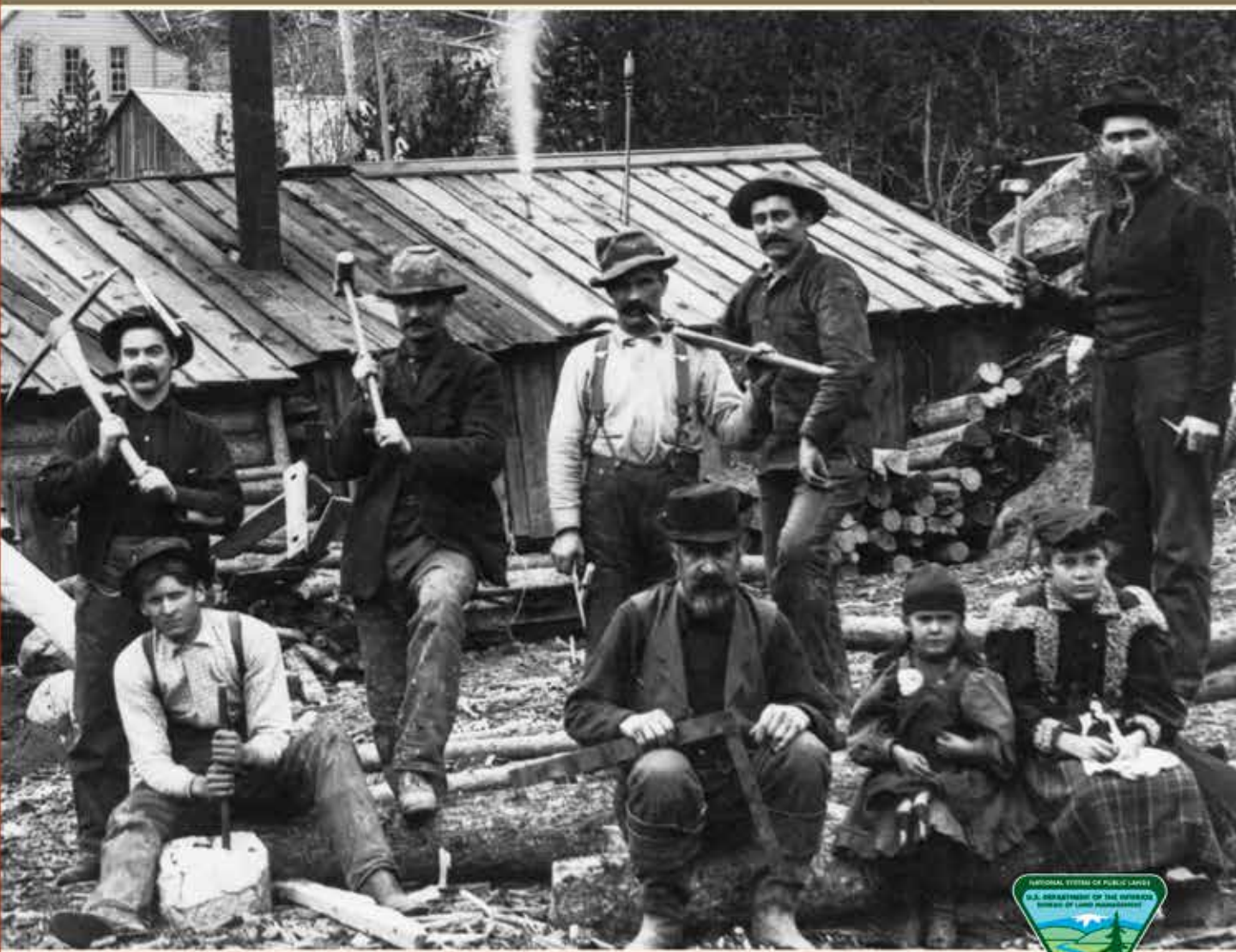
THE ROAD TO GARNET'S GOLD

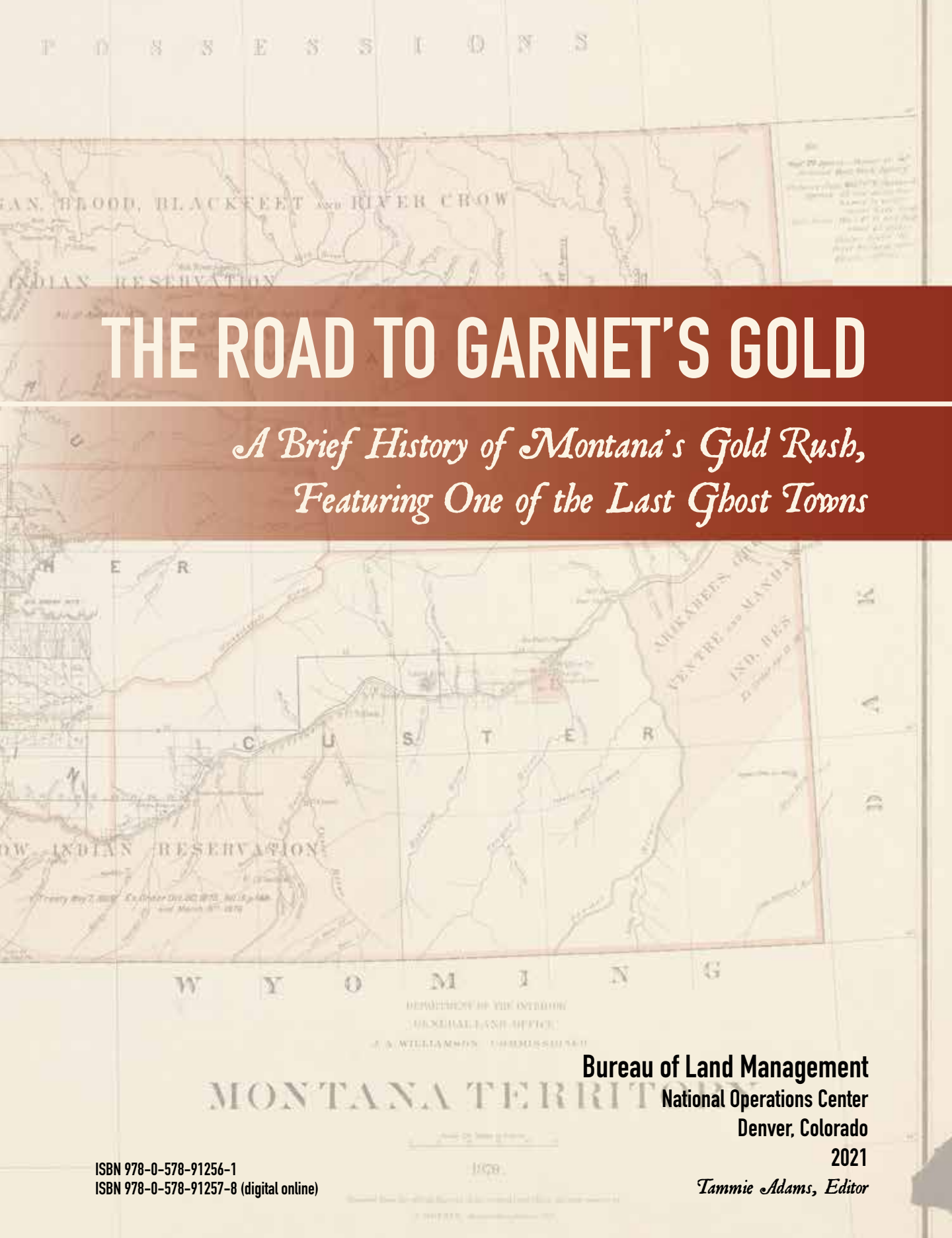
A Brief History of Montana's Gold Rush, Featuring One of the Last Ghost Towns



Bureau of Land Management

In memory of
Mary Jane (Adams) Morin,
the Queen of Garnet,
and Frank Davey,
the Guardian of Garnet,
whose spirit continues to be
such a strong presence.

Front and back cover photo: Miners outside the Nancy Hanks mine in Garnet



THE ROAD TO GARNET'S GOLD

A Brief History of Montana's Gold Rush, Featuring One of the Last Ghost Towns

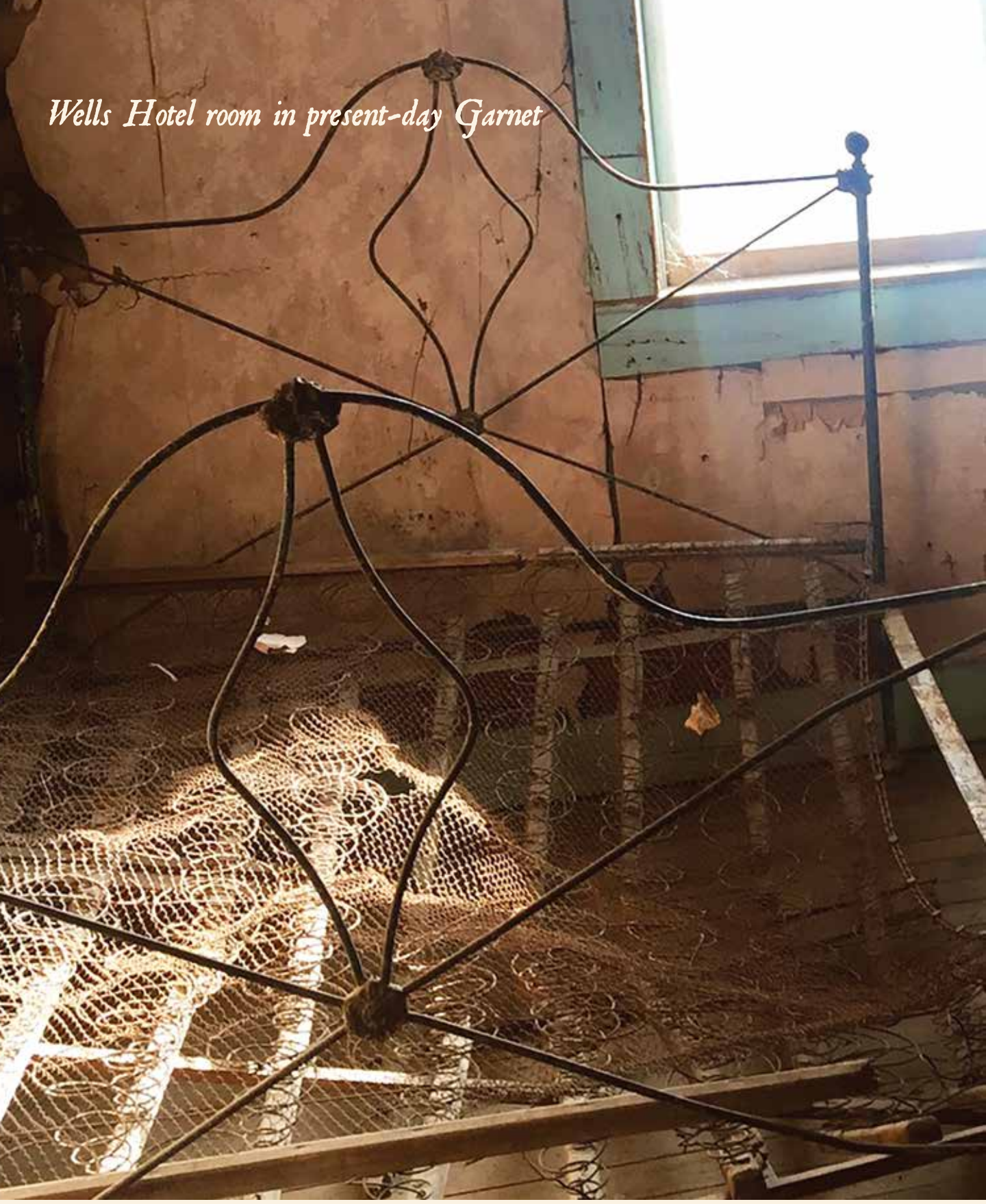
Bureau of Land Management
National Operations Center
Denver, Colorado
2021

Tammie Adams, Editor

ISBN 978-0-578-91256-1
ISBN 978-0-578-91257-8 (digital online)

Wells Hotel room in present-day Garnet

TABLE OF CONTENTS



Wells Hotel room in present-day Garnet

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS BOOK WAS MADE POSSIBLE due to the efforts of numerous Bureau of Land Management (BLM) employees throughout the years, who oversaw and authored several cultural and historical resource studies and who diligently documented the history of Garnet through interviews, collection of letters and other pieces of history, and correspondence with those connected to Garnet. Special thanks to Maria Craig for contributing consultation and archaeology expertise, Terri Wolfgram for sharing knowledge in placer mining, Mindy Mason for providing knowledge in the area of geology, and Janine Koselak for creating the book's layout and design.

The BLM wishes to especially acknowledge Kate Hampton and Brian Shovers of the Montana Historical Society and the historians who previously researched and wrote about Garnet, including William Babcock, John Crouch, Dennis Daley, John Ellingsen, Thomas Foor, Daniel Gallacher, Terry Halden, Daniel S. Hall, Helen Hammond, Tammy Howser, Pamela Liggett, Garren Meyer, Jim Mohler, Jennifer K. Spencer, John Taylor, M. Timmons, and many others.

Thank you to the late Bob Cushman, son of Dan Cushman, for saving the entire collection of *Garnet Mining News*. Thanks also go out to Gwen Busby for gathering research for *The People of Garnet* and to Linda Stroh of the Garnet Preservation Association for genealogical research regarding Frank Davey and John Lehsou. Thanks to Michael Lawrence, Frank Davey's grandnephew, for family information and, in that same vein, to Lorri Morgan and Jane Leonard for providing information and documents on their ancestors John and Henry Lehsou and the family history of Charles Kroger. Thanks also go to Professor of Geology Jim Sears for sharing his information regarding the Lehsou and Kroger claims and subsequent life events.

Present-day Garnet

INTRODUCTION

GOLD MINING PLAYS A PROMINENT ROLE in the history of the American West. One small piece of the larger gold mining saga took place in the mountains of western Montana. Garnet is a ghost town about 40 miles east of Missoula, Montana, nestled in the Garnet Range of the Rocky Mountains at about 6,000 feet above sea level. When built, mining towns, in general, were not intended to last. Once the gold, silver, or other metal "played out," townspeople usually abandoned domestic structures and scavenged anything useful to bring to the next town. In contrast, for Garnet, people came, left, came back, and left again over a longer period of time, which helped to preserve the many buildings and townsite features.

This tiny, well-preserved town is surrounded mostly by Douglas fir and lodgepole pine, and thousands of visitors each year, from all over the world, visit this quiet piece of history. Songs from the wind blowing through the trees dominate the atmosphere, where there were once the sounds of day-to-day life and dynamite in the background. With the designation of its post office in 1896, this gold mining town bustled with activity.

This book explores Garnet during its heyday and describes the people who stand out in its history. Garnet was hardly the most successful gold mining town in Montana, nor was it one of the first. In fact, it was one of the last gold towns to become a ghost town. Garnet's story can hardly be told alone and hinges on the path of gold discovery in the State of Montana. As a result, this book is a brief account of Montana's gold rush, followed by a more detailed exploration of the Garnet story.

Many of the people involved in the formation of Montana crossed each other's paths, and their stories overlap throughout the course of this book. This story begins with John C. Lehsou, one of the earlier placer miners to work the soils of what eventually became the heart of Garnet. Other pioneers are woven in and out of the narrative. Some were minor players in the chronicle of the mining frontier. Others were at its heart and went on to shape the State of Montana, playing major roles in its beginning, in government, and in industry.

Dora and John Lehsou

CHAPTER 1

The Lure of Gold

THERE WERE 77 OF THEM. Hidden in the earth's crust for eons and unearthed sometime in the late 1800s, they lie in the dark confines of a small cardboard box, protected by a metal container within an iron and steel vault inside the heavily fortified brick and concrete walls of the First Bank Western Montana in Missoula. How long they had been there remained a mystery, but their original discoverer had died in 1921. It was now 1990, more than a half-century later.

Officials of the Montana Department of Revenue had been doing their job—in this case for 4 months—as they searched tax records and other sources for a clue as to who might be the rightful heirs of the objects now in possession. The investigation culminated when officials located two grandchildren and three great-grandchildren of John C. Lehsou, the pioneer prospector and miner who had owned the objects.

Jane Leonard (left) and her sister Lorri Stacy, great-granddaughters of John C. Lehsou, examining gold nuggets in Helena in 1990 (photo by Gene Fischer)

Unprepared for the bright lights of the television cameras and the throng of news reporters who filled the large room, Jane Leonard and her sister Lorri Stacy, great-granddaughters of John Lehsou registered nervous anticipation, almost shock, as Montana State Auditor Jim McKeon and Revenue Department officials turned the cardboard box over to them. The top was opened to reveal dozens of gold nuggets, some of surprising size, a vial of gold dust, and a yellowed piece of paper. After catching their collective breath, they unfolded the note and read it. The typewritten message informed the sisters that Lehsou had mined the gold between 1873 and 1885 in First Chance, Williams, and Bear Gulches. It also said the gold was "to be handed down in the family and never to be sold or given as security for a loan unless absolutely necessary." First Chance and Williams Gulches merged in the heart of what would one day become Garnet, Montana, and eventually Garnet Ghost Town.

The largest nugget in the cache weighed almost 4 ½ ounces, a hefty specimen according to Wayne Miller, a Helena coin dealer and metals trader who weighed the gold for the Revenue Department. The normal weight for Montana nuggets was 3 ounces or less. The Lehsou treasure trove included

a total of 19 ½ ounces of nuggets made up of 80 percent gold and another 6 to 7 ounces of quartz inlaid with about 25 percent gold.

"There's a value there beyond what gold is there," said Miller to a reporter, "because of the history linked to the treasure and the unusually large nuggets." At the time, in 1990, spot prices for gold ran about $370 per ounce. Miller estimated that the nuggets could be sold piecemeal for around $6,000 but could bring as much as $10,000 if sold for exhibition. With the price of gold averaging about $1,250 per ounce in 2017, the piecemeal value would have increased to approximately $20,000 and the exhibition value to an unknown amount, but with the interest in gold, probably approaching $100,000.

The Lehsou gold possessed more than just a monetary value, mainly because of the history linked to the treasure. The broader story revolves around gold and the lives of those who pursued it on the frontier of western Montana. The players are connected in more ways than can be imagined. Some of the names include the founders of Missoula: Christopher Power Higgins, Frank Lyman Worden, and Frank Woody, along with those who conducted the first real mining operation in Montana at Gold Creek—Granville Stuart and his older brother James. Frontier trapper, trader, and rancher Johnny Grant also played a significant role, as did all of those who came to the West to seek their fortunes and, in doing so, took part in the development of the territory and eventual State of Montana. Early Gold Creek connects as the epicenter for explorations that led to discoveries at Bannack, Virginia City, Beartown, and finally, Garnet. The safe that once held the gold nuggets accumulated by Lehsou belonged to Frank Worden and was the first iron safe transported to the Missoula area. Packhorses carried the safe almost 500 miles over rugged mountains to serve Worden and his business partner Christopher Higgins at their trading post at Hell Gate. All of the aforementioned Montana pioneers were contemporaries of John Lehsou.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

John C. Lehsou was born on April 3, 1840, in Holstein, Germany. Lehsou received a public education and, like most young men, joined his father in working the family farm until he was 25. Holstein was not exactly a bucolic place in which to live. Almost constant war and a limited amount of available land for inheritance were strong motives for young men to leave the home country.

Lehsou joined thousands of single men of his time in responding to the irresistible pull to escape the horrors of war and the drudgery of farm work to seek out adventure in the far off vistas of America. In May 1865, Lehsou set sail from Hamburg, Germany, on the 282-foot passenger

ship *Teutonia*. After a 3-week sea voyage, he arrived in the United States on June 2, 1865, at Castle Island, America's first official immigration center that preceded the Ellis Island facility at New York Harbor. He found much of the nation in mourning over the recent assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. Ribbons of black cloth, signs of grief, seemed to be everywhere.

A migration of Germans from the Holstein area had started earlier in the late 1840s when war first raged in their homeland. Large numbers of immigrants took an ocean route that typically began in Hamburg and culminated at the port of New Orleans, where they then boarded boats for transport up the Mississippi River to Davenport, Iowa. These political refugees became known as the "Forty-Eighters." Between April and December 1847, more than 200 Germans from Schleswig-Holstein arrived in Davenport. The German-American "Forty-Eighters" were revolutionaries, veterans, philosophers, teachers, and above all, hard workers. These freedom-searching, mostly well-educated refugees embraced liberal causes such as abolition of slavery and the right for women to vote. They also learned English quickly and promoted immigration to those who remained in the old country. By the time Lehsou arrived in the United States, the Schleswig-Holstein Germans had become a powerful political and social force in Iowa.

John Lehsou and his granddaughter Dora (ca. 1912)

Knowing that he had the support of fellow Germans, Lehsou headed west to Davenport, Iowa. The opportunity of land ownership through the Homestead Act of 1862 and the stories of instant wealth attained through the discovery of gold out West promised hope for the new arrivals. Remaining in Davenport for less than a year, Lehsou began preparing to make his way West, first by moving to Omaha and later Nebraska City. There he gained employment as a teamster, driving freight wagons for Owens and Fry Company. Most freight wagon trains were led by "muleskinners" and "bullwhackers." The former rode the lead mule, controlling the assemblage of horses and mules with a jerk line, while the latter walked alongside the slower, plodding oxen cracking his whip over the animals and yelling directions "Gee" and "Haw!" Respected for their toughness, muleskinners and bullwhackers became legendary. In his role as bullwhacker, Lehsou held one of the most important positions of leadership in the wagon train. His skill would be harshly tested with his immediate assignment to drive an oxen team to the Bitterroot Valley of Montana Territory. A more

perilous journey would have been hard to find. Everyone who freighted West knew of the life-and-death dangers involved.

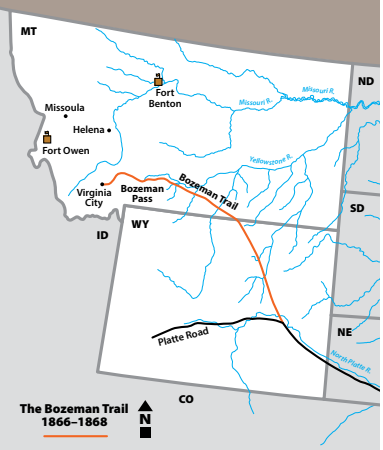
With 30 people to protect during the long journey across hostile Indian country, it is likely that Lehsou's wagon train was large, similar to most others from Nebraska, composed of a hitch of as many as 12 teams of oxen capable of carrying a huge amount of freight—as much as 15,000 pounds of supplies. While some freighters proclaimed that such a massive train assured slow going and extreme vulnerability to Indian attacks, others argued that its size would deter such raids. Lehsou and the other members of the wagon train would find out, their journey leading them to the Bozeman Trail.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Throughout the 1800s, the Oregon Trail was the accepted western route for immigrants. However, the trail passed nowhere near the mines of Idaho or Montana. This caused private traders to lobby Congress in the 1860s to appropriate funding for a cutoff road to alleviate that problem. However, with the chaos of the Civil War, Congress had more pressing priorities.

John M. Bozeman

John M. Bozeman had been to gold mines in Montana. Bozeman, originally from Georgia, had mined at Gold Creek and had been part of the rush from there to the gold fields of Bannack and Virginia City. In 1862, he decided to determine a shorter route for those traveling into Montana Territory and initiated a partnership with John M. Jacobs, who had worked on the Mullan Military Road. In 1863, these two adventurers began blazing a trail that would serve as an alternate route. The new trail split from the Oregon Trail near present-day Casper, Wyoming, progressed northward to near Buffalo, Wyoming, and followed the base of the mountains across the Bighorn River into the Yellowstone Valley. From there, the trail followed the Clark Fork of the Yellowstone to the gold fields.



In 1863, Bozeman tested the new trail by leading a wagon train from Nebraska. The wagon train was met by a large party of Sioux who strongly objected to the incursion into their Powder River hunting grounds that were supposedly protected by the Ft. Laramie Treaty of 1851. Most of the wagon train party heeded the Sioux's advice to return to the Oregon Trail. However, Bozeman and nine companions surreptitiously traveled at night, crossing over the headwaters of the Bighorn into Montana.

The following year, Bozeman organized another large wagon train and led it through the Sioux lands, reasoning that the Indians would not dare attack such a substantial party. With the completion of successful trips, the new route became known as the Bozeman Trail. While the Bozeman

Trail could save roughly 400 miles and 4 to 6 weeks of difficult travel, it soon became evident that it could also lead to an early grave.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

By the time Lehsou and his wagon train comprised of 30 people left Nebraska for the Bitterroot Valley of Montana in 1866, the Bozeman Trail had indeed become bloody. Lehsou's nerves could not have been calmed by the almost daily accounts of Indian killings of whites written in the *Nebraska City News-Press*. Most reports failed to delve into the motives for the attacks—motives that had been building for years. Perhaps most importantly, the Indians had been pushed into a desperate situation by the increasing encroachment on their lands and food supply by western immigration.

Lehsou found out firsthand the risks of entering Indian country as he passed through Dakota Territory en route to connect with the Bozeman Trail. According to his biography in *Progressive Men of the State of Montana*, "They [the Lehsou party] had trouble with Sioux Indians in Dakota, losing three men and all of their thirteen horses." One can only imagine the fear and trepidation that must have overtaken the members of the Lehsou wagon train after that horrible experience. The Sioux comprised the greatest Indian power in the West—excellent riders, hunters, and strategists, determined to stop the westward migration of whites across their hunting grounds.

The Lehsou party still faced many hundreds of miles of hostile territory to reach the Bitterroot Valley, including those along the Bozeman Trail. From June through December 1866, the attacks would account for more than 260 deaths at the hands of Indians during what became known as Red Cloud's War, named after the influential Oglala Sioux leader. The deaths included Lieutenant Colonel W.J. Fetterman, untrained in fighting Indians, but boastful that one company of regulars could defeat a thousand Indians. Fetterman's foolish bravado led to a trap, where he lost his entire command of 80 men near Fort Kearny on December 21, 1866.

HELL GATE RONDE HISTORY AND THE NAMING OF MISSOULA

While traveling to Bear Creek, John Lehsou would most likely have followed the first part of the path that Meriwether Lewis and his party had taken on their return trip when they split from William Clark's group at Traveler's Rest in 1806. The trail entered into Hell Gate Ronde (meeting place, short for rendezvous), a huge valley, once covered by one of the largest glacial lakes on the continent. With the melting and refreezing of ice that confined the massive lake, the process of draining and refilling created massive floods that took place over thousands of years. Evidence of shorelines carved into the hillsides exists to the east at present-day Missoula. After the floods ended, Hell Gate Ronde became a Native American and later Euro-American trading area. Hell Gate Ronde was situated as the hub of five valleys—the Bitterroot Valley to the south, the Flathead-Jocko Valley to the north, the Blackfoot Valley to the northeast, the broad expanse of the Frenchtown Valley to the west, and the Deer Lodge Valley directly east. The openness of Hell Gate Ronde ceased to the east, with a dark and restrictive canyon that gave the area its ominous name—Hellgate.

For centuries, each spring, bands of Flathead Indians traveled to Hellgate from their winter camps in the Bitterroot to harvest the bitterroot plant before it flowered, using its roots as a highly nutritional additive to food. They also traversed the valley on their way to bison hunting grounds east of the Continental Divide, their principal path through the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Blackfoot Valley becoming known as "the road to the buffalo." Salish, Kootenai, Pend d'Oreilles, Nez Perce, Shoshone, Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, and even the militant Blackfeet (Piegan) used the trail—the latter for purposes at odds with the others. Hellgate got its name from the tight canyon at its eastern end, which offered a strategically perfect ambush site for Blackfeet warriors to swoop down upon other tribes who returned laden with buffalo meat and hides after encroaching upon, what the Blackfeet considered, their private hunting grounds to the east of the Continental Divide. French explorers, who came upon human bones strewn upon the canyon's bottom, reminders of the bloody confrontations, began to refer to the site as "Porte de l'Enfer," translating to "Hell Gate." Those explorers concluded that it "was safer to enter the gates of hell than pass through this narrow confine."

In July 1806, Meriwether Lewis and his party, guided by Nez Perce and Salish, camped at Grant Creek, roughly 4 miles west of downtown present-day Missoula. The next morning, as they looked toward the east, the Indian guides decided it was time to say goodbye and head north instead of east through the infamous canyon. Exchanging gifts with the explorers, the Indians wished the expedition well as it prepared to embark on perhaps one of the most dangerous parts of the journey—the miles through hostile Blackfeet country to the agreed-upon meeting place with William Clark near the mouth of the Yellowstone River.

On July 4, 1806, the Lewis party cautiously trudged through the ominous

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

In *The Bloody Bozeman,* author Dorothy M. Johnson succinctly summed up the average person who, like Lehsou, undertook the journey west:

> The Bozeman Trail was for a kind of man who was new in wilderness Montana, the man who came hopefully out from the states to better his condition…This new man was not a born adventurer, but in his stubborn, sometimes cautious way he was a gambler. He knew or soon learned that hostile Indians barred the trail through the Powder River country of present Wyoming. He gambled his life to better his condition…

Wagon trains, such as Lehsou's, had plenty of company. During summer months, on any given day, as many as 300 wagons could be seen waiting to cross the Big Horn River at Fort Smith. With the public horror over the Fetterman "massacre"—the massacre of soldiers who were trained and well-armed—came the realization that emigrants and freighters had little chance against the Sioux, especially those led by a determined and angry Red Cloud. Forts were constructed, but their isolation made them targets for Indian harassment, making the road even more dangerous.

During the last leg of hundreds of miles through recently designated Montana Territory, all indications are that the Lehsou party followed the Bozeman Trail to Virginia City, then the Corrine (Salt Lake) Road into the Big Hole, and up and over the Bitterroot Range at Big Hole Pass. As they paused and assessed the situation at the summit of the pass, Lehsou and his party, weary from the long and arduous journey, faced perhaps the most physically difficult leg of the trip. The Bitterroot Valley and the security of Fort Owen lay straight down the treacherous incline—so close and yet so far.

Ten years earlier, an adventurous North Carolinian of Lehsou's age had a similar experience in bringing oxen over the Continental Divide at the Big Hole pass. Frank H. Woody, who would become Missoula's first mayor, historian, and judge, described the dangerous descent in an interview with *Missoulian* editor A.L. Stone, in 1911:

> We rough-locked the wagon wheels and took the two swing yokes of oxen and hitched them behind to pull back. With the leaders and wheelers in front and the swing teams behind, we started down the hill. Two men pounding the swing teams over the heads to make them pull back, they just slid down the hill. And the dust that we made! The yells and the snorts and the dust made a Bedlam. But we got to the bottom alright and were mighty thankful to find everyone there and everything right side up. That was the hardest bit of traveling that I ever did.

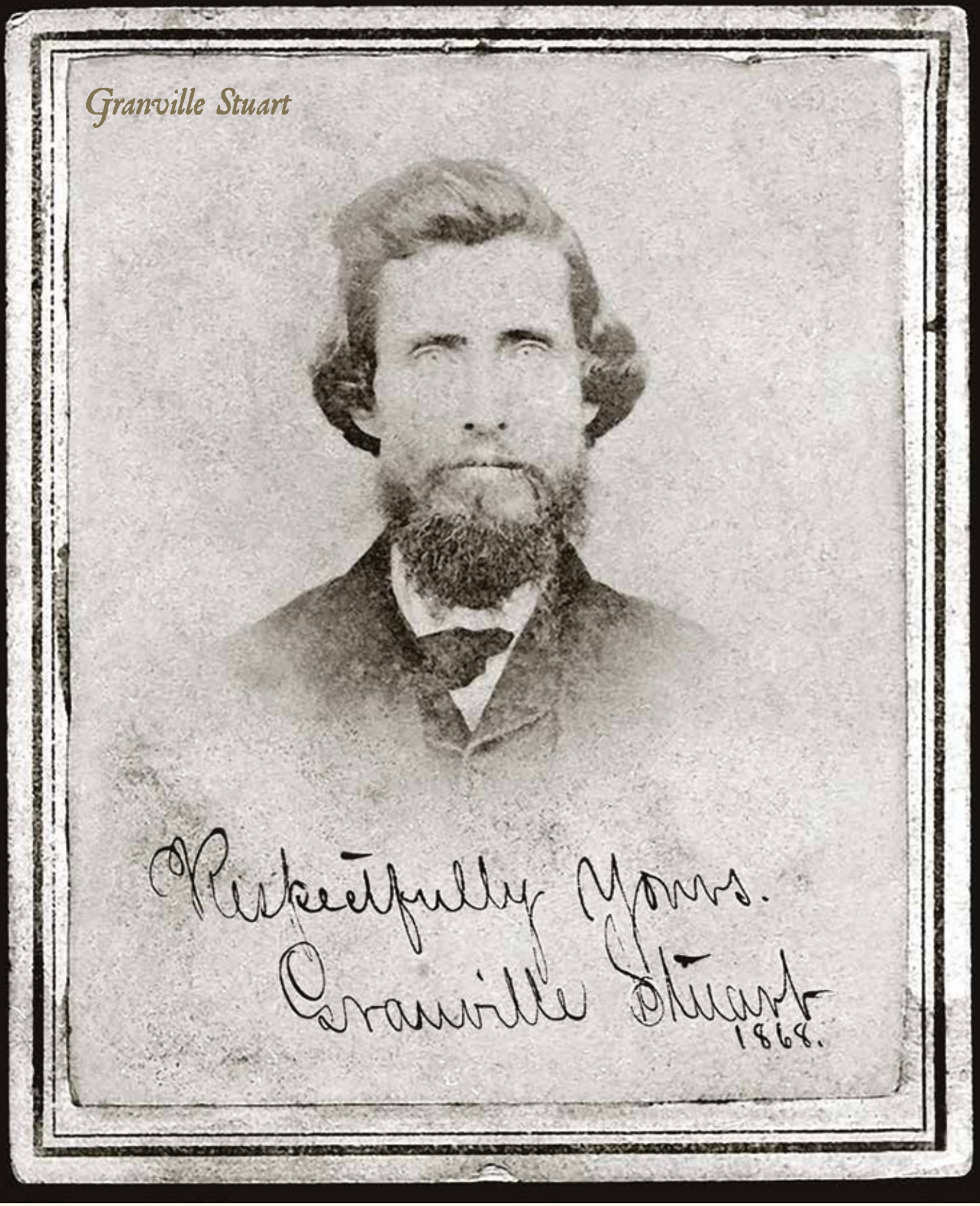
Lehsou and his wagons of groceries and mining tools finally arrived at the perilous journey's end at Fort Owen.

In 1850, Major John Owen, a trader with the Indians, arrived in the Bitterroot Valley and purchased St. Mary's, an abandoned Jesuit mission, just outside of present-day Stevensville. Here, Owen constructed a fort. Fort Owen became known throughout the West, not for anything to do with military adventures, but as a center of trade in the Bitterroot and an oasis in the distance for those who crossed the towering mountains following the popular wagon route from Utah. Major Owen soon became the most widely known resident of western Montana. In 1852, he penned one of the early mysteries of Montana when he wrote a cryptic note in his journal, "Gold hunting. Found some." No explanation followed, and no other subsequent entries even mentioned the event. Substantial gold discoveries never occurred in the Bitterroot Valley; however, an account written in 1876 by Charles S. Warren, stated that Samuel Caldwell had found "color" at nearby Mill Creek later in the same year as Owen's entry. The narrative of that unsubstantiated event added to speculation that gold might exist in the Bitterroot. However, as it turned out, the gold was first found, not in the Bitterroot, but to the northeast in the Deer Lodge Valley.

Lehsou could not have helped but notice the large number of prospectors traveling through the valley. The talk was of one subject—gold! The next gold rush was at a place called Bear Creek, or more commonly known as "The Bear." Compared to Lehsou's previous journey, the trip to Bear Creek was easy—just a 2-day horseback ride from Fort Owen over a mostly flat trail. In the fall of 1866, Lehsou headed north.

Hellgate Canyon unharmed and continued up the Big Blackfoot River corridor. Less than a decade later, trapper and explorer David Thompson, working for the British-owned North West Company, traveled from the Flathead River into the Hellgate valley, guided by a Kootenai hunter known as Le Gauche (Left Hand). Climbing the rounded hill that would become known as Mount Jumbo, Thompson, using his surveying skills and stories from the locals, could visually retrace the route that Lewis and Clark had traveled through the Bitterroot Valley to Traveler's Rest and beyond. On a frigid day in January 1812, he looked down upon the expanse and completed a rough sketch, labeling the valley NEMISSOOLATAKOO, a name whose origins have been debated ever since. Some interpreted it as a corrupted translation of Indian words referring to "cold from the waters" or from fear associated with the ambushes in the canyon. Still others, most notably Salish elders, resisted the cold or fear implications and insisted that it related to a translation of a Salish word meaning "place with bull trout." The 15-letter word would later be shortened to Missoula.

Indian camp in Hell Gate Canyon


Granville Stuart
Respectfully Yours.
Granville Stuart
1868.

CHAPTER 2

The Stuarts and a Creek called "Gold"

SUBSTANTIATION WAS HARDLY NECESSARY for men to follow any rumor regarding gold. They would travel over unknown country and face dangers from hostile Indians, towering mountains, and extreme weather. Years before John Lehsou reached Montana Territory, many events and people helped shape the land he would come to know—beginning with brothers James and Granville Stuart.

By 1857, the Stuart brothers, unsuccessful participants in the California gold rush, finally gave up on that area after 5 years of futile effort and decided to return to visit their parents in Iowa. Nobody, including the Stuarts, wanted to admit to their family that they had wasted years out West. Accompanied by nine other wanderers with little to lose, the Stuarts bade farewell to Yreka, California, on June 14, 1857. Riding mules and horses, they each led a pack animal carrying the group's meager belongings. Little did the Stuarts dream that they would one day rise to prominence, identified as pioneer leaders of what would become Montana.

However, back in 1857, Granville Stuart, his older brother James, and their friends rode slow and discouraged toward their childhood home in Iowa, crossing through dry lands in Oregon and then into what would become Utah. Brigham Young, head of the Mormon Church, had recently declared the area a theocratic commonwealth and named it the Independent State of Deseret. In response to rumors that the Mormons planned to secede from the Union, federal troops were on their way to quell what President James Buchanan viewed as a rebellion. Utah was certainly an uncomfortable place for nonbelievers. Mormons who provided food or assistance to non-church members were considered traitors. Armed guards patrolled the trails. Mormons cached weapons and food to prepare for an armed conflict. To make matters worse, both the Bannock and Modoc Tribes were on the warpath.

THE ICONIC GRANVILLE STUART

Granville Stuart lived to be 84 and gained recognition as Montana's quintessential pioneer. Pulitzer Prize winning novelist A.B. Guthrie used Stuart as a model for a leading character in the widely successful novel *These Thousand Hills*. Prospector, miner, businessman, cattle rancher, vigilante, writer, artist (who sketched out early frontier scenes including Missoula Mills), and prolific father of numerous children born of a Native American wife, Granville Stuart loomed larger than life.

In 1865, Granville wrote the first book about the territory, *Montana As It Is*. He neither drank nor gambled, and one of his only convictions was the Democratic Party, which rewarded his devotion with an appointment as diplomatic representative to Paraguay and Uruguay, where he witnessed the assassination of Uruguay's president. Stuart's adventures somewhat parallel those of The Virginian in Owen Wister's epic novel by that name, whose main character's brand of justice included death by hanging. His adventures are used liberally in Larry McMurtry's *Lonesome Dove,* and his character is savaged in Arthur Penn's film *The Missouri Breaks*.

In 1880, Granville entered into a partnership with J. Davis and Samuel Hauser to engage

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

in the cattle business. The business brand was simply named DHS, by using the first letter of each partner's last name. Their headquarters was east of Lewistown, Montana. When horse thieves took a toll on DHS herds in the area, Granville took justice into his own hands. In 1884, he organized what became known as Stuart's Stranglers and led a successful vigilante raid into the Missouri River Breaks. That year, Granville was also elected the first president of the Montana Stockgrowers Association.

In addition to the previously mentioned dangers, Granville Stuart became seriously ill at Malad Creek, northeast of Salt Lake City. The group was forced to make camp. By the time Granville had recovered enough to ride, what became known as the Mormon War escalated to the point at which it appeared a retreat for the Stuart party back to California would be necessary. Fate intervened when Jake Meek, a former Hudson's Bay Company employee, camped nearby. Meek offered an alternative: come north with him. Meek told of a gold discovery by a fellow Hudson's Bay trader, Francois Finlay—better known as Benetsee—not far from the Beaverhead in a valley known as Deer Lodge in Montana Territory. The stream that Meek referred to had most recently been briefly explored in 1856 by a group of miners led by Robert Hereford. The small amount of gold Hereford's group discovered at Gold Creek did not persuade them to remain and work the site.

While Granville recovered from his illness, James Stuart and Jake Meek sought out supplies for the trip north and succeeded in persuading a Mormon bishop to sell them the bare necessities. The Stuart party found out months later that, as they prepared for the journey, what became known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred not far from where they camped. The details were horrifying. A wagon train of emigrants from Arkansas, on their way to California, were ambushed, laid under siege for days, and finally slaughtered by Mormon militia members and local Paiute Indians. One hundred and twenty emigrants, many of them women and children, were murdered.

Johnny Grant

EARLY MONTANA'S CATTLE INDUSTRY

Richard Grant's son, Johnny Grant, became one of the most well-known personalities in early Montana history. Johnny Grant had joined his father at Fort Hall (near modern-day Pocatello, Idaho) in 1842 and then ventured out on his own during the winter of 1849. He married a Shoshone woman, who was the first of 8 wives to cumulatively have borne him 26 children. The women were from various tribes, which allowed Grant to form alliances with those groups. He moved to Deer Lodge in the Beaverhead

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

The Stuart party made it out of Utah and up across the Rocky Mountain Divide near Monida Pass by early October 1857. That 6,800-feet-high pass in the Beaverhead Mountains, a subrange of the Bitterroot Range, would later mark the boundary between southwestern Montana and eastern Idaho, hence the name "MonIda." Crossing the Beaverhead River, the Stuart party made winter camp at the mouth of Blacktail Deer Creek. Their camp was a day's ride from another more populated camp clustered around Captain Richard Grant's cabin. Richard Grant, formerly employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, was the patriarch of a large family that eventually settled on a ranch a few miles from Hell Gate (Missoula) along a creek that would come to bear his name.

During the winter, the Stuart party lived in elk skin lodges in a valley plentiful with game. They hunted and traded with the Bannock and Snake Indians and

enjoyed the mild temperatures of that winter, intending to cross over the mountains to the Deer Lodge Valley in the spring. Richard Grant invited the Stuart brothers and others to dine at his nearby camp for an elaborate Christmas dinner that included buffalo meat and such delicacies as "boiled smoked tongue, bread, dried fruit, a preserve made from the choke-cherries, and coffee." The Christmas meal was a fine diversion from the Stuart party's regular diet, which was made up almost entirely of meat.

Having survived the Utah experience and the trip across impressive mountains, the Stuart party finally reached their destination at Benetsee Creek (Gold Creek) in 1858. It was an isolated spot with no wagon road to any supply town. They had few provisions and even fewer tools to access the gold, which they believed to be hidden below the gravel near the bedrock. Upon their arrival and after making camp, James and Granville Stuart and a partner named Reece Anderson panned a bit of color with kitchen pans and dug for more with a broken-handled shovel.

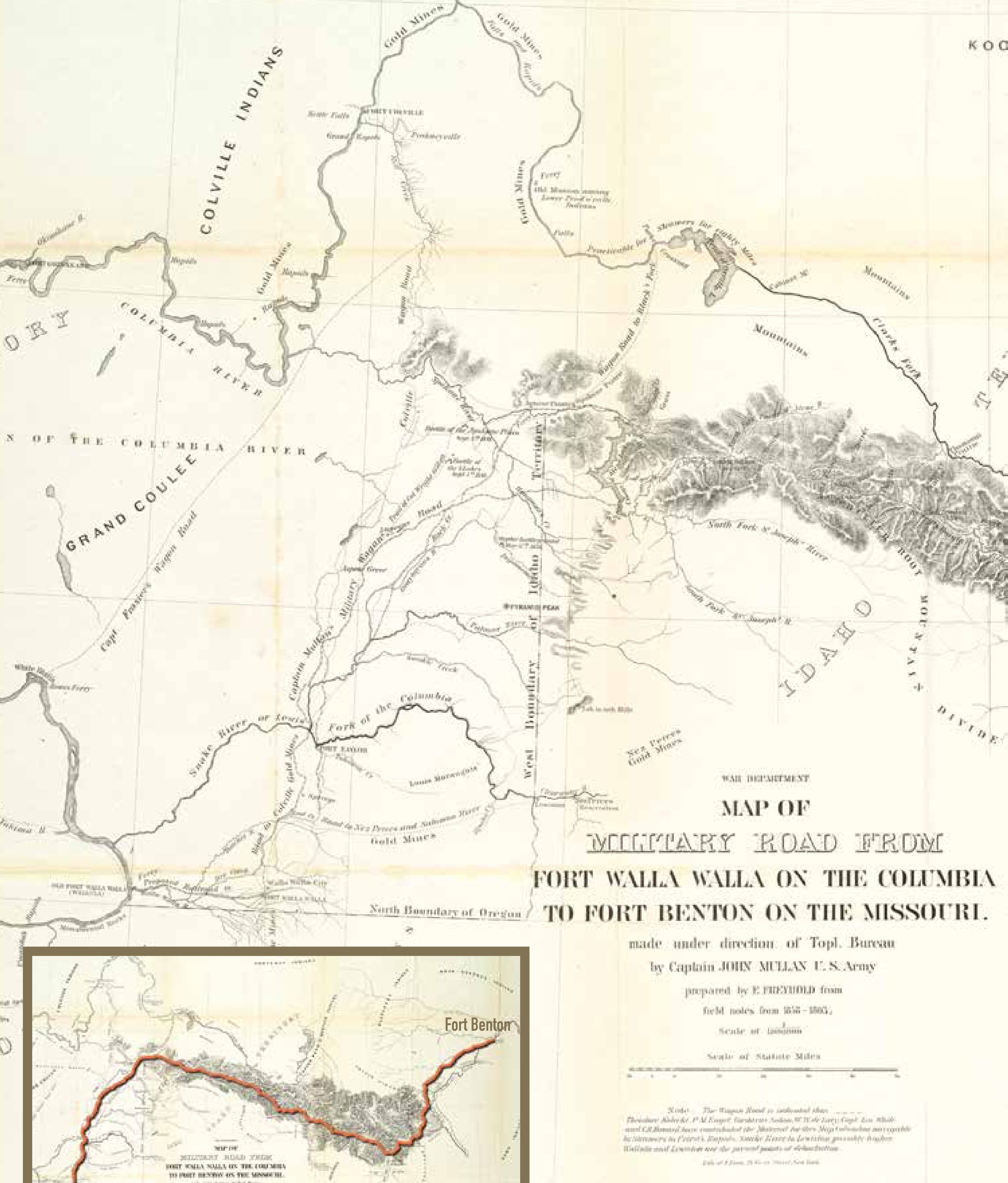
That same year, the Stuart party managed to sink a shaft and find gold deposits. Granville Stuart later wrote that, "This prospect hole dug by us was the first prospecting done in what is now Montana and this is the account of the first real discovery of gold in what is now Montana." These diggings at Gold Creek formed the initial link that eventually led to discoveries and a gold rush boom at nearby Bear Creek. This, in turn, brought prospectors up the gulches from a new camp called Beartown, later allowing the discovery of the placer and quartz mines high in the mountains at Garnet (all in a span of 40 years).

Now, however, frustrated at their inability to mine the harvest, the Stuarts and Reece Anderson abandoned the diggings and left by pack trail for Walla Walla, Washington, where Christopher Power Higgins and Frank Lyman Worden operated a store. They returned 2 years later in 1860 by way of the newly constructed Mullan Military Road, bringing some light mining equipment necessary to do further exploration at Gold Creek. Within a few years of its construction, the Mullan Road became a main thoroughfare for gold seekers from the East, and Gold Creek became a popular stop for socialization and information—both sorely needed by the weary travelers.

Valley in 1855, trading cattle and horses at Fort Hall (present-day southeastern Idaho) by buying worn-down animals from the emigrant wagon trains along the Oregon Trail and fattening them up for profit. Grant, who spoke mainly French, convinced numerous French and Spanish traders to settle in Deer Lodge.

Throughout time, Johnny Grant's lack of proficiency with the English language put him at a disadvantage in negotiating business contracts, and road agents took their toll on his shipping profits. With the gold rushes of the 1860s bringing both thousands of miners and an increasing element of racial prejudice, Grant decided to move back to his native Canada. Almost all of the French residing in the Deer Lodge Valley followed his lead, and in 1866, after selling his ranch to Conrad Kohrs, an estimated 200 family members and friends followed him to Manitoba. Johnny Grant had left a lasting legacy in the cattle industry he had established. He died at age 76 while living near the Edmonton area of Alberta where he had moved to be close to the Hudson Bay trading post where he was born.

Grant's grandson, Billie Nutt, remembered how his grandfather looked shortly after the turn of the century—as a large man with white flowing shoulder length hair, which, he explained to the youth, was a common custom when he was a mountain man. The length of hair might make it more desirable to the Indians for a scalp, explained grandpa John, but it also served as a clear signal that the man was willing to fight to protect himself.

