1926

**Contribution of the Scandinavian and Germanic people to the development of Montana**

Oscar Melvin Grimsby

*The University of Montana*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd](https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd)

**Recommended Citation**

Grimsby, Oscar Melvin, "Contribution of the Scandinavian and Germanic people to the development of Montana" (1926). *Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers*. 5349. [https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/5349](https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/5349)

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.
THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE SCANDINAVIAN AND GERMANIC
PEOPLE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MONTANA

by

O. M. Grimsby

1926
CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

A. Introduction of Christianity into the Northwest.
   1. Coming of the Methodists.
   2. Coming of the Presbyterians
   3. Coming of the Catholics.

B. Scandinavian and Germanic Immigration.
   1. The Scandinavians.
      a. statistics on immigration.
   2. The Germans.
      a. The first wave-1831-1860
      b. The second wave-1866-1869
   3. The Swedes and Danes.

Chapter II. MINERAL DEVELOPMENT.

A. Historical INTRODUCTION.
   1. The discovery of gold in Montana
   2. Value of gold products.

B. Scandinavians and Germans in the gold fields.
   1. Earliest arrivals
   2. Names of earliest arrivals, 1854-1867 (appendix)
   3. Reasons for the greater number of German pioneers.
      a. Greater number in America.
      b. Influence of Baron Von Richtofen.

C. Norwegian and German Gulches.

Contributions.
   1. Built first smelter.
   2. Utch Jig.
   3. Wicks and East Helena Smelters.
   4. F. Augustus Heinzie.

CHAPTER III. DEVELOPMENT OF LUMBERING

A. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

B. JOURNAL OF ANTON M. HOLTZ.

C. GYPO CONTRACT JSTM.

D. PROPORTION OF SCANDINAVIANS AND GERMANS IN THE LUMBERING INDUSTRY.

E. SUMMARY.
CHAPTER IV. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT.

A. Scandinavians and Germans by Counties, 1870, 1880, 1890.

B. History of the first German missionaries.

C. History of the first Norwegian Missionaries.

D. History of the first Swedish missionaries.

E. Summary of growth of Lutheran Synods in the state.

G. Moral and social characteristics of the Scandinavians and Germans.

CONCLUSIONS

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY.
INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

The great Northwest of which Montana is a part was a portion of America of which few white men had any knowledge until the first decade of the nineteenth century. The Washington and Oregon coast-line, however, had been explored as early as the middle of the sixteenth century by Spanish explorers in their search for gold and in quest of a northern passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

In the inland the red men reigned supreme and undisturbed. From the records of Verendrye, a French Canadian explorer, we learn that his son explored the Missouri River territory and came as far west as eastern Montana and Wyoming in the year 1743. He was the first white man to see the land of the "Shining Mountains", and to set foot on Montana soil. (1)

The explorations, which revealed to the American people the vast

1. South Dakota Historical Collections, Vol. 7, p. 349. "Journal of the trip made by Chevalier de la Verendrye with one of his brothers, to reach the West Sea, addresses to M. le Marquis de Beaurharnois."
resources of the Northwest, were conducted under the supervision of President Jefferson, by Lewis and Clark in 1804-1806. The object of the expedition was to make possible the extension of the external commerce of the United States and the promotion of the fur trade with the Indians, who were then furnishing great supplies of furs and peltry to the trade of another nation. The Lewis and Clark Journals gave glowing accounts of the wealth of this hitherto unknown section of the country. (2) The beavers were plentiful and the mountains were covered with heavy timber. These reports aroused special interest among the fur traders. The return of the expedition was a signal for the entry of several fur-trading companies to compete for the valuable beaver furs of the Northwest. As early as 1811-1812 fur traders of the Northwest Company and Pacific Company traded for furs with the Flathead and Nez Perce Indians. (3) These tribes were located in western Montana, northern Idaho and eastern Washington. They were the most friendly of all the Indians of the Northwest.

An event took place in 1832 which directed the attention of the American churches to the Northwest as a vast field of benevolent enterprise, ripe for the introduction of the Gospel among the benighted inhabitants. The chiefs of the Flatheads in that year decided upon a plan of action which is incomparable in Indian missionary history.

   Vol. 3 p. 318-319

Due to a series of smallpox epidemics culminating in the outbreak of 1830, the ranks of the Flatheads had been greatly reduced, and as a result their faith in the protection of the Great Spirit began to wane. (5) Not even their medicine men were able to stem the tide of this dreaded disease.

The trappers working among these Indians, bartering their valuable beaver skins for the trinkets of the Northwest Company, were Canadian half-breeds who had at least a smattering knowledge of the Bible. With these trappers came some Iroquois Indians who had come in contact with Jesuit missionaries, stationed at Montreal, and although they had turned against them at that time, remembered their teachings now when prompted by the Canadians.

These Canadians and Iroquois trappers told the Flathead Indians of the white man's Book and the white man's God. They told them of the missionary priests, and falsely credited to them such wonderful deeds and mysterious actions that in the superstitious minds of the Flatheads they appeared as new gods. These stories made a deep impression upon the minds of the Indians, and after a decade their curiosity grew to a desire to hear more of the white man's Book.

The Call for Missionaries.

Among the most influential of the Iroquois leaders was Ignace La Mousse. He had acquired the name of "Old Ignace," 5.

The Apostle to the Flatheads", because it was largely through
his initiative that a deputation was sent to St. Louis for the
purpose of securing a Christian missionary. (6)

in 1631 four Indians representing the Flatheads, who at that
time lived in the Bitter Root Valley in western Montana, among
them Old Ignace, arrived in St. Louis. It represented a journey
of two thousand miles through rugged mountains, over barren plains
and dangerous country of the enemy. The United States Indian agent,
General Clark, was known by them as the first great chief of the
white men, who had visited their nation. They made an appeal to
General Clark for missionaries. (7)

A. The Coming of the Methodists.

The coming of the Indian delegation to St. Louis was given
much publicity in the official papers of the Methodist church. A
general feeling of sympathy was awakened for these interesting natives
of the Northwest. The Methodist church, through the Mission Board,
declared to answer the "Macedonian Call". In 1834 Rev. Jason Lee and
his nephew, Daniel Lee, together with P. L. Edwards and Cyrus Shepherd,
started out on that long journey to the land of the Flatheads.

The original purpose for which the missionaries were sent, was
not carried out. Instead of establishing a mission among the Flatheads,
they passed on to Walla Walla, Washington and began a mission in the
Willamette Valley. When the Lees arrived in the country of the
6. Lee and Frost, "Ten Years in Oregon".
p. 110.

7. Laveille, "Life of Father De Smet".
p. 99.
Flatheads, they did not find a promising field for missionary activities. They saw that the Indians were few in number; constant warfare with the Blackfeet Indians, had depleted their ranks. They were six hundred miles from the nearest supply depot. This fact together with the nearness of the Blackfeet Indians, who were the white men's greatest enemies, caused the missionaries to move on to the Oregon country. (8) The wisdom of this procedure was confirmed by the Catholic priests, who later established a mission in the Bitter Root among the Flatheads. They, too, were forced to give it up on account of the attacks of the Blackfeet Indians.

The missionaries continued their journey westward till they arrived at Fort Vancouver in October, 1834. There they were welcomed by the Chief Factor, John McLoughlin, of the Hudson Bay Fur Company. At the advice of the Chief Factor Jason Lee decided to establish his mission to the south on the Willamette River. (9) There, ten miles below the present city of Salem, they pitched their tents and founded the Methodist mission, from whence at once began to radiate the influence of Christian life, for the first time in the Northwest.

The Oregon country then covered about 700,000 square miles.

Father Palladino, in his book, "Indians and Whites in the Northwest", page 21, takes issue with Lee and Frost. He says that the Indians wanted the black robes only. But the reasons given by Jason Lee, himself, seem reasonable. If the Indians had told him that they preferred the black robes, it would have been no discredit to him. He would have given this report to the mission board. The fact that Father De Smet gave up the St. Mary's mission for one of the reasons given by Lee and Frost is in itself conclusive.
west of the Rockies. There were not to exceed twenty-five Americans and not more than fifty white men in this territory at the time of the arrival of the missionaries. The country was dominated by the Hudson Bay Company, a British corporation with a capital of $2,000,000. The Company was engaged chiefly in the fur trade. There being no organized government at this time the Company was given judicial powers. (10)

The missionaries immediately began to erect the necessary buildings and to prepare the surrounding fertile soil for cultivation. It was the desire of the Mission Board that the Mission might become self-supporting, and the fertile valley gave all evidence that this wish would be realized. The Mission, from the first, proved a great blessing to the new country, not only from a spiritual and moral point of view, but it furnished employment to many individuals otherwise without means of livelihood. They set an example of industry and perseverance in the temporal departments of their work. They gave a spur to all business operations, and the community seemed at once to spring from a state of inactivity, into which it had been thrown by the dominating spirit of the Hudson Bay Company, into one of great enterprise and prosperity.

Previous to the establishing of this mission there were no cattle in the country, except those owned by the Hudson Bay Company, and they were not for sale. Mr. Jason Lee decided to break the cattle


Holman, "Dr. John Mc Laughlin" p. 55.

monopoly of the company by purchasing a herd in California. Accordingly
eight hundred head of cattle were brought in California at three dollars
per head and forty horses at twelve dollars per head. These were driven to
the mission in Oregon. (11)

The object of the mission was to impart the knowledge of the Word of
God to the Indians. The school, which had been established for the Indian
children, flourished under the direction of Rev. Shepherd. In 1836 more
helpers came to the mission from the East. This gave them an opportunity to
extend their missionary activities among the Indians. A mission was
established at Dallas, eighty miles above Fort Vancouver, with Rev. Perkins
in charge. He found the Indians very receptive to his teachings, and they
gave evidence of willingness to give up their old beliefs. (12)

But fortune was not to favor the missionaries altogether. As the white
people began to settle in greater numbers, the Indians looked with suspicion
upon their activities. They felt that it was an intrusion upon their hunt-
ing grounds and a sign that the white men intended to drive them from their
country. Opposition to the settlers and the missionaries increased until
it culminated in the Whitman massacre. Other difficulties also arose until
the work, which for a while flourished so well among the Indians, was gradu-
ally undone, and the fields had to be relinquished.

12. "This seems to have been the most successful mission."
The great monument to the sacrifices of the Lees in Oregon still stands. It is the Willamette University. It was begun as a mission school for the Indians. In 1842 it became known as the "Oregon Institute", and was used chiefly as a school for the children of the missionaries. In 1853, by the authority of the state legislature, the name was changed to the "Willamette University". Jason Lee died in Connecticut in 1844. He is still the hero of Oregon.

B. The Coming of the Presbyterians.

The same Indian delegation to St. Louis, whose expedition resulted in the sending of the Methodist missionaries to the Northwest, also aroused the interest of the Presbyterians. In 1835 Markus Whitman and Samuel Parker were sent out to investigate the field. Dr. Whitman returned and urged the Mission Board to establish a station among the Indians. The following year on March 31, 1836, Dr. Whitman and his wife, together with Rev. and Mrs. H. H. Spaulding, set out over the Oregon trail for the mission field. (13)

This was a new venture for women. No other white woman had made that long journey over the mountains. The courage of Mrs. Whitman won admiration even among the rough adventurers with whom she had to travel. The letters which she wrote to her parents, reveal the courage of a true soldier of the Cross.

The company arrived at Vancouver in the fall of 1836, two years after
the Methodist mission had been established on the Willamette.

Dr. Mr. Laughlin extended the same hearty welcome to the Presbyterians
as he had shown to their predecessors in the field. Regarding the
kindness of the Chief factor Mrs. Whitman wrote as follows to her parents:
"Dr. Mr. Laughlin promised to loan us enough to make a beginning, and all
the return he asks is that we supply other settlers in the same way. No
person could have received more hearty welcome or be treated with greater
kindness than we have been since we arrived." (14) Though Dr. Mr. Laughlin was
a Catholic at heart, he was broadminded enough to set aside personal
prejudice. He offered the greatest possible assistance to those who came
to teach the Indians about the white man's God. He extended a friendly
hand in spite of the fact that the coming of the missionaries meant a
financial loss to the company for which he was working. The missionaries
introduced agriculture among the Indians, thereby turning their interests to
some extent from trapping to farming. Thus the supply of beaver skins for
the company was greatly reduced.

At the advice of Dr. Mr. Laughlin the Presbyterians sailed up the
Columbia River. Dr. Whitman and his wife established a mission among the
Cayuse Indians at Wailapu, near the Walla Walla River, while Rev.
and Mrs. Spaulding began a mission among the Nez Perce Indians at

14. Most of the information regarding the Presbyterians is taken
from Miles Cannon, "Wailapu".
Lapwai. (15)

In two years Dr. Whitman had constructed a grist-mill, a blacksmith shop, two large mission buildings, and had also enclosed two hundred fifty acres of land, fifty of which were under cultivation. He encouraged agriculture among the Indians.

A mission school was established under the direction of Mrs. Whitman. (16) The spiritual seed seemed at first to take deep root, but Dr. Whitman was later to experience that the Indians whom he most trusted and whom he thought were converted to the Christian faith, were to drive the first tomahawk into his body.

A mission was also established among the Spokane Indians on the Clearwater River, seven miles above the present city of Lewiston. This mission was a failure. Rev. and Mrs. Spaulding seemed to be more successful among the Nez Perce Indians. They were more eager to listen to the teachings of Christianity and showed more cooperation with them in the development of the mission.

At Wilapte the Indians became more restless. They began to look with suspicion on the missionaries. From certain records we gain the information that Dr. Whitman had promised to pay the Indians rent for the land on which the Mission was located. (17) The Indians complained that this rent was not paid. They were also opposed to the cultivation of the land, for it destroyed their feeding ground. That Dr. Whitman was not very optimistic regarding the success of this mission, is evidenced by a letter to the Board

15. p. 37
16. p. 46
17. p. 57
of Missions in which he stated, "Although the Indians have made and are making rapid progress in religious knowledge and civilization, yet it cannot be hoped that time will be allowed to mature the work of Christianization or civilization before the settlers will demand the soil and removal of both Indians and mission." (18) The settlers were already streaming into the country and gradually driving the Indians back into the less productive regions. They resented it, and began to threaten the whites with destruction of both life and property.

In 1836 the Christian forces were augmented by the arrival on the Hudson Bay Express, of two Catholic priests, Blanchet and Desmers. They received a cool reception from Dr. Whitman. Mr. W.H. Grey, in his "History of Oregon", accuses the Catholic priests of inciting the Indians against the Protestant missionaries. (19) Authorities differ in their opinion on this question, but one thing is certain, namely, that the hostility of the Indians did not decrease after the arrival of the Catholic priests.

Though warned by friendly Indians that his life was in danger, Dr. Whitman would not leave the field. It would have been well had he heeded the warning, for the Indians were planning the bloody deed. (20) The horrible massacre in which Dr. and Mrs. Whitman were murdered in cold blood,


20. A detailed report of the Whitman massacre is found in Miles Cannon, "Wailatpu", beginning on page 112.
is one of the saddest events in the annals of Oregon history. One of the Indians who had been converted and befriended by Dr. Whitman, was the murderer to strike the first blow which resulted in the death of the great leader. Mrs. Whitman, together with many others of the mission, was also killed. In this tragic manner ended the mission which was begun with such abundance of optimism.

To-day, over the ruins of the Whitman massacre, stands the Whitman Seminary. The work of teaching the Gospel, which they began in this part of Oregon, is still being carried on within the walls of the institution. The monuments of these early pioneer missionaries have not merely been carved in marble,—they are to be found in the churches and schools of the vast Northwest and in the lives of those people who enter their doors. The monument of Whitman, Lee, Spaulding and Grey and all the rest of the missionaries, who gladly laid down their lives for the people of Oregon country, is the great valley of the Columbia, that region which was won for Christ by their works of faith and by their labors of love. These men became the forerunners of American civilization in Oregon, than successful missionaries to the Indians.

C. The Coming of the Catholic Missionaries to Montana.

The Catholic church was the third to hear the appeal of the Indian commission from the Flathead country.
Four times the commission had traversed the long distance to St. Louis. The Methodists and Presbyterians had answered the call, but had passed on into Oregon. So the Flatheads and Nez Perces did not receive a missionary to tell them of the white man's God, but they would not give up. Four appeals were made. In 1831, 1835, 1837, and 1839 the Indian delegation appeared in St. Louis with its appeal for a missionary. Nowhere in the missionary history of the world can there be found a parallel to this appeal from an unknown tribe of the wilds of the Northwest, for Christian missionaries. The last appeal was successful. A Jesuit, Father De Smet, was sent in the year 1840 in answer to the call of the Flatheads. (21)

Father De Smet arrived in the Bitter Root Valley in the year 1841 and established a mission among the Flatheads, which he called the St. Mary's Mission. Father Palladino, in his book, "Indians and Whites in the Northwest", gives an account of the jubilant reception which the Jesuit priest received from the Indians. His black robe and crosses appealed to the superstitious minds of the red men. They looked upon him as a great medicine man, Father De Smet relates an interesting experience with some of the Indians. When he struck a match with which to light the peace pipe, the Indians were amazed at the mysterious fire-stick and begged to receive some. They used the matches as charms to drive away evil spirits.


Laveille, "The Life of Father De Smet". p. 103.
The Mission flourished for a few years, but even these Indians, who had shown such zeal in calling for missionaries, began to show distrust. Deception on the part of the white settlers aroused their animosity, which, together with the attacks of the Blackfeet, caused De Smet to give up the St. Mary's Mission after about ten years of service. (22)

The migration of settlers into the Bitter Root Valley caused the government to take steps to remove the Indians. On July 16, 1855 Governor Stevens of Oregon made a treaty with the confederated tribes of Flatheads, Pend' Oreilles, Kootenays and Kalispells, in which he gave them a new reservation around the Flathead Lake. The government agreed to establish a school, build a blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, flour mill and saw mill on the reservation. (23)

The Mission which was founded on the new reservation in 1864, is still a flourishing center of Catholic mission work. A school was established for the Indians under the contract system. By this plan the government pays the church a certain amount for each Indian child who attends school. The Catholic church has conducted practically all the mission work among the Indians of Montana. To-day there are in Montana nine Catholic Indian schools, including the Kindergarten and a school at Arlee. Practically all are conducted under the contract system. (24) Thus the Catholics succeeded in establishing a permanent mission in Montana.

22. Laveille, "The Life of Father De Smet". p. 245.
While the Protestants were not as successful, it was not due to any weakness of their missionary policy. Some have laid the blame to the dissension in their ranks, but the real cause was the activities of the unscrupulous immigrants, who did not hesitate in letting the Indians know that they came to drive them out of the country. This intrusion was resented, and the missions were the first to feel the red men's revenge.

Thus the missionaries have contributed their share to the civilization of these natives of the Northwest. Their contribution in many cases was their own life blood, shed by members of the race which they came to befriend.

From the year 1841, when the first resident missionary came to Montana, to the year 1860 the Indians reigned supreme in the mountains and on the eastern plains of Montana. While thousands of adventurers were heading westward over the Oregon trail during these years, only a few entered the boundaries of what is now the state of "Montana. Their goal was either the gold fields of California or the rich agricultural valleys of Washington and Oregon. Montana had to wait its time. That event which was to direct the attention of America to Montana was the gold strike of 1862.
Chapter 2 SCANDINAVIAN AND GERMAN IMMIGRATION

About thirty years before the gold strike in Montana began the first momentous immigration of Scandinavian and German people to America. This immigration became the determining factor in the settlement of the state of Montana.

