difficult for the young warriors to overtake the party, but without knowing the warriors’ accounts of this event, their motives remain unknown. On May 22, 1863 the Fairweather party chose to make camp in present day Alder Gulch, which was lined thick with alder trees that provided good cover from the warriors, since the men did not know if they were still being pursued. Fairweather and Edgar were left to guard the camp while the others went out to prospect (Wolle 1963:24). Edgar writes that:

Bill went across a bar to see or look for a place to stake the horses. When he came back to camp he said, ‘There is a piece of rim rock sticking out of the bar over there. Get the tools and we will go prospect it’ Bill got the pick and shovel and I the pan and went over. Bill dug the dirt and filled the pan. ‘Now go,’ he

says, 'and wash that pan and see if you can get enough to buy some tobacco when we get to town' (Cushman 1973:87).

The two men recovered enough gold to buy tobacco. In fact, their first two pans totaled \$4.80. By the time the rest of the party returned Fairweather and Edgar had panned \$12.30. Excited about their discovery, they each staked claims, "of 100 feet, two claims each, as discoverers, and single claims for their friends; erected a notice of water right; and panned enough of the shallow bar gold for supplies, \$180, set out for Bannack" (Cushman 1973:86). Henry Edgar is credited for naming the gulch. While writing up the mining claims in his report he identified the gulch as "Alder" for the trees surrounding the claim. On May 28, 1863 the party headed back to Bannack for needed supplies. The group made an oath to keep their discovery a secret (Wolle 1963:24).

Their Alder Gulch discovery did not remain secret for very long. Larry Barsness writes that, "when Fairweather and party rode into town and began making purchases with foreign gold dust, rumor magnified their pokes to a horse-load of gold, and the populace went wild" (Barsness 1962:6). On June 2, 1863 the party was ready to return to their diggings. A large group formed with intentions to follow the men back to Alder Gulch. Unaware of the exact location, some of this second group secretly forged ahead to strike their claims before anyone else. Granite Creek was mistaken by some as the place, but, "in retrospect it made little difference. Just about any place on Alder Gulch was a good place to mine gold" (Cushman 1973:89). On June 6, 1863 the group arrived and the Fairweather placer district was immediately organized (Schwab and Baumler 1991:1):

The Fairweather district was located at the center of the gulch. Above the Fairweather was the Pine Grove district and above it, at the head of the gulch, was the Summit district. Extending down the gulch from the discovery site were the

Nevada [City] and Junction districts. Located south of Nevada City, was the Browns Gulch district in the gulch of the same name. The Granite district was established along Granite Creek, about two miles northwest of Nevada City. The Highland, Barton Gulch, and Williams Gulch districts were added later to what became the overall Virginia City mining district (in Schwab and Baumler 1991:1).

Eager miners quickly filed their claims and with the creation of a miner's court, and laws, other districts soon followed. The find at Alder Gulch inspired many Bannack residents to migrate to the new strike. The group of some 200 men would, within a year, become an estimated population of 10,000 people, including men, women, and children (Schwab and Baumler 1991:1). In the summer and fall of 1863, mining communities expanded along the length of Alder Gulch and surrounding hills, giving the area the nickname of "Fourteen-mile City" (Figure 9). "Settlements were established along the gulch with Alder at the mouth, Summit at the head, Virginia City in the middle and Adobetown, Central City, Junction and Nevada City scattered in between..." (Schwab and Baumler 1991:1). The individual rise and fall of these communities was directly linked to the mining activity taking place in the area. The soil under Virginia City lacked the gold content of other boomtowns in Fourteen-mile City. Nevada City, on the other hand, possessed desirable soil for dredging. If not for the persistence of the Finney family, all of Nevada City would have succumbed to dredging. These and other factors mentioned further in the text, have contributed to the prolonged existence of the two remote mining towns. Dredging operations in Alder Gulch demolished most of the land between Virginia City and Alder. Central City, Junction, and Adobetown were reduced to tailings of gravel and waste (Pace 1970:69). Journalist John Gunther described the environmental degradation left by dredging operations as "the kind of furrow that an enormous obscene un-house-broken worm might leave" (Gunther 1947:159). Smaller

mining operations and the ravages of time claimed the remaining Alder Gulch towns including Pine Grove, Highland, Summit, and Union City.

NEVADA CITY AND VIRGINIA CITY, MONTANA

The histories of Nevada City and Virginia City have been intertwined since their rise in Alder Gulch during 1863 amidst the greatest placer rush in Montana's history. The area near Virginia City and Nevada City produced the largest placer gold deposits in Montana. "At today's prices, Alder Gulch has yielded over two and a half billion dollars' worth of gold" (Ellingsen [2000s]:1). Today the sister cities are no longer economically dependent on mining; instead they are now historic sites economically supported by tourism. According to the Montana Heritage Commission, "Nevada City and Virginia City's economy have depended on tourism since the beginning of the Bovey's restoration efforts in the 1940s" (MHC 2007:1). The pre-Bovey economy of Nevada City and Virginia City consisted of mining and commerce. Nevada City was the first city in Alder Gulch to be incorporated (February 9, 1865) and one of the first to be nearly deserted (Leeson 1885:783). Virginia City, on the other hand, was once (1864) the largest town in the inland Northwest and a major center of commerce (McKay 1999b:14). Everything in Alder Gulch was competitive, especially business: "with an exploding population in the Gulch, Nevada City entrepreneurs vied with those in Virginia City to develop a substantial service community" (Sievert and Sievert 1993:14-15). Unlike Virginia City, Nevada City never acquired specialized services such as boot and shoe makers, jewelers or watch makers, tailors, dressmakers, gunsmiths, and photographers. Nevada City businesses, including groceries, lodging houses, saloons, and gaming parlors were in

constant competition with those in Virginia City. Rivalry between Nevada City and Virginia City also involved the sphere of politics. When Montana became a new territory May 26, 1864, Nevada City, Bannack, and Virginia City were all chosen as candidates for the permanent placement of the new territorial capital (Sievert and Sievert 1993:22). Virginia City won the election and held the designation of territorial capital from 1865 to 1875.

Historic descriptions of Virginia City are typically elaborate and filled with praise, while historic descriptions of Nevada City are typically short and glib. Entrepreneur and merchant James Knox Polk Miller described Nevada City in his journal (June 6, 1865) as, “nothing more than a collection of log cabins,” noting that, “our spirits were not improved by noticing that almost every other store we passed was ‘To Rent’” (Rolle 1960:73-74). In contrast, Miller describes Virginia City as having stores, “of a much superior order than those in Nevada City and a half a dozen of them are very fine looking buildings” (Rolle 1960:73-75). “Architecture is a barometer of success; in the case of mining towns, the issue is even more apparent” (Heath 1985:213). Heath further explains:

During the transition from an unstable frontier settlement to a permanent town site, the founding of pivotal institutions of local government, churches, and schools self-consciously attempt to direct the settlement toward stability, permanence, and respectability. The story of a town’s struggle for permanence on the Western frontier lies in how soon these forms and institutions appear, how far they evolve, and to what degree they express their aspirations of social progress in architectural form, material usage, and style (Heath 1985:3).

Nevada City’s architecture, while typical of its boomtown contemporaries, never achieved the prominence or stature of Virginia City’s. F.E.W. Patton described Nevada City’s architecture in 1863 as, “...a considerable village, generally built of pine logs with

roofs of dirt...” (Friedman 1990:20). With a predominance of log structures, Nevada City’s architecture never even surpassed the utilitarian camp phase of milled lumber structures. Virginia City on the other hand, surpassed milled lumber structures to achieve substantial buildings of stone and brick marked by decorative architectural details adapted from local materials (Baumler 1999:65). Virginia City’s elegant storefronts and stone buildings that began appearing in 1864 reflected Victorian ideals and hopes for the permanence of the town. In contrast, Nevada City’s utilitarian architecture reflects the impermanence of its transient mining populace. The utilitarian nature of Nevada City’s original buildings also speaks to the social strata of Alder Gulch. In Montana’s pre-railroad boomtowns construction materials were expensive. High costs were due to the fact that everything had to be freighted into the camps. Working class individuals and families focused on the immediate need for cost effective housing while upper class individuals could commission a home to be built using materials and styles imported from the East.

Nevada City is best known as the birthplace of Montana’s infamous Vigilantes. “The first important miner’s trial in Montana’s history was the murder trial of George Ives, which led to the organizing of the Vigilance Committee” (Warhank and Jiusto 2000b:5). George Ives was described as, “a tall, blonde, good-looking young man and an excellent horseman” (Mather and Boswell 1987:77). George had been part of the Stuart prospecting expedition along the Yellowstone River and made his living boarding mules, horses, and oxen teams. When a young German immigrant worker named Nicholas Tiebolt was found murdered, George Ives was arrested and tried for the crime. “Over fifteen hundred miners, merchants, women and children, along with some road agents

were in attendance” (Warhank and Jiusto 2000b:6). On December 23, 1863, after a three day trial and less than an hour of deliberation, George was found guilty and sentenced to an immediate hanging in Nevada City. In an interview in the *Glasgow Courier*, Dr. C. S. Whitford described the events he witnessed as a boy:

The Golden Gate [Saloon and Dancehall] was scarcely completed [in Nevada City] when it was the scene of one of the first of the many gruesome but just and necessary acts of the Vigilantes. George Ives, the most notorious robber and cold blooded murderer of Henry Plummer’s band of road agents, met his finish in the front room of this afterward famous saloon. A rope was strung from a crossbeam, with a noose about his neck. He was forced to mount a dry goods box, which was knocked from beneath his feet, where he hung and strangled and kicked out his worthless life (*Glasgow Courier* [1920s]).

After the trial a group of five men agreed that justice by a jury in a court was too slow and ineffective. The men decided to form a Vigilance Committee, patterned on the San Francisco model used in 1856. Red Yeager convicted of criminal interference, provided the Vigilance Committee with a list of criminals headed by corrupt Sheriff Henry Plummer. The Vigilance Committee used the list to search out and eradicate all of Sheriff Plummer’s criminal associates. The Vigilance Committee went on to hang 22 men around southern Montana during January and February of 1864 (Mather and Boswell 1987:77).

Nevada City began with an estimated population of over one thousand residents. “In 1869 the population fell to one hundred souls, and the mercantile representation to three general stores and two saloons” (Leeson 1885:783). According to the 1880 census, the town’s population consisted of only eight families and by 1900 an estimated five or six households were left. A major fire at the Madison County Courthouse in 1972 destroyed records for the 1900 census making detailed analysis unavailable. By the 1910 census Nevada City was no longer distinguished from Virginia City (US Census 1880)

(Virginia City Chamber of Commerce 2004b:2). A photograph of Nevada City's main street dated July 4, 1865 (Figure 3) shows dozens of stores and cabins extended back about six blocks on the east side of the present highway. "In April, 1872, the city contained one miners' store, one brewery, blacksmith shop, butcher shop, livery stable and a Masonic hall. Most of the citizens were engaged in mining pursuits, but some of the residents had farms and stock in the valley" (Leeson 1885:783). "Old Nevada City's turbulent and amazing life, when thousands of seething, struggling and money-mad human beings of every nationality and country on earth, swarmed its single street day and night, was probably without parallel on the continent" (*Glasgow Courier* [1920s]).

In 1885 historian Michael A. Leeson described Nevada City, stating, "To the old settlers of Montana this once great center of wealth and enterprise presents today a scene, which more than any other reminds them of the transient character of riches"

(Leeson 1885:783). Nevada City's fleeting prosperity prompted most of the eight remaining families to accept the land buy-outs offered by the Conrey Placer Mining Company during Alder Gulch's dredge era, 1878-1922 (Warhank and Jiusto 2000a:7). The Conrey Placer Mining Company land purchasing began at the bottom of Alder Gulch near Alder and extended as far north as Nevada City. In fact by 1912 "it was reported that the company owned practically the whole of Alder Gulch from Nevada, a mile below Virginia City, to Alder, a distance of eight miles" (Spence 1989:27). Dredging operations by the Conrey Placer Mining Company and others devastated Nevada City. "The entire original town of Nevada City west of the highway was eradicated by dredging operations in the early 1900s" (Virginia City Chamber of Commerce 2004b:2). "These dredge operations directly and indirectly led to the destruction of all but a dozen

original mid 1860s Nevada City buildings” (Warhank and Jiusto 2000a:6). Indirect effects included salvaging buildings for fuel, construction, and personal use. The structures that survived the destruction of the dredge era are extant because of the efforts of the Finney family.

The Frank Finney family occupied their home in Nevada City from 1864 until 1951. The oldest part of the building is the kitchen, built in 1863. The second-story front room was added in 1864. The Montana Heritage Commission states:

Frank came to Alder Gulch in 1864, established a placer claim and brought his bride to a cabin built the previous year on Nevada City’s bustling main street. Frank hauled wood from Granite and freighted merchandise. The family kept horses and cows which provided dairy goods, a commodity much in demand in the mining camps (Baumler and Ellingsen 2003a:3).

When the gold dredges and road construction made it to the Finney door, siblings Alfred and Cora refused to sell their land or the extra properties their family had acquired as the town economy dwindled. Cora and Alfred Finney’s decision saved the eastern half of Nevada City from dredging destruction. The spared portion of Nevada City was largely abandoned, however, and much of this eventually fell into disrepair. Alfred Finney died at home on January 24, 1951. “After Alfred’s death, with no neighbors nearby, friends talked Cora into moving to Virginia City where she died on May 12, 1958” (Warhank and Jiusto 2000a:8).

Shortly after Cora Finney’s death, Bovey Restorations purchased approximately ten acres of Nevada City land from various property owners, including the Finney’s properties. Charlie Bovey, who was already spearheading preservation efforts in Virginia City and elsewhere, needed the property for the relocation of “Old Town,” his western frontier exhibit from the Great Falls Fairground. Bovey began moving his building

exhibits in the spring of 1959. Charlie placed each building in vacant lots along what remained of Nevada City's original streets to create an air of authenticity. On the other hand, Bovey created a building zoo, placing his "Old Town" structures on the site of Nevada City, thereby creating a landscape that lacks integrity and that presents a false perspective of that community. Even so, Bovey's efforts represent a pioneering endeavor to preserve certain components of Montana's history and to interpret Virginia City and Nevada City's history in perpetuity. "Nevada City [is] an excellent complement to the original structures of Virginia City. Virginia tells the history of Alder Gulch, and Nevada expands it to include the way of life in the past in even greater detail" (Ellingsen 1983:31). While the issues of Bovey's building zoo will be addressed in Chapter 6, the next chapter will detail Charlie Bovey's history as Montana's first major privately funded Historical Preservationist.

CHAPTER 5

CHARLES BOVEY: INCIPIENT PRESERVATIONIST

Numerous events and individuals contributed to the nineteenth and twentieth-century history of Montana. Among the well known and influential of these were explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, Salish Chief Charlo, Sioux Chief Sitting Bull, cowboy artist Charles “Charlie” Russell, actor Gary Cooper, the first U. S. Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin, and incipient preservationist Senator Charles “Charlie” Bovey (Figures 11 and 12). “While only a few may recognize the name Charles Bovey, he was a man who had an unprecedented impact on the preservation of Montana’s living history” (Baird 2002:1). The architecture, history, and artifacts from Montana’s frantic 1860s beginnings will be preserved indefinitely thanks to Senator Charles Bovey’s influence and lifetime of preservation work.

Charles Argalis Bovey was born May 1, 1907 to a wealthy Minneapolis, Minnesota family. Charles, better known as “Charlie,” was the last of three children born to Charles and Kate Bovey. Charlie’s father, Charles Cranston Bovey, and his grandfather, Charles Argalis Bovey, became very wealthy with Washburn-Crosby Company, later known as Gold Medal Flour, a forerunner of General Mills (Ellingsen and Safford 1998a:5). The family’s wealth provided a privileged upbringing for Charlie and his two older siblings. In 1912 on one of the Bovey family’s many trips to Europe, they received word of Charlie’s grandfather’s death and had to return home. The Boveys canceled their return passage reservations and were delayed for several days in a fortuitous twist of fate. Young Charlie caught whooping cough, which prevented the family from boarding the *Titanic* on its maiden voyage (Ellingsen and Safford 1998a:6).

