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gold mining near rainy lake city - 1893 to 1901

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SPECIAL HISTORY STUDY

GOLD MINING NEAR RAINY LAKE CITY FROM 1893 TO 1901, A THEME ASSOCIATED WITH VOYAGEURS NATIONAL PARK

Minnesota

September 1986

by
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AC 16303

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Gold mining near Rainy Lake
City from 1893 to 1901 : a
theme associated with Voya

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CHAPTER ONE: GOLD MINING NEAR RAINY LAKE CITY

I. BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

A. Gold Mining in the Context of the United States During the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century

To place the discovery of gold near Rainy Lake in 1893 in a larger context, one must think both of the American experience from 1850 to 1900, as well as the Minnesota experience after the Civil War.

Much of the American experience during the second half of the nineteenth century is soaked through and through with a frequent preoccupation with the possibility of finding immense wealth and rising instantly from poverty to opulence. The preeminent incident to inspire this dream of riches was the finding of gold at the sawmill of Johann Augustus Sutter in the lower Sacramento Valley of California on January 24, 1848. The event put the word "forty-niners" into the American vocabulary for all time, and by the end of that year the news had drawn a hundred thousand gold seekers to the territory and the following year California was admitted to the Union. Not many of those hundred thousand people achieved great wealth, but the gold strike instituted the early settlement of the western seaboard. There was gold for the select few, as $55 million in gold was taken out of California in 1851 alone.[1]

There was not a year between 1850 and 1900 when either gold or silver was not found somewhere in American territory. Nearly every state in the Union boasted a discovery of one kind or another during that period. Colorado had half a dozen major gold strikes in 1859 and Nevada found a similar bonanza in silver during the same year. As a result of these finds, a certain number of Americans ignored the Civil War and sat it out in the west, hunting for precious metals. Among these was Mark Twain or Samuel Langhorne Clemens, America's greatest writer of fiction, who took first inspiration from the silver camps of Virginia City, Nevada.

There he started to write as a reporter for the Territorial Enterprise, and when things were slow, he manufactured news for the paper. The rest of the country discovered Twain out of a short story that came from a California mining camp, "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County." A few years later, after the war, Twain wrote a book-length account of the Virginia City experience called Roughing It (1872). He went on from there to describe much of the rest of the American experience in his fiction.[2]

Meanwhile, the American mesmerization with quick riches continued apace. So integral to the total American experience was the finding of gold and silver both before and after the Civil War, that the subject became a major current in national politics. Theories of monetarism[3] and paper money were perennial topics of debate and every voter thought it essential to learn how the candidates stood on the money question. Every boom and bust from 1861 to 1900 was explained by theorists in terms of the federal government's management or mismanagement of the currency question. The floating of great mountains of greenbacks during the Civil War received little adverse criticism, because the inflated money went with widespread wartime profiteering. Afterwards politicians started to talk about sound money backed by gold. President Grant supported "hard" money and promoted the passage of the Public Credit Act of 1869, a law requiring the government to pay its obligations in gold. Speculators like Jay Gould and "Jubilee Jim" Fisk seized upon this law to try to corner the market on gold and make a killing for themselves. Although the speculators had friends inside the administration who were to assist their scheme, President Grant decided to thwart them by dumping government gold on the open market. This caused "Black Friday", the 24th of September, and the gold price sank from 162 to 135 in a single day, ruining many speculators.[4]

Despite the Black Friday experience, the government continued to tamper with the money system and its supports. In 1873 the Coinage Act demonetized silver and made gold the sole monetary standard. This move tended to depress the price for silver and many ordinary citizens

who were prospecting for the whitish metal in the west, concluded that there was a "gold conspiracy" and referred to the law as "The Crime of '73." In their catechism, the malevolence of the government was dogma. The ensuing panic of 1873, though triggered by multiple causes, confirmed the convictions of the money cranks. Similarly the Specie Resumption Act of 1875 caused further rumblings in the U.S. economy. In reaction to the hard money trends of several administrations, already in the election of 1876 there was a Greenback Party, but they only garnered 81,737 votes that year, less than one percent of the total cast. The following year a Greenback Labor Party was organized by nationally prominent politicians and more than a million voters supported them in the off-year elections of 1878. The monetarist portion of their platform included an opposition to specie payments (hard money) and an advocacy of the free coinage of silver on a parity with gold. The movement had enough support to send fourteen members to Congress in 1879.[5]

The rise of the greenbackers coincided with the passage of the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 which demonetized silver, but gave the Secretary of the Treasury discretionary powers to buy certain amounts of silver every month. Since silver production in the west was growing by leaps and bounds, the limited silver-purchase aspect of the Bland-Allison Act did not satisfy the greenbackers. Similarly, another resumption of specie payments in 1879 further infuriated the paper money advocates, but a revival of national prosperity in 1879 blunted their criticism. In the presidential election of 1880 their national constituency declined to 308,578 votes. They were hurt, but not dead. They slipped further in the 1884 election when their presidential candidate got only 175,370 votes. Thereafter they disappeared as a unified party, but retained a life of sorts within other protest parties, most notably among the populists.[6]

The money eccentrics had a quieter decade during the 1880s, but eventually certain national events wakened them from slumber. An economic recession in 1890 prompted the Congress to pass the Sherman Silver Purchase Act which was inflationary in effect because it guaranteed that the government would buy nearly all of the horrendous amounts of

silver then being produced in the American west. Economic analysts credited this law with being a major contributory factor to the financial panic and depression of 1893. The silver purchase act was repealed on November 1 of that year, but it was too late: many of the financial dominoes had already tumbled. With the depression came a flurry of propaganda tracts, the most noted of which was William H. Harvey's pamphlet Coin's Financial School (1894) in which the author had a young boy lecturing the people on the intricacies of monetarism. Harvey insisted that it was a simple matter that any child could understand, and the solution for the country's problems was the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The book solved Harvey's financial problems, but not the nation's. Millions of copies of the tract were sold. Harvey made his curtain call on the American political stage forty years later in 1932 when he ran for the presidency on the Liberty Party ticket and garnered 53,425 votes.[7]