Beginning a century before the Revolution, however, there has been a constant stream of these north Europeans to America. In fact, Scandinavian immigration antedates the first settlement of the Plymouth Colony on the New England coast. In August, 1619, one year before the landing of the Pilgrims, a group of Danish sailors landed on the western shore of Churchill River on the Hudson Bay. The object of these daring sailors was to discover a northern route to East India. This settlement was not permanent. (25)

The first extensive colonization venture by the Germans occurred in the fall of 1683. In that year, through the action of the Frankfurt Colonization Company, of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, arrangements were made for the transportation of the first ship-load of Germans. The ship which carried this devoutly religious and peaceful company, was the CONCORD, generally considered the Mayflower of the Germans. Captain Jeffreys commanded the CONCORD, one of the substantial vessels of the West Indian Service. They left Gravesend July 24, 1683, and after a long journey, arrived in Philadelphia on October 6, 1683. Here they were welcomed by William Penn. (26)

25. Finck, "Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America", p. 15.
However, the Germans and Scandinavians who became factors in the settlement of Montana, came in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

The Scandinavians

On October 9, 1825, a company of fifty-three colonists arrived in New York on the fifty-four foot sloop, Restaurationen. These colonists settled in La Salle County, Illinois. (27) The one-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the "sloopers" was commemorated at the Minnesota State Fair Grounds on June sixth to ninth, 1925. Many European and American and Canadian government officials attended the ceremonies. Among them were President and Mrs. Calvin Coolidge. In the decade following the arrival of the "sloopers" about five hundred more immigrants came, and by 1845 the number had increased to about five thousand.

Norwegian Immigration Statistics, 1836 to 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>U.S. Census (Swede and Norwegian)</th>
<th>Norwegian Census (Norwegians only)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1836-1840</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841-1845</td>
<td>4735</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846-1850</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851-1855</td>
<td>14243</td>
<td>20,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856-1860</td>
<td>5688</td>
<td>15,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-1870</td>
<td>36094</td>
<td>54,323 (28)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


27. Horlde, "History of the Norwegian People in America." p. 120.

The Swedes did not come to America in any great numbers until 1852. But in the third quarter of the century there was a large wave of immigration from Sweden.

Danish immigration came a little later, beginning about 1857. While Denmark is the smallest of the Scandinavian countries, it has furnished about one-sixth of the Scandinavian immigration to America. (29)

The economic conditions of the mother countries and the rigorism of the established church had much to do with the increased emigration from Europe. There was a desire to secure for themselves the rich farms in America in the place of their own barren fields by the fjords of Scandinavia. It was a desire which not even the Civil War could abate. Between 1866 and 1869 there were 51,619 Scandinavians who arrived at American ports.

An article appeared in the Lutheran Church Review of July, 1912, which throws light on the immigration of this period. "The glowing reports which these pioneers returned to the fatherland doubled Norse immigration in the next decade, 1870-1880, when 317,698 Swedes, Danes and Norwegians passed through the entrance gates of Ellis Island. In the next ten years, 1880-1890, the wave reached its climax, 656,490 Scandinavians making their appearance at that time. The year 1882 marked their greatest inpouring, when 105,326 presented themselves for admission to the United States".

"All in all there have immigrated to the United States of these northern people, 1,415,051. Adding to this number the number of people born of Scandinavian parents, and subtracting from it 235,000 for those in the United States previous to 1840, and for those in territories outside of the continent and in Alaska, we find the total number of Scandinavians: Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians in America to be 2,500,000." (30)

**German Immigration**

A considerable share of the German immigration came in two waves.

**The First Wave, 1831 to 1860.** (31)

Just as among the Scandinavians, there has been a continuous stream of German immigrants to the United States, but it received an added momentum in the decade of 1831 to 1840. Starting with about 10,000 in 1832 it reached more than 29,000 in 1848 and a total of 52,000 for the decade.

Mr. Turner, writing in the Chicago Record Herald in 1901, says, "It was an era of land speculation, town building and westward movement. Cheap lands, light taxes, and the need of laborers and the opportunity to gain a competence in a short time by toil, - these were considerations which attracted the Germans."

30. Article written as an editorial in the Lutheran Church Review in July, 1912.

A most significant event among the Germans and for the Lutheran church, which they represent, was the arrival in St. Louis, in February, 1839, of seven hundred fifty German colonists under the leadership of Martin Stephen. They settled in Perry County, Missouri. They were characterized both by pietism and strict Lutheran orthodoxy. C.F.W. Walther became the ecclesiastical leader of this Missouri German Lutheran Synod, the roots of which in the course of a half century became well grounded among the Germans in Montana. (32)

Between 1840 to 1860 there was a large increase in German immigration. In 1854 the figures reached 215,000. In three years— from 1852 to 1854— over 500,000 arrived, and during the nine years almost 900,000. During the Civil War the immigration almost ceased.

Following the war of 1848 German immigration reached the crest of the wave. The Germans found America a haven of refuge. Political persecutions drove men like Hecker, Siegel and Carl Schurz to this country. Poverty and famine caused others to emigrate. With the extension of the railroads into the western territories, the new fields began to make extraordinary efforts to attract German immigrants. So great had been the rush of Germans into this country that by the year 1860 there were 1,301,136 foreign born Germans who made America their permanent home. (33)

33. See note 34.
The Second Wave, 1866 to 1889.

Following the Civil War there came another high wave of immigration. From 1873 to 1879 no less than 1,818,152 Germans passed through our entrance ports. The year 1882 witnessed the climax when 250,630 arrived. This record has never been surpassed.

The period of the second wave corresponds to the great Prussian wars and the convulsions into which Germany was thrown before being welded into one nation by the Franco-Prussian War. Military duty and the hard pressure on the population had much to do with this large immigration. However, the allurements, too, were strong. A homestead was offered to every worthy immigrant, and the Germans were eager to settle on land. The opportunities offered in America were irresistible.

A general summary of the foreign born Scandinavian and German people in America in 1860, according to the United States Census Bureau, shows the following figures:

- Danes........(no figures)
- Swedes........18,625
- Norwegians....43,995
- Germans...1,301,136 (34)

This overwhelming proportion of Germans in America accounts, as we shall see, for the greater influence of these people in the early settlement of Montana.

MINERAL DEVELOPMENT

It is claimed that some of the greatest historical events are purely accidental. Pascal says, "Had the nose of Cleopatra been a little shorter, the whole face of the world might have been changed."

The settlement of Montana can truthfully be said to have been accidental. James and Granville Stuart, Rezin Anderson, Thomas Adams, Fred Burr, and John Powell in traveling eastward through the Deer Lodge Valley in western Montana stopped to prospect, May 2, 1858, at Gold Creek and discovered gold. The letters of Granville Stuart to his brother, Thomas Stuart, who was at that time residing at Black Hawk, Colorado, were the first to draw attention to that portion of Washington Territory, now Montana. (35) They were the incentive to the gold rush of 1862, which led to the settlement of the territory twenty years before its time.

One Montana historian suggests the thought that deposits of gold were placed in the mountains by an inscrutable Power as the only bribe that could be offered to attract the attention of the people of America and Europe toward the Rocky Mountain region.

The richest gold deposits were discovered at Bannack and in the

35. Stuart, "Forty Years on the Frontier". Vol. 1, p. 137.
vicinity of Virginia City in 1862 and 1863. This vicinity became the center of the major mining operations. In the fall of 1863 a train was dispatched to Salt Lake City for provisions, the town of Bannock was laid out, and by the first of January, 1863, a population of five hundred had gathered there. Among these new arrivals were some of the wildest and most reckless adventurers, whose names and misdeeds figure conspicuously in the early history of the Territory of Montana. The fame of these diggings soon spread with almost lightning rapidity through the Territories and Pacific states and occasioned a large immigration the ensuing spring and summer.

On February 1, 1863, William Fairweather and a few other men left Bannock to prospect in the Big Horn Mountains. They were driven back by the Crow Indians on the Gallatin River. Returning homeward the party encamped at noon on Alder Creek, eighty miles east of Bannock. While the mid-day meal was being prepared, Mr. Fairweather washed a few pansful of gravel near the camp, and to his great surprise, obtained thirty cents in the first and as much as two dollars in subsequent pans. (36)

Thus mining began in this famous gulch, which it is estimated since its discovery, produced sixty millions in gold, and one-half of this amount in the first three years of its working.

Article: "The Discovery of Alder Gulch" by Peter Honan.
Virginia City was built in the Gulch. It was, for several years, the commercial and political capital of the territory, and in its most prosperous days of 1864 and 1865 had a population of ten thousand people. Although the seat of government has since been transferred to Helena, it yet commands considerable trade from southern Montana.

The next important gold discoveries were made by John Jowen in the fall of 1864 in Last Chance Gulch, which later became the main street of Helena. The city grew rapidly in population, and in the early history of the territory became the chief commercial center.

The distance from Helena to the head of navigation, at Fort Benton on the Missouri River, is only one hundred and forty miles over an easy road. By this route a great part of the merchandise was transported by ox teams to the mining centers. In the fall of 1866 a four mile team hauled to Fort Benton for transportation down the Missouri River, two and one-half tons of gold, worth one and one-half million dollars.

By 1865 about five hundred gold-bearing gulches had been discovered in the territory, varying from one-half mile to twenty miles in length. The gold varied in size from microscopic powder to nuggets weighing forty and fifty ounces, and in quality from six hundred to nine hundred ninety fineness. One nugget was found in a tributary of Snowshoe Gulch in 1865, which weighed 176 ounces troy, and was worth $3,000.
It is estimated that the value of the products of the Montana placers since the discovery of Alder Gulch, amounts to $150,000,000.00. (37)

The Scandinavians and Germans have made a liberal contribution to the mineral development of Montana. In beginning the story of the coming of these people into the state, and in entering upon the discussion of their contribution to the development of the Treasure State, it must be borne in mind that we can deal only with those who made Montana their permanent home. These alone can claim the honor of directly affecting the development of the state. There are no records to show how many Scandinavian and German pioneers came to Montana in the mining days, made their fortune or went bankrupt and left the state to seek more remunerative occupations elsewhere. They are the unsung heroes of early Montana history. Resting to-day beneath the sod of other states of the Union, the story of their adventurous life among the mountain streams or on the open plains of the Treasure State has been buried with them.

In 1857, when the history of the Scandinavian and German people in Montana begins, the mountain echoes were still silent except for the occasional war-whoop of warring Indians and the crack of the fur-traders' rifles, as they industriously proceeded to dispatch the night's catch of beaver, mink and otter.

37. "History of Montana", 1885- p. 212
Fort Benton was at this time the trading post of that portion of the Northwest which is now Montana. In the spring of 1857 there arrived at Fort Benton, on the steamer from St. Louis, a German, Jacob Schmidt. He was the first of these people to set foot on Montana soil, of which there are any historical records. Although he spent the first ten years as a humble tailor at this fur-trading post, his fellow-countrymen and Scandinavian brethren, who succeeded him in the state, took the leadership in the development of the resources of the state.

In 1856 another German, Fred Trautman, who was also engaged in the service of the American Fur Company, arrived in Fort Benton. The nature of his work kept him busy, traveling back and forth between Fort Benton and Fort Union. (36) These two forts were the headquarters for the fur trade in the territory. From these centers the traders went out and bartered with the Indians for the valuable beaver furs. In 1858 Colonel Rollins headed an expedition to locate the headwaters of the Yellowstone River. One of the prominent men was Hugh Kirkendal, a German, who rendered valuable service in this expedition. Ten years later he moved to Helena.

As soon as the news of gold discovery and the fabulous mineral wealth filtered through to the central states, the stream of immigration began. The news of the gold strike by Stuart at

36. Biography of Fred Trautman found in Leeson, "History of Montana" , p. 1257.
Gold Creek in the Deer Lodge Valley, coupled with the fabulous stories of rich gold deposits in the Bannack district, started the mining stampede. It was this popular movement which resulted in the birth of the Territory of Montana.

There were three chief avenues of approach to the mining districts at this time. First, by steam-boat up the Missouri River to Fort Benton and thence by stage to Bannack; second, over the Oregon trail to Salt Lake City, or over the Bozeman trail from Fort Laramie; third, by the overland caravan route through eastern Montana. Military escorts were frequently provided to protect the caravans from the attacks of the Indians. (39)

With the exception of a few who settled in the Deer Lodge Valley, it can be truthfully said that the Scandinavians and Germans, who cast their lot with the adventurers in Montana, were miners. The table as given in the appendix will show the names of some of the pioneers, the year of their arrival in Montana and the place of their first residence. A great majority of the people left no record of their adventures in the state. (40)

These Germans and Scandinavians came between 1854 and 1867. They, and others who followed them, represent sturdy colonizing races. From mining they turned to other formidable resources of the state and interested themselves in their development.


40. See appendix.
Those who came to conquer what was then a wilderness, were the men and women who had the courage to brave unknown dangers without fear, and the hardihood to suffer untold privations without despairing. The weak and the timid were left behind to enjoy the comforts of an easier life, while the strong and the fit went forth to blaze the trail of the new empire. On the success which crowned the efforts of these and other pioneers, they laid the foundations of a strong and vigorous commonwealth, and the energy and determination and enthusiasm which they displayed, have been reflected in succeeding years in the never lessening progress of the Treasure State.

The brave men who came in the '60's and '70's to these parts of the great Rocky Mountain Range, facing in their long journey the ever-present dangers of the plains, and who here laid the solid foundation of statehood, were indeed empire-builders. Their names will occupy, through all time, the foremost places among Montana's most patriotic men. They naturally measured the resources of the country by the wealth of the gold-producing streams. They saw little value in its mountains, table-lands and dry plains, wherever they refused to disclose a wealth of precious metals. But while these Argonauts of America were gathering gold from the mountain streams, they threw open the gates of the Rocky Mountains to the world, and made the settlement of the state possible.
They established boundaries, gave the political divisions their names and enacted the first laws, and thereby laid the foundations for statehood.

Of the Scandinavians and Germans who sought their fortunes on Montana soil between 1860 and 1870 as well as later, the latter were in the majority. There are two reasons which account for this fact. First, as previous statistics have shown, there were sixteen times as many foreign-born Germans in the United States in 1860 as there were Scandinavians. Second, the influence of Ferdinand Von Richtofen, the noted German geologist.

Since the German population so greatly exceeded the Scandinavian population in this country in 1860, it is natural that a greater number of the former sought adventure in the gold-field stampedes. Some of the Germans, such as Jacob Schmidt, Fred Trautman and Hugh Kirkendal in the service of the American Fur Company, entered the state several years previous to the gold strike, but later joined the miners at Last Chance Gulch at Helena.

Ferdinand Von Richtofen, the noted German geologist, geographer and traveler, accompanied the Prussian diplomatic commission to the far East in 1859. Having heard the rumors of the mineral wealth in the Rocky Mountain region of America, he came to this country in 1862. In 1863 he made an examination of the rich ore fields of Comstock.

41. See the introduction page 21.
Lode near Virginia City, Nevada, for the Surto Tunnel Company. His reports, though not officially published, aroused interest not only in America but also in Germany, in the rich silver ore of the Comstock Lode. (42)

Indirectly the influence of von Hichtofen affected the immigration of German miners into Montana. Many of the Germans who came to the Comstock silver mines, gradually migrated northward into Montana. (43) The news of the various stampedes to the newly discovered gold-producing gulches of Montana between 1862 and 1870, and the current rumors of enormous fortunes acquired in a short time, no doubt caused many Nevada miners, among them Germans, to seek their fortunes in Montana.

The Norwegian and German Gulches.

The Scandinavians and Germans proved an equal to the most skillful of the miners. Many of them were experienced miners, having worked in the mines of Germany and Scandinavia, and they were the first to venture out into the wilds of this unknown territory.

Two once famous mining gulches bore the name of the nationality of their discoverers. The one is Norwegian Gulch, located in the Dillon quadrangle. The Norwegian district is located seven miles


43. Information furnished by Dr. C.H. Glapp, president of the university of Montana, and formerly president of the School of Mines at Butte, Montana.
west of the present village of Morris and the creek which drains this
district, is called Norwegian Creek. A group of Norwegian miners in
1864 discovered gold-producing gravel in this district, other
Norwegians joined them, and as a result it became popularly known as
the Norwegian Gulch. (44) It is estimated to have yielded $150,000.00
in placer gold by 1874, only ten years after its discovery. From this
date the gulch decreased in productivity and was finally abandoned. (45)

The other field which bears the name of the nationality of the
discoverers, is German Gulch, located on the south tributary of the
Clark's Fork River, near Butte, sixteen miles southwest of Butte.
Gold-bearing gravel was discovered in 1864 by a small party of Germans
returning from the Bannack mines. This gulch proved rich in gold
deposits. About $5,000,000 in gold was removed during the first ten
years. Bed-rock flumes and hydraulics were used in the mining operations.
This once active mining community has also ceased to exist. Only the
ruins of miners' cabins and marks of placer operations remain as evidence
of the historic events. (46)

While but few of the Germans and Scandinavians became wealthy
through mining operations, many made rich strikes of gold. Among
those who acquired considerable wealth through mining are: Anton Holter,

44. Information furnished by Dr. C.H. Glapp of the University of
Montana.

45. Winchell, "Mining Districts of the Dillon Quadrangle, Montana
and Adjacent Areas." pp. 110, 111, 113.

Samuel Hauser, Peter Larson, Henry Billings. Fred Lehman, a German, who came to Virginia City in 1863, made $10,000 the first year.

Charles G. Dahler, another German, who came to Virginia City the same year, became a wealthy miner. In 1879 he became interested in the Silver Star Gold mine. Since that time he acquired possession of about eighteen rich and productive mines, among the best in the state.

Through these ordinary channels the people who are the subject of our investigations, have played a conspicuous role in the mining history of our state. They have made several important contributions which have advanced the science of mining.

The First Smelter.

The earliest mining operations were, of necessity, conducted under the most serious handicaps. Since the field of operations was thousands of miles away from the nearest supply depot, the equipment had to be packed long distances over treacherous mountain passes. For this reason the operations were conducted with the simplest equipment. The miner's equipment consisted of a pick, a shovel, pan and grub stake. As long as the beds of the mountain streams were yielding paying quantities of gold, the miner's pan proved equal to the task of separating the gold from the gravel. The process was simple: the pan was filled with gravel taken from the bed of the stream. Then followed the process of
washing, in which the dirt and gravel were shaken away, leaving the gold nuggets at the bottom of the pan.

Granville Stuart, who began the gold mining at Gold Creek, thus describes his first prospecting on the creek. "We followed up the creek about five miles carefully searching for any prospect or evidences of prospecting, but found none. Near the bank of the creek at the foot of the mountain we sunk a hole about five feet deep and found ten cents in gold to the pan of sand and gravel. This convinced us that there were rich gold mines in the vicinity." (47)

The gold acquired through these operations and all placer operations was of a high quality, and was accepted as a means of exchange. Granville Stuart makes the following comment about the use of gold in Virginia City, "Gold-dust was the sole medium of exchange and it was reckoned at $18.00 an ounce. Every business house had gold scales for weighing the dust. If a man was under the influence of liquor, the bar keepers were not averse to helping themselves liberally to the man's dust, when paying himself for drinks, and he more often took one dollar for a drink than the going price of twenty-five cents." (48)

When the miners turned their attention from the gravel beds of the mountain streams to quartz mining, a new process had to be

47. Stuart, "Forty Years on the Frontier", Vol. I. p. 266.
developed for the extraction of the metals from the ore. The ore had to be crushed by stamping mills, and then the process of separating the metals from the ore continued. This was done by smelting.

The man who was instrumental in building the first smelter in the state, was Samuel T. Hauser, a German, who later became the governor of the Territory. While Hauser was in Washington in the interest of the organization of the Territory in 1864, he visited some of his influential and wealthy friends and persuaded them to loan him money.

In 1865 Hauser, desirous of beginning mining operations on a large scale, began to interest others in the organization of a mining, but this kind of mining required a large capital. Expensive machinery had to be purchased in the East and freighted over the mountains. Stamping mills had to be erected for crushing the ore, concentrators had to be built to separate the metals from the ore, and as yet there was no smelter in the Territory.

