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THE HISTORICAL POPULATION OF ROBINSONS FERRY:

AN ANALYSIS OF MANUSCRIPT CENSUS FIGURES

1860-1900

by

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THE HISTORICAL POPULATION OF ROBINSONS FERRY: ANALYSIS OF MANUSCRIPT FIGURES

A. Purpose and Scope

The interdisciplinary researchers working on the cultural resources program at the New Melones project have uncovered a wealth of information regarding the historical population of the project area. Archeologists, historians, and ethnologists have assembled important data on the social structure of this mining and agricultural region. A good part of this research has been directed toward gathering information on the historical town of Robinsons Ferry, or Melones, as it was called in more recent times.

The present report is an attempt to fill in some of the gaps in the historical research on this town. The nature of life in Melones after 1900 is relatively well documented through government reports on mining activities, mining company reports, interviews with former residents, and archeological data. But what was the community like before the turn-of-century? One way to find out is to examine the United States Manuscript Census. The manuscript census is the original tally from which official federal statistics on populations are derived. It is a rich source of information about the social structure of 19th century Robinsons Ferry. The census includes data on sex, age, occupation, families, wealth, property, and ethnic background. It offers a rare glimpse of the whole population of the town in decennial years, and the opportunity to observe the dynamics of social change over time. Fortunately, the census for Robinsons Ferry is available in manuscript form for the years 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900.

For this report, we gathered information on all adult males in Robinsons Ferry in the 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900 censuses. Women and children were scarce in this town and were never employed outside the home (gainfully employed young men over 18 were treated as adults). Women and children who did not work were excluded from our analysis except as they appear as wives or children of working males. Data on adult males was processed through various

subprograms in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The distribution of the adult male population by key variables is presented in Tables 1-4. This information was processed through the "Frequencies" SPSS subprogram. Tables 5-14 depict the relationships between key variables over time. This analysis utilized the "Crosstabs" SPSS subprogram. The following narrative explains the significance, as we see it, of the figures in those tables. We have attempted as well to personalize these statistics through references to the individuals involved. Both the list of individuals and the computer printout have been preserved to serve as a data base for future analyses.

B. The Data

Census information is, as a rule, reliable and convenient to work with. There are some minor limitations to its use, however, that should be noted.

First, not all key variables are included in all censuses. The 1860 census lacked information on the respondent's literacy. The 1880 census also lacked literacy information as well as information on property holding.

These gaps limit the utility of those variables ~~in those censuses~~. *See Appendix*

The information for Robinsons Ferry is also limited to the four censuses analyzed here. The 1850 census, as discovered by all California historians using it, is too chaotic to be used except for aggregate statewide or perhaps county figures; it is far too disorganized for our analysis. Censuses beyond 1900 are withheld from the public for reasons of privacy. The 1890 census was destroyed in a fire in the Commerce Building in Washington, D. C. in 1923.

A final limitation concerns definition of the extent of the Robinsons Ferry population. In 1880 and 1900, the Robinsons Ferry enumeration is clearly blocked off from the population of outlying areas. In 1860 and 1870, however, no effort was made to distinguish the limits of the town of Robinsons Ferry. We determined the limits of the 1860 and 1870 town through use of two criteria: Recognized names of known residents, and the presence of urban-type occupations not likely to be found in outlying rural areas (hotel keeper, ferryman, merchant, etc.). This technique worked very well. In 1860, for example, we found recognized names and urban occupations on pages 95 and 96 of the census for Angels Township. Page 97 had no recognizable names but several obviously

urban occupations. Pages 94 and 98 had neither recognizable names nor urban occupations, establishing a reliable limit to the town on pages 95-97. A similar technique produced even better results for 1870, in which the town was set off by recognition of names known *not* to live in Robinsons Ferry.

Eleven variables were derived from census information and included in our analysis:

Age: The age of the respondent in groups of ten (under 20, 20-29, 30-39, etc.)

Birthplace: The name of the foreign country or American state or territory in which the respondent was born.

Father's Nativity: Whether the father was foreign or native born.

Italian: A separating out of Italian-born immigrants for ease in testing of this group, hypothesized to be especially important to the area's development.

Occupation: Occupations of adult males grouped as follows: professional (doctor, engineer); white-collar service (merchant, hotel keeper, merchandise dealer, hostler, cigar store owner, etc.); blue-collar service (teamster, blacksmith, butcher, liveryman, etc.); miner; farmer; lower white-collar (clerk, bookkeeper, "works in store," etc.); and unskilled labor (day laborer, farm laborer, etc.).

Literacy: Whether the respondent could read and write English.

Marital status: Married; single; other (divorced, widower, separated).

Children: Number of children, if married.

Known: Whether the name of a respondent was recognized by analysts.

Persistence: The number of censuses on which a respondent's name appears, a measure of length of residence in the town.

Other variables were generated through combination and/or collapsing of these variables.

In the following text, we discuss and analyze our results on the basis of what we perceive to be the four major dimensions of the populations:

Ethnicity; Age; Occupation; and the Family.

