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## **New Almaden and the Mexican**

Francisco Valencia  
*San Jose State University*

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NEW ALMADEN AND THE MEXICAN

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of  
Mexican-American Graduate Studies

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Francisco Valencia

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New Almaden and the Mexican

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Approved for the  
Department of Mexican-American  
Graduate Studies

Dr. [Signature]

Antonio R. [Signature] - Chairman

[Signature]

Approved for the  
University Graduate Committee

[Signature]

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## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Statement of the Problem

Historical accounts of the social history of New Almaden make reference to the Mexican as a "vicious" element, an element which must be dealt with and done away with, or as a carefree loving peoples whose only major concern was the present gratification of their needs with no emphasis on the future, emphasizing their innate "inferiority" to their Anglo counterpart with little mention of their important contribution to the development of the New Almaden Mines.

→ During the period before the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, there were a handful of Mexicans in the Santa Clara Valley. With the Gold Rush Era this number increased from a mere handful to literally thousands. The Mexicans as well as the vast numbers of other peoples came to stake their claim in the mineral richness of California.

After the United States take over of California from Mexico, mercury in addition to gold and silver mining witnessed an advent of prosperity beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century.

With the gradual exclusion of the Mexican in gold and silver mining, a large number of Mexicans turned to

mercury mining. Many came to New Almaden where they constituted the majority of the population throughout its mining history. This contributed to the growth and development of New Almaden and the Santa Clara Valley. These workers along with other groups created the unique history of New Almaden.

Although the Mexican worker in New Almaden contributed much to the production and economic success of the mine he benefited little in the way of personal and economic reward.

Mexican workers were desirable in the early years of production because of the mining skills they had brought from Mexico. However, once the Anglo-surname had learned the skills of the trade there was competition and discrimination.

A crusade of discrimination against the Mexican was enacted by such legislation as the Foreign Miner's Tax Law of 1850. A law whose main purpose was to keep the foreign miner, especially the Mexican out of the mines. This law was eventually repealed in 1851 due to sound economic reasons, that is, an exodus of skilled miners which in many cases led to the ruination of many mining camps.

Bancroft depicts the attitudes of American society towards foreigners:

In the annals of our coast there is no fouler blot than the outrages perpetrated at various times

and places upon Indians, Mexicans, and Chinese. Viewed from any standpoint the aspect is revolting. I have yet to find the first instance where atrocities were not condemned by the community, by 9/10 of them.

In New Almaden as in other parts of the southwest, talent made the Mexicans conspicuously lucky and therefore subject to attack by jealous Anglo-surnames. These miners knew how to mine quicksilver, worked hard, were often successful, and in this way acquired the resentment of the white, who were inexperienced and required more amenities. All Spanish speaking people connected in any way with mining, whether Peruvians, Chilenos, Mexican immigrant, or California Mexicans, were lumped together under the term greasers and treated accordingly, that is, in the worst possible way.

The American attitude towards this group varied as the economic value of the Mexicans to the American society varied. The areas of acceptance changed as conditions in California changed, but the basic concept of the position and treatment of the Mexican remained the same.

#### Purpose of the Study

It is the purpose of this study to investigate a period of New Almaden social history from 1824 to 1900, with special emphasis on the historical role played by the Mexican. The study emphasizes a historical approach with the beginnings of a sociological analysis as a basic for further sociological analysis.

### Limitations of the Study

This study documents the social history of New Almaden from the period of 1824 to 1900. References to the discovery of the mine and its subsequent litigation is only a summary intended to provide background to the focus of this study. The existing literature on the mine in this period of New Almaden history is almost devoid of any contribution from the target population. Therefore, the reference documents most probably reflect a historical bias by Anglo historians and writers. An objective analysis of the Mexican's role in New Almaden must thus be a conclusive deduction from factual accounts of the management and life styles relating to the mine. Little emphasis is placed in this study on technical operations of the mine, other than to explain the fundamental practices of the miners and the method of operations of the mine. Little emphasis is also placed on other groups which worked and lived in the mining camps other than to lend clarity to the interaction existing between the Mexican and the other groups which resided at New Almaden.

### Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is to give an accurate account of the role of the Mexican in the history of New Almaden and the Santa Clara Valley. To correct errors of the past in historical documentation which have tended

to lead to historical bias in favor of the Anglo-American, this study presents a more accurate description of the Mexican as self assertive despite the oppressive conditions he was subjected to.

### Method of Research

The materials used in this study have been obtained from a variety of sources including documents and manuscripts, biographies and early California history, located at Stanford University Library, Bancroft Library, Huntington Library, San Jose Historical Museum, San Jose State University Library, New Almaden Museum, San Jose City Library, and the private collections of Clyde Arbuckle, Laurence Bulmore, Constance Perham and Bill Wulf. Various newspapers located at San Jose City Library, San Jose Historical Museum, and the San Jose Mercury News were also used.

## Chapter II

### DISCOVERY AND LITIGATION OF NEW ALMADEN

New Almaden is a small town located in an arroyo at the base of the Santa Cruz Mountains in the Santa Clara Valley of California, approximately twelve miles south of the city of San Jose. The town is separated from the rest of the valley by a low range of foothills. Behind the town is a mountain ridge about 1700 feet high, and behind this ridge is the coastal mountain range, some 3000 feet high, dividing the Santa Clara Valley from the Pacific Ocean (Raven, 1958:1).

| The discovery of the New Almaden Quicksilver Mines was paramount to the success of the gold and silver mines in the Americas. Quicksilver for centuries had been the only method of extracting precious metals from ores up until our present century. |

Before the abundant richness of this material was discovered in California, the quicksilver mines of Spain, owned and operated by the Rothschilds of England, had a strident monopoly on quicksilver throughout the world. | The New Almaden mines of Santa Clara Valley broke the monopoly, making way for the prosperous growth of California and mining camps throughout the United States. |

Various attempts were made to unlock the richness of

the area of New Almaden or Sierra Azul, as the Mexicans of California called it. But results proved negative until the coming of Andres Castillero in 1845. He made a thorough examination, proved the existence of quicksilver and filed his claim. However, the beginnings of his mining operations were to be short-lived.

With the United States take over of what is today the southwestern part of the United States, after the Mexican-American War in 1848, the Santa Clara mine (so named by Castillero) was to be involved in a series of lawsuits and litigation over mine ownership for over a decade. Castillero profited little from a mining claim made in Mexican territory.

#### I. ROBLES, SUNOL AND CHABOLLA

Secundio Robles learned of the cinnabar from an Indian who gave him the location of a cave and told him that the red rock had been used for paint at the Mission of Santa Clara. This cave had been dug in prehistoric times by Indians. The red paint made from the rock of the cave caused skin eruptions, and the Indians, believed it possessed of an evil spirit, therefore shunned it. Early accounts by W. V. Wells who visited the mine claims to have been shown an irregular tunnel between fifty and one thousand feet long, which was first thought to have been a natural opening but when cleared out, was found to contain several Indian



skeletons, together with rounded boulders that might have been used in making the crude excavation (Bailey & Everhart, 1964:177).

Secundio Robles is credited as being the first Californian to discover the source of the red rock, high on the hills above the Los Alamitos creek. He had spent considerable time investigating the area with the anticipation that the colorful hills could possibly reveal gold or silver. However, his lack of understanding of minerals and the methods necessary to identify the ore, resulted in failure to achieve any material reward. After withdrawing from the activity, he passed on an account of his experiences to Antonio Sunol and Luis Chabolla, who were acquainted with the area.

It was during the year 1824, that Sunol and Chabolla, after receiving a detailed account of Robles' experiences, decided to visit the hills of the red rock. Arriving on the slopes of the highest hill, they were impressed by the exposure of red rock formations. After collecting a variety of samples, they returned to the banks of the creek to experiment with an old method used by Mexican miners. They built a small arrastra of creek stone and proceeded to pulverize the rock. Their procedure continued for many days with the greatest expectations of finding gold or silver. However, their efforts proved futile and the prospecting venture was abandoned. Their meager knowledge of minerals and deficiency

in method allowed for little incentive to continue with the experimentation (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:2). Sunol abandoned the mine, along with Chabolla and the \$400.00 capital he had invested in it (Munro-Fraser, 1881:32), unaware that in their many hours of pulverizing the red rock they had been working with high grade mercurial ore and were on the threshold of a quicksilver bonanza.

## II. ANDRES CASTILLERO

During the fall of 1845, Andres Castellero, a captain in the military service of Mexico, arrived at Mission Santa Clara to visit the region of Upper California (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:2). The genial Mexican cavalry captain had a knowledge of metals and chemistry. He was on a special mission to California, commissioned by Mexico to buy out Johanna August Sutter and scatter the disquieting nest of Americanos at New Helvetia (Shutes, 1943:125), inducing the foreigners to come down nearer the settlements, offering them lands if they would do so. The negotiations failed because Castellero insisted as a condition of the purchase by the Mexican government that Captain Sutter should leave the country, to which he would not consent, though he was willing to sell. Another difficulty was that Castellero offered to pay in drafts on Mazatlan and Mexico, having no cash, while Sutter insisted on receiving cash.

After an uneventful trip from Sutter's Fort,

|Castillero arrived at the Mission Santa Clara where he was heartily welcomed by Father Jose Maria de Real. It was here that Castillero observed the reddish color applied about the building and a small quantity of red rock piled in the Mission yard. | With an offer by the Mexican government of \$100,000.00 for the discovery of mineral riches, he was ready to apply what technical knowledge he had to unlock the secrets of the red rock (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:3).

| Captain Castillero tested it for quicksilver through distillation. He pulverized the ore, threw it on live coals, then picked up a tumbler of water, threw the water on the coals, inverted the tumbler to catch the vapour, and saw attached to its sides tiny globules of quicksilver. He proceeded to file a claim with the Alcalde of the Pueblo San Jose de Guadalupe. |

Information of his mining possession was soon after submitted to the Junta de Formento y Administracion de Minería, the highest mining tribunal in the Republic of Mexico. By May 23, 1846, the Minister of Exterior Relations issued his order to the Governor of California, notifying him of the aforesaid grant to Castillero, and directing the said governor to put Castillero in possession of the mine. He was granted three thousand varas (yards) of land in all directions.

By the end of 1845, Castillero had formed the partnership which was to own and operate the mine. As provided

in the Ordenanzas de Minería there was a formal writing constituting a partnership of twenty-four shares; twelve were retained by Castellero, four were held by General Jose Castro, four by Secundino and Teodoro Robles and four by Father Jose Maria de Real. Under Mexican law it was necessary that the mine be worked, and Castellero obtained the services of a very ingenious and able person, William G. Chard (Johnson, 1963:20).

As the mining project reached the month of August, 1846, approximately 3,000 pounds of ore had been fired with favorable results. However, lack of finances, equipment and supplies became the immediate problem which Castellero now recognized as the obstacle confronting his operation (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:6). Castellero thus returned to Mexico City, where he requested and was granted a government loan of five thousand dollars to cover the cost of developing the mine.

### III. BARRON, FORBES & COMPANY

War between Mexico and the United States broke out in 1846, and being unable to collect any money on the loan, Castellero sought capital from Barron, Forbes and Company, an English banking firm doing business in Tepic, Mexico. Castellero sold four of his twelve shares to the company and turned over the title papers to said company (New Almaden Chronology, Stanford University Library Special Collection).

This company took a sixteen year lease on the mine,

and gave it, without even seeing it, the optimistic name of "New Almaden," after the world's greatest quicksilver mine in Spain. From 1846 to 1849, there were various transfers of shares from one owner to another, but by 1850 the Barron, Forbes group had acquired the entire ownership (Johnson, 1963:25).

The mine having been formed under Mexican land laws was subject, after the Mexican-American War, to scrutiny under Anglo-American laws. The very success of the mine triggered a whole series of lawsuits regarding the mine's ownership.

#### IV. QUICKSILVER MINING COMPANY

Litigation dragged on for twelve years, uncertainty set a brake on production, and for two years no mining took place at all. A final decision in 1863 went against the company in the Supreme Court by a majority of three to two at the very time that a new company, the Quicksilver Mining Company, was being organized in New York to take over its assets and terminate English financial interests in this part of California (Todd, 1967:84).

Referring to the judgement of the Supreme Court, H. H. Bancroft, the California historian, declared that "three of the judges dissented from what was undoubtedly an unjust decision." There was no doubt that the real opposition to the New Almaden grant came not from the government

but from the Quicksilver Mining Company of New York. That it used the servants of the government for its own purposes is a fair conclusion--even to taking "their interests into the lobby of Congress," attempting to "mine the Cabinet," and using "the President's (A. Lincoln) fingers to rake their chestnuts out of the fire" (Shutes, 1943:143).

The Quicksilver Mining Company of New York did not gain possession of the mine, as intended, even though it had won its fight in the courts. It was forced by public opinion, and Barron, Forbes and Company, to a compromise, purchasing the New Almaden Company and all its assets for \$1,750,000.00.

Only eighteen years had elapsed between Andres Castillero's discovery of the cave in the hills and the climactic sale of the prosperous and booming mine. As it turned out, the New Almaden Company, although losing the court battle, was able to show a good profit on its investment. The Quicksilver Mining Company was also to make good in its operations for many years to come.

## Chapter III

### NEW ALMADEN MINE ADMINISTRATIONS, MINING OPERATIONS AND THE MEXICAN

New Almaden witnessed several mining administrations with more advanced methods of extracting quicksilver as the years passed.

The majority of its workers from the beginning of mining production were Mexican. These workers, along with other groups, were to influence and make an impact on mining administrations and vice versa, helping to create the unique history of New Almaden.

#### I. BARRON, FORBES AND COMPANY

In the fall of 1847, Alexander Forbes, of Barron, Forbes and Company arrived at New Almaden from Mexico with a sizable crew of workers, equipment and John Young, who would superintend the initial operations.

On the banks of the Los Alamitos creek, at the gateway to the mine, structures were erected to serve as accommodations for the workers and also would be the location for the furnace operations. This first settlement would later be referred to as the Hacienda, taken from the Spanish term "Hacienda de Beneficio," meaning reduction works.

During the construction activity, a small crew of

miners began the preliminary stages of prospecting and ore extraction. The site of discovery became the focal point of operation and the red cave, on the slopes of what was later to be known as Mine Hill, was subjected to vigorous treatment with picks and crowbars. In conjunction with these activities, another crew was preparing the furnace area and building retorts.

Under the capable direction of Henry Halleck, the revised pattern of procedure gathered considerable momentum in development of the mine and production of quicksilver. Profits were reduced by the continuous investment in property and development work. The ore of the furnaces was yielding an average of 36% quicksilver and the operation was showing conclusively that the mines of Nuevo Almaden had a great potential.

The daily operation was progressing favorably in spite of the inadequate facilities and inefficient methods. The crudely built retorts were producing a daily average of 100 to 150 pounds of quicksilver (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967: 9-12).

By 1851, five furnaces and condensers had been erected with no less than 5,000,000 pounds of cinnabar being roasted to yield 20,000 flasks of mercury (Todd, 1967:84).

In 1864, with the dissolution of mining interest in New Almaden, Barron, Forbes & Company returned to Mexico. With a minimum investment in development work, they had produced quicksilver valued at \$15,000,000.00 (Lanyon & Bulmore,



1967:16).

Under the management of the Barron, Forbes & Company, the following served in managerial positions: Managers were James Alexander Forbes, Robert Wilkinshaw and John Young, 1847-52; Henry Wager Halleck, 1850-56; James Eldredge, 1863-64. Superintendents were John Young, 1847-52; Sherman Day and James Eldredge, 1863-64. Engineers were William Chard and Henry Bee, 1845-46; Dr. Tobin, 1848; Norman H. Beston, 1850; Sherman Day, 1852; C. E. Hawley, 1863-64. No Spanish-surname held managerial position with the Barron and Forbes administration.

## II. SAMUEL FOWLER BUTTERWORTH

With the departure of Barron, Forbes in 1864, the Quicksilver Mining Company took over operations with Samuel Butterworth as general manager. His term was to last from 1864 to 1870.

Butterworth's salary was the same as the President of the United States and his expense account was often the largest item in the company's statements (Jimmie Schneider notes, c.a. 1940, Stanford University Library). He was also given a liberal spending allowance to maintain the gracious living of the Casa Grande where the most important personalities in the West were wined and dined (Innis:15). He had previously held the presidency of the organization of the company but resigned it on grounds of local expediency,

accepting the more responsible and onerous position of general manager. His position empowered him to make all purchases for the operation of the mines, to receive and dispose of their products, to have full control over all the employees, and to make all necessary provisions for the development and extension of the business (Harper's, 1865: 550).

As general manager in charge of operating the mines, he prepared to increase his wealth and obtain a fortune for the Quicksilver Mining Company of Pennsylvania. This was a joint stock company with the majority of the stock held in the eastern states. The shares were on the regular list of the New York Stock Exchange. The Company, originally chartered and incorporated by the state of Pennsylvania in 1863 was later to be transferred to the state of New York on April 10, 1866. According to the charter and by-laws the capital stock was valued at ten million dollars. There were one hundred thousand shares of \$100.00 each issued from their office at No. 19 Nassau St., New York. A board of directors was selected with the various officers. Of the eleven directors, ten resided in New York (Charter and By-laws, 1867:1).

During the Butterworth administration there was a considerable amount of disorder in the mining community with a reported high loss of quicksilver by theft.

The quality of ore had continually decreased during

the final years of the 1860's and the production of quicksilver had dropped from 25,628 flasks in 1868 to 16,989 in 1869, although the price had been maintained at forty-five dollars and ninety cents per flask. The actual value of New Almaden quicksilver had fallen from \$1,176,325 to \$775,618 (Davis & Jennings, 1954:352).

Samuel Butterworth eventually was informed by the New York office to curtail expenses. He replied by saying that he had already cut the wages of the officers and foremen of the mine 20% and that it was impossible to cut the wages of the miners. He wrote:

If that impression extends to my management of the mines and of the company's affairs on the coast, I must say that there is no just foundation for it. . . . I don't believe that it lies within the compass of human ingenuity to manage the mine and the business of this office at less expense or more economically than they have been during the past five years (Butterworth letter, April 8, 1869, Stanford University Library).

In addition, Butterworth suggested that the Hacienda be closed or leased and that he was willing to work for the company at a cut to \$10,000.00 annum from his salary of \$25,000.00 per year. However, he continued, if the company felt that they must change managers, he requested that he be notified so that a new man could acquaint himself with the business before he left.

Butterworth finally sent in his resignation in April of 1870. He took the exception in a letter of this type (resignation) to recommend his successor in the person of

James B. Randol, his nephew and secretary of the company for seven years.

James B. Randol arrived in New Almaden as the newly appointed manager at the annual salary of \$12,000.00. He spent about a month in becoming indoctrinated to the life in a mining camp, the details, problems and overall picture of conditions, after seven years of Butterworth's management (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:24). Samuel Butterworth had grossed \$1,950,345.00 for the company with a total of \$26,097.00 distributed in wages.