Mr. Hauser succeeded in organizing the St. Louis and Montana Mining Company, of which he was elected Vice-President. The company proceeded to purchase mining claims in the most productive sections. During the same year following purchases were made: 1400 feet of silver lodes in the Rattlesnake hills near Bannack; 200 feet of silver and gold in the Mill Creek district near Virginia City; 200 feet in the Deer Lodge district; 200 feet in the Prickly Pear. (49)

After the acquisition of these mining claims, Hauser's attention was directed towards the erection of a smelter. Machinery was ordered from an eastern firm and after much delay reached Virginia City. The smelter was erected on Rattlesnake Creek at the town of Argentia, near Bannock, in Beaverhead county. (50) This was the first smelter in Montana Territory. Hauser had spent several years as a railroad engineer in Missouri prior to his venture in the gold fields in Montana. This engineering knowledge proved valuable to him as he was superintending the erection of the smelter. When the smelter was completed, the process of extracting the metals from the ore was begun. This event marked a new step in the advancement of the mining industry.

The following year, 1866, the same company purchased a new mining district at Philipsburg. (51) The silver ore here proved to be of high quality. Here again, Hauser perceived the opportunity in the silver mining industry and urged the erection of a silver mill. This mill was erected in 1866 at Philipsburg and was the first of its kind in the Territory.

The Utach Jig.

The problem of securing a more efficient machine for the separation of metals from the ore in preparation for smelting, taxed the inventive genius of the early miners.

50. The Northwest, August 1885.

51. The Northwest, August 1885.
Several kinds of concentrators, some of them brought by miners from California, but all were inefficient. Too much gold was lost in the process of separation.

In 1872 Anton M. Holter, a Norwegian, who was heavily interested in mining and lumbering, learned that one, J. Frederick Utsch of Cologne, Germany, had applied for a Letter Patent in the United States on a machine for concentrating ores. He immediately engaged in correspondence with Herr Utsch who was interested in introducing the concentrator into the mining fields of the west. Anton Holter and his brother obtained the right to manufacture, use and sell the Utsch concentrator in Montana, Wyoming, Idaho and Washington. The following is the Instrument of Transfer:

On the day hereinafter mentioned, J. Johann Frederick Utsch, residing in the city of Kalk near Koln (Cologne) on the Rhine, having transferred all my rights, title and interest in two Letter Patents, granted by the United States of America one dated October 15, 1872, and number 133,606, for mechanism in self-acting distributor in Jigs, to Mess. Holter and brother of Helena, Territory of Montana for their sale, use and benefit in the Territories of Montana, Wyoming, Washington and Idaho. For in consideration of the Mess. Holter and brother are to pay for each and every machine built in above mentioned Territory the sum of sixty German Sixmarks, payment to be made on the first of January and the first of July each year at Koln (Cologne) postpaid.
This contract written and executed by me and witnessed by the
American Consulate, Mr. Holscher at Köln (Cologne) and to take
effect on the date hereof.

Kalk, the 27th day of August, 1875.

Signed, J. Fr. Utsch.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of

Henry Holscher
G. Holscher

Received for record November 22, 1878 and recorded in Liber L
23, page 174 of Transfer of Patents.

In testimony hereof I have caused the Seal of the Patent Office
to be hereunto affixed.

W.H. Doolittle
Acting Commissioner. (52)

After having received this "Instrument of Transfer" of the
patent rights on the concentrator, Holter's next step was to get
possession of one of the machines. He heard that the concentrator
was already being used in the lead fields of Illinois. He purchased
a second-hand machine from the distributing agency to be used as a
pattern. The machine was shipped to Montana and given the first test
at the Legal Tender mine. Both Samuel Hauser and Anton Holter were
present to test the efficiency of the new machine. They declared it
to be a wonderful success. (53)

In this new concentrator the ore was washed over the surface

52. Anton Holter Manuscripts.

53. Anton Holter Manuscripts.
platform and discharged again from seven different places. Out of the first discharge came pure Galena ore and out of the next five, ore of decreasing value was discharged. Only waste and sand came from the seventh discharge.

The Utsch Jig was purchased by all mining companies and marked a forward step in the concentration of ore in the mining fields of Montana. The principle applied in the mechanism of the Utsch Jig is still used in the concentrators of the largest reduction works in the world at Anaconda, Montana.

The Wicks and Helena Smelters.

It was through the influence of Samuel Hauser and Anton Holter that the Wicks district was developed and the smelter later transferred to Helena. In 1883 these two men together with a few associates organized a company called the Helena Mining and Reduction Works, in order to do more extensive mining at Wicks. This town is located about fifteen miles, as the crow flies, from Helena or twenty-four miles by railroad, and is the center of an extensive mining district. Samuel Hauser was the president of this company, and at the advice of Hauser and Holter the company purchased the controlling interest in the mines and reduction works at Wicks. The smelter had been an unprofitable investment chiefly because of lack of expert management and efficient machinery. Hauser, however, introduced new methods of handling the ore and made it the central smelting plant in the district. (54)

54. The Northwest, August 1885.
One of the drawbacks to the development of the mineral
development of this district was the lack of a railroad. Hauser
constructed a branch road from Helena which he used for the pur-
pose of ore transportation. Within a radius of three to five miles
were located the most productive mines. The following mines were
among the most famous: Comet, Montana and Rumley. Under the
management of Hauser the Helena Mining and Reduction Company pros­
pered. Four hundred men were employed at Wicks alone. The monthly
payroll exceeded $50,000. The smelter was operated until 1886.

With the development of new mines in the vicinity of Helena,
a location was sought for a new centrally located smelter to which
the ore of this section of the state could be sent for smelting. As
Helena was the most accessible and centrally located, this city
was chosen as a site for the new smelter. Hauser and Holter purc-
chased a half section of land near Helena on which they erected the
smelter. The residence section which was 
built up around this smelter, was named East Helena. The machinery
of the Wicks smelter was transferred and the latest improved
machinery was purchased and installed in the new smelter. Previous

to the erection of this East Helena reduction works the company was
reorganized and assumed the name: "Helena and Livingston Mining
and Reduction Company." In 1890 the corporation was again reorganized
and called the "United Smelting and Refining Company," of which
Samuel T. Hauser was chosen president and Anton Holter vice-president.
This company then operated the smelter for nine years, after which the whole plant was sold to the "American Smelting and Refining Company", a Guggenheimer corporation, which still controls the smelter. (55)

F. Augustus Heinzie.

About the time when Holter and Hauser were laying their plans for the East Helena smelter, there arrived in Butte another German who played a conspicuous part in the mining developments in the Butte district. He was F. Augustus Heinzie, who proved to be a stirring genius of the mining world and was to share Montana honors with William Clark and Marcus Daly. Heinzie was employed by the Boston and Montana mining company as mine surveyor. In the careful and scientific examination of its Montana properties, Mr. Heinzie obtained a fund of practical knowledge, which he soon used in the development of independent ventures.

His first venture was that of purchasing ore which had been taken from the mines. On March 11, 1893, he organized the Montana Ore Purchasing Company, and having secured several leases he began to operate mines at Butte. One of his contemporaries gives the following tribute to Heinzie, "With his advent as the head of a corporation Mr. Heinzie took his place as the most picturesque and daring figure in the whole great game, where fortunes were fought for, made and lost." (56)

55. Anton M. Holter, Manuscripts.

At the opening of the twentieth century the mining claims were being rapidly purchased by a company whose monopolistic objective was unmistakable. In 1899 the Amalgamated Copper Company was formed. In 1901 the capital of this company was increased from $750,000 to $1,550,000, and W.A. Clark became the head of the concern in Montana. With Heinzie and Clark vying with each other for the control of the Butte mining district, there developed one of the hardest fought legal battles in the history of the state.

According to the old miner's law the apex of an ore vein controls the whole vein. Heinzie contended that his holdings in the Butte district carried the apex of the rich copper veins which were being developed by the Amalgamated Copper Company. He carried the case to the court and obtained an injunction on December 20, 1899, by which some of the mines of the Amalgamated Company were closed. Three thousand men were thrown out of employment and a general business depression followed.

Counter-suits were begun by Clark against Heinzie in which he claimed that the latter was mining in the Amalgamated Company's holdings. In one of these suits Heinzie was ordered to furnish a bond of $950,000. Clark petitioned the Supreme Court to increase the amount on the ground that Heinzie had already removed from the claims in dispute ores to value of $1,200,000. The bonds furnished within twelve days. That was a heavy blow to the financier.
Heinzie proceeded immediately to consult his financial advisers, for the bonds had to be furnished or the case was lost. On the day before the bond was due, the Delaware Security Company was organized and qualified to do business in Montana, and securities covering the additional $350,000 were furnished. Litigation proceedings continued for several years.

A contemporary writer gives the following account of the brutal warfare which was waged between these companies while the ownership of these properties was being established by the courts. "The contending forces of the Heinzie and the Amalgamated companies carried on an underground warfare, employing dynamite, hot water, steam and slaked lime as weapons. In this terrific struggle two miners, Oleson and Divel, while attempting to install a door as an upraise to prevent the Pennsylvania miners from being smoked out, were killed by a quantity of giant powder which had come down upon them. The jury at the coroner's inquest found that the blast had been fired with criminal carelessness if not with criminal intent. " Later the widow of Oleson, a Scandinavian, obtained a verdict of $25,000 against the Heinzie interests.

Federal Judge James H. Beatley on May 30, 1904, fined Heinzie $20,000 for the violation of an order issued by Judge Hiram Knowles prohibiting mining on premises in controversy. (57)

The controversy over the Minney Healey mine, which Heinzie had secured in 1900, lasted for about three years. He claimed that it

that it composed the apex of several valuable veins or mines
worked by the Boston and Montana Consolidated Company. The fight
between the two parties became so serious that the governor had to
call a special session of the legislature in 1903 to settle the
dispute.

The troubles were finally ended when Heinzie sold his interests,
with the exception of the Lexington mine, to W.A. Clark for the
sum of $10,500,000. This transaction left W.A. Clark of the
Amalgamated Company in full control of the Butte mining district,
which is now recognized as the richest in the world. This corporation
was later reorganized and called the Anaconda Copper Mining Company.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF LUMBERING

The rugged slopes of the Rocky Mountains have contributed more than mineral wealth to the state of Montana. The bowels of the majestic mountains, whose grand scenery only catches the admiring eye of the traveler, gives employment to thousands of men, and are veritable golondras of riches. On the sides of the mountains away from the shrieks of the locomotives, and in the ravines and gulches, one of the principal products of Montana—that of lumber—is to be found.

For sixty years lumbermen have listened to the echoes of the ax and saw, and crash of tree, as one by one these tall monarchs of the forests have fallen to the ground. At first they produced the lumber for the miner's cabin and stores of the prospectors, now they make the highly polished and grand finishing lumber for the modern home, office and factory. The transition has not taken place without sacrifice and hardship. Every step in the progressive development has been worked with hardships and adventure so thrilling that they have not equal in the history of any other state. In 1863, when lumbering operations began in Montana, the state had a timber area of 32,565,675 acres, or 50,644 square miles, an area almost equal to that of the state of Maine,
Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Vermont combined. (58)

In making this comparison the magnitude of Montana's virgin forests can better be understood.

For the first three decades, to the year 1890, the major lumbering operations were confined to the mining centers from Virginia City to Helena, Butte and Great Falls. The mining centers were prosperous and the lumber had a ready market. At times the demand so greatly exceeded the supply that rough lumber sold at fabulous prices.

The chief obstacle in the early development of this industry, as in all other pioneer industries, was the difficulty encountered in the transportation of machinery from eastern centers. The parts had to be hauled by ox team over dangerous mountain roads, which were snowbound the major portion of the year. When the machinery was broken in operation, the mill had to be closed for several months until new parts arrived.

Extensive records of early lumbering operations are lacking. The pioneers were men of deeds rather than words. Only after special requests and supplications, were they prevailed upon to record their deeds and achievements. It is fortunate, however, that the greatest of the pioneer lumbermen of Montana, has given to history the story of his activities. Since he was the first lumberman in the state, he has made a valuable contribution to the history of the lumbering.

58. The area of the virgin forests was compiled from the following statistics, given by District No. 1 of the Forest Service at Missoula, Montana.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present area of timber belt:</td>
<td>24,842,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut over lands</td>
<td>7,423,511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleared for agriculture and grazing</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total area</td>
<td>32,565,875</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
industry.

In 1860 this adventurer, who was destined to become one of the foremost citizens and lumbermen of Montana and one of the two greatest Horsemen in America, left Iowa for the Pike's Peak country. He was Anton M. Holter, born in Moss, Ostfold, Norway, June 29, 1831.

Governor R.B. Smith of Montana was asked to send to the Omaha Exposition a picture of Montana's most representative pioneer. He sent a bronze medallion of Anton M. Holter, bearing the legend, "The First Citizen of Montana".

A.M. Holter came to America in 1854 at the age of twenty-three, and settled at Decorah, Iowa. Before reaching his destination, the party with whom he was traveling was quarantined on account of cholera, but he took his trunk, carried it on his back until he sighted a boat, and thus escaped. Being a carpenter he hired out for $20.00 a month, then invested his savings in land and had earned $3,000.00 by the end of the first year. In the panic of 1857 he lost every cent. In 1860 the gold stampede for Pike's Peak, now Colorado, was the chief topic for discussion. This adventurous man of Viking blood longed for real adventure, and decided to explore the new regions. With his brother, Martin Holter, he left for this new country. He spent two and one-half years there at mining and agriculture. (59)

At this time the news came of the gold strike at Alder Gulch, now Virginia City, Montana. He was informed of the need of lumber

in the mining camp there, and decided to purchase a lumber sawing outfit and transport it to Virginia City. On September 16, 1863, Anton Holter with a companion, whose name was Evanson, started out from Denver with the sawing machine loaded on two wagons drawn by ox teams, and after experiencing untold hardships in the deep snow-covered mountain passes, they reached Alder Gulch, eighteen miles from Virginia City, on December first.

Fiction could not hold a more gripping story; industry could not unfold success from a more virile perseverance than that displayed by Mr. Holter when in 1863 he journeyed behind an ox team, for a thousand miles winding his way through snow-blocked mountain valleys, over precipitous passes, on through veritable wildernesses hauling a second-hand saw mill, that was to be the first to produce finished lumber in the state of Montana. Holter gives the history of his interest in the early lumbering in Montana, and the story is best told in his own words as found in his diary.

"After three years residence at Central City and Pike's Peak I returned to my first home in Iowa and in the spring of 1863 started with a team of oxen back to Colorado, where I stopped about six weeks. During this time a company of 200 men was organized to go to what was then called Stinking Water, Idaho, but is now known as Ruby River in Madison County, Montana. (60)

60. Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, Vol. 6, page 251. A.M. Holter, "Pioneer Lumbering in Montana". The whole text is not used here. Only such parts as deal with the early development of the industry are quoted. In order to insure brevity, the writer has summarized some paragraphs.
This company left Colorado on September 16, 1863. The weather was pleasant and food for stock was excellent. Hunting and fishing were especially fine—too much so, in fact, for so much time was spent in sport that we made slow progress, and finally Mr. Evenson, with whom I had formed a partnership, and afterwards did business with under the firm name of Holter and Evenson, and myself, became fearful that we would be unable to reach our destination before winter, and decided it was best for us to leave the train and strike out for ourselves at a greater rate of speed.

We had some heavy snow storms and cold weather during November, but finally reached Bevin's Gulch, our temporary destination, about ten miles from Virginia City. The remainder of the company, however, got snowed in, and so far as I ever learned, none of them reached Montana.

Mr. Evenson and I finally selected a location for our saw mill, and after considerable hardship we reached the top of the divide between Bevin's and Ramshorn Gullches on December 7, where we went into temporary camp, with no shelter beyond that afforded by a large spruce tree. As the snow was getting deep and there was no feed for the stock, I started the next morning for Virginia City with the cattle, hoping to sell them but finding no buyer, I started to take them out to the ranch of an acquaintance twenty-five miles down the Stinking Water. On the way I was held up and robbed by the notorious George
Ives and his companion, Irvin.

"We first built a cabin and a blacksmith shop, but this soon became more of a machine shop, for when we came to erect the sawmill, we met with that seemed insurmountable difficulties. As I knew nothing about sawmills, I had left the purchase of the outfit to Mr. Evenson, who claimed to be a millwright by profession; but it developed that he had either been very careless in inspecting this machinery, or he had not understood it, for so much of it was missing that it seemed impossible to get a working mill out of the material on hand. Out of our rubber coats and whipsawed lumber we made a blacksmith bellows, then we burned a pit of charcoal, while a broad axe driven into a stump served as an anvil. Mr. Evenson knew a little about blacksmithing, so I began to feel somewhat at ease, but soon discovered what seemed to be the worst obstacle yet. This was that we had no gearing for the log carriage, not even the track irons or pinion- and to devise such mechanism that would give the carriage the forward and reverse movement, became the paramount problem. After a great deal of thought and experimenting, we finally succeeded in inventing a device which years later was patented and widely used under the name of "rope feed".

"These were strenuous days, and we worked early and late in the face of the most discouraging circumstances. We manufactured enough material for the sixteen foot overshot waterwheel, the flume, etc. As we were short of belting, we made it out of untanned ox hides, and it worked well enough in the start. We finally got the,
mill started and sawed about 5,000 feet of lumber before we ever had a beast of burden in the camp."

Construction of the mill and getting into operation was the first job and completing that he immediately began to carry out his plans for retailing the finished product.

"Now as the mill had been tried and proven satisfactory, a crew employed and the mill started, I felt at ease, as I imagined all obstacles had now been overcome, so I left the mill and went to Nevada City, a flourishing camp three miles below Virginia City, and opened a yard there.

"At this time a man named Gamble had a waterpower mill the same as ours, three miles below Nevada City, and was getting $150 per thousand for his lumber. The timber was growing around his mill, so he was at no expense for logging, as he could roll the logs right into his mill. He operated his mill for two or three years, when it was found he was getting behind with his creditors, of whom I was one, so he went out of business.

"When I got the yard opened at Nevada City, the lumber commenced arriving from the mill and was disposed of as fast as landed. When we began selling lumber, we made only two grades, namely, sluice or flume lumber, which we sold at $140.00 per M. And building lumber (including waney edge), for which we got $125 per M. in gold-dust. The demand for lumber was greater than the supply, and quite often some of the larger mining companies would send a spy out on the road in order that they might be informed when a load of lumber was approaching."
Then they would have a crew of men arrive at the yard simultaneously with the load of lumber, and when the team stopped, without consulting me at all, they would unload the lumber and carry off every board to their mines. Soon a man would come to me with the pay for the lumber, and they always settled according to the bill of lading of the load at the established price, so that no loss was incurred by this summary method of marketing our product.

"Some time after this we started a yard at Virginia City.

"But this prosperous business soon came to a standstill, for the rainy weather set in and the untanned belting began to stretch from the damp atmosphere, until it could no longer be kept on the pulleys, so the mill had to be closed down. We heard of a man at Bannack, eight miles from Nevada City, who had eighty feet of two-ply six-inch belting, and we decided to try to get this. Partly by walking and partly by riding a very poor excuse of a horse I found the owner of this belting and tried to purchase it from him. No price seemed to attract him, and I finally offered him my entire wealth, consisting of $600 in gold dust — equal to $1200 in currency — but he would not consider the offer. Six-inch two-ply belting would be worth thirty cents per foot in Helena at the present time, or a total of $24.00 for this piece. Failing to get this belting, I returned to Virginia City, where I learned of a man who owned some canvas, which I succeeded in purchasing, I got a saddler to stich it by hand, and this made a very good efficient belt for our purpose.***

"Three miles across the divide was a flourishing mining town
of Devin's Gulch. The gulch was rich in gold, but short of water for mining, so at a miners' meeting of about five hundred men, resolutions were passed to take the water of Samshorn Gulch, and it did not take long before they had the ditch constructed, taking the water out above the sawmill, leaving the creek dry. Without water we were forced out of business, but the miners needed more lumber, so they agreed to turn in the water to get the required amount of lumber sawed. When this was going on, I was busy getting out an injunction and had to see to it that the sheriff got it served before they again got possession of the water, but the miners depended upon the strength of their organization, disregarded the order of the court and again turned the water into the ditch, which left the creek dry, and the mill again shut down, and as they placed an armed guard at the head of the ditch, we had to again appeal to the court. We obtained a judgment for a few thousand dollars damages, of which only a part was collected, and there was no more attempt to deprive us of water.

