1941

Metal mining in historic Beaverhead

Oren Sassman

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HISTORIC BEAVERHEAD

by

Oren Sassman
(B.E., Montana State Normal College, 1933)

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts

Montana State University
1941

Approved:

Chairman of Board of Examiners.

Chairman of Committee on Graduate Study
THE "BEAVER'S HEAD" OR BEAVERHEAD ROCK
(frontspiece)
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## CHAPTER

### INTRODUCTION ........................................... xiii

### I. BEAVERHEAD PRIOR TO 1862 .......................... 1

- Louisiana Purchase ........................................ 1
- Lewis and Clark Expedition ................................ 3
- Fur Traders ................................................... 12
- Missouri Fur Company ...................................... 13
- Rocky Mountain Fur Company ............................... 15
- American Fur Company ...................................... 16
- Hudson's Bay Traders ....................................... 21
- Alexander Ross ............................................. 22
- John Work .................................................... 23
- Missionaries ................................................. 25
- Captain John Mullan ........................................ 27
- Judge Frank H. Woody ....................................... 27
- Indian problems .............................................. 28
- Council Groves Indian Treaty ............................ 29
- Blackfoot Treaty of 1855 .................................. 29
- Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 ............................... 31
- Bannack and Snake Indians ................................ 32
- Mullan Military Road ...................................... 33
- Creation of Montana and Beaverhead County ............ 34

### II. PIONEER—BEAVERHEAD'S FIRST GOLD DISCOVERY .... 35

- Contributing factors ....................................... 36
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discovery of gold on Gold Creek</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel McLean's train</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Jack Russell's company</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First discovery of gold in Beaverhead</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortimer H. Lott's story</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospecting excursions from Gold Creek</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later activities in the Pioneer area</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. BANNACK--MONTANA'S FIRST MAJOR DIGGINGS</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John White's discovery</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean and Russell trains</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Mining and Mineral Company</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Reed train</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Overland Expedition (Fisk's train)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bannack mining camp</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado miners</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota emigrants</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Routes to Montana</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Express and Freight organizations</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road agents</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plummer's mining claims</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bannack, Centerville, and Jerusalem</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners' Ten Commandments</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization of a mining district</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners' courts</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners' meetings</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territorial legislation dealing with mining</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congressional mineral laws</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several miners of interest</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typical experiences at mining</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alder Gulch stampede</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditch companies</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana's first quartz</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famous Dakota mine</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First quartz mill</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First steam-operated mill</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other quartz mills</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bon Accord Mining Company</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venture of George F. Cope</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden Leaf Mining Company</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Mines Enterprise Company</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bannack Gold Mining Company</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph L. Davis</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production data</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV. THE HORSE PRAIRIE MINING DISTRICT.</strong></td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizing the district</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. A. Clark's story</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities of the Yearian brothers and others</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>V. BEAVERHEAD'S DREDGE BOATS.</strong></td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gold Dredging Company</td>
<td>..........................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;F. L. Graves&quot; dredge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(first successful dredge in U.S.)</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of the boat by Montague</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chicago Mining and Development Company</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilman-Smith boat</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Maggie A. Gibson&quot; dredge</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bannack Gold Dredging Company</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;A. F. Graeter&quot; dredge</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The &quot;Bon Accord&quot; dredge</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The accident of the boat</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The &quot;Coast&quot; or &quot;Cope&quot; dredge</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The &quot;Brenner&quot; dredge</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. ARGENTA—CRADLE OF MONTANA'S SILVER INDUSTRY</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The first silver lodes in Beaverhead</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stuart on the silver discoveries</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mullan's account</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An account by Tufts</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana City</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana's first smelter</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. M. Esler's smelter</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tootle-Leach plant</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown's failure</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several of Argenta's mines</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placer mines in the vicinity</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ermont mines</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CHAPTER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Production data</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. THE BLUE WING MINING DISTRICT</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First claims in the area</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Blue Wing mine</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Leary's activities</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Huron mine</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eaton's furnace</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Huron furnace</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New Departure mine</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production data</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. THE UTOPIA OR BIRCH CREEK MINING DISTRICT</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Farlin brothers</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Birch Creek smelter</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. THE VIPOND MINING DISTRICT</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early claimants</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dewey mining camp</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe Silver Mining Company</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jay Hawk and Lone Pine Consolidated Mining Company</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other mining concerns</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. BEAVERHEAD'S BORAX--THE BAYANT MINING</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTRICT</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest Queen and Trapper mines</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noah Armstrong</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trapper City</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lion City</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glendale</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The beginning of the Hecla Consolidated Mining Company</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smelters</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Greenwood mill</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hecla Mercantile and Banking Company</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The silver crisis</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver prices</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last activities of the Hecla Company</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent production in the district</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XI. THE ELKHORN MINING DISTRICT—BEAVERHEAD'S GREATEST VENTURE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early history of the district</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. L. Allen's enterprise</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Boston-Montana Development Company</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. W. Hall's report</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Launching the Boston-Montana program</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana Southern Railroad</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston-Montana Mills Company</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coolidge</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reorganizing the company</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receivers</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important persons in the company</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destruction of the railroad</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure of the company</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. DISTRICTS AND MINES OF MINOR IMPORTANCE.</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lost Cloud Mining District</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bald Mountain Mining District</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark Horse mine</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jahnke mine</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saginaw mine</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajax mine</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monument mine</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners' Creek mines</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steele Creek mines</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Frontispiece) THE &quot;BEAVER'S HEAD&quot; OR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEAVERHEAD ROCK</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. BEAVERHEAD COUNTY</td>
<td>(facing p. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. RATTLESHAKE CLIFFS (Looking south)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. RATTLESHAKE CLIFFS (Looking east)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. LOVER'S LEAP</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. CAMP FORTUNATE AND THE &quot;KNOB&quot;</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. MORTIMER H. LOTT</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. JOHN WHITE'S RECORDING</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. PLUMMER'S PATCH CLAIM</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. UPPER BANNACK DISTRICT</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. LOWER BANNACK DISTRICT</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. A GOLD ROCKER</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. GRAETER-GRAVES HYDRAULIC</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII. SLUICE FELLOW HYDRAULIC</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV. THE FAMOUS DAKOTA</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV. A CRYSTAL PUMP</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI. SEEKING BEDROCK</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII. A BANNACK GOLD MINE</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. GOLDEN LEAF MILL</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX. A MODERN HYDRAULIC</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX. R. E. DAVIS DRACLINE</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI. THE DAVIS PIT-WASHER</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII.</td>
<td>FIELDING L. GRAVES DREDGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII.</td>
<td>GRAVES DREDGE AT BANHACK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV.</td>
<td>GRAETERS DREDGE AT BANHACK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV.</td>
<td>GILMAN-SMITH DREDGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI.</td>
<td>MAGGIE A. GIBSON DREDGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVII.</td>
<td>A. P. GRAETERS DREDGE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVIII.</td>
<td>RON ACCORD DREDGE (Original)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIX.</td>
<td>RON ACCORD DREDGE (Reconstructed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXX.</td>
<td>COAST OR COPE DREDGE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXI.</td>
<td>BRENNER DREDGE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXII.</td>
<td>MONTANA DISTRICT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIII.</td>
<td>SCENE OF MONTANA'S FIRST SHELTER.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIV.</td>
<td>ESSLER SHELTER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXV.</td>
<td>TUSCARORA SHELTER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVI.</td>
<td>BROWN SHELTER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVII.</td>
<td>MONTANA DISTRICT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVIII.</td>
<td>BRIGHT MINES AND MILL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIX.</td>
<td>BLUE WING DISTRICT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XL.</td>
<td>NEW DEPARTURE MINE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLI.</td>
<td>AN ARRASTRA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLI.</td>
<td>AN OLD STAMP MILL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIII.</td>
<td>BRYANT DISTRICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIV.</td>
<td>HECLA MINES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLV.</td>
<td>GREENWOOD MILL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLVI. COOLIDGE CAMP AND IDAHA HILL</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLVII. BOSTON-MONTANA MILL</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLVIII. POLAR CAMP, SHIP, AND CAMP</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

This thesis deals with the mining of metals in Beaverhead County from 1862 to the present (1940). The title, "Metal Mining in Historic Beaverhead," limits both the kind of mining and the region exploited. Gold, silver, copper, and kindred elements are termed both metals and minerals. Coal, graphite, and semi-precious stones, which are classified as minerals, are to be found in the county. The latter, while important, did not contribute materially to the wealth of Beaverhead. An attempt is made to give the social rather than the economic aspects of the metal mining industry in the settlement of Montana.

The first chapter discusses the exploration and fur trade in the county prior to the coming of the miners in order to emphasize the early, though temporary, significance of the region. Beaverhead's importance was again emphasized when Montana's first major placer mining was undertaken in the area. John White's discovery of gold, July 28, 1862, represented more than the inauguration of mining in the state—it was the real beginning of Montana's settled political and social life. Subsequent chapters reveal the story of Montana's first gold quartz, stamp mills, silver-producing mines, smelters, and dredges. The Hecla Consolidated Mining Company and the Boston-Montana Development Company were the greatest enterprises in the locality. The former was successful while
the latter proved a failure.

Most of the written accounts of Montana history dealing with the early phases of the mining industry are widely scattered and very sketchy; and information about the first gold quartz, silver, stamp mills, smelters, and dredges was omitted entirely. Confusion in dates, places, and persons added to the difficulty of unraveling the facts from the numerous sources of this most interesting phase of Montana's history. Many persons engaged in the treasure hunt; therefore, it is impossible to mention all of them. In several instances, only the surname of the prospector or miner could be found—not to mention the lack of descriptive antecedents of others. Furthermore, the careful reader will note that a great number of Beaverhead County's mining enterprises were short lived. This was because of the nature of the ore deposits. The veins "played out" shortly after discovery. There are no deep mines in the region other than the now exhausted Hecla mines. It almost seems that these surface "pockets" were placed there by nature to entice people to Montana.
CHAPTER I

BEAVERHEAD PRIOR TO 1862

The land of the Beaverhead had an interesting history antedating the mining epoch. In January 1803 President Jefferson asked Congress to provide a special fund and commissioned James Monroe envoy extraordinary to France.¹ The fund was for the purchase of the Isle of Orleans, or some other territory on the east bank of the Mississippi, which would give a perpetual guarantee to the western settlers for the rights of navigation and deposit. The appointment of Monroe to Paris was to add the prestige of a special commission to the efforts of the resident minister, Robert R. Livingston, who already had negotiations in progress. The territory that these diplomats purchased, however, was far more extensive than had been contemplated in their instructions. Because Napoleon feared the loss of a vast area, which, even then, he did not possess, he stated "... I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I cede, it is the whole colony. ..."² By this capricious act of the Emperor, the land of the Beaverhead became a part of the

¹ State Papers and Correspondence bearing upon the Purchase of the Territory of Louisiana, 37th Congress, 2nd sess., House Document No. 431, serial 4531, (Washington, 1903), pp. 34-38; 63-69; also in Fredrick L. Paxson, History of the American Frontier, (Boston, 1924), 132.
² Carl Russell Fish, American Diplomacy, (New York, 1923), 145-146.
The western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase was the watershed of the Mississippi drainage system as claimed by La Salle. At the extreme headwaters of the Missouri River, the Continental Divide makes a great semicircular bend to the west. Should this projection of land, bound by this curve of mountains, be cut off by a line drawn in the general direction of the Continental Divide, it would include Beaverhead County in its entirety and parts of Madison, Silver Bow, Deer Lodge, and Jefferson counties. The exploitation of this region of great mineral wealth led to the political beginnings of Montana sixty years after the Louisiana Purchase.

Before it was known that the region west of the Mississippi might ever be acquired from France, Jefferson began plans for its exploration. Within a few days after Monroe's appointment the President sent a secret message to Congress asking for an appropriation to pay the cost of a reconnaissance of the Missouri Valley. Since the region still belonged to France and Napoleon's offer was not made until three months later, the purpose of Jefferson's venture was then and still remains questionable. It looked like an encroachment upon the rights of a country with which the United States
was at peace. But before the money was appropriated and men had been found for the task, the Louisiana Purchase was consummated and thus removed all question about the reasonableness of such an exploration.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition was organized in the summer of 1803 under instructions from the President, dated June 20. It was to find a route across the continent by ascending the Missouri, crossing the Continental Divide, and descending the Columbia to its mouth. Equally important was the purpose to acquire accurate information as to the lay of the land, the races of Indians residing there, and the animal and vegetable resources. Several members of the expedition were ordered to keep records of the trip and great precautions were taken for the preservation of the papers. There was no scientist in the party, however, who was able to ascertain the presence of precious metals in the regions through which they passed.

These explorers traversed the whole course of the Missouri and then went up the Jefferson River. They passed

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4 Paxson, op. cit., 134-135.
6 Paxson, op. cit., 135.
the confluence of the Big Hole (Wisdom)\(^7\) and the Beaverhead (Jefferson)\(^8\) rivers. The latter stream was chosen partly because well defined Indian trails followed along its banks.\(^9\)

On August 8, 1805, the party made camp within sight of Beaverhead Rock\(^10\) which Sacajawea, a Shoshone Indian woman who had accompanied the expedition from the Mandan villages, said her nation called the Beaver's Head. She further stated that the bluff was not very far from her people's summer retreat on a river that ran to the west beyond the mountains.\(^11\)

The shallowness of the Beaverhead River during that time of year and the many shoals made it difficult to proceed rapidly with the boats. Captain Meriwether Lewis appointed three men to go up the stream with him to find the Shoshone


\(^8\) Jefferson Fork, as Lewis and Clark called it, and the valley through which it flowed was named Beaverhead, which in the Indian language is "Har-na Hap-pa Chah" from the number of those animals in it and the point of land resembling the head of one; in Thwaites, *op. cit.*., V, 256.


\(^10\) (See frontispiece). This rock is locally known as the "Point of Rocks." There has been much historical controversy over the name of this bluff and the one which Lewis and Clark called Rattlesnake Cliffs. Beyond doubt Lewis and Clark were correct even though their evidence apparently rested upon the word of Sacajawea. Later, even the trappers called it the Beaver's Head, which they evidently learned from their associations with the Indians.

\(^11\) Thwaites, *op. cit.*., II, 321.
Indians. He desired to obtain horses from them so that a portage could be made, if possible, to the headwaters of the Columbia. The four scouts passed Beaverhead Rock on August 9, 1805, and became the first known white men to set foot into the present confines of Beaverhead County. They made camp a few miles north of present Dillon, Montana. After the men traversed the east side of the river, they came to the cliffs, immediately south of Barretts station, "which from the number of rattlesnakes, they called the Rattle Snake Cliffs." They continued to the forks of Red Rock and Horse Prairie creeks. Some horses had traveled up the latter stream. A Shoshone Indian, on a fine horse, was met, but he had never seen a white man, therefore his wily nature caused him to flee since he attributed little significance to the friendly gestures of Lewis. This failure did not hinder the four determined men. They found an abundance of hoof prints which led them to believe that the main body of Indians was not far distant. They followed the Indian trail along Trail Creek and crossed the Continental Divide through Lemhi Pass, August 12, 1805,

12 Thwaites, op. cit., II, 324.
13 Ibid., II, 322-323.
14 Ibid., II, 324; 348.
15 "Two Forks" of the Jefferson; in Thwaites, op. cit., II, 344.
16 Ibid., II, 324-327.
17 Ibid., II, 329-332.
PLATE II -- RATTLE SNAKE CLIFFS
(Looking south)

PLATE III -- RATTLE SNAKE CLIFFS
(Looking east)
and went down Agency Creek to Lemhi River. The next day they had the good fortune of finding the Indian encampment. Gifts were distributed and much big talk ensued. Lewis endeavored to deal for thirty of the spare horses. The Indians had some four hundred fine animals, several being marked with Spanish brands. No horses were obtained, but Chief Camoahwait and a number of his men were persuaded to accompany Lewis and his men back. The cautious Indians rode on the horses with each of them. The party was soon joined by others from the village and all rode through Lemhi Pass, down Trail Creek, and through Shoshone Caves, which were then named by Lewis.

At the forks of Horse Prairie and Red Rock creeks, near a small limestone knoll, they made camp, August 16, to wait for Captain William Clark.

Clark and the balance of the expedition took the boats, August 9, and laboriously made their way up the Beaverhead

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18 Hugh McNeal, one of the four men, had stood with one foot on each side of the little rivulet and "thanked his God that he had lived to bestride the mighty Missouri;" and after these men went through the pass, Lewis "descended about three-quarters of a mile to a handsome bold running creek and there he first tasted the water of the great Columbia River;" in Thwaites, op. cit., II, 335. Wheeler, op. cit., II, 50, claimed that this pass should be called Lewis and Clark Pass as it was the only one through the Continental Divide which they crossed together.

19 Thwaites, op. cit., II, 337-345.
20 Ibid., II, 350-351.
21 Ibid., II, 565.
22 Ibid., II, 354-358.
PLATE IV -- LOVER'S LEAP

PLATE V -- CAMP FORTUNATE
AND THE "HICUP"
River. Clark described Leaverhead Rock. While they were wending their way up the river on August 13, they noted black-tail Deer Creek. Clark climbed the nearby limestone cliff and made some observations. (See Plate IV, p. 8). This promontory, now called Lover's Leap, is just north of Dillon. Evidently the men camped near the present town. Farther along the main stream they observed Rattlesnake Creek. Camp was made at the Rattlesnake Cliffs. The party then worked south through the river canyon, passed Grasshopper Creek, and continued on August 17 to where Lewis and the Indians were waiting.

Sacajawea, who was with Clark's party, was recognized by her brother, Chief Cameahwait. This fact made it very easy for Lewis and Clark to barter for the necessary horses.

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23 Thwaites, op. cit., II, 324
24 Ibid., II, 328.
25 Blacktail Deer Creek was named McNeal Creek after Hugh McNeal, a member of the expedition; in Thwaites, op. cit., II, 345. The stream is locally known as Blacktail Creek. "From the top of the limestone cliff above the creek, the Beaver's Head bore N 24° E 12°;" in Thwaites, op. cit., II, 344.
26 Ibid., II, 348. They named this stream Frack Creek.
27 Ibid., II, 348-349; 353-354. See Plates II and III, p. 6. Both Lewis and Clark passed the Rattlesnake Cliff which is now commonly miscalled Beaverhead Rock. The cliff would bear no resemblance to a beaver's head as viewed by the explorers. However, from a point to the west on the old county road or from the present state highway, the likeness of a whole beaver can be observed. Neither Lewis nor Clark noticed this resemblance.
28 Named Willard's Creek after Alexander Willard, a member of the expedition; in Thwaites, op. cit., II, 352 and 353.
29 Ibid., II, 361.
30 Ibid., II, 367.
Several of the men, including Clark, and the Indians took part of the goods and traveled through Shoshone Coves to the Buttes on Horse Prairie Creek where they made camp on August 18. During the journey up Trail Creek, Clark, who was on foot, traded a waistcoat to a passing Indian for a mule; such animals were highly prized by the Indians. The uncommon party crossed the mountains through Lemhi Pass, August 19. In the meantime Lewis sank the boats in Horse Prairie Creek and on August 20 made a cache, containing such goods that could not be taken over the mountains. Cameahwait, Sacajawea, Charbonneau (her husband), and about fifty Indians returned through the pass to help Lewis and his men over it to the headwaters of the Columbia. The Indian assistants reached Camp Fortunate on August 22. Lewis, his men, and the Indians then took their leave of Horse Prairie and crossed the Continental Divide through Lemhi Pass, August 26, 1805, which marked the extent of the Louisiana Purchase. The very heart of the mineral belt had been traversed, but its treasures remained

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31 "Narrows" or "Narrow Pass;" in Thwaites, op. cit., II, 369. West of the Buttes Cameahwait showed Clark an Indian battlefield where the year before the Shoshone Indians suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Minnetaries; in Thwaites, op. cit., VIII, Map 30; Ibid., II, 375.
32 Ibid., II, 368-369.
33 Ibid., II, 369-375.
34 Ibid., II, 375-376.
36 Ibid., III, 13.
37 Ibid., III, 40.
unknown.

On the return journey from the Pacific Coast, Clark parted from Lewis at the mouth of Lolo Creek on July 5, 1806, and proceeded up the west side of the Bitterroot River. Clark's party was made up of twenty members, including Sacajawea, Charbonneau, Pomp (their son), and John Colter. They crossed over the Continental Divide through Gibbon's Pass and followed the well-defined Indian trail down Trail Creek and then along North Fork of the Big Hole River to near present Wisdom, Montana. These men continued several miles southward up the grassy Big Hole Basin to the hot springs at Jackson, Montana; then they apparently turned east along Bloody Dick Creek, later called Governor.


39 Thwaites, op. cit., V, 345. The Bitterroot River was referred to as Clark's Fork in the Journals.

40 Gibbon's Pass should rightfully be called Clark's Pass as it was so named by Clark.

41 Clark named this Clade Creek and the present name must not be confused with the creek, by the same name, along which they traveled the year before to Lemhi Pass.

42 Clark wrote about the Big Hole Basin as "an open beautifull Leavel Vally or plain," which he later called Boiling Springs Valley; in Thwaites, op. cit., V, 250; ibid., VIII, Map 30.

43 These are now known as either Jackson Hot Springs or Jardine's Hot Springs. Clark wrote about the springs in the following manner: "They nooned there and tried to cook meat in the hot water, the smaller piece was well done;" in Thwaites, op. cit., V, 252.

Creek, and thence up Bull Creek. They followed near the present Lillon-Jackson road through what is frequently mis-called Big Hole Pass. The party journeyed down Grasshopper (Willard) Creek and passed a little west of the present site of Bannack, Montana, on July 8, 1806. A short distance over the low hills between Grasshopper and Horse Prairie creeks lay Shoshone Coves, which were being sought just then instead of gold. A bit more zest was added to the search because the men were out of tobacco and eagerly looked forward to attacking the supply buried in the cache the previous year. The sunken boats were raised and the little party resumed the homeward journey, passing Beaverhead Rock on July 10, 1806. They left the Beaverhead country eleven months after first entering it.

Closely following the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the era of the fur trade began in Montana and continued until the busy prospectors began pouring into the secluded valleys. The Upper Missouri Valley offered an especially attractive field for the activities of the wide-roving trappers and traders.

45 Map of Beaverhead National Forest, Montana. (Compiled by the Regional Office, Missoula, Montana. Revised 1934). Governor Creek was this named because there is another Bloody Dick Creek, tributary to Horse Prairie Creek.

46 The correct Big Hole Pass is a few miles south of Gibbon's Pass.

47 In 1806 Clark wrote on leaving the Big Hole Valley: "I now take my leave of this butiful extremely valley which I call the hot spring Valley, and behold one less extensive and much rugid on Willard's Creek for near 12 miles in length;" in Thwaites, op. cit., V, 253.

48 Thwaites, op. cit., V, 255.
In August 1806 John Colter parted from Lewis and Clark near the Mandan villages and returned with two traders to Yellowstone Valley where they trapped during the winter of 1806-1807. The next year Colter joined the trading and trapping party of Manuel Lisa, the first organization of that sort to invade the beaver country; and as a result of its success, the Missouri Fur Company was incorporated in 1808. Colter's report of a rich fur country farther west induced its leaders to try opening a trade at Three Forks. With Colter as guide, a party of thirty-three men under the command of Colonel Pierre Menard and Andrew Henry reached that place on April 3, 1810, and built a post. Owing to the intense hostility of the Blackfeet, this had to be abandoned; and in the autumn of the same year, Henry led a small party across the western edge of

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49 W. A. Ferris, Life in the Rocky Mountains. Ed. by Paul C. Phillips. (Denver, Colo., 1940), lxxix-lxx; also in Thwaites, op. cit., V, 242-243, 335, 341; also in Stallo Vinton, John Colter, (New York, 1926), 25. Colter separated from Joseph Dixon and Forrest Hancock and trapped in company with John Potts, a hunter. Aware of the hostilities of the Blackfeet Indians, one of whom had been killed by Lewis, Colter and Potts set their traps at night. The two were encountered by the Blackfeet. During the affair Potts killed one of them and from that time on, deadly enmity toward the white race became the settled policy of the Blackfeet; probably the apparent favoritism of the white traders toward their enemies, the Crows, turned the scale. The scene of Colter's memorable escape from the Indians is usually placed in the vicinity of Beaverhead Rock. In Hiram Martin Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West, (3 vols., New York, 1902), II, 718-721; also in Wheeler, op. cit., II, 10-11.

Yellowstone Park and built Henry's Post on the north fork of the Snake River, now known as Henry's Fork. This post was just across the Continental Divide from the easternmost part of what is now Beaverhead County. In the spring of 1811 it was abandoned and three of Henry's men, John Hoback, Jacob Rezner, and Edward Robinson, went east to the headwaters of the Grand River, which they descended to the Missouri. While these men were descending the latter on their way back to the States, they met the overland Astorian party somewhere near the mouth of the Niobrara River and returned with them as guides. In the autumn of 1811 these three men were again at the abandoned Henry's Post with some sixty-two members of the Astorian party which was under the command of Wilson P. Hunt and Ramsay Crooks. However, the Astorians were bound for the mouth of the Columbia and barely touched the boundary of the Beaverhead country.

During the War of 1812 the American fur trade on the Upper Missouri was abandoned. The Missouri Fur Company fell into difficulties and was reorganized several times. By 1813 business had revived to such an extent that Lisa planned to reestablish trade at the headwaters of the Missouri and even to the west of the Rocky Mountains. Joshua Pilcher succeeded to the presidency of the company when Lisa died in 1820.

51 Vinton, op. cit., 97-100; also in Chittenden, op. cit., I, 144.
52 Chittenden, op. cit., I, 184-194.
Pilcher was particularly anxious to open trade with the Blackfeet. In the spring of 1823 he sent a large brigade, under Robert Jones and Michael Immel, to the Three Forks region; and it continued into the Beaverhead country "... trapping the Jefferson River nearly to its source." In 1828 Pilcher left the Green River region and again penetrated the Beaverhead country to spend the winter at Flathead Lake. 54

Thomas Fitzpatrick, William L. Sublette, and James Bridger, with a large brigade of two hundred men, reached Three Forks in 1830 and ascended the Jefferson Fork to the Continental Divide. The formidable appearance of this party of Rocky Mountain Fur Company trappers kept the Blackfeet from attacking it. 55 In 1832 Bridger and Fitzpatrick were carrying on very successful operations in the Beaverhead Valley, but they soon discovered that they were being followed by members of the rival American Fur Company. When this was learned, the two trappers plunged into the heart of the

53 John C. Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri*. Ed. by Stella Drumm. (St. Louis, 1920), 143-144; also in Chittenden, *op. cit.*, I, 151. Jones and Immel were later killed on the Yellowstone by a party of Blackfeet who had followed them while they were getting out of the country.
54 Work, *op. cit.*, 33.
55 Chittenden, *op. cit.*, I, 293.
Blackfoot country. 56

During the years of 1831-1832, a three-cornered rivalry among the American, the Rocky Mountain, and the Hudson's Bay fur traders centered largely upon the sources of the Missouri, notably in the Madison, Jefferson, Big Hole, and Beaverhead valleys. A party of thirty hunters, trappers, and guides, including Warren Angus Ferris, who were for a time under the leadership of Lucien Fontenelle of the American Fur Company, left Henry's Fork and made camp near Mud Lake (about fifty miles south of Monida Pass), May 28, 1831. Four of the men crossed the divide to the southeastern sources of the Jefferson River where they discovered a number of mounted Indians and fled back in alarm. 57 The party then moved to Poisoned Weed Creek, now named Beaver Creek. They were seeking new beaver country, so they trapped the traversed streams and entered Salmon Valley by the way of East Fork. On August 25, 1831, they crossed through Lemhi Pass to Horse Prairie where they noted the Buttes, which they called the Gates. After five days of hunting and trapping, the party journeyed over the

56 William H. Vanderburgh and Andrew Drips of the rival American Fur Company "... beat up the country on the sources of the Jefferson..." and at Horse Prairie "... cached such of their equipment as would encumber them in their pursuit of Fitzpatrick and Bridger;" in Chittenden, op. cit., I, 299; ibid., II, 666-667. Elmer Selway found some old guns in a so-called "buffalo wallow" on his ranch on Horse Prairie, November 1915. It is quite possible that they were cached by Vanderburg and Drips.

57 Ferris, op. cit., 86.
mountains to the northwest into the Big Hole Valley on August 30. At this place the trappers observed what they believed to be Blackfoot smoke-signals; the purpose of these was to gather or warn the scattered Indians. Constant fear reigned among the fur hunters since they were on the very borders of the Blackfoot country. On September 11, after these men had experienced a heavy snowfall, they departed from the valley and passed into Deer Lodge Valley, which they called Deer House Plains. There the trappers found many Flatheads. The numerous dogs owned by the Indians greatly annoyed the traders because the hungry canines prowled through their belongings and even ate the leather goods. 58

The members of the American Fur Company and the Flatheads joined forces, which frequently was the custom, especially when it was desired to invade territory belonging to hostile tribes. The Flatheads were riding and packing on three thousand horses. On September 16 this large caravan separated into two parties, one which went southward through Deer Lodge Pass and the other, including the Indians, took a southeastern route through Pipestone Pass to about twenty-five miles below the forks of the Jefferson and the Big Hole. Ferris, the trapper-journalist who accompanied the latter group, has left an interesting account about its activities. The company intended to go to Three Forks, but it was harassed by the

Blackfeet. When a Nez Perce Indian from the Big Hole Valley came into camp with the information that Rocky Mountain fur traders were in that region, Ferris and his companions broke camp on September 23 and moved to Philanthropy Creek (Ruby) which they followed a few miles in quest of buffalo. After laying in a supply of dried meat, they passed southward over ranges of prairie hills to Blacktail Deer Creek on October 3 and parted from the Indians. The trappers descended the stream to its mouth, just north of Dillon, and then ascended the Beaverhead River to Horse Prairie Creek where they found Baptiste Gervais of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and his "engages" (hired help) encamped with some Flatheads. On October 11 two men were sent to the "Trois Tetons" (Teton Mountains) where they intended to meet the long expected Andrew Drips, one of the leaders of the American Fur Company. The rest of the brigade continued up Trail Creek through Lemhi Pass to Salmon River where they wintered until February 9, 1832.59 They then moved southward, and in the latter part of March they joined forces with William H. Vanderburgh's party of American fur traders. On April 25 they found Drips on Bear River, near the entrance of Muddy Creek (Twin).60

Vanderburgh, Drips, and ten men departed from the main

59 Ferris, op. cit., 112-130. In December two of John Work's men, who were from the main Hudson's Bay camp up the stream, visited this camp; in Ferris, op. cit., 128, 130; also see Work, op. cit., 117. 60 Ferris, op. cit., 138, 145.
body of trappers near Jackson's Little Hole on August 12, 1832, and planned to hunt on the source of the Missouri. They were following Fitzpatrick and Frider, intent on learning from them the whereabouts of the best beaver country.\textsuperscript{61} A few days later Ferris and two others set forth from Henry's Fork bound for the valley of the Salmon where they hoped to find the Flatheads with whom they desired to arrange for a rendezvous on Horse Prairie. They failed to find the Flatheads however; and since they were afraid of missing their company, they followed a small stream eastward from Salmon River and began the difficult ascent of the Continental Divide. En route they managed to kill a grey wolf which made them a "tolerable supper." On August 30 they, amid snowbanks on the crest of the divide, surveyed both the Salmon and the Big Hole valleys. With a great deal of difficulty, they descended into the Big Hole Valley\textsuperscript{62} where, after several days, they were united with their companions.

The reunited company then passed down the valley and crossed into Deer Lodge Valley, September 4, 1832. Two days later, after taking a northerly route to the Missouri River, they camped near the mouth of Dearborn River. They eventually

\begin{footnotes}
\item[61] Ferris, \textit{op. cit.}, 159, also footnote. See footnote 56, p. 16.
\item[62] From the description of the country, it appears that they left Salmon River by the way of Carmon Creek and, after crossing the divide, descended the east side to probably Minor Lake. The Ferris map of 1836, in Ferris, \textit{op. cit.}, shows the location of this lake.
\end{footnotes}
moved south to Pipestone Creek where Drips, who still desired to find Fitzpatrick and Bridger, departed with fifty men for Three Forks. Vanderburgh and the others, including Ferris, returned to Deer Lodge Valley through Pipestone Pass. On September 20 they traveled to Jefferson River or thirty miles below Beaverhead Rock. These men soon ascended the river to Ruby Creek where they found several fine herds of buffalo. Their hunters also "reported that the plains were covered with them near Beaver Head." The lurking Blackfeet caused the company to move up Ruby Creek. On October 7 they were on the Madison River where they met some traders and trappers of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company who reported that they had seen Drips at Three Forks.

The American Fur Company men soon parted from their rivals and crossed a low pass to one of the tributaries of Ruby Creek where they pitched camp on October 14. From this place Vanderburgh, Ferris, and five others set out to investigate an Indian alarm. The seven scouts encountered a Blackfoot ambush which resulted in the death of Vanderburgh and two men, and the wounding of Ferris. The bewildered company hastily departed and were unable to bury their dead companions. To add to their apprehensions, they saw near Beaverhead Rock a

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63 "The directions indicate that the route was over Meadow Creek Pass and down Mill Creek to Ruby, but the description better fits the route over Ennis Pass to Alder Gulch;" in Ferris, op. cit., footnote, 175.
64 Chittenden op. cit., II, 668-669, tells the same story based on Ferris.
large smoke which, however, proved to be a camp of friendly Flathead and Pend d'Orielle Indians. At the encampment they learned from a Hudson's Bay trader, who had several encamps, that Drips had passed a few days previously, en route to Horse Prairie. A small party left this camp to bury the murdered leader and two comrades; it returned, however, after having buried but only one. Nevertheless, the friendly Indians promised to find and bury Vanderburgh and the other victim.

The Ferris party then moved up the valley of the Beaverhead, October 13, and pitched camp near present Dillon. The next day the company proceeded to the forks of Horse Prairie and Red Rock creeks where they joined Drips and the rest of the company. The reunited trappers remained in camp until October 24; and then Drips and the whole party, with the exception of Ferris and two others, departed for Snake River to spend the winter. Ferris and his two companions ascended Horse Prairie Creek to the Buttes where they joined a camp of Flatheads. While they were there, a small party of Captain Bonneville's hunters arrived. They had been on a hunting expedition for the main company which was then busily engaged in constructing a fort below the forks of Salmon River. Another party of twenty-five trappers, led by Captain Walker and also of Bonneville's company, came into camp with the information that they had an encounter with the Blackfeet in
the Little Hole (Grasshopper Valley). During the first part of November 1832, the whole party moved through Lemhi Pass to the new fort on Salmon River.

On July 21, 1833, Perris and twelve men returned to Big Hole Valley and made camp near the hot springs where the Indians had built small dams to provide bathing places. The trappers were looking for the Flatheads with whom they wished to trade. A Flathead Indian, who was also in search of the main band of his people, came into camp and guided the traders through Gibbon's Pass to the Bitterroot Valley. On May 12, 1834, Perris, accompanied by three trappers, was again in the Big Hole Basin. They had been in the Bitterroot country and had crossed the divide through Gibbon's Pass. On May 14 they made camp near present Bannack and then journeyed through Horse Prairie to Monida Pass, which they crossed May 17.

So far the activities of the Hudson's Bay trappers and traders have been mentioned only incidentally in connection with the other fur hunters. Alexander Ross of the Hudson's Bay Company and his brigade passed through the Cefile (Gibbon's Pass) on April 15, 1824, and descended to brand, Prairie (Big Hole Basin). From this region they traveled through Grasshopper Valley to Horse Prairie and then turned west through Lemhi Pass.

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65 The Perris map of 1836 gives the name for Grasshopper Creek as Track Creek with its sources in the Little Hole (Grasshopper Valley).
67 Ibid., 212-214.
68 Ibid., 254-256.
to Agency Creek, 69 Probably Peter Skene Ogden, successor to Ross and the one who led Hudson's Bay brigades into Salmon Valley, 1824-1825, sent some men into the Beaverhead country. 70 In July 1825 Ogden led twenty men to Henry's Fork, but he did not tarry because of American rivalry. They raised camp and crossed the divide either to the Gallatin River or to the Madison River. These trappers and traders then traversed the Beaverhead country to Salmon River where they had traded during the previous winter. 71

In 1831 John Work became the chief trader in charge of the interior trade for the Hudson's Bay Company. He set out with a large trading and trapping expedition and entered the Beaverhead country through Deer Lodge Pass about mid-November. 72 These men worked their way to the Big Hole River and then to a camp site near Beaverhead Rock where they remained while they hunted buffalo. They broke camp and moved to a location near present day Dillon where they were detained a week (November 20-26) because of the extremely cold weather. Also, the Blackfeet Indians tried to steal their horses. 73 They then

71 Ferris, op. cit., lxxviii-lxxx.
72 Work, op. cit., 100. Deer Lodge Pass is now used by the Oregon Short Line Railroad from Silver Bow, Montana, to Divide, Montana.
73 See Ferris, op. cit., 128.
hunted along the Beaverhead River to Horse Prairie Creek and then turned west to the Buttes where they camped. On December 15, 1831, they left Montana by the way of Lemhi Pass.

These Hudson's Bay trappers and several Indians returned through Bannack Pass, south of Lemhi Pass, to the land of the Beaverhead, January 3, 1832. They journeyed to a vicinity just north of Dillon and then traveled to probably Birch Creek where they hunted buffalo. There about three hundred Blackfeet made a five-hour attack upon them, January 30. They again camped near Dillon on February 6 and then moved to the forks of Red Rock and Horse Prairie creeks. Work frequently saw the roving Blackfeet, who passed with horses which had been stolen in the Salmon river country. The weather on Horse Prairie was exceedingly cold and the trappers remained much of the time around their campfires of willow wood, which was the only fuel obtainable. After the men had spent a trying winter in the valleys of the Beaverhead country, they mounted their winter-weakened horses and crossed the Continental Divide through Bannack Pass.

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74 This was called "Coomcarny" by the Indians. "This is a Shoshone Indian name, pronounced 'coon-carny,' and means 'campfire,' so named August 18, 1805, because Captain Lewis and the Indians built a camp to cook breakfast. It is the Narrows, near Brenner, Montana;" in Work, op. cit., footnote, 111. Ferris refers to them as the "Gates." They are now locally called the Buttes.

75 The Rocky Mountain Fur Company and also Ferris were on Salmon River at this time; in Ferris, op. cit., 128-130. Work, op. cit., 114; 117, just mentions meeting seven Americans from a large party that was camped on the stream below.

76 Ferris, op. cit., 130. Work also mentions the attack by the Blackfeet.
So far as is known, all these mountain men, traders, and trappers were interested only in the fur wealth that abounded in the waters of the streams and were completely unaware of the yellow dust resting in the gravel bottoms and nearby gulches.

The missionaries soon followed the fur traders. On April 30, 1840, Father P. J. De Smet left St. Louis in company with a group of trappers. He was looking for the Flatheads who had asked that missionaries be sent to their nation. After a three-months' journey he crossed what is now the Montana-Idaho boundary on July 24 and camped on the headwaters of the Beaverhead River, not far from the Red Rock Lakes. Shortly he moved down the Beaverhead-Jefferson River to Jefferson Island at the lower end of Boulder Valley. There he found a large encampment of Flatheads. It was also at this spot that the first sermon was celebrated in Montana. Father De Smet soon journeyed back to St. Louis for aid and supplies. He returned in 1841 and on August 29 reached Fort Hall where he took leave of the emigrants in whose company he had traveled. His party then traveled up the Snake River, crossed the Continental Divide, and directed its course to the headwaters of the Beaverhead River. They found the Indians encamped near the stream. A few days later they moved through Deer Lodge Pass and down Clark's Fork to the Bitterroot Valley where they

founded St. Mary's Mission on September 24, 1841. 78

Frequently it is claimed that Father De Smet was the first to know that gold existed in Montana. He once stated: "Poor unfortunate Indians! They trample on treasures unconscious of their worth, and content themselves with fishery and chase," and further commented on the invasion of the white man. 79 The only evidence that Father De Smet actually discovered gold rests upon the testimony of the missionary himself. It is believed that the good Father was deceived by the reflection of mica, which is found in various parts of the west. 80 Also, the claims for discovery of gold by Lieutenant John Sullivan rest on no definite evidence, and other claims are nothing more than rumors. These statements seemingly discredit any discovery of gold in Montana prior to

78 L. B. Palladino, Indian and White in the Northwest, (Lancaster, Penn., 1922), 31-39. "The Indians met them at one of the sources of the Missouri, called the Beaver-Head, where Father De Smet's party camped. Having crossed the small river under the direction of these new guides, they came to an extensive plain, on the western part of which the Flatheads lay encamped;" in H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, Life, Letters and Travels of Pierre Jean De Smet, (4 vols., New York, 1905), I, 304-307; also in Reuben Gold Thwaites, Early Western Travels, (32 vols., Cleveland, 1906), XXVII, 250.

79 Chittenden and Richardson, op. cit., I, 51. "In 1840 Father De Smet passed near if not actually over the site of the famous Alder Gulch, Montana, the richest of all gold placers. . . ;" in ibid., IV, footnote, 1422.

Captain John Mullan, who was with the Stevens' northern railroad survey, ascended the Ritterroot River in the later part of October, 1853, and crossed the Continental Divide to the Big Hole River. On November 28 he again traveled over this same trail to Fort Hall and returned by the way of the Beaverhead and the Big Hole valleys, thence up Willow Creek, a tributary to the Big Hole River, and crossed to Deer Lodge Valley. He made no comment about gold, but was looking for a railroad route which, if it had been surveyed through the Beaverhead country, would have sooner attracted attention to that region.

Judge Frank H. Woody, who became one of Missoula's early citizens, drove an ox team from Salt Lake through the valleys of the Beaverhead and the Big Hole and over the Gibbon's Pass trail in October 1856. This trip had been made with wagons only once before. In 1855 an old Mexican trapper named Emanuel Martin and generally known as "old Manwell, the Spaniard," piloted two or three wagons over this trail. Most of the natural routes had been traversed long before the

The discovery of gold in Montana had other aspects far more serious than stampeding and none could be more serious than the strife which it brought about between the whites and the Indians. Consequently, the Indian treaties which were made had a very direct influence upon the emigrants and the gold seekers. The westward advance of prospectors and permanent settlements brought forth two major problems, the peaceful settlement of the Indians on reservations and the establishment of safe routes of travel. Any northern route was barricaded by the Indian country which had been established as a perpetual western boundary to the States. Therefore, a demand arose that the Indian frontier be abolished and that the tribes of the border be made to cede their lands. In 1853 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was directed to undertake negotiations. With such treaties in mind, George W. Manypenny, the commissioner, visited the Indian frontier in the summer of 1853. Previous to Manypenny's investigation, the Sioux had been a hindrance to westward travel. Therefore the Fort Laramie treaty of 1851 had been negotiated with them which temporarily established peace and allowed the United

84 Palladino, op. cit., 203.
85 Paxson, op. cit., 431.
States government to build roads. 86

Further evidence of the new Indian policy after 1851 was the Council Grove Indian treaty which was concluded July 16, 1855. This treaty was made by Isaac I. Stevens, then the governor of the Territory of Washington, with the Flathead, Kootenay, and Upper Pend d'Orielle Indians at the treaty ground near Hell Gate. 86 This treaty was important not only because it placed the Flatheads on a reservation, but it also eased the travel of the miners who stopped at Gold Creek or went through western Montana to the Idaho mines. At this conference Stevens told the Indians about the arrangements which had been made for the Blackfoot council. 88 Stevens had early realized the great need for treaties with the Montana Indians. 89

The Blackfeet, Flatheads, Nez Perces, Pend d'Orielles, Snakes, and Kootenays were gathered together near the mouth of the Judith River by Stevens. He was successful in making a treaty with them on October 17, 1855, which provided for the establishment of the beaverhead country as common hunting grounds and made it possible for prospectors and settlers to pass through and live in Indian territory. 90 This proved to

87 Ibid., II, 722-725.
89 Ibid., II, 348-349.
90 Kappler, op. cit., II, 736-739.
be only the beginning of the final settlement with the Blackfeet and some of the other tribes. Efforts were soon made to establish military posts in Montana for the protection of emigrants and gold-hunting parties because the Blackfeet and the Crow tribes remained the most war-like on the continent. 91

The Sioux remained at peace through the 'fifties. During this decade they were neither encroached upon by settlers nor by the miners until the end of the period. The camps established in the Bitterroot Valley and along the headwaters of the Missouri River in 1862 and immediately thereafter, raised new problems. It was not until 1865 that the Sioux became unmanageable and then their depredations were generally confined to the routes leading to the mines. Orders were sent from Washington that year to survey a new wagon road cut-off to the mines of western Montana territory. It was to leave the main trail near Fort Laramie, proceed northerly down the Powder River, east of the Big Horn Mountains, and then bend west to the Yellowstone River and thence to the mines. This was the Bozeman Trail which might have become an important road had not the Sioux and their determined chief, Red Cloud, sternly prohibited it. The survey party of 1865, under General P. B. Connor, found the Indians hostile and ready to pick off

stragglers or stampede stock. The next year Colonel H. G. Carrington was sent from Fort Kearney to mark the road, to protect the emigrants, and to build a chain of posts from Fort Laramie to Bozeman. These efforts did not prove successful because of the Sioux.\(^{92}\)

The Sioux and other northern Indians were invited to meet a peace commission at Fort Laramie in September 1867. Instead of coming to confer, Red Cloud sent word that peace would recur when the United States formally abandoned its attempt to build the Powder River road and withdrew its garrisons. After a six-months' delay, the council was held April 29, 1868, and in the resulting treaty the road was given up. Also, the Blackfeet and other tribes were included in this treaty which provided for peace. The Blackfeet had continued to make small raids even though they had previously agreed to keep the peace by the treaty of 1855.\(^{93}\) Another treaty which was made, May 7, 1868, at Fort Laramie placed the Crow Indians on a reservation on the Yellowstone River.\(^{94}\) The Crows had objected to the miners who went into Yellowstone Valley. On May 10, 1868, the last of this series of treaties at Fort Laramie assigned the Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians to a reservation and provided for peace.\(^{95}\)

\(^{92}\) Paxson, op. cit., 491-492; also Raymond L. Welty, "The Army and Mining Frontier (1860-1870)," in The Frontier, March 1952, XII, 265.

\(^{93}\) Kappler, op. cit., II, 998-1003; also in Paxson, op. cit., 505.

\(^{94}\) Kappler, op. cit., II, 1008-1011.

\(^{95}\) Ibid., II, 1012-1013.
The Bannack and Snake Indians did their share in disrupting travel from Salt Lake to the northern mines. In 1862 Mullan recommended that the Snakes, Bannacks, and Spokane Indians be collected on the Beaverhead River where a reservation should be established along with a large military post to keep them in order. However, nothing came of this. The Bannacks robbed and killed members of the emigrant trains which traveled through their country to Montana. When a large band of three hundred Bannacks went into winter camp on the west bank of Bear River, General Connor sent an expedition against them during the latter part of January, 1863, and nearly wiped them out. This taught the remaining Bannacks a lesson which they never forgot.

In the discoveries of gold in the West, the miners showed no respect for the rights of the Indians. If gold was discovered upon land guaranteed by solemn treaty of the United States to belong forever to the Indians, the miners without respect for the obligations of the government rushed in and took possession of such parts as produced gold dust. They cut down the timber on the Indians' lands, changed courses of streams, and dumped the filth and waste of mining into them; they opened and built roads through the Indians' hunting grounds.

and killed or drove off their game. Mining camps, cities, and even territorial capitals sprang up almost over night upon land whose ownership according to treaties of the United States belonged to the Indians. 98

Governor Stevens directed Lieutenant Mullan to test the practicability of a wagon road and a train of wagons was used in the experiment. The test of this highway was of great importance as the successful trial gave fresh hope to the Governor and the friends of the road, who were anxious to open the section by an emigrant line of travel. 99 The appropriation of $30,000 for this road between Fort Benton and Walla Walla was made in 1855, but it had never been used because of the Indian hostilities. Stevens induced the Secretary of War to authorize the commencement of the project and to place Mullan in charge of it. 100 The actual construction of the road was begun in 1859 and it passed close to the Clearwater mines, which were sometimes called the Nez Perce mines. 101 The Mullan Military Road was for a number of years the highway across the Bitterroot and other ranges of the Rocky Mountains. 102 The prospectors who were bound for the mines in Idaho used it in making a connection with the Nez Perce trail up Lolo Creek over which they

98 Welty, op. cit., 263.
100 Stevens, op. cit., II, 276.
102 Stevens, op. cit., II, 307-308.
continued to those mines. For a generation before gold was found on Gold Creek and in Beaverhead County, the Missouri River had been the main route of travel into Montana. In 1832 the first fur traders' steamer reached Fort Union. In 1859 Fort Benton became the head of navigation. Nearly every year thereafter, until the railroad came, the boats reached Fort Benton with trappers and fur traders, and with emigrants who became more numerous after the suspicion of gold got abroad. Mullan's road reached completion in 1862 and it attracted attention when the Montana miners sought the upper affluents of the Missouri River.