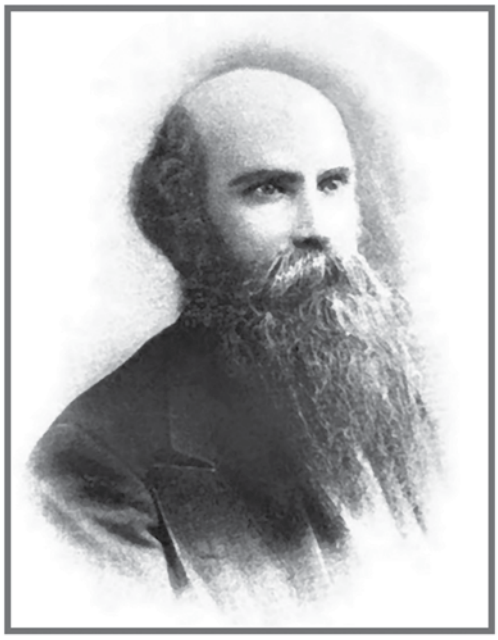

WAR DEPARTMENT
MAP OF
MILITARY ROAD FROM
FORT WALLA WALLA ON THE COLUMBIA
TO FORT BENTON ON THE MISSOURI.
made under direction of Topl. Bureau
by Captain JOHN MULLAN U. S. Army
prepared by E. FREYHOLD from
field notes from 1858 - 1863.
Scale of Statute Miles
COLVILLE INDIANS
GRAND COULEE
COLUMBIA RIVER
IDAHO
Captain Mullan's Military Wagon Road
Snake River or Lewis' Fork of the Columbia
Gold Mines
FORT COLVILLE
PYRAMID PEAK
Clarks Fork
Mountains
North Boundary of Oregon
West Boundary of Idaho Territory
Nez Perces Gold Mines
Walla Walla City
FORT WALLA WALLA
Fort Benton
Fort Walla Walla

CHAPTER 3

The Mullan Military Road and the Search for Gold

JOHN MULLAN, A YOUNG ARMY ENGINEER, was tasked with the construction of what would be called the Mullan Military Road. On completion, the wagon road connected Fort Walla Walla (in present-day Washington State) to Fort Benton (in Montana Territory). The construction of the Mullan Military Road was truly a staggering engineering feat and significant to the development of western Montana.

With the formidable Rocky Mountains standing in his way, John Mullan began the task in 1859, as Congress appropriated $100,000 for construction of the road. Mullan began his field work with 90 workers and an escort that brought the number in the expedition to 230—the larger contingent deemed necessary to protect the workers from Indian attacks, especially by the Blackfeet. Leaving Fort Walla Walla on July 1, 1859, Mullan found the first section of the road easy, it being a "natural wagon road, needing but light improvement."



John Mullan

By August 16, 1859, the crews had reached the Coeur d'Alene Mission in what would be Idaho and had improved 200 miles of road in 6 weeks. From this point on, the going got tougher. Sending scouts ahead to explore, Mullan obtained enough information to decide how to cross the Coeur d'Alene Mountains. Mullan knew that they faced approximately 100 miles of thick forest composed of standing and fallen timber before they could reach the St. Regis de Borgia River (now the St. Regis River).

Yielding axes, crews worked from dawn to dark, hacking their way through a tangle of downed timber, often along steep, narrow passes between mountains. Thirty to 40 soldiers assisted approximately 60 civilian road builders in clearing timber, grading the road, and building bridges.

Illustration of Fort Walla Walla from 1853

The plan was to traverse the mountains and spend the winter in the relatively mild Bitterroot Valley. However, winter had arrived early with snow accumulations beginning on November 1 and leaving 18 inches by the 8th, when temperatures dropped below zero. From that point, the weather turned increasingly harsh. There would be no reaching the Bitterroot Valley that year.

The crew crossed the Bitterroot Mountains at Sohon Pass (now called St. Regis Pass) and finally reached the valley of the St. Regis de Borgia River on December 4, 1859. They were exhausted. Often laboring in torrential downpours, they had crossed the Coeur d'Alene River 28 times between the mission at Coeur d'Alene and Sohon Pass and another 46 times before building their camp near present-day De Borgia, Montana. This third section of the road had taken 15 weeks, putting them far behind schedule.

Their camp, called Cantonment Jordan, consisted of log huts and a storehouse. In December, temperatures dropped as low as 42 below zero. Exhausted animals perished in the cold, and the remaining cattle had to be slaughtered for food. Most of the horses, driven south toward the warmer climate of the Bitterroot, died from starvation or exposure.

This was truly a dark time for the expedition. The news of such discouraging events was exactly what Mullan did not want carried back to Washington, DC, where Congress controlled funding for the road. For Mullan, failure to complete his assignment was not an option. Despite hardships, isolation, and an admission that perhaps he had chosen the wrong path that even the Indians did not use, Mullan sent back to Washington, DC, the following determined notice: "The [War] Department may rely that all shall be done that shall insure our final success…As I was sent out to build and construct the road, it shall be constructed."

By the end of winter, 25 of Mullan's men were suffering from scurvy, a condition resulting from a diet lacking in vitamin C. The exact cause of scurvy was not known at the time of Mullan's encampment at Cantonment Jordan. Early symptoms include lethargy, weakness, and painful limbs. Later symptoms include shortness of breath, joint pain, swollen gums, and easy bruising. Scurvy can lead to heart failure if left untreated.

To help his men, Mullan traveled to the Pend d'Oreille Mission located in present-day St. Ignatius, Montana, to obtain fresh vegetables from the priests. The vitamin C contained in the vegetables helped the scurvy sufferers recover. In his report to Congress, Mullan wrote of the incident:

> In company with Lieutenant Lyon I then visited the Pend d'Oreille mission, to procure fresh vegetables for my men who were already affected with the symptoms of scurvy. We had at this

> time about twenty-five cases of this disease, all of which readily yielded under the care of my brother, Dr. James A. Mullan, to the specifics of fresh vegetables and vinegar.

By spring, the Mullan party knew that rations and construction equipment were waiting for them at Fort Benton. However, with their livestock dead, the Mullan party found itself stranded at Cantonment Jordan. Mullan appealed for help from the Flathead Indians living near Fort Owen in the Bitterroot Valley. They graciously accommodated him by sending 20 men and a pack train of 117 horses to accompany Gustavus Sohon to pick up the supplies at Fort Benton. Sohon, the Mullan expedition's guide, was also a gifted linguistic interpreter, cartographer, and self-taught artist, who was usually sent ahead of the road crew to explore the terrain. Mullan depended on Sohon more than any other member of his party.

In the spring of 1860, with fresh supplies from Fort Benton, Mullan pushed east toward Hellgate Canyon in Montana. He ran across a major obstacle in the sheer incline of a mountain between present-day Tarkio and Alberton. This is the site of Alberton Gorge, where a difficult decision of how to continue needed to be made. Mullan realized that they could cross the river with a ferry and run the road on the south side of the Hellgate River (Clark Fork), turn the road north in a long loop around the mountain, or attack it head on. Mullan decided to attack it head on. High above the treacherous Alberton Gorge, his team began the cut through 6 miles of granite and shale. Mullan summarized that May's work in his report to Congress:

> On the 1st of May I commenced upon the cut around the Big mountain, and by the 10th had my entire force of citizens and soldiers employed. My camps were formed at its west base, where a small creek and an abundance of timber afforded all the conveniences required...It was a severe piece of work, and cost us the labor of 150 men for six weeks. Being rocky in most places, we were compelled to blast, when, by a premature explosion, one of our men, Sheridan, lost one of his eyes, and another, Robert P. Booth, was severely stunned; this finished, all further difficulties as to location ceased.

After conquering the Big Mountain, Mullan's crews had a relatively easy time progressing through the Hellgate valley to where Missoula would be founded about 6 years later. At the east end of the open expanse stood Hellgate Canyon. John Strachan described the entrance to that narrow canyon in a letter to his brother that read as follows:

The Clark Fork (Hellgate) River in Montana, which John Mullan and his crew largely followed from Lake Pend Oreille through the Bitterroot Mountains

> We here passed through Hellgate pass; this was one of the most interesting places on the whole route. The mountains rise almost perpendicular on both sides of the river, which is about seven hundred feet wide, and there is little more than room for a wagon to pass. To see the heavy rocks hanging you would think almost loose and at any moment ready to fall some hundreds of feet into the abyss below where the roar of troubled waters are dashing in white foam over its rocky bed, a person will at once perceive that it is justly named, and being the only outlet to that part of the country. After passing through here, the valley begins to open out until the Blackfoot river is approached, which is about six hundred feet wide. We had great difficulty in crossing: our wagon boat was launched and a wagon put on lengthwise, but after a few crossings were made, the boat was upset and the wagon got under the boat, and we were all afloat in the river. Being good swimmers we made for the shore, but some of the men were almost carried into the Hellgate river before they could make the shore. – Our boat and wagon stuck fast on an island below, and was got off after much trouble. Another attempt was made to cross, but the boat filled with water. Lieut. Mullan stuck fast to the boat with water up to his waist and went downstream at the rate of six miles an hour; he came near shore in shallow water and we rescued him before he reached the Hellgate river.

After the river crossing came the discovery of gold. The *Rockford Register* of Illinois published Strachan's story under the heading "Gold Discovery." Imagine the effect this section of his account had on the readership of the *Register*:

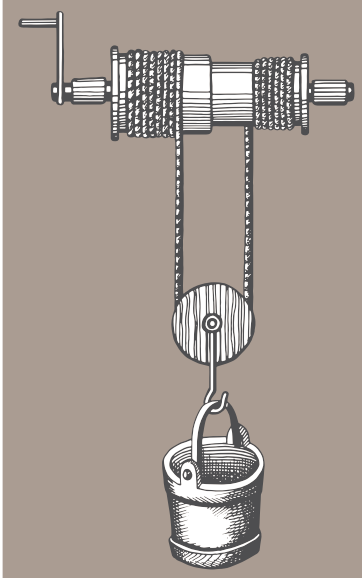
> After crossing here a gold excitement broke out in camp. A piece of gold to the value of a dollar was picked out from among the roots of a tree. We prospected around here and could find gold almost anywhere, and I have no doubt if the country around was thoroughly prospected, that mines of good richness would be found.

Such claims of the possible mineral wealth of the area greatly disturbed Mullan. He expressed that discomfort when he later wrote "… and I was always nervous as to the possible discovery of gold along the line of my road, and I am now frank to say that I did nothing to encourage its discovery at that time, for I feared that any rich discovery would lead to a general stampede of my men from my own expedition."

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

At about the same time as the completion of the Mullan Military Road in 1860, the Stuarts had returned to the site of their old diggings at Benetsee Creek (Gold Creek). Here they witnessed Henry Thomas, known as "Gold Tom," digging into a hill of glacial gravel and operating a sluice box crudely fashioned from a hollowed-out log. Tom, somewhat of a recluse, disappeared into the mountains alone for weeks at a time. Granville Stuart described Tom's most difficult, determined efforts:

> He made a primitive windlass, and hewed out and pinned together with wooden pins and bound around with a picket rope, a bucket with which he hoisted the dirt while sinking the shaft. He would slide down the rope, fill the bucket with gravel, then climb up a notched pole aided by the windlass rope, and hoist the bucket of gravel. He encountered many boulders too large to go into the bucket. Around these he would put a rope and windlass them out… He worked the summers of 1860 and 1861, but could not make more than one dollar and fifty cents a day and often less than that sum, owing to the great disadvantage under which he labored.



Windlass

With flour (when you could find it) going for the outrageous sum of 90 cents a pound, Tom could just barely feed himself, even if he shot his own game. Vegetables and other food items were beyond his means—they being more valuable, because of their scarcity, than the gold itself. "The great disadvantage under which he labored" was a rightly descriptive phrase that held true for every early miner who attempted to extract precious metals from unforgiving soil and rock, without the mechanical assistance that would appear on the scene later. For "Gold Tom," it was the reality of the lack of mining equipment on the Montana frontier during that time. Mining work was hard and the pay was poor, but these early miners persevered.

In time, a community, first known as American Fork (or misspelled American Fort on some maps), grew up around the Stuart diggings. The discoveries at Gold Creek were, for the most part, meager and the extraction difficult, but this was the first legitimate working mining operation in Montana. As more claims were filed, the Stuarts attempted to plant wheat, raise a garden, and graze a few cattle.

By the time the winter of 1860 approached, the Stuart brothers, who were voracious readers, had spent months without so much as an almanac to satisfy their cravings. They were so starved for reading materials that they rode 150 miles and crossed three dangerous rivers, the Hellgate, the Big Blackfoot, and the Bitterroot, to the Bitterroot Valley—

all based on a conversation with some passing Indians that indicated that a man had a trunk full of books at Fort Owen. The books were being held for a man who was away at gold fields in British Columbia and had given the strict admonition that the books not even be shown to anyone, let alone be sold. After much pleading, the guardian of the books realized the Stuarts' desperation and parted with five books at $5 each. The books chosen were two elaborately illustrated editions of Shakespeare and Byron, a Bible written in French, Joel Headley's *Napoleon and his Marshals*, and Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*.

Christopher P. Higgins

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

As gold fever infected the West, Hell Gate Village, with its opportune location, began to grow quickly after its establishment in 1860. After serving on one of Mullan's expeditions prior to the Mullan Road, an Irishman by the name of Christopher P. Higgins applied for a trader's license to sell to the Flathead and other Indians. In June 1860, he led a pack train of 76 horses, heavily loaded with merchandise and his business partner Frank Worden's solid iron safe, to a trading post, which he established at Hell Gate.

The lives of Higgins, Worden, their clerk Frank Woody, and the Stuart brothers were closely intertwined during these early years of settlement in western Montana. This group became the representatives of local government and law enforcement. In 1860, Higgins was appointed as one of two new county commissioners for Missoula County. In 1862, Granville Stuart was elected county commissioner, and Frank Woody was elected as auditor. James Stuart was elected sheriff, and Frank Worden garnered the most votes for county treasurer.

Frank L. Worden

However, with their role as businessmen first, Christopher Higgins and Frank Worden's store at Hell Gate became a center for social, political, and judicial gatherings. Its location along the recently completed Mullan Military Road and a north-south trail from the Bitterroot and Jocko Valleys seemed to make it the perfect setting for prosperity. Indeed, proprietor Worden's ornate safe became heavier by the day, as gold dust, the primary medium of exchange, transferred from prospectors' hands to his. By then, the safe contained approximately 1,500 ounces of gold.

Fort Benton had started to serve as a port for steamboats navigating the Missouri River. In June 1861, James Stuart and several others from Gold Creek rode to Fort Benton to pick up supplies from St. Louis that were scheduled to arrive aboard the steamboat *Chippewa*. Among many other passengers, Frank Worden was aboard, accompanying a load of goods worth $9,000 for his trading post in Hell Gate. As the boat neared Disaster Bend, about 15 miles from the Poplar River in Montana Territory, some deckhands decided to quench their thirst with a bit of whiskey from the barrels stored in the hold. Upon lighting a candle in the hold, the flame ignited fumes from the whiskey and started a fire that spread rapidly, forcing the captain to run the boat ashore. Fortunately, Worden and all of the other passengers and crew managed to scramble to safety along a bank of the Missouri. While the boat slowly moved downstream, flames reached the kegs of gunpowder. A resulting explosion tore the boat into thousands of pieces.

James Stuart

While the shore might provide security from the fire and the muddy waters of the Missouri, the danger of being stranded in this remote area was not lost on the passengers or the steamer's crew. As immigration to Montana increased in the 1860s, so did the hostility of the Indians, who specifically directed attacks on forts and steamboats along the Missouri River.

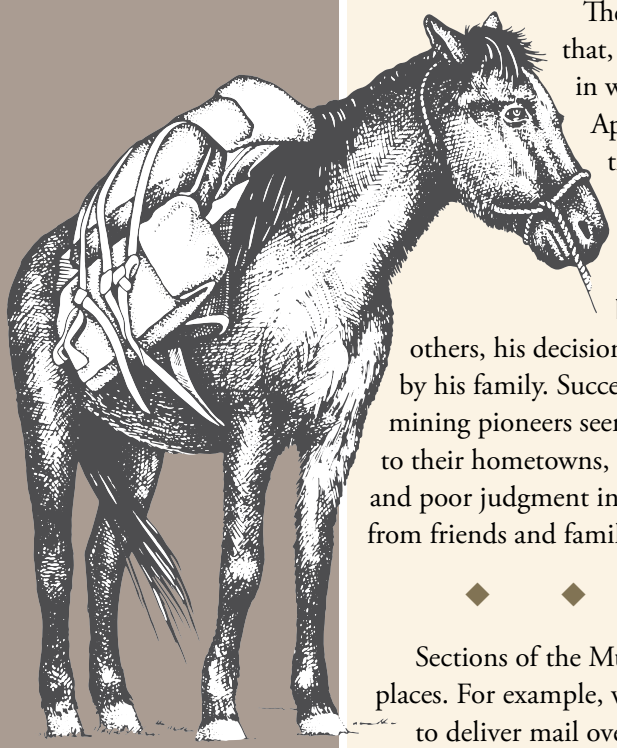
The passengers eventually made their way to safety at Fort Benton, where the Stuart party waited. Relieved at Worden's survival, but sorely disappointed at not receiving supplies, the Gold Creek contingency was forced to wait for the next boat of supplies. Worden returned to Hell Gate empty handed and later traveled to Portland, Oregon, to obtain supplies. In the meantime, the Stuarts faced the prospect of scratching out a living using the simplest of mining equipment and surviving on an extremely limited food supply.

Historic steamboat

The isolation of western Montana proved to be difficult for those who had relatives back East "in the states." A letter could take months, sometimes years, to find its way to the recipient out on the western frontier. Though eagerly anticipated, those letters often did not contain good news but instead informed the recipient of family deaths and of the sender's view of the foolishness of being out of the great civilization of the American East.

Frank Worden received such a letter from his uncle Lyman Powers, dated May 5, 1861. He began by admonishing Worden for not having kept in touch: "Dear Nephew, I was not surprised to hear from you for I was almost the only one; but what thought you were dead. I never have entertained any such opinion." Toward the end of the letter, he, like other family members who would write, begged Worden to return home:

> Give us a history of your life. It will be as interesting to us as that of Robinson Crusoe or Sinbad the Sailor. When you get tired of life on the Pacific Coast, or in the Rocky Mountains we should like to have you return and once more tread in the footsteps of civilization where the white man enjoys all the blessings vouchsafed to men.



Packhorse

The irony of Lyman Powers' talk of civilization is that, back in the East, the country was immersed in what would become the nation's bloodiest war. Approximately 670,000 deaths would occur during the 5 years of the Civil War. Even with its dangers, the western frontier was a relatively safe haven compared to the "civilization" of the East.

Worden had heard such pleas to return home before in even more direct terms. Like so many others, his decision to leave Vermont for the West was not supported by his family. Success is often an elusive concept, but all the early mining pioneers seemed intent on finding it before they would return to their hometowns, even for just a visit. To do so would admit failure and poor judgment in undertaking an adventure that took them so far from friends and family.

Sections of the Mullan Road quickly became unusable in a number of places. For example, when Louis Mullan, John's brother, took a contract to deliver mail over the military road, he used packhorses alone

rather than heavy wagons, but he still lost money because of the difficulty in traveling, especially in winter. Members of wagon trains that headed toward Gold Creek thought they had an easy route ahead, only to be told that bridges were washed out. The road virtually became a pack trail for more than 40 miles from Bear Creek to Hell Gate.

In the spring of 1861, Congress appropriated $100,000 to fix the road. The now promoted Captain Mullan returned west to Walla Walla and waited for snow conditions to improve so that work could start. When temperatures rose, his crews began repairing bridges and other parts of the road during the spring, summer, and fall months. The country was now at the start of the Civil War, and some believed that the road could serve as an important access corridor to Idaho's newly discovered gold fields. The government needed gold to back up its credit, which was necessary to carry on the expensive war against the Confederacy. As winter approached, Mullan built a camp called Cantonment Wright, which was set up just east of the confluence of Hellgate River and the mouth of the Blackfoot River near present-day Missoula.

In 1861, the winter was one of the coldest on record. Granville Stuart described the conditions in his journal entries during March of the following spring:

> Severe cold set in about December 1. The snow was two feet deep and the thermometer registered above zero only four times in three months. The game was scarce and toward spring deadly poor. The Indians that were over in the buffalo country suffered terribly. They lost most of their horses and were unable to kill many buffalo, consequently, they were without meat and were in a starving condition.

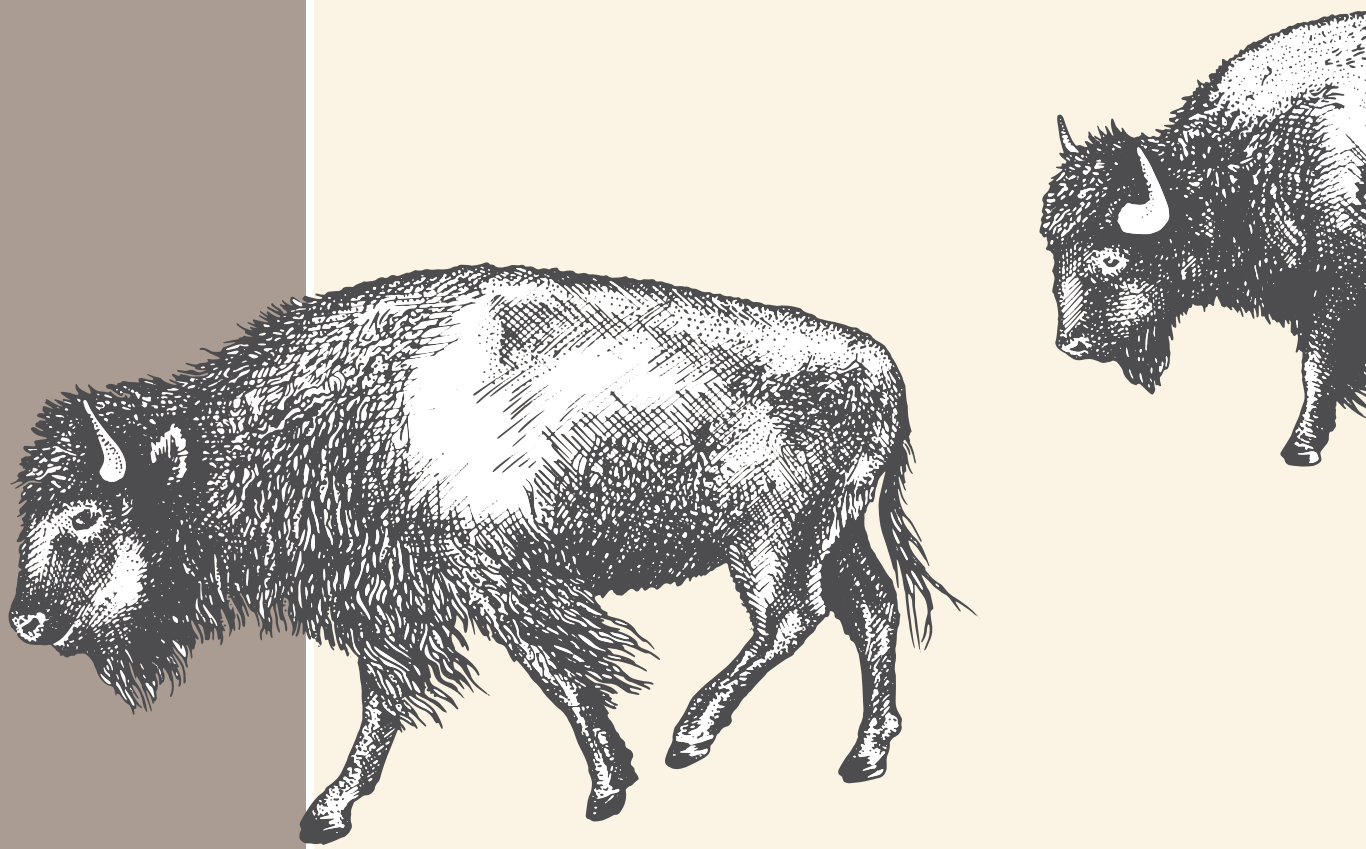
In such brutally cold conditions, Mullan and his men chopped through ice to construct footings for a bridge over the Big Blackfoot River. The period from November through May at Cantonment Wright was the longest time spent at any one camp during the entire expedition.

During the spring of 1862, the road builders continued east on the north side of the Hellgate River (Clark Fork). During the previous construction period, the road had crossed the Hellgate River scores of times, something Mullan determined to remedy. He established the winter camps of Williamson, Campbell, and Lannon east of Cantonment Wright. About 25 miles east of Wright, the terrain forced a crossing of the Hellgate River. Mullan contracted with local miner and farmer Sam Hugo to build a bridge at a spot across from Medicine Tree Hill, a site just a few miles west of Bear Creek and the future road up to the mining camps of Beartown and, later, Garnet. At the Medicine Tree point, the road

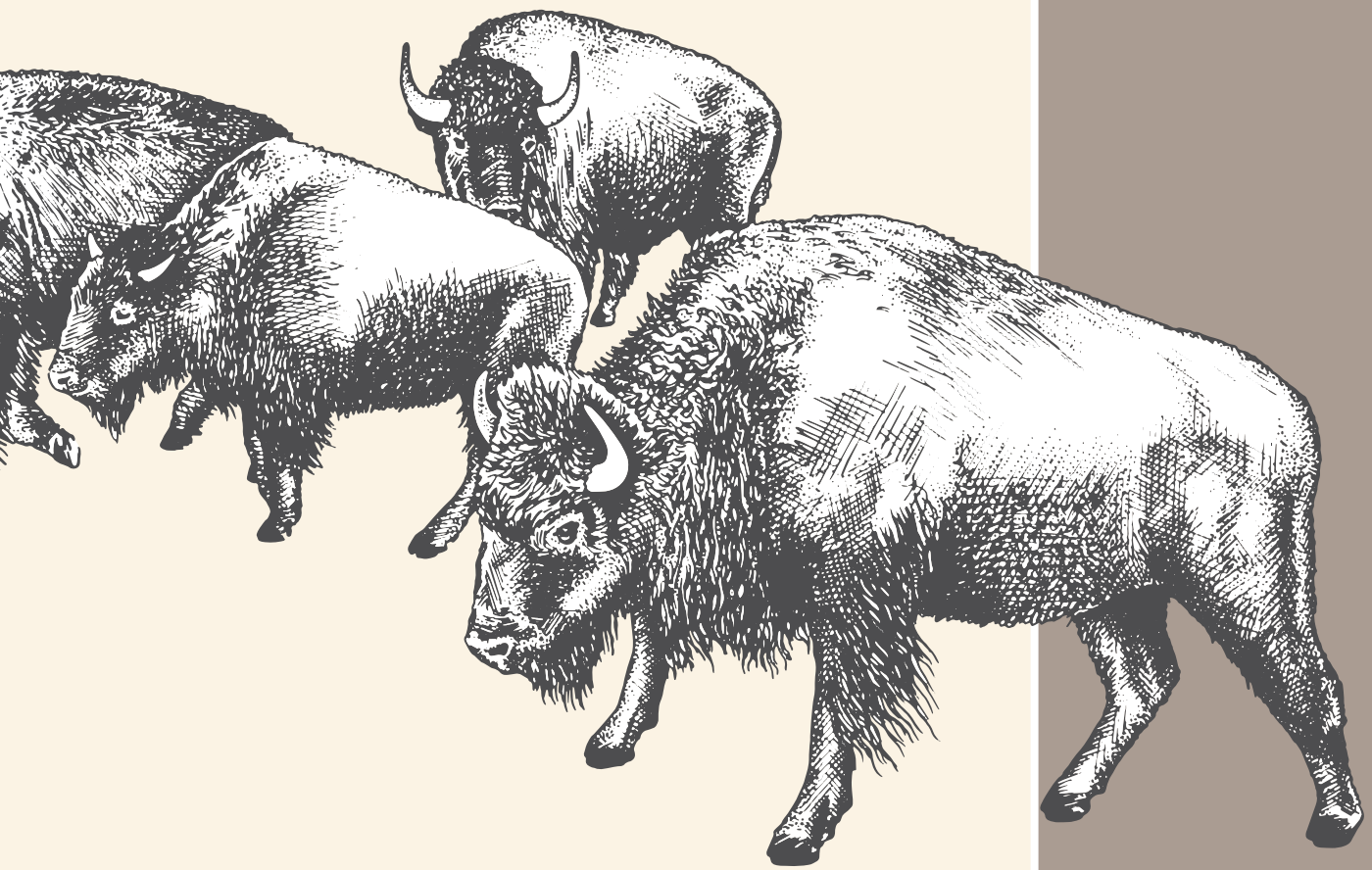
continued on the south side of the river—something that would later allow John Lannon, an early settler, to profit by operating a ferry across the Hellgate River to transport miners and others seeking their fortunes up Bear Gulch. The town that grew near the ferry crossing became known as Bearmouth.

As word of the newly constructed Mullan Road spread, pack trains began to more frequently pass by Gold Creek laden with supplies brought from Salt Lake and Walla Walla. Soon after construction finished, Mullan's Road deteriorated quickly and became impassable for wagons for long stretches. James Harkness, a trader who traveled up the Missouri River in May of 1862, described the condition of Mullan's Road at the Prickly Pear Pass near modern-day Helena in his diary entry of June 15, 1862:

> Started at five this morning and commenced to ascend the Prickly Pear. At the foot of the mountain found four trains trying to cut a road; helped them till noon…. The work done in the creek by Mullan all lost – washed away by the torrent in the rainy season. If he had made the road on the hills it might have been permanent.



The following day, Harkness' entry noted: "The road is bad beyond description. The wagons had to be slid down the mountain." In addition to the poor road condition, Harkness observed that, "The road is filled with other trains, and we have concluded to stay here the rest of the day as we cannot get ahead of them." Despite the poor condition of the road, it did provide a primary transportation route for prospectors and other immigrants, as well as a means for freighting goods to mining camps that were destined to appear throughout western Montana, Idaho, and Washington.




PHARO CARDS

CHAPTER 4

Life at Gold Creek and the Rush to Bannack

ON JULY 14, 1862, American Fork was officially named Gold Creek. That summer, a steady stream of emigrants began passing by Gold Creek, most pausing to get supplies or, more often, just for the chance to talk to those like the Stuarts, who had been the early arrivals. The small community became an information hub. The demand for goods prompted Frank Worden and Christopher Higgins to set up a Gold Creek branch store of their Hell Gate establishment. Granville Stuart assisted them in constructing a log building for their store, and James Stuart served as the store clerk.

At the end of July 1862, the store found a concentrated group of customers as John M. Jacobs (who later teamed up with John Bozeman in developing the Bozeman Trail) led a wagon train composed of 40 prairie schooners of emigrants from Soda Springs into Gold Creek on their way to Walla Walla. Soda Springs was located in Idaho on the Salt Lake City Trail. Jacobs informed the Stuarts that many more emigrants would be coming through. Stuart noted that some of the visitors from Jacobs' group were "on a spree."

Some of the spree may have been fueled by the alcoholic spirits brought to the camp by Frank Woody and James Stuart. An entry in James and Granville Stuart's diaries indicated that James and Frank Woody had bought "twenty-three gallons of Valley Tan [whiskey] at six and a half dollars per gallon from Purple & Co." The almost $150 investment surely paid off considering the thirst exhibited by those arriving on the gold frontier.

At Gold Creek that year, liquor was in high demand, and several makeshift saloons were hastily constructed to accommodate the residents and thirsty travelers who sought relief from the dusty trail. As with most mining towns, gambling became a constant. James noted that no churches existed in the area and that it was funny "how often our little testament gets lost, but we can always dig up a deck of cards any place or anywhere."

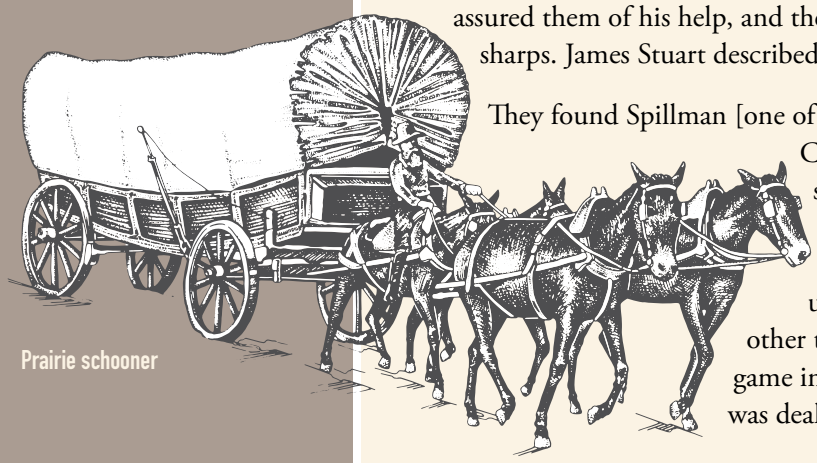
Faro (also pharaoh or pharo), a French game, was the most widespread and popularly favored gambling game throughout the American West; even more so than poker. This was primarily due to its fast action, easy rules, and accommodation of any number of players.

The game consisted of a dealer and players winning or losing depending on the cards that turned up matching those already exposed or not. Faro was a part of the Monte Bank family of games, which included monte, a variation of faro that allowed players to select any two of four cards turned face up and bet that one of them would be matched before the others as cards continued to be dealt.

Many criticized faro as a dangerous scam that stole the money of men and their families. Distributers actually sold specially designed dealing boxes to easily deceive those playing. In fact, Hoyle's Rules of Games stated that there were no honest faro banks in the United States.

By August 1862, monte tables were "going every day" at Gold Creek. "The bank is ahead," recorded Granville Stuart. His brother James knew that all too well, as he sustained loss after loss at the gambling parlors. He bemoaned his compulsions, and after losing $300 in 3 days, he declared that he would "take Granville's advice and quit gambling." However, the lure of easy money at the card tables triumphed over backbreaking mining labor, and James continued with his gambling habit. Two days after his pledge to quit, he boasted that he had "broken" one of the "monte sharps" of the $200 that the dealer had staked and had done it in only 20 minutes.

New sharps had been arriving in town on a regular basis. Card sharps were considered hustlers who often traveled from town to town to win money from less skilled players, either through manipulation or cheating. Later in the same day that James claimed his winnings, two men rode stealthily into Gold Creek from Elk City, the primary town in the gold fields of Idaho. The men called themselves Bull and Fox, and the former came armed with a double-barreled shotgun and a Colt's navy revolver. The men conferred with James Stuart and explained that they were in pursuit of two monte sharps, now thought to be working at Gold Creek, and an accomplice who had stolen horses near Elk Creek. Bull and Fox requested the help of the citizens of Gold Creek in arresting the suspects. James assured them of his help, and the three went looking for the monte sharps. James Stuart described the scene as follows:



Prairie schooner

> They found Spillman [one of the sharps] in Worden and Company's store and bringing their shot gun to bear on him, ordered him to surrender, which he did without a word. They left him under guard and went after the other two, who had just opened a monte game in a saloon. Arnett [the other sharp] was dealing and Jermagin [an accomplice]

> was 'lookout' for him. They stepped inside of the door and ordered them to 'throw up their hands.' Arnett, who kept his Colt's navy revolver lying in his lap ready for business, instantly grabbed it, but before he could raise it, Bull shot him through the breast with a heavy charge of buckshot, killing him instantly. Jermagin ran into a corner of the room, exclaiming, 'Don't shoot, don't shoot, I give up.' He and Spillman were then tied and placed under guard till morning.

The following day, Arnett was buried with the monte cards clenched in one hand and his revolver in the other. Jermagin insisted that he was innocent and had simply accepted, with no knowledge of it being stolen, a horse to ride from the other two men when they came across him destitute and horseless on the trail. Spillman verified this account of events. Jermagin was acquitted and given 6 hours to get out of town, which he did with haste.

Strangely, Spillman seemed to take little interest in the proceeding of his trial and when found guilty calmly requested to write a letter. He wrote his father to tell him that he was to be hung in half an hour and to beg his forgiveness for bringing disgrace upon the family. He concluded his letter by stating that he hoped his fate would be a lesson to others to avoid evil associates. As James Stuart noted, Spillman wrote and addressed the letter "with a hand that never trembled." Spillman was buried beside Arnett in the river bottom below the town, and his letter to his father was never mailed—the Stuarts deciding that they would "not send such a letter to anyone's father."

News of the first execution in what would become Montana spread quickly, even to eastern mapmakers who, as a result, labeled Gold Creek as Hangtown on their maps and continued to do so for years. There was no recognized court in the county at the time of Spillman's trial and hanging, with the nearest jail being at Walla Walla—more than 400 miles away over rugged mountain ranges. Gold Creek now took its place in the minds of those who had heard of the hanging as an untamed, uncivilized, violent gold camp.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

One of the more notable visitors to Gold Creek around this time was Captain James Fisk who, with congressional appropriations for a military guard, led four expeditions of hundreds of men, women, and children emigrants from Minnesota to the gold fields of Montana and Idaho. The expeditions traveled north of the Missouri River along what became known as the Minnesota-Montana Road. This was the first direct transportation link between the Midwest and Montana, and many

of the emigrants who Fisk guided represented a Republican-Yankee makeup that had been lacking in the West, a situation well known by President Lincoln. Though focused on the Civil War, Lincoln and fellow Republicans attained a goal of passing legislation to prohibit slavery in the territories. Development of roads and railroads and the passage of the Homestead Act all served to bolster the belief that the new territories of the West would come in as antislavery and Republican.

Stuart and friends had fun at the expense of James Fisk, who had brought a brass howitzer along with him to protect the large emigrant train and emphasize the military commitment of protection. His role ostensibly was to inspect the Mullan Military Road which had been reported as completed. Like many travelers, the Fisk expedition chose to take a break at Gold Creek, camping just below the village. When Granville Stuart arrived at Fisk's camp for a "splendid" dinner, he found the captain celebrating success in bringing his followers over the precipitous Mullan Pass. The captain was in good spirits, and some of the men accompanying Stuart plotted in fun to steal the howitzer and hide it, though the plan never met fruition. When the Fisk wagon train departed the following morning, James Stuart noted that several of the parties were "quite drunk." A good portion of those emigrants who accompanied Fisk on his four expeditions ended up spending the remainder of their lives in the Rocky Mountain West.

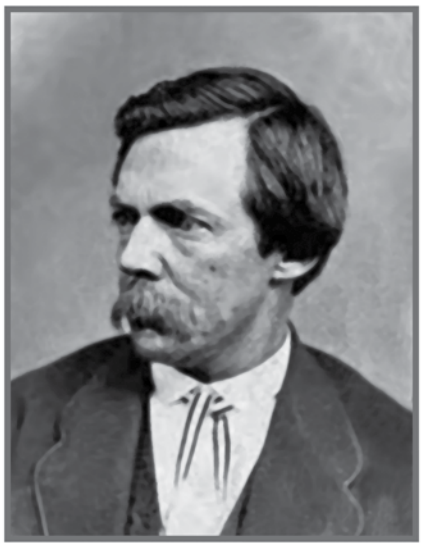
Fisk's assessment of the Mullan Road was kind at best. In the first account of travel along the road, he wrote, "Captain Mullan's road, from Fort Benton to Fort Walla Walla, is passable, and there has been performed upon it an immense amount of labor, but it will have to be worked, materially improved in places, or it will very soon become useless as a wagon road."

In addition to the political makeup of the West, the wagon trains led by Fisk helped change population dynamics in another way. Largely absent up to this point, the arrival of women in Gold Creek instilled more of a semblance of civilization. Miners, when left to themselves, usually emulated the rugged mountain men who preceded them—with long hair, bushy beards, and little concern for cleanliness. However, with women now visiting, they began shaving and even indulging in bathing and an occasional haircut to present a more respectable personage—often a losing battle. Mrs. James Caven, a 17 year old whose beauty was noted in Granville's journal, played a role in the transformation of Gold Creek. Her husband, an accomplished fiddle player, entertained the Stuarts at dinner parties using a violin that the Stuarts had purchased for just such an occasion. As Granville contemplated Mrs. Caven's effect on the camp, he wrote, "The blue flannel shirt with a black necktie has taken the

place of the elaborately beaded buckskin one. The white men wear shoes instead of moccasins and most of us have selected some other day than Sunday for wash day."

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

In August 1862, Frank Woody arrived in Gold Creek from Hell Gate bringing with him a load of vegetables, 13 chickens, and news that good placer deposits had been located in the Big Hole Valley. According to Woody, the prospectors realized as much as $2.50 per pan of gravel. His words inflamed the gold rush passions of those who heard them, causing considerable excitement in Gold Creek. Woody believed the accounts he related and, along with a group of followers, headed for the Big Hole and hopefully his fortune. When Woody journeyed there, the remote mines were being worked by 30 men, primarily from Colorado. The return was rumored to be around $4 to $8 per day per man, a sufficient amount until they heard of the discoveries at a place called Grasshopper Creek, later called Bannack.



Frank H. Woody

In November 1862, Granville Stuart and Frank Woody rode over to the Grasshopper Creek mines and found what Stuart estimated to be about 400 men "making money and well satisfied." Granville decided it was time to make the move from Gold Creek. Granville declared his intention to open a butcher shop with James during the winter. Woody would operate the grocery store. Reece Anderson, Granville's partner in a blacksmith shop, remained in charge of their property at Gold Creek. With the boom at Grasshopper Creek, almost everybody from Gold Creek and Hell Gate left for the bonanza.

By the time the Stuarts arrived at Grasshopper Creek, they found that it had been named Bannack City. They moved into a log cabin and opened their butcher shop and grocery store. Business was very good that winter and even better the following spring when the population of Bannack rose to nearly 1,000. When the Stuarts arrived, most of the people from the Fisk wagon train were in Bannack, as were the Burchett family and James Caven and "his charming wife." In December, Mrs. Burchett gave birth to the first child of the new camp. Her husband, a supporter of the Confederacy, named the boy Jefferson Davis Burchett, a name he later changed to Thomas Jefferson Burchett after reflecting on the demise of that southern cause.

Virginia City in 1866

CHAPTER 5

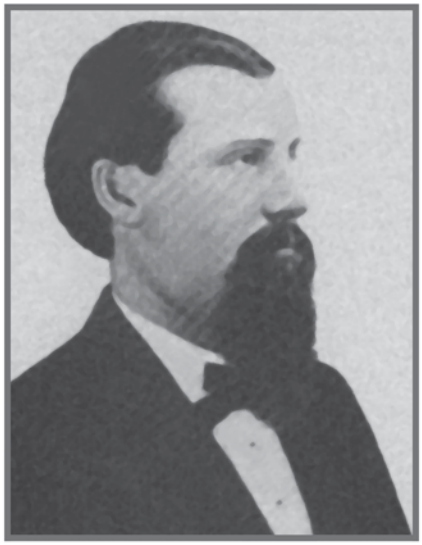
The Bannack and Virginia City Booms and the Vigilantes

ONE DAY IN SEPTEMBER 1862, two heavily armed men rode into Hell Gate, stopping at the Higgins and Worden store for supplies. They requested food and drink and introduced themselves as Henry Plummer and Charlie Reeves. Frank Woody, clerking at the time, later described Plummer as "a regular Chesterfield in politeness."

The two men spent the night in Hell Gate and in the morning were invited by Woody and his friend Granville Stuart to accompany them to Gold Creek where Granville and Woody had worked the stream with some success. Granville described Plummer and his young associate as "two fine looking young men."

In his journal of September 20, 1862, James Stuart wrote the following:

> Played poker, lost eighteen dollars. Granville and Reece Anderson mended Plummer's double barreled shot gun, which he had broken off at the grip, coming through the timber from Elk City. Reece forged four strips of iron about five-eights in. wide and three and one-half in. long and Granville set them into the gunstock on top and bottom of the grip, and screwed them down solid so that the gun stock was stronger than before it was broken.



Henry Plummer

Granville and Reece had just repaired the shotgun of the most notorious outlaw that Montana would ever host—either that or of an innocent man caught up in the bloody lawlessness and political intrigue of a new territory. The next day Henry Plummer, Charlie Reeves, Woody, and a man named York set off for the gold fields of Bannack.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Bannack City grew rapidly during the winter of 1862, and by spring, mining was in full force with the realization of many fortunes. Word of the prosperous diggings brought gamblers and outlaws intent on

Present-day Bannack

Hotel Meade in present-day Bannack

acquiring gold without actually digging it. The atmosphere caused most citizens to start carrying guns at all times.

To establish some sort of order out of the chaos, a miners court was formed, with B.B. Burchett elected judge and Henry Crawford sheriff. The court established rules regarding mining claims. Granville Stuart explained the basics of a mining claim as 100 feet up or down the creek and as far out on each side as the pay dirt extended. Miners established title to a claim by staking it, posting a notice, and then taking a notice to the recorder. Claimants had to work their claims every day if water was available. If a claimant was absent for 3 days, the claim could be jumped. If a claimant became sick, the claim was protected until the owner was able to return.

The quality of the gold being pulled out of Bannack was exceedingly rich, from 99 to 99.5 percent pure, compared to an average of 95 percent purity elsewhere. In 1862 alone, from late July through the end of the year, miners working above and below the town of Bannack took out a conservative estimate of $600,000 worth of gold. During the following year, that amount escalated to an estimated $5 million dollars.

The boom at Bannack afforded anybody who could get supplies to the camp an opportunity to make impressive amounts of money. In March 1863, Granville made a trip to Worden and Company's store at Gold Creek and purchased a load of goods, including two dozen long-handled shovels that he sold for $10 dollars per shovel when back at Bannack. He also sold 15 pounds of chewing tobacco at $15 dollars a pound. Some miners would rather chew than eat.

While Granville did not drink alcohol or gamble, he was not averse to making a profit on the former. In April 1863, he traded 4 gallons of pure spirits to J.M. Morgan for "a good new horse." Though he explained that such a price seemed like Morgan got the short end of the deal, in reality Morgan would do fine by Granville adding to the deal "a few pounds of plug tobacco, a quantity of cayenne pepper, some mountain sage tea, and rain water enough to fill a barrel." With that concoction, Morgan would have the goods to enable him to start a whiskey trade.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Granville sold all of his goods at Bannack in April 1863 and decided to close his store there and dispose of it and everything else except for two lots and two houses. His cash return was about $3,000 in gold dust

that he hid in his canteens in preparation for the trip back to Gold Creek. Granville was extremely nervous about transporting that much money on the long dangerous trip, because his thoughts constantly returned to two robberies/murders that had occurred since November. The dead included Charles Guy, who was traveling to Salt Lake for supplies, and later a young man named George Evans, whose frozen, bloodstained, bullet-ridden clothes were found stuffed into a badger hole. His body was never found. Granville was convinced that Charlie Reeves and William Graves (alias Whiskey Bill) had murdered Evans.

Recognizing the danger of his trip, Granville left Bannack early in the morning along the back street. He was equipped with a breech-loading rifle and his Colt's navy revolver. He was confident that he could handle both weapons as quickly as any robber. His exit from the camp had been stealthy and quick, but within a short distance, he heard horses following him. Three men approached him: Charlie Reeves, Whiskey Bill, and a third man that Granville did not know. By the time they reached him, Granville had dismounted and pretended to cinch his saddle, at the same time being careful to keep his horse between himself and the men. Granville wrote of the tension that arose at that moment:

> I did not take my eyes off them; intending if they made a move toward their revolvers to shoot with my rifle, which was hung on a shoulder strap and ready for action. They saw that I was watching them and that my rifle was conveniently near. As they rode up Reeves called to me asking where I was going and volunteered the information that they were going to Deer Lodge and rode on. Just at this minute to my dismay I saw another horseman coming up the ravine. I thought I might possibly stand off three, but it would be about impossible to escape from four. I remained by the side of my horse and when the horseman drew near, you may imagine my relief when I discovered him to be my friend, Edwin R. Purple, and that he too was armed with a navy revolver.

The typical weapons of a road agent included a pair of revolvers, a large bore double-barreled shotgun with its barrels cut down, and knives. According to Thomas Dimsdale's *The Vigilantes of Montana*, road agents wore masks and ambushed the stages or individuals suspected of carrying gold dust, usually yelling, "Halt! Throw up your hands, you sons of bitches!" Death faced those who refused the command. Several of the outlaws then remained on their horses with guns drawn while another dismounted, disarmed the victims, and forced them to toss their valuables on the ground. The road agents then gathered the stolen items and fled the scene to divide the spoils at a later time.

Granville and Purple played a cat-and-mouse game with the three men, figuring that their safety depended upon staying behind the men. When the three men would stop, Granville and Purple would also stop, supposedly to tighten their saddles. When Granville and Purple decided to make camp, the three men followed suit. With just about 50 yards between the two campsites, Granville and Purple decided to take turns keeping watch through the long, anxious night.

When morning broke, both groups had breakfast and then headed out. All during the hours that followed, Reeves, Graves, and their companion seemingly tried to get behind Granville and Purple, but the latter two stopped every time they did. Finally, at Warm Springs, the three suspicious men spurred their horses into a gallop toward Deer Lodge, arriving there an hour before Granville and Purple. After a night's stay at Deer Lodge, Granville and Purple rode on to Gold Creek without being followed.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

James Stuart played a role in the drama that resulted in a strike far exceeding Bannack in value. Most, but not all, attention was on gold in 1863. In addition to gold, the establishment of townsites and their eventual growth was on the minds of many. James led a party of men into Yellowstone country in the spring of that year with the dual purpose of laying out a town and prospecting for gold along the way.

Another group was to meet Stuart's party at the mouth of the Stinkingwater River, so named because of its sulphur smell. The rendezvous was missed, and the second party, consisting of George Orr, Thomas Cover, Barney Hughes, Henry Edgar, Louis Simmons, and Bill Fairweather, was captured by the Crow Indians who took them to a huge encampment and powwow where their fate was to be decided. Bill Fairweather's penchant for playing with rattlesnakes may have saved their lives. Seemingly fearless and the host of mystical powers, as they approached the Indian encampment, Fairweather picked up two rattlesnakes and held them high as he entered the camp. Then he placed them inside his shirt. Simmons, who served as an interpreter, informed the Indians that Fairweather was "the great medicine man of the whites."