The protest parties always got their strongest support during hard times and this was true of the monetarists in the 1890s. Significantly, the old leader of the Greenback Party, James Baird Weaver of Iowa, was the standard bearer for the People's Party or Populists during the presidential election of 1892. While admitting that the paper money advocates were only a segment of the populist constituency, they were exceedingly vocal and made their cause seem central to the entire populist program. They received 1,041,028 votes in 1892, their high water mark; and in 1896 most of them merged with the Democratic Party and William Jennings Bryan. A few diehards that same year voted for Bryan under the separate Populist banner with a different vice-presidential candidate. Bryan's rallying cry, of course, came from his famous Cross of Gold speech, in which he intimated that silver was the coinage of the common people and that gold was the symbol of wealth, corruption and oppression. He concluded that speech: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." This was the national atmosphere and backdrop to the minor discovery of gold along the Minnesota/Ontario border during that decade.[8]

B. The Minnesota Context for Gold Mining

To the uninitiated, a discussion of gold mining and the state of Minnesota together seems to be the juxtaposition of contradictory subjects. Yet other states not usually thought of as precious metal country had gold or silver finds at one time or another during the nineteenth century. These included Michigan, Georgia, Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Vermont, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, Kansas, Nebraska, and of course, Minnesota. Most of these discoveries did not amount to much, but these states all had their moments of excitement.[9]

Minnesota itself had earlier hints of native gold being found. The earliest recorded find was in the southeast of the Territory of Minnesota, variously reported as occurring in 1854, 1856, or 1858-9. This was along the Zumbro River, mainly at the town of Oronoco, but quantities were found both in Olmsted and Wabasha counties. What little gold that was extracted was removed by placer mining and sluices. The enthusiasm died after minimal quantities were taken.[10]

A later gold find in northern Minnesota has some relationship to our central area of interest because it led to the construction of a wagon road into the wilderness between Duluth and Tower, Minnesota, thus opening up half the distance between Duluth and Rainy Lake. This was the gold find of 1864 near Lake Vermilion which drew such interest that hundreds of people came through the woods to see if they could enrich themselves. One of the gold mining companies that formed as a result of this flurry spent a few thousand dollars in 1866 on a primitive road through the forest to a place that came to be called Tower. In 1869, through the good offices of George R. Stuntz, the state of Minnesota appropriated more money to improve this road to Tower. When that road work was done, the interest in gold was over; but the usefulness of the road became patent later when iron ore was found along the Mesabi and Vermilion Ranges which lay across the road on the way to Lake Vermilion. The beginnings of the iron ore exploration took place during the 1880s.[11]

It is not altogether clear whether the first gold discovery along the Minnesota/Ontario boundary was made near Rat Portage or near Rainy Lake in 1893. Grace Lee Nute in her narrative about the northern gold finds, sequentially treated of the Rat Portage discoveries before she wrote about the Rainy Lake finds. She stated that by 1894 there were thirty mines functioning within twenty-two miles of Rat Portage, so some of the digging must have been done the previous year. Probably the various discoveries were nearly simultaneous, as many of the prospectors roved over a wide field and some of the prospectors are known to have explored both regions. Also the Rat Portage area had easier access by means of the Canadian Pacific Railway, so that prospectors would naturally look that region over first.[12]

II. EIGHTEEN NINETY-FOUR

A. Prelude: The Gold Strike on Little American Island, July, 1893

Regardless of where the first strike was made, in late July 1893, Charles A. Moore of Rat Portage and George W. Davis camped on Little American Island in Rainy Lake and panned a sample of crushed quartzite rock from the site and were pleased to find traces of gold in it. They staked their claim to the property and late in the year sold their interests in it to Hutch Bevier of Duluth. Bevier was a man of some means who found several other gentlemen in Duluth who were willing to invest and form a company. Bevier's partners were Jeff Hildreth and A.S. Chase. Their organization was called the Bevier Mining and Milling Company, capitalized at $300,000. At an early date they had several assays performed on their rock which reported out variously at sums between $37.60 to $300 free gold per ton of quartz. These assays were done in early 1894. Since Little American Island was only about three acres in extent, the partners bought up about twelve hundred acres of land near it which they thought followed along the vein of quartz onto neighboring islands and the Kabetogama Peninsula. By June of 1894, the Bevier company had sunk its main shaft forty-five feet and was planning

to set up a five-stamp mill on the peninsula a mile to the east of the mine, because of the lack of space on the island. This mainland location for the stamp-mill came to be the town of Rainy Lake City, which was incorporated on May 17, 1894 by the Rainy Lake Improvement Company of Duluth. By late June the town had "three general stores, a hardware store, 3 hotels, a barber shop, two restaurants, a post office, customs office and 5 saloons."[13]

All this was chronicled in the town's new newspaper whose first issue came off the press on Thursday June 28, 1894. This was the Rainy Lake Journal whose editor, Fred J. Bowman, had a brash, boastful and optimistic literary style that showed he was glad to be at what he considered to be the most fortunate spot on earth. Bowman had a partner at first, but U.M. Thomas gravitated early to Rat Portage which also needed a newspaper. The ads in Bowman's first several issues also revealed how heavily the editor was committed to the success of the town. He was listed as one of the promoters for the new towns of Koochiching (now International Falls), Minnesota, and Island City, Ontario, as well as a partner in a real estate firm, Prescott, Thomas and Bowman, that was selling lots and mining properties either in or around Rainy Lake City, Gold Harbor, Koochiching, Hannaford and Island City.[14]