The Bovey family made several more trips to Europe, and Charlie's preservation ideology began with his childhood trips to the "Old World." "He had this idea of preserving things, or restoring them, having this idea fostered from his trips to Europe" (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:7). Charlie's experiences in Europe taught him that preservation is the highest use of a historic building. European vacations may have influenced his views on historic buildings, but Charlie credited his mother for instilling his early appreciation of antiquities. His mother, Kate, had an amazing collection of fancy antiques including Oriental rugs, a refractory table from a European castle, and chairs from a 1500s Spanish Mission (Ellingsen and Safford 1998a:9). As a child Charlie had more of an interest in mundane items like old toys, magazines, and horse-drawn vehicles. Around 1910 many of the Bovey's wealthy acquaintances were abandoning their horse-drawn vehicles for automobiles. Charlie would ask if he could have them by the time he was in junior high and many of the Bovey's friends agreed. "So he amassed a collection of fairly unusual sort of buggies, which he called 'Phaetons'" (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:3). Charlie gradually expanded his collections over his lifetime, eventually amassing the largest collection of western memorabilia outside of the Smithsonian.

On September 11, 1923, Charlie left Minneapolis to attend the Phillips Andover Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, his father and grandfather's alma mater (Baird 2002:9). After graduating in 1926 Charlie returned to Minneapolis where his father gave him an ultimatum. Charlie had to decide if he wanted to go to college or learn the milling trade. Charlie decided to learn the milling trade. His father gave him a one-way ticket to Great Falls, Montana, where he arrived on the morning of October 22, 1926 (Bovey

1926:1). Charlie was told that when he got to Great Falls he was to immediately report to Mr. Sherwood, the superintendent of the Royal Milling Company, a subsidiary of the Minneapolis-based Washburn Crosby Company (Baird 2002:11). Not long after moving to Great Falls, Charlie met his future wife Rachel Sue Ford. “By 1927, a year or so later, they had become fairly well acquainted” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:15).

By 1928 Charlie had advanced at the mill from a janitor to a millwright’s assistant, learning fine carpentry work. Even though Charlie was doing well at the mill, he was unhappy with the whole milling business and longed for an alternative. One night he struck up a conversation with the Kerfliet brothers, Joe and Slim, about farming. The Kerfliet brothers were poor farm boys from Big Sandy who offered to teach Charlie how to farm if he could get a ranch (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:16). Sue’s father, Lee Ford, was the president of the Great Falls National Bank and suggested a ranch to Charlie that had been one of the many foreclosures of the 1920s farming depression. After quitting his job at the mill, Charlie began renting a wheat ranch about 10 miles outside of Great Falls (Figure 10). In 1929 Charlie was able to purchase “Sunnyside Ranch.” Charlie’s parents were very disappointed in his decision. “In their minds he had been an extremely foolish kid; he turned down going to Harvard, and then had turned down a career in the flour milling business where he was supposed to be groomed to become president of General Mills” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:17). Undaunted by his parent’s disapproval, Charlie continued to follow his bliss by purchasing a cattle ranch in the early 1930s outside of Cascade, Montana and a sheep ranch in 1936 at Monarch near Great Falls (Figure 10). At the sheep ranch, called “Deep Canyon Ranch,” Charlie expressed his love for historic architecture. “[He] built two barns at Deep Canyon Ranch that were

built to look like false fronted general stores...Of course, even in the 1930s Charlie seemed to want to build a little town. Even though he was supposed to be building barns for agricultural purposes, he made them look like stores” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998a:25). Throughout his ranching years Charlie continued to add to his various collections. Around 1928 Charlie purchased two vehicles from C. T. Grove. The early vintage vehicles included a 1908 Anderson Motor Buggy and a 1909 air-cooled Cameron (*Montana Parade* 1967:4-5). Two years later Charlie purchased a 1903 Dort Roadster from his neighbor, James Sherwood (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:4).

From the day they met, Sue was a constant presence at Charlie’s side, so “on February 23, 1933, Rachel Sue Ford--granddaughter of Robert Ford, daughter of Lee Ford and Rachel Couch--and Charles A. Bovey, were married in the Episcopal church in Great Falls, Montana” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998a:28). After their wedding Charlie and Sue moved to “Sunnyside Ranch.” By the late 1930s Charlie finished construction on their new home. John Ellingsen described the Bovey’s Sunnyside home as, “a New England-combination Montana ranch style house, shingled on the outside, multi-paned windows, and six-over-six in most cases” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998a:21). The home and lifestyle Charlie and Sue chose to live upset their wealthy and influential parents. Their parents did not think that their children should be living in a house with only a fireplace to heat it, a wood stove to cook on, and well water. Sue’s mother especially disapproved of her daughter doing menial farm labor. But nothing could detour Charlie and Sue, who were happy living like homesteaders. Sue would jokingly say that she and Charlie were the first hippies (Ellingsen and Safford 1998a:29). Charlie and Sue loved to travel and among their favorite pastimes were ski trips with their friends.

Charlie traveled to Fort Benton, Montana, September 18, 1940, to attend the “Carey Horse Sale” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:5). Charlie stopped at a local café to have a pre-auction cup of coffee. One of the café patrons introduced Charlie to someone who knew the daughters of Joseph Sullivan. Before his death in April of 1940, Sullivan was the owner of a well known saddle shop in Fort Benton called “Sullivan’s Saddlery.” Joseph’s expert craftsmanship was well-known, “Sullivan saddles were known by every Montana cattleman including Conrad Kohrs and Dan Floweree” (Baumler 1998:10). The Sullivan’s Saddlery building has an eclectic history. The building was originally constructed in 1863 to house the first Blackfeet Indian Agency in Fort Benton. It was the site of a treaty negotiation and signing on November 16, 1865, with the chiefs of the Blackfeet nation. The treaty specified that in exchange for the land south of the Missouri River the United States Government would pay them “\$50,000 annually in annuities over 20 years” (Baumler 1998:10). The building was next used a “flop-on-the-floor” hotel and saloon known as the “Council House.” Owner John Healy was ready to sell his building in 1881. Healy successfully convinced saddlery partners Joseph Sullivan and V. K. Goss to relocate their offices from Deer Lodge to his building in Fort Benton (Baumler 1998:10). “Sullivan eventually bought out Goss and conducted his business there for more than 40 years until the automobile forced closure in the 1920s” (Baumler 1998:10).

Charlie’s interest in viewing the saddle shop outweighed his desire to attend the horse auction so he set out to find the Sullivan sisters. Charlie was fascinated not only with the building but, by all of the antiquities that remained inside it. Among the more notable items that remained was the chair that renowned cowboy artist Charlie Russell used to sit in on his many visits to the saddle shop. Other antiquities included, “leather,

harnesses, new robes for carriages, lots of buckles in boxes, and stock food” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:7). The sisters were so pleased with Charlie’s enthusiasm over their father’s building and its contents, that they gave it all to Charlie. The building and everything inside had to be removed from Fort Benton’s Main Street as soon as possible. As part of a city beautification project, the city planned to replace what they saw as an “eyesore” with a modern brick building (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:8). Charlie’s acquisition of Sullivan’s Saddlery became a turning point in his life “and maybe in the realm of Montana history and the preservation of Virginia and Nevada cities, and so on” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:5).

Charlie had to quickly decide where he was going to place the building once it was ready to be moved. His first inclination was his ranch, but after some deliberation he decided to contact the Great Falls Fair Board. Charlie had previously exhibited some of his antique vehicles and other collections in their Livestock Pavilion and knew it would be a perfect location for Sullivan’s Saddlery. Granted approval by the Fair Board, Charlie now had to figure out how to get the building there. “[Charlie had] never really torn down a building before. [He] didn’t know all the fancy techniques and so on. But he figured if he numbered all the boards and kept them from tearing down things too badly, he could put everything back together” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:9). The boards were all removed, numbered, and separated for shipment to the Great Falls Fair Grounds. “By December 1940, the pieces of Sullivan’s Saddlery had been moved to the Livestock Pavilion” (Baird 2002:18). Charlie was excited about his new building and he devoted numerous hours to re-erecting it inside of the Pavilion. Several additional buildings were added to the Pavilion between the December 1940 arrival of Sullivan’s

Saddlery and the Fair in August of 1941. The buildings were positioned to resemble a stereotypical main street in the “Old West.” The eclectic assortment of buildings came from various locations throughout Montana. The collection included a fire station from Boulder, a barber shop from Elkhorn, “Ebrer’s Black Smith Shop” from Augusta, and a saloon from Belt (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:10). Charlie named the exhibit “Front Street in Old Town.” To enhance the 1941 fairgoers “voyage” into the “Old West,” Charlie added pieces from his antique vehicle and artifact collections. “It was a unique idea in the museum world, long before other such exhibits such as ‘the Streets of Old Milwaukee’ or similar exhibits in the Smithsonian. All the buildings in Old Town are not only real and full-scale, but were destined to be destroyed when Charles Bovey rescued them” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:11). Fairgoers loved how the exhibit allowed one to experience the Old West first hand (*Great Falls Leader* 1944:5). Charlie’s exhibit was a success with the public and his father. “It was the first time that Charles Cranston really understood and appreciated his son’s desire to collect antiques” (Baird 2002:18). The experience of creating the “Old Town” exhibit changed Charlie forever. He discovered that preservation wasn’t just a hobby-- it was his niche in life and he loved the work.

By the early 1940s Charlie and Sue were growing tired of farming. Charlie became increasingly interested in politics. In November 1942, Charlie decided to run as a Democrat for the Montana House of Representatives. At first, Charlie did not know if he should designate himself as a Democrat or as a Republican. Charlie contacted his friend Henry Scheffels who knew more about Great Falls and Montana politics. Scheffels advised Charlie that if he wanted to win he should run as a Democrat because “in Great Falls the Democrats won” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:11). Charlie followed

Scheffels advice and won a seat in the Montana House of Representatives where he served from 1943 to 1945. In his last year as a representative, Charlie decided to run for the Montana State Senate. Charlie was victorious again and served as a State Senator from 1947-1965 (Baird 2002:18). “Charlie was most noted in the legislature for his concern regarding the elderly and the mentally handicapped and his fight to pass legislation to benefit these groups of people” (Baird 2002:20). Charlie took his passion for historic preservation to the House of Representatives. He worked to try to get a bill passed that would “set aside such historic communities as Virginia City, Bannack, Fort Shaw, and Fort Logan, in the interest of keeping early-day history intact” (*Helena Independent* 1943:3). Unfortunately, the bill was never introduced, but this did not dissuade Charlie from privately funding preservation projects.

Charlie was often underappreciated for his preservation efforts and some people were downright suspicious of his passion for preserving Montana’s deteriorating built resources. On two occasions in the early 1940s Charlie offered to put free roofs on historic buildings to aid in their preservation. The owners of the Goodrich House in Bannack refused Charlie’s offer, believing he might try to get a lien against their building causing them to lose ownership. The owners of the Cheap Cash Store in Radersburg also refused Charlie’s offer, being suspicious of his motives. “No one could believe that some man was wondering around the country with an offer for free roofs” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:20-21).

On July 29, 1944, Charlie organized Joseph Kinsey Howard, Newell Gough, Henry Scheffels and other preservation-minded individuals to form the Historic Landmark Society of Montana. The newly formed organization’s documented purpose

was, "...to preserve and restore historic landmarks of Montana; to encourage widespread public participation in Montana historical study...to acquire properties...of historical interest or significance to Montana... [and to] acquire funds...to hold, operate [and] maintain [these properties]" (Secretary of the State of Montana 1944:2). The Society worked on various projects including the "preservation and restoration of the 1877 Stickney Sawmill near Craig, Montana, followed by the preservation of Antoine Juneau Cabin near Fort Piegan and Loma, Montana, a cabin that was built circa 1855" (Baird 2002:22). The Historic Landmark Society of Montana had several small achievements but they were nothing compared to scale and success Charlie would achieve with his privately funded efforts.

In 1944 Charlie and Sue took a trip to a dude ranch in Ennis called the "Bar 7." Guests of the ranch were routinely taken over the hill to view "historic Virginia City" (Ellingsen 2006:5). While at the ranch Charlie and Sue decided to join a group traveling over to Virginia City. Charlie and Sue, ardent historians, were fascinated by the historic gold rush town. Virginia City's appearance at the time was described as that of "a dilapidated movie set, complete with board walks" (Sievert and Sievert 1993:43). As the group stopped to browse through tourist shops Charlie continued down to the lower end of Wallace Street. All of the buildings at this end of the street were either empty or abandoned. Charlie wandered into one of the empty buildings, known today as the Bale of Hay Saloon, and found a man tearing out wainscoting to get some winter firewood. Charlie was appalled at the destruction this man had caused "this fabulous old building." When Charlie questioned the man's reasoning he was told to mind his own business (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:22). This incident immensely bothered Charlie. On their

return trip to Great Falls, Charlie expressed his concerns about Virginia City to his wife.

Sue Bovey described her husband's initial reaction after their first trip to Virginia City in

1944:

[Charlie] simply worried about that little town down there; he was so fascinated by the amount of buildings that were still there, and talked constantly about how the townspeople didn't appreciate them, and were tearing them down for firewood. He just had to do something--to go back and try to save something down there; try to get somebody to stop tearing it down (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:23).

Charlie planned to return to Virginia City as soon as he could by using some of his wartime gas ration stamps that he had been saving for his next harvest. The value and scarcity of the gas stamps was of little importance to Charlie, who felt immediate action was needed to save Virginia City's historic buildings.

Charlie addressed the Vigilance Club in Virginia City on October 20, 1944. He told the club members how he was concerned about their historic properties and how something urgent needed to be done to save them all from being used for firewood. The Vigilance Club turned out to be of little help due to a general lack of funding so Charlie turned to the City for help. "Apparently Charlie tried to interest the City in passing an ordinance that would help preserve the buildings; that would keep them from being torn down" (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:24). Unfortunately Charlie was met with the same "lack of funding" response he had received from the Vigilance Club. Charlie's concerns now grew more serious. "He felt that he was under a great deal of time pressure to try to do something about the demise of the buildings" (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:24). The historic Virginia Hotel had already been torn down since his initial visit and any of the other historic buildings could be next. Momentarily defeated but undeterred, Charlie stopped at the Tavern Saloon; now known as the Morning Sun Restaurant, before

heading back to Great Falls. A gentleman seated next to him in the café section was talking to a waiter about a property that he was trying to sell in Virginia City. Charlie began talking with the man about the property and by the end of their conversation Charlie had purchased the “Blake House” for a mere one hundred dollars (Ellingsen and Safford 1998:26). The house was built in 1868 and is said to be one of Montana’s first frame houses. The building was also the home of Judge Henry Blake, the first chief justice of Montana who served from 1889-1893 (Baumler and Ellingsen 2003b:1). Rumors quickly spread throughout the town about a rich guy who was looking to buy old buildings. As more and more people began contacting Charlie about buying their properties he realized “that the best way to preserve the buildings was to buy them himself” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:28). The Bovey’s liquidated assets to generate the capital needed for continued building purchases and to start the actual preservation work. Charlie also used money he had made from ranching to finance preservation work in Virginia City. “According to Sue, Charlie spent two ranches fixing up Virginia City. In other words, he sold the Deep Canyon Ranch and the Cascade property for money to invest down there” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998a:27). Charlie accomplished an amazing amount of work given the limited funding backing his projects.