During the relatively short tenure of Butterworth, the following served in managerial positions: Superintendents were James Eldridge and Sherman Day, 1863-64; N. D. Arnot, 1864-65; C. E. Hawley, 1865; James A. Nowland, 1865-67; Sr. E. J. Mayo, 1867-70; and C. W. Lightner, 1870. Surveyor was Gustavus Cox, 1868. Engineers were C. E. Hawley, 1864; Sherman Day, 1864-65; C. E. Hoffman, 1866; Henry Janin, 1868-70. Foreman was Charles O'Brion, 1867. There is no account of Spanish-surname holding managerial positions.

One of the most capable men was Sherman Day who returned to the scene where he was engaged during 1856-58. He, like many others, was forced to leave when the injunction was applied to close operations. Day resumed his work in April, 1864, but by November submitted his resignation. His short stay and reasons for leaving were his inability to work and communicate with the Mexican workers on any

acceptable basis. Day was instrumental in developing the tunnel which later was named in his honor (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:20).

### III. JAMES BUTTERWORTH RANDOL

The financial history of the mines was important only as long as the actual mining operations would produce the finished product. These operations at the New Almaden mines underwent monumental changes during the management of James B. Randol. Inventions of new equipment, improvements on the existing machinery and the development of new prospecting methods resulted in maintaining profits for the Quicksilver Mining Company. Randol busied himself corresponding with mining experts the world over in search of answers to the problems he faced. His research aided his company and added to their investment. Included in Randol's investigations were statistics gathered from quicksilver mines in Europe, South America, and other California mines (Randol, Vol. I).

Hennen Jennings, mining superintendent in 1887, stated:

The financial condition of the mine when Mr. Randol took charge 1870 was a most embarrassed one. There was an interest bearing debt of \$1,600,000 against the mine. The production of quicksilver for the year 1870 . . . was one of the small ones in the history of the mines. The amount of ore in sight was small, and its extraction very costly, and the stockholders were so pressed to carry on the workings of the mine that it was necessary to raise money (Jennings, 1887:7).

James B. Randol was sent to New Almaden with about two hundred thousand dollars which had been raised by selling preferred stock by subscription throughout the East. The conditions at the mine left by his predecessor caused the need for this money to carry on the work.

By 1886, exploration and exploitation had been made in mine shafts, six of which were in active operation; there was a network of underground passages aggregating nearly 50 miles in length; mining work was carried on to a depth of 2,300 feet, while the machinery was the most complete and economical in the world.

Within 16 years 318,000 flasks of quicksilver had been produced, over \$5,000,000.00 disbursed for labor, and a total profit yielded to the owners of more than \$4,000,000.00. The funded debt had been paid, large amounts expended in permanent improvements and over one million dollars declared in dividends (Sawyer, 1922:87).

The Quicksilver Mining Company began to witness monumental changes by the early part of the 1890's.

By 1892 with shafts that ended in caverns of exhausted ore, quicksilver production down to 13,000 flasks a year and inability to secure workers at low wages, contributed to the end of the Randol Administration. He resigned that same year having selected F. Von Leicht as his successor who also later resigned, followed by R. R. Bulmore who became general manager, along with James Harry as

superintendent.

By 1899, ore production was below the gonnage for continuing with any future promise of success. Drastic economy measures were applied with almost a complete reduction of the employees. The position of general agent was abolished, terminating the services of Robert Bulmore. Charles Derby was put in charge of the entire operation which he carried on until 1901. When he resigned, he was replaced by his father, Thomas Derby, who remained until 1909.

By the close of 1912, the Cinnabar Hills could no longer support further operations and the company closed their books and officially declared the entire holdings in a state of bankruptcy (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:107).

During Randol's twenty-two years of service at New Almaden, the following individuals served in managerial positions: Superintendents were C. W. Lightner, 1870; Richard Pearce, 1870-73; Captain Grey, 1873-80; R. B. Smith, 1881; Frank Rice, 1882-83; Hennen Jennings, 1883-87; F. Von Leicht, 1887-91; Captain James Harry, 1892-95; C. C. Derby, 1895-1900. Surveyors were A. D. Foote, 1870-77; Ross E. Browne, 1877-78; Hennen Jennings, 1878-80; F. Von Leicht, 1880-82; Frank Reade, 1882-86; Sidney Jennings, 1886-87; J. F. Wilkenson, 1887-93; C. C. Derby, 1890-1900. Engineers were Henry Janin, 1870-74; James A. Harrower, 1884; S. B. Cristy, 1889; Frank Church, 1892-1900.

The majority of the workers throughout the history of New Almaden were Mexican, yet, the exclusion of the Mexicans in managerial positions within the Barron & Forbes, Butterworth and Randol administrations is indicative of the discrimination to which the Mexican and other Spanish-surname were subjected.

#### IV. FIRST MINERS

The California Census of 1852 for the Santa Clara County lists a population of 6,664, of which 4,096 were males and 2,062 females. Of these only 1,717 were U.S. citizens. Listed was a total of 298 Sonorans in Santa Clara county, the largest percentile as laborers followed by a few farmers. The total number of Sonoran miners in the county was 14. And the total number of Mexican miners was 51, Anglo-surname miners in county three, including Robert Walkenshaw from Scotland. The number of Sonorans, and Mexicans in mining totaled 65 plus those Sonorans classified as laborers of the 298.

In addition the 1852 census shows that the entire working force at New Almaden were Mexican and Sonoran, except for the three Anglo-surname miners. Listed are the names of the Sonoran miners in Santa Clara county according to the census report of 1852: Lorenzo Vasques, Satumina Ortiz, Marcello Buelma, Pascuala Buelma, Reasann Nasada,



Jesus Nunez, Jose Espinosa, Miguel, Pedro Monaldo, Jose Maria Janrez, Orelto Cunico, Pablo Moreno, Malaga Armis and Jesus Ortis (names as they appear in the census).

(Up to 1847, according to John L. Hittell, the only large number of people in California who knew anything about mining were the Sonorans. These Mexicans, who had learned the skills in the mines of northern Mexico, were the teachers of the first miners in California (Hittell, 1861:15). !

Josiah Royce is in agreement with Hittell and further states that there were approximately 10,000 Sonoran miners at work in the southern mines (Royce, 1948:240).

The migration of Mexicans into the southwest included so broad a spectrum of the population of Sonora and Sinaloa and was so large and continuous throughout 1850, that it compelled the governors of northern Mexico to admonish repeatedly about the dangers of life on Anglo soil (Pitt, 1970:50).

As early as September, 1848, the New Almaden Mines were advertising in Spanish in the Alta California for employees among "Hispanic-Americans of good conduct." This was one of the first advertisements in California that offered employment.

A new wave of miner migrations was brought in by the economic conditions in England. By 1866, the economic situation throughout England has reached a point of disastrous proportions. Business of all types was at its lowest

activity. The copper mines were becoming fewer in operation and unemployment had increased to thousands of families subsisting on the lowest of rations. During this year, an estimated 5,000 miners left Cornwall. | When James Randol assumed the managerial duties at New Almaden, he immediately proceeded to obtain Cornish miners and during his regime a sizable group became established on the Hill (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:66).

Each group, the Mexican, and the Cornish making up the majority of miners and laborers, became experts in their own abilities; the Cornish at sinking shafts and the Mexicans in following and mining the ore.

Besides the population of Mexican miners and laborers and the steady influx of Cornish, other groups began working at New Almaden.

In 1886, according to an Analysis of Mine Employees and Nationalities, reported 477 employees of mixed nationalities, including Mexican, Chilean, English, American, Swedes, Norwegians, Dutch, German, Austrians, Canadians and Irish (Felton, 1887:13). This number included those not employees of the company, wives and children.

## V. MINING PRODUCTION

Henry Halleck's first logical solution in accordance with mine development was the construction of a tunnel deep into the promontory which would become known as Mine Hill.

Located some 300 feet below the summit, this adit which became the Main tunnel, was started and in 1851 had extended a distance of 807 feet. It was constructed with an arched tunnel, 10 feet in height with heavy redwood timbers spaced two feet apart to support the walls. The width was adequate to accommodate a double track system for the coming and going of loaded and empty ore cars. At the entrance to the tunnel, a large area was filled and graded to serve as the depository for the ore. A long open shed was constructed which was called the "Planilla." Here the ore cars were unloaded and crews of laborers would break the ore to a specified size and segregate according to its value. In the grading process, the ore was placed in one of three groups referred to as gruessa, granza, and tierra. The gruessa was the highest grade or purest quality; the granza was good ore but contained other rock or substance; the tierra was of an inferior quality usually found in debris or refuse earth. Because of its fineness, the tierra was moistened and fashioned into brick forms and laid out for sun drying. Thousands of tierra bricks were stacked at the reduction works and during the rain--road conditions curtailed the transporting of ore bodies which were called "labores," and each became designated by a specific title. The most prominent that were located in conjunction with the tunnel were the San Pedro, San Rosalio, San Antonio, San Ricardo and San Pablo.

The first constructed furnaces were six feet wide, ten feet high and were arranged in a parallel formation six feet apart. Each furnace was divided into three parts consisting of the fire box, the ore chamber and the condensing unit. The fire box was located at the front and was separated from the ore chamber by a brick wall with openings for the passage of heat. The condensing unit was attached to the ore chamber by a brick wall with openings at the top. Each furnace would accommodate 15,000 pounds of ore and required 12 to 14 condensers through which the vapor was conducted--alternating above and below, until it reaches the end where it passes through a wooden cistern. The cistern is half full of water over which the vapor passes and cools on its way to wooden chimneys. Each condenser is fitted with a small pipe through which the vapor or quicksilver flows in streams along a narrow trough into pipes leading to iron vats. The quicksilver is deposited in the vats and from there is ladled to the scales where its weight is accurately measured and poured into iron flasks. The flasks were 18" in length, 8" in diameter and 1/4" thick. Each flask contained 75 pounds of quicksilver and was sealed tightly with a screw-in plug. During the early years of operation, the flasks were imported from England (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:12).

The furnaces received the ore from the top and were carefully arranged by a worker in such a way as to get

maximum heating. The top of the furnace was well covered with mortar and dry ashes to prevent the leakage of vapor.

One of the most important innovations initiated by Butterworth, which contributed immeasurably to increased ore production, was the installation of a tramway system on the slope of the Hill which descended from the mine area to the furnaces below. The ore cars were in continuous operation day and night and many loads of ore were delivered with minimum time and labor. The heavy, slow moving wagons, that had faithfully served during the early years in transporting the ore over a two mile tortuous journey, became obsolete. The tram system proved highly efficient and its simple manner of operation requiring little maintenance, continued to serve the furnaces for the remaining years of company operations.

The first concern under the Randol administration was to advance the efficiency of furnace operations and to increase quicksilver production on a more economical budget. The furnaces at this time, which had served with a fair degree of success, were crude and inefficient by acceptable standards. They were called the intermittent type, which were capable of roasting only coarse ore and adobe bricks. The process was interrupted by intervals of inactivity due to the cooling off and extraction of roasted ore. These delays caused considerable loss of time and a fair percentage of quicksilver due to the inefficient condensor system.

Randol was informed of the furnaces at the Idria mines in Austria which were designed to carry on a continuous operation of roasting and extracting with no intervals of inactivity. He engaged H. J. Huttner, a mechanical engineer and a brick mason, Robert Scott, to design and build a comparable device. It was during 1874 that the first experimental furnace was completed and put into operation. The results were highly rewarding in efficiency of operation, greater production, and with minimum loss of quicksilver. The furnace functioned day and night with a continuous feeding of ore at the top and when roasted, was extracted at the bottom. Less fuel was required because of the consistent maintenance of temperature, with no cooling-off period. Construction of the innovation continued and eventually five furnaces were operating day and night and roasting an average of 145 tons of ore every twenty-four hours. The ingenuity of the designer and builder had produced one of the best facilities ever devised for the reduction of quicksilver and they continued in operation until the end of the mining activity. This very vital improvement came at the most opportune time for without increased production, the continuance and future activity in New Almaden was doubtful (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:25).

#### VI. WORKER WAGES AND WORKER DISCONTENT

Up to the time of Randol's arrival as general manager,

instead of taking the name, time, and ability of each individual that worked in the mine, that tedious and trying process was passed up to the patron (contractor) who received a stipulation sum for every cargo of clean metal he delivered to the company (Innis:n.p.). The management desired ore and paid when it was delivered.

J. M. Hutchings noted the procedures taken before Randol's time:

The miner is not paid by the day, but received pay for the ore he extracts. They usually work in parties of from two to ten; half the number work during the day, the other half by night, in this manner serve as checks upon each other. Should a drone get into the number, complaint is made to the engineer, who has to settle such matters, which he generally does placing him with a set nearer his capacity, or sometimes by a discharge. The price of the ore is settled by agreement for each week. Should the passage be more than commonly laborious, they do not earn much; or if, on the contrary, it proves to be easy and of great richness, the gain is theirs; it being not infrequent for them to make from thirty to forth dollars a week a piece, and seldom less than fifteen. In those parts of the mine where the ore is worthless, but still has to be extracted in order to reach that which will pay, or to promote ventilation, they are paid by the square vara (yard), at a stipulated price. They do nothing with getting the ore to the patio; this is done by the tenateros at the company's expense, as it also the separating, sifting, and weighing. Each party has their ore kept separate; it is weighed twice a week and an account taken. They select one of their party who receives the pay and divides it among his fellows (Hutchings, 1870:196).

J. M. Hutchings listed a few occupations of the time with their daily rate of pay: weighers, \$2.50; blacksmith, \$5.00 to \$6.00; carpenters, \$8.00.

When Randol took over operations in New Almaden, he

proceeded with a specific classification of workers, men working by the month, by the day, and on contract. Those who worked by the month consisted of officers of the company, mechanics, engine drivers and other skilled branches of work including bookkeepers and accountants. Labor by the day was the work about the furnace, landings and shafts, workers on the road, and sorters of the ore.

The main body of the underground work in the mine was done under the contract system. Contractors were hired by the company and they in turn hired their own employees. Employees of the contractor were not considered employees of the mining company. Jimmie Schneider noted:

When contract bids were posted, miners met at various places where they discussed them, under the direction of a contractor who would speak for them. The lowest bidders were selected by the mining company through the mine superintendent who called off the names from the Hill mine office. This was referred to as the sermon on the mount. The company would pay the contractor for the work, and it was not uncommon that he would beat it with the money, this was called skipping by the light of the moon.

In an Analysis of the Employees in Accordance to Occupations for November 1st, 1886, the following was a total of men employed on the Hill and Hacienda: Contractors, 249; Day's pay, 155; Month's pay, 73.

This new order of systematic operations engaged men in classifications on the Hill for the extraction of ore: Yardage, work required experienced and skillful miners. They were on a contract basis and were paid on the actual number of lineal yards extracted in a tunnel, drift, or



shaft. Drillers were paid by the foot as measured by the length of the drill hole driven into an ore chamber. They worked under a shift boss who measured and reported their work. The tribute system, the contractors were paid for the amount of ore after it was cleaned at the planilla. He blasts and does the excavation of the ore. Trammer or tramming workers transported the ore in cars through the tunnels to the shaft where it was hoisted to the surface. They were paid according to the amount of tonnage delivered. Skip-fillers transferred the ore from the cars to the hoist. These workers were paid on the tonnage hoisted (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:33).

By 1889, the mode of payment for both trammers and skip-fillers was changed to daily wages.

In 1889, the wage scale for the Quicksilver Mining Company were listed as follows: Monthly Rate for Mine Hill employees for machinist was \$100; machinist helper, \$60-70; engine drivers, \$70-80; fireman, \$40-60; blacksmith, \$45-60; blacksmith helper, \$30-35; pumpman, \$70-90; shaftmen, \$70-90; blasters, \$71. Daily Wage for Mine Hill employees for boiler makers was \$2.00-2.50; timbermen, \$2.00-2.50; carpenters, \$3.00; surface laborers, \$1.50-2.00; ore cleaners, \$1.75-2.25; laborers in labores, \$1.50-2.00; trammers, \$1.75-2.25; skip-fillers, \$2.00; boys, \$1.00-1.50. Monthly Rate for Hacienda for furnace foreman was \$100; weighers, \$70.00; machinist, \$70-100.00; mason, \$150.00. Daily Wage for the Hacienda for

blacksmith was \$3.00; blacksmith helper, \$1.25-2.00; carpenters, \$3.00; engine drivers, \$2.00-2.50; laborers, \$2.00-2.25; furnacemen, \$2.50; sootmen, \$2.10; teamster (2 horses), \$4.00; teamster (4 horses), \$6.00 (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:43).

The wage scale as reported by the mining company shows a decrease in wages for several occupations, when compared to Hutchings reported wages of 1870. These occupations include that of blacksmith, with a reduction of from two to three dollars a day, and for carpenters, a decrease of five dollars per day.

Worker wages in most working establishments tend to increase through the years. Yet, in the case of New Almaden there was an obvious decrease after a period of nineteen years. Changeover from payment in accordance to what was delivered to one of daily or monthly wages, as was the case with trammers and skip-fillers, added to the decrease in overall wages. The Mexican workers were most effected by these changes since the majority of these occupations were held by Mexicans.

This state of affairs is indicative of the worker discontent which continuously plagued the company.

The administration of Samuel Butterworth witnessed four strikes during his short tenure as general manager for the Quicksilver Mining Company. | The first strike occurred on January 21, 1865. | The San Jose Mercury Herald News, in type larger than the Mercury customarily employed in its

news columns reported on January 21st: "Anticipated Riot at the New Almaden Mine--A company of Troops Sent to Preserve the Peace.

Jimmie Schneider gives a capsule review of the articles appearing in the Mercury pertaining to New Almaden, from January 21st through the 24th, 1865:

"Since the inauguration of the New Quicksilver Mining Company under the superintendence of S. F. Butterworth, many radical changes have been made both in the working of the mine and in the disposition of the company's outside property, all tending to harmony in the prosecution of so extensive an enterprise, among the operatives and also to conserve the best interests and right of the owners.

"On Saturday last Mr. Butterworth met a body of these workmen to listen to their grievances, and endeavor if possible to reconcile all difficulties. They demanded that they should be paid for their work by weight instead of measure. This demand was acceded to.

"They next demanded that they should be paid semi-monthly, instead of monthly, which was also acceded to.

"They also refused to take out leases for their dwellings, and notified Mr. Butterworth that on and after Saturday next they would discontinue work at the mine, and that other miners should not be allowed to work until their demands were all acceded to.

"The company was determined to maintain their rights, even though it resulted in a temporary suspension of their works. And they were never better able to stand a suspension than at present, being in the highest tide of financial prosperity."