Besides his own businesses, and in addition to the establishments he listed in articles, Bowman had ads from other firms. The Bank of Rainy Lake advertized W.W. Butler as cashier and P.M. Graff of Duluth as president. The bank claimed capital assests of $100,000 and also offered advice to non-residents on gold properties. One lumber company had its sawmill in Fort Frances with a yard in Rainy Lake City, but Kirkwood and Ribenack were already milling lumber in town. The Prescott and Kingsbury Machine Company sold sawmill and mining supplies in town, but their home office was in West Duluth.[15]

B. The Founding of the Town of Koochiching/International Falls

Coincidentally, the first issue of the Rainy Lake Journal was also touting the new neighbor town of Koochiching which was said to be "only two weeks old, but a hummer." The article described the townsite as "nearly level" and sloping gently on three sides toward the Rainy River. It was directly opposite what the writer referred to as the "falls of Alberton," where the water cascaded over a twenty-five foot precipice. In this conjunction, the editor mentioned the falls' potential for hydroelectric power and the adjacent country's richness for agriculture. The editor was unthinkingly distracting his readers away from the principal subject, gold. Bowman also listed the earliest merchants who had established themselves at Koochiching. There was a liberal sprinkling of saloon keepers and G.W. Johnson and Hans Mahlen, both of Portland, North Dakota, had the wholesale distributorship for Schiltz's Milwaukee Beer. There were timber cruisers there as well and plans were underway to establish a sawmill and a newspaper. The organizers of the new town were mainly Minneapolis men such as lawyer George H. Fletcher; Horace V. Winchell, state geologist; and Robert S. Dawson, secretary of the company.[16]

Grace Lee Nute gave even greater detail on the establishment of the town of Koochiching in a 1950 book. In her lengthier account she argued in favor of Alexander Baker as the founder of the town, for that gentleman had been a squatter near the falls as early as 1872. Since the land was unsurveyed then, it took him until 1884 to prove up and secure his homestead patent. Winchell, the man mentioned in the Journal article above, had passed through the area on a surveying trip in 1887. It took him until 1891 to get a one-year lease on the townsite and form a settlement company. The lumberman C.J. Rockwood was the capitalist force sustaining the settlement effort, and he and his officers decided to call the place Koochiching already in 1892. At the top of Rockwood's list of priorities, once the town was established in 1894, was to break its isolation with a railroad. Even though Rockwood did not achieve this objective himself, the Canadian Northern did build a line opposite his town that reached Fort Frances, Ontario, in 1901.[17]

C. The Fourth of July, 1894, in Rainy Lake City and the New Five-Stamp Mill

Meanwhile, back at Rainy Lake City, the first major event was the cranking up of the first stamp mill to operate within the state of Minnesota. It fortuitously coincided with the town's ornate celebration of the Fourth of July. The steamboats Lloyd and Maple Leaf brought over crowds of people from Fort Frances and Koochiching. Colonel J.B. Geggie, local manager of the townsite company, presided at the festivities and gave the first speech. Reverend A.F. Butters followed with a prayer, after which an impromptu choir sang a few patriotic songs. Bowman's partner at the Journal, U.M. Thomas, then read the Declaration of Independence. The main speaker was O.B. Robinson; but he was overshadowed by Jeff Hildreth, one of the co-owners of the Little American mine, who was cheered as the hero of the hour. The crowd was in such a good mood that they tolerated two more speakers from Fort Frances.[18]

Finally at two in the afternoon the crowd repaired to the stamp mill. The editor described the scene:

> Jeff Hildreth's face wore a confident but anxious look. Captain West [the superintendent of the mine and stamp mill] was calm and serene, as usual. He had superintended the construction from the foundation up and he knew that everything was all right. Colonel Geggie tried to look happy and actually succeeded. Captain West turned on the steam and George S. Davis, the discoverer of the Little American, shoveled in the first ore. Every part of the machinery worked to a charm. The mill only ran about half an hour, but everybody was satisfied and the tests applied to the milled ore confirmed all that both mine and machinery were a grand success.[19]

After the formal ceremonies, games and sports followed. The most interesting contest was a canoe race with "Indian squaws" as participants. First place in the double-canoe race was won by "Maggie Sky and Mary somebody," second by White Cloth and Wooden Frog, third by Mrs. Smith and her daughter Maggie, fourth by Mrs. Morrison and

Sarah Sha Sha. The Chippewa guests did well in most of the contests, as Wanegesich and Angequeh came in second in the men's double canoe; and John Sky and Indian Sam took first and second in single canoes. John Morgan successfully climbed the greased pole.[20]

There were several other noteworthy items in the second issue of the Journal. There was a notice for the village caucus to be held the next Monday evening. There was a complaint about "abominable mail service" via the Tower-Crane Lake Portage route. In an editorial, Bowman nearly declared war on editor Bernard of the Grand Rapids Magnet for slandering Rainy Lake people in their "over-boomed section." Bowman promised revenge in the November elections, obviously believing that the coming wealth would soon translate into a large population and eventual political control of Itasca County. Presently, because of their isolation, Rainy Lake City had to take the back seat to the distant county seat at Grand Rapids.[21]

D. Other Inducements to Settlers

The front page of that second issue of the Journal was more prophetically accurate than the rest of the paper's emphasis on gold. The lead article, entitled "Great Possibilities," spoke of the timber wealth of the region, claiming two billion board feet of white pine were waiting along the Minnesota side of the boundary. He revealed too that presently millions of board feet were being floated to Rat Portage sawmills on the Ontario side and that enterprising Americans should establish sawmills on their side and tap this wealth. Writing about the presence of timber wealth naturally inspired the editor to correlate timber with its necessary antecedent, a railroad for removing the logs.[22]