The first major project Charlie and the Historic Landmark Society undertook was the reconstruction of the Montana Post building in 1946. Charlie would have liked to begin the project sooner, but several smaller Virginia City projects, his ranching/political career, and the birth of his son, Ford, on March 7, 1945, prevented him from taking on any major projects. The Montana Post Building was originally constructed in two phases. The original log building that comprised the front of the building was

constructed by D. W. Tilton in 1863. “The stone print shop at the rear with its Gothic style windows was completed in January 1865,” and it housed the *Montana Post*, “reputedly the first newspaper in the Montana Territory” (Baumler 1998:22). In 1937 a fire consumed the wooden front of the building and damaged the stone walls of the print shop. Charlie had already replaced roofs and windows at the Wells Fargo Building, the Vigilante Barn, and the E. L. Smith store but the Montana Post pre-Bovey was a “burned-out” building with a foundation in need of a lot of work (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:28-29). The Montana Post project required repairing the damaged stone walls and the meticulous reconstruction of the wooden front section of the building using historic photographs (Baumler 1998:22). The Montana Post building meant a lot to Charlie. As a little boy he was given a miniature printing press that could print out small items like business cards and envelopes (Ellingsen and Safford 1998a:8-9). After the completion of the Montana Post Building, Charlie filled the print shop with the numerous pieces of printing machinery he had collected over the years. “It was at this newly restored location that Charlie revived the old paper with the publication of his own newspaper, *The Montana Post*, which was used to update the public on the activities of the Historic Landmark Society” (Baird 2002:31). Charlie would also print out various signs, posters, and souvenir newspapers from original *Montana Post* issues.

By the end of 1946 Charlie had created the Virginia City Trading Company, Dealers in Lumber, Hardware, and General Merchandise. The Company oversaw many businesses in Virginia City, including the Opera House, the Fairweather Inn, and the Wells Fargo Coffee House (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:36). Charlie and Sue also drew up a mission statement for the Virginia City Trading Company:

To preserve and protect original buildings, recognizing and retaining most of the changes which have taken place over time, retaining as much of the original material as possible, and if reconstructions are necessary, to reproduce authentic copies of missing buildings using old materials to retain the overall original appearance of Virginia City; to collect appropriate artifacts with which to furnish these buildings and display them in their total context, and to operate certain appropriate businesses to serve the public and to allow the public to “experience the past” by participating in it (in such businesses as the Bale of Hay Saloon, Fairweather Inn, or Opera House), profits from such businesses, if any being secondary (Ellingsen 1999:1).

In 1972 Virginia City Trading Company’s corporate name was changed to Bovey Restorations Incorporated (McKay 1999b:30).

By 1947 Charlie had purchased a wide range of properties, including the Blake House, the Montana Post, Cabbage Patch Dress Shop, the Hangman’s Building, the Bale of Hay Saloon, the Jack Taylor Cabins, the Buford Block, the Gilbert House, the Virginia Brewery, the Frank Prash Blacksmith Shop, the Sauerbier Blacksmith shop, and the Anaconda Hotel (Baird 2002:31; Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:30-33; Bovey 1946:1).

Charlie had decided to turn the abandoned Anaconda Hotel Building back into a hotel for tourists. Charlie’s early preservation work was completed at a time when there were no great preservation philosophies or guidelines to follow. With the best of intentions “Charlie did something with the [Anaconda Hotel Building] that would probably never be condoned today--which was taking a building that was of a different look and grafting another building’s front on it to make it a more attractive building” (Ellingsen and Safford 1998b:35). The building was completed and opened on December 13, 1946. Charlie renamed the hotel the Fairweather Inn after the infamous Bill Fairweather of the Alder Gulch discovery party. Charlie renovated the hotel because he felt an obligation to take care of the tourist’s visiting Virginia City. By “taking care” of the tourists, Bovey intended to furnish food, shelter, and perhaps some form of entertainment for guests of

Virginia City. Tourists enjoyed the new hotel but they complained about the lack of dining accommodations available in Virginia City. Charlie decided to remedy the situation by opening up a restaurant in the Wells Fargo Building across the street from the Fairweather Inn. The Wells Fargo Coffee House opened in June of 1947. The restaurant's spacious interior and historic atmosphere quickly made it a tourist favorite.

Charlie tried to immerse tourists into the history of Virginia City through living history. "He restored and furnished the Bale of Hay Saloon as an operating early 1900s bar, complete with music machines and drinks for sale, so that tourists could 'experience the past.' The [Gilbert] Brewery Beer Gardens soon followed" (Ellingsen 2006:5).

Charlie also added a wooden dance floor in the old stone barn next to the Bale of Hay Saloon for square dancing, a favorite pastime of the Bovey's (Kelsey 1951:4-6). Virginia City's entertainment grew to include historic era plays performed by Larry and Dorrie Barsness' Virginia City Players, comedy shows put on by the Brewery Follies, guided stage coach tours, and an annual 1800s era ball. By the 1950s, Charlie and Sue Bovey had made Virginia City one of the state's most popular tourist attractions (Baumler 1999:74).

Charlie had finished renovations on several buildings by the early 1950s. Some of the completed buildings were set up with static shop displays so the tourists' experience could be as authentic as possible. The displays included an array of stocked antique merchandise and mannequins dressed to represent the late nineteenth-century. Renovated buildings with such exhibits included the Montana Post Building, the Cabbage Patch Dress Shop, Sauerbier Blacksmith Shop, a barber shop, and a jewelry shop (Kelsey 1951:4-6). The Bovey's preservation work around the state did not go unnoticed. In

1952 the University of Montana recognized Charlie and Sue's preservation efforts by presenting them with honorary history degrees "for their outstanding contribution to the preservation of the state's history" (*Daily Missoulian* 1952:4). Charlie would often receive letters of admiration from people who had seen or heard about his work. Some of these admirers donated artifacts or buildings to add to the Bovey collection.

Architectural historian Jim Jarvis praised the quality of Charlie's preservation work, noting:

Many of his preservation and interpretation practices have stood the test of time in terms of public appreciation and professional scrutiny. In the early 1960s Charlie's efforts to preserve Virginia City were recognized by it being designated a National Historic Landmark, as 'one of the best preserved 1860s placer mining towns and frontier capital in the American West' (Jarvis 2001:18).

In 1958 the Great Falls Fair Board decided that Charlie's Old Town exhibit in their livestock pavilion had become outdated. Great Falls was more interested in the future than the past. The Fair Board planned to replace Old Town with a stock exhibit from the Air Force. "This was the age of space, and Great Falls had Malmstrom Air Force Base, making it even more infatuated with missiles, sputniks, and H-bombs: it seemed all Great Falls did was court the air base" (Ellingsen 1983:30). Charlie had to decide where he was going to put the buildings from the Old Town display. He knew that there was land available in Nevada City and the area was less than two miles from Virginia City. Historian John Ellingsen explained how Charlie acquired the Nevada City property:

Charlie had purchased this site. That's a long story in itself. Briefly, he bought Ms. Finney's property at the far end of town...He bought another piece of property from the McGovern's. This included the Star Bakery...Another piece was from the Fenner family...And so in the spring of 1959 he had pretty much bought the site of where Nevada City is. There were several original buildings

here; about seventeen if you count every little outhouse and so on (Ellingsen and Safford 1998c:43).

The Old Town buildings were moved to Nevada City in the spring of 1959. The first building to be moved to Nevada City was Sullivan Saddlery. The remaining buildings followed in quick succession.

Charlie wanted his outdoor museum to resemble the original Nevada City as much as possible. Yet research on this community (much like that conducted for this thesis) yielded few details about the town's landscape and daily life. Charlie found that there was no plat map of Nevada City, nor written documentation as to its original layout. However, Charlie did find a historic photograph (1865) of Nevada City's main street (Figure 3), which he used as a model to reconstruct the town's vacant streets as accurately as he could (Jarvis 2001:6). Part of this endeavor involved the relocation of buildings from all over Montana, into the empty lots in Nevada City. Once moved, the buildings were placed on vacant historic foundations whenever possible. Charlie had most of the "Old Town" buildings placed along what would be known as Brewery Street in Nevada City (Baumler and Ellingsen 2003a:1). While Bovey's endeavors are certainly not acceptable by modern preservation laws and standards, they are nonetheless significant as pioneering incipient preservation activities in the state of Montana, and many of those activities occurred as experiments in Nevada City.

Charlie strove for authenticity when reconstructing or repairing historic buildings. Period construction materials and artifacts were used whenever possible to help ensure historical accuracy. Other buildings, from various places in Montana, filled the

remaining streets to form the outdoor museum of Nevada City. Today there are about ninety buildings along the streets of Nevada City (Baumler and Ellingsen 2003a:1). Charlie's preservation and interpretation practices involving Nevada City as an "outdoor museum" are unique for three reasons. First, other outdoor museums like Sturbridge Village, Cooperstown, & Greenfield Village were arranged on formerly open sites. Nevada City, on the other hand, like Colonial Williamsburg, was restored and reconstructed at the town's original location. Second, Colonial Williamsburg, Cooperstown, and Sturbridge Village are all representations of pre-nineteenth century human existence, while Nevada City represents a gold mining boomtown of the American West in the late nineteenth-century. It is also inherently different from Colonial Williamsburg in that it contains buildings moved in from elsewhere--not actual reconstructions based on architectural evidence.

It is unclear if Charlie had a "master plan" for the layout of Nevada City. No written documentation has been found to support or disprove the existence of a "master plan" for Nevada City's layout. It seems unlikely that any planning was documented because "Charlie thought that if you plan too intensely you end up with something artificial, like Greenfield Village, and he definitely wanted to avoid that" (Ellingsen and Safford 1999:3). Greenfield Village (originally named Early American Village) is an outdoor museum created by Henry Ford as a homage to the history of American life and industry. The museum has a thematic undertone of Ford's nostalgic longing for his youth and childhood. Ford's "nostalgic longings" were known, at times, to be rather obsessive. For example, what once began as an innocent pursuit for second-hand copies of Ford's childhood school books, the McGuffey's *Eclectic Readers*, turned into a relentless quest

for anything associated with McGuffey. “Ford’s [McGuffey] collection would grow to include not only four hundred and fifty volumes of the *Readers*, but also a “McGuffey School” built out of the timber from an eighteenth-century barn, and even McGuffey’s Pennsylvania birthplace” (Kaufman 1989:36-37).

Other buildings in Ford’s collection represented personal glimpses into his past. These include the Ford’s family farmhouse, a scaled down replica of his first assembly plant, a mill where he and his father had taken the wool from their farm, and a chapel built and dedicated to Ford’s mother, Martha and his mother-in-law, Mary (Kaufman 1989:37). To further personalize the chapel building, materials were taken from the house in Greenfield where the Ford’s had been married. Architectural historian Edward N. Kaufman explains the complexities present at Greenfield Village:

So in this central icon of American values, the visitor to Greenfield confronted neither a genuine historic building nor an abstract symbol, but rather a complex artifact in which history, country, and religion were inextricably mingled with personal mementos--relics, really, of Henry Ford’s family life (Kaufman 1989:37-38).

Nevada City and Virginia City do not contain Bovey family heirlooms or architecture. Unlike Ford’s Greenfield Village, Nevada City’s outdoor museum was created with the hope that visitors would feel as if they were actually in a late nineteenth-century Montana mining town. Charlie avoided using artifacts or buildings that did not fit in with the old west character of historic Nevada City and Virginia City. Displaying disjointed artifacts and buildings would have created the type of “artificial” museum environment that Charlie wanted to avoid.

In 1971 the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) decided that Charlie could no longer take tax deductions related to Nevada City and Virginia City. The IRS declared Charlie’s

work in Nevada City and Virginia City a “hobby” rather than a “business” (Ellingsen 2006:2). The IRS’s decision caused a series of events that vexed Charlie for the remainder of his life. To maintain his “legitimate business” status, Charlie had to raise prices at his hotels and restaurants. More disturbing to Charlie was that he had to start charging admission to Nevada City. Charlie hated this idea because it meant that a fence had to be erected around the perimeter of the outdoor museum, which detracted from the site’s historic authenticity and aesthetic appeal. Charlie never liked handling the business aspects of running Nevada City and Virginia City. In 1972 Charlie hired J. Nold Midyette to take care of business matters as the General Manager of the Virginia City Trading Company (later known as Bovey Restorations). Charlie felt that his ongoing preservation projects were more important than any money he was or wasn’t making from the tourists who came to see his work. “To say Charlie did not care about profit is an understatement. He said he only made a profit once: \$47.00 in 1962, the year of the Seattle World’s Fair. The sign in the *Montana Post*, reading, “This is a nonprofit corporation, unfortunately we didn’t plan it that way,” certainly fit” (Ellingsen 2:2006). Charlie collected artifacts of the past, not for their monetary value but to protect them and to make them available for future generations.

Charlie’s work in Nevada City and Virginia City saved numerous examples of Montana’s historic architecture and artifacts that would have otherwise been discarded or destroyed. Charlie felt it was best to be able to preserve buildings on their original sites, but was also aware of the potential for vandalism or destruction on the original sites. Charlie’s solution to this dilemma was Nevada City. “Since 1959, Nevada City has become a haven for such buildings doomed to destruction” (Ellingsen 1983:30).

Charlie spent the remainder of his life devoted to the surrounding Alder Gulch area, preserving resources and immersing visitors into the past. Charlie's work in Nevada City is significant for his use of the outdoor museum as a preservation tool and as a pioneering example of the development of heritage tourism in Montana. His preservation efforts saved numerous buildings from certain destruction. Charlie passed away on June 9, 1978 in Nevada City (Pace 1970:iii). His life, work, and achievements were best expressed in a passage from his eulogy:

When one thinks of Charles Bovey, one tends to speak of his accomplishments--Rancher, Senator, Historic Landmark Society, Virginia City, Nevada City, Preservationist--Perhaps though, one has to keep these incredible accomplishments in perspective and remember that the accomplishments did not create the man, but rather the man's abilities, love, and nature created the accomplishments (Bovey 1978:1).

The quality of Charlie's preservation work in Nevada City and Virginia City has withstood the test of time. "Today, after almost 50 years of active heritage tourism development, the buildings and setting of Nevada City look rustically original, and are often mistaken for such by the numerous annual visitors to this outdoor museum" (Grant 1998:30). The significance of the Nevada City outdoor museum is escalated by the relatively undisturbed land that lay beneath it. Charlie's purchase and protection of the original site of Nevada City not only preserved the historic architecture on the land, but it also protected the archaeological evidence that lay beneath the soil.

In 1997 the State of Montana purchased Charlie Bovey's collection at Virginia City and Nevada City which included, "nearly 250 buildings, 160 acres of land, and hundreds of thousands of artifacts" (Virginia City Chamber of Commerce 2004b:8). Charlie's vast collection of western memorabilia and architecture from the 1860s to the

early 1900s is nationally significant. Conservationist Helen Alten described Charlie's collection in a 2002 assessment report:

The Virginia City/Nevada City collection is one of the most complete artifact records of the Old West. Its incredible breadth and depth is not matched anywhere else. About 60 percent of the artifacts are from Virginia City - an unusually high amount of material for a site that depicts the lives and work of ordinary people in the 19th century (Alten 2002:145).

Historic preservationist Jim Jarvis described Charlie Bovey as, "a pioneering force in the early development of historic preservation in the western United States" (Jarvis 2001:18). Outdoor museums and historic districts like Nevada City and Virginia City are significant because they give visitors a firsthand experience with the past. Charlie's devotion to preservation over profits saved an important part of our nation's history. His efforts in Virginia City have been recognized, and that district is listed on the NRHP. Nevada City, however, has yet to be included as either a contributing district within the Virginia City National Historic Landmark or as a separate entity on the NRHP as a historic district associated with Virginia City. The next chapter addresses Nevada City's significance in the context of NRHP criteria for eligibility.