The Mexican miners voiced many of their grievances through Nicolas Hurtado, a U.S. born Mexican who was a correspondent for a newspaper in San Francisco. Hurtado was sympathetic to the demands of the miners and attempted to

make their oppressive conditions publicly known. However, his intentions and deeds were short-lived. Butterworth spoke of him "he seemed to be taking a lusty delight in seeing how many lies he could tell and how much trouble he could forment." Butterworth demanded that he be ordered off of Mine Hill in February of 1864 and that if he resisted, that he be thrown out (Schneider Notes, c.a. 1940). The lack of historical documentation concerning the Mexicans of New Almaden is due in part to the repressive measures taken against the Mexican's ability to report historical events. The case of Nicolas Hurtado is typical of such repressive actions.

| This strike appears to have been carefully planned and organized by the miners. | In a letter to Butterworth from N. D. Arnot, superintendent, January 24, 1865 (Stanform University Library), he stated that because of trouble on the Hill, the company was attempting to have a petition signed merely to get the names of all on the Hill. Jose Antonio Garner, who was without doubt head of the Mexican insurgents, refused this. The letter goes on to say:

My opinion is have the military here on the ground and then notify every man that he must sign a lease at once or leave the estate. The refuse leaves to all who are known to be bad or turbulent characters [sic]. At the same time I would serve notices on them to quit in a legal manner and thus combine the power of right and might, I believe failure would be impossible. Were it necessary when the military have come, I would close every house on the Hill until leases have been signed. Those not signing would leave at once.

Butterworth reported these activities to the New York office in February of 1865:

"My dear Sir,

I believe in Calhoun's maxim, 'masterly inactivity' for the present. I do not wish to proceed against Garner until the other combination is thoroughly broken up. I want at present to drive out the vagrants and the gamblers, after that is done I intend to proceed against the chief conspirators and Garner as their leader, but until I get the leases signed I do not wish to disturb the conspirators.

In a letter from N. D. Arnot to Randol (Stanford University Library), 1865, Arnot complained of Garner's activities:

He came to me yesterday. Complaining that the American men are not getting the same paper cargo as they did previous to the last strike. I sent him to Mr. Halley to settle the matter as it was clearly his business. I intend to clear that man from the Hill and if it can be done in no other way, then, through the use of force as he is becoming a perfect nuisance. I am told that the men are contemplating a small fund to pay Garner to look after their interests to see that they are not over-worked and to see that fair prices are paid them.

The strike organizer, Jose Antonio Garner was eventually, relieved of his duties when some concessions were made to the workers. But one year later on January 30, 1866, the superintendent, James A. Nowland, wrote to his superior in San Francisco:

"To: S. F. Butterworth

"From: Jas. Nowland, Supt.

"I must call to your attention the fact that there are yet on the Hill some of the leaders in the strike of a year ago. The villain, Mariano Ayala has lately returned. Jose Antonio Garner has been here on visit.

I am satisfied they are brewing mischief [sic]. . . .  
 I wish to eject about 10 men with their houses  
 [families] from the premises of the Co. I propose to  
 take the upperhand myself at once and keep it. I  
 must have some aid to enable me to do it. I think  
 if Chief Burke would let you have two good men for  
 two months I can accomplish all I wish and keep the  
 employees in subjection. The difficulty that I have  
 to contend against is that concessions have been made  
 before--I don't propose to concede anything but uncon-  
 ditional surrender unless by instruction from you.

"Yours, respectfully,

"Jas. Nowland, Supt"

(New Almaden Mine Manager's Letterbook, New Almaden Museum).

Two months following this event there occurred  
 another strike in April of 1866. Jimmie Schneider notes  
 "there was a strike of miners that month and production  
 fell from 3,000 flasks to 1,000 per month."

Increased production in most cases account for  
 higher wages; this was not the case at New Almaden. The  
 largest yield of quicksilver in the history of New Almaden  
 occurred during the period of 1864-65, 47,194 flasks.

Followed by the strikes of 1865 and 1866, another  
 strike occurred on March of 1868. Miners stopped work  
 insisting on better wages, which Butterworth refused. These  
 miners eventually returned to work without any concessions  
 made. Miners then again struck in April of 1868. The  
 superintendent eventually conceded to the main points of  
 what the strikers had asked. But by this time, 15 to 20 men  
 were arrested for riot. About 300 men had been on strike.  
 They demanded a daily wage of \$3.00 per day and those men

who had refused to strike were tied on the backs of mules and pelted with missiles. During part of this time, the mine had stopped (Schneider Notes, c.a. 1940).

By this time the mine itself began to fail and with the end of the sixties, the stock, which had been issued but a few years earlier with a par value of \$100.00 a share, softly slid in 1869 to 11 cents a share (Pony Express, 1950:7).

These reoccurring events eventually led to the resignation of Butterworth. Yet the problems of worker discontent did not end here.

James Randol and the New Almaden Administration were witness to a threat of a strike. In a letter from Randol to New York (Stanford University Library), Randol wrote:

To add to the joys and pleasure which the manager here is supposed to enjoy, I am threatened with a strike by the workers on ore (the majority Mexican) on Saturday morning a notice in Spanish and also in English was found posted on the Hill saying the miners were being robbed, the present manner of weighing ore calling for a change or demanding them all to stop work. I had the poster removed and another put up offering \$50.00 for the name of the writer. I sent for the Cornish captains and told them if they were not satisfied with my rules they could have their pay and take leave. They said they were without complaint. I then called the Captains, about 50 of them, together and one lending courage to another they were loud in their complaints against what they termed unfair weighing.

Randol told them that the weighing was honest. None left, so he discharged a few that had been making the most noise, and were the poorest workers (Schneider Notes).

The following day Randol writes another letter to

New York (Stanford University Library):

The stoppage of the sale of all liquors on the company property Saturday and Sunday undoubtedly prevented a strike. A better feeling now rules and a majority of the tributors have continued work. I have discharged a number of the hoodlum element and I think there will be no further trouble.

Randol as well as Butterworth depicted those Mexicans who demanded worker justice as hoodlums, bad or turbulent characters, vagrants and gamblers. This depiction of the Mexican is a popular Anglo characterization of the Mexicans living in New Almaden during the early part of its history.

The Mexican's demands against an oppressive atmosphere was obvious. Yet Mary Hallack Foote, who was a resident of New Almaden and a well-known illustrator and writer for Harper's Monthly Magazine, depicted the character of the Mexican in total contrast to what the miners had already demonstrated:

They are not self-asserting and full of personality as we are; they slip along in a listless, easy way, unfretted, unambitious, graceful, struggling against nothing, accepting all without question (Foote, 1878: 492).

In checking with other mines and industries in February of 1876, Schneider notes that Randol was convinced that he was paying the men less than any other place on the Pacific coast with better results. Because of this Randol was able to wipe out the outstanding debt carried over from the previous administration and at the same time make assurances of ample profit. In order to continue with the steady



stream of profits, Randol was faced with recruiting workers to the mine at low wages.

In January of 1874 the mine was advertising for miners on contract and tribute daywork in the San Jose and San Francisco papers, and also later in the Virginia City paper.

Many of the Mexican miners left during these days as other mines were discovered and the Chinese were brought to Almaden to do a great deal of the outside work.

This state of affairs continued on into the 1880's. In a letter from Randol to the president of the company, D. Mahoney, September 23, 1881 (Stanford University Library), he stated:

Still lack workers for which they advertised extensively the past two months. Ask that ad be put in mining papers in Penn., Colo., Lake Superior and other mining regions.

One answer to advertisements came from four miners at St. Helena gold mine at Las Delicias, Mexico. Another came from Don Ramaldo Velasques who returned to the mine at the request of Randol and had brought a number of men with him. They had begun prospecting with a fair show of good results (Schneider Notes, c.a. 1940). Once again the reappearance of the Mexican correlated with the increased production of the New Almaden mines.

Randol applied pressure to those directly under him in economizing in all departments of the mining operation. In a letter addressed to Superintendent Baldwin, August 16,

1883 (Stanford University Library), Randol wrote:

The mine and Hacienda payrolls for June are both too large while quicksilver is low in price and slow of sale. I note on the Hacienda payroll, F. Wheeler, carpenter, 6 days \$50.00. Why was such an extraordinary increase made in his pay?

Baldwin answered giving in detail an account of the money spent and of all the reconstruction work undertaken.

He gives his expenses as follows:

June \$31,993.32  
July \$30,945.05 a decrease in the payroll of \$648.27.

Baldwin replies to Randol's questions, saying that all that he can do under the circumstances is to tender his resignation. He further added:

I will further add that the small item of carriage bolts about which you chose to express yourself so forcibly were ordered in part for a break band at the Randol shaft, upon the efficiency of which the lives of all the miners depends (Schneider Notes).

Randol was clearly outweighing worker lives and safety at the sake of greater profit.

In a letter to Randol from Jennings, February 17, 1884 (Stanford University Library), Jennings wrote:

I assure you I am trying to economize in all departments as I thoroughly appreciate the necessity but the same time also see the fallacy of permitting the mine to rundown.

There is no doubt that Baldwin along with Jennings agreed that minimizing cost would lead to inefficiency at the sake of the mine and miners.

James Randol in a letter to President Mahoney, May 5, 1884 (Stanford University Library), wrote:

No miners due to low wages. Men going to Guadalupe daily attracted by higher wages. There is no doubt that the halcyon days of New Almaden are over and there is trouble and misery here. Men that have labored here for 30 years and more are now leaving by the score because there is no more work.

In a letter from Thomas Derby to James Randol, May 18, 1900 (Stanford University Library), Derby wrote:

Owing to the great exodus of miners and laborers to other new northern gold fields, that class of labor has become very scarce in this locality and when some of our furnace hands quit I had great difficulty in fill their places and was obliged to pay \$2.00 per day to get good men for this work. Those who left were receiving \$1.75 per day.

Many of the Spanish-surname miners who had been with the company for several decades left the employ of the company during this time. Those included Basio Ortega, 15 years with company; Abelino Padillo, 18 years with company; Villa Romo, 31 years with the company and Francisco Garcia, 27 years with the company.

Clear evidence shows that one of the main reasons for the close of the New Almaden Mines was the inability to secure workers because of meager wages paid.

#### IV. RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE QUICK-SILVER MINING COMPANY

In 1883, due to various unfavorable experiences, James Randol issued to all employees the rules and regulations by which all working conditions would be governed.

"1st The Company, its agents and employees, will not be bound to indemnify any employee for losses suffered by the latter in consequence of the ordinary risks of

the business in which he is employed, nor in consequences of the negligence of another of its employees, unless the Company be proved to have neglected ordinary care in the selection of the culpable employee.

"2nd Each employee is required to perform his service in conformity with the usages of the mine and the works, unless otherwise directed by his superior officer.

"3rd Every employee is desired to use such skill as he possesses, so far as the same is required for the service in which he is engaged, and also use material and time in the most economical manner.

"4th No material nor tools will be allowed to any employee unless by permission from the office, and employees leaving must bring a receipt from their foreman in full for all tools used, or pay for them.

"5th Every employee will be held liable for all damage caused to the Company's property by his blunders, mistakes or carelessness, and will be paid for the value of such services only as properly rendered.

"6th The Company reserves the right to discharge an employee at any time in case of willful breach of duty, or in case of his habitual neglect of the rules, regulations and usages established for the welfare of all employees.

"7th Employees by the month must perform all the requirements of their respective service without charge for extra time, and such employees, in case of absence, must first obtain leave from their superior officer if they wish to retain their positions. If they desire to quit the Company's service, they must give one month's notice, or forfeit one month's pay.

"8th Regular pay-day will be on the last day, or the last Saturday of each month, as may be most convenient, when payment will be made for the preceding month. Payments will not be made at any other time, except it shall suit the Company to do so. All payments will not be made at any other time, except it shall suit the Company to do so. All payments are due at the Company's office in New Almaden, and at no other place.

"9th It is required of every foreman to call attention of each and every employee to the foregoing rules before he begins work for the Company, and it is

understood that in consideration of their employment each and every employee agrees to recognize the foregoing rules as a specific contract between employer and employee, and to faithfully abide thereby.

The rules and regulations of the company applied only to the employees of the company. Those employees of the contractor were not employees of the company. The company only dealt with the contractors, and those on monthly and daily wages. The company carried no responsibility of the contractor's employees.

This policy of company responsibility vs. non company responsibility was eventually brought out in the courts. A medical report, February 2, 1888, stated:

A serious accident occurred in the Randol today. Isidro Castro and Marcelino Soto were working in the labor in 1500 preparing to set a timber, using a steel wedge and a hammer, one holding and the other striking . . . by some unaccountable accident, they struck an unexploded giant powder cartridge. The cartridge or a part of it exploded; striking Castro who was instantly killed; the other man, Soto, lost his eye sight, broke one leg below the knee and was bruised and cut. The coroner reported 'no one to blame.'

Soto proceeded to sue the company for \$50,000.00 and was offered \$500.00 by Randol which he refused.

|| On September 18, 1888, the suit of Marcelino Soto vs. the Quicksilver Mining Company for \$50,000.00 damage was called in Judge Spencer's department of the Superior Court in San Jose. The plaintiff was represented by J. B. Lamar and W. A. Lamar, and the defendant by C. W. Cross, of San Francisco.

A motion for a non-suit was made by Mr. Cross who claimed that the plaintiff was not acting under the direction of the defendant but under a co-laborer, and whatever injury he might have received was due to his own negligence, or the negligence of his co-laborers, who were engaged in the same general business, and that the accident was one of the ordinary risks of the mining business. It was shown in the evidence that the plaintiff and the men engaged in the same work with him, were employed to do a certain piece of work, and the direction of it was in the hands of one of the number, named Nichols, whose only authority was to direct the men where and how to do certain work, but who had no authority to hire or discharge men. Mr. Cross made quite a lengthy argument and cited numerous authorities to support the assertion that Nichols was a co-laborer of plaintiff, as were the other men, for which the company could not be held responsible.

Mr. Lamar, opposed the motion, claiming that Nichols was the boss of the men, and that the explosive was hidden in the rock by the negligence of the company's agents. He spoke at some length, directing his remarks to these points, and urging that the company was bound to make compensation to Soto for the loss of his sight.)

The Court reviewed the case at length, and held that the negligence of a co-laborer is not a cause for the recovery of damages from an employer. Taking this view of the

case, the Court deemed it useless to detain the jury and put the parties to extra expense, and so granted the motion for a non-suit, and directed the defendant to pay the jury fees. Once again the managers of the mine supported by the courts, squelched an act of assertiveness by a Mexican miner. |

#### VIII. DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE MEXICAN

Census reports from 1860 to the closing of the mine report a decrease in Mexican miners and other Spanish-surname miners with an increase in this same occupation for Anglo-surname (decrease only in regards to miner positions). The main factor leading to this decrease was economic. When it was to the economic advantage of the mining community to have a skilled Sonoran or Mexican population, this population was welcomed. But as the Anglo-surname acquired the skills and training passed on to him by the Mexican, he was set into competition with the Anglo miner for jobs; thus making him unwelcomed and consequently discriminated against (Kelly, 1950:13). |

William Elley, A Stroll Through the Diggings of California, noted:

As Jonathan got an inkling of the system, with peculiar bad taste and ingenuous feelings, he organized a crusade against these obliging strangers.

In order to justify the getting rid of the Mexican in these competitive positions, and eventually in the mining company altogether, the Anglos in their disregard for mutual

respect and cultural uniqueness used the Mexicans as the scapegoat for the lawlessness, immortality and bad state of affairs which existed at New Almaden before the coming of the Randol administration.

Popular references to the Mexican at New Almaden portrays him as a savage individual, lacking morals, lazy, and impracticable; a group which the civilized Anglo-surname wanted nothing to do with.

The Pioneer, San Francisco, wrote in 1854 in speaking of the Mexican at New Almaden:

They number between two and three hundred in all; but they are, perhaps, the most impracticable people in the world, going on as their fathers did before them, firmly believing in the axiom, that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

Mary Hallock Foote, Scribner's Monthly Magazine, February, 1878, depicts the Mexican settlement at New Almaden:

"The Mexicans have the gift of harmoniousness; they seem always to fit their surroundings, and their dingy little camp has made itself at home on the barren hills, over which it is scattered.

"The Mexican camp has little of that bustling energy which belongs to its neighbor on the floor below. It wakes up slowly in the morning,--especially if the morning be cold,--and lounges abroad on moonlight nights, when guitar-tinklings sound from the shadowy vine-flecked porches. The barest little cabin has its porch, its climbing vines and sheft of carefully tended plants. Dark-eyed women sit on the doorsteps in the sun braiding a child's hair, perhaps, or chattering to a neighbor, who leans against the door-post with a baby half hidden in the folds of her shawl. They walk up and down the hilly street, letting their gowns trail in the dust, their heads enveloped in a shawl, one end of which is turned up over the shoulder; the smooth, sliding



step corresponds with the accent in speaking. In passing they look at you with a slow, grave stare like that of a child. All, even to the babies, have an air of repose; crudeness of voice or manner is almost unknown among them.

"One sees very few old people among the Mexicans; they are a feeble race, and seldom last into the seventies; but when you do meet one who has shuffled into that 'last scene of all,' he takes the part so well you feel that you have never seen an old man before (Foote, 1878:481-492).

Sherman Day, superintendent of the mine in the 1850's, in a letter to his father, Rev. Jermiah Day, President of Yale College, May 2, 1857 (Stanford University Library), wrote:

Tomorrow, Sunday, the Catholics at our mine of whom there are more than 100, are to have a grand ceremony on the occasion of the feast of the Holy Cross. From their religious ceremony they proceed in the afternoon to a bullfight, and taper off in the evening with a ball and a theatrical performance. Such is the religion and civilization (imposed) upon the Mexican people by the Catholic Priest. We are gradually getting rid of these Mexican miners and substituting Cornish miners in their stead.

Mr. Day's inability to get along with the Mexicans is what prompted his leaving New Almaden in November of 1864. His lack of understanding and acceptance of any other culture other than his own was not unique. This ethnocentrism permeated American society, inclusive of New Almaden.

Intolerance of Mexican culture and tradition using the Mexican as the scapegoat for all the wrongs in New Almaden, Anglo ethnocentrism and greed, all led to the eventual placement of most Mexicans in skilled positions to positions of laborers.

Negative stereotypic portrayals of the Mexicans in New Almaden were used for convenience as a rationale for discriminatory practices. (These portrayals consistently appear in the history of the southwest, for a thorough documentation of stereotypes against the Mexican see Cecil' Robinson's, Ears of Strangers, University of Arizona Press, 1969).

In addition to these attitudes and racial feelings against the Mexican, a Cornish clique existed in New Almaden which acted against the better interest of the Mexican (Schneider Notes, c.a. 1940).

In a letter to Hennen Jennings from James Randol, November 18, 1884 (Stanford University Library), Randol wrote:

Looking over the payroll I find too many Cornishmen on payroll . . . three Pearces, four Tonkins. Hope you will change this and give some Mexican boys and men a chance. I notice that E. Tregoning on returning to the mine last month was immediately put to work on day pay of \$2.25, when we wanted men some time ago he cleared out. What I wish to impress upon you is the absolute necessity of putting down this Cornish promotion which is becoming as bad or even worse than in the day of "Grey." Hereafter, new men should not be given day's work except at one half current rate. Be good enough to use your best interests to suppress the growth of the Cornish clique.