As week followed week, Bowman recited start after start of new mines. The first one announced after the Little American was the Little Canada Mine, only four miles northeast of Rainy Lake City, in Ontario, owned by C.A. Moore of Rat Portage. Three assays on a forty-foot wide vein came out to $40.51, $21.53 and $16.95 per ton of ore. Moore also did not have the capital assets to develop this find by himself.[23]

Even though editor Bowman kept his searchlight on the goldfields around Rainy Lake City, he boasted about any asset he could think of to attract settlers for the region. In his third issue he featured Rainy Lake as "A Summer Resort" and described the "entrancing beauty of its scenery." Elsewhere in the same issue he boasted of the tremendous opportunities for labor, be it in a mine, a stamp mill, or working as a lumberjack, farmer, or fisherman.[24]

E. Other Gold Finds in American Territory

On the gold front that week, Bowman listed developments: William and Edward Ward of Duluth and their partner, O.A. Watzke of West Superior, told him of their intention to build a stamp mill on an island three miles east of Rainy Lake City in Section 30, T71N R21W. The Ward brothers held twenty-seven other properties in the vicinity and also planned to plat a townsite on the mainland just south of their island. Elsewhere W.B. Holman and a Mr. Olson of Biwabik, Minnesota, began development work on a gold property in T71N R23W, close to the modern town of Ranier, Minnesota. Meanwhile, Markham Bevier set plans in motion to sink a shaft on an island about a mile or more east of Rainy Lake City. He called it the Markham Mine; possibly this was the property that later took the name Bushyhead Mine. The island was said to have only three acres of land. Another announcement in that issue of the Journal told of Captain Houghton's plans for his townsite of Gold Harbor, about a mile east of Rainy Lake City on the Kabetogama Peninsula. Houghton gave the bad news for settlers: two experimental dynamite blasts had turned up a "splendid lead of rich gold ore."[25]

Along with the local gold news, Bowman always provided tidbits about gold production around the world. This time he gave the figures for Canada in 1893. The Dominion had produced 51,609 ounces the previous year, with a value of $827,244. This came out to a price of about $16 an ounce. Most of this production came from the Lake of the Woods environs, so it was a positive inducement for bringing gold seekers to the region.[26]

F. Rainy Lake City Politics and Concerns

The town held a village caucus on Monday evening, July 9, 1894, at the platform near the Green Tree Hotel. About ninety voters turned up. H.C. Ribenack, the lumberman, and B.F. Turnbull, were nominated for village president. C.P. McClure, Frank Dunn and John Berg were nominated for trustees. D.P. Redding was nominated for recorder. D.J. O'Donnell was nominated for treasurer. W.W. Robertson and L.M. Bolin were nominated for justice of the peace. And James Tearney was nominated for village marshal. S.S. Chute was nominated for street commissioner.[27]

A week later the Journal editor was preoccupied with the national depression. He theorized that capitalists were reluctant to invest in the Rainy Lake goldfields because the hard times made them think that many of the alleged new finds were really confidence games for the unwary. Yet Bowman felt the area's future was secured. After all, he wrote: "There is no such thing in gold mining districts as hard times. Gold has a fixed value and is always a merchantable commodity. The market is never overstocked but the demand for it always exceeds the supply. It is money itself."[28]

Meanwhile, over at the Little American Mine, the five-stamp mill had broken down. The hoisting apparatus had given trouble for a week. On Monday, the 16 of July, the crew completed repairs and set the machinery in motion. Bowman described how it worked:

> The mill consists of a crusher, five stamps, a freuvanner (concentrator), and engine. The mill is the Fraser & Chalmers pattern and its capacity is rated at twenty tons of ore per day of twenty-four hours. It is being run to its full capacity. The mill will run from two weeks to a month before "cleaning up." After the cleaning up process takes place the concentrates are sent to some reduction works for treatment while the amalgam or mixture of free gold and quicksilver which is scraped off the plates, is retorted, thus separating the quicksilver from the pure gold. A portion of the amalgam is taken from the plates every day. Already more than a pound

> has been taken off, and the proprietors of the mill smile with satisfaction as they contemplate the amount of gold it contains.[29]

The concentrates were to be shipped to Orange, New Jersey, for processing. Between amalgam and concentrates, the owners' most conservative estimate was for $40 gold per ton of ore. Thus the mill could produce $800 a day. Besides Jeff Hildreth, the other two owners, A.S. Chase and Hutch Bevier, had come to town to watch the gold accumulate. At this moment of high enthusiasm they were talking about building a larger hundred-stamp mill. Bowman contemplated the meaning of all this and predicted that the area would proliferate with stamp mills and that "Rainy Lake City will be a city of 10,000 inhabitants inside of a twelve-month." He added his other pet prophecies about employment for many and the surety of a railroad coming soon, with a horde of farmers following to raise the crops to feed them all. He concluded:

> It means that the Rainy Lake and Rainy River country will be the richest and most populous section of Minnesota. Better than all, it means that the large army of cranks who have been defaming Rainy Lake will discover their mistake, go completely crazy and be sent to the insane asylum, where they properly belong.[30]

To support the coming bonanza, Bowman announced the imminent construction of a brickyard on block seventeen of the town, which James Tearney and P.J. Roach had leased for that purpose. Clay of excellent quality had been found at that place, and the editor said that Tearney and Roach already had charcoal kilns and were ready to start making bricks. Of course the brickyard would employ a large number of men.[31]

The village election spoken of earlier was to be held on Friday, July 20. The paper promised to announce the results in the next issue.[32]