After the preceding historical survey, the story about Beaverhead County before the coming of the miners would be incomplete without some mention of the evolution of the territory from which Beaverhead County was set apart. The finding of gold in Montana, if not actually the direct cause, hastened its permanent settlement. The large influx of miners caused the creation of the Territory of Idaho, March 3, 1863, from parts of Dakota and Washington territories. Gold was also discovered east of the Continental Divide, and the miners there

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104 Mullan, Report on Mullan Road, op. cit., 2; also in Hiram Martin Chittenden, History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River, (2 vols., New York, 1905), I, 213; also in Paxson, op. cit., 452.
105 Thorpe, op. cit., III, 905-912.
made a similar demand upon Congress which detached the Territory of Montana by the Organic Act of May 26, 1864.\textsuperscript{106} Within this territory Beaverhead County was created, February 22, 1865, and Bannack\textsuperscript{107} City became the county seat.\textsuperscript{108} Some changes were later made in the northern and eastern boundaries of the county. These do not materially affect this treatise. At present Beaverhead County has an area of 5,619 square miles,\textsuperscript{109} and its name dates back to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{106} Thorpe, \textit{op. cit.}, IV, 2281-2289; also in \textit{Acts, Resolutions and Memorials of the Territory of Montana}, First Legislative Assembly, convened at Bannack, December 12, 1864. (Virginia City, Montana, 1866), 31-42.
\item \textsuperscript{107} Bannock, not Bannock City or Bannack, according to \textit{Sixth Report of the United States Geographical Board}, 1890-1923, (Washington, 1933), 121. The residents of Beaverhead County still refer to it as Bannack.
\item \textsuperscript{108} \textit{Acts, Resolutions, etc.}, \textit{op. cit.}, 529.
\end{itemize}
CHAPTER II

PIONEER—BEAVERHEAD'S FIRST GOLD DISCOVERY

Emigrant's Dream

In slumbers of midnight, the Emigrant lay
And hard was the ground whereon he reclined;
But way-worn and weary, the scenes of the day,
In visions of night were impressed on his mind.

... ... ...

Untiring he clammers o'er the rough mountain tops,
He must have a rich claim, or have none at all;
All flushed with excitement, the Emigrant stops,
And locates his claim near a steep waterfall.

He bends o'er his treasures with looks of delight;
Each pan full increases his "pile" laying near;
Unceasing he labors from morn until night,
To obtain the rich ransom his bosom holds dear.

The discovery of gold in Montana is part of the larger
story about the advance of the mining frontier. The finding
of the yellow metal in California in 1848 created a new West.
From all over the world people flocked to those mines to win
riches, but thousands of the disappointed ones soon scattered
and began to prospect in other localities. The first gold and
silver in the territory of Nevada in 1859 led to the rise of
Carson City and Virginia City. In 1858 placers were found in
the Pike's Peak region. Nearly one hundred thousand persons
migrated into that place in 1859 and 1860. Also in 1858, gold
attracted prospectors to the Fraser River in British Columbia.

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1 The Montana Post, February 18, 1865, I, 1. The parody
was written for Montana's first newspaper published at Virginia,
City, Montana. The first publication was August 27, 1864.
In 1860 placer gold mines were found on the John Day and Powder rivers in Oregon. In the area which later became the state of Idaho, the mines of Oro Fino and Elk City were brought to light in 1860, and the Salmon River mines at Florence were located the next year. By 1860 the mining frontier was approaching the Montana region from two directions, from the south and from the west. The experienced miners were soon to unearth the secrets of the streams on the eastern side of the Continental Divide. Prospecting had become a habit and thousands of emigrants went out in small bands to explore the mountain valleys from British Columbia to New Mexico and Arizona. H. M. Chittenden, a well known historian, summarized this movement very well:

It is a singular fact that gold bearing regions of western Montana, the very first in the mountain country to be extensively frequented by white men, should have been the last to give up the secret of her hidden wealth. . . . The reflex wave was rolling back from the Pacific coast across the Sierras and the Cascades into Nevada, eastern Oregon, and Idaho. . . . The wave of gold discovery in the Northwest moved from the west toward the east. In 1860-61 it made known the rich deposits on the Clearwater and Salmon Rivers. Next came the findings just west of the Continental Divide, and then the rich discoveries on the headwaters of the Missouri.

2 Chittenden, Early Steamboat, op. cit., II, 265-266.

John Mullan also mentions some interesting facts about the gold discoveries as he states: "Thus working like beavers, have the miners and emigrants crossed and recrossed the mountains during the last three years, ramifying in every direction until they have opened a gold region which, today, is sending to our mints a wealth equal to that of all California in her palmiest days. Enough discoveries have been made to warrant us in thinking that the entire mountain system will be found to be gold bearing;" in Mullan, Report on the Mullan Road, op. cit., 44-45.
Gold was uncovered in Montana, however, even prior to the already mentioned discoveries of "pay dirt" in the Northwest. Francois Finlay, a French half-breed commonly known as "Benetsee," who had been to California, began to prospect on the branch of the Clark Fork now known as Gold Creek. Here he found a small quantity of gold about the year 1852. The knowledge of this find was noised about among the mountaineers. James and Granville Stuart and Reese Anderson, delayed by sickness at the head of Malad Creek on their way to the States from California in 1857, saw some men who had prospected on Gold Creek. The Stuart party concluded to deviate northward to try

3 In 1858 John Silverthorne, an employee of Major John Owen and who had charge of his pack trains, while on his way from Fort Owen to Fort Benton, carried with him fine furs, skins, and robes purchased from the Indians. He happened to camp over night on Benetsee's Creek or Gold Creek. Silverthorne and Finlay were old acquaintances. Finlay wanted tobacco and a few supplies which he knew Silverthorne always carried. He had no money to offer in exchange for the articles other than a quantity of dust, which a Hudson's Bay trader had informed him was gold. Silverthorne hesitatingly took it in exchange for about ten dollars worth of supplies needed by Finlay. When he arrived at Fort Benton, Silverthorne showed the dust to Major Culbertson, then agent of the American Fur Company, and finally exchanged it for twelve dollars in trade. Major Culbertson shipped the yellow stuff to St. Louis, describing what he believed it to be, from whence it came and the sum he had paid for it. At St. Louis it was properly assayed and pronounced to be worth fifteen dollars. The immediate effect of this transaction was to induce the American Fur Company to issue instructions to its employees to make all possible inquiries and search for the existence of gold deposits or mines on the headwaters of the Missouri River, but there is no record of any discoveries ever having been made by them. In W. F. Wheeler and A. W. Williams, "History of Mining in Montana," in Montana Mining Review, (1889); this is a "clipping" in the Montana Historical Library at Helena, Montana. W. F. Wheeler obtained the story personally from John Silverthorne.
their luck. These Californians crossed into Montana, October 10, 1857, through Monida Pass and made camp for the winter at the mouth of Blacktail Deer Creek, just north of Dillon. After Christmas they moved to the Big Hole River above a long, rocky ridge which they called the Backbone, now named Hog Back. In the spring (1858) the partners resumed their journey to Gold Creek. However, not having sufficient "grub" and tools, they went back to the Emigrant road to trade for two years. They then returned to prospect in earnest, but with little success. Paying claims were found later by some "Pike's Peakers" on Pioneer Creek, a tributary to Gold Creek.

4 Granville Stuart, Montana is It Is., 16. by Paul C. Phillips in Historical Reprints, Sources of Northwest History, No. 16, (Missoula, Montana), 5. There was no wide spread knowledge of the discovery of gold on Gold Creek. The American Fur Company knew that gold had been found there, but it was to their interests not to divulge such information. (See footnote 3, p. 38.) Their prime interest was the acquisition of furs which would be greatly hampered by the presence of miners. What the outside world gained in the way of enlightenment from the Stuarts was also negligible. Too frequently credit is given to them for having started the stampede to Montana. They had written to their brother Thomas in Colorado to come and join them. Thomas showed their letters to some friends, who were interested in the contents. In Nathaniel Pitt Langford, Vigilante Days and Ways, (2 vols., New York, 1893), I, 235. Several of those who saw the letters went to Salmon River, even though Granville Stuart did claim that "in the spring of 1862 many of the informed ones started out to find Gold Creek, but became lost and went to old Fort Lcahi on Salmon River;" in Stuart, Forty Years, op. cit., I, 212. These miners were originally bound for the Salmon River mines, not Gold Creek. Many of the other miners from the Pike's Peak region also attempted to go to the Salmon River mines over the north Nez Perces' trail which went up the bitterroot River and then up Lolo Creek and crossed the Continental Divide into Idaho. These latter miners changed their course to Gold Creek because of the bad roads and the discouraging reports about the mines (cont.)
Early prospecting on Gold Creek resulted from the mining activities in California, while the first gold discovery in Beaverhead County was a direct consequence of finding pay dirt in Idaho.

Within a few months news of the Idaho placers reached Denver and caused a perfect fever of excitement among the miners there. Possibilities of quick fortunes in Colorado were declining and the new diggings quickly enticed hardy spirits. Samuel McLean, Washington Stapleton, Dr. Glick, Dr. E. D. Leavitt, and others left in the spring of 1862 over the Overland Trail, thence northward to Fort Hall, and headed for the Salmon River mines at Florence. A few days later another train under the leadership of Captain Jack Russell also set out from Denver bound for the northern mines. After leaving Smith's Fork of Boar River, they proceeded to Snake River near Fort Hall, an old post of the Northwest Fur Company. En route, Russell's outfit met Michaud Le Clair, a French fur-trader and mountaineer who was well acquainted with the Salmon River country. He advised Russell against going to that region because the journey could not be completed in safety. The season was too far advanced and the streams were higher than usual.

(4 cont.) In Idaho. It was further reported that Nere Valle's party, while on its way to the Salmon mines, had horses stolen from it by the Snake Indians. In Henry Morley, Diary from 1862-1865, pp. 37-38. The typed copy of this diary is in the Montana Historical Library at Helena, Montana. Also see W. F. De Lacy map for the Indian trails; in John Mullan, Miners and Travelers Guide, (New York, 1865).
Le Clair further told Russell as a secret that there was gold at Deer Lodge and on the Beaverhead. At Fort Hall the company fell in with McLean's train, which had left Denver shortly before by the other route. The united companies ferried the Snake River near Fort Hall and proceeded on through the dreary desert of rough volcanic rock and mountains in the direction of Salmon River. In addition to these difficulties, the trains were also attacked by the Bannack Indians. The whole party, including many tenderfeet, arrived at Fort Lemhi, an old Mormon fort on the Salmon River. There they found themselves surrounded by the mountains and it was impossible for them to go down the stream. Other miners who also had thought the route to be a short one were similarly disappointed.  

A large number, more than a thousand in all, were then camped in the desolate basin which was about one hundred twenty-five miles from their destination. Several tried by improvised methods to pack over a difficult Indian trail because it was impossible to take wagons over the remainder of the route. As no one wanted to spend the winter in the valley, a meeting was called at which Russell repeated what Le Clair had told him. He also recommended that they go to Beaverhead and Deer Lodge. A few of the emigrants mentioned having seen some letters

5 Evidently this refers to the lava beds near Big Butte west of Blackfoot, Idaho. Their route then probably went northwest and along Big Lost River and thence to Salmon River. This was the common route of the early trappers who had Salmon River as their destination.
6 Langford, op. cit., I, 224-226.
7 South Nez Perce Trail. See W. W. Do Lacy map; op. cit.
written by the Stuarts at Gold Creek to their brother Thomas in Colorado. Some of the unfortunates remarked that the information was too indefinite. However, the Colorado men, most of whom were experienced miners, determined at once to make their way to Deer Lodge and Beaverhead and risk the chance of making new discoveries if the information given by the Stuarts and Le Clair did not prove true.

Another Colorado party arrived at Salmon River about the same time as the Russell and McLean trains. This company is not known as that of (Judge) Mortimer H. Lott, who with eleven companions started for the Salmon mines in the spring of 1862. They found the perplexed miners and had to share their experience. However, Lott and several of his party decided to go out in prospect. The second gold discovery in the State of Montana, and the first in Beaverhead County, was made by the members of this party about July 10,

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8 Longf ord, op. cit., I, 354-226.
10 In conjunction with the find made by Lott's party came the story of Jack Slack or Joseph Slack, who was supposed to (cont.)
1862. It is advisable to let Lott tell the story in his own manner:

. . . We went down the Salmon River and up the North Fork, getting indications of quartz, and some small prospects. We got the idea that the east side of the mountains would be the best place, so six of us packed ourselves with grub, picks, pans, and shovels, and walked up a very steep Indian trail and on to the eastern slope. About a mile from the main range we found a small stream, a tributary of the Big Hole River, with a few paying claims, about six feet to bedrock at discovery, and

(10 cont.) have found the first gold in Beaverhead County. "Almost simultaneous with White's discovery, Slack and party found mines on the head of Big Hole River;" in Granville Stuart, "A Memoir of the Life of James Stuart," in Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, (Helena, Montana, 1876), I, 44; also in Thomas J. Dimsdale, The Vigilantes of Montana, (Helena, Montana, 1915), 198. Another source states that "Joseph K. Slack, who had been seeking his fortune in California and Idaho since 1858, discovered placers on the head of the Big Hole River that yielded fifty-seven dollars a day to the man. Slack later raised stock near Helena." In H. H. Bancroft, History of Washington, Idaho and Montana, (San Francisco, 1890), XXXI, 622. The foregoing is the only evidence that could be found in regard to Slack's find. The location is not definite, therefore, it is possible that it might have been made on any one of the numerous streams flowing into the Big Hole River from the watershed to the west. Several of the creeks have since been proven to carry "colors." There was a J. Slack who recorded a claim, May 2, 1863, in White's district at Fennack; in Beaverhead County Mining Records, White's District Recordings, 118. An old, mutilated blue paper notebook filed in the Recorder's office, April 8, 1865, by L. A. Gridley, recorder. This notebook is the oldest mining record in Beaverhead County, and it is now in the County Clerk and Recorder's vault at Dillon, Montana.

11 Dimsdale, op. cit., 199, 218.
12 W. W. Felacy's map shows the approximate location of these diggings. Granville Stuart in Montana as It Is, op. cit., 6, says: "One small party of men discovered some gulch claims at the head of Big Hole that paid tolerable well during the summer of 1862." "They were discovered by a party from Salmon River in the summer of '62, and worked about fifty men. About $10 to $16 diggings. To reach these mines from Fort Benton, follow the Mullan Road to Deer Lodge, then up Deer Lodge River through an almost level pass in the mountains, on the waters (cont.)
called it Pioneer, supposing it to be the first discovery of gold, in paying quantities, found in the country.

Leaving one of our party to dig a drain ditch, the rest of us went to Lemhi for our wagons. From Lemhi there was a very large Indian trail crossing the main range of mountains east to Horse Prairie. Knowing that the Indians took the lowest passes, I thought we had better follow their trail. The boys had an idea it would be too rough. I told them "where there was a will there was a way," so we started. We put both hind wheels on one side of the wagon, and in that way kept from upsetting. At last we got to the Horse Prairie side. We passed within three miles of where John White and party found rich diggings on Grasshopper Creek, July 28th. Crossing over a low range from Grasshopper to Big Hole, we found the remains of an old wagon, showing that we were not the first people to take wagons into that section. We reached our claims, as near as I can recollect, about noon July 12, 1862.

I brought a whip saw with me and that afternoon I, Dunkleburg and myself erected a sawmill and put a log on the carriage ready for work the next morning. Dave worked in the pit. By hard work and long hours we sawed 200 feet per day. After we sawed what we needed we sold some for $30 per hundred feet, making $60 per day.

On July 16th we were sluicing for gold. A Mr. Miller and family and Joseph Smith, who came from Colorado with our party, went back to Fort Lemhi and took the old road to Deer Lodge and over the Mullan road to Missoula and settled there. Smith went up the Bitterroot. Of the rest of our party that mined at Pioneer Gulch, there were Charles and Hiram Wood, James McCabe, George McCormick,
Fred Miller and David Dunkleburg, H. Conley, James Kennedy, and myself were partners in the discovery claim. When sluicing we took out from $25 to $75 per day. We had to strip the ground and could not sluice every day. We worked the claim out, taking out several hundred dollars.

The latter part of August a Bitterroot ranchman packed over some potatoes and sold to us for thirty cents a pound. He seemed to think we were the only miners in the country.

Unfortunately, Lott's party did not find the richest ground. Within a short time others came and located claims near them. At no time were there many miners in Pioneer Basin.

Henry Morley, a miner from Gold Creek who left a valuable diary, visited these mines on August 28, 1862. They were on a small branch of Wisdom River heading up in the main chain of the Rocky Mountains in a wild place where the whole surroundings were covered with fallen timber. There he found some thirty miners at work, mostly from Colorado territory. They were making from four to eight dollars per man each day from the gulch which yielded about fifty cents per linear foot. Most of the mining was done during the summer in which the mines were discovered. News of the proven "big strike" on Grasshopper Creek caused the majority of the Pioneer miners to depart for

16 "Hearing of the discovery of gold at Bannack, they quit work and went to that place and there Hiram Conley and H. H. Lott purchased a claim on Jimmy's bar, which they mined for three months and took out about $20,000;" in Joaquin Miller, History of the State of Montana, (2 vols., Chicago, 1894), I, 519.

17 "Moody arrived from Hell Gate with a load of vegetables and thirteen chickens. He reported that there had been a good placer gold prospect found in Big Hole valley and as much as two dollars and a half to a pan of gravel;" in Stuart, Forty Years, op. cit., I, 217.

18 Dimsdale, op. cit., 218-219.

19 Morley, op. cit., 44.
that place. They were in hopes of making fortunes instead of the meager wages that they had been obtaining. A few miners, still satisfied with their low pay, preferred to winter at the mines.20 Fredrick Burr, James Coulan, Louis D. Irvin, and James M. Minesinger, formerly of Gold Creek, were among those who remained.21 Beaverhead County's first gold discovery was deserted sometime in 1862 for the more promising diggings at Bannack.

While the miners at Pioneer (1862) were busily engaged, others,22 not knowing of Lott's discovery, penetrated Beaverhead County in quest of gold. A number of men from Gold Creek, including R. M. Mandeville, representative for Morley's miner friends, were sent, July 21, 1862, to Crow Creek23 and Beaverhead.24 The prospectors returned to Gold Creek, August 9, with good specimens of gold and flattering reports about their find. They had secured claims, organized a district, and formulated rules for its government, the customary procedure in any new mining district.25 Nothing, however, came of this venture.

20 Bancroft, op. cit., XXXI, 624.
21 Ibid., 622.
22 Fredrick Burr and party, who had been on a prospecting tour to the Big Hole Valley, returned to Gold Creek, August 30, 1862; in Stuart, Forty Years, op. cit., I, 211.
23 From the meager evidence it is impossible to establish the location of Crow Creek.
24 Morley, op. cit., 33.
25 Ibid., 38. Morley does not mention the names of the members of the prospecting party which went to Beaverhead. If he had, it might have added some new light.
Nearly two decades elapsed before Pioneer again attracted attention. During the summer of 1885 gold was found on Trail Creek, four or five miles north of Lott's old diggings or about three miles from the Big Hole battle ground. The Trail Creek locality was called Hughes' Basin after the discoverer, Barney Hughes. Hughes and his partner, George Orr, were once at Alder Gulch. News of the new placers caused some excitement and a minor stampede. Reports about these diggings were greatly amplified: "One day last week, Barney Hughes and George Orr took out, with a handrocker, $120 in a single day. On another claim Billy Edwards cleaned up, after a week's run, $400. . . . The excitement over these diggings at Butte is said to run high. In that city a company composed of Wash. Stapleton, Chas. S. Warren, S. A. Estes, Lee Mantle, and Geo. W. Irwin has been organized for the object of opening claims in the new placer field." One hundred twenty-three placer claims were recorded for the area in 1885. The new field became known as the Rescue Mining District. The Salt Lake and Big Hole Mining and Placer Company organized and completed a seven-mile ditch during the summer of 1886 with which to operate placers near the Big Hole battle ground. The cost of the ditch was $1,400 per mile.27

26 The Dillon Tribune, October 17, 1885, V, 5. A weekly newspaper published at Dillon, Montana. The first issue was published February 19, 1881.
27 Ibid., December 5, 1885, V, 5.
28 Ibid., January 16, 1886, VI, 5.
29 Ibid., October 31, 1885, V, 5.
30 Ibid., October 15, 1886, VI, 1.
activities of this company, the area acquired the name, "Mormon Diggings." Nothing can be determined as to the amount of gold taken out by the company. Eventually, E. R. Stevenson, Frank Brown, and A. J. Noyes incorporated the Ruby Water Company and secured the canal for irrigation purposes.31 James P. Preston of Deer Lodge had fourteen men working his diggings during the summer of 1894.32 Nearly twenty-five persons were mining in the vicinity.33

W. L. Wanderlich's story adds some interesting bits of information about the Big Hole placers. Wanderlich, now of Butte, did considerable placer mining in the vicinity.

A man by the name of W. P. Nelson34 claimed the whole country on Cow Creek. Hills and Castle, two prospectors, determined to locate in the forbidden section and in the quarrel which ensued, the hot-headed "Swede" was killed. This was about 1898. However, Mr. Wanderlich's brother thought Nelson to be a generous individual as Nelson loaned him a level. Charley Toole, Will Wanderlich, and L. C. Wanderlich located placers in 1899 and later some quartz claims.

Morgan Jones, not to be depended upon for the truth, came shortly after the murder of Nelson and located a number of claims. Jones claimed all the water rights and tied up everything which caused other miners to shun the district. Several claims belonging to Jones were jumped by Bob Moore and V. W. Grace. By leasing from Jones, the Wanderlichs took out about $1,800 in dust during one season. The O'Rourkes and Hennessys acquired some placer ground in the district.

31 Noyes, op. cit., 105.
32 The Dillon Examiner, May 15, 1895, IV, 5. A weekly newspaper published at Dillon, Montana. The first issue was published September 16, 1891.
33 Ibid., July 18, 1894, III, 3.
34 T. P. Nelson located the Trail Creek Placer claim, July 5, 1887; in Abstract No. 292, at the Montana Southern Abstract Office, Dillon, Montana.
Brandy, one of the old time prospectors in the locality, while he was riding along on horseback, stopped and picked up some dirt from which he washed out gold valued at fifty cents. The old prospectors went to Stubstake Gulch and worked out enough gold for food and that is how it got its name.

Because of the mining activities, camps sprang up and after the ground had been worked, the Chinamen took over. The white population was of a shifting nature as they would work the claims during the summer and then leave.

The Vanderlachts had a reservoir which took twenty-four hours to fill for a half-hour's run on their placers. During this short time, such operations netted them about $40.

Several outfits tested the ground for dredging purposes. However, the gold was found close to bedrock and not well distributed; consequently, dredging was considered impracticable.

R. D. Bartlett, a prospector in the region, acquired Nelson's holdings and filed on other claims in the vicinity. He brought suit against Robert J. Moore, V. W. Trice, and others of Dillon for encroaching upon his property. This culminated in damages amounting to $3,000 for the gold taken out. Moore and Trice in an equity suit against John O'Rourke and Bartlett settled by stipulation.

Interest was further aroused in the district when L. D. Pratt, J. J. Harrington, P. A. Leamy, John O'Rourke, D. J. Hennessy, Mary E. O'Rourke, K. Hennessy, and J. W. Pratt, several of whom were from Butte, formed a company. They filed upon a number of 160-acre placer claims and bought the holdings.

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35 An interview with W. L. Vanderlich, 102 West Granite Street, Butte, Montana.
36 The Dillon Examiner, October 24, 1900, X, 8.
of other individuals in the district. By 1818 both Earlong O'Rourke had title to twelve placer claims which she turned over to the Montana-Idaho Dredging Company. The workers of this company had little capital with which to carry on the work and they soon became involved for the sum of $20,000 for their interests in the property.\(^{37}\) When the price of gold was fixed at $35 an ounce, mining was resumed in the district. A dragline outfit was put into operation in 1918 on the Big Hole placers. The writer was unable to ascertain the names of the parties and the extent of their activities.

\(^{37}\) Abstract No. 292, op. cit.
Prospecting (as it is called) for gold placers and quartz veins has grown into a profession. No man can engage in it successfully unless he understands it. There are certain indications in the face of the country, the character of the rocks, the presentation of strata, the form of the gulch, the gravel of the streams or in the bars, the cement of the formation below it, or the shape of the mountains, which are known to experienced prospectors, that determine generally the presence of precious metals. Guided by these unmistakable signs, the veteran gold searcher is sustained in his solitary explorations by the consciousness of possessing knowledge which must sooner or later lead to success. Impressed with the idea that as many rich gulches and productive veins have been found, so others remain to be discovered—and that as those already developed have made their owners rich, so some fortunate discovery may do the same for him, he mounts his pony, and with pick and shovel, and pan, a magnifying glass, a few pounds of bacon, flour and coffee, his trusty rifle and revolver at hand, and his roll of blankets and not infrequently a quart flask of whiskey, he plunges into the unexplored recesses of the mountains, and for weeks and months is lost to all the world of humanity besides himself. Alone, but encouraged by that hope which outlives every disappointment, he wanders hundreds of miles into the unvisited wilderness, the hero of countless adventures and the explorer of the world's great solitudes. . . . Frequent as his discoveries often are, and promising as many of them proved to be, the one he is in search of lies still farther onward.\(^1\)

The gold discovery made by John Healy and George Brigsby in 1861 on the Salmon River, near Florence, led to the finding of the first gold in any appreciable quantity in Montana.\(^2\)

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1 Langford, op. cit., I, 96-97.
Several Colorado parties, previously mentioned, found it impossible to continue their intended route from Fort Lemhi to those diggings. Lott and his men returned to Fort Lemhi from the eastern side of the Continental Divide for their equipment and wagons. They followed the Indian trail through Lemhi Pass en route to their prospect in the Big Hole. Other prospectors, including John White, shortly left Salmon Valley and proceeded through the pass and down Trail to Horse Prairie Creek. There they decided to attempt a cut-off to the northeast in an effort to strike the old trail from Salt Lake to the Bitterroot and the Deer Lodge valleys. These energetic gold seekers, while crossing Willard Creek (later named Grasshopper) below the canyon, stopped to pan the gravel and found colors. Thus Montana's first major placer diggings were discovered by John White and his party on July 28, 1862. Some

3 "It was no secret that M. E. Lott and party had discovered pay dirt and John White, the man who found White's Bar on Grasshopper Creek, was hunting Lott when he on July 28, 1862, panned gold... That John White discovered the gold on Grasshopper, there is no doubt, but the first man to pan out one dollar was Charlie Reville, No. 33 above the discovery;" in Dimsdale, op. cit., 199-201.

4 Not knowing that the creek had already been named by Lewis and Clark, the discoverers proceeded to call it Grasshopper Creek from the abundance of those insects found along its banks and it is also the name which it bears today; in Leeson, op. cit., 480.

5 There appears to be some doubt as to whom the other members of the party were. John McGavin was one of the other members; in Bancroft, op. cit., XXI, 621. Another publication says: "John McGarvin;" in Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, A History of Montana, (3 vols., Chicago, 1913), II, 960. "Two men, John White and William Eads, the latter said to be the son of Captain James Eads, the celebrated engineer of (cont.)
of the men remained to test the ground while the others continued to Deer Lodge. The Cold Creek mines proved unpromising; therefore, they returned to White's prospecting party on Grasshopper Creek. 7

The members of the McLean and Russell wagon trains found White and his fellow prospectors on Grasshopper Creek. McLean

(5 cont.) St. Louis, were the discoverers;" in Wheeler, op. cit., II, 20. Charles S. Warren in a speech, delivered 1376, "The Territory of Montana," in Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, op. cit., II, 61-75, gives the following: "The first paying mines discovered in Montana were on Villard's Creek, generally known as Grasshopper Creek, by Jno. White and Wm. Eads, in 1862. . . . White and Eads getting out of provisions, came to the mouth of the Little Blackfoot River, in Deer Lodge Valley, where Capt. Nick Wall kept a store, and informed him, Walter E. Dance, Underwood, King, Hauser, and others of their old friends of their success and when White and Eads returned to their discovery, Dance, Hauser and party, returned with them, and were the first ones in. Soon after, Samuel McLean, Stapleton, and others, from Colorado, en route to the Florence mines, came in. Underwood, Lansing, Dance, and others went above White and Eads, and camped where Bannack City now stands, and prospected and made the discovery claimed by McLean and friends." "The men who discovered Grasshopper were Colonel McLean, . . . Washington Stapleton, William Gibson, a man named Root and another called David, and another whose name was Dance;" from the Joseph N. Ireland story in Sanders, op. cit., II, 916. This chain of evidence, at first sight, tends to confuse the reader. However, it contains several points of truth. John White was definitely one of the discoverers as in White's District Recordings, op. cit., I (See Plate VII, p. 54), he recorded the "first discovery on Grasshopper Creek." The main question is who were the other members of the party? Bancroft is the first to give credit to John McGavin. In the same document in which is found White's recording, there is nothing recorded by McGavin, and furthermore, there are no recordings for claims 1-20, inclusive, above or below White's discovery. If these had been recorded, the claimants for claims one, two, three, and possibly four, above or below discovery, would have given an inkling to the names of the balance of White's party. The matter of John McGavin will have to rest on Bancroft. About William P. Eads there is more conclusive evidence. "William P. Eads" was witness to the first deed in (cont.)
John White has recorded one discovery claim known as the first discovery on膏phoper Creek. Said claim is situated at a point known as the center tree point. August 30th, 1862.

N. P. Harris
Recorder

William J. Pearl has recorded No. 37 above White discovery 50 feet in width on both sides of Creek. August 30th, 1862.

R. W. Harris
Recorder

John Allen has this day recorded No. 110 above White discovery it being a Vau Claim. August 30th, 1862.

R. W. Harris
Recorder

John Sydick has this day recorded one Bar Claim above White's discovery No. 69. August 30th, 1862.

R. W. Harris
Recorder

Patrick Maloney has this day recorded one Bar Claim above White's discovery No. 88. August 30th, 1862.

R. W. Harris
Recorder

E. D. Loveless has this day recorded one Bar Claim above White's discovery No. 55. August 30th, 1862.

R. W. Harris
Recorder

PLATE VII — JOHN WHITE'S RECORDING
and Russell had also left Salmon River by the Indian trail
through Lemhi Pass. The men of the two trains placed little
confidence in the value of White's prospects. They departed
for Gold Creek because there they hoped to find more favorable
prospects and, too, their provisions were nearly exhausted.
They also found the Gold Creek placers unsatisfactory and re-
traced their route to Grasshopper Creek. No provisions had

(5 cont.) southern Montana, when H. C. Lynch sold claim No. 44
to John White, August 30, 1862, on the very day that it was
recorded. William P. Edds, in turn sold claim No. 45 to White
on the same day, and Lynch was the witness; in White's District
Recordings, op. cit., 5. Even though the name is spelled dif-
ferently in the old record, Edds and Eads are one and the same
person. A perusal of the old records showed what miserable
spellers and writers the miners were. John White acted as
recorder in the same record and his handwriting was not the
best. As to the Joseph N. Ireland story in Sanders about the
discoverers, Washington Stapleton was the discoverer of the
rich bar near Bannack which bears his name. Walter Lance came
to Bannack from Gold Creek and Samuel McLean piloted a train
to the discovery from Fort Lemhi. There is no evidence to
prove that the others named by Ireland were part of White's
party. Probably the information was confused in the mind of
Mr. Ireland for at the time of his arrival, August 29, there
were several people on Grasshopper Creek.

6 July 23, 1862, appears to be the most logical date;
in Wheeler and Williams, op. cit.; also in Leeson, op. cit.,
466; also Walter A. Clark's story in ibid., 211; also in Clyde
McClellan, editor, "Bannack and Gallatin City in 1862-1863,"
in Historical Reprints, Sources of Northwest History, No. 24,
(Missoula, Montana, n. d.), footnote, 5. Other sources give
various dates. Discovered about the first of August, 1862;
in Bancroft, op. cit., XXXI, 621. W. A. Clark contradicts his
other date of discovery when he gives August 16, 1862, as the
date; in Clark, op. cit., II, 47. Glenn Seitter in Pay Dirt,
(New York, 1936), must have accepted the latter evidence of
W. A. Clark. Morley started in company with Ault, Lansing,
and Hawley to examine some mines near the Horse Prairie in the
Beaverhead country, August 18, 1862, therefore, the date
August 16 is incorrect; in Morley, op. cit., 41. Why then did
White not record his claim until August 30, 1862, and also
what was the reason for claims 1-20, inclusive, above and be-
low White's discovery, not being recorded? The rich (cont.)
arrived in the country; consequently most of them decided to attempt the four-hundred-mile return to Salt Lake. After they had started on this journey, Russell took his horse, followed and persuaded them to return. The men set to work even though their food was rapidly diminishing. The appearance of a large wagon train belonging to Mr. Woodmansee saved the day. Upon

(6 cont.) bars were not discovered until about that time, and furthermore, the first nucleus of prospectors, which included White, had not sufficiently proven the diggings to warrant the organization of a mining district. Morley in his diary, op. cit., p. 42, stated that the "prospects were poor;" and "the more important bars above the canyon, where Bannack sprang up, were found two or three weeks later;" in Mclemore, op. cit., footnote, 5. White was evidently asked to record his claim as it was the "discovery." After he had recorded the discovery claim, he immediately purchased two other claims (from Lynch and Eads), located up the creek, and this would indicate what he thought about the value of his initial claim.

7 Dimsdale, op. cit., 20. Because of the conflicting evidence in the other stories, they are given below. "Among those detained in Beaverhead Valley because wagons could not go through from Lemhi to Salmon River was a party of which John White and John McCaun were members. This company, about the first of August, 1862, discovered placers on Willard or Grasshopper Creek, where Bannack City was built in consequence, which yielded five to fifteen dollars a day to the hand. White, who is usually accredited with the discovery, having done so much for his fame, has left us no other knowledge of himself or his antecedents, save that he was murdered in December 1863;" in Bancroft, op. cit., XXXI, 621. In connection with his murder the following is given: "There shall be, and is hereby, appropriated out of the Territorial treasury the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars to be paid to Henry Thompson for money expended and time employed in the pursuit of E. Kelly, the murderer of R. R. Dorsett and John White, on Boulder Creek in Jefferson County, approved August 11, 1865;" in Acts and Laws of the First Legislative Assembly, op. cit., 560. Dorsett was one of the original discoverers of gold on Horse Prairie Creek. The other stories continue as follows: "While lost on their way to Gold Creek in Deer Lodge Valley, a party of Colorado miners, discovered the first rich placer diggings in Montana;" in the Edward B. Nealley, "A Year in Montana," in the Atlantic Monthly, August, 1866, XVIII, 238. "A party of (cont.)
the opening of spring, Russell returned to Colorado, where he exhibited specimens of gold taken from the "Grasshopper diggings" to his friends. The excitement it occasioned was intense and great numbers of "hopefuls" soon left for the new Eldorado. 8

News about the gold at Grasshopper Creek spread rapidly and parties of prospective miners were attracted from all directions, including even those who had other points of destination in mind. One of these groups, consisting of twelve men, represented the American Mining and Mineral Company which had been formed by a number of St. Louis men. This body of gold seekers had ample supplies for a year's prospecting and was accompanied by F. M. Thompson, the secretary and treasurer of

(7 cont.) Coloradoans, among them Dr. Leavitt, of Glendale, had attempted the route to the Florence mines by way of Lemhi valley, and were forced to abandon it by reason of precipitous mountains, and were by favorable reports led to Deer Lodge valley as a desirable wintering place. This point they reached in July, 1862. While there two horsemens came in from Lemhi and reported the existence of favorable indications of gold on Grasshopper Creek, near where Bannack now stands. They were provided with supplies and urged to return and prospect the gulch and report. This they proceeded to do, and returning with the news met the impatient party moving on toward the place. Augmented by other parties joining them, they proceeded to the discovery which had been made by John White on the 28th day of July, 1862 and in honor of the discoverer named it White's Bar. Soon afterwards other bars were found which were exceedingly rich. The gulch itself was then opened and mining began in earnest. In the autumn a train was dispatched to Salt Lake City for provisions and the town of Bannack was laid out;" W. A. Clark's story in Leeson, op. cit., 211.

8 Langford, op. cit., I, 226-228. Ibid., "In the fall of 1862 there stood, at the confluence of Rattlesnake Creek and Beaverhead River, a sign-post with a rough hewn board nailed across the top, with the following intelligence daubed with wagon tar thereon:--'Tu Cass Hop Per digins, 30 myle, kepe the Trale nex the bluffe,' and on the other side of (cont.)
the St. Louis company. They left St. Louis in the spring of 1862 with seventy-five other fortune hunters and went up the Missouri River to Fort Benton on the boat "Emilie," which belonged to La Barge, Harkness and Company.\(^9\) Although they were bound for the Idaho mines, Thompson's party stopped for a short time at Gold Creek and then traveled the one hundred twenty-five miles to the Grasshopper diggings.\(^{10}\) Numerous other prospectors, also headed for the Idaho mines, arrived by boat at Fort Benton. Many of them stopped at Gold Creek, the first reaching there June 29. Among these were Samuel Thomas Hauser and W. E. Dance,\(^{11}\) both of whom eventually went to Grasshopper Creek. Other steamers tied up at Fort Benton on or about June 25, 1862, loaded with provisions, mining tools, supplies, and

\[\text{(8 cont.) the board was the following:--'Tu jonni grants one hundred & twenty myle.'}\]

\(^9\) The firm of La Barge, Harkness & Co. was formed in St. Louis in the spring of 1862, for the purpose of trading on the upper Missouri River. The members of the firm were Eugene Jaccard, James Harkness, Captains Joseph and John La Barge, and William Galpin. Each partner put in 10,000 and two steamboats were purchased, the "Shreveport" and the "Emilie." On May 14, 1862, the Emilie left St. Louis. Several passengers were bound for the gold mines in Washington territory. Harkness tried his hand at mining at Gold Creek. On August 3 a train of nine wagons from Illinois arrived at Gold Creek. Harkness went back to St. Louis on August 8, 1862. In "Diary of James Harkness, of the Firm of La Barge, Harkness and Company," in Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, (Helena, Montana, 1896), II, 543-551.


passengers who had never heard of Gold Creek. Because they did not like the news from Salmon, they, too, tarried at Gold Creek and then scattered to prospect. Most of them were soon lured to Beaverhead.

Emigrants poured into southwestern Montana from Fort Benton by the way of the Pallan Road, from Salt Lake, and from the west. Two expeditions that were bound for the Idaho mines and Walla Walla, respectively, were halted in their courses by the latest discovery on Grasshopper Creek. In August 1862 the James Reed train arrived from Minnesota and willingly turned into Beaverhead Valley when it was learned that fortunes awaited them on Grasshopper Creek. Some weeks later the Northern Overland Expedition, which had left St. Paul on June 10, 1862, arrived at Gold Creek. This expedition was quasi-governmental in character and the largest single party that went to the northern mines in 1862. Five thousand dollars were appropriated by the government for this outfit which was under the command of Captain James L. Fisk with E. H. Burritt and W. P. Langford designated as first and second assistants. Its purpose was to open a road from St. Paul to Fort Benton and to inspect the

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12 Stuart, Forty Years, op. cit., I, 211.
13 Ibid., I, footnote, 213. (See Morley, footnote 4, chap. II).
14 Miller, op. cit., I, 175.
15 Bancroft, op. cit., XXXI, 622. A footnote on the same page gives the following: "This train consisted of 110 men and an unknown number of women and children. Among those to arrive were Smith Hall, Mrs. Hall, Dr. Hiddle, Wilson Waddams, Mrs. Waddams, Sarah Waddams, Henry Zeiler and (cont.)
Mullan Road from Fort Benton to Walla Walla. After they had acquired information about the mines at Gold Creek and those recently discovered on Grasshopper Creek, many of the members decided to try their fortunes at the latter.

The richest bars along the creek above Grasshopper canyon were unearthed a few weeks after white found gold. This added knowledge about these placers and those recently revealed at Boise, Idaho, upset the local conditions at Florence, Elk City, and Oro Fino; and all those who could leave without sacrifice set out for West Rannack at Boise or East Rannack at Beaverhead. The decline of a mining town was as sudden and rapid as its growth. About four hundred persons wintered at the "Beaver Head" mines, as the Grasshopper diggings became

(15 cont.)

Family." Also an interview with Mrs. Sarah P. Howard, Dillon, Montana. Mrs. Howard, formerly Sarah Wadams, related that she was "nurse" for Dr. Glick at the time when he treated Henry Plummer's arm when the latter was shot by Hank Crawford. Mrs. Howard claims that Dr. Glick's first name was Jerome. "Wadams" is the correct spelling of their name. Wilson Wadams, her father, recorded one creek claim, No. 7, on September 27, 1862; in White's District Recordings, op. cit., 10. Wadams later acted as recorder.

17 Stuart, Forty Years, op. cit., I, 213.
18 McLemore, op. cit., footnote, 5.
19 Langford, op. cit., I, 145; also in Linsdale, op. cit., 199-200.
20 Langford, op. cit., I, 149.
21 "Known as the Beaver Head mines, so called, although not on that stream at all;" in Stuart, Forty Years, op. cit., I, 225. Also called the "annack mines;" in Stuart, Montana As It Is, (New York, 1865), 9-10. John Major Owen noted: "Captain De Lacy arrived at Fort Owen, December 17, 1862, from Beaver Head via Big Hole Mt. and reported (cont.)
known. The miners called the camp Bannack after the Indians of the region, not knowing that in Boise basin another Bannack city was being founded in a similar way. So rich were the placers at Bannack, Montana, that it was reported that the miners pulled the sagebrush and washed gold from the dirt adhering to the roots. This led to the belief that gold was "in the sagebrush." The Gold Creek operations were neither very extensive nor very well advertised. Most of the miners there, including James and Granville Stuart, moved to Bannack, Montana's first mining metropolis.

The largest portion of Bannack's population came from (21 cont.) the mines favorable. News from the Beaver Head Mines favorable. Clothing, Blks, Tobacco & groceries in great demand and bring Enormous prices. This will be My judgment, the New thoroughfare in preference to Hell Gate Canon for parties from the Nth. the Bitter Root Valley will be the trail over which Many Will pass in pursuit of the treasure now buried in the bosom of Mother Earth and is about to be exhumed for the benefit of us all;" in The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen. Ed. by Seymour Dunbar with notes by Paul C. Phillips. (2 vols., New York, 1927), II, 263-266. Under the dates of December 14 and 17, Captain James L. Fisk "received letters from very reliable men, who had gone out with him in his first train and were at the Grasshopper diggings and the letters stated that the claims were yielding from fifty to one hundred and fifty dollars per day to the man;" in Fisk's Expedition of 1862, op. cit., 3.

22 "Washington Stapleton founded the town and which, but for his modesty and it must be added, superior judgment, would bear his name. It was the desire of the miners along the creek to name the new town after him, but as it was in the country of the Bannack Indians, Judge Stapleton saw a greater propriety in naming it after them;" in Sanders, op. cit., II, 886-887.

23 Bancroft, op. cit., XXXI, 623-624.

24 Stuart, Forty Years, op. cit., I, 229-232; also in W. J. Trimble, "The Mining Advance in the Inland Empire and Gold Discoveries in the Northwest," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review, (June, 1918), V, 72.
Colorado. On the second day of February 1863, Alexander Toponce, and others from Denver, started to Montana. They had heard wild stories concerning the wealth of the grasshopper placers, and large numbers of the disappointed miners decided to go even though it was winter. There were one hundred sixty-three men and one woman in the company when it arrived at Bannack, May 14, 1863. They found the same conditions prevailing as they had left in Colorado. The "Intelligent Californians" hailed them as the "Lousy Pike's Peakers," and were probably right in some cases. More than six hundred came in from Pike's Peak that year.25

Other people came in from Minnesota. Captain James L. Fisk brought a wagon train from St. Paul to Bannack. The outfit left Fort Benton26 over the Mullan Road and went through Deer Lodge Valley near Johnny Grant's ranch which supplied the Bannack miners with most of their beef.27 Fisk's train crossed Deer Lodge Pass over the Continental Divide where the Oregon

25 Alexander Toponce, Reminiscences of Alexander Toponce, Pioneer, (Salt Lake City, 1925), 53-57.
26 "Fort Benton is the fur trading post of the American Fur Company. The principal trade is with the Blackfeet Indians, but, from the large number of emigrants and others passing through there to and from the gold mines of the Rocky Mountains, it is probable that the chief trade, in the future, will be with the miners;" in Captain James L. Fisk, Expedition to the Rocky Mountains. 38th Cong., 1st sess. Senate Doc. No. 45, (Washington, 1864), 21.
27 It was at Bannack that Conrad Kohrs worked for and later became the partner of Hank Crawford, the first sheriff of the area, in the meat business. While Kohrs was returning from the Johnny Grant ranch with some cattle, which he was driving to Bannack, he experienced some difficulty in (cont.)
Short Line Railroad now crosses at Leeley, Montana. Then they arrived at Bannack, September 28, 1863, the members were greeted by N. P. Langford of the first Fisk train. Camp was made on "Yankee Flats," near the west side of Bannack. This spot received the name from the "Tenderfeet" from Minnesota who had settled there the year before. By June 1863 Bannack had a thriving population of three or four thousand people. Most of these people tried their luck at mining on Grasshopper Creek, and there in Beaverhead County the political life of the territory began. At its peak there was a total of five thousand people at Bannack during 1940 there were about sixty inhabitants.

This rapidly growing population was greatly dependent upon the outside for food, clothing, and mining supplies. The mines of Montana and Idaho were the points of the greatest trade. Merchandise could be brought in by the way of South Pass and Fort Hall, but this made it necessary to cross the Continental Divide twice. The route up the Missouri by

(27 cont.) keeping the critters headed in the right direction. Dr. Glick, who had been to Fort Owen for medical supplies, came along and helped Kohrs with the animals for a distance. Later the thieving Indians caused Kohrs to quit the meat business and he then moved to Virginia City. From Notes dictated by Conrad Kohrs at Helena, "Montana, in 1885. These notes are in the Montana Historical Library at Helena, Montana.

29 Tom Stout, Montana, Its Story and Biography, (3 vols., Chicago, 1921), I, 671.
30 "Some statistics have survived showing the magnitude of the steamboat business on the Missouri River during the early years of mining in Montana. In the year 1865, (cont.)
boat to Fort Benton was not the best as it was five hundred miles longer and went through Indian territory. 31 John M. Bozeman and John M. Jacobs left Bannack in the winter of 1862-1863 to find a short route to the Bannack mines from some convenient point on the Platte River by the way of Gallatin Valley. 32 The Bozeman Road was built to satisfy the needs of the Montana miners. However, this road was soon closed to appease the Sioux Indians. Jim Bridger also made a still shorter road, known as the Bridger Cut-off, from the Red Buttes on North Platte River and through the Wind River country to the Yellowstone Valley and thence to Virginia City, Montana. Up to this time the miners had been using the customary longer routes which were the waterways up the Missouri and the established trails, the Oregon and the Overland to Fort Hall, and the Fort Hall-Virginia City Road or the Salt Lake Trail. 33

The roads made postal service and transportation possible for the Montana miners. Private expresses, as usual, preceded the regular United States mail to the camps. In July

(30 cont.) 1000 passengers, 6000 tons of merchandise and 20 quartz mills went to Fort Benton;" in Chittenden, Early Steamboat, op. cit., II, 275.


32 This road was variously designated, such as the Jacobs-Bozeman Cut-off, the Bozeman Road, the Powder River Road to Montana, the Big Horn Road, the Reno Road, and the Carrington Road; in Hebard and Erninstool, op. cit., I, 213-214.

1863 a weekly pony-express was established from Fort Bridger, Wyoming, to Bannack, and letters were carried through in seven days for fifty cents each. Oliver and Company's Express carried mail and passengers from Salt Lake to the Montana mines in the spring of 1864 over the Montana road via Fort Hall. The Post Office Department contracted for a tri-weekly mail service over this route to begin July 1, 1864. Ben Holladay received the contract; and although there was some delay in getting the stage coaches to the line because of the flood in the South Platte River, the regular service was in operation by August. Holladay cut the stage fare from Salt Lake to Montana down to twenty-five dollars in greenbacks to run Oliver and Company off the line. The Wells, Fargo Company stage lines also reached into Montana. In 1864 D. A. Butterfield (not to be confused with John Butterfield of the Overland Mail Company) began a freight and forwarding business that soon developed into an organization competing with Holladay's overland mail.³⁴

Outward-bound stage passengers who had made their "pile" were frequently victims of the road agents. The Bannack mines had become famous not for wealth alone, but because of the class of people attracted to them from Idaho. "Among them came the first irruption of robbers, gamblers, and horse thieves," in the words of N. P. Langford, "and the settlement was filled

³⁴ Leroy R. Hafen, The Overland Mail, (Cleveland, 1929), 279-319.
with gambling houses and saloons, where bad men and worse women held constant vigil, and initiated the reign of infamy which nothing but a strong hand could extirpate." The thirst for gold was shared by all classes and there was no vice unrepresented. Many types of character were developed; but as a general thing, the worst elements, being the most aggressive and crafty, usually predominated. The Civil War also caused many to migrate to the mines of the Northwest. There were drifters who kept drifting, war or no war. Many deserters from the Union and Confederate armies made their way to the mining camps. Sympathizers with both causes left home because of unpopularity and there was an admixture of that class that "left their country for their country's good."  