This Cornish clique extended out from the mining works to other factions of life in New Almaden. In a letter from James White to Randol, 1874 (Stanford University Library), White wrote:

It is a well known fact . . . that there exist a ring, the Grey Brass Wire Company consisting of mothers,

sons, etc. . . . there are favors that can be done in many ways and they are done to the Grey's clique on contracts and other things [sic]. It is remarkable that the Brass Wire Company are never stopped on a good contract while others are. . . .

Higher wages, special favors, better jobs promoted the well being of this Cornish clique. This activity is understandable since almost all managerial positions were held by Cornishmen with the coming of the Randol administration.

Captain Grey, mentioned in the above letter, was superintendent from 1873 to 1880, he had come to New Almaden in 1854 and resided there until his death in 1890. Grey was known for giving the best jobs to the Cornish and other Anglo-surname in opposition to giving those same jobs to Mexican workers.

This clique eventually had been brought to the attention of Randol. Yet, a period of ten years had elapsed from White's letter to Randol in 1874, and Randol's letter to Jennings in 1884, a period which witnessed discrimination against the Mexican.

The negative and stereotypic attitudes of the Anglo-Americans towards the Mexicans in the history of New Almaden have injected in many of the Mexican inhabitants and descendents a rejection of their Mexican identity or a denial of having been victims of such discrimination. In the author's interview with Dr. Leonard Espinoza, whose grandmother was born and raised in New Almaden, stated that

his grandmother never realized or mentioned any kind of discrimination against herself or against other Mexican residents. Mrs. James Tobar Jr., daughter-in-law of James Tobar Sr., a former miner of New Almaden, in a telephone conversation with the author, stated that "to this day grandpa denies that he is Mexican, he considers himself Spanish and Portuguese." The psychological implications of this along with a tendency to forget the bad and remember the good (i.e.) the English loved our tamales clearly warrants further study and research.

The prejudice and discrimination directed towards the Mexican was not enough to deter the Mexicans from staying at New Almaden; they remained as long as the mine endured.

#### IX. CHINESE AT NEW ALMADEN

Following the Gold Rush era many Chinese arrived in New Almaden to accept any menial labor available. Usually the Chinese worked by contract and were paid proportional to the percentage of yield of quicksilver obtained from the dumps they picked over.

Their wages were usually at a subsistence level being tolerated more than accepted and often subject to various pranks and unpleasant treatment (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:31).

When many of the Mexicans began leaving New Almaden, the Chinese were brought to New Almaden to do a great deal

of the outside work (Schneider Notes, c.a. 1940).

The violent push in the 1870's to rid California of the Chinese clearly extended into the mining community of New Almaden. In a letter dated June 23, 1878, Randol writes to those individuals of New Almaden who held Chinese in their employment: F. Fiedler, D. Garratt, Mrs. R. Pearce, Ysidar Baric, and Dona Gorgona (Stanford University Library):

"The Chinese Have Gone!

"In order that this may be truthfully said, so far as New Almaden is concerned, all persons residing on the company's property, are requested to follow the Company's example and discharge, and not employ any Chinese after July 1st.

"J. B. Randol, Manager"

Yet, as a decrease in profits of the mining company became visible individuals willing to accept subsistence level wages were once again sought. Jimmie Schneider notes from March 31st, 1880:

Randol has decided to put 50 Chinamen to work on the mine in order to compete with the other companies who have again returned to the employment of such labor.

There is a possibility that a few Chinese were involved in their own small businesses for a time at New Almaden. Mention was made by Mary Hallock Foote of going to the Chinese camp to purchase a lantern from a Chinese in 1878.

## Chapter IV

### LIFE IN NEW ALMADEN

The mining population of New Almaden had eventually through the years developed itself into a thriving community. Its peak population period and peak production period was in 1864.

A conglomeration of different nationalities resided in New Almaden with the majority of them throughout the years being Mexican.

The mining administrations, along with members of its populace were able to set-up institutions and endeavors of a social, political and economic nature which were to benefit as well as, in many cases, be a detriment to the community in part or as a whole.

#### I. NEW ALMADEN SETTLEMENTS

New Almaden was made up of three settlements, the Hacienda, and the Mexican and English settlements which occupied Mine Hill.

The Hacienda was the residence place of those who held managerial positions with the mining company and those who worked in the area of the reduction works, also located within the settlement.

The Casa Grande was one of the most conspicuous

buildings in this area, built by Francis Myers in 1854 under the direction of H. W. Halleck. This structure was originally intended as a single floor hotel but eventually not only became the residence of the mine manager but a mansion in which to entertain the politicians and bankers of California (Todd, 1967:81). The first occupant of the Casa Grande was mine manager, Henry Halleck, who remained until 1863. With the change of mine ownership, Samuel Butterworth took residence until 1870. The longest resident was James Randol until 1892. With the departure of Randol, his successor, Robert Bulmore became the last official resident until 1900 (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:99).

Up to the year 1881 there were about six or seven miles of private road constructed by the New Almaden Mining Company. The road that extended from the Hacienda to Mine Hill was 1,100 feet vertically. The main part of this road was constructed in the early history of the mine. These roads were maintained by the company at an expense of \$500.00 per year (Felton, 1881:26).

The nearest train station from the Hacienda was a two mile distance from the Hacienda, with two different railroad systems having regular daily passenger and freight service. The South Pacific Coast and the Southern Pacific Railroads extended lines to New Almaden in about 1886. The Almaden Stage line was the only way of getting to San Jose before the coming of the railroad. Popularity gained in

use of the train over the stage since the train only charged twenty-five cents one way while the stage line had been charging one-dollar for the same trip. The train not only brought lower rates and convenience but added a measure of safety. This contrasted to the stage which could always get held up with a change of weather. The San Jose Mercury reported, January 12, 1879:

The Almaden Stage with four horses crossed the Guadalupe at Sycamore Cove. The horses got into quicksand and one of them was lost. Other three and passengers were saved, coach floated away.

In addition to the near-by conveniences of train and stage services for residents of the Hacienda settlement there was also a Catholic Church, a butcher shop, boarding house, general store, delivery stable, doctor's office, telegraph office, and the Hacienda graveyard.

The road leading from the Hacienda to the English settlement passed under a large shed, the "Big Planilla." This site occupied all the flat space at the base of Mine Hill and was the scene of New Almaden's greatest activity. This was the receiving and shipping point for all metal that was sent to the Hacienda reduction works.

High on the ridge, a part of the hills called Cuchilla de la Mina, was situated the settlement of the English. This was the termination of a winding, dirt road that followed the contour of the hill from the settlement at the Hacienda. Upon reaching the English camp a whole new settlement could be seen. With the Derby and Lowe store as



the central point, a variety of modest cottages, the Helping Hand Hall, a school house, the mine office, boarding house and a Methodist Church, comprised the English camp.

This settlement witnessed rapid growth after the arrival of Randol. Composed mostly of Englishmen and other Anglo-surname. Many of the cottages were enclosed with white picket fences and the display of colorful gardens and shrubbery was the custom for most occupants. Adding to the decor of the white cottage was the porch trellis with honeysuckle or climbing rose. Much of the garden foliage was furnished by the company who took a personal interest in the maintenance of each house.

It was mutually understood and for a great many years and strictly adhered to, that Mexicans or their families would not be permitted to take up their residence within the precincts of the English Camp. While no ruling had been issued by the authorities on the matter, the understanding, nevertheless, was religiously observed for a lifetime (Innis:n.p.).

Following the winding road after passing the English camp was another settlement, three hundred and thirty five feet below the summit of Mine Hill.

Over several low ridges in a large open ravine by the reduction works, workers were assigned by Forbes to the building of small houses which would accommodate the mining crews. This setting would later be known as Deep Gulch,

the site of the Mexican settlement.

At the Mexican camp the houses were arranged in two long lines from the top of the hill down to the Catholic church. The area in front of the church was known as the Plaza, where most of the religious festivals and ceremonials were conducted. The entire region was void of the beauty which visitors admired at the Hacienda, probably because of the killing effects on vegetation from the mercurial fumes of furnaces down the hill (Innis, 1920:6). Many of the homes were less fortunate in nature's facilities and clung to rocky slopes, accessible only by a narrow footpath.

This settlement with its houses scattered at random, was in an open exposure to the elements of long, warm summer days and winter months of wind and rain. Heavy rain of any duration created eroding rivulets down the slopes and paths and on through the gullies to the Los Alamitos creek.

Many of the cottages that were situated on favorable ground were embellished with a white fence, vegetable and flower gardens. Wherever space was adequate, the Mexican yard would be a place of raising chickens, keeping a cow, mule or burro.

Establishments that tended to make the settlement self-sufficient were a bakery, a tamale house, fruit store, barbershop, second-hand store, a shoemaker, a company boarding house, a small school house, the Hill saloon and two cemeteries, the Hidalgo and the Guadalupe. } X

In addition to the settlements mentioned, there also was a Chinese camp which existed for a time adjacent to the main shaft of the mine.

## II. POPULATION TRENDS

The population for New Almaden grew steadily from the time of its discovery to its declining years beginning in the later part of the 1880's. Though employee and general population statistics are non-existent some statistical information is available.

In 1848, Alexander Forbes reported that there were between twenty and thirty men at work for the New Almaden Mining Company. The miners being Mexican and the other hands at work being principally Americans (Johnson, 1963:29). Those categorized as Americans were those descendents of Mexicans, Cornish and other nationalities born in the United States.

Within a two year period, 1851, the number of employees rose to 200 men. Frederic Hall, History of San Jose, 1871, wrote:

Then, and generally since, the miners composed of Mexicans and Yaqui Indians. There have been several Cornish miners among them, and I believe there are now a few of that class in the employ of the company.

References made to the first miners of New Almaden usually make reference to Mexican or Sonoran miners. The Yaqui Indians mentioned above most probably were Yaqui

Indians who were Sonoran.

Dr. W. S. Thorne following his arrival from England in 1857 worked as a laborer in the camps of the Mother Lode and Nevada. In 1858, he visited New Almaden and reported a raw settlement of 1600 inhabitants (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:22). No distinction was made as to the population of Mexican, Cornish or American.

For the year 1864, according to Daneil Hruby, Mines to Medicine, the New Almaden mines reached its peak population in 1864 with a population of 2,000.

The Quicksilver Mining Company's Letter Book for January 6th, 1864 to October 8th, 1866 showed for the two weeks ending October 1864, 1112 employees, 997 at the mines and 115 at the reduction works.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine, October 1865, reported:

In the employ of the Company, and directly or indirectly dependent upon it, there is at this time a total population of 1943, about five-eighths of whom are Mexicans or native Californians. The remainder consist of Americans, Cornish miners, Italians, Chilenos, French, Germans, Irish, and various other races. representing altogether twenty-eight nationalities.

The population of Mexican, Cornish and Americans at New Almaden accounted for the bulk of the total population. The San Francisco Pioneer, February 11, 1878, reported the number of mine employees as U.S. 34, Canada 4, Mexico 233, England 129, Chile 32, Scotland 3, Ireland 16, Germany 9, Sweden 11, Switzerland 3, France 1, Finland 1, Austria 1,

Granada 1, Denmark 1, Norway 1, Manilla 6, and China 24. No mention was made whether the above totals were first or second generation born in the United States except U. S. total of 34, or if those totals refer to place of origin. Yet, in reference to the Mexican it is safe to speculate that there was no distinction made between the two. According to the Great Registrar of Santa Clara County (record of registered voters in Santa Clara County), 1880-1884, 125 Spanish surname were registered to vote. From this number more than 34 were listed as California born. This clearly showed the U. S. total (above) of 34 was undercounted and the Mexico total was overcounted. .

The Surface Foreman's Work Order Book, beginning November 1882, reported 406 wood accounts for New Almaden. There were 51 wood accounts in the Hacienda of which 19 were Spanish-surname and 355 wood accounts on Mine Hill of which 235 were Spanish-surname. These totals only make reference to heads of households; other family members were excluded. These heads of households with an average of four children per family and wife, would total roughly a population of 1570 for New Almaden mining settlements, with approximately a minimum of 753 Spanish-surnamed. This total could have extended to a much higher total since Spanish-surname tended to have bigger families and higher birth rates.

In 1889, the San Jose Directory, noted a total

population for New Almaden at 1400.

During the year 1890, the New Almaden settlements were carefully screened and tabulated to constitute a census report with the following statistics: Mexican settlement 571, English settlement 571, Hacienda settlement, combination of Mexican, English and other at 223, total population at 1,355. Of this total 680 were males over the age of 5 years, no distinction made as to the number of company employees. This total, nevertheless, would show a drop of employees recorded in 1864 of 1112. These statistics taken from David T. Day's Special Census also recorded the birth and death rate at New Almaden:

<u>Death Rate</u>	<u>Per 1,000</u>
Spanish-Americans . . . . .	30.8
Anglo-American (including other nationalities . . . . .	8.1
Average death rate . . . . .	18.5
 <u>Birth Rate</u>	 <u>Per 1,000</u>
Spanish-American . . . . .	45.4
Anglo-American (including other nationalities . . . . .	27.1
Average birth rate . . . . .	35.4

Day noted:

The difference in the mortality rate between the Spanish-Americans and the Anglo-Americans, which includes other nationalities, is noteworthy, as the two classes are living under similar climatic conditions; yet vascular disease is very common with the former class and caused 10 deaths, while the latter class not a single case is to be remarked. The diseases which caused death were tuberculosis, 10; cholera infantum, 3; corillarybronchitis, cancer, peritonitis, laryngismus (stridulous), meningitis, erysipelas, tetanus, diphtheria, and injuries

following a burn, one each. Excepting for the grippe and measles, no disease has been epidemic during the past year.

The disparity between the mortality rate of the Anglo-American and the Mexican within the same climatic conditions as Dr. Day points out could indicate death and illness resulting from poor living and working conditions. This is perhaps testimony to the bias in Anglo historical documentation that would disguise such an obvious deduction based on the information at hand.

### III. HOUSING

The property of the Hacienda, Mexican, and English settlements were all privately owned, that is, by the Quick-silver Mining Company. Consequently, the company built most of the houses located at New Almaden. These houses were available to company employees and contractor employees only. They varied in size from four to eight rooms and the rental charge was from \$2.00 to \$9.00 a month. The Monthly Rent Roll for 1868 reported numerous Spanish-surname: house #324 F. Miranda, \$3.00; #175 D. Cordero, \$5.00; #130 A. Herrera, \$6.00; #143 G. Robles, \$3.00. House numbers ranged from number one in the Hacienda, house of F. S. Rice to #536 on the Hill (Surface Foreman's Work Order Book).

Most houses were built of redwood with a single roof and board partition walls as a rule, though some were plastered between rooms. There were a small number of those who

built their own houses and others who built houses on company property, paid the ground fee, and rented these houses to company employees. There were 119 such houses owned by 91 different parties in 1887. The nationalities of the heads of families which owned houses were American 2, French 3, Mexican 38, English 48. Francis Myers owned sixteen houses, the largest number owned outside of the company. He formerly was the mining company's chief mechanic. Myers would pay the company for the ground fee and collect rental fees monthly amounting to a sizable profit. Many of the miners who had built their own houses, also built cool cellars for storing food (Sunset, p. 44).

There were several sites in New Almaden which were exempt from rental fees; included were the school houses, dispensary, doctor's office, mine offices and churches.

Before the construction of a water system in 1881, the company had made efforts to put in tanks at some points, by leading the water from adjacent and local springs to one or two places in the camps, but it was comparatively inconvenient for the people, as they would have to carry the water some distance, and in the Mexican settlement it was even necessary for the cottagers to supply themselves with water by purchasing water from a water carrier--in the early times the water being transferred in little barrels on burros. These burros carried two to ten gallon jugs of water. Many of the Mexicans were engaged in this work. Jimmie Schneider



makes mention of a water carrier, Jesus Topete, who wore a bandanna about his neck, a flat rimmed sort of sombrero hat and had a face with whiskers from his ears to his chest (Schneider Notes, c.a. 1940).

The new water system completed in 1881, took water from the adjacent mountain ravine, some two or three miles away, conducted in iron pipes up and down declivities. The water was disbursed to various shafts for the use of generating steam power and distributed at different easily accessible points to the houses from large tanks. The cost to each house in New Almaden was fifty cents.

This new water system allowed for more protection against fires. Previous to this time Mine Hill had been swept twice with fire, the loss on both occasions being almost complete. Fire also had struck the old two story adobe Hotel in 1874. Randol was thoroughly saddened by the loss of the old adobe which was irreplaceable and he was so convinced that the fire had been the work of an incendiary that he ran ads in all the papers, including San Francisco offering a thousand dollars<sup>100</sup> for the arrest and conviction of the parties responsible for the fire (Schneider, 1949).

Besides water delivery by water carriers up to 1881, wood delivery was also made. Wood was collected and transported to the furnaces and homes by teams of mules. A resident could keep his home well supplied at a cost of \$9.00

a cord. |

According to the Surface Foreman's Work Order Book, 1883, the majority of wood packers were Mexican; yet no record clearly shows if they were owners of the freighting business. The following were listed as wood packers: with 5 mules, Pedro Buriole; 4 mules, Miguel Mesa; 7 mules, S. Mendebles; 3 mules, Antonio Ortega; 3 mules, Marcelino Encinas; 3 mules, Rufino Zaragoza.

These were the years before the advent of the gas range. Heating and cooking were dependent upon a good wood stove while lighting was by coal oil lamps and candles (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:67). The electric light was eventually introduced into the mining community by 1890. For its surprise introduction Mr. Randol had a strange piece of machinery shipped in and attached to the water wheel in the Hacienda. From its wires were strung up all over the furnace yard to which small glass bulbs were attached at intervals. When all of the preparations were completed he invited the Hacienda population to a demonstration of the world's latest wonder. The mechanism was set in motion whereupon the glass became illuminated and the furnace yard became as lighted as though it were full daylight. Everyone was as confounded then as they had been in 1878 when the telephone line had been strung up connecting the distant Santa Ysabel shaft with the Hacienda office (Schneider, 1949:4).

## IV. TOLL GATE

The New Almaden Quicksilver Mining Company claimed the right to maintain fences about its property and to exclude all trespassers. It considered itself a private industrial institution and claimed the right to exclude anyone it chose to from company grounds.

A toll gate was set up for this specific purpose. Beginning in 1864, it controlled the entrance and egress to Mine Hill. Until 1886 gate opened at 6 A.M. and closed at 7 P.M. After this date it closed at 6 P.M.

Besides placing restrictions on who could and could not enter Mine Hill, this measure proved to be a profitable one for the mining company. Toll fees ranged from 25¢ on foot and 50¢ for buggy or wagon. Fees collected, according to the Toll Gate Book, for the following months and years: October 1864, \$236.25; January 1865, \$305.50; July 1865, \$352.50; April 1873, \$73.50; January 1876, \$92.00. A salary was deducted monthly for the toll keeper. Wages ranged from \$45.00 in 1864 to \$56.00 in 1878.