The following week's paper (July 26) announced the results of the first cleanup at the Little American stamp mill. It was not a complete

cleanup, as the plates were only scraped and not scoured, so the resultant 28½ ounces of gold estimated at $17 per ounce, netted the owners only $484.50. This came to about $40 per ton of ore processed. Bowman wrote that more gold would be derived from the two tons of concentrates resultant in the same mill run, and these would produce $504 more in gold for nearly a total production of a thousand dollars. Thirty tons of ore had been processed. The mine managers were so thrilled that they threw an impromptu banquet at the Green Tree Hotel. A.S. Chase announced afterwards that the owners now intended to get a diamond drill and sink their shaft to the hundred-foot level. He repeated their intent to install a new larger stamp mill, but could not say where it would be located, as that depended on where they took out most of their ore. Bevier Mining and Milling had several hundred acres on the Kabetogama Peninsula mainland besides their Little American Island holdings. The day after the cleanup, the owners and their superintendent left town with their gold on a business trip to Duluth.[33]

The same issue of the paper told about feverish prospecting along the Seine, Manitou, and Turtle Rivers just north of Rainy Lake City in Ontario. One hundred-acre island near the mouth of the Seine already had a property christened the Big Canada whose officers were starting to sink a shaft. Further up the Seine was the Wiggins mine, also incipient.[34]

G. Three Routes to Rainy Lake City

Editor Bowman of the Journal must have subscribed to a considerable number of newspapers from around the country, because his own paper was a veritable gold mine of information on his favorite subject, gold mining. He had news items from all over the United States as well as from around the world. He related the progress of mines in Colorado, California, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, South Africa, and Australia. Yet he believed that the Rainy Lake fields were the best, so he urged distant readers to come up and see. This required him to give travelling guidance for the gold seekers. So he recited the three basic

routes: the first was a comfortable railroad ride through Minnesota on the Great Northern Railroad to Winnipeg, thence by rail on the Canadian Pacific to Rat Portage. At the latter place the traveler went by steamboat across the Lake of the Woods up the Rainy River to Fort Frances. Here the wayfarer was obliged to change boats, as the falls of Koochiching were too great an obstacle for crossing into Rainy Lake. At Fort Frances steamers would take prospectors nearly everywhere on the periphery of the lake, for a price. This, of course, included Rainy Lake City. The second route was also relatively comfortable. The traveler went to Duluth by rail; then by boat to Port Arthur; then by Canadian Pacific westward to Rat Portage. After that it coincided with route #1. Both of these first two routes were summer routes only as they were closed in winter.[35]

The third route was something of an ordeal; but it was both a summer and winter route and was swifter than the Canadian routes. We have already mentioned the rough road between Duluth and Tower, Minnesota, constructed in conjunction with an earlier gold strike. Tower was on Lake Vermilion where steamers carried travelers to a northwest arm of the lake to the Vermilion Dam. In winter this portion of the trip was made on an ice road over the lake on sleighs or with wagons and teams. After that portion came the most difficult stretch, a twenty-six mile interval from the dam to Crane Lake. It was called the Crane Lake portage, a road that was in pretty dismal shape during most of the 1890s. Improvements were made year by year; but only in 1897 were the ameliorations truly noticeable. Once reaching Crane Lake, the traveler could proceed in summer by steamer all the way to Kettle Falls. Here was a short portage together with a few amenities at a stopping place. A few entrepreneurs had also provided stopping places along the Crane Lake portage. Once crossing the Kettle Falls portage, a traveler had regular chances for catching a steamer on Rainy Lake bound for various destinations including Rainy Lake City. The winter version of the latter portion of the Tower Route was across the ice on sleighs or wagons, either proceeding along the same paths traversed by steamboats or, after reaching Lake Namakan, going westward into Lake Kabetogama, across

Gold Portage to Black Bay, and from thence to Rainy Lake City. Despite the difficulties of the Tower Route, journeyers often commented that they had counted, say, fifteen teams going the other way along the Crane Lake portage. At times traffic was heavier still, and this was in winter or summer.[36]

H. The Little American Mine Produces Some Gold in August and September, 1894

In early August 1894 editor Bowman reported on the second cleanup of the Little American's stamp mill. He wrote: "Whoop-la! Ninety-eight ounces of free gold in eleven days' run!" He claimed further that this gold was of such purity that it would garner more than the standard $17 per ounce price. It would get $19 an ounce. So the latest cleanup was valued at $1,862. Once again he pointed out that the concentrates would add to the total, nearly doubling the value of the mill run. He wrote that an order was in to add five stamps to the mill at once and that the hundred stamp mill was now scheduled for an early spring installation.[37]

The Little American stamp mill continued to show good results the following week. It was averaging between twenty and twenty-three ounces of gold per day. The editor wrote that it took only five ounces a day to pay the workers in both the mine and the mill. The total weekly yield for August 6-10, would be $1,054.[38]

Over at the Little American mine, the workers were said to be down forty-three feet, which seemed a step backwards from earlier reports; but perhaps the Journal had previously rounded the numbers off. At any rate, the mine managers told the paper how they stood:

> The first "stope," or chamber [or lead], was put at a depth of thirty-five feet. The opening of this stope has surprised the most sanguine and enthusiastic of the mine owners and the general public. The main shaft, when opened on the surface, was placed on two small veins, each less than two feet in

> width, with a "horse," or wall of talc slate between them. The sinking of the shaft caused the horse to disappear, the veins to unite, and now at a depth of only thirty-five feet the vein has widened out to a width of twenty-four feet of solid quartz, every piece of which pans free gold.[39]