"During the same year Coover and McAdow started a steam sawmill on Granite Gulch and started a yard at Virginia City. This was then the best mill in the territory. Without any understanding in regard to prices of lumber they were maintained, and business went along satisfactorily, but we wanted more and better machinery, so we agreed that Evenson should go East to purchase a portable steam mill, with planing, shingle and lath machinery."
Evenson failed to return with the machinery.

"During the winter of 1665 the discovery of gold in Last Chance Gulch became public and a town started up named Helena, now the capital of Montana, so instead of changing the water mill into a steam mill, we managed to construct another mill pretty much the same as the first one. This outfit we located at the mouth of Colorado Creek, eight miles southeast of Helena, and got started sawing lumber early in April. By this time provisions of all kinds had become scarce. We had to suspend work at Hamshorn, and the last sack of flour we obtained for the Helena mill cost us $150, so we had to get along on beef straight.

"A man that I will call Van for short, had already had a mill, about the same style as our Hamshorn mill. He was selling building lumber at $100 per thousand feet, and I do not remember his price for sluice and flooring lumber. I had heard of him before as the wealthiest man in Montana. I happened to meet Mr. Van on my first day in Helena. He was quite abusive, and told me that the lumber business belonged to him, as he was there first and wanted me to remove my mill somewhere else, and said if I did he would reduce the price of lumber down to $40 per thousand feet, if necessary.

"The freight outfit that had been left at Snake River finally
arrived with empty wagons and the long-looked-for planing mill. It was a primitive looking machine. The frame was made of pine lumber, and the feed gearing looked very delicate, but we put it up and having one man to pull and another to push to help the feed gearing when passing the boards through the machine, we got along fairly well, as we were getting $40.00 per thousand feet extra for surfacing and matching, and I believe we charged $20.00 per thousand for surfacing only. I sometimes became disgusted, but when strolling about the premises there was some satisfaction in realizing that I was a part owner of the first engine and boiler that ever turned a wheel in Montana. It was a small portable engine and boiler, twenty-five or thirty horse power, manufactured by the Lawrence Machine Company in 1859, I believe, and shipped from St. Louis to Fort Benton in the spring of 1862, by the American Fur Company. I was also part owner of the first sawmill, a part of which was made at Pike's Peak and completed at Ramshorn, Montana, and last but not least, the planer and matcher, also made in Colorado in her Pike's Peak days."

Then follows the story of the dissolving of the partnership with Svenson and the responsibilities assumed by Mr. Holter, in order that they would not have to beat their creditors out of any of the machinery and supplies that had been advanced to them during the previous years.

"I spent the greater part of the summer at Virginia City and the Ramshorn mill. About this time I took my brother, H.M. Holter, in as partner and adopted the firm name of A.M. Holter and Brother."
In the fall I left my brother in charge at Virginia City and moved to Helena.

"As I had been rustling night and day for a long time, I expected to get some rest now. I had just arrived at the mill when Mr. Benton told me that he was entirely overworked that it was absolutely necessary for him to take a rest, so I had to take charge of the mill and the whole lumber business myself, for competent lumbermen were not to be found in this wilderness at that time.***

"Business went on without any interruption until January 12, 1866, when a snow storm set in that lasted until the morning of the fourteenth. The snow was then very deep, and this snow storm was followed by a spell of the coldest weather that I ever experienced. I do not remember how cold it was, but I do remember that the quick silver in the thermometer froze solid. This storm is referred to yet by old pioneers as the Sun River stampede, on account of so many people freezing; some were frozen to death and large numbers became cripples for life.

"I owned a hay ranch three miles from Helena, where I had plenty of hay, so I had the livestock removed to the ranch. Several of the men got badly frosted in getting there. I found that I had a surplus amount of hay, so sold it for $100 per ton. This price was considered cheap, for in the winter of 1861 and 1862 at Central City, Colorado, I had paid $200 per ton to feed my stock. ****
"The next spring there was a meeting of the lumbermen, which I attended. There I met a group of six or eight strangers. My competitor, Mr. Van, was not present. I listened to the suggestions, arguments, and speeches, concerning price of lumber, committee reports, rules and regulations, and as they seemed so well posted on Mr. Van's transactions, when I was called on, I simply stated what my instructions were to my office man, concerning prices, and that they remain so until someone else should reduce the price. I also stated that I would not join any association, as I had by this time paid off the six thousand dollar mortgage and all other liabilities, and I felt quite independent.

"Everything moved along all right until the middle of July, when I had the saw ruined. This apparently ended the supply of lumber, but I found a man that had two fifty-two-inch circular saws in transit for Helena, and I agreed to take one of them at $500. When they arrived, however, he did not want to separate the pair, and offered to sell them both to me for $1,000. I accepted the proposition, but before I could get the gold dust weighed out, he changed his mind again and wanted six yoke of my logging cattle in lieu of the gold dust. I finally got the saws and let him take the cattle. The market value of the team was $1,200, but as I did not have them to spare, they were worth considerably more."****
"I had commenced to think that the Helena office needed looking after, so after getting the book entries finished and having had my supper, I would get into the saddle and ride to Helena, a distance of about eight miles. I concluded to do a little detective work to ascertain what were the habits of the man in charge, after business hours, and who his associates were. I gathered up a few of my acquaintances and invited them to see the town under the lamplight, which meant to visit such places as gambling halls, hurdy-gurdy (dance) houses, etc. By being a "good fellow" around these places, it would not take long to ascertain if the Helena manager had any bad habits, and if he was spending more money than he should. No admission fee was charged to these places, but it was expected that one should at least treat the crowd at the bar. I had not yet seen my office man, and did not want to, but I pretended that I wished very much to see him on important business, and made many inquiries as to where he could be found. I learned a good deal from my friends and from such of their friends as we met, and during the evening's stroll I gathered about all the facts that I needed to know, so I began investigations at the office, and as soon as the manager saw what I was trying to do, he disappeared, and I later learned that he had left a shortage of about $11,000."

A fire that completely destroyed the mill at Ten Mile, occurred in 1866. A break in the run of business was followed shortly after its
rebuilding by trouble with the Indians. Then arose a cut-throat competition with other lumbermen in price reduction. The Holters dickered a while in this selling competition and then turned to the method of buying out the smaller mills—this latter method proved a success. The Ten Mile fire completely destroyed the historical Pike's Peak planer.

"The planer and matcher that I had purchased in Chicago two years before were still in transit, wintering at Cow Island, a place on the Missouri River, about two hundred miles below Fort Benton. It had to be brought this two hundred miles, and then about 140 miles overland, which meant much valuable time. Now was the time, if ever, that Montana, and especially Helena, needed this kind of machinery, for Helena's great fire occurred on April 28, 1869, when nearly seven blocks were burned over, including most of the best business portion of the town. There was now a very great demand for all kinds of building material. It is worthy to note, however, that in spite of the demand, prices were not advanced, but still maintained the same as before.

"After the repairs to the steam boiler had been completed, and the mill was again started, everything went along all right. Late in the fall I started East to purchase more and better machinery. In April, 1867, I shipped by way of St. Louis and Fort Benton, a complete sawmill, shingle and lath machine, also door and sash machinery, but it took over two years for a part of the machinery to reach Helena."
Freight by steamer from St. Louis to Fort Benton was then $250.00 per ton in currency and $200.00 in gold dust.

"I arrived in Helena the 17th of May and found the lumber business in a bad way. The firm of A.M. Holter and Brother had closed the mill with the first snow storm in the fall, and had sent all the livestock to winter quarters, so in a short time they were out of lumber and also out of business. My first move was to hurry men after the livestock and to prepare to start the mill.***

"I finally got the mill started and also erected a new mill on Spring Creek. Several more mills sprang up in the vicinity of Helena, mostly operated by inexperienced men, on borrowed capital at a high rate of interest, so they soon came to grief. I bought some of these sawmills in 1868 and 1869. We also added to our holdings a water mill near Jefferson City, in Jefferson County, and a portable steam mill that we located near Lincoln, in what is now Lewis and Clark County.****

"In 1868 we built a sash and door factory and set in motion the machinery that we had imported the year before. This was the first of it kind in Montana. Many of my friends had warned me against this expenditure. They reasoned that within a short time the gold placer mines would be worked out and we would have to move elsewhere. However, we operated this plant continuously for eleven years up to October 1879,
when it was destroyed by fire.

"By this time we had sold the Hanshorn and also the Jefferson mill, but still continued to start new mills about the territory. Within the next few years we started new mills about the territory. Within the next few years we started mills on the Blackfoot River, near Lincoln, Wolf Creek, Skelly Gulch, Buffalo Creek, Whitman Creek, Strawberry Creek, Dutchman Creek, and Stickney Creek.

"Most of these mills produced lumber for the Helena market, but the Stickney Creek mill, which was started in May, 1880, had Fort Benton and the surrounding country as its prospective market, and we established a lumber yard on the west bank of the Missouri River below the mouth of Sun River.

"In 1889 as there was no saw timber left on Stickney Creek, we removed the mill to Great Falls, so instead of rafting the lumber from the mill we floated the logs to the mills.

"About this time another mill started building. It took a long time to construct it, but when completed was the best and largest of its kind, not only in Montana, but in the entire Northwest. As the choice timber had already been secured, there was scarcely anything but small and scrubby timber left tributary to the Missouri River and Great Falls. The company operated this mill for a few seasons.

"Some time after this great mill was started, they commenced cutting prices until 1893, what was called common lumber was selling at $14.00 per thousand. The Holter Lumber Company had sold its sawmill, which was removed in 1893. As I remember, our competitors did not
remove their mill until the following year. I was told that the principal stockholders were Bostonians and that they wound up by sustaining a loss of about $600,000. This ended the lumber traffic on the Missouri River and sawmills at Great Falls forever, unless there should yet be organized a system of protecting the growing timber from forest fires superior to anything that has existed heretofore.

"The lumber business at and about Helena has been in a deplorable or "go as you please" condition from 1636 to 1868. During those twenty-two years merchants and all classes of trade, except lumber dealers, were prosperous. The lumbermen were playing a freeze-out game, apparently, to ascertain who could last the longest. The large majority of these who had started in the lumber business in the early sixties had dropped by the wayside. Even my competitor, Mr. Van, had disappeared, and it was rumored that he was owing his employes alone $10,000 when he quit.

"During that trying period I heard of but one call for a lumbermen's meeting.

"For some years past the lumber business had been conducted at a loss, and I can think of only four parties who, from the time the first slab dropped until 1868, had made any apparent profit, and none of them any more than a reasonable amount.

"In 1868 nearly all sawmill timber was gone, and the lumber supply had to come by rail. The Thompson Lumber Company and A.M. Holter and
Brother, both having lumber yards at Helena, consolidated interests and incorporated the Montana Lumber Manufacturing Company, with yards, planning mill and carpenter shops at Butte, in addition to the Helena business. The company constructed a complete sash and door factory at Helena. This plant was burned in 1895. It was a total loss and never rebuilt. The secretary's report showed a loss of $30,000, with $4,000 insurance, but I believe we finally figured the actual loss to be about $20,000.

"In 1898, we sold all material and sawmills and machinery to Marcus Daly, but reserved the Butte and Helena real estate and timber lands.

"It would seem that with the establishment of the Montana Lumber and Manufacturing Company, in 1888, the freeze-out disappeared, and during the ten years of its existence the company averaged its stockholders a yearly dividend of ten per cent, and notwithstanding the heavy loss sustained by the burning of the sash and door factory at Helena and a planing mill at Evary, the stockholders received better than par for their stock when they disposed of their holdings.

"By the disposal of the Montana Lumber and Manufacturing Company, I felt that I was a new and free man, for with the exception of the Holter Lumber Company at Great Falls, my thirty-five years of annoyance and anxiety in Montana, concerning sawmills, logging, lumber hauling, lumber yards, sash and door factories, etc., had come to an end."
Thus the record of A.M. Holter, the pioneer lumberman and miner, comes to a close. He has not confined himself to his own lumber interests only, but he has, in this report, given a general survey of the lumber industry up to the close of the nineteenth century. The enterprise of the pioneer illuminates the history of lumbering, and in several cities of the state successful retail concerns are operating as successors to A.M. Holter. He caught the vision in the early '60's and advanced through the various periods, founding at least half a dozen of these institutions that are operating to-day in the principal cities of Montana.

During the first forty years the lumber production practically doubled by decades. The increased demand for lumber, due to the rapid influx of population and the mineral developments, coupled with new, more economical methods of lumber sawing, resulted in the production of lumber on an enormous scale. The following table will show the increase by decades since 1870:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Production (ft. B.M.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>12,571,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>21,420,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>69,511,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>265,665,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>319,582,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>410,366,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>351,402,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Up to the year 1924 the greatest producing year was 1920, when 410,366,000 feet of lumber were cut in Montana. That

will likely remain the record year for lumber production for some time to come. The state and federal governments are now urging policies of forest preservation limiting the annual lumber production.

The exit of A.M. Holter Company from the lumber field in Montana did not end the influence of Scandinavians and Germans in this industry. About the same time that the Holter interests were disposed of, another company began to purchase timber in the Northwest. We refer here to the Weirhauser Lumber Company. The Weirhausers are of German descent. To-day this company is the largest lumber corporation operating in the Northwest. While the Montana holdings are very small, the major lumber production in Idaho, Washington and Oregon is under the control of this company. The largest sawmill in the West is located at Potlatch, Idaho, a Weirhauser concern.

The greatest contribution of the Scandinavian and German people to the development of the lumber industry has been made in more recent years. Within the last ten years the lumber industry has been revolutionized through the activities of these northern Europeans.

Development of the Cypress Contract System

Prior to 1915 the employees in the lumber camps and mills were unorganized. As in every other organized labor group they could make no united demand for a living wage or better living conditions.
When the miners, who were organized, received $4.00 to $5.00 per day, the lumber workers were receiving $2.00 to $3.00 per day. Not only were the wages lower but the sanitation of the camps was poor. The companies provided no beds for the worker. His entire sleeping outfit was composed of the roll and the blanket which he carried with him on his back from camp to camp. (62)

There were no bathing facilities such as cold and hot showers, so the problem of personal sanitation was one of the worst ones with which the workers had to contend. Finally, through the efforts of labor agitators and propaganda of the Independent Workers of the World, there occurred in 1917 a general strike of the lumbermen in the Inland Empire.

But the War was on, and the companies felt the pressure of the government's demand for increased production. Many drastic steps were taken to force the men to resume operations. The lumber companies were assisted by farmers who were experiencing trouble with farm laborers, especially in the harvest season. There followed a general "round-up" in some communities of all men who carried a red tag. In Moscow, Idaho, these men were placed in a barbed wire enclosure, called "bull pen", and held under heavy guard for several months. In some camps every I.W.W. agitator was arrested and placed in jail. In others, soldiers were imported to keep order and force the men to work.

62. Information regarding the Gyppo Contract System was obtained from Professor I.W. Cook of the School of Forestry of the University of Montana.
The laborers, however, would not return to work.

The companies were at last forced to yield to the demands of the men. The camps were provided with hot and cold showers. Sleeping quarters were provided with a bed and mattress for each man. One camp at Potlatch, Idaho, went a little further, and provided sheets for each bed. But the lumberjack prefers to sleep between blankets. It was discovered that many of the lumberjacks who had not been initiated to the refinement of American life, retired between the white sheets in full dress, including spiked shoes. The result was ruinous to the white sheets, and this favor on the part of the company was discontinued.

Hitherto the logging operations had been conducted by day laborers. The men were paid according to a certain graded wage scale, depending upon the nature of the work.

With the settlement of the strike and the consequent resumption of operations there came a demand from some of the workers for contract jobs. They preferred to take a contract to log a certain acreage of timber at a fixed price per thousand feet. The men who began to call for contract work were chiefly Scandinavians. Professor I.W. Cook of the School of Forestry at Missoula, Montana, says "The Scandinavians are by nature independent, and prefer to work for themselves rather than under daily the supervision of a foreman at a fixed wage."
Under this new system a group of men signed a contract to perform a certain logging operation at a fixed scale per thousand feet. When the work was performed, they received the contract wage. The number of men in a contract crew depends upon the kind of work to be done. In a sawing contract there are usually two men. The camp foreman plots out a certain acreage of timber to be cut by the two sawyers. The price per thousand feet is agreed upon, and the contract is signed by every member of the crew before the work is commenced. Upon the completion of a sawing contract, a skidding crew, composed of a teamster, swamper and dogger, will take a contract to skid the logs to the railroad or to the river bank. This crew also signs a contract to skid the logs at a fixed price per thousand feet. The average skidding scale is $4.00 per thousand. Other contracts are let for chute construction, railroad building or other work found necessary in removing the log from the stump to the mill. In many of the camps of the Inland Empire the contract system prevails exclusively at the present time.

These small contractors have acquired, through the evolution of lumberjack slang, the name: "Gyppos". Lumbermen to-day differ in their explanation of the origin of this name. The most plausible and generally accepted theory of origin is that this name is a derivative of Gypsy, meaning a wanderer. The Gyppo has no equipment of his own. His sole possession is folded up and carried in the knapsack, the lumberman's
indispensable friend. He boards at the Company camp and uses the Company's equipment. When a contract is completed in one camp, he starts out in search of work at other camps. Thus, gypsy-like he wanders from place to place.

This contract system has proved beneficial both to the companies as well as to the men. To the men it has resulted in greater earnings. The earnings depend on the number of days required to complete the Gyppo contract. In order to complete the contract in the shortest possible time, the Gyppos will be more industrious and work longer hours than the ordinary day laborer. When the contract is completed, the money is divided equally among the men. The following report of the Gyppo earnings in the construction of a logging road shows the increased earnings:

**Gyppo earnings on Fricard, Idaho, Railway.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Company</th>
<th>Gross earnings</th>
<th>hours worked</th>
<th>wage per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ole Johnson &amp; Co.</td>
<td>7690.78</td>
<td>6585</td>
<td>$7.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ole Johnson</td>
<td>893.33</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>20.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.B. Kalma Co.</td>
<td>1163.52</td>
<td>8045</td>
<td>9.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe Pavlelich Co.</td>
<td>16141.30</td>
<td>12724</td>
<td>9.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavoi &amp; Erickson</td>
<td>1920.00</td>
<td>880</td>
<td>17.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavoi &amp; Erickson</td>
<td>700.00</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>17.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

64. Report of Typical White Pine Association of Inland Empire to Mr. U.S. Rosenbury of Gibbs, Idaho. Report in possession of Prof. Cook of the School of Forestry. This report, he says, is typical of Montana operations.
The Gyppo contract system makes each contractor a business man. If he is intelligent he can bargain for his work. He can set his own price. He develops his own individuality and personal initiative in private undertakings. He is his own boss.

This system has also proved beneficial to the lumber companies. It has to a great extent solved one of the greatest labor problems. While a day laborer can go out on a strike at any time, a Gyppo contractor is not so free. The camp foreman retains 25 per cent of the contract wage until the work is completed. If a crew quits before the work is completed, the men lose 25 per cent of their wages. Except under unusual provocation will they be willing to make this sacrifice. The result is a more stable working organization.

The contract system has resulted in increased production. As has already been stated, the Gyppo will work harder and for longer hours in order to increase his daily earnings, while the day laborer will work more surely in order to remain employed for a longer period. The contractor is therefore in greater favor with logging concerns. With the increase in the number of working hours per day there is a corresponding increase in production, a result for which the companies are constantly striving.