C. Ethnicity

Ethnographic, historical, and archeological research has found copious

evidence that Robinsons Ferry was occupied by a pageant of diverse ethnic groups. Theodoratus (1976) has studied ethnic patterns in the greatest detail. Her analysis, however, offers little indication of the absolute or even relative size of the various groups or the probable time of their arrival and/or departure. In some cases, her conclusions regarding early ethnic groups, based on interviews with informants several generations removed, are actually misinformed. Indeed, very little was known for certain about the ethnicity of Robinsons Ferry between 1860 and 1900 except that a great diversity of groups was involved.

Our analysis is designed to correct misconceptions and illuminate dim perceptions about ethnicity in this town. Tables 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, and 11 illustrate the presence of various groups and their differing experiences in terms of occupation, marriage, property holding, and persistence.

Table 3 indicates an overwhelming predominance of foreign-born residents in 1860. This pattern held through 1870 and 1880, the native-born proportion of the population shrinking to 20 percent in 1880. In 1900, however, the native-born became numerically predominant, their ranks swelled by a great influx of native Californians, presumably the sons of the first wave of California settlers. This break between the 1880 and 1900 census figures cuts across all key variables; the advent of industrial mining at the turn of the century apparently introduced an entirely new social structure in Robinsons Ferry.

The 1860 population was ethnically so diverse that no clearly dominant group can be detected. English immigrants were numerically most prevalent (18 percent), followed by the French (14 percent), the Irish (9 percent), and Vermonters (8 percent). By 1870, the Italians and Chinese were clearly the leading groups of Robinsons Ferry, collectively comprising more than half the population. This pattern of Chinese and Italian predominance basically held for the 1880 census as well. As noted, the resurgence of native-born population in 1900 was fueled almost exclusively by a great influx of young men born in California, Californians comprising an impressive 36 percent of the total 1900 population. At least in its earliest stages, the industrialization of Robinsons Ferry was carried out by a largely California-born workforce.

Reasonably distinct age patterns can be seen among the four major ethnic groupings: "Old immigrant" Europeans (English, German, French, Scandinavians); Italians; Chinese; and the native born (Table 5). Italian immigrants were consistently younger than other major groups, probably indicating a steady influx of new settlers. Literacy figures, available for 1870 and 1900, tend to support the idea that many Italians were recent arrivals; in 1870, 36 percent of Italians could not read or write English, and in 1900 this figure was 20 percent. By contrast, Chinese residents of Robinsons Ferry were not young men. In 1870, 75 percent were 40 years or older, a figure that dropped to 50 percent in 1880 and 1900. "Old immigrant" Europeans and the native-born showed a much wider and more even distribution across age categories. The exception to this rule was the 1900 native-born population, which consisted chiefly of men in their 20s and 30s.

Occupationally, Italians and Chinese defied general rules. In 1860, 1870, and 1880, a disproportionately high number of young Italians were involved in service trades -- running stores, hotels, and saloons that served the miners. Pietro Solari and F. Cazzaretta illustrate this segment of the Italian population. Both appear to have been involved in running the store that is sometimes referred to as the "Solari Store," which adjoined the famous Vignoli Gaming House or "pool hall" still standing in Robinsons Ferry (Melones) in 1979. In 1860, Solari, at age 19, described himself as merchant, presumably owning and running this store. In 1870, however, Solari and Cazzaretta are shown as living in the same house, but Cazzaretta lists his occupation as "retail merchant," while Solari's role is that of "clerk." Inexplicably, these two men reappear in 1880, with roles reversed -- Solari described as "Merchant" and Cazzaretta as the "clerk"! Whatever their business arrangement, Solari and Cazzaretta illustrate the role played by young Italians in the mercantile business. Another pattern was that of Lorenzo Pendola. In 1860, Pendola is listed as a merchant, probably running a store in the same part of town. By 1870, however, Pendola was listed as a "farmer," just beginning to piece together the lovely Pendola Ranch, recently inundated by New Melones Lake.

By contrast, the Chinese were exclusively involved in mining throughout 1860-1880. In 1900, their numbers were diminished to two, one a cook, the other a day laborer.

Native-born and "old immigrant" Europeans followed a more normal occupational distribution, being overwhelmingly miners in 1860 and 1870, but finding a wider diversity of work as industrial development opened new occupational opportunities. By 1900, native-born and "old immigrant" Europeans occupied the merchant role once held by the Italians as well as "blue collar" and professional services.

The difference in marital rates of "old immigrant" Europeans, native-born, and Italians is not great, with Italians showing somewhat lower rates than the others (Table 9). The Chinese, on the other hand, never married. This fact, coupled with the relatively high median age of Chinese residents of Robinsons Ferry, supports the general impression among historians that life was lonely for the first generation of Chinese immigrants to California.

Property was fairly evenly distributed among the native-born, Italians, and "old immigrant" Europeans (Table 10). The exceptions to this rule include the experience of 1860 Italians, with young Italian merchants increasing the percentage figure, and that of the native-born of 1900, in which a massive influx of new, young residents apparently did not or could not buy real property. The Chinese, not unexpectedly, did not own property.