The main shaft was eight feet square and they wanted to send it down a hundred feet. At that depth a second stope would be dug. The workers were putting in a shaft house and hoisting apparatus on the surface as the paper went to press. Nearby they were building quarters to house themselves. On August 6th work had also begun on a new shaft three hundred feet west of the main shaft. The owners wanted to be sure they had a stockpile of ore stored up in the event of cave-ins or other accidents. They intended to work around the clock even in winter. Their goal was to pile up four hundred tons of ore at the stamp mill before navigation closed, and after that they hoped to haul ore over the ice on sleds with teams.[40]

Even though the owners of the Little American wanted to keep the profits for themselves, they apparently were strapped for funds because of all their expensive improvements. An item from the Duluth Herald revealed that 15,000 shares of stock had been sold there, and one man, H.C. Kendall, bought the entire issue at a dollar a share.[41]

Although results of the July election for the Rainy Lake City village council escaped newspaper notice, B.F. Turnbull had been elected mayor, and John Berg, a busy merchant, was elected alderman. D.P. Redding became recorder. They commenced to hold regular meetings.[42]

As August wore on, editor Bowman continued to deal in hyperbole as he boasted about the Rainy Lake goldfields. The Little American mine was the centerpiece of his verbal barrage. One high-flown caption read "Evidences of a new crop of millionaires at Rainy Lake." Beneath it was a mathematical computation about the Little American. If each stamp of the mill was producing $40 per day, the five stamps were making $400 a day. When the second five-stamp mill was added,

production on an annual basis would go up from $78,000 per annum to $146,000 [sic]. Then, to contemplate the projected hundred stamp mill, raised the ante to $1,440,000 [sic] of free gold per annum.[43] Bowman apostrophized that this was "from only one mine in one year. The mind is hardly able to grasp the possibilities, or magnitude, of such figures." His final conclusion was that the Rainy Lake region was the richest mining country on earth.[44]

I. Visit of the Western Canadian Press Association

At the same time Bowman had an opportunity to publicize the region's bonanza to the world when a party of journalists representing the Western Canadian Press Association came on the steamer Monarch and made a Sunday visit to the Little American mine. It was more like a holiday outing since the editors were accompanied by their wives. Unfortunately most of the journalists were from Winnipeg or Rat Portage, but there was a sprinkling from Toronto, St. Paul and Minneapolis. One writer laid claim to be representing a New York paper. This was W.J. White, president of the association. Doubtlessly, the visit made the Rainy Lake goldfields better known to the outside world.[45]

J. Problems at the Little American in Late 1894 and Rivals on the Seine

During the following week Bowman reprinted a month-old item from the Duluth Commonwealth relating how all the officers of the Little American accompanied their first gold brick to Duluth. The article did reveal difficulties, however. Mechanical trouble with a hoist was slowing operations. Also the owners needed greater capital support, as they were sending their superintendent, Captain D.N. West, out to Denver seeking more financial backing.[46]

More recent developments at the Little American mine in late August 1894, showed how poorly their machines held up under the constant pounding. A spring on the mill crusher broke down and a mine

officer had to be sent to Duluth, or perhaps Chicago, to replace it. Meanwhile the mill had to be shut down for at least a week. The latest cleanup had produced the third gold brick, valued at $2,000. The new superintendent, a man named Peters, minimized the problems by boasting about the richness of the latest ore that was coming up from the mine.[47]

In other news, attention was shifting to doings on the Seine River in Ontario. Three of the mines up there were ordering five stamp mills from Duluth and Chicago. In Rainy Lake City the citizens were looking forward to the establishment of a brickyard, planned by Tearney and Roche. Usage of bricks for homes, though initially more expensive than wood, would give the new town a sense of elegancy and permanence.[48]

Toward the end of August 1894, Bowman continued to switch his attention unwittingly to the Canadian side of the line. This time the location was on Grassy Portage and Nickel Lake, about nine miles due north of Rainy Lake City. A surface vein there was alleged to be between sixty and a hundred feet wide, all a solid mass of gold-bearing ore. Bowman's caption called it "The Greatest Mineral Lode of the Rainy Lake Region." Elsewhere in the same paper, Bowman made the generalization from this particular find to the general character of the terrain, that this was the advantage of the area: the outcroppings were invariably of a highly visible variety on the surface.[49]

K. The Old Soldier Mine on Dryweed Island

Closer to town, Bowman related the story of the establishment of the Old Soldier Mine, on Dryweed Island, about two miles northeast of Rainy Lake City. O.B. Robinson and John Carey, two old soldiers from the Civil War, had discovered the property two weeks previously. They found the capping of the island to consist of hornblende schist through which thin stringers of quartz permeated. The partners found the ore beneath rich with free milling ore showing up well with free gold. Carey had had twenty-five years experience as a miner in New Mexico and Arizona.[50]

Things quieted down in Rainy Lake City in September, so Bowman focussed on Seine River discoveries and steamboat breakdowns. But by mid-month the Little American had produced two more gold bricks, valued at $2,640. Now the mill was troubled with a shortage of fuel for its steam boiler.[51]

L. Minnesota Lacks a Proper Mining Law

At this point the Journal introduced a new theme that would last until the day that editor Bowman left Rainy Lake City for greener pastures. He was bemoaning the fact that Minnesota had not applied the federal mining laws to its own territory. A mineral prospector in Minnesota had to file his claim for a gold property under the aegis of homestead, or timber or stone laws. This tended to delay the receipt of an early title on various parcels of land. Sometimes claims were challenged because the pretext for filing was not credible. Some pieces of land looked ridiculous whether they were claimed for farming, for logging, or for quarrying stone. This aspect tended to encourage claim jumpers. Besides, during the previous winter in Duluth, hundreds of people had filed claims at the land office for properties in the Rainy Lake region which they had never seen. Now they legally had it tied up, yet never came out to the site to develop it. As a result, Bowman was perpetually praising the superiority of Ontario or Canadian mining laws that closely regulated the gold fields and enabled the expeditious and fair establishment of claims on land on their side of the line. Bowman wrote "four-fifths of the prospectors and nine-tenths of the builders of mills [on the Canadian side] are American citizens." Bowman asserted that there was greater wealth in the ground on the American side, but that most of the work was being done in Ontario because of the shortsightedness of both the U.S. Congress as well as the Minnesota legislature.[52]