All the lumber men are unsparing in their praise of the Scandinavian lumber workers. They are honest, industrious, and dependable workers.
When they agree to a contract, the foreman knows that every detail will be carried out. About 75% of the dry-wood contractors are Scandinavians. The reason given by the lumberman is that the Scandinavians prefer to be independent workers and lumber companies prefer them because of their trustworthiness. Although the Germans are represented among the lumber workers, they are not numerous.

A careful check of all the men employed by the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, the largest lumber company in Montana, indicated that the Scandinavians are in the majority. The daily records of the Free Lumber Employment Bureau of Missoula, Montana which employs all the men for the western Montana camps, show the following proportion of Scandinavians and Germans employed on various days during the months of August, September and October of 1925.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Total Employed</th>
<th>Scandinavians</th>
<th>Germans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 4, 1925</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 5, &quot;</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 7, &quot;</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 8, &quot;</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 10, &quot;</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 14, &quot;</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 18, &quot;</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 20, &quot;</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 28, &quot;</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 7, 1925</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 9, &quot;</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65. Estimate of Mr. H.G. Johnson, Secretary of the Free Lumber men's Information Bureau, Missoula, Mont.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Total employed</th>
<th>Scandinavians</th>
<th>Germans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept, 11, 1925</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 1, 1925</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This proportion is typical of all lumber camps in Montana and shows the dependence of the lumber industry on Scandinavian labor. These people are contributing more at the present time to the development of lumbering than any other people.

66. Figures taken from the daily record of the Employment Bureau, Missoula, Montana. Heaviest employment during these three months. Dates of chosen indiscriminately. Nationality determined by names and with the assistance of Mr. H.G. Johnson, Sec. of the Employment Bureau, who knows most of the men.
### Nationality of men in Employ of Lumber Companies of Western Montana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Company</th>
<th>Date of Report</th>
<th>Total men Employed</th>
<th>Scandinavians</th>
<th>Germans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Lumber Company</td>
<td>Dec. 31, 1920</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.C.M. Bonner</td>
<td>Jan. 17, 1921</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana Logging Co, Superior</td>
<td>Jan. 2, 1921</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.C.M Nine Mile</td>
<td>Jan. 15, 1921</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mann Lumber Co, Henderson, Mont.</td>
<td>Jan. 1921</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mann Lumber Co, Henderson, Mont.</td>
<td>May 1, 1923</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>(67)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of men employed by the above mentioned companies on the given dates was 855, of which 376 were Scandinavians and Germans.

---

67. Nationality determined by names with the assistance of Mr. H.G. Johnson, Secretary of the Free Employment Bureau, Missoula, Montana, who knows most of the men. Reports of the various companies found in the files of the Free Employment Bureau.
SUMMARY.

Lumbering ranks second among the manufacturing industries in the state, when the number of wage earners employed are taken into consideration. In value of manufactured products lumbering stands first. During the last five years Montana has produced annually an average of 350,000,000 feet of lumber, including sawed ties and mining timber. The mining districts, the chief of which is located at Butte, consume a tremendous amount of timber annually. The annual production of timber for the mines is estimated at 89,000,000 feet.

About 97% of the state's lumber production is manufactured in the nine western counties of Montana, of which Missoula, Lincoln, and Flathead are the largest producers. The largest sawmill is operated by the Anaconda Copper Mining Company at Bonner, Montana.

...Of the 250 sawmills, all sizes, operating in the state in 1924, thirteen mills accounted for 90% of the total cut. From these figures it is evident that the lumber industry in the state is still in the hands of a few corporations.

There were in 1925 about 6700 men employed in the manufacture and distribution of lumber and forest protection. About 2/3 or 4466 of these wage earners were employed in the actual milling or logging. The remaining one third is engaged in the retail marketing of the lumber and the protection of the forests. About one half of all the men employed are Scandinavians.
With such a large production lumbering is a tremendous financial asset to the state. The value of materials entering into the manufacturing of lumber and other wood products is estimated at $4,850,000. The value of the manufactured product is $14,350,000 annually. The value of private stumpage of timber lands is set at $25,000,000 and the investment in mills and lumber yards is about an equal amount. So the total value of the lumber industry in Montana is estimated at $50,000,000. There are paid in taxes $700,000 annually. In some western counties the taxes from timber lands and mills constitute a large part of the total county revenue. The railroads derive a large revenue from the lumber operations in the state, as $5,000,000 are paid in freight for the handling of forest products. (66)

In the state with a population of 550,000 people, the keeping in circulation of $14,350,000, representing the value of the annual forest products, is clearly a matter of great importance to its prosperity. And in giving honor to whom honor is due we cannot be unmindful of the part which the Scandinavians and Germans have played and are playing in bringing this industrial prosperity to its present high level.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT.

In 1920 there were 102,434 people of Scandinavian and German descent in Montana. (69) The total population of the state at that time was 548,889. So approximately one out of every five of the people of Montana was Scandinavian or German descent. In the largely agricultural counties of the eastern part, this percentage is considerably higher. This is due to the fact that these people are agriculturalists and have more thickly populated the best agricultural sections of the state.

According to the ninth United States Census Reports there were 1567 Scandinavians and Germans in Montana in 1870. They were distributed among the various counties as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Total pop.</th>
<th>Swede &amp; all nationalities</th>
<th>Germ</th>
<th>Norw.</th>
<th>Dane</th>
<th>Scand &amp; Germ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beaverhead</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bighorn</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choteau</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawson</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deer Lodge</td>
<td>4367</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallatin</td>
<td>1578</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

69. See foot note No. 104, Page 125

While the total population almost doubled in the decade of 1870 to 1880, the Scandinavian and German population increased by less than one-half.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>1531</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis &amp; Clark</td>
<td>5040</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>2684</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meagher</td>
<td>1367</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missoula</td>
<td>2554</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>20595</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>229</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1557</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the total population almost doubled in the decade of 1870 to 1880, the Scandinavian and German population increased by less than one-half.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Total Pop.</th>
<th>Ger.</th>
<th>Swede &amp; Norse</th>
<th>Dane</th>
<th>Total Scand. &amp; German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all nations</td>
<td>all nations</td>
<td>Ger.</td>
<td>Native and Foreign</td>
<td>Dane</td>
<td>Total Scand. &amp; German</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Tot. Pop.</th>
<th>Ger.</th>
<th>Swede &amp; Norse</th>
<th>Dane</th>
<th>Total Scand. &amp; German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beaverhead</td>
<td>2574</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chouteau</td>
<td>2448</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quadra</td>
<td>2461</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawson</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deer Lodge</td>
<td>8075</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallatin</td>
<td>3570</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>2369</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis &amp; Clark</td>
<td>5710</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>3612</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meagher</td>
<td>2456</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missoula</td>
<td>2456</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>39159</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>455</strong></td>
<td>200</td>
<td><strong>2360 (71)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the statistics of 1870 there were 1557 Scandinavians and Germans in this state, of which 841 of them were located in the Deer Lodge and Lewis and Clark Counties, the two chief mining districts in the state. By 1880, the numbers in the state had increased to 2362 of which 1135 were located in Deer Lodge and Lewis and Clark Counties. Mining was the chief productive enterprise during this decade, and, as is shown by the above statistics, about one-half of the Scandinavians and Germans found employment in the mines.

By 1890 the population had scattered into the agricultural sections. On the completion of the Montana Central branch of the Great Northern Railway, a great number of Swedes and Norwegians, who had been employed in railroad construction work, remained. Some of them took up homesteads around Great Falls, and were instrumental in building up that city, or they went to work in the silver mines at Reihart, 65 miles south of Great Falls; others were employed in the coal mines at Sand Coulee. (72) The Great Falls territory had a large Scandinavian population in 1890. When the smelters were built, a number of expert Norwegian smelter men came to Great Falls from Haugesund, Norway, to work in the smelters. The majority of these stayed and are still residents of the city and the surrounding country. After working in the smelter they took up land and became prosperous farmers and stock men. As

72. A. Lunde, personal letters.

Andrew Jensen, personal letter. — lived in Great Falls at the time mentioned. The information in these letters is verified by those of A. Lunde.
early as 1890, Cascade County, of which Great Falls is the county seat, had large Scandinavian population. Of the total population of 8755 there were 1120 Scandinavians. As the accompanying table shows, 1076 were born either in Norway or Sweden.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Total Pop.</th>
<th>Germ.</th>
<th>Norw.</th>
<th>Swede</th>
<th>Dane</th>
<th>Total Scand.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beaverhead</td>
<td>4,655</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cascade</td>
<td>6,755</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choteau</td>
<td>4,741</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custer</td>
<td>5,301</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawson</td>
<td>2,056</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dear Lodge</td>
<td>15,155</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>1387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fergus</td>
<td>3,514</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallatin</td>
<td>6,246</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>6,026</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis &amp; Clark</td>
<td>19,145</td>
<td>1398</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>1831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>4,692</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meagher</td>
<td>4,749</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missoula</td>
<td>14,427</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>1831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park</td>
<td>6,861</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver Bow</td>
<td>23,744</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellowstone</td>
<td>2,055</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 132,169 | 5609 | 1957 | 3771 | 683 | 12000 (73)

In the moral development of any body politic the church has always taken the leadership. The Christian churches whose spires point heavenward from every village, town and city, have been the radiating centers of all moral precepts.

Unlike any other nationalistic groups, the Scandinavians and the majority of the Germans are members of one religious denomination, the Lutheran Church. This is due to the fact that the Lutheran Reformation originated in Germany and gained a strong foothold among its people. In the religious upheaval of the following centuries the Lutheran Church became established as the state church of Norway, Sweden and Denmark, and has retained this status to the present time. Today about 50% of Germany and 99% of Scandinavia are Lutheran. (74)

In America the Lutheran Church has developed chiefly along nationalistic lines, and linguistic differences have been one of the barriers to Lutheran unity. When we consider what the Scandinavian and German people have done for the moral and religious development of the state, we enter immediately into the historical development of the Lutheran Church in the state.

The westward migration of the Scandinavians and Germans raised a new problem for the mother church. As the frontier was pushed westward, the

74. Lutheran World Almanac, 1924-1926, p. 61, says, "Lutheranism has flourished best and least disturbed in Northern Europe—Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland. True, these lands have all been affected by the religious movements in Germany as they have been greatly bothered, during the last 50 or 60 years, by sectarian proselyting. They have, however, been more homogeneous in race and religion than Germany and therefore more able to safeguard their Lutheran heritage. At least 99% of the population of these lands is Lutheran.

"About 50% of Germany is Lutheran, 99% of Scandinavia and Finland."
church was called upon to supply home missionaries for these fields, who could minister to the spiritual and moral needs of the frontiersmen. The missionaries followed in the wake of the miners, adventurers, cow men and farmers. These were instrumental in transforming the lawless and Godless frontier into communities where civil and moral righteousness prevailed.

The West owes a debt of gratitude to these home missionaries. They endured hardships and bravely suffered in altruistic patience, in order that the church might become securely grounded and exert her influence for social and moral regeneration. A conception of the hardships, against which the home missionaries had to contend, is gained from the story which one of the missionaries tells regarding his reception at Bannack.

"I was a young man, and an entire stranger with no letter of introduction to a living soul. I created a storm of applause (or something else) by unloading an umbrella. It never rained in that country in those days, and, "tenderfoot", and "pilgrim", were shouted in all directions. I was assigned to a private apartment at a leading hotel in Bannack City. In the office with bar, gambling table, gamblers and highwaymen, every man was clothed in buckskin and adorned with a pair of revolvers and bowie knife in the boot leg and Mexican spurs and danglers on the heel."
"I ran over to Virginia City to look over the ground, posted notices of the services and waited to see the impression which it would make on the crowd. One man read it and shouted. The crowd gathered and he read it again aloud, and they all shouted. They all wanted to know what a preacher was and what his business. 'Let us go and see the animal', they said.

"The time for the first service came. Next door to my preaching apartment was a larger gambling hall with a full band of brass—and my preaching that day was certainly attended with much sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. In the midst of my sermon the band struck up a lively dance tune and the hob-nailed miners began to beat time with their feet upon the floor." (75)

The home missionary bravely endured these hardships knowing that the only possible hope of reform must come through the influence of Gospel preaching.

As the Scandinavians and Germans began to populate the mining centers of Montana, the mother church answered the call from the frontier, for missionaries, for many of these frontiersmen were interested in the church.

In 1880, four years before the first Lutheran missionary made his appearance, Montana had a population of 39,151. According to the same census report there were 2,360 foreign born Scandinavians and Germans in the state. The mining center had moved from the Bannock and Virginia City sector to

75. Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, vol. 6 p. 292-
Sketch of "beginnings of the Presbyterian Church in Montana." Rev. T.V. Moore, D.\(\theta\).
Butte, Helena' and Anaconda. The year 1883 was a signal year, not only in the history of the Northern Pacific Railroad, but also for the state of Montana. On September 8, the golden spike was driven at Gold Creek uniting the East with the West. With the coming of the railroad new interest was aroused in agriculture and stock raising, especially sheep. The problems of transportation to eastern and western markets were solved. The Indians had made peace with the government in the campaign following the battle of Little Big Horn, when General Custer and his troops were massacred. The Indians retired within the reservations set aside for them by the government.

The most romantic period of Montana's history was over. The mining stampedes, the activities of the road agents and the defensive measures by the vigilantes were a matter of history. The farmers were already at work transforming the plains of luxuriant buffalo grass into fields of waving grain. Thus the first Lutheran missionary found Montana.

While the German Lutherans were the first to send a missionary to the Treasure state, the first Lutheran congregation was organized at Sweet Grass, near Big Timber, by a pastor of the Norwegian Lutheran Church.
THE GERMAN LUTHERANS.

The interest of the Missouri Synod of the German Lutheran Church was aroused by a letter which was received by Rev. Keyl, who for many years was an immigrant missionary in New York. In 1883, Rev. Keyl received a letter from a German Lutheran in Helena, who had traveled extensively in the state, in which he complained of the lack of church work in Helena. He deplored the fact that the people had been in the state for twenty years, but as yet there was no Lutheran church; while the Catholics and many Protestants had had missionaries in the state for some time.

Rev. Keyl sent the letter, which had been followed by others, to the Mission Board of the Minnesota District. When the members of the church board read it, they considered it a direct sign from the Lord to begin mission work in Montana. The Mission Board, after painstaking consideration, asked Rev. Glaes ahead of Ferma, Minnesota, to make a missionary journey to Montana, visit Helena, and preach the gospel to the scattered Lutherans of the state.

76. The author is indebted to Rev. M. Hudtloff of Butte for all the information regarding the early mission work of the Germans in the state. Rev. Hudtloff has written a history of the German Lutherans of the state. His manuscript is written in German. The title of the manuscript is: "Anfänge der Lutherschen Kirche in Montana."

The railroad had recently been completed through the state, so the
former hardships of travel by boat and stage were eliminated. Reverend
Glaess accepted the "Macedonian call," to the Lutherans of Montana.
On March 17, 1884 he left Perma, Minnesota, and began the journey to
Montana. He was the first Lutheran missionary to do mission work in
the treasure state.

Reverend Glaess spent three weeks in Montana. In Helena the
Lutherans were greatly pleased when the long-hoped-for missionary
arrived. They wanted a minister of their own nationality and church
denomination who could minister to their spiritual needs according to
the forms and rituals of the Lutheran Church. Two services were
conducted at the Court House at which 50 to 60 people attended.
Disappointment again filled their hearts when Rev. Glaess informed
them that he had to return to his congregation in Perham, Minnesota,
but he promised them that he would urge the Mission Board to send a
permanent pastor to Helena.

Before a permanent missionary could be called, Rev. Glaess was
called to make another journey to Helena. Although physically unable,

die Luthersche Kirche haette bisher noch keinen Prediger
weder in der Stadt Helena noch im ganzen Staat Montana. Die Lutheraner
mussen sich daher mit dem lesen von Predigtbuchern begnugen und koennen
das heilige Abendmahl nicht geniessen auch ihre Kinder nicht taugen lassen."
he started out on the second journey to Montana in June, 1884. This visit was not as successful. A hall was rented for the religious service. But on Saturday afternoon he was informed that the room would not be available until Sunday evening. There was nothing else to do but make a second call on all the families to inform them of the change in the time of the service. Only four men and twelve women were in attendance on Sunday evening. At this service two children were baptized. The following day the pastor was informed that a dance was the cause for the small attendance at the Sunday evening service. 

Discouraged and disheartened, Rev. Glaess returned to Minnesota. The second report to the Mission Board was less optimistic than the first. After reading the report Rev. J. Sievers, president of the Mission Board, wrote in "Lutheraneren", the official organ of the church, that Reverend Glaess had on his second visit to Helena, learned of the bold opposition of the cultured class to the preaching of the gospel. He had also learned of the great ignorance and indifference of most of the people. But his labors were not in vain. The Board learned that Montana was a mission field not to be neglected. Reverend Sievers concluded the article with this statement, "Our decision stands fast, we must not give up the work that has been started in Montana, we must continue". (78)

78. "Unser Entschluss stand jetzt fest, wir dürfen das in Montana angefangene werk nicht wieder aufgeben, sondern wir müssen es fortsetzen," p. 5 of manuscript.
New interest was aroused when letters were received from Lutherans in Bozeman and Miles City. From these letters it was learned that there were many Lutherans in other communities who were desirous of being served by a pastor.

Greatly encouraged by these letters, the Board sent a request to Reverend F. Pfotenhauer, of Odessa, Minnesota, to make a third missionary journey to Montana. (79) He accepted the call of the Board. In preparation for this journey, the Board members wrote an appeal in "Lutheranen", urging upon all readers who had friends in Montana to send their names and addresses to Rev. Pfotenhauer. As a result of this letter there came a letter from a family, J.Jahnke by name, residing in Butte. This letter closed with the words, "May the dear God bring you to us soon." (80)

On April 8, 1885, Rev. F. Pfotenhauer boarded the train at Odessa, Minnesota, for the western mission field. His first visit on this journey was at Miles City, where he conducted a service in the Baptist church with an attendance of 41 people. Here he also visited Fort Keogh. From Miles City, Rev. Pfotenhauer wrote, "In Miles City there are many Germans but they are indifferent." On April 13, he came to Bozeman. There he baptized a family, visited several others and promised to preach to them on the return trip.

79. Rev. Pfotenhauer now holds the honored position of President of the Missouri Synod.

80. "Möge der liebe Gott dir doch recht bald zu uns fahren." (page 5 of manuscript)
At Helena he was welcomed into the home of the city's most wealthy residents. Here he visited a sick lady and administered the Lord's Supper to her. In appreciation for his service she gave him a twenty dollar gold piece. The church service was conducted in Harmonia Hall with 67 people present. Here, 4 children were baptized. During the week which he spend there, he visited as many Lutherans as time would permit. In his report concerning Helena Rev. Pfotenhauer wrote, "The richest people in Helena are Germans but most of them are not interested."

From Helena he went to Butte. The population of Butte, he says, was about 12,000. Here he was well received at the home of Mr. J.Jahnke, the man from whom Rev. Pfotenhauer had received the letter which closed with the appeal, "May the dear God bring you to us soon." Their wish was thus granted. The Lutherans here rejoiced at the visit of the pastor. Services were held in Caplice Hall with 36 in attendance on Sunday morning and 47 in the evening. Rev. Pfotenhauer wrote concerning Butte, "The city is very Godless. It could not be any worse in Sodom than here."

He also visited Silver Bow and conducted the service in the home of a brewer. Here six children were baptized. From Silver Bow he proceeded to Anaconda, where the smelter was located, but no services were held here.
On April 27 he began the homeward journey. He stopped at Deer Lodge and preached to 67 people among them several rich "Cattle Kings". Many who could not understand German attended. Rev. Pfotenhauer expressed his regret over the fact that he could not speak English. He baptized 3 children.

On April 29 he came to Bozeman and preached in the Presbyterian church to 67 people and baptized one child. At Livingston he found but one man who cared to listen to a sermon. About the others he said, "The other Germans are entirely lost". They ridiculed him and his mission. He also stopped at Billings and at Glendive.