After some harrowing days at the Indian camp, the prospectors were given some worn-down horses, buffalo robes, and a bit of jerky and were declared free to leave, a decision that did not sit well with some of the younger Indians. Mindful of that, the men, except for Simmons, who stayed, headed cautiously back toward Bannack, traveling by night with the young braves not far behind. Finally reaching the lushness of the Madison Valley, with its plentiful fish and game, and being quite a distance from Crow country, they began to relax. They took their time,

panning the streams as they traveled. Starting across the Jefferson Range, they made camp near a stream bounded by alder trees. While looking for a place to tie down the horses, Bill Fairweather noticed an outcropping of rimrock that looked promising to a prospector. Soon, Fairweather was alerting Edgar to bring the pick, shovel, and pans. Edgar described what happened next in his journal dated May 28, 1863, which read:

> Bill dug the dirt and filled the pan. 'Now go,' he says, 'and wash that pan and see if you can get enough to buy some tobacco when we get to town.' I had the pan more than half panned down and had seen some gold as I ran the sand around, when Bill sang out 'I have found the scad' [western slang for large quantities]. I returned in answer, 'If you have one I have a hundred.'

Mining in Alder Gulch near Virginia City (ca. 1869)

Fairweather and Edgar had just discovered what would become Montana's greatest gold field to date, Alder Gulch, which would yield an estimated $100 million in 19th century gold prices.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

While Fairweather and his group had been in the custody of Indians, the Stuart party in Yellowstone country was in even worse straits. Crow Indians fired a volley of bullets into their camp on the night of May 12, 1863. When morning broke, the group could see a few Indians watching them on a hill about 500 yards away. The sum total of all the men's wounds did not present a positive situation. Several in the party had multiple fatal wounds. After discussing their situation, the group concluded it was impossible to return through Crow country. They left much of their equipment behind, keeping only enough provisions for the return trip.

Mining in Alder Gulch in 1871

With great pain, the group traveled slowly due to their serious wounds, the deep snow, and the rough and mountainous terrain. The group experienced one sad event after another. One member of the group committed suicide very early on due to serious injuries; he was unable to move, and the group could only carry him with great difficulty. After the trip was underway, another member of the group accidentally shot himself and then committed suicide for the purpose of not slowing down the others. They gave their friend a proper burial before going on their way. James described this as the "most disheartening scene of the whole trip."

For almost 2 weeks, the party pushed along in the vicinity of the Wind River Mountains, largely following the Wind (Bighorn) and Popo Agie Rivers. The men continually saw evidence of Indians, such as moccasin tracks, which created tension that only added to their exhaustion. The horses suffered from a lack of forage and often no water. Hobbled and tied each night, the horses nearly froze to death by morning. On May 21, James wrote, "Poor Parkie, Bell's mare, was so chilled with the storm that soon after starting she fell down in a steep gully and was not able to get out, so we had to leave her to her fate."

On May 23, McCafferty's mare had a colt, of which James wrote, "…had to kill it; could not afford to wait on colts at this stage of the game." Traveling an average 20 miles a day and night, they were forced to use their rifles to kill game even with the threat that the noise would alert Indians as to their location. On the 25th, they found cold water and good grass but also "thousands of big crickets." "They are eating up our blankets and clothes," wrote James, "and crawling into our food and everything else; they are a miserable nuisance." James predicted there would not be a blade of grass there in 2 weeks.

The next day, the party finally saw what they had hoped and prayed they would—wagon tracks. Satisfied that they were headed in the right direction toward the Emigrant Road, their spirits improved. They soon came across a beautiful valley at the base of the mountains, which James described as "the best country we have seen since crossing the Big Horn Mountains." His assessment was tempered when the trail became difficult and the day hot, with everybody suffering from lack of water. They came across a small alkali spring but were afraid to drink the water and decided to not let the horses drink either, for fear it might make them sick. Nonetheless, they did make coffee with the water.

On May 28, 1863, the party rode 30 miles and "came in sight of the old emigrant or overland road to California and Oregon, and great was the excitement; we all felt mighty good." They spotted telegraph lines. James described the elation that the party felt:

> Our feelings at seeing the road and telegraph, after running the gauntlet for about four hundred miles through the Crow nation, can be better imagined than described. In another mile we came in sight of a train of horse teams about three miles ahead of us. The boys couldn't stand it any longer, but gave vent to their feelings in all kinds of motions and noises.

After enjoying the food and hospitality of the emigrants, the party continued for another 23 days before they reached Bannack. While on the trail, they met Jake Meeks who was returning from Bannack with four loads of flour that he could not sell. The man who had persuaded James to come north to Montana so many years before explained that some new diggings had been found that had drawn most of the population away from Bannack. He was referring to the strike by Bill Fairweather and his group of prospectors—the same men who had missed the meeting that would have had them sharing the deadly adventures of the Yellowstone exploration and the almost 1,600-mile trek.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

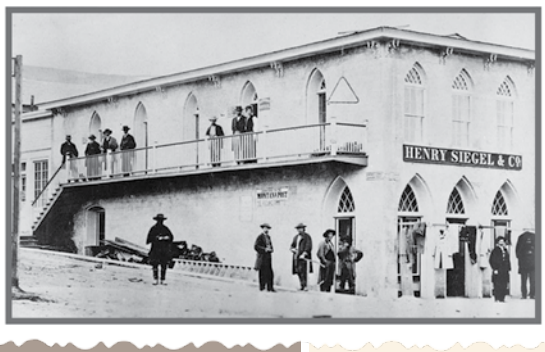
The group of men who discovered the Alder Gulch prospects pledged themselves to secrecy as they headed to Bannack for supplies. However, not surprisingly, some wanted to share the suspected riches with friends, and anyway, just the act of purchasing a quantity of mining supplies aroused the suspicions of many of the town folks that a discovery had been made. Returning to Bannack from Gold Creek, Granville Stuart witnessed the stampede to Alder Gulch:

> So here they were, about seventy men…They were strung out for a quarter of a mile, some were on foot carrying a blanket and a few pounds of food on their backs, others were leading pack horses, others horseback leading pack animals. The packs had been hurriedly placed and some had come loose and the frightened animals running about with blankets flying and pots and pans rattling, had frightened others and the hillside was strewn with camp outfits and grub.

Others recalled hundreds of hopeful townspeople rushing to Alder Gulch. Eight months afterward, there were 500 dwellings and stores.

Bill Fairweather was becoming a rich man. Nugget after nugget revealed itself to him as he chipped away at the rocky ledges of Alder Gulch. As his fortune grew, so did his thirst for alcohol. Wild-eyed and unkempt, he became one of the most eccentric characters of the new

Virginia City in about 1864



Virginia City in 1864

mining camp that was eventually named Virginia City, sometimes drunkenly riding through its main street tossing gold nuggets to children and laughing as they scrambled to scoop up the riches. Fairweather drank and gambled away whatever he found through his mining activities.

Virginia City became one of numerous settlements that lined the gulch, and it was one of the most successful gold extraction sites in the West. By the end of 1863, Virginia City's population had boomed to approximately 4,000 residents. According to the Montana Department of Environmental Quality, the amount of gold taken from the gulch during the first 5 years is estimated between $30 and $40 million. Additional significant placer and lode mining operations continued into the following decades.

Montana Territory was officially designated in 1864 during this time of rapid exploration, discovery, and development. Bannack was named the first capital of the new territory. Virginia City took over as the capital in 1865 for the next decade, until Helena became the third and current capital.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Opinions of Henry Plummer's character varied widely. He had a reputation of being quick with a gun and not hesitant to use it. Francis Thompson discussed his relationship with Plummer in the book *A Tenderfoot in Montana*, a memoir of Thompson's frontier experiences in the 1860s. Thompson first heard of Plummer from some men as Thompson traveled from the Pacific coast to Montana. The men informed him that Plummer had killed a man in San Francisco and had escaped from prison and that he and his partner Jack Cleveland were chased out of the Lewiston and Orofino areas of Idaho. When Thompson first met Plummer, he described him as "a good looking young man of twenty-seven, polite, and of good address…about five feet ten inches in height, weighed perhaps one hundred and fifty pounds." Thompson found it hard to believe that Plummer could be the desperado that frightened so many people.

Plummer was elected by a mining committee as sheriff of Bannack and soon thereafter inherited a larger role with authority over Virginia

City. Plummer appointed some rough characters as deputies. Some were thought to be members of a gang of highwaymen responsible for a series of murders and robberies of gold shipments. Still, when a Union League was formed to send representatives to the first legislature, Plummer was recommended as U.S. Marshal by a unanimous vote.

Many suspected Plummer of leading a gang of highwaymen. For one, Plummer seemed to be gone from Bannack every time a robbery took place. Secondly, before Plummer became sheriff, he was shot in the right arm during a violent disagreement. After this event, Plummer had to rely on his left hand to draw his pistol. When Henry Tilden, a ward of Judge Edgerton, had been held up by highwaymen, he noticed the peculiar manner in which one of the robbers had accessed his weapon with his left hand and became convinced that it was Henry Plummer, even though the assailant's face was covered with a bandana.

In December 1863, a group of 24 men from Bannack and Virginia City formed a vigilante group determined to take justice into their own hands. This swift brand of justice ended in the hanging of suspects with little or no due process of law. Their oath read as follows:

> We, the undersigned, uniting ourselves in a party for the laudable purpose of arresting thieves and murderers and recovering stolen property do pledge ourselves and our sacred honor each to all others and solemnly swear that we will reveal no secrets, violate no laws and never desert each other or our standards of justice so help us God as witness our hand and seal this 23 of Dec. A.D. 1863.

Armed with what they considered adequate proof of guilt due to information from an informant, the vigilantes prepared for their campaign against what was considered the Plummer gang. Opinions regarding Plummer's involvement varied, but even some of those who felt he was innocent began to question his role as they heard the growing damning evidence. Even Francis Thompson, who had become friends with Plummer and shared many meals at Plummer's dinner table, had come to the conclusion that Plummer was involved in, if not leading, the road agents.

In the second week of the new year of 1864, the group of vigilantes rode 75 miles to Bannack and the boarding house where Plummer was known to live. After rousting him out of bed, the vigilantes took Plummer and his two deputies to the gallows that Plummer had built for a prisoner's execution 2 years earlier. Plummer proclaimed his innocence and begged for his life. Plummer, with the noose tight around his neck, was lifted high by three strong men and dropped to an instantaneous

death from the gallows. The bodies of Plummer and his deputies were left hanging from the gallows as cold winds blew through the suddenly silent gulch.

After riding hundreds of miles through deep snow and brutal cold, the vigilance party had hanged 20 members from the gang of highwaymen within 2 months. Thompson perhaps most succinctly summed up the popular belief of most of the citizenry of the time as to the necessity of vigilance action, when he opinioned in *A Tenderfoot in Montana* that, "At the time the Vigilantes were organized, the country was terrorized beyond all conception. The remedy for this state of affairs was terrible and bloody, but it was most effectual, and in no other way could the incubus be removed." Some historians have argued that Plummer was the victim of political intrigue. Either way, Plummer was taken out of the running for U.S. Marshal or anything else.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

As settlers continued to arrive in the Hell Gate valley from Fort Benton and elsewhere, Higgins and Worden saw an opportunity to expand their business to serve the new residents. They planned to construct a gristmill and a lumber mill to process the grain crops that were becoming more prevalent each passing year and to provide building materials for the new settlers. Higgins and Worden incorporated the Missoula Mills Company in 1864.

By the time John Lehsou arrived in the Hell Gate valley 2 years later, a new community called Missoula Mills had started to spread east and west of the mills along the Mullan Road at a spot about 4 miles east of Hell Gate Village. The mills were built near what would become the intersection of Higgins and Front Street in Missoula.

Frank Woody had resigned his position as clerk for Worden and Higgins and was elected auditor of Missoula County. He described his adventurous life and the weather of Missoula Mills in an August 26, 1866, letter to his mother, who lived back in North Carolina. Woody wrote:

> I have been in ten States and five Territories, Sometimes I have had all that a man could desire in the world, and at others I have been cold, hungry and almost naked—I have mixed in all kinds of company from that of Congressmen and Generals, down to the lowest, I have seen life among almost all classes, I have done everything from the practice of Law, to driving oxen and digging gold—I have been merchant and farmer, School Teacher and

> Teamster, Hunter & Trapper, I have lived with the Indians, and in fact with all kinds of people. At one time I was 14 months without seeing a white man.
>
> … Our winters are cold and we have a great deal of snow, it lies on the ground from three to four months – and on the tops of the mountains, that surround our valley it can snow every day of the year – today it is quite warm, yet the tops of some of our mountains are quite white. Our country is new but is being settled up quite fast.

Montana was booming. Granville Stuart described the time when he witnessed directly the new wealth being uncovered in Montana Territory. Three days after Woody's letter, Stuart was at Fort Benton on business when he encountered a freight wagon drawn by four mules and accompanied by a group of miners. He described the scene as follows:

> The wagon was loaded with two and one-half tons of gold dust, valued at one million five hundred thousand dollars. The gold was all from Confederate gulch and was shipped down the river by steamboat. This was the first and only time that I ever saw a wagon load of gold dust at one time.

John Lehsou arrived at Missoula Mills during one of the most prosperous times in Montana history. Major gold discoveries at Bannack, Virginia City, Bear Gulch, and Last Chance Gulch (Helena) had brought thousands of fortune seekers to the area. Between 1862 and 1876, Montana would produce an estimated $90 million in mostly placer gold. The majority of gold seekers from the East embarked from St. Louis. Others traveled to the area by the Bozeman Trail, the Fisk routes from Minnesota, or the road from Corinne, Utah, from the south. Fort Benton became a scene of frenzied economic activity as freight by the tons and passengers by the thousands arrived by way of the Missouri River on steamboats to continue by land to the gold fields.

Gold dust


Beartown

CHAPTER 6

Beartown and the Roughs

BEAR CREEK BECAME THE LATEST DESTINATION for thousands of hopefuls after word leaked that color had been found in the creek by Jack Reynolds and his party during October 1865. An early winter prevented any substantial placer operations that fall, so the find would have to be kept a secret. Winters in Montana were long, and since any hours spent in a bar were accompanied by liquor, word leaked out. Despite heavy snows, prospectors started flocking to the area to file claims and begin initial attempts at placer mining. Within 3 weeks of the discovery, an estimated 5,000 people were camped in the area, including Chinese, Dutch, English, French, and Irish. The next big rush in Montana had begun. By spring of 1866, Reynolds and his group had company when they headed back to the Bear. In the years following, the Bear mining area would include the Elk Creek District, Bear Gulch Mining District, Deep Gulch Mining District, and First Chance Mining District (where Garnet would evolve).

Bear Creek was located about 20 miles west of Gold Creek and 35 miles east of Missoula. Back on November 10, 1862, Granville Stuart sent some of the men who had come up from the Pike's Peak area "into the cañon below the mouth of Flint creek to prospect for gold." Granville declared that he thought "rich placers will be found in that vicinity." In a later note in his journal, Granville wrote, "The Pike's Peak men did not find the placers, nor was I one of the discoverers, but four years later, in 1866, my predictions were verified by the discovery of the very rich mines of Bear gulch." Gold could be found all the way from the beginning of the gulch to the summit of the Garnet Range.

Bear Gulch was narrow and steep and bedded with gravel, but still a town was established within the gulch called Beartown. It was closed in by ragged mountains in an area no more than a quarter-mile long and about 450 feet wide. The town was organized with one main street and four blocks and eventually included numerous saloons, several blacksmith shops, restaurants, a hotel, a general store, a brewery, a jail, livery stables, slaughter houses, a drug store, and a wash house. Most cabins consisted of one 10-by-12-foot room built with roughly matched logs and the bare essentials, including minimal pieces of furniture and cooking utensils. Those with families, of which there were very few, had nicer cabins with

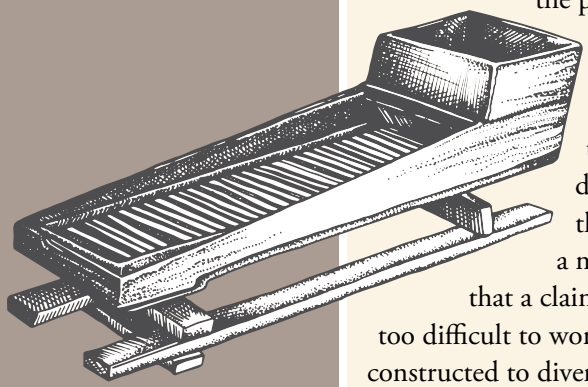
Panning for gold

several rooms and more furniture. The residents cooked their meals over open fireplaces.

Just like other mining towns, saloons were popular places to unwind from the long and hard workdays. Pelletier's saloon, a long, high-ceilinged building with a second floor balcony, became very packed after work on Friday with live fiddling, drinking, billiards, and gambling at faro, roulette, black jack, and poker tables. By Monday morning, however, the crowd at Pelletier's reluctantly dispersed for the long workweek. To save water, the camp enforced a rule to remain sober on working days. The people of Beartown turned away those who could not control their drinking.

Water was a precious resource at Beartown since Bear and Deep Creeks were only fed by the mountain snowmelt after winter. To conserve the water supply, the miners built reservoirs at the head of the gulches, and the town only allowed water to be released for a couple of hours a day. Extensive placer mining occurred mainly during the snowmelt runoff in spring, and the methods included panning, rocker boxes, and sluice boxes, along with some subsurface digging.

Miners worked claims limited to 200 feet in length of stream bottom and rim to rim in width. Required to keep all waste tailings on their claim site, many miners neatly stacked the waste rock along the stream which gave the appearance of a rock wall. These rock walls were later often attributed to the Chinese, and the term "China wall" became popular. However, in reality, while some might have been the result of the Chinese working the placers after the whites had left for other discoveries, most were constructed out of necessity by the early placer miners, dictated by the rules of mining laws and the law of gravity. Stacked rocks were more stable than a pile of rocks. This system allowed the miner to dig deeper into the stream bottom. A general rule was that the height of the wall was to be no higher than a man's shoulders, no matter how wide. This indicated that a claim would be abandoned when it became physically too difficult to work. Bedrock flumes, many of them wooden, were constructed to divert streamflows outside stream channels. In other cases,



Sluice box

simple ditches were used. During the winter months, miners spent much of their time preparing for the next spring snowmelt by repairing and cleaning sluice boxes, making dump boxes, and piling up dirt.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

The Chinese arrived in Montana as early as the 1860s. Many had mining experience from the California, Colorado, Idaho, and Nevada strikes. The war-wracked Kwangtung Province, a coastal region of China, had been the home of a large number of the Chinese who ended up on the Montana mining frontier. The peasants of Kwangtung were particularly attacked and demoralized during the Taiping Rebellion that lasted from 1850 to 1864. That long war and the lack of American workers on the western mining landscape set the stage for opportunities for Chinese immigrants.

The Chinese tended to move into mining camps after the initial rush had died down. However, in Beartown, a man named Gee Lee was with the town from its origin. After trying mining, he decided laundering was more profitable and established Gee Lee's Wash House, which was one of the cornerstones of the town. Another notable Chinese man in Beartown was called One-Eyed Tom. Tom trekked into the mountains each fall to gather herbs, which he stored in his cabin and used to aid the injured or ill people of the town.

The 1870 federal census recorded 35 Chinese in Beartown Township. Being in their forties or older, the Chinese placer miners of Elk Creek were quite elderly for the times. The average age of a miner on the western frontier was less than 30 years. All of the Chinese in the 1870 census gave their marital status as "single." This may have been misleading because most Chinese men had families back in their homeland. Only one Chinese female was listed in the 1870 census for Beartown, and her occupation was recorded as "prostitute." Other censuses from the 1800s also reflect the same occupation for many Chinese females. Whether this occupational designation was accurate or an indication of the census taker's racial prejudice cannot be known. The percentage of women making up the Chinese population in Montana was minute. The 1870 Montana census recorded a total Chinese population of 1,949, only 123 of which were female.

Hand-stacked rock wall in early Montana

Racism against the Chinese was virulent throughout all of Montana Territory, especially in the mining camps. For a time, the whites tolerated

the Chinese as long as they stuck to working what were considered menial jobs, such as servants or laundrymen. When engaged in mining, they usually worked in small groups away from the white miners. They were also, at times, segregated to living in special districts, most notably in Virginia City, with the rationale being that they exhibited "extreme carelessness as to fires," as noted in the book *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*.

Deer Lodge in 1869

For the most part, white people in Montana looked upon Chinese as dishonest, filthy, and ungodly. Newspapers supported such perceptions with vigor through ruthless editorials. Perhaps the most vicious came from the *Missoula & Cedar Creek Pioneer*, which declared that Chinese men prostituted their women and enjoyed spreading venereal disease. When John Martelle shot a Chinese man at Blackfoot City, he was charged for the assault but acquitted by a jury in Deer Lodge. The local paper trumpeted the verdict, declaring that it was received with approval by 99 out of every 100 citizens of Deer Lodge County. The editor of the *Missoula & Cedar Creek Pioneer* concluded that "the people of Deer Lodge approve of shooting Chinaman for a pastime."

Political cartoon from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* in 1882

Since their arrival, the Chinese focused on placer and not hard rock mining. Rossiter W. Raymond wrote in his report to the 42nd Congress in 1871, "Very few Chinese engaged in lode mining. The Chinese almost completely restricted themselves to placer mining, especially working areas abandoned by whites and reworking tailings." The success of Chinese mining operations created a backlash that pushed the 1872 Territorial Legislature to pass legislation aimed at the Chinese that prohibited aliens from holding titles to placer mines or claims. Though later declared unconstitutional, the bill reflected the attitude of most on the Montana mining frontier. Raymond criticized the law in his report to Congress titled *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains*. Discussing the law, Raymond stated that the law concerning Chinese mining titles:

> …is certainly destructive of the interests of the community, as may be shown in numerous instances where the Chinese have purchased, for cash, claims which white men could no longer afford to work, and have proceeded to make them productive, at

a smaller profit to themselves than to the Territory. Besides being bad policy, this course toward the Chinese is rank dishonesty.

The editor of the *Missoula & Cedar Creek Pioneer* newspaper championed the "alien bill" introduced by W.W. Dixon of Deer Lodge, without even having read the text, and predicted that it would compel the Chinese to abandon the territory. His prediction was wrong, and the Chinese fought back with legal action and continued to arrive and engage in mining in the bill sponsor's backyard. By 1880, Deer Lodge County (which included Butte) had 710 Chinese. During the decade of the 1880s, the Chinese endured a wave of hatred and discrimination throughout the nation. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which put a 10-year moratorium on the importation of Chinese labor and prohibited Chinese from becoming U.S. citizens. In 1892, the law was extended for 10 years, and by 1902, it became permanent.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Though gold was discovered in Bear Gulch in 1865, all goods to Beartown had to be brought in by a line of pack animals until 1879. The Mullan Road passed the mouth of Bear Gulch, but Beartown was 6 miles up a steep, narrow trail that was inaccessible by wagons. Most of the mining and food supplies for the Bear District came by wagons from Deer Lodge, followed the Mullan Road until Bearmouth, where a ferry then transported them across the Clark Fork River. From that point, the cargo was hauled 4 miles to Ten Mile Creek where a small camp was located and then transferred to packhorses. These heavily laden pack trains trudged up the difficult terrain to Beartown.

One well-remembered packer who worked Beartown was Jimmy "Clubfoot" Smith, who worked a pack string of 200 animals. Jimmy's lead animal named Magpie had a bell around her neck so everyone could tell when the pack train was arriving. A crowd would be gathered to watch Jimmy unload by the time he reached town. Common articles from Jimmy's freight included tobacco, flour, fruit, red flannel underwear, pans for cooking, brooms, furniture, candles, and cans of lard. Jimmy did not bring meat or vegetables since they were provided by nearby farms.

Much of the merchandise packed into Beartown by Jimmy Smith was sold at Joaquin Abascal's store, which he established in the center of town in partnership with a Frenchman named LaForcade. Abascal boasted of Castilian birth, was a favorite of the town, and was a leader in every community affair, from tracking and disposing of criminals to organizing a dance. In addition to keeping the store well stocked, Abascal provided free drinks to store customers from a barrel of whiskey and tables for playing cards. One end of the store included a post office and scales for

weighing gold dust, which remained the accepted medium of exchange, as in most mining towns. During this time, the paper dollar was worth only 80 cents in gold.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Beartown's law and order was self-maintained through fear of consequences rather than through sheriffs or officers. However, the town was not without violence, and one of the most notable cases of violence in Beartown involved an Irishman named James Ryan who killed an American named Frank Lovejoy in 1867.

While passing the bar with some friends one evening, Lovejoy heard some merriment and wanted to see what was going on. Upon entering, Lovejoy's group saw Ryan and 8 to 10 others. Lovejoy took a seat, and shortly after, people in the bar asked Ryan for a song. After Ryan began singing, a man named Hurst started taunting him. Ryan continued singing, but Hurst broke in again with some more words. Lovejoy stood up for Ryan and said, "Mr. Ryan had begun to sing for the boys in good faith and ought not to be interrupted by any outsiders." At about this time, Ryan became enraged, drew his pistol, leveled the gun at Lovejoy, and fired, hitting Lovejoy in the left hip. Ryan then fired at Hurst, but the bullet caused no injury, only cutting away Hurst's gold watch chain. Ryan fired two more shots with no effect before the incident was over.

The relationship between Ryan and Lovejoy leading up to this event was not quarrelsome, and no one could determine any motive for the bloodshed. The article in the *Helena Weekly Herald* stated:

> There was and are two factions in Beartown, the one composed exclusively of Irish, who are largely in the majority there, and the other chiefly of Americans. There has been much trouble and ill-feeling between these, and a general warfare has at times seemed imminent. Lovejoy, who was a fearless, resolute young man, has always stood by his American friends, and may have become obnoxious to many of the Irish on that account, and perhaps to Ryan, among others, and that he embraced this opportunity to destroy one whom he conceived to be an enemy of his clan. The more reasonable supposition is, however, that in a drunken fit he imagined that the whole crowd, Lovejoy as well as Hurst, were holding him up to ridicule; and that the motive for his terrible deed originated then and there.

A great state of excitement ensued with the Lovejoy shooting. Ryan was given a preliminary hearing by Judge McElroy who set bail at $10,000. Unable to post such an amount, and with feelings running hot

on both sides of the issue, Ryan was taken to Cottonwood (Deer Lodge) by the sheriff and an armed escort of 25 men. Lovejoy died 3 days later, and his body was "put in a coffin, lashed on a packhorse, and, followed by a procession of forty armed men, proceeded to Cottonwood for burial." The authorities worried that the men who transported Lovejoy to his burial site might attempt to use force to break into the Cottonwood jail and avenge their friend by hanging Ryan, but cooler heads prevailed and vigilante justice was averted.

According to Frank Lovejoy's obituary, he had arrived in Montana in 1866 along with thousands of other prospectors. Described as "sober and industrious," he was not part of the usual drinking crowd at Beartown. "His presence in the saloon in which he was shot, was purely accidental," continued the obituary, "as he was not in the habit of frequenting the place." James Ryan was tried for murder at Deer Lodge the following spring of 1868 and found "Guilty of murder in the second degree, recommending mercy from the Court."

The miners were reluctant to give up their local vigilante ways of achieving what they considered quick justice without waiting for law enforcement to arrive and the courts to mete it out. In a different violent incident, a vigilante group from Beartown proved its strength by organizing to capture and dispense with Jack Varley, who had robbed an old miner named Julian Guezala of $12,000 in gold.

Guezala had been confronted by a man with a handkerchief covering his face, as Guezala rode his donkey down the steep and twisting trail headed to Bearmouth and then to Cottonwood (Deer Lodge). The robber covered the grizzled prospector with a revolver and demanded the gold. Although Guezala was old, he did not intend to give up all that he had worked so hard for during the past 2 years. Instead of complying, he leaped upon the thief, and during the ensuing scuffle, he yanked the assailant's mask from his face, revealing Jack Varley, a man Guezala had befriended when he first arrived at the Bear Creek mines. A stunned Guezala could hardly believe that his young friend would resort to such a deed. Varley soon overpowered the old man, beat him, and fled with the gold, leaving Guezala for dead.

Guezala was near death when help came. He identified Varley as his assailant. In response, a vigilance committee was quickly formed and sent a posse of men up Deep Creek in pursuit of the robber. When they finally caught up with Varley, he surrendered, realizing it was hopeless to resist. The vigilantes decided to take Varley down to Beartown for a trial, but halfway down Bear Creek, the group met Deputy Sheriff John Pine, who had been directed by the sheriff to take possession of Varley. This was not a pleasant meeting, as Pine demanded that the vigilantes

Painting of Joseph Wilson and Arthur Compton hanging from the hangman's tree on the outskirts of Helena, Montana, in 1870

hand over Varley. The vigilantes refused, holding their ground and their prisoner.

The vigilantes recognized that if released to the deputy, Varley would be escorted to Deer Lodge and held accountable by the courts. They also knew how pathetic the security was at the Deer Lodge jail, which was notorious for allowing prisoners to escape. Two weeks earlier, two prisoners had escaped the old, decrepit jail, so the vigilantes did have a point. With that in mind, they turned their horses around and galloped away in a cloud of dust while the deputy sheriff headed back to Beartown to raise a posse of his own. When the vigilantes reached Top o' Deep, some of them barricaded themselves and Varley in a house, while others formed an outer picket line to further defend their right to keep Varley. This was a Thursday. When Deputy Pine and his volunteers arrived, the siege began. Varley was confined to the inner room of a log house. The vigilante committee did have certain written rules that required a face-to-face identification by the victim, and therefore would not hang Varley until they could find Guezala.

On Friday, Deputy Sheriff John Keene from Cottonwood arrived on the scene. Deputy Sheriff Keene expected the group to release Varley to him, but the pickets refused. Incredulous, Keene told the pickets that he was an officer of the law and demanded the release of Varley. "Yes," replied the picket, "I know you are; you are John Keene, that was locked up in the cell at Cottonwood by the escaping murderers recently." When Keene admitted that it was true, the picket said, "Well, you had better go right back to Cottonwood; we have no more use for you in this section of the country."

On that same day, the vigilance group plotted their strategy to find Guezala for an identification of his assailant. They sent a man by the name of McGhee down to Beartown to get Guezala. When McGhee and Guezala began heading up the trail, Deputy Sheriff Keene and his posse pursued them. After McGhee spotted the group, he quickly gave his horse to Guezala, who made a quick getaway toward Top o' Deep. Neither side wanted to shed blood in the name of Jack Varley, but tempers were flaring. Though pursued by the deputy's men, Guezala succeeded in eluding them and reaching the vigilantes at Top o' Deep.

On Saturday night, a guilty verdict was quickly reached after Guezala's identification of Varley as his assailant, and Varley was taken on Sunday at noon to the nearest sturdy limbed tree and hanged. Varley

protested his innocence to the last minute. In a final show of bravado, he laughingly asked for a large drink of whiskey before his last breath.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

In 1866, after transporting mining supplies for John Owen, John Lehsou decided to start his own trading post and built it at the mouth of Bear Gulch, a prime location with the latest gold rush in the area. While running his trading post, Lehsou met a man named Charles Kroger, whose roots, like Lehsou's, went back to Schleswig-Holstein, Germany. In 1862, Kroger had immigrated to the United States with the goal of striking it rich in the gold fields of California or elsewhere in the American West. After sailing to San Francisco, Kroger worked in the salt ponds there and then spent time working placer mines in California, Oregon, and the Boise basin before placer mining in Montana. The two became quick friends, and, after running his trading post for a year and a half, Lehsou moved to Beartown to mine with Kroger. By 1869, much of the population had moved to the rush at Cedar Creek, which was about 100 miles west of Beartown near present-day Superior, Montana.

John C. Lehsou and Dorothea "Dora" (Rusch) Lehsou and their children

In addition to their hometown roots, the bond between Lehsou and Kroger became even stronger when they married sisters from Schleswig-Holstein. In 1869, Anna and Dorothea "Dora" Rusch sailed to the United States and visited friends and their uncle's family in Iowa. In 1870, the sisters traveled by stagecoach to visit with friends in Deer Lodge. One of their friends, also originally from Schleswig-Holstein, operated a general store in Deer Lodge that sold mining supplies to the placer miners from nearby Beartown and surrounding communities. One evening, the storekeeper invited Lehsou and Kroger over for dinner to meet the two sisters from their hometown. Within the year, Kroger married Anna on November 17, 1870, and not long after, Lehsou married Dora on January 18, 1873. They all lived in Beartown, where Kroger, along with his placer mining activities, ran a brewery. Lehsou also served as postmaster, receiving his appointment on September 26, 1888. The Lehsous raised their three children while living in Beartown—Henry, Emil, and Dora Christiana. Lehsou persevered with placer mining in Beartown for 20 years.

While the upper reaches of the Bear were promoted early on, there was simply no way to transport large amounts of ore for processing until a road down the mountain was constructed. In order for placer mining to be successful, a plentiful supply of water had to exist. Still, some

determined miners, including Lehsou and Kroger, labored at the higher elevations. Lehsou and Kroger had a major placer operation set up to capture spring runoff with dams, ditches, and reservoirs that were located near the head of First Chance—in the heart of what would later become the town of Garnet. By 1873, 30 to 40 men were working the gulches near the head of First Chance, all of whom, the Deer Lodge *Weekly Independent* reported, "were doing well." Even before that, placer and lode claims had been filed.

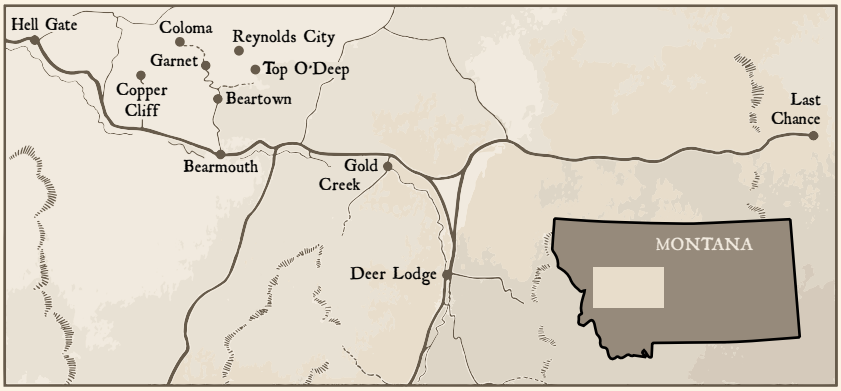
◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

In 1879, after 15 years of having all goods brought in by pack animals, the need for a wagon road from the mouth of Bear Creek became great enough for action. Jimmy Smith, one of the main packers, loaned most of his animals and tools to help build the road. The new road joined the Mullan Road near the banks of the Clark Fork and directly connected to Deer Lodge and Missoula. Due to the new road, it was easier to bring in goods and furniture. The road also provided a closer connection to the rest of the area.

By the early 1880s, several children lived in town—including the Wells, Lehsous, and McConvilles—making it feasible to build a school. The school house was only 12 by 16 feet but was ample size for its attendance. Mary Pardee's news article about Beartown that appeared in the *Great Falls Tribune* in 1931 states, "Girls and boys were seated at opposite ends of the room, around crude tables and on splintery benches; writing was done on slates." James Castner, a young man, was the first teacher, employed through the county office at Deer Lodge.

Before the school was built, two Catholic sisters, Sister Katherine from Walla Walla and Sister Laroque from Vancouver, Washington, made two or three trips into the Bear camp each year, to either tutor the children or take the children back to their schools. The sisters traveled by pack train, camped by the trail, ministered to whomever sought their counsel, and felt no fear of the wilds.

The town did not construct any churches, though the town followed some religious traditions such as no work on Sundays. Many religions were represented in the town, but it seems only Catholic priests made time to visit the mining camp. Father Ravalli, whose tolerance, tact, and understanding made him in demand throughout the northwest, and Father Remigius De Ryckere, originally from Belgium, found time to visit Beartown on occasion. When they came to town, services were held in any cabin that happened to be vacant, and everyone attended.



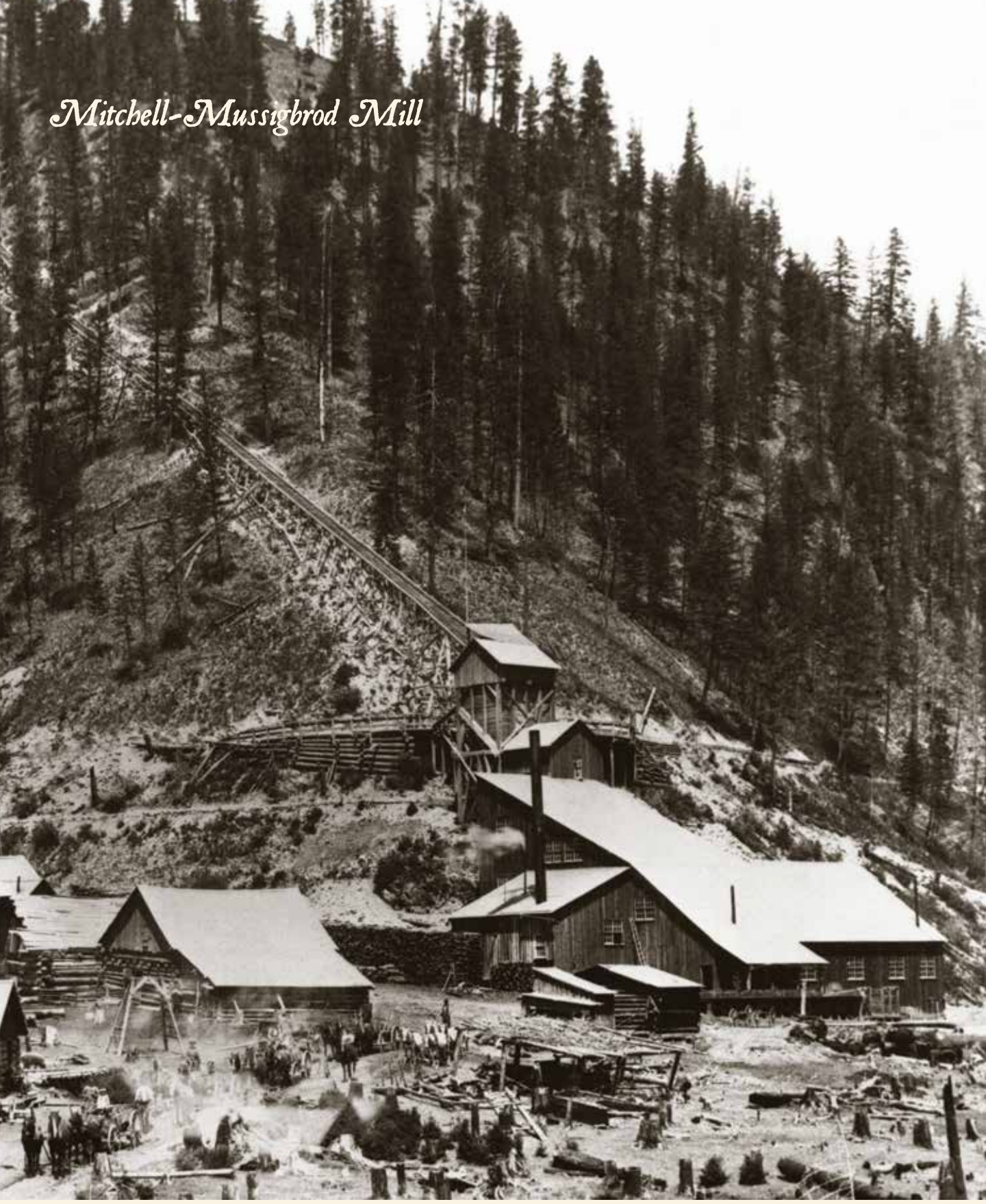
Father Remigius De Ryckere

Along with Beartown, other camps came into existence during this placer period, including Cedar Creek, Last Chance Gulch (Helena), Confederate Gulch, Reynolds City, Top o' Deep, and Springtown. Population estimates vary wildly with 5,000 assigned to Beartown, a number that stuck with locals despite estimates from the Department of the Mint maintaining that during the boom years of 1866 and 1867, "Bear Gulch contained a population of 1,000 men, and Reynolds City in Elk Creek, 500, or an aggregate of 1,500 in what is known as Bear district." By 1869, the majority of Beartown's population had moved on.

Population numbers changed fast in boomtowns. Numbers swelled during initial discoveries and the ensuing stampede, and they quickly ebbed after most arrivals realized they were too late to share in the riches of the area. A front-page article in the *Montana Post* of April 14, 1866, declared, probably with much exaggeration, that Reynolds City had over 100 houses with building activity continuing. It was a boomtown, and like most in the West, depopulated as fast as it rose. Seven years after its birth, Reynolds City was a ghost town, and a reporter visiting it in 1873 found only one resident, William Kelley, who took unusual pleasure in burning down the abandoned buildings, one by one.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEER LODGE MISSION

Father Remigius De Ryckere established the Deer Lodge Mission in 1866. Born on August 6, 1837 at Emelghen, a little town in West Flanders, Belgium, he studied theology at the American College in Louvain. He was raised to the priesthood by Cardinal Sterckx at Mechelen. Father De Ryckere left Europe in 1865 to join the Diocese of Nesqually, for which he had been ordained, and toward the end of September, he landed in Vancouver, Washington. The following year, he was assigned to start the Deer Lodge Mission in western Montana. Father De Ryckere arrived at Deer Lodge in July and held his first Sunday service in the house of Johnny Grant. In October, Father De Ryckere oversaw the construction of a hewn log structure—the first church building erected in Deer Lodge County. Since he was one of the only priests in the county, the townspeople requested Father De Ryckere's assistance during the usual hardships, including deaths and sicknesses, requiring him to ride dozens of miles through the harshest of weather.



Mitchell-Mussigbrod Mill

CHAPTER 7

The Upper Bear, First Chance Gulch, and the Camp of "Mitchell"

AS EARLY AS 1867, the press was extolling the possibilities of a mining camp farther up Bear Gulch at First Chance Gulch. In an article titled "Chance for Mill Men," the Deer Lodge City *Weekly Independent* described the prospects as follows:

> The section of country about Beartown has been known, hitherto, as a placer mining camp, but will in no time, no doubt become a permanent mining section. The character of the gold from the numerous gulches coming out of First Chance mountain is very fine, and indicates a close proximity to rich quartz veins….There are, without doubt, undiscovered deposits of wealth in this section, and we would advise those seeking profitable investment for their capital to turn their attention to this locality.

Two such men who worked early placer operations at First Chance were John Lehsou and Charles Kroger, who purchased a claim in 1873. It became one of the first claims to be surveyed in the district and was located at the headwaters of First Chance Gulch at the center of what would become Garnet. The claim was surveyed and mapped in October 1879 and given the mineral survey number 751. It is not officially known how much wealth Lehsou and Kroger extracted from this claim, but J.T. Pardee wrote about the claim as yielding $240,000.

Placer mining in and of itself was arduous work. To make the transition from placer mining to large-scale hard rock mining, heavy industrial mining equipment was necessary. Equipment was required to sink a shaft, and a mill was needed to crush and separate the ore, which then had to be shipped to a smelter for more refined processing. The lack of adequate roads to First Chance and other gulches in the mountain range made the delivery of the equipment impossible. As a result, for the most part, the miners were held hostage to the placer process. However, it was those placer discoveries that led directly to the lode (hard rock) developments.

In May 1866, the first lode claim in the Bear District area was filed and seven more by the end of 1868, when the district officially became known as First Chance. From 1872 to 1875, Henry Grant, James Hartford, Thomas Anderson, Edward Magone, Joaquin Abascal, and Samuel Ritchey all filed lode claims, respectively naming them the Sierra, the Grant and Hartford, the Magone and Anderson, the Guymas (later changed to the Free Coinage), and the Homestake. Though primarily restricted to placer mining, those miners were well aware of the potential riches that lay below the surface. There simply was no way to get to the gold. The First Chance mining district eventually led to the establishment of the town of Garnet. However, Garnet did not flourish until the mountain pack trails became wagon roads, which took almost 30 years after the discovery of the first placer deposits.

Some proved it was possible to make a profit without roads or advanced mining equipment. One such person was Henry Grant, who filed 18 lode claims in First Chance between 1868 and 1896. Grant became somewhat of a legend early on when word spread that he had taken out $900 worth of gold in 6 hours by chipping away with common hand tools and $3,000 worth of gold throughout the season using the same crude method. As the trails improved, Grant realized gains from all of his claims. His best producing mine claim was the Grant and Hartford, which he filed on October 16, 1873.

Henry Grant also filed the first mill site claim in the district on June 13, 1875. The fact that Grant filed a mill site claim indicates that he had a need to either store or process lode ore from his claims. Henry Grant became one of the true old-time miners as he continued to work his mines into the new century.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

By the time Armistead Hughes Mitchell came on the First Chance Gulch scene, he had led an adventurous life throughout the states and Canada, and despite his medical degree, most of it was involved in mining of some sorts. Born in Louisville, Kentucky, on October 31, 1831, he graduated from the University of New York Medical School at the age of 21. While the California gold rush was still in full swing, Mitchell arrived in California in 1853 and engaged in work as a physician, miner, and rancher. By 1859, his wanderlust had taken him to British Columbia, Canada, and soon he was following stampedes to new discoveries, or rumors of such, in Nevada, Idaho, Oregon, and back to British Columbia. His mining efforts in British Columbia proved successful enough for him to have accumulated $20,000 in gold dust.

In 1865, Mitchell heard about the discoveries of gold in Montana's Deer Lodge County. He headed for McClellan's Gulch, arriving in September. Mitchell's timing could not have been better as the boom was about to hit the Elk and Bear drainages. Since winter prevented most mining, he spent time in Helena practicing medicine, until gold fever lured him to Blackfoot City in 1866. That mining town boasted 2,000 residents at its peak with the usual attributes of a rough and tumble mining camp, which could always use a doctor to patch up the victims of saloons, whiskey, and gambling.

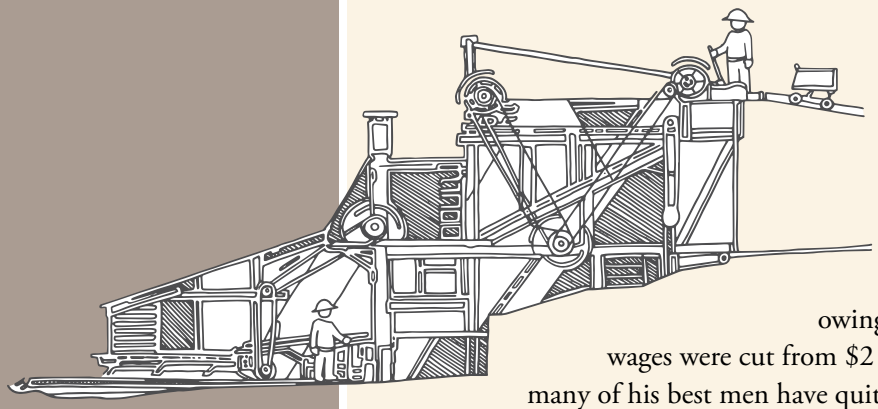
Armistead H. Mitchell

In 1869, President Ulysses S. Grant appointed Dr. Mitchell to construct the first building of a new territorial penitentiary to be located at Deer Lodge. Mitchell moved to Deer Lodge, oversaw the construction, and became physician for that institution. While engaged as the physician at the penitentiary, Governor of Montana Territory B.F. Potts awarded Mitchell the official position of managing a new insane asylum in 1875. The Helena *Weekly Herald* had commented on the need for a territorial insane asylum, stating that the county hospital was not the proper place for a "lunatic." Up to this point, Montana Territory had made no special provisions for mental health, the responsibility generally left to regular hospitals.

In 1877, Mitchell purchased a property named Warm Springs. It is here that he and his business partner Dr. Charles F. Mussigbrod ultimately set up the new insane asylum. The doctors started with 13 patients and received $1 per day per patient. By 1886, the operation substantially increased, from 160 acres to 1,640 acres and from 2 buildings to 32 buildings.

In addition to their responsibilities at Warm Springs, Mitchell and Mussigbrod decided to invest in the higher elevation mining at First Chance Gulch after seeing the riches taken from the Beartown diggings. In 1894, they partnered to construct a 10-stamp mill in the First Chance District. A basic stamp mill used heavy weights to crush the material, separating the gold from the ore. The material could then be bagged and hauled to a smelter for processing. A stamp mill was exactly what the area needed.

By January 1895, excitement in the First Chance District and surrounding area was mounting. *The Montana Mining and Market Reporter* summarized the activity as follows:



Example of a cross-section of a mill

The Mitchell mill is progressing slowly, they will not start up before March. They have about 15 men working on the mill and their water is all frozen up….The Mitchell mill is getting along very slow, owing to unskilled labor. The wages were cut from $2 to $1.50 per day and a good many of his best men have quit work.

During the early years of the Montana gold rush, mine owners moved quickly to distinguish their particular place with a self-defined district name. In reporting their "rich strikes" and potential for wealth, both of which were often exaggerated to newspapers, the miners hoped to promote their area as the richest. To do so, they had to give specific names to their sites; thus, the Bear District was differentiated from the Elk Creek District. Located between those two districts, First Chance District was legally established in 1868. Sometimes, however, it took newspapers years before recognizing the distinct districts, and the older designations such as the Upper Bear continued to be used in reporting activities in that particular area.