M. Problems and Developments at the Little American

Toward the end of September 1894 the Little American mine shut down for some unexplained reason. The Journal of September 27 said that Bevier Gold Mining and Milling Co. would continue to mill ore for others as a custom mill charging $6 per ton for ten-ton lots, $5 per ton for 25-ton lots and $3.50 per ton for 50-ton lots. Some mines from the Seine district began to contract for the new service. The mine was not flooded or anything because another article wrote of a guided tour to the mine which was down to the 48-foot level. The same issue told of Jeff Hildreth carrying a $900 gold brick to Duluth for the company; perhaps its sale was to generate pay for the mine and mill workers.[53]

Early October brought two important mining developments for Rainy Lake City. First of all, five gentlemen from Duluth, along with Jeff Hildreth of the Little American, formed the Syndicate Mining Company which already had sunk a twenty-five-foot shaft on an island a mile and a half east of town. This may have been the mine that later became known as the Bushyhead Mine on Bushyhead Island. The syndicate intended to place its stamp mill directly on the island and B.C. Dent of Duluth was directing operations there. The second development was on Fraser Island just northeast of Little American. There the Ward brothers and O.A. Watzke were going to set up a ten stamp mill for processing ore from the island.[54]

The Journal for October 11 solved the mystery of the Little American closure. The Bevier Gold Mining and Milling Company was definitely in financial trouble as the paper printed a report that George St. Clair of Duluth paid for a twenty-year lease "for a rental of a tenth part of the gross revenue of the mine."[55]

N. The Spread of Gold Fever; Obstacles to Mine Development

Elsewhere in town Edward Ward was making preparations for the arrival of a ten stamp mill to be installed at the Live Mine on Dryweed

Island. Other news items included the arrival of a shipment of dynamite from Duluth, and a notice that the town's sawmill was running at full capacity to produce lumber for the numerous stamp mills going up, particularly in the Seine River country. There was news too about improvements for the winter version of the Tower Route and a notice that lumberjacks were in heavy demand for the area woods, $26 to $35 a month being offered along with board. The previous year only $12 to $18 was offered for jacks. The editor explained that the labor shortage was partly engendered by men returning to the old country, particularly Scandinavia. Also extensive forest fires had driven up lumber prices and the national depression was easing.[56]

Editor Bowman had been away from town on a vacation to his native place in Bowdle, South Dakota. Upon his return, he reprinted an item from an Ashtabula, Ohio, newspaper that reflected humorously on his various absences from his office. An Irving, New York, correspondent to the Ohio paper, a Mr. G.W. Smith, told of his August visit to Rainy Lake City in which he could not do much business with the merchants of the town because they were all out prospecting for gold. Even Bowman was out in the wilds filling his sack with rich quartz.[57]

Late October gold news was again slanted toward the Seine country and Bowman was promoting other things besides mineral wealth. Now he was boasting of the rich agricultural lands on either side of the Rainy River as well as the bountiful timber production of the area forests. He also publicized the Canadian parliament's recent subsidization of $4,200 per mile for the Port Arthur, Duluth & Western Railroad which was destined to parallel the Canadian Pacific line and approach the Seine River goldfields and eventually reach Fort Frances, but this was to be some years into the future.[58]

Also Bowman learned more details on the Little American lease taken up by George A. St. Clair of Duluth. It was a twenty-year lease and Jeff Hildreth was to manage the mine as before. The lease required that two shafts be sunk to a depth of two hundred feet. The shafts

were to be five hundred feet apart and were to have a tunnel connecting them. Each shaft was to have its own hoisting machinery. The new combine would bring in a much larger stamp mill of unspecified size and would spend $25,000 to bring about these improvements. St. Clair was to make monthly payments in the form of a royalty and the original investors, Bevier and friends, were to receive at least fifteen or twenty percent interest on their money and later were to get twenty-five percent or more.[59]

At the end of October 1894, editor Bowman took out his frustrations about Minnesota mining laws by writing a speculative essay about the inevitability of Canada being annexed to the United States. If he had been logical, he should have hoped for Canada's annexation of Minnesota, for they had the better mining laws by his own admission. This same issue also told about the actual activity at the Little American mine under the new management. St. Clair had hired eight miners to take out the ore and intended to hire another eight the following week. Superintendent Peters was still in charge of the stamp mill, but J.B. Weimer had replaced Hildreth as general manager.[60]

O. The Bushyhead and Lyle Mines

In early November the Journal printed work of development on Bushyhead Island. Neal Gunstein and A.F. Bestuls of Scandinavia, Wisconsin, commenced the opening of a mine there. It was also referred to as Lot #10. Other absent partners included Dr. Dale, O.S. Seather and G.O. Krostu, also from Scandinavia, Wisconsin.[61]

In November editor Bowman was taken somewhat by surprise when he learned about a mine opening practically under his nose that had escaped notice in Rainy Lake City. The state geological survey team which had passed through the region some weeks previously gave the news item to the Duluth Commonwealth to the effect that Dr. U.S. Grant and H.V. Winchell had seen a new mine on the north side of Dryweed Island, called the Lyle, which had already descended twenty-two feet.