CHAPTER 6

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

Historic properties are being destroyed or altered in the United States at an increasing rate. These properties are a direct reflection of America's cultural heritage. "The preservation of this irreplaceable heritage is in the public interest so that its vital legacy of cultural, educational, aesthetic, inspirational, economic, and energy benefits will be maintained and enriched for future generations of Americans" (Savage and Harper 1993:1). The following list of key legislation and events brought about national awareness and protection for historic buildings: the 1906 Antiquities Act; Charleston's historic districting law of 1931; the Historic Sites Act of 1935; the work of the Historic American Buildings Survey in the 1930s; the 1949 creation of the National Trust for Historic Preservation; and the 1966 National Preservation Act (Page and Mason 2004:7). The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), created under the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act, played "a central role in recognizing buildings, sites, districts, structures, and objects significant in American history, archeology, architecture, engineering, or culture, and identifying them as worthy of preservation" (Savage and Harper 1993:1). The NRHP encouraged American citizens to "plan, identify, evaluate, register, and protect significant historic and archeological properties throughout the Nation" (Savage and Harper 1993:1). Preservation guidelines, absent in the days of Charlie Bovey, Henry Ford, and others, were finally being established for preservationists.

Virginia City's historical significance was first recognized in 1961 when it was designated a National Historic Landmark, which is defined as "a significant

concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects united historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development” (NPS 1997a:100). Then in 1976, Virginia City was placed on the NRHP as a historic district (Grant 1998:69). The National Trust for Historic Preservation president Richard Moe described Virginia City’s place in history as “no less important to the settlement of the western frontier than Williamsburg was to Colonial America” (Dufurrena 1997:29). Nevada City has been an extension of Virginia City since their development during the mining boom of 1863. Historian Kathryn McKay described why the bond between Nevada City and Virginia City is important, stating, “the ambience of the two communities is probably of greater historical and interpretive significance than any single structure in either location. It is therefore important to retain historic materials and protect historic qualities” (McKay 1999b:1). The historic buildings managed by the Montana Heritage Commission in Nevada City constitute an outdoor museum. The National Trust defined an outdoor museum as, “a restored, re-created or replica village site in which several structures have been restored, rebuilt, or moved and whose purpose is to interpret a historic or cultural setting, period, or activity” (Murtaugh 1988:90).

Extensive financial backing is needed to care for outdoor museums like Nevada City. The Montana Heritage Commission believes that Nevada City would greatly benefit from a listing on the NRHP. Beyond the importance of national recognition is the advantage of assisted funding. “Once listed on the Register, the sites then [would] become eligible for the matching federal funds, and restoration and preservation work could begin in earnest” (Lubick 1984:177). Extensive work is needed at the Nevada City outdoor museum. Helen Alten noted, “The overall collection is in poor condition,

showing significantly more damage than that seen in a traditional museum,” but this is to be expected because, “deterioration of collections at living history museums occurs at a rate about eight times more rapid than a comparative traditional museum” (Alten 2002:147). The cost of combating rapid deterioration in Nevada City is becoming higher every year preventing anything beyond routine maintenance.

A listing on the NRHP would help ease the financial burdens associated with the ongoing operation and preservation of Nevada City’s outdoor museum. Around 1993 architects “estimated the restoration costs for just two buildings in Virginia City at over \$144,000” (Sievert and Sievert 1993:50). The Virginia City/Nevada City collection consists of nearly 250 buildings. Most of the buildings in the collection are in need of work beyond routine maintenance.

Certain property types are normally excluded from NRHP eligibility, including “properties moved from their original location, reconstructed buildings and structures...and properties less than fifty years old” (Hardesty and Little 2000:43). Previous attempts to nominate Nevada City as a historic district to the NRHP have been unsuccessful because the Nevada City outdoor museum has remained at an “ineligible” status since many of its buildings have been relocated and or reconstructed, and due to the fact that a large percentage of the historic buildings have been in Nevada City less than 50 years. However a property that falls within one or several of these categories can still be considered eligible for the NRHP providing it meets one of the criteria considerations (e.g., Criteria Considerations A through G). Normally the Criteria Considerations are for individual property evaluations. Even so, Nevada City’s outdoor museum can be evaluated under the Criteria Consideration’s special requirements

because a majority of the proposed district's buildings and structures were moved and are currently less than fifty years in situ.

There are two options available for the outdoor museum under these considerations. First, Criterion Consideration B outlines the NRHP eligibility guidelines for moved properties. According to Consideration B, "A property removed from its original or historically significant location can be eligible if it is significant primarily for architectural value or it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event" (NPS 1997b:37). Chapter 5 described the Nevada City outdoor museum's historic association to pioneer preservationist Charlie Bovey. The significance of Charlie Bovey will be discussed further under Criterion B. The other option available is Criterion Consideration G. This consideration applies to properties that have achieved significance within the last fifty years. Criteria Consideration G covers a variety of contexts including:

Post-World War II development projects; the growth of suburban subdivisions, shopping malls and commercial strip development; the expansion of educational, recreational, and transportation facilities; the Civil Rights movement; the advent of the United States space program; the Vietnam War; and the impact of historic preservation on American cities, towns, and rural areas (NPS 1998:7).

A nationwide resurgence of heritage tourism developed in the United States after World War II. It was during this period that Charlie Bovey used the concept of an outdoor museum as a preservation tool for his growing collection of mid-1860s to early 1900s buildings and structures. Criterion Considerations B and G will be discussed in more detail below.

Another option that does not require invocation of criteria considerations involves the establishment of a historic district using several of Nevada City's original buildings

that are already listed on the NRHP. “A district possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects united historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development” (NPS 1997b:6). A district typically includes contributing and non-contributing resources. Contributing resources retain their integrity and add to the significance of a district through associations, architecture, and/or archaeology. Resources are considered non-contributing for a variety of reasons that include the historic significance of the resource being altered; the resource being less than 50 years in age; or the resource does not fit within the historic context or defined era of the district.

Several buildings in Nevada City’s outdoor museum are currently listed in the NRHP under the historic context of nineteenth-century mining and migration in the American West. In 2008 the first wave of Charlie Bovey’s buildings will reach their 50 year in situ mark. These buildings are primarily associated with mining ghost town tourism. A district nomination for Nevada City’s outdoor museum will encompass the currently listed NRHP properties, the eligible properties, and the non-eligible properties. A building zoo such as Nevada City can become a historic district when a group of several buildings sharing the same historical context become eligible for NRHP listing. “Individually many of these buildings are not particularly distinctive; however their real significance lies within their contribution to the collective image and feeling of the entire re-created town site” (Jarvis 2001:8). To establish other applicable NRHP criteria for Nevada City’s Bovey era buildings Criteria A, B, C, and D were examined.

The NRHP established four main criteria (A-D) as a guide for evaluating the historical significance of individual or grouped properties. A site or district is eligible for the NRHP if its remains represent the following:

- A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. That are associated with the lives of significant persons in our past; or
- C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possesses high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. That have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory (NPS 1997b:4).

Criteria A through D were examined to evaluate the historical significance of the Nevada City outdoor museum as a historic district. Historic districts “can be considered for eligibility under all the Criteria, individually or in any combination, as is appropriate” (NPS 1997b:17). Research determined that the museum’s historical significance as a whole is associated with Criteria A, B, C, D, and Criteria Considerations B and G. Details are outlined below.

CRITERION A

Nevada City’s significance under Criterion A is illustrated by the district’s association with historic national trends of westward/Gold Rush migration 1863-1900 and tourism 1958-present. Under Criterion A, buildings or structures “must have been there to witness the event or series of events; they must have actually occurred on the nominated property” (NPS 1997b:5). Chapter 4 presented a history of nineteenth-century westward/Gold Rush migration 1863-1900 to explain how Nevada City, Montana, became a mining boomtown and later an outdoor museum 1958-present. Chapter 2

explained Nevada City's connection to economic centers in the Eastern and Western United States, as well as, Europe. National trends associated with Nevada City such as, Westward/Gold Rush migration and tourism stemmed from and were supported by capitalist markets. Some historical highlights are featured below as part of the argument for Nevada City's eligibility under Criterion A.

In 1863 Alder Gulch became the site of "the greatest placer rush in Montana's history" (Warhank and Justo 2000b:4). Mining communities quickly developed and expanded along the length of Alder Gulch and surrounding hills, giving the area the nickname of "Fourteen-mile City." Among these newly formed communities was the town of Nevada City which held "the distinction of becoming the first incorporated town in the Montana Territory" (Warhank and Justo 2000b:4). Like its contemporaries, Nevada City was originally established in 1863 as a residential and commercial settlement supported by the activity and spending habits of the local gold placer mining population. Nevada City represented the character of its residential population of "working class" immigrants. The majority of Nevada City's remaining original structures are log cabins with sod roves often called "miner's" or "bachelor's" cabins. These types of dwellings were popular among "working class" immigrants because of their economical construction costs and their relatively easy assembly. By the late 1860s, as mining activity decreased and strikes were reported elsewhere (e.g., Last Chance Gulch in Helena, Montana), the transient mining population migrated to newer and more promising mining districts. Those who remained behind adapted to the technological advances facing them. Companies resorted to hydraulicking and dredging the land to gain access to the deeper deposits that were inaccessible to traditional mining. It has

been estimated that Alder Gulch produced between thirty and forty million dollars worth of gold from 1863 to 1868 (Malone et al. 1991:65-66). “The amount of gold mined from this Gulch to date is placed at \$130 million or the equivalent of roughly \$2.5 billion at today’s values” (Warhank and Jiusto 2000b:5). Nearly nine miles of Alder Gulch was demolished during the dredging area. Countless property holders sold their land holdings to the dredging companies tearing up the Gulch:

These dredge operations directly and indirectly led to the destruction of all but about a dozen original mid 1860s Nevada City buildings. In addition to the dredging of the town site where the historic buildings stood, buildings were also taken for fuel. Some buildings may also have been moved, but given their modest frontier-era construction, it is not likely to have happened very much (Warhank and Jiusto 2000a:1).

Nevada City’s remaining buildings were protected from dredging companies because several residential property owners refused the companies buy-outs.

The Finney family, who moved to Nevada City in 1864, refused to sell their land to the dredging companies. Their refusal to sell saved the eastern half of Nevada City from destruction. The properties associated with the Finney family are representative of the remaining original structures in Nevada City:

The Finney House is an important nineteenth-century property, representing one of the earliest periods of Montana’s territorial settlement and the evolution of the Alder Gulch gold camp. The house and outbuildings served two generations of a Montana pioneer family that lived in Nevada City for over eighty years. The Finneys’ experience was reflective of many in the cyclical world of gold mining in the west, representing those who remained in towns on the decline after the era of active mining drew to a close (Warhank and Jiusto 2000a:5).

The spared portion of Nevada City was largely abandoned and many of the remaining structures eventually fell into disrepair. Many of the extant structures lay, primarily, on the western edge of the proposed district also known as Wood Street of the original

Nevada City, now Highway 287 (Figure 13 and 14). As dredging decreased, tourism gradually established itself as the new industry of the area.

Nevada City entered into its tourism phase in 1958 when Charlie Bovey was asked to remove his Old Town building collection from the Great Falls Fairgrounds. Charlie's work in Virginia City in the late 1940s occurred during a national resurgence of heritage tourism in the United States. "A number of conferences explored the relationships of historic preservation to urban planning, and the notion of preservation as a quality of life issue for all citizens achieved widespread acceptance" (King 2004:21).

Jim Jarvis described the impetus behind the revival of heritage tourism stating:

Several heritage museums like Nevada City were developed or expanded after WWII in direct response to the enormous technological advances and cultural changes brought about during this period. As our society was moving away from established norms, a need was identified to preserve certain aspects of our past especially those aspects relating to traditional community activities (Jarvis 2001:7).

Nevada City's outdoor museum preserved a nostalgic perception of the past. Bovey's version of historic tourism included static displays, staff performing historic reenactments of daily life in a 1860s mining camp, and period theatrical plays. The combination of entertainment and historic setting made the outdoor museum a popular tourist destination.

In the summer of 1959 Nevada City regained its ties to the world economic system as a tourist destination when the Boveys opened up miner's cabins for lodging and the Star Bakery for dining. Bovey purchased over thirty acres in Nevada City where his building zoo grew to contain over 100 historic buildings and structures. Nevada City's eclectic collection of buildings represents Montana's early aspirations toward social progress and statehood. The architectural form, material usage, and style of each building tell a story about early non-Native American settlement across a vast and remote

territory from the 1860s to the early twentieth century (Heath 1985:3). Some of the relocated buildings have historically significant pasts. Among these are Sullivan Saddlery, A. W. Switzer cabin, and a school house from Twin Bridges. Built in 1864, Sullivan Saddlery initially served as the first Blackfoot Agency in Fort Benton. In 1866 the building was purchased by John Healy and his brother who converted the building into a hotel/saloon. In 1881 Joseph Sullivan and his partner opened a saddlery shop in the building that Joseph ran for over forty years. The A. W. Switzer cabin, built in 1864, was the first house built in Madison County, and the Twin Bridges school house, constructed in 1867, is Montana's oldest standing public school (Baumler and Ellingsen 2003a:1).

CRITERION B

The district is also considered eligible under Criterion B due to Nevada City's association with Charles A. Bovey, rancher, Senator, and incipient preservationist. Under Criterion B, "A property must retain its integrity of association, and buildings and structures must retain integrity of design, workmanship, materials, feeling, and location" (Hardesty and Little 2000:116). Establishing a property's significance, through association to an individual, necessitates that "the individual should have lived, worked, or been on the premises during the period in which the person accomplished the activities for which the individual is considered significant" (NPS 1997b:1). Chapter 5 presented a history of Bovey to explain his significance to Montana's twentieth-century history, as well as to the state's preservation history. In addition, Bovey's significant work with Nevada City is illustrated through his use of the outdoor museum as a preservation tool.

Nevada City has changed very little since his death in 1978. The outdoor museum has retained its integrity of design, workmanship, materials, feeling, and location. Bovey used Nevada City's original streets as guidelines for the placement of relocated and reconstructed buildings. Historic materials were used for all repairs and period antiques were added for realistic flair. Using the original streets and historic materials, along with period artifacts, Bovey attempted to give the outdoor museum a truly authentic feel. "Today, after almost 50 years of active heritage tourism development, the buildings and setting of Nevada City look rustically original, and are often mistaken as such by the numerous annual visitors to this outdoor museum" (Jarvis 2001:6).

A majority of Charlie's preservation work was completed before there were published Federal preservation guidelines. He had already relocated 46 buildings to Nevada City by the time of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act. Nevada City's displays "represent an otherwise non-existent cultural resource of enormous historical value" (Jarvis 2001:2). Charlie lived in Montana for 52 years, 34 of which were spent preserving Virginia City and Nevada City. He was dedicated to preserving the past for future generations. Charlie wanted the public to be able to experience history first hand. "It is one thing to read history, but quite another to experience it walking the same streets and looking into the same rooms where it was made" (DeHass 1977:2). Charlie spent more than half of his life devoted to preserving Montana's history. He read books and took numerous trips across the state to learn all that he could. He worked with the Historic Landmark Society of Montana to raise public awareness and "interest in preserving evidence of Montana's beginnings" (Grant 1998:25). Charlie's preservation

philosophies and business ideals are best described in his mission statement for the Virginia City Trading Company:

To preserve and protect original buildings, recognizing and retaining most of the changes which have taken place over time, retaining as much of the original material as possible, and if reconstructions are necessary, to reproduce authentic copies of missing buildings using old materials to retain the overall original appearance of Virginia City; to collect appropriate artifacts with which to furnish these buildings and display them in their total context, and to operate certain appropriate businesses to serve the public and to allow the public to ‘experience the past’ by participating in it (in such businesses as the Bale of Hay Saloon, Fairweather Inn, or Opera House), profits from such businesses, if any being secondary (Ellingsen 1999:1).