Finally, some diversity of experience among ethnic groups can be seen in the number and percentage of residents persisting from one census to the next (Table 11). In truth, the persistence rate for all groups is so low that generalizations are risky. The 1860 residents who remained long enough to be counted again included the following: Solari and Pendola, mentioned earlier, and Harvey Wood, 30 year-old New Yorker who ran the ferry across the Stanislaus River. Persisters on the 1870 census include Wood; Pendola; Solari: John Whittaker, a 37 year-old farmer from England with a Mexican wife and 6 children; Frank Bradbury, a 42 year-old miner from Maine; and Cazaretta, Solari's partner in business. The 1880 census contained five holdovers from earlier censuses: Cazaretta, Solari, Whittaker, Harvey Wood, and Bradbury, who had become a rancher. Lorenzo Pendola is inexplicably absent from this census. Only Lorenzo Pendola served as a link between the earlier period and the 1900 census, although John Whittaker's son, John, persisted, as did Harvey Wood's son, Percy.

Overall, these figures do not indicate a lasting dominance of Robinsons Ferry by any one of the many ethnic groups present there, nor does it

indicate that any group but the Chinese was subjected to systematic exclusion from avenues of opportunity. Subtle differences between and among the groups, however, do indicate that some degree of ethnically-distinct group behavior may have been present. Perhaps most significant is the simple presence of such a wide variety of foreign-born residents. The constant process of interaction between ethnic groups and acculturation was no doubt at the heart of the Robinsons Ferry cultural experience.

D. Age

There is reason to believe that age played a part in determining one's "place" in Robinsons Ferry, as in any community. But precisely what effect did age have on such important factors as occupation, marital status, property holding, persistence?

There appears to have been a three-phase evolution of the Robinsons Ferry population, from a relatively young population in 1860 to an extraordinarily old population in 1870 and 1880, and a return to youthful numerical predominance in 1900 (Table 1). In 1860, most (76 percent) of the residents of the town were under 40 years of age, a fact no doubt attributable to the general youthfulness of the first generation of Gold Rush immigrants. In 1870, however, that population appears to have aged almost exactly ten years. Clearly the same individuals did not reside in town; only 3.4 percent of the 1860 population reappeared on the 1870 census (Table 4). Both groups, the 1860 and 1870 populations, however, could have been part of the same great wave of immigrants of the 1850s who, by 1870, constituted a kind of roving cadre of miners. This aging pattern continued through 1880, with the greatest increase between 1870 and 1880 occurring in the 50-59 year-old bracket. Complementing the increase in higher age brackets was an overall decrease in the lower age brackets, indicating that few younger men were entering the mining region in the late years of the Gold Rush. The 1900 census figures, however, completely reverse previous trends. Once again, nearly three-quarters of the Robinsons Ferry population was comprised of men under 40, an age distribution reminiscent of early Gold Rush patterns.

As noted, the major ethnic groups had different age patterns (Table 5). Whatever "new blood" was to be found, i.e. residents not previously engaged in the mining industry, seems to have come chiefly from Italy. Ninety-three percent of the Italians in Robinsons Ferry in 1870 were under 40; in 1880 that figure was 100 percent. A somewhat atypical Italian appearing on the 1870 census was Manuel Airola, patriarch of a very prominent Calaveras County family that collectively owned large segments of land in the New Melones Project Area prior to federal acquisition. In 1870, Airola was 34, a gold miner, able to read and write English, married to an Italian-born woman, and father to six children, three of whom were born in California. More typical of the group pattern was M. Pierano, a miner 38 years old in 1870, unable to read or write English, single, and owning no property. There appears to have been an interesting bifurcation in the Italian population, approximately half of the group engaging in non-mining trades, chiefly service trades (Table 8), the other half being younger and involved directly in mining.

The age pattern of Chinese-born residents of Robinsons Ferry was quite distinct. Most were in their 40s' none were younger than 30. These Chinese were, as noted, all single miners through the 1800s. By 1900, the Chinese had virtually abandoned Robinsons Ferry, although subsequent generations of Chinese residents may have returned to the area after 1900.

"Old immigrant" Europeans and native-born Americans best fit the general pattern of population aging in the 1870 and 1880s, with a youthful rejuvenation in 1900. The hypothesis that the aging of this population resulted from the presence of old "49'ers" is supported by the experience of "old immigrant" Europeans and native-born persisting beyond 1860. This list includes: John Whittaker, an English farmer mentioned earlier; Harvey Wood, whose residency in Robinsons Ferry dates to the 1850s; and Frank Bradbury, a 42 year-old miner from Maine in 1870 whose occupation was listed as "rancher" in 1880. Both Wood and Whittaker persisted in Robinsons Ferry until they died and some of their children lived there well into the twentieth century.