Since the 1860s, many sources had referred to the area as the Bear Mountain Mining District, and the specific site that became Garnet was referred to as First Chance. Before First Chance was known as Garnet, the establishment of the stamp mill led to the designation of camp Mitchell, according to some early news sources. In June of 1895, somewhat premature news from the *Silver State Post* described the activity as follows:

> A young mining camp has been started, and several substantial buildings are in course of erection. The miners there got together last Thursday night and christened the embryo city 'Mitchell,' in honor of Dr. Mitchell. They will at once apply for a post office and establish a mail route from there to Bearmouth. A movement is on foot, and will be consummated, for the building of a road from Mitchell to old Beartown.

The word camp was used loosely to designate a collection of cabins and possibly businesses conducted from tents or primitive structures and indicated that the gathering fell short of designation as a town. To reach the lofty status of town, the location usually had to have a post office. As the mines near Mitchell and the surrounding area began producing, the residents up the road west from the mill, most notably E.S. Woods,

who constructed the first hotel, known as the Woods Hotel, pushed to establish a post office.

While Charles Mussigbrod made the initial investment in the mill at First Chance Gulch, his son Peter, with extensive expertise in mining, took over the setup of the mill in 1894. By that time, Charles was gravely ill and had traveled to Europe to seek medical attention. He was operated on and died shortly thereafter in May 1896 in Berlin.

Charles Mussigbrod's son, Peter, was born in Muskau, Germany. His formal education was extensive, but for years concentrated in the area of liberal arts, not mining. He graduated from the Latin school at Gorlitz and from there went on to major in the study of philosophy and natural science. After graduation, he taught for 8 years and then returned to school, attending the University of Berlin and obtaining a doctor of philosophy degree in 1890. At this juncture in his life, he changed his focus and obtained employment at the Mansfeld copper works at Eisleben. Peter Mussigbrod then transitioned again to attend the mining academy at Clausthal for a year and then the mining academy at Freiberg, Saxony, for 6 months. With this technical training under his belt, the younger Mussigbrod continued to embark on an educational journey to the mines of Hungary and Austria. So, one might say, based on his education, that he was a mining philosopher.

The Mitchell-Mussigbrod mill was a cobbled-up affair using parts from an abandoned mill that had been constructed on the west slope of Elk Creek in 1866. From its inception, Peter Mussigbrod continually tweaked and added components in a continuing attempt to recover greater percentages of good paying ore from the secondary waste rock. Time after time, the mill would shut down for repairs and equipment additions.

By June 1895, the *Silver State Post* gave a description of the young town of Mitchell as containing "about a dozen homes, including the Woods Hotel, two saloons, a livery stable, and very shortly a grocery and general provisions store will be started." The same publication reported at least 200 men adjacent to Mitchell engaged in mining and prospecting.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

The developments in road building were crucial to the success or failure of mining efforts in the mountains. Lode mining required mills to concentrate the ore and a way to get the crushed ore down to a transportation center such as Bearmouth, where the ore could then be loaded on the Northern Pacific Railway and hauled to smelters at Anaconda, Helena, Butte, or Great Falls.

The Mullan Military Road and the railroad brought miners to the gulches that led up to First Chance. However, once arrived, prospectors,

miners, and those who provided services to them had to deal with the steep, almost impassible, terrain leading up the gulches to possible sources of gold at the higher elevations. Bear Creek and its ascent up into First Chance from the Mullan Road was an impressive example of that challenge. First Chance sat near the top of that drainage, and to reach it required an arduous and dangerous journey up 12 miles of winding, twisting, cliffhanging, and almost nonexistent trails. Beartown was the halfway point; from there, it took climbing 6 more precipitous miles to get to the future site of Garnet.

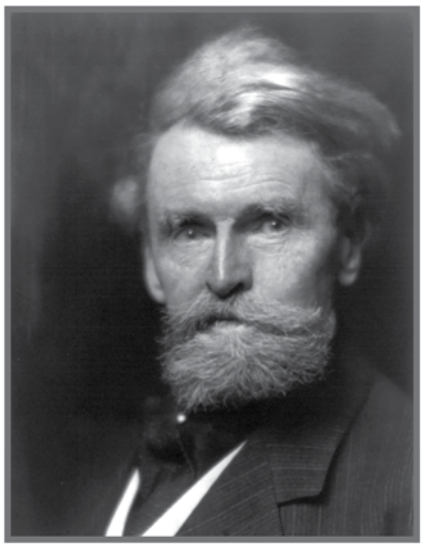
A road from the Mitchell-Mussigbrod Mill down the steep, often treacherous, incline began to be constructed and was advancing steadily by July 1895 with a workforce of men employed by Mitchell and Peter Mussigbrod. The effort was not without its occasional disturbances. One such incident occurred when about 30 workers "became dissatisfied with their foreman named Pressley, and took the law into their own hands and made him leave camp in a hurry," which was reported in an 1895 issue of the *Silver State*. The same group "took the two Chinamen cooks out and ran them out of camp, clubbing them every jump." The foreman, hearing the commotion from his office, ran out to investigate and found himself "covered with a huge pistol in the hands of one of the men." While things eventually calmed down, the actions were reminiscent of vigilante days and its sporadic continuance in the area in the late 1860s. However, now there existed a legal system that the foreman used by filing charges against the man who held him at gunpoint.

By autumn of 1895, ore was being shipped down the newly constructed road to Bearmouth and loaded on the Northern Pacific trains for shipment to the smelters. In October 1895, the *Missoulian* reported, "It is almost of certain fact that the Bear Mountain district will be one of the most prosperous in the country the coming year and Missoula is its recognized supply point and commercial business center." Residents of other nearby towns saw the benefits of the road, and several other roads were constructed during this time period. One such road connected next door Coloma to Mitchell. Christened the Cannon Ball Road, it was at first just a sleigh road, but after investing several hundred dollars more for widening, it became a wagon road.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Apparently, during his 20 years of mining in the First Chance area, John Lehsou's hard work had paid off. In 1892, he sold his land at Bearmouth and was able to buy, for $10,000, 160 acres of land north of the present-day Missoula County Cemetery and half of the water rights to Grant Creek. In 1894, he bought 120 additional acres for $6,000, plus

the other half of the Grant Creek water rights. He continued his acquisitions with purchases of 40 more acres to the north for $1,000 in 1894 and 160 acres to the east in 1901. Lehsou and Kroger never patented the 751, and at some point, they sold the placer claim. By 1898, Mitchell and Peter Mussigbrod were the new owners.



William A. Clark in 1917

In addition to purchasing hundreds of acres of land, another significant event happened to the Lehsous in 1894. John Lehsou's son Henry graduated from the College of Montana, which was established in 1878 as the Montana Collegiate Institute at Deer Lodge—Montana's first institute of higher learning. While a student at the college, Henry Lehsou learned from William A. Clark, who was considered an expert in the area of mineralogy. W.A. Clark had been a peddler in the Elk Creek drainage and later a merchant and banker at Beartown. During the winter of 1872, W.A. Clark had attended the School of Mines at Columbia College in New York City where he studied assaying and related subjects in the field of mineralogy. His studies would serve him well as he became involved in extensive mining, milling, and smelting operations centered in Butte, Montana. Clark brought in alumni from Columbia College to the college at Deer Lodge and directed the establishment of courses in metallurgy and mining engineering. W.A. Clark became a leader in Montana mining operations and, later, politics.

John Lehsou's friend and business partner Charles Kroger was also present at the graduation, as his son Walter graduated from the college on the same day as Henry Lehsou. Both the Lehsou and Kroger families must have felt proud of their sons as they watched W.A. Clark sitting with other dignitaries on the stage of Cottonwood Hall at their sons' graduation program. After graduation, Henry Lehsou would bring the skills learned at the College of Montana to his job as assayer in Garnet, where he also, for a time, served as a mill foreman. The community held both positions in high esteem.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

In 1895, at about the same time that camp Mitchell was being established, the camp of Coloma was emerging to the west about 4 miles by trail. By May 1895, Coloma had houses, stores, and saloons along its rough streets and a post office managed by Anna Richards. Construction of all kinds continued throughout the summer, and the *Missoulian* noted that by November the town contained two hotels, the Mammoth Company's store, a livery stable, a general merchandise store, and about 20 well-built

cabins. The population was estimated to be about 50 individuals.

Resident Hilma Hanson described Coloma as a motley collection of people from all over the world made up of Swedish, German, Irish, and Danish nationalities joined with American-born residents just trying to make a living any way they could. In 1896, the Cannon Ball Road connected Coloma and Mitchell. Little did the hopeful residents of Coloma know, but Mitchell would be renamed and grow into a successful mining community far exceeding Coloma in mining production, population, and years of existence.

Coloma was most likely named after Coloma, California, where gold was discovered in 1848, triggering the California gold rush. Coloma's more immediate roots could be traced to the Mammoth lode discovery claim filed by J.E. Van Gundy in 1868. A shaft was sunk to a depth of 18 to 20 feet and located close to what was to become the primary Mammoth shaft. According to the *Bear Mountain News*, "no important discoveries were made at that time and the quartz location was permitted

Near the Mitchell-Mussigbrod Mill

to lapse while locators followed the more congenial pursuit of mining for placer gold in the Washoe gulch, a few hundred feet from the old shaft." However, lack of adequate water supply except for a few weeks during the spring, made placer mining impractical.

Van Gundy did not give up on the Mammoth, and in 1893, he formed the Mammoth Mining Company. Surveying and development of the claim began the following year, which brought miners up to the area. Hard rock mining required considerable capitalization, and Van Gundy pursued it with vigor. He convinced investors from Boston, Massachusetts, to jump on board. Even John Lehsou had become a partner in the venture despite the attention he gave to the process of selling his ranch at Bearmouth and moving to a new farm in Missoula. Confident of success, the owners of the Mammoth invested heavily, hired miners, and within a year, had excavated the main Mammoth shaft. Mill machinery was from Butte, and construction of the mill commenced in December 1894. As workers began to arrive and set up tents and build cabins, Coloma began to take shape.


Garnet

CHAPTER 8

It Shall Be Known As Garnet

IN MARCH 1896, E.S. Woods, owner of the Woods Hotel at camp Mitchell, applied to the U.S. Postal Authority for official recognition of Mitchell as a town. If the name Mitchell had been considered at all for the name of the town, it was eliminated because there already was a town of that name near Helena. Instead, Garnet's post office opened on August 31, 1896. The first postmaster appointed for Garnet was Susan E. Woods, the wife of E.S. Woods. Her husband served as first assistant.

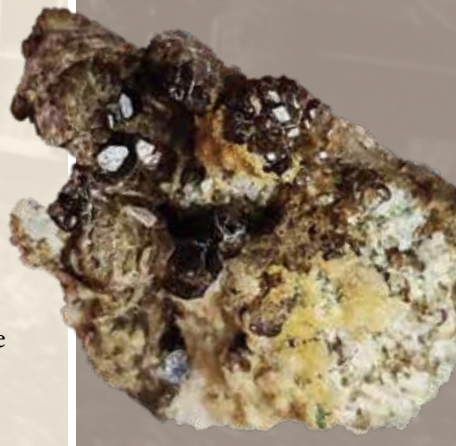
It is not known for certain why the name Garnet was chosen. Today, most people would assume that it was because of its location in the Garnet Mountain Range, but that range was not named until much later. The town's name could have derived from the plentiful supply of low-quality garnets that could be found on the hillsides north of the Nancy Hanks mine and elsewhere near the town. In geologist Joseph T. Pardee's 1917 observations of mining operations at Bilk Gulch, Pardee noted that, "Large boulders of brown garnet rock are abundant among the debris of the old mine workings, especially along the upper part of the gulch."

The mines in and around Garnet and Coloma were being either actively worked or developed through the winter of 1895 and into the spring of 1896. However, an April 1896 *Silver State* article reported:

> The Mitchell-Mussigbrod mines and mill in First Chance are still idle and nothing is known as to the future plans of the owners. Whatever may be said of the mill, it is certain that the mines are all right, and thereabouts it is only regarded as a matter of time when they will be put in extensive operation.

All of that changed in the fall of 1896. Samuel Ritchey, by then a 63-year-old bachelor, found, after much drilling and blasting, the bonanza for which he had been looking much of his life—a rich vein of red, iron-heavy quartz about 45 feet below ground at the Nancy Hanks claim. Ritchey was a native of Illinois, and he named the mine out of respect to Abraham Lincoln's mother. As work progressed, an ore body averaging several feet thick appeared. John Lehsou's son, Henry, had established an assay business in town. When he tested ore samples from the Nancy Hanks, he found them to be exceptionally high grade.

Joseph T. Pardee



Montana garnet

THE ADVENTURES OF SAM RITCHEY

Samuel Ritchey was born on August 16, 1833, on a farm located 28 miles from what would become the city of Chicago in Illinois. By his 18th birthday, he had, by his own admission, caught "the gold fever, and never got cured." In 1852, he and his brother left home with four yoke of steers, some horses, and a wagon and worked their way west through hostile Indian country arriving in Jackson County, Oregon, by September. Jacksonville, a boomtown of several thousand people, had arisen as a result of the gold discoveries of 1851 and had all the aspects of a typical western mining town. Ritchey and his brother sold their livestock and wagon and began prospecting.

Sam Ritchey mined, packed, and traded horses in that area during the ensuing years. In 1862, he moved his trading business to the Idaho gold fields. In March 1866, the gold discoveries at Elk Creek in Montana Territory brought him to the camps there where he set up a butchering business that he operated until July 1867. In 1869, Ritchey traveled to White Pine and Hamilton, Nevada, before returning to his old stomping grounds in Illinois for a visit that ended up lasting 3 years. In July 1873, he returned to Montana and began prospecting in the area that would become Garnet.

In 1874, he stumbled across a piece of quartz that looked promisingly close to diggings that ran up a flat slope from Williams Gulch on the First Chance drainage. He named the discovery the Nancy Hanks,

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

This was incredibly exciting news for Ritchey, his partner Big Jim Auchinvole, and, for that matter, the entire fledgling community. The vein ran at an easy 25 degrees into the granite, and as the ore was harvested, assayed as much as $250 in gold and $25 in silver per ton. When hauled down the twisting mountain road to Bearmouth, loaded on the train, and transported to Anaconda to be processed at the smelter, it averaged a profit of more than $200 for a car load of ore.

News of Ritchey's discovery spread quickly, and the rush to Garnet was on. Claims were filed everywhere. Soon, other important mines opened, such as the Shamrock, which yielded $200,000 in a year; the Lead King and Red Cloud mines, also impressive producers after opening an ore shoot that paid out $300,000; and the Fairview gave up quartz with free gold, with one nugget weighing nearly 3 ounces. The Mitchell-Mussigbrod mine owners had the opportunity to develop tunnels, and with a crosscut tunnel of 350 feet, a vein was struck at the Fourth of July claim yielding $350,000 over time.

Miners and merchants flocked to the new boomtown and filed claims on most of the available land in the gulch. These new residents quickly erected buildings and structures to support a community completely dependent on mineral extraction. Garnet did not have any official street or block names, and construction was hasty and unplanned. The town business district was built on both sides of a road that ran along the only accessible flat area and led in a curved configuration from the Mitchell-Mussigbrod Mill to the Nancy Hanks. Soon, a thriving business district with boardwalks lined both sides of the main street. Generally, the commercial, one- and two-story buildings constructed on the main street exhibited gable roofs, wood siding, and false fronts. Residential dwellings, with a few exceptions, were primarily easily built gable-

Samuel Ritchey

Miners outside the Nancy Hanks mine

roofed one-story cabins constructed from readily available logs.

The main road of the town split at the west end, with one road veering off to the right (north) up what later became known as Dublin Gulch, and the main street continuing up First Chance Gulch to Williams Gulch toward the Nancy Hanks mine. Both First Chance and Dublin Gulch had seen intensive early placer mining on the John Lehsou and Charles Kroger 751 placer claim, and the water rushing down from those workings had created a flattened area where the two converged, allowing for a fairly level construction site for the new Garnet business district.

Unlike the commercial buildings that occupied the flattened area of the ravine, residential dwellings had to be built on the hillside above the main street and along the gulches leading to the Nancy Hanks and other mines. On the hillside street, which sat above and ran parallel to the business district, was the main thoroughfare for ore wagons rolling down from the Nancy Hanks, a livery stable, the blacksmith shop, and the jail. That street continued to parallel the main street until it merged with it at the end of the commercial strip where the gulch narrowed before reaching the Mitchell-Mussigbrod Mill, located just outside of the town.

after Abraham Lincoln's mother. Twenty-two years later, the Nancy Hanks would make Sam Ritchey a wealthy man at the age of 63 and spur the development of the town of Garnet.

Through the years, Ritchey would file numerous discovery claims including the Guymas Lode (also known as the Free Coinage) in 1875 with partners Joaquin Abascal and Barney Levy. In 1878, Ritchey located another one of the more famous claims, the Minnie Palmer. Sam Ritchey's business interests included investments into areas other than mining, including a billiard saloon in New Chicago (near Drummond, Montana) and a general store in Drummond.

It is uncertain how much wealth Sam Ritchey accumulated while living in Garnet. In his autobiography *Gold Fever*, he proclaims the following: "I worked in the Garnet district for twenty-six years before I sold any ore, and I am still digging the ground of ore. I struck ore in the Nancy Hanks mine in 1896. In 1897, 1898, and 1899 I took out $550,000.00 in gold and silver from the Nancy Hanks, Cascade and Spokane claims. Since that time I have leased some ground, which has produced about $150,000.00."

Montana historian Dan Cushman calculated that, considering the ore values and the amount shipped to the smelter in Anaconda, Sam Ritchey and his partner Big Jim Auchinvole were realizing "about $7,500 per week." Using the consumer price index, that would be equivalent to $210,000 per week in today's value, making Sam Ritchey one of, if not the, wealthiest mine owners in the county.

The *Bear Mountain News* of January 27, 1898, summarized the activity going on at Garnet as the new year progressed.

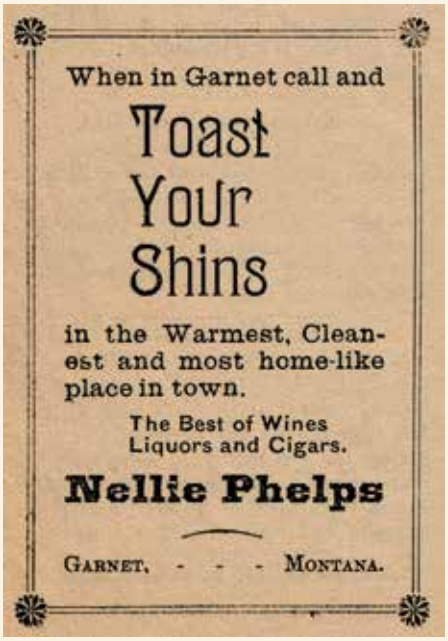
> Between the upper and lower part of the town, which is about a quarter of a mile, there is a continuous line of houses used for dwellings, etc. They, like the rest of the town, are built without regard for street or neighbor. Each and every citizen of Garnet should organize himself into a committee of one to see that this is changed. Garnet has every indication of being a town of some size and the sooner this matter is attended to by the citizens the sooner Garnet will become a town.

As prospectors flooded to Garnet, merchants followed to provide the necessities to supply their needs. H.M. Stringham constructed a grocery store and hauled wagonloads of food over the rough mountain trails to the miners who hung close to their claims. Saloons appeared out of nowhere, built quickly and tight together with false fronts looming high above their front gables, giving them a larger-than-life look.

The Lehsou family's connection with Garnet was strong and, as assayer, Henry Lehsou was well known. Just as the assay shop was the first building in Garnet on the north side of Main as you entered town, the job of assayers was first in importance as far as mine owners were concerned. It was the first stop made by prospectors to determine the value of their ore. Well-educated assayers such as Henry Lehsou were held in the highest regard, mixing their chemicals to determine the fate of the offerings brought to them. Mining towns "lived and died on assay reports."

At its peak, Montana counted 34 registered assayers. Many thousands of dollars might rest on their decisions. From the book *Western Mining*, in Otis Young's words, assayers were usually "pillars of the community, drinking from the same jug with mine superintendents and bankers." Back in 1896, after hearing Henry Lehsou's report on the samples from the Nancy Hanks, Sam Ritchey was ready to forge ahead and invest heavily in mining that particular area.

Bill Dashley of Deer Lodge and Len Curran formed a partnership and opened, on Sam Ritchey-owned property, one of the wildest and most popular watering holes in the fledgling boomtown. Not to be outdone and not intimidated by her gender and its "proper" role in society, young Nellie Phelps established another saloon, which she advertised, probably honestly, as the "warmest, cleanest, and most home-like place in town." Anyone who picked up the *Garnet Mining News* from its first edition in October 1898 would be greeted by a prominent front-page advertisement for her establishment.



Every new saloon looked for a gimmick or specialty to distinguish itself and attract customers. For E.C. Lewis, the draw at his joint, called the Bella Union, was music, offering the "only Orchestra in Town," with the usual definition of orchestra used loosely. Other bars sprung up including Conner and Harwood, Hughie Leonard's saloon, and Bob Moore's, which later became Kelly and Frazer's. Along with the saloons, alcoholic drinks could be purchased at most, if not all, hotels. A shot of whiskey was easily obtained on both sides of the street of Garnet's business district.

During late 1897 and early 1898, Winifred Wells oversaw the construction of the Wells Hotel—a 40-by-50-foot, two-and-one-half story building that stands on Garnet ghost town's main street today. As newlyweds, John K. Wells and Winifred moved to Beartown, started a family, and became successful business people. John operated a butcher shop and initiated the building of the first school there. In 1896, the family moved to Garnet. According to an article in the *Bear Mountain News*, J.K. Wells had "long experience in the hotel business." That statement no doubt referred to him having a hotel constructed at Yreka in 1877 to replace the old Yreka House. Yreka was northeast of Garnet along Elk Creek.

Winifred Wells designed the elegant new hotel in Garnet with elaborate detail trim inside and out. This included ornate moldings, stained glass in the front door inserts and in a circular window located high under the front gable, a solid oak staircase with turned spindles—and perhaps the most appreciated feature, skylights on the top floor so that miners who slept up there at a reduced rate, on the floor in their bedrolls, could look up at the stars after spending a hard day in the dark, wet tunnels of the mines.

Winifred and John K. Wells

A GLIMPSE INTO GARNET'S MINING ENVIRONMENT

What were conditions like inside a mine? Beginning with the mine entrances and shafts, miners had to dig through feet and feet of solid rock. Tunnels were dug through solid bedrock, and timbers were wedged in place to support the weight above. Through time, many of the timbers became crushed due to the enormous pressure. The most significant mines in Garnet in 1898 were the Nancy Hanks, International, Lead King, and Shamrock. Although similar, each mine was unique, especially in terms of the technology and methods used to separate the gold from the ore.

The entrance to the Nancy Hanks, owned by Samuel Ritchey, was a perpendicular shaft of nearly 200 feet. While traveling down the dark shaft with a candle, the different veins (or leads) showed the changes in composition. In some places, the ore was a rich green color due to the higher amounts of copper. In other areas, iron and other materials predominated. Once in a while, beautiful white quartz rocks appeared, which contained the richest ore found in gold and silver. In December 1898, the Nancy Hanks was very promising, with the ore yielding $129 to $200 per ton. At one point, while sinking to follow the vein, the Nancy Hanks filled in with water, becoming a well full of water more than 50 feet deep. It was so transparent that you could see the bottom when the mine was quiet. Before proceeding in a circumstance such as this, the miners had to use a pumping apparatus to draw the water out faster than it flowed in.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

The Wells Hotel immediately became Garnet's premier accommodation and eating place. Its grand opening was truly historic, as reported in the *Bear Mountain News*:

> Great things were expected when it was announced that J.K. Wells would open his hotel with a grand ball on the 17th of March, but even those who expected the most, were agreeably surprised from the moment they entered the front door until the last strains of music died away at 7 o'clock next morning… Mr. and Mrs. Wells waited in person on the tables and took special care that no one was overlooked. Supper was served to 180 people.

The March 24, 1898, issue of the *Bear Mountain News* elaborated on the Wells opening, calling it "the best dance ever given in Garnet." The article also reported that "Butte, Anaconda, Deer Lodge, Drummond, and Missoula and all the neighboring towns were represented."

The extensive construction activity that occurred in the new town of Garnet between 1897 and 1898 marked the beginning of Garnet's preeminence as the center of mining activity in the area. By 1899, the Nancy Hanks was employing two shifts of 12 miners who kept busy blasting a shaft down to the 100-foot level. Blasting, individual mine whistles, and construction noise changed the atmosphere of the formerly quiet mountain

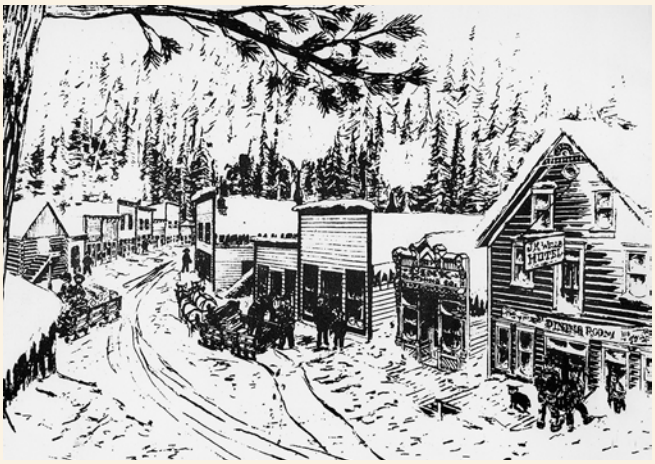


Illustration of Garnet's main street, with the Wells Hotel on the right (artwork by John Ellingsen)

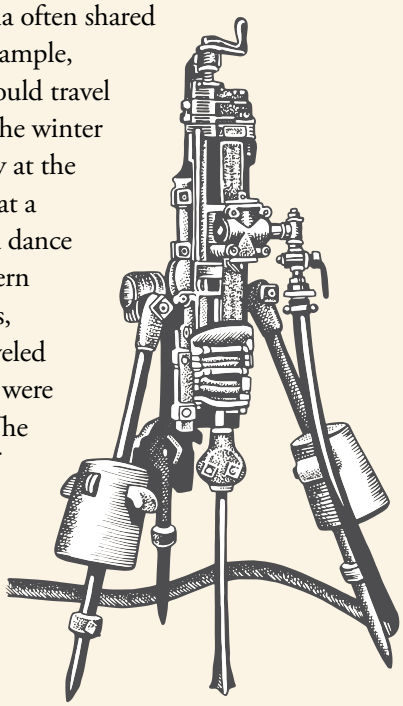
town into a cacophony of progress. Most of the mines around Garnet were within 1 mile of town.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Garnet's success arose from the construction of better roads and advances in transportation. Due to Garnet's isolation, transportation played a large role in Garnet's prosperity, development, and social life. Keeping the road down to Bearmouth in good operating condition was a constant issue and often reported in the news. The November 17, 1898, edition of the *Garnet Mining News* addressed the situation as follows:

> The road between here and Bearmouth is in excreable condition and should receive the prompt attention of the county surveyor. The trouble seems to be that the placer miners do not control their waste water and let it run in the road instead of in the creek channel and this is hard to remedy at present, but the matter should be looked after just the same. This is the only outlet for this district, and it is important or absolutely necessary to keep it open for travel.

Garnet and Coloma often shared their social lives. For example, guests from Coloma would travel to Garnet by sleigh in the winter to dance the night away at the Miner's Union Hall or at a saloon that advertised a dance floor upstairs and modern gas lighting. Sometimes, residents of Garnet traveled to Coloma. These trips were not without mishaps. The *Garnet Mining News* of December 15, 1898, reported such an incident as follows:



In 1898, Peter Mussigbrod owned the Lead King mine, which also housed the Mitchell-Mussigbrod Mill. The ore from the Lead King was hoisted to an immense hopper on a side hill. Other mine owners farther up the mountain also used the mill but had to transport their ore down on sleds. From the hopper, the ore traveled through different parts of the mill in a sequence, which included sieves, crushing wheels, plates, and evaporators. After the evaporation process, the mineral deposits were rendered into dry dust and then taken to the assay office, where a chemical process was used to extract the pure gold from its surrounding material.

L.C. Parker owned the International mine and used a new and expensive piece of machinery called the Rand drill, which worked by compressed air. The compressed air caused the drill to rapidly revolve, acting as an auger or boring machine to tunnel through the rock. This piece of machinery was equivalent to the work of 15 men.

At the Shamrock, miners had to crawl through small and low openings. A newly inclined shaft went down solid rock, nearly 300 feet. The Shamrock had a 75-foot building above the ground for machinery and workspace. At one point, owner Peter McDermott abandoned the mine for nearly a year because the first shaft was unsuccessful and funds were lacking to continue. When operations continued only 4 feet away, the rich harvest was reaped.

Left: Rand drill

> Going over there [Coloma] was an unfortunate mishap befell one of the sleighs about one and a half miles this side of Coloma. Going down a hill, the driver mistook a blazed tree for a shortcut and drove into it at good speed, breaking the tongue. Fortunately most of the occupants found room in Mr. Simpson's sleigh which was following.

By 1897, two daily stagelines took passengers and freight to and from Garnet on the harrowing mountain trip to the trailhead at Bearmouth, a journey that, on average, required between 3.5 and 4 hours. In the winter months, ore, some bagged after processing at the Mitchell-Mussigbrod Mill, was transported in sleighs or wagons, depending on road conditions, from Garnet down the narrow roadway to Bearmouth. It was a job fraught with danger. Runaway ore wagons were often a problem on the first 3 miles down from Garnet. Charles Lewis who operated the Garnet stageline reported the following incident:

> Going down the First Chance Hill last Sunday, Al Wilson on one of the Lannon brother's six horse ore teams had what easily might have proven a very serious accident. The chain holding the rough lock broke and of course the heavily loaded wagon pushed the horses to the foot of the hill on a run. Just at the foot, a wheel horse fell and as the wagon came to a standstill, the driver was thrown violently to the ground, sustaining no really serious injury but badly bruised and scratched up.

Walter Moore hauling a load of ore from Garnet to Bearmouth in 1918

Sometimes those riding the passenger stagecoach also experienced the dangers inherent in navigating the steep, twisting high mountain road to Bearmouth. On one trip with Charles Lewis' stage, several women and Peter Mussigbrod were passengers. The stage went off China grade and slid top down for more than 20 feet before coming to a stop. Thankfully, no one was injured.

Hauling any kind of heavy machinery necessary for the development of the quartz mines up to Garnet from Bearmouth was a difficult endeavor. When the teams came to a sharp, steep switchback, of which there were many, especially in the last 6 miles, blocks would usually have to be put under the wheels of the wagon so it would not roll back down. The *Garnet Mining News* of January 5, 1899, documented the first time that blocks did not have to be used. With Ed Lannon and John Stewart following it, the huge Shamrock boiler was hauled up the mountain:

> The boiler for the Shamrock mine, weighing about five tons, was loaded at Bearmouth Tuesday and under the careful and expert guidance of Al Wilson, eight horses pulled it to Garnet Wednesday, arriving here about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The several jack knife turns were made without blocks which speaks well for both horses and pilot, and the first time such a feat has been accomplished.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

The population of women in the mining towns had increased by the time Garnet and Coloma were established. Women were now playing more important business roles and having more of an influence on the cultural and social aspects of the towns. In the mining sphere, Mollie Mitchell, widowed from Armistead Mitchell in 1898, took over the responsibilities of a partnership with Peter Mussigbrod in managing all the extensive Mitchell-Mussigbrod group of mines and the stamp mill. The partnership also involved mining properties outside of Garnet. Mrs. O.C. Warner and Nellie Chamberlain, along with J.W. Moss, owned the Clemantha Mine in 1897. Later as a widow, Nellie Chamberlain also operated the Chamberlain Boarding House in Coloma.

Women also held leadership roles, such as schoolteacher and postmistress. In Garnet, Susan E. Woods served as the first postmistress, while Jennie Adams ran the post office in her home for a number of years in the early 1900s. Winifred Wells, wife of county assessor John K. Wells, played an important, if not dominant, role in the design and early operation of Garnet's most popular and opulent lodging facility—the Wells Hotel. In 1898, Garnet's newspaper portrayed Wells as the "grande dame" of the prospering mining community.

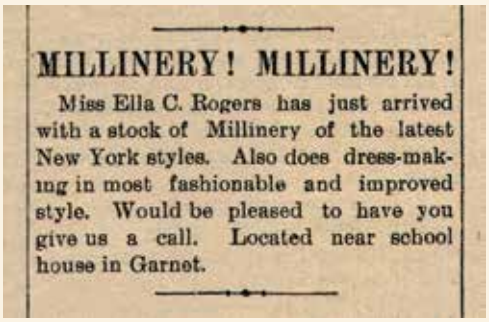
Another auspicious example of the influence of women in the economic sphere of Garnet was Nellie Phelps, who owned and operated one of Garnet's most advertised saloons. At a time when Victorian mores dictated that "proper" women should not enter drinking establishments, let alone own and operate them, Phelps was one of the most prominent saloon keepers in Garnet during its boom years.

Female schoolteachers also played an important role in isolated mining camps. At its peak, Garnet had 50 students in its one-room schoolhouse. All but two of the teachers throughout the existence of the Garnet school were women.

A woman by the name of H.H. Hasmer, the mother of the president of the Mammoth Mining Company, suggested a library for the town of Coloma. Because of the suggestion, the Mammoth Mining Company constructed a 20-by-30-foot building and provided more than 400 books, as well as daily and weekly papers and "magazines of fiction and science."

The facility also offered games such as chess and checkers to entertain those who dropped by the establishment. House rules included the prohibition of alcohol and gambling. The *Bear Mountain News* of January 27, 1898, reported that a resident of Coloma had described the importance of the library as "the feature of our town of which residents most pride themselves, outside of our mining properties, is the opportunities offered old and young for self improvement, as provided by our library and reading room, and our public school."

Another new development influenced by women came in the form of fashion. As the *Garnet Mining News* of May 17, 1899, reported:



MILLINERY! MILLINERY!

Miss Ella C. Rogers has just arrived with a stock of Millinery of the latest New York styles. Also does dress-making in most fashionable and improved style. Would be pleased to have you give us a call. Located near school house in Garnet.

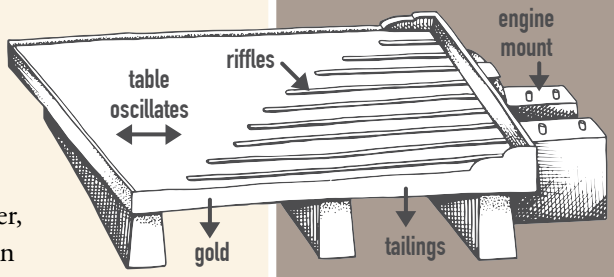
The paper reported that Rogers had become a permanent resident of Garnet having opened a millinery and dressmaking establishment. Soon after its establishment, business seemed to be going relatively good for Rogers, though it is hard to imagine that many women living in Garnet could afford the "latest New York styles." Stroking the egos of her customers, Rogers declared that, "Garnet ladies know the latest styles when they see them."

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Just before the establishment of the post office in Garnet, the mines in and around Coloma were either being actively worked or developed through the winter of 1895 and into the spring of 1896 as a report in the April 8, 1896, issue of the *Silver State* summarized in the following article:

> Report is current that the Mammoth company, in Coloma district, will resume operations on an extensive scale July 1, 1896. All the complications in which the company has been involved the past several months are said to have been adjusted, or are in immediate prospect of adjustment. The Mammoth is undoubtedly a great mine and there is every prospect that its status as a regular and considerable producer will have been definitely fixed before many months.

A stamp mill was constructed at the confluence of Washoe and Union Creeks to serve the Mammoth Mine and was state-of-the-art for its time. Located about a mile from the new mining camp of Coloma and approximately 4 miles west of Garnet, the mill contained 10 stamps, a Blake crusher, and eventually a Wilfley Table, which was invented in 1896 by Arthur Wilfley. The Wilfley Table, the latest in mining technology, was simply a large wooden table, on top of which were a series of parallel strips of wood or metal known as riffles. These riffles increased in length incrementally from the top of the table down to the bottom. The table was set at an angle, and slime poured onto it from the top corner. The heavier particles (gold) would be held up along the riffles, while the lighter particles would roll over them. The table oscillated back and forth more than 200 times a minute, which worked the gold particles down the riffles and towards the opposite end of the table where they could be collected. The use of the new invention dramatically increased the efficiency of the milling process at most mines.



Wilfley table

Though the Mammoth provided the foundation for mining operations, other small mines also helped keep Coloma alive. They included the East Mammoth, Rambler, Clemantha, I.X.L., Crystal Springs, Cato, Valley Lode, and Comet. As the people of both Coloma and Garnet dealt with the unpredictable future of the Mammoth, they grasped at any hopeful development notices.

The Road to Garnet's Gold

1850

1850 ■ Major John Owen constructs Fort Owen in the Bitterroot Valley.
1858 ■ James and Granville Stuart arrive at Benetsee Creek (Gold Creek).
1859 ■ John Mullan begins construction of the Mullan Military Road.

1860

1860 ■ Hell Gate (future Missoula) is established. ■ Frank Worden and Christopher Higgins establish a trading post in Hell Gate.
1861 ■ The Civil War begins. ■ The steamboat *Chippewa* sinks before reaching Fort Benton.
1862 ■ Location of the Stuart diggings is officially named Gold Creek. ■ Frank Worden and Christopher Higgins set up a branch of their store in Gold Creek.
■ Initial gold discovery made in Grasshopper Creek (Bannack). ■ James and Granville Stuart move to Bannack during its boom.
1863 ■ Use of the Bozeman Trail begins. ■ James Stuart leads a party that is attacked by Crow Indians while exploring Yellowstone country.
■ Bill Fairweather and Henry Edgar discover gold in Alder Gulch, which leads to establishment of Virginia City.
1864 ■ A vigilante group hangs Henry Plummer in Bannack. ■ Montana Territory is officially designated, with Bannack as the first capital.
■ Frank Worden and Christopher Higgins incorporate a gristmill and lumber mill as the Missoula Mills Company.
1865 ■ The capital of Montana Territory changes from Bannack to Virginia City. ■ The Civil War ends. ■ John Lehsou reaches the U.S. from Germany.
■ Bear Creek becomes a gold mining destination, and Beartown is established.
1866 ■ As a bullwhacker, John Lehsou travels on the Bozeman Trail from Nebraska City to Fort Owen, Montana Territory.
■ John Lehsou establishes a trading post at Bear Gulch. ■ The first lode mining claim is filed in the Bear District.
1867 ■ John Lehsou moves to Beartown to mine with partner Charles Kroger (ca. 1867).
1869 ■ Anna and Dorothea Rusch arrive in the U.S. from Germany. ■ Operation begins of the first transcontinental railroad.

1870

1870 ■ Charles Kroger and Anna Rusch marry.
1873 ■ John Lehsou and Dorothea Rusch marry. ■ John Lehsou and Charles Kroger purchase claim 751 in First Chance Gulch (future Garnet).
1875 ■ Helena becomes the third capital of Montana Territory and remains the capital of Montana today.
■ Charles Kroger and his family move to Philipsburg, Montana. ■ Henry Grant files the first mill site claim in the Bear District.

1880

1882 ■ Congress passes the Chinese Exclusion Act.
1883 ■ Operation of the Northern Pacific Railway begins.
1888 ■ John Lehsou becomes postmaster of Beartown.
1889 ■ Montana receives statehood.

1890

1892 ■ John Lehsou begins purchasing hundreds of acres of land and Grant Creek water rights in Missoula County.
1894 ■ Armistead Mitchell and Charles Mussigbrod invest in a 10-stamp mill in the First Chance District (future Garnet).
■ Peter Mussigbrod, Charles Mussigbrod's son, takes over the setup of the mill.
■ Henry Lehsou (John Lehsou's son) and Walter Kroger (Charles Kroger's son) graduate from the College of Montana.
1895 ■ Road constructed from the Mitchell-Mussigbrod Mill to Bearmouth. ■ Camp Mitchell and camp Coloma are established.

Timeline

1896 ■ Camp Mitchell renamed as Garnet with the opening of the post office. ■ Henry Lehsou establishes an assay office in Garnet.
■ Samuel Ritchey strikes it rich at the Nancy Hanks mine.
1897 ■ Gambling becomes illegal according to a law passed by the Montana State legislature.
1898 ■ The first issue of the Garnet Mining News is printed. ■ John Cole estimates Garnet's population as 750 residents.
1899 ■ Several Garnet residents head to Sumpter, Oregon, and Alaska for other opportunities.

1900

1900 ■ John Lehsou becomes vice president of Western Montana National Bank in Missoula.
1901 ■ Frank Davey purchases land in Garnet, becoming the town's prime business owner.
1902 ■ Henry Lehsou begins working at the Western Montana National Bank in Missoula.
1908 ■ Coloma's post office closes.

1910

1912 ■ A fire in Garnet destroys many of the business structures.
1913 ■ Frank Davey visits England and sails back as a passenger on the *Lusitania*.
1915 ■ The *Lusitania* sinks from a German submarine torpedo.
1916 ■ Garnet has 150 residents.
1917 ■ The U.S. enters World War I.

1920

1920 ■ Garnet has 90 residents. ■ The Prohibition Act takes effect, and Garnet closes its saloons.
1921 ■ John Lehsou passes away at the age of 81.
1928 ■ Garnet's post office closes.
1929 ■ The Great Depression begins.

1930

1933 ■ The Prohibition Act is repealed, and John "Ole" Dahl opens The Joint in Garnet (ca. 1933/1934).
1934 ■ The price of gold increases to $35 per ounce. As a result, the total production of gold, silver, and copper increases 266 percent in Garnet.
1938 ■ Garnet's post office reopens.

1940

1941 ■ The U.S. enters World War II.
1942 ■ The Office of Production Management issues an order to stop all gold and silver mining, with exceptions. ■ Garnet's post office closes for the final time.
1947 ■ Frank Davey passes away in Garnet at the age of 81.

1970

1970 ■ Garnet preservation efforts begin with the Bureau of Land Management.

1990

1990 ■ John Lehsou's heirs receive gold nuggets.

2010

2010 ■ The National Park Service officially lists the Garnet Historic District in the National Register of Historic Places.

Read Premium Offer on Page 4

GARNET MINING NEWS

Vol. I.

GARNET, MONTANA, THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1899.

The News One Year, $3.00

No. 38.

LOCAL AND PERSONAL.

Philippine Letter.

MILLINERY! MILLINERY!

STRINGHAM THE GROCER

SPRING SUPPLIES

STRAWBERRY

VEGETABLES.

GARNET STAGE LINE

HELLO! BOYS!

KELLY & FRASER

The GARNET HOTEL

D. A. McDonald, Prop.

THE LEADING HOTEL IN GARNET. BOARD BY THE DAY, WEEK OR MONTH.

GOOD ACCOMODATIONS

Sample and Card Rooms In Connection

Rates Reasonable

Garnet, Montana.

Just Received

A quantity of Levering's Coffee from 12½ cents per lb. to the very best Mocha & Java Coffee.

A fresh lot of Winchester Hams, Bacon and Lard.

The first shipment of Shady Brook Creamery Butter. The best butter on the market.

The nicest assortment of Candies, Nuts, Tobaccos and Cigars ever brought to Garnet.

Garnet Cash Store.

Window Glass

Doors, Storm Windows and Window Sashes.

HENRY STUART.

Acetylene gas

THE NEW LIGHT

The Light that Equals the Sun in purity and Force. The cheapest, best and safest light yet discovered by man can be procured at a nominal price for installation.

Just the thing

for lighting a hotel. Different sized plants, different prices, but all within the reach of all. Business Houses or dwellings and particularly adapted to—

Mills and Mines

Neil McDonald, Agent.

—GO TO—

CONNORS & HARWOOD'S

SALOON

For the Best Wines, Liquors, and Cigars.

GENTS' Furnishings

W. C. TABER,

Our Premium List.

Muncey's Magazi

McClure's Magaz

Frank Leslie's M

Demorest's Maga

The Cosmopolitan

Cincinnati Weekly E

New York Weekl

GARNET MININ

$3.0

CASH IN ADV

John H. Cole

German Americ

Phoenix Insur

Companie

NOTARY GRANITE COUNTY PUBLIC

JNO. H. C

A Splendid little property this week.

Read the Mining News, the only paper in this district.

CHAPTER 9

Garnet Gets Its Own Newspaper and Participates in Politics

ON OCTOBER 6, 1898, Garnet declared itself a promising and upcoming town of substance when it published the first edition of its own newspaper, the *Garnet Mining News*. To be issued every other Thursday, the paper was edited by John H. Cole—former miner, rancher, stock raiser, reporter, undersheriff, and sheriff. His personality would come out as a man of firm convictions combined with a sharp wit and dry sense of humor. Health issues brought him to Garnet at the age of 38 upon his doctor's advice to "spend more time on a mountain peak where the air was thin for therapeutic treatment." Cole's illness did little to diminish his passion and determination to report on the minutiae of Garnet's mining activity, social goings-on, and political climate, and his editorials were fiery.

John H. Cole was born July 28, 1860, in Albion, New York. He lost his father at an early age and moved to St. Thomas, Ontario, with his mother. Shortly thereafter, his mother died, but Cole somehow managed to get an education. At age 14, he moved to Winnipeg, western Canada, and later attended St. John's Episcopal College there, before enrolling in the law school at McGill University in Montreal, where he earned a law degree.

After years of study, Cole was bored. So, when news of gold discoveries in the Black Hills of South Dakota hit Canada, he gave up the stability of a legal career to join the rush. The reports of gold in that area had first occurred in 1874, and the government responded by sending a force of 1,000 men led by George Armstrong Custer to investigate the rumors. During this incursion into Sioux territory, the army found small quantities of gold in present-day Custer, South Dakota, and later, to the north where the towns of Hill City, Sheridan, and Pactola arose. The discoveries were modest until miners stumbled across Deadwood and Whitewood Creeks in the northern Black Hills. In many cases, fortunes were made instantly as the riches of the earth

John H. Cole

were revealed in the streambeds. Almost all of the land around the creeks was claimed by 1876. Still, thousands of hopefuls continued to pour into the area.

Cole's trek to find his fortune in the Black Hills did not last long. By the time he reached Bismarck, North Dakota, he had heard enough discouraging stories and pleas from his relatives to return to Canada. Determined to experience a western adventure, Cole joined a government crew stringing telegraph lines to connect the Canadian Northwest to the central government at Ottawa. Once he reached Edmonton in Alberta, Canada, Cole headed south to Fort Benton, Montana Territory. He spent 2 years in Helena before moving to Philipsburg. There he met Mary McDonnel and married her on December 28, 1888. The couple eventually had six children: Elizabeth, Mary, Florence, Fan, Cathyrn, and John, Jr. In 1893, when Granite County was created from part of Deer Lodge County and a small area of Missoula County, the new county appointed John Cole as the first sheriff. He was 33 years old and had law enforcement experience as undersheriff in both Missoula County and Deer Lodge County.

Granite County elections were held in 1896, and F.J. McDonald replaced Cole as sheriff. Cole then entered the field that would become his passion the remainder of his life. He became city editor of the *Anaconda Standard*. After that, he worked for the *Great Falls Tribune*, the *Butte Times*, and even served a stint as news editor of the *New York Times*, covering the general strike in the Kellogg and Mullan, Idaho, mining districts. Having been trained in Morse code, he would find the nearest railroad station and "borrow" their telegraph lines to inform his fellow reporters back east about the troubled mining districts.

In the first issue of the *Garnet Mining News*, Cole most candidly described his vision for the paper and the town:

> Our friends must not expect too much from the NEWS in its first few issues. If Garnet has permanent mines and several of them, then we guarantee that the NEWS will be equal to the occasion and keep abreast of the times. That Garnet is now the most promising new mining camp in the state, there can be no question.

Editor Cole had many important issues to address in his new newspaper. The political situation in the country in October 1898 was

anything but simple. As a result of the national collapse of silver prices in 1893, the "silver issue" had played a prominent role in American politics for years. During the 1880s, silver production soared worldwide, resulting in a devaluation of the metal. In reaction, silver interests from western mining states formed alliances with other groups to persuade Congress to pass the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, which directed the federal government to almost double its annual purchase of silver. Consequently, the price rose to $1.21 an ounce in September, but soon investors began to discount silver and buy gold as a hedge in the market. Federal gold reserves fell to unacceptable lows and, coupled with a loss of confidence in the silver market, silver prices plummeted to 62 cents per ounce, triggering a national economic panic in 1893. Believing that the Sherman Silver Purchase Act had precipitated the situation, President Grover Cleveland advocated repeal, and in October 1893, Congress repealed the legislation during a special session called because of the worsening economic situation.

Montana's silver companies and economy, as a whole, were devastated by the economic panic, and most silver mines in the state closed, putting thousands of miners out of work. News from Granite, Montana, located just outside of Philipsburg, indicated that as many as 3,000 people left the Philipsburg-Granite area in a 24-hour period, in search of employment elsewhere. By December 1893, one-third of Montana's workforce was unemployed. The unemployed silver miners of Granite and Philipsburg turned their attention to gold prospecting and working for small placer and lode operations wherever they could find them.

Miners in Granite and the Garnet area had been associated through joint membership in a union. The Garnet Miner's Union Number 16 came into being as a branch of the Granite Miner's Union (formed in 1890), and after the silver crash of 1893, the two unions often held joint meetings at the Garnet Miner's Union Hall. The Garnet Miner's Union helped negotiate wages and grievances with the mine owners. One issue of interest to the union was the right of miners to live where they pleased and not be confined to the barracks-like atmosphere and limited food choices of boarding houses owned by the mine operators, as was the case in nearby Coloma.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Four parties appeared on the ballot in Garnet for the state and county elections of November 1898. They included the Silver Republican Party, Democratic Party, People's Party, and Republican Party. They each held conventions and fielded an array of candidates. The previous session of the

state legislature ran chaotic and unruly with three political parties—each fighting for its own political agenda.