Charlie’s work made him a pioneering leader in the early development of historic preservation in the western United States. His preservation efforts “went beyond the disjointed collecting and displaying practices of conventional museums, instead significant efforts were expended to recreate the historical setting associated with a time period or event” (Jarvis 2001:8). Charlie’s privately funded and executed outdoor museum is an excellent example of early heritage tourism in the United States. As a virtual laboratory of western frontier culture, Nevada City’s outdoor museum’s value is beyond measure.

CRITERION C

The proposed district has unique built resources characteristic of a time, period, and method of construction that render it eligible under Criterion C. “This criterion applies to properties significant for their physical design or construction” (NPS 1997b:17). Requirements under Criterion C include that a property must “embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction...or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction”

(NPS 1997b:17). The Nevada City outdoor museum encompasses the architectural development of Montana from the mid-1860s to the early-1900s, and is characterized by its Western vernacular architecture. Western vernacular architecture is a folk building style that utilizes locally available materials and established methods of construction. Kingston William Heath stressed the importance of this architectural style stating: “In Western vernacular architecture resides the story of the motives, aspirations, successes and failures of the frontier dweller” (Heath 1987:xiv). Buildings from this architectural style were built for immediate needs instead of aesthetic value.

Before this time, the settlement of a town was a slow and deliberate process, often taking generations to progress from a rural to an urban environment. But mining, with its possibility of overnight wealth, produced what is often referred to as “boomtowns.” In a matter of months or even weeks a ragged collection of tents and shanties could be transformed into a full-fledged town (Warren and Warren 1989:10).

Nevada City’s architectural progression developed at a rapid pace as thousands of fortune hunters flooded Alder Gulch. “From the beginning, real estate and construction were key elements of the boom days. At first, as few miners had time to build their own houses and merchants needed commercial structures, the need was great for immediate buildings” (Warren and Warren 1989:10-11). Montana’s early boomtowns were in remote areas without reliable trade and transportation routes. The isolation of the boomtowns and their immediate need for domestic and commercial structures necessitated the use of local materials. Prior to the erection of local sawmills, simple log structures were built and often elaborated upon depending on the success or failure of the camp.

The log cabin, or miners’ cabin, was the most common building type in Montana mining camps in the 1860s. Today, more than half of the buildings in Nevada City’s

outdoor museum are examples of log cabin architecture. The origin of log cabin architecture in America can be traced to 1638 where the first and last Scandinavian colony on the continent, New Sweden, was established in what is now known as Delaware (Bealer and Ellis 1978:11). Subsequent European colonists who encountered the Swedish method of construction adapted it to reflect their architectural ancestry in North America. As the United States grew, log cabin building traditions were passed down from generation to generation and carried into remote Rocky Mountain mining camps:

Transplanted from the eastern United States and Europe, the builders of these camps carried with them the log-building and carpentry traditions of Europe and colonial America. Combining this know-how with a sense of architectural style and spatial patterning that emanated from urban settlements to the east, these builders created towns of permanence and solidarity almost overnight (Warhank and Jisuto 2000b:9).

Montana's mining boomtowns experienced similar architectural phases that began with a settlement phase, quickly followed by a gold camp phase. If the camp continued to be successful, its architecture entered a town phase characterized by framed buildings constructed of milled lumber rather than logs.

Nevada City's architecture never surpassed the utilitarian camp/early town phase of milled lumber structures, although, as will be shown below a few houses brought late nineteenth-century architectural styles to Nevada City's built environment. Most of the relocated and reconstructed buildings in Nevada City's outdoor museum represent raw and milled lumber architecture from 1863 to the early 1900s. The boomtown's original architecture, while typical of its contemporaries, never achieved the prominence or stature of Virginia City's "substantial buildings of stone (and later brick)" (Baumler 1999:65). "Not all mining camps grew into towns of distinction and style; they first had

to weather the early phases as an assemblage of tents and log cabins” (Warren and Warren 1989:11). Nevada City’s settlement phase was “reflected in a short, energetic burst of log and stone [foundation] construction during the first years in the Alder Gulch diggings.” Sawmills were quickly erected to meet the ever-growing construction needs of the area. “By 1864, sawmills in Alder Gulch were milling lumber and balloon frame buildings sprouted.” Sawmills brought about the gold camp/early town phase of architecture in Nevada City. “The style for residences was typically vernacular: single story, gable roof, simple rectangular or L-shaped buildings with clapboard, plank or board and batten siding” (Warhank and Justo 2000b:10).

Among Nevada City’s remaining original buildings, built in the early 1860s, only the Finney House and the Dr. Byam House represent the utilitarian camp/early town phase of milled lumber structures (Figures 15-19). Each building has blended simple architectural elements from late nineteenth-century revival styles including Greek Revival, Gothic Revival, and Italianate (Warhank and Justo 2000a:3). Varied combinations of architectural elements were common in remote Rocky Mountain mining camps where buildings became an amalgamation of styles rather than any particular pure architectural style:

Stylistic boundaries were often blurred as a result of logistics. Since the West had no indigenous architectural style to proclaim and because most of its residents were recent transplants, design motifs were imported, usually from the East. As each eastern Victorian style ran its course of popularity, it was eventually carried to the distant Rocky Mountains via pattern books, architectural magazines, building plans, architects, or by the settlers themselves...Distant as they were from fashion-conscious cosmopolitan centers of the East, westerners were not as bound by stylistic integrity but were instead free to mix and match as they chose (Warren and Warren 1989:23-24).

The Finney Home in Nevada City is an excellent example of “mix and match” architectural styles. Constructed in 1863, the Finney Home began as a miner’s log cabin. Frank Finney purchased the cabin in 1864 and added a two-story log cabin in the front and a simple stone building on the rear. “The Finney’s home was very typical of 1860s settlement era residences, striving toward more stylistic elements of architecture with added clapboard, open shed porch and sawn verge board trim” (Warhank and Jiusto 2000a:9). The Doctor Byam House in Nevada City is another example of nineteenth-century “mix and match” architecture. The Doctor Byam House reflects “balloon-frame” construction, and the front appears more residential with a gable roof facing the streetscape and siding of clapboard” (Warhank and Jiusto 2000b:10). Fenestration at both residences included “multi-pane, double-hung windows which were standard fare throughout early periods when glass panes made their way upriver to Montana via steamboat” (Warhank and Jiusto 2000b:10).

Nevada City, like other boomtowns in Alder Gulch, lost most of its population as mining activity decreased and strikes were reported elsewhere (e.g., Last Chance Gulch in Helena, Montana). Nevada City’s remaining original buildings embody the distinctive characteristics of type (boomtown vernacular architecture), period (mid-1860s to the early 1900s), and method of construction (raw and milled timber). These reasons qualified the Finney House and the Dr. Byam house, along with their outbuildings, for the NRHP under Criterion C. These NRHP listed properties are also significant for their association to Charles Bovey and his work in Nevada City. Together the properties in Nevada City’s outdoor museum “represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction” (NPS 1997b:17). Many of the buildings

within the outdoor museum are not eligible for individual NRHP listing because they lack the individual distinction required. However, the individual properties can achieve NRHP eligibility if they are determined to be contributing to the significance of the proposed historic district. Architecturally the outdoor museum's properties share similar methods and eras of construction as well as associations to heritage tourism. Together the properties are significant "as representatives of the manmade expression of culture" (NPS 1997b:11).

CRITERION D

The proposed district's potential to yield considerable archaeological information makes it eligible under Criterion D. The National Park Service has defined two requirements that a property must meet to be eligible for the NRHP under Criterion D:

- The property must have, or have had, information to contribute to our understanding of human history or prehistory, and
- The information must be considered important (NPS 1997b:21).

Nevada City's outdoor museum qualifies under the first requirement because it has "been used as a source of data and contains more, as yet un-retrieved data" (NPS 1997b:21).

Previous archaeological projects at the outdoor museum have included monitoring, testing, and full excavations. These projects have yielded a large collection of metal, glass, ceramic, and even prehistoric artifacts, all of which are important for the interpretation of the prehistory and history of Montana. Archaeologists David Ferguson and Jennifer Peterson believe that Nevada City's archaeological remains have data potential that can enhance information gained from the site's extant built resources:

Archaeological interpretation is required to identify function and map the layout of the remains of this important early Montana settlement. The elemental goals of

archaeological investigations at Nevada City would be the interpretation of the function of building sites, and the identification of original structure locations (Ferguson and Peterson 2003:5-6).

Nevada City is best known for its association with gold mining and miners, but there is also a history of Native American occupation in the area. “The area has been proven to have Native American sites throughout, which one of them, a temporary encampment, was located directly above Nevada City less than a mile away” (Gevock-Delahaye 2004:1). In addition, the area is likely rich with archaeological data about the region’s prehistory:

Alder Gulch is at the junction of the Northwestern Plains, Great Basin, and Columbia Plateau culture areas: the chronology for the Northwestern Plains, based on a series of projectile point styles and associated culturally distinct attributes, is generally applicable to this area...the area was a common hunting ground and travel corridor...two principal traditional migratory routes used by the Shoshone-Bannock tribes passed through Alder Gulch (McKay 1999b:4).

Archaeologist Cecile Gevock-Delahaye believes that projects in Nevada City have “proven that serious considerations should be given to the prehistoric component on Montana Heritage Commission properties” (Gevock-Delahaye 2004:2). Given the diversity of prehistoric activity in the area, and given the potential for contact-period archaeological data here, Nevada City also retains data potential under Criterion D and should be evaluated as such. In addition, Native American land records should be consulted to determine which tribal groups may have pertinent ethno-historical information about contact.

Despite the prehistoric archaeological potential of Nevada City, the vast majority of artifacts found at the outdoor museum date from the 1863 to early 1900s immigrant mining community’s occupation. These uncovered “household remains could shed light on workers’ daily lives, standard of living, health, clothing, purchasing or trade patterns,

and family structure” (Hardesty and Little 2000:116-117). Given that working class people were marginalized in historic records in general as well as in Nevada City, these remains are invaluable for understanding the lives of working class families and single miners that resided in Nevada City and should be evaluated under Criterion D. In 2004 an excavation at the Jen C. Peterson Cabin revealed a “wealth of information about a miner’s living space” (Gevoek-Delahaye 2004:48). The miner’s property had remained undisturbed since Peterson’s death in the mid-1950s leaving “countless artifacts” behind:

The complex has a tremendous interpretive potential for educative purposes to the general public. [It] could be the perfect place to have a type of ‘archaeological records under construction’ site. This would also be a good tool to tie together the open-air museum of historical structures and objects with the historical archaeology of the two towns (Gevoek-Delahaye 2004:48).

In addition, as noted on page 26 herein, the historical record is severely lacking with regard to information about daily life in Nevada City. As a result, the area’s archaeological record remains as the sole source of information about the community’s past every day activities and interactions. Further subsurface testing is required to exhaust such data potential. Future excavations are certain to recover material remains that will address research questions about the prehistoric use of the area and the nature of historic occupation in Nevada City. As part of this effort, an analysis of the area’s dredging activities should be conducted and perhaps compared with the effects of dredging on archaeological resources in other mining districts.

CRITERION CONSIDERATION B

The proposed Nevada City district has “a significant number of resources [that] have been moved from their original locations” (NPS 1997b:29). Moved properties are

typically not NRHP eligible because “moving a property destroys the relationships between the property and its surroundings and destroys associations with historic events and persons” (NPS 1997b:29). The moved properties in Nevada City’s outdoor museum are primarily associated with Charlie Bovey and mining ghost town tourism. The moved properties arrived in Nevada City during the Bovey Era, (1958-1978), from various places around Montana (Appendix A). Chapter 5 discussed how Charles Bovey acquired, moved, and placed properties in Nevada City’s empty lots among the 19 original buildings and structures (Jarvis 2001:4). NRHP Criteria Consideration B permits exceptions for artificially created property groupings like those found in Nevada City’s outdoor museum:

One of the basic purposes of the National Register is to encourage the preservation of historic properties as living parts of their communities. In keeping with this purpose, it is not usual to list artificial groupings of buildings that have been created for purposes of interpretation, protection, or maintenance (NPS 1997b:29).

Charlie Bovey moved buildings to Nevada City’s vacant lots not only to enhance the historic interpretation of a nineteenth-century Montana mining boomtown, but also to protect the buildings from destruction, and to be able to perform maintenance to prolong the collections existence.

The Nevada City outdoor museum also qualifies under “artificially created groupings” because it has achieved its own exceptional significance as an outdoor museum since the time of its assemblage in 1958 (NPS 1997b:31). “A grouping of moved historic buildings whose creation marked the beginning of a major concern with past lifestyles can qualify as an early attempt at historic preservation and as an illustration of that generations values” (NPS 1997b:31). A resurgence of heritage tourism began in

the United States post-WWII. “Heritage museums like Nevada City were developed in direct response to the enormous technological advances and cultural changes brought about by WWII” (Jarvis 2001:7). Americans longed for the nostalgic connections to the past that heritage tourism provided. Nevada City’s outdoor museum is an excellent example of the resurgence of heritage tourism (i.e., a major concern with past lifestyles) post-WWII.

The final requirements under Criterion Consideration B relate to the setting and environment in which the property is moved to. “Moved properties must still have an orientation, setting, and general environment that are comparable to those of the historic location and that are compatible with the property's significance” (NPS 1997b:30).

Nevada City’s outdoor museum has a significant concentration of sites, buildings, and structures united historically by an early preservation plan. Nearly all of the properties Bovey relocated to the outdoor museum came from (1860s-1900) Montana mining communities comparable to the original Nevada City. The buildings share similar methods of log construction as well as similar construction materials described under Criterion C. Each relocated property was strategically placed in vacant lots along Nevada City’s original streets that were “sufficient in size and character to recall the basic qualities of the historic environment and setting,” and the properties are “sited appropriately in relation to natural and manmade surroundings” (NPS 1997b:30).

CRITERION CONSIDERATION G

The proposed Nevada City district contains a significant number of resources that are less than fifty years in *situ*. Properties that are less than fifty years in *situ* are only

considered NRHP eligible if they are of exceptional importance. “The phrase “exceptional importance” does not require that the property be of national significance. It is a measure of a property's importance within the appropriate historic context, whether the scale of that context is local, state, or national” (NPS 1997b:42). The NRHP “fifty-year rule” is a basic guideline for the evaluation of the historic significance of a property. “A property that has achieved significance within the past fifty years can be evaluated only when sufficient historical perspective exists to determine that the property is exceptionally important” (NPS 1997b:42). Evidence provided by scholarly research is needed to explain the property’s historic context and how the property is significant in that context:

However, the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act did not assume that significance could be a matter of rigid, objective measurement. It specifically encourages the recognition of locally significant historic resources that, by appearance or association with persons or events, provide communities with a sense of past and place. The historical value of these resources will always be a combined matter of public sentiment and rigorous, yet necessarily subjective, professional assessment. (NPS 1998:4).

The NPS defines historic context as “information about historic trends and properties grouped by an important theme in the prehistory or the history of a community, state, or the nation during a particular period of time” (NPS 1997a:1). Chapter 4 presented a historical overview of how Nevada City, Montana, fit under the theme of nineteenth-century westward migration in the American Mining West, with subthemes including historic mining and related commerce, along with mining ghost town tourism.

Properties less than fifty years old can also be NRHP eligible if they are proven to be an integral part of a historic district. “This is demonstrated by documenting that the property dates from within the district’s defined Period of Significance and that it is

associated with one or more of the district's defined Areas of Significance" (NPS 1997b:43). To be considered an integral part of a historic district Criterion Consideration

G requires:

The district's Period of Significance is justified as a discrete period with a defined beginning and end, the character of the district's historic resources are clearly defined and assessed, and specific resources in the district are demonstrated to date from that discrete era (NPS 1997b:43).