A letter from James Randol to Captain Grey, May 1876, Randol noted:

All persons except employees shall be excluded, or visitors who have written permission from me. Interlopers are to be arrested.

In order for a family member living outside of New Almaden, a friend, or business acquaintant to visit a

resident of either the Mexican camp or the English camp, they would first have had to secure written permission from Randol and pay the toll fee before being permitted upon the Hill.

A directory man and his assistant were confronted with paying a toll to go up to Mine Hill in December of 1880. He later wrote in the Directory of the City of San Jose and Santa Clara County for 1881-82:

In the course of our business, it was necessary for us to drive over a piece of the company's road, up the hill to the mine, for which we first obtained permission. On coming down again, we were eagerly assailed by the enslaved puppet of the telegraph office for what we thought an exorbitant toll (considering that no rates of toll are posted on the gate), he remarking, "Yes, this thing works both ways; first you get permission, then you pay for the privilege. The 'great king' says so, and we must comply."

||The toll gate was one of the many repressive measures used by the company to subjugate its inhabitants.

#### V. NEW ALMADEN TOWNSHIP

As the first decision of Santa Clara County into townships took place in May of 1850, New Almaden became part of the San Jose township until the 5th of February 1867 when an urgent need arose to redistrict the county into additional townships. From this point New Almaden became its own township.

One of the purposes of these electoral precincts was for choosing two Justices of the Peace and two Constables

for each township.

Those arrest cases requiring legal judgment were handled by the Justices of the Peace, who conducted his business in the Hacienda. Cases other than misdemeanors were directed to the San Jose Courts. Records show that between 1852 and 1881 there were two Justices of the Peace for the New Almaden township at any one time. John Young and D. F. Winslow served as the first Justices for the years 1852 to 1853. The years following were preceded by all Anglo-surnames, no Spanish-surnames served such a position (Munro-Fraser, 1881:784).

Along side the Justices of the Peace were the Constables, deputized officers, who handled any necessary situations of misdemeanor and who acted as census marshals for the district when necessary. In the Hacienda a small jail accommodated overnight guests, and those cases requiring more retention time were sent to the San Jose jail. Records show that from 1850 to 1881, with the exception of no record for 1851, 1853-6, 1857-9, and 1881, there were two constables working simultaneously for the township of New Almaden. George Gay and John Bohlman were the first Constables, followed by other Anglo-surname to 1881. One Spanish-surname is listed for this position from 1869 to 1871, Pedro Carrillagas.

The tasks set aside for the Constable and the Justice of the Peace were far from easy. In addition to the

worker discontent which existed throughout the history of New Almaden, they also had to deal with unlawful characters which seemingly were a constant menace to peace in the mining settlements.

As in most California mining camps, beginning in about the 1850's and continuing on into the 60's, New Almaden witnessed poor working conditions, a disregard for worker rights, unsanitary living conditions and a lack of proper medical facilities. Some positive changes did not begin to occur until the 1870's with the arrival of James Randol as general manager.

During the years of the Barron and Forbes Administration and that of Samuel Butterworth, the population was without benefit of medical service or any facilities for health or personal welfare. Many died from common diseases, accidents and other contributing causes. The company showed little concern for the needs of the workers or the improvement of living conditions. The general environment lacked considerably in any degree of favorable living standards and with the crude conditions that prevailed, there was little incentive for improvement. These conditions led many times to a sense of lawlessness and widespread crime.

A. C. Innis, Superintendent at New Almaden at the beginning of this century, has offered an explanation as to why the local mine authorities could allow such a situation to exist on the Hill. He stated: "It was profitable, which

was the usual reason for most things of that nature."

Any action taken against the existing situation would have meant a loss of manpower and an additional expense to the mining company resulting in lower profits.

Connie Perham, Curator of the New Almaden Museum reported:

When Butterworth was general manager, he really didn't care about the situation, he was only interested in the money. Most of his time was spent in San Francisco not in New Almaden (Perham, 1976).

J. P. Munro-Fraser devoted a section of his History of Santa Clara County to homicides in the New Almaden area to 1870. The New Almaden area having been the greatest contributor of such crimes in Santa Clara County. He reported as follows:

As early as 1854, a vigilance committee hanged a man to a tree at New Almaden who had been suspected of the murder of A. W. McClure. In the Summer of 1855 four killings took place. One of those involved Don Pancho, Mexican gambler who was robbed and stabbed after being called out of Monsieur Detich's billiard saloon at New Almaden. G. Soberano was caught and executed for the crime. During the same summer, a Chileno, name unknown, was shot by C. M. Weber when attempting to escape after being accused of a theft. The year 1856 found three more murders being committed in the area. The most interesting was that of Francisco Berreyessa who had been mortally stabbed on November 29, 1856 by Calestro Lanro, a Chileno. Berreyessa had attempted to apprehend the slayer who was hiding beneath his wife's bed when the attack took place at his home at the Hacienda. In 1861 one homicide occurred and then during the Butterworth period of 1864, two murders took place at the Enriquitta Mine which had become part of the New Almaden Mines that year. During the ten year period from 1854 to 1864, ten crimes of the worst worst were committed, more than enough for a township of only 744 people in 1860 (Munro-Fraser, 1881:220-242).

In addition to this state of affairs, a Mexican bandit was said to have frequented Mine Hill. Hubert Howe Bancroft reported:

Tiburcio Vasquez, a noted Mexican bandit, was creating fear throughout the Santa Clara and neighboring counties. This man was formerly superintendent at Mission Dolores and keeper of the Mission archives. During the period at the mission he had secured certain papers which supposedly proved the current claims to the property of the city of Yerba Buena to be fraudulent. These papers became known as the "Pueblo Papers," and caused some unrest among landowners in that city until they were placed in obscurity. Vasquez's countrymen at the Mexican Camp on the Hill spoke approvingly, almost admiringly of him (Bancroft, Vol. II, 1887:772).

Tiburcio Vasquez became a social outlaw whom the Anglo-American considered a criminal, but who was considered by his people, even those at New Almaden, a champion and a fighter for justice. The history of Vasquez remains in question, Anglo-American historians emphasize his characterization as a bandit and a thief. Yet, most recently southwestern historians have reinforced early Mexican accounts of a "Robin Hood" interpretation of Vasquez's misdeeds. (For a thorough documentation of Mexican bandits see Pedro Castillo and Albert Camarillo, Furia y Muerte: Los Bandidos Chicanos, Aztlan Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973).

## VI. GENERAL STORE

A general merchandise store was located in the Hacienda and the English settlement. The Hacienda store



was first set up from a small adobe warehouse in 1849 by the Barron and Forbes Administration. In August of 1949, Jimmie Schneider wrote in the Pony Express, concerning the this store:

The Barrons were never concerned with capitalizing on their employees who were all Hispanic Americans and deeply seeded in traditions of freedom. They allowed them to trade and live as they liked, being completely satisfied with their production of quicksilver which was after all their chief concern. When the Quicksilver Mining Company put in its appearance they boldly and very unwisely attempted to push all these fine points aside in their merciless extraction of the dollar.

Upon the arrival of the Butterworth administration in 1864, this adobe store was replaced by a brick structure in the Hacienda and an additional store was built in the English settlement. Both of the brick structures were quite similar, low long iron-barred windowed affairs with steel shutters and a covered porch marshalling their fronts.

In the frothy and turbulent days of Butterworth, it was an unwritten law that everyone made his purchases at the store or else! They carried everything from suits to dresses to the best whiskies and there was nothing cut rate about the prices (Schneider Notes, c.a. 1940). In addition, in these first years of the American Company's occupation, the mine bought most of its supplies through the store. It was a lucrative proposition as anyone might guess. Though the company built them they were completely controlled by Mr. Butterworth, although, he did not openly appear in the

business. It was a well oiled operating plant and more than one person said the mine was run chiefly for the benefit of the store (Schneider, 1949).

Both the Hacienda and English settlement stores were later leased to C. J. Brenham. He retained his lease until his death in 1875 when Butterworth purchased the stores.

A letter from the Mine to the New York office during the lease period of Mr. Brenham, April 20, 1868 (Stanford University Library), complained of high prices and the need for cheap labor:

As now, conducted stores prejudicial to best interests of the company. High price for privileges to best interests of the company. High price for privileges is in turn extracted from miners who in turn demand higher pay for their work. Cheaper supplies for miners will result in cheaper labor for company. If exclusive privilege is granted . . . it should be for a moderate price, a limited time, and that goods be sold for a San Jose price. If mines do not get cheap labor it cannot be operated at a profit.

The Mexicans were most effected by these high prices since they usually received lower pay than their Anglo counterpart.

In a letter from Samuel Butterworth to Supt. Nowland (Schneider Notes, c.a. 1940), Butterworth informed Nowland that his prices were much too high, and specifically made mention of the price of nail kegs:

. . . the store is charging \$8.00 and \$9.00 for nail kegs that can be bought in San Francisco for \$7.00 and \$8.00 and that they should not charge more than S.F. charges plus cartage to mine.

These high prices drove many New Almaden residents,

especially the Mexican into the shopping areas of San Jose. And since it was mandatory that they make their purchases at the New Almaden stores many residents had to rely on "underhanded" means to purchase lower priced goods. It has been stated by some of the old-timers that many of the housewives made occasional trips to San Jose in horse and buggy to shop for drygoods, clothing and household utensils. As they returned, they had secluded places near the end of the journey, where they would deposit their cargo. When dusk fell over the settlement, someone would descend to the spot, retrieve the articles and return unnoticed over a choice of footpaths (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:67).

Upon the death of Butterworth, he bequeathed the merchandise business to his nephew, James Randol who later sold the business to Thomas Derby. Derby then engaged Ralph Lowe who later became his co-partner in 1876. They both operated the stores until the closing of the mine. The Derby and Lowe Merchandise business leased the stores direct from the main office of the company in New York as had C. J. Brenham.

The stores new administration did not change the customary practice of high prices, yet the lifting of the unwritten law that all purchases were to be made at the company store was eased.

Jack Drew, an old New Almaden resident, spoke of the Derby & Lowe store in an interview with Jimmie Schneider:

It was pretty well conceded that one was supposed to trade at the store and there was no doubt about this. If Lowe were to see you with a new suit on, he would be as apt as not to remark that he could have obtained that for you. Prices usually pretty high. Ham would be cheaper than now but sugar for example would be ten to twelve pounds for a dollar as against eighteen pounds in San Jose. Butter often as high as \$1.00 for a two pound roll, which only held one and a half pounds.

High prices were usually blamed on freight cost. A freight charge from San Jose to the Hacienda and again from the Hacienda to Mine Hill. At this time it had cost as much to haul from the Hacienda to the Hill, a distance of less than three miles, as it did from San Jose to the Hacienda, a distance of twelve miles. This was owing to the steep grade of the road to Mine Hill.

In a letter from Ralph Lowe to Thomas Derby, August 9, 1886 (Stanford University Library), Lowe stated that their lease expired on September 1st, and that they would like to have it renewed at a reduction in rent. They were at that time paying \$4800.00 a year. With the advent of the railroad, competition with San Jose was very strong, and that city had the reputation of having the lowest markets in the state. The competition would be so great that they felt they could not pay the high rent (Schneider Notes, c.a. 1940).

Local merchants operated strictly on a cash and carry basis. Credit or charge accounts were not in vogue, but Thomas Derby did install a practice known as the boleto

system in which merchandise could be obtained on a payroll deduction plan (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:67).

Originally boletos were denominations printed on cardboard and later metal coins of various value ranging from five cents to five dollars. The company made no provision to advance men pay before the regular pay day, but an employee could obtain orders payable in goods at the New Almaden stores by use of boletos. These orders when advanced to the employees were then charged against them by the store keepers on their books, and the amount charged reported to the company before pay day. Advances thus deducted from their wages.

This system was popular amongst employees. Payrolls for the following periods indicate total value of boletos issued: January 15, 1868, Hacienda \$126.00, Hill \$2,899.95; January 15, 1869, Hacienda and Hill \$4,448.80.

When employees were short of ready cash, they also made use of boletos. The English discovered that they could trade the boletos to the Mexicans for a discount of 20% (Todd, 1967:95). This easy making profit venture coupled with the fact that Anglos were able to draw boletos at any time and the Mexicans confined to two nights a week, indicates that the boleto system worked much more to the advantage of the Anglo, tending to discriminate and further impoverish the Mexican.

## VII. OTHER COMMERCIAL BUSINESSES

In addition to the establishment managed by Derby and Lowe, there were also several other commercial businesses in New Almaden.

In July, 1861, the first Post Office in New Almaden was opened with John Brodie as the first postmaster (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:91). This office was discontinued at the end of that year; reestablished in December of 1873, closed April of 1874; and finally reopened as New Almaden Post Office in December of 1883.

The mail was first brought, to New Almaden's Post office in the Hacienda, first by stage from San Jose and later by rail. There it was distributed and sorted, and the mail going to Mine Hill was dispatched to the Derby and Lowe Store in the English settlement for distribution. The company for obvious reasons had no wish to convert the road up the Hill into a public thoroughfare which would have become the case if a post office was established in Cornish-town, so they took care of the mail themselves. Each morning at exactly ten the store manager would read off the mail to the assembled population. No one could take a letter for a neighbor who did not happen to be present but the gossip grapevine took care of this and the following day they were certain to be on hand to claim their own (Schneider, 1949).

Several stables were leased to Frank Bohlman by the

mining company. Bohlman was responsible for all the hauling for the company. He had several teamsters working for him and over one hundred head of horses. In addition to his contract work with the company, he also leased a livery stable located at the Hacienda which provided stage transportation to and from San Jose.

In 1896 the San Jose Mercury, reported:

For 16 years past, the transportation of freight and passengers to the New Almaden Quicksilver Mines has been under control of Mr. F. Bohlman. He absolutely controls the livery business at New Almaden and Hacienda, and his San Jose patronage is quite extensive and growing larger each year.

While the company was partial and most receptive to the family unit, there were many who were unmarried. Accommodations were available to this group through a large company owned building which served the specific function of a boarding house. There were two boarding houses on Mine Hill, one for the English speaking and one for the Spanish-speaking men. Both were large, substantial dwellings with all the comforts of domestic life, large, well ventilated dining rooms and sleeping rooms neatly furnished, while there were in the basement, rooms in which to change and dry the damp clothing brought from the mine. At the Hacienda a similar boarding house was also kept for single men or visitors. The sleeping rooms for workmen were arranged in a separate building both at the Hacienda and Mine Hill. The average cost per month varied from \$13.00 to \$14.00 per

month. This rate included room and board. In August of 1866, six Spanish-surname were residing at the boarding house in the Hacienda out of a total of 33 men: Jesus Pasada, \$13.00; E. Zamora, \$14.00; Luis Cota, \$13.00; Nicoles Duarte, \$14.00; Martin Benites, \$14.00; and Narciso Carrigante.

In 1887 approximately one hundred single men resided in the boarding houses (Felton, 1887:30).

Two butcher shops were in operation at New Almaden, one at the Hacienda and another in the Mexican settlement. Both shops leased to a Mr. Dulion, who in addition to his shop services, supplied his food items by means of a butcher cart or delivery wagon.

Besides the food goods available through the general stores and the butcher shops, vegetables were available from a vegetable peddler and bread goods from a panadero (bread vender). Both peddlers usually first made their rounds in the Hacienda and later, after paying toll for their vehicles proceeded to Mine Hill where additional sales were made. These peddlers were not attached to the company and usually resides outside of New Almaden.

The services of a shoemaker were available in the Mexican settlement, plus those of Theodore Aceves and his half brother Frank Finnigan who ran barber shops in both settlements on Mine Hill.

Four bakeries were established, two in the Mexican



settlement, one in the English settlement and one in the Hacienda (Schneider Notes). In addition the Mexican settlement had a Tamale House (Bulmore, 1977).

Several saloons provided liquor and entertainment for the men. Two saloons existed on Mine Hill leased to J. Dutech.

T. Aceves in an interview with Jimmie Schneider stated:

The saloon on Hill in 1888 was between the bakery and the butcher shop on the same side of street in the Mexican settlement. Here there were card tables and billard tables and a bar at which one could get anything desired to drink. "Rot Gut" was a fierce fiery whiskey selling for 75¢ a quart. Good scotch could be bought for \$1.50 a quart. There was no laeger beer, only steam and there was quite a trick in drawing it from going flat when it would have no head and taste flat [sic] Coffee pots full of it would be on the card tables and when one wanted more he banged the pot. There was always a large crowd on Sundays and there were frequent brawls.

By 1890 only one saloon was permitted on Mine Hill; it was allowed to sell only beer and wine, other liquors were excluded.

#### VIII. MUTUAL AID AND BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES OF NEW ALMADEN

One of the imperative needs, which became the personal concern of James Randol was the inadequate service for health and hygiene. According to Lanyon and Bulmore, Cinnabar Hills, Randol in 1871 conceived and organized a health welfare plan that would provide medical service to

all the employees and their families. The San Jose Mercury News, September 24, 1864, reported that a contingent fund for medical purposes deducting a dollar a month from wages of each workman was already in existence as early as 1864. However, very little mention is made to the fund, its benefits, and short comings during this period. The Randol administration, in turn, was given full credit for having established such a fund during his years at New Almaden.

At a nominal fee of a dollar per month, company employees, heads of household and their families were eligible for any medical service without additional cost. This welfare plan became known as the Miner's Fund and the following information was posted for the observance of all members:

#### "Rules of the Miners' Fund

"This fund, instituted for the benefit of the residents of New Almaden is established upon the following basis:

##### I.

"Employees of The Quicksilver Mining Company, heads of families, and all other adults residing at New Almaden, each pay, monthly, into said Fund, the sum of one dollar. The money so contributed is held by J. B. Randol, Trustee, to be paid out for the following purposes:

1. The salaries of a resident Physician, and of a Druggist, and for the purchase of medical supplies.
2. For relief of contributors, whom circumstances may entitle to the same, and for other contingent expenses.

##### II.

"Contributors are entitled, without further payment to the attendance of the resident Physician for themselves and their immediate families (except that

cases of confinement will be charged five dollars), and will be furnished with medicines prescribed by him, on payment of cost.

### III.

"When the Fund is subject to any expense for relief of persons indigent, or otherwise-say, for medicines, nurses or supplies-it will be regarded in the nature of a gift, or as an advance, to be repaid, as the Trustee may decide to be just, considering the circumstances of each case.

### IV.

"It is expressly agreed that when the resident Physician is called to attend any person not a contributor to the Fund, that there shall be a charge of not less than five dollars for each visit to be paid into the Fund, and to be charged against and collected from the head of the house where such non-contributor may be living.

### V.

"The Trustee serves without pay, and, in consideration thereof, it is understood that the foregoing rules and regulations will be observed by all persons interested therein; and it is expressly agreed that all sums due, or to become due, to the Fund by the contributors at New Almaden, and upon any money due, or to become due them, for wages from The Quicksilver Mining Company, which money said Company is authorized to pay over to said Fund, without further notice.