Henry Plummer, the most noted of the infamous characters, first made his appearance in Montana at Gold Creek from Elk City, Idaho. However, Bannack soon attracted his attention, and there he gathered under his leadership other notables of similar character to help prey upon the heavy gold pokes of the miners or to loot the carefully guarded strong boxes on the stage coaches. It is not the purpose of this treatise to go into the history of the road agents and their expulsion or execution by the organized Vigilante Committee. They were

35 Langford, op. cit., I, 249.
36 Ibid., I, 77; also in Paxson, op. cit., I, 451.
37 Stuart, Forty Years, op. cit., I, 223.
38 The Vigilante Oath gives the purpose and objectives of the organization. "The undersigned uniting oursel in a party for the laudible purpose of arresting thieves & (cont.)
parasites preying upon the hard earnings of the miners; and when their depredations were no longer bearable, the miners sought means for their riddance other than by the miners' courts. Termination of their reign of terror came when their sheriff-leader, Plummer, was hanged with Red Ray and Buck Stinson by the Vigilantes at Bannack, January 10, 1864. Four days later the following cohorts of Plummer were hanged at Virginia City—Boone Helm (the worst of the lot), George Lane (Club-foot George), Frank Parish, Jack Gallagher (Plummer's deputy), and Haze Lyons. All told, according to one historian, thirty-three received the "Vigilante collar."

Plummer was the only road agent to file on mining claims as far as the records of Beaverhead County were concerned. He recorded a patch claim (See Plate VIII, p. 68) on Jim's Bar, January 29, 1863, and on February 22 he claimed by preemption No. 8 west of discovery on Bevin lode. The

(38 cont.) murders & recove stollen property do pledge ourselves upon our sacred honor each to all others & solemnly swear that we will reveal no secrets violate no laws of right & not desert each other or our standerd of justice so help us God as with our hand & seal this 23 of December A. D. 1863 James Williams, Joseph Hinkley, J. S. Laddow, C. F. Keves, Charles Brown, E. Morse, J. H. Balch, W. C. Maxwell, Nelson Kellock, S. J. Ross, Chas. Beehrer, Thomas Baum, Wm. H. Brown, Sr., John Brown, Jr., Enoch, A. D. Smith, W. Palmer, L. Seebold, W. S. Warder." This is in the Montana Historical Library at Helena, Montana. The author was also given a copy by a great-niece of John Lott, a brother of Mortimer M. Lott.

41 Named after Jim Griffiths.
42 Beaverhead County Mining Records, Central District, 115. This book is marked Book "A" and Book (I) and (cont.)
Henry P. Hunter Claims
a Patch Claim commencing at
the corner of the Swazee Milan
near the line of No 15 9/16 below
discovery on James Bar running
to the front of the row of cabin
on west up and down one hund-
red feet back on the level, Jan 29
W. B. Frock & Garett F. Co 1863
Claim a Patch Claim on the
South end of No 4 above discovery
on James Bar being 50 feet in point
200 feet back February 2
J. W. Cowen

This Claims a Patch Claim lying
on the south side of Crooked's
Claim No 3, 1863, lying on the
south side of Basswood Creek
W. V. Gill F. Co claims a Patch
at Claim 100 feet square lying south
north of W. V. U. 17 Below discovery on
James Bar the said line running with
the west line of No 16 on 2nd Bar
Feb 3 1863

PLATE VIII -- PLUMPTER'S PATCH CLAIM
same records showed that Frank Parish, another road agent, bought a claim. This lack of mine ownership pointed out that the bandits were far more interested in "mining the miners" than in doing the actual hard labor themselves. The mining property of the late Plummer was bought, January 25, 1864, by Thomas D. Pitt from the administrators, George Chrisman and Elijah Moore. Two conjectures would be that this interest in mining was one of Plummer's efforts to turn over a "new leaf" after his marriage to Electa Bryan or a "blind" for the source of his loot.

Bannack, the once popular head-quarters of Plummer's outlaws, stands at the upper end of the canyon on Grasshopper Creek where it widens out into a small grassy valley. The mines in the locality extended down the stream from above the canyon and then through it about four or five miles to below the mouth of Spring Gulch, entering from the north. Below Bannack other hamlets sprang up. Centerville, the location of the quartz mills, was about a mile down the creek. The latter camp was eventually named Marysville after Mary Jane Badams,

(42 cont.) upon it is the following inscription: "This book is the property of Maxwell Crosbie" whose signature below appears almost indistinct. This badly worn record is in the County Clerk and Recorder's vault at Dillon, Montana.

43 Beaverhead County Mining Records, Bannack District, Book 2, p. 300. This record is in the County Clerk and Recorder's vault at Dillon, Montana.

44 Beaverhead County Mining Records, Centerville District, Book 8, p. 44. This record is also with the others at Dillon.

45 Montana Post, November 19, 1936, I, 2.
the first woman there. At Jim's Bar in the vicinity of White's Bar and Spring Gulch, there was another small group of dwellings which was called Jerusalem. Only Bannack now remains; however, W. W. Be Lacy's first official map of Montana Territory showed all three of the camps as they were situated along the stream. In the fall of 1863 Bannack consisted of one long and some short, irregular streets lined with log and frame shanties and stores; "bakeries" and restaurants abounded for the floating population. Saloons, gambling houses, and places of ill fame were numerous. Many colorful tales have been recorded about the fast and reckless character of Bannack. Such stories were cheap and tawdry compared with the wild gamble in mines. The whole of Bannack and its environs was one great gaming table on which the stakes were large and changed hands rapidly enough to suit the desires of the rashest plunger. The majority of the people who came to

46 Mrs. Sarah P. Howard, op. cit.; also an interview with Mrs. J. C. Sheser, Dillon, Montana. Mrs. Sheser, a relative of Mrs. Wadams, lived several years at Bannack. She related the story about Mrs. Wadams' ride to warn her husband, Wilson Wadams, and her son concerning the movement of Chief Joseph's band in 1877 and how a barricade was built to the well in Bannack to insure a water supply in case of an attack. The Indian scare at Bannack ran high.

47 Mrs. Sarah P. Howard, op. cit.


49 Hick's Expedition of 1863, op. cit., 27.
Bannack were honest, well-meaning persons. There were a few families and the parents were anxious to have their children in school. Miss Lucia Larling opened Bannack's first school sometime in October 1863. Religion made a feeble start in the town. Circulating about the town were written copies of the "Miners' Ten Commandments." They give one an impression of the miners' thoughts.

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50 "First commandment: Thou shalt have no other claim than one.

Second commandment: Thou shalt not make thyself any false claim nor any likeness to a mean man, by jumping one; for I, a miner, am a just man and I will visit the miners round about and they will judge thee; and when they shall decide thou wilt take thy pick thy pan thy shovel and thy blankets and with all thou hast thou shalt depart to seek other diggings but thou shalt find none.

Third commandment: Thou shalt not go prospecting before thy claim gives out. Neither shalt thou take thy money or gold dust or thy good name to the gaming table for monte twenty-one roulette faro lunsquent and poker will prove thee that the more thou puttest down the less thou shalt take up and when thou thinkest of thy wife and children thou shalt hold thyself guiltless though insane.

Fourth commandment: Thou shalt keep the Sabbath day holy and shall do no work other than cooking the pork and beans for the week's supply getting in firewood and doing the week's wash and baking the week's supply of bread.

The fifth commandment is skipped, presumably because the Biblical command is accepted without revision.

Sixth commandment: Thou shalt not drink mint juleps nor sherry cobbler through a straw nor gurgle from a bottle the raw materials nor take it from a decanter; for while thou art swallowing down thy purse and the coat from thy back thou art burning the coat off thy stomach.

Seventh commandment: Thou shalt not grow discouraged and think of going home before thou hast made thy pile because thou hast not struck a lead, nor found a rich crevice nor sunk a shaft upon a rich pocket, lest in going home thou shalt leave a job paying $4 a day to take, ashamed, a job back east at 50 cents a day; and serve thee right. Thou knowest that by staying here thou mightest strike a lead and make $50 a day and keep thy self-respect and when thou goest home thou shalt have enough to make thyself and others happy.
With so many miners in one small gulch, some form of mining law became necessary. It appears that upon the discovery of every new field, the miners met and organized what was termed a "mining district," fixing certain boundaries for it and adopting a code of laws and regulations for its government. The rules regulated the recording, size, and the number of claims that could be held, the use of water, the right to jump a claim, the right to vote, and other factors which were pertinent to the welfare of the miners. Therefore the laws of each new district, although generally based on previous codes, were apt to differ from those of other localities.

When these first mining communities were formed, there was as yet no established authority; the miners were a law unto

(50 cont.) Eighth commandment: Thou must not steal the dust or the tools of another miner, for he will surely find out what thou hast done and will call together his fellow miners and they, unless the law hinders them, will hang thee or give thee fifty lashes, or shave thy head or brand thy cheek with an "R" like a horse, to be read by all men.

Ninth commandment: Thou shalt tell no false tales about good diggins in the mountains, to benefit a friend who may have mules, blankets or provisions and tools that he wishes to sell lest thy neighbor, deceived by thee into making the trip shall one day return through the snow with naught left but his rifle, contents of which he shall present to you in a manner that shall cause thee to fall down and die like a dog.

Tenth commandment: Remember thy wife and children that are in the east and be true to them in thought, work and deed. Avoid the temptation to become a squaw man and to people this country with half-breeds, for while there is naught to be said against these boys and girls as individuals, the fact remains that they will give the Indians the benefit of their white training and thus make the redskins more dangerous to the white man." In *The Dillon Examiner*, September 20, 1959, XLIX, supp., 1. Also in Langford, *op. cit.*, I, 356. Langford gives only two of the commandments, the fourth and ninth.
themselves. The simple rule underlying the districts was first come, first choice. The Bannack and other Montana miners had to shift for themselves until 1864. The historical interest in their governments lies in the fact that they originated spontaneously. They needed a government and there was none. Therefore the miners in each gold camp created a self-governing community with supreme and universal power over all individuals within its borders. The Montana mining regions were fortunate in having many Colorado miners who had acquired many ideas and precedents from the California mines.

The first step in organizing a district was to call a meeting of the miners in the vicinity. At this meeting resolutions were passed for the creation of the district. The organizers gave it a name which was for the purpose of identity. In most cases these names that were adopted are in use today. The districts were generally bounded by the prominent topographical features of the region. In the next step they would usually proceed with a series of resolutions which served as their constitution. Most of the districts had certain officials who executed the laws. A president, a recorder, and

51 G. Thomas Ingham, Digging Gold among the Rockies, (Philadelphia, 1882), 133.
52 Beaverhead County Mining Records, Central District, Book 5, p. I. This book contains the record of Caratoa District and also records of quartz claims and it has these added markings: "Book 2 and Book 4, Caratoa District." It contains some "minutes" of the miners' meetings. This record is not to be confused with the other Central District book, marked "A" and (1), op. cit. Book 5 is in the County Clerk and Recorder's vault at Dillon.
in some cases a constable or sheriff were elected. The president presided at all regular and special meetings. His most important function was a judicial one. He could arbitrate minor disputes and was judge of the miners' court. The recorder or secretary kept a record of all mining claims, transfers, and written instruments and also wrote the minutes of the meetings. The sheriff or constable conserved the peace, served writs and summons, and held property sales to satisfy judgments. These officers were paid by means of fixed fees.

The first court in what is now Montana was the miners' court which allowed trial by jury. It was presided over by the president who was the judge. As previously mentioned, the president frequently made minor decisions. Any decision made by the president alone and also the verdict of the miners' court could be appealed to the miners, as a whole, at the meetings, which were usually called on Sunday. The decision of this last body was final; its verdict was supreme law. Here was pure democracy in action. It was the trial by this court that the accused murderers dreaded; and to escape this, they made trial by jury the condition of their surrender.

The miners' court, under the circumstances, was as legal as it was necessary for the preservation of order and dealt out

54 Sanders, op. cit., I, 581; also in Palladino, op. cit., 287.
55 Ibid.
56 Langford, op. cit., I, 253.
justice fairly at a very low cost to the community. The miners as a whole were citizens of the republic and had lived in the States where their rights were respected. The rules and regulations formulated at the miners' meetings very soon came to have the force and effect of common law. Later, when Congress began to legislate upon the subject, these rules and regulations were recognized as valid law, and were enforced by the courts in adjudication of property rights.

Much can be learned about the miners' meetings by a first-hand glimpse at what actually took place on those occasions. Granville Stuart gives the following account:

The miners of Bannack met and established a miners' court. B. B. Burchett was elected judge and Henry Crawford, sheriff. A mining claim was one hundred feet up and down the creek and as far out on each side as the pay dirt extended, they were numbered 1, 2, etc., above and below discovery as the case might be. Title to a claim was established by staking it and posting a notice and then taking it to the recorder and having it recorded. The claimant was obliged to work his claim every day when water was available. An absence of three days constituted a forfeiture and the claim could then be jumped. In the case of sickness the claim was protected until such time as the owner was able to resume work. The laws laid down by a miners' court were very simple and absolutely just.

Extracts from Morley's diary give a closer insight into the miners' meetings: "Miners meeting in the morning and Dance elected president of the meeting. Laws were passed making quartz leads real estate," meaning that they were not subject

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57 Palladino, op. cit., 237.
58 Sanders, op. cit., I, 581.
to forfeiture. "In the P. M. went to miners' meeting in Central district, where old Smith and his 'burners' are again striving to force what they please to call 'civil law' on the people of the gulch."  

An extract from the minutes of a miners' meeting held in White's district, April 28, 1864, gives the following:

H. Vanderburg was elected president and J. W. Page Secretary. The following resolutions were passed.

Moved seconded and carried that White's District be described as White's Bar being the upper line of the New District which shall be called Saratoga District. Moved seconded & carried that all persons residing in the said district and working one claim shall hold all other claims owned by the said party.

Moved seconded and carried that one person shall hold by Premption one creek claim one Bar claim and one patch claim and all purchased claims providing said party represents them according to the laws of said district the creek and Bar claims shall be one hundred and fifty feet long. a patch claim shall be one hundred feet square.

Moved seconded and carried that non residents of the said District shall represent each and every claim by one days work in every seventh and the said days work shall be eight hours of Labor on the said claims.

Moved and seconded and carried that David H. Hopkins be appointed the District President and M. Clark Recorder he to be allowed the sum of one Dollar for each and every record.

Moved and Seconded and carried that this meeting adjourned

Sine Lie

To show how the miners settled their controversies

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60 Morley, op. cit., 96.
61 Ibid., 101.
62 This might possibly be Montana's first "hour law."
63 Mining Records, Central District, Vol 5, op. cit., 1.
through their meetings, the following is given:

Miners Meeting held at Jerusalem on White's District
August 21st 1869 for the purpose of settling a dispute
between Water Ditch Co and creek miners. The 1st ques­
tion before the meeting was whether the creek miners have
the right to sufficient water to work their claims in
Said Grass Hopper creek or not in preference to Ditches
conveying water past creek claims Motion by Mr. Hooper
or Hopper and seconded that all the miners that are
operating in the creek in White's district shall be en­
titled to a sufficient water to operate their claims in
said creek. Independent of any and all water ditches
conveying water past said creek claims for the purpose
of operating on other the motion prevailed by an unanan­
mous vote. Motioned and seconded that the creek miners
have the sole right of governing the water in said creek
and to become, etc.

R.T. Harris

The temporary miners' courts and meetings served well
their initial purposes of regulating the separate districts.
Uniform mining laws shortly superseded these two organizations
because mining became the major industry in Montana. When the
first Montana Territorial Legislature convened, the legislators,
some of whom were directly connected with mining, early took
it upon themselves to secure favorable legislation. The first
mining law was passed by the Territorial Council, December 23,
1864, with the following votes in the affirmative: Mesers.
C. S. Bagg, E. D. Leavitt, Nathaniel Merriman, and F. M.
Thompson. In the negative were Mesers. A. S. Potter, F. L.
Worden, and Mr. President (Robert Lawrence). This law was

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64 Beaverhead County Mining Records, Minutes of Meetings,
White's District, Book 9, 145. This is in the County Clerk and
Recorder's vault at Dillon, Montana. The "minutes" in any of
the records were not very well kept and give an appearance of
being incomplete. Writing was laborious for the miners.
approved December 26, 1864, by Sidney Edgerton, Montana's first territorial governor. Parts of it still remain in effect. This early mining legislation respected the rights of the miners prior to its enactment. A bill providing for the prevention of counterfeiting gold dust was approved December 31. Evidently some of the lawmakers remembered the efforts


66 This law is as follows:

"Sec. 1. That any person or persons who may hereafter discover any quartz ledge shall be entitled to one claim thereon by right of discovery, and one claim each by pre-emption.

Sec. 2. That in order to entitle any person or persons to record in the county recorder's office of the proper county any lead, lode or ledge, either of gold or silver, or claim thereon, there shall first be discovered on said lode, lead, or ledge a vein or crevice of quartz or ore with at least one well defined wall.

Sec. 3. Claims on any lead, lode, or ledge, either of gold or silver, hereafter discovered, shall consist of not more than two hundred feet along the lead, lode, or ledge, together with all dips, spurs, and angles emanating or diverging from said lead, lode, or ledge and also fifty feet on each side of said lead, lode, or ledge for working purposes. Provided, that when two or more leads, lodes or ledges shall be discovered within one hundred feet of each other, either running parallel or crossing each other, the ground between such leads, lodes, or ledges shall belong equally to the claimants of the said leads, lodes, or ledges, without regard to priority of discovery or pre-emption.

Sec. 4. When any leads, lodes, or ledges shall cross each other, the quartz ore or mineral in the crevice or vein at the place of crossing shall belong to and be the property of the claimants upon the lead, lode, or ledge first discovered.

Sec. 5. That before any record shall be made under the provisions of this act, there shall be placed at each extremity of the discovered claim a good and substantial stake, not less than five inches in diameter, said stake to be firmly planted or sunken in the ground, extending two feet above the ground, that upon each stake there shall be placed in legible characters the name of the lead, lode, or ledge, and that of the discoverer or discoverers, the date of the discovery, and the name of each pre-emtior or claimant, and the direction or bearing, as near as can be, of his or her claim, said (cont.)
at Bannack to duplicate the yellow dust. The legislative body of 1865 incorporated several mining and ditch companies. One act, approved January 17, 1865, provided for the incorporation of the Rocky Mountain Gold and Silver Mining Company with Sidney Edgerton, P. M. Thompson, Amos Hall, A. Bridley, and others as members. The Beaverhead Mining Company was incorporated January 24 and the Grasshopper Bed Rock Ditch

(66 cont.) stake and inscription thereon to be replaced at least once in twelve months by the claimants on said leads, lodes, or ledges, if torn down or otherwise destroyed.

Sec. 6. Notice of discovery or pre-emption upon any lead, lode or ledge shall be filed for record in the county recorder's office of the county in which the same may be situated within fifteen days of the date of discovery or pre-emption, and there shall at the same time be an oath taken before the recorder that the claimant or claimants are each and all of them bona fide residents of the Territory of Montana; and there shall be deposited in the recorder's office, either by the discoverer or some pre-emptor, a specimen of the quartz ore or mineral extracted or taken from said lead, lode, or ledge, which said specimen shall be properly labelled by the recorder, and preserved in his office.

Sec. 7. That any person or persons who shall take up or destroy, or cause the same to be done, any of the said stakes, or who shall in anywise purposely deface or obliterate any part or portion of the writing or inscription placed thereon, shall be deemed guilty of misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, before any court of competent jurisdiction, shall be punished by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, or imprisoned in the county jail not more than ninety days, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Sec. 8. That the amount of ground which may be taken upon any lead, lode, or ledge, in addition to the discovery claim, shall be limited to ten hundred feet along said lead, lode, or ledge, in each direction from the discovery claim thereon.

Sec. 9. All lead, lode, or ledge claims taken up and recorded in pursuance of this act, shall entitle the person recording to hold the same to the use of himself, his heirs and assigns; and the conveyances of quartz claims shall hereafter require the same formalities, and shall be subject to the same rules of construction, as the transfer and conveyance of real estate. (cont.)
In 1870 the legislature passed a bill to amend the law of December 26, 1864. Another act, approved January 21, 1872, provided for the forfeiture to the Territory all the placer mines held by aliens. This was so opposed to ordinary legislative measures known in the United States that it was repealed by the legislature of 1873-1874.

(66 cont.) Sec. 10. That if at any time previous to the passage of this act claims have been taken up and recorded in the recorder's office of the proper county, upon any actual or proper lead, lode, ledge of quartz ore or mineral, the owners or proper claimant or claimants of said respective claims shall hold the same to the use of themselves, their heirs and assigns.

Sec. 11. That the act relating to the discovery of gold and silver quartz lodes, and the manner of their location, passed by the Idaho legislature, and approved February 4, 1864, and all other acts, or parts of acts, inconsistent with this act, be and the same are hereby repealed.

Sec. 12. That this act shall take effect from and after its passage."

in Acts and Laws of the First Legislature, op. cit., 327-329. C. T. Glasscock in War of the Copper Kings, (Indianapolis, 1935) relates the effect of the "apex" law (see Sec. 4 of the act of December 23, 1846) on mining activities at Butte. The miners of Beaverhead County did not take advantage of this "loop hole" in the mineral law. This law was changed, for if not, such provisions would have greatly hampered the mining industry throughout the state.

67 See Sec. 10 of the act of December 23, 1864.
69 Ibid., 586-588.
70 John Vipond, who was later one of the original discoverers of the Vipond District, was one of the members of this company.
72 The amendment follows: "That section 3 of said act be amended to read as follows: That the amount of ground which may hereafter be taken up, upon any lead, lode, or ledge in addition to the discovery claim, shall be limited to ten hundred feet along said lead, lode, or ledge in each direction from the discovery claim thereon; and that all such lead, lode, or (cont.)
The creation of the several western territories in which mining played a major role soon led to Federal legislation to protect the miners' rights within the mineral lands of the public domain. The numerous mining districts called attention to the inadequacy of national law regarding mineral lands. Congress could not ignore the fact that mineral wealth had been found in the government land. The self-constituted governments of the mining districts were able to keep peace and order. The territorial legislatures sanctioned their work. But neither could give valid title to land which they did not possess. Until Congress acted the status of the mining districts and their decisions were in doubt. In 1866 the first great national act related to mining was passed. This law made it possible for an individual or group to obtain a clear title from the United States in the form of a patent after improving the mineral claims to the extent of $1,000 and paying the stipulated price of five dollars per acre. It recognized the validity, within certain limits, of the local customs and rules of the miners. This act of 1866 was partially nullified by the law of May 10, 1872, which with slight modifications is still in force. By this law the size of quartz (72 cont.) ledge claims shall be represented by at least one day's actual labor performed thereon, within twelve months from the passage of this act, and every six months thereafter. In Laws of the Territory of Montana. Sixth Session, sec. 1, December 6, 1869 - January 7, 1870, (Helena, M. T., 1870), 70.

73 Leeson, op. cit., 220.
claims was fixed at fifteen hundred feet in length and three hundred feet on each side of a center line (usually the vein). Incidentally, the famous Dakota quartz claims were one hundred feet by fifty feet. Most of the early placer and quartz claims were small and varied in size from district to district. This was quite perplexing to the itinerant miners. The United States law pertaining to placer claims read that after July 9, 1870, the maximum placer locations should not exceed one hundred sixty acres for any one person or association of persons.

Beginning May 10, 1872, a placer claim became twenty acres upon surveyed lands and had to conform to the legal subdivisions. This regulation is still in effect.

The previous accounts have dealt largely with factors which were pertinent to the Grasshopper Creek miners, but nothing has been given about the actual mining along that stream. Several miles of the narrow canyon were staked and worked by hundreds of miners. A few of them will be mentioned since they are of special interest. Probably the first woman to record a mining claim in Montana was Mrs. R. W. Hall, of the Reed train, who took claim No. 6 northwest from White's

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75 Howell, op. cit., 9; also in Ingham, op. cit., 134. In the Blue Wing District, just north of Hannack, the old claims were 1,500 feet by 100 feet and those in the Argenta District were 2,500 feet by 100 feet.

76 United States Compiled Statutes, Annotated, (n. p., 1916), V, Sec. 4629 and 5660; also in Howell, op. cit., 20.

77 United States Compiled Statutes, Annotated, op. cit., V, Sec. 4630 and 5660.
discovery, November 10, 1862. 78 Edward S. Ball, who was appointed sheriff after Plummer's execution, had claim No. 11 above White's discovery. 79 A. R. Graeter, later interested in the Bannack Ditch Company and also in the dredging operations, claimed No. 11 below Geary's discovery, October 25, 1862. 30 W. L. Farlin, who staked the Asteroid (Travona) at Butte in 1864 had claim No. 12 below discovery on Jim's Bar, September 27, 1862. 32 Con Kohrs had 45 above, October 24, 1862; N. P. Langford, 39 above, October 27, 1862; R. C. Knox, 22 above, October 25, 1862; and Henry Zoller, of the Reed train, had 62 above, November 1, 1862. These latter men made history for Montana; Kohrs became identified as a big stock grower; Langford wrote "Vigilante Days and Days;" Knox became probate judge at Butte; and Zoller was the first treasurer of Beaverhead County. 83

Many of the claims were located on the placer bars named after such discoverers as White, Areighi, Jim, Geary, Dugerton, and Stapleton. The discovery of White's Bar has been discussed. Areighi's Bar was discovered, September 16, 1862, by John Areighi, William Roe, and Jim Harby. George Washington Stapleton found the bar named after him, August 23, 1862. This

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78 White's District Records, op. cit., 35.
79 Ibid., 11.
80 Mining Records, Bannack District, Book 2, op. cit., 51.
81 F. R. Ingalsbe, Notes on History of Mining in Montana, (MS.), 7.
82 Mining Records, Bannack District, Book 2, op. cit., 45.
83 Dimsdale, op. cit., 202-203.
bar was on the south side of the creek from Bannack.\textsuperscript{84} Jim's Bar was unearthed by Jim Griffiths or "Adobe Jim," a name given to him because he was a plasterer by trade.\textsuperscript{35} Another of the bars was named after Sidney Edgerton. (See Plates IX and X, pp. 85 and 86).

Several of the miners were successful in taking out large quantities of gold dust and nuggets while others were not so fortunate. The "poor man's mines" required little capital to work them. The following items are typical of the fortune hunters' experiences. In speaking of his efforts at the Grasshopper diggings, F. M. Thompson stated: "I paid at the rate of \$400 per thousand for 18 feet of whip-sawed lumber, and made a rocker, and we began mining. Cummings hauling the dirt from Buffalo dry gulch, a mile and a half away, which we rocked out at Grasshopper. In twenty shovelfuls, we took out \$2 worth of gold and thought we had a good thing. The next day we worked hard all the time and when we cleaned up we had but half an ounce, about ten dollars for five of us. The following day we did no better and then came a freeze and we could not use the rocker."\textsuperscript{36} In contrast to the foregoing, Mortimer H. Lott "mined at Bannack until July 1863, purchasing several claims, some of which were very productive, the riches on Jimmy's bar, having yielded \$1,400 from the sluice box in a

\textsuperscript{84} Dimsdale, op. cit., 202.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., 233.
\textsuperscript{35} Thompson, "Pioneer Experiences," op. cit., n. p.
Thompson designed Montana's Great Seal.
single day." 87 One must bear in mind that the sluice boxes were not cleaned every day. Captain Fisk found the yields to be five to fifteen dollars per day to the man, although there were some rich claims producing larger amounts. 88 Many of these diggings were abandoned when they would not produce more than eight to ten dollars a day to the man by the use of the pan, rocker, and ground sluice. 89

The discovery of Montana's richest placer mines at Alder Gulch, May 26, 1863, 90 soon attracted thousands of people. When the news of this find was given out, many Bannack miners departed for that place. One writer aptly penned the following:

The Alder Gulch stampede left Bannack under the leadership of Bill Fairweather, and as they filed up Hangman's gulch, their whoop was "Five dollars to the pan and shallow diggin's." Every horse that could go was out, oxen that could carry a pack was cinched, and miners afoot with blankets on their backs and coffee pots, frying pans, picks, and shovels hanging to them, brought up the rear of the stampede. 91

87 Progressive Men of Montana, op. cit., 720.
88 Fisk's Expedition of 1863, op. cit., 27.
89 Dredging for Gold; New Method Now in Use on Grasshopper Creek, Montana, S. This pamphlet is further marked Bannack, July 1899 and on the back of it is printed: H. H. Yard, Mining Engineer, Drexel Building, Philadelphia. In placer mining the pan, rocker, Georgia bumper, Long Ton, sluice, hydraulic, dredge boats, and draglines have succeeded each other in the order named. Leeson, op. cit., 226-231, gives an excellent description of several of the appliances, their operation, and a historical sketch about each.
90 Stout, op. cit., 1, 202.
PLATE XI — A GOLD ROCKER
beginning at Bannack. However, those who had good claims at Bannack did not join the throngs which brought the population of Virginia City up to fifteen thousand persons by August 1864.

Even though considerable wealth was taken from the gravel of Grasshopper Creek, bedrock was at such a depth that the pan, rocker, and kindred equipment were inadequate to recover much of the gold. The miners first worked along the creek as there the water was near at hand. They wanted quick returns, consequently the easiest ground was mined. The bars at the sides of the stream also furnished auriferous gravel that could be readily excavated; however, there arose the problem of obtaining sufficient water with which to mine them. Placer mining began in earnest when ditches were built to supply the sluice boxes on the bars. Harry Phleger was the first to file for a water right, September 23, 1862. He used the name Northwest Ditch Company. Evidently he needed funds or labor to carry out this project because he soon sold one-fifth interest to George Copely, one-tenth to Joseph Clark, and one-tenth to Samuel McLean and G. W. Stapleton.

Water claims were a definite part of a running stream.
or body of water to be devoted to the purposes of mining for which its use was so necessary. The water was not measured at first by miner's inches. It was measured by a certain number of feet up and down the stream. Since room was required to build sluice boxes and rockers and later mills, a portion of the adjoining land was necessary.

Henry Morley, in company with Jule Pitcher, W. V. Sewell, and H. M. Mandeville, ran a level, February 6, 1863, for the first ditch that was dug at Bannack. Morley's project was completed within three months and the water was turned in May 7. He surveyed a project, May 4, 1863, which he called Butz's ditch. The canal of the Bannack Mining and Ditch Company was also put into use in 1863, and was built mainly for the purpose of selling water to the miners. The rate was seventy-five cents per day for each miner's inch until 1867. This enterprise was the first to furnish an adequate supply of water to the miners and carried two thousand inches of water for fifteen miles in its channel along the south side of the creek. Fifteen thousand dollars was expended upon its

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98 "Prior to 1899, the legal unit for the measurement of water in Montana was the miner's inch. This was changed by the Sixth Legislative Assembly, and one cubic foot per second is now the unit of measurement. One cubic foot per second is 7.48 gallons, and is the equivalent of forty miner's inches." In Howell, op. cit., 51. Based on the foregoing, one miner's inch is equivalent to 0.732 gallons of water per hour.

99 Two examples of water claims follow. "O. D. Farlin claims all the water in Grasshopper Creek not already claimed from a stake one mile above Bannack City to another stake on No. 16 above Stapleton's Discovery for quartz mill and (cont.)
construction. It was built largely by hand-labor and the use of oxen. The men received a wage of one-half ounce of gold dust per day. The Bannack Mining and Ditch Company, of which A. F. (Gus) Graeter, Fielding L. Graves, and four others were members, was incorporated by the territorial legislature of Idaho. Grasshopper Creek did not furnish sufficient water to satisfy the needs of all the miners, especially when hydraulic mining was put into use. In 1867 the Bannack Mining and Ditch Company completed a second ditch at a cost of $35,000 which was to supply water for hydraulics. The ditch was about thirty miles long and carried one thousand inches of water along its course to the bars south and west of Bannack. The water for it was taken from Coyote and Painter Creeks which are tributary to Horse Prairie Creek. Gus Graeter and Graves acquired the major holdings of the company and operated six "Little Giant" hydraulics supplied with water from this long ditch to work the bars in Humbug and Buffalo gulches. (See Plates XII and XIII, p. 92). The Bannack Mining and Ditch Company, besides

(99 cont.) other water privileges December 15, 1862." In Mining Records, Bannack District, Book 2, op. cit., 170. "The Pioneer mining and milling Company claim the land and water in this gulch for milling purposes one-half mile below this point and one mile above together with the right of flowage to the height of twenty feet fall whatever point they may designate for mill sight within above described limits also the land on either side of stream from summit to summit. November 13, 1862. Pioneer milling and Mining Co. And. Godfrey, E. P. Langford, T. C. Gray, P. L. Loherty." In Mining Records, Bannack District, Book 2, op. cit., 125.

100 Morley, op. cit., 77, 99.

101 See footnote 98, p. 90. One must bear in mind that the water was used intermittently.
PLATE XII -- GRAETER-CRAVES HYDRAULIC

PLATE XIII -- SLUICE BLOW HYDRAULIC
(A. F. Graeter is smoking)
being the first to furnish enough water for the miners, operated longer than any similar company. The period of operation extended over several years.  

A company composed of M. J. McDouglas, James Doty, and H. M. Mandeville incorporated the North Side Ditch Company in 1865. Further information about this company is lacking. White's ditch, another canal, received its water from Grasshopper Creek and began one mile below town and crossed and recrossed the stream for three and one-half miles. It was built at a cost of $25,000 and carried nine hundred inches of water. The Pioneer Ditch and Mining Company constructed a ditch in the fall of 1868 from Dias (Dyers) and Taylor creeks to handle the placers immediately west of Bannack. The Canyon ditch, also from Grasshopper Creek, was built at a cost of $7,000 to work the claims now known as the Bon Accord placers near the mouth of Spring Gulch. The construction of

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102 Rossiter W. Raymond, Statistics of Mines and Mining, (Washington, 1870), 306-307; also in Montana Post, April 25, 1868, IV, 6; also in The Dillon Tribune, July 18, 1868, V, 3; also in The Dillon Examiner, September 7, 1862, I, 1; also in ibid., July 18, 1894, III, 3; also from an interview with W. E. Lloyd, Dillon, Montana. Mr. Lloyd acquired one of the ditches which he used to irrigate his ranch on Grasshopper Creek. He was also for a time the ditch rider on the canal from Coyote and Painter creeks. Later he ran a freighting outfit and hauled ore from the quartz mines near Bannack. During the construction of the "P. L. Graves" dredge, he hauled much of the material and equipment used in its construction.


105 Montana Post, April 25, 1868, IV, 6; also in Raymond, op. cit., (1870), 306-307.
Attention was not diverted to mining gold from quartz until the "poor man's diggings" were well occupied. The miners did not seek the "mother lodes" at first because machinery and equipment were expensive and capital was hard to procure. Machinery in those days came by ox teams at a freight charge of ten cents a pound and up; wages were five dollars per day for common help; and foodstuffs and everything else was in proportion.

The honor of discovering the first quartz claim in Montana belonged to Orrin D. Farlin (a brother of W. L. Farlin) when he claimed the Kamm's lode, October 15, 1862. The vein was near "Kamm's gulch on the north side of Horse Creek." Nothing came of the venture, and O. D. Farlin certainly must have suffered from "quartz on the brain" as evinced by the number of his later recordings. The only other claim recorded prior to the State's first producer was the Minnesota lode which (Hon.) James Ferguson took November 9, 1862. Both claims were in the Bannack Mining District.

106 Philip J. Shenon, Geology and Ore Deposits of Bannack and Argenta, Bulletin No. 6, (Butte, Montana, January 1931), 26-27. Philip J. Shenon is the son of Philip Shenon, who built a quartz mill at Bannack and had considerable mining property in that vicinity.

107 The Dillon Examiner, March 18, 1908, XVII, 1. This story was told by James Kirkpatrick, who also related the Bozeman narrative that was edited by P. C. Phillips.

108 Mining Records, Bannack District, Book 2, op. cit., 19. Evidently the claim was on Horse Prairie Creek.

109 Ibid., 92. A. J. Noyes, in Kimball, op. cit., 206, claimed that the French lode was located November 2, 1862, by F. Oudin and T. Pequignot. There is no such recording on that date. However, these two did record the French (cont.)
Montana's first gold extracted in quantity from quartz was mined from the famous Dakota lode. The discoverers, Charles Benson, H. Porter, W. Porter, and C. W. Place, recorded it November 12, 1862. These discoverers also preempted four additional claims. The prevalent custom at that time granted the discoverer or discoverers an extra portion, and the other claimants were allowed but a single claim each. For the most part, such practice was determined by the regulations within the districts. It was also the privilege and duty of the discoverer to name the lode. The Dakota has been incorrectly designated as the Dakota or Deconto by some. During the winter of 1862-1863, the owners pounded the ore in a stone mortar and made from ten to twenty dollars per day by the process until Montana's first stamp was erected for that purpose.

Captain Fisk makes the following comments about the other quartz mines in the district:

In addition to the above lode, they have already discovered over fifty others—Adams, Cherokee, Phillip's Minnesota, Ladies', Grasshopper, Mammoth, Cynthia, &c., &c.

(109 cont.) Lode, March 25, 1863, in Beaverhead County Mining Records, Independent District, Book 10, p. 55. This record is in the County Clerk and Recorder's vault at Dillon. The French lode was relocated, May 10, 1872, by Phillip Shenon and Joseph Godbois; in Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book "E", 130-131. C. Cox recorded the discovery claim on the Cherokee lode, March 13, 1863, the first quartz recording in Independent District where W. H. Lott was recorder; in Mining Records, Independent District, Book 10, op. cit., 54.

110 Mining records, Central District, op. cit., 97.
111 Hulan, Miners and Travelers Guide, op. cit., 140.
PLATE XIV -- THE FAMOUS DAKOTA
Lodes have also been opened a mile or two from Bannack City, on the Virginia City road, and I think it probable that they will be found through the whole of this part of the mountain range.

With the exception of the Dakota, the miners are not working the quartz lodes to any extent, as they need the capital and mills. They have, however, sunk shafts and tested the ore. Some of the lodes promise to be as rich as the Dakota, and the yields vary, as previously stated, from $300 to $2,000 per cord.

In almost all the pieces of ore that I picked up near the mouths of the shafts, the gold is distinctly visible. A fragment of two inches in diameter, taken from the Ladies' lode, contained about $5 worth of gold.

I am assured by Mr. Langford that miners taking a sack full of ore down to their cabins have pounded out in a mortar from 50 to 75 dollars' worth of gold, and $1,100 have been panned out of a wagon load.\(^{112}\)

A news item in "The Dillon Examiner" gives the following about one of the several claims along the Dakota vein:

Andrew Murray owned Dakota No. 6 west. . . . Murray went to New York City in 1863 and sold it to Fred Butterfield (one of the few millionaires in New York then) for $20,000 cash. A New York clerk by the name of Walter C. Hopkins was made superintendent to work the claim and was sent out here at $15 per day. Mr. Hopkins in turn hired a foreman named Sam Batchelder, at $10 per day, who had never seen a mine, but was a good man just the same. Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Batchelder were good at the saloons at the rate of $20 per day. I (Amede Bessette) was bartender here then and know what I say. These two men started a shaft on a pocket of ore at the depth of 40 feet. The ore soon quit and they kept on sinking in a solid, narrow reef of limestone. The shaft was pushed down 304 feet from the surface.\(^{113}\)

Several lessees undertook to work the Dakota vein after

\(^{112}\) Fisk's Expedition of 1863, op. cit., 28.

\(^{113}\) The Dillon Examiner, March 12, 1930, XXIX, 5. The story is told by Amede Bessette. "Middy" Bessette became interested in mining and owned several claims in Beaverhead County. W. E. Lloyd knew him well and vouches for his integrity.
the rich ore near the surface had been mined. The mine was worked to as great a depth as could be done profitably by the use of hoisting devices called horse-powered whims.\textsuperscript{114} Some years later, F. L. Graves, Phil Shenon, and others acquired the claims from the discovery to No. 10 west and took out some ore.\textsuperscript{115} A negligible amount of work has been undertaken on the property during the past few years. It has been variously estimated that gold valued from $60,000 to $550,000 was taken from the Dakota.\textsuperscript{116} The present Blue Grass and Gold Bug claims embrace the old workings of the once famous Dakota mine.

Quartz developments at Bannack were at their very infancy when the Pioneer Mining and Milling Company, consisting of And. Godfrey, N. P. Langford, I. C. (Con) Bray, and P. D. Doherty, claimed land and water for milling purposes, November 13, 1862.\textsuperscript{117} O. D. Farlin, on December 15, 1862, claimed all the water in Grasshopper Creek not already possessed. He intended to use it for mining and a quartz mill.\textsuperscript{118} There is nothing in the records or written accounts to show that these enterprises were ever carried out.

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{114}] This was a spool-shaped drum of wood or metal, with a long pole or lever attached. A horse could be hitched to the end of the pole, and by walking in a circle the whim would revolve and wind up a rope or cable. The whim was simply a vertical windlass.
\item[\textsuperscript{115}] The Dillon Tribune, May 20, 1882, II, 4.
\item[\textsuperscript{116}] Shenon, op. cit., 42; also an interview with Harry Graves, Dillon, Montana. Harry Graves now owns the Gold Bug.
\item[\textsuperscript{117}] Mining Records, Bannack District, Book 2, op. cit., 125.
\item[\textsuperscript{118}] Ibid., 17C.
\end{itemize}
The ingenuity and inventiveness, characteristic of those who recognized the necessity of quartz mills, soon found a way to recover the yellow metal from the ore. Montana's first stamp mill was begun by William S. Arnold in the winter of 1862 and finished by J. F. Allen the following spring.  

"Allen and Arnold, in their primitive blacksmith shop, quickly coiled and welded wagon tires into stamps... and with a small stream of water, worth one dollar an inch per day, were soon pounding gold from the rock of the Dakota lode early in '63." Evidently Mr. Montgomery was in partnership with Arnold because Morley "gave levels for the Arnold and Montgomery mill, April 18, 1863." Arnold, on October 4, 1863, sold Allen one-third interest in this mill which was known as the Bannack City Quartz Mill. This crude contrivance which was located on the creek below the Dakota mine crushed 11,500 worth of gold ore per week.

The four shoes or stamps of the contraption weighed between three and four hundred pounds each. The plates or dies were the only parts not manufactured at Bannack; these

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119 Leeson, op. cit., 217; also in Clark, op. cit., II, 51; also in The Dillon Examiner, January 23, 1901, X, 5.
120 Ibid., March 18, 1908, XVII, 1.
121 Morley, op. cit., 94.
122 Mining Records, Centerville District, Book 2, op. cit., 1.
123 Fisk's Expedition of 1863, op. cit., 27; also in Clark, op. cit., II, 51; also Leeson, op. cit., 217.
were hauled to Bannack. A crude waterwheel furnished the necessary power. A fir log which had hardwood pins driven through it at angles revolved and caught similar pins on cam shafts, thus causing the wooden stems and their stamps to rise and fall. The hardwood that was used in the construction of this mill also came from parts of the wagons. An interesting newspaper account adds the following:

In those days ore was measured by the cord the same as wood and Mr. Allen was paid $100 a cord for milling the ore. Mr. Allen sold his mill to a party, who afterwards proved to be tricky and dishonest, for in running ore for others, he would keep part of the gold and mix in iron and the like instead. He was soon discovered at his tricks, however, and would have been roughly handled, had he not skipped out. Some parties tore down the mill and cleaned up about $1,000. The stamps were afterwards taken from various purposes and the one now at Gibbonsville was taken there by a blacksmith named Anderson, who used it in his shop for several years as an anvil.

This pioneer mill was followed in 1863 by the erection of other plants which had been transported from Colorado and the east. One of those quartz mills arrived May 26, 1863, from Denver for M. Vanderburg. The following day he called upon Morley for water with which to run it. The second Fisk train, on August 31, 1863, met six teams and seventy-five or eighty oxen belonging to Colonel Daniel K. Hunkins of Bannack. Hunkin's train was bound for Fort St. Charles on the Missouri River to procure a steam engine and two quartz mills.

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125 The Dillon Examiner, September 27, 1905, XV, 7.
126 Ibid.
127 Ibid., January 23, 1901, X, 6.
128 Clark, op. cit., II, 51.
129 Morley, op. cit., 104.
130 Fisk's Expedition of 1863, op. cit., 20.
large frame building had already been constructed to house the machinery. McClellan and Company also put up a mill equipped with an engine. In the fall of 1864 the first steam-operated mill commenced work at Bannack. The "Montana Post" gives the following account of the steam mills:

There are two quartz mills in operation at Bannack, one erected by Colonel Hunkins, at the expense of forty thousand dollars. The Colonel is the pioneer in introducing steam mills into the territory. His machinery was brought up the Missouri River, a portion in the summer of '63 and the balance during the present season. It now has twenty-eight stamps. The other is a twelve-stamp mill imported by E. L. Pitt the past season.

A mill belonging to Butterfield and Hopkins was bought at St. Louis and erected above Bannack in 1864 at an expense of $25,000. It was a twenty-four-stamp mill, only twelve of which were used in its construction. Steam was used as motive power to operate the stamps which weighed five hundred fifty pounds each. As it had no saving device, the mill extracted only about twenty-five per cent of the gold. Dr. Hopkins (Walter C.) ran this plant, which was called the New York Mill because Fred Butterfield of New York City was the principal investor. This plant was built to work the gold ore from Dakota No. 6, which had been previously purchased from Andrew Murray. Butterfield and Company's trains, numbering about forty wagons, arrived at Virginia City, August 1865, with

131 Fisk's Expedition of 1863, op. cit., 28.
132 Browne's Report for 1868, op. cit., 408.
133 Montana Post, November 19, 1864, I, 2.
134 Raymond, op. cit., (1870), 509; also in The Dillon Examiner, April 21, 1897, VI, 1.
135 Montana Post, August 18, 1866, II, 3.
quartz machinery for Bannack. This mining company must not be confused with the milling company by the same name.

The Montana Mineral Land and Mining Company built a mill below Bannack on the north side of Grasshopper Creek. The machinery of this forty-stamp plant was manufactured by Marshall and Company of St. Louis. Its cost was reported to have been $16,000. The plant was housed in a building one hundred feet long and forty feet wide. The stamps weighed seven hundred pounds each. The ore which was crushed produced a net return of only six dollars per ton because about fifty per cent of the gold was carried off in the tailings.

The bulk of the ore was mined from the Wadams lode. R. P. Hopkins' mill was erected in 1870. It had five stamps that weighed seven hundred pounds each and a fifteen-inch turbine water wheel provided the power. A mill which belonged to N. E. Wood worked the quartz from the Cherokee vein. By 1885 there were only three gold mills at Marysville. Phil Shenon ran a small six-stamp mill for the quartz from the Pioneer mine. The Peade brothers moved the Archie Gibson mill from Spring Gulch and set it halfway between Bannack and the D. D. White mill. The Shenon plant was located on

136 Montana Post, August 18, 1866, II, 3.
137 Raymond, op. cit., (1870), 309-310.
138 The Dillon Examiner, April 21, 1897, VI, 1.
139 Raymond, op. cit., (1870), 310.
140 The Dillon Tribune, October 3, 1885, V, 5.
141 Ibid., May 23, 1885, V, 4; also in Leeson, op. cit., 476.
PLATE XV -- A CHINESE PUMP

(Used to lift water from excavations)
the site of the present Golden Leaf mill; the White mill was on the creek between that belonging to Chenon and the Gibson plant. Very little could be learned about either the Gibson or White mills.

After the burst of mining activity during the years from discovery to about 1875, mining at Bannack declined until the dredge boats were placed along the creek in 1895 to 1899. Then Bannack again came to the front. Only intermittently during the twenty years from 1875 to 1895 were mining and milling undertaken extensively, except that done by the previously mentioned hydraulics. In 1884 placer mining was confined to a few old timers. J. E. Williams and Joe Harris had fair results at placer mining on the creek in the lower part of the district.