The People's Party, commonly known as Populists, arising out of a grassroots movement of national proportions, formed a powerful third-party player in American politics. The agrarian-based party came about as a reaction to, among other issues, falling farm credit and the economic "Panic of 1893." Three-time presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan became the leading national spokesperson, and the party worked for a graduated income tax and nationalization of railroads and telegraph and telephone companies.

In the election of 1896, Montana Populists won the governorship with Robert B. Smith as their candidate. They also captured 3 state Senate seats and 18 in the House. Populists aligned themselves with the Democrats and fought for such issues as mine safety, regulation of railroad rates, educational reform, and the direct popular election of U.S. senators, who were at that time picked by the legislature.

Through their efforts and the fusion with the Democrats, Populists helped eventually fight for the initiative and referendum law, an 8-hour workday, political equality for women, and finally, the direct election of U.S. senators. The Populist Party reached its zenith in 1897 and was thereafter co-opted by the Democratic Party.

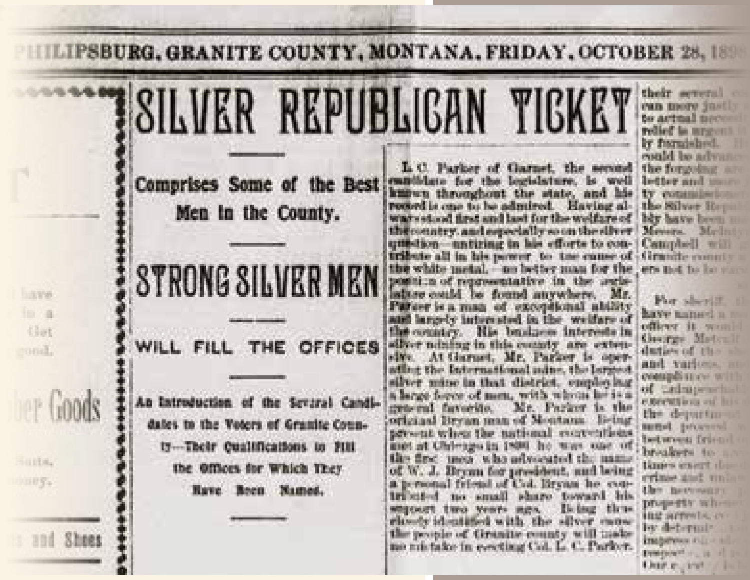
In the first edition of the *Garnet Mining News* in October 1898, it became evident that the campaign for state and local offices was a heated one. A letter to the editor from an unknown writer, who admitted that he was "somewhat of a politician and while not engaged in the political strife of the present campaign, felt that owing to my long residence in and about Garnet, I am entitled to present a few political opinions." In a humorous but thorough assessment of the political parties involved, the contributor wrote the following nuggets in his long letter:

> You cannot corner a democratic editor in a political argument for the reason you can never get him to sit still long enough to get a shot at him. His political sentiments almost always agree with the other fellow. In western Montana he favors silver coinage, but in eastern Montana he is not so particular about it. He believes firmly in free trade and protection and knows but little, if anything about either. He knows that he is a rip snorting democrat, but he don't know why.

> The populists haven't any editors and they are glad of it, because the less said about their political ideas the better it is for the populists. In the east and south they are greenbackers; in Montana their regular business is to quarrel among themselves, profess an inordinate love for silver and frighten democrats.
>
> The silver republicans remind me of a lot of geese flying over a Dakota wheat farm. They would like awful well to drop down and partake of the feast, but the leaders, bright-eyed and alert, see or smell the man with the shot gun and with a few warning squawks they fly on faster than ever. One thing can be said in their favor; they are frank about their hopes and desires. They want to feed at the public crib and say so.
>
> I believe that the silver republican plan is the best and most manly, and if I was a silver republican, which I am not, I wouldn't be ashamed of the company I was in in Granite county.

The writer did not even mention the regular Republican Party, apparently feeling it not worth his effort. The public pulse of politics in Garnet raced faster with each day approaching the election. Though a professed Democrat, editor Cole had some choice words to express his sentiments toward the party when he wrote, "Judging from the action of the democratic party in this county and state, the jackass caricatures of the comic papers fitly represent it."

Candidates from Garnet did exceptionally well at the conventions of 1898, with the Silver Republicans nominating Col. L.C. Parker for the House of Representatives and Louis R. Baumbaugh as coroner; the Democratic and Populist Party nominating Jerry Connolly for the State Senate and Phil G. Sullivan for representative, J.K. Wells for assessor, Robert H. Childs for justice of the peace, and John Elkins and Neal McDonald for constable.


PHILIPSBURG, GRANITE COUNTY, MONTANA, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28, 189[illegible]

SILVER REPUBLICAN TICKET

Comprises Some of the Best Men in the County.

STRONG SILVER MEN

WILL FILL THE OFFICES

An Introduction of the Several Candidates to the Voters of Granite County—Their Qualifications to Fill the Offices for Which They Have Been Named.

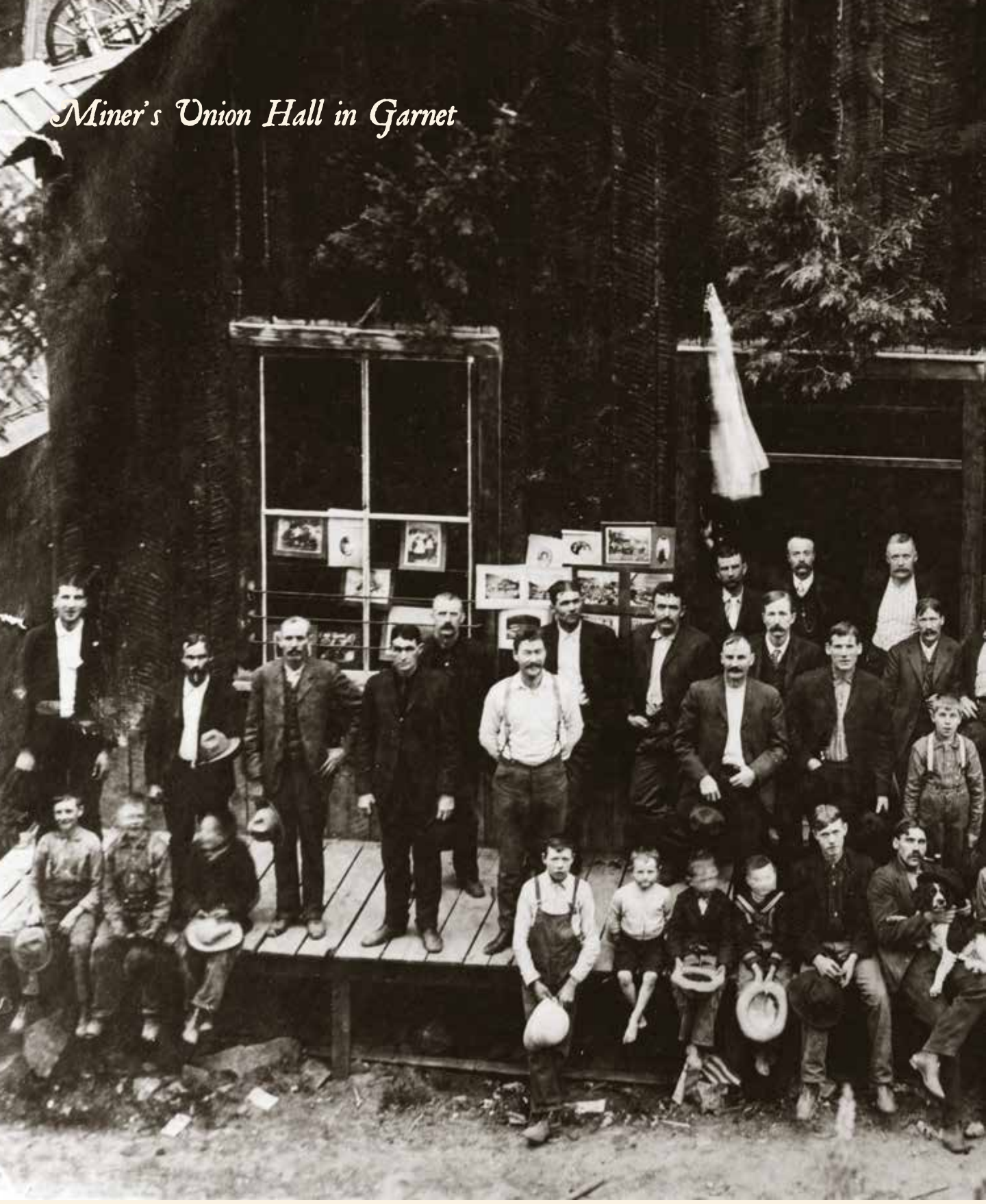
L. C. Parker of Garnet, the second candidate for the legislature, is well known throughout the state, and his record is one to be admired. Having always stood first and last for the welfare of the country, and especially so on the silver question—untiring in his efforts to contribute all in his power to the cause of the white metal,—no better man for the position of representative in the legislature could be found anywhere. Mr. Parker is a man of exceptional ability and largely interested in the welfare of the country. His business interests in silver mining in this county are extensive. At Garnet, Mr. Parker is operating the International mine, the largest silver mine in that district, employing a large force of men, with whom he is a general favorite. Mr. Parker is the original Bryan man of Montana. Being present when the national conventions met at Chicago in 1896 he was one of the first men who advocated the name of W. J. Bryan for president, and being a personal friend of Col. Bryan he contributed no small share toward his support two years ago. Being thus closely identified with the silver cause the people of Granite county will make no mistake in electing Col. L. C. Parker.

In 1898, Garnet's 252 registered voters, the second largest precinct in the county, made it important enough for Governor Robert Smith to make the journey up to Garnet for a political rally. Sam Ritchey, McDermott & Co., and Peter Mussigbrod all closed their mines and permitted their men to attend the democratic rally if they wished to do so. Eddie Lannon drove the governor up from Bearmouth and took him back after the meeting at the Miner's Union Hall.

Based on the number of registered voters and estimates of those men who were not registered for various reasons—such as being out of the area at the time of the election, or not having their citizenship papers, or simply not caring to vote—and then adding women and children to the mix, editor Cole used a formula for estimating population. He came up with a total of 750 for Garnet and the immediate vicinity for 1898. Over the years, a figure of 1,000 began to appear in publications regarding Garnet's peak population. There is no evidence to support that larger number. Cole was a Garnet booster, yet practical in his assessment, which when looked at closely would mean that Garnet proper had less than 750 residents, perhaps around 550 in October 1898, which would have been the height of its population numbers through the years. The 1898 business directory for Garnet listed the population as 400, again far below the 1,000 figure, and no doubt far more accurate.

Robert B. Smith,
Governor of Montana, 1897–1901


The Philipsburg Mail.
PHILIPSBURG, GRANITE COUNTY, MONTANA, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1898.
NO. 40.
PRICE: $3.00 A
SILVER REPUBLICAN TICKET
Comprises Some of the Best Men in the County.
STRONG SILVER MEN
WILL FILL THE OFFICES
An Introduction of the Several Candidates to the Voters of Granite County—Their Qualifications to Fill the Offices for Which They Have Been Named.
WATCH OUT
Latest Styles and New Things in Rubber Goods
J. C. McLEOD Boots and Shoes
GEORGE SCHMID
PAINTS AND WALL PAPER
Paint and Wall Paper House
WINDOW GLASS AND Room MOULDINGS
Sign Painting and Paper Hanging a Specialty.
South Shannon Street, Philipsburg, Montana.
THEODORE ANDERSON.
LUMBER AND COAL
THE CELEBRATED GALT HEATING COAL
PENNSYLVANIA ANTHRACITE AND CUMBERLAND BLACKSMITH
J. A. AND J. B. FEATHERMAN.
GROCERIES
DRY GOODS AND HARDWARE.
EDWARDS, THE GROCER.
STAPLE AND FANCY
GROCERIES



Miner's Union Hall in Garnet

CHAPTER 10

Further Development in a Family Town from the Start

SINCE ITS OFFICIAL DESIGNATION AS A TOWN IN 1896, the people of Garnet continued to develop businesses—some in competition with each other, such as hotels and saloons, and more specialized businesses to accommodate the needs and desires of the townspeople. A large building constructed in June 1898 as the Garnet Miner's Union Hall was located next to the Wells Hotel in the gulch leading up to the Nancy Hanks. The Garnet Miner's Union Hall had an exceptionally beautiful and springy hardwood floor and a stage. The union hall accommodated most of the town's social activities, hosting dances and celebrations, such as the Hard Times Ball—an event where townspeople dressed "down," danced, played games, and vied for prizes. The union hall was also used for church services, and as a result, a formal church building never appeared in Garnet.

The ambitious C.W. Tabor opened a combination bath house, clothing store, and barber shop called the Pioneer in a newly constructed building in upper Garnet along the road to the Nancy Hanks. Throughout the years, he would develop his water source to serve some of the businesses in town. The baths, which were in high demand since most of the residents had no water supply, were open every afternoon when they first opened, but Tabor soon expanded their availability to 24 hours a day to accommodate miners who worked varying shifts.

Visitors who arrived on the stagecoach usually stayed the night or longer at one of Garnet's many hotels. The Woods Hotel, operated by E.S. Woods, might have been the oldest hotel in town, but it advertised itself as having "all modern accommodations." It also offered a "sample room," stocked with wines, liquors, and cigars, some of which were handmade in town by Bob Schneider, who early on started a cigar factory. The sample rooms advertised by the hotels were rooms set aside for salesmen to display their goods. The Woods Hotel soon had competition, just up the street at the Garnet Hotel, whose proprietor, D.A. McDonald, proclaimed as the "leading downtown house in Garnet" with "good accommodations and rates reasonable." Like Woods, McDonald offered a little more incentive to visit his establishment with sample and card rooms available at any hour. While McDonald laid claim to the title of the

"leading downtown house," Henry Schoenfeld boasted that his Ritchey Hotel, located in upper Garnet on Sam Ritchey's land, was the "leading hotel in Garnet" with "good sample rooms, best accommodations," and the convenience of a stable in connection with the hotel. It was an impressive building, looking more like a large two-and-a-half-story cross-gabled house with side additions than a hotel. Other hotels, including the Iverson Hotel, Crawford House, McDonald Hotel, and of course, the Wells Hotel, provided accommodations for visitors, who included salesmen, gamblers, entertainers, dentists, and politicians. Most hotels offered rooms by the week for miners and other long-term guests.


STRINGHAM

THE GROCER

The only Exclusively Grocery House in Town. Goods delivered to any part of the District

WITHOUT EXTRA CHARGE.

PRICES.

Home Baking Powder, 25 oz can (guaranteed equal to any)	25c
Picalilli, qts. in jars	50c
Per gallon	90c
Chili Sauce, pints	25c
Pickled onions, qts. in jars	50c
Orange cider, per glass	5c

H. M. STRINGHAM,

GARNET, - - MONTANA

General merchandise stores appeared on the Garnet scene in 1897, and the possibility exists that some were there earlier in some form. Henry M. Stringham worked out of a wagon before he constructed a store in Garnet. Stringham's store soon faced competition from several other general merchandise establishments that were built in Garnet. Merchants Charles Judson and Charles Blaisdell, both of Missoula, constructed a large single-story building with an underground ice house in the rear, located just east of the Wells Hotel. They filled the building with merchandise of all kinds and became one of the foremost general stores in Garnet. This store would stay in business longer than any of its competition, with Frank A. Davey later purchasing it and operating it until his death in 1947.

A small structure, built in the space between the Wells Hotel and Judson & Blaisdell's Store, became Link's Clothing Store and offered a line of fine clothing, shoes, boots, and other accessories. Link stayed in business for a number of years and also owned Link's General Store, located across from the McDonald Hotel.

R.L. Lewis, the town druggist, specialized in pharmaceuticals and other accessories and did a brisk business at a time when doctors and dentists were in short supply. Patent medicines sold at Lewis' establishment promised to cure just about every human ailment. Dr. Gunn's Improved Liver Pills supposedly cured headaches, prevented biliousness (vomiting), purified the blood, and removed pimples. Dr. Martel's French Female Pills, which came in a metal box with a blue, white, and red flag symbol on the top, claimed to effectively alleviate "female problems." Young men, who had been engaging in illicit sexual activity resulting in gonorrhea could buy Pabst's Okay Specific elixir, guaranteed to "cure each and every case," for a mere $3 per bottle. Dr. May's Epilepticide promised to "permanently cure" epilepsy, fits, spasms, falling sickness, and St. Vitus' Dance. As a druggist, R.L. Lewis could mix his


DR. GUNN'S IMPROVED LIVER PILLS

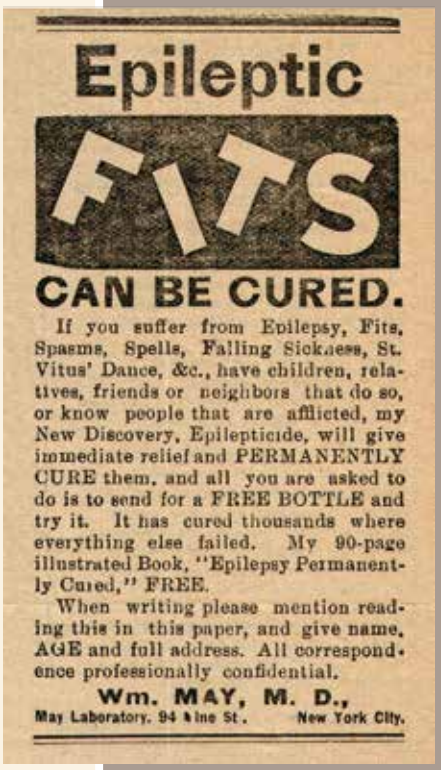
ONE FOR A DOSE. Cure Sick Headache and Dyspepsia, Remove Pimples and Purify the Blood, Aid Digestion and Prevent Biliousness. Do not Gripe or Sicken. To convince you, we will mail sample free, or full box for 25c. DR. BOSANKO CO., Philada., Penna. Sold by Druggists.

N. N. U. No. 25, '99.

own compounds and pour them into manufactured medicine bottles with labels of his own choosing. The local druggist had considerable opportunity to cure or accidentally kill his customers.

It took years for physicians, druggists, or even journalists to take on the patent medicine industry. Finally, in 1905, *Collier's Magazine* published a series of articles by Samuel Hopkins Adams titled "The Great American Fraud." Despite intimidation from patent medicine companies, Adams laid out his case against the so-called cure-alls:

> Gullible America will spend this year some seventy-five millions of dollars in the purchase of patent medicines. In consideration of this sum it will swallow huge quantities of alcohol, an appalling amount of opiates and narcotics, a wide assortment of varied drugs ranging from powerful and dangerous heart depressants to insidious liver stimulants; and, far in excess of all other ingredients, undiluted fraud.



Garnet never had a resident dentist. Periodically, traveling dentists advertised their availability for treatment of dental woes. In January 1899, a dentist from Hamilton visited for a week. Dr. Robinson, a dentist from Missoula, came in on Wednesday evening February 1, 1899, and treated patients in a temporary office at a room at the Garnet Hotel. A week later, the *Garnet Mining News* announced that, "Dr. W.F. Robinson of Missoula will arrive in Garnet, prepared to do all kinds of dentistry in a first class manner."

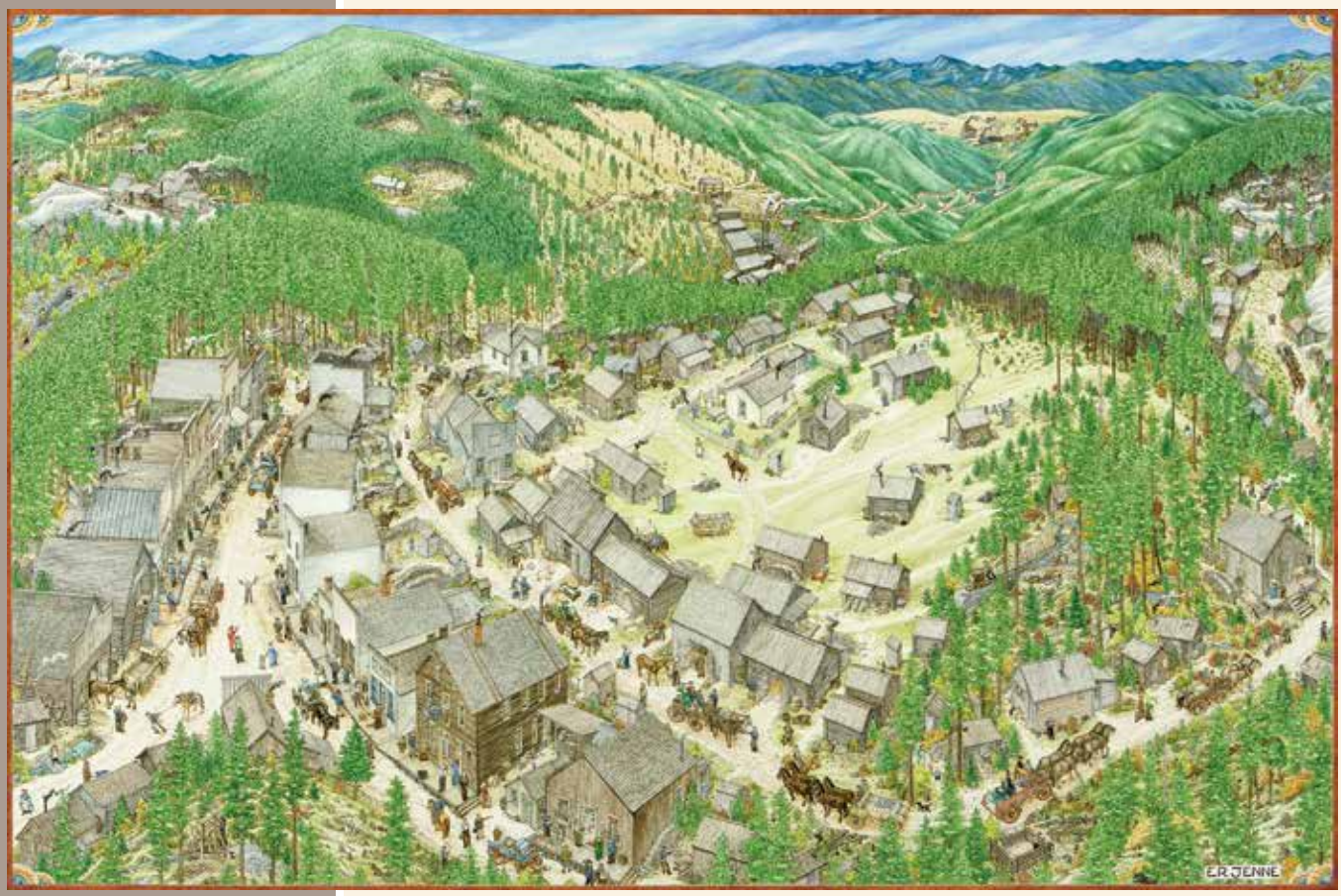
During its boom period, Garnet had two doctors who resided in town: first, Dr. A.J. Palmer, and later, Dr. A.N. Chamberlain. Dr. Palmer left Garnet in November of 1899, and Dr. Chamberlain started advertising his practice there the following May. Doctors from other towns also made visits to tend to patients in Garnet.

William M. Peers operated a freighting business and a stable and feed supply enterprise in a barn located on the hillside just above Judson & Blaisdell's store. Peers delivered hay and oats where needed. In the spring of 1898, hay sold for $1 per hundred pounds and oats sold for $1.75 per hundred pounds. A stable room could be rented by the day, week, or month, with or without feed.

Another large barn owned by stageline owner and driver Charlie Lewis occupied a spot on the north side of Garnet's Main Street, not far from Dublin Gulch. Built with logs, the tall building had a loft that could be entered by an outside stairway. A creek flowing down from the gulch

ran through a wooden culvert under the street and continued beneath a boardwalk on the south side of the street. During rainy periods, the main thoroughfare became so muddy that it was impassible except for foot traffic. When the dry hot summers came, the street, crowded with horses, buggies, and wagons, created its own dust storm.

The gulch leading up the hill from the Davis Saloon became known as Dublin because of the concentration of Irish who lived there. The gulch was lined with houses, cabins, and other structures. Most of the residents obtained their water from a spring up Dublin Gulch and had to haul buckets of water up the hillside to their cabins. Hugh Hanifen, who worked for Sam Ritchey and Mitchell and Mussigbrod, lived with his family in a 14-by-18-foot board and vertical batten house with a 10-foot ceiling on the left side of the gulch. Hanifen played violin at most of the dances held in Garnet during the early years. Up from the Hanifen house, cabins were constructed on both sides of the gulch road.

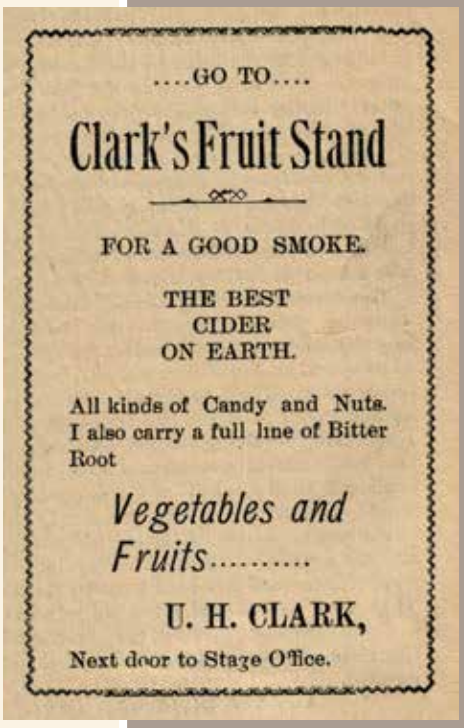


Garnet in 1910 as depicted by E.R. Jenne in 2006

Matt Carey started the Garnet Cash Store, a general merchandise business in the old McCormick Saloon building opposite the Garnet Hotel in January 1899. Carey would become stiff competition for Judson & Blaisdell's, Stringham's, and other general stores. The following month, the *Garnet Mining News* announced, "Matt Carey is building a powder house and will hereafter deal in that staple article." During the summer of 1899, Carey began carrying blasting powder. The Garnet Stage Company erected an office just west of their stables, and Uzziel H. Clark set up his fruit stand next door to the stage office.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Days after the voting had taken place in the 1898 election, Garnet residents were jolted from their sleep by the incessant blasting of the high-pitched whistle at the Nancy Hanks. As people emerged from their cabins and miners dropped their tools and rushed to the surface, they could see the red glow of flames coming in the direction of the Nancy Hanks. The most modern and fanciest of Garnet's lodging facilities, the Ritchey Hotel, was on fire. Guests at the hotel grabbed what furniture and other items they could save as the fire intensified. A hastily organized bucket brigade tried in vain to drench the flames shooting toward the sky from the two-story building. Soon, it became evident that all would be lost as the heat drove back the firefighters and flames consumed the wood frame structure. Proprietor Henry Schoenfeld was stunned with shock and grief.



It was surmised that the origin of the fire was the explosion of a coal oil lamp in one of the upstairs rooms. The *Garnet Mining News* reported, "There seems no other way of accounting for it and something of that sort must have happened." The hotel had insurance, but the amount was in question. In what seemed almost an accusatory manner, the *Garnet Mining News* stated what everybody in town already knew when it reported:

> Mr. Schoenfeld has been very unfortunate in being burned out, this being the third time that he has suffered loss by fire within a year. It is not known whether the hotel will be rebuilt or not although it is quite probable that it will in the early spring. Mr. and Mrs. Schoenfeld have the sympathy of the whole community in their loss.

People shook their heads and wondered out loud if it was just bad luck visiting Mr. Schoenfeld again, or if it was something else. Talk spread about buying a fire engine, but it never happened. However, the bucket brigade did get a flat trough that could be propped up against a structure to allow men to stand on it and toss water by scoop shovel to heights of 25 feet, unless the wind was blowing toward them.

Henry Schoenfeld, emotionally drained by the disaster and perhaps by the rumors and innuendos that floated throughout town, departed Garnet and checked himself into a hospital at Missoula. It was reported that he was very sick but had undergone some sort of operation. The *Garnet Mining News* sent him well wishes from his friends and neighbors.

Most houses and businesses were built with easily accessible pine and fir logs. Due to the heavy weight of bricks and the difficulty of transporting them into Garnet, most chimneys were constructed out of clay from local beds. Although the clay chimneys worked well at first, chimneys rated as the second largest cause of Garnet's fires. Coal oil lamps were the largest cause.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

While most of the earlier mining camps in Montana were made up primarily of men during the initial years after a strike, Garnet miners brought their families to the remote town early on. Most had already started families in Granite, Philipsburg, and other silver producing mining towns before moving to Garnet. Vices, such as drinking, gambling, and prostitution, which were normally associated with boomtowns, developed in Garnet but were tempered by the family atmosphere present from the beginning of the town's existence.

Anna and Gus Dalberg and their children

One such family included Gus and Anna Dalberg, both originally from Sweden. After arriving in the area in 1894, Gus first worked for mine owners Sam Ritchey and Mussigbrod. Beginning in 1900, he mined for himself. Upon immigrating from Sweden, Anna lived in Minneapolis, worked in a bakery, and learned English. For an unknown reason, she saved her money for train fare to move to Garnet. After her long journey, Anna Lindahl went to the largest hotel in Garnet, the Wells Hotel. She began work immediately, serving breakfast to the miners. The couple met in Garnet and married in 1899. In 1907, the Dalbergs bought a parcel of land from Sam Ritchey, where they constructed a four-room house with a front porch. They had a covered passageway that connected their house to a woodshed, chicken house, and cow barn. Because the Dalbergs had a

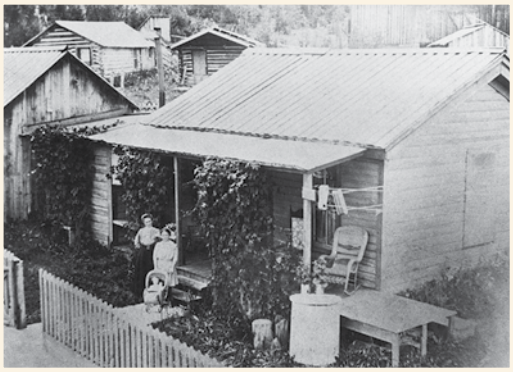
cow and chickens, they were able to enjoy fresh milk, cream, butter, eggs, and chicken dinners. In 1911, the Dalbergs bought a ranch in the lower Bear Gulch. They kept cows and raised vegetables to sell to the residents of Garnet.

Dalberg family home

Another family, Samuel and Jennie Adams, were originally from Pennsylvania. Samuel Adams and his friend Pete Shipler ventured out West to seek their fortune in Montana. Samuel purchased a store in Garnet and partnered with Shipler in mining at Copper Cliff and other locations. In 1904, Samuel returned to Pennsylvania and married Jennie Star in Harrisburg. Following their marriage, Samuel and Jennie moved to Missoula for a short time before moving to Garnet.

After several mining interests and other monetary ventures, the Adams house was considered the second nicest house in Garnet. Only the Sam Ritchey home was considered more elegant. The Adams residence was located at the top of the hill above town. They had a three-room log house covered with yellow drop siding and a picket fence. The house was furnished with an organ and plants in the parlor.

Mary Jane Adams was born to Samuel and Jennie on March 2, 1917, at St. Patrick Hospital in Missoula. Two other children had preceded Mary Jane; Samuel Jr., who was born in 1906 and died that same year, and Mary Agnes, who was born in 1909 and lived until 1912. Mary Jane remembered Christmases in Garnet with a special fondness. Her father would trim the tree and add candles clipped on to the edge of the branches. He would light two or three for her to see before extinguishing them because of fire danger. The family would string popcorn as part of the decorations.



Adams family home, with Jennie Adams and niece standing out front

Another well-known family in Garnet lived in an apartment above Kelly's Saloon, a two-story structure with a false front. Mr. and Mrs. Kelly owned and operated the saloon beginning in 1898. The apartment had two bedrooms and one large room, which included a kitchen range, cupboards, tables and chairs, a couch, and several rocking chairs. The saloons in Garnet were reserved for the entertainment of men—women and children rarely frequented these establishments. As a result, Mrs. Kelly's guests had to announce their visit via the staircase outside and then ascend the stairs to her apartment. Frank Fitzgerald remembers visiting Mrs. Kelly with his mother when he was a small boy. In a taped interview, Frank recalled Mrs. Kelly serving the guests beer:

> I can remember holding this big glass, it seemed big to me. My hands wouldn't go all the way around it, and I can remember drinking that beer…and I can remember that real well, cause I know I spilt some of the beer and was kidded about being drunk.

The entire saloon became a residence during Prohibition. The Kelly family left Garnet in the late 1930s, and the building has since been preserved.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Due to the makeup of Garnet's population, more family-oriented events began to occur, such as dances, hay rides, bridge games, quilting bees, sewing circles, and picnics. As the old year ended and 1899 began, social entertainment at Garnet seemed almost nonstop. While Coloma had hosted a big New Year's Eve party, Garnet followed up with a series of events to provide entertainment for the residents of its town. Garnet hosted numerous balls and dances, including a masquerade ball in February 1899 at the Miner's Union Hall.

Special transportation for Garnet residents to attend entertainment held in Missoula mitigated some of the isolation that the community felt because of its remote location. One such event that created much excitement, especially among the children, was the circus. The *Garnet Mining News* reported:

> Arrangements have been completed by which all who wish to attend the performances of Ringling Bros' World's Greatest Shows in Missoula, Monday June 26 or Anaconda Tuesday June 27, can secure special excursion rates on all lines of travel. This will be the only point in this vicinity where the great shows will exhibit during the present season, and those who fail to see it will miss the grandest amusement event of the year.

One Garnet citizen personally fostered family entertainment with a town park. Edward Warren, a Civil War veteran and much beloved member of the Garnet community, built his cabin tucked into the forest some distance from town toward the north side of the mountain range. At this higher elevation, Warren had a stunning view of the mountain ranges of the Swan and other valleys across the horizon and of the Blackfoot River. Wishing to share his beautiful view with the townspeople of Garnet and to bring visitors to his cabin, Warren built a town park on the higher elevation of his claim. The park was more than a mile from town and up steep grades on the way. If not for Warren's efforts, the older residents might have had trouble adventuring that far. To remedy that, even though he had no knowledge of engineering, Warren built a trail to a level, grassy

spot with a beautiful view of the mountain ranges. He also built benches along the packed dirt trail so people could stop and rest.

At the end of the trail, Warren built sturdy recreation and picnic furniture, including a large rustic table and several swings that were built with poles and hand-forged iron links. He also constructed benches composed of small logs and surrounded by large trees. Many Sunday and Fourth of July picnics were held at Warren's Park. If he were notified ahead of time, Warren would spread pine boughs on the tables and arrange firewood to be ready.

Sporting events or just about anything that could be bet upon sparked much public interest in Garnet. Word got out that Louis Burn, the new night bartender at Pete Eggleston's saloon, had quite a reputation as a wrestler and was known in the northern states as the Cannon Ball Man. Miner Jack Davey, recognized for his strength and agility, decided to challenge him to a match. Burn, besides claiming to be a champion wrestler, was said to have so much strength that he "juggles 106 pound dumbbells as if they were marbles, breaks horseshoes and does many other marvelous feats of strength." Davey had his work cut out for him, but the townspeople expressed confidence that he could upset his giant opponent. At least that's what they said in public, while perhaps betting against him behind closed doors. The match, scheduled for a Friday night at the union hall was billed "as a skillful contest of strength and science between two good men."

A detailed report of the Friday night event appeared in the following week's edition of the *Garnet Mining News*:

> The first fall was won by Davey in 35 minutes, who is unquestionably an extraordinarily good man and scientific wrestler. The second fall was won by Burn in 7 minutes and the next went the same way in 20 minutes, after which Mr. Davey, who was out of condition, refused to continue but offered to wrestle the same style in two weeks for $50. Burn claimed to have other engagements and left town the next morning. He says that Davey is the best man he has tackled for the past year. Burn, if that is his name, is undoubtedly a great wrestler and probably close to the championship. He seems like a very decent sort of chap, and can always count on being well received in Garnet.

Residents of Garnet celebrated Independence Day enthusiastically in 1899. A report of the occasion listed the following schedule of events:

> Double handed drilling contest; throwing the 12 pound hammer; putting the shot; tug of war between the married and single men;

> potato race; sack race; three legged race; high jump; broad jump; running hop step and jump…Each event will be open to all comers and the further they come the further they will get beat.

John Pope won the foot race, which was a surprise, since his brother Tom, who won the broad jump, was Garnet's most talented athlete and recognized as such throughout the state. If ever there was a sports hero for a town, it was Garnet's finest sprinter, young Tommy Pope. A miner, Pope won just about every race he entered. When county fair season rolled around, Tommy Pope took on all challengers and collected cash and prizes in so doing. In the fall of 1898, he participated in races at both the Hamilton and Missoula Fairs and "won all there was to win." Tommy Pope showed off his athletic prowess at the Granite Miner's Union Day celebration in June 1900 by easily winning first place money in the 100-yard race; long running jump; high jump; and hop, step, and jump.

The only problem with Tommy Pope was that his reputation preceded him, and though a number of sprinting contests were arranged between him and some hopeful opponent, they were usually canceled due to the latter's withdrawal. In September 1899, he was supposed to meet a young man named Tilly for a foot race of 100 yards at Missoula. Tilly, from Gardner, Idaho, was reported to be very fast, but to the disappointment of Pope and his fans from Garnet, the event was canceled.

When the mines at Garnet began laying off workers, Tommy Pope moved to Missoula and became a member of the fire department there alongside his brother John. On July 20, 1904, Tom was driving one of the city fire wagons near the town dump when one of the horses spooked and bolted away as Tom desperately hung onto the lines until he was violently thrown from the wagon. In an instant, he was up chasing the wagon, but not realizing that his leg was broken, he did not get far before falling as the point of the broken bone pierced his flesh. He had also suffered internal injuries sustained during the fall. Tom was hospitalized at St. Patrick's Hospital in Missoula and died a couple weeks later in his hospital bed. The editor of the *Missoulian* commented:

Mining pick

> Tom Pope was a general favorite around Missoula. A healthy, hearty young man, an athlete always sure for a prize in contests, whole souled and trustworthy, he was just the kind of a lad the older men who like athletic contests will miss and the younger people will mourn. It will be many years before Tom Pope is forgotten in Missoula.

August 2, 1904, was a day of mourning for the townspeople of Garnet who had lost their sports hero and friend Tommy Pope, and

to the citizens of Missoula, especially his family and coworkers at the Missoula fire department. The flag at the fire station floated at half mast, and the majestic Victorian-style building located at the corner of Main and Ryman was draped with heavy black fabric. The young firefighter and noted sprinter had run his last race. His remains rested at his family's home on Pine Street. A continuous procession of friends paid their respects, and his handsome casket could barely be seen beneath a wealth of flowers sent to the grief-stricken family by Tommy's friends.

Two days later, his funeral was held, with firemen, members of the Clerk's Union, and hundreds of friends and relatives participating in the requiem mass at the Catholic church. After the ceremony, a horse-drawn fire wagon draped with black cloth led the procession to the Catholic cemetery where Tommy Pope was laid to rest. He was 27 years old.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Gambling became illegal according to a law passed by the 1897 legislature, but it continued to be popular in mining towns. Despite the family atmosphere of Garnet, officials tended to look the other away when it came to trying to suppress gambling. Gambling even tempted the young boys who should have been in school. Some of the older school-aged boys could be observed "sitting around the saloons, playing dimes and quarters on the faro and twenty-one spreads." Indeed, as E.A. Evans had observed, "there were sharks in the water on pay-day," and the wives of Garnet were upset. How could these professional gamblers be allowed to steal the hard-earned wages of the miners before they could even be spent for groceries and other staples needed to sustain a family?

The *Garnet Mining News* of April 5, 1900, reported on the arrival of one of "the sharks" when it announced:

> George Kendall, better known as "Big George," one of the proprietors of one of the largest gambling houses in Butte, spent several days in Garnet last week. Perhaps Kendall was looking for mining properties in which to invest, but in the meantime, there were plenty of miners to be mined, and George had the gambling skills to do so.

Later records from Frank Davey's General Store provide a glimpse as to the passion for gambling in Garnet. Invoices from Davey's store show that Davey had ordered six dozen packages of playing cards in November 1901, six dozen packages in November 1902, and another four dozen in March 1903. While a pack of playing cards might last a family for years, gambling for money required fresh decks with no bent corners or wear

JUSTICE OR INJUSTICE?

One most notable exception of lawlessness in Garnet took place as the new year of 1899 got underway. Maud Markley grew up in a tough part of Missoula, at the edge of the Red Light District on Front Street. Her father was deceased and her mother lived with Maud's stepfather. When Maud was 17, Mrs. F.H. Nickey accused her of stealing a 15-yard bolt of white satin, one white lace overdress, one rose-colored silk purse, and one silk handkerchief. Two witnesses saw Maud attempt to hide these items, and one testified that Maud had admitted to the crime and wanted to give the materials back to Mrs. Nickey. Instead, she was arrested and taken before Justice of the Peace W.J. Myers. She pled not guilty. The witnesses testified, and bond was set at $40, the estimated value of the stolen goods. Maud's mother did not show up for the hearing.

Since the defendant did not have the bond money, she was sent to jail. Justice of the Peace Myers remanded the case to Judge Frank Woody, who listened to the same testimony, heard Maud's plea of not guilty, and proceeded to sentence her to the state reform school at Miles City to serve time until she turned 21.

Two-and-a-half years later, when Maud was 19, she was released early from the reform school and placed on parole. On January 25, 1899, she found herself in Connors & Hardwood Saloon in Garnet. It was not common for women, especially young single females, to be in the saloons. The drinking turned heavy, and Maud was the center of attention.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

signs that would alert a player as to its denomination. The incredibly large numbers of packs of playing cards would indicate that gambling in Garnet was going strong, even as the mines began to produce less wealth.

An article concerning gambling which had been printed previously was sent to the *Drummond Call* by a Garnet resident who believed that it could be applied to Garnet. It read as follows:

> Of late a number of gamblers have been coming every payday from Butte, and opened up games, gathered in all the available money in the city, and carried it away with them. Gambling among our town people is bad enough, but to allow this bunch of tinhorn gamblers to take the money away from them is putting it on a little strong, and it is time the whole business of gambling was stopped.

In response, Granite County Attorney George A. Maynard wrote: "…if any more Butte gamblers come to Garnet and the local authorities will not arrest them, I will personally undertake to prosecute them to the full extent of the law and will go to Garnet for that purpose, if necessary." Despite the county attorney's boastful threat, gambling in Garnet continued unabated.

In her "Journal of Remembrances," Hilma Hanson, a schoolteacher at Coloma, referred to Garnet as "a tough camp." Perhaps the number of saloons and other drinking establishments available and the rowdiness associated with drinking and gambling on a much larger scale than at Coloma led to that observation. While the saloon action in Garnet was usually friendly though boisterous, there was hardly ever any necessity for constable John Elkins to intervene. A legend grew over the years that the jail was only used once to constrain a drunken miner who had shot another miner's dog. Although this legend was an exaggeration, lawlessness in Garnet was minimal.

Also, there is no logical reason to think that prostitution did not exist to some extent in or near Garnet during its heyday and perhaps after. Editor John Cole certainly did not hold back in his disdain for the ladies who brought their trade in the heart of the business district, when he wrote about two "soiled doves" who appeared in town in August 1900, only to be run out expeditiously. Editor Cole commented on that event and those of a similar nature when he wrote:

> Two colored fallen doves visited the city one evening last week, but not finding the place suited to their health quietly flitted next morning. It is said that they were two grafters, who have been run out of Missoula and several other places in the state…Town scavengers are a good thing but when they take up their headquarters on Main street, the perfume is not very inviting, especially to strangers coming to the city, and it is apt to give them a poor idea of our health officers.

It is interesting to note his statement that "Town scavengers are a good thing...," which could be interpreted that he viewed prostitution as acceptable as long as it was hidden from the civilized part of town.

In a 1982 interview conducted by William Babcock of Historical Research Associates of Missoula, Harry Hanifen, a miner born at Garnet in 1893, recalled "carrying buckets of beer from one of the local taverns to the women's house." Hanifen remembered that he was always impressed "by the number of single women at the house and the large tip that he was given by the proprietor for his delivery." Harry Hanifen's recollections were supported to a degree by Walter Moore, who drove the stage for Frank Davey. In personal communication in 1988, Moore indicated that not only was there a red light district, but he remembered its location on the edge of town.

Prostitution, on some level, most likely existed in some form, especially during the boom era, but was

Her presence incited jealousy, which in turn led to violence.

At about 2 a.m., someone summoned Thomas McGuire into the street. Several witnesses watched the next series of events, but nobody interfered to put an end to it. Daniel McPherson, Jack Lavelle, Mike Lavelle, and Joe Irwin proceeded to beat, kick, and stab Thomas McGuire. McGuire suffered from a total of eight stab wounds, with the most serious directly over the kidneys. Constable John Elkins and Justice of the Peace Childs were woken up and told about the crime. The four men were charged with the crime of assault with intent to kill, and warrants were issued for their arrest. Though McGuire's condition was serious, his doctor believed that the victim would recover as long as he did not experience unforeseen complications.

After all legal proceedings and all was said and done, Maud Markley received the brunt of the punishment for the night of the crime, whereas the clear culprits were released. A few weeks after the incident, Maud Markley was ordered back to the state reform school for 15 months. By March of that year, the charges against Daniel McPherson and Mike Lavelle were dismissed. At their trial, Joe Irwin and Jack Lavelle were found not guilty.

In the newspaper report of the incident, editor Cole's tone toward Maud is that she was the cause of the commotion. He said, "As usual it is said that the whole row occurred over one of those commercial fairies, and this time it was a very young girl who had formerly resided in Missoula and who has recently been paroled from

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

the reform school at Miles City." In a later comment about the incident, Cole says, "This is the same piece of tough femininity that caused all the trouble in Garnet recently, whereby four men are now in jail, and another severely injured."

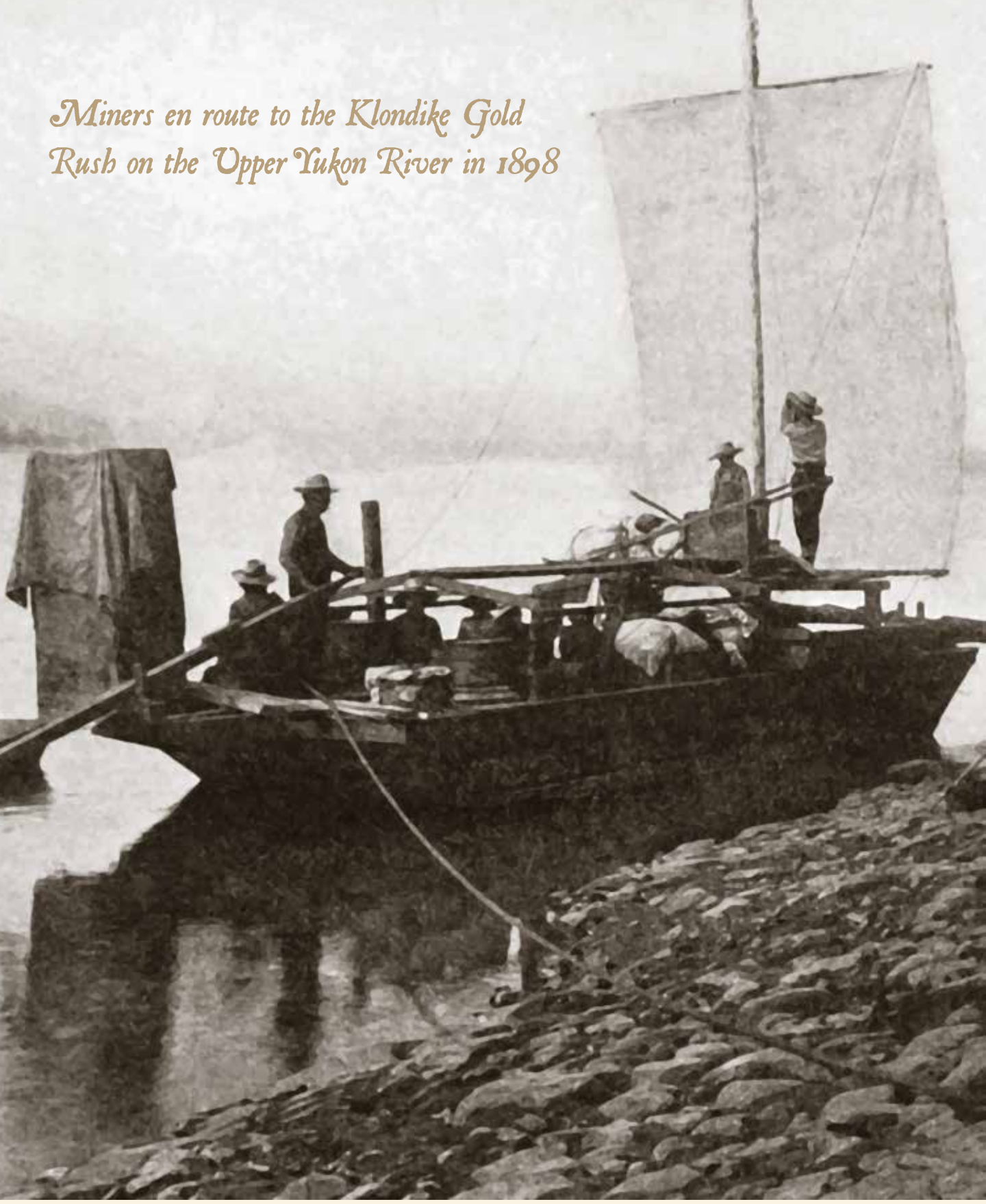
Seemingly, to dismiss Joe Irwin's actions by noting the civility of his family, editor Cole gave a warm account of a social gathering that read as follows: "There was a pleasant party at the hospitable home of Mr. and Mrs. Joe Irwin [Sr.] Tuesday evening. There was singing and splendid music by the Mandolin Club, after which there was a dainty luncheon. The house was full and everybody had a good time." The Irwins were a very popular family in Garnet, with both Joseph Sr. and his son Joe employed as miners. The Irwins' daughter, Virginia, was one of the most popular women of marrying age in town. Social gatherings at the Irwin house were given detailed coverage in the *Garnet Mining News*. Perhaps, in this example, the bias of social status played a large role in the justice process.

hidden from the main thoroughfare in "cribs" (small rooms) or larger houses tucked within the forest, away from the view of those who entered town by its main thoroughfare. Still, as editor Cole complained in August 1900, the "perfume" of the "pigs" could be smelled by anyone approaching "lower Main street," which would seem to imply that the domiciles for the "ladies of the evening" were in close proximity to Main Street as it entered Garnet from the east. This would correspond with the location pointed out by Walter Moore years later than the time of Cole's remarks. Frank Fitzgerald explained that they (kids) were allowed to walk to school and to the store, but his parents really did not want him "down on Main Street." In other words, they could walk down from Dublin Gulch to Frank Davey's store and turn right up Williams Gulch to the schoolhouse, but were not to turn left at Davey's and head toward "lower Main Street."