When the majority of a district's properties are over fifty years old it is not necessary to prove exceptional importance of either the district itself or the less-than-fifty-year-old properties. In 2009 over half of the properties located in Nevada City's proposed historic district will reach their 50 year in *situ* mark. A successful historic district nomination will include the less-than-fifty-year-old properties as non-contributing entities with the understanding that when they reach their 50 year in *situ* they will be considered contributing as integral parts of the proposed historic district.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

This study has examined the history of the Alder Gulch community of Nevada City, Montana in order to build a case of eligibility for Nevada City's outdoor museum as a historic district to the NRHP. Sufficient evidence exists to validate a case of local and statewide significance for a NRHP nomination of the Nevada City outdoor museum as a historic district. Under Criterion A Nevada City is eligible due to its association with significant events such as western mining history and related world systems connections, the emergence of the outdoor museum as a preservation tool, the rise of heritage tourism, and associated influence of Charles Bovey. The proposed district is also considered eligible under Criterion B due to Nevada City's association with Charles A. Bovey, a pioneer in preservation from the 1940s-1970s. In addition, the proposed district contains properties that are characteristic of a time, period, and method of construction that render it eligible under Criterion C. Finally, many buried resources beneath Nevada City have been relatively undisturbed since the initial boomtown phase, which means that it also retains archaeological data potential with regard to life in a mining camp during the historic period. It is therefore also eligible under Criterion D.

A NRHP historic district listing for Nevada City would validate the importance of the site and would open access to Federal grants, incentives, and protection. "Listing in the National Register serves to authenticate the worth of a historic place and influence a community's attitude toward its heritage. The National Register plays an important role in influencing both public perceptions and policy decisions about what is significant in U.S. history" (Hardesty and Little 2000:6). Nevada City's buildings are "highly

representative, culturally significant, and requisite to the stability and growth of Western town settlement” (Heath 1985:xvi). The outdoor museum’s landscape, historic architecture, and period artifacts contribute to an understanding of western mining migration and ghost town tourism by providing tourists with a symbolic experience, reminiscent of a nineteenth-century Montana mining community. “When you step into Nevada City, we want you to feel as if you are stepping into another era, the sights, sounds, and smells, of the past” (Regional Tourism Office 2005:1). A living history program instituted at the outdoor museum enhances the historic atmosphere and the tourist experience:

The Living History program consists of thematically interpreted events that follow the time line of Montana’s history. There are exciting daily happenings, skilled interpreters, live demonstrators, blacksmith, wheelwright, saloon keeper, miner’s widow, laundress, prospectors, school teachers, spinning and weaving and more. There are Victorian children’s programs, interpretive talks and much more (Regional Tourism Office 2005:1).

The Nevada City outdoor museum is a remarkably well preserved example of one of the earliest cases of mining ghost town tourism.

The large quantity of properties in Nevada City that will be NRHP eligible necessitates a district nomination as opposed to individual nominations.

“A district possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures or objects united historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development” (NPS 1997b:5). Nevada City’s proposed historic district “derives its importance from being a unified entity, even though it is composed of a wide variety of resources. The identity of [the proposed] district results from the interrelationship of its resources” (NPS 1997b:5). The proposed district is an identifiable entity within definable geographic

boundaries that is significant for its historic associations, vernacular “boomtown” architecture, and potential to yield archeological information.

A successful district nomination for Nevada City’s eligible buildings will include a categorized building list (Appendix A) for the entire outdoor museum, a historic context (Chapters 4 and 5), and applicable NRHP criteria considerations (Chapter 6). All ineligible buildings will be included as non-contributing entities, with the understanding that as they reach their 50 year mark (in age or in *situ*) they will be considered contributing according to NRHP Criteria Considerations B and G. Several of Nevada City’s buildings are currently listed in the NRHP. They include the Dr. Byam House, the Fenner Barn, and the Finney Homestead. The nominations for these buildings all applied Criteria A (western gold rush migration) and C (historic architecture), while only two nominations applied Criterion B (association with Dr. Byam). In 2009 almost 40 more of Bovey’s relocated and reconstructed (1958-1959) buildings will become eligible as they reach their 50 year in situ mark.

Given the future potential eligibility of so many other cultural features in Nevada City, especially with the research discussed herein, I argue that a district nomination be prepared in 2009 by combining the currently listed buildings with Bovey’s (1958-1959) buildings under a shared historical context (western gold rush migration/tourism) and applicable NRHP criteria. The remainder of Nevada City’s buildings would be included in the nomination as noncontributing until they reach NRHP eligibility. Nevada City should be listed as a separate historic district from Virginia City due to the fact that most of Nevada City’s buildings were relocated and are primarily associated with the Bovey

era (1958-1978). The Virginia City Historic District's buildings are almost entirely original, having a primary association with the initial boom phase in Alder Gulch.

Now that the research for Nevada City's NRHP eligibility has been compiled herein, this thesis will be made available to the Montana State Historical Preservation Office (SHPO) and the Montana Heritage Preservation and Development Commission so that its information can be used to assist these offices with their future NRHP nomination for the Nevada City Historic District, as well as for public education, tourist pamphlets, and walking tours (NPS 1999b:6). Today the countless buildings and artifacts in the Bovey collection are protected and preserved by the Montana Heritage Commission. The financial burden of caring for Nevada City and Virginia City places their historic resources at risk. Past funding has only been able to cover routine maintenance on buildings in Nevada City and Virginia City in need of more extensive restoration work. The loss of these buildings and artifacts would deprive future generations from experiencing the cultural heritage of nineteenth-century Montana. Once Nevada City's outdoor museum is NRHP listed as a historic district it becomes eligible to apply for Federal tax incentives. For example, the Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentives Program (FHPTIP) offers a twenty percent Federal tax credit for rehabilitating historic buildings. This program encourages the rehabilitation of historic buildings and promotes economic growth by assisting income producing properties. Financial opportunities like the FHPTIP could help alleviate some of the financial burden associated with the outdoor museum's continued preservation. "Today, the most prominent monuments to the industrious settlement period are the historic buildings remaining in the towns and cities founded by the wide-eyed enthusiasts of the nineteenth-century" (Warren and Warren

1989:18). Historian K. Ross Toole expressed his concerns over the destruction of historic sites and architecture stating, “When these last reaches have gone, where will America go to see what it has been?” (Toole 1976:237).

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APPENDIX A

NEVADA CITY BUILDING INVENTORY 2007

| Property Name | Location of Origin | Date of Construction/ Date of Appearance in Nevada City | Original/Relocated/ Built | 50 Year Mark Reached |
|---------------------------------|---|--|------------------------------|----------------------|
| Fenner Barn | Nevada City | 1863 | Original | N/A |
| Cabin 15 (motel) | Nevada City | 1863 | Original | N/A |
| Cabin 16 (motel) | Nevada City | 1863 | Original | N/A |
| George Ives Jail | Nevada City | 1863 | Original | N/A |
| Dr. Byam House | Nevada City | 1863 | Original | N/A |
| Star Bakery | Nevada City | 1863 | Original | N/A |
| Richards Shed | Nevada City | c.1900 | Original | N/A |
| Richards Outhouse | Nevada City | c.1900 | Original | N/A |
| Richards Cabin | Nevada City | 1863 | Original | N/A |
| Finney House | Nevada City | 1863-1864 | Original | N/A |
| Finney Summer Kitchen | Nevada City | 1863 | Original | N/A |
| Small frame shed in Finney yard | Nevada City | 1920s | Original | N/A |
| Small log cabin in Finney yard | Nevada City | 1863 | Original | N/A |
| Oil Stove Shed | Nevada City | 1920s | Original | N/A |
| Chris's Outhouse | Nevada City | 1930s | Original | N/A |
| Log cabin w/tin can roof | Nevada City | 1863 | Original | N/A |
| Peterson Shed | Nevada City | 1930s | Original | N/A |
| Peterson Outhouse | Nevada City | 1910s | Original | N/A |
| Peterson Cabin | Nevada City | 1863 | Original | N/A |
| Wonderly Cabin | Nevada City | 1864 | Original | N/A |
| Wonderly Upper Ranch Cabin | Nevada City | 1863-1864 | Original (ruins) | N/A |
| Cabin 1 (motel) | Cote Ranch, Alder, MT | 1870s/1958 | Relocated | 2008 |
| Cabin 2 (motel) | Cote Ranch, Alder, MT | 1870s/1958 | Relocated | 2008 |
| Miss Lilly's Cabin | Duncan Ranch, Twin Bridges, MT | 1870s/1958 | Relocated | 2008 |
| Mrs. Murphy's Cabin | Long Ranch, Hinch Creek, Upper Ruby, MT | 1870s/1958 | Relocated | 2008 |
| Joe's Cabin | Nevada City--moved to Twin Bridges, MT, 1880s | 1860s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Cabin 3 (motel) | Cote Ranch, Alder, MT | 1870s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Cabin 4 (motel) | Cote Ranch, Alder, MT | 1870s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Cabin 5 (motel) | Bishop Ranch, Dillon, MT | 1870s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Cabin 8 (motel) | Cote Ranch, Alder, MT | 1880s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Cabin 9 (motel) | Hinch Creek, Upper Ruby, MT | 1880s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|-------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| Cabin 10 (motel) | Oliver Smith Ranch, Dillon, MT | 1880s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Cabin 11 (motel) | Cote Ranch, Alder, MT | 1890s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Cabin 12 (motel) | Cote Ranch, Alder, MT | 1890s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Cabin 14 (motel) | Radersburg, MT | c.1910/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Mining Office | Nevada City, MT | 1959 | Built | 2009 |
| Nevada City Emporium | Bishop Ranch, Dillon, MT | 1870s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| 2 story outhouse | Virginia City, MT | c.1890s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Nevada City Hotel--front | Salisbury, MT | 1863/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Nevada City Hotel--rear | Canyon, Yellowstone | 1911/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Music Hall | Canyon, Yellowstone | 1910/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Dry Goods Store--front | Hippie House, Madison River, South of Ennis, MT | 1870s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Dry Goods Store--rear | " " | 1880s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Bell Tower | Old Faithful Inn, Yellowstone | 1904/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Sun River Jail | Sun River, MT | 1870s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Criterion Hall Livery Stable | Nevada City, MT | 1959 | Built (reconstruction) | 2009 |
| Criterion Hall Saloon | Nevada City, MT | 1959 | Built (reconstruction) | 2009 |
| Cheap Cash Store | Crow Creek (Radersburg), MT | 1867/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Molinary Shop | Warberton Ranch, Cameron, MT | 1870s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Sullivan Saddlery | Fort Benton, MT--to Old Town 1940 | 1863/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Sullivan outhouse | Fort Benton, MT | c.1900/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Barber Shop | Elkhorn, MT--to Old Town 1941 | 1870s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Fire Station Display | Basin, MT--to Old Town 1941 | 1890s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Ebrels Blacksmith Shop | Agusta, MT--to Old Town 1941 | 1880s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Assay Office | Radersburg, MT | 1880s/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Charlie Bovey Building | Canyon, Yellowstone | 1911/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Sedman House | Junction, MT--to Old Town 1946 | 1873/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Shoemaker's Shop | Cote Ranch, Alder, MT | c.1910/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Wagon Shop | Canyon, MT | 1910/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| School | Twin Bridges, MT | 1867/1959 | Relocated | 2009 |
| Shed behind cabin 5 (motel) | Montana | 1900s/1960s | Relocated | 2010-2020 |
| Outhouse behind cabin 5 (motel) | Montana | 1920s/1960s | Relocated | 2010-2020 |
| Cabin 7 (motel) | Radersburg, MT | 1880s/1960 | Relocated | 2010 |
| Cabin 17 (motel) | Virginia City, MT | 1863 or 1864/1960 | Relocated | 2010 |
| Cabin 18 (motel) | Virginia City, MT | 1863 or 1864/1960 | Relocated | 2010 |
| Gun Shop | Nevada City, MT | 1960 | Built | 2010 |
| Public Restrooms | Nevada City, MT | 1960 | Built | 2010 |
| Joe's Outhouse | Virginia City, MT | 1900/1960 | Relocated | 2010 |
| "Sheriff's Office" | Diamond City, MT | 1860s/1960 | Relocated | 2010 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------|-----------------|------|
| School outhouse, boys | Nevada City, MT | 1960 | Built | 2010 |
| School outhouse, girls | Nevada City, MT | 1960 | Built | 2010 |
| Star Bakery Patio | Nevada City, MT | 1961 | Built | 2011 |
| Applebaum & Crabb Store | Burt Maynard Ranch, South of Ennis, MT | 1870s/1961 | Relocated | 2011 |
| Chicken House | Nevada City, Montana | 1900s/1963 | Relocated | 2013 |
| Old Shop outhouse | Virginia City, MT | c.1910/1964 | Relocated | 2014 |
| Nevada City Depot | Nevada City, MT | 1964 | Built | 2014 |
| Cabin 6 (motel) | Tash Ranch, Salisbury, MT | 1870s/1971 | Relocated | 2021 |
| Fire Station | Nevada City, MT | 1971 | Built | 2021 |
| Old Pump House | Montana | ?/1971 | Relocated | 2021 |
| Chinese Temple | Metzel Ranch, Barton Gulch, Upper Ruby, MT | 1860s/1972 | Relocated | 2022 |
| Chinese Laundry | Harrison, MT | 1870s/1972 | Relocated | 2022 |
| Chinese Laundry outhouse | Virginia City, MT | c.1910/1972 | Relocated | 2022 |
| Chinese Grocery | Metzel Ranch, Barton Gulch, Upper Ruby, MT | 1860s/1972 | Relocated | 2022 |
| Big Chinese Store | Harrison, MT | 1870s/1972 | Relocated | 2022 |
| Big Chinese Store outhouse | Virginia City, MT | 1900/1972 | Relocated | 2022 |
| Opium Den | Twin Bridges, MT | 1870s/1972 | Relocated | 2022 |
| Bachelor's Cabin | Twin Bridges, MT | 1880s/1972 | Relocated | 2022 |
| J. D. E. Shop | Sheridan, MT | 1880s/1972 | Relocated | 2022 |
| Depuis House | Laurin, MT | 1873/1974 | Relocated | 2024 |
| Law Office | Nevada City--moved to Callaway Ranch, Upper Ruby, MT, 1870s | 1863/1974 | Relocated | 2024 |
| John Ellingsen House | Bob Stone Ranch, South of Alder, MT | ?/1975 | Relocated/Built | 2025 |
| Smokehouse | Lott Ranch, North of Twin Bridges, MT | 1870s/1975 | Relocated | 2025 |
| Gallows Barn | White Sulfur Springs, MT | 1895/1975 | Relocated | 2025 |
| Sedman outhouse | Iron Rod, MT | 1890s/1976 | Relocated | 2026 |
| Iron Rod House | Iron Rod, MT | 1864/1976 | Relocated | 2026 |
| Iron Rod outhouse | Iron Rod, MT | 1890s/1976 | Relocated | 2026 |
| Edmiston House | Laurin, MT | 1870s/1976 | Relocated | 2026 |
| Edmiston outhouse | Laurin, MT | 1920s/1976 | Relocated | 2026 |
| East Helena House | East Helena, MT | 1880s/1976 | Relocated | 2026 |
| Iron Rod Post Office | Iron Rod, MT | 1868/1976 | Relocated | 2026 |
| Iron Rod Post Office outhouse | Iron Rod, MT | 1870s/1976 | Relocated | 2026 |
| Stone Ranch Blacksmith Shop | Montana | ?/1976 | Relocated | 2026 |
| Tiny Sheridan log cabin | Sheridan, MT | ?/1976 | Relocated | 2026 |
| Dimsdale School | Virginia City, MT | 1863/1976 | Relocated | 2026 |
| Cabin from South of Alder | South of Alder, MT | 1900s/1976 | Relocated | 2026 |
| Cabin from John Sinerius | Montana | 1900s/1976 | Relocated | 2026 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|-----------|------|
| Unfinished Cabin from Boulder | South of Boulder, MT | 1870s/1977 | Relocated | 2027 |
| Switzer House | Jeffers, MT | c.1864/1977 | Relocated | 2027 |
| Switzer outhouse | Montana | c.1900/1977 | Relocated | 2027 |
| Lumber Yard Office | Iron Rod, MT | 1870s/1977 | Relocated | 2027 |
| Linderman Building | Sheridan, MT | 1895/1978 | Relocated | 2028 |
| Shop outhouse and oil shed | Virginia City, MT | 1930s/1986 | Relocated | 2036 |
| Forest Service Cabin | Montana | ?/1996 | Relocated | 2046 |
| Nevada City Engine House | Nevada City, MT | 1998 | Built | 2048 |
| Depuis outhouse | Montana | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Insulbrick outhouse | Montana | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Cabin from Dr. Lott's | Montana | n/a | Relocated | n/a |
| New Pump House | Montana | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| California Creek Cabin | Montana | n/a | Relocated | n/a |
| Depot outhouse | Montana | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Motor car shed by Depot | Montana | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Motor car shed by Roadhouse | Montana | n/a | n/a | n/a |