Occupational patterns among age groups are not particularly distinct (Table 6). Most people in most age groups were miners; only minor trends indicate that age may have affected occupational choice. Not surprisingly, men over 60 years of age tended not to be miners. More surprising, is the fact that one-third of the sexagenarians *were* engaged in mining. In 1860

and 1870, a disproportionate number of young men (under 30) were involved in white collar services, a fact attributable to the activities of young Italian immigrants. Just why the occupational distribution by age group was so even is an interesting question. Part of the answer lies in the limited range of occupations available to any group from which differentiation by age could occur.

Perhaps the clearest indication of differentiation by age can be seen in marital rate statistics (Table 7). Through 1880, older men were several times more likely to marry than men in their twenties; indeed, in the first three censuses studied, only three men in their twenties were found to be married. The marital rate for men in the 30-50 age bracket is also quite low, chiefly because of the presence of a large number of single Chinese men of that age. Only in the 50-59 age category do Robinsons Ferry marital rates begin to approximate national patterns. These high marital figures for men in this group correlate positively with their participation in more stable occupational categories, particularly farming and the white collar services (Table 6).

The 1900 census figures show a distinct break with the past in the relationship between age and marriage. The gap between the marital patterns of young and older men narrowed substantially, with only about 20 percentage points separating the highest and lowest categories between ages 20 and 60. In part, this consistency across age lines may reflect a more even distribution of occupations among age groups. It may also reflect the fact that young settlers in 1900 were predominantly California-born and so more likely to be married than previous generations of young immigrants from Italy.

Overall, age patterns in Robinsons Ferry from 1860 to 1900 can be understood in the context of declining economic activity between 1860 and 1880, followed by rejuvenation in the early twentieth century. For most of this period, this town was home for an extraordinarily old population, a coterie of Gold Rush miners who persisted even though the surface mineral deposits were largely exhausted. These older miners disappear from the record somewhere between 1880 and 1900, making way for a new, younger cadre of industrial miners.

E. Occupation

We have already discussed in some detail the differing occupational patterns of various ethnic and age groups. But we should recall that the occupational structure is largely controlled by market forces and natural resource availability, conditions over which individuals or groups have little influence. Each individual responded somewhat differently to the circumstances in which he found himself, but his success or failure was ultimately limited by the economic opportunities that were available to him.

The one undisputed fact about occupations in Robinsons Ferry is the predominance of miners. Nearly 83 percent of the 1860 residents of Robinsons Ferry described themselves as "miners," a figure that dropped to 79 percent in 1870, 52 percent in 1880, and 51 percent in 1900 (Table 2). To understand why this figure was so large and why it declined over time, one must appreciate the range of activities encompassed by the term, "miner." In 1860, most "miners" were independent entrepreneurs, working quasi-legal surface claims on the public domain, individually or in small partnerships. By 1900, "miners" were industrial wage earners, employed by a large corporation to perform difficult and dangerous chores often thousands of feet below ground. The miners of 1860 and 1900 actually have very little in common except the objective of extracting gold from its natural deposits. "Miners" in 1870 and 1880 witnessed the transition from surface to industrial mining, most continuing to work independently but many hiring out to the emerging quartz mining and milling operations in the Carson Hill area.

Different groups of miners no doubt occupied different places in the society of Robinsons Ferry. Literature on the early Gold Rush suggests that, at least in the 1850s, the individual miner, a youthful, optimistic, and somewhat romantic figure, was recognized as the backbone of society in the Mother Lode. Although this optimism and romanticism all but evaporated by 1860, the miner was probably still considered a valuable asset to the community. There is reason to believe that the miner suffered a loss of status as the opportunity for individual surface miners disappeared in the 1870s and 1880s. Tragically, the high percentage of Chinese miners in Robinsons Ferry in 1870 and 1880 is probably a good sign that the occupation had lost status.

It is difficult to determine what status was enjoyed by the industrial miners of 1900. No doubt there were gradients in the statuses of the various types of industrial miners, as has been demonstrated in studies of the hard-rock miners of Grass Valley, Nevada City, and other Western mining communities. In this context, the significant group of men describing themselves as "laborers," or "day laborers," may well have been associated with mining, "miners" who had a deflated or perhaps realistic view of their work.

With the proportional decline in the mining workforce came a corresponding increase in non-mining occupations. The need for white collar services remained relatively constant over this period. Through 1880, Robinsons Ferry was a kind of regional mercantile and transportation center, providing food, entertainment, and a ferry across the river for miners in the area and for travelers along what is now Highway 49. The need for these services increased proportionally as industrial miners moved into town around the turn of the century. Blue collar services -- blacksmiths, teamsters, livermen, etc. -- were needed by miners and travelers, in the period, 1860-1880, but the demand was apparently not sufficient to induce the presence of men trained to provide these services. Industrialization in 1900, including the immediate needs of the mines and mills, was sufficient inducement to attract a significant number of these services. Professionals never comprised a significant proportion of the town's population, being restricted to a doctor in 1880 and a doctor and several mining engineers in 1900. Farmers actually were more directly involved in the town than one might have expected. Until about 1880, Lorenzo Pendola and John Whittaker lived in Robinsons Ferry and walked or rode to their larger fields along Coyote Creek. Lower white collar workers were simply adjuncts to merchants and white collar services -- clerks in the stores, cooks in the restaurants -- and they were present in small numbers in all but the 1860 census. Finally, the unskilled laborers, as noted, may actually have included the lower occupational rungs of the ranks of industrial miners. The category also included farm laborers.