"New Almaden, February, 1883. J. B. Randol, Trustee."

A mandatory dollar per month per employee was deducted from employee wages. Those who were not employees of the company, such as those on contract, could pay into the Miner's Fund and receive the same benefits. Receipts and disbursements for a sixteen year period, ending December 31st, 1886, reported receipts of \$108,954.00, inclusive of \$98,909.80 from mandatory deductions; and disbursements

of \$100,443.22 (Felton, 1887:150).

Before the services of a full time physician were secured through the fund, Dr. W. S. Thorne had made specified visits to New Almaden each week. While the partial service was beneficial to a limited extent, it was not sufficient to handle the increasing demands of the several settlements.

In 1876, Dr. A. R. Randol, a brother of the manager, assumed the duties as the first resident doctor but after a few months of initiating the new plan, resigned to be succeeded by Dr. F. V. Hopkins, who carried on the work until 1879. During these few years, the people had found favor with the available health service and the doctor was accepted as an important member of the mining settlements. The health conditions showed improvements and the company benefited considerably by the reduction of worker absenteeism due to sickness.

Dr. S. W. Winn, a medic of some experience, arrived in September, 1879, and established residence on the Hill where he would spend ten years of dedicated service. The position was made more appealing by the company, in salary and facilities. Dr. Winn as a full time practitioner received \$400.00 a month with house, horse and buggy. The salary and expenses of the doctor being paid from the Miner's Fund.

The resident physician responded to a call at any

hour of the day or night. One of the common problems that faced the doctor, was the delayed time that people took to call for service. Many of the inhabitants were unaccustomed in seeking medical help for what they diagnosed as common ailments and they relied chiefly upon home-made remedies. In most of the homes, there was always the conspicuous health almanac and occasionally a book of remedies for self-doctoring. Old family prescriptions had been passed on for generations and there was always someone available to offer advice for the remedial treatment of aches, pains and illness. The survival of most patients seemed to substantiate the validity of the treatment. Many were guided by superstitions such as the dangers of night air and its cause of many afflictions. At certain times of the year, sulphur and molasses was a common concoction administered to all members of the household as a blood tonic and purifier. According to many of the inhabitants, the best protection from certain disorders was a bag of asofetida suspended around the neck. The bag of ingredients consisted of a gum resin of several oriental plants of the carrot family, which in spite of a very offensive odor, was adopted as a common practice for the younger generation.

Much of the doctor's time was spent in attending a patient in the home which involved considerable travel to cover the three settlements with horse and buggy. For the minor or casual consultation, he was available at his

office from 11 to 12 each morning except Sunday. At the Hacienda he, also, gave an office hour from 12:30 to 1:30 P.M. six days a week (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:28-30).

Two hospitals were provided under the fund, both on Mine Hill, one at each settlement. Nurses, when necessary were also paid from the fund.

Within the general stores was a first class apothecary department which offered a quality of drugs and prescriptions comparable to other dispensers on the Coast. The products and services were available at cost to all employees (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:69). The druggist who was also a clerk for the mine, made up the prescriptions, for which he was paid an allowance of \$25.00 per month. The accounts and collections were made by the bookkeeper of the Hacienda, who also received a compensation of \$25.00 per month. Both of these positions paid by the Miner's Fund (Day, 1892:238).

The Miner fund benefits were usually wide for it also possessed the power to meet the lodging bills of an injured miner, pay funeral expenses and even the allocation of grants for the upkeep of the graves (Todd, 1967:96).

The Physicians Report for 1890 showed the extensive use of the physician and other medical services: 3373 professional visits, 1793 office visits, 24 obstetric cases. Report also included, 13 deaths, two by accident, 4 from tuberculosis, 1 from inflammatory rheumatism, two from diabetes and one from cancer; 44 accidents giving temporary

disability to the miners, and 9 cases of salivation.

The first victims of salivation were the Indians who used the red ore to decorate themselves. The deadly fumes would stimulate the salivary glands to a point of constant dribbling at the mouth, finally leading to a victim's spitting himself to death. Salivation was always a danger to workers since there was little chance of controlling the fumes that belched from the chimneys of the reduction plant. Yet, evidence shows a decrease in cases. From 1898 to 1903 only nine cases were reported by the physician, whereas, for the year 1880 alone, 4 cases were reported (Physicians Report for 1880).

Dr. S. W. Winn reported in 1887, of the frequent accidents which occurred in the mines:

There is hardly a day but what there is more or less surgery to attend to; men are getting injured every day, for instance during the last week I have had one case of a man that ran the sharp end of a crowbar through his hand, and another that had a thumb mashed off at the first joint, and a number of other cases, such as scalp wounds and fractures resulting from accidents (Felton, 1887:42).

Employment within the mining works clearly necessitated the need for such a beneficial program as the Miner's Fund.

In a letter from Dr. Winn to H. Jennings, June 2, 1883 (Stanford University Library), Winn describes the recovery of Jose Vasquez who was injured while working the mines; stating the benefits obtained from the Miner's Fund, which

led to an eventual recovery:

Dr. Thorne called in and we considered case almost necessarily fatal but decided not to amputate legs above ankles on account of his depressed condition and without legs his life as a miner could be useless. For a month his life hung in balance, all excretions being artificial [sic]. Miner's Fund for two months paid for two male nurses: also food, lodging, and laundry paid by fund. For more than a year could not stand or walk with crutches. Now can walk with crutches and expects him to get along fine with just a cane [sic]. Has now recovered from all his injuries save for a stiffened ankle and enjoys robust health, all in all it has been the worst injury that I have had to treat at the mine except those that resulted in death in less than an hour.

The Miner's Fund, which proved to be most successful was not the only one such program at New Almaden. Other programs existed in both the English and Mexican settlements.

Within the Mexican settlement, three other organizations, in addition to the Miner's Fund, existed for the assistance of the sick and disabled.

The Society "Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe" organized in 1873 and again reorganized in 1886. The Constitution and By-Laws read as follows:

#### "Duties of Secretary

"Article III, Sec. 7. It shall be the duty of the Secretary, to keep in writing the minutes of each session, a list of all associates, their residence and the beginning and ending of their sickness. He will register the names of the members incorporated, sign with the President all orders against the Treasury, keep correct and specified all accounts of the Society, receive the amounts paid into the funds, give receipt of same and pass them over to the Treasurer. Notify eight days beforehand those members



who owe over three months dues; his books are subject to the inspection of the Board of Council.

"Sec. 10 The Duties of the Council shall be (1). Every question or difficulty, coming up between associates; it will be their duty to discuss it and to decide it in secret session, after having it heard and alleged in full session. The resolution made shall be given in writing to the President of the Society and the Secretary shall read it to all members present.

#### "Incorporation

"Article IV, Sec. 12 Each applicant wishing to incorporate shall make his application in writing, signed by one member and accompanied by the certificate of a physician who certifies to the health [sic].

"Sec. 15 Each person in joining the Society shall pay the sum of \$4.00 from the age of 15 to 30 years, \$5.00 from 30 to 40 years, \$8.00 from 40 to 50 years. Besides they shall pay one dollar monthly; these amounts form the Benefit Funds of the Society.

#### "Benefits

"Article VII Sec. 21 Each member when falling sick shall receive a sick benefit of \$7.00 per week, said benefit shall commence on the day on which a competent physician gives him a certificate that justifies his sickness provided that the disease is not brought about by bad conduct, drunkenness or that it be against the laws of the Society. In such cases such person has no right to receive Benefits.

"Sec. 28 Members who at the expiration of three months shall not pay their dues as mentioned in Article IV, Sec. 15 of the Constitution shall loose all rights to benefits which to them corresponds from the Society, until they are newly incorporated.

"Article XIII Sec. 38 Each person who incorporates into the Society while he suffers from some chronic disease which the physician who examined him did not observe and which came from former years and declared itself after the member has been admitted to the Society, the Society shall not be responsible for any cost and said person shall loose all right to the benefits of the Society.

"Article XVIII Sec. 53 The articles or sections of

the Constitution and By-Laws of this Society can only be amended in the month of December.

"Article XVI Sec. 45 When the funds reach only the sum of \$250.00 the benefits specified in Article VII Sec. 21. shall be reduced to the sum of \$5.00 per week; and when they reach the sum of \$1000.00 the benefits shall be \$10.00 per week (English Translation--Bulmore Collection).

Other benevolent societies meeting the needs of the sick and the disabled were those of the "Sociedad Filantropica y de Ahorras de Nuevo Almaden," and the Hidalgo Society. The Articles of Incorporation for the Sociedad Filantropica y de Ahorras de Nueva Almaden read as follows:

"Know all men by these presents that we, the undersigned, have this day associated ourselves for the purpose of incorporating under the laws of California, an elymosyanary [sic] and charitable corporation to be known as designated as the Sociedad Filantropica y de Ahorras de Nuevo Almaden.

"That the principal place of business of this corporation shall be the village of Almaden, in the school house at the New Almaden Mines, Santa Clara County.

"That the terms for which this corporation is established shall be fifty years from and after the date of incorporation.

"Trustees, elected the first year, Francisco Carillo, Juan Hernandez, Jose Maria Favela, Guillermo Navarette, Aurellano Viscaino, Clemente Para, Manuel Vasques and Canuto Acevez.

"Said society is formed for benevolence, mutual aid and assistance in case of necessity among its members and the ownership of such property as may be required for its uses.

"The number of directors of the Society shall be five and the names and residences of those who are appointed for the first year are: All residents of New Almaden, Adolfo Ruiz, Loreto G. Zalgado, Jesus H. Andrade, Juan Zambrano, and Estanislao Rodriguez. (Special Collection, Bender Room, Stanford University Library).

According to the Miner's Fund Account Book, for March 1899, the society was in full operation, yet no dates are given as to its founding or incorporation.

Extensive research shows very little mention of the Hidalgo Society. However, according to Laurence Bulmore this society was also one of benevolence and mutual aid to the sick and disabled.

Both the Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe and the Hidalgo Societies had their own cemeteries, both located at New Almaden. The Guadalupe Cemetery having been located within the area of the Catholic church and the Mexican settlement and the Hidalgo Cemetery approximately a quarter of a mile from the site of the Guadalupe Cemetery. When a member of either society passed away, they would be buried in their respective cemetery (Bulmore, 1976).

The residents of the English settlement had several of their own benevolent societies. Some belonged to the Sons of St. George, their Lodge perpetuating the name of their Christian hero, General Gordon of Khartoum; others enrolled among the Knights of Pythias, their lodge appropriately called the Cinnebar; almost all paid their dues to the Independent Order of Oddfellows and the old craft guild of the Ancient Order of United Workmen (Todd, 1967:100). And like their neighbors, the Mexicans, the English did not have a cemetery attached to their societies. Most of their descended were either buried in the Hacienda Cemetery or in

the Oak Hill Cemetery, both non-sectarian.

#### IX. HELPING HAND CLUB

The community center for recreational and social functions was the Helping Hand Club, one located in the Hacienda, the other in the English settlement. First started in 1885 to provide single men with some place of amusement and entertainment other than the saloon (Todd, 1967:96).

Use of these facilities were only open to those who paid into the Miner's Fund. Yet, these facilities were primarily used by the Anglo-surname due to their accessibility within their own settlements. The Mexican, on the other hand, was discouraged from using the facilities due to the distance from the Mexican settlement of both clubs.

The mining company assumed the financial cost of the building of the clubs and furnished the interiors with adequate equipment and facilities. The general upkeep and maintenance of the building was paid for from the Miner's Fund. The fund disbursements for the year ending 1886 reported \$726.78 spent on the Helping Hand Clubs (Felton, 1887:50).

The Hacienda Helping Hand Club was an elaborate affair with seating accommodation for an audience of 400, a raked stage and drop curtains like the Tivoli in San Francisco, and dressing rooms, all provided by the Company.

Here touring troupes performed their plays or local amateurs arranged entertainments for some worthy cause, as in 1895 when 85 dollars were collected for Mrs. Lewarne, left destitute with four children after her husband had been killed in the mine (Todd, 1967:96).

On the first floor of the Hacienda Helping Club, adjacent to the large assembly hall and stage were reading and dressing rooms, and a kitchen. The upper floor had been divided into four bedrooms for the use of visitors or guests at the reduction works.

Both Clubs had been provided with a piano, purchased by the club managers with surplus funds from entertainment given. On those days when entertainment was not given, the halls were provided with tables, where card games, chess, and checkers were played.

The reading rooms in both halls contained small libraries with approximately 500 volumes related to history, science, fiction and juvenile literature. The books were allowed to be taken from the library by having left a deposit to insure the return of the book (Felton, 1887:63). Weekly and daily newspapers on hand, included, the San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco Examiner, the San Jose Mercury, the San Jose Times, the Alta, and the Christian Advocate. Literature primarily of interest to the English and Cornish were the West Britain and the London Times which came regularly.

In addition to the reading material available at the Helping Hand Clubs, there were 179 daily papers taken to New Almaden for the year 1887: San Francisco Chronicle 55 copies; San Francisco Calls 33; San Francisco Examiner 10 copies; San Jose News 30 copies; San Jose Mercury 40 copies; San Jose Times 11 copies, various monthly and weekly magazines, both in English and in Spanish (Felton, 1887).

#### X. SCHOOLS

The original division of Santa Clara County into School Districts occurred in 1855. According to the Register of County Superintendent of Schools, October 1855, the Almaden Township School District which encompassed three settlements of New Almaden showed no expenditures up to April of 1861. This lack of expenditures indicating that no schools existed in this area, since no teacher wages paid and no facilities leased, rented or bought. However, the Annual Report of the Condition of Common Schools in the County of Santa Clara, clearly show the Hill School District, subdivided from the New Almaden Township School District in 1862 with two schools in operation by September of 1865, one school in the Mexican settlement and the other in the English settlement. The Annual Report for 1866 indicate the New Almaden School District, also subdivided from the Almaden Township School District in 1862, encompassed the Hacienda school in the Hacienda settlement. By 1872,

this school district subdivided and formed the Hacienda School District, which consisted of only the one school in the Hacienda settlement.

Both the Hacienda and Hill School Districts were run by a separate board of trustees, composed of three members, each elected to a three year term. Any voter of New Almaden was eligible for candidacy, as was the case in all other districts of Santa Clara County.

Board of Trustees for the Hill School District from June of 1876 to June of 1900 show all Anglo-surname. Those who held positions almost constitutently throughout this period were James Varcoe, Ralph Lowe, and James Harry. No resignations were reported for this school district during this period. The Board of Trustees for the Hacienda School District from June 1874 to June of 1899 again show all Anglo-surname, no Spanish surname held such positions. Trustee Minutes of the Superintendent of Schools, Santa Clara County for 1874 to 1887 show a general consistence of the same trustees selected for the same position. This school district witnessed several resignations, including those of Z. W. Christopher and F. Fiedler.

These several resignations and the fact that the same individuals were selected to trusteeship positions indicate a scarcity of candidates for the office. Both indicative of the unattractive job of the trustee. William Ellis Gould reported a general attitude held by many residents of the

Santa Clara County at that time:

Anyone, anywhere . . . who is elected to the school board must anticipate a short life . . . the job entails a great amount of thankless hard work.

The Board of Trustees for both the Hill and Hacienda School were responsible for the creation of the school in New Almaden, the hiring and firing of teachers, keeping of records, and the purchasing of the necessary materials needed.

The three school buildings were one story structures built five or six steps off the ground. This left a useless subbasement space that served no special purpose (Rambo, 1959:3). The largest structure was that of the English settlement which had the necessary facilities, as did the Hacienda schools, for both grammar grades, one through four, and primary grades, five through eight.

In July of 1880, the San Jose Mercury reported the dedication of the new school in the English settlement:

About two weeks ago the new school house at Almaden-on-the-Hill was completed. It was erected at a cost of \$3,000.00 and is one of the finest school buildings in the county. Yesterday afternoon it was formally opened and dedicated. The following programs were carried out to the entire satisfaction of all present: Introduction, by Mr. Taylor, of County Superintendent Chipman, who presided; singing by the school, under the leadership of M. H. Tregoning; remarks by Professor Finch and H. A. Saxe; singing and recitation by Miss Jennie Weiderman; signing and remarks by J. G. Kennedy and Rev. Mr. Beatty; singing; remarks by County Superintendent Chipman; singing. At the close a vote of thanks was tendered by Mr. Ralph Lowe and the Board of Trustees for their management of the school.

The school house in the Mexican camp was only a one



room structure and in no way could compare to the fine physical structures of both the Hacienda and English settlement schools. (For a clear visual description see Milton Lanyon and Laurence Bulmore, Cinnabar Hills, Vintage Press, 1967).

The Mexican school only had the facilities for primary grades. The Mexican children upon completion of this level would enter the grammar grades at the English settlement school.

The inconvenience of providing only grades one through four in the Mexican school house combined with the attitude of the community leadership of segregating Mexican children in their most crucial years of instruction would only serve to discourage Mexicans from further educational developments or pursuits.

The three school houses were heated by a wood stove, and the other public conveniences, boys and girls, were located at the extreme opposite of the customary acre lots of school property.

The children wore knee pants which were the vogue, always accompanied by long black droopy cotton stockings. Levi Strauss beltless overalls, which usually ran at 75¢ a pair, were also popular. Childrens' clothes were also homemade. The cotton which came from the 100 pound sacks of flour and sugar made excellent material for garment making. Consequently, many a little boys' shirt bore the

legends of "Pure as the Drifted Snow" or "Granulated Sugar" (Rambo, 1959:3-5).

Grade level classes were only set up in accordance with the student population. The Annual Report(s) of the Condition of Common Schools in the County of Santa Clara report two second grade classes only in operation on Mine Hill for school year 1865-66, one first grade and one third grade class in operation for school year 1875-76, and one first grade and two second grade for school year 1880-81. The Hacienda School District also subject to the annual reports, indicated only one second grade for school year 1866-67, and one second grade, one fourth grade and one eighth grade in operation for school year 1879-80.

The average daily attendance in these three schools was consistently at a low level, while the number of those enrolled remained high. This owing to the fact that compulsory education had not yet been instituted in California schools. The annual reports for the Hill School District indicate a total white enrollment of 275 for school year 1865-66 with an average daily attendance of 36. For school year 1874-75, a total white enrollment of 285 with an average daily attendance of 60. And for school year 1887-88 a total white enrollment of 332 with an average daily attendance of 93. The Hacienda School District for school year 1874-75 reported a total white enrollment of 128 with an average daily attendance of 36. For school year 1880-81,

a total white enrollment of 118 with an average daily attendance of 36. And for school year 1883-84, a total white enrollment of 117 with an average daily attendance of 45.

Those pupils categorized as white included all children in the New Almaden community, except the Chinese who were not permitted to attend the same schools as those of the white. John Swett, Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of California, reported in 1864:

A specific provision for the education in separate schools of negro, mongolian, and Indian children, is one required by the dictates of justice and common humanity (Swett, 1864:57).