APPENDIX B

BUILDING LIST FOR JIM JARVIS' 2001 NEVADA CITY PROPOSED HISTORIC DISTRICT

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Fenner Barn | 43. Applebaum & Crabb Store |
| 2. Cabin 1 | 44. Assay Office |
| 3. Cabin 2 | 45. Ebrels Blacksmith Shop |
| 4. Cabin 3 | 46. Fire Station Display |
| 5. Cabin 4 | 47. Elkhorn Barbershop |
| 6. George Ives Jail | 48. Sullivan Saddlery |
| 7. Dr. Byam House | 49. Cabin 5 |
| 8. Gun Shop | 50. Cabin 6 |
| 9. Nevada City Emporium | 51. Cabin 7 |
| 10. Star Bakery Patio | 52. Cabin 8 |
| 11. Star Bakery | 53. Cabin 9 |
| 12. Fire Station (In use) | 54. Cabin 10 |
| 13. Two-story Outhouse | 55. Cabin's 11 & 12 |
| 14. Nevada City Hotel | 56. Cabin 14 |
| 15. Music Hall | 57. Cabin's 15 & 16 |
| 16. Dry Goods Store | 58. Cabin's 17 & 18 |
| 17. Bell Tower | 59. Calloway Cabin |
| 18. Sun River Jail | 60. Shoemaker's Shop |
| 19. Criterion Hall Livery Stable | 61. Switzer House |
| 20. Criterion Hall Saloon | 62. Wagon Shop |
| 21. Cheap Cash Store | 63. Lumber Yard Office |
| 22. Molinary Shop | 64. Linderman Building |
| 23. Richards Cabin | 65. East Helena House |
| 24. Finney House | 66. Edminston House |
| 25. Finney Summer Kitchen | 67. Parmeter House |
| 25a. Finney Shed | 68. Forest Service Cabin |
| 26. Miss Lily's Cabin | 69. Gallows Barn |

27. Mrs. Murphy's Cabin
28. Depuis Cabin
29. Richard's Shed
30. Sedman House
 - 30a. Sedman Outhouse
31. Log Cabin (with a tin can roof)
32. Small Log Cabin in Finney Yard
33. Oil Stove Shed
34. Bachelor's Cabin
35. Smokehouse
36. Opium Den
37. Big Chinese Store
38. Chinese Grocery
39. Chinese Laundry
40. Chinese Temple
 - 40a. Unfinished Cabin from Boulder
41. Joe's Cabin
42. Charlie Bovey Building
70. Iron Rod House
71. School
72. Sheriff's Office
74. Iron Rod Post Office
75. John Ellingsen House
76. Tiny Sheridan Log Cabin
77. Old Pump House
78. Wonderly Cabin
79. Dimsdale School
80. Cabin from South of Alder
81. Cabin from John Sinerius
82. Nevada City Depot
83. Nevada City Engine House

FIGURES



FIGURE 1. Aerial view of Nevada City, Montana (Courtesy of the U.S. Department of Interior, U.S. Geological Survey, Reston, VA).

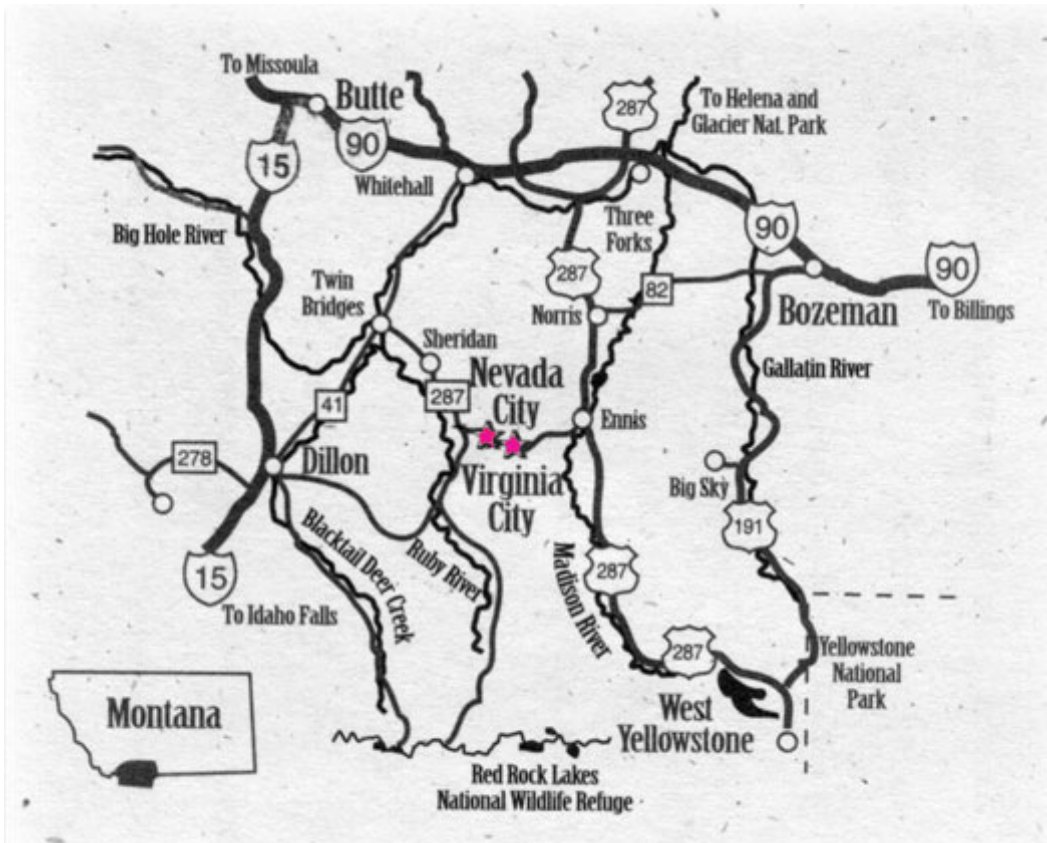


FIGURE 2. Map showing the location of Nevada City, Montana (Courtesy of John and Linda Hamilton, Alder Gulch Accommodations, Virginia City, MT, 2007).

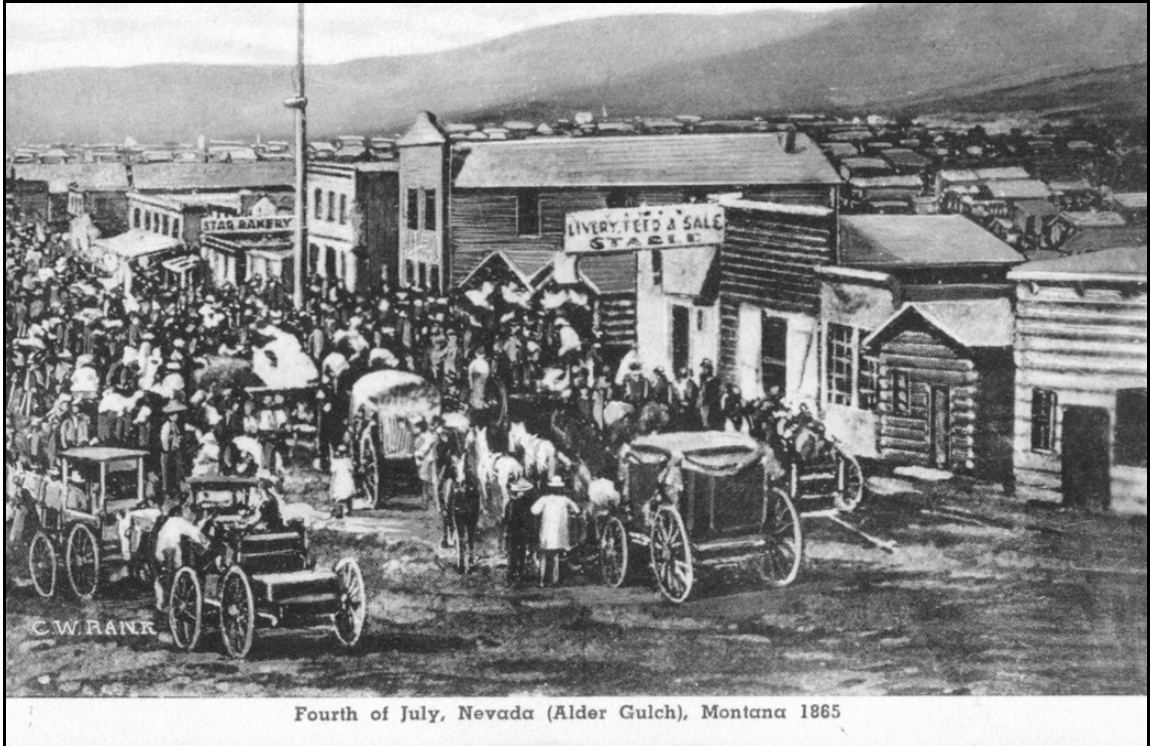


FIGURE 3. Photograph of 4 July, 1865, Nevada City's Wood Street (Courtesy of the Montana Historical Society, Helena).



FIGURE 4. Map showing the Oregon Trail (to the south of Virginia City), Fort Benton (on the Missouri River to the North of Virginia City), and the Corrine-Virginia City Road (a.k.a. the Salt Lake Trail) (Courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland).

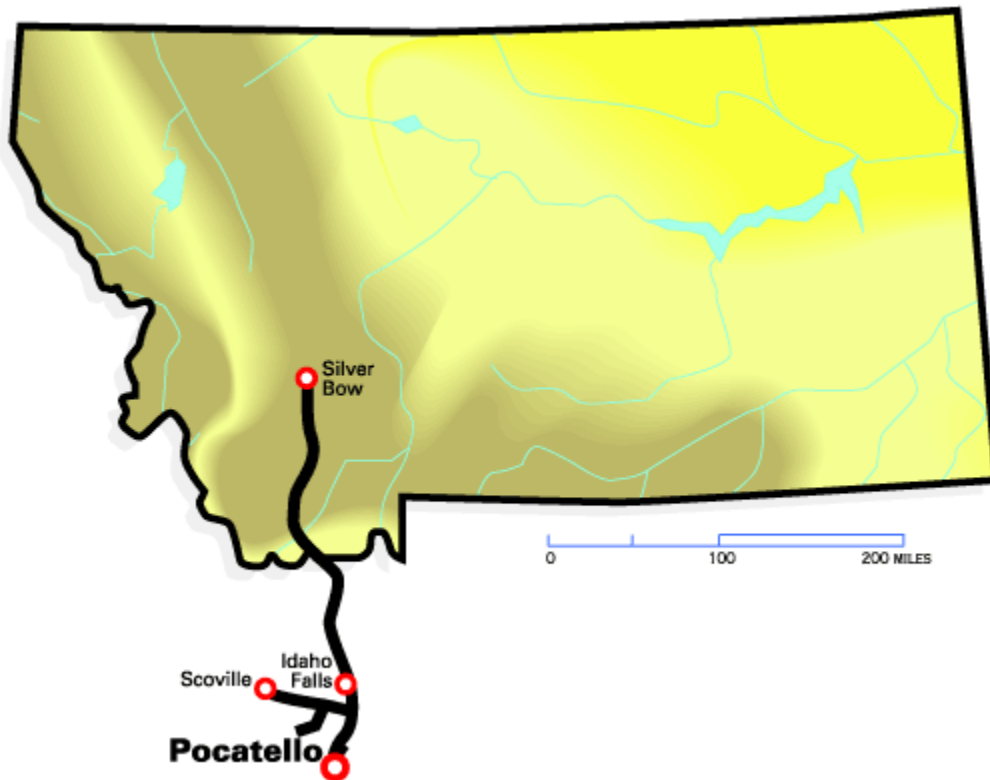


FIGURE 5. Map showing the Utah and Northern Railroad narrow gauge railroad line connection at Butte completed on 26 December, 1881 (Courtesy of Union Pacific, maps of Union Pacific, 2007).

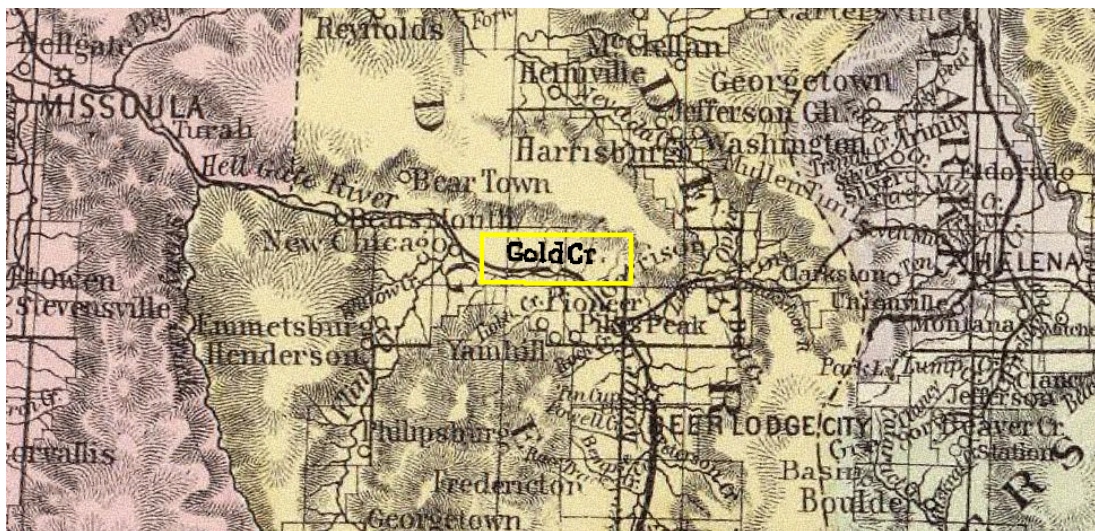


FIGURE 6. Map showing the location of Gold Creek (Benetsee's Creek) (Courtesy of the David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, Cartography Associates, 2003).