Entirely fatigued, Pfotenhauer returned home. He was thankful, however, to have had the opportunity to preach the Word of God to the people of the great mountain country. He urged that a minister be sent immediately to Montana.

Upon hearing the report of Rev. Pfotenhauer, the Mission Board wrote several letters to people in various localities in Montana and asked them if they wished to have a resident minister. From three communities came petitions on which were several signatures asking for a pastor. One petition had six signatures, another had seven and the third had fifteen signatures. These letters encouraged the members of the Board and resulted in their decision to call a permanent pastor to Montana.

81. Conrad Kohrs and J. Bielenberg—both called "Cattle Kings of Montana". They were Lutherans.
In order to be further assured of the sincerity of these people, they were requested to write to the Candidate Department of the Theological Seminary to inquire regarding the possibilities of securing the services of a student. This took place in the year 1886.

Rev. Pfotenbauer was asked to journey again to Montana with the object of arousing greater interest among the Lutherans there. He accepted the offer and again appealed through the columns of "Lutheraneren," for the names of Lutherans in Montana. After this preparation he started again on March 1, 1886, for the land of the mountains. He returned to his home in Minnesota on April 2, 1886. On this journey he conducted a services in the same cities which he had formerly visited. The most significant event on this journey occurred at Miles City, where 27 were baptized and three were given communion.

In his report he states, "There are few sincere Christians among the Lutherans, but this is not reason for neglecting Montana." He urged that a good minister be sent who was fluent in the English language. He gives the advice that the minister must not come with the idea of a short stay, but with the determination that, "Here with God's help through my services the Lutheran church shall be greatly benefited."

Upon receiving this report the Mission Board called candidate Johan Meyer. Rev. Meyer was ordained in Chicago.
He accepted the call of itinerant pastor for Montana and came to Helena in September 1886.

With the head station in Helena, Rev. Meyer served all the Lutherans of the state. About 16 preaching places were located within his territory extending over 500 miles. Among the new places which he visited were: Sheridan, Dillon and Virginia City. Rev. Meyer wrote, "In Virginia City the people were astounded to see the German minister. All came to see the Dutchman and I regretted very much that I could not preach to them in the English language." (82)

The first step toward the organization of a congregation in Helena was taken on November 31, 1888, when a business meeting was held in the office of architect Heinlein. Here the constitution was accepted and signed. Thus, at last, the people who so frequently had appealed to the Mission Board for a resident pastor to administer the Word and Sacraments to them, beheld the dawn of a new day.

82. "In Virginia City waren die Leute ganz erstaunt, einem deutschen Prediger zu sehen. Alles kam um den "Dutchman" zu sehen und zu hören; und leid hat es mir gelegen, dass ich nicht auch in der Englischen Sprache predigen konnte."

p.19 of manuscript.
THE NORWEGIAN LUTHERANS.

About one and one half years after the first German Lutheran missionary arrived in Helena, Rev. P. J. Reinertson, the first Norwegian Lutheran missionary, stepped from the train at Big Timber. About 15 miles from Big Timber, at Melville, in what is still known as the Sweet Grass Country, was located at this time the largest Norwegian settlement in the state. The founding of this settlement is an interesting story. Senator Henry Ellingson, the founder, shortly before his death wrote his autobiography, a portion of which is devoted to the history of the settlement and the organization of the church. He gives the following account: (63)

"In the fall of 1866 I made a short trip to Fillmore County, Minnesota, and together with an old friend purchased a small farm, leaving him in charge of the farm and going back to the woods myself. (near Stevens Point, Wisconsin.)

"I was married on the second day of July, 1870, at Scandinavia, Wisconsin, to Miss Gina Becken, and in August of that year moved to the farm in Minnesota, in November I started for Norway, to visit my parents, coming back the following April, and purchased my partner's interest in the farm.

63. The Big Timber Pioneer, June 24, 1920.
"In 1873 I took a trip into Nebraska to explore a part of that country, but came back to Minnesota, as I did not find anything there that suited me. The small grain crop in that section of the country began to fail on account of the rust and bugs, and I therefore sold my farm with the intention of going west. We then formed a club in Rushford to find out about the West, especially Montana, and I was selected to explore the country together with Ole L. Jensen.

"We came up the Yellowstone River with pack horses as far as Sweet Grass Creek, and followed that up to what is now Melville, where I took a fancy to the valley. Returning we left our pack horses, built a skiff and floated down the Yellowstone River. Leaving Mr. Jensen at Miles City, I secured transportation by stage to Green River, North Dakota, the nearest railroad station at that time. On the trip we passed through some large buffalo herds. Small squads of Sioux Indians were bad in that country, but we got through all right.

"When I got back to the farm, I sold out the personal property, rigged up three wagons, had seven horses and a few head of cattle, started for Montana with my wife and family of four children, consisting of Edwin, Susanna, George and Emma, together with Ole Clausen and wife and Peter H. Becken, my wife's eighteen year old brother, and Millard Kirkpatrick. We moved to St. Paul and from there took the train to Sentinel Butte, North Dakota."
From there we moved westward, coming up the Yellowstone valley until we arrived at Upper Sweet Grass Creek in August, 1881.

"On the way put we went through some wild country, where the Sioux Indians were bad and chased even the railroad graders. We crossed the Yellowstone River on ferries three different times, and also passed through some big Crow Indian camps."

"After we arrived on the upper Sweet Grass, the first thing was to pick out a suitable location, and we then started to put up hay for the stock. The next thing was to build a home. In order to do this it was necessary to go to the mountains and cut logs for a block house, and the nearest place we had to obtain lumber was up the north fork of the Musselshell River, about 60 miles distant. The house was finished in October that year. Having brought some carpenter tools along from Minnesota, I did the carpenter work myself, making some furniture such as stools, benches, tables and bedsteads. I also built a barn for the cattle. "

"We were the first settlers in the valley outside three cattle camps and some half breed Indian camps. On account of the children I was anxious to get a school started, and when in Bozeman that fall I went to see the County Superintendent, who was also County Treasurer of Gallatin County, which then included what is
now Gallatin, Park, Sweet Grass, Stillwater, and a part of Carbon counties. The population at that time was rather sparse. I secured the creation of a school district extending from the crest of the Crazy mountains to the County on the east, and from Meagher County line on the North to within four miles of the Yellowstone River.

"Late that fall some more people came out from Fillmore County, Minnesota, and they worked in the timber in the White Beaver Country, taking out logs and ties. The next summer they took up land on the Upper Sweet Grass and settled. In order to help the settlers locate land, lay out roads, fences and ditches, I did some surveying at times. Their families came out from Minnesota in the fall of 1882.

"By that time we had a school house built and school going. The half-breed Indians had children, and they drew apportionment money from the territory, so we had plenty of school money. We had a first class teacher and it was considered the best school in the county. I had to go thirty miles to the post office on the Lower Sweet Grass for mails. The country was wild but we got good protection by the cowboys.

"In the spring several people came into the country both from the East and the West, so we got to be quite a settlement. A Lutheran congregation was organized at our house in 1885. We had a siege of typhoid fever in 1888 and 1889 when George died, the rest coming through all right."
New people arrived to swell the settlement on the
Sweet Grass, and by 1885 it was the largest rural Norwegian settle-
ment in the state. Letters were sent to pastors in Minnesota
urging them to come and establish a congregation and superintend
the religious instruction of the children. Rev. O.J.Norby,
who had been pastor in Fillmore county and was personally acquainted
with the Ellingson family of the Sweet Grass settlement, received
letters from the frontiersmen urging him to come out to Montana. He
urged the Mission Board to send a missionary to the new field.

In the Twenty Fourth Annual Report of the Norwegian Augustana
Synod, 1883, the following recommendation is found:

"The mission committee is requested to call and send a missionary to
work among the fellow countrymen in Idaho, Montana, Utah and
Washington territories, and it promises to give the synod loyal
support with prayer and financial aid." (84) A missionary was sent the
following year to Idaho but none to Montana.

In 1885, Rev. P.J.Reinertsen was called as missionary to
Dakota and Montana. After visiting with Rev. O.J.Norby, who then
lived at Sims, North Dakota, he went westward to Big Timber,

84. Twenty Fourth Annual Report of the Norwegian Augustana
Synod, 1883. p.6.
"Missionskommittøret anmodes at kalde og udsende en Missionsprest for at virke i blandt landsmænd i Idaho, Montana Oregon,
Utah og Washington territorier og lover synoden kraftig at understøtte saadan virksomhed med forbøn og pengebidrag."
arriving there on October 14, 1865. When Rev. Reinertsen arrived in Big Timber, he established a landmark in the westward movement of the Norwegian Lutheran Church. The following notes from the diary kept by Rev. Reinertsen throw light on the organization of the first Lutheran congregation in Montana.

October 14, 1865. (65)

I came to Big timber about noon, only a few houses, stony streets, no Scandinavians in Big Timber. I was relieved of my disappointment when Mr. Peterson later in the day arrived from Sweet Grass.

October 16.

Held services in the school house and a number of people were present- 5 baptisms.

October 21.

On pony to Musselshell River to Mr. Grande.

October 26.

We had a meeting in Mr. Ellingson's house for the purpose of organizing a congregation. At the meeting we organized the first Lutheran congregation in Montana, at least Norwegian Lutheran, and called it "Sweet Grass Evangelical Lutheran Congregation", The "Indledning", the "Larertikel", a.s.i.f. from Augustana conference were adopted. (constitution used in the Norwegian Augustana Synod) As officers were nominated and elected:

Messrs. Fallang and J. Dahl.................deacons

Mr. Forsyth..................................trustee

Mr. H. Ellingson..............................secretary

85. Diary in possession of Rev. Reinertson.
It was decided to have a graveyard laid out and dedicated next meeting. The meeting was unanimous and showed the right spirit, and our hopes are to God that he will bless the first efforts of our church here in Montana to the salvation of souls and the everlasting glory of His holy Name, Amen."

November 8.

"In the morning services with communion. Then dedication of the graveyard."

This official diary established the authenticity of the statement that the first Lutheran congregation in Montana was organized on October 26, 1885 at the home of Henry Ellingson, the founder of the Sweet Grass settlement. This organization occurred about one year earlier than that of the congregation among the Germans in Helena.

In a more detailed report of his visit to the Sweet Grass settlement, Rev. Heinertson narrates some incidents which show the true hardships of a pioneer pastor. He writes as follows:

"It was the understanding that some one from the settlement among the mountains at Sweet Grass should meet me—thus they had written and promised, but none came. I was rather poor as far as money was concerned. I had only one dollar, and everything was expensive in Montana at that time. I was hungry, but did not dare to buy food, because I thought that I could have that dollar to buy lodging for the night and that cost exactly one dollar. There was a building which was called a hotel, but
really it was a saloon, but I had to go there. I did not feel much at home there, and had my misgivings about the place. Shortly, however, another missionary arrived on the train from the west. He, too, had to come to the Hotel-saloon. He belonged to the Episcopal Church. His name was Rev. Brown. But before he came I had been alone. I was hungry and to tell the truth, I had lost my courage.

"I went down to the bank of the Yellowstone River and sat down to think the situation over. Here I was a thousand miles or more from St. Paul, stranger, penniless, etc. It looked rather gloomy and the tears ran freely. But soon I began to look at the mountains a short distance away. There they had stood firm and unmovable through thousands of years and were still just as firm and rigid. Then my thoughts were directed to Him who is the Rock of Eternity, who is the same today as yesterday and will remain through Eternity and that His promises stand fast. I received new courage. In the evening Mr. Peterson, from Sweet Grass, came. It was he who was to have met me. I received an abundance of food, lodging, etc. and still retained my dollar."

October 15.

The next day, October 15, we started towards the mountains to the Sweet Grass settlement. Sunday, October 16, the first services were conducted and 5 children were baptized that day. There was a large audience, somewhat varied— even half-breed Indians were present. I remember how they came— men and women riding down through the valleys
from different directions headed towards the school house—a rather large log house. This was something entirely new and they came to hear and see.

October 21.

I rode with Mr. Ellingson and Mr. Hoiseth over the mountains to the Musselshell River to see Mr. Grande and stayed there about three days, conducted services there.

October 25.

There were services again with holy communion and baptism in the school house and in the afternoon services in the English language.

October 26.

There was a meeting in Mr. Ellingson's house and at that meeting the first Lutheran congregation in the state was organized.

November 1.

I went to Bozeman after I had driven over the mountains with Mr. Johnson. Although there were a number of Scandinavian people in the city, I did not conduct any meeting with them. They did not desire any religious service. They were too contaminated with Mormonism.

November 8.

I conducted services in the school house in the Sweet Grass settlement for the Sweet Grass Evangelical Lutheran congregation, which it now has become. This Sunday, too, there was holy communion and afterwards the dedication of the cemetery. In the afternoon services were conducted in the English language. This time, too, there was a large audience, Indians, Scotch, French, and Scandinavians. "the next day Mr. Hoiseth drove me to Lower Sweet Grass to see Mr. Solberg where the next day I conducted services and baptized."
November 11.

I left Big Timber and went eastward to North Dakota, where I was to conduct confirmation services in the Kvernaes congregation near Cherrington, North Dakota.

You might ask, 'What made these people, who were so dearly interested in Christian training, settle in these mountains?' I put the same question to myself when I came there. They were sheep men and cattle men and in those days there was good profit in that business. A rich Scotchman, Mr. Nobles, said to me, "You must not leave us under any circumstances. Here we are making good money, but our women refuse to stay here unless we get regular church services. I am no church man, but I promise you that you will make a good living if you will only stay here." I have regretted ever since that I did not stay, but I was a mission pastor and as such was supposed to serve other communities as well."

A report of the work of Rev. Reinsertsen appeared in the "Luthersk Kirketidende", the official organ of the Norwegian Augustana Synod, in 1886. In the third paragraph of this report he is commended for having used the English language in preaching to the frontiersmen.
"One's attention is called to the fact that Rev. Reinertsen has also preached in the English language to the Americans and others. This is well and pleasing to God; for He desires that all men shall be saved. Here is an extensive mission territory where English speaking Lutherans are scattered everywhere without minister or church. These are our brethren in the faith and we are in duty bound to be concerned about them. How important it is, then, that our young men who are being educated for the ministry be thoroughly instructed in the English language." (86)
These reports indicate that the language question was raised at an early date in Norwegian home mission circles. Had these suggestions been placed into practice, the Lutheran Church in Montana would be a far stronger body today.

The first Norwegian missionary to take up work in Helena was Rev. N. Boe, who came there in August, 1869. With Helena as his headquarters he traveled throughout the state, organizing congregations in the communities where there were enough Norwegians who were interested in church work. With the coming of Rev. Reinertsen and Rev. Boe the second Lutheran church body was established in the state.
THE SWEDISH LUTHERANS.

After the Bannack and Virginia City gold fields were exhausted, the Swedish miners followed the general migration to Butte and Helena districts. Some made their fortunes there and returned East; others, having imbibed the western spirit, freely spent the gold which they had accumulated. Having established a home in the vicinity of employment they remained to support both church and state.

In 1890, four years before the coming of the first Swedish missionary there was in Montana a total foreign born Swedish population of 3971. These were distributed as follows among the various counties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Foreign born Swedes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beaverhead</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cascade</td>
<td>612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chouteau</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custer</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawson</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deer Lodge</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fergus</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallatin</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis &amp; Clark</td>
<td>611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meagher</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missoula</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver Bow</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellowstone</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to this census report five counties contained almost 2/3 of the Swedish population of the state. These counties are: Cascade, Deer Lodge, Lewis and Clark, Missoula and Silver Bow. The chief cities of these respective counties are: Great Falls, Anaconda and Deer Lodge, Helena, Missoula and Butte. It is not surprising, then, that the call for Swedish missionaries came from these centers.

The Mission Board of the Augustana Synod (Swedish) was informed of the migration of the Swedish people into these frontier towns. It was desirous of supplying the Swedish communities with Christian missionaries, but a shortage of ministers prevented. The Swedish population was expanding westward with the westward movement of the frontier. The demand for missionaries from these settlements was too great for the number of ministers in the service of the church. Together with this frontier development occurred the expansion of the church in the central states due to Swedish immigration. The Swedish Augustana Synod was expanding so rapidly during the last two decades of the nineteenth century that it was not able to supply all the ministers needed in the West. This may account for the fact the Swedish Augustana Synod was ten years later in supplying missionaries to Montana than the other Lutheran Synods. The Annual Report of the Home Mission Committee in 1694 bears out this contention. It reads as follows:
"The committee has not been able to place any missionary in Montana. We have, however, sent a call but have found no one willing to accept it. Since the committee has been unable to secure a worker after three years of continued calling, it was decided, temporarily, to discontinue the calling, particularly since the lack of funds in the mission treasury forbade any great sacrifice for this work. However, it is our wish and our prayer that the Lord in the near future will give us both men and means to carry on an aggressive mission work among the many fellow countrymen who have settled in Montana." (88)

We learn furthermore from this report that the incessant drain on the Home Mission funds due to the expansion of the work left the treasury in 1893 and 1894 almost empty, but in spite of this handicap the Board hoped that Montana would have a missionary soon.

"I Montana har det icke lycktas styrelsen att faa nogan missionare anstald. Vi hafwa i ar kallat, men icke funnit nogan person willig att antaha kallelsen. Sedan styrelsen i naera tre aars tid kallat och icke er-hallit nogan arbetare fdr det faeltet beslatages att till falligtvis upphdra med kallandet helst som missionskassans toronet fgrbjud nogan storre upphfring fgr detta arbeite. Det ar dock war farskan och bhn, at Herren ma i en kraftig mission bland de mange landsman, som bo och bygga i Montana."
In 1894, however, the Swedish people of Helena received the joyful news that the minister was coming to establish a congregation among their people. He was Reverend Augustus G. Olson, the first missionary to the Swedes in Montana. Helena and Butte were the leading stations in his mission work, from which he made regular visits to the outlying districts.

In 1895, a more cheerful report is given by the Mission Committee to the Annual Convention. This report mentions that Rev. A. G. Olson was called and accepted the call to serve as mission pastor in Montana. Rev. Olson considered the outlook for the future very good. The people in general, he thought, were true to the Lutheran Church (89).

There is evidence in this report of the satisfaction felt by the members of the Mission Committee in at last having been able to answer the pleas of the Swedes of Montana for spiritual leadership. The missionary to the Swedes came, although he was thirty years behind the first Protestant missionary in the state.

89. Annual Report of "Augustana Synod (Swedish) 1895.
"I enlighet med synodens beslut har missionsstyrelsen hållit pa med att kalla missions pastor till Montana. I början af aret utfärdades kallelse til pastor Augustus G. Olson, hvilken afvmen till styrelsen och sakerligen till hela synodens glädje antog denna. Pastor Olson som sedan en tid warit i verksamhet där ute, med Helena och butte sammant huvudsstationer, anser utsöckterne för war verksamhet där warit ganska goda. Han har visserligen ej warit där lange nog för att kunna bedöma fältet i dessa enskildheter, säga han, men folket är i allmänt tillgivet war Lutheriska kyrka, jo t.o.m. mycket kyrkligt."
Helen became the head station for mission work not only among the Swedes but also among the Germans and Norwegians. In 1894 there were three Lutheran missionaries in Helena, Rev. L.A.K. Carlson, conducted mission work among the Norwegians, Rev. M. Mertz, among the Germans and Rev. A.G. Olson, among the Swedes.

GROWTH AND INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH IN THE FOUR MAJOR CITIES OF THE STATE.

In order to get a clearer view of the work of the church we shall enter into a more detailed analysis of the progress of the church in the four largest cities of the state, Helena, Butte, Great Falls and Missoula. The general observer cannot but be impressed by the duplication and triplication of the work done by the Lutheran church in ministering to the spiritual needs of its people. This economic and organic waste cannot be justified. The following summary will show the need of more unity in the work of the Lutheran church.

Butte.