Separate schools were established in most cases for these groups upon the written application of the parents or guardians of at least ten such children (Fitzgerald, 1868-9, Sec. 56). The Chinese population of New Almaden, which at one time numbered as high as 200 never established their own separate school. Nor were any Asian-surname enrolled in any of the three schools of New Almaden at any time.

For those individuals who were school teachers in the average mining camp, the situation was one of many challenging circumstances. Many, who accepted such assignments, were the more rugged and adventuresome type, and their manner of strictness was necessary to survive (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:71).

The number of teachers employed by each school

district varied according to the student population. The Hacienda School District employed two teachers for school year 1887-8, Marion Hill and Lillie Hopkins; one teacher for school year 1891-2, A. E. Shumate; and back again to two teachers for school year 1893-4, W. Parker and Pearl W. Hall. The Hill School District usually employed from three to five teachers. For school year 1882-3, Addie Murray, Lottie Crichton and Wattie Dillon; five teachers for school year 1885-6, George Lightfall, Amy Whatmore, Lizzie J. Miller, Ella Sullivan and Anna Barry; and three teachers for 1899-1900, Edmond W. Parker, Leoline Hopkins, and Lena M. Harry. All teachers employed by both districts were Anglo-surname, no Spanish-surname held such positions.

The school curriculum for both school districts was prescribed by the County Board of Education. Subjects taught ranged from arithmetic, spelling, grammar, reading, composition, history, music to physiology, bookkeeping, geography, geometry, civil government and penmanship.

Upon completion of the primary and grammar grades, pupils receive a grammar school diploma only after having passed an examination for graduation from the Grammar Schools of Santa Clara County.

The Examination of Grammar Grade Pupils, 1882-1906, indicated a total of 50 Anglo-surname students having taken the examination from the year 1886 to 1900 in the Hill School District. No Spanish-surname listed as having taken

exam. The Santa Clara County Examination of Grammar Grade Pupils, 1882-1906 for the Hacienda School District indicated a total of 32 pupils as having taken examination from 1888 to 1900. Twenty-nine of these were Anglo-surname and three were Spanish-surname.

The early establishment of the schools to the turn of the century witnessed only one Spanish surname in the New Almaden community who qualified and passed the grammar grade examination, Mary Robles in June of 1892, and on two occasions Della Zuniga failed exam June of 1895 and of 1896. In light of all that has been documented, Mary Robles stands out as an exceptional individual able to conquer the forces of social and economic oppression.

Mary Robles and those other pupils who passed the examination were now entitled to admission to any high school or the State Normal School (Felton, 1887:58). Most students who continued their education enrolled at San Jose High School in San Jose.

#### XI. A UNIQUE EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

In a letter from F. Von Leicht to Randol, May 23, 1890 (Stanford University Library), Randol noted that he wanted to do something for the children of New Almaden during the summer vacation and had suggested to Von Leicht that the company make plans to provide a summer school for them. Von Leicht liked the idea and was appointed by Randol

as chairman for the schools which were considered technical schools.

The schools commenced on the seventh of July, and continued regularly until the twenty-second of August, a term of seven weeks, limited by the term of vacation in the public schools, which began on July 1st and ended August 31st, 1890.

The technical schools were established on the Hill as well as at the Hacienda, and instruction was given in plain cooking, sewing, carpentry, and blacksmith work, both on the Hill and at the Hacienda. No schools were set up in the Mexican settlement which discouraged Mexican children from much participation owing to the distance from the Mexican settlement to the Anglo settlements. The daily course of instruction was limited to two hours for five days in each week, Saturday being allowed as a holiday.

The sewing school on the Hill, attended by the largest number of pupils was instructed by Mrs. John Truscott, assisted by Miss Minnie Gilbert. The large number of pupils made it necessary to divide the class into two divisions; one being taught in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon. A similar division was made in the cooking school, the carpenter school, and the blacksmith school. The pupils at the Hacienda not being so numerous, the classes there were not divided.

The cooking school on the Hill was instructed by

Mrs. Lizzie Roberts; the carpenter school on the Hill was instructed by Angel Delmastro; and the blacksmith school on the Hill was instructed by John Harry.

At the Hacienda, the sewing school was instructed by Mary Higgins; the cooking school was instructed by Miss Lottie Bulmore; the carpenter school by Charles Buzza; and the blacksmith school instructed by Charles Higgins.

The course of instruction at these schools was: Sewing school--straight seams, hems, and ship seams, gathering, buttonholes, patchwork, and tucking; Cooking school--bread making, puddings, pastry, cakes, roasting meats, and cooking beans; Carpenter school--use of the chisel, saw and plane, cross-cut and rip-sawing, driving nails, making boxes, paring with chisel, chamfering, making lap joints, mortising and mitre joints, dove-tailing, and planing to dimensions; Blacksmith school--heating and shaping iron, making bolts, staples, clevises, hoods, welding, making links, tempering steel, drilling holes, making washers, and tapping nuts.

Eight to fourteen years old was the age range of children enrolled in the special schools. The total enrolled at the beginning of the term for the Hill schools was 141 and at the end of the term 100 still remained. For the Hacienda, 64 at the beginning of the term with 46 remaining at the end of term (Von Leicht, 1890).

In addition to the learning experience, several

prizes were awarded for best pupil, best behavior and best attendance. Prizes ranged from \$3.00 to 50¢.

The mothers of New Almaden were also included in this unique educational experience, for the company printed, and the clubs distributed, a booklet entitled Cookery for Working Men's Wives, which also contained useful hints on such domestic matters as sanitation in the home and preparations for a visit from the doctor, the whole based on a report of the United States consul in Glasgow who had visited a demonstration school there (Todd, 1967:97).

## XII. NATURALIZATION OF THE MEXICAN

Many Mexicans of New Almaden felt that one way of ensuring equality against discrimination and prejudice was by becoming United States citizens.

The Great Registrar of Santa Clara County (record of registered voters), show a continual flux of Mexicans (residing in New Almaden), born in Mexico becoming United States citizens.

The register for the year 1867 recorded four miners naturalized under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The treaty, enacted after the Mexican-American War of 1846, stated that a Mexican citizen living in the United States would have to report his intention in retaining his Mexican citizen, otherwise, after a specified time period he would automatically become a U.S. citizen. In 1867, the case of



Silvaria Deries, Mexican born, was the only one such case recorded in New Almaden where a Mexican wished to retain his Mexican citizenship.

Records from this period also show that an additional fifteen Mexican miners and one Mexican laborer, born in the U.S. resided at New Almaden and were registered voters.

The register for 1880 showed the following Mexican residents of New Almaden who became United States citizens through naturalization:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Date of naturalization</u>
Angulo, Nabor	miner	August 20, 1877
Ambrada, Jacinto Juarez	laborer	July 30, 1880
Arnaud, Louis Benjamin	laborer	August 27, 1873
Castillo, Manuel	teamster	October 1, 1869
Casas, Eufemio	miner	August 27, 1869
Cabrera, David	miner	August 20, 1877
Dorame, Felipe	laborer	October 1, 1869
Hernandez, Juan	miner	August 2, 1877
Herrera, Ramon	miner	October 1, 1869
Lopez, Andres	miner	August 20, 1877
Lopez, Manuel	miner	August 2, 1880
Palacio, Ramon	miner	August 30, 1868
Quinones, Epifanio	miner	October 1, 1869
Tarazon, Jesus	miner	October 1, 1869
Vielma, Lucas	laborer	July 30, 1880
Villagrana, Miguel	miner	August 28, 1877

Included with the above list were a total of thirty-two Mexicans, born in the U.S., who were registered voters.

The register for 1890 recorded additional employees of the mining company from 1880 to 1890 who became U.S. citizens:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Date of naturalization</u>
Ballasteros, Florencia	miner	September 29, 1888
Ante, Jose	miner	August 20, 1877

Campos, Miguel	miner	Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
Castro, Luzaro	laborer	August 20, 1877
Chacon, Rodolfo	shoemaker	July 25, 1890
Lopez, Pio	miner	August 2, 1880
Maltos, Jose Maria	miner	October 1, 1869
Martinez, Adolfo	miner	August 20, 1877
Montego, Jose E.	miner	November 10, 1888
Montoya, Antonio	teamster	July 30, 1867
Ortega, Juan	musician	July 17, 1880
Valdez, Antonio	miner	August 20, 1877
Venegar, Antonio	miner	August 20, 1877

### XIII. VOTING IN NEW ALMADEN AND THE CASE OF SULLIVAN VS. FELTON

Election days in New Almaden were usually times of varied activities, including political speeches and bonfires.

Voters of the New Almaden precinct voted at the general store or adjacent houses of the Hacienda settlement on election days. The workers from the Hill were conveyed by carriage and stage down the Hill to vote on the appointed day. During the Butterworth administration, Dr. E. J. Mayo, mine superintendent, would hand out the company ticket, which was printed in green in small print and completely covering the paper so nothing could be written in (Schneider, 1949). The tickets were printed with all the names on them and one selected his candidate by simply crossing off the names of those not desired. Since about one third of the Cornish population could not write or read and some two thirds of the Mexicans, they would often get their friends to do the scratching, not knowing whether they were voting

one way or the other (Schneider, 1938).

According to the Analysis of the Voters of the New Almaden Precinct at the General Election held November 2, 1886, there were: 256 votes polled, 100 of these were not employees of the mining company. Of those 256 votes there were 114 American (included descendents of Mexican, Cornish, etc. born in the United States) voters, 81 English, 28 Mexican, 11 Irish and 22 other nationalities. Of the 156 in the employ of the mining company, there were 52 American voters, 71 English, 25 Mexican, 2 Irish, and 6 other nationalities.

Voting was only extended to those who were citizens and who paid the poll tax. Frank Bohlman, long term resident of New Almaden, collected the poll tax for the Santa Clara county assessor's office. The total tax amounted to about \$1200.00 for the district, at \$4.00 per head (Schneider Notes, c.a. 1940). The process of collecting a tax of \$4.00 per head served to eliminate a core of workers who could not pay for such a luxury, especially for those Mexicans who were only earning two dollars per day or less.

The Cornish as well as the Mexicans usually voted the Republican ticket. Adolfo Banales, in 1887, stated that the reason for the Mexican voters vote of the Republican ticket was that the Republican party in the United States corresponded somewhat to what was called the Liberal party in Mexico, which held a large majority there (Felton, 1887: 73).

The New Almaden voting precinct from the time of the Butterworth administration to the latter part of the Randol administration was a determining factor in the political course of Santa Clara county. In 1884 Frank J. Sullivan, the Democratic candidate for the seat in congress lost the congressional position to a C. N. Felton. Sullivan rained such a holler at his particular defeat in the New Almaden district that a congressional investigation was ordered.

It was Sullivan's contention that the voters of New Almaden were strongly influenced and coerced to vote according to the dictates of the manager, James Randol, which resulted in losing the miner's vote and election to office. Sullivan further stated that the voters of the precinct were intimidated, and held in a state of peonage or slavery and compelled to vote for Mr. Felton against their will (Lanyon and Bulmore, 1967:37-38).

The hearings took place in the Justice of the Peace's office in the Hacienda on February 25, 1887. A great many things in the working of the mine and store came into focus at the hearing. Sullivan accused the mine of every sort of coercive action including the hearing itself for only a dozen people could crowd into the room and Sullivan did not relish company witnesses being examined with a company official always present and seemingly giving them the dead eye. Accordingly all the Sullivan contingent withdrew, so after

a complete hearing was finished at the Hacienda the whole show was repeated in San Jose. Randol addressed the workers on the Hill for the San Jose performance and told them that all he expected of them was that they should tell the truth.

Jimmie Schneider stated:

As a result the Sullivan contention fell flat on its face for even his own witnesses, largely discharged former employees had to admit there was little wrong with the life at New Almaden. One of his chief witnesses admitted on the stand that after all perhaps his eyes, on voting day, had been in error, because he was rather well 'tanked' that day (Schneider Notes, c.a. 1940).

As to who owned the stores, Randol or the Quick-silver Mining Company, one of their proprietors, Tom Derby declared on the stand that he and his partner, Ralph Lowe were the sole owners of the establishment and that as far as obligations on the population to trade there that, the whole world would sell them merchandise (Schneider Notes, c.a. 1940).

C. N. Felton, in the latter part of 1887, had the testimonies, those given in his favor and that of the mining company, published by the San Jose Mercury News, known as A Contested Election. This work had not included the cross testimony.

Extensive research shows that none such cross examination exist today. According to Michele Leiser, Manuscripts Specialist, Stanford University Library, the cross examination records were eventually ordered destroyed by Congressman

C. N. Felton.

Destruction of the cross examination raises several interesting points, mainly, if New Almaden was in essence an ideal mining community as popular historical writing depicted it, why the deliberate removal of these records? This move clearly points to the detrimental nature of the cross examination for Mr. Felton and the New Almaden Quicksilver Mining Company.

#### XIV. INTEGRATED SOCIAL GROUPS OF NEW ALMADEN

In spite of the social and economic oppression, Mexicans were many times able to rise above discriminatory practices and interact outside of their own group. For example, the Mexican and Anglo women and girls would gather at the homes of older Mexican women where they learned the delicate and difficult art of Mexican drawn-work. The older women found use for leisure moments by forming one of California's earliest chapters of the Needlework Guild of America.

Under the guidance of Robert Bulmore, general agent, the Cinnabar baseball team was organized in the 1890's. In 1897 it had won 15 games out of the 18 played. Their attractive uniforms were white shirts with blue lettering, and blue padded breeches. Their flat top caps were circled with blue trimmings. The team consisted of Nick Robles, pitcher; Al Acevedo, second base; Guyee Mercado, center fields;

Tommy Ynostrosa, left field; and Johnnie Seleya, mascot.

The residents of New Almaden were entertained at various community functions by two brass bands. The Mountain Echo Band, under the direction of Andre Sombrano, was organized on Mine Hill in 1890 and was made up of members from both the English and Mexican settlement. The New Almaden Brass Band, also a combination of Mexicans and English consisted of Arnold Vincent, Juan Paredi, Cui Mercado, Andres Sombrano, Henry Vincent, Don Flanagan, Antonio Parades, Feliciano Martinez, Juan Mattos, Joe Varrotes, Adolph Martinez, Amado Gonzales, John Luxon and Abran Martinez.

[The constant interaction between both groups, the Mexican and the Anglo led to many intermarriages (Academy Scrapbook, 1950:94). However, these marriages were not encouraged (Schneider Notes, c.a. 1940).]

In the early part of New Almaden history a New Almaden Cavalry group was organized. This group organized, as did various other groups into companies in the county of Santa Clara, to act as coastal safeguard against possible attacks by Confederate soldiers during the Civil War. Forty armed men were in the service of the company. Company K, New Almaden Cavalry, top rank officers consisted of L. F. Parker, Captain; J. P. Dudley, First Lieutenant; H. H. Curtis, Senior Second Lieutenant; A. F. Foster, Junior Second Lieutenant. Mexicans did not have any command positions, however, it would be safe to speculate that from the

40 men some were of Mexican descent.

This military company was short lived. According to the San Jose Mercury, September 24, 1864, the New Almaden Quicksilver Mining Company disbanded the group composed chiefly of the company's employees; removing their armory from the mining community.

This action coincides with the constant turmoil existing during this period between employer and employee. Company support of such an employee group would have been against their best interest.



## Chapter V

### MEXICAN HERITAGE

The New Almaden Mine for nearly half a century was controlled by Anglo-Americans, nevertheless, the institution itself remained Mexican.

The influence of the Mexican came down through the years. Spanish names were used throughout the mine. The ore stopes were called labores, the sorting sheds planillas, and the cars of ore were officially counted as cargas. The reduction works were called Hacienda de Beneficio, but this was shortened to the Hacienda and included the entire lower settlement. Pay day was Dia de Raya day of the line up before the paymaster, and the man made steam or canal that ran through the Hacienda was called the acequia, while the place where the road to San Jose cut through the hillside was always known as el rebajo (Bulmore, 1957:1). These influences affected the entire community of New Almaden as did many of the cultural influences passed on from generation to generation.

The majority of the historical documents concerning the Mexican of New Almaden concern themselves with the cultural traditions of the Mexican. This emphasis on culture by Anglo-American historians and writers is understandable since these items have no negative reflection on the Anglo;

and in addition they usually add color and favor to the majority of historical writings concerning the New Almaden community. Because of these over abundant materials, the author was able to cover in detail each aspect of these traditions.

#### I. MEXICAN CULTURAL TRADITIONS

One of the first things the Mexican miners did upon their arrival to New Almaden was to erect a shrine to their patron saint "Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe," patroness of miners. This shrine was built in a niche in the rock wall of the La Cruz shaft, about 800 feet below the surface. This tutelary saint was clad in a white costume with red slippers, head-dress and ornamental decoration. The face, which may have been the creation of a village artisan, was a symbolic interpretation related to the subject. The facial characteristics were strongly accentuated by the prominent detail of the eyes which contained colored beads. The shrine was illuminated by the flickering light of candles arranged at the base. The lighting was consistently maintained by the replacement of candles for the duration of the work in this specific area. After the installation was completed and the candles had been lit, a simple ceremony by the group dedicated the shrine to "Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe." Thereafter, it was the practice of each worker as he entered the chamber of labor to prostrate

himself at the base of the shrine in veneration and to supplicate the guardianship of the saint from prevailing danger, such as fire, damps, cave-ins, and sudden outburst of water (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:57). What became of this shrine is a mystery. When asked concerning its disappearance an old time Mexican resident shrugged her shoulders and said, "de la noche al dia se desaparecio" (between the night and the day it disappeared).

The tunnels and passage ways of the mines were also named after saints, including, San Cristobal, San Simone, Santa Mariana, San Pedro, and San Dimas; and after exhausting the names of all the saints on the calendar, the Mexicans commenced on different animals, one of which was called El Elefante (the elephant) (Hutchings, 1870:193).

In addition to these religious devotions, the customary blessing of the mine was in order at New Almaden. This dedicational ceremony was a custom of long standing in many Catholic countries, where mining was carried on, especially among those people who spoke the Spanish language. Without it, workmen would feel a religious dread, and consequently a timid reluctance to enter upon their daily labors, lest some accidental mishap should overtake them from such an omission (Hutchings, 1870:198).

In speaking of such a ceremony, J. M. Hutchings, in 1870, wrote:

On the morning of the day set apart for this ceremony, at the Henriquita or San Antonio quicksilver mine, the

Mexican and Chilian senors and senoras began to flock into the little village at the foot of the canon, from all the surrounding country, in anticipation of a general holiday, at an early hour. Of course, at such a time, the proprietor sends out invitations to those guests he is particularly desirous should be present to do honor to the event; but no such form is needed among the workmen and their friends or acquaintances, as they understand that the ceremony itself is a general invitation to all, and they avail themselves of it accordingly. Arriving in procession at the entrance to the mine, Fr. Goetz, the Catholic curate of San Jose, performed mass, and formally blessed the mine, and all persons present, and all those who might work in it; during which service a band of musicians was playing a number of airs. At the close, fire-crackers and the boom of gun cut in the ground, announced the conclusion of the ceremony on the outside; when they all repaired to the inside, where the Father proceeded to sprinkle holy water, and to bless it (Hutchings, 1870:201).