The relationships between occupation, age, and ethnicity, have already been discussed (Tables 6 and 8). Farmers, as noted, tended to be older than other groups. Unskilled laborers tended to be very young or very old. White collar workers until about 1880, tended to be young, reflecting the presence

of many young Italian storekeepers. Ethnically, the Chinese were most predictable in their occupational choices, being entirely miners until 1880. "old immigrant" Europeans were heavily represented among the farmers as were the native-born among professionals. Two critical developments regarding age, ethnicity, and occupations were the constant influx of young Italians, 1860-1880, generally occupying lower positions, and the influx of young Californians in 1900, who comprised the industrial force.

The clearest pattern of differentiation by occupation is depicted in Table 12, relating to marital status, property holding, and persistence. These three variables can be seen collectively as a measure of an individual's commitment to the permanence of a community, as demonstrated by his long residence, property holding, and, in the case of most married men, raising children. By this measure, farmers and white collar service workers score significantly higher than others, with marital, property holding, and persistence rates occasionally reaching 100 percent. Miners, a notoriously transient group, score predictably lower than farmers and storeowners, as do unskilled laborers. The low persistence rate for professionals and blue collar workers simply reflects the fact that we cannot measure their persistence because of the unavailability of census records beyond 1900.

Overall, it can be seen that the Robinsons Ferry occupational structure was dominated by miners. Mining, however, was an unstable industry and attracted an essentially transient population. The lack of stability in the major industry of the town resulted in the creation of an unstable community, a community full of single men passing through. Whatever stability the community achieved came as a result of its merchants and farmers. Indeed, if one were to trace the background of the "old families" of the project area -- the Pendolas (Ghiglieris), the Airolas, the Woods, the Whittles -- one will find precisely this kind of mercantile or agricultural background.

F. The Family

It would be pedantic at this point to repeat the basic arguments through which social scientists have adjudged the family to be an important, if not the most important, social institution. Assuming the family to be a critical factor in community-building, what can be said about the community of

Robinsons Ferry with its persistent absence of families? Stated simply, the family appears to have played a relatively insignificant role in the development of this town. The transient single men of Robinsons Ferry appear to have created a community, in Earnest Hemingway's phrase, of "men without women."

Table 4 demonstrates the extent of domination by single men. About one adult male in six was married in 1860 and 1870, one in three in 1880, and about two in five in 1900. Summing across the four censuses, about 28 percent of the adult males residing in Robinsons Ferry between 1860 and 1900 lived with his wife and only 19 percent lived in a family with wife and children.

We have already discussed the important characteristics of the group of married men. Men over 40 were married more often than men under 40 (Table 7). "Old immigrant" Europeans and native-born were somewhat more likely to be married than Italians and all, of course, were married more often than the Chinese, who never married (Table 9). Property holders were far more likely to be married than non-property holders (Table 14) as were persisters over non-persisters (Table 13). Farmers and white-collar workers were more likely to be married than miners or the other occupational groups (Table 12). A composite portrait of the married man in Robinsons Ferry, particularly 1860-1880, would look very much like John Whittaker in 1880, an English farmer in his late 40s, who persisted over several decades. Another typical case was Harvey Wood in 1880, a 51 year-old ferryman from New York who was married with 3 children. The archetypal single man would be a young Italian immigrant or a Chinese miner.

What can be said regarding the women and children in this male-dominated community? Two interesting trends can be detected between 1860 and 1880. There is a noticeable increase in what we might call cross-cultural marriages, that is between husbands and wives with different birthplaces, whether different countries or different states of the union. The second trend is a significant increase in family size. The 1900 census continues the trend toward cross-cultural marriages but reverses the trend toward increasing family size.

In 1860, both partners in marriage were likely to be born in the same place. Exceptions to this rule include the following husband-wife birthplace

combinations: Germany-New York; Vermont-Canada; Italy-Chile; Massachusetts-Germany. Five couples had no children at all and there were no families with more than three children. The average number of children per family was just over one.

In 1870, cross-cultural marriages were numerically predominant. Husband-wife birthplace combinations included: Vermont-Mexico; England-Mexico; Denmark-Mexico; New York-New Hampshire; Virginia-Illinois. Family size was significantly larger. One family had 7 children, one had 6 children, and only three had no children. The average number was about 2.4 children per family.

By 1880, cross-cultural marriages accounted for all marriages except that of Pietro Solari, who had married a woman from his native Italy. Other husband-wife birthplace combinations included: Kentucky-Ireland; Peru-Mexico; Germany-Italy; France-Ohio; England-Mexico; and the New Yorker Harvey Wood with his wife from New Hampshire. Family sizes ranged up to 10 children. The average was about 4.3 children per family.