German Lutherans. (90)

The first Lutheran pastor to conduct services in the city of Butte was Rev. Pfotenauer, who visited in the city in 1865 and 1866.
when on his two missionary journeys in Montana. For a number of years the congregation was served by Rev. J. Meyer of Helena. On September 23, 1868, the first resident pastor, Rev. Bartling, was installed. In 1890 the Ladies' Aid was incorporated. This organization purchased a building site on West Silver Street for $840.00. On this location a chapel was erected at a cost of $1,500. A debt of $800 remained on the structure, on which they paid 12% interest. Rev. Bartling visited Anaconda, Missoula, Silver Bow, Dillon, and Virginia City. In 1893 he left Butte to accept a call in Illinois.

The congregation was not long without a pastor, for on September 23, 1893, Rev. Martin Hudtloff was installed by Rev. M. Mertz of Helena. The pastor's salary at that time was $4000.00 per year out of which he paid $20.00 per month house rent.

The first English services were held in 1896. The pastor says, "At first they came out of curiosity, but after they found out that I could preach English, they stayed away."

From 1896 to 1900 the congregation experienced severe hardships. The men ceased to attend and the congregation was dissolved. The services continued, however, but only ladies were in attendance.

In 1897 the Ladies' Aid purchased a lot next to the church and erected a parsonage at a cost of $1436.00. A mine was being developed in the vicinity, and the property proved undesirable. In 1901 the present site on Montana Street was purchased at a cost of $5,000.
The present congregation was organized on November 15, 1900.

In 1906 plans were made for the erection of a new church, work was begun, and the corner stone laid on June 16, 1907. The dedication took place on November 15, 1907. Rev. O. Greifthen of Butte and Rev. O. Svars of Anaconda, both Norwegian pastors, attended this service together with other German pastors. The total cost of the church was $21,964.95, and at the time of the dedication there was a debt of $11,000. This debt has since been erased. Through these many years Rev. A. Aadtloff has been the faithful spiritual guide. It is to his credit that the congregation now has the most beautiful Lutheran church in Montana. The congregation has a total membership of 350 souls.

Norwegians

In Butte the Norwegian people did not wait for the arrival of a Lutheran minister to effect an organization. An independent congregation was organized in 1867. Rev. P. Peterson served the congregation from 1867 to 1893. Upon his departure Rev. L.A.K. Carlson served the congregation from 1893 to 1900. A hall was purchased to serve as a church. The first floor was used for church purposes, and the second floor was rented to community organizations, while the basement was used as a residence for the pastor. From 1900 to 1907 there was no resident pastor. The congregation was served by lay preachers and visiting pastors. In 1907 Rev. A.A. Reese became the pastor and continued for two years, when the congregation was reorganized and admitted to the membership of the Norwegian Lutheran
Church. The congregation has been making but slow progress. Rev. M. Erickson is now the pastor. Membership 100. (91)

Helena

Germans

The first Lutheran missionary to Montana came as a response to a letter from a German of Helena. This missionary was Rev. Glaess, who visited Helena in 1684. Rev. Pfotenhauer visited the people in 1685 and 1686. Rev. J. Meyer, the first resident pastor was installed in September 1686. The first steps in the organization of the congregation took place when a group of men met in the office of architect Heinlein on November 30, 1686. The constitution was adopted and signed. Previous to the erection of the church, the services were held in the Englehorn Business College.

In 1689 a building site was purchased on the corner of Rodney and Ninth Avenue, and the erection of the church was begun. On May 1, 1689, the cornerstone was laid and on October 27, the church was dedicated. It cost $9,500, and seats 250 people. After the cornerstone was laid, Rev. Meyer accepted a call to Illinois.

When Rev. J. Gugel came in 1689 the congregation passed through severe trials. Rev. Gugel served until 1691, and during the two following years of vacancy Rev. Bartling of Butte served Helena.

In April, 1693, Rev. N. Mertz formerly of Anaconda was installed. He succeeded in uniting the congregation again under one head. In 1909 the church was remodeled and a new pipe organ installed. Rev. Mertz died April 26, 1912, after nineteen years of service. Rev. A. Lunde, the Norwegian pastor at Great Falls, preached the English sermon at the funeral.

Rev. U. Niellman came September 15, 1912, and stayed until 1916. On August 14 of the same year the present pastor, Rev. E. Ziegler, was installed.

Norwegians

Active work among the Norwegian Lutherans in Helena was begun in 1669, when Rev. N. Boe was sent out by the Norwegian Synod. In August, 1669, he organized Our Savior's Congregation. There was a considerable number of Norwegians in Helena at this time, most of whom were interested in mining. As the first Norwegian pastor in this section of the state, Rev. Boe became the organizer of congregations in several cities. He organized the congregation in Great Falls, Sand Coulee, and also began work in Butte. In 1691 a lot was purchased and a church erected. Rev. Boe left Helena in 1692 after and stayed three years of work. Rev. I. D. Ylivisaker succeeded him in 1692 and stayed until 1693. (93)

The following pastors have continued the work in Helena:

L. A. K. Carlson ..................... 1893-1897
L. S. J. Reque ...................... 1897-1899
G. I. Brevik ......................... 1899-1900
H. S. Austvold ....................... 1900-1909
A. G. Lunde ......................... 1909-1915
Theo. Aaberg ....................... 1915

Great Falls

Norwegians

The completion of the Montana Central branch of the Great Northern Railroad in the last years of the '80's, brought an influx of Scandinavians to the new town of Great Falls. The Norwegians Synod was prompt in sending home missionaries to this district.

Rev. N.N. Boe conducted the first service in 1889. A year later a formal organization was effected. Within another year a move for a church home was started, and the present church was ready for use in July 1892. Rev. Boe was succeeded by Rev. I.D. Ylvisaker.

None of the early missionaries stayed more than a year or two. After Ylvisaker came J.J. Strand in December, 1892; in 1893, Rev. T.A. Tolo; in 1894, Rev. L. Carlson; who died as Seamen's Missionary at San Francisco in 1910.

Of all the pioneer pastors Rev. Carlson left the most vivid impression, both because he supplied the Great Falls district for a longer period, and because of his originality. A man of wide experience in mission work, stretching from Norway, through the pioneer settlements of Minnesota, in the '70's to Australia, he was peculiarly fitted for the work of traveling missionary in the scattered Lutheran settlements of Montana. He was equally at home in the shack of the miner as well as the log house of the early rancher.
Rev. Engel Olson served as pastor from 1895 to 1897, then
The congregation has had its ups and downs, coinciding with
economic conditions. In the times of "smelter shut-downs", there has
often been an exodus to the coast and other points of the West,
leaving a minimum membership, which would again be augmented at a
later date when the rise of a cent or two in the price of copper would
warrant resumption or enlargement of the reduction works. The congregation
at present, 1926, numbers about 250 souls, with a Sunday school of
120 and 11 teachers. There is a Ladies' Aid society of 60 members.
This society has raised over $10,000 for local and general church
purposes.
The church property consists of a church at 1408, and a parsonage
at 1414 Second Avenue North. Total value about $14,000.00. The
seating capacity of the church is about 225.
In the year 1915 Rev. Lunde preached in Great Falls on the
average of three Sundays a month, and served points in northern Montana,
up to 300 miles from headquarters.
Lewistown, Grass Range, and Glasgow were among the stations visited.
In order to get people together at many of these places it was necessary
often to bring a personal invitation. Not only to the little home
shacks, but the minister would not hesitate to enter the saloons,
shake hands with "Ola" and "John", standing at the bar and ask them
to come to church.
In spite of many difficulties' Our Savior's congregation has kept on its way as a Gospel church, though never by great spurts, it has forged steadily onward. In thirty years' time the number laid to rest is twice as large as the present active membership of the congregation. From 1900 to 1925 the parish statistics are as follows: baptized 1,400, confirmed 496, weddings 600, funerals 475, communed 1,800. Our Savior's is a widely known church. As a distributing point of Scandinavian immigrants and as a hospital center it will, in the future, need a larger and more attractive church. (94)

Germans

The pastors of Butte and Helena visited Great Falls prior to 1891, but the first resident pastor was Rev. F.H. Eggers, who was ordained and installed September 6, 1891.

The services were conducted for three years in the Court House. Mission Board spoke highly of the comradeship Rev. Eggers in his reports to the Norwegian pastor, I.D. Ylvisaker. They rented a room together over Jensen's laundry. Rev. Eggers says, "In this comradeship I learned Norwegian, and he, German. At a ministerial conference held here four German ministers and two Norwegian were present. The latter were Rev. Ylvisaker of Great Falls and H.N. Boe of Helena. We had two rooms with only one bed for the six men. We arranged a bed on the floor for two, while two slept in the bed, and the remaining two sat up the first half of the night.

94. Report by Rev. A. Lunde of Great Falls
The sleepers then arose, and those who had kept watch took their places."

On November 20, 1892, the constitution was adopted and the congregation organized with six voting members, and called the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church. The congregation bought a lot on Eleventh St. and First Ave. South, on which they built a chapel, which was dedicated on October 14, 1894. The same year Rev. Eggers left Great Falls, and Rev. Mertz of Helena conducted services during the vacancy. In the fall of 1895, Rev. K. Zimmerman was installed as pastor. The following year an addition was built to the chapel to serve as a residence for the pastor. Rev. Zimmerman stayed until October 5, 1902. Since this time the congregation has been served by the following pastors:

Wagner
E. Haugmo 1903-1918
P. Rolfing 1919-1925
Huber 1925-

Swedes

Although the Swedes came at an early date to Great Falls, the congregation was not organized until 1905. Rev. P.A. Fair of Helena visited the people several times, but no active work was undertaken. The Ladies' Aid was organized in February of 1905. Rev. T.C. Carlson came the same spring to organize the congregation. The first service was held July 16 at Groves Hall, above the present Imperial grocery. On October 2, 1905, the

95. Rev. Hudtloff manuscripts.
congregation was organized with 68 charter members. Services were held in the Swedish language.

On February 7, 1905, a lot was purchased on Second Avenue N., and erection of the basement was begun, but the work was delayed because of lack of funds. In 1908 the services were held in the basement of the church. In 1909 Rev. Carlson left Great Falls, and the church work suffered a relapse.

The following year student Benander worked in the congregation during the summer months. In 1911, under the supervision of C.A. Eckstrom, the church was completely furnished and decorated. The parsonage was erected in 1913. At the annual meeting in 1916 it was decided to conduct all evening services in the English language, and a petition was sent to the Synod asking that the women of the congregation be allowed to vote. From 1917 to 1921 the pastorate was in charge of Rev. M.J. Farstberg. The present pastor, H.J. Olson, came in 1921. The total communicant membership is 170, and the church property is valued at $25,000.00.

Pastors and students who have served the congregation:

Rev. T.C. Carlson......1905-1909
Stud. Benander............1910
Stud. F. Olson..............1911
Rev. C.A. Eckstrom.......1911-1914
Stud. H.L. Johnson........1915
Rev. C.G. Anderson.......1915-1916
Stud. Edw. Peterson.......1917
Rev. M.J. Farstberg.......1917-1921
Rev. J.H. Olson............1921

96. Information from Rev. H.J. Olson of Great Falls.
Missoula

The history of the Swedish Lutheran Church of Missoula may be divided into two periods, the first period from 1898 to 1901, after which the church work was discontinued because of inability to secure a resident pastor; then from 1905, when activities were resumed, to the present time.

The church was organized October 27, 1898, by Rev. A. G. Gustafson. Prior to this, Rev. C.F. Frisk had visited in Missoula early in 1898. Rev. Gustafson, who was serving as Pastor in Butte, also made bi-monthly visits after July, 1898, holding services in the Swedish Congregational church.

The meeting at which the organization was completed, was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. J. Berlin, on the North Side, with 21 members in attendance. This was the first Lutheran congregation organized in Missoula. At this meeting the constitution, which is still in effect, with a few amendments, was adopted, and the following officers were elected: Sec., Gus. Broman; Deacons, J.A. Swanson, John Gerglin, and Gus. Groeman; Trustees, Nels Peterson, J.B. Anderson, Ole Johnson; Treasurer, Nels Peterson. The congregation was incorporated January, 1899, as the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Church of Missoula.

Services were held in the chapel on the West Side, belonging to the Swedish Congregational church. During the summer of 1899 the pulpit was occupied by A. J. Carlson, then a student.
at Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois. Between 1900 and 1905 there was no regular pastoral service. In 1901 the chapel where the meetings were held, was sold and the work was discontinued until 1905.

The second period of the church’s history began with the coming of H.F. Johnson, student pastor. On February 16, 1905, the women were given a right to vote. Upon petition the congregation was received into the Augustana Synod.

After unsuccessful attempts to buy the Seventh Day Adventist church on the North Side and the old Baptist church on Spruce street, it was decided to build. Lots were bought on Alder Street, and in 1906 the building was erected. In 1922 the property across the street was bought for a parsonage. The pastors who have served the congregation since 1905 are as follows:

A.P.G. Anderson............1905-1907
A.V. Anderson................1907-1910
C.J. Sengston................1910-1911
Maldo Ekeberg..............1912-1914
Stud. R. Hult..............1914
Stud. E.A. Larson..........1916
T.W. Anderson.............1916-1918
E.A. Palm..................1919-1923

German

The second Lutheran congregation to be organized was the German. Several German families moved to this city in 1891, and asked the church officials to send a resident pastor; but candidates for the ministry were scarce in those days and were needed more urgently elsewhere; consequently the German Lutheran
families were served by itinerant missionaries until the year 1697. In that year Rev. Paul Kretchmar accepted the call to the Missoula mission.

The services were held in the old Methodist church north of the river, to the year 1903. In 1900 the pastorate was taken over by Rev. Gustav Mertz, and the congregation was organized in the same year. In 1903 the present plant, consisting of a church and assembly room was built and dedicated to the service of God.

Rev. Mertz served the congregation for nineteen years. In 1919 Rev. Mertz resigned to become itinerant missionary for the communities surrounding Missoula. He was succeeded by Rev. H.H. Kummick in the same year. The congregation was affiliated with the English District of the Missouri Synod and re-incorporated as the First English Lutheran Church in 1919. In 1926 a new church site was purchased on the corner of Higgins and Daly Avenues.

The first pastor to minister to the people of Norse descent in Missoula was Rev. L.A.K. Carlson, who came in 1897. He organized congregations in Hamilton and Stevensville in 1898. He continued to visit Missoula until the year 1899. For the next six years there was no regular church work in Missoula.

---

In 1904 Rev. H.O. Svarre, who had his headquarters in Helena, conducted religious services in Missoula and Bonner. He relates an unfortunate experience from his first visit. Not having enough money to purchase a return ticket to Helena, he was compelled to leave his watch in the care of the depot agent as a security for the price of the ticket. The watch was later reclaimed by the payment of the purchase price of the ticket.

Rev. E.B. Austvold was the first resident pastor. He came in 1906 and organized the congregation in the fall of that year. The congregation had no church, so all services were held at the home of August Andresen, 404 Alder Street. Besides the services and Sunday school all the weddings and baptisms were conducted at this home. The Ladies' Aid was organized in 1906. The first meeting was held at the home of Mrs. S. Fredricks.

In 1907 a choir consisting of twenty women and three men was organized. Services were later held in Immanuel Lutheran Church and in more recent years in the first English Lutheran church. In 1919 lots were purchased on the corner of Brooks and Grand Streets and a chapel erected on the rear of the lots. The congregation was reorganized the same year and was called the St. Paul Lutheran Church. All English services have been held since 1921. In 1922 the name was changed to the St. Paul English Lutheran Church.

In June 1926, excavation for the basement of the new church was begun. The new church will seat about 300.
Rev. O.M. Grimsby, the present pastor, was installed on August 7, 1921.

The following pastors have served the congregation:

L.O.K. Carlson...........1867-1899
H.O. Svaare..............1904-1906
E.B. Austvold............1906-1909
O.L. Greftsen.............1909-1912
E.G. Haavik..............1913
O.B. Tufts...............1914-1915
T. Aaberg...............1915-1917
A.O. Hjemboe..........1919-1920
O.M. Grimsby............1921

The disappointments, hardships, and struggles of the congregations in these four major cities are characteristic of all pioneer churches. To the missionary pastors the church owes a debt of gratitude. Interesting tales could be told of hardships endured and difficulties encountered.

We are mindful of Rev. M. Hudtloff of Butte and Rev. J. Gugel of Helena who despaired not when, through reverses, their congregations were dissolved, but continued and carried on the church work through the Ladies' Aid. We are grateful to pastors Carlson and Austvold, who traveled by hand car and preached to fellow-countrymen in section houses, and to Madsen and Lunde, who have given over a quarter century of service on the mission field. We are mindful of the work of Gustafson and Frisk of the Swedish church for their faithful service. They are an example of the true type of pioneer pastors. On the foundation which the pioneer pastors
which the pioneer pastors have laid, the church has been built, and has wielded its influence in the moulding of Christian character and in the developing of social righteousness.

SUMMARY

The work of the Lutheran Church in Montana has been carried on chiefly through three synods: The German Missouri, the Norwegian Lutheran Church, and the Swedish Augustana.

While their progress has not been marked by any sensational developments, the churches show a steady increase in numbers and influence. The following charts will show the growth of these Lutheran synods in Montana:

**The Norwegian Lutheran Church**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Congr.</th>
<th>No. of Pastors</th>
<th>Souls</th>
<th>Value of Property</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>412</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>750</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7468</td>
<td>$300,388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6414</td>
<td>302,388 (99)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(99) **Figures from Annual Reports of Norwegian Lutheran Church.**
Missouri Synod (German)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Cong.</th>
<th>No. of Pastors</th>
<th>Souls</th>
<th>Value of Property</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>450</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>484</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1427</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2734</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5846</td>
<td>$136,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5732</td>
<td>$138,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Augustana Synod (Swedish)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Cong.</th>
<th>No. of Pastors</th>
<th>Souls</th>
<th>Value of Property</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>325</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>$36,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>67,958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>93,225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other Lutheran Bodies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Cong.</th>
<th>No. of Pastors</th>
<th>Souls</th>
<th>Value of Property</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3200</td>
<td>$60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100 Report of statistician of Missouri Synod, E. Eckhardt, St. Louis, Mo.


102. Reports from Danish Lutheran congregations and congregations of United Lutheran Church in America.
The greatest progress has been made by the Norwegian Lutheran Church. It is evident also that the greatest progress of all synods has been made since 1910. The following statistics will show the growth of the combined Lutheran synods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Cong.</th>
<th>No. of Pastors</th>
<th>Souls</th>
<th>Value of Property</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>896</td>
<td>$11,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2675</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6809</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>16206</td>
<td>$565,188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above summary it is evident that the Lutheran church had no appreciable constituency until 1900 when it had only 2,695 soul membership. By 1910 the membership had increased to 6,609; and by 1920, the soul membership was 16,206.

By comparing the above figures with the total increase in the Scandinavian and German population during the years from 1900 to 1920, it can be determined whether or not the Lutheran church has been successful in reclaiming these people in the state. The following figures will show the increase in population:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Norwegian</th>
<th>Swede</th>
<th>Dane</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>18,463</td>
<td>5,738</td>
<td>8,226</td>
<td>1,914</td>
<td>34,341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>25,658</td>
<td>13,942</td>
<td>11,802</td>
<td>3,941</td>
<td>56,353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>50,142</td>
<td>27,793</td>
<td>17,158</td>
<td>7,441</td>
<td>102,434</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It must be born in mind while considering these statistics, that only 50% of the foreign born Germans and 99% of the Scandinavians are claimed to be Lutherans by parentage. A comparison of figures will give the following proportions: In 1900 when there were 34,341 Scandinavians and Germans in the state, 2,675 had affiliated with the Lutheran church. In 1910 when these people had increased to 56,353, the membership of the church had increased to 6,809; and in 1920 there were 102,434 of which 16,906 were members of the Lutheran church.

It is evident from these statistics that the Lutheran church has not developed in proportion to the increase in population of her constituent nationalities. In fact, she has fallen far short of realizing a proportionate membership.