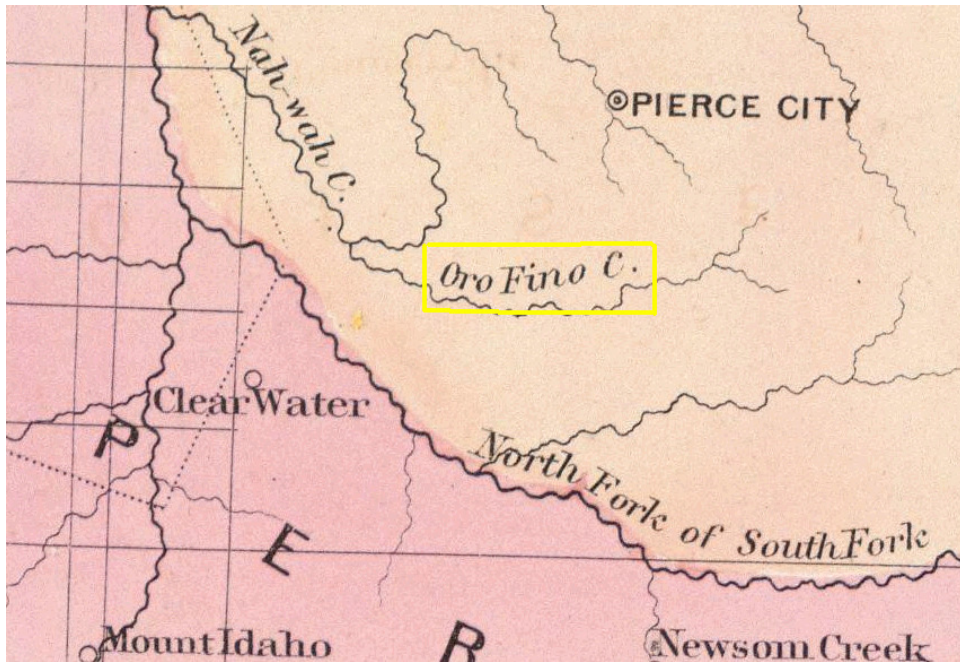


FIGURE 7. Map showing the location of Oro Fino Creek (Canal Gulch) (Courtesy of the David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, Cartography Associates, 2003).

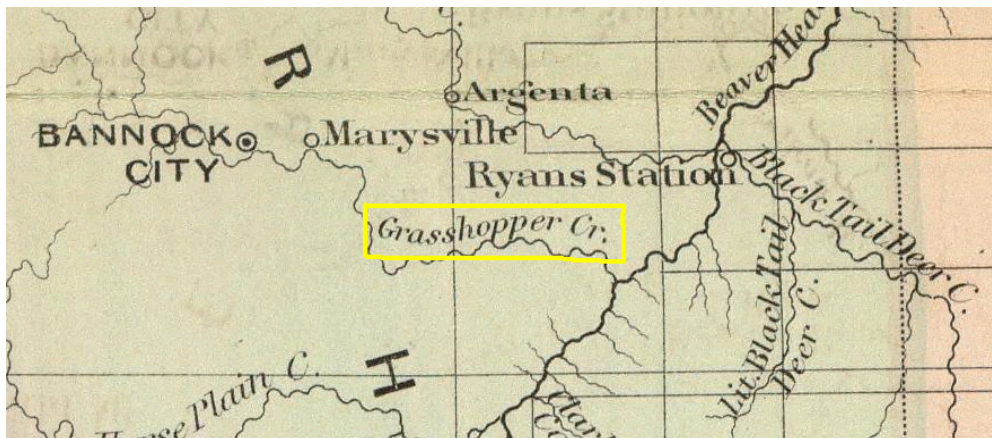


FIGURE 8. Map showing Grasshopper Creek (Willard's Creek) (Courtesy of the David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, Cartography Associates, 2003).

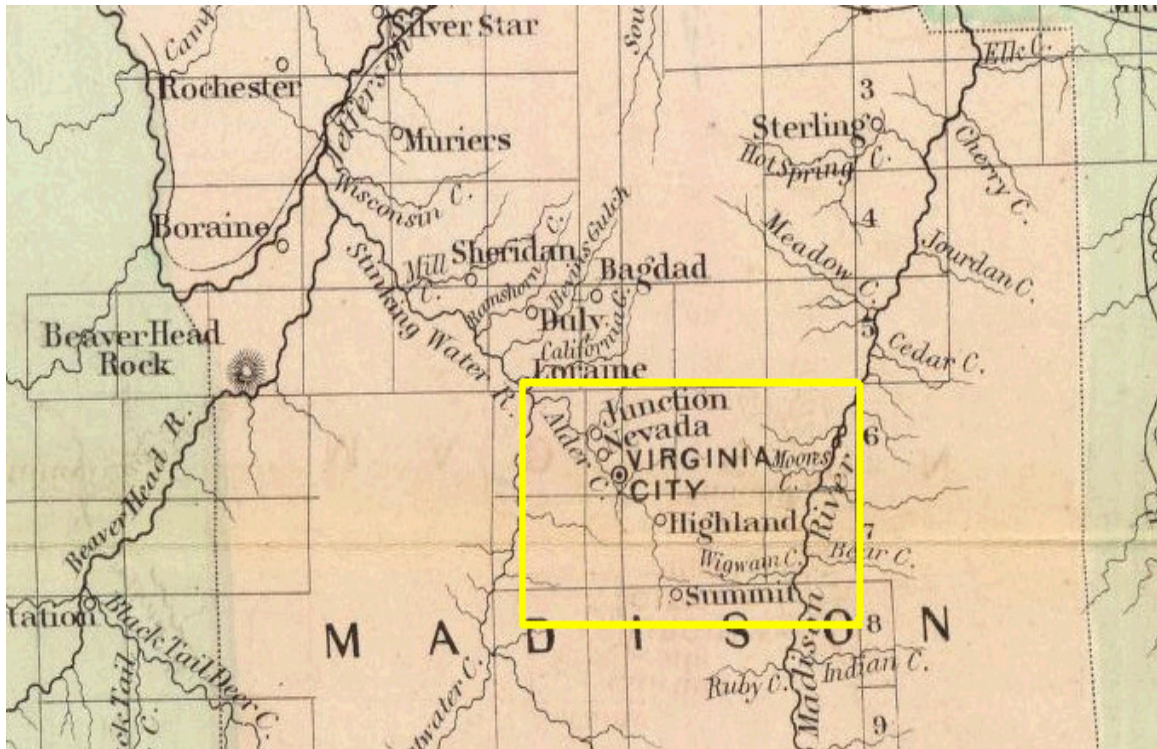


FIGURE 9. Map showing Alder Gulch's "14-mile city" (Courtesy of the David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, Cartography Associates, 2003).

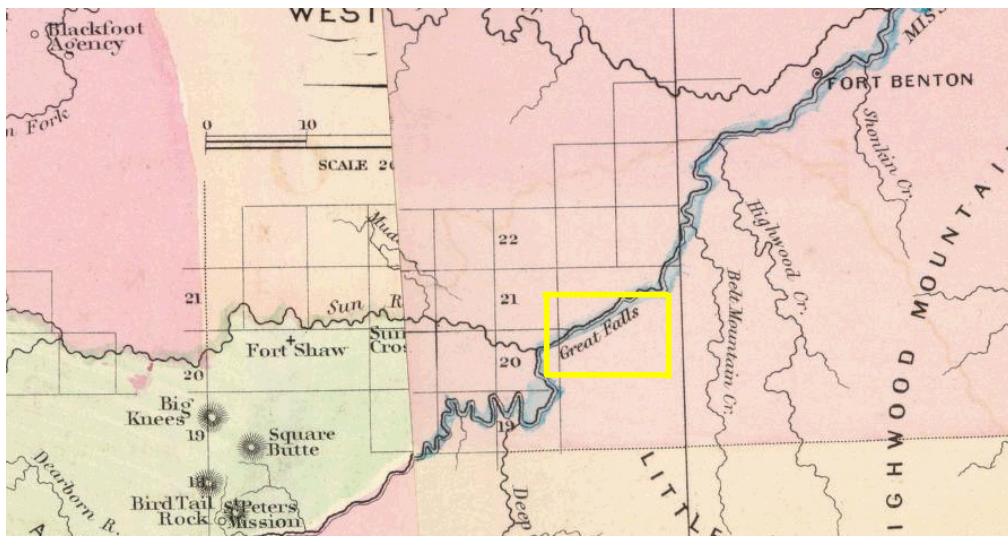


FIGURE 10. Map showing the location of Great Falls (Courtesy of the David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, Cartography Associates, 2005).



FIGURE 11. Charles A. Bovey during the 1940s (Courtesy of the Montana Historical Society, Helena).



FIGURE 12. Charles A. in the Bovey 1970s (Courtesy of the Montana Historical Society, Helena).

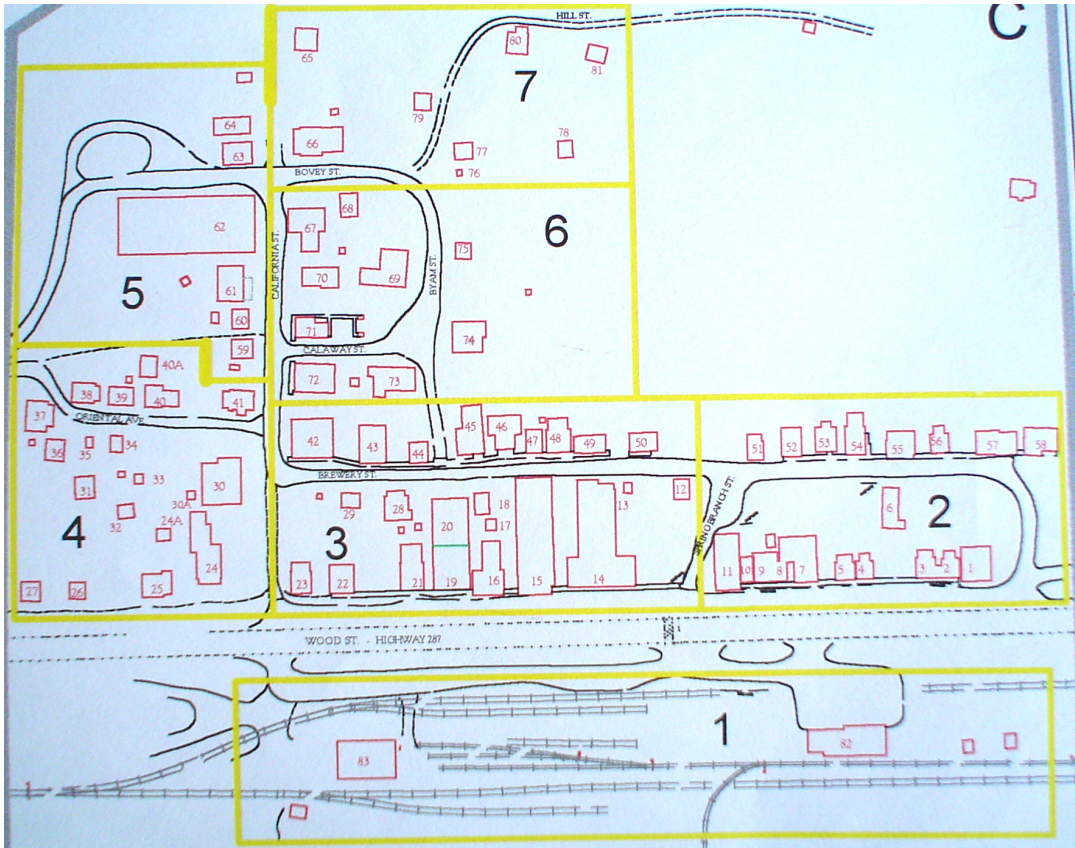


FIGURE 13. Jim Jarvis' 2001 proposed "Nevada City Historic District." The map is divided into survey sections where 1 represents the surveys southern boundary and 7 represents the surveys northern boundary (Courtesy of Jim Jarvis, Virginia City, 2001).

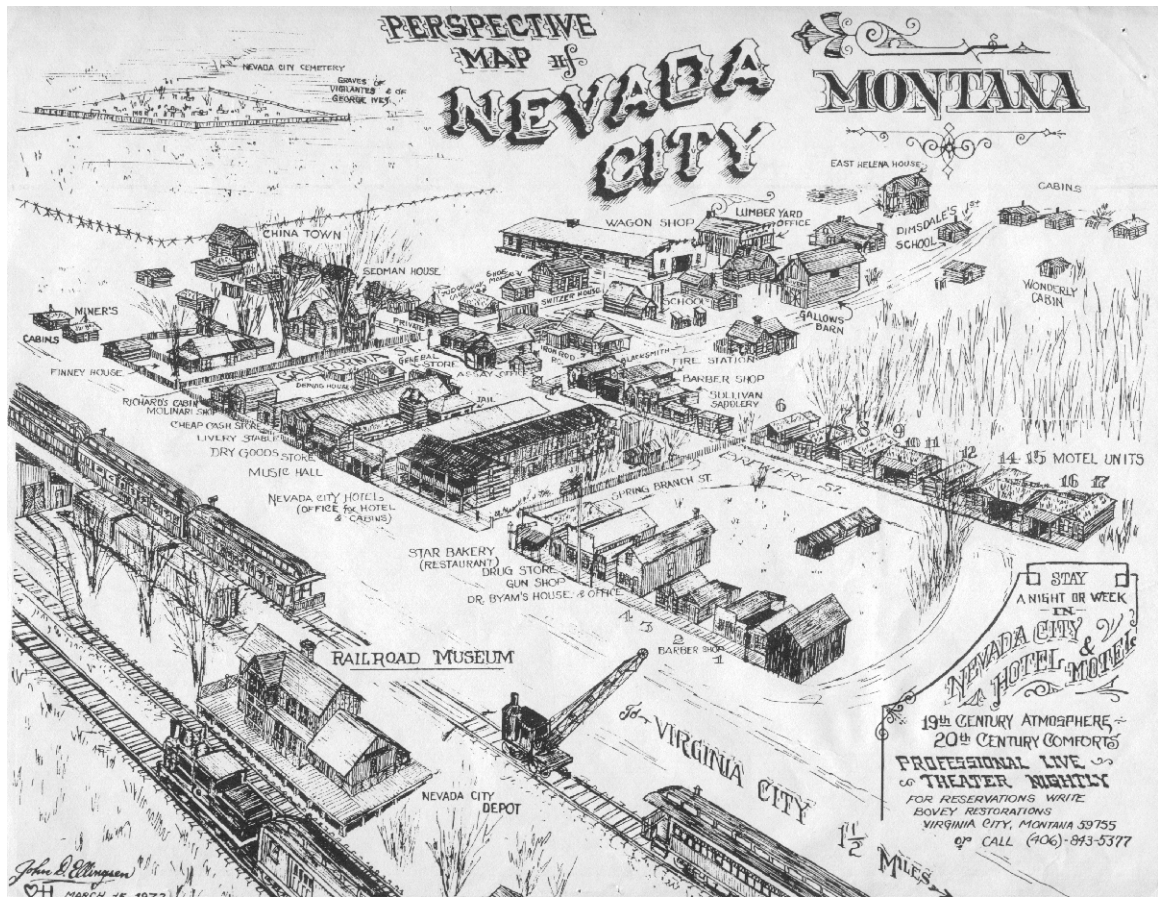


FIGURE 14. Perspective map of Nevada City's outdoor museum (Courtesy Baumler and Ellingsen, 2003a).



FIGURE 15. Front view of the Dr. Byam House. The Dr. Byam is architecturally classified as a false-front building of frame construction with a wooden shingle roof. When the house was originally built in 1863 it had a false front and a gable roof that were removed during an 1870s remodel (Photo by author, 2007).



FIGURE 16. Rear view of the Dr. Byam House showing the 14'x20' shed added to the home in the nineteenth century (Photo by author, 2007).



FIGURE 17. Rear view of the Finney House featuring several of the building additions the family added throughout the years. The building in the center is the original 1863 one-story log cabin with a low-pitched roof. In 1864 a one and a half-story gabled roof log structure was added to the front of the cabin. Unfortunately there is no construction date for the stone root cellar added to the rear of the building (Photo by author, 2007).



FIGURE 18. Front view of the Finney House, featuring the 1864 the one and a half-story gabled roof log structure that was added to the front of the original miner's cabin (Photo by author, 2007).



FIGURE 19. Front view of the Finney House, featuring the first story (Photo by author, 2007).