The 1900 figures defy most earlier trends. The marital rate in general climbed to over 40 percent. Cross-cultural marriages still accounted for about half of the couples, but most of these were between husbands and wives born in different parts of the United States, representing relatively minor differences in backgrounds. Trans-national husband-wife birthplace combinations included the following: Mexico-California; Switzerland-England; Portugal-California; New York-Spain; California-Mexico; and England-California. Not surprisingly, the young couples of 1900 had fewer children per family than did the couples of 1880. Thirteen couples had no children at all and the largest family included six children. The average was about 1.5 children per family, only slightly larger than the 1860 figures.

Overall, Robinsons Ferry families were significant by their absence. One can only try to imagine what life was like for families that were present, especially for children in this adult world and women in this male-dominated culture. The figures presented here do not indicate when, if ever, the Robinsons Ferry population achieved a normal or near-normal marital rate. It may well be that Robinsons Ferry retained a kind of industrial boom town atmosphere throughout the twentieth century, that it *never* achieved family stability. If so, the absence of families can be seen as one of the most profoundly significant facts of life here and perhaps throughout the New Melones Project Area.

TABLE 1

AGE DISTRIBUTION
(Percentage), by Census Adult Males, Robinsons Ferry

	1860	1870	1880	1900
Under 20	3.4	4.3	--	1.3
20 - 29	32.4	6.4	8.0	30.3
30 - 39	40.2	40.4	28.0	40.8
40 - 49	14.9	38.3	40.0	6.6
50 - 59	6.9	6.4	24.0	11.8
60 - 69	1.1	4.3	--	7.9
70 and over	1.1	--	--	1.3

N=87 N=47 N=25 N=76

TABLE 2

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION, BY CENSUS
ROBINSONS FERRY, ADULT MALES

Percent

	1860	1870	1880	1900
Professional	--	--	4.0	5.3
White Collar Services	10.3	8.5	12.0	13.2
Blue Collar Services	1.1	--	--	11.8
Miner	82.8	78.7	52.0	51.3
Farmer	2.3	8.5	8.0	1.3
Lower White Collar	--	2.1	4.0	3.9
Unskilled Labor	3.4	2.1	20.0	13.2
	N=87	N=47	N=25	N=76

TABLE 9
DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE OF BIRTH (PERCENTAGE)
ADULT MALES, ROBINSONS FERRY

	1860	1870	1880	1900
England	18.4	4.3	12.0	1.3
Ireland	9.2	--	--	--
France	13.8	10.6	8.0	2.6
Denmark	4.6	4.3	8.0	--
Germany	6.9	2.1	--	6.6
Sweden	5.7	--	--	--
Switzerland	--	--	--	2.6
Italy	6.9	27.7	24.0	14.5
Portugal	1.1	2.1	--	--
China	5.7	25.5	16.0	2.6
Mexico	3.4	--	--	2.6
Chile	--	2.1	4.0	--
Peru	1.1	--	--	--
Hawaii	--	2.1	--	--
Canada	--	--	--	1.3
Pacifica	--	-- 80.6	8.0	-- 34.1
New York	4.7	4.3	4.0	2.6
Vermont	8.0	4.3	--	--
Massachusetts	2.3	2.1	--	--
Pennsylvania	1.1	--	--	2.6
Maine	1.1	--	4.0	2.6
Rhode Island	--	--	4.0	--
Kentucky	1.1	--	4.0	2.6
Virginia	1.1	2.1	--	1.3
Louisiana	--	2.1 14.9	--	--
Georgia	--	-- 95.7	--	2.6
West Virginia	--	--	--	2.6
Arkansas	--	--	--	1.3
Missouri	1.1	--	--	--
Ohio	2.3	--	4.0	1.3
Nevada	--	--	--	1.3
Oregon	--	--	--	1.3
Illinois	--	--	--	3.9
Wisconsin	--	--	--	2.6
California	--	--	--	35.5 64.1
	N=87	N=47	N=25	N=76 98.2

TABLE 4

MARITAL STATUS, PROPERTY HOLDING, AND PERSISTENCE,
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AMONG POPULATION
BY CENSUS ADULT MALES, ROBINSONS FERRY

	MARITAL STATUS			
	1860	1870	1880	1900*
Married	16.1	17.0	32.0	43.4
Single	82.8	83.0	68.0	42.1
Other	--	--	--	13.2

	PROPERTY HOLDING			
	1860	1870	1880	1900
Owens No Real Property	86.2	63.8	NOT AVAILABLE	89.5
Owens Some Real Property	13.8	36.2		10.5

	PERSISTENCE			
	1860	1870	1880	1900
One Census	96.6	87.2	80.0	97.4
Two Censuses	--	8.5	12.0	1.3
Three Censuses	3.4	4.3	8.0	1.3

*Missing Value

TABLE 5

AGE AND ETHNICITY (PERCENTAGE OF MAJOR
ETHNIC GROUPS BY AGE CATEGORIES,
ADULT MALES, ROBINSONS FERRY)