The Bon Accord Mining Company was organized for the purpose of working the bedrock of Grasshopper Creek in the vicinity of Spring Gulch. The company dug a pit to bedrock during the summer of 1885 and found pay dirt. It built five hundred feet of flume and in addition cut a channel fifteen hundred feet long, eight feet wide, and five feet deep to divert the creek and to facilitate the work. During the winter months the miners tunnelled the ground and used pumps to keep the excavations dry. (See Plate XVI, p. 105). This type of mining was both expensive and dangerous because the bedrock

142 *The Dillon Tribune*, June 12, 1883, VIII, 7.
143 Harry Graves, *op. cit.*
144 Leeson, *op. cit.*, 476.
145 *The Dillon Tribune*, May 15, 1858, VI, 5.
PLATE XVI -- SEEKING ALDROCK
was at a depth of thirty-five feet and the loose ground frequently caved. 146

Kress and Barker, editors of the Dillon Examiner, visited this mine in September 1892 and wrote the following:

In the company of Dr. J. S. Meade, mine host of Hotel Meade, we visited the Bon Accord placer mine three miles below Bannack, where we found a force of twenty-eight men working under the management of C. L. Comisky. . . . The plant used by the company is driven by a Leffel waterwheel which drives the pumps and hoists the dirt from the bedrock to the flume above. We learned it was the intention of the company to work the ground as long as possible this season and having everything ready for an early start in the spring, when they will put in a hydraulic and elevating plant. 147

Such mining proved unsatisfactory. However, the company did some work during the summer of 1895. H. P. Cruzen, their mechanic-engineer and superintendent, went to Chicago to oversee the manufacture of some mining machinery of his own design to be used the following summer. 148

The Montana-Crasshopper Company also attempted to tunnel the ground. It owned several placer claims in 1893. George F. Cope, assistant cashier of the American National Bank at Helena, Montana, owned more than one-third of the capital stock; and a quantity was held at Denver, Colorado, and Syracuse, New York. It took Cope, who was the organizer, several years to get possession of the ground because too many early claimants along

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146 The Dillon Tribune, October 21, 1897, VII, 5.
147 The Dillon Examiner, September 7, 1892, I, 5.
148 "Cruzen later invented the grizzly, a cylindrical, revolving screen to dispose of the large rocks which were brought up by the dredge buckets;" W. L. Lloyd, op. cit.
149 The Dillon Examiner, December 25, 1893, V, 3.
150 Ibid., September 6, 1893, II, 3.
the creek made it impossible for any large scale work. Water seepage and the depth of bedrock did not permit the outlay of large sums of money to mine only one or two claims.\textsuperscript{151} Professor Gregory, a placer mining expert, examined this ground in the interest of an English company. However, the alien mining law which was passed at that time prevented the deal for its purchase. Gregory's written report stated that there was $50,000,000 in gold in the gulch. This probably accounted for Cope's interest. Cope prospected the ground and obtained samples of gold about the size of cucumber seeds.\textsuperscript{152}

A news item written July 31, 1895, gives the following:

It was Mr. Cope's idea to build a drain tunnel, as previous efforts had convinced him there was no other possible way of reaching bedrock. About two years ago, and three years after the company was formed, Mr. Cope began to sink on the pay streak at his own expense. He was anxious to learn if there was gold on the bedrock, and if so whether it could be taken out without going to the great expense of a tunnel. He put up a big steam pump and lowered his shaft twenty-seven feet, when the water came in so fast that it put a stop to the work. He had not reached bedrock and had not been able to get a color. This experiment cost him $2,500. The only thing he learned on that round was that the ordinary methods of mining were not practicable... and with his company started to put in a drain tunnel.

The Grasshopper tunnel... reached a distance of 3,000 feet, and owing to the slight fall of the gulch, did not reach bedrock. That was discouraging... and the company resolved to make another attempt to reach bedrock if only to find out whether there was gold or not. A shaft was commenced, and with the aid of a powerful Cornish pump, bedrock was reached at a distance of thirty-seven feet. Then gold was found that is now on exhibit at the First National Bank. The 100 ounces represented only twelve

\textsuperscript{151} The Dillon Examiner, July 31, 1895, IV, 5.\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., September 6, 1893, II, 3.
days' work. Only two men worked in the shaft. . . .
The chief expense in the method of working is the run-
ing of the pump, which has to be kept up constantly.
The find demonstrated there were great deposits of
gold at bedrock. 153

The company never completed the tunnel, and about 1897
Cope sold the placer claims to the Montana Gold Dredging Com-
pany for $150,000.

Other companies which worked mines in the district were
interested in the quartz developments. About 1890 Phil Shenon
sold his interests to the Golden Leaf Mining Company, Limited.
His holdings included a mill and the Wadams, Wallace, Golden
Leaf, French, Excelsior, and other mines. 154 The Golden Leaf
Company built the Golden Leaf mill at a cost of $50,000 to
$60,000 on the site of Shenon's old plant. It was located
about three-quarters of a mile below Bannack on the south side
of the creek. In 1891 the company employed about fifty to
sixty men in the electrically lighted mill and mines. 155 This
company also ran their own store. Supt. Lonman was in charge
at the mill and mines and employed about twenty-four men in
1892. 156 That year ten more stamps were added to the ten-
stamp mill. The company also worked the Golden Leaf placers. 157

153 The Dillon Examiner, July 31, 1895, IV, 5.
154 Shenon, op. cit., 40. Wilson Wadams and Richard
McCaflerty discovered the Wadams lode, March 21, 1885; in
Mining Records, Central District, Book 5, op. cit., lode sec-
tion in Book 2, p. 3. A. N. Odell, P. J. Kelley, and Samuel
W. Batchelder recorded the Golden Leaf lode, August 12, 1872;
in Mining Records, Book "O", op. cit., 124-125.
155 The Dillon Examiner, September 16, 1891, I, 1.
156 Ibid., September 7, 1892, I, 1.
157 Ibid., September 16, 1891, I, 1.
PLATE XVII -- A BANDAH GOLI MINE
At a stockholders' meeting in London it was stated that the company netted 6,884 pounds profit for the year. Much squabbling ensued over the future policies of the company. This caused the resignation of directors Wallace and Thompson.  

The Western Mines Enterprise Company of London acquired the Golden Leaf property in 1894 and worked only the placers for a time. After indifferent operations it leased the placer holdings to R. Curin and R. F. Edwards, who wanted the property for dredging.  

Probably the Excelsior mine was the best at the time when the Enterprise Company was active. It was recorded May 10, 1872, by W. L. Farlin and Phil Shenon. Shenon bought out his partner for $250. The mine was situated about one-half mile below the Wadams lode and east of the Golden Leaf mines. The lead runs north and south and extends into Grasshopper Creek, where the dredge boat got its biggest pay. This vein was rich at the surface in free-milling gold quartz, but soon turned into iron ore, rich in gold, but too base to be milled with profit by Bannack's small mills. This was also the case with the low grade ores from the Fee Hive, Bannack, Wadams, French, St. Paul, Pennsylvania, and other mines. The story is told by Amede Bessette.

158 The Dillon Examiner, May 31, 1893, II, 2.
159 Ibid., December 25, 1895, V, 6.
160 Ibid., October 28, 1896, VI, 5.
161 Mining Records, Book "O", op. cit., 135.
162 The Dillon Examiner, March 12, 1930, XXXIX, 5.
assays on the Excelsior averaged $38.05 to the ton in gold. H. E. Meade leased the Excelsior and employed about twenty men during the winter of 1895-1896. He made regular shipments to Butte. From 1896 to 1899 the Enterprise Company received $142,111 from 6,422 tons of gold ore mined chiefly from the Excelsior mine. It was estimated that this mine produced a total of approximately $300,000. In 1900 C. Werngren of Helena leased twenty-two quartz and five placer claims, some of which were owned by the Enterprise Company. The past production of these mines leased by Werngren was estimated at about $1,310,000 in gold.

For several years little was done upon the Golden Leaf and other Bannack properties, except by occasional lessees. In 1910 the Bannack Gold Mining Company bought the interests of the Western Mines Enterprise Company. B. Dinnard, J. F. Cowan, Harry B. Coles, and others comprised this new company. W. E. Dunn had the management of the work. He was also connected with the Dunn Development Company which shipped considerable ore. In 1915 Dunn sold part of his interests at Bannack for about $75,000. C. W. Stallings became

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163 The Dillon Tribune, May 20, 1882, II, 4.
164 The Dillon Examiner, January 29, 1896, V, 5.
166 Shenon, op. cit., 40.
167 The Dillon Examiner, October 10, 1900, X, 10.
168 Shenon, op. cit., 40.
169 The Dillon Examiner, December 29, 1915, XXV, 1.
170 Ibid., May 24, 1911, XX, 1.
superintendent of the Bannack Gold Mining Company and employed fifty men in the mines and twenty men in the construction of a new mill. Dunn employed several men on the remainder of his property. 171

The Bannack Gold Mining Company built the present two-hundred-ton cyanide mill upon the site of the old Golden Leaf plant. (See Plate XVIII, p. 113). The construction was begun in 1916 and it was in operation by May 17, 1917. The owners depended entirely upon the water from Grasshopper Creek to furnish power for the hydro-electric plant which developed 250 horsepower. In July of the same year they had to close down because of low water. The mill cost $235,000 and had seven pulp tanks in its works. 172 The I. E. Haviland Company took over the mill and properties in 1931 and put in twenty-one miles of power line from the Dillon sub-station at a cost of $35,000 to electrify the mill and mines. They renamed the group of mines the "Sleeping Princess." At the peak of production the company received $32,000 a month for the gold concentrates. 173 F. A. Hancock was the superintendent. 174

In 1934 the Thompson Mining and Milling Company acquired the property and operated until 1936. The Geddes-Horton Mining Company also had it from October 1937 to March 1938. 175

Neither the activities of this company nor the present (1940)

171 The Dillon Examiner, June 7, 1916, XXV, 1.
172 An Interview with C. W. Stallings, Bannack, Montana.
173 Ibid.
174 The Dillon Examiner, February 9, 1933, XLIII, 1.
175 C. W. Stallings, op. cit.
PLATE XVIII -- GOLDEN LEAF MILL
endeavors of the Golden Messenger Corporation of Selena, Montana, contributed much in the way of recovered wealth. The Golden Messenger people employed only a few men when the writer visited the place in 1939.

Other gold mines have been worked at Bannack in recent years. The Henricks mine across the creek from town was taken over in 1918 by Stallings, who built a five-stamp mill to work the ore. In 1920 a new ten-stamp mill was built, but it was shut down in 1921 because Stallings was employed by the Bannack Gold Mining Company. E. L. Monska took a lease on Stallings's property from 1933 to 1934 and electrified the plant. The Chipaul Mining Company, another outfit, had it for seven months. The present (1940) Bannack-Apex Mining Company was organized by Stallings and others in 1936. The mill handled some custom ore besides that mined from the Henricks and Suffield claims which were leased by the company. These two workings are owned by the Greater-Park Realty Company of Dillon. Stallings estimated the total production of them at $40,000.\footnote{176}

Hydraulic mining was undertaken in a minor way in 1939. F. M. Miles of Tacoma, Washington, filed on the Dark Horse Placer, April 5.\footnote{177} (See Plate XIX, p. 115). He began work on the bar southwest of Bannack, near the Bannack-Armstead road, with a modern plant. A ten-inch iron pipe carried the

\footnote{176}{C. W. Stallings, \textit{op. cit.}}\newline\footnote{177}{Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book 32, p. 115.}
PLATE XIX — A MODERN HYDRAULIC
water from Grasshopper Creek to the hydraulic. A Continental power unit with a Fairbanks-Morse centrifugal eight-inch pump and a Continental power unit connected to a six-inch Fairbanks end-suction pump forced the water up the hill through the pipeline. It was reported that the ground produced from thirty-five cents to three dollars and fifty cents in dust per cubic yard.

The only other mining along Grasshopper Creek, besides that previously mentioned, was done by Ralph E. Davis of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The Bon Accord placers, containing ninety acres of patented ground, were leased by him from Hans Anderson and the Frank Hazelbaker estate of Dillon. Davis also leased ten patented claims from George R. Metlen of Dillon. The ground was thoroughly tested before the developmental work began in May 1938. A large ditch was dug above the north bank of the creek to carry all the water so as to permit the Bucyrus-Montigan dragline to remove the thirty-five or forty feet of alluvial wash from the bedrock of the old creek channel. This dragline was electrically operated and kept its five-yard bucket in motion day and night. (See Plates XX and XXI, p. 117). A pit washer which recovered the gold was at the bottom of the excavation. This washer was fed by a small dragline that worked beside it. All this machinery treated 1,125,000 cubic yards of gravel from April to December 1939

178 Beaverhead Mining Association Prospectus. (Manuscript).
and recovered nearly two thousand ounces of gold. After witnessing the work done by this modern machinery, one can readily realize the extent of the difficulties encountered by the old miners when they tried to reach bedrock by shafts and tunnels.

Metal production figures for Beaverhead County are meager and unreliable. Large portions of the statistics prior to 1904 were estimates. Beginning in 1904 the first satisfactory canvass of mine production was made.

The earliest available estimate for the Bannack Mining District was secured by W. S. Keyes, a mining engineer who later was superintendent of a smelter at Butte, Montana. He stated: "I am indebted to the United States revenue collector for the following figures... The product of 1862 may be set down at $600,000 and was mainly due to the placers at Bannack." Production at Bannack from 1862 to 1876 was reported at $3,000,000, principally from the placers. Some data put the total of the district to 1895 at not less than $4,000,000, and about $2,500,000 of this amount was placer gold and the remainder was gold bullion from the deep mines. Other figures for Beaverhead County from 1862, up to and

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179 Minerals Year Book, 1940, (Washington, 1940), 352.
181 Taylor's Report for 1868, op. cit., 51. Ibid., N. P. Langford was the revenue collector.
182 Raymond, op. cit., (1876), 237.
183 Winchell, op. cit., 73.
including 1869, set the gold produced at $2,245,000.  

The greatest amount of metal produced in the Bannack district came during the years from 1862 to 1875, and it was not until the advent of the dredges that production again reached a high peak. During 1908-1909 the metal output was near its lowest point. The total production (1862-1930) at Bannack was estimated at $12,000,000.  

When the price of gold under the Gold Reserve Act of 1934 was fixed by Presidential proclamation on January 31, 1934, at $35 per fine troy ounce, gold mining throughout the county was greatly stimulated. From January 18, 1837, through 1932, the price of gold was $20.67 (plus) per ounce. In 1933 the county produced only 3,229.56 ounces of gold valued at $66,761. In 1934 the product amounted to 5,124.55 ounces valued at $179,103. The gold produced in 1935 again showed an increase; 10,450.2 ounces valued at $365,757 were mined.  

The total gold taken from the Bannack Mining District in 1939 amounted to $118,778.

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134 Sanders, op. cit., I, 182.  
135 Shenon, op. cit., 28; also in U. M. Sahinen, Mining Districts of Montana, 22. A master's thesis at the Montana School of Mines, Butte, Montana.  
136 Minerals Year Book, 1940, op. cit., 49; also in Minerals Year Book, 1934, (Washington, 1934), 30-34.  
140 Minerals Year Book, 1940, op. cit., 348.
CHAPTER IV

THE HORSE PRAIRIE MINING DISTRICT

Wealth was near at hand, but the urge to make a "strike," characteristic of prospectors, and the already overcrowded conditions at Bannack caused many miners to search for new fields. Several of the men went to the headwaters of Horse Prairie Creek which is about twenty-five miles southwest of Grasshopper Creek. There, about July 4, 1863,\(^1\) they discovered gold. The find was made in Colorado Gulch,\(^2\) thus named because some of the men were originally from that region. Evidently eleven men composed the party for that number filed upon the discovery claim. Just which of them first found "colors" is not known. A conjecture would be that S. Robeson did because the first bar was named Solomon's Bar; however, Robeson's first name is not known. The

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\(^1\) "Discovered in May, 1863;" in Wheeler and Williams, \textit{op. cit.}, n. p. "In the spring of 1863, Mr. James E. Murray left Colorado and on the 12th of May reached Bannack, Montana. Soon thereafter he and a few other hardy spirits started on a prospecting trip, and it is they who discovered gold in Horse Prairie and then organized a company July 4. . . ." in Sanders, \textit{op. cit.}, II, 910. Sanders' story appears correct about the prospecting party as well as the date, July 4, 1863, for the discovery. (See recording for this).

\(^2\) Both the George Engineering Company and Beaverhead National Forest maps, \textit{op. cit.}, name the main gulch or creek "Jeff Davis" and the southeastern tributary of this stream is marked "Colorado Creek." There appears to be some confusion in the names of these. The mining records for the district say "Colorado Gulch." W. A. Clark claimed that Jeff Davis Gulch was a little dry gulch. In an interview with T. K. Yearian, Brenner, Montana, he claimed that Jeff Davis Gulch was dry and about one-quarter mile long. Mr. Yearian was in the gulch when a boy as his father and his uncle began to mine it in 1867.
mining records for the district gave the following entry:

Know all men by these presents that we A. Graham, S. Robeson, W. Skelley, R. R. Dorsett, John Murray, G. W. Stringham, John Hutton, Henry Cather, Henry Monforton, John Murphy, and Henry Thompson does claim as discovery eleven hundred feet of ground from summit to summit on Solomons Bar and Colorado Gulch commencing at the discovery stake about five hundred feet above the mouth of dry gulch & Solomons Bars eleven hundred feet and they also claim eleven hundred feet as premption running up the bars and gulch from summit to summit, July 4, 1863

A. Graham
S. Robeson
W. Skelley
R. R. Dorsett
John Murray
G. W. Stringham
John Hutton
Henry Cather
Henry Monforton
John Murphy
Henry Thompson

Recorded July 7th at 2 P.M., 1863
Henry Thompson, Recorder

These miners also organized on July 4, 1863, the Prospect Mining District, chose A. Graham as chairman, and elected R. R. Dorsett for president and Henry Thompson for recorder. W. A. Clark and Vital Jarrot later acted as recorders. The miners decided that the district was to be from Dry Gulch to the summit of the mountains to the east. Placer claims were one hundred feet wide, up and down the creek, and

3 "Solomons" is crossed out in the record.
4 Beaverhead County Mining Records, Jeff Davis Gulch, Book 6, p. 1. This book contains two sections, one of the minutes of the miners' meetings and the other is recordings of claims. A. Graham furnished this old ledger which he had brought with him from his venture with the Graham House. His records for his hotel business read from 1856 to 1859. James E. Murray was elected president according to Sanders, op. cit., II, 910. This citation does not agree with the record.
5 Mining Records, Jeff Davis Gulch, op. cit., l.
ran from summit to summit, thus containing the bars and the
gulch. The quartz claims which were one hundred feet square
were held as real estate, meaning that they were not subject
to forfeiture. The latter rule was applied in the other dis­
tricts because the miners were chiefly interested in placer
mining and could hold the quartz claims until it was opportune
to develop them. The bars which were named Solomon, Dorsett,
and Jack now appear to have been the most important in the
district. At no time after the first small rush were there
many at these placers.

The fame of the diggings did not rest upon the recover­
ed wealth, which was negligible when compared to Bannack and
Alder Gulch, but rested upon the activities of W. A. Clark,
who found an introduction to the mines of Montana at this spot.
Here he gained a start for his later fortunes. In 1863 the
news of the discoveries at Bannack reached Colorado. Clark
was among those who set forth on the long trek to Montana. He
continues with the story in his own interesting manner:

We reached Horse Prairie Creek on the 7th day of July,
where we went into camp just below the crossing on the way
to Bannack. I saw a wagon and a tent a short distance away
on the other side of the creek, so I went over and accosted
the gentleman in charge of the establishment. He was evi­
dently preparing to build a house, as a load of logs had
been delivered nearby. . . . Afterwards, having located
twenty miles above the point on Horse Prairie Creek, to

6 Mining records, Jeff Davis Gulch, op. cit., 2.
7 Ibid., 6.
8 Sanders, op. cit., II, 855.
engage in mining, I became well acquainted with this individual, whose name was Martin Barrett.

The next morning we drove to Bannack, reaching there about noon, when we turned our cattle out to graze while we prepared something to eat. Our camp was on Yankee Flat, where there were a few cabins, one of which was afterwards noted as the home of Red Ray, one of the desperate "road agents", or highway men.

While we were eating our meal a rather old man by the name of Baugh came over from the town and told us a story about an important discovery of gold which had been made about a day's drive from Bannack. He said the story of the discovery had leaked out and a stampede would take place that night, and said: "If you boys will take your wagon and haul a barrel of whiskey, a tent, some grub, and a few boxes of cigars, I will send a man along to show you the way."

Alder Gulch had been discovered some weeks before by Bill Fairweather and others and there was considerable excitement about it. We heard rumors about it on the road and two of our companions, Hildebrand and Myers, concluded to take their passage on a wagon headed for Alder Gulch, taking part of the mining tools and a few provisions that were left, leaving the balance to us. We were to dispose of the wagons and cattle when an opportunity should arise, and send them their share, which we afterwards did.

Selby and I then accepted the offer of Baugh, and at ten o'clock that evening I drove over to Baugh's saloon and loaded up the "wet" goods, cigars, etc., and started with Baugh's guide, whose name was R. T. Kennon. They called him Dick; I knew him afterwards when living in Deer Lodge. . . . We found, however after starting, that Dick did not know anything more about the direction we ought to go than we did ourselves, but it turned out all right, as we found some stampededers already on the way; some of them afoot, others on horseback, and all we had to do was to follow the crowd. Our route lay back to Horse Prairie Creek and westward to Red Butte, about ten miles from the crossing, where we stopped to prepare breakfast. In the meantime hundreds of people had passed us and we did not get into the camp we started for until late in the afternoon, when we discovered a man by the name of Roe Dorsett and party had discovered gold on a bar, which they were working by the means of ground sluices, but aside from this, I afterward found that there were no other bars and that neither the main gulch
or any of the side gulches, with one exception, contained gold in paying quantities.

Baugh, our benefactor, rode into camp just after we arrived and set up his tent and dispensed to the hungry and thirsty crowd, in short order and no doubt at satisfactory prices, the goods we had hauled for him.

Having found all the ground staked, Selby and I the following day, started prospecting in the adjacent gulches, where we spent several days, but could only get colors in different places where we sank to bedrock. Upon leaving camp we told Baugh that we were going prospecting for several days and would then return. He said, "All right. I am going to do a little prospecting myself. If you boys find anything good stake me in and I will do the same thing with you." To which we agreed as it is a universal rule among prospectors.

Upon our return, after several days of fruitless search, we found nearly all the stampederers gone, but Baugh was still there. Sure enough, only a mile from the camp he had found a little dry gulch that gave encouraging prospects, and as he was an ex-rebel, he named it "Jeff Davis" Gulch, and true to his promise, he had located us both in, that is with claims 100 feet in length from rim to rim, according to the established rules prevailing in those days, and really we got the best ground in the gulch, which we proceeded to develop. Not being much inclined to do much himself, he offered to sell his interest, agreeing to give some time for payment. . . . We were obliged to strip off about four feet of waste before reaching pay dirt near the bedrock. As there was no water in the gulch, we were obliged to haul the dirt to the main creek, where we put in our sluice boxes. There being no lumber with which to make the sluice boxes, I had to go to Bannack to purchase some and get some "grub" also, as we were running short about that time.

We were not in a very flush financial condition at that time. Upon my arrival at Bannack I found five letters from home that anticipated me and had been carried from Salt Lake by private express which had been established between that place and Bannack. The price of transportation of a letter at that time was $1.00 each, and I had just $5.00 value in Bob Tail dust (a term applied in Colorado to gold amalgam, the product of the mills of that country, and at that time it was the sole currency in circulation in Colorado). I had, besides, a fractional greenback currency of the denomination of fifty cents. I gladly parted with
the $5.00 for the letters; therefore, I was obliged to get credit for the lumber and some few other articles which we needed, and this I readily obtained. During our prospecting trip I found a very fine pair of elk antlers, which I brought to Bannack, and for which Sy. Skinner, who kept a saloon and who was afterward hung by the Vigilantes near Hell Gate, offered to give me ten dollars and this I readily accepted.

Returning to the gulch, I found that my companion had commenced operations, and it was not long until we installed our equipment and began our experience at placer mining. We first got some logs and built a cabin about fifteen by twenty feet in dimensions, which was covered in the conventional style with a roof of split poles covered over with dirt, and which we found very satisfactory in absolutely dry weather. We took the hind wheels of the wagon, which we converted into a cart for the purpose of hauling dirt, one yoke of oxen being used. We had about a half-mile to haul the dirt to Colorado Creek, where we constructed three sluice boxes of lumber which I had brought from Bannack. The summer and fall months were very fine, and we worked almost uninterruptedly until the beginning of November. We usually observed Sundays and refrained from working. My partner, who was very fond of cards, usually passed the day and sometimes the night, at Dorsett camp a mile below... 9

Clark, Selby, George Cavaner, John Button, Henry Cather, and David E. Metlen organized the Denver Ditch and Mining Company. 10 Nothing could be determined as to the outcome of this enterprise; it is doubtful if any effort was made to carry the project into effect. At the close of the first season, Clark returned to Bannack; and during the following spring, he again went to Jeff Davis Gulch to resume mining. He bought out the interests of Murray and his partners, and

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9 The Dillon Examiner, November 17, 1895, XXV, 1; also in Stout, op. cit., I, 328-330; also in Glasscock, op. cit., 46-48. W. A. Clark recorded claim No. 30 above discovery on Solomon's Bar, August 7, 1863, in Mining Records, Jeff Davis Gulch, op. cit., 6.
10 Ibid., 14.
Murray then went to Snake River to prospect. Near the close of this profitable season Clark sold his holdings and started for Bannack. Illness seized him on the way, and he was taken in and nursed by a French couple who owned a ranch on the road. Clark then went into the merchandizing business and had no further connection with the horse Prairie mines.

The first miners soon skimmed the diggings and left much of the gold to be recovered by hydraulics. A. G. McComb of the Gold Hill Montana Territory Mining Company and George and Jacob Yearian, brothers, were mining Colorado Gulch with hydraulics in August, 1867. McComb worked above the

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11 Sanders, op. cit., II, 910; also in Glasscock, op. cit., 50. "There is still current among the old timers in Butte and Helena another story of that illness which reflects more creditably upon Clark's character than his own account. According to the more popular story, the fever-stricken man was taken in by a rancher or prospector named Brown, later known as 'Crazy Brown'. Brown nursed Clark until he began to despair of the patient's life, and then carried him to the doctor who brought him safely through the crisis of pneumonia. In after years, according to the popular tale, when Clark was operating banks in Deer Lodge and Butte, he left a standing order with his paying tellers that any draft for a reasonable sum presented by his benefactor would be honored, and charged to his account. According to the same legend, however, Brown, or the Frenchman, or whoever it was, never availed himself of the opportunity for easy money as a reward for Good Samaritanism." in Glasscock, op. cit., 50.

Another fantastic yarn about Clark is current at Dillon, Montana. The substance of it follows. Crazy Brown, Bill Roe, and Dave Metlen were working in Jeff Davis Gulch when Clark came along in 1863 with an ox team. The miners proposed that they would "cut him in" on the placer in exchange for the oxen which they intended to eat during the winter months. Clark was dressed in an old Confederate coat which had the tail burned off. He panned out two ounces of gold, borrowed Metlen's horse, and then rode to Bannack to purchase some shoes and clothes to replace his old, worn outfit. While he was (cont.)
Yearians near Gold Hill, which was below Lorsett bar. The
Yearian brothers claimed a large portion of the water in the
gulch, October 25, 1867. This made it possible for them to
purchase about one mile of claims from the individual owners.
They dug the fifteen-mile Kelview Ditch which covered Jeff
Davis Gulch. The ditch had a capacity of one thousand
inches and was built at a cost of $15,000. Ordinarily the
brothers hired about thirty men and operated five hydraulics.
The placers were mined until 1872 when they leased part of
the ground to some Chinese who usually followed white men in
placer mining. The mines became known as the "China diggings"
and the settlement took the name of Chinatown. Both names
still cling to the scene of the operations. About sixty China-
men worked hydraulics along the gulch. There were two compa-
nies of them, one headed by Boise Sam and the other by Hong
Wau Tau. It was reported that they took out $36,000 in six
weeks. They washed the gravels of the gulch until about
1882.

(II cont.) In the town, Gus Graeter recognized Metlen's horse
and was going to call on the Vigilantes concerning the sup-
posedly stolen animal. On "squaring" himself Clark returned
to work with his newly acquired partners, and each of them
cleaned up $7,500 apiece during the season. Clark and Brown
stayed alone during the fall or winter of 1863-1864. Clark
became sick and Brown carried him on his back to Bannack.
"Gus Graeter said: 'I remember well seeing W. A. Clark,
a little red-headed fellow, with his pack on his back, the day
he left Bannack for Jeff Davis Gulch. He was wearing a sol-
dier's overcoat, with one of the tails gone, that was said to
have been caused by getting too close to a campfire, sometime
when he was cold;" in Limsdale, op. cit., 209.
Two miners, Andy Myers and A. E. Cooper, worked a placer above the old Hamilton ranch. During the trouble with Chief Joseph's tribe in 1877, some of the Nez Perces wandered into Horse Prairie; and there Cooper, who evidently incited them, met death at their hands. 18

The Yearians mined the balance of their claims intermittently until 1895 when they sold their interests, containing about one hundred acres, to E. F. White, Otto Kleer, J. E. Morse, and J. C. Brenner. 19 These men operated the placers by means of a hydraulic before the Brenner dredge boat was constructed to work the ground. 20 The story about this boat will be related in the next chapter. After the dredge ceased work, almost no mining was done in the area. During the year of 1939 gold amounting to only $457 was taken from the gulch. 21

12 Montana Post, August 24, 1867, IV, 4.
13 T. H. Yearian, op. cit.
15 T. H. Yearian, op. cit.
16 Noyes, op. cit., 89.
17 An interview with J. J. Sheer, Dillon, Montana.
Mr. Sheer worked at the Hamilton ranch at the time when the Chinese were in the gulch. He related that he frequently did the writing for the Chinamen when it was necessary for any of them to correspond in English. The Chinese bought many of their provisions at the ranch.

18 Ibid.; also T. H. Yearian, op. cit.
19 The Dillon Examinner, February 20, 1895, IV, 3; also in The Dillon Tribune, July 19, 1895, XV, 1.
His father was J. C. Brenner.
21 Minerals Year Book, 1940, op. cit., 352.
CHAPTER V

BEAVERHEAD'S DREDGE BOATS

Mining at Bannack and at Colorado Gulch (Horse Prairie) has been discussed in the two preceding chapters; therefore it is logical to continue with the story about the dredge boats in those two districts, even though it breaks the chronological sequence of presenting the other areas in Beaverhead County. One might ask why the dredging operations should be discussed together, since they were in different localities. First, the activities on Horse Prairie were closely associated with those at Bannack; secondly, gold recovery by dredges started at Bannack; and lastly, the operations of the six boats from 1895-1904 were contemporary. Five boats were on Grasshopper Creek and the sixth was placed in Jeff Davis Gulch, as it is now called.¹

The mining of placer gold at Bannack and Horse Prairie rapidly declined after the first short period of production. The hydraulic method served well in taking gold from the bars. However, its recovery along the creek had to wait until mining methods improved. With the coming of the dredge boats, the recovery of gold from the gravel of the creek again became profitable. Dredging was an old method applied to a new field, and it was the only way by which the richest part of the

¹ See Footnote 2, Chap. IV.
gulches could be worked. Grasshopper Creek gold was very coarse, and much of it consisted of nuggets that were worth one dollar to ten dollars each. The mint value of this gold averaged .935 fine which was three and one-half per cent more valuable than regular United States coin with a standard of .900 fine.²

Doubt about the feasibility of working Grasshopper Creek gravel with dredges existed in the minds of most people because the bedrock was deep. "The old mossbacks laughed at the idea."³ Their comprehension as to the exact method employed by dredges appears to have been quite vague as some of the contemporary newspaper accounts will bear out. One of the earliest of these items gives the following:

A. C. Durboro, a member of the last Congress from Illinois, and a well known electrical expert of Chicago, has with Congressman L. E. McGann and others of the same city, invested money in a gold mining enterprise in Montana which promises to return them handsome profits. It is a new proposition in gold mining methods and is really a combination of two old and well tried principles devised by a Chicago genius... .

For years men have thought of this great mass of gravel in Grasshopper Creek and wished some means could be found of getting it out. It was a simple combination of a big steam dredge and an old fashioned sluice box. A company was formed, two miles of the bed of the stream were purchased, and now a big dredge, such as has been used on the Chicago drainage canal, is nearly ready to begin operations. It will be worked by hydro-electric power, a full head of water being found in the mountain nearby. Electric light will enable the work to go on night and day. The dredge will be floated upon a scow in the shallow stream and will throw the gravel from the

² Yard, op. cit., 16.
³ The Dillon Examiner, October 27, 1897, VII, 1.
bedrock upward. Last summer two miners worked with shovels and picks, excavating a pit in the bed of the stream about ten feet by fourteen feet, and from this small hole each took $3,000 worth of dust. Even then they were not able to go down to bedrock where the gold is expected to be found in large quantities. Unless all the indications are at fault, this new-fangled method of gold mining is very likely to make a lot of money for McCann, Lurboro, and other Chicago men.4

"The Darnack braves looked on with wonder and astonishment as the work progressed and when the boat was completed, they said the 'thing' would be a failure, but the saying, 'you can't teach an old dog new tricks,' failed to prove true."5 All the natives did not harbor this attitude which was so often displayed upon the advent of any new and untried device. L. A. Brown, long connected with mining in Beaverhead County, on April 22, 1895, wrote the following in his unpublished diary: "While in Darnack I was shown through the Dredging apparatus there in the course of erection and so far as I could see it looked all right and feasible."6

The Cold Dredging Company was the first which was organized for the purpose of dredging Grasshopper Creek. The members of the company elected the following officers: H. J. Reiling, president and general manager; F. L. Champlin, vice-president; Malcolm McDonald, secretary; and L. C. Bonney, treasurer.

4 The Dillon Examiner, March 20, 1895, IV, 4.
5 The Dillon Tribune, December 25, 1897, XVII, 8.
6 L. A. Brown, Diary, II, 127. This original diary covers Brown's mining activities at his "New Departure" mine in the Blue Wing district and also the affairs of his ranch near Barretts, Montana. This diary has not been published. Volume one was loaned and lost. John Coppin at Dillon, Montana, now owns volume two.
These men also served on the directory board with G. J. McKenzie, L. M. Paine, Walter Clark, J. W. Farwell, and A. C. Durboro. The idea to dredge gold on Grasshopper Creek originated with H. J. Reiling and S. S. Harper, a mining engineer. Harper was placed in charge of constructing the boat, but later he resigned. Rene Curin was then selected as superintendent and R. W. Christian was employed as master machinist.

The old Marysville Ditch, which was taken out of Grasshopper Creek about two miles above Pannack, was enlarged to drain the stream. A dam was then thrown across the creek below town to make a pond to float the dredge. In order to get power for the boat, the old Graver Graeter Ditch was extended to a high promontory. From this point a twelve-inch pipeline, later changed to eighteen-inch pipe, was placed with a fall of three hundred sixty-seven feet to the hydro-electric plant near the stream.

This boat was not the very first to be used for gold dredging. The first known dredges were spoon affairs which were operated by hand in New Zealand. Steam-shovel dredging was attempted in California as early as 1888 and 1893, but this was not successful until later years. Next to California, Montana dredging produced more gold than any other state.
in the Union. The "F. L. Graves" or "Electric" dredge was launched near the old Wilson house in the lower part of Bannack. Since this boat was the first in Montana and is credited with being "the first successful bucket-lift dredge in the United States," it is deemed worthy of considerable descriptive detail about its launching and appearance. Upon these subjects, the contemporary news organs of the county give the following:

The extensive operations connected with the starting of this important hydraulic mining enterprise are under the personal supervision of H. J. Reiling, of Chicago, the president of the company. Mr. Reiling, although not a practical mining man, has been for years a member of one of Chicago's leading firms of contractors and is therefore well equipped for the task. S. S. Harper, a well known mining engineer, is manager. The latter is the originator and promoter of the introduction of hydraulic mining by the dredging method on Grasshopper Creek, and he has exhibited marked skill and ability in outlining and carrying through the plan of development.

After considerable work and expense the boat was ready for its initial try, and

In the presence of a large concourse of people comprising the entire population of Bannack and surrounding country, as well as many Dillon and Chicago visitors, the dredging boat built for the Gold Dredging Company was successfully launched Wednesday, May 15, 1895, at 2:45 p.m.

A large number of invited guests, including many ladies, witnessed the ceremonies from the boat. When the time

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11 W. E. Lloyd, op. cit.
13 See Plate XXII, p. 134.
14 The Dillon Examiner, May 22, 1895, IV, 1.
arrived, Mrs. R. J. Reiling, of Chicago, the wife of the
president of the company, broke the customary bottle of
champagne and christened the boat the "Fielding L.
Graves," in honor of one of Bannack's well known pioneer
merchants. Cheers rent the air as the boat slid grace­
fully from its ways and floated on the waters of grass­
hopper Creek. The launching was successful beyond ex­
pectation. Not the slightest accident or delay occurred,
everything worked smoothly and to the entire satisfaction
of the designer and builder of the boat. After navigating
the waters of the river for half an hour, during which
time the visitors sampled a basket of champagne donated
by Hon. F. L. Graves and toasted the success of the new
hydraulic mining enterprise, the boat was tied close to
the shore and the visitors landed.18

As originally constructed, the boat was unsatisfactory
and frequent shut-downs occurred during the first season.
Alfred Blondie had charge of building the boat proper16 and
Ralph L. Montague was the electrician. At first the boat had
buckets which had a capacity of one and one-half cubic feet of
material. During the fall (1895) these were changed for others
capable of holding five cubic feet; other faults in the machin­
ery were also corrected. The first sluices of the boat were
swung from cables that extended from either side of the gulch.
These were also exchanged for other sluices that were carried
on outboard scows which originated at Bannack. The lift-bucket
feed to the sluices was replaced by a centrifugal gravel pump.
The later boats generally followed the design of this

15 The Dillon Examiner, May 22, 1895, IV, 1. Mr. F. L.
Graves was presented with a gold-headed ebony cane, upon which
was engraved the names of the officers of the Gold Dredging
Company. He was also presented with a gold watch, which had
"F. Louis Graves" around the dial instead of the customary
numerals. The "F" served as numeral twelve. The present writer
has seen both the cane and the watch.

16 The Dillon Examiner, May 22, 1895, IV, 1.
double-lift dredge. The company spent considerable money for remodeling the boat. In the spring of 1893 the mechanics again worked upon it to overcome other faults. The original machinery was ordered in 1894 from the Bucyrus Steam Shovel & Dredge Company of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and was shipped to Red Rock, Montana, over the Utah and Northern Railroad, now the Oregon Short Line. From Red Rock the equipment was hauled by teams to the site of construction. The machinery for the later boats was also shipped by the Bucyrus Company to Red Rock.

Montague wrote the following details about the boat for "The Dillon Examiner" in 1895:

The first work that was necessary was to dig a ditch large enough to carry the entire water of Grasshopper Creek, then to build a dam that would give sufficient depth when the stream was turned back into its original channel to float the dredge. A small ditch which at that time reached a point two miles south of Bannack, and had been used for hydraulic purposes, was to be extended to a point directly opposite town, the water from this ditch (300 miners' inches) to be used to give the necessary power to operate the dredge. The dredge was then to dig a pit some 300 feet by 500 feet, the gravel removed to be elevated and washed in sluice boxes suspended by wire cables at the stern of the dredge, the tailings utilized to build other dams wherever needed. As soon as one pit is dug it will be pumped out by means of hydraulic ejectors and the bedrock cleaned up by hand, the dredge in the meantime digging another pit farther up the stream.

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17 Jennings, op. cit., 5.
18 The Dillon Examiner, December 2, 1896, VI, 5.
19 Ibid., April 20, 1898, VII, 5; also in The Dillon Tribune, December 25, 1897, XVII, 7.
20 The Dillon Examiner, October, 1901, XI, 1; also W. E. Lloyd, op. cit.
21 Yard, op. cit., 16.
Work was commenced in the spring of this year, and the dam was completed and the dredge launched on May 10th, and operations began June 15th.

The boat was built by Mr. H. R. McDonald, of Chicago, and the machinery was supplied by the Lucius Steam Shovel & Dredge Co., of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The dredge is of the elevator type, and delivers material into a sluice box at the stern of the boat, 25 feet above the water line.

It is arranged to elevate the material in front in order to make its own flotation, the cut being made wide enough to pass the boat through. A centrifugal pumping apparatus supplies water to the sluice boxes. The speed of the buckets is twenty per minute, and the discharge capacity is 220 cubic yards per hour. The bucket chain is composed of twenty-six buckets with one and one-half cubic feet capacity each, and fitted with steel bottoms and protected joint connections of moulded rubber.

The material is first passed through a rotary grizzly having five-inch openings, from which two iron chutes lead; one of these discharges the larger stones overboard, the other leads to the back elevator where the material which comes through the five-inch openings of the grizzly is conveyed to the sluice box. The back elevator is similar in construction to the main chain of buckets, but lighter, since it has only to pick up the material delivered by the main chain. Both chains of buckets and the rotary grizzly are driven by a motor of a capacity to develop seventy-five mechanical horse-power at the pulley.

The type of motor chosen was the L. P. W. -20 railway motor of the General Electric Co. The switches, rheostat, circuit-breaker, and ampere-meter for this motor are located in the pilot house.

A fifteen horse-power motor is geared to two swinging drums, one on each side of the boat, for the purpose of holding the lines required to swing the dredge.

All switches belonging to this motor are also in the pilot house. In order to hold the boat in position while working or moving ahead, two spuds, made of Oregon fir, 18 inches by 18 inches by 40 feet long, and capped with iron points, are employed, being also operated by a fifteen horse-power motor. The switches for this motor are placed on the main or machinery deck between the spuds, while on either side are the necessary clutches to raise or let fall the spud that needs to be changed. The two
fifteen-horse motors are of the 6.E. -100 type. 22

The "Graves" boat had a capacity of two thousand yards of gravel per day, but on the average it dug one thousand five hundred yards daily throughout the working season. A large rubber hose which was called a "rubber neck" joined the sluice boxes to the boat. The boxes and buckets were made of pressed steel; the buckets had movable lips that could be removed when worn out. Each bucket with its link weighed one thousand two hundred pounds. A motorman, pilot, and deck hand operated the boat each shift. This electric dredge worked for six months each season. About a mile of the stream bed was worked to a depth of approximately thirty feet or to bedrock. It was estimated that a total of two million five hundred thousand cubic yards of gravel were moved. 23 The boat cost between $35,000 and $40,000 and was $50 to $75 a day cheaper to operate than the steam dredges, 24 but freezing weather shortened the season.

The sluice box on the dredge contained the gold that was saved during the "run." This was removed and cleaned with a gold pan. These "clean-ups" varied from $800 to $7,000. 25 It was reported that the "Graves" boat took out $22,000 in one week and $38,000 the following week from the richest ground. 26 Figures for the total amount of gold recovered by this dredge

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22 The Dillon Examiner, October 30, 1905, V, 1.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., October 27, 1897, VII, 1; also in Yard, op. cit., 10.
25 Ibid.
26 Shenon, op. cit., 27.
PLATE XXIII -- GRAVES DREDGE AT BANNAACK

(Looking Northwest)

PLATE XXIV -- GRATER DREDGE AT BANNAACK

(Looking Southwest)
are not available. Current news items at the time stated
that the "clean-ups" were satisfactory. The gold was run in-
to bars and shipped east. One source stated that "the Gold
Dredging Company at Bonnack has in the last five years shipped
away 1500,000... from two dredges probably."27 The success
of the company during four months of 1896 was estimated at
$75,000 in gold dust and nuggets and its operating expenses
amounted to $10,000.28 In July 1897 the First National Bank
at Dillon shipped to Helena one thousand one hundred ounces
of gold which was the largest consignment of gold sent from
the county since the early bonanza days.29 This was evidently
from two boats.

Everything was not easy for the Gold Dredging Company
as might have been expected. Besides having difficulty with
the boat, the company experienced some labor trouble. On July
25, 1896, the laborers struck for higher pay, but this was
settled by employing other men. Sometime during the night,
powder was exploded in one of the ditch flumes and the posts
under it were cut through.30

The "F. L. Craves" ceased operation in 1902 because it
ran out of auriferous gravel.31 A. R. Jacobs owned part of

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27 O. E. Wheeler, "Mining in Montana," in Wonderland,
A Northern Pacific Railway Publication, (n. p., 1902), 35.
The "A. F. Graeter" boat was built and operated (1897-1902)
by members of the Gold Dredging Company.
28 The Dillon Examiner, December 9, 1896, VI, 1.
29 Ibid., July 21, 1897, VI, 5.
30 The Dillon Tribune, July 31, 1896, XVI, 1; also
Harry Craves, op. cit.; also W. E. Lloyd, op. cit.
31 Harry Craves, op. cit.
the ground that was worked by this boat and the "A. F. Graeter" dredge. The former plant was dismantled in the spring of 1903, and in July William M. Perkins of Chicago was deeded the thirty-mile ditch and all the scrap iron and old machinery of the electric dredge. At one time it was thought that this boat would be used again on other placer fields which were then being prospected by the company. Immediately east of the Bannack-Armstead road-crossing over Grasshopper Creek, one can still see the decaying hulk of the "F. L. Graves" dredge, partially buried in the once rich alluvium which it had so diligently dug during the "golden days" of its glory.

The success of the "F. L. Graves" led others to build dredges upon Grasshopper Creek. In April 1896 work on a second boat was started under the direction of Edward L. Smith who was general manager for the Chicago Mining and Development Company which was also known locally as the "Gilman, Smith and Company." The boat was built upon the Golden Leaf placers north of the Excelsior mine. On June 10, 1896, L. A. Brown wrote that he had "Visited the dredging machine, the Meade Mill, the Golden Leaf Mill, and the new Suction Dredge about

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32 The Dillon Examiner, March 25, 1903, XII, 3.
33 Ibid., July 22, 1903, XII, 6.
34 See Plate XXV, p. 143.
35 The Dillon Examiner, April 8, 1896, V, 1; also ibid., April 16, 1897, VI, 1; also in The Dillon Tribune, May 28, 1897, XVII, 1.
36 The Dillon Examiner, April 15, 1896, V, 1; also in Shenon, op. cit., 27.
one and one-half miles below Bannack." He further commented that a lively time was expected that year on Grasshopper Creek at Bannack and vicinity.37

The boat started work July 27, 1896,38 but about the middle of August it ceased to operate because the centrifugal pump was unable to handle the rocky material.39 As originally constructed, the affair used steam power to run the sixteen-inch centrifugal pump that delivered the gravel from a circular revolving cutter to the sluice boxes on scows.40 In the spring of 1897 the boat was remodeled into one with buckets which followed the design of those built by the Eucyrus Company.41 In May it was again ready to begin work. The "Dillon Tribune" gives the following:

Saturday, May 23rd, 1897, was a great day in the history of Bannack. The occasion was the christening of the dredge boat, the "Maggie A. Gibson,"42 owned and operated by the Chicago Mining and Development Company, of whom C. C. Gilman, of Marshalltown, Iowa, is president. George S. McNeil of Portland, Oregon, is vice-president, W. H. Larry of Chicago is secretary and treasurer, and Edward L. Smith of Bannack is manager.

The christening took place near Marysville, about one and a quarter miles below Bannack. The affair was a grand success, the weather was fine which made it pleasant for everybody. At 2 o'clock the Dillon Band left the Gibson hotel for the boat below the city where they played some very fine music.

37 Brown, op. cit., II, 233.
38 The Dillon Tribune, July 31, 1896, XVI, 1.
39 Ibid., August 28, 1896, XVI, 1.
40 Jennings, op. cit., 5.
41 The Dillon Tribune, April 16, 1897, XVII, 1; also in The Dillon Examiner, December 15, 1897, VII, 1.
42 See Plate XXVI, p. 143.
PLATE XXV -- GILMAN-SMITH DREDGE
(Later the Maggie A. Gibson)

PLATE XXVI -- MAGGIE A. GIBSON DREDGE
The exercises were begun by Mrs. Maggie A. Gibson, in whose honor the boat was named, who stepped to the bow of the boat and with one blow smashed the ribbon-bedecked bottle of champagne against it; the steam whistle was turned loose, the band played, the people cheered, and the boat was named.

Then L. J. Price, of Dillon, the orator of the day, was introduced and he delivered a neat and appropriate speech which was well received and caused enthusiastic applause.

Mr. Price was followed by Hon. J. Stewart Wallace, of London, president of the Bon Accord placers. He made the statement that his company would soon build a boat. The dredge which occasioned the celebration is the Smith-Gilman hydraulic dredge which had been remodeled to a bucket dredge. It is a steam dredge and uses wood for fuel.\(^\text{43}\)

It had three one hundred horse-power boilers and the main deck was thirty-six feet by eighty feet. About one hundred feet of sluices were carried upon scows.\(^\text{44}\) The boat encountered poor ground during the first season, and the enterprise would have been unsuccessful had not richer gravel been found that fall.\(^\text{45}\) No records are available about the amount of gold that was recovered. However, it operated successfully for two seasons. The lease on the ground expired in 1898, and the next year the dredge was transferred to the Conrey placers at the mouth of Alder Gulch.\(^\text{46}\) It was the first elevator-type dredge at that place.\(^\text{47}\)

The "F. L. Graves" was the property of the Gold Dredging Company of Chicago and "encouraged by its success, a second

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\(^{43}\) The Dillon Tribune, May 28, 1897, XVII, 1.
\(^{44}\) Ibid., December 25, 1897, XVII, 8.
\(^{45}\) Ibid.
\(^{46}\) The Dillon Examiner, May 3, 1899, VIII, 1.
\(^{47}\) Jennings, *op. cit.*, 5.
corporation, known as the Bannack Dredging Company, was formed by members of the former and others." This new company acquired the necessary ground and ordered a dredge built. Sometime in January 1897 H. J. Reeling let the contract for this plant which was so constructed that the machinery was more efficient than that of the defective "Graves" boat. The dredge was assembled near the present Golden Leaf mill; or to be more exact, the launching took place at Marysville, April 14, 1897. The construction details were not yet finished; but when completed, the boat was duly christened. Nearly every available livery rig in Dillon was engaged to take about one hundred persons to the celebration. Altogether, over five hundred people witnessed the ceremonies which took place at three o'clock that day. The spectators were also permitted to board the boat and to inspect the working of the ponderous machinery. The "Dillon Tribune" gives the following account:

Saturday, June 12, 1897, the "A. F. Graeter," the third and the largest of the gold dredges now operating on Grasshopper Creek near Bannack, was christened with interesting ceremonies and was started on its mission of recovering gold from the rich alluvial deposits of the creek. The boat is operated by the Bannack Dredging Company of which H. J. Reeling is president.