   These figures represent foreign white stock.
   Foreign white stock is composed of the following:
   1. Foreign born whites
   2. Native whites with foreign born parents
   3. Native whites with one foreign born parent and one native.

   Figures for 1920 represent, "Mother tongue of foreign white stock by nativity and parentage." These figures are not absolutely accurate. In explanation of these figures as found in above volume, page 967, the report says in the paragraph, "Mother tongue in relation to ethnic stock"
   "In most cases the returns for mother tongue may be taken as indicative of ethnic stock."
While it is not within the range of our investigation to discuss the reasons for the failure of the church to gain a larger membership, it is evident from these investigations that there are two contributing factors. These factors are: the failure of the church to supply sufficient pastoré for all the communities, and, the ministration of the church in a foreign language. Consequently these people have either joined other religious denominations or, through indifference, have severed all church affiliations.

**Moral and Social Characteristics of Scandinavians.**

The Scandinavians have been trained to industry, frugality and manly self-reliance by the free institutions and the scant resources of their native land; and the moderation and the self-restraint inherent in the cold blood of the North, make them constitutionally inclined to trust in slow, orderly methods rather than swift and violent ones. The poor soil of the old country and the hardships incident upon a rough climate, have accustomed them to struggle for existence scarcely less severe than that of the western pioneer.

It is therefore a fact which all students of the social problems arising from immigration have discovered, that the Scandinavians adapt themselves with great ease to American institutions. "There is no other class of immigrants which so readily assimilates and assumes so naturally American customs and modes of thought. This is not because their nationality is devoid of strong characteristics, but because, on account of the ancient kinship and subsequent development, they have certain fundamental traits in common with us, and are therefore less in
need of adaptation. " (105)

It is evident that, - though in many of the earliest Scandinavian settlements where the descendants of the first settlers are still living,- there is very little except their names (often anglicized) and a certain Scandinavian cast of features, to indicate their Scandinavian origin. They speak English, and if they knew the Scandinavian tongue, they have forgotten it. This is especially true of the second and third generations. They have intermarried with American families, live, think and feel as Americans.

Moral and Social Characteristics of the Germans

The German sense of duty is an inborn trait and had had a deep effect on frontier life. Duty is a voice within him as potent as the voice of conscience and just as exacting. It keeps him at his work, forces him to respect laws and authority. Many of the Germans were vigilantes. They were desirous of maintaining law and order in the frontier posts where the hand of civil law was not felt, and joined others for self protection against outlawry. (106)

106. Information gained from reading the biographies as found in Montana histories. No accurate figures are obtainable, as many did not reveal their connections with vigilantes.
Idealism is a heritage of the Germans, through his literature, philosophy, and religion. In America the German was met half way by the idealism of the puritanic element, and the two combined have created some of the grandest institutions of our country. Heretofore, perhaps, the idealism of the American has necessarily been directed toward the development of the great resources of the country. The German element also has numbers of representatives among the captains of industry, as this work on their history in Montana reveals. The idealism, however, which has acted as a social influence through the German element, and which therefore, should be most appreciated, is that which has diverted the attention from material things to those which make life more beautiful and joyful. That idealism has been well defined by an American who has studied the Germans here and abroad, and twice represented the American nation in the homeland of the Germans.

Ambassador A.D. White says, "The dominant idea is, as I understand it, that the ultimate end of a great modern nation is something besides manufacturing, or carrying on commerce, or buying or selling products; that art, literature, science, and thought in its highest flights and widest ranges, are greater and more important; and that highest of all is the growth for which all wealth exists—the higher and better development of man, not merely as a planner, or a worker, or a carrier, or a buyer, or a seller, but as a man. In no land has this idea penetrated more deeply than in Germany, and its is
this idea which should penetrate more and more American thought and practice."

The social influence which this idealism has exerted in the development of our state cannot be measured in degrees, but it will be revealed in the lives of those who have imbibed this spirit.

CONCLUSION

We have seen how the Scandinavians and Germans have contributed to the development of two of the leading industries of Montana. We have also seen what has been accomplished morally and spiritually through the influence of the Lutheran Church. (107)

These are not their only contributions, however, for in agriculture, stock raising and politics they have also made substantial contributions. Especially is this true with regard to agriculture, for the majority of these people is farmers. Professor Babcock of the University of Minnesota, who has made a special study of the Scandinavians in this country, says, "The passion for the possession of land has characterized the Scandinavians from earliest times, and it is this that makes them such valuable citizens of the Northwest."

107. Andrew Jensen, a Norwegian pioneer of Great Falls, says, "I am of the opinion that those of its citizens of Scandinavian birth or extraction who came at that time, were to a great degree responsible for its quick transition from a more or less "wild and wooly" life, to its present law-abiding and prosperous condition. These men were needed in that new country, and their influence was quickly felt in their communities."
Mineral Development

The greatest gift of these nordic peoples to the development of mining during the first three decades of Montana's history was not only in the great numbers of miners, but in the invention of mining machinery, and in the expert leadership of the master minds, Samuel Hauser and Anton Holter,- whose genius paved the way for the successful development of one of the most remunerative industries in the Treasure State. It was through the influence and forethought of these leaders that the mine at Wicks was moved to East Helena and became the main industrial artery of the city.

It was German inventive genius that gave the concentrator to the world, Norwegian ingenuity that brought it to Montana, and German mining genius that figured conspicuously in the development of the Butte mining district.

Lumber Industry

The greatest figure in the early lumbering industry was Anton M. Holter. Not only did he bring the first lumber mill into Montana, but the lumber industry centered around his activities until he disposed of his interests in 1898. Without a doubt the Scandinavians have contributed more to the development of lumbering than any other nationality. Today they lead others in the camps and mills.

The Gyppo contract system is a distinct development attributed to the inherent, independent character of the Scandinavians. This system has settled many of the labor problems that formerly confronted the
lumber companies of the state, and has brought about an increased production. Upon the successful promotion of lumbering, Montana's chief industry, depends the prosperity of the commonwealth.

Due credit must be given the Scandinavians and Germans for the important role they have played in the lumber industry of Montana.

**Moral and Social Development**

The moral influence of any social group is dependent on the moral principles which govern its constituency. The Germans and Scandinavians have displayed the noble virtues which meet the requirements of good citizenship such as: respect for law, honesty, promptness in discharge of business obligations, dogged persistence, industry and economy. Governed by these moral principles they have helped to infuse into American stock and society a conservation and perseverance which tend to moderate and calm the restless spirit of the native American.

If, on the other hand, the moral and social influence of these people is to be judged by the growth and development of the Lutheran church in the state, it must be conceded that, in this field, the Scandinavians and Germans have fallen short. The Lutheran church has not increased in membership in proportion to the increase in Scandinavian and Germanic population. Allowance must, however, be made for those who have joined other denominations.

It is erroneous to assume that all children born of Scandinavian and Germanic stock are Lutherans. One of the parents may be of another nationality and a member of some other church body, in which case the whole family may join the church of the non-Lutheran parent.
Even though only 50% of these people were Lutheran, the church would still have fallen far short in her home mission program, for only 18,206 are at present members of the church. These figures indicated that the Lutheran Church has a large field for future mission work in Montana.

A RETROSPECT

After turning the pages of history forward, one by one, for about seventy years,—recording the uneventful days as well as setting in bold type the outstanding achievements of the pioneers of our State,—a retrospect of this short history reveals a series of astounding developments.

From a small output of lumber in the crude second-hand sawmill, hauled from Colorado to Montana in 1863, the lumber industry has grown to fabulous proportions. The largest mill in the state, at Bonner, is now sawing over 350,000 feet of lumber daily. The entire lumber industry of Montana produces annually 350 million feet of lumber at a value of $50,000,000.

From a thirty cent gold dust yield in a panful of gravel on Alder Creek in 1863, the mining industry now produces metals, netting millions of dollars annually.
The "wild and woolly" Montana, then teeming with blood-thirsty Indian tribes and daring bandit adventurers, now holds a place honor with the other states of the Union. It is blessed with splendid schools, beautiful churches and public buildings, and home-like homes. The people are educated, cultured, hospitable citizens of a great Commonwealth, whose wonderful nature leaves an impress on their minds, creating—consciously or unconsciously—a love for and an appreciation of the more beautiful things in life.

The "despised" missionary, who was looked upon with suspicion by our Red Brothers, and who endured the hardships of pioneer church work, is now resting beneath the sod he so faithfully traversed. He is replaced by the respected pastor, who lives in a comfortable home and enjoys every convenience of twentieth century life. Instead of preaching in sod huts and section houses his proclamation rings out into a spacious, beautiful edifice of worship.

The silent influence of Gospel preaching through the past seventy years has helped to retain in the lives of the people a deep respect for God, for government, and for fellow citizen,—the priceless heritage which the Scandinavian and German peoples brought with them from across the sea.

While enjoying our present-day advantages, let every Nordic son (and daughter) lift his hat to the pioneers, who, like the plants of nature,—wither and die, that the spring flowers may bud and blossom unto a new day.
## APPENDIX

### Scandinavian and German Pioneers in Montana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Date of arrival</th>
<th>First location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Schmidt</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Fort Benton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred Trautman</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Burr</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Gold Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Kirkeandal</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Fort Benton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Reinig</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Hell Gate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Brown</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Alder Gulch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Banks</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td>Last Chance Gulch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustus Graether</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Bannack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam Pink</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Wessel</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Dunkelberg</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. F. Brigit</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel T. Hauser</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bannack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Nelson</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gold Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conrad Kohrs</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td>Deer Lodge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanford Ruffner</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Hartwig</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Bannack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Kirkpatrick</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Kirkpatrick</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. J. Nelson</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. S. Pichler</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Behringer</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. M. Davidson</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Nielson</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Nicholas Gredel</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Hartwig</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikolas Kessler</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Gohn</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caroline Mc Kay</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Nelson</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wielhart</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. M. Pallinger</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. H. Myers</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td>Big Hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Pfohl</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bannack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gehr</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Dahler</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe Scheinberger</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Letters following names indicate nationality.

G: German
N: Norwegian
S: Swede
D: Dane

Nationality stated in Biographies.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edmund Whitcomb</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ira Myer</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fredrick Scheuer</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Richter</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. C. Hansen</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. L. C. Hansen</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niles Hansen</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustus Kolitz</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Spieth</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. M. Sprague</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. Weisenthorn</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jos. J. Boyer</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. J. Boyer</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otto Peterson</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Bauer</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newkirk</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. J. Davidson</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Imkump</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anscalen Davidson</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anton Holter</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Ream</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex. Metzel</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August Nelson</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred Lehman</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Morris</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elijah Pallinger</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herman Ottem</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Heeb</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. A. Behrer</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Snyder</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthias Ensch</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. H. Jurgens</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wagener</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles B. Leith</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. Mathias</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornelius Grisvold</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alphonse Lambrecht</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Olson</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dates of arrival and first location of early pioneers taken from the biographies in Montana histories as follows:
Leeson, "History of Montana", 1885.
Miller, "History of Montana", 1894.
Sanders, "History of Montana".
Stout, "History of Montana".
Progressive men of Montana.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.J. Wastwieler</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. F.J. Wastwieler</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Ziegler</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. O. Beck</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Bottcher</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Buck Sr.</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Buck Jr.</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Billings</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anton Friel &amp; Mrs.</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horatio Hansen</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hegen Conance</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Kramer</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Bruchert</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Tosten</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. George Heldt</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Anna Hansen</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Krug</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John F. Freizer</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Holter</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theo. Klein-Schmidt</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Larson</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. G. Pfauts</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis Geben</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. C. Keppler</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herman H. Horst</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josiah F. Beck</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos Milton</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Trisser</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allan Kimmerly</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Huffman</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Bent</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miles Christiansen</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Cester</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jos. B. Cester</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Alf. Cester</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Albert Bruchert</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Bruchert Jr.</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George M. Bruchert</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. W. Vogt</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Bauer</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. J. Bauer</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Milling</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loren Peterson</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Anna Peterson</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Hoyt</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Cramer</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos Buck</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Sommefield</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Peterson</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Crous</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Martens</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Zimmermann</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David F. Reinhardt</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund Alfieldit</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Eggers</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew Hilger</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Hilger</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Fink</td>
<td>Norwegian Gulch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anton Miller</td>
<td>Helena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshal T. Nelson</td>
<td>Gallatin Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Nelson</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Nelson</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter C. Weydert</td>
<td>Helena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. O. Helms</td>
<td>No designation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. H. Brenner</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred M. Epler</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Muchmeier</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Rausch</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Ziegler</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Niedenhoffen</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olaf Lafverson</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rana Kuehn</td>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Leber</td>
<td>Confrerate Gulch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm Stollie</td>
<td>Alder Gulch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. J. Bielenberg</td>
<td>German Gulch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Bielenberg</td>
<td>Deer Lodge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anders Christopherson</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew A. Switzer</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.H. Glassem</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hammer</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John J. Seyler</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malphu A. Switzer</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Kirchser</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Ulm</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.S. Wentzell</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnhart Loeb</td>
<td>Helena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Loeb</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Runkey</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Kline</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Grass</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John T. Hepstead</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Holmesc</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Kruger</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. B. Wheeler</td>
<td>Big Hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred Schulz</td>
<td>Bezemam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emil Henke</td>
<td>Virginia City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Titscher</td>
<td>German Gulch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Gassert</td>
<td>Butte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Jacobs</td>
<td>Diamond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Hicke</td>
<td>Dry Gulch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. W. Hoffman</td>
<td>Fort Buford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisk Shaffer</td>
<td>Nevada City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valetine Strauback</td>
<td>Beaver Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Neiser</td>
<td>Fort Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert Kleinschmidt</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No designation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Davidson, Gordon Charles: The Northwest Company.
A story of the organization, extent of operation of
the Northwest Fur Company and its competing
struggles with the Hudson Bay Fur Company.
University of California Press, 1918.

Department of Agriculture, Resources and Opportunities of
Montana.
An annual bulletin devoted to the advertising of
Montana for colonization purposes.

Cannon, Miles: Waialatpu.
A history of the Presbyterian missions in Oregon
and the Whitman massacre. Not bound.
Capital News Job Rooms, Boise, Idaho. 1915.

Hiram Martin Chittenden and Alfred Talbert Richardson; Life,
Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J.
Among the North American Indians.
The life of the Catholic missionary edited from the
original unpublished manuscript journals and letters,
with historical, geographical and ethnological notes.
4 volumes.

Feust, Albert Bernhardt; The German Element in the United States.
A comprehensive record of the German people from
their earliest period of settlement in this country to the
close of the first decade of the twentieth century. A
trustworthy source of information about the German people
in America. 2 volumes.

Grey, W. H.; History of Oregon, 1792-1849
A history of Oregon with special attention to the
Oregon missions.
Harris and Helman, Portland
H.H. Bancroft & Co. 1870.
Gjerseh, Knut; History of the Norwegian People.
A good history giving the history of Norway and her people.

Goodwin, Cardinal; The Trans-Mississippi West, 1603-1853.
Covers a period of expansion in the United States beginning with Louisiana purchase and ending with Gladstone purchase. Chiefly secondary material.

Alexander Henry and David Thompson; Manuscript Journals,
New York. 1897. 3 volumes.

Grace Raymond Hebard and E.A. Brininstool; The Bozeman Trail.
The overland routes and telegraph lines. The building of the Bozeman Trail. 2 volumes.

Holman, Frederick; Dr. John McLaughlin
A popular narrative of the life of Dr. J. McLaughlin and his career in the service of the Hudson Bay Fur Company. Notes and documents.
The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland. 1907.

Laveille, E.; Life of Father De Smet.
De Smet's whole life told in a most interesting way.

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark; Original Journals
Edited with notes and introduction by Reuben Gold Thwaites. 7 volumes and atlas.

Lee, Daniel and J.H. Frost; Ten Years in Oregon


Nerlie, O.M; History of the Norwegian People in America. The only complete history of the Norwegian people. It deals with history from Viking explorations of America to present time. Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis. 1925.


Roman, Major Peter; Historical Sketch of the Flathead Indians Nation from the Year 1813 to 1890. A pamphlet containing a sketch of the history of Flathead nation with story of Catholic mission. Journal Publishing Company, Helena, Mont. 1890.


South Dakota Historical Collections. Compiled by South Dakota Historical Society. 7 volumes in Treasure Room. Published every two years beginning with 1902. Several publishing companies have printed these volumes.

Sanders, Helen Fitzgerald, History of Montana. 3 volumes. First volume is historical, second and third are biographical. Lewis Publishing Company, New York-Chicago. 1913.

Shields, Colonel G.O. *The Blanket Indian of the Northwest*. 
A subscriber's edition limited to 500 copies. 
An interesting story of Indian life and wars 
developed from lectures given by the author. 
Veitch Waring Company, New York. 1921.

Stevens, Hazard: *Life of General Isaac Stevens*. 
Written by son of Isaac Stevens. 2 volumes. 
Houghton Mifflin and Company. 1901.

Stout, Tom: *History of Montana*.
3 volumes. First volume historical 
second and third, biographical
The American Historical Society. New York, 
Chicago, 1921.

Stuart, Granville: *Forty Years on the Frontier*. 
Journals of Granville Stuart, dealing with 
early mining in Montana. Indian life and cattle 
range.
The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1925.

Trexler, H.A. *Missouri-Montana Highways*. 
34 page treatise on the river and overland route 
to Montana.
State Historical Society of Missouri. 
Columbia, Missouri. 1918.

Tuttle, Daniel Sylvester, *Reminiscences of a Missionary Bishop* 
Bishop Tuttle's own story of his life and 
experiences as Episcopal pastor and bishop in 

United States Census Reports.

Report of operation of Geological Survey for the 
fiscal year ending June 30, 1881. 

Winchell. *Mining Districts of the Dillon Quadrangle, Montana 
and Adjacent States*. 
A history of, and geological description, of 
mining areas in the Dillon Quadrangle. Leaned 
from library of Dr. Ulapp, President of the University 
of Montana.

Progressive Men of Montana. 
A large volume which is exclusively biographical. 
A.W. BEEN Company Chicago. (No date) 
Editor not given.
**Manuscripts.**

*Holter, Anton M; Journals*

A history of about 800 pages giving story of early mining and lumbering and the development of power. These are interests in which Holter and his associates were the chief figures. Manuscripts contain valuable historical material. Manuscript is in office of Norman Holter at the Holter Hardware store in Helena.

*Hudtloff, Rev. H; Anfaeng der Lutherschen Kirche in Montana*

A complete history of the German Lutherans in Montana beginning with the first missionaries. Held by Rev. Hudtloff at his home on Montana Avenue, Butte, Montana.

*Heinertsen, Rev. P.J; Journals*

Written during his first visit to Montana 1885. His journals pertain to Big Timber settlement.

**Personal letters.**

Accumulated through correspondence with pioneers of the state.

**Newspapers.**

Big Timber Pioneer

Helena Independent .......... Historical Library, Helena.

Helena Record Herald

Butte Miner

Montana Post

**Magazines.**

The Northwest.

A magazine devoted to publicity of opportunities of the Northwest. St. Paul.
Lutheran

Fink, William J; Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America. Earliest pioneers in America and some of the landmarks which remain such as churches and institutions.

Hunt, J.R.R; Lutheran Home Missions. A thorough study of the Scandinavian and German people, their immigration and present status. Statistics based on census reports.
Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, 1913


Norlie, O.M; Norske Luterske Menigheter i Amerika 1843-1916. A history of all the congregations in the Norwegian Lutheran Church. 2 Volumes.
Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minn. 1918.

Trabert, George Henry; English Lutheranism in the Northwest. A story of the westward movements of the church.

Wentz, Abdel Ross; The Lutheran Church in American History. A correlation of the American Lutheran Church and American history.

Annual Reports of Norwegian Lutheran Church. 1865 to 1925.
Annual Reports of the Augustana Synod (Swedish). 1890 to 1925.
Annual Reports of Missouri Synod. 1865 to 1925.
Reports from Lutheran pastors.