"OLD IMMIGRANT" EUROPEAN

	1860	1870	1880	1900
Under 20	2.0	--	--	--
20 - 29	29.4	--	--	20.0
30 - 39	45.1	40.0	42.9	40.0
40 - 49	15.7	40.0	42.9	10.0
50 - 59	7.8	20.0	14.3	10.0
60 - 69	--	--	--	10.0
70 and over	--	--	--	10.0
	N=51	N=10	N=7	N=10

ITALIAN

	1860	1870	1880	1900
Under 20	14.3	14.3	33.3	9.1
20 - 29	28.6	21.4	33.3	36.4
30 - 39	57.1	57.1	33.3	36.4
40 - 49	--	--	--	--
50 - 59	--	7.1	--	9.1
60 - 69	--	--	--	9.1
70 and over	--	--	--	--
	N=7	N=14	N=6	N=11

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CHINESE

	1860	1870	1880	1900
Under 20	--	--	--	--
20 - 29	40.0	--	--	--
30 - 39	20.0	25.0	50.0	50.0
40 - 49	40.0	75.0	50.0	50.0
50 - 59	--	--	--	--
60 - 69	--	--	--	--
70 and over	--	--	--	--
	N=4	N=11	N=4	N=2

NATIVE BORN

	1860	1870	1880	1900
Under 20	5.0	--	--	--
20 - 29	35.0	--	--	32.7
30 - 39	30.0	40.0	--	42.9
40 - 49	10.0	40.0	20.0	4.1
50 - 59	10.0	--	80.0	14.3
60 - 69	5.0	--	--	6.1
70 and over	5.0	20.0	--	--
	N=20 82	N=8 43	N=5 22	N=49 72
	N=87	N=47	N=25	N=76

PERCENTAGE OF ADULT MALES IN
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, ADULT MALES, ROBINSONS FERRY

	1860:							1870:							1880:							1900:									
	Professional	White Collar Service	Blue Collar Service	Miner	Farmer	Lower Collar	Unskilled Labor	N	Professional	White Collar Service	Blue Collar Service	Miner	Farmer	Lower Collar	Unskilled Labor	N	Professional	White Collar Service	Blue Collar Service	Miner	Farmer	Lower Collar	Unskilled Labor	N	Professional	White Collar Service	Blue Collar Service	Miner	Farmer	Lower Collar	Unskilled Labor
Under 20	--	33.3	--	66.7	--	--	--	3	--	--	--	100.0	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
20 - 29	--	7.1	--	89.3	--	--	--	28	--	66.7	--	100.0	--	33.3	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	100.0	--	--	--	--	--	2	
30 - 39	--	11.1	--	82.9	--	--	--	34	--	5.3	--	78.9	10.5	--	5.3	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	14.3	--	--	--	--	--	7		
40 - 49	--	7.7	--	84.6	--	--	--	13	--	5.6	--	94.4	--	--	--	19	--	--	--	--	--	--	10.0	--	--	--	--	--	18		
50 - 59	--	--	--	66.7	33.3	--	--	6	--	--	--	66.7	33.3	--	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	16.7	--	--	--	--	--	3		
60 - 69	--	--	--	100.0	--	--	--	6	--	--	--	50.0	50.0	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	16.7	--	--	--	--	--	2		
70 and over	--	100.0	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1		
Under 20	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	
20 - 29	--	8.7	8.7	73.9	--	--	100.0	23	--	8.7	8.7	73.9	--	4.3	4.3	23	--	--	--	--	--	--	100.0	--	--	--	--	--	23		
30 - 39	12.9	19.4	9.3	41.9	--	--	73.9	32	4.3	9.3	9.3	41.9	--	3.2	12.9	32	4.3	12.9	12.9	--	--	100.0	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	7		
40 - 49	--	20.0	--	60.0	--	--	41.9	5	3.2	--	--	60.0	--	20.0	--	5	3.2	20.0	20.0	--	--	100.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10		
50 - 59	--	--	22.2	44.4	--	--	60.0	9	--	22.2	22.2	44.4	--	--	33.3	9	--	--	--	--	--	100.0	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	6		
60 - 69	--	16.7	33.3	16.7	--	--	44.4	6	--	33.3	33.3	16.7	16.7	--	--	6	--	--	--	--	--	100.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	6		
70 and over	--	--	--	--	--	--	16.7	1	16.7	--	--	16.7	16.7	--	100.0	1	--	--	--	--	--	100.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	1		

TABLE 7

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS
(PERCENTAGE OF AGE GROUP POPULATIONS WHO ARE MARRIED,
ADULT MALES, ROBINSONS FERRY)

	1860	1870	1880	1900
Under 20	0	0	--	0
20 - 29	10.7	0	0	39.1
30 - 39	14.3*	21.1	42.9	48.4*
40 - 49	15.4	11.1	20.0	60.0
50 - 59	50.0	33.3	50.0	55.6
60 - 69	0	50.0	--	16.7
70 and over	100.0	--	--	0

*Missing Value

TABLE 8

ETHNICITY AND OCCUPATION
(Percentage of Major Ethnic Group Populations by
Occupation Categories, Adule Males, Robinsons Ferry)