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Miners in Garnet formed the Garnet Western Labor Union, an affiliate of the Western Federation of Miners, in the late 1890s. The minutes of the Garnet Western Labor Union give the impression that committees were quickly formed to persuade workers to join the union. Relationships between the union and the owners seemed to be cordial during the boom years. Mining was dangerous work and, accordingly, workers expected to be compensated for that risk. The Western Federation of Miners fought for years to obtain $2.50 per day in wages for miners. Garnet's union followed the Philipsburg union, which had established a rate of a dollar more. The *Garnet Mining News* reported, "So far as Garnet is concerned…the wages, now as ever, are $3.50 per day for all underground labor." At $3.50 for a 10-hour day, Garnet's miners were considerably financially better off than most workers in other fields. The average factory worker back East made between 13 and 25 cents per hour for a 10-hour day, which could mean as low as $1.30 per day to as high as $2.50 per day.

Fraternal organizations were also popular in mining towns and elsewhere at the turn of the century. Fraternal organizations were often formed to address welfare and community issues of the miners, such as funeral arrangements of members and widow benefits. Beginning in 1900, Garnet Lodge No. 50 AOUW (Ancient Order of United Workmen) was organized with 38 members meeting in Garnet every Wednesday. This group was organized on a national level in 1868 and grew rapidly, having a membership of about 400,000 by 1900. The fraternal organization started with symbols and rituals similar to the Masons; however, it was primarily a group life insurance policy. The motto of the AOUW was "charity, hope, and protection," providing protection to the widows and orphans of its members.



Miners en route to the Klondike Gold Rush on the Upper Yukon River in 1898

CHAPTER 11

The Decline of the Boom

AFTER THE EXCITEMENT of Garnet's mining successes from 1896 through 1898, some members of the community began leaving for other promising horizons. Two such places included Oregon and Alaska. During the fall of 1899 and into the new year, a number of important Garnet residents headed for Sumpter, Oregon, which was experiencing a gold boom.

Sumpter Valley Railway in 1901

Sumpter's early history somewhat paralleled that of Garnet's, with its growth beginning in 1895 with the establishment of a stamp mill. The town had a population estimated at 300 in 1897 when the Sumpter Valley Railway extended its track to the mining town. That began a boom that resulted in the town's population increasing to more than 3,500 registered voters by 1903. In 1899, Sumpter attracted miners and merchants from all over the country as the railroad delivered mining machinery to its doorstep and monthly hauled 600 carloads of timber to mills there and at Baker City. Pay for miners averaged $4 per day for 12 hours of work. Millions of dollars of gold were extracted within a few years. Commercial buildings and residential dwellings sprang up as fast as carpenters and brick masons could build them.

It is no wonder that, despite having a newborn child, Garnet's main carpenter and contractor Henry Stuart closed shop, bundled up his family, and headed west to Sumpter. So did Josh Hennings, Garnet's blacksmith. Tom Kirkpatrick returned from the Oregon mining town, singing its praises. As the new year advanced, more people gave up on Garnet and Coloma.

As for the tundra, in the fall of 1896, news that a gold strike had been made in the Klondike brought a rush of hearty prospectors. Discoveries along Bonanza and Eldorado Creeks led to the founding of Dawson City in northwest Canada. At first, the town contained just prospectors who packed in their necessary supplies and survived through the winter and spring. Finally, in July, the first steamboat arrived with provisions. During the summer, stampeders arrived from numerous Yukon camps and from the outside. Within a year, Dawson City grew to 30,000 people, with saloons, dance halls, and gambling establishments dominating the community.

Klondike City in the foreground and Dawson City in the upper right in 1899

Nome, Alaska, in 1900

Newspapers carried story after story about the adventure and wealth that could be had on the new frontier. An estimated 100,000 hopeful souls headed north in 1898 alone. It was rumored that Col. L.C. Parker had made a small fortune in the Klondike. Soon, other Garnet residents left for the Klondike and all it promised.

By 1899, the rush had abandoned Dawson City and focused on new discoveries near Nome, Alaska, so that became the destination point for those leaving Garnet. Nome was a port, and it was rumored that a man could stake a claim and recover good pay without ever leaving the beaches.

In July 1900, the *Garnet Mining News* received a firsthand description of the happenings up north in a letter from B.A.C. Stone. The following are some highlights from his letter:

> While here we have met nearly all of the Garnet boys. All are well and rustling for the best there is to it. Becker, Baker, McDonald, Hoffman, Reed, West, Johnson, Carlson, Humber, Sorenson, Donlan, Goudy, Holden, DeBuhr with Eppel, Eggers, Michelson and myself as company; working some on the beach at times but have not met with any success as the quantities of gold is lacking. The beach was, practically speaking, worked out last summer, in about 60 days…What was left last fall was again worked over by those who wintered here and the thousands that came down from Dawson during the winter and early spring on the ice, so when this great rush of tender-feet came in here in June, nothing of any value remained…The greed of man went further here than in any other place ever known. Many men, I am told, have claims by the hundreds or more. The local laws do not require a discovery and no work need be done on the claim for two years…All the creeks and gulches have paper locations, but few of them have, as yet, been prospected and are not likely to be so long as a few men hold the country.

When Stone arrived back at Garnet, he gave an interview regarding his experiences in Nome to the *Garnet Mining News* that read as follows:

> The claims…were all taken up two years ago, and nothing new of importance has been discovered this season, so far. No quartz in sight and no prospect of any being found…There is a great amount of sickness prevalent and many deaths. Thousands of

dollars worth of machinery is piled up along the beach, either abandoned or the owners have no use for it. It was a great transportation boom and will go down in history as such.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

As early as July 1899, editor Cole worried about Garnet's future and had become increasingly frustrated with the economic situation in and near Garnet. He let his feelings be known in an editorial printed on July 13, 1899, which read as follows:

> We wish to call the attention of the citizens of Garnet to the fact that if Garnet is to remain a town of importance, in this district, there is work to do and sacrifices to make. It must not be imagined or taken for granted that Garnet's position, as the Metropolis of the surrounding mining district, is secure. It will require work and enterprise on the part of those residing here to even maintain the present, rather humdrum, existence. Unless a change takes place hereabouts and that soon, it is more than likely that mining ground in other parts of the district will be developed to an extent that will justify a rival town and if their citizens are enterprising and they proceed upon the theory that their town will be permanent, Garnet may some day find itself only a village on the trail to a more enterprising City.

ANACONDA NEWS.

COPPER CLIFF DISTRICT

Ore Was First Discovered in the Northern Portion in 1892.

THERE ARE RICH CLAIMS

Several Butte Capitalists Are Taking Up the Claims in the Section and Work Is Being Pushed Rapidly.

Special Correspondence of the Standard.

Garnet, June 20.—The Copper Cliff district lies about seven miles west of Garnet and embraces a stretch of mining country about 18 miles in length and nearly three miles in width. From a point seven miles west of Garnet the district runs in a southwesterly direction for a distance of about 18 miles to the town of Clinton, on the Northern Pacific railroad. The ore belt is supposed to be a continuation of the famous Garnet belt, but on this point, however, opinions differ.

The northwestern end of the district and the portion in which is located the Copper Cliff mine, is in Deer Lodge county; the southern and larger portion of the district is in Missoula county. The region is drained by tributaries of the Big Blackfoot and Missoula rivers; in fact, the ore zone seems to follow the watershed, or divide, between these two rivers.

The mining belt and adjacent country is broken and rugged and is scored in all directions by deep canyons and gulches. In places the mountains rise to an elevation

With the boom of Garnet weakening, the Copper Cliff Mines brought hope to the Garnet community in 1899. The mines were located about 6 air miles west of Garnet and were said to contain pure ore. The *Garnet Mining News* tried to bring attention to the mining potential at Copper Cliff in June 1899 when it reported:

> Little has so far been said about the wonderful copper deposits in this district at the Copper Cliff…So far as can be learned from the testimony of miners working there, however, the showing so far made is almost beyond belief and serves to prove our contention that this is the greatest and grandest mineral district on earth.

The *Garnet Mining News* referenced the *Missoula Democrat* as to the reported success of Samuel Adams at those diggings:

> Sam Adams, now one of the bloated owners of the famous Copper Cliff mine near Bonita, is in the city shaking

hands with his friends who are congratulating him on his late success. Prosperity doesn't phase Adams a whit, however, for he is still the same old Sam, rich or poor…We make the prediction that there will be more miners at work in and near Garnet in the next 60 days than there ever was before.

By mid-August the tide at the Copper Cliff Mines had changed when editor Cole reported:

> Work at the Copper Cliff has been suspended. This property is looking better than ever and the cause of the shut down is unknown. The development shows an immense deposit of ore and but slight effort has so far been made to find the vein, if vein there is. The owners of the ground in or near Cliff have every reason for confidence in the future.

Sam Adams (far left) and other miners working at the Grant and Hartford mine in 1926

Limited work started up again at Copper Cliff in September with Pete Shipler as foreman of a few hired hands.

In addition to Copper Cliff, hope arose in the form of increased mining development due to a new mill at the mouth of Deep Gulch near old Beartown. The man behind this new development was Prof. A.B. Browne of the Montana and Denver Reduction Company—the same man who had tried to save the Mammoth mine in Coloma by adjusting its milling process in 1896. Prof. Browne planned for 20 stamps capable of handling 75 tons of ore per day, dwarfing the Mitchell-Mussigbrod Mill production capacity. Editor Cole summed up the feelings of many when he wrote, "The country, especially Garnet and Coloma, owe much to Manager Browne for the erection of this plant. He has shown much enterprise and great perseverance."

The location of the plant provided the shortest downhill distance for the district mines. Any mine in the district was allotted at least two trips a day from their ore teams. An instruction pamphlet from the company ensured "fair and equal treatment to all, conducting its business strictly on business principles and in every way fully intending to merit the cooperation it feels sure of receiving from its neighbors."

With steam in the boiler, the whistle from the mill near Beartown was so loud that when it first blew on December 10, 1899, it could be heard as far as Coloma. It was the sound of hope and signaled what everyone sensed would be a new era of prosperity for the area mines. Editor Cole, who was

invited to tour the mill with others from Garnet, expressed his admiration for the latest in mining technology that was employed at the mill. In the *Garnet Mining News* of December 14, 1899, Cole wrote the following:

> The gentlemen [those invited on the mill tour] express themselves as not only being well pleased with their visit in a social way but highly instructed and much impressed with the excellence and air of busy thrift and prosperity surrounding the new plant…Up to date, it could not be improved upon; it is the very best that money can buy and is put together in a way suggesting good business judgment and foresight. Manager Browne and his corps of able assistants are entitled to the thanks of the people of the district.

During late summer and fall of 1899, in terms of Coloma, belief spread that the new mill would somehow insure a resurgence of mining activity. "Coloma is looking up in a mining way," reported the *Garnet Mining News*. "There are several properties being worked with the expectation of milling the ore at the new mill. There is, as yet, not even a rumor afloat as to the future of the Mammoth." The optimism fueled speculation in Coloma properties. "There has been much speculation in Coloma of late. Different parties here have purchased almost all of the empty shacks with a view, no doubt, of there being a demand for them in the near future. It is expected that the camp will experience a great boom soon." For Coloma, the boom never happened. Its post office would remain operating until its closure on March 15, 1908.

In August 1900, another event gave great hope to the Garnet community. The *Garnet Mining News* reported that Sam Ritchey had sold the Nancy Hanks to Col. L.C. Parker. Garnet needed a white knight to come in and save the day. Despite his poor track record, most notably with the Mammoth and Comet mines, Col. L.C. Parker served as that temporary savior. "The merry sound of the whistle of the Nancy Hanks…woke a responsive chord in every heart, as it announced, the commencement, it is trusted, of a new era in the history of the whole district."

During the previous 2 years, the Nancy Hanks had produced more than $300,000 worth of high-grade gold ore. Then, an unexpected, but common, occurrence happened; the ore body faulted, causing the rich vein to move in an unknown direction. Parker remained confident that he could find the lost ore body with his knowledge of the land, patient research, and extensive prospecting. "After many struggles I believe I am on the high road to prosperity," Parker commented in the *Daily Inter Mountain*. "The Nancy Hanks has been a famous producer, and from my knowledge of that country I believe the ore bodies there are permanent." There was still hope for Garnet's longevity.

Samuel and Lena Ritchey

Having acquired a significant amount of wealth, Sam Ritchey was ready to begin a new chapter in his life in 1900. Sam Ritchey cut a dashing figure, even at the age of 67. He was handsome, wealthy, and, from all accounts, well liked and admired for his business skill. During 1900, he made many trips to visit his old friend and former prospector George W. Morse, who had a ranch near the small community of New Chicago, located a few miles south of Drummond. Ritchey had a long connection with the town, having owned a billiard hall there as early as 1877. Now, however, the business he was attending to in New Chicago was strictly personal. George Morse had made his fortune and could afford to hire a servant. Her name was Lena Stai, she was in her early twenties, and Sam Ritchey had fallen in love with her. Lena came from Minnesota, born to parents originally from Norway. Lena ventured to Montana after seeing an advertisement in her local newspaper requesting "a girl to work on a big cattle ranch near Drummond, Montana."

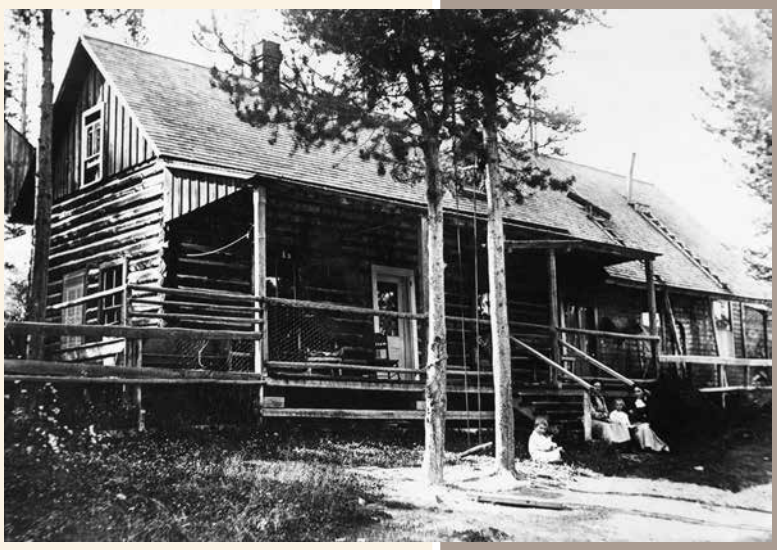
Sam Ritchey took his young fiancée to the big city of Butte to tie the knot. An article from the *Anaconda Standard* in November of 1900 commented on the event:

> Samuel Ritchey, the well-known mining man from Garnet, in Granite county, came to Butte a few days ago and last evening was married to Miss Lena Stai, a young Lady of this city. Judge William Clancy performing the ceremony, Mr. Ritchey has been a bachelor, and, according to the marriage record, he heroically admits to being 67 years of age, while his bride is but 21. Mr. and Mrs. Ritchey left for the South on a wedding trip and expect to be away about five months, much of which time will be spent at Arkansas Hot Springs. Mr. Ritchey is the owner of the Nancy Hanks mine at Garnet and other mining properties and is reputed to be a very wealthy man.

When the Ritcheys returned to Garnet, Sam had the finest house in town to domicile with his new bride. With a wide porch extending across the front, the carefully crafted log house located near the Nancy Hanks mine befitted a man of Sam Ritchey's position in the community. As one entered the parlor to the left of the main entrance, Lena Ritchey's piano came into view. Continuing into the living room, a large room was made comfortable with fine furniture, including a couch, rocking chairs, bookshelves, straight-backed chairs, tables, and the latest of

family entertainment inventions, a phonograph. Next to the living room, the dining area contained a beautiful table, chairs, a china closet, and a stylish area rug, an amenity that also appeared in the parlor and dining room. In contrast to most of the homes in Garnet, the walls and ceilings of all three rooms were papered, and each room had its own heater.

A spacious kitchen made up the rear portion of the house and contained a large cooking range, cupboards, tables, and a sink. A small room next to the kitchen contained a wooden bathtub and received water (to be heated on the kitchen range) piped in from a reservoir. Leaving the house from the kitchen, one was protected from the elements by a covered passageway that led uphill to the outhouse and the woodshed. The comfortable two-story house had its bedrooms upstairs. Outside, at some distance from the house, stood a large stable for the horses and an adjacent structure to store carriages and wagons.



Ritchey family home

Lena Ritchey (left), Mrs. Murphy, and the Ritchey children heading to the railroad station in Bearmouth

Sam and Lena Ritchey soon started a family. Helene E. Ritchey was born October 6, 1903, and Samuel Ritchey, Jr., arrived the following year. Both of the children attended school in Garnet through the eighth grade and then continued their education in Missoula.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Despite editor Cole's fear of the fall of Garnet, a great deal of success took place, and more mining potential remained. In June 1899, Al Lowery and a man named Wright were leasing part of the Nancy Hanks and shipped a carload of ore showing two grades. The first class ran $263.50 per ton, and the second ran $98.40 per ton. This was some of the best ore ever shipped out of Garnet. Editor Cole bemoaned the fact that such a good showing did not receive much attention. He said, "Gold

ore such as that found by Messrs. Lowery and Wright does not uncover, sort, sack and ship itself; it is rather the result of hard, continuous and intelligent labor. To those who are willing to labor, this district offers untold possibilities."

In the early 1900s, the Nancy Hanks and Red Cloud mines accounted for most of the ore shipped out of Garnet. By far, the most reliable operation was the Red Cloud, owned by Mitchell and Mussigbrod, with its connection to the Mitchell-Mussigbrod Mill and a steam power machine for its cable and car that hoisted the ore. For a time, 50 men worked the Red Cloud, which consisted of three tunnels of 450, 500, and 950 feet in length. The Shamrock, owned by McDermott and Lannon, employed 20 miners and had a single shaft with stoping 50 feet wide. In 1902, the idle Grant and Hartford mine was leased and worked, as was the adjacent Magone and Anderson, which was made up of three tunnels between 150 and 400 feet in length. Parker never did purchase the Nancy Hanks. He continued to lease it until 1902 when he gave it up and turned his attention to leasing the Shamrock from Peter McDermott and the Lannon brothers.

By April 1900, John Cole's health was worsening, and he was giving up on the newspaper. His daughter Florence arrived in Garnet to lend a hand at the newspaper office. By October 1900, Cole would disappear from the scene with no written farewell. He died 15 years later at the age of 55.

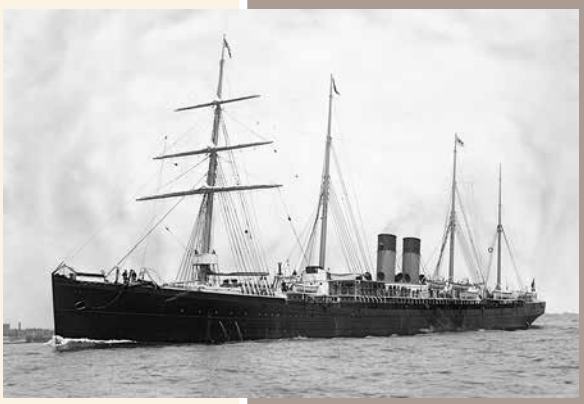
From left to right, Lena, Samuel, Jr., and Helene Ritchey and unknown woman

Frank Davey in 1937

CHAPTER 12

The Davey Years Begin

AS THE NEW CENTURY TOOK HOLD, Frank A. Davey arrived on the scene as a bachelor in his early thirties, hardly aware of his destiny to embrace and promote Garnet for the rest of his long life. With a heavy but proper English accent and quite dapper demeanor and dress, Davey brought a degree of sophistication to the battered mining community that was perhaps rivaled only by Peter Mussigbrod. What he also brought was a sense of enthusiasm and conviction that Garnet had a bright future ahead of it. His arrival was just what Garnet needed to shake it out of its doldrums.



SS *Britannic*

Frank Aylward Davey was born on April 27, 1866, in London, England. The family moved to Dartmouth, England, where in 1868, his father operated as a grocer and tea dealer. Davey had a younger brother named James Herbert and two sisters, Ada and Alice. Davey's mother died when he was barely 14 years old. Davey and his brother attended boarding school in Ashburton, Devon, England. At age 25, Davey, who by then lived in Surrey, England, sailed on the ship *Britannic* to America, leaving Liverpool on January 13, 1892, and arriving at Ellis Island on January 22, 1892. Though listed in the Ellis Island records as being processed through the federal immigration station, the passengers arriving on the *Britannic* were instead only given a cursory physical inspection aboard ship—the rationale being that anyone who could afford passage was not likely to become a public ward due to medical or legal reasons, compared to others arriving via less prestigious ships.

Having arrived safely to New York, Davey made his way west and, by age 34, was employed as a grocery clerk by Murphy-Worden and Co. located at Missoula in 1900. That same year, he lived in a boarding house and worked as a grocery clerk at the Missoula Mercantile. From there, he moved to Butte for a short time and worked for Lutey Brothers Grocery as a clerk.

Seemingly, after acquiring some experience in the U.S. mercantile business, Davey quickly began his own business ventures. On September 23, 1901, Davey bought the Judson & Blaisdell General Store in Garnet. The warranty deed included the land upon which the building sat.

The Wells Hotel as it stands today

Almost a year later, on June 19, 1902, Davey purchased the Wells Hotel. In conjunction with this transfer, Edward Magone, Jennie Magone, and Thomas Anderson conveyed 50 feet by 78 feet of the Mary Anderson lode to Davey by quitclaim deed on October 4, 1902, on which part of the Wells Hotel was located. In less than a year, Davey had become owner of Garnet's largest mercantile store and its largest hotel. He also owned the stageline, making himself the leading business presence in town, a position he would retain for the next 45 years. Davey, like most businessmen in Garnet, also filed a number of mining claims. According to Granite County mining records, Davey, sometimes with partners, filed eight claims between 1901 and 1937.

Many stories followed Frank Davey up to Garnet. One of the most intriguing is that he was engaged to be married and that his fiancée was killed in an elevator accident at the Missoula Mercantile. For many, that story explained why Davey remained a bachelor all his life. A search through the *Missoulian* of the period just before Davey's move up to Garnet did not reveal any articles about elevator accidents or anyone dying at the Missoula Mercantile. Nonetheless, the story contributed to Frank Davey's aura of mystery.

The earliest photo of Frank Davey shows him as having a thin face and a huge black mustache. The physical descriptions of Frank Davey by those who were children during the early 1900s and some, such as Mary Jane Adams, who was born in 1917, are remarkably similar. They recall Davey as a diminutive older man with white hair and a manner clinging to the formality of his English homeland. Helene Ritchey, the daughter of Sam and Lena Ritchey, was born in 1903 and remembered Davey's usual apparel as a "black serge suit…purple with age, a cell[ul]oid collar seemed to complete his attire, and neck tie always necessary too." Hazel Marsh, who came to live with the Lannons at Bearmouth in 1916, remembered Davey when he was older. By then his attire had become less formal. In a 1980 interview, she described Davey as follows:

> I can still picture him dressed in what would have been synonymous with our brand of casualness. He wore dress shirts left from a more formal day, meant to be worn with a stiff, white collar, but minus that unnecessary embellishment. He always wore a vest over which was draped a very lovely gold watch and chain. His pants and shoes were also from an earlier, more formal period in his life. The shoes were more often worn with laces untied, just

as the over-shoes in winter were worn unbuckled and flapping as he walked. He was always very English, always with the black hat with triple dents, and a brim made rakish by many tugs.

Davey's Mercantile Store supplied the community with just about any commodity it could want. Food, clothing, alcohol, wood stoves, equipment for horses, mining equipment, and even carriages were part of the inventory. Davey had brought a little sampling of almost all the Missoula Mercantile offered. During his first few years in Garnet, business was good and profitable. His business background gave him the training in how to order in bulk, and that he did on a large scale for such a small town. Davey ordered fresh produce by the box, as opposed to cans, and offered for sale a staggering variety, including figs, bananas, Concord and Muscat grapes, apples, gourds, navel oranges, tomatoes, peaches, cucumbers, and cantaloupes. In addition, he ordered hams, bacon, lobsters, turkeys, ducks, geese, and oysters on a per pound basis. During 1902, he received a monthly delivery of 10 cases of eggs from St. Paul, Minnesota. Davey stocked his shelves with every spice imaginable, including nutmeg, cinnamon, mace, cayenne pepper, allspice, and cloves—all ordered from the most respected dealer in such items, Schilling of San Francisco. Davey's Mercantile also stocked numerous brands of liquor, including expensive imported scotch and port.

The clothing offered at Davey's store was worldly in its origin and some of it quite high class. In the clothing section of the store, Davey displayed three life-size mannequins that appeared to be an English family—the father sporting the latest in suits and an umbrella, the mother in Victorian clothing with a long dress and large decorative hat, and the child wearing a short pants outfit and a round flat cap with a ribbon hanging from its side. The effect was very English and highly unusual in a western mining town general store. Davey stocked quality German-made kangaroo blucher dress shoes, women's high top button shoes, baby shoes, Lea Top rubber overshoes, Hanan brand shoes, and men's boots of all varieties, which arrived from W.B. & W.G. Jordan, a wholesale manufacturer also out of St. Paul. Davey even stocked bolts of materials, including English flannel, American indigo, cambric, Pacific tubing, Louisville beach, Lockhart, LL Brown, and lace and ribbons of all kinds. Residents of Garnet now had a new source other than Link's Store from which to order custom-made suits. His clothing merchandise was always made available for school plays. Davey also helped the school by providing a variety of sizes of writing tablets, envelopes, pens, and ink. For the town's children, he also carried numerous toys and a large selection of penny candy.

Helene and brother Samuel, Jr., Ritchey

Davey, with his curious accent and formal manner, was a fascinating addition to Garnet's business community. Several of the children of the town, who later recalled their impression of Davey, seemed in agreement as to his attitude toward young customers. According to Helene Ritchey, "He was quite stern when the children shopped at his store.… I think some of them took advantage of him and helped themselves to the candy case." This observation added to the stories that came down through the years of children picking out candy, laying rocks on the counter instead of pennies, and running out with their stolen loot as Davey yelled at them to come back. Apparently, this scenario played out numerous times leading most to believe that it was a game on Davey's part and that the parents might have had the cost of the stolen candy added to their accounts for each incident of theft or that Davey simply wrote off the loss of a few pennies. Helene Ritchey wrote of Frank Davey that he was "a good man and carried many accounts over rough times…He did love my father and I'm sure they were the best of friends. I think of him with loving thoughts. His store was a blessing."

Known for his frugality and preciseness of record keeping, as evident in the store's ledgers, Davey's less practical side shows itself in the story of Riley's deer. Riley (first name unknown) from Elk Creek would bring his pet deer with him when visiting Garnet. While enjoying some drinks in town, the deer owner left the animal to its own devices. The deer was free to roam but preferred to go where he knew he could obtain a special treat—Frank Davey's store. Jumping up on the wooden porch of the store, the deer would paw and paw until Davey tossed out a loaf of bread to quiet the deer. If the deer was still hungry, the deer and Davey would repeat the procedure three or four times until the deer left, each loaf of bread costing Davey part of the store's profit.

Davey showed great concern for the lonely bachelor miners in Garnet. When Mary Jane Adams was about 7 or 8 years old, she remembers that Davey approached her mother and asked her if she would cook Christmas dinner with all the fixings for the bachelors in the town, if he supplied the turkey. Mrs. Adams cooked the holiday meal at the Wells Hotel using the huge kitchen stove there. Long tables covered with white tablecloths and white dishes and cups made for a rather elegant dinner for the bachelors of Garnet.

Davey had a lifelong friend in Billy Liberty, the town's blacksmith and one of Davey's stage drivers, and the two lived together for a number of years in a cabin next to the blacksmith shop. When a fire destroyed

the log cabin, the two moved into the Wells Hotel. Liberty was a much beloved Garnet character—small of physical stature but looming large in his attributes of kindness and consideration. While Davey had several drivers, many townspeople preferred to schedule their trips when Liberty was working because of his cautious manner of driving and the special treatment he showed to his passengers. Helene Ritchey, recalled her experience riding the stage as follows:

> A winter trip to Missoula was quite an adventure. We always gave notice that we wanted the stage to pick us up. We had to get to Bearmouth before 9:30 A M to catch the train. The stage always came for us before it was daylight. Billy always wore a buffalo robe during the winter time and had an old buffalo robe for us to cover up. There were hot bricks for our feet.

Garnet stage, with Frank Davey as driver

William "Billy" Liberty was born October 13, 1860, in Montreal, Canada. In 1881, he moved to Butte and from there to Bearmouth a few years later, where he worked as a blacksmith on the Lannon ranch. He moved to Garnet in 1907 at the age of 47 and became the town's blacksmith and owned a livery stable with Charlie Davis. According to the Granite County mining records, Liberty filed several mining claims—two claims were filed with Frank Davey in 1931 and 1937, named the Ella May and the June.

Garnet's blacksmith shop today

Lead King mine crew

CHAPTER 13

A Fire, a War, and the Deep Sleep of the Twenties

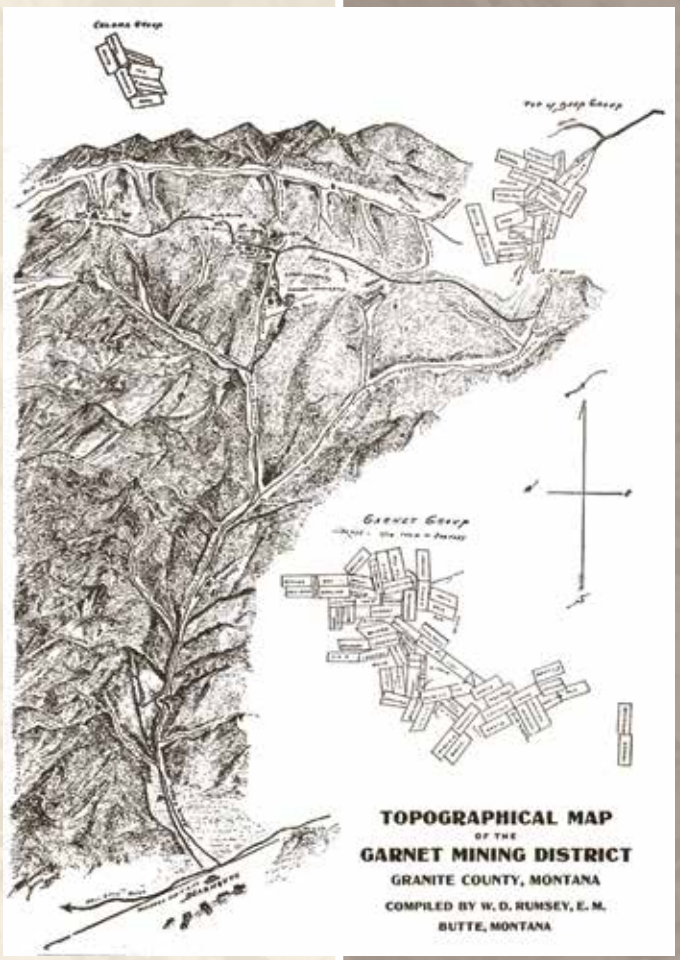
THE GOLD-MINING BOOM of the Garnet area began to phase out as early as 1900 when the vein of rich red ore of the Nancy Hanks mine came to an abrupt end. By 1902, neither the Nancy Hanks nor the Shamrock (which was located to the east of the Nancy Hanks on the same vein structure) warranted no more than three sentences in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Mines of the State of Montana*. That 1902 report states:

> The Nancy Hanks and Shamrock mines, in the Garnet district, worked but little during the past two years. Lessees tried both properties, but with indifferent success. Both at present require development.

Report author John Byrne also informed that the Grant & Hartford and much of the Mitchell-Mussigbrod group had been leased out, and the Magone & Anderson Group needed deeper development to reach a better grade of ore.

A map of the First Chance (Garnet) Mining District compiled by W.D. Rumsey and published in *The Mining World* on September 16, 1905, shows 64 patented claims in the district. The exact number of patented and unpatented claims that were actively worked is unknown. The accompanying article discussing the statuses of the Nancy Hanks, Shamrock, Lead King, and Red Cloud states:

> …as the work of development progressed, as the shafts gained depths of more than 250 feet, as heavier



Topographical map of First Chance (Garnet) Mining District produced in 1905 by W.D. Rumsey

> machinery became necessary, capital was lacking and the mines were allowed to fill up with water…At the same time leasers went to work wherever an opportunity was offered, and the present prosperity of Garnet is mainly due to their untiring efforts.

Despite that gloomy assessment, Garnet actually had a great year in 1905, with an ore body yielding $45,000 at the Nancy Hanks, which at the time was employing only 10 miners. A 40-man crew worked the Mitchell-Mussigbrod group of mines and shipped $10,000 of ore per month. The Shamrock, Crescent, Lead King, Robert Emmett, Fourth of July, and San Fare were all producing, adding to the total output of $20,000 monthly shipped to smelters in Butte and East Helena.

Despite its modest but steady success, Garnet's hope for a recovery of the prosperity of the boom years was dashed by a horrific fire in the autumn of 1912, which destroyed most of the business structures in town. A report from the *Daily Missoulian* of October 2, 1912, describes the event as follows:

> All of the business part of the town of Garnet was destroyed by fire early yesterday morning. The only buildings left standing when the stage left for Bearmouth were the Davey store, the hotel and Kelly's saloon. All buildings on both sides of the street below these had been destroyed. At that time the fire was yet burning, but it was moving away from the three buildings left and it was thought they were in no danger.
>
> The fire started in Joe Fitzgerald's saloon about 4 o'clock yesterday morning and spread rapidly. Tom Tonkin, as far as known, is the only person who was hurt. He suffered severe burns about the head and came down Bear gulch on the stage yesterday morning for medical treatment.
>
> 'Tonkin was sure that nobody else had been hurt,' said Mr. Cook to a Missoulian man yesterday afternoon. 'He said the fire burned fast but he was able to alarm the people in the houses below. The burned buildings include all of the residences and shacks in the lower end of town. I understand that most of them were occupied, but I don't know what the loss would figure up.'

Garnet must have been a depressing place immediately after the fire. Davey, who had put his heart and soul into the town, decided he needed to get away from the bitter ashes of burned buildings. He also probably wanted to put behind him his unsuccessful attempt to win a lawsuit against Albert Tregumming, whom Davey accused of assault. The charge of third-degree assault went to a jury trial where after long deliberation,

the jury voted to acquit Tregumming of the charges on June 8, 1913. It had not been a good year for Davey. In addition, events in his home country looked foreboding. War fever had taken hold in England with regard to Germany's military buildup, and many thought that war with Germany was inevitable. Davey wanted to see his family one last time before the conflict broke out.

The "Garnet Gleaning's" section of the August 28, 1913, edition of the *Granite County News* announced that "F.A. Davey is absent in the east and may visit his old home in England while away." What the newspaper did not know was that Davey had already arrived in England by that time. Davey sailed aboard the White Star Line ship called the *Oceanic* from New York City to the port of Southampton, England, where he again walked upon the soil of his homeland, disembarking from the ship on August 23, 1913.

After spending nearly a month visiting in England, Davey began his ocean voyage home on a luxurious and large ship called the *Lusitania*. This luxury vessel stretched 790 feet and had four steam funnels and six decks of passenger accommodation above the water line. Revolutionary steam turbines powered the ship. Davey had the money to travel first class, or saloon, as it was also called, which averaged close to $400 for a one-way fare. That amount was equivalent to almost 4 months of work for a miner in Garnet.

First-class passengers on the *Lusitania* enjoyed beautifully decorated cabins equipped with telephones. Eleven elevators carried passengers between the decks, though the other two classes were segregated from first-class passenger areas. Davey joined more than 500 fellow passengers in sailing first class. The white walls were decorated with gilt molded mahogany panels. Corinthian-style columns supported the upper floor. Davey returned to the New York Harbor on September 19, 1913.

After Davey's return, the *Lusitania* underwent extensive modifications, with construction of mounted guns and a secret compartment to carry ammunition. With the declaration of war against Germany by Britain in 1914, the *Lusitania* became an armed merchant cruiser. Nineteen months after Davey's return to the United States, on May 7, 1915, Captain Walther Schwieger, in command of the German submarine SM *U-20*, without warning, fired one torpedo into the side of the ship in which Davey had traveled. The torpedo exploded, and a second explosion caused by coal dust, resulted in the sinking of the RMS *Lusitania* within 18 minutes, with the loss of nearly 1,200 lives, 128 of which were Americans.

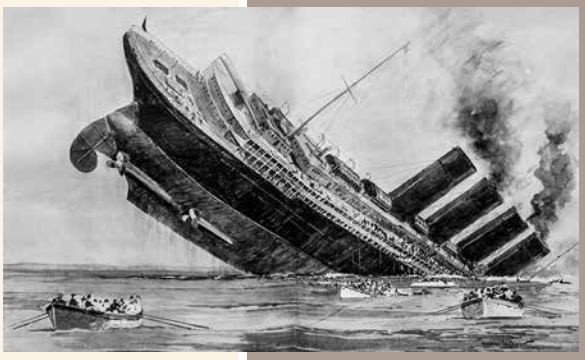


Illustration of the *Lusitania* sinking by Norman Wilkinson

News of the sinking of the *Lusitania* began to turn public opinion against Germany, even in the United States, where public opinion was much against getting involved in a war in Europe. Captain Schwieger was taunted as a "baby killer," and Germans in general began to be treated with suspicion. The German government argued that the ship was in a war zone and carrying munitions, which the British strongly denied. However, evidence later showed that when sunk, the *Lusitania* was officially carrying among her cargo rifle and machine gun ammunition, shrapnel artillery shells without powder charges, and artillery fuses. Still, an outraged President Woodrow Wilson declared "submarines cannot be used against merchantmen…without an inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity." The president held Germany "strictly accountable."

Jeannette Rankin, who was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1916

For a time, Germany limited its submarine attacks, at least in the Atlantic, but in January 1917, it resumed unrestricted submarine warfare. On April 2, 1917, President Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war, which was passed by a vote of 82 to 6 in the Senate and 373 to 50 in the House. Montana representative Jeannette Rankin—the first woman to hold a high government office in the United States—voted against the war resolution.

Davey's store probably became the center for discussion about what Davey had experienced aboard the *Lusitania* and how he felt about the disaster. The anti-German sentiment that swept across the country could not have been pleasant for Peter Mussigbrod, who could not have been a better example of the stereotypical German, with his thick accent and a mustache grown and trimmed in the manner of Kaiser Wilhelm II.

With the outbreak of World War I, the Department of Justice required residents who were German or Austrian (and not American citizens) to file Enemy Alien Registration cards with their local police department or other officials. A copy was kept on file in the police station, and another copy was given to the individual. Those who collected information were part of the Public Service Reserve. Davey was appointed as the Public Service Reserve agent for the Garnet District, since postmasters were to collect the information in small towns without a police station.

If the fire of 1912 had encouraged a depopulation of Garnet, the high-paying jobs in the shipyards of Seattle and elsewhere, which began increasing production before America's declaration of war in 1917, drew even more workers away from the little mining community. The United States set a goal of building more than 300,000 ships for the war effort. Anyone with a sense of patriotism and work skills was urged to

sign up with the local enrollment agent of the Public Service Reserve. William B. Calhoun, appointed Granite County Director of the Public Service Reserve, explained the necessity for laborers in the shipyards when he wrote, "To win the war we must build ships faster than the enemy can sink them, so every mechanic, not now engaged in an industry absolutely essential to the conduct of the war, or who can be spared from his present employment should immediately enroll."

Illustration of a Public Service Reserve badge

The *Montana State Gazetteer and Business Directory* listed the population of Garnet in 1916 at 150, half of the 1914 number. U.S. Census records for 1920 show only 90 residents; this decline most likely occurred because of the draw of good paying wartime employment elsewhere. By 1920, only 7 residents of German descent lived in Garnet; other nationalities included 13 English, 11 Irish, 10 Canadian, 9 Swedish, 1 Swiss, and 1 French, with the remainders' parents born in the United States.

Frank Davey's ability to pay what must have been seen by Garnet townspeople as an incredible amount of money for his first-class passage on the *Lusitania* probably added to the speculation that he must be quite wealthy. Walter Moore, who arrived in Garnet around 1917 and drove the stage for Davey for 4 years, fueled that assumption with a fascinating story that remains part of Garnet's lore and that produced much gossip about Davey's wealth. The story in Moore's own words reads as follows:

> Once when I was coming up I broke a breast strap, you know that piece that goes across the front of the horse? Well, I pulled up front of Davey's Store and asked him if he had any of those little snap things I could repair it with. Frank told me to come in and look for it myself. Inside his store, it had long shelves with ladders up on the wall. So I climbed up and started lookin', took quite a while, I was enjoying myself, lookin' at all them old things he had in there. When I found a box in the back labeled breast strap buckles, I looked inside, and it was filled with gold nuggets. I brought it down to Frank and said Yep, I'd take one of these. When he saw what it was inside he was surprised. He said he'd hid the box 30 years ago.

This story later led to scavengers searching for Davey's gold by tearing up the floor in the kitchen of the Wells Hotel. Another story had a friend asking Davey where he hid his gold, only to have Davey answer mischievously, "Under my favorite tree."

Production figures from mine owners showed $1.5 million total in gold, silver, copper, lead, and zinc for the period from 1867 to 1916. During the war years, from 1917 through 1918, values dropped from $40,000 in 1917 to $27,549 the following year. Then they rebounded to $43,286 in 1919. In 1920, value dropped to $24,458, only to bounce back to $41,714 in 1921. From 1922 through 1932, production values declined at a rapid pace with 1929 through 1930 showing no production whatsoever. By the 1920s, Garnet showed no signs of its former greatness as an important mining center.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Though life slowed to a crawl in the 1920s, many former residents of those times had fond memories of life growing up in the quiet mountain mining town. In 1923, Elizabeth Farmer's father leased the Mitchell-Mussigbrod mines and stamp mill. She was 10 years old and had lived in Garnet for 3 years. According to Elizabeth's recollection, the new mining company was called Pra-Fa-Po Mine Company under the ownership of her father Charles Farmer, Andrew Prader, and G.I. Porter.

For two summers, the Farmers lived in a wooden-floored tent located on the road next to the Prader house, which was also a boarding facility for miners. Mrs. Prader was the cook, and her daughter Evelyn waited tables. Cold water with a distinct iron taste was piped to the house from a mine tunnel located on the upper road. A steam generator at the mill provided electricity to the boarding house allowing lights to operate in the evening until the steam ran low. At that time, Elizabeth and Evelyn would accompany Elizabeth's father to the mill to shut down the generator. They used lanterns made from lard cans with candles inside and a wire loop for a handle to light their way to the mill.

Garnet schoolteacher and students in 1902

Of her school years at Garnet, Elizabeth remembered a pleasant experience overall, when she wrote:

In the fall of 1925 it was decided that my mother and I would stay in Garnet. I would go to school there and my sister would stay in Missoula with our grandparents and she would go to High School there. Esther Prader was our teacher and the pupils were: Isabelle Prader

(Esther's daughter), Betty Adams [most likely referring to Mary Jane Adams], Edith Heard, Edith's brother and Elizabeth Farmer.

This was a typical one-room school. Isabelle was in the first grade and I was in the 8th. It was great fun and a new experience for me. Each morning, one person was allowed to ring the school bell. To do this, you would stand on the front porch and ring the hand bell and then put it back on the teacher's desk. It made no difference that all the children were already in school, still you rang the bell. We carried our lunch, just a sandwich and a cookie no fresh fruit, no fancy lunch boxes just a lard pail. Betty and the Heards went home for lunch, so we got to ring the bell for the afternoon session.

We walked to school until the snow came and then we rode in the home made sleigh made by Edwin and drawn by the white horse.

Elizabeth also recalled what it was like to go into the mine:

Also many times we would go into the tunnels where the men were working. We would ride in the empty ore cars as the men pushed them back in for a load of ore. The men who worked there were very nice and would always see that our carbide lamps were lit before we started our walk back out. Never a fear in the world. Later Mr. Prader built a hoist to carry the ore from the bottom of the hill across from the mill. They built a bin at the bottom of the hill to hold the ore, then would hoist it up to the ore shoot in the mill...Part of our amusement was when Mr. Prader would let us get in the hoist bucket and he would give us a ride part way up to the hole.

Men working at a mine near Garnet

Elizabeth Farmer's favorite source of amusement was watching the workings at the mill. She and a friend would start at the top level where miners dumped the ore, then to the stamps that crushed the ore. Then they moved down to the mercury tables and continued to the concentrate tables, "with their constant shaking," where the girls were "always thrilled to see the colors." From there they visited the flotation tubs with "grayish black bubbling stuff" and farther down to the drying pads that prepared the concentrates for their trip down the mountain to the smelter.

Elizabeth explained what the process at the mill involved at the end of the day when she wrote: "The final chore in putting the mines to sleep at night in preparation for work the next day was to set dynamite charges in the mine. After the men vacated the mine the charges would be set off causing a dull rumble, which meant another days work was done."

Garnet schoolteacher and students in 1926, with Mary Jane Adams on the far right

Just after Thanksgiving in 1925, Elizabeth Farmer's father, who had by then started a civil engineering-related business in Helena, arrived at Bearmouth by automobile, and because of the heavy snowfall, rode the stage up to Garnet. Elizabeth was saddened to hear that her father had decided to move the family to Helena. The year after the Farmer family left Garnet, the school population dropped to only three girls. Mrs. Cleary served as teacher to Edith Heard, her sister Annie, and Mary Jane Adams. The school term was cut short, ending at Thanksgiving.

The year 1921, which showed $41,714 from mining production, would be the last year of significant value received by mine owners in the First Chance District (Garnet) for the remainder of the decade. The reminiscences of those who lived in Garnet during that era do not seem to be of hard times but of a community made up of just a few families and bachelors working and recreating together in harmony. The automobile began to appear on the scene with more frequency, giving residents easier access to commercial centers such as Missoula or at least to Bearmouth and the train service there.

As a result of the passage of the Prohibition Act, the saloons of Garnet closed in 1920. Residents could still get alcohol through various sources such as bootleggers and home brewing. Only one mercantile store remained in business, run by the irrepressible Frank Davey, who kept the store open on a sporadic basis. In 1928, the town suffered its final indignity—the closure of its post office.

Garnet Post Office

Marian Dahl at the Dahl cabin

CHAPTER 14

The Thirties—
Garnet Comes Back to Life

THE PRICE OF GOLD was controlled as a gold standard of roughly $20 per ounce until the 1930s during the Great Depression. With the inauguration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933, the United States was taken off the gold standard, and paper money could no longer be converted by the banks into gold. By executive order, the hoarding of gold was forbidden, and everyone was to turn their gold into the government at $20.67 per troy ounce. In 1934, for the first time, the price of gold increased to $35 per ounce. This increase provided incentive to reopen some of the old mines at Garnet and to rework the tailings of many more.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt

An influx of miners and their families, perhaps as many as 250 people, came to Garnet to find jobs that, at the time of unprecedented national unemployment, seemed more elusive than gold. They also found shelter in the old cabins that had been homes for mining families and others during the boom almost a half-century before. The resumption of mining at Garnet left the people who moved there grateful during a time of social and economic desperation elsewhere. Their earnings helped Frank Davey realize his dream that the town he so loved would again come alive.

In 1934, the total production of gold, silver, and copper increased 266 percent from the year before. The revival of mining at Garnet and the accompanying transfusion of new blood into the near-dead community is perhaps best described by John Toole in his memoir *The Baron, the Logger, the Miner, and Me*. In describing Garnet in 1934, Toole writes:

> This little town was hauntingly beautiful. At almost 7,000 feet, its weathered buildings were scattered here and there along a winding street. Garnet had lain among the green pines for forty years, almost unknown to the outside world. The road to reach it, called the China Grade, was devilish. Winter snows completely buried the town.
>
> Garnet had everything: a two-story hotel, a large dance hall, a post office, and a saloon. All thumped to life in 1934. In place of skinners cracking their whips over the rumps of their horse and ox teams, there was now the roar of Model A Ford pickups.