The Mexicans brought with them many of the colorful customs and traditions of the home land. Bullfights, cock-fights, and fandangos were common occurrences. The Mexican habits of completing their religious devotions at an early Mass and then spending the balance of the Sunday in recreation seemed sacrilegious to the Anglos. Of these customs, bullfights were eventually stopped when the mines passed into the hands of the Quicksilver Mining Company in 1863. Aside from that the new company did not interfere with the customs of the Mexicans (Academy Scrapbook, 1950:94).

The Mexicans had their own ethnic foods at New Almaden. Foods which had been part of the cultural tradition for decades. One of the most staple foods in the diet of the Mexican miner was beans. Beans prepared with carne (meat) not only was a sufficient meal, but beans, also, were

served as a side dish with tacos, tostadas, tamales, and enchiladas. The cooking of beans for the Mexican housewife was a continuous chore in which was placed much personal pride. Using the red or pink bean, dependent upon the availability of either, she started the cooking with the beans in warm water. The beans were never soaked previous to cooking, unless, they were considered quite old. The cooking process was one of simmering rather than boiling, with frequent stirring. The cooking continued until the bean began to break open. At this time, a moderate amount of salt was added which generally occurs during the last half of the cooking process. Most of the housewives in the Mexican settlement used the small pink bean which seemed to be the most available (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:58).

Another popular food was the tortilla. The tortilla was as much a part of the Mexican diet as cornbread was to the Anglo-American diet. This food was made from flour with a pinch of salt mixed into stiff dough with water. The Mexican housewife would rub lard on her hands, forming the dough into a ball. She would then clap her hands as she turns the dough in them eventually forming a flatness of about 1/16 of an inch and about the size of a dinner plate. It is then fried like a flapjack and usually eaten with beans and chile.

## II. MEXICAN ETHNIC HOLIDAYS

Similar to other foreign groups who left their

native soil to seek opportunity and a new way of life, the Mexicans of New Almaden brought with them a feeling of nationalistic pride. Great events, that had considerable impact on the people and had influenced to a great extent the destiny of their country, became items of great concern and devout observance. In the Mexican settlement there were two occasions which were observed with great exuberance that clearly expressed their nationalistic inheritance. The first was the "Cinco de Mayo," which commemorated the uprising and consolidated rebellion against the French ruler of Mexico, Maximilian. The other event was the "Diez y seis de Septiembre," which was acknowledged as Mexico's Independence Day. Both occasions were fervently expressed with color and ceremony (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:57).

The Mexicans of New Almaden had great devotion to these ethnic holidays. Not only because they were part of the cultural tradition but because they were symbolic of the struggle for rights and justice. The symbolism of these holidays was characteristic of the continual struggle which was part of the every day lives of the Mexicans in New Almaden.

In attendance of a Mexican Independence day celebration, Mary Hallock Foote, 1878, observed:

A ball was given by the Mexicans upon the anniversary of their independence. We went up to see the dancing, which was very beautiful. The Mexican girls have exquisite forms, especially when in motion; their dancing was like inspiration. The music was very good

for the purpose, a violoncello, two violins, one brass piece, and a flute. They played the Mexican national hymn to open the ball, and much of the dance music had pretty Mexican or Spanish names. The refreshments were whisky, ale Port wine sange-ree, lemonade made of some kind of acid, crackers, cheese, candy and nuts (Foote, 1878:486).

The Mexican's nationalistic spirit did not end here, well remembered was the last emperor of Mexico, Maximilian.

J. R. Pierce, A Visit to My Home Town, observed:

One evening while playing around the store, as a boy, my attention was called to numerous lights coming down the road from the Mexican camp. We ran up the road to investigate. Upon arriving we met six men with a coffin on their shoulders and carrying a candle in their hand followed by a large number of men and boys in line carrying lighted candles. Boys like we were we obtained candles and joined the parade to the store and back to the Mexican camp where speeches were made. The whole thing, I found out, was a mock funeral for Maximilian.

In contrast to the life in the Mexican settlement, the English town inhabitants had no special days of recognition for celebrating. There was the occasion in 1887, when a special day was proclaimed to commemorate the 50th year of Queen Victoria on the throne of England. The company acknowledged the occasion by granting a holiday which was expressed in the simple festivities of a potluck picnic, with singing and instrumental renditions (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:69).

### III. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Catholic religion and church of the Mexicans in New Almaden was one of the most influential facets in their

daily life. The religious devotion tied directly to mining, patron saint of the mine and the blessing of the mine were only two small aspects in their wide spectrum of religious concerns.

In a letter from Fray Francisco Sanchez to the Very Reverend Father Guardian Fray Jose Maria Roma de Jesus, October 20, 1872 (New Almaden Museum), Fray Sanchez noted the importance and high regard the miners had for their religion and their church:

The efforts and sacrifices of many of the faithful, some of them very young, were admirable, especially at New Almaden.

Before the church in New Almaden became recognized as its own parish in 1859, the Mexican population was served regularly on Sundays by the Jesuit fathers from Santa Clara College and from St. Joseph's Parish in San Jose.

Archbishop Sadoc Alemany, assigned in 1850 to the task of re-establishing Catholicism in California had personally visited several mining communities to ascertain their needs. Beginning in the spring of 1851, he set up key points from which priests could visit the surrounding areas, including New Almaden. One of the archbishop's main visits was for the purpose of confirming eighteen children of the settlement in 1856 (Academy Scrapbook, 1950).

A letter sent to Laurence Bulmore from Father Joseph Azadian of St. Joseph's Parish, April 16, 1962, (Bulmore Collection), Father Azadian quoted an old record stating that



New Almaden parish was established in 1859, continuing:

A Mexican priest who was visiting California was named titular but he withdrew after a month. A French priest, already in charge of a big parish 24 miles from the mines, was named successor. But he did not do anything. However, he kept unto this day the title of pastor of New Almaden. The Archbishop asked us to take care of them provisionally. The mines were cared successively by Frs. Goetz, Bosco and Picardo. This last one visits them regularly since a year and has a zeal worthy of a St. Francis Jerome.

Fr. Benedict Picardo, native of Genoa, who taught Latin and Greek at Santa Clara College, where he arrived in 1856, was the one who undertook the first church building in the Mexican settlement in 1858 (St. Joseph's Monthly, undated, p. 12).

Fr. Picardo's church later burnt down and a second one was built in its place. This one also was destroyed by fire and in 1885, the third and last church in the Mexican settlement was built. This church was built with the aid of private contributions and assistance from the mining company and the mine manager (Bulmore, 1966). The total cost of construction was about \$3,000.00 of which the company donated \$300.00. The bulk of the monies, however, were raised by the miners themselves.

The Catholic church was located on the flat area of the hill overlooking Deep Gulch in the Mexican settlement. It expressed simplicity in design with stained glass windows, an organ, and a belfry. A bell tower, separated from the church was built for the church by order of Randol (O'Brion,

1889:18). At an early hour each Sunday morning the vibrant tone of the bell could be heard throughout the mining community. Also when the paymaster would arrive at New Almaden the bell would be sounded announcing that the money wagon had reached the Hill office.

The church in the Mexican settlement was the only Catholic church in New Almaden until 1899. At that time Guadalupe Madero, a widow, who operated the Hacienda boarding house along with Dona de la Peidra, a close friend, vowed that if her son, Antonio Madero, returned safely from the Spanish-American War that she would do all in her power to have a church built in the Hacienda settlement. Soliciting her many friends for funds and giving generously herself, she obtained the necessary amount for the building. Much of the money was raised through the sale of box suppers. These suppers were auctioned off to the highest bidder. Those who bid the highest got to eat the supper with the woman who composed the supper. And if they couldn't afford to pay for it, the men would donate their work for the building of the church (Perham, 1976). When the church was built after Antonio's return, Señora Madero and her son, in a token of Thanksgiving, went from the door to the altar on their knees. This is the same St. Anthony's Church which still stands today across the bridge on the Alamitos Road of New Almaden.

With the turn of the century, the mining population

decreased more and more each year. Eventually by 1912 the church building in the Mexican settlement was torn down, the lumber used to erect St. Edward's Hall in San Jose (Barrett, 1966:151).

For the residents of New Almaden who were Methodist, as most of the Englishmen were, there was a church in the English settlement. The first church structures had been damaged twice by severe windstorms and once destroyed by fire. The last church was erected at a cost of \$3,400.00, and the amount donated by the company was about \$500.00 and by the manager, individually, \$300.00. The additional costs were paid for by the Anglo miners themselves. The Methodist church held regular Sunday services both in the church and in the Hacienda school house. Services were given by a Methodist minister who was also a resident of the English settlement.

#### IV. RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS AND CELEBRATIONS

The first celebration of the year was the Cascarone ball. Traditionally this dance terminated the Carnestolendas or Caraval, a three day festival proceeding Ash Wednesday. The word Carnaval is a derivative of two Latin words, carne, flesh, and levare, to take away. Meaning to stop eating meat as the devout do during Lent (Bulmore, 1957:2). This event was to end all festivities before Lent.

The Cascarone ball originally began in Spain where

it was a three day event. As the tradition passed on into Mexico and later into the community of New Almaden, it was shortened to a one day festival and consisted mainly of the Cascarone ball.

Much planning went into this event. All through the year, when possible, eggs used in cooking were opened at the small end and the shells set aside to dry. In the evenings, beginning a month or two before Lent the women and children would cut colored paper into small bits, like confetti. A small amount of this confetti would be put in each egg shell and the end sealed with paper.

These dances at New Almaden were first held in the Big Plannilla, (ore sorting shed) adjacent to the Mexican camp. In later years when the entire population joined in the celebration they were held in the Helping Hand Club in the Hacienda. The ball began with the usual grand march, followed by waltzes, mazarkas, quadrilles, etc. Just before midnight the Cascarone dance would be announced. The couples arranged themselves around the room, four to a set, as in the lancers. Each girl carried a basket filled with cascarones. As the dancers went through the intricate steps, and in time to the ever increasing tempo of the music they broke the cascarones over each other's heads, the men using the cascarones furnished by their partners. This continued until each dancer, by changing partners, had circled the floor. Jimmie Schneider noted that up to 80 sacks of flour were

used for the activity which rarely lasted longer than two minutes. By this time everyone's head, including those of the spectators, were covered with confetti and egg shells, and the floor looked like Market Street on New Year's Eve. Traditionally, the ball ended with this dance. However, at the mines the dance lost much of its original dignity and often lasted all night. For that reason the date was changed to the Saturday before Ash Wednesday. At one of these dances several of the young men kissed the bottle too often and one of them in pure deviltry fired his revolver. The bullet hit and smashed the bass viol which was being played at the time. The musician jumped from the stage and ran from the building. When the rest of the musicians were returning to San Jose, at sun up they found him hiding in the picnic grounds, two miles from the hall. He never again played at New Almaden (Oakland Tribune, 1952).

Every community has its pranksters and New Almaden was no exception. Some individuals would fill the shells with perfume and others with flour and also bird shot. This was especially provoking to the women. With their hair already filled with confetti it was annoying to have flour filled shells broken over their heads and this followed by some filled with perfume. What a nasty mess to wash out later. Bird shot rolling on the floor caused many dancers to slip, but all pranks, for the most part, were taken in fun. After all this was the last dance until after Lent

(Bulmore, 1957:3).

For the finale of the ball there would at times be a "Jarabe" which was a Mexican dance executed by a man and a woman and lasting up to twenty minutes.

Other mining camps also participated in this annual festival, according to the Academy Scrapbook, August 1950, "every Mexican in the vicinity came. They walked in groups from the six mile distant Guadalupe Mine, danced all night and walked home at dawn" (Academy Scrapbook, 1950:45).

The Hanging of Judas was another Mexican custom celebrated for a number of years. It was confined to the Mexican camp though nearly all the miners came as spectators. This activity took place on Spy Wednesday. In preparation for it the young men acquired, by fair means or foul, various articles from the yards, porches and clothes lines in the camp. On the evening preceding the hanging they made an effigy of Judas and a man chosen for his wit wrote a will disposing of the acquired articles which represented Judas' earthly goods. Directly after early Mass, Judas and his goods were placed in a donkey cart and paraded about the camp. Beside the cart walked a man representing El Diablo (the devil), the evil guardian of Judas. By way of disguise he was dressed as a priest and carried a rosary. He had also a long whip. As the procession walked about the camp the crowd would cheer. Some would call out "Hang the traitor our Savior," or utter epithets which would cause the more

serious to bless themselves. Boys would throw stones and then run as El Diablo lashed out at them with his whip. The parade terminated in the plaza before the church where a scaffold had been erected.

The cart was placed under the scaffold and the executor would step forth and read Judas' will. Every item was bequeathed with some witty and often pointed remark to the amusement of the crowd. After this Judas was hung, and firecrackers which had been secreted in his midriff were touched off releasing a cat, which symbolized Judas' condemned soul. The bursting firecrackers ignited the effigy which was allowed to burn as El Diablo disappeared over the hill. Sometimes they also hung an effigy of El Diablo. After the ceremony the beneficiaries returned the articles to the rightful owners and all returned home (Academy Scrapbook, August 1950:45).

The 3rd of May was the day designated to express a custom of a more serious nature. This day was referred to as the Dia de la Santa Cruz, which was the day of the holy cross. Each worker constructed for himself a small wooden cross. On the day of the ritual, the workers and their families congregated at an early hour in the plaza, where the ceremony began with a devotional service. The gathering then formed a procession and proceeded over the paths to the mines and other places of labor. During the course of the journey, each worker selected his site and placed a cross

in the ground. Some entered the mines and placed crosses in the areas of their labor. Wherever this was done, the location was identified by the name of a special saint. Following the placing of many crosses, the ceremony was terminated until the evening hours when everyone assembled for a pot luck, music and folk dancing (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967: 53).

The final community function of the year took place on Christmas Eve or Noche Buena. This solemn ritual was called "Las Posadas" (the inn) which originally began on December 16 and continued until the 24th. The affair in the Mexican settlement was relegated to one evening. This affair was a dramatization of the arduous journey experience of Joseph and Mary and the seeking of shelter in the town of Bethlehem.

In preparation for the event, a large tray was constructed upon which would be placed the created images of Joseph and Mary. Early in the evening, everyone gathered at a specified location from which a procession would be conducted through the village. As the bearers of the tray, lighted by candles, led the way, the followers with lanterns and candles sang Christmas songs. They stopped at many houses for the purpose of requesting shelter but according to the planned procedure they would be rejected. After a short duration of this experience they arrived at the home, previously chosen, where they were accepted. There was the



singing of songs and the recitation of a litany. From the ceiling of the room was suspended by rope and pulley, a hollow clay object in the form of a rooster, which was called the Pinata. This term applied to any designed receptacle that was filled with "goodies." The occasion now changed from the solemn to one of humor and pleasure. The activity which now took place was prepared for the children. A child was selected, prepared with a blindfold, and given a stout stick about three feet in length. The child would attempt to strike the Pinata which was manipulated up and down by the rope. After several of the children had experienced no success, the Pinata was left in its original position for the final contestant who easily made the strike that released the contents. With the breaking of the stored "goodies," the children were rewarded for their efforts.

As the church bell in the plaza tolled the midnight hour, a small cradle was brought into the selected home and a representation of the Christ child was placed in it. The group engaged in a short prayer and closed the ceremony with the singing of Ave Maria. The group then dispersed to their homes where the children were put to bed. The adults then continued on by lantern light to their little church on the ridge for the Misa del Gallo (mass of the rooster) or Midnight Mass (Lanyon & Bulmore, 1967:57).

Though the majority of residents in New Almaden shared most holidays, Christmas celebrations were segregated.

This was due to the religious differences, the Mexicans being Roman Catholics and the English, Methodists.

The Cornish men had no special festivals except that on Christmas Eve they always went about the camp singing carols just as they used to do back home. The children from all the Hill carried their carefully wrapped presents to the church on Christmas night where there was a wonderfully candle lighted tree filling the air with the aroma of fir. The company always donated candies and fruits. After the minister gave his blessing the fun of opening the gifts got under way (Academy Scrapbook, 1950:42).

## VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

### SUMMARY

The Mexicans of New Almaden made up the majority of the population of New Almaden throughout its mining history. This group comprised the first skilled miners and developed the first mining operations in New Almaden.

The Mexican worker contributed much to the production of economic success of the mine yet, he benefited little in the way of personal and economic reward.

These workers were desirable in the early years of production because of the mining skills they had brought from Mexico. However, once the Anglo-surname had learned the skills of the trade there was competition and discrimination.

This discrimination directed against the Mexican permeated almost every aspect of Mexican life in New Almaden. Lack of Spanish-surname employees in any managerial positions of the mining company; segregated housing; the boleto system; inadequate school facilities; the Grey Brass Wire Company; inaccurate characterizations of the Mexican; lack of representation in municipal positions, as well as school trusteeships and teacher positions; inaccessibility to the Helping Hand Clubs, and the technical schools, all these were discriminatory practices which the Mexican was

subjected to.

The Mexican struggled against these oppressive conditions through a series of four strikes and two threats of strikes. Throughout the history of New Almaden worker discontent plagued the Quicksilver Mining Company. And one main reason for the gradual decline of the mines was the inability to secure workers at meager wages.

Through the process of naturalization many Mexicans attempted to secure equality against discriminatory practices. They adjusted in many ways to Anglo society but yet were able to retain their rich cultural heritage.

## CONCLUSION

Any conclusions derived from this study are subject to the materials yet to be uncovered by the future investigators of New Almaden history, however, the available records do challenge some conclusions. The Mexican of New Almaden was subjected to discrimination, racism, and bigoted ethnocentrism. Negative stereotypic portrayals of the Mexican were used as a rationale for discriminatory practice.

The general management of the Quicksilver Mining Company was well aware that they were exploiting the workers and that they had them under subjugation.

Contrary to popular historical writings the Mexican was assertive in demanding better working and living conditions. His consistent struggle for higher wages was manifested in four strikes and two threats of strikes. This constant struggle helped to eventually bring about the declining years of mercury mining in New Almaden.

The Mexican took great pride in his cultural traditions which remained part of his makeup throughout New Almaden's history.

Questions have developed concerning the history of the Mexican in New Almaden which are left to further research. Did Anglo-American attitudes differ between Mexicans born in Mexico and Mexicans born in the United States? How many intermarriages between Anglos and Mexicans

actually took place, and how did the inhabitants of both groups react to these intermarriages? The Miner's Fund according to popular writings was one of the positive endeavors of the mining company. Yet, if this were overwhelmingly the case why did the Mexicans establish their own societies which offered more or less the same types of services. Why did C. N. Felton destroy the cross examination of the Sullivan vs. Felton case? To what extent was the psychological damage inflicted on the original Mexican settlers and inherited by their descendents? Each of these questions merits close scrutiny and research beyond the scope of this study.

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