"OLD IMMIGRANT EUROPEAN

	1860	1870	1880	1900
Professional	--	--	--	--
White Collar Services	3.9	--	14.3	10.0
Blue Collar Services	2.0	--	--	30.0
Miner	90.2	90.0	57.1	50.0
Farmer	2.0	10.0	14.3	--
Lower White Collar	--	--	--	--
Unskilled Labor	2.0	--	14.3	10.0

ITALIAN

	1860	1870	1880	1900
Professional	--	--	--	--
White Collar Services	57.1	21.4	33.1	--
Blue Collar Services	--	--	--	--
Miner	42.9	57.1	16.7	72.7
Farmer	--	14.3	--	9.1
Lower White Collar	--	7.1	16.7	--
Unskilled Labor	--	--	50.0	18.2

CHINESE

	1860	1870	1880	1900
Professional	--	--	--	--
White Collar Services	--	--	--	--
Blue Collar Services	--	--	--	--
Miner	100.0	100.0	100.0	--
Farmer	--	--	--	--
Lower White Collar	--	--	--	50.0
Unskilled Labor	--	--	--	50.0

TABLE 8 - Page 2

	NATIVE BORN			
	1860	1870	1880	1900
Professional	--	--	20.0	6.1
White Collar Services	15.0	11.1	20.0	16.3
Blue Collar Services	--	--	--	12.2
Miner	70.0	66.7	40.0	51.0
Farmer	5.0	11.1	20.0	--
Lower White Collar	--	--	--	4.0
Unskilled Labor	10.0	11.1	--	10.2

TABLE 9

ETHNICITY AND MARITAL STATUS
 (Percentage of Major Ethnic Group Populations by
 Marital Status, Adult Males, Robinsons Ferry)

	"Old Immigrant" Europe	Italian	Chinese	Native Born
1860:				
Married	11.8	14.3	--	20.0*
Single	88.2	85.7	100.0	70.0
Other	--	--	--	--
1870:				
Married	20.0	21.4	--	33.3
Single	80.0	78.6	100.0	66.7
Other	--	--	--	--
1880:				
Married	57.1	16.7	--	40.0
Single	42.9	83.3	100.0	60.0
Other	--	--	--	--
1900:				
Married	50.0	36.4	*	44.9
Single	30.0	63.6	50.0	40.1
Other	20.0	--	--	14.3

*Missing Value

TABLE 10

ETHNICITY AND PROPERTY
(Percentage of Major Ethnic Group Populations
Owning Real Property, Adult Males, Robinsons Ferry)

	1860	1870	1880	1900*
"Old Immigrant European	7.8	40.0		20.0
Italian	42.9	50.0	NOT AVAILABLE	18.2
Chinese	0	0		0
Native-Born	25.0	66.7		8.1

*Missing Value

TABLE 11

ETHNICITY AND PERSISTENCE
(Percentage of Major Ethnic Group Populations
Appearing on Two or More Censuses)

	1860	1870	1880	1900
"Old Immigrant" European	0	10.0	14.2	0
Italian	28.6	16.7	33.3	9.1
Chinese	0	0	0	0
Native-Born	5.0	42.9	50.0	0

TABLE 12

OCCUPATION AND MARITAL STATUS, PROPERTY HOLDING,
AND PERSISTENCE

(Percentages of Adult Males by Occupation Groups
Who Are Married, Own Property, and
Appear on More than One Census)

	MARRIED (%)			
	1860	1870	1880	1900
Professional	--	--	0	50.0
White Collar Service	33.3*	25.0	100.0	70.0
Blue Collar Service	0	--	--	44.4
Miner	12.5	10.8	30.8	38.5
Farmer	100.0	75.0	50.0	100.0
Lower White Collar	--	0	0	33.3
Unskilled	0	0	0	30.0*

	OWNS PROPERTY (%)			
	1860	1870	1880	1900
Professional	--	--	NOT AVAILABLE	25.0
White Collar Service	66.7	100.0	AVAILABLE	30.0
Blue Collar Service	0	--		0
Miner	5.6	24.3		5.1
Farmer	100.0	100.0		100.0
Lower White Collar	--	0		0
Unskilled	0	0		10.0

	APPEARS ON TWO OR MORE CENSUSES (%)			
	1860	1870	1880	1900
Professional	--	--	0	0
White Collar Service	33.3	50.0	66.7	0
Blue Collar Service	0	--	--	0
Miner	0	5.4	0	0
Farmer	0	50.0	100.0	100.0
Lower White Collar	--	0	100.0	0
Unskilled	0	0	0	0

*Missing Value

TABLE 13

MARITAL STATUS AND PERSISTENCE
 (Percentage of Married and Non-Married Men
 Appearing on Two or More Censuses,
 Adult Males, Robinsons Ferry)

	1860	1870	1880	1900
Married	0*	37.5	37.5	6.0*
Not Married (Single and Other)	4.2	7.7	11.8	0

*Missing Value