48 The Dillon Examiner, December 9, 1896, VI, 1; also in Ibid., May 11, 1898, VII, 1.
49 Ibid., January 6, 1897, VI, 1.
50 Ibid., October 2, 1901, XI, 1.
51 The Dillon Tribune, April 16, 1897, XVII, 1.
52 The Dillon Examiner, June 16, 1897, VI, 5.
53 Ibid., 1.
54 See Plate XXVII, p. 146.
Mr. Reiling gave a speech and after the cheering subsided, Mrs. L. C. Bonney, of Chicago, the wife of the treasurer of the company, was assisted to a place upon the huge buckets, and raising a bottle of champagne into the air cried saying, "I christen this boat in the name of A. F. Graeter," broke the bottle and sprinkled the sparkling fluid upon the line of buckets that were destined to dig untold wealth from the creek bed.

Mr. Reiling introduced Hon. W. H. Cochran of Dillon, the principal speaker. The Dillon Band followed and then Mr. Reiling introduced A. F. Graeter who made a short speech.

At that time, this boat was considered the last word in placer mining dredges. A brief description of the boat follows: hull, 102 feet by 36 feet; draft, 3 feet; endless chain of 36 Bucyrus buckets, each holding 5 cubic feet; links, 2½ feet; two locomotive boilers, 125 horse-power each; 75 horse-power sprocket and chain drive; weight of spuds, 11,000 pounds; total weight of dredge, 350 tons. The machinery was steam operated and wood was used for fuel. The gravel was dumped into a grizzly. Thus, the coarser material was screened out, and the remaining gold-bearing material was pumped by a large centrifugal pump into outboard sluice boxes which were carried upon scows.

The following detailed account was found in "The Dillon Examiner:"

All, or practically all, the values encountered in Grasshopper Creek, are found on the bedrock and where the bedrock is rough the buckets will dig up four or five feet of it and it will be washed through the sluices. Where the bedrock is smooth it will not work as well, but as a rule, the values are not as great in such places. On the

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55 The Dillon Tribune, June 18, 1897, XVII, 1.
56 Jennings, op. cit., 6; also in The Dillon Examiner, December 15, 1897, VII, 1.
Graeter, six men are employed on each shift, a deckman, pilot, mechanic, fireman, engineer, and woodman. About eight cords of wood are consumed each day and the supply is secured from West Mountain, 12 miles away.

The officers of the company, who give matters their personal attention and who remain constantly on the ground throughout the season are: A. L. Champlin, president; R. W. Christain, superintendent and master mechanic. At the Electric boat, Wm. Hughes and Wm. Tiffany are the pilot men; and T. B. Barlow and Mac Simpkins perform a similar duty at the Graeter. A. J. Reece is the extra pilot man and he also does the general repair work.

Clean-ups are made twice a week, the boat shutting down for half a shift for that purpose. The results are not made public, but it is reported that the yields are satisfactory. Among the riffles is always found a large quantity of black sand or iron rock, the latter being of two varieties. This is carefully saved and at the end of each season, it is shipped to the smelter at Omaha. Its value varies a great deal, some of it having a value of $185 a ton, and again not paying over $35 to the ton. Last season thirty-five tons of this material were saved and shipped to the smelter. The value appears to be mostly in the coarse material.

A great many relics of the days when Bannack was in its infancy are being constantly brought to light and saved in the sluice boxes. Only a few days ago, a heavy 13K gold ring was dug up, and it had evidently been buried since the early days. A cabinet in the company's office is filled with these relics and they consist of coins, cartridges of all kinds, medals, a part of an old pistol, curious nuggets, belt buckles, and a 100 different articles. The oldest of the coins is a ten-cent piece dated in '33. At a point, which is said to have once been the site of Henry Plumer's cabin, a cache was evidently encountered as the buckets brought up ten $1 gold pieces, nine $2.50 gold pieces, one five dollar gold piece and three fifty-cent silver pieces, dated '58, '62, and '58. The majority of the coins are dated from '58 to '61, although there are a few of recent years. The largest nugget ever taken out was egg-shaped and weighed $150.57

It was stated that the "A. F. Graeter" took out enough
gold during the first season to pay for the ground, the boat, and the operating expenses; then a small margin of profit was left for the stockholders. According to the only available figures, the recovered gold amounted to about $200,000.

After the "Graeter" dredge dug up-stream to Bannack, it started to rework the ground that had been gone over by the "Graves" boat. The "Graeter" dredge ceased work in 1902 and was to have been dismantled. However, it was later sold to Frank B. Felt of Chicago, who used it for a short time to again work some of the ground that had been worked by the "Graves" dredge. The boat was then dismantled immediately west of Bannack. One of the old horizontal boilers now stands like a lonesome sentinel near the remains of the decaying hulk.

The Bon Accord Company, an English corporation, cleaned a small area of bedrock by turning the creek, sinking shafts, pumping water, and drifting. This type of mining produced about four dollars in gold from each square foot of bedrock that was cleaned; the overlaying gravel was twenty-five to thirty feet in depth. The company began to build the ill-fated "Bon Accord" dredge during the fall of 1897. Albert

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58 The Dillon Tribune, December 25, 1897, XVII, 7.
59 Shenon, op. cit., 27; also Archie Burnett, Report on Bannack Gold Dredging Operations. Mr. Burnett is a mining engineer who has offices in the Pittsburg Block at Helena, Montana. This report is unpublished.
60 Ibid., March 25, 1903, XII, 3.
61 Ibid., April 4, 1906, XV, 6.
62 Harry Graves, op. cit.
63 Yard, op. cit., 2.
64 See Plates XXVIII and XXIX, pp. 150 and 151.
65 The Dillon Tribune, July 23, 1897, XVII, 1.
PLATE XXVIII

BON ACCORD DREDGE

(Original)
PLATE XXIX -- BON ACCORD DREDGE
(Reconstructed)
H. Ball, the resident manager, supervised the construction of this dredge which was built about three or four miles below Bannack. The boat was similar to the others on Grasshopper Creek with the exception of the buckets which held nine cubic feet of material. An eighty-foot sluice was hung from a high "A-frame" over the rear of the boat. The bucket stays or cables reached from the prow of the plant to the tail of the sluice line. The sluices could be swung out at different angles and received the gravel directly from the grizzly which was placed at an elevation of fifty feet above the deck. The dredge operated only a few days when, owing to its top-heavy nature, it tipped over.

The "Dillon Examiner" relates the following particulars about the mishap:

The accident occurred Sunday night, shortly after one o'clock. The boat suddenly began to settle and list and sank within fifteen minutes. It turned over to one side in sinking and lies now on the bottom of the creek with one side of the hull partially above the water. The depth of the water in the neighborhood where the accident occurred is forty-six feet, but the spot where the hull now rests, the depth happened to be not so great.

Mr. Ball is unable at this time to assign a cause for this accident. He does not believe, however, in the theory that the boat had been scuttled by some miscreants. Experts have been sent for to investigate the cause of the sinking and also to make arrangements for the raising of the boat.

The boat had been completed a short time ago. It had been in operation during the past week only and the results of the clean-up, representing a few days' work,

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66 The Dillon Tribune, December 25, 1897, XVII, 15.
67 Yard, op. cit., 4; also in Jennings, op. cit., 6.
exceeded the expectations of Mr. Bell and his associates. After a great deal of labor and expense the boat was righted, the machinery removed, and then the plant was remodeled. The boat was fairly successful until a "lean" streak in the gravel was encountered; then the "clean-ups" were few and far between. Before the season was over, financial difficulties overtook the company and work was suspended. Several Dillon merchants filed attachments and a number of the workmen held liens against this boat that had originally cost about $60,000. In 1901 the Oregon Placer Mining Company bought the machinery and moved it to the John Day River in Oregon, but the hulk was left on Grasshopper Creek.

The last dredge which was constructed on Grasshopper Creek was known by either name, the "Coast" or the "Cope" boat. (See Plate XXX, p. 154). The latter name was given because C. F. Cope, previously mentioned, had sold the company the land upon which it was built. Cope received $150,000 for the property. In the summer of 1893 the Montana Gold Dredging Company began building this plant near Spring Gulch about a mile below the "Bon Accord" dredge. The name of the Montana Gold Dredging Company was synonymous with that of the Coast Dredging Company since the latter was a subsidiary of

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68 The Dillon Examiner, October 12, 1898, VII, 5.
69 Ibid., September 4, 1901, X, 1.
70 Ibid., January 30, 1901, X, 4; also in The Dillon Tribune, June 17, 1898, XVIII, 3; also in Burnett, op. cit.
71 Yard, op. cit., 4; also in The Dillon Examiner, August 24, 1898, VII, 5.
PLATE XXX -- COAST OR COP'S DREDGE
the former. The Coast Company had its headquarters at Monmouth, New Jersey, and had a capital stock of $100,000, of which $63,000 was sold. The assets consisted of thirteen placer claims on White's bar, an option upon five other claims, the dredge, and 297,000 shares of stock in the Montana Gulch Placer Mining Company (C. F. Cope's Company), all valued at $350,000.

The boat was a single-lift Bucyrus-type dredge with buckets which held five cubic feet of material. The auriferous gravel was discharged from the buckets into twin grizzlies to screen out the coarser waste, and the fine material passed over coco-mat tables into inboard sluices which connected with others that were carried upon a scow at the rear of the dredge. The machinery was steam operated and wood was used for fuel. The boat operated until 1902 when it was dismantled near the Bon Accord ground where it had ceased digging. This dredge was reported to have recovered a total of 19,194 ounces of gold.

The Horse Prairie Gold Dredging Company was organized to build a boat in Jeff Davis Gulch in upper Horse Prairie. John C. Brenner was the principal person in the newly organized company; and associated with him were Archie Gibson,

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72 The Dillon Examiner, January 30, 1901, X, 4.
73 Jennings, op. cit., 6.
74 The Dillon Examiner, August 5, 1903, XII, 7; also in Jennings, op. cit., 6.
75 Burnett, op. cit.
76 An interview with C. P. Brenner at Frenner, Montana.
77 W. E. Lloyd, op. cit.
PLATE XXXI

PENNINER BRIDGE
Charles W. Clark, Frank E. Corbett, and Charles A. Potts.73

A current news item of that time gives the following:

The boat is most certainly a model one. It has all of the latest and improved machinery obtainable and every part liable to be broken has been made capable of resisting extra strain by its builder, Edward L. Smith. To say the least, Mr. Smith is one of the best dredge boat constructors in the state. Up to date he has built three in Montana—one at Bannack, one in Madison county and this last one on Horse Prairie Creek which was completed the first day of October 1899. . . .

The boat named the "Brenner" has been launched to float for many a day as it has a basin a mile long to work.79

This boat was very similar to those at Bannack. The plant was steam operated and had elevator buckets that held five cubic feet of material. The dredge operated successfully until 1904 when it was closed down because of its worn condition. About a mile of the gulch was worked and much fine gold was taken out, but the amount recovered is not known.80 Two "spuds" and part of the machinery are still on the ground to mark the site of the last efforts.81 A short distance up the gulch W. A. Clark had started his mining career in 1863.

Gold recovery by the six dredge boats in Beaverhead County forms a unique chapter in the history of Montana. The coincidence of the State's first dredges at Bannack and Montana's first major gold discovery at the same spot further

73 The Dillon Tribune, March 3, 1899, XIX, 1.
79 The Dillon Examiner, October 11, 1899, IX, 1.
80 C. P. Brenner, op. cit. Mr. Brenner stated that all his papers for the boat were destroyed when his bunkhouse burned. No other available source gives any production figures for this boat.
81 See Plate XXXI, p. 156.
adds to the significance of their story. Just why these boats were first placed upon Grasshopper Creek instead of at Alder Gulch is not known. Two suppositions might be that either Bannack was closer to the Utah and Northern Railroad or the gravel of Grasshopper Creek was the first to show by test that it could be readily worked by dredge boats.
CHAPTER VI

ARGENTA--CRADLE OF MONTANA'S SILVER INDUSTRY

Since gold was the major interest of the early miners, silver prospects were left for later development. The yellow metal represented ready cash when transportation and available markets were at a premium. Gold was easily mined with a few essential tools--the pick, shovel, gold pan, and rocker. Many of the early prospectors in the county knew little about silver ore and less about the recovery of the metal. Even if they had known more about the white metal, there arose these two problems: the extraction and the marketing, which took capital and equipment to insure success. Furthermore, the actual value of the ore had to assay high before it could be mined profitably, for at that time the saving devices were

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1 "Quartz mining is much more profitable than gulch mining, but the difference is, that one man whose stock consists of a pick and shovel, a half-dozen boards to make his sluice boxes, and two willing hands, can wash gold from the dirt; while to take precious metals from quartz, requires heavy and expensive machinery, and consequently large capital. A quartz mill costing forty thousand dollars, erected on the ground, ought to, and will, if well managed, work at least twenty-four tons of ore per day. The expense of extracting the ore and delivering it at the mill cannot be more than ten dollars per ton; eight hands, four by day and four by night, will run the mill, costing less than fifty dollars per day; allow for fuel, oil, quicksilver, etc., and the whole expense of working twenty-four tons will not exceed three hundred dollars. . . . The cost of transporting machinery must soon come down, and the immense immigration will, before long, reduce the price of labor, so that profits of a mill may be considerably increased;" in James Tufts, A Tract Descriptive of Montana Territory; with a Sketch of Its (cont.)
far from adequate. Silver did not receive any serious attention until the summer of 1864. Professor Ashael K. Eaton, a competent geologist and mineralogist from New York, arrived at Bannack during the summer, and his efforts undoubtedly gave impetus to silver mining.  

The first silver lodes in Beaverhead County, and among the earliest in Montana, were discovered in the hills north of present Argenta, Montana, on Rattlesnake Creek. This stream is about twelve or thirteen miles northeast of Bannack.

(1 cont.) Mineral and Agricultural Resources, (New York, 1865), 11. Tufts discovered some silver lodes at Argenta, Montana, in the summer of 1864.

2 Montana Post, November 19, 1864, I, 2.

3 A prospector named John Metz went to Bannack where he recorded eight lode claims. The localities that he gave were the Courtright District on Prickly Pear Creek and the Hot Springs District. These names are the only indications of the places where the lodes were found. Some of the recordings by Metz were not properly titled for identification purposes. Two of the recordings are of direct interest. They are given as follows: "This is to certify that John Metz has this day recorded claim Number (4) Four Easterly from the discovery on the Gibbs Silver Lode by pre-emption, being one hundred feet on said lode, June 21, 1864. James Gourley, Recorder." "This is to certify that John Metz has this day recorded claim Number (1) One Northerly (200) feet from the discovery of the Illinois Silver Lode by pre-emption, June 21, 1864. James Gourley, Recorder." In Beaverhead County Mining Records, Transcript of Books "A" and "B", 128. There were no titles that would indicate the location of these two claims. Leeson, op. cit., 682, noted the Gourley brothers whom he did not identify. Just who were the original discoverers of these two claims and why Metz decided to record them again at Bannack is not known. Two conjectures might be that Metz wished to advertise his prospects or that the silver activity in the regions north of Bannack induced him to renew his interest in his silver claims. Note the page number upon which the claims were entered as compared with the other silver entries. William Allison and G. O. Humphreys went to Butte vicinity in the summer of 1864 and located the Missoula lode, but their (cont.)
Some accounts credited the region with the first silver discovery in Montana, probably from the fact that the mines of the district produced the first silver that was refined. The veins which contained this metal were found after the creek had been prospected for placer gold. William Beeken, Charles S. Ream, and J. A. Brown made the initial discoveries of silver in the Rattlesnake locality when they staked six lodes on June 25, 1864. These claims in the order of their recordings are the General Grant, Montezuma, Great Western, Morning, Prolific, and Ream. Just which lode was first discovered is not known—it was probably the General Grant lode. Some of the other claimants, who had claims on either side of the discovery claim on the General Grant lode and did much in the development of the district, were Eaton, Samuel McLean, William H. Miller, Walter C. Hopkins, Dr. E. D. Leavitt, George Brown, A. E. Mayhew, G. Morris, A. J. Oliver, Edwin Purple, and D. S. (3 cont.) main interests was placer gold. Some of the early quartz mines of Butte produced chiefly silver. W. L. Farlin struck the Travona in 1875. In Leeson, op. cit., p. 17.

4 Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book "A", 2. This book was rebound recently and it bears the foregoing title; however, it should not be confused with another book with the same title. It is here marked with an asterisk (*) for the purpose of identity.

5 Charles Ream and J. Bryant were with the Snake River Expedition of 1863 which was organized by Captain W. K. De Lacy for the purpose of prospecting the Snake River country. In Leeson, op. cit., p. 74.

6 Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book "A", pp. 75, 82, 84, 85, 86, and 88. This book should not be confused with the other Book "A". By comparing the old record (Book "A") with the entries in Mining Records, Transcript of Books "A" and "B", op. cit., one will note that the latter cites the title and the pages of the former.
Peabody, Beeken, Brown (J.A.), and Ream each preempted an extra claim, which was the custom at that time.8

Several of these miners planned for further development. On June 25, 1864, McLean, Miller, Brown (George), Morris, and Hopkins claimed one thousand feet on Rattlesnake Creek as a water claim for mining and milling purposes.9 Ream, Brown (J.A.), Oliver, Dr. Leavitt, and B. F. McKay filed upon a similar claim, June 30.10 On July 4, Eaton, Purple, Mayhew, C. W. Stapleton, and Samuel Batchelder also took a water claim.11 It is doubtful whether these enterprises were ever carried out; however, they do indicate the intentions of the claimants.

Beeken, Ream, and Brown (J.A.) staked the Montana lode on June 26, 1864.12 These miners named the area the Montana Mining District, which is now referred to as the Argenta Mining District. The first claim that had the word silver as part of its title was the Silver Wave lode which was claimed by W. D. Bender, P. Doolittle, and D. Myerly on July 15.13 On July 9 Morris and Brown (George) found a vein which they named the Eaton lode in honor of A. K. Eaton.14

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7 In conjunction with this entry, came the first specific use of "Rattlesnake Creek" and "Montana Mining District."
8 Mining Records, Book "A", op. cit., 75 and 77.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., 2.
12 Mining Records, Book "A", op. cit., 83.
13 Ibid., 146.
14 Ibid., 109.
discovered the Legal Tender, one of the richest lodes in the district, on July 3, 1835. 15

Granville Stuart (1835) mentions the discovery of

Rattlesnake Creek in the following manner:

Rattlesnake creek is crossed in the canyon above its valley, by numerous ledges of the richest silver quartz that has yet been discovered in Montana, some of them assaying as high as five thousand dollars to the ton of rock. These ledges are generally composed of argentiferous galena, or lead ore, containing a large amount of silver. Who shall predict the future of this place! The wealth of the Rothschilds is as nothing compared to the riches which lie concealed in the bowels of the Rattlesnake Hills, awaiting the coming of the enchanters with their wands (in the shape of greenbacks), to bring forth these treasures. . . . 16

Another account which was written by Captain John Mullan in 1865 related that

Recent discoveries have been made in silver which promises to make Montana one of the richest silver-producing Territories in the United States. These silver lodes are in the immediate vicinity of Bannock City and upon Rattlesnake creek, distance some thirteen miles. . . .
The lodes at Bannock and Rattlesnake have been more fully prospected than those in any other locality, and their immense yields, by actual assay, is almost fabulous. A well-known scientific gentleman of New York, Professor A. N. Eaton, visited Montana Territory in the interest of some parties in this city, and spent some six months in the country during the summer and fall. Before his arrival the existence of silver was unknown in the Territory, although its presence was suspected.

Various assays have been made from these ores, which exhibit a yield of from eighty dollars to four thousand five hundred dollars per ton of two thousand pounds,

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15 Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book 7th, 344. (See Plate XXIII, p. 164). Some accounts credit the Rattlesnake area with Montana's first silver and attribute such to A. H. Esler when he discovered the Legal Tender lode.

16 Stuart, Montana As It Is, op. cit., (1835), 14.
some of them showing forty per cent of gold on the net amount of the assay.\textsuperscript{17}

James Tufts, who had interests in some of the claims that he mentions, gives (1865) the following:

In the Rattlesnake there are no gold lodes as yet found. Several of the silver mines have been opened and those alluded to by Mr. Stuart may be mentioned the Eaton, Butterfield, Nonpareil, \textsuperscript{13} Henry Clay and Barrows; while many others, like the Great Eastern, \textsuperscript{19} Aurora,\textsuperscript{20} Chauncey, and Detroit, are of the same nature, and beyond doubt, equally good with those already developed.\textsuperscript{21}

When the possibilities of the Montana (Argenta) district became known, many miners flocked to the spot. At one time there were three thousand persons in the region\textsuperscript{22} -- at present (1940) there are fifty or sixty inhabitants at the old silver camp.

Several of the miners anticipated the mining boom. They formed a town company, preempted land along Rattlesnake Creek, and proceeded to lay out a town\textsuperscript{23} which was later chartered by the first territorial legislature. The act to incorporate the "Town of Montana" was signed by Governor McDermont.

\textsuperscript{17} Mullan, Guide, \textit{op. cit.}, 149.
\textsuperscript{18} George Chrisman, N. J. Davis, L. C. Miller, James Smith, James Tufts, J. B. (Buz) Cavin, and F. B. Larkin organized the Pine Grove Quartz Company and then staked the Nonpareil lode on July 21, 1864. In Mining Records, Book "A", \textit{op. cit.}, 155.
\textsuperscript{19} George Brown and G. Morris discovered the Great Eastern lode on June 30, 1864, and James Tufts had claim No. 15 north on the same vein. In Mining Records, Book "A", \textit{op. cit.}, 90.
\textsuperscript{21} Tufts, \textit{op. cit.}, 8.
\textsuperscript{22} Leeson, \textit{op. cit.}, 488.
\textsuperscript{23} "The, Henry Lovewell, James Duane Hoty, (cont.)
January 6, 1865.  Another act, approved November 14, 1866, changed the name from "Montana City" to "Argenta," which more appropriately designated the thriving silver camp.

The transporting of the ore was expensive and inadequate; even so, some of the silver mined at Argenta reached outside markets. Smelters were needed to extract the metal from the refractory ore, and then the refined product could be easily transported to market. The old adage—"Necessity is the Mother of invention," was applicable to the resourcefulness of these early silver prospectors, who had an

(23 cont.) Ashael K. Eaton, Samuel McLean, Wm. H. Miller, William Beeken, Samuel Batchelder, G. Morris, George Brown, Edwin R. Purple, Walter C. Hopkins, E. M. Pollinger, Sidney Edgerton, R. S. Peabody, V. Taylor, Joseph A. Brown, Alexander E. Mayhew, Thomas Pitt, David A. Hopkins, John T. Bartleson, Cyrus P. Gilbert, Darius Hawkins, Fredrick Butterfield, James Tufts, Nathaniel J. Davis, James Coburn, and William Sabbitt, our associates and assigns have this day claimed occupied and have laid out and surveyed and by these presents do possess and hold the following described tract of land consisting of three hundred and twenty acres for a town site to be named and called Montana. To wit commencing at a certain stake planted on the south bank of Rattlesnake Creek near the mouth of a certain dry gulch or Ravine a short distance below a lone pine tree running in a southerly direction one-half mile. Thence Easterly one mile, thence Northerly to Rattlesnake Creek thence up said creek to a point of beginning. . . .


24 Acts, Resolutions, etc. of the First Legislative Assembly, op. cit., 555-556. The names which were given in this act were "Samuel McLean, Samuel W. Batchelder, Edwin R. Purple, Walter C. Hopkins, William H. Miller, Thomas Pitt, George W. Stapleton, Darius Hawkins, James Tufts, and such other persons."

abundance of wealth near at hand and lacked the touch of Midas to turn the trick. Within a short time smelters were constructed at Argenta. The building of the first one was nearly contemporary with the discovery of the Legal Tender mine, which soon became the most important property in the district. Many accounts about Argenta's smelters are badly confused; and what should have been one of the important stories of Montana's history, since metal reduction has become one of the major industries of the State, is given in a meager manner. Even if Argenta cannot claim the first silver discovery in the State, she can rightfully say that the honor of having the first smelter belongs to her, thus becoming the "cradle of Montana's smelting industry."

The St. Louis and Montana Gold and Silver Mining Company (St. Louis and Montana Mining Company) erected the first smelter in the Territory of Montana at Argenta in 1866.26

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26 (See Plate XXXIII, p. 168). A. M. Esler, who is incorrectly credited with building the first smelter in Montana, showed the ore from the Legal Tender mine to some people in the east which "resulted in the formation of a company, to which he sold three-fourths interest in the mine. In the spring of 1866 he returned to engage in a St. Louis company and Mr. Esler was given $20,000 in gold to put up a smelter and smelt two hundred tons of ore. It proved a success, and Mr. Esler afterward put up two smelters and a refiner. After they had taken out a ton and a half of silver the mine gave out...;" in Sanders, op. cit., II, 930-940. "Works were consequently erected, first by the St. Louis and Montana Mining Company, afterward by A. M. Esler and still later by Messers. Tootle, Leach and Stapleton;" in Raymond, op. cit., (1872), 267. "The smelting works erected by the St. Louis and Montana Company, for a pioneer enterprise, are well constructed. The ore has to be rich;" in Browne; Taylor, op. cit., (1868), 499-500. Browne and Taylor do not (cont.)
PLATE XXXIII
SCALE OF MONTANA'S FIRST SHELTER

PLATE XXXIV
BELLER SHELTER
In 1865 Samuel Thomas Hauser went to St. Louis to get capital for mining. "There he apparently interested two wealthy cousins, a friend of theirs, George C. Swallow who was state geologist of Missouri, and others. On his return he and James Stuart bought six silver mines and built the furnace." The actual construction of the smelter was under the direction of Professor August Steitz, a mining engineer educated at Freiburg, Germany, who was the superintendent of the company. In July 1866 he put up buildings over the plant. The works consisted of a German double-cupola furnace, which was used for smelting the ore, and a large German cupelling furnace.

(26 cont.) mention Esler's plant. "W. B. Dance and C. B. O'Bannon were at one time in charge of the St. Louis Company;" in G. W. French, "Argenta--First Lead-Silver Camp in Montana," in Mining Truth, April 3, 1930, p. 23. Mr. French was confused as to the order in which the smelters were built because he claimed that the Esler smelter was the first. "Mr. George W. French, so far as known, is the only person now living that was in Argenta in 1866, when the plant was constructed. To the best of his recollection, John Deiteshammer, Judge Walter Dance, and Tom Stewart were the principals in building the first smelter. All the stone and brick work was done by James Griffith (known to all the old timers as Doby Jimmie). The water wheel and wood work was constructed by George Irown, J. P. Haskell, and Xavier Renois;" in the Dillon Examiner, December 17, 1924, XXXIV, section 9, p. 4.

27 Leeson, op. cit., 475.
28 In 1867 or 1868, James Stuart was chosen general manager and superintendent of the St. Louis and Montana Mining Company then operating at Philipsburg, which position he held until 1870; in Stuart, "Life of James Stuart," op. cit., I, 52, 57. Apparently after the company ceased at Argenta, activities were shifted to Philipsburg as there "in 1866, S. T. Hauser built a silver mill;" in Dictionary of American Biography. Ed. by Dumas Malone. (21 vols., New York, 1932), VIII, 402-403.
30 Browne; Taylor, op. cit., (1863), 54.
31 Montana Post, October 6, 1866, III, 1.
32 This furnace was used to separate the silver from the lead.
Two fans, encased in wooden housings and driven by a small steam engine, furnished the supply of air for the blast of the cupola. The percentage of lead in the silver ore determined the size of the charges of the material that was smelted. The charcoal used in the plant was burned on upper Rattlesnake Creek. The furnaces in those days were built of rocks or soft home-made bricks and lined with fire bricks which had been shipped up the Missouri River from St. Louis to Fort Benton, and then hauled by oxen to Argenta. The fire bricks were later made locally. The stacks of the smelters were from twenty to thirty feet high. Shut-downs frequently occurred during the winter because some of the blowers were operated by water which was also used in the water-jackets.

Probably the richest ore worked by the St. Louis and Montana smelter was contracted by the company from Esler who was at that time (1866) the superintendent of the Esler-Bender Company. Two hundred tons of Legal Tender ore were smelted at the rate of fifteen tons per day. Ores from the Tuscarora, Stapleton, and Anaconda mines were also refined. Steitz became ill in 1869 and was replaced by Phillip Leidesheimer, who continued with the smelting of the ore from the Legal Tender mine.

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33 Browne; Taylor, op. cit., (1868), 54.
34 G. W. French, op. cit., 23.
35 W. D. Bender had claim No. 1 north on the Legal Tender lode; in Mining Records, Book 7H, op. cit., 344.
36 Montana Post, October 6, 1866, III, 1.
37 Ibid., October 13, 1866, III, 1.
38 Ibid., April 13, 1867, III, 2; also in Browne; Taylor, op. cit., (1868), 54.
In May of the same year W. S. Keyes was employed to fill the position of smelter superintendent. 39

During the early 'seventies S. H. Bohm and Company of Helena, Montana, acquired the St. Louis smelter, which was then remodeled into the largest plant at Argenta. 40 Besides refining silver ore from the local mines, Bohm also smelted customs ore from the Blue Wing district, from the Moose Creek mines which were just north of Melrose, Montana, and from the Vipond district in the northern part of Beaverhead County. The ore from the Vipond area was packed eight miles to the Big Hole River where it was transferred to wagons and then hauled about fifty miles to Argenta. 41

Smith (E. S.) Ball, who was sheriff after Plummer's execution, purchased the smelter in 1885. 42 One newspaper gives the following about his venture:

... Ball was the only man who ever made much success of the smelter. He purchased ore from the Blue Wing district, considerable of it having been extracted from the Bob Ingersoll owned by Amede Bessette, and properly fluxed it with the Argenta lead ores. The result was the best saving of values of the ore ever made in the early days of the district.

Mr. Ball made no attempt to cupel the product of his smelter, but shipped the bullion directly to the refineries for treatment. The St. Louis company had made the mistake of attempting to cupel the metals at Argenta to destroy the lead. ... This was by no means a success and a great deal of the precious metal boiled over the

39 Montana Post, May 25, 1867, III, 2.
40 Raymond, op. cit., (1872), 268.
41 Raymond, op. cit., (1872), 271.
42 Leeson, op. cit., 983; also in The Dillon Tribune, May 23, 1885, V, 4.
cupels and was lost. Mr. Ball became aware of that fact and after he secured the smelter he dug up the ground upon which the cupel furnace had stood and... recovered over $8,000 worth of almost pure silver which had escaped from the cupels and had found lodgment in the cracks and crevices in the ground caused by the heat from the furnace. Mr. Ball also worked the old slag dump of the St. Louis company and it is said that he made good money out of it.

In 1888 Ball sold his interests to the P. J. Kelly

Placer, Quartz & Reduction & Smelting Company, which modernized the smelter and increased its capacity to sixty tons per day. Ore from the Iron Mountain mine was worked, and at one time one hundred ten men were on the payroll. However, poor management resulted in closing the mine and the smelter, and this property then went into litigation. The plant and mine were eventually acquired by J. E. Oppenheimer of Butte who was the last person to run the smelter. This smelter, sometimes called the Iron Mountain plant, was located near the western outskirts of Argenta. Only part of the old foundation now stands to mark the site of buried hopes and Montana's first smelter.

A. M. Esler erected the second smelter at Argenta during the fall of 1867. A news item at that time stated: "Mr.

43 The Dillon Examiner, November 13, 1901, XI, 1.

44 Ibid., January 2, 1901, X, 1. This company "erected the sixty-ton smelter on the foundation of the oldest smelter west of the Mississippi;" in The Dillon Examiner, January 24, 1906, XV, 1. "Nathaniel P. Hill, a professor of chemistry at Brown University, and the Boston-Colorado Smelting Company built the first successful smelter in Colorado at Blackhawk in June 1867;" in Fritz op. cit., 228.

45 An interview with A. H. French, Argenta, Montana. Hereafter A. H. French will be cited by his full name so that information given by him will not be confused with the citations from his brother, G. W. French.

46 "The St. Louis and Montana Mining Co. erected (cont.)
Esler, assisted by the citizens of Argenta, has a new furnace about completed."47 The furnace cost between $4,000 and $5,000, and in January Esler was cupelling. This fourth furnace in the county was under the personal supervision of P. F. Rompf, a graduate of a mining school at Freiburg, Germany.48 Some shipments were reported shortly after the furnace started--though its closing, soon after, left doubt in the public mind as to the degree of success attained. It was claimed, however, by those who were familiar with this enterprise, that Esler netted $8,000 from the refined silver, and that he would have been able to settle his old liabilities had it not been for the hurry of his creditors. But his experience was insufficient to manage the works at a profit, consequently the operations were stopped. Esler finally sold the plant to a person named Cap. Guyer.50

Apparently J. W. Seligman and Company had these works for a period.51 The smelter was used intermittently until it was acquired by A. J. Schumacher, who changed it into blast furnace

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47 Montana Post, November 30, 1867, IV, 3.
49 Bassett and Magee, op. cit., 31-32.
50 Montana Post, May 9, 1868, IV, 2. This paper was moved from Virginia City to Helena, Montana, and the first publication there was dated April 25, 1868.
51 Leeson, op. cit., 438.
equipped with a water-jacket. In May 1885 he had $20,000 worth of customs ore on hand and started the little furnace. Some of the ore was from the Ferdinand mine and the total run for that season netted nine hundred bars of silver-lead bullion. The smelter was a six-ton affair which was built largely of bricks that were burned near the old ten-mile house at the turn-off from the Dillon-Jackson road to the Ermont mines. The crumbling brick walls of the Esler smelter still stand within sight of Argenta, and just below the concrete bridge west of town. The weathered walls are covered with a rickety roof and an old water-jacket lies beside them. The crude structure had been used as a powder house.

A third smelter was built about a mile up the creek from Argenta. These works were erected in 1868 by Tootle, Leach, and Company of St. Louis, and this enterprise was reported to have been "backed" by a large dry goods concern of that city. (See Plate XXXV, p. 175). Ore from the Tuscarora lode and other nearby mines was smelted. Incidentally, the

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52 The Dillon Examiner, December 17, 1924, XXXIV, sec. 9, p. 4.
53 The Dillon Tribune, May 23, 1885, V, 4; also in Leeson, op. cit., 477.
54 Ibid. (Leeson used the contemporary county newspaper as his source for a great deal of his information about Beaverhead's mines.)
55 The Dillon Tribune, September 19, 1885, V, 5.
56 A. H. French, op. cit.
57 Thomas E. Tootle; in Leeson, op. cit., 488.
58 Evidently Andrew Leach as his name is connected with the county in Acts, Resolutions, etc. of the First Legislative Assembly, op. cit., 572.
59 Bassett and Magee, op. cit., 31-32; also in The Dillon Examiner, January 2, 1901, x, 1; also in ibid., (cont.)
Tuscarora mine was recorded by N. J. Davis and J. N. McCub, November 26, 1864. The plant was known as the "Tootle-Leach," the "Stapleton," or the "Tuscarora" smelter; and G. W. Stapleton was the manager until 1871. Smith Ball, whom the company employed in 1868, acted as foreman at the mines for four years. In 1879 Ball rented the smelting works which he ran until 1885. The smelter was then operated intermittently until 1887 when W. A. Clark's company (Tuscarora Company) took it over. A current news item of that time gives the following:

The Tuscarora Mining and Smelting Company is having the best success ever attained by a company in that camp or in the county when the limited time it has been operating is taken into consideration. The Tuscarora Co. was recently incorporated with a capital stock of $400,000 in 400,000 shares at 1 per share. The incorporators were W. A. Clark, Geo. E. Roackwood and J. G. Hammer, of Butte. The furnace of the company is rolling out large quantities of silver-lead bullion daily, and at the rate the smelter is running now, its yearly production will amount to $1,000,000 in bullion.

(59 cont.) December 17, 1924, XXXIV, sec. 9, p. 5; also A. R. French, op. cit. There appears to be some disagreement as to when this smelter was built. Neither Browne, Taylor, op. cit., (1868), nor the Montana Post for the year of 1867 mention this smelter. One of these two sources would have mentioned it had it been built in 1866 or 1867; however, they are silent. Therefore, it must have been built in 1868.

60 Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book "C", 112.
61 The Dillon Examiner, January 2, 1901, X, 1; also in G. W. French, op. cit., 23.
62 Leeson, op. cit., 383.
63 "The Tuscarora Mining and Smelting Company property includes two of the most important mines in the Argenta district. The group embraces the Tuscarora, Gov. Tilden, Florida, Wooley, Fraction, Fraction Placer, Reform, Burleigh, and Spring claims, all in sec. 18. Most of the work and production has been confined to the first two. The B. F. White estate of Dillon, Montana, owns one-half interest and the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, one-half interest in this group."
W. A. Clark suspended his mining and smelting activities at Argenta about 1893 because of the low price of silver. Clark, along with B. F. White, was interested in the Florida, Wooley, and Gov. Tilden claims that adjoined the Tuscarora mine. The production of the Tuscarora smelter was surpassed only by that of the St. Louis smelter. The operations at the Tuscarora plant were quite extensive as indicated by the size of the old slag dump. The Tilden Company, as the Tuscarora Company became known, did not run the smelter but worked the mines. The following account will bear this out:

W. G. Gallagher has half interest in the group of mines belonging to the Tilden Company. W. A. Clark owns the other half-interest in the group of eight mines belonging to the Tilden Company, and arrangements have recently been completed to work the lead, silver and gold ore in these mines. Butler and Townsend, two young men who are well known miners and smelter men, have taken the contract to reduce the ore, and have moved the plant from the old Tuscarora furnace, about a mile outside of Argenta, to the Iron Mountain plant in the town of Argenta.

It appears that this was the very last effort to smelt ore at Argenta.

(63 cont.) Anaconda Copper Mining Company has the entire ownership of the Tuscarora. W. G. Gallagher and LaFayette Scott acquired the Tilden mine from the locators and extracted considerable ore in the late 'seventies. W. A. Clark bought Scott's interest in the early 'eighties and continued to run the smelter partly with the ore from the Tuscarora and partly from customs ores. During this time the incline was run from the Tuscarora into the Florida, where a fault is said to have terminated the ore. Clark shipped several cars of ore from the Tuscarora and Gov. Tilden in 1895-1896, following which Gallagher made several shipments;" in Shenon, op. cit., 59-60.

64 The Dillon Tribune, November 11, 1887, VII, 7.
65 The Dillon Examiner, December 17, 1924, XXXIV, sec. 9, p. 5.
66 Ibid., January 2, 1901, X, 1.
67 Ibid.
The last smelter, a reverberatory affair, constructed in this district was a failure. The exact date of its building is not known, but it was probably erected in the 'seventies. George M. Brown, J. P. Haskell, and Xavier Renois were the owners. This plant known as the Brown smelter was in operation only a day and located a short distance above the Tuscarora plant. An old "charge" rested within the furnace which was lined with bricks that showed no evidence of having been excessively heated. Furthermore, there was no slag dump. The lining bricks of the plant were marked "Swansea Oak Hill." Some of the linings for the other smelters were probably imported from Wales.

After the smelters were built at Argenta, the silver-lead ores could be readily reduced to bullion. This fact caused a demand for such mines. George M. Brown bought the Legal Tender from Esler and then leased it to Cornelius (Con) Bray, who mined ore worth $10,000 from a small pocket. One shipment of ore made by Bray in the early 'eighties consisted of two hundred tons which sampled two hundred fifty ounces of silver and sixty-seven per cent of lead to the ton. The number of ounces of silver produced from all sources in the district in 1881 was about fifteen thousand and about seventy

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68 The Dillon Examiner, October 27, 1897, VII, 1.
69 See Plate XXXVI, p. 175.
70 A. H. French, op. cit.
71 Shenon, op. cit., 63.
tons of lead were mined.\textsuperscript{72} Bray also shipped some ore from the McDonald property which was just south of the Legal Tender. Later, George Dart of Dillon and J. A. Brown of Melrose acquired an interest in the Legal Tender. It is now owned by the James Eddy and J. A. Brown estates. The production of the mine was estimated at $150,000.\textsuperscript{73} A small body of ore was mined from the Spanish lode which was just north of the foregoing mine. The workings consisted of a shallow shaft and some minor stopes. The property is now owned by the Anaconda Copper Mining Company.\textsuperscript{74}

The Brownell mine was located by Harry Griffiths in 1865. (See Plate XXXVII, p. 180). Considerable ore from this mine was reduced at the St. Louis smelter. S. H. John and Company bought the mine in 1871 and smelted the ore. A. J. Schumacher had about one thousand tons refined during the years of 1882-1885. The mine was then idle until 1890 when it was worked by lessees. Later, Oppenheimer bought the mine and now his heirs own it. James and George Knapp shipped twenty carloads in 1922. George Spafford shipped eight carloads. The total production was estimated at five thousand tons which

\textsuperscript{72} Leeson, op. cit., 475.
\textsuperscript{73} Shenon, op. cit., 63.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid. "Billy Gallagher was the original owner of the Spanish mine. L. Scott was in partnership with Gallagher in this besides having shares in the Spring, Florida, Traction, Tilden, and Burleigh. Scott looked after Gallagher's interests for a good many years. When W. A. Clark was running the smelter at Argenta, he gave Scott a checking account for no stipulated amount. He checked up to $30,000 and Clark took over his interests;" A. H. French, op. cit.
PLATE XXXVII
averaged 31 per cent lead, six ounces of silver, .8 per cent copper, and 90 cents per ton in gold.\textsuperscript{75}

Thomas Harrison discovered the Ferdinand lode, which he recorded May 5, 1870.\textsuperscript{76} The Ferdinand group now consists of eleven small claims. Harrison shipped some ore to Swansea, Wales; however, most of the ore was treated at the Argenta smelters. Mining ceased when the sulphide ore was encountered, and the property lay idle for about twenty years until the smelters were able to refine the ore after a preliminary roast. LaFayette Scott mined the property for a time. In 1909 his estate was sold by the administrators to the Argenta-Lillon Mining Company.\textsuperscript{77} This copper mining company had a capital stock of $500,000 and was organized in June 1906. The incorporators were L. P. Phillips, C. M. Edy, H. A. Kaiser, J. L. Phillips, L. D. Tibbets, James Helvyn, James Mackay, Carl Innes, A. S. Johnson, E. L. Hall, Fred Randolph, and A. R. Jacobs.\textsuperscript{78} William D. Ross and Martin Sorenson of Lillon now own the property. The mine produced lead, zinc, some gold, and copper. The best ores averaged thirty per cent in both lead and zinc.\textsuperscript{79}

In 1869 or 1870 A. C. Witter and Fr. Lovelace found the Iron Mountain vein\textsuperscript{80} and then mined a quantity of ore.

\textsuperscript{75} Shenon, op. cit., 64.
\textsuperscript{76} Mining Records, Book "C", op. cit., 61.
\textsuperscript{77} Shenon, op. cit., 75-76; also A. L. French, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{78} The Dillon Examiner, July 4, 1906, XV, 1.
\textsuperscript{79} Shenon, op. cit., 75-76; also A. L. French, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid.
which was refined at the John smelter. E. S. Bell worked both this mine and smelter until he sold them to the P. J. Kelly Placer, Quartz & Reduction & Smelting Company,\(^81\) which was locally known as the Iron Mountain Company.\(^82\) This concern sank two shafts; one was 170 feet deep and the other, 100 feet. When the Iron Mountain ceased,\(^83\) a local newspaper stated the following:

The Iron Mountain, a property of more than common merit, stands as a monument, festooned by liens and mortgages, to perpetuate the memory of an incompetent manager and unsuccessful plunger. Had the property been managed as a legitimate proposition, the company, who now scarce dare own the plant, would have a credit—a balance in their favor, instead of numerous judgments and lawsuits brought on by the profligate management of a man whose ambition it was to show off on dress parade and have numerous supes and subordinates in attendance.\(^84\)

This pointed paragraph aptly expressed the sentiments which were involved in other tirades that generally fell upon any stock-selling organization that tried to raise capital locally to further a speculative enterprise. Beaverhead County did not escape the wiles of such promotion companies.

The Butte-Argenta Copper Company was organized in 1906 with a capital stock of $3,000,000. The incorporators were Oppenheimer, Henry Mueller, A. T. Morgan, J. H. King, and John Kent.\(^85\) The main purpose of these men was to develop the Iron Mountain mine. This is shown by the following item:

\(^{81}\) Shenon, op. cit., 68.
\(^{82}\) The Dillon Examiner, January 24, 1906, XV, 1.
\(^{83}\) Ibid.
\(^{84}\) Ibid., April 19, 1893, II, 2.
\(^{85}\) Ibid., February 21, 1906, XV, 1.
Work is being pushed as rapidly as possible on the Iron Mountain claim which the Butte, Montana, company has under lease and bond and all ten possible are being put to work. The company is now concentrated on the tunnel which is being driven on the Iron Mt. and they expect to strike the contact before the first of August at which time their bond on the claim is up.\(^{86}\)

No production figures are available for the Iron Mountain mine.\(^{87}\) Homer and Archie Pilon were working it in 1959 and shipped several carloads of ore.\(^{88}\) Copper, lead, and gold were mined.\(^{89}\)

In the early 'seventies Robert Wing located the Midnight, which proved to be one of the important mines in the district. He sank a shaft to a depth of sixty feet, but made no shipments. H. N. Paddock and Fred Randolph later relocated the property and shipped small quantities of ore\(^{90}\) until they sold it to A. V. Clark and Fred Day.\(^{91}\) A current news item related the following:

A. V. Clark and Fred Day, owners of the Midnight mine have a flattering showing. During the past winter a shaft has been sunk to a depth of 120 feet on the vein, exposing ore in paying quantities all the way down. Recently a new strike has been made at the bottom of the shaft which makes the happy owners feel jubilant. The ore body is now four feet in thickness, and carries in value $30 in gold, 250 oz. of silver and 40 per cent of lead. Several carloads of the ore have already been shipped from the mine to Kansas City. Four carloads are now on the train ready for shipment, and when the returns from the lot come in, a new hoist will be placed on the property, and ore houses and other buildings will be erected. The home office will be moved from the Springs to Paradise. . . . The Banner, a

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86 The Dillon Examiner, July 4, 1906, XV, 1.
87 Shenon, op. cit., 68.
88 A. H. French, op. cit.
89 Shenon, op. cit., 68.
90 Ibid., 73.
91 A. H. French, op. cit.
parallel vein adjoining the Midnight, is making regular shipments to the Globe smelter at Denver. 92

In 1894 Day was offered $50,000, which he refused, for his interest in the mine. The property at that time was one of the few producing mines in the district. The ore yields were good and the miners received regular union wages of $3.50 per day. 93 One newspaper gave the following:

Prof. Parker, of Philadelphia, accompanied by J. E. Morse, visited the Midnight mine in March 1896, with a view of buying the property. No arrangements, however, could be made with the owner of the property, A. V. Clark, as another party had a prior right to purchase it. The Midnight was looking remarkably well and three car-loads of ore were shipped from there every month to the Globe smelter. There are also 2,000 tons of second grade ore on the dump which will net over $20 to the ton. A concentrator will probably be built in the spring to treat this ore as well as that from another of Mr. Clark's properties which is said to have an excellent showing. Mr. Clark will develop this new property on an extensive scale this season. 94

A month later, Clark leased the mine as is sustained by the following:

W. Tate Taylor, the well known Bannack mining man, secured a bond last week on the Midnight mine near Argenta, owned by A. V. Clark and others. The price stipulated in the bond is $20,000 and the bond is to run forty days. The Midnight has been a steady producer and shipper of ore for some time and there is little doubt that under Mr. Taylor's experienced management the mine will make a still better showing. 95

The mine was leased to Dr. Hodgens of Butte in 1904.

James Murray, also of Butte, was one of the owners of the mine.

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92 *The Dillon Examiner*, April 19, 1893, II, 2. "Paradise was located about one-half mile above Argenta;" A. H. French, op. cit.
93 *The Dillon Examiner*, February 12, 1894, III, 3.
94 Ibid., March 18, 1896, V, 3.
95 Ibid., April 22, 1896, V, 1.
at that time.\textsuperscript{96} It was reported that J. J. Morse also had an interest in the property.\textsuperscript{97} The Gladstone Gold Mining Company, under the management of R. J. Boyle, had ten miners working the mine in 1909.\textsuperscript{98} The Monida Trust Company now owns the property. The principal openings at the mine consisted of five shafts.\textsuperscript{99} The property is now leased to John Hand, who has shipped some ore from it.