> The Nancy Hanks Mine (situated right in town) had fifty or sixty men, the Dandy about the same, and droves of prospectors, part of the great army of the unemployed, roamed the mountains. They all converged on Garnet on Saturday night.

Prohibition, the national experiment to promote morals by prohibiting the production and sale of alcohol, was a massive failure, and no more so than in Montana. Its repeal in December 1933 led to the opening of two saloons in Garnet. One was operated by Shorty Sumner and known as Shorty's, and the other belonged to Ole Dahl and was often referred to as The Joint. According to John Toole, a bar operated by Lars Ness was also in business in 1936.

John "Ole" Dahl

Ole and Marian Dahl were a part of the transition of Garnet from the 1930s into the war years and after. John "Ole" Dahl was born in Norway and spoke with a Norwegian accent all his life. He married Marian when she was 16, and the couple had three children—John Raymond, Marjorie, and Jay. The Dahl family moved to Garnet in 1933, after selling a bus business that Ole operated. Ole and Marian first lived in one of the small cabins up on the hillside behind the hotel, then moved to a house up Dublin Gulch, and then to the Hanifen house before moving into what is now called the Dahl cabin, located across from Kelly's Saloon.

Marian and Ole bought a gas-powered washing machine that was delivered up to Garnet to someone who couldn't afford it. Marian said of that machine, "God, I was tickled to death, my rubbing days are over." Her daughter Marjorie recalled that, "You could hear it all over Garnet." Eventually, the Dahls installed an electric light generator in a shed and ran power to the house and bar. Ole opened his saloon at the site of Charlie Davis' old saloon. According to Marjorie, Ole "borrowed $50" to build The Joint.

John Toole played accordion and guitar for a band that often performed in Garnet during the 1930s. Other band members played the fiddle and banjo. The band played ragtime, jazz, waltzes, polkas, and schottisches. Toole described the bar activity around midnight with the following:

> Many [in the bars] were veterans of World War I. It became a ritual that, at midnight, we would play 'My Buddy,' the poignant song of death in the trenches sixteen years before. Everybody would rise, heads bowed, and silently gaze at the floor. The song would end; a miner would boom out, 'Parlez vous!' and we would launch into the rollicking 'Mademoiselle from

> Armentieres.' The miners would sail across the floor, yelling 'Hi-yee! Hi-yee! Hi-yee!' and the old hall would begin to shake and sway again. Was there an economic collapse in America? At this moment of the blending of rhythm, music, and pure mountain air, these superbly strong people were happily unaware of it.

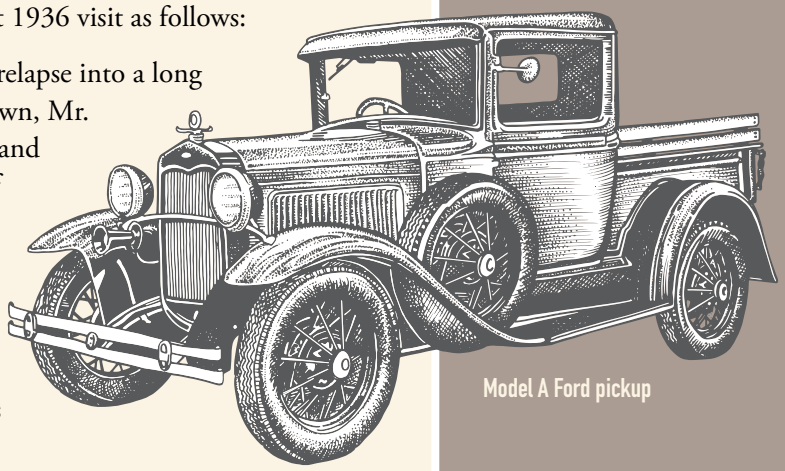
In 1935, W.P. "Pete" Shipler had a mill that he christened the Majestic constructed near the Mountain View mine east of town. Shipler had been through good and bad times in Garnet. In 1909, he and Sam Adams located the Mountain View and Majestic lodes. During the 1920s, Shipler renewed development work on those mines which had remained almost dormant since their discovery. The U.S. Bureau of Mines listed the Mountain View group as a significant contributor to the district's annual gold production in 1931, though value of the minerals totaled little more than $3,000. Still, that amount was not insignificant considering the economic depression that gripped the country.

In 1935, the 25-ton Majestic amalgamation mill was operating under the management of the Lackawanna Gold Milling Company, which was funded by capital from California and New York. According to Shipler, the mill employed seven men and captured 95 percent of metal values from the ore treated. The Mountain View continued to produce under other lessees until September of 1939. By that time, approximately 2,000 feet of tunnels, stopes, and drifts had been excavated.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

By 1936, Garnet had changed since the lively times of 2 years prior. John Toole was visiting the Circle W Ranch, a dude ranch owned by the Weisel family, when it was decided to take the guests to the "ghost town" of Garnet. John Weisel and Toole took a Model A Ford across the rough old mining road from Greenough Hill past Coloma and down into Garnet to check things out before the main group of guests made the trip. Toole describes his impressions of that 1936 visit as follows:

> Garnet was beginning a new relapse into a long sleep. Upon our entry into town, Mr. Davey came out in the street and greeted us, but the throngs of miners had diminished; the mines had proved to be poorer than anticipated, and jobs were more plentiful in the country. Nevertheless, I rounded up some musicians



Model A Ford pickup

for a dance, and in a couple of days the Weisel pack string and guests arrived.

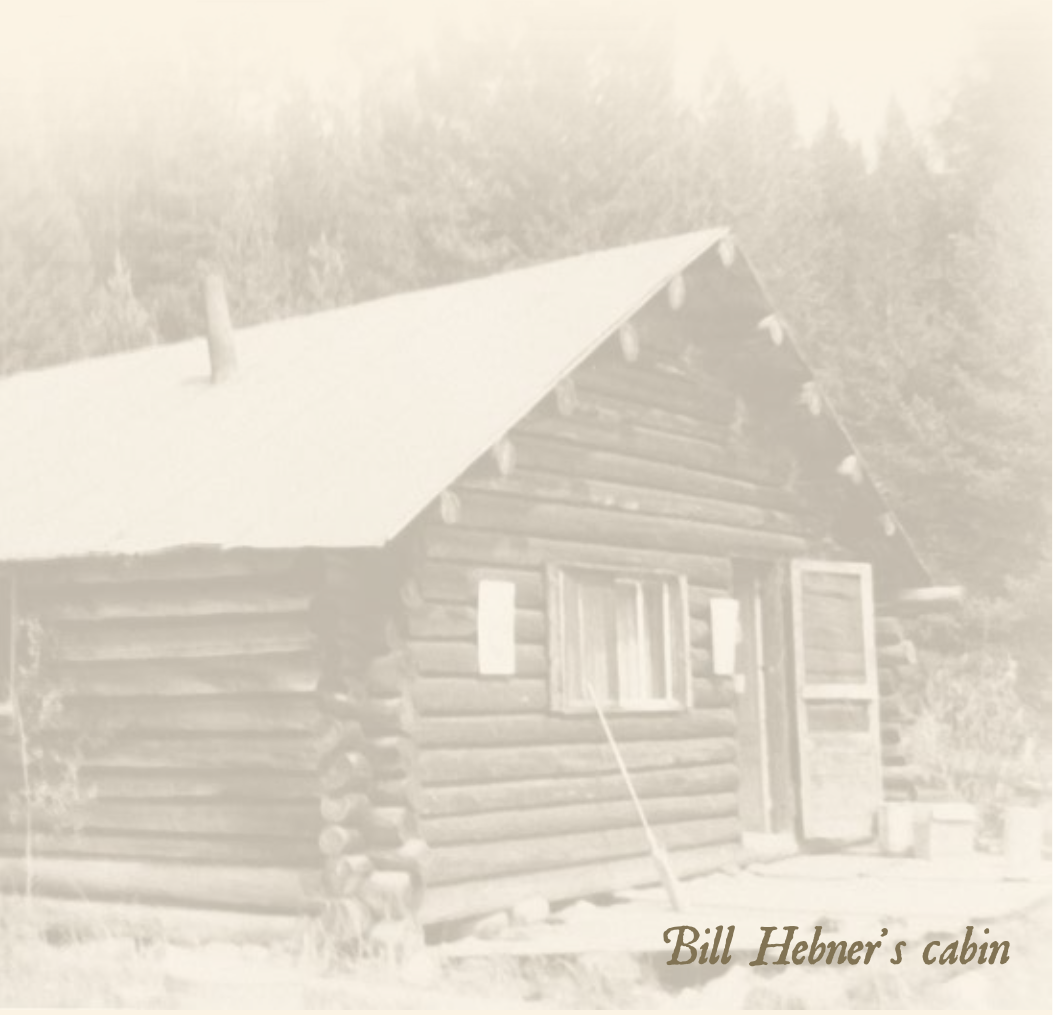
There was the usual exploration of old buildings, the fruitless efforts involved in panning for gold, and 'oh'ing' and 'ah'ing' over Mr. Davey's inventory. In 1936 this inventory was Garnet's most intriguing attraction.

Though the mining and business activity had diminished from the boom years in Garnet, logging began to replace the mines as a source of income. Loggers were as hearty a group as the miners, and when a dance was held, rowdiness accompanied it. When Toole and Weisel organized a dance, the out-of-town guests had an experience they would never forget. Toole tells of the atmosphere and events of that night as follows:

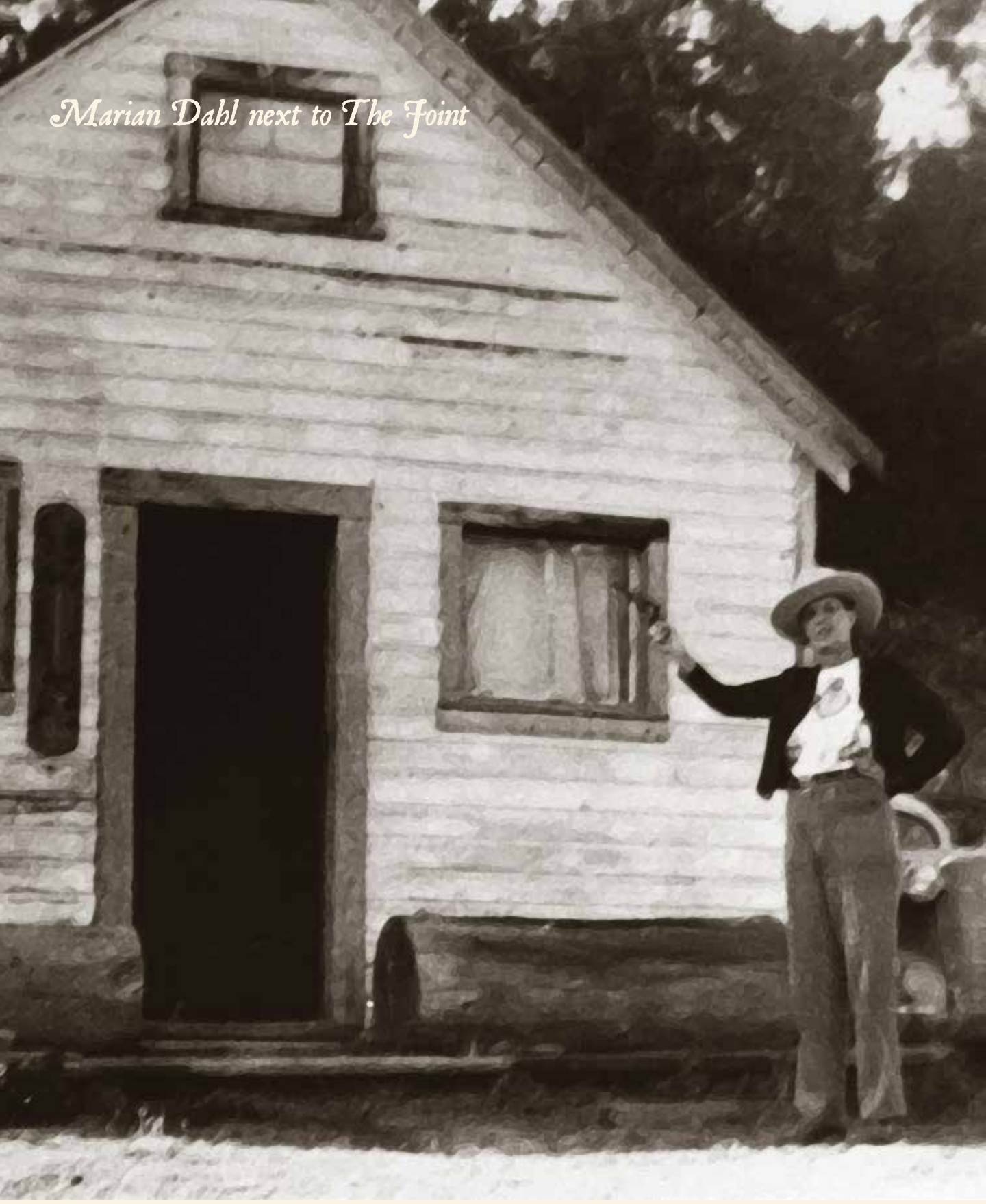
> The activity around Garnet had slowed a good deal. The Nancy Hanks mine was closed and the Dandy mine had reduced its crew. But a new breed had started to arrive, the loggers. Little did I know then how these people would change the landscape. Nevertheless, their vigor and capacity for a good time equaled that of the miners. The news of our dance spread rapidly, and Lar Ness's bar was thumping on Saturday night. The Weisel guests seemed to be having a great time, and the old dance hall was swaying. But a dance in Garnet could be guaranteed to provide a shock, and this was no exception.
>
> Some characters—miners, loggers, or somebody—got together several sticks of dynamite, some caps, and some fuse. They hooked these components together in the middle of the main street, lit the fuse, then beat it for cover. The dynamite exploded with a horrendous explosion. It's a wonder that no one was killed. The noise caused consternation in the dance hall. The band came to a bleating stop, women screamed, and then men rushed for the door. In

the silence, horse laughs were heard from behind some of the old buildings. When it became apparent that it was a prank, the dance resumed. People got pretty well liquored up, and in the following days the explosion became an inexhaustible subject of conversation.

Despite the increase in the price of gold, none of the Depression-era miners realized the high profits from the low-grade ores. However, most were able to support themselves and their families during those dire economic years. The goal of the average miner in the 1930s became economic survival, rather than the dream of striking it rich, as had been the case in the 19th century. In 1936, the school reopened with Jennie McDonald as the teacher. In addition to the reopening of the school, the post office, which had been closed since 1928, reopened on July 2, 1938. Garnet was still fighting to stay alive.



Bill Hebner's cabin



Marian Dahl next to The Joint

CHAPTER 15

Effects of World War II and Garnet Becomes a Ghost Town

HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF GARNET'S HISTORY usually state that by the late 1930s, with World War II looming, the town's mining ground to a halt, primarily because of government restrictions on the sale and use of dynamite. In looking at production numbers, just the opposite can be concluded. In 1939, gold production increased from the prior year. Total value realized from the mines increased by more than $27,000 to $127,000. In 1940, gold extraction more than doubled, jumping from 3,578 ounces to 8,675 ounces. Total values from the mining of gold, silver, copper, lead, and zinc reached $306,495, the highest number since the government had instituted price supports for gold 6 years prior. A figure that at first seemed startling, now gains credibility considering the significantly higher production numbers reported by mine owners, and those numbers did not even include placer operations.

Jim Piquette of Missoula worked for an old prospector mining at Garnet from June through September in 1940. The prospector was good at using mercury to recover gold from soil and sediments, and he and Piquette split the profits evenly. They worked 12-hour days, 7 days a week. Piquette estimated that there were probably 100 miners working underground for five separate family mining operations. Specifically, he remembered the "McDonald boys," the "Hanifen boys," Glenn Hawe, and Pete Shipler as having active mining operations. Piquette remembered that Pete Shipler owned several houses in Garnet and a car that Ole Dahl would drive to make frequent trips to Missoula to buy liquor for Ole's bar, The Joint. According to Piquette, the miners of Garnet still partied as hard as they did in the 1930s. He described the scene as follows:

> Well you see we worked seven days a week and the best entertainment in the world was that bar [Ole's] because...I'm not a drinking guy, but Jesus, they were singing and playing the juke box until two or three o'clock in the morning. As far as entertainment, everyone was entertaining themselves. Ole's Bar was the place. People came from Drummond, they'd come from Missoula, from Philipsburg, to go there.

In 1941, as war spread throughout the globe, gold production in the district declined slightly, but copper increased. Copper became important for the war effort, as it was vital for ammunition and electrical parts. Incredible amounts of copper were needed in wiring for military radios, ships, and tanks and as a component in brass casings for small arms bullets. With America providing military supplies to the enemies of Germany and with the use of copper wires in factories and cities, a copper shortage emerged even before America entered the war on December 7, 1941.

USS *Arizona* burning after the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941

In 1942, still in shock from the devastating attack by the Japanese at Pearl Harbor, government policies began restricting gold mining. During the war years, gold mining was almost totally suppressed, primarily because most countries would no longer exchange raw materials or manufactured goods for gold, out of either inability or unwillingness. They wanted usable goods, not gold. The government deemed gold mining not essential to the war effort, and on March 2, 1942, the Office of Production Management issued an order to stop all gold and silver mining with the exception of those mines that received more than 30 percent of their income from gold and silver. Protests arose immediately from mining interests in the West, and some adjustments were made in the restrictions. Garnet's post office closed on September 30, 1942. In October 1942, the Under Secretary of War and the Under Secretary of the Navy requested that the War Production Board close all gold mines to get miners into copper mining.

By the end of 1942, gold production in the First Chance (Garnet) Mining District had declined to less than half of that mined in 1941. Still, the district achieved gold values exceeding $100,000. Throughout 1943, however, the government restrictions almost ended mining in the district, with 41 ounces of gold captured, compared to 2,928 the year before, and 500 ounces of copper, together totaling only $1,500 in value. However, 1944 was a boom year for the mines in the district, with a tremendous increase in copper production from 500 ounces in 1943 to 12,800 in 1944. In all, the total value of metal production rose from $1,500 in 1943 to an astonishing $350,371 in 1944.

While the 1944 production numbers were impressive at $350,000, that year marked the end of substantial mining activity in the district. During the following years from 1945 through 1950, the total value mined from the district was less than $18,000. The death blow to Garnet's mining production resulted from government restrictions, especially on gold mining, as well as from an exhaustion of product and a severe workforce shortage brought on by the war.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

In 1941, Frank Fitzgerald returned to Garnet for the first time since 1918. In a 1970 interview, Fitzgerald described Frank Davey's living conditions at the hotel in 1941 as follows:

> Davey was living in the kitchen. He spent most of his time in the kitchen, and he had a great big stove in there and then he had a bed either in the dining room, which was never used, or he had it in one of the lower bedrooms down there…And, he still operated the store then. And, he had groceries in there, you could buy anything. Well then, the hotel looked in pretty good shape; every room had a bed in it. And he always kept a few beds made up. He didn't rent out rooms anymore, but if friends of his came in—and he knew plenty of people around this valley, everyone from Missoula on to Deer Lodge and Anaconda—if somebody came in, he'd put them up for the night.

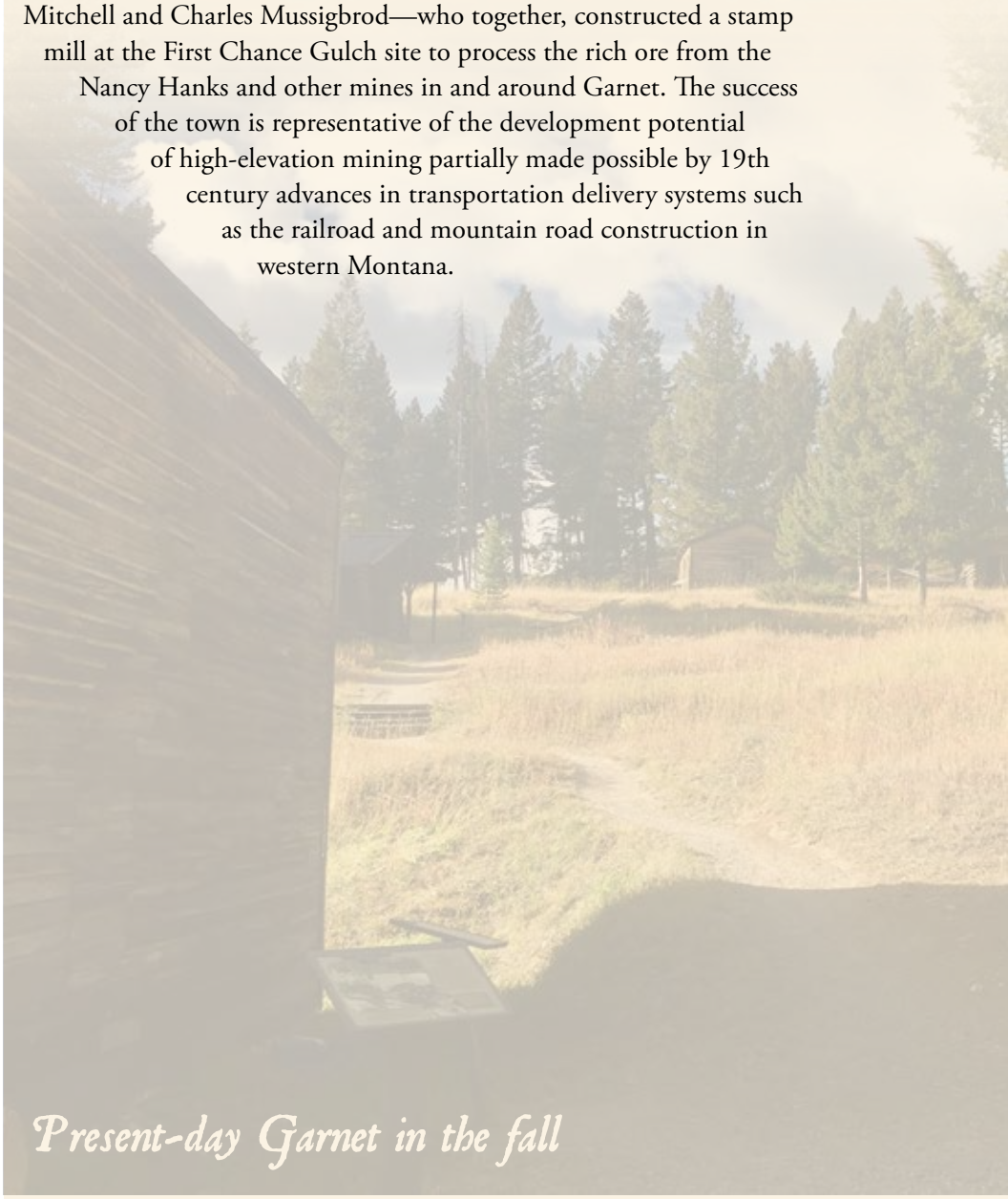
A story circulated that described Davey's isolation during the last few years of his life. With no one around to witness his signature on his income tax return, Davey had to be innovative. He placed a mirror in front of himself and wrote "signed and witnessed before myself." He explained to the IRS that he had no neighbors for miles around.

On a beautiful fall day in 1947, when the sun was bright and the quaking aspen leaves were yellow, Frank Davey collapsed while walking to check on his mining claims near Garnet. Aggie McMahan, who delivered the mail, found Frank clinging to life along the trail. He was taken to Missoula, where he died at the age of 81 at St. Patrick Hospital. The guardian of Garnet was no longer. Having been a long-standing member of Hellgate Lodge #383 of the Elks Club, the fraternal organization arranged and paid for his funeral and burial at the Missoula Cemetery. Pallbearers at the funeral, which was held in Missoula, included Charles Myers, Will Cave, T. Jones, W.J. Babington, Charles F. Wilde, and Davey's old friend Billy Liberty. Frank's sister, Alice Davey, who resided in Twickenham, England, was listed as Davey's only immediate survivor. The *Daily Missoulian* reported that an auction to sell the goods and furnishings in Davey's store and the hotel was scheduled to be held on November 8, 1947, but a snowstorm caused the sale to be postponed until July the following year.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

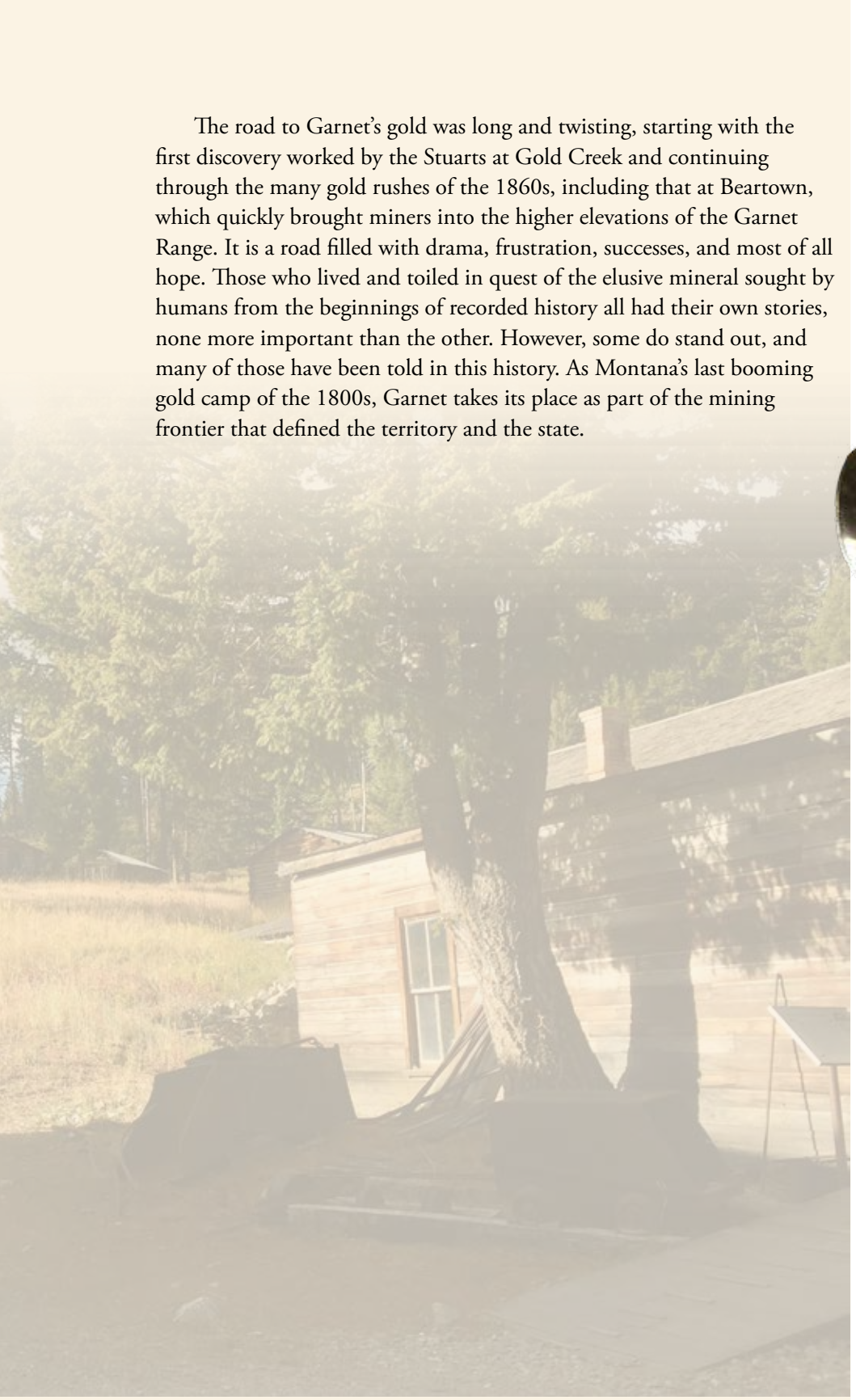
Though never producing the tonnage of gold that its contemporaries at Bannack, Virginia City, Helena, or Butte did, Garnet took its place as

the last of the 19th century Montana boomtowns associated with the American dream of "striking it rich," and it became the predominant mining center of the Garnet Range. It was representative of the tenacity of miners such as John Lehsou, Samuel Ritchey, Henry Grant, and others who worked placer operations in a dry, isolated mountain setting while searching for and dreaming of the hard rock lode development that would occur later. Garnet is an example of a mining town that might not have happened without the technical expertise of mining engineers, such as Peter Mussigbrod, and the financial investment of partners Armistead Mitchell and Charles Mussigbrod—who together, constructed a stamp mill at the First Chance Gulch site to process the rich ore from the Nancy Hanks and other mines in and around Garnet. The success of the town is representative of the development potential of high-elevation mining partially made possible by 19th century advances in transportation delivery systems such as the railroad and mountain road construction in western Montana.



Present-day Garnet in the fall

The road to Garnet's gold was long and twisting, starting with the first discovery worked by the Stuarts at Gold Creek and continuing through the many gold rushes of the 1860s, including that at Beartown, which quickly brought miners into the higher elevations of the Garnet Range. It is a road filled with drama, frustration, successes, and most of all hope. Those who lived and toiled in quest of the elusive mineral sought by humans from the beginnings of recorded history all had their own stories, none more important than the other. However, some do stand out, and many of those have been told in this history. As Montana's last booming gold camp of the 1800s, Garnet takes its place as part of the mining frontier that defined the territory and the state.



Present-day Garnet

AFTERWORD

MOST MINERS DIED with no more money than when they started mining. John Lehsou was an exception and died a wealthy businessman. In large part, his success came from his ability and persistence to capture the most precious resource needed for mining—water. In order for a placer mining operation to be successful, a plentiful supply of water had to exist. The Garnet area was not such a place, with most of the creeks drying up during much of the year. That is why miners like Lehsou put so much effort into the construction of dams, ditches, and reservoirs to capture spring runoff as the snow from upper elevations melted and filled the creeks. In the Garnet area, the absence of a sufficient water supply to support extensive placer operations was mitigated by the richness of the pay dirt. Thus, the combination of not enough water to get out all of the gold each year and the value of the gold that was captured allowed those who persisted to make the claims pay year after year.

Mineral survey map of the 751 in 1879, with dams and ditches highlighted in blue

Lehsou's water system consisted of five dams and offshoot ditches. The reservoirs varied in size, some of impressive dimensions. In 2003, the Bureau of Land Management noted that, "The 1879 map of MS 751 shows Feature # 2 ditch to be a very long ditch (approximately ¾ mile) which wound its way around the slope dividing Williams and First Chance Gulches." The ditch may still be evidenced on the cutaway bank of earth in front of and to the west of the Wells Hotel in present-day Garnet.

Many of the people who attempted mining were not trained as miners. People from around the world headed to the western gold camps to take their chance at making it rich. They traveled to the West to start a new life and try their hand at quick money. Because of the skills of most miners, or lack thereof, they often left a gold town for the next boom that was

discovered—it became a rush to find the easiest and most accessible gold. In actuality, it took years to master mining techniques. In 2016, John Lehsou's life was highlighted in a video series called "Stories and Stones" led by Dr. James Sears: "Lehsou had a lot of training in knowing what it takes to extract minerals from the earth, so he was able to come in the wake of these booms and clean up what had been left behind by inexperienced miners."

By the time Lehsou moved to Beartown around 1868, a large percentage of the residents from the initial boom had left the narrow gulch. Lehsou and his business partner Charles Kroger were among those who remained. Many of the miners of the day were single, without a wife or children. This made it easy for them to pick up and move when the hour struck. Lehsou had started a family with his wife Dora and had three children. Thus, it appears John and Dora were more settled and focused on raising their family than picking up and moving to the next bonanza. In total, Lehsou spent 20 years in Beartown.

In 1875, Lehsou's friend and business partner Charles Kroger and his family moved to Philipsburg, Montana, where he used what must have been a considerable amount of gold dust to buy a large piece of land at the base of the hills on the east end of town. There, the Krogers built a large, attractive house and the impressive stone and brick Kroger Brewery, which was also known as the Silver Spray, after its most successful beer. Kroger and Lehsou continued to be mining partners for years after the Krogers move to Philipsburg. The partners filed numerous applications for water rights together. Leshou filed for water rights for mining claim MS 751 five times between 1879 and 1885, three times individually and two times with Kroger.

Lehsou became quite the businessman and joined partnerships with other miners. On July 30, 1879, he and Henry Eppel, along with Christian Goody and William McLouthlin (McLaughlin) located the Golden Gate claim. On September 4, 1880, the same four men located the Monster Claim. On July 28, 1886, Lehsou filed another mining claim, named the Placer, with his partner John Elfers. Even though Lehsou filed on these lode claims, his placer claims in First Chance and Deep Creek remained his priority.

At the age of 52 in 1892, seemingly satisfied with his earnings, Lehsou bought hundreds of acres of land in Missoula. According to *Progressive Men of the State of Montana*, Lehsou's land was "improved and developed into a model ranch, the land being fertile and all available for cultivation." He also purchased the water rights to Grant Creek. Lehsou returned to the skills in agriculture he had learned during his upbringing in Germany and grew crops and orchards. Lehsou is credited with being "one of the enterprising and successful farmers and fruit growers of the beautiful Missoula valley." Today, this land is the Missoula Cemetery, where John, Dora, and their three children are buried. Three of Lehsou's partners are buried near the Lehsou family. In fact, Lehsou provided their burial plots, as they were all bachelors and did not have family members in the United States.

Before his death at age 81, Lehsou began a different business venture. In 1900, he became the vice president of the Western Montana National Bank in Missoula. It is likely that this is where Lehsou's gold nuggets remained for some time before making their way into the hands of the rightful heirs in 1990. And here we leave off where this story began—with Lehsou's great-granddaughters given the gold which holds the stories of all involved in the painstaking, yet beautiful, Montana gold rush. Truly, worth more than the value of the gold alone.

Present-day Garnet

NOTES

In August 2010, the National Park Service officially listed the Garnet Historic District in the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register includes districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture. All locations listed in the National Register are preserved in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, which declares that "the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people."

The National Register nomination form for the Garnet Historic District contains extensive research and documentation. In fact, it includes 137 pages of documentation. This major effort happened in conjunction with the writing of this book. During the writing process, Bob Cushman, son of author Dan Cushman, provided access to the entire collection of *Garnet Mining News* to the Bureau of Land Management Missoula Field Office. The issues of the *Garnet Mining News* ran from October 1898 to October 1900 and came out every other week. They seemingly covered about every aspect of life in Garnet during its boom years. This wealth of information contributed significantly to the material in this book.

Other information about Garnet comes from the newspapers of nearby towns, mining claim records, government reports and documents, mine owner estimates of production, U.S. census records, and voter registration records. For the period beginning in 1900, after the *Garnet Mining News* ceased publication, the social history related in this book is largely dependent on family histories, an extensive series of interviews with people who had connections with the town, local newspaper reports, genealogical searches of ship passenger lists, census information, obituaries, and numerous other sources. Otherwise, source material is as follows.

CHAPTER 1: THE LURE OF GOLD

Information about the Lehsou family gold is from an article in the *Helena Independent* that was published on May 18, 1990. Please note that according to family members, Lehsou is pronounced "Lee-so." The information regarding John Lehsou's immigration to the United States and journey from Iowa to Montana comes from a file folder at the Bureau of Land Management Missoula Field Office, which contains newspaper clippings, family correspondence, photographs, and family history documentation. Further sources include the Hamburg State Archives and Castle Garden Immigration Records. Other historical information about Lehsou is from *Progressive Men of the State of Montana*.

Material covering the German "Forty-Eighters" in Iowa comes largely from Hildegard Binder Johnson's article titled "German Forty-Eighters in Davenport," which was featured in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* in 1946.

Information about mule skinners and bullwhackers in terms of driving freight wagons comes from the book *Montana: A History of Two Centuries* written by Malone et al.

Research about the political climate, physical environment, and historical accounts of the Bozeman Trail were acquired from W.T. Jackson's *Wagon Roads West: A Study of Federal Road Surveys and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846–1869* and Dorothy M. Johnson's *The Bloody Bozeman: The Perilous Trail to Montana's Gold*.

Much of the information about Major John Owen and Fort Owen is from *The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen, Pioneer of the Northwest, 1850-1871*.

The physical description of Hell Gate Ronde and the area's American Indian history is from William E. Farr's article "Going to Buffalo: Indian Hunting Migrations across the Rocky Mountains: Civilian Permits, Army Escorts" in *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*.

The information about the Lewis and Clark expedition in the Hellgate valley, David Thompson's travels, and the naming of Missoula is from Lenora Koelbel's book *Missoula the Way It Was: A Portrait of an Early Western Town* and Jack Nisbet's book *Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson Across Western North America*.

CHAPTER 2: THE STUARTS AND A CREEK CALLED "GOLD"

Information about the lives and adventures of brothers James and Granville Stuart is from Granville Stuart's book *Forty Years on the Frontier*, including the introduction by Clyde A. Milner and Carol A. O'Conner. Note that in his journals, Granville Stuart referred to Richard Grant's settlement as Grantsville and later to his own as American Fork, commonly referred to as Gold Creek.

Details of the Mountain Meadows Massacre are described in the U.S. Department of the Interior's National Register of Historic Places nomination form. According to the nomination form, the significance of the site "represents the apex of the long and often violent journey of the pioneers of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, commonly called Mormons, who faced cultural conflicts in their settlements in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois….The conflict climaxed in 1857 with the events of the Utah War, events that set the stage for the violent outburst at Mountain Meadows. The Mountain Meadows Massacre Site is singular in that it recalls the historic tragedies of the Mormon migration that brought them eventually to Utah and it embodies the horrific outcome of the resulting climate of violence which proved deadly to 120 Arkansas emigrants."

Details about the lives of Richard and Johnny Grant come from Johnny Grant's memoir *Very Close to Trouble*.

The discovery of gold at Gold Creek in 1858 is from K.R. Toole's book *Montana: An Uncommon Land*.

CHAPTER 3: THE MULLAN MILITARY ROAD AND THE SEARCH FOR GOLD

Background information about John Mullan and details about the construction of the Mullan Military Road come from W.T. Jackson's *Wagon Roads West: A Study of Federal Road Surveys and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846–1869* and three reports from John Mullan that are highlighted in House and Senate Executive Documents in 1861 and 1863.

In this chapter, it is mentioned that Mullan traveled to the Pend d'Oreille Mission located in present-day St. Ignatius, Montana, to obtain fresh vegetables from the priests. Note that Lenora Koelbel, author of *Missoula the Way it Was: A Portrait of an Early Western Town*, writes that Mullan obtained the food assistance not from the priests at the Pend d'Oreille Mission but from the fathers at St. Ignatius Mission. The reference to the Pend d'Oreille Mission by Mullan is somewhat confusing in that it seems he refers to the original mission on the banks of Lake Pend d'Oreille. That mission had been relocated to St. Ignatius by the time Mullan sought assistance. However, it was still referred to by many as the Pend d'Oreille Mission.

In letters, John Strachan describes his experience during the construction of the Mullan Military Road. These letters are featured in his book *Blazing the Mullan Trail: Connecting the Headwaters of the Missouri and the Columbia Rivers and Locating the Great Overland Highway to the Pacific Northwest*.

This chapter includes further experiences of the Stuart brothers, including encounters with Gold Tom and the winter of 1861, which were captured from *Forty Years on the Frontier*.

Details about the steamboat *Chippewa* traveling from St. Louis to Fort Benton in June 1861 come from a 1974 article by M.E. Gerber in *South Dakota History* and an article by A.J. Partoll, titled "Frank L. Worden, Pioneer Merchant 1830-1887" in a 1949 edition of the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*.

In 1862, James Harkness described the condition of Mullan's Road at the Prickly Pear Pass near modern-day Helena. His account is featured in *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, Volume II*.

Other sources used in this chapter include *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Volume II* and Dan Cushman's *Montana- The Gold Frontier* and *The Great North Trail*.

CHAPTER 4: LIFE AT GOLD CREEK AND THE RUSH TO BANNACK

The establishment of the small community of Gold Creek, gambling and drinking at Gold Creek, the ordeal of the monte sharps, and other information about Gold Creek is from Granville Stuart's *Forty Years on the Frontier*.

This chapter mentions an entry in James and Granville Stuart's diaries which indicated that James and Frank Woody had bought "twenty-three gallons of Valley Tan [whiskey] at six and a half dollars per gallon from Purple & Co." This entry had been omitted from *Forty Years on the Frontier* but was found by Kenneth N. Owens (editor of *Perilous Passage*) in an entry in the James and Granville Stuart Diaries at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.

Information about rules of the card game named faro (monte) is from David Parlett's *A Dictionary of Card Games*.

Information about James Fisk and his expeditions is from *Montana: A*

History of Two Centuries by Malone et al., *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, Volume II*, and *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana, 1845-1889, Volume XXXI*. Information about James Fisks' assessment of the Mullan Road is from a report from Fisk that is highlighted in a House Executive Document in 1863.

Other sources consulted for this chapter include Arthur Stone's 1913 book *Following Old Trails* and Terry Halden's 2007 book *Ghost Towns and Mining Districts of Montana*.

CHAPTER 5: THE BANNACK AND VIRGINIA CITY BOOM AND THE VIGILANTES

Henry Plummer and Charlie Reeves stopped at the Higgins and Worden store in Hell Gate. Frank Woody's description of Henry Plummer comes from the article "Judge Woody Was A Real Pioneer" from the January 15, 1928 edition of the *Sunday Missoulian*. Woody's version of the Plummer meeting differs from that of Granville Stuart, who maintained that he and Woody met Plummer and Reeves while on the road to Hell Gate, then rode back again to Gold Creek with them from there.

Granville Stuart describes his account of meeting Charlie Reeves and Henry Plummer in *Forty Years on the Frontier*. In the same book, one of James Stuart's journal entries describes Granville repairing Henry Plummer's shotgun.

Thomas Dimsdale asserts with great conviction that Plummer was a cold-blooded murderer and the brains behind the road agents terrorizing travelers and citizens of the gold camps. Dimsdale makes his case in *The Vigilantes of Montana*, which was serialized in the *Virginia City Montana Post* (of which he was editor) in 1865 and later published as Montana's first book. Dimsdale uses confessions by accused highwaymen as his absolute truth as to guilt and Plummer's role. However, he gives no exact documentation as to sources of the information. Nathaniel Langford's account, *Vigilante Days and Ways*, originally published in 1890, relies heavily on Dimsdale's in regard to supposed dialogue between the vigilantes and the accused desperadoes. Like Dimsdale, Langford provides no verifiable primary source documentation in arriving at his conclusion of Plummer's guilt. In 1994, the Montana Historical Society Press published *A Tenderfoot in Montana*, written by Francis M. Thompson, which contains his firsthand observations of the scene without the sensationalism of Dimsdale and Langford. Thompson became acquainted with most of the characters in the drama, most notably Henry Plummer of whom he had great admiration. Thompson maintains that he and others had concluded that Plummer played the lead role in directing the outlaw operations, even before the "confessions" implicated the sheriff. Many other details about Henry Plummer in this chapter are from *A Tenderfoot in Montana*. More details about Plummer come from Mather et al. *Hanging the Sheriff: A Biography of Henry Plummer*. Information about the typical actions and weapons of road agents is from *The Vigilantes of Montana*.

Granville Stuart explained the basic rules regarding mining claims in *Forty Years on the Frontier*. Granville's business ventures in Bannack also come from the same book. Information about Granville's trip from Bannack to Gold Creek, including the danger of the trip and encounters with

Charlie Reeves and Whiskey Bill, is also from *Forty Years on the Frontier*.

Data on the purity and value of gold mined from Bannack is from the Treasury Department's *Report of the Director of the Mint Upon the Production of the Precious Metals in the United States During the Calendar Year 1897*. The data specifically comes from Chapter VI, *Precious Metals of the United States*, by Eugene B. Braden, assayer in charge of the U.S. Assay Office. In 1863, miners took out an estimated $5 million worth of gold from Bannack, which comes from K.R. Toole's *Montana: An Uncommon Land*.

Bill Fairweather and other group members were captured by the Crow Indians. Fairweather picked up two rattlesnakes and held them high as he entered the camp. Then he placed them inside his shirt. Louis Simmons, who served as an interpreter, informed the Indians that Fairweather was "the great medicine man of the whites." This act might be what saved the group members' lives, as the Crow let them go after some days in their camp. This story comes from Dan Cushman's book *Montana-The Gold Frontier*.

Heading back toward Bannack, Bill Fairweather and his group found gold at Alder Gulch, which is described in *Montana-The Gold Frontier* and *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*. Granville's description of the stampede to Alder Gulch is from *Forty Years on the Frontier*.

James Stuart and his party faced even more dire circumstances with the Crow Indians. James Stuart's account is summarized from his journal, with notes by Samuel T. Hauser and Granville Stuart, in a chapter titled "The Yellowstone Expedition of 1863" in *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, Volume I*.

The description of Alder Gulch's town setup comes from *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana, 1845-1889, Volume XXXI*. The description of Bill Fairweather's character after becoming a rich man is from Dan Thrapp's *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography, Volume I, A-F*.

In December 1863, a group of 24 men from Bannack and Virginia City formed a vigilante group determined to take justice into their own hands. Information about the vigilante group, including their oath, comes from Jeffrey Smith's book *The Montana Book of Days: The Short Course in Montana History*. Plummer's capture and execution by the vigilantes is from Thomas J. Dimsdale's *The Vigilantes of Montana*.

CHAPTER 6: BEARTOWN AND THE ROUGHS

Beartown is a crucial component in the Garnet story. The discoveries of 1865-66 in this area sent miners eventually into the higher elevations of Bear Creek and into the gulches that would lead to discoveries in First Chance Gulch—discoveries that later spawned the camp of Mitchell (Garnet). Much of the information about the history of early Beartown comes from an article published in the *Great Falls Tribune* in 1931 written by Mary Pardee, daughter of famed geologist J.T. Pardee. The article describes in great detail the characters and early events in Beartown. A.L. Stone, first dean of the University of Montana School of Journalism, and Mary Pardee, Stone's secretary, performed a complete study of the early placer locations in old Bear Gulch in the late 1920s. They gathered much of the information by visiting

all of the old mining camps. Almost every account written about Beartown that followed Mary Pardee's article borrows extensively from her article. Much of the information about Beartown in this chapter is summarized from the September 6, 1931, *Great Falls Tribune* article and from J.T. Pardee family memorabilia from the Natural History Center in Missoula, Montana.

Information from Granville Stuart's journal entries, which are included in *Forty Years on the Frontier*, are in this chapter. This includes Granville's thoughts on sending men from the Pike's Peak area to prospect for gold in Flint Creek. The Pike's Peak men did not find the placers. However, gold was discovered in this vicinity 4 years later, confirming Granville's expectations.

Information about Beartown mining methods and the description of mining claims, including the term "China wall," are from *Cultural Resources Class III Inventory Report: Elk Creek Compartment* by John Taylor.

Information about Chinese immigrants from the Kwangtung Province is from Robert Swartout's article "Kwangtung to Big Sky: The Chinese in Montana, 1864-1900," which appeared in *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*. Information about the Chinese men named Gee Lee and "One-Eyed Tom" is from Mary Pardee's Beartown article that appeared in the *Great Falls Tribune* in 1931. Accounts of racism against Chinese are from Malone et al. *Montana: A History of Two Centuries,* the *Missoula & Cedar Creek Pioneer*, a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury to Congress in 1872 titled *Mining Statistics West of the Rocky Mountains*, and an article by John R. Wunder titled "Law and Chinese in Frontier Montana" that appeared in *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*.

The account of violence between James Ryan and Frank Lovejoy is from the *Helena Weekly Herald* of October 10, 1867, and Lovejoy's obituary.

The account of vigilante justice against Jack Varley due to the robbery of Julian Guezala is largely from an August 21, 1868, article in the *Montana Post* titled "The Execution at Beartown."

Information about John Lehsou and Charles Kroger in this chapter is from Charles Kroger and Anna Rusch family history documents that are at the Bureau of Land Management Missoula Field Office and *Progressive Men of the State of Montana*.

Information about Father Remigius De Ryckere is from L.B. Palladino's book *Indian and White in the Northwest: A History of Catholicity in Montana, 1831 to 1891*.

Population estimates from the Bear Gulch area are from the *Annual Report of the Director of the Mint to the Secretary of the Treasury for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1882*.

CHAPTER 7: THE UPPER BEAR, FIRST CHANCE GULCH, AND THE CAMP OF "MITCHELL"

Information about the placer operations of John Lehsou and Charles Kroger is from official site forms and other documents at the Bureau of Land Management Missoula Field Office. John Lehsou's land purchases in Missoula are detailed in Missoula County land records from the Missoula County Clerk and Recorder's Office. The history of the 751 placer claim is detailed in a Government Land Office plat document, mineral survey notes, and other public documents.

Information about placer mining in the First Chance Gulch is from the National Park Service's National Register of Historic Places nomination form for the Garnet Historic District. Other information from this form includes the first lode claims filed in the Bear District. Information about Henry Grant's lode claims is from the *Annual Report of the Director of the Mint to the Secretary of the Treasury for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1882*.

Background information about Armistead Hughes Mitchell is from Helen Fitzgerald Sanders' *A History of Montana, Volume II*, published in 1913. In 1877, Armistead Mitchell and Charles F. Mussigbrod became responsible for the management of the Warm Springs State Hospital. Information about the hospital is from Research Center Archives at the Montana Historical Society and a 1977 brochure for the hospital titled *A Century of Service: Warm Springs State Hospital*.