In 1895 W. A. Clark bought the Alice, Copper King, Hill Side, Silver Rule, and Mayflower claims for $20,000 from Pan and Henry Laughlin. This property was about six miles northwest of Argenta and as far as developmental work indicated, the ore was chiefly silver.\textsuperscript{100} Two news items further commented:

The fact that the sale of a silver property could be made at this time at any price is in itself ample proof that the claims must be of unusual richness as Mr. Clark, whose judgment in these matters is perhaps as good as that of any other mining man in the state, has never been known to throw away any considerable amount of money on a worthless or even doubtful proposition. This opinion is still further confirmed by the fact that Mr. Clark has been heard to say, immediately after the deal was closed, that he would not take $100,000 for these properties.\textsuperscript{101}

The force of men employed by W. A. Clark on the Silver Rule group near Argenta has been increased from ten to twelve men. A portion of them are engaged in doing prospecting and development work while the others are at work on buildings and other necessary improvements. A very much larger force will be employed there as soon as the development and prospecting are completed. The mine will

\textsuperscript{96} The Dillon Examiner, January 27, 1904, \textit{XIII}, 7.
\textsuperscript{97} A. H. French, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{98} The Dillon Examiner, January 6, 1900, \textit{XVIII}, 1.
\textsuperscript{99} Shenon, op. cit., 75.
\textsuperscript{100} The Dillon Examiner, October 2, 1895, \textit{V}, 4.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.
Incidentally, the Silver Rule had been discovered in the 'eighties by Er Knapp, better known as Jimmy Knapp. The claim was relocated by the Laughlin brothers, who worked out the poor material and left "good indications" to be observed by prospective buyers. This deceiving mine was bought by Clark, who was of such character that if a proposition did not pay, activities were immediately stopped. Within six months the Silver Rule machinery was moved to the Tuscarora mine. The Silver Rule is now idle. 103

The Jack Rabbit mine, which has the distinction of being the deepest in the district, is about one-half mile northeast of Argenta. This property was discovered by J. P. Fletcher, who then sank an inclined shaft to a depth of one hundred forty feet. 104 The Conda Mining Company mined it (1915-1919) and sank another shaft to a depth of three hundred feet. They also dug two hundred feet of cross-cuts on the two hundred and three hundred-foot levels to the Jack Rabbit and Copper Dell veins. Water was encountered at ninety feet; and at the depth of three hundred feet, two pumps were used to

102 The Dillon Examiner, October 23, 1905, V, 4.
103 A. M. French, op. cit.
104 Shenon, op. cit., 76. A story that is current at Dillon, Montana, relates that "Tommy Hay, a Chinaman who had mining interests in the county, was riding along on horseback when his horse shied at a jackrabbit and stumbled. Hay, on getting up, picked up a stone to throw at the rabbit when he discovered that the missile contained minerals. He then staked the outcrop and named the claim the Jack Rabbit."
handle the flow. This company, an Austrian outfit, was under the management of John Conda, who was able to secure the services of his fellow countrymen by paying them company stock. They shipped some ore. Mr. Scott of Butte had a large share of the stock in this company. Six years later, Warren Graeter bought the mine at a sheriff’s sale for $1,800 to satisfy a debt that was held by him against the property. The mine produced both silver and copper. Fletcher located the Copper Bell about the same time that he found the Jack Rabbit. The Copper Bell was relocated by Schumacher who did most of the developmental work. This mine produced very little ore.

James Mauldin was the discoverer of the Rittenhouse and Louis Philip mines and did extensive prospecting upon them. He and Ball had a lawsuit over the ownership, which was decided in favor of the former. In 1392 three men worked the mines for Mauldin and had a shaft down two hundred feet to first-class ore. Ball located the Anaconda mine after he lost the lawsuit. He sank a thirty-foot shaft upon it and encountered a body of ore which was treated at the local smelter.

105 A. H. French, op. cit.; also in Shenon, op. cit., 76.
106 A. H. French, op. cit.
107 The Dillon Examiner, January 6, 1915, XIX, 1; also A. H. French, op. cit.
108 The Dillon Examiner, January 26, 1921, XXI, 1.
109 A. H. French, op. cit.
110 Shenon, op. cit., 77.
111 Ibid., 65.
112 The Dillon Examiner, September 7, 1392, I, 3.
Before the ore was worked out, the mine was sold to the P. J. Kelly Placer, Quartz & Reduction & Smelting Company, which then smelted the ore. The property was eventually acquired by Oppenheimer.113

The Goldsmith mine needs only to be mentioned because of the persons connected with it. The lode was located by Thomas Judge and Thomas Fox in the late 'eighties and they made no shipments. Mark Bray relocated the mine and sold half-interest to Mr. Smeed. W. A. Clark bought Bray's interest and mined most of the ore. The mine produced about three hundred tons of copper and gold ore.114 It is now idle.

The Golden Era mine was discovered by W. L. Booth in 1880. The property was relocated by A. J. Watts. George W. French and Henry Laughlin bought the mine from Watts in 1884 and sent some ore to the local smelters. The St. Louis and Montana Mining Company (not to be confused with the first smelting company) purchased the mine and shipped a large amount of gold ore besides taking out about one thousand tons of second-class material.115 In 1892 the company had a five-stamp mill and a concentrator on the property and employed fourteen men.116 The next year a local news organ gave the following:

The Golden Era is another mine whose management stands

113 Shenon, op. cit., 77.
114 Ibid., 67.
115 A. H. French, op. cit.; also Shenon, op. cit., 72.
116 The Dillon Examiner, September 7, 1892, I, 3.
out as a prominent landmark to show the genius in mining of a St. Louis hotel runner. This superintendent, who figured more on the profits of the boarding house than he did in the product of the mine, managed to make the former pay, but swamped the latter to the tune of $25,000 and then reported to his company that the mine would not pay. Then the works closed down and this elementary expert with the profits of an economically managed boarding house took his way back to the city on the banks of the "Big Muddy" and condemned the mines of Argenta.

Now, we know the result, Charley Taylor, having no special boarding house talent except as a sampler of its viands, but with considerable mining ability, leases this defunct mine, builds a ten-stamp mill at the collar of the shaft, runs the dump through and makes money for himself and the company. He goes down into the mine and, without prospecting, commences stoping and keeps his mill grinding away day and night making money right along. This shows the difference between management and mismanagement. 117

The Imbs Milling Company of St. Louis did some work up-on this mine. J. F. Imbs was the owner; and when he died, his two sons fell heir to the mine. They sank a shaft about three hundred feet deep and shipped ore. On five cars of ore the smelter "returns" showed 25 per cent lead, 21.54 ounces silver, and 4.35 ounces gold per ton. 118 The mine is idle at present.

The Rena mine was first owned in 1884 by Homer Lawrence and John Miles, who shipped the gold ore to a smelter at Omaha, Nebraska. 119 A news item of 1896 gives the following:

The Rena and Golden Era were worked a few years ago in a small mill that was erected upon the property, but the method was so crude that the proposition was not a success, for they were not able to save the gold close enough. This was proved by the tailings which assayed $12 to $20 to the ton in gold. A short time ago the property passed into

117 The Lillion Examiner, April 19, 1893, II, 2.
118 A. K. Trench, op. cit.; also Trench, op. cit., 72.
119 Ibid., 72.
the hands of Messrs. Posselmann, Dunn, Schenk, Woodman, and Bronenberg, who started to thoroughly prospect the property. 120

In 1902 the mine, two boilers, and an engine were sold for delinquent taxes. This mine was stopped from the 200-foot level to the surface. When it was productive, a great many tons of ore were shipped; and it averaged more than one hundred dollars per ton. The Rena was adjacent to the Golden Era. 121

Peter Monahan located the Gold Finch mine and later sold it to George W. and A. H. French in 1890. Those brothers worked the mine intermittently and also leased it. 122 The mine was again leased a few years ago to the Fleming brothers, who shipped gold ore that netted them nearly $100,000. The Flemings put up a small mill and tried to concentrate the ore. 123 During the summer of 1939 when the present writer, in company with A. H. French, visited the mine, the property was idle and the stopes were caving. Mr. French now owns the Gold Finch and other mines in the district.

William Dudley was the original owner of the Dexter mine, which he mined quite extensively during the early 'eighties. He sold the property and then continued with the superintendence of the mining. 124 At a depth of three hundred feet a fault occurred, and a great deal of prospecting was done to

120 The Dillon Examiner, December 30, 1896, VI, 1.
121 Ibid., April 16, 1902, XI, 1.
122 A. H. French, op. cit.; also Shenon, op. cit., 73.
123 A. H. French, op. cit.
124 Ibid.; also in Shenon, op. cit., 74.
relocate the vein, but water was encountered and development was suspended.\textsuperscript{125} Little work was done until 1929 when the property was again mined by the Continental Divide Mines Company under the direction of W. J. Cushing of Dillon.\textsuperscript{126} Most of the work in 1940 was that of exploration.

The Argenta Mining Company was organized in 1928 by Judah Judah, G. V. Elder, and Ralph Rowlands. Their property consisted of five patented and six unpatented claims. Most of the work was done upon the Sir Walter Scott. They found a deposit of bismuth which was claimed to be a large one. Elder further prospected the mine in 1940 and built a small concentrator.\textsuperscript{127}

Since it was the idea of gold being present in the gravels of Rattlesnake Creek that first attracted prospectors to the region, it is necessary to complete the story about the placer mines in the locality. In the early 'seventies Jack Kingsley built a four-mile ditch to work the placer ground that was across the creek from Argenta. The mining was done with hydraulics and employed four men who recovered about $40 in dust per day. A Chinaman afterwards worked the diggings at a reported income of three dollars per day.\textsuperscript{128}

P. J. Kelly, L. Scott, and W. Ravenscroft found some

\textsuperscript{125} The Dillon Examiner, April 19, 1893, II, 2.
\textsuperscript{126} Shenon, op. cit., 74.
\textsuperscript{127} An Interview with G. V. Elder, Argenta, Montana; also in Shenon, op. cit., 70.
\textsuperscript{128} Raymond, op. cit., (1872), 269; also J. H. French, op. cit.
placers immediately below Argenta, and in 1882 they recovered about $2,000 in dust. In 1902 a newspaper gave the following about the old diggings:

The placers known as the P. J. Kelly property were sold to a company of Butte men of which William Morgan, Ira. Keine and others of the same town are interested. The property was owned by Dan Laughlin and Gerhard Albers and it was through the efforts of Mr. Laughlin that the deal was pushed to successful culmination. Mr. Morgan was the Butte representative who completed the deal when the deeds were signed. He paid over to Mr. Laughlin and his associates $3,000 in cash for the property.

The property is situated directly below Argenta and consists of nearly a mile of the creek bed of Rattlesnake. It was located by P. J. Kelly in 1875 and the following year he secured a patent on the ground. The ground has been prospected from time to time and money has always been found. At one time, it is said, that nearly $10,000 was taken from the property, but, as the ground was worked without the consent of the owners, no royalty was ever paid, and the exact amount of money taken out by these men has never been learned.

The most productive placers were discovered on French Creek, a tributary to Rattlesnake Creek, and on Watson Creek. A party named Powers spent several summers prospecting the stream beds for gold. Ely Gordon also prospected the creek and some of its tributaries. Gordon dug a hole on what became known as Watson Creek, a tributary to French Creek, and thought that he had reached bedrock which, however, proved to be a flat rock. Charles Watson continued the prospect hole and discovered pay dirt. It was estimated that Watson took out about $100,000 in gold. William Dunn later tried to develop the "mother

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129 *The Dillon Tribune*, July 15, 1882, II, 4; also H. French, *op. cit.*
130 *Leeson, op. cit.*, 475.
131 *The Dillon Examiner*, June 25, 1902, XI, 1.
lode.132 Watson certainly followed the proverb, "easy come, easy go." At Dillon there were several stories about his squandering, via the route of wine, women, and song. What was reputed to have been the largest nugget ever unearthed in Beaverhead County was found by Watson's hired man. A current news item related the following:

Charles Watson, the Argenta placer mining man, brought with him last week the largest nugget ever found in the county. It weighs forty ounces and is valued at between $600 and $700, about 90 per cent of its weight being gold. The piece was found two weeks ago in the race of his placer ground, while sluicing. Mr. Watson has taken it to Butte to sell it to a curio hunter who for a long time has importuned him to sell him a fine specimen of gold.133

Other placers were found on French Creek which was formed by the uniting of Watson and Trout creeks. Tom Fox, George W. and A. H. French, Sus Barnes, and Mark Bray mined these diggings with a hydraulic. In a short time they took out ten or twelve thousand dollars in gold dust.134 A party of Butte men worked ground sluices nearby.135 The West brothers sluiced on the lower part of French Creek.136 It was estimated that $600,000 in gold was taken from Watson and French creeks.137 Some lean placers were once worked on Alturas Creek near Bald Mountain west of Argenta.138 Placer mining in the foregoing vicinities has ceased.

132 A. H. French, op. cit.
133 The Dillon Examiner, September 12, 1894, IV, 3.
134 A. H. French, op. cit.
135 The Dillon Examiner, June 25, 1902, XI, 1.
136 Ibid., July 8, 1903, XII, 7.
137 The Dillon Tribune, September 19, 1930, L, 5.
138 A. H. French, op. cit.
Portions of the Argenta and Blue Wing districts were provisionally referred to as the Badger Pass district which is brought out by the following:

The Badger Pass district, about sixteen miles west of Dillon, includes the southern portion of the Argenta district and the northern portion of the Blue Wing district; and, in order to avoid confusion with the areas described and mapped by Shenon this area will be provisionally referred to as the Badger Pass district, the new discoveries being in the region immediately to the northeast of Badger Pass on the Dillon-Jackson road. 139

Because of the above, the district is now locally called the Badger Pass Mining District. "The report of the discovery of ore running as high as 1.25 ounces of gold per ton in the region about two and one-half miles southwest of Argenta" 140 and also the inflated price of gold caused a mild rush during the fall of 1932. The activities at the Ermont mines also contributed to this increased interest. The majority of the area was soon "staked out;" and after the prospectors had done the required "discovery work," activity ceased almost as suddenly as it had started.

The Ermont mines are the only important ones in this region at present (1940). The claims were located in 1926 by D. V. Erwin and W. J. Corbett, who prospected the ground until the property was bonded by them to the Standard Silver & Lead Company of Spokane, Washington. This company did considerable prospecting, sank a shaft to a depth of one hundred ten feet,

139 Uno M. Sahinen, The Badger Pass Mining District, Beaverhead County, Montana, Miscellaneous Contributions, No. 6, (Butte, Montana, 1934), 1.
140 Ibid.
and then drifted one hundred feet. In 1923 the property was bonded to James Kidwell of Portland, Oregon, who mined it for a time. Elza Patrick of Dillon shipped fifty carloads of ore which brought him $11 per ton.

R. B. Caswell, J. R. Bowles, and F. C. Gram now own the Ermont property, which consists of thirty-three unpatented claims. They operated until 1933 and began again in 1936 when they erected a 100-ton cyanide mill, which refined ninety tons of ore on the average in twenty-four hours. (See Plate XXXVIII, p. 196). A pipeline to furnish water for the mill and the camp was run from Rattlesnake Creek, about four miles distant, at a cost of about $20,000. An extension from the power line that was originally built to supply electricity for the Golden Leaf mill at Bannack was built to the mines to furnish power for the modern mill and mine machinery, all of which were electrically operated. The company employs sixty men who are working three shifts daily at the mill and in the mines. The monthly production is reported at $22,000. The engineer at the mill informed the present writer that the enterprise was one of the large gold producers in the State. The company also used a diamond drill to explore for new ore bodies.

The Beulah Mines Company was organized February 14, 1939, with a capital stock of $250,000. At present E. F. Shenon, op. cit., 69.
Dreyfous owns 162,000 shares; L. O. Campbell, 18,000 shares; and A. C. Most, 18,000 shares. Their main office is at Reno, Nevada. Mr. Most operates the property for the company. The concern is opening the Badger mine, just north of the Ermont, to explore prior to building a mill. The company also has a lease on the Charles Quick property south of the Ermont. Other minor outfits are prospecting for ore bodies in this region of low-grade gold ore.

The most extensive activities at Argenta occurred shortly after the discovery of the first silver mines, which were insured success by the smelters that were built. Mining fell off somewhat until 1873 when there was a slight revival. The slump of the silver market in 1893 sealed the fate of Argenta for many years. Short spurts of mining tended to keep alive interest in the old camp, which was again aroused when the prices of both gold and silver were increased. Practically all the production from the Argenta district came from the lode mines. Some placers were worked, but no authentic figures are available on the amount of gold produced. Many of the lode mines were operated before statistics were recorded; consequently, the production figures for a number of them were merely estimates based largely upon the size of the underground excavations and the grade of the ore. The total

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143 Beulah Mines Company papers filed at the Beaverhead County Clerk and Recorder's office at Dillon, Montana.
production of the Argenta district was estimated at $1,500,000. In 1939 the district produced $25,433 in metal, mainly from the Armona mines.

144 Shenon, op. cit., 58.
145 Minerals Year Book, 1940, op. cit., 352.
CHAPTER VII

THE BLUE WING MINING DISTRICT

Other valuable silver mines were discovered in the mountains three or four miles northeast of Bannack within a few weeks after the silver lodes were found near Rattlesnake Creek. The finding of these ore deposits resulted from the activity on Rattlesnake Creek. Several of the miners from there soon staked claims in the new district. On July 25, 1864, A. K. Eaton, in company with H. J. Bartleson, and H. J. Buckley placed a discovery notice on the Blue Wing Silver Lode from which the district took its name. The Blue Wing lode was the first one found in the district. The customary claims on either side of the discovery were staked within a short time and the locality became a scene of considerable activity. Andrew Murray, prominent in Bannack mining circles, and George W. Dye had claim No. 3 east on the Blue Wing vein. W. W. De Lacy owned No. 19 west. Sidney Edgerton, W. F. Sanders, and Lucia Darling each staked a claim on the Blue Wing lode, August 13, 1864. Nearby, John Birtwhistle, Robert Entwhistle, and Joseph Mylroie discovered the Kent lode,

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1 Mining Records, Transcript of Books "A" and "B", op. cit., 114. Some writers credit the Blue Wing Silver Lode as the first silver discovery in Montana.

2 Mining Records, Transcript of Books "A" and "B", op. cit., 114.

3 Ibid., 126.

4 Ibid., 123.
August 2, 1864; the next day these three individuals took the "T" lode.\(^5\) Also on August 2, John Innis, John Mellon, and W. H. Thomas posted a notice on the Whopper lode.\(^6\) The Bannock Chief and the Arizona lodes were also recorded in 1864. Somehow the Blue Wing, Kent, Whopper, and Bannock Chief lodes became known as the Kent group.\(^7\) Practically all the names of these old claims were changed when they were relocated. (See Plate XXXIX, p. 201). The Kent group is now covered by the Jay Gould, Edith, E. W. Wilson, and Nettie claims, which are located near the head of Spring Gulch, one-half mile south of the old Bannack-Dillon road.\(^8\)

The ore encountered in the Blue Wing mine in the early days was rich enough to be transported to distant places. The vein, when first opened, varied from one foot to six feet in width, but only the high-grade ore was freighted; the lower grade material was left to accumulate on the dump. Some of the richest ore was sent to San Francisco where it was treated or loaded into sailing vessels that carried it as ballast to Swansea, Wales, to be worked in the famous smelters.\(^9\) Most of the ore assayed from two hundred to six hundred ounces in silver per ton. A quantity was later hauled over three hundred miles to Corrine, Utah, by freight teams to be shipped east.

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\(^5\) Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book "B", 3.
\(^6\) Ibid.
\(^7\) The Dillon Examiner, January 2, 1907, XVI, 1; also in Shenon, op. cit., 32-33.
\(^8\) Ibid., also an interview with John Coppin, Dillon, Montana.
\(^9\) The Dillon Examiner, March 20, 1901, X, 1.
PLATE XXXIX
When the Utah and Northern Railroad was built into Montana, Barretts and Dillon became the shipping points for the district.

In the fall of 1864 George Chrisman, George Miller, W. C. Hopkins, Andy Murray, and others went to New York City to sell the Blue Wing mine. They asked $300,000 for the mine and wanted payment in gold. These Montana miners were offered this sum in greenbacks, but because of the deflated value of the currency, the proposition was refused. No authentic record of production was ever kept for the Blue Wing group; however, it was stated that the silver wealth of the country was augmented over a million ounces by its ores.

A narrative current about the Blue Wing mine related that Henry Plummer gave his opinion of the ore because he was the only person then in the region who was acquainted with silver ore. It was true that Plummer and his gang used the signal "a silver discovery was made" to signify that the leader's presence was indispensable at another robbery. However, when the Blue Wing was discovered, Plummer was quite cold in his grave on the other side of the nearby mountain which was called "Robbers' Roost." From its top the road agents had scanned the road and country to the east and west of Bannack,

10 The Dillon Examiner, April 15, 1903, XII, 7.
11 Ibid., March 20, 1901, X, 1; also in Ibid., November 13, 1901, XI, 1.
12 Ibid., January 2, 1907, XVI, 1.
13 Dimsdale, op. cit., 42-43.
14 The road agents' headquarters near Virginia City also had this name.
and then scuttled behind "Road Agents' Rock" to waylay some unsuspecting miner, heavy with gold, or a stage coach well laden with booty.

After a short boom the miners shifted to other mineral zones in Beaverhead County. The Blue Wing district was practically abandoned until 1872 when James O'Leary relocated the Kent, Blue Wing, Shopper, and Arizona mines. He mined these and hauled the ore to the smelters at Argenta. John P. O'Leary came to the section in 1880 and the two brothers then worked the mines. James died in 1883 and John inherited the property, which he leased to two miners named McEade and Lambert. Sometime later S. H. Hayes and Mr. String bonded the mine from O'Leary and William Gallagher for $10,000. For a six month's lease, they paid the owners $7,500 royalty, which was twenty-five per cent of the gross ore ($30,000) that was mined. Tom Hamilton was superintendent for the two leaseholders and employed twenty-two men. O'Leary and Gallagher again mined the property and took out ore valued at $33,000. Afterwards O'Leary's holdings were purchased by two San Francisco men named Thompson and Chapman. At one time Philip Shenon owned two-thirds interest in the mine and the remainder belonged to H. L. Frank of Butte. Other work of importance was done in

15 The Dillon Examiner, March 20, 1901, X, 1.
16 The Dillon Tribune, March 25, 1882, II, 4.
17 The Dillon Examiner, March 20, 1901, X, 1.
18 Leeson, op. cit., 476.
19 The Dillon Examiner, March 20, 1901, X, 1.
20 Leeson, op. cit., 476; also in The Dillon Tribune, May 23, 1885, V, 4.
1892-1893 by miners Pomeroy and Williams. These men dug a tunnel eight hundred fifty feet long and tapped the Blue Wing vein at a depth of two hundred fifty feet. This tunnel was run from the Edith claim into the hill between the Blue Wing and the Kent workings. Crosscuts were then blasted to open four ledges at that depth. Before the expectations of the two men could be realized, the financial crash of 1893 came and work was stopped. Dr. Miller secured a lease in 1895 and shipped ore to the Butte and Helena smelters. Ten teams were used to haul the ore to Dillon for shipment. S. P. Burr mined the Blue Wing in 1910 and exposed a small body of ore, which brought him nearly $10,000. John O'Leary estimated the production of the Kent property at approximately $750,000. John Coppin of Dillon, who was familiar with these mines, estimated the production of the Kent at $700,000, the Blue Wing at $150,000, and the Whopper at $20,000. At present nothing is being done at these mines, probably because of the "pockety" nature of the ore.

The Huron lode, which is just north of the Blue Wing mine, was staked by John Innis, September 3, 1864. His

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21 The Dillon Examiner, March 20, 1901, X, 1; also in Shenon, op. cit., 32-33.
22 The Dillon Examiner, March 20, 1901, X, 1.
23 Ibid., October, 23, 1895, V, 4.
24 Shenon, op. cit., 33.
25 Mining Records, op. cit., Book "B", 53. There is good reason to believe that the knowledge of the following brought capital to develop the early mines. "Specimens of both gold and silver ore from the numerous lodes in all the mining districts of the Territory, assayed at the (cont.)
claim became one of the best mines in the district and was probably the next quartz property sold in New York after the sale of Dakota No. 6. By this transaction the mine became the property of the newly organized Huron Silver Mining Company of Montana, and Thomas Wood was the superintendent. Innis remained one of the principal persons in the company. The association owned thirty-six wagons, a twenty-four-stamp mill with amalgamators, and some arrastras. However, overzealous developmental work caused the company to fail for the members imagined themselves bonanza kings. The shelter which was built by these men will be discussed later. Somehow Samuel Batchelder, the former superintendent of the Dakota mine, acquired the ownership of the Huron and was working it in 1872 or 1873; in 1882 he had it leased to other parties. The Lamb brothers leased it in 1885. However, relatively little was done with this mine after the earlier efforts of

(25 cont.) United States Assay Office in Philadelphia and New York have yielded variously from $100 to $800 per ton, some exceeding $1,000, and a few as high as $3,000. An assay from Prof. John Torrey, U. S. Assay Office, from the Dakota lode, yielded $3,344.26 per ton. One from Prof. Eaton, same lode, $2,472.60 per ton. . . . An assay of a second specimen of the Dakota yielded $6,003.20 per ton. Prof. Eckfield of Philadelphia, U. S. Assayer, reports the "Huron Lode" as yielding $766.50 silver per ton. Prof. Torrey's assay from the Huron, resulted $567.97. Prof. Eaton, same lode: . . . One sample . . . $1,180.40. Another . . . $354.28." In Tufts, op. cit., 10-11. There is little doubt that much of the ore was rich, especially when better samples were taken. A great deal of the ore that was shipped to Swansea, Wales was hand-sorted. However, in regard to the high assays, it appears that the "best apples were put on top" purposely to attract investors. 26 Montana Post, September 15, 1866, III, 1. 27 The Dillon Tribune, March 25, 1882, II, 4.
the Huron Company. The property was secured by John Costello, who sold a half-interest to Frank Simnot in 1910. The latter became the owner after Costello's death. Simnot estimated the total production at approximately $30,000. This mine is idle at present (1940).

Two smelters were constructed to refine the refractory ores from the Blue Wing and Huron mines. Sometime in October 1866 A. K. Eaton, in company with others, built a small furnace to smelt the ores from the Blue Wing mine. Only two runs were made which netted twenty-five and forty pounds of silver. The first was a loss to the owners; the second brought a profit of a few hundred dollars. This six-ton plant was built at a cost of $3,000. Other ores had to be mixed with the product from the Blue Wing mine because the latter was amalgamating ore. Therefore, it was necessary to haul galena ore from Arpenta at a considerable expense. The smelter men were inexperienced; consequently, the enterprise failed. The plant was located on the old Metallic ranch on Taylor Creek and near the old road to Arpenta. In November 1866 Thomas Wood, the superintendent of the Huron Company, also completed a smelter to extract the Huron silver.

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28 The Dillon Tribune, May 23, 1885, V, 4.
29 Chenon, op. cit., 37.
30 Montana Post, September 8, 1866, III, 6; also in ibid., October 6, 1866, III, 6.
31 Raymond, op. cit., (1870), 310-311.
32 Browne; Taylor, op. cit., 54; also Harry Graves, op. cit.
33 Montana Post, December 1, 1866, III, 1.
A cupellation hearth was installed to separate the silver from the lead. These works were built on the present Paddock ranch, just west of Bannack. The Wood's furnace failed through causes similar to those experienced at the Eaton plant. The Huron Company, since it was having financial difficulties over $30,000 worth of machinery which was then in its possession, was unable to cope with this failure. These early smelters were expensive to operate for it cost from $60 to $80 per ton to smelt the ores. In 1869 the furnace, under the superintendence of P. P. Rompf, was then operated by William M. Deriar and William Faulds. They smelted ore from the Blue King mine. The success of this last smelting venture at Bannack is not known.

The Brick Pomeroy, which was a few hundred feet north of Road Agents' Rock, was staked by Amadeo Bossette and A. J. Nay on November 30, 1868. The ore shipped from this mine yielded over three hundred ounces of silver per ton, and in places the lodge was several feet wide. The ore was found in pockets in this and other nearby mines. Some of the mineral bodies contained several tons of valuable ore. A large portion of the ore was hauled to the Argenta smelters.

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34 Browne; Taylor, *op. cit.*, 54; also Harry Graves, *op. cit.*
35 Browne; Taylor, *op. cit.*, 54.
36 Montana Post, April 25, 1868, IV, 6; also in Bassett and Magee, *op. cit.*, 31; also in Raymond, *op. cit.*, (1870), 310-311.
37 Mining Records, Book "O", *op. cit.*, 35.
38 The Dillon Examiner, November 15, 1901, XI, 6.
1891 S. S. Harper of Denver managed the mining which was done by contract. The main workings consisted of an inclined shaft that was stoped out to the surface. The patented Silver Buckle, Silver Belt, and Quebec are the three claims which now cover this old property. (See Plate XXXDI, p. 201). No developmental work is being done at present.

H. P. Sears and Clark Smith located the Del Monte lode, October 20, 1871. In 1885 Sears, in company with another miner named Roe, worked a force of men who mined out several tons of first-class ore. Six years laterMessrs. Gilmore and Sheridan of Leadville, Colorado, operated the mine with good machinery. Philip J. Shenon, a prominent mining engineer who was well acquainted with the mines of the region, wrote the following about the Del Monte mine:

... Records of the returns are not available. Lessees who took out considerable ore in the late 'nineties are said to have netted a profit. Since these lessees sank a shaft to a depth of over 250 feet, and handled considerable water, besides doing a good deal of drifting, it is estimated that they must have taken out at least $30,000 and probably not over $50,000. The West Butte Mining Company purchased the property from the Graves' estate of Eannack in 1922 and after cleaning out and re-tempering the Del Monte shaft, ran a number of prospect drifts, chiefly on the upper levels. Prospecting was abandoned after a year's work and the property

39 The Dillon Examiner, September 16, 1891, I, 1.
40 Mining the ore which was overhead in a tunnel. This method was very similar to "glory holing," which was used in Colorado. The ore was cut way from the sides of the shaft in the latter method. In Fritz, op. cit., 166.
41 Shenon, op. cit., 37.
42 Mining Records, Book "O", op. cit., 72.
43 The Dillon Tribune, May 23, 1885, V, 4.
44 The Dillon Examiner, September 16, 1891, I, 1.
has since been idle. At present the shaft is full of water below a depth of 50 feet.\footnote{Shenon, op. cit., 34-35.}

This mine is now covered by six patented claims, the Del Monte, Frank H., Bare Hill, Isabella, Molby, and Bonaparte. (See Plate XXXIX, p. 201).

Of all the mines in the district, the New Departure was the most outstanding for the amount of ore produced and for the length of time that it was mined. This mine was discovered by G. W. (Wash) Stapleton, who recorded it November 15, 1871.\footnote{Mining Records, Book "0", op. cit., 72.} In 1873 he shipped seven tons of silver ore for which he received $1,900 from the Bank of California.\footnote{Raymond, op. cit., (1873), 217.} There was a general revival in silver mining throughout the country at this time. In 1880 or 1881 (Hon.) Lawrence A. Brown and Joshua Clayton purchased the mine from Stapleton for $2,500,\footnote{The Dillon Examiner, August 1, 1906, XV, 1; also in Shenon, op. cit., 36.} and Brown gave the owner a note for $2,000.\footnote{The Dillon Examiner, March 30, 1904, XIII, 1.} Clayton further developed the mine in 1883 after uncovering a wide vein which assayed seventy ounces of silver per ton. The first shipment of fifty tons of selected ores sent to eastern reduction works to be treated yielded $250 a ton.\footnote{Leeson, op. cit., 476.} In 1887 or 1888 Brown bought Clayton's interests for the sum of $3,500.\footnote{Shenon, op. cit., 36.} At first Brown experienced the difficulty of getting enough paying ore to finance the development of the mine for the ore

\begin{footnotes}
\item[45] Shenon, op. cit., 34-35.
\item[46] Mining Records, Book "0", op. cit., 72.
\item[47] Raymond, op. cit., (1873), 217.
\item[48] The Dillon Examiner, August 1, 1906, XV, 1; also in Shenon, op. cit., 36.
\item[49] The Dillon Examiner, March 30, 1904, XIII, 1.
\item[50] Leeson, op. cit., 476.
\item[51] Shenon, op. cit., 36.
\end{footnotes}
lay in pockets. One writer gave the following account about this experience:

Judge L. A. Brown borrowed money from Governor White to carry on his operations. He discovered the ore and paid off the loan. He explained that he generally had ore in sight after that time and when he needed money, he would ship a carload, saying: "This is my bank, and I believe, sir, that there is enough in here to pay the national debt." Brown employed from seven to ten men and managed his own property. (See Plate XL, p. 211). His diary indicated that he was more inclined to spend his time at the mine than at his ranch near Barretts station south of Dillon. Since he was a self-sufficient individual, he willed the same for his son, A. P. Brown. The following excerpt from the elder's diary implies the characters of both. The other citations that also follow give an idea about his activities at the mine.

Made contract with A. P. Brown that he should have 315 sacks of ore sacked and to be sacked in lieu of his services and that he could go so soon as the ore was sacked. I to have it hauled to the Canyon and he to ship it himself. I think this is the best thing to do. He can then make such shift for himself as he likes and I will be free from his future demands.

Went to the mine arriving 11:30 A.M. Roads drying but heavy. The Argenta travel comes into Bannack at Jacob's old ranch now. Took beef and a few supplies to the mine. Gibson the carpenter and friend passed me bound for Bannack. Received when down this time a large lot of silver literature. Will return to Ranch with ore this afternoon. In

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52 B. F. White was Montana's last territorial governor, and later he was president of the First National Bank at Dillon.
53 Noyes, op. cit., 119.
54 The Dillon Examiner, December 25, 1895, V, 6.
55 Barretts station on the Oregon Short Line Railroad.
56 Brown, op. cit., II, 15.
PLATE 16 -- NEW DEPARTURE MINE
return to Ranch with ore this afternoon I mined down at French's ranch and sent man who happened along to mine after George to come and help me out. He came. I got out and went to the Ranch with load of ore. I gave the man for going $2.00. 57

Went mine in morning. Saw on the road several 4 horse teams hauling ore from the Kent mine. 58

Commenced to snake down off of Robbers' Roost my winter's wood and hauled over to the mine. Jacobs has reached what appears to be the hanging wall of the Bonanza ore. 59

An interesting story about Brown which was current at Dillon related that he left two men to prospect for new ore bodies after he had instructed them to drive directly south. They found an "indication" on the west wall of the drift and proceeded to open up a large ore body. Brown returned several days later and "canned" both "Cousin-Jacks" for not following directions. He lagged up the ore body, drove a circular tunnel around it, and there picked up the ore. Thereafter, the tunnel was known as the "Cousin-Jack Rainbow Drift."

Brown never stated the amount of money received for his ore shipments, but during the years of 1894-1896, inclusive, he sent twenty-four consignments to the Omaha General Smelting and Reduction Works. The ore totaled 476,500 pounds, plus 255 sacks of first and second-class ores. 60 It was reported that he mined over $350,000 in ores from the mine during the time that he worked it. The property was developed to a depth of

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57 Brown, op. cit., II, 15.
58 Ibid., II, 155.
59 Ibid., II, 149.
60 Ibid., II, 356.
about four hundred feet, and the total distance of the various tunnels was estimated at three miles.\textsuperscript{61}  

A. P. Brown fell heir to his late father's mine. Fred Randolph, W. A. Jones, and John Marsh leased the mine from him and worked it during 1904-1905. They shipped about two carloads of ore each month.\textsuperscript{62}  C. M. Best and W. A. Jones were also lessees for two years.\textsuperscript{63}  The mine was then sold to the New Departure Mining Company for $50,000. This concern mined it for two years and at one time worked as many as forty miners. The property was then operated by lessees until 1918 when it was sold to O. M. Best of Dillon.\textsuperscript{64}  John Copplin worked it under lease for nine years until 1923 when it was purchased by J. L. Templeman of Butte who is the present owner. The mine consists of the following seven patented claims: Shield, Protector, Director, Signal, Quien Sabe, Cliff, and Guardian. The Quien Sabe and the Signal produced the most ore.\textsuperscript{65}  

Only one mill was ever built in the Blue Wing District. This was a five-stamp affair erected in Spring Gulch by M. F. Kirkpatrick. The plant also had two true vanners;\textsuperscript{66}  but the mill was never a success as a value saver.\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{61} The Dillon Examiner, May 14, 1902, IX, 1.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., March 30, 1904, XIII, 1; also in ibid., September 6, 1905, XV, 1.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., August 1, 1903, XV, 1.
\textsuperscript{64} Shennon, op. cit., 36.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid.; also John Copplin, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{66} The true vanner is the side shake vanner and is the best known type. A vanner is a mineral concentrating device or machine which does its work on the upper surface of (cont.)
Little mining was done in the district after the short burst of activity during the early 'eighties other than that done by L. A. Brown on his mine. During the summer of 1939, lessees operated the Silver Buckle group and a lease was let on the New Departure. Only memories now exist of this once

(66 cont.) an endless belt which is slightly inclined from the horizontal and receives a rapid shake in the plane of the belt for stratifying the ore pulp passing over it. This agitation makes the bed or crushed ore on the belt so loose that the minerals of higher specific gravity settle, and consequently those of lighter specific gravity rise to the upper layer. A continuous slow movement of the belt up the slope drags the heavy minerals to the upper end, while the feed water running down the slope washes the light minerals to the lower end, thereby affecting a mineral separation.

67 The Dillon Examiner, May 14, 1902, IX, 1.
68 M. A. Leeson, who spent considerable time in the county in the early 'eighties, gives the following passage which summarizes the activities of the Blue Wing district up to 1885: "Reports from the Blue Wing district, up to June 1, 1885, credited the locality with greater activity than at any time since the discovery of mines there. . . . Active operations have been resumed on the Ruby mine by the owners Trask, Graves, and White. The only steam hoist in the district is in position on this property. A double-compartment main shaft has been dropped to a depth of one hundred and thirty feet. On the Del Monte mines Sears and Roe are working a force of men. On the dump thirty tons of first-class ore is piled up, which will probably be increased to fifty tons. The main shaft has been sunk to a depth of two hundred and thirty feet. Stoping is going on at the one hundred and twenty foot level. Frank Williams & Co. are working the Bismarck mine, under lease from L. C. Fyrhie. It is an ore-producer at the present and has been in the past a productive mine. A good sized dump pile of 200-ounce ore has been taken from the mine during the past winter. The Bismarck is among the developed mines in the district. The Charter Oak mine, owned and worked by E. S. Herr, has produced considerable high-grade ore during the winter. The mine has been opened to a depth of 160 feet. Zook, Robinson, and Mathews, owners of the Silver Rose mine, are doing development work. X. Renois is at work on the old Sibley mine, with good prospects. On the Huron mine the Lamb Bros. are making a new opening. The New Departure, owned and operated by Judge Brown, is the most extensively opened up and developed mine in the Blue Wing District. In Leeson, op. cit., 476-477.
busy little district. The production figures for the Blue
Wing area are merely estimates and range from $2,000,000 to
$7,000,000. In 1939 ores to the amount of $23,126 were tak­
en from the district.

69 Shenon, op. cit., 28; also in Sahinen, op. cit.,
(thesis), 24.
70 Winchell, op. cit., 69.
71 Minerals Year Book, 1940, op. cit., 352.
CHAPTER VIII

THE UTOPIA OR BIRCH CREEK MINING DISTRICT

The Utopia Mining District is about sixteen or seventeen miles northwest of Dillon, Montana, or about seven miles west of Apex, a station on the Oregon Short Line Railroad. This area is more frequently called the Birch Creek district from the creek that flows through it. Mineral exploitation in this region was not very extensive as far as recovered metals were concerned. However, some of the first prospectors in the locality were important. On July 12, 1864, J. H. Hine staked the O. K. lode, the first discovery in the district. 1 O. D. Farlin, the noted quartz prospector, located the Greenwich lode on December 11, 1864. 2 W. T. Clayton, George P. McConkey, and W. M. Van Winkle staked the Gold Hill lode between the Greenwich and the Greenwich extension lodes on December 3, 1867. 3 The Greenwich contained copper, but nothing could be learned about the other lodes. Evidently these early finds remained only "prospects" for several years. Later the district produced mainly copper and some silver, gold, and iron.

Several of the prospectors left the region in 1873 when the rich silver deposits were discovered in what became

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1 Mining Records, Transcript of Books "A" and "B", 133.
2 Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book "C", 171.
3 Mining Records, Book "O", op. cit., 3.
the Bryant Mining District. The news of the discovery had leaked out because the men had to go to Bannack to record their claims. Evidently during this time, Noah Armstrong or Benjamin Harvey was at Bannack because their claim, the Utopia from which the Birch Creek area was named, was recorded August 23, 1873. A few days later these two men found some of the richest ore bodies in the Bryant District. Through Armstrong's efforts Hecla (Bryant district) later became well known.

It appears that the Birch Creek mines were deserted for a time. However, in 1875 O. D. Farlin was again in the district. He was accompanied by his brother, W. L. Farlin of Butte fame. They recorded the Indian Queen and Greenstone lodes on December 24, 1875. Very little mining was pursued in the vicinity until in the 'eighties. The Railway Mail and Mining Company that was under the direction of Colonel D. W. Bailey owned some of the mines, which the concern developed in 1882. The next year there appeared the following news item:

The iron, copper and silver mines of the Birch Creek District are attracting more attention than ever before. The organization of the Birch Creek Prospecting Co., the bonding of the Greenwich mine to a Chicago syndicate, and the developing of other properties in the district assures a lively future for that mining camp. The Greenwich mine is the property of the Farlin Brothers of Butte.

4 Mining Records, Book "C", op. cit., 197.
5 Mining Records, Book "O", op. cit., 431-432.
6 The Dillon Tribune, April 22, 1882, II, 4.
The magnetic iron mine owned by the Birch Creek Prospecting Co. is developing finely. Experiments made with the ore at the Glendale smelters demonstrate that it is well adapted for fluxing purposes. Henry Krippenberg of Hecla is a member of the Birch Creek Prospecting organization.9

The Omaha Refining Works Company and other parties were also interested in the iron mine. In 1333 the sales of crude ores that were in demand for fluxing at Glendale (Bryant district) and at Butte amounted to $1,300 each month.2 Many tons were mined and hauled to Glendale until better fluxing ore was discovered in Soap Gulch near Melrose, Montana, after which the Birch Creek iron mine was abandoned.9

Some placers were also found on the stream, but they were never extensively worked as indicated by the following:

"The Birch Creek placer miners appear satisfied with the showing and are confident of wages diggings."10

The greater part of the mining in the district did not occur until 1900 and the years following. In 1900 the Birch Creek Copper Mining and Smelting Company was organized with R. H. Daw, president; Joseph Annear, vice-president; Ben Annear, treasurer; and Thomas Ellis, secretary. The purpose of this company was to develop the Indian Queen mine, which had been leased from Samuel Marchesseau. Marchesseau owned a half-interest in it; the remainder belonged to the Farlin

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7 The Dillon Tribune, February 10, 1883, III, 4.
8 Leeson, op. cit., 488.
9 The Dillon Examiner, February 19, 1902, XI, 1; also in ibid., December 18, 1901, XI, 5.
10 The Dillon Tribune, April 18, 1885, V, 5.
S. J. Dennis sub-leased it from the company during the summer of 1901. The next year Arinaga and a person from Butte named Coughton continued with the work. The Wallace Company of Butte took a lease and bond (1902) on the Golden Treasure mine owned by M. Hegerty of Birch Creek and Dr. Monahan of Butte. This mine was situated about three-quarters of a mile southwest of the Indian Queen and was a continuation of the "iron mine" vein. George E. Jewell and Danna Stanfield were the owners (1903) of the Whale, Los Angeles, and Snowball mines, all extensions of the Indian Queen. This group of claims was bonded to Thomas F. Stevens and Richards & Ellis of Butte who were then developing the Indian Queen mine. The Reines Copper Company leased the Snowball mine from Jewell and Stanfield in 1905. The Montana-Apex Copper Company was organized two years later to operate several mines, including the Snowball. The officers of the company were Denver people. C. F. Seymour, a prominent railroad man, was president; Dr. C. W. Knos, vice-president; and C. W. Gilbert, secretary.

The years of 1903-1904 were active ones at the Indian Queen mine. Thomas Stephens, William Robertson, and Thomas

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11 The Dillon Examiner, April 13, 1900, IX, 1; also in Ibid., February 19, 1902, XI, 1.
12 Ibid., July 24, 1901, X, 1.
13 Ibid., February 19, 1902, XI, 1.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid., January 7, 1903, XII, 1.
16 Ibid., June 10, 1903, XII, 1.
17 Ibid., December 13, 1903, XIV, 1.
18 Ibid., April 3, 1907, XVI, 1.
Ellis were responsible for this progress and for the smelter that was built in May 1903. This blast furnace had a capacity of thirty tons daily and was located directly below the dump of the Indian Queen mine which was near the Birch Creek road.\(^{19}\) About twenty men were employed in constructing the works and in developing the mine.\(^{20}\) The smelter was fired up about the middle of June 1903.\(^{21}\) The company then worked twelve men in the mine and the same number at the smelter, but soon increased the force to sixty men.\(^{22}\) The camp which sprang up near the mine and smelter was named Parlin.\(^{23}\) Little now remains of this once busy village. The smelter turned out seven tons of copper matte per day.\(^{24}\) The plant continued to work in 1904, after which time, it was shut down. The smelter produced 990,000 pounds of copper matte and metal in 1903 with a net value of $67,000 and 770,000 pounds in 1904 with a net value of $40,900.\(^{25}\) The estimated production of the Utopia district from 1903 to 1912 was $294,047.\(^{26}\)

A contemporary news item had the following to say about the mine and the company:

The showing made by the Indian Queen during the past year has brought it to the front as one of the best properties in the West. A month ago the owners of the Indian

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19 *The Dillon Examiner*, May 6, 1903, XII, 6; also in *ibid.*, October 28, 1903, XIII, 6.
Queen incorporated this mine under the laws of Montana as the Indian Queen Mining and Smelting Co. It was capitalized for $450,000, divided into 300,000 shares at a par value of $1.50 each. Of this number, 149,000 shares were placed in the treasury to be sold for the purpose of making the necessary improvements to work the property by the most economical and up-to-date methods and on a very much larger scale than has been heretofore attempted.

During 1905-1906 the Anaconda Copper Mining Company did exploratory work in the Indian Queen mine. This work was under the direction of James Willoughby and thirty-five men were employed. Since that time, little has been done upon the Indian Queen or the nearby mines which depended upon the activities at the former to stimulate them.

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27 The Dillon Examiner, August 17, 1904, XIII, 1.
28 Ibid., November 22, 1905, XV, 2; also in ibid., March 28, 1906, XV, 6.
CHAPTER IX

THE VIPOND MINING DISTRICT

The Vipond Mining District, primarily a silver region, is in the extreme northeastern part of Beaverhead County and five or six miles south of present Dewey, Montana, which is on the Big Hole River. This area was named after the brothers who found it. The first claim found in the district was the Mewonitoc lode, which John Vipond discovered April 1, 1863; and interested with him were Joseph and William Vipond and others.\(^1\) William Vipond recorded the Grey Jockey on January 9, 1869.\(^2\) Intensive prospecting was done in 1870-1871. George Pettengill took the Pettengill lode, October 5, 1870,\(^3\) in the locality that became known as Quartz Hill. N. O. Betts recorded the Argyle, November 18, 1870.\(^4\) On the same day D. S. Dewey and A. N. Brubacker claimed the northeasterly half of the Black Pine lode; and D. S. Harvey and Betts, the southwesterly half.\(^5\) The mines of the district were located in two areas—those at Vipond Park and the more important ones at Quartz Hill. The Eureka lode on Quartz Mountain (Quartz Hill) was soon discovered by W. P. Spurr and Charles

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1 *Mining Records*, Book "O", *op. cit.*, 22. "The first mine was located by the Vipond Brothers in the fall of 1867;" in Raymond, (1872), *op. cit.*, 270.
2 *Mining Records*, Book "O", *op. cit.*, 40.
Wunderlick; and the extensions from their discovery claim were staked by James Bryant, R. H. Collins, L. H. Chase, R. S. Dewey, A. N. Brubacker, E. Risely, John Vipond, and William Vipond. Spurr and Wunderlick were partners in the Grey Eagle. Several other claims were also staked in the district. All these mines were several miles from the main route of travel through Deer Lodge Pass. A road, completed by the miners in the fall of 1872, went northward from the mines to Dewey and then followed the Big Hole River to the main route near present Divide, Montana. Some of the ore was hauled over this road to the Argenta smelters.

A mining camp, which was named after D. S. Dewey, sprang up in the gulch south of the Big Hole River. Its "distance from Deer Lodge was 56 miles, population 49; its business consisted of a hotel, by Miss Lawrence; saloon, by Mr. Madison, with the three following mills then in operation: one 15-stamp mill, owned by the Monroe Co.; one 5-stamp mill, owned by J. A. Leggat; and one 2-stamp mill, owned by Allen Hay." The Monroe Company had eighteen men at work; John Leggat, eight men; and Allen Hay, three men.

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6 Mining Records, Book "O", op. cit., 62.
7 Ibid., 87.
8 Raymond, (1875), op. cit., 221.
9 F. W. Warner, History and Directory of Montana, (Helena, Montana, 1879), 100; also in Leeson, op. cit., 489.
10 Warner, op. cit., 102. *Six miles north of Bryant is Vipond District, where there are several well defined silver lodes. From these mines several hundred tons of ore recently yielded an average of $200 to the ton. Three arrastras, running ore from the different lodes in the district, are (cont.)
Dewey built the first arrastra\textsuperscript{11} for the Vipond district ores and later sold it to John A. Legget. This little, two-stamp mill was erected below present Dewey. The affair had wooden uprights shod with iron for stamps and was equipped with regular arrastra beds. It was constructed to handle customs ore. The old Dewey camp was situated in the gulch above

\textsuperscript{11} For an arrastra, see Plate XLI, p. 225. "Probably the earliest contrivance for producing gold and silver from rock, or quartz ore, when found in veins, was the Mexican arrastra. It probably was invented by the Spaniards, or Mexicans, at a very early day, and was brought to California by Mexicans, and is still used to some extent. In Mexico it appears to be still a favorite machine with miners of limited means for extraction of the precious metals from their ores. The contrivance, when seen at a distance, somewhat resembles the old fashioned bark-mill, used by small tanneries, and run by means of a horse walking around in a circle, hitched to the arm of an upright shaft, which revolves slowly around. The foot of this shaft runs in a box or place prepared for it, on a timber imbedded into the ground, and the upper end fastened in a like manner to a framework overhead. Thus far described, the bark-mill and arrastra are alike. The arm of the arrastra to which the horse is hitched, is, however, longer than that to the bark-mill, allowing the horse to walk farther from the shaft in a large circle.

An excavation of perhaps six or seven feet in diameter is made in a circle about ten or twelve inches deep, in the center of which the foot of the shaft is fixed in place. This excavation is paved in the bottom and on the circular sides with hard, smooth stones—the sides may be plank or boards. A solid pavement of stones constitute the bottom; and next, two or more large stones, with one flat side to each, are selected, and fastenings made in them for ropes or chains, by which they are securely fastened to the arms of the shaft, one on each side, opposite each other, with their flat sides resting on the pavement below. These are intended to drag around on top of the paved bottom. The ore is then broken up with a sledge about as fine as the size of an egg, and scattered around (cont.)
PLATE IIII -- AN ARRASTRA

PLATE XLII

AN OLD STAND MILL
the present village of Lewey. The Monroe Silver Mining Company had its stamp mill near the mining camp.\textsuperscript{12} N. C. Burnum was superintendent of the company.\textsuperscript{13} Besides the holdings at Vipond, the company also owned the Pride of the West, Wall Street, Condor, Minnie Gaffney, Moffat, and Raynard mines in the Bryant district.\textsuperscript{14} In 1885 or 1886 Pete Ross built an arrastra which he ran for about a year and then sold it to the Galbraith brothers. About a year later they sold it to A. M. Madison, who operated it for a short time. This arrastra was on the Big Hole River and west of present day Dewey.

P. Doleman anticipated the settlement of Lewey and staked some placer claims along the Big Hole River. His intentions were to use the ground as a town site. Just enough

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\textsuperscript{(11 cont.) on the pavement. A small stream of water is introduced, which can be shut off at pleasure. The horse is started on his rounds, and the work of crushing the quartz is begun. The ore is thus ground to a fine paste. Quicksilver is introduced occasionally to amalgamate the metal, and when a sufficient quantity has been pulverized, the pavement is taken up, the amalgam collected and washed, and separated from the dirt. The amalgam is collected into a stout canvas bag, and the water is thoroughly squeezed out of it, when it is ready for retorting. . . . A good arrastra will crush from one to three tons of ore in twenty-four hours, and makes from six to ten revolutions a minute. They are frequently propelled by water-power;" in Ingham, \textit{op. cit.}, 97-99.

"An arrastra is a machine resembling an old cider-mill in its operation, consisting of a rock bed upon which the quartz is placed and a good sized boulder is attached to a lever, one end of which is fastened to an upright revolving shaft fixed in the center of the bed and propelled by mules. About one thousand pounds is crushed per day;" in Turts, \textit{op. cit.}, 10.

\textsuperscript{12} An interview with Frank Powell, Wise River, Montana.
\textsuperscript{13} \textit{The Atlantis}, February 9, 1881, p. 3. Published at Glendale, Montana, from September 1, 1880, to March 23, 1881. The copies at the Historical Library at Helena, Montana, were sent to W. F. Sanders.
\end{small}
digging was done to prove title to the claims, but never an ounce of gold was taken. Prospective buyers, who desired to purchase land for building purposes, had to buy from the Carroll Placer Company that had been organized by Dolenan. This organization later sued the Montana Power Company for $36,000 when the latter built a dam for Butte's water supply and flooded the claims.

The Patridge brothers acquired valuable property on Quartz Hill and mined it for about five years under the name Lone Pine Mining Company, so named from one of the mining claims. The company built an arrastra where the present pump station of the Butte water works is now located. L. C. Fyhrrie was one of the principal stockholders in the Lone Pine Mining Company, and Mr. Clayberg of Helena, Montana, was secretary. Through the efforts of Fyhrrie the company sold its interests in the fall of 1891 to the Jay Hawk Company, an English syndicate that had worked a non-paying property at Marysville, Montana. This English company paid $725,000 in money and stock for the Lone Pine interests and then operated under the name Jay Hawk and Lone Pine Consolidated Mining Company. A local newspaper made the following comment about future plans of the owners:

Air Compressors and other modern improvements will be added to the workings as soon as the six new True winners,

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14 Leeson, op. cit., 488.
15 Frank Powell, op. cit.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 The Dillon Examiner, September 23, 1891, I, 2.
which are already on the grounds, are put up in their mill. It is the intention of the new owners to start both mills belonging to the company as soon as these improvements are made.19

Excerpts from the financial report (1392) submitted to the State Secretary of Montana follow:

The Jay Hawk and Lone Pine Consolidated Mining Company, Limited, capital stock is 235,000 pounds in one pound shares: actually paid in, 28,875 pounds; paid in other ways 256,125 pounds, of which 136,125 pounds has been paid by the issue of 165,000 shares at one pound each, credited with 16s 6d as paid up on each share to the shareholders of the Jay Hawk Mining Company, the former owners of the Jay Hawk and Pettengill mines. These shares were part of the consideration payable to the vendors on the purchase of the Jay Hawk and Pettengill by the said incorporation and the remaining 120,000 pounds by the payment to the Lone Pine Mining and Milling Company of 120,000 paid up shares of one pound each in the said incorporation.

The mines of the company consists of the Lone Pine, Silver Star, Silver King, Harrison M., Greeley, Excelsior, Black Pine Luna, Pettengill, Monroe, Bonanza, Fountain Maid and mill sites situated in Beaverhead County and valued at 285,000 pounds.20

Under the management of Captain Prideaux the company mines produced about 33,000 ounces of silver each month. This comprised the output of its fifteen-stamp mill. The company paid out $12,000 monthly for labor and supplies. At a meeting of the stockholders it was decided to expend about $50,000 for the purpose of concentrating the works and enlarging the mill to twenty-five stamps. This involved moving the mill from above Lewey to the mines, a distance of about five miles, where the enlarged mill was set in place. Ashley Ponsonby was

19 The Dillon Examiner, September 23, 1891, I, 2.
20 Ibid., September 7, 1892, I, 3.
chairman of the board and one of the chief stockholders. 21

In his report to the company Manager Prud'homme had the following to say:

Since my last report we have driven the 1,335-foot level north eighteen feet, and south fifteen feet in very rich ore. We have sunk a winze twenty feet below this level in rich ore. The 1,130-foot level is now being driven. We have a rich body of ore, which we shall not work until the new mill is started. Very little stoping is now being done, as we do not need the ore to supply our, for the present, small mill. The mill is running up to its full capacity, the ore of late has increased in value, the battery living from forty-five to sixty ounces per ton. We are working on the new mill as fast as possible, but the weather has been most severe. The Jay Hawk mill is being taken to the new mill site, and when this is accomplished, we shall commence to remove the Lone Pine mill. Then we have our new machinery at work, I anticipate our profits will be 6,000 pounds per month, even with silver at 80 cents per ounce. 22

Eventually the price of silver caused the Jay Hawk and Lone Pine Mining Company to shut down its mill at Ponsonby early in 1895. Mr. Lavington, who was secretary of the company, left to make a personal report before the board of directors at London, England. R. C. Brown was placed in charge of eight men who kept the mine open. Mr. Grothe was the last to manage the interests of the company. 23 Work at the mines came to a halt, and soon the mill was dismantled. 24

John A. Leggat owned a number of claims upon which he had a small force of men employed. He also negotiated for a lease on the Jay Hawk mill which was one of the best equipped

21 The Dillon Examiner, April 12, 1895, II, 3.
22 Ibid., August 2, 1895, II, 5.
23 Ibid., June 5, 1895, IV, 5.
24 Frank Powell, op. cit.
plants in the West for the treatment of free-milling silver ores.25 Vipond silver ore was principally this type.

Charles W. Clark and B. E. Whitmore of Butte bought the Queen of the Hills gold mine in 1900 from Messrs. Robidoux and Jennings, the owners, for $75,000. During the summer Clark and Whitmore employed about fifty men to develop the mine and began to erect a ten-stamp mill which was completed in 1901.26 Archie McIntyre of Walkerville, connected with a small company, mined in the vicinity.27 In 1902 the Tombstone Mining Company had the Queen of the Hills mine and the mill. Only five stamps were used because of insufficient water to furnish power. At one time twenty-two men were employed by the company. The enterprise was managed by H. F. Way, vice-president and treasurer. Charles H. Way of Minneapolis was the president and the principal stockholder. James M. Minkle, A. M. Wallace, and C. H. Fish were also members of the organization. Waitman Sutton was mine foreman.28 The Benton Mining and Milling Company leased the Argyle mine for a few months in 1908.29 After this, relatively little was done in the district for several years, except by occasional lessees. The Argyle Silver Mining Company took over the Argyle mine in 1920 and operated for a period. It owned seven

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25 The Dillon Examiner, January 14, 1920, XXIX, 1.
26 Ibid., September 26, 1900, A, 12; also in Ibid., September 1901, XI, 5.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid., April 1, 1903, XII, 3.
29 Ibid., January 14, 1920, XXIX, 1.
patented quartz claims and two mill sites. The mine was equipped with a gasoline hoist, cage, cars, ore bins, and the necessary buildings.30

The silver output from the district decreased sharply in 1937 because shipments from the Lone Pine and Argyle silver property declined to about 4,600 tons. The remainder of the output from the district was comprised of silver ore of smelting grade from the Faithful, Grey Jockey, Monte Cristo, Silver Queen, S. W. A. C., and North Star mines and gold from the New Anaconda mine.31 Some recent silver ore was trucked directly to Anaconda, fifty miles distant. The total metals recovered (1936-37) were valued at $195,690.32 In 1939 the area produced only $8,871 in metals.33

30 The Dillon Examiner, January 14, 1920, XXIX, 1.
31 Miller, op. cit., 348.
32 Ibid., 344.
33 Minerals Year Book, 1940, op. cit., 348.
CHAPTER X

BEAVERHEAD'S BONANZA--THE BRYANT MINING DISTRICT

The discovery of the richest silver treasures in Beaverhead County was the direct result of the mining activities in the Vipond district. Bannack had long been worked; the Argenta and the Blue Wing districts, which were located north of Bannack in the same mountain chain, were then exploited; and farther northward along these mountains other discoveries were made at Birch Creek. Somehow the rich silver lodes in the Bryant district were overlooked. The miners were busily engaged with their picks, shovels, and single-jacks in the Vipond vicinity. From this place they again took up nature's trails into the fastnesses of the canyons; and about nine miles south of the Vipond region they discovered the mines of the Bryant district. This area, near the headwaters of Trapper Creek, was named Bryant Mining District after James A. Bryant, sometimes called "Old Man Bryant." In the same locality, but upon nearby Lion Mountain, still richer lodes were found. This mining region is about sixteen miles west of present Melrose, Montana, which owes its

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1 "While working on his prospect, one of the miners, who had strayed away from his partners, was frightened by a mountain lion. Rushing after his partners, he induced them to return with him with their rifles. Instead of a lion, they found an old white mule munching the bunch grass. The mountain on which this occurred has ever since borne the name of Lion Mountain;" in the Dillon Tribune, December 18, 1925, XLV, Sec. 1, p. 1.
settlement and growth to the Hecla mines as they are now called.

P. J. (Jerry) Grotevant found the first lode in the region. He named it the "Forest Queen" and preempted it on July 3, 1873. The discovery shaft was located about two and one-half miles west from the forks of Willow Creek and about one-half mile south of the north fork of said creek and about 500 feet east from a spring branch or tributary of said north fork of Willow Creek. The next lode found in the district was the Rocky Mountain Trapper lode which served for a time as the nucleus of the district. This claim was recorded August 16, 1873. The record of the location of this lode, locally known as the "Trapper," reads in part:

Know Ye that we P. J. Grotevant, J. A. Bryant, D. A. Parker, Joseph McCrea, Noah Sanborn, and Chas. Lovimer claim jointly by right of discovery and pre-emption all and singular that tract or parcel of land and mining ground known as the Rocky Mountain Trapper Lode, the discovery of said Lode is located about 3/4 of a mile northeast of Forest Queen Lode on the south side of the north fork of Willow Creek in Bryant Mining District.

The following popular story about the discovery of the

2 Mining Records, Book "O", op. cit., 190.
3 It is generally stated that the discovery was made on Trapper Creek. Willow Creek is possibly a small stream which flows into Trapper or it could be that the name was later changed because of the fact that another Willow Creek flows into the Big Hole River about twelve miles to the south. None of the late maps or any of the old maps of Beaverhead County show a Willow Creek in the Bryant district. Trapper Creek which flows from the west empties into the Big Hole River near Melrose, Montana.
4 Mining Records, Book "O", op. cit., 190.
5 Ibid., 192.
6 Ibid.
Forest Queen and Trapper mines appears to be in disagreement with the records:

The discovery of the Trapper Lode was made in 1872 by William Spurr and named by him the Forest Queen. "At the time the discovery was made," says an old settler, "William Spurr and James Bryant were partners. Afterward, Bryant discovered that Spurr had made the location in his own name. No work had been done on the lode, and when open for re-location the following season, Bryant organized a party to go out on a trapping expedition, but concluded first to go up the gulch and re-locate the claim. This was in the summer of 1873. The party came up to the spring, a short distance above what is now known as the Trapper mine, camped there for several days and made their location. After this was accomplished, they concluded to 'Pull' out, and started to look for their horses, but they found that they had gone. After looking for some time, Jerry Grotevant, tired out and discouraged, started to return to camp, and when on top of what is now known as Trapper hill, sat down on a log to rest. Accidentally he kicked over a small boulder, saw something shining on the underside, picked it up to examine, and found it covered with native silver. On looking around further, he found the outcrop of the famous Trapper lode. Picking up several pieces, he returned to camp and convinced his partners that they were now bonanza kings. The horses were forgotten. Picking up the tools, all hands pitched into work with a will. The news spread. A party followed the man back, who went to have it recorded, and created quite an excitement. Noah Armstrong at this time had a party prospecting in Madison County, and at once sent them over. They located the Cleve and Avon during their first day in camp."

Many newcomers quickly staked other silver lodes in the locality. Two of them, Noah Armstrong and Benjamin S. Harvey, located the Atlantis and Alta lodes on September 4, 1873. The Atlantis proved to be the richest mine in the

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7 P. J. Grotevant; in Mining Records, Book "C", op. cit., 192.
8 Noah Armstrong was at Birch Creek a few days before the discovery; in Mining Records, Book "C", op. cit., 197.
9 Leeson, op. cit., 197; also in the supplement of The Dillon Examiner, January 17, 1940, XXIX, 4.
10 Mining Records, Book "O", op. cit., 203-204.
district. 11 (See Plate XLIII, p. 230). The Ariacho and Cleopatra lodes were located the same day, September 8, 1873, by D. S. Lewey and R. J. McConnell. 12 The Cleopatra, under the management of the Hecla Consolidated Mining Company, became the greatest quantitative producer. 13 J. E. Harvill, Christain Neade, A. Bessetto, Wm. Sturgis, and John S. Milligan took the True Issure on September 9, 1873. 14 Armstrong and Harvey posted notices on the Cleve lode, September 20, 1873, 15 and on the Hecla lode, September 22, 1873. 16 From the latter mine, both the camp and the company took their names. Joe Kepler and others owned the Oneida mine, and the Min Orlu was operated by Messrs. Erscoll and Lord. 17 Other claims in the district were the Pride of the West, True Blue, Condor, Mark Antony, Arctic, Avon, and Franklin. The Napoleon Bonaparte, Keokuk, Minnie Jaffney, Wake Up Jim, Jrotto, and Silver King were other quartz properties in the locality. 18 The miners in the district soon found it necessary to build a road (1875-1874) from the mines to the main route of travel along the Big Hole River. 19

11 An interview with George E. Conway, Helena, Montana. Mr. Conway came to Montana in 1881 with Henry Kippenberg to become the bookkeeper for the Hecla Consolidated Mining Company.
13 George E. Conway, op. cit.
15 Ibid., 201.
16 Ibid., 238.
17 Leeson, op. cit., 438.
18 Hecla Consolidated Mining Company blue print now belongs to C. V. Elder, Dillon, Montana.
19 Raymond, (1874), op. cit., 370.
The following paragraph gives a fair idea of the intense activity on Lion Mountain and vicinity:

... Taking it on the Trapper side, the next claim located was the Minnie Gaffney, by miners Moffat and Maynard. The next discovered was the Hecla, by Harvey and Day. The Elm Orlu was discovered by the Trapper Company, but they, not thinking it worth their while to prospect, made it over to Messrs. Soda and Hays. The next discovery was the noted Keokuk, by Wash Stapleton and James Cameron. Attention was then called to the celebrated Lion Mountain, where Armstrong's party discovered the Alta and Atlantis. A Dismarck company, represented by Milligan and Sloss, discovered the Fissure group. The Mark Antony and Ariadne were discovered by Dewey, McComb, and Trubacker, who afterward sold it to Messrs. Taylor and Pease, who finally sold it to the Hecla Company. The Franklin mine, situated directly back of the old Trapper Town, was discovered by Frank Giley and Ed. Stevens, who finally sold it to the Hecla Company. At this time the Trapper mine was the only mine shipping ore. The ore ran away up; all mine owners imagined themselves bonanza kings and lived high. After the first excitement was over the town began to die out. Mr. Armstrong started to open up the Atlantis and shipped ore to Salt Lake City. The new town of Lion City was then started. The Trapper was shut down, and in the summer of 1878 the last citizen, Lose Morrison, packed up his traps and came over to Lion. Trapper City is dead, and all that is left are empty cabins and buried hopes.

At Trapper City there were numerous miners' cabins, several saloons, a "hurdy gurdy," and other accompaniments to a pioneer camp. This town was fast enough to suit the ideas of any '49 'er. When the importance of the ore deposits of Lion Mountain began to be recognized, the center of population

20 Noah Armstrong, not Day; in Mining Records, Book "C", op. cit., 201.
22 D. S. Fewey and R. E. McConnell discovered the Ariadne; in Mining Records, Book "O", op. cit., 212.
23 Leeson, op. cit., 487.
shifted to Lion City, which soon became a camp of several hundred miners, a number of merchants, gamblers, saloon proprietors, women of questionable reputation, and a few families. The population of Lion City in 1883 was 250. In the district outside there were 238 persons. The business establishments included stores owned by W. Armstrong and Company and by Thomas Armstrong, three saloons, and two hotels. The boarding houses were under the management of the Hecla Company. There also was a post office.

In 1875 Charles L. Dahler and Noah Armstrong, sensing the growth of profitable silver-lead mining, erected a small 20-ton furnace at the crossing of the main stage road over Trapper Creek. The buildings over these works were destroyed by fire in July 1879 with an estimated loss of $100,000. The name of the town which grew up around the smelter was decided by the flip of a coin; "Clinton" and "Glendale" were the names proposed. Glendale was soon enlarged by "bull teams" and mule teams which brought freight and passengers. The mule trains used from sixteen to twenty animals that were driven by the use of a single "jerk" line. The base bullion produced by the smelter was hauled to the terminus of the Utah and Northern Railroad, a constantly diminishing distance, as the railroad pushed northward. This furnished back-loading for the many

24 The Dillon Tribune, December 13, 1925, XLV, Sec. 1, p. 1.
25 Leeson, op. cit., 488.
26 The Dillon Tribune, December 18, 1925, XLV, Sec. 1, p. 1.
27 The Atlantis, February 13, 1381.
Quartz mining had been left until transportation facilities were suitable to bring heavy machinery for that class of mining or to take the product of the mines to smelters. The advance of two lines of railroad and the awakening of enterprise to a knowledge of the very extensive mineral resources of Montana began to exercise a beneficent influence even in 1877. This revival, or rather inauguration, of extensive works continued down to 1883. The opening up of southern Montana by the Utah and Northern Railroad and of central Montana by the Northern Pacific Railroad influenced greatly the major industry of the territory. The railroad to Melrose was not completed until the spring of 1881. This town, in those days, was quite important because it served as a rail connection for the Necla Consolidated Mining Company. The company brought in large quantities of coke and mining supplies and shipped out much bullion, which was refined at Omaha. At the Glendale furnaces the bullion was moulded into bars weighing about ninety pounds each; at times, a great many bars were piled up in the smelter yards, awaiting transportation.
Glendale was a flourishing little town of 1,500 to 1,800 in 1881. In addition to the smelting works there were a water works system and fire protection furnished by the company. A church was built by union subscription, but was dedicated by the Methodists. A good school with accommodations for two hundred or more pupils was taught by John Gannon, who later became state superintendent of education.\(^\text{32}\) Up to the summer of 1879 there was no plat of Glendale on record, and the owners of lots had to rely upon possession rather than legal rights.\(^\text{33}\) For a short period the town boasted a weekly newspaper, the "Atlantis." There were several business establishments to take care of the needs of the miners.\(^\text{34}\)

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\(^\text{32}\) The Dillon Tribune, December 18, 1925, XLV, Sec. 1, p. 1.

\(^\text{33}\) The Dillon Examiner, January 17, 1940, XLIX, supplement, 4.

The Hecla Consolidated Mining Company was organized in 1877 by Noah Armstrong after he had acquired by purchase and location the Cleopatra, True Fissure, Atlantis, Hecla, Cleve, Avon, Alta, Franklin, and other valuable mines in the district. The first mine bought by the company was the Cleopatra. Armstrong managed the company until 1879, when E. C. Atkins, founder of the Atkins Saw Works of Indianapolis, succeeded to the management. Two years later, in January, the Hecla Company changed the entire management. Henry Knippenberg formally accepted the position of general manager, March 1, 1881, with the understanding that he was to have full and entire charge of the business, both in the Territory and in the States. Knippenberg gave up his position as managing director of the Atkins Saw Works and arrived at Glendale with George B. Conway during the first part of April 1881. Mr. Conway acted as cashier for the newly organized company.

(34 cont.) A daily mail service was provided by Gilmer & Salisbury's line of stagecoaches from Salisbury, with a tri-weekly mail from Brown's bridge. The town had two lodges, Bannack lodge, I.O.O.F., founded June 2, 1871, and Glendale lodge No. 23, A.F. & A.M. "In The Dillon Examiner, January 17, 1940, XLIX, supplement, 4.

35 Annual Reports of H. Knippenberg, General Manager of the Hecla Consolidated Mining Company, (Indianapolis, 1881-1900), 9th Annual Report, 7. (Hereafter cited as Knippenberg, op. cit.)

36 George B. Conway, op. cit.; also in The Dillon Examiner, December 25, 1895, V, 7; also in The Dillon Tribune, December 18, 1925, XLV, Sec. 1, p. 1.

37 James Arthur McKnight, The Mines of Montana, (Helena, Montana, 1892), 111.

38 The Dillon Tribune, December 18, 1925, XLV, Sec. 1, p. 1.


40 George B. Conway, op. cit.
enterprises at and near Glendale was also changed. James Parfet was made superintendent of the mines; C. C. Earle, superintendent of reduction; and John E. Parfet, superintendent of the iron mines at Soap Sulph, east of Heirose. Thomas was president of the company; John C. McCutcheon, secretary; and John C. Wright, treasurer. With this change of administration the company was launched upon two decades of success and profit. On January 15, 1881, the company was in debt $77,735.13; and on December 31 of the same year, there was a profit of $237,729.76. For the period of 1881-1900 the company paid out $7,765,245.98 for labor, supplies, taxes, and miscellaneous expenditures; and during these same years it paid dividends amounting to $2,027,500. The monthly cash dividends of $15,000, one per cent of the capitalization, were paid six or seven months of each year. The Utah and Northern Railroad paid taxes amounting to $276,129 for 1884, and the Hecla Company remitted $278,328. The Hecla Company was reputed to have taken out ores valued at over $22,000,000 in the aggregate for a twenty-year period.

At Glendale the Hecla Company owned a roaster, two crushers, an assay office, a flume and ditch, a sawmill, a

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41 Knippenberg, op. cit., First Annual Report, 4-5.
45 George B. Conway, op. cit.
46 Leeson, op. cit., 470.
47 George B. Conway, op. cit.
tramway, cars, and three blast-furnaces, which had a capacity of fifty tons each. The tramway from the mines to the smelter was built at a cost of $96,000. During the winter of 1883 the tramway was snowed under. T. J. Murphy and Company sent teams to Lion Mountain for the ore which was hauled from the mines to five miles below on sleds and cowhides, and from there by wagons to the smelters. The smelters were shut down August 29, 1900, and the ores were then shipped to the American Smelting and Refining Company at Omaha. In the fall of 1900 these smelting furnaces, used for twenty years, were ordered torn down by Knippenberg. Improvements in smelting methods and machinery had been so great during the time of their operation that Knippenberg deemed it inadvisable to erect modern machinery until the time again came when the company was producing greater quantities of ore.

Charcoal and coke were used as fuel at the smelters and the coke was shipped from Pennsylvania. A news item gives the following:

Coke is being brought in to pile up a stack of one thousand tons. The smelter is using ten tons of coke per day at a cost of $16.65 at the track at Melrose, making the cost laid down at the furnaces about $19 per ton. Charcoal is used at the rate of 100,000 bushels per month at a cost of 12 cents. The company owns and operates thirty-eight kilns, besides purchasing of Italians who

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48 See Plate XLIV, p. 245.
50 Ibid., 9-10.
51 The Dillon Tribune, December 3, 1883, III, 4.
53 The Dillon Tribune, April 27, 1890, VIII, 1.
burn charcoal in pits and deliver it at eleven cents for each bushel. This year the company will use well on 1,000,000 bushels of charcoal. 54

The charcoal was burned on Canyon Creek and bought for eleven to thirteen cents a bushel. The production and transportation of charcoal, of ore from the mines and concentrator to the smelter, and of bullion and supplies to and from the railroad station at Melrose gave employment to many men. The company employed from one hundred fifty to two hundred men at the mines and furnaces. 55 The payroll averaged about $50,000 each month. 56

The Greenwood mill 57 was constructed in 1882 for the purpose of concentrating low-grade ores. This "first concentrating mill to be erected in Montana" 58 was located a short distance below Lion Mountain. More details are given by the following:

Greenwood was named by Mr. Knippenberg, and is located between Glendale and Hecla, some seven miles from Glendale. Here is located the big concentrator of the Hecla Company. No one can have any conception of the magnitude of this building without seeing it. Strength, convenience and economy seem to be the prominent features of the improvement. The capacity of the concentrator is 100 tons every twenty-four hours, which will be reduced to about thirty-five tons of concentrates. The company has now mined and stored about 50,000 tons of second-class ore. The narrow-gauge railroad 59 runs from Hecla to the concentrator.

54 The Dillon Examiner, December 25, 1895, V, 7.
55 Ibid.
56 The Dillon Tribune, July 1, 1882, II, 4.
57 See Plate XLV, p. 245.
58 The Resources of Montana, (Battle Creek, Michigan, 1890), 54.
59 Leeson means the tramway.
The power is furnished by a water flume from Trapper, a half-mile long and having a vertical fall of 200 feet. The machinery was furnished by the Fort Scott Machine Company, of Fort Scott, Kansas. The company here owns one boarding house, four dwellings, office, stable, and blacksmith shop. 60

During the years of 1882-1898 the concentrator treated 177,092 tons of second-class ore, but it was not operated in 1899. 61 A telephone line between Glendale, Greenwood, and Hecla was built at a cost of $900. In 1901 Knippenberg wrote in part:

From our tailings at Greenwood, leased to D. T. Haskett & Co., we have received during the year royalty, (20 per cent) amounting to $3,697.99. As a matter of justice to Mr. Haskett and his associates, it is stated that this is the royalty result of but two months of steady work. The unforeseen difficulties in starting up a new plant which had so much complicated machinery, together with the unseasonable weather, rendered the working season very short. Twenty degrees below zero in October, made it seem advisable to suspend operations until the opening of spring.

The company owning this lease is now erecting additional machinery at a cost of $20,000, by means of which it is expected to save 85 per cent of all values contained in our tailings. What the Hecla Consolidated Co. may realize out of this lease is too early to estimate, but it is reasonable to expect a considerable amount. 62

Haskett managed the Greenwood Mining and Milling Company. The plant used the cyanide process and did not operate very long because the lessees became involved in legal complications in 1902. 63

The Hecla Mercantile and Banking Company, a subsidiary

60 Leeson, op. cit., 473.
62 The Dillon Examiner, March 5, 1901, X, 1.
63 Ibid., July 17, 1901, X, 1; also in Ibid., July 1, 1903, XII, 3.
of the mining company, yet separate, was organized in 1886 with a capital stock of $100,000. This was a consolidation of the business interests of Caffrey & Purdum of Melrose, Armstrong & Losee, N. Armstrong & Company of Glendo, and Wilson, Rote & Company of Hecla—three stores and one bank. For twelve years this company paid the stockholders ten and one-half per cent on its capital stock. Knippenberg was the president of the organization.64

During the 'eighties the silver question became of great importance to Montana; silver production was stimulated by the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, but was given a heavy blow by the repeal of the act in 1893. The defeat of Bryan ended all hope that silver would regain its former importance.65 Knippenberg, a strong silver booster, was elected state representative from Beaverhead County in 1894.66 Other mining men also worked for favorable legislation.67 In 1896 "Silver Clubs" were organized in Beaverhead County, and western newspapers headlined the silver issue.68 In 1896 the Beaverhead El-Metallic Union was organized at Dillon and another at Bannack.69 The silver industry in the county suffered greatly during the crisis, and even up to the present it has never made any serious attempt to regain lost prominence.

64 Knippenberg, op. cit., Special Report, 70-71.
65 The Dillon Examiner, August 13, 1890, XL, 3.
66 Ibid., October 31, 1894, IV, 1.
67 Ibid., August 13, 1890, XL, 3.
68 Ibid., April 6, 1892, I, 3.
69 Ibid., June 3, 1896, V, 5; also in ibid., June 10, 1896, V, 2.
Knippenberg stated in 1893 that his company worked 125 men, who were paid about $25,000 each month. Two furnaces were kept going and it was the intention of the company to continue operations even though it meant a loss at the current price of silver which brought (August 1893) sixty-eight cents an ounce. The working of the silver mines in Beaverhead County has been greatly regulated by the market prices.

Prices received for silver by the Hecla Company were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Price per oz.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Price per oz.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>$1.14</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>$.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>$1.14</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>$.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>$1.11</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>$.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>$1.11</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>$1.06</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>$.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>$.99</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>$.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the years following the above quotations, the prices per troy ounce are quoted from the New York market:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Price per oz.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Price per oz.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>$.59</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>.8141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>$.52</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>.9677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>.6679</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1.1112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>.6523</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>.671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>.6083</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>.4963</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The act of Congress, approved July 6, 1939, fixed the price of domestic silver mined after July 1, 1939, at $.711 (plus) per ounce.

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70 The Dillon Examiner, August 2, 1893, II, 3.
71 Knippenberg, op. cit., Special Report, 43.
72 "Graph on Metal Prices," supplement to the Engineering and Mining Journal, (1935).
Production of the mines of the Hecla Company rapidly declined, beginning in 1893. The following table gives the production figures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mine</th>
<th>Gross tons (1876-1893)</th>
<th>Gross tons (1876-1894)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlantis</td>
<td>15,486</td>
<td>17,782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True Fissure and Sheep</td>
<td>36,922</td>
<td>36,922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleopatra</td>
<td>97,018</td>
<td>97,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariadne</td>
<td>6,066</td>
<td>6,066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleve and Avon</td>
<td>4,444</td>
<td>6,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trapper</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramshorn</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>160,825</strong></td>
<td><strong>165,726</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the mines produced about 5,500 tons in 1895. From 1876 to 1900 the total gross tons were 209,622 which included 20,724 tons of concentrates produced in 1898. The fate of the company was sealed in 1895 when the Cleopatra mine "played out." The Atlantis also ceased producing until a rich body of ore was encountered, but the ore deposit was soon worked out. The company (1895) employed seventy men under foremen D. H. McMasters and Alexander McDonell.

About the affairs of the company Mr. Knippenberg states in part:

From the standpoint of profit, the year 1895, in our business, was a failure. Had the conditions, viz., quantity and quality of ore been the same as in 1894, the

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73 Minerals Year Book, 1940, op. cit., 49; the government price for newly mined domestic silver was maintained at $.6464 (plus) per fine ounce throughout 1933 to June 30, 1939.  
75 Ibid., 20th Annual Report, 14.  
76 Ibid., 15th Annual Report, 7.
year 1895 would have been the most profitable in the history of the company, since the great decline in the price of silver.

The question that confronts us for the year 1896 is ore, and the quantity and quality thereof. Personal examination of the mines from time to time, leads me to a most discouraging and unsatisfactory conclusion as to the year entered upon. Yet, I realize the fact that predictions concerning the result of mining operations are unwise, and often exceedingly unsafe.

The Cleopatra mine, which for years yielded so much valuable ore, and which has been driven into the mountain more than 3,300 feet, we have been forced to abandon. There is no question in my mind that the end in this mine has been reached.

The Atlantis mine, which in 1894 yielded large quantities of rich ore, presented greatly changed conditions in 1895, as well in size of the ore bodies as in the quality of ore, and in both are against us. The work in this mine is still being pushed, but is expensive, and the yield of good ore is very small. What we may develop by further exploration no man can tell.

There are many indications that large and rich ore bodies may be developed in the Cleve mine, yet this mine has, during the past two years, given us cause to expect much that has not been realized. Our only course is to push development work, and accept the result. The Cleve mine contains a very large quantity of second-class ore, and there is now on the dump much of this ore that will average 10 to 20 ounces of silver per ton, the low grade rendering it practically worthless, although it has cost much money to develop and extract it. It cannot be successfully concentrated, being free milling ore, and the grade is so low that we cannot use it at the smelter.

The officers of the company were changed when apparent failure was felt. Henry Knippenberg was made president and general manager; John C. Wright, vice-president and treasurer; and John C. McCutcheon, secretary. Even this change did not

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77 The Dillon Examiner, November 20, 1895, V, 5.
78 Ibid., March 4, 1896, V, 4.
save them. The company had a profit of $36,372.33 in 1896. During 1897 they operated at a loss of $33,430.50. Only one furnace ran for 263 days of 24 hours and produced 5,151 tons of material that contained silver and lead. The Atlantis mine was finally closed down in January 1903, but work was continued in the Cleve mine.

The company ceased operations in 1904 through lack of funds to pay employees. The following news item will substantiate this:

The suit against the Hecla Mining Co. began Thursday in the district court by Alexander McDonell was soon ended. The action was to recover $26,544 on 194 assigned claims for labor. The claims were for work performed during this year. It is said the famous mine is now shut down because there is no more pay ore available. The mining company had no debts except those that are represented by the assigned claims in the suit, and an attachment was levied upon the property. There was no dispute as to the claims and the suit was not contested. By stipulation, a default was granted yesterday in Judge Harney's court, and plaintiff McDonell was given a judgment for the full amount that he sued for.

Both Glendale and Hecla are practically deserted now. About forty miners, practically the entire force recently employed, have already left the two camps. A few of the men have secured small leases, which they expect to work in the hope of making wages or a little better. Superintendent Barbour has resigned his position and is now in Colorado. The Hecla Mercantile & Banking Co., a subsidiary but separate corporation closely connected with the Hecla Mining Co., will continue in business at Helrose, for the present at least. George I. Conway has charge of this company.

Further information is given as follows:

80 The Dillon Examiner, February 24, 1897, VI, 5.
81 Ibid., March 2, 1898, VII, 4.
82 Ibid., January 28, 1903, XII, 6.
83 Ibid., July 15, 1904, XIII, 5.
"I have been authorized by the board of directors and by a vote of the stockholders to effect a sale of the company's property at Hecla," said Mr. Knippenberg, "and this is my object in coming to Montana. During the first six months of 1904 the company ran in debt $120,000. The entire indebtedness for labor and supplies was paid by Alexander McDonell, who obtained judgment against the company and sold the property as a sheriff's sale for the amount of judgment. Some months later I, being a large stockholder in the company, with the approval of the other stockholders, took an assignment from Mr. McDonell of his certificate of purchase. The stockholders, whose stock is non-assessable, had refused to pay this debt, by voluntary assessment or contribution, knowing that it would require additional money to develop the property, and therefore ordered the board of directors to sell the entire property and wind up the affairs of the company in voluntary liquidation."84

Knippenberg bought the property for $28,011.26 for which amount the company was in debt to him, and he shortly disposed of these interests.85 After the collapse of the company and much litigation in final settlement the mines were sold to a syndicate of Philadelphia capitalists, who organized a new Hecla Consolidated Mining Company and made Harry A. Stone the president.86 This company made little effort to work the property. George B. Conway, the present owner, acquired the property in 1928.87 There are twenty-two patented claims in the Hecla group. Mr. Conway shipped slag from the old dump at the smelters and also ore from the dumps at the mines. These once busy mines are now only a memory, and Glendale has joined the ranks of other Montana ghost towns. If it were not for

84 The Dillon Examiner, November 22, 1905, XV, 6.
85 Ibid., May 16, 1906, XV, 9.
86 The Dillon Tribune, December 18, 1925, XL, Sec. 1, p. 1.
87 The Dillon Examiner, March 19, 1930, XXIV, 2.
the Oregon Short Line Railroad and nearby farming community, Melrose, too, would have vanished. During 1936-1937 the area produced metals valued at $15,411. In 1939 this district produced $160,041 in metals. This was relatively small when compared with the production from 1931 to 1900.

89 Minerals Year Book, 1940, op. cit., 343.
CHAPTER XI

THE ELK Horn MINING DISTRICT—BEAVERHEAD’S GREATEST VENTURE

The Elkhorn Mining District is located on the headwaters of Wise River, which flows northerly into Big Hole River. The locality is accessible from either Wise River, Montana, or Dillon, Montana; the latter route was the first used to the mines. The region evidently received its name from the Elkhorn lode, which was discovered by F. W. Pahnish and M. T. Steele on October 24, 1873. Mike (M.T.) Steele induced Judge Meade and Con Bray to form a partnership and build a mill. Clark Smith located the lode, September 24, 1875. B. E. Mason and Mike Steele acquired the claim and had the shaft down thirty-five feet in 1885 when they leased it to Oscar Vogel and David Meagle of Anaconda for $20,000. Development of the district progressed slowly because it was remote from the main routes of travel.

1 This district must not be confused with the Elkhorn Mining District near Boulder, Montana, in Jefferson County.
2 Another Elkhorn lode, discovered by F. J. Johnson and R. E. McNeil on August 9, 1864, appears in Mining Records, Transcript of Books "A" and "B", op. cit., 153. This claim was in the Bald Mountain district.
4 Noyes, op. cit., 94.
5 Mining Records, Book "O", op. cit., 394.
6 The Dillon Tribune, May 23, 1885, V, 4; also in Leeson, op. cit., 476.
The Magnet Company operated some mines in the district in 1887.\(^7\) The Magnet group on Bailey Mountain contained the San Francisco, the mines which belonged to miners Tembly and Simon, and the McConnell and Wilmott group. These claims were so developed that a large amount of high grade silver ore showed in the workings. Some of the Magnet ore was shipped and satisfactory returns were obtained.\(^8\)

A news item further comments that

The Elkhorn district has a goodly number of mines so developed as to prove their great value. The Elkhorn shows much high-grade ore of silver and copper glance; the Storm has a 250-ft. shaft on a large vein of quartz bearing gold and silver; the Navajo has a 14-in. vein of rich copper and silver; the Critic and Fraction are on the same vein as the Mono and have a ten-stamp mill to work them; the Good Enough is shipping ore; the Park looks well; the Red Sky, Hamburg, Washington, Joy, Last Chance, Cleopatra, Mascott, Cleveland, and other mines are at Elkhorn.\(^9\)

The mill that had been built near the Critic and the Fraction mines was idle in the fall of 1892, and other enterprise was at a standstill.\(^10\) The silver market slumped and for nearly a decade there was relatively little done, except by the occasional prospector who was far more interested in seeking the minerals than in their prices.

Amede Bessette tried to promote a venture in 1899. His account is an excellent example of similar trials

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\(^7\) The Dillon Tribune, December 30, 1897, VII, 7.
\(^8\) The Dillon Examiner, January 27, 1892, I, 1.
\(^9\) Ibid.
\(^10\) Ibid., September 7, 1892, I, 3.
Mr. Bessette regrets to say that the new enterprise in the Elkhorn mining district has failed to materialize. And I feel that I owe an apology to all who have bought shares in the concern. Still there has been no harm done to anyone, so far, except me, but perhaps they would like to hear why the thing did not go through. The Examiner of November 8th contained a true description of the scheme as planned in the beginning. First, I was appointed to go around and sell shares, and I succeeded really beyond my expectation, for I sold 1,450 in money and $500 subscribed for work to be done on the mine, making in all $1,950. So far, so good. In the first place we had the promise of an engine complete, free of charge. A man offered to haul his boiler up there for us for $50—a 15 horse-power boiler. Then we came to pin down the above propositions, the man who owned the boiler would take it up there as he agreed, for $50, and charge us $1 per day for every day the boiler was up there, and $50 more to haul it down again. The winter might be such that we could not haul it down from there for six months. This transaction was all right, the man simply wanted his own and to get paid for the use of the boiler. But some of us were to blame for not understanding the situation better from the start. We next negotiated for a 35 horse-power boiler on the Polaris mine; it weighed 92,000 pounds, the price $300; not a wagon in the neighborhood was large enough to bear it up. It would have been necessary for us to build a new road in many places, to build a brick wall to set the boiler on, erect a new building large enough to shelter it. That piece of machinery would have cost us $600 before getting it ready to work. It was more than we figured, to start with, and the money raised was not sufficient to complete the enterprise, especially if the ore in the shaft turned out to be hard rock. Under the circumstances, we have come to the conclusion to drop it, rather than make another failure in the place. However, it is only a temporary delay for some one will start in Elkhorn before many years.  

The McKinley Mining Company was organized in April 1902 for the purpose of developing the Blue-Eyed Annie, which had been discovered eight years before by Frank D. Williams and Thomas, Haw. The officers of the company were E. P. White,
president; E. H. Paul, vice-president; and L. J. Price, secretary and treasurer. These men and S. S. Patterson, Thomas Haw, and J. E. Morse constituted the board of directors.\textsuperscript{12}

The mine contained principally copper and silver ore. Apparently nothing came of this enterprise because in 1906 the Elkhorn Copper Mining Company was organized with a capitalization of $250,000. The members were Frank B. Williams, Thomas Haw, J. P. Murray, Edwin Norris, William Roe, and Robert Wing.\textsuperscript{13} Jolly, Seybold and Company worked the Guy mine in 1903 and were down three hundred fifteen feet. Five miners were employed at this silver mine which was equipped with a steam hoist.\textsuperscript{14} In 1906 the Guy property was developed by a company headed by L. J. Price of Dillon.\textsuperscript{15} The Guy mine was located about two miles west of the property that belonged to the Park Copper Mining Company in which Charles S. Warren, Dr. Reins, and L. J. Price were interested. They sacked the ore and shipped it to the Washoe smelter.\textsuperscript{16} The Park mine was owned by F. L. Graves, Fred North, and M. Dory. The Butte and Boston Company bonded and leased the Park, Elkhorn, and three other claims for a short time at $60,000. The Park Mining Company was then organized (1906) at a capitalization of $1,000,000. W. C. Clymo was chosen president; John P. Davies,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12} \textit{The Dillon Examiner}, April 50, 1902, XI, 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibid.}, September 5, 1906, XVI, 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ibid.}, October 14, 1903, XIII, 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}, December 12, 1906, XVI, 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} \textit{Ibid.}, April 17, 1907, XVI, 1.
\end{itemize}
secretary; R. M. Cobban, treasurer; and Thomas Judge had charge of the mine. Mr. Ripley who was in partnership with F. B. Felt, Thomas Haw, and San Grant dug a 748-foot tunnel on the Idanha claim near the Park group in 1909. M. L. McDonald, Donald E. Gillies, and F. B. Felt had begun the work two years before.

W. R. Allen, former lieutenant-governor of Montana, became interested in the district in 1911 and purchased the principal claims for $475,000. This was the beginning of the greatest developmental program ever inaugurated in Beaverhead County. From 1911 to 1913 Allen continued the location and purchase of claims in the vicinity. The properties eventually consisted of some eighty claims or a total of 1,800 acres. Among the numerous claims were the following: Elkhorn, Blue-Eyed Annie, Park, Idanha, Central, Aspen, Red Top, Mono, Boston, Grotto, Homestake, Washington, and Blue Jay. By road these mines are sixty-eight miles southwest of Butte. Allen also had considerable holdings in French Gulch near Anaconda.

17 The Dillon Examiner, September 5, 1906, VI, 1; also in ibid., November 7, 1906, XVI, 1.
18 Ibid.; March 13, 1907, XVI, 1; also in ibid., March 10, 1909, XVIII, 1.
19 See Plate XLVI, p. 259.
20 Private papers of W. R. Allen, Wise River, Montana. (Hereafter these will be cited as Allen papers, op. cit.). Divide, Montana, is 28 miles from Butte and on the Oregon Short Line. The distance of Wise River, Montana, from Divide is 12 miles west and the former is on the Big Hole River. The mines are then south 28 miles and on the headwater of Wise River, which forms on the western slope of Comet Mountain.
PLATE XLVI
COOLIDGE CAMP
AND IDANIA MINE

PLATE XLVII
BOSTON—MONTANA MILL
The Boston-Montana Development Company, a Montana corporation, was formed in May 1913 and took over by deed all the claims at Elkhorn held by Allen, together with all his holdings in the Allen Company and the French Gulch Mining Company in the French Gulch Mining District.\(^\text{21}\)

The report of S. W. Hall, a mining engineer, gives an account of the work done, up to that time, on the different claims. The crotto had three tunnels and in two of them a section of the vein was seen. The Aspen had a 600-foot tunnel run on a vein of second-class ore. On the nearby blue-\(\quad\)-eyed Annie there were two shafts, a shallow one and the other 200 feet deep. Cross-cuts were run from the 200-foot level to the Lost Cloud vein which crossed the claim. The vein was fifteen feet wide and assayed \$15 in all values for the full fifteen feet. The Idanha had a tunnel nine hundred feet long. At the 600-foot mark a cross-cut was run northerly to the Mono vein. Mr. Hall then gives detailed descriptions of his findings on the Park, Elkhorn, Storm, Red Sky, Homestake, Ruby, Bonanza, Mary, Montreal, and Washington claims, on all of which, tunnels were run and shafts sunk. From the Storm a heavy tonnage of ore had been shipped in the silver days.\(^\text{22}\) The tunnel on the Idanha was started in October 1913 and constructed for double track. This opening was about nine feet high and eleven

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\(^{21}\) Allen papers, op. cit.
\(^{22}\) The Dillon *Examiner*, October 29, 1913, XIII, 1.
feet wide with a ten by twelve-inch waterway sluice under the tracks. This mine, located just above the present mill, became the greatest producer owned by the company.

A wagon road was built from Wise River, Montana, to the mines. However, when the company launched its extensive program to permit large scale production, it proved inadequate. In 1914 the engineers surveyed the proposed grade of the Butte, Wisdom and Pacific Railroad. Machinery to develop the mines was also purchased. The outbreak of war in Europe during the year somewhat curtailed the financing of these projects. As a result the railroad and mining plans were delayed, but shortly the London financiers, who were back of the company, decided to continue. W. R. Allen firmly believed that ore would be found in continuous quantities and encouraged the building of the railroad as shown by a newspaper article at the time:

It is admitted by all who have seen the Elkhorn mining district that indications point to the possibility of ore bodies as extensive as those of the Butte district. In addition to the Elkhorn, we have the French Sulph district with a large known ore tonnage; also the Ajax, Montana-Oreway, Salinan-Montana and a large number of other more or less promising mines and districts, all of which will be tributary to and furnish tonnage for the Butte, Wisdom and Pacific railway.