Armistead Mitchell and Charles Mussigbrod invested in First Chance Gulch by constructing a stamp mill to separate gold from ore. Peter Mussigbrod, Charles Mussigbrod's son, became a manager at Warm Springs and later took over the setup of the stamp mill. Information about Peter Mussigbrod is from *Progressive Men of the State of Montana*. Charles Mussigbrod became gravely ill and died in May 1896. Mrs. Mussigbrod died shortly thereafter. Sources for this information include the *Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Commissioners for the Insane of the State of Montana*, published in 1896. Note, the annual report, which was filed in 1897, indicates that Mrs. Mussigbrod died in October and that "her funeral took place from her residence." *Progressive Men of the State of Montana* states that she died in November of 1896. Other information about the Mitchell-Mussigbrod mill comes from a 1918 U.S. Geological Survey report by J.T. Pardee titled *Ore Deposits of the Northwestern Part of the Garnet Range, Montana*. Pardee's report also describes the Mullan Military Road that brought the miners to the gulches leading up to First Chance. The drawing of a cross-section of a mill is adapted from artwork on digital-desert.com.

In addition to various newspapers from the 1890s, which are noted in the text, material on Coloma and Mitchell, including information about Cannon Ball Road, comes from a 1973 report written for the Bureau of Land Management titled *Historical Resources Identification and Location Study for National Resource Lands: Garnet Mining District*.

A source used for background information about W.A. Clark is Joaquin Miller's book titled *An Illustrated History of the State of Montana*. Further information about Clark and the college at Deer Lodge is from *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*. Note, strapped for funding and suffering from a limited enrollment, the school had an erratic existence and finally closed for good in 1916. Seven years later, the organization of the College of Montana merged with that of Montana Wesleyan College to form Intermountain Union College, located in Helena. Intermountain Union, in turn, later merged with the Billings Polytechnic Institute to form Rocky Mountain College. Further details about Henry Lehsou and Walter Kroger's graduation are from the June 17, 1894, issue of the *Anaconda Standard*.

Specific information about the Mammoth lode claim is from a report to the Bureau of Land Management titled *Historic Period Overview in Coloma Historic District: Historical and Archaeological Research Design*. Other sources referenced on this topic include the Coloma Management Plan, a Bureau

of Land Management document written in 2010, and a 2009 BLM compilation of newspaper articles about Coloma, which provides dates of occupations, mine workings, and accounts of interesting people and events in and around Coloma.

CHAPTER 8: IT SHALL BE KNOWN AS GARNET

Information about E.S. Woods applying for official recognition of Mitchell as a town and the fact that Susan E. Woods was appointed as the first postmaster of Garnet was found in Dennis J. Lutz's *Montana Post Offices and Postmasters* and the *Missoula Evening Democrat* of October 5, 1896. Where the potential origin of Garnet's name is discussed in this chapter, J.T. Pardee's observations of "large boulders of brown garnet rock" are from a 1918 U.S. Geological Survey report by Pardee titled *Ore Deposits of the Northwestern Part of the Garnet Range, Montana*.

Initial information about Sam Ritchey and the Nancy Hanks mine is from an article by Dan Cushman titled "Garnet: Montana's Last Booming Gold Camp," which was published in *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* in 1964. The sidebar about Sam Ritchey was written by consulting Helen Hammond's *Garnet: Montana's Last Gold Camp*, which contains a summary of Sam Ritchey's autobiography "Gold Fever"; the *Mettle of Granite County* by Loraine M. Bentz Baker Domine; and Dan Cushman's article titled "Garnet: Montana's Last Booming Gold Camp." Information about mining claims, such as the Shamrock, Lead King, and Red Cloud, and the amount of money they produced is from a 1905 volume of *The Mining World*.

The construction and development of Garnet's business district and residential area is from three sources: a 1982 study by Babcock et al. titled *Historical Resources Study: Garnet Ghost Town, Montana*; a Bureau of Land Management Montana State Office site form that describes the MS 751 placer; and an article by Fred Smith titled "The Bear Gulch Placers of Montana," which appeared in a December 1899 issue of the *Engineering and Mining Journal*.

Information on the importance of assayers in western mining towns is from Robert L. Spude's book *To Test by Fire: The Assayer in the American Mining West, 1848-1920* and Otis E. Young's book *Western Mining*.

Much of the information about Garnet's saloons is from numerous editions of the *Garnet Mining News* and Dan Cushman's article "Garnet: Montana's Last Booming Gold Camp" from *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*.

Details about John K. and Winifred Wells and the construction of their hotel, the Wells Hotel, is from the National Park Service National Register of Historic Places nomination form for the Garnet Historic District.

The sidebar about the conditions inside Garnet's mines is summarized from E.A. Evans' 1899 article titled "Hurried Glimpses of Butte and Garnet, Montana" from *The Northwest Magazine*.

Information about transportation issues and stagelines in Garnet is from the *Garnet Mining News*, a 1983 report by Hunter Ten Brook titled *A History of Transportation in the Garnet Range Area: 1700-1930,* and Helen Hammond's book *Garnet: Montana's Last Gold Camp*.

Details about the influence of women on the cultural and social aspects of Garnet and Coloma is largely from the collective

issues of the *Garnet Mining News* and Helen Hammond's book *Garnet: Montana's Last Gold Camp*.

Details about the stamp mill that was constructed at the confluence of Washoe and Union Creeks to serve the Mammoth mine is from the *Biennial Report of the Inspector of Mines of the State of Montana for the Years 1905-6*. Specific information about the Wilfley Table is from Mike Forgrave's website "Copper Country Explorer" at http://www.coppercountryexplorer.com.

CHAPTER 9: GARNET GETS ITS OWN NEWSPAPER AND PARTICIPATES IN POLITICS

Information about *Garnet Mining News* editor John Cole is from his 1915 obituary, which appeared in the *Anaconda Standard*, the *Mettle of Granite County* by Loraine M. Bentz Baker Domine, and an interview of Mary Louise Tierney.

The description of the "silver issue," or more specifically the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, and its effect on Garnet is from the following sources: *Montana: A History of Two Centuries* by Malone et al.; *Historical Resources Study: Garnet Ghost Town, Montana* by Babcock et al.; and minutes of the Garnet Miner's Union from 1898-1901.

The descriptions of the four political parties on the ballot in Garnet are from David Walter's *Capitol Capsules: Legislative Minutes Presented to the 57th Montana Assembly by the Montana Historical Society*. The remainder of the information about politics and voting is from issues of the *Garnet Mining News*, as noted.

Evidence of Garnet's peak population numbers comes from the *Montana State Gazetteer and Business Directory of 1898* and John Cole's estimation, which appeared in the *Garnet Mining News*.

CHAPTER 10: FURTHER DEVELOPMENT IN A FAMILY TOWN FROM THE START

This chapter focuses on Garnet's boom years, 1898-1900, which is the time period of publication of the *Garnet Mining News*. The *Garnet Mining News* provided much of the material in this chapter. In addition to the *Garnet Mining News*, this chapter's other newspaper sources include issues of the *Bear Mountain News, Missoulian,* and *Drummond Call*.

Information about the Garnet Miner's Union Hall and the various activities hosted there is from Helen Hammond's book *Garnet: Montana's Last Gold Camp*. Hammond's book is also the source of social activities in Garnet and information about Dublin Gulch and Gus and Anna Dalberg.

The 1905 judgment about the patent medicine industry is from an article by Samuel Hopkins Adams titled "The Great American Fraud," which appeared in an October 1905 issue of *Collier's*.

Dan Cushman's article "Garnet: Montana's Last Booming Gold Camp" from *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* provided some details about the 1898 fire of the Ritchey Hotel, including details about the bucket brigade, construction of clay chimneys, and the main two causes of

fires in Garnet. Cushman's article is also the source for school-aged boys observed gambling in saloons.

In addition to Helen Hammond's book *Garnet: Montana's Last Gold Camp*, the information about Samuel, Jennie, and Mary Jane Adams is from an interview with Mary Jane (Adams) Morin by Bureau of Land Management personnel in 1995. The Mary Jane (Adams) Morin interview is also the source of information about Edward Warren and the town park he built above Garnet on his claim.

Information about Kelly's Saloon and the apartment above the saloon is from the transcript of a 1970 interview with Frank Fitzgerald.

Accounts of Tommy Pope's accident and tragic death are from the *Missoulian*.

Information regarding decks of playing cards on Frank Davey's invoices is from the report *The Historical Archaeology of Garnet Mining Town* by Hall et al. from the University of Montana's Department of Anthropology.

The Maud Markley sidebar was researched by accessing documents from the Missoula County Records Center, including Maud Markley's arrest warrant, subpoenas, Justice of Peace proceedings, District Court proceedings, and her order of commitment to reform school.

In addition to the *Garnet Mining News*, information about prostitution in Garnet is from the 1982 report *Historical Resources Study: Garnet Ghost Town, Montana* by Babcock et al; *The Historical Archaeology of Garnet Mining Town* by Hall et al.; the transcript of an interview with Walter Moore; and an interview with Frank Fitzgerald.

Information about unions and fraternal organizations is from the *Historical Resources Study: Garnet Ghost Town, Montana* and the Ancient Order of United Workmen website at http://www.stichtingargus.nl/vrijmetselarij/aouw_en.html. Note, the *Bear Mountain News* indicated that there were two unions in Garnet, the Western Labor Union and the Federation of Labor. However, the Federation of Labor is not mentioned at all in the issues of the *Garnet Mining News* from 1898-1900.

CHAPTER 11: THE DECLINE OF THE BOOM

Similar to Chapter 10, the *Garnet Mining News* provided much of the material in this chapter. In addition to the *Garnet Mining News*, this chapter's other newspaper sources include issues of the *Daily Inter Mountain, Anaconda Standard*, and *Daily Missoulian*.

Information about the history of the establishment of Sumpter, Oregon, is from the website http://historicsumpter.com/sumpter-oregon-history.html.

Information about Lena Stai comes from correspondence between Helene (Ritchey) Smith and the Garnet Preservation Association. Lena Stai's age varies from public records. The 1900 U.S. census gives a birth date of July 19, 1880; the 1910 census lists her birth year as 1881; the 1920 census states "about 1882." The earliest record is the 1885 Minnesota Territorial and State Census enumerated in May 1885, which states she was 7 years of age. If she was born in July, as she stated for the 1900 census, then her birth year would have been 1877. That would have made her 23, not 19 at the time of the 1900 census.

Details about the Ritchey's house are from Helen Hammond's book *Garnet: Montana's Last Gold Camp*.

The early 1900s information about the Nancy Hanks, Red Cloud, Shamrock, Grant and Hartford, and Magone and Anderson is from the *Twelfth* and *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Mines of the State of Montana* and the *Historical Resources Study: Garnet Ghost Town, Montana* by Babcock et al.

CHAPTER 12: THE DAVEY YEARS BEGIN

Information about Frank Davey is from London Metropolitan Archives, correspondence between Michael Lawrence (Frank Davey's grandnephew on Frank's mother's side) and Bureau of Land Management personnel, United Kingdom outward passenger lists (1890-1960), and 1881 United Kingdom census records. Other resources consulted include a website titled "Passenger Ships – 19th Century" at http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/systems/ship/passenger-19.htm and N.R.P. Bonsor's *North Atlantic Seaway, Volume 2*.

Information about Frank Davey's early Montana employment, land purchases, and mining claims is from an issue of the *Anaconda Standard*, Granite County Courthouse deed records, and mining lode books from the Granite County Clerk and Recorder's Office.

The story of Frank Davey's fiancée being killed in an elevator accident at the Missoula Mercantile is from an interview transcript with Hazel Marsh by Bureau of Land Management personnel. In this same interview, Hazel Marsh discusses Davey's appearance and manner, as does Helene (Ritchey) Smith in correspondence between her and the Garnet Preservation Association.

Details about the inventory in Frank Davey's store is from *The Historical Archaeology of Garnet Mining Town* by Hall et al. and the Frank A. Davey mercantile, day books, and invoices at the Montana Historical Society.

Accounts of Frank Davey's attitude toward young children is from 1984 correspondence between Helene (Ritchey) Smith and the Garnet Preservation Association. In this same interview, Helene (Ritchey) Smith discussed the information about William "Billy" Liberty. Other information about Liberty is from mining lode books from the Granite County Clerk and Recorder's Office, Liberty's obituary in the *Daily Missoulian*, Helen Hammond's book *Garnet: Montana's Last Gold Camp*, and *The People of Garnet, 1865-1967*. The account of the interaction between Riley's deer and Frank Davey is also from *The People of Garnet, 1865-1967*.

Information about Christmas dinner at the Wells Hotel is from an interview with Mary Jane (Adams) Morin in 1999.

CHAPTER 13: A FIRE, A WAR, AND THE DEEP SLEEP OF THE TWENTIES

As stated in the chapter text, reports about the status of mines in Garnet are documented in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Mines of the State of Montana*, an article and map of First Chance that appeared in a 1905 volume of *The Mining World*, and *The Historical Archaeology of Garnet Mining Town* by Hall et al.

Details about the fire of 1912 in Garnet are from the *Missoulian*. Information about Frank Davey's lawsuit against Albert Tregumming is from the June 19, 1913, issue of the *Granite County News*.

Details about Frank Davey's trip to and from England were verified with United Kingdom incoming passenger lists, 1878-1960. Research materials for information about the *Lusitania* and World War I are from *The Last Voyage of the Lusitania* by Hoehling et al., *The Great Republic: A History of the American People* by Bailyn et al., *The Lusitania Story* by Peeke et al., John Denson's *A Century of War: Lincoln, Wilson, and Roosevelt*, and Eugene Davidson's *The Making of Adolf Hitler: The Birth and Rise of Nazism*.

Details about Peter Mussigbrod's appearance and accent is from Dan Cushman's article "Garnet: Montana's Last Booming Gold Camp," which appeared in *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*.

Information about the Public Service Reserve is documented in Loraine Bentz Baker Domine's *Mettle of Granite County*.

Garnet population details are from the *Montana State Gazetteer and Business Directory* and the 1920 U.S. census.

Thoughts about Frank Davey's wealth is from an interview transcript of Walter Moore by Bureau of Land Management personnel.

Production figures for Garnet mines are documented in the *Historical Resources Study: Garnet Ghost Town, Montana* by Babcock et al.

Elizabeth Farmer's recollections about Garnet in the 1920s are summarized from her 1979 typewritten text to the Garnet Preservation Association.

Information about Garnet's 1926 school population numbers is from Helen Hammond's book *Garnet: Montana's Last Gold Camp*.

CHAPTER 14: THE THIRTIES—GARNET COMES BACK TO LIFE

Research about the gold standard during the 1930s is documented in Craig K. Elwell's *Brief History of the Gold Standard in the United States*.

In 1934, the total production of gold, silver, and copper increased 266 percent from the year before. This information is from *The Historical Archaeology of Garnet Mining Town* by Hall et al. and the *Historical Resources Study: Garnet Ghost Town, Montana* by Babcock et al.

Information about Shorty's and The Joint is documented in John H. Toole's book *The Baron, the Logger, the Miner, and Me*. Information about John Toole's band that visited Garnet is also from this book. This source also describes Toole's impression of Garnet in 1936 and the dynamite prank.

Details regarding Ole and Marian Dahl are from *The People of Garnet, 1865-1967*, an interview with Mary Ann Wonderly by Bureau of Land Management personnel, and an interview with Marian Dahl and Marjorie Wilson in 1983 by Gloria and Al Wahlin.

Information about Pete Shipler's business interests is from mining lode books from the Granite County Clerk and Recorder's Office and *The Historical Archaeology of Garnet Mining Town* by Hall et al.

CHAPTER 15: EFFECTS OF WORLD WAR II AND GARNET BECOMES A GHOST TOWN

Jim Piquette provided details about 1930s mining in Garnet in his interview by Dan Hall. Mining production numbers from 1939 and 1940 are from the *Historical Resources Study: Garnet Ghost Town, Montana* by Babcock et al. This source also documents gold and copper production numbers from the First Chance Mining District in the 1940s.

The decrease in gold production and the increase in the importance of copper during World War II is from John Davis Morgan's *The Domestic Mining Industry of the United States in World War II: A Critical Study of the Economic Mobilization of the Mineral Base of National Power*. This source also provided information about gold and silver mining restrictions during the war.

Frank Fitzgerald described Frank Davey's living conditions in 1941 in a 1970 interview with Bureau of Land Management personnel. Information about Frank Davey's signature on his income tax returns is from *The People of Garnet, 1865-1967*. Frank Davey's death and funeral are described in the *Daily Missoulian* from September 26 and 27, 1947, and an article in the *Helena Independent Record* titled "Long-Time Owner of Garnet Store is Taken" from September 24, 1947.

The closing paragraphs in this chapter are from the National Park Service's National Register of Historic Places nomination form for the Garnet Historic District.

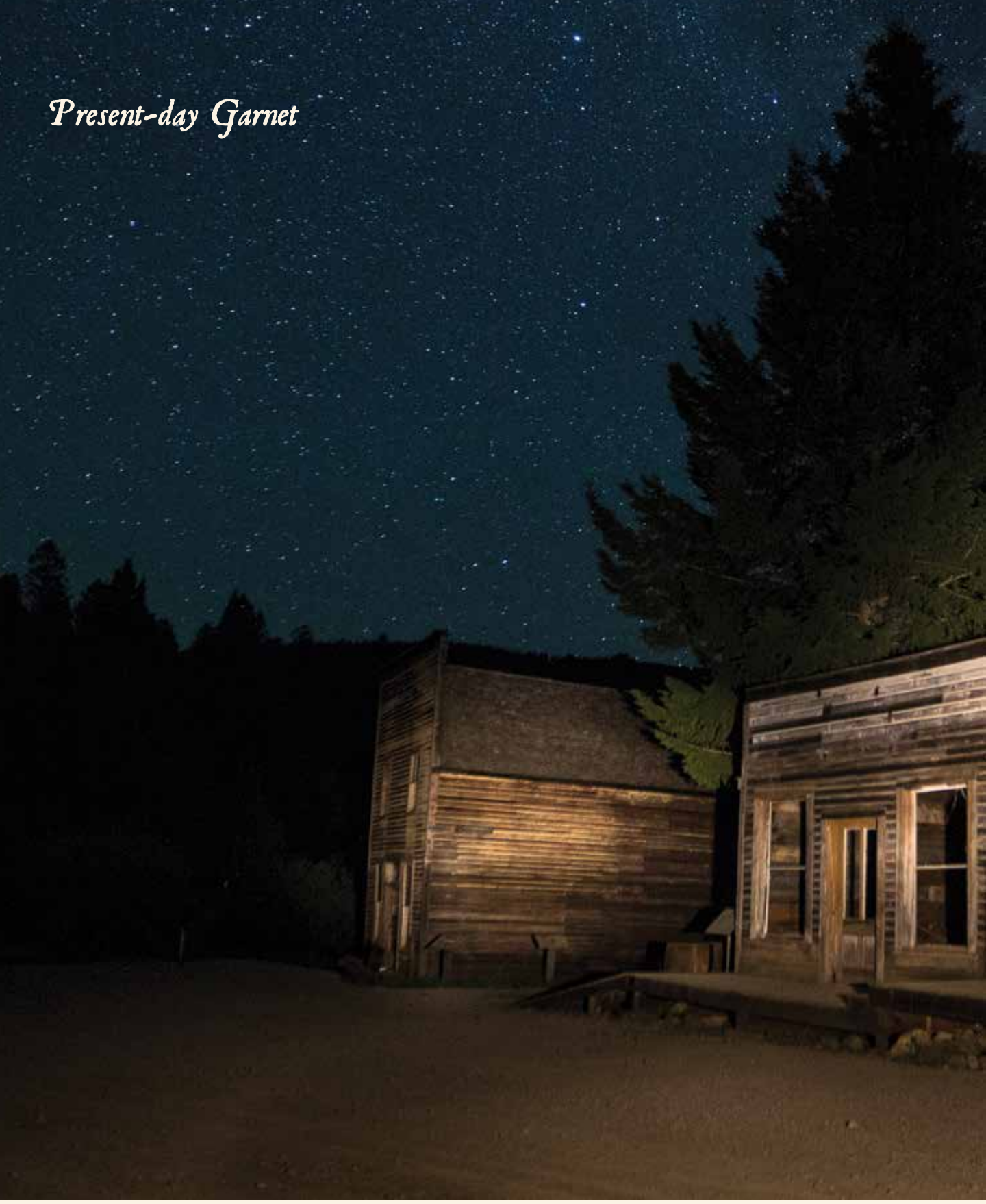
AFTERWORD

Information about the accessibility of water in the Garnet area is from *Historical Resources Identification and Location Study for National Resource Lands: Garnet Mining District* by Daley et al.

Information about Charles Kroger, including details about the Silver Spray brewery, are from family history documents of Charles Kroger and Anna Rusch held by the Bureau of Land Management.

Details about John Lehsou's water system in the Garnet area are documented in a Bureau of Land Management Montana State Office site form about the MS 751 placer complex site. Details about Lehsou's mining partnerships are from mining lode books from the Granite County Clerk and Recorder's Office.

Other sources referenced for the afterword include *Progressive Men of the State of Montana*, Lehsou's obituary, and two episodes of a video series called "Stories and Stones" led by James Sears on Missoula County Access Television.


Present-day Garnet

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Abbott, Newton Carl. *Montana in the Making*. Billings: Gazette Printing Co., 1931.

Bailyn, Bernard, Robert Dallek, David B. Davis, David H. Donald, John L. Thomas, and Gordon S. Wood. *The Great Republic: A History of the American People*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977.

Bancroft, Hubert H. *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana, 1845-1889, Volume XXXI*. San Francisco: The History Co., 1890.

Bentz Baker Domine, Loraine M. *Mettle of Granite County*. Helena: KAIOS Books, 2008.

Billingsley, Paul Raymond, and Augustus Locke. *Structure of Ore Districts in the Continental Framework*. New York: American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, 1939.

Bonsor, N.R.P. *North Atlantic Seaway, Volume 2*. Jersey, UK: Brookside Publications, 1978.

Bonsor, N.R.P. *North Atlantic Seaway, Volume 5*. Jersey, UK: Brookside Publications, 1980.

Brown, Ronald C. *Hard-Rock Miners: The Intermountain West, 1860-1920*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1979.

Byrnes, Mike. *It's a Butte Thing: The Mules, the Mines, and the Miners*. Butte: Old Butte Publishing, 2004.

Carter, Thomas, and Bernard L. Herman. *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, III*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989.

Cheney, Roberta Carkeek. *Names on the Face of Montana: The Story of Montana's Place Names*. Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 1983.

Conklin, Dave. *Montana History Weekends: 52 Adventures in History*. Globe Pequot Press, 2002.

Cushman, Dan. *Montana- The Gold Frontier*. Great Falls: Stay Away Joe Publishers, 1973.

Cushman, Dan. *The Great North Trail*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966.

Davidson, Eugene. *The Making of Adolf Hitler: The Birth and Rise of Nazism*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997.

Davis, Jean. *Shallow Diggin's: Tales from Montana's Ghost Towns*. Caldwell: Caxton Printers, 1966.

Davis, Deborah J. *Gumboot Gamblers: Tales of the Cedar Creek Gold Rush*. Superior: Mineral County Historical Society, 1987.

Denson, John V. *A Century of War: Lincoln, Wilson, and Roosevelt*. Auburn: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2006.

Dimsdale, Thomas J. *The Vigilantes of Montana*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953.

Eaton, Lucien. *Practical Mine Development and Equipment*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934.

Fay, Albert H. *A Glossary of the Mining and Mineral Industry*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920.

Florin, Lambert. *Ghost Towns of the West*. Victoria, British Columbia: Promontory Press, 1993.

Francaviglia, Richard V. *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997.

Grant, Johnny. *Very Close to Trouble: The Johnny Grant Memoir*. Pullman: Washington State University, 1996.

Greever, William S. *Bonanza West: The Story of the Western Mining Rushes, 1848-1900*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

Halden, Terry. *Ghost Towns and Mining Districts of Montana*. Butte: Old Butte Publishing, 2007.

Hamilton, James McClellan. *From Wilderness to Statehood: A History of Montana, 1805-1900*. Portland: Binfords & Mort, 1957.

Hammond, Helen. *Garnet: Montana's Last Gold Camp*. Missoula: Acme Press, 1983.

Hammond, Helen. *Garnet Was Their Home*. 1990.

Hardesty, Donald L. *The Archaeology of Mining and Miners: A View from the Silver State*. Pleasant Hill: Society for Historical Archaeology, 1988.

Historical Society of Montana. *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, Volume I*. Helena: Rocky Mountain Publishing Co., 1876.

Historical Society of Montana. *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, Volume II*. Helena: State Publishing Co., 1896.

Historical Society of Montana. *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, Volume III*. Helena: State Publishing Co., 1900.

Hoehling, Adolph A., and Mary Hoehling. *The Last Voyage of the Lusitania*. Lanham: Madison Books, 1996.

Howard, Joseph Kinsey. *Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

Jackson, W.T. *Wagon Roads West: A Study of Federal Road Surveys and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846–1869*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952.

Johnson, Dorothy M. *The Bloody Bozeman: The Perilous Trail to Montana's Gold*. Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 1983.

Koelbel, Lenora. *Missoula the Way It Was: A Portrait of an Early Western Town*. Missoula: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co., 1983.

Langford, Nathaniel P. *Vigilante Days and Ways*. Helena: American and World Geographic Publishing, 1996.

Leeson, M.A. *History of Montana, 1739-1885*. Chicago: Warner, Beers & Co., 1885.

Lingenfelter, Richard E. *The Hardrock Miners: A History of the Mining Labor Movement in the American West, 1863-1893*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

Lutz, Dennis J. *Montana Post Offices and Postmasters*. 1986.

Lyden, Charles J. *The Gold Placers of Montana*. Butte: Montana School of Mines, 1948.

Malone, Michael P. *Historians and the American West*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Malone, Michael P. *The Battle for Butte: Mining and Politics on the Northern Frontier, 1864-1906*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.

Malone, Michael P., Richard B. Roeder, and William L. Lang. *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991.

Marks, Paula Mitchell. *Precious Dust: The Saga of the Western Gold Rush*. New York: Harper Collins, 1995.

Mather, R.E., and F.E. Boswell. *Hanging the Sheriff: A Biography of Henry Plummer*. Missoula: Historic Montana Publishing, 1998.

McClure, A.K. *Three Thousand Miles through the Rocky Mountains*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1869.

Meyerriecks, Will. *Drills and Mills: Precious Metal Mining and Milling Methods of the Frontier West*. W. Meyerriecks, 2003.

Miller, Donald C. *Ghost Towns of Montana*. Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co., 1981.

Miller, Joaquin. *An Illustrated History of the State of Montana*. Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1894.

Munn, Debra D. *Montana Ghost Stories: Eerie True Tales*. Helena: Riverbend Publishing, 2007.

Nisbet, Jack. *Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson Across Western North America*. Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1994.

Owen, John. *The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen, Pioneer of the Northwest, 1850-1871*. New York: E. Eberstadt, 1927.

Palladino, L.B. *Indian and White in the Northwest: A History of Catholicity in Montana, 1831 to 1891*. Lancaster: Wickersham Publishing Co., 1922.

Parlett, David. *A Dictionary of Card Games*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Paul, Rodman Wilson. *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.

Peeke, Mitch, Kevin Walsh-Johnson, and Steven Jones. *The Lusitania Story*. Barnsley South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword Books, 2002.

Perrin, Linda. *Coming to America: Immigrants from the Far East*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1981.

Progressive Men of the State of Montana. Volumes I and II. Chicago: A.W. Bowen & Co., undated.

Purple, Edwin R. *Perilous Passage: A Narrative of the Montana Gold Rush, 1862-1863*. Helena: Montana Historical Society, 1995.

Quimby, George Irving. *Indian Life in the Upper Great Lakes 11,000 B.C. to A.D. 1800*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Sagstetter, Beth, and Bill Sagstetter. *The Mining Camps Speak: A New Way to Explore the Ghost Towns of the American West*. Denver: BenchMark Publishing, 1998.

Sanders, Helen Fitzgerald. *A History of Montana, Volume II*. Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1913.

Shepherd, R. *Prehistoric Mining and Allied Industries*. London: Academic Press, 1980.

Shinn, Charles Howard. *Mining Camps: A Study in American Frontier Government*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885.

Simons, Theodore. *Ore Dressing Principles and Practice*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1924.

Smith, Duane A. *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps: The Urban Frontier*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967.

Smith, Duane A. *Rocky Mountain West: Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana, 1859-1915*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1992.

Smith, Jeffrey J. *The Montana Book of Days: The Short Course in Montana History*. Missoula: Historic Montana Publishing, 2003.

South, Stanley A. *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*. New York: Academic Press, 1977.

Spence, Clark C. *British Investments and the American Mining Frontier, 1860-1901*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958.

Spritzer, Donald E. *Roadside History of Montana*. Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 1999.

Spude, Robert L. *To Test by Fire: The Assayer in the American Mining West, 1848-1920*. Champaign: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1989.

Stone, Arthur L. *Following Old Trails*. Missoula: Morton John Elrod, 1913.

Strachan, John. *Blazing the Mullan Trail: Connecting the Headwaters of the Missouri and the Columbia Rivers and Locating the Great Overland Highway to the Pacific Northwest*. New York: Edward Eberstadt & Sons, 1952.

Stuart, Granville. *Forty Years on the Frontier*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Thompson, Francis M. *A Tenderfoot in Montana*. Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2004.

Thrapp, Dan L. *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography, Volume I, A-F*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.

Toole, John H. *The Baron, the Logger, the Miner, and Me*. Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 1984.

Toole, John H. *Men, Money, and Power: The Story of the First Interstate Bank of Missoula*. Missoula, 1986.

Toole, K.R. *Montana: An Uncommon Land*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959.

Walter, David. *Capitol Capsules: Legislative Minutes Presented to the 57th Montana Assembly by the Montana Historical Society*. Helena: Montana Historical Society, 2001.

White, Helen McCann. *Ho! For the Gold Fields: Northern Overland Wagon Trains of the 1860s*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1966.

Wolle, Muriel Sibell. *Montana Pay Dirt: A Guide to the Mining Camps of the Treasure State*. Athens: Swallow Press, 1983.

Wolle, Muriel Sibell. *The Bonanza Trail: Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of the West*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958.

Wyman, Mark. *Hard Rock Epic: Western Miners and the Industrial Revolution, 1860-1910*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Young, Otis E. *Western Mining*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

Anderson, Paul, and Dale Decco. *Cultural Resource Inventory and Assessment of Hard Rock Mines in the Garnet District, Granite County and the Top o' Deep District, Powell and Granite Counties, Montana*. Butte: GCM Services, 1988.

Babcock, William A., Daniel F. Gallacher, and Pamela Liggett (Historical Research Associates). *Historical Resources Study: Garnet Ghost Town, Montana*. Butte: Bureau of Land Management, 1982.

Byrne, John, and John J. Barry. *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Mines of the State of Montana*. Helena: Independent Publishing Co., 1902.

Byrne, John, and Frank Hunter. *Ninth Annual Report of the Inspector of Mines of the State of Montana, December 1, 1897*. Helena: State Publishing Co., 1898.

Byrne, John, and Frank Hunter. *Tenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Mines of the State of Montana for the Year Ending November 30th, 1898*. Helena: Independent Publishing Co., 1899.

Byrne, John, and Frank Hunter. *Twelfth Annual Report of the Inspector of Mines of the State of Montana*. Helena: Independent Publishing Co., 1901.

Daley, Dennis, and Jim Mohler. *Historical Resources Identification and Location Study for National Resource Lands: Garnet Mining District*. Missoula: Bureau of Land Management, 1973.

Elwell, Craig K. *Brief History of the Gold Standard in the United States*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2011.

Ferguson, J.A., and L.P. Benedict. *Tenth Report of the Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry of the State of Montana for the Year Ending November 30, 1906*. Helena: Independent Publishing Co., 1906.

Ferguson, J.A. *Eleventh Report of the Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry of the State of Montana for the Year Ending November 30, 1908*. Helena: Independent Publishing Co., 1908.

Flint, Patricia Robins. "Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Bearmouth Area." Masters thesis, University of Montana, 1977.

Hall, Daniel S., Garren J. Meyer, Tammy Howser, and Jennifer K. Spencer. *The Historical Archaeology of Garnet Mining Town*. Missoula: Department of Anthropology, University of Montana, 1997.

Hollenbaugh, William C. *Garnet Ghost Town Interpretive Plan and Environmental Assessment*. Missoula: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, 1990.

Kauffman, Marvin Earl. *Geology of the Garnet-Bearmouth Area, Western Montana*. Butte: Montana School of Mines, 1963.

Kingsbury, Larry. *Archaeological Excavations at Garnet Ghost Town: Site Mitigation of the Water Well Pad*. Missoula: Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, 1988.

Libby, Orin Grant. *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Volume II*. Bismark: Tribune, State Printers and Binders, 1908.

MacKnight, James Arthur. *The Mines of Montana: Their History and Development to Date*. Helena: C.K. Wells Co., 1892.

Malouf, Carling Isaac. *A Study of the Prehistoric and Historic Sites Along the Lower Clark Fork River Valley, Western Montana*. Missoula: University of Montana, 1982.

Merrill, Charles White, Charles W. Henderson, and O.E. Kiessling. *Small-Scale Placer Mines as a Source of Gold, Employment, and Livelihood in 1935*. Philadelphia: U.S. Bureau of Mines, 1937.

Morgan, John Davis. *The Domestic Mining Industry of the United States in World War II: A Critical Study of the Economic Mobilization of the Mineral Base of National Power*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1949.

Mullan, John. *Miners and Travelers' Guide to Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado via the Missouri and Columbia Rivers*. New York: Wm. M. Franklin, 1865.

Office of Board of Commissioners for the Insane. *Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Commissioners for the Insane of the State of Montana*. Helena: State Publishing Co., 1896.

Raymond, Rossiter W. *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1873.

Shoemaker, Charles S., and John H. Miles. *Seventh Annual Report of the Inspector of Mines of the State of Montana, December 1, 1895*. Helena: State Publishing Co., 1896.

Ten Brook, Hunter. *A History of Transportation in the Garnet Range Area: 1700-1930*. Missoula: Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, 1983.

The Mining World. Volume XXIII, July 8 to December 30. Chicago: Monadnock Block, 1905.

Timmons, Mark W., and Jennifer Ogborne. *Historic Period Overview in Coloma Historic District: Historical and Archaeological Research Design*. Report to Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office. Department of Anthropology, University of Montana, Missoula, 2006.

U.S. Department of Commerce. *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1931*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934.

U.S. Department of the Interior. Coloma Management Plan. Missoula: Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, 2010.

U.S. Department of the Interior. *Cultural Resources Class III Inventory Report: Elk Creek Compartment*, by John Taylor. Inventory Report No. 82-MT-070-075-02. Billings: Bureau of Land Management, Montana State Office, 1978.

U.S. Department of the Interior. *Final Resource Management Plan/Environmental Impact Statement for the Garnet Resource Area, Butte District, Montana*. Billings: Bureau of Land Management, Montana State Office, 1985.

U.S. Department of the Interior. *Final Wilderness Environmental Impact Statement for the Garnet Resource Area, Butte District, Montana*. Billings: Bureau of Land Management, Montana State Office, 1990.

U.S. Department of the Interior. National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Garnet Historic District, Granite County, Montana. NRIS Reference Number 10000547. National Park Service, 2010.

U.S. Department of the Interior. U.S. Geological Survey. *Gold Placer Deposits of the Pioneer District Montana*, by J.T. Pardee. Geological Survey Bulletin 978-C. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1951.

U.S. Department of the Interior. U.S. Geological Survey. *Ore Deposits of the Northwestern Part of the Garnet Range, Montana*, by J.T. Pardee. Geological Survey Bulletin 660F. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918.

U.S. Department of the Treasury. *Annual Report of the Director of the Mint to the Secretary of the Treasury for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1882*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1882.

U.S. Department of the Treasury. *Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury: Mining Statistics West of the Rocky Mountains*. 42nd Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document No. 10, 1872.

U.S. Department of the Treasury. *Report of the Director of the Mint Upon the Statistics of the Production of the Precious Metals in the United States*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1881.

U.S. Department of the Treasury. *Report of the Director of the Mint Upon the Statistics of the Production of the Precious Metals in the United States*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1882.

U.S. Department of the Treasury. *Report of the Director of the Mint Upon the Production of the Precious Metals in the United States During the Calendar Year 1886*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1887.

U.S. Department of the Treasury. *Report of the Director of the Mint Upon Production of the Precious Metals in the United States During the Calendar Year 1887*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1888.

U.S. Department of the Treasury. *Report of the Director of the Mint Upon Production of the Precious Metals in the United States During the Calendar Year 1888*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1889.

U.S. Department of the Treasury. *Report of the Director of the Mint Upon the Production of the Precious Metals in the United States During the Calendar Year 1889*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1890.

U.S. Department of the Treasury. *Report of the Director of the Mint Upon the Production of the Precious Metals in the United States During the Calendar Year 1897*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898.

U.S. Department of War. *Letter from the Secretary of War: Expedition from Fort Abercrombie to Fort Benton*. 37th Cong., 3d sess., House Executive Document No. 80, 1863.

U.S. Department of War. *Letter from the Secretary of War: Military Road from Fort Benton to Fort Walla-Walla*. 36th Cong., 2d sess., House Executive Document No. 44, January 23, 1861.

U.S. Department of War. *Letter of the Secretary of War: Report of Captain John Mullan*. 37th Cong., 3d sess., Senate Executive Document No. 43, February 19, 1863.

Walsh, William, and William Orum. *Biennial Report of the Inspector of Mines of the State of Montana for the Years 1905-6*. Helena: Independent Publishing Co, 1906.

Warm Springs State Hospital. *A Century of Service: Warm Springs State Hospital*. Bozeman: Color World of Montana, Inc., 1977.

Wolfgram, Terri. *First Chance District Mining Claims, 1866-1940*. Missoula: Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office.

Wolfgram, Terri, and Kristen Bowen. "MS 751 Placer Complex." Montana State Office Site Form, site no. 24GN1032. Billings: Bureau of Land Management, 2003.

Wolfgram, Terri, and Maria Craig. *Garnet Fuel Hazard Reduction—Phase II*. BLM Report No. 04-MT-100-03. Missoula: Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, 2004.

INTERVIEWS, JOURNAL ENTRIES, AND LETTERS

Baldwin, Sharon. Interview by Valerie Schafer, August 1, 2003. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Baldwin, Sharon. Letter to John Crouch, February 9, 1971. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Baldwin, Sharon. Letter to Bureau of Land Management personnel, June 15, 1970. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Briggs, Sharon. Interview by Valerie Schafer, November 16, 2001. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Charles Kroger and Anna Rusch Family History Documents. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Dahl, Marian, and Marjorie Wilson. Interview by Gloria and Al Wahlin, December 30, 1983. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Ellingsen, John D. Interview by Bureau of Land Management personnel, June 2006. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Fitzgerald, Frank. "A Reminiscence of Garnet, Montana: An Interview with Frank Fitzgerald." By Darla Bruner and Dick Fichtler, October 4, 1999. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Fitzgerald, Frank. Interview, July 4, 1970. Transcript. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Gates, Lois M. Interview by Valerie Schafer and Dick Fichtler, March 16, 2002. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Grant, A. Gordon, Jr. Letter to Helen Hammond, 1989. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Griffith, Don. Letter to Bureau of Land Management personnel, September 8, 1937. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Hawe, Robert Glen. Interview by Darla Bruner, March 19, 2001. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Jones, Leo, and Gene Jones. Interview by Bureau of Land Management personnel, September 16, 2004. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Kimball, Hilma Hanson. "Journal of Remembrances, 1879-1933." Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Kohr, Daniel. Interview by Valerie Schafer and Dick Fichtler, January 18, 2002. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Lawrence, Michael. Correspondence to Bureau of Land Management personnel, June 8, 2009; June 10, 2009; August 25, 2010; and January 16, 2013.

Marsh, Hazel. Interview by Jim Scott, October 24, 1989. Transcript OH244-1. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Mayer (Heard), Annie May. Letter to the Garnet Preservation Association, May 22, 1995. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

McDonald, Patrick G. Interview by Valerie Schafer, November 16, 2001. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Moore, Walter. Interview by Pam Ingram, 1971. Transcript, Walter Moore file. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Morin (Adams), Mary Jane. Interview by Bureau of Land Management personnel, 1995.

Morin (Adams), Mary Jane. Interview by Gloria Wahlin, December 4, 1984. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Morin (Adams), Mary Jane. "Memories of Garnet, Montana." Interview by Darla Bruner, October 4, 1999.

Piquette, Jim. Interview by Dan Hall, February 17, 1989. Transcript #OH 223. University of Montana, Missoula.

Robinson, Lauris, Lester Robinson, and Leroy Robinson. Interview by Valerie Schafer, November 14, 2001. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Smith (Farmer), Elizabeth. Typewritten text, 1979. Available at Garnet Preservation Association, Missoula.

Smith (Ritchey), Helene E. Correspondence to Garnet Preservation Association, July 10, 1984. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Smith (Ritchey), Helene E., and Bob Smith. Interview by Gloria Wahlin and Kenneth and Mary Helm. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Snyder (Sullivan), Marcella. Letters to the Bureau of Land Management, February 1996 and July 1996.

Snyder (Sullivan), Marcella. "The Marcella Tapes – Conversations on a Trip to Western Montana." June 22-25, 1995. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Tierney, Mary Louise. Interview by Carrie Kieley, June 5, 2012. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Butte Field Office, Butte.

Wells, Thomas. "A Walk with Tom Wells through Garnet." Interview by Bureau of Land Management Personnel, July 30, 2004. Available at Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Wonderly, Mary Ann. Interview by Bureau of Land Management personnel, 2005.

ARCHIVES, COLLECTIONS, AND RECORDS

Borneman, Patricia, Jodie Foley, and David Walter. *Speaking of Montana: A Guide to the Oral History Collection at the Montana Historical Society, through 1996*. Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1997.

Bump, Bob, compiled. *The People of Garnet, 1865-1967*. Revised by Gwen Busby, 2004.

Castle Garden Immigration Records. National Archives and Records Administration.

Colton's map of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, British Columbia, and Montana, 1864. University of Montana Digital Collection, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library, Missoula.

Dalberg, Earl. List of persons and businesses in Garnet. University of Montana, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library, Missoula.

Francis Lyman Worden Letters. University of Montana, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library Archives, Missoula.

Frank A. Davey Mercantile Collection, 1899-1909. Montana Historical Society, Helena.

Frank Woody Letter from Missoula Mills, Montana Territory, August 26, 1866. Duke University Archives, Chapel Hill.

Granite County Courthouse, Deed Records, Philipsburg.

John David Ellingsen Papers. Montana Historical Society, Helena.

J.T. Pardee Family Memorabilia. Natural History Center, Missoula.

Mining Lode Books. Granite County Clerk and Recorder's Office, Deer Lodge, 1905, 1910, 1916, 1929, 1931, 1937, and 1939.

Minutes of the Garnet Miner's Union, 1898-1901. Audra Browman Research Room, Missoula Public Library.

Missoula County Clerk and Recorder's Office, Missoula County Land Records.

Missoula County Records Center. Maud Markley Arrest Warrant, March 24, 1897; complaint in Justice Court; subpoenas; Justice of Peace proceedings; District Court proceedings (Judge Frank Woody), March 26, 1897; order of commitment (to reform school), March 27, 1897.

Montana State Gazetteer and Business Directory (1898). Montana State Historical Archives, Helena.

Plat document of the claim of Mitchell and Mussigbrod for the 751. Bureau of Land Management, Missoula Field Office, Missoula.

Simons, Martell, and Dahl Mining Company Records, 1884-1964. Montana Historical Society, Helena.

Timmons, Mark W. Compilation of newspaper articles referencing Coloma, 2009.

Warm Springs State Hospital Records, 1877-1973. Collection RS 199, Research Center Archives, Montana Historical Society, Helena.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Anaconda Standard, June 17, 1894; November 23, 1900; September 21, 1901; "Obituary of John Cole," July 27, 1915.

Anez, Bob. "Heirs Claim Cache," *Helena Independent*, May 18, 1990.

Bear Mountain News, January 27, 1898; March 4, 1898; March 24, 1898.

Daily Inter Mountain, "Nancy Hanks Mining Deal," August 2, 1900.

Daily Missoulian, January 7, 1921; September 26, 1947; September 27, 1947; March 6, 1955.

Deer Lodge City Weekly Independent, November 9, 1867; June 3, 1867.

Dillon Tribune, February 22, 1997.

Drummond Call, October 27, 1905; November 10, 1905.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, April 1, 1882.

Garnet Mining News, 1898-1900.

Granite County News, June 19, 1913.

Helena Independent Record, "Long-Time Owner of Garnet Store is Taken," September 24, 1947.

Helena Weekly Herald, October 10, 1867.

Helena Weekly Independent, June 14, 1873; July 2, 1873.

Missoula & Cedar Creek Pioneer, May 25, 1871; June 22, 1871; January 6, 1872

Missoula Evening Democrat, October 5, 1896.

Missoulian, October 17, 1895; November 2, 1895; November 29, 1895; August 2, 1904; August 3, 1904; July 15, 1948.

Montana Post, "The Execution at Beartown," August 21, 1868.

Pardee, Mary. "Bear Town," *Great Falls Tribune*, September 6, 1931.

Philipsburg Mail, "Obituary of J.C. Lehsou," April 30, 1921.

Philipsburg Mail, February 1, 1918.

Silver State Post, November 14, 1894; May 22, 1895; June 19, 1895; July 3, 1895; April 8, 1896.

Sunday Missoulian, "Judge Woody Was A Real Pioneer," January 15, 1928.

MAGAZINE AND JOURNAL ARTICLES

Adams, Samuel Hopkins. "The Great American Fraud." *Collier's* (October 1905).

Cushman, Dan. "Garnet: Montana's Last Booming Gold Camp." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 14, no. 3 (Summer 1964): 38-55.

Evans, E.A. "Hurried Glimpses of Butte and Garnet, Montana." *The Northwest Magazine* (May 1899).

Farr, William E. "Going to Buffalo: Indian Hunting Migrations across the Rocky Mountains, Part 2, Civilian Permits, Army Escorts." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 54 (Spring 2004): 26-44.

Gerber, M.E. The Steamboat and Indians of the Upper Missouri. *South Dakota History* 4, no. 2 (Spring 1974): 139-160.

Johnson, Hildegard Binder. "German Forty-Eighters in Davenport." *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 44, no. 1 (January 1946).

Mining Journal (September 1936).

Montana Mining and Market Reporter (January 1895).

Partoll, A.J. "Frank L. Worden, Pioneer Merchant 1830-1887." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (1949).

Rock, James T. "Cans in the Countryside." *Historical Archaeology* 18, no. 2 (1984).

Rohe, Randall. "The Geography and Material Culture of the Western Mining Town." *Material Culture* 16, no. 3 (Fall 1984).

Rumsey, W.D. Map of the First Chance (Garnet) Mining District. *Mining World* 23, no. 11 (September 1905).

Schuyler, Robert L. "Historical Archaeology in the American West: The View from Philadelphia." *Historical Archaeology* 25, no. 3 (September 1991).

Smith, F.D. "The Bear Gulch Placers of Montana." *Engineering and Mining Journal* (December 1899).

Smith, F.D. "Mining in Montana in 1898." *Engineering and Mining Journal* (January 1899).

Swartout, Robert R. "Kwangtung to Big Sky: The Chinese in Montana, 1864-1900." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 38, no. 1 (1988): 42-53.

Wunder, John R. "Law and Chinese in Frontier Montana." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 30, no. 3 (Summer 1980).

WEBSITES

Ancient Order of United Workmen (AOUW). http://www.stichtingargus.nl/vrijmetselarij/aouw_en.html.

Cook, Tom. "Thumbnail History of Montana Governors." Montana Historical Society. http://formergovernors.mt.gov/schweitzer/formergov/.

Digital-Desert. "Stamp Mill." http://digital-desert.com/gold-mining/stamp-mill.html.

Forgrave, Mike. "Copper Country Explorer." Copper Country Media, LLC. http://www.coppercountryexplorer.com.

GlobalSecurity.org. "Passenger Ships – 19th Century." http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/systems/ship/passenger-19.htm.

Hamburg State Archives. "Hamburg Passenger Lists, Handwritten Indexes, 1855-1934." Ancestry.com.

History of Sumpter, Oregon. http://historicsumpter.com/sumpter-oregon-history.html.

London Metropolitan Archives. "London, England, Church of England Births and Baptisms, 1813-1906." Ancestry.com.

Montana Department of Environmental Quality. Historical Context, aka Browns Gulch, aka Granite Creek, aka Williams Gulch, aka Barton Gulch. https://deq.mt.gov/Land/abandonedmines/linkdocs/129tech.

Montana Department of Environmental Quality. Historical Context, aka Bear Creek, aka Bearmouth, aka Top o' Deep (sub-district). https://deq.mt.gov/Land/abandonedmines/linkdocs/62tech/rss/40508.

Montana UsGenWeb Archives, Granite County. http://www.usgwarchives.net/mt/granite/granite.htm.

National Archives (Kew, Richmond, Surrey, England). "UK, Outward Passenger Lists, 1890-1960." Ancestry.com.

Sears, James. Stories and Stones 2015. "John Lehsou." Missoula County Access Television. https://archive.org/details/Stories_and_Stones_2015_-_John_Lehsou.

Sears, James. Stories and Stones 2016. "John Lehsou and Placer Miners." Missoula County Access Television. https://archive.org/details/Stories_and_Stones_-_John_Lehsou_and_Placer_Miners.

Swiggum, S., and M. Kohli. "The Ship's List." *Teutonia*. http://www.theshipslist.com/ships/descriptions/ShipsT-U.shtml.

OTHER

History Channel. *Save Our History: Gold Rush Ghost Towns*. DVD. New York: A&E Home Video, 2005.

Garnet in 1916