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23 Allen papers, op. cit.
25 The Dillon Miner, January 14, 1914, XXIII, 7.
26 Ibid., January 5, 1915, XIV, 1.
27 Ibid., March 25, 1914, XXIII, 1.
After consultation with a number of engineers, principally John D. Pope, Walter Harvey Reed, William F. Wood, and numerous investors who sent their own engineers, it was decided to begin the construction of the railroad from Divide on the Oregon Short Line Railroad to the mines. Construction work was started in May 1917 and the line was completed and equipped by December 1, 1919. The "Golden Spike" ceremonies were held at Divide, November 3, 1919, and a barbecue of fat steer and an elk was given. A special train carried the visitors to the mine and a trip through the workings was arranged. The festivities were brought to a close with a grand ball.

The Montana Southern Railroad, as it was soon named, followed the north banks of the Big Hole River to near Wise River, Montana, and then crossed the stream and followed Wise River Valley to the mines.

The railroad operated intermittently from November 1919 to December 1925. When the mine was in operation, the train ran daily. A combination depot and freight house was built near the Oregon Short Line Railroad or about one-half mile north of present Divide. The following list gives the stations along the route and the miles from Divide:

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28 Allen papers, op. cit.
29 The Dillon Examiner, November 5, 1919, XXIX, 1.
30 Allen letter, op. cit.
31 Allen papers, op. cit.
The railroad was equipped with three Baldwin locomotives, twenty-eight freight cars, three passenger cars, gas cars, and a telephone line. A machine shop, engine house, and depot were constructed at Allentown. The road was built primarily for the transportation of supplies to the mines and the mill, and the concentrates from the mill to Divide. Additional revenue was expected from other mines (Quarts Mill) along the line, from the agricultural products, and from the timber resources. The road equipment was narrow gauge, but much of the roadbed was constructed for standard gauge. The difference in the gauges of this and the Oregon Short Line made it necessary to transfer all the freight at Divide. At the time of its building it was believed that the road would be continued eighty or one hundred miles into the fertile Big Hole Valley where such facilities were greatly needed.32

The cost of construction, equipment, and rolling stock was $1,500,000.33 The National Boston-Montana Mines Corporation, as the Boston-Montana Development Company became known, acquired all the capital stock of the Montana Southern Railway Company. Five hundred thousand dollars had been issued in

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32 Allen papers, op. cit.
33 Allen letter, op. cit.
the form of 6% first-mortgage bonds, maturing April 1, 1945, to finance the railroad. The corporation set aside a sufficient amount of its 6% ten-year income notes to insure the purchase of the outstanding railroad bonds. In this manner the railroad company was made a subsidiary of the parent company.34

As soon as the railroad reached completion (1919), work was immediately started on the mill and the power line which were completed January 1922.35 The mill was built at a cost of $900,000 and the power line at $150,000.36 The Boston-Montana Mills Company owned this high tension line, thirty-five miles long, that carried 65,000 volts to the mines and the mill. The power equipment included a 2,500 cubic-foot air compressor for mine and mill purposes and transformers to reduce the high electric voltage for the sawmill, blacksmith shop, mine, mill, and the town of Coolidge.37 The concentrating mill38 used the oil-flotation process and was designed by O. B. Hoffstrand. When the mill was completed, it was capable of handling seven hundred fifty tons of ore per day.39 The plant was built about 1,700 feet from the adit of the Idanha mine. The ore was brought from the mine to the mill by electric haulage. The mill, claimed

34 Allen papers, op. cit.
35 Ibid.
36 Allen letter, op. cit.
37 Allen papers, op. cit.
38 See Plate XVI, p. 259.
39 The Dillon Examiner, October 4, 1922, XXXII, 1.
to have been one of the best in Montana, was equipped with up-to-date machinery. The building covered about two acres of land, was steam heated for winter work, had an adequate sprinkling system, and had hose and hydrant equipment for fire protection. The structure was modern in every respect. The operation of the mill was accomplished largely by gravity and fifty-two electric motors were used in the mill and the mine. The previously mentioned National Boston-Montana Mines Corporation also acquired all the capital stock ($500,000) of the Boston-Montana Mills Company and about $414,145 out of a $500,000 issue of 6½ first-mortgage bonds, maturing April 1, 1945. The corporation set aside a sufficient amount of its 6½ ten-year income notes to insure the purchase of the outstanding mill bonds. Thus the milling company became a subsidiary of the corporation.

In the fall of 1925 two hundred men were working, and two hundred tons of ore were mined each day. At this time there were 40,000 feet of tunnels in the mine. The ore bins had a capacity of 1,250 tons. Only one section of the mill was used and it ran three shifts daily. The oil-flotation process used by the plant saved ninety to ninety-three per cent of the totals. The ore ran 15 per cent lead, 4 per cent copper, 25 to 30 ounces in silver, and from .3 to .4 in gold per ton. The largest number of men employed by the company

40 Allen papers, op. cit.
41 The Dillon Express, September 2, 1925,頁, 1.
at any one time was two hundred fifty. The company mined 47,000 tons of ore that produced 8,900 tons of concentrates which were shipped to Coelle, Utah, and East Helena, Montana, in equal amounts.\footnote{42}

Coolidge, located up the stream from the mill, was a thriving camp with street lights and many electrically lighted homes. At one time the population was made up of many miners, twenty-one families, and twenty school children.\footnote{43} The buildings included the general offices, boarding houses, bunk houses, cottages, a post office, and a school.\footnote{44}

On May 20, 1920, the name of the corporation was changed from Boston-Montana Development Company to Boston-Montana Mines Company. The number of shares was reduced from 5,000,000 of the Development Company to 2,500,000 of the new corporation. Most of the financing had been done through a $5,000,000 bond-issue and convertible notes issued by the mining company, and $500,000 bond-issues on each of the railroad and mill properties. However, in 1923 the Boston-Montana Mines Company was forced into receivership in the state courts of Montana. This resulted from these contributing causes: first, the financial depression of 1920-21 had slowed down enterprise before the mill could be put into capacity operation; secondly, the bond and note issues became due; and lastly, the accumulated interest

\footnote{42 Allen letter, op. cit.}
\footnote{43 The Dillon Examiner, September 2, 1925, XXV, 1.}
\footnote{44 Allen papers, op. cit.}
and other obligations had to be paid. Charles S. Murphy of Helena, Montana, president of the Montana Mine Owner's Association, and I. H. Brand of New York City, representing the investors, were appointed receivers. 45

In connection with the receivership charges that were preferred, W. R. Allen stated:

On the advice from my attorney in Boston, I shall return in a few days to Massachusetts to answer the charges preferred by the Suffolk county grand jury against myself and some of my associates for alleged conspiracy in connection with the flotation and financing of the Boston and Montana Development Company and the Boston and Montana Milling and Power Company. I know these charges will be proved untrue. Those of my friends who are intimately acquainted with my personal affairs know that I have given all my time and contributed all my resources to these enterprises and that the burden falls upon me as heavily as any of my co-investors. The major portion of the 52 years I have lived in the state has been devoted to the development of the resources of western Montana. The thought of personal gain has been secondary.

I did not outline the present Boston-Montana corporation or financial structure. That was formed by eastern brokers in 1913, who contracted to furnish $3,000,000 for development purposes; also an additional $3,000,000 to be furnished by London capitalists for railway construction. The World War caused the brokers to fail in their efforts and the London capitalists to withdraw. In the meantime all the work had been started. In 1915 I was forced to go East and take up the work where they left off and since then have sent to Montana between $4,500,000 and $5,000,000 and have paid out through Butte banks, for labor and material, approximately $3,500,000. 46

In 1924 the investors formed a reorganization committee which continued until February 1927, when it was succeeded by a bankers' committee known as the Boston-Montana Re-adjustment

45 Allen papers, op. cit.
46 The Dillon Examiner, May 23, 1923, XXII, 3.
Committee. The latter committee consisted of Arthur J. Chapin, president of the American Trust Company, and Leo William Hugle, secretary of the New England Trust Company, both of Boston, Massachusetts, together with Walter C. Wrye, a former treasurer of the Pierce Arrow Motor Company, representing the banking interests. On May 17, 1933, the National Boston-Mines Corporation, a Montana corporation, was formed with a capitalization of 12,000,000 shares of common stock at a par value of one dollar each and an authorized issue of 1,500,000 of $5 ten-year convertible income notes, due June 1, 1943. All the properties of the Boston-Montana Mines Company, also $250,000 of the capital stock of the railroad company and $500,000 of the capital stock of the milling company were sold and transferred to the National Boston-Montana Mines Corporation on June 1, 1933. 47

From the organization of the Boston-Montana Development Company in 1913 to July 26, 1932, when he resigned to become a member and chairman of the board of directors of the National Boston-Montana Mines Corporation, W. R. Allen was president of the various companies and generally director of their affairs. John E. Edgerton became president of the company and then resigned in 1935. Coleman C. Gore, a banker from Leesburg, Virginia, was elected president and Ira E. Bennett, managing editor of the Washington Post, was chosen vice-president. The directors were: W. R. Allen, John E. Edgerton, George G.

47 Allen papers, op. cit.
Barber, Robert H. McNeil, and Kelly Nach. William P. Scott was secretary and E. M. Smith, treasurer. The home office was at Helena, Montana, and the eastern office was at Washington, D. C. Sampson W. Hall was mines and property manager from April 1914 to November 1916. After Mr. Hall's death at the properties in 1916, he was succeeded by John D. Pope, formerly general manager of the North Butte Mining Company. In November 1922 W. R. Allen succeeded Mr. Pope as mines manager and continued in that capacity until 1926 when A. D. McCortney was appointed.48

With the exception of three months in 1922-23 and four months in 1925 the mill was not run and operations then were limited to about one hundred tons per day. A limited developmental program of opening the veins at various levels was carried on from 1922 to 1929. From June 1920 to March 1930 about 120,000 tons of ore were blocked out and made ready for mining. In this work all the bins at the mine and mill were filled with ore estimated at 3,000 tons. Six cars of concentrates were at the mill ready for shipment to the smelters.49

Shipment was suspended because the Wise River reservoir which belonged to the Montana Power Company broke in June 1927. This caused great damage by washing out sections of the railroad for a distance of twelve miles together with several bridges, including a bridge that was three hundred fifty feet

48 Allen papers, op. cit.
49 Ibid.
long across the Big Hole River between Allentown and Divide. When the railroad was finally repaired in 1930, the wool prices had declined to a point where it seemed inadvisable for the company to operate. In the years that followed no work of any importance was attempted. The mill and buildings at the mine were kept in good repair.50

The financial standing of the company to September 30, 1935,51 showed the following:

Assets:
Mines, equipment and development---------- $6,664,923.64
Furniture and fixtures---------- 656.28 $6,665,579.92

Investments--subsidiaries:
Boston-Montana Mills Co.
Total capital stock---- $500,000.00
First-mortgage bonds, 6%,
Due 4-1-45------------------ $500,000.00
Interest accrued to 6-1-33 47,652.71 1,047,652.71

Montana Southern Railway Co.
Total capital stock---- $500,000.00
First-mortgage bonds, 6%,
Due 4-1-45------------------ 500,000.00
Interest accrued to 6-1-33 30,039.91 1,030,039.91

Current assets:
Cash in bank------------------ $1,226.25
Notes receivable------------- 28,188.18
Accounts receivable---------- 239.09 27,665.52

Other assets:
Due by subsidiaries---------- $40,705.36
Boston-Montana Mills Co.-- 37,359.28 98,564.64

Organization costs------------------- 16,627.72
Total assets---------------------- $8,336,147.43

50 Allen papers, op. cit.
51 Ibid.
The whole scheme of the Boston-Montana Company now appears to have been top-heavy; that is, it plunged into a program of mining which was not in keeping with the development of the mines. The financial structure under which the company operated was such that it induced mass production which was not assured at the time. If the enterprise had been successful, Beaverhead County would have benefited materially, and W. R. Allen's untiring efforts would have been lauded. As it now stands, the undertaking is regarded as an over-zealous venture, and the failure promoted such cynicisms as "Allen's Bubble" and "the Boston School Teacher's Sinking Fund." Many investors who lost heavily in the enterprise chose to doubt Allen's integrity. This would be the honest reaction, perhaps, of the unfortunate investor in most any case. It must be remembered that he lost his own fortune besides years in time and expended energy. At present the idle mill and mine property are in the care of a watchman. Allen lives at Wise River, Montana, and with the money that can be obtained, he is trying to carry on at the mines. A short time ago (1940) the last of the rails of the Montana Southern Railroad were taken up.
CHAPTER XII

DISTRICTS AND MINES OF MINOR IMPORTANCE

The previous history of the prominent mining districts in Beaverhead County would be incomplete without the stories about the lesser outstanding regions and mines. These mineral deposits contributed materially to the larger program of mining. Their discovery led to further prospecting and in some instances to extensive development. Thus, no possible chance in finding other promising ore bodies was overlooked. Several of the individual enterprises were "grubstaked." In these the prospector would agree to give his knowledge, time, labor, and an agreed interest in a good mine to a "backer," who in return supplied the necessary tools, powder, "grub," and in some cases a small amount of cash.

I. THE LOST CLOUD MINING DISTRICT

The Lost Cloud district is about eighteen miles north of Dannack. It is on Billings Creek which has its source on the northwestern slope of Bald Mountain and flows into grasshopper Creek. The Elkhorn district lies to the north. The Lost Cloud locality was occasionally called the Beaverhead Mining District. The area originally took its name from the Lost Cloud mine which apparently did not prove to be an exceptional one. A person named Cochrane and others at one
time owned the mine. The Silver Pissure, another mine in the vicinity, produced $60,000 worth of silver in 1886. The Polaris mine, north of the Lost Cloud, was the most important silver lode in the region. This mine on the south side of Billings Creek was located by John Chase, John S. Meade, William Sevan, Charles Chase, Henry Meade, and W. M. Corvis, January 31, 1885.  L. C. Ryhrin, Otto Klemm, Charles Blevin, R. A. Sullivan, and B. F. White also had interests in the district. In 1886 the Polaris property was owned by B. F. White, Phil Shenon, L. C. Ryhrin, and Dr. J. S. Meade; and twenty men were employed. The workings were equipped with a steam hoist and a Knowles pump. The products of the mine were hauled by teams to Dillon. The Lost Cloud mine was worked by lessees in 1891.

In 1892 Dr. Meade sold the Polaris mine to a New York syndicate known as the Polaris Mining Company. This company was reported to have taken out silver ore valued at $250,000. But owing to financial difficulties, the property went into litigation. J. E. Knapp of New York City was president of the company, and O. T. Allen was superintendent at the mine.

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1 Leeson, op. cit., 477.
2 Winchell, op. cit., 76.
3 Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book 6, p. 522; also in Abstract, No. 37, at the Southern Montana Abstract Office, Dillon, Montana; also in The Dillon Tribune, May 5, 1886, VI, 5.
4 Abstract, No. 37, op. cit.
5 The Dillon Tribune, May 5, 1886, VI, 5.
6 The Dillon Examiner, September 16, 1891, I, 1.
7 Ibid., October 10, 1900, X, 1.
8 Ibid., May 1, 1895, IV, 5.
The following newspaper account gives further information about the failure:

The company attempted to recuperate itself from the ores on the dump, which amounted to about $50,000, by erecting reduction works on the ground. A cyanide plant was accordingly erected and several thousand tons of ore were run through the leaching tanks. The result was that the entire value of the ores was lost and an additional expense of $175 daily was incurred. Failing to save the values of the ore, the company was unable to pay its debts and litigation again ensued. Just before the break-up came, the company shipped $22,500 worth of ore, which yet remained on the dump, to Butte for treatment. After a legal contest of several years' duration, J. B. Morse obtained a sheriff's deed to the property.  

J. J. Cusick, J. E. Richards, John Maginnis, and C. Mason bonded and leased the Polaris workings from Morse for $25,000 in 1900. They employed eight to twelve men who were under the direction of W. S. Butler. Several six-horse teams were used to haul the ore to Dillon for shipment. Butler and another miner named Van Zant worked it in 1904.

The Silver Fissure Mining Company was organized in 1905 and bought the Polaris mine. Harry H. Armstead had charge of the company and he began to ship ore. Within a short time the company decided to erect a smelter near the mine. The necessary equipment was purchased and forty miles of wagon road were built (1900) between the mine and the new town named Armstead on the Oregon Short Line Railroad.

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9 The Dillon Examiner, October 10, 1900, X, 1.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., January 6, 1904, XIII, 7.
12 Ibid., September 6, 1905, XV, 1.
13 Ibid., October 11, 1905, XV, 1.
14 Ibid., April 18, 1906, XV, 1.
PLATE XLVIII

POLARIS SMELTER AND CAMP

(Engineer's Sketch)
engines pulled the ore trains of specially constructed heavy iron-wheeled cars over the new road. Two of the old cars and part of an engine may still be seen along the Polaris-Armstead road. The camp at the mines had modern buildings which included a boarding house, bunk houses, cottages, and other necessary structures. The 100-ton smelter with four blast furnaces was erected nearby in 1906-1907 by Armstead, but both the mines and this plant were idle the next year because of insufficient ore.\(^{15}\) (See Plate LVIII, p. 275). A fire destroyed much of the smelter on October 10, 1922.\(^{16}\) Some ore was later mined by lessees. However, little was done after the efforts of Armstead's company. The district produced only $296 in metals in 1939.\(^{17}\) The Polaris mine has a history of wasted fortunes and fruitless endeavors dating back to its discovery.

II. THE BALD MOUNTAIN MINING DISTRICT

The abandoned mines of this district are located on the southern slopes of Bald Mountain and along Dias Creek, sometimes called Dyer's Creek. This area is seven or eight miles north of Bannack. A. Sullivan and A. L. Crouse discovered the North Star lode, near Bald Mountain, March 16, 1864.\(^{18}\) Nothing could be determined about the extent of this

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15 Winchell, op. cit., 76.
16 The Dillon Examiner, October 11, 1922, XXXII, 1.
17 Minerals Year Book (1940), op. cit., 343.
18 Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book "A", 3.
venture which showed the wider flung excursions of the prospectors from Bannack. The principal mining in the region did not occur until years later. The emerald mine produced 1,000 ounces of silver in 1875; the district yielded $8,000 worth of the metal in 1880 and $51,000 in 1885. The Grundy, Dement, Belle, Grizzly Bear, Dillon, and Faithful mines were also in the vicinity. A. R. Odell located the Faithful and Rothchild mines and worked the ore in an arrastra. Phillip Miller mined the Dillon property in 1892; and W. H. Beck, Captain Lemon, and Henry Garrett operated the Dement lode. A short time later the Dillon Mining Company put up a twenty-stamp mill to crush the ore of the Dillon mine. The company also mined the Faithful, Cable, Capital, Alice, and New York properties. Tom Connor was the superintendent. The ore from the Bull mine was also milled by Connor. The Dillon mine was bought (1892) by A. J. Steele, Phillip Miller, A. B. Clements, D. G. Linn, W. A. Little, Judge Back, Charles S. Jackman, and others for $15,000. Miller superintended the work. This mine was abandoned until A. B. Clements reopened it in 1906. In 1894 the Old Faithful Mining Company put up

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19 Winchell, op. cit., 76.
20 The Dillon Tribune, May 23, 1885, V, 4; also in The Dillon Examiner, January 27, 1892, I, 1.
21 Ibid.; also A. H. French, op. cit.
22 The Dillon Examiner, September 7, 1882, I, 3.
23 The Dillon Tribune, June 12, 1886, VI, 5.
24 Ibid., September 3, 1886, VI, 5.
25 The Dillon Examiner, January 27, 1892, I, 1.
26 Ibid., January 25, 1893, II, 3.
27 Ibid., April 4, 1906, XV, 1.
a Burlington mill to work the ore from the Faithful mine. 28

The mine was owned by theuddy brothers and others of Denver, Colorado. 29 Edward Brown was the superintendent and employed ten miners. 30 E. S. Thurston was general manager in 1895. 31

Very little has been done in the district since these activities. In 1939 the total production amounted to $4,244. 32

In 1885 some minor placers were discovered on Dias Creek by James Loughridge along with two men named Fisher and Foster. When the news got abroad, several individuals rushed in and staked off claims nearly to the foot of Bald Mountain. 33 Theodore Snyder worked these placers in later years.

III. THE DARK HORSE MINE

The Dark Horse mine is on the Continental Divide between Montana and Idaho. This property is near the head of Bulky Creek, now called Dark Horse Creek, and a short distance north of the Goldstone mine. At one time the region was called the Bulky Mining District. Fred Stewart was one of the owners in 1902. 34 In March 1906 the Calumet-Montana Mining Company, a Duluth concern, was organized with a capital stock of $300,000, and took over the mine. 35 J. A.

28 The Dillon Examiner, September 5, 1894, III, 3.
29 Ibid., December 25, 1895, V, 6.
30 Ibid., October 25, 1895, V, 4.
31 Ibid., September 16, 1896, VI, 5.
32 Minerals Year Book (1940), op. cit., 348.
33 The Dillon Tribune, September 2, 1896, VI, 5.
34 The Dillon Examiner, August 27, 1902, XI, 2.
35 Ibid., July 18, 1906, XV, 2; also in Ibid., August 8, 1906, XIV, 6.
McFadden was the manager and thirty-six men were employed at mining, putting up two steam boilers, and running the water-powered sawmill which supplied the necessary lumber for the mine and buildings. In the fall of 1906 William Dugan, the superintendent, had thirty-three men at work and shipped twelve tons of ore per week. J. H. Lanyon became the superintendent, but later he resigned and T. J. Whitney took his place. In 1909-1910 an interstate tunnel, 2,935 feet long, was driven through the crest of the Continental Divide so that the ore could be hauled out by the way of Salmon, Idaho. Many tons of ore were taken through this tunnel for shipment. In 1911 the principal officers were E. L. Brown, president; H. J. Neiler, secretary; and A. C. O'Leary, managing director. Considerable mining was done under their supervision. However, the isolated location of the mine caused the Dillon news organs to give incomplete and scattered accounts. These meager items also resulted from the fact that the ore was hauled west into Idaho. The company had two Erie City sixty-five horse-power boilers, a double Ledgerwood hoist, sawmill, blacksmith shop, barn, and all the necessary camp buildings. The Dark Horse property now consists of six patented claims: Dark Horse, number one, two, and three, Copper Stone, Roy B., and

36 The Dillon Examiner, August 8, 1906, XV, 6.
37 Ibid., October 6, 1909, XIX, 2.
38 Ibid., March 15, 1911, XX, 7.
39 Ibid.
Alta B. The workings produced mainly copper with some lead, silver, and gold. These mines are idle at present. In 1914 the Rabbit Foot mine, which was in the vicinity of the Dark Horse, was owned by Frank Schmidt and Al Pritchard. Their mine was "adjacent to the Goldstone mine, the latter which, since its discovery, had produced for the owners, the Geiss brothers of Great Falls, $310,000 in ore." The Goldstone mine is on the crest of the Continental Divide. The main tunnel was dug from the Idaho side into the ore. All those mines are now idle.

IV. THE JAHNKE MINE

The Straight Tip group is comprised of five patented claims, four of which are contiguous on the vein. They are known as the Potomac, Mt. Vernon, Wabash, Good Hope, and Ranger. These claims are at the head of Swede Creek, which is southeast of Jackson, Montana, and near the Continental Divide. The stream is now named Jahnke Creek. The ore body was discovered in the early days by Frank Brown who had done considerable prospecting along the divide between Beaverhead County and Idaho. He also located the Ajax mine, which will be described later. Brown never staked the discovery for some

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40 The Dillon Examiner, February 4, 1914, XIII, 1.
41 Montana-Oreway Mining Company; Straight Tip Mines. A pamphlet. (n. p., n. d.), 2; also in The Dillon Examiner, November 18, 1908, XVIII, 1.
42 An interview with August F. Jahnke, Missoula, Montana.
unknown reason. When William P., August P., and John H. Jahnke were told by Brown about the existence of the mineral deposit, these brothers located it in 1898. The ore was mostly copper with some silver, gold, and lead. At first the brothers used pack horses for a distance of three miles to a place where it was convenient to haul it by wagons. By this method a few tons of the ore were sent as an experiment to Salt Lake City to be refined. The ore netted from 43 to 47 per ton. F. K. Vial, a mining engineer from La Grange, Illinois, visited the Straight Tip claims in 1907 and stated "that numerous small veins or stringers were found, which indicated the existence of a large body of ore."

The Montana-Oreway Mining Company was organized in 1907 through a syndicate of Chicago men. Among these investors were Fred, John, and Samuel J. Scott of the Chicago Board of Trade, and James and John B. Rankin, also of Chicago. The mining company was capitalized at $1,000,000, and the main offices were at Chicago. The officers and directors of the company were William P. Jahnke, president and general manager; Edward A. Lyon of Chicago, vice-president; Fred L. Weeks of Chicago, secretary; Edwin L. Norris of Helena, Montana, treasurer; Samuel J. Scott, assistant treasurer; A. L. Stone of

43 An interview with John H. Jahnke, Missoula, Montana.
44 Jahnke brothers, op. cit.; also in The Dillon Examiner, July 18, 1906, XV, 2.
45 John H. Jahnke, op. cit.
46 Montana-Oreway Mining Company, op. cit., 10.
47 Jahnke brothers, op. cit.
Dillon, director; and J. S. Ilwell, director and superintendent of mines. In 1903 about five miles of road were built to the mine at a cost of about $1,000. The mines were equipped with a complete mining plant for quick and effective work, including a boiler, air compressor, Ingersoll drills, and other necessary equipment. The buildings at the mine included a power house. At one time about 24 miners were employed. During the period of exploration approximately 3,000 feet of tunnels and drifts were dug into the mountain to contact the vein. Funds gave out before the ore was reached and work was stopped. The company spent nearly $125,000 in this venture. The property was abandoned until recently when the mine was leased from John Rankin who had acquired it by paying the delinquent taxes.

V. THE SAGINAW MINE

Dunc Wadams discovered the Saginaw copper mine in 1894. An extension of the vein was owned by miners, Edward Romain and Ralph Redcliff. These abandoned mines are on the south fork of the Big Hole River and fourteen miles south of Jackson. William Kidney and Mr. Ballenger leased the mine in 1900 and proceeded with its development. The machinery used at the mine proved inadequate to handle the water; consequently, operations were suspended in 1901. In 1916 the mine was again opened because
the price of copper was high. Kidney and George North then hauled ore regularly over twenty-seven miles of rough road to Brenner, Montana. From there it was shipped on the Gilmore and Pittsburg Railroad to Armstead where it was switched to the Oregon Short Line for shipment to Salt Lake City.  

VI. THE AJAX MINE

The Ajax mine and life in the Big Hole Basin has been interestingly described by Alva J. Noyes in his book, "Ajax." His story further illustrates the glamour and pathos with which many a lost fortune is interwoven. The mine is on the head of Swamp Creek near the summit of the Continental Divide and north of the Dark Horse mine. The vein was discovered by W. S. Burnett who located it as the "Carrie Leonard" in 1874, but he soon let it lapse. In the early eighties Frank Brown and others relocated the claim. A few days before the location was made, Brown had bought an ax and stamped upon it in big letters was the name "Ajax." Consequently, the mine was given the name. Brown gave Mrs. Noyes one-sixth interest in 1892; and soon Noyes induced William Packard, T. W. Poindexter, and T. J. Murray of Dillon to buy out Brown and his partners. They then built an arrastra at an expense of $750 to crush the gold ore, valued at $14 per ton. Their

52 The Dillon Examiner, December 13, 1916, XXVI, Sec., 4, p. 5.  
53 Ibid., March 5, 1902, XI, 1.
intention was to slide the ore down a large snow drift which led from the mine to a point near the arrastra; however, the snow melted and the arrastra was not used. During the summer some curious person turned the water into the contraption and wore it out. 54

Pointdexter sold his interests to J. E. Morse in 1893 and two years later Mrs. Noyes acquired Packard's portion of the mine. A road was built to the mine and cabins were put up. W. E. Stanchfield was installed as foreman and several miners were put to work. 55 Morse bought Murray out in the fall of 1894. 56 A pole tramway, eight hundred sixty feet in length, was constructed to transport the ore from the mountain side to a level basin below. 57 About this time Henry Neil offered to buy the mine for $200,000 which was refused. 58 The ore was sacked and hauled by way of Wisdom, Montana, to Divide where it was shipped to Omaha. 59

Frank Allen of Gibbonsville, Idaho, who put up the first mill at Bannack, was hired to build a stamp mill, and its machinery was hauled from the railroad, seventy-five miles distant. However, the plant proved unsatisfactory because much of the gold was lost. 60 The old tramway was

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54 Noyes, op. cit., 93; also The Dillon Examiner, March 5, 1902, XI, 1.
55 Noyes, op. cit., 104.
56 Ibid., 95.
57 The Dillon Examiner, March 5, 1902, XI, 1; also in Noyes, op. cit., 107.
58 Ibid., 103-109.
59 The Dillon Examiner, October 30, 1901, XI, 1.
60 Noyes, op. cit., 110-111.
remodeled and the ore was hauled from it through the basin to
the head of a new tramway that led to the mill. 61 Noyes was
greatly disappointed in the $314 brick of gold, the result of
the first clean-up from about three hundred tons of ore that
had assayed $3,588. Fourteen men mined out the ore. 62 Scott
Galbraith had charge of the mine; Allen ran the mill; and Tom
Landers did the assay work. 63 The second amount of $1,960
for fourteen days' run was more encouraging (there was quite
a little celebrating in Wisdom that night); the next run
 netted $2,300 for a run of seventeen days, so it was decided
to build a larger mill. 64

When the owners reached the final decision to erect a
new mill and also to obtain outside money for that purpose,
Noyes and Col. L. J. Price went to Minneapolis and then to
Boston to raise the necessary money. They were unsuccessful;
therefore, Price remained to further this promotion for the
Montana-Ajax Company, which he and Noyes represented. 65 This
company was organized with a capital stock of $1,000,000 in
1903. The officers were B. F. White, president; William Roe,
vice-president; J. E. Morse, treasurer; A. J. Noyes, secre­
tary; and A. L. Waldorf, assistant secretary. The trustees
were White, Roe, Morse, Noyes, Edwin Norris, Joe Mantle, and

61 The Dillon Examiner, March 4, 1903, XII, 2.
62 Noyes, op. cit., 115.
63 Ibid., 113.
64 Ibid., 121-122.
65 Ibid., 125.
A. E. Spriggs. 66

The old mill was torn down in the fall of 1903 and a new ten-stamp plant was erected in its place. 67 The stamps weighed one thousand fifty pounds each and the other equipment included two Wilfley tables. 68 The "mill runs" produced several bricks of gold. In 1905 the last brick valued at $1,160 was run. 69

This mining venture caused Noyes to become indebted to White for $13,000, which he endeavored to clean up by selling 1,743 acres of his ranch for $11 an acre to William Montgomery in May 1907. In spite of this sale of land however, Noyes was still so involved in debt that a little later he had to relinquish to Morse his remaining holdings, including the Ajax mine. 70 The gold bug had bitten "Ajax" Noyes mighty hard—to such an extent that he lost a small fortune. At present this idle mine is owned by Howard Morse, a son of J. E. Morse.

VII. THE MONUMENT MINE

The Monument mine is situated about four miles northwest of Brenner, Montana. Little could be learned about it other than Joseph C. Neppler sold it to William T. Iddings

66 The Dillon Examiner, May 6, 1903, XII, 1.
67 Ibid., December 16, 1903, XIII, 1.
68 Ibid., November 15, 1905, XV, 1. A. R. Wilfley of Colorado developed the Wilfley table in 1891 and went in the business of their manufacture at Denver in 1895; in Fritz, op. cit., 309. The Wilfley table uses a gentle vanning motion. The table has a set of riffle blocks at right angles to the direction of the flow and tapering in height towards (cont.)
for $1,000 on August 20, 1899. In 1902 Eugene Kepley, the superintendent of the mine, was working a force of men to extend the drift from the bottom of the sixty-foot shaft. The mine contained copper ore. Considerable ore has been shipped from this mine, but it is now idle. Archie Christie is the present owner.

VIII. THE MINERS' CREEK MINES

Prospects were located on Miners' Creek west of Jackson, Montana. Ben Phillips, Walter Fox, and others found placers on this stream, but they were worked with very little results. Messrs. Northgraves, Simpkins, Livingston, and Peck located some gold quartz near the creek in 1891. E. O. Fournier and George Turcott prospected near the stream and located the Standard, Bullion, El Dorado, and Last Chance claims. Another claim, the Gold Coin, with a tunnel one hundred twenty feet long was owned by E. A. Benjamin and N. DeLong. Mr. Townsend owned the Eclipse mine for which an arrastra had been built. It appears that all these claims or mines were merely prospects

(68 cont.) the side where the concentrates are discharged. The crushed ore is placed on with water and the fine waste material is carried off by it.

69 Noyes, op. cit., 145.
70 Ibid., 143-146.
71 The Dillon Examiner, December 31, 1902, XII, 1.
72 Noyes, op. cit., 124.
73 The Dillon Examiner, September 15, 1901, I, 1.
74 Ibid., August 6, 1902, XI, 8.
75 Ibid., May 13, 1903, XII, 6.
76 Ibid., May 27, 1903, XII, 6.
and nothing is being done in this region at present.

IX. THE STEELE CREEK MINES

Steele Creek is located southeast of Wisdom, Montana. In August 1869 Mike Steele, Edward Boyle, and Barney McDonnel found pay dirt on the stream and began to mine. Edward Brown and Fred Myers developed a claim which brought very little returns. While working this claim, Brown found the "Martin" mine. Some exceedingly rich silver ore was found in it; a good many dollars were spent in development with no particular success. Messrs. Scott and Cochran worked a gold claim in this vicinity in the summer of 1895 and Emil Zorn also tried his luck. The next year, John Gillenberg built a small customs mill which was used for three summers. None of these mines proved to be of any great importance.

77 Noyes, op. cit., 148.
78 Ibid., 37-83.
79 The Dillon Examiner, September 11, 1895, IV, 4; also in Ibid., September 9, 1396, V, 1; also in Ibid., August 13, 1902, XI, 1.
SUMMARY

Metal resources, exceeded only by the fertile soil of the valleys and plains, have long been one of the important causes of migration and the progress of civilization. Montana, one of the first regions of the West traversed by explorers, fur traders, and trappers, was the last to give up her secrets of hidden wealth. A prospecting party, composed of Mortimer H. Lott and several other Colorado miners, about July 9, 1862, discovered the first gold found in Beaverhead County. John White and party, also from Colorado, located the State's first important placer diggings, July 28, 1862, on Grasshopper Creek in Beaverhead County. When the possibilities of the latter became known, numerous prospectors, like the affinity of quicksilver for gold, were quickly attracted to the new Eldorado. Many of these men were bound for the newly discovered mines in Idaho or already in other localities. Dannack was the name given to the booming mining camp, which was destined to become the first territorial capital of Montana.

Placer gold represented ready cash, but permanent settlement was not assured because of the temporary character of that type of mining. The placer miners soon looked for the "Mother Lodes" which had supplied the gulches and bars with gold. O. D. Farlin is credited with finding the first quartz in Montana. He staked the Kammas lode, October 15, 1862; but as far as is known, his claim remained only a prospect.
Charles Benson, H. Porter, and C. W. Place discovered the famous Dakota lode on November 12, 1862. Montana received the first quantity of gold from quartz out of this mine. Hard-rock mining stabilized settlement since mine development, power, and machinery were necessary to make such mining profitable. The first stamp mill in Montana was built by William Arnold and J. P. Allen during the winter of 1862-1863 to crush the ore from the Dakota mine. Colonel Daniel H. Hunkins anticipated the need for better quartz mills and hauled by oxen the machinery of the first steam-operated plant from Fort St. Charles on the Missouri River to Bannack where it was erected during the summer of 1864. Other mills soon followed.

The principal methods employed in extracting metals from ore are amalgamation, roasting, smelting, the use of Frue vanners and Wilfley tables, chlorination, cyanidation, and oil-flotation. Only the first of these was used by the early miners. The mineral veins that were first mined were usually oxidized by nature. These oxides, which were surface ores, readily yielded their treasures of free gold to milling aided by the only chemical process then known, that of amalgamation with mercury or quicksilver. Certain kinds of silver ore also could be treated by this process. When the mines increased in depth, the character of the ore changed, and the other processes were applied as science came to the rescue.

The first methods used in placer mining were not efficient;
consequently, ditch companies were organized to extensively mine the bars and gulches. The Bannack Mining and Ditch Company dug a ditch thirty miles long to furnish water for the hydraulics or "Little Giants." A. F. Craeter and F. L. Graves owned a large portion of this enterprise, which successfully mined the ground until it was worked out. Several other miners also pooled their labor and capital to build canals for this latest type of mining. However, many individual miners soon ceased digging for dust and nuggets and turned their attention to silver mining.

A new boom in Montana resulted from two factors: the discovery of silver and the building of smelters. Little was known about silver until A. K. Eaton, a prominent geologist from New York, visited the vicinity of Bannack in 1864. William Beeken, Charles S. Ream, and Joseph A. Brown discovered the first silver in the county on Rattlesnake Creek. The mines of this region produced Montana's first silver.

Silver is more difficult to extract from the ore than gold because much of it exists in combination with other elements. This refractory ore needed to be smelted to obtain the metals. Samuel T. Hauser, in company with others, constructed the first smelter in Montana at Argenta on Rattlesnake Creek in 1866. August Steitz, who had studied mineralogy at Freiburg, Germany, was their superintendent. Eaton built a furnace near Bannack, October 1866, to work the ore from the Blue Wing mine. Thomas Wood, superintendent of the Huron Silver
Mining Company, also put up a plant near Bannack the same year. A. M. Esler erected a fourth furnace near Argenta in 1867 to smelt the silver-lead ore from his Legal Tender mine. The Tootle-Leach Company of St. Louis constructed a smelter about a mile west of Argenta in 1868. G. W. Stapleton, long known in Bannack mining circles, held the position of smelter superintendent. W. A. Clark, one of Montana's mining magnates, bought the Tootle-Leach works, then known as the Tuscarora smelter. He also purchased several silver mines in the locality. Both these and the smelter were worked for a period. Many of the crude plants changed ownership during the next few years until they were shut down because the district did not produce enough ore to keep them running. Other smelters were built in later years—those at Glendale, one at the Polaris mine near Bald Mountain, and the last at Farlin on Birch Creek.

Beginning about 1875 and extending to 1893, silver mining held an important place among the industries of Beaverhead County and Montana. Metal mining speeded up the building of railroads. The advent of the Utah and Northern Railroad greatly stimulated mining and other occupations in Montana. This road was completed through the county in 1881. In the same year the Hecla Consolidated Mining Company began a successful period of activity. Manager Henry Knippenberg of Indianapolis was responsible for making the Hecla mines the greatest in the county. These mines, located in the Bryant
district, produced metals totaling twenty-two million dollars during a period of twenty-one years. Much of this silver wealth came from the Cleopatra and Atlantis mines, the deepest in the county. The town of Glendale with about 1,300 inhabitants grew up around the company smelters. Nippenburg built the first concentrating mill in Montana at Greenwood in 1882. Faulting in the mines and the low price of silver caused the Hecla people to cease operations and the property went into litigation. The Jay Hawk and Lone Pine Consolidated Mining Company, Limited, a successful English company, mined considerable silver during the early 1890's. The mines of this company were at Quartz Hill in the Vipond district, a few miles north of the Hecla mines. Like many enterprising mining concerns, it also ceased because of the price of silver.

Several years later (1911) extensive mining was undertaken in the Elkhorn district under the direction of W. R. Allen, formerly lieutenant-governor of Montana. Through the efforts of Allen the Boston-Montana Development Company was organized in 1913 to operate the mines near the source of Wise River. The company built a large oil-flotation concentrator at a cost of $900,000. Also $1,500,000 was spent for railroad construction and rolling stock. This narrow gauge road, called the Montana Southern, ran from Divide, Montana, to the mines, thirty-eight miles distant. A power line, thirty-five miles long, was built for $150,000. From two hundred to two hundred fifty men were employed by the company.
The mining camp was named Coolidge. Forty-seven thousand tons of ore were mined which produced eight thousand nine hundred tons of concentrates. The total assets of the company amounted to over eight million dollars. Financial difficulties overtook this firm, and thus ended the National Boston-Montana Mines Corporation and Allen's dream.

Beaverhead's six dredge boats constitute a unique chapter in the history of the State. The "Fielding L. Graves," an electric dredge launched May 15, 1895, on Grasshopper Creek, was the first successful gold dredge in the United States. The Gold Dredging Company, under the direction of H. J. Reiling and S. S. Harper, constructed the boat. Edward L. Smith built a "suction dredge" for the Chicago Mining and Development Company in 1896. This unsuccessful boat was remodeled into one with buckets. When this dredge was launched May 23, 1897, it was christened the "Maggie A. Gibson." The boat was later moved to Alder Gulch. The Bannack Dredging Company launched the "A. F. Graeter" dredge on June 12, 1897. Several members of the Gold Dredging Company had shares in this machine. The Bon Accord Company, an English corporation, constructed a fourth dredge on Grasshopper Creek during the fall of 1897. The top-heavy affair tipped over and was then reconstructed. The Bon Accord plant was the least successful. The Montana Gold Dredging Company was the owner of the "Coast" dredge, the last to be built on the stream. After profitably working out its ground, the boat was taken to Oregon. A sixth dredge
was placed on Colorado Creek by John C. Brenner and others in 1899. The "Brenner" boat recovered gold from the gulch where W. A. Clark gained his start in Montana. This dredge was the last boat to operate in the county.

No figures for the total production of these boats are available because they operated before the first authentic figures (1904) were compiled. The major production of the mines in Beaverhead County also occurred before that time. Many of the early statistics were estimates. It is known that the Bryant district ranked first, Bannack second, and Argenta probably placed third in metals mined. Recent mining showed some profit. Ralph E. Davis operated draglines on Grasshopper Creek in 1939 and recovered nearly 2,000 ounces of gold. In 1940 the Ermont mines, with a reported monthly production of $22,000, were the largest producers in the county.

Mining because of its very nature developed some of Montana's most outstanding characters. Many of these miners, besides their efforts at the industry, did much for the settlement and organization of the Territory. These men later took an active part in the political life of the State. W. A. Clark, one time United States senator for Montana, was actively engaged in the mining and smelting industry from which he accumulated a large fortune. Sidney Edgerton, the first territorial governor of Montana, sought his fortunes at Bannack and at Argenta. Samuel McLean also took an interest in politics.
Francis M. Thompson, designer of Montana's Great Seal, and Dr. E. D. Leavitt represented Beaverhead County during the first legislative session (1864-1865) at Bannack, then the territorial capital. Samuel T. Hauser was territorial governor in the 'eighties. Even B. F. White, the last territorial governor, was interested in mining, though his principal concern was his bank at Dillon. Alfred M. Esler, J. W. Stapleton, Joseph A. Brown, Aaron C. Witter, L. A. Brown, and Henry Knippenberg were among the legislators from Beaverhead County. Samuel W. Batchelder, Joseph A. Brown, Fielding L. Graves, Aaron Witter, and Henry Knippenberg served as delegates at the various State Constitutional Conventions. A. F. Graeter became one of the important bankers and business men at Dillon. He and Graves had interests in the State Bank of Dillon.

Several of the occupations, now important in Montana, accompanied the metal industry or were a direct outgrowth of it. Attention was turned to transportation (freighting at first), lumbering, merchandizing, ranching, and stock-raising almost as soon as the mines were discovered. The first routes into Montana were inadequate to handle the heavy traffic imposed upon them by the freighting outfits which brought food, clothing, mining supplies, and heavy machinery. Therefore a demand arose for better roads, and in many cases they were built. Toll roads and bridges were also established.

Lumbering was undertaken shortly after the mineral wealth was discovered. Lumber for rockers, sluice boxes,
flumes, mine timbers, and the like was immediately needed. The first lumber for the mines and miners' cabins at Bannack was whip-sawed by R. C. Knox in Lumber Gulch near the town. Mortimer H. Lott, Stapleton, and McLean were all engaged in sawing lumber before the end of 1862. W. A. Clark made a deal for some boards at Bannack in 1863. Lumber brought about $400 per thousand board feet; but when the sawmills came, this price was cut to $140 per thousand for unfinished boards. Timber was also used for fuel. Even the dredge boats used it for the fires under their boilers.

Ranching also began in 1862. Martin Barrett and Joe Shinerberger, who had accompanied the prospectors to Montana, were probably the first ranchers in the county. The early county records showed that there was a strong demand for land as early as 1863-1864. Many of the miners, besides their mining activities, took it upon themselves to preempt ranch claims. Even some of the ditches that had been dug by the miners were later used for irrigation. The ranches furnished food for the miners' tables and for their stock. The freighting outfits also used a great deal of the hay that was raised. These landholders soon turned to stock-raising—to cattle in particular. These animals had been wintered in the valleys of the Beaverhead even before the coming of the prospectors. The miners wanted beef in preference to the less palatable buffalo meat; therefore, small herds were soon brought into Montana to meet this demand and to stock the ranches. Oxen, at first, were
the most extensively used of the beasts of burden until attention was given to the raising of horses. Sheep ranching also gained an early start.

Stock-raising and agriculture are now the chief occupations in the county. Several early miners identified themselves in these industries. The income from them was more certain than that gained from gambling with nature's hidden treasures. However, several prospectors still live in hopes that they will eventually strike their Eldorado in Beaverhead County.
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Tufts, James, A Tract Descriptive of Montana Territory; with a Sketch of Its Mineral and Agricultural Resources. New York: R. Craighead, Printer, 1865.


B. PRIMARY SOURCES
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Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book "B". This record must not be confused with the above.

Beaverhead County Mining Records, Central District, Books ",", and ",B". This old record is badly mutilated.

Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book "C".

Beaverhead County Mining Records, Central District, Book 5. This is a record of Saratoga District and also of quartz claims. It also contains Books 2 and 4.

Beaverhead County Mining Records, Jeff Davis Gulch, Book 6. This book contains the minutes of the miners' meetings and the claim recordings.

Beaverhead County Mining Records, Centerville District, Book 8.

Beaverhead County Mining Records, White's District, Minutes of Miners' Meetings, Book 9.

Beaverhead County Mining Records, Independent District, Book 10.

Beaverhead County Mining Records, Transcript of Books "A" and "B".

Beaverhead County Mining Records, White's District Recordings. This is the oldest mining record in Beaverhead County. It is an old, mutilated blue paper notebook. This record was filed in the Recorder's office, April 8, 1865, by L. A. Gridley, recorder.

Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book "O".

Beaverhead County Mining Records, Book 7H.

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Brown, Lawrence A., Diary on the New Departure Mine. Volume two is now owned by John Coppin, Dillon, Montana. Volume one is lost.


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C. SECONDARY SOURCES (Published)


D. SECONDARY SOURCES
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E. PERIODICAL ARTICLES


"Graph on Metal Prices," in Supplement to Engineering and Mining Journal, 1935.


Welty, Raymond L., "The Army and Mining Frontier (1830-1870)," in The Frontier, XII, (March, 1882), 261.


F. NEWSPAPERS

Montana Oil and Mining Journal, XIX, August 12, 1939. Published at Great Falls, Montana.


The Dillon Examiner. A weekly newspaper published at Dillon, Montana. Complete file, beginning September 16, 1891. This paper is Republican in character, and it also contains more mining news than the conservative "Dillon Tribune."

The Dillon Tribune. A weekly newspaper published at Dillon, Montana. Complete file, beginning February 13, 1881. This publication is Democratic in character and quite conservative. Both this paper and "The Dillon Examiner" have had numerous editors. Therefore, it is difficult to determine the exact policies of each.

The Montana Post. A weekly newspaper published at Virginia City, Montana. File from August 27, 1884 to and including the first issue at Helena, Montana, April 25, 1888.


G. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

C. E. Brenner, Brenner, Montana.

George E. Conway, 29 Pittsburg Block, Helena, Montana.

John Coppin, Dillon, Montana.

G. V. Elder, Argenta, Montana.

A. H. French, Argenta, Montana.

Harry Graves, Dillon, Montana.

Mrs. Sarah P. Howard, Dillon, Montana. Formerly Sarah Wadams who came to Montana in 1862.

A. F. Jahnke, Missoula, Montana.

John H. Jahnke, Missoula, Montana.

E. E. Lloyd, Dillon, Montana.

Frank Powell, Wise River, Montana.

J. C. Sheser, Dillon, Montana.

Mrs. J. C. Sheser, Dillon, Montana.

C. W. Stallings, Bannack, Montana.

W. L. Wanderlich, 162 West Granite St., Butte, Montana.

T. H. Yearian, Brenner, Montana.

H. MAPS


Hecla Consolidated Mining Company Blue Prints. These now belong to G. V. Elder, Dillon, Montana.


Map of Beaverhead National Forest, Montana. (Compiled by the Regional Office, Missoula, Montana; revised, 1934).