Actually the Lyle Mine was on a small 1.2-acre island off the north coast of Dryweed Island, about two miles northeast of Rainy Lake City. A group of entrepreneurs headquartered in Calmar, Iowa, had formed the Lyle Mining Company. C.W. Giesen was president, A. McRobert was secretary/treasurer. Otto A. Watzke and Edward Ward were also part owners of the company. Bowman reported that the new company had three shafts under way; #1 was down thirty-six feet and was to have the stamp mill located adjacent to it; #2 was down more than twenty feet; and #3 was only begun. All three shafts would eventually be connected underground. An inclined railway would move the ore downhill to the stamp mill. The actual mill was still in Tower, held up by weather and awaiting a hard freeze of the lakes. The total weight of the plant machinery was forty tons and included a ten-stamp mill, a Comet crusher, a thirty horsepower engine, a forty horsepower boiler, a steam pump, a friction steam hoist with complete engine and boiler, plus a complete outfit of auxiliary machinery. The entire plant had been purchased from Fraser and Chalmers of Chicago. The owners feared they could not get the plant into place before January 1, as it still had a hundred miles to go in the toughest weather of the year. Meanwhile the foundations were being laid at the mine and timber was being milled into lumber for the various buildings.[62]

P. The Onset of Winter, the Death of Jeff Hildreth, and Pessimism About the Little American

As winter started to close in, gold mining news became scarce, and the editor focussed on other matters. Two of the local steamers were disabled and probably would be hung up where they sat for the winter. The May Carter had burst one of her boiler tubes and was stranded on Lake Namakan near Kettle Falls. The Lloyd had frozen a pipe and lay idle also near Kettle Falls but on the Rainy Lake side. In other local news the Tearney and Roche brickyard had sold their first batch of brick and were preparing to burn a new lot in kiln the following week. At the Little American, Captain Jay Pratt had taken charge of the stamp mill during Peters' absence.[63]

The following week Bowman wrote propaganda favoring improved roads, both on the Tower route, as well as between Rainy Lake City and Koochiching. His caption on the former subject read "The Urgent Need of a Wagon Road Between Here and Tower." The latter road to Koochiching was making actual progress. George Davis and U.M. Thomas had blazed a trail there, trying to follow the ridge summits and still keep the road as straight as possible. Presently Fred Collett had a crew of white men and Indians widening the road.[64]

What mining news Bowman did receive, was either from the Lake of the Woods environs, or from the Seine River country. At the latter place some mining properties were changing hands for sums between $20,000 and $30,000. As for Rainy Lake City, the editor wrote a paeon of thanks to the deity at Thanksgiving for bringing them all to this gold bonanza. One of his captions read "Everything Points to a Bright Future for this New Eldorado."[65]

As the year 1894 ground to its close the Journal was short of mining news, and even there the emphasis centered on the Seine. Even the weather was uncooperative. Temperatures were too warm to enable the Lyle Mining Company to bring its machinery over the ice. Even so, Bowman engaged in some boasting about the Lyle. The owners continued to blast deeper into the rock even though their stamp mill was stranded at Tower. The editor gave several new names of the Lyle Mine partners when he recited the list. There were the Ward brothers Edward and William, O.A. Watzke, C.W. Geisen, Peter Meyer, Jr., and men named Hoxie and Haug.[66]

The last weekly paper of the year brought news of the death of Jeff Hildreth who had been so closely associated with the fate of the Little American Mine. The obituary revealed that he was fifty-seven years old and had been heavily involved with gold mining for the previous twenty years. He had made a small fortune in conjunction with the Homestake Mine in South Dakota and the Sultana Mine near Rat Portage. He had dissipated that fortune and his physical ills,

compounded by worry and disappointment with the Little American, had hastened his death.[67]

Elsewhere in the same issue of the paper, editor Bowman criticized the management of the Little American for its undercapitalization. He said that only $10,000 had been spent on the mine, whereas it deserved a hundred thousand dollar investment. This accusation prompted him to reveal several causes of the Little American's troubles:

> Instead of following the rules of mining engineering, sinking a proper shaft and employing machinery of sufficient capacity, the cap of the mine was destroyed by taking quartz from the surface, the water in the mine was pumped by hand, ore hoisted by hand, and transported in a scow rowed by hand a mile away to an insignificant five-stamp mill.[68]

A final item for the year 1894 told that John B. Weimer was transporting a gold brick to Duluth. The item neither gave the value of the brick, nor did it say where the ore had come from; but only that the Little American stamp mill had produced it.[69]

The gloom purveyed to Rainy Lake City by the news of the death of Jeff Hildreth seemed to multiply as the intensity of the northern winter descended on the community. Next, on New Year's eve, a miner named Dan McLean was found frozen on the ice of Rainy Lake, four miles east of the town at the head of Dryweed Island. "The body was lying face downwards, with both arms outstretched, he having apparently sank [sic] down, completely overcome by the biting wind." He, together with a couple of other miners at Kelly's Camp, having been paid off, left the Seine country for Rainy Lake City. He travelled part way with a miner named Murphy, who had a dog team. At Scott Island they parted, the dog team overburdened with two men; but robust enough to pull one. McLean was never seen alive after that. The tragic death hit the town hard, as McLean was well known, liked, and highly respected.[70]

III. EIGHTEEN NINETY-FIVE

A. A Slow Start for the Year

Fred Bowman fled the borderland cold for two weeks around New Year's Day as he vacationed in his old hometown of Bowdle, South Dakota. Percy Walwyn, his accountant, took up the cudgels in his absence.[71] Walwyn did not have Bowman's gift for generating news when there was none; in fact he wrote an apostrophe to his Seine River correspondents, complaining of their laziness in not writing. Bowman had better luck upon his return, telling of the arrival of the Lyle Mine's machinery from Tower. The apparatus was rapidly being set up.[72]

In February 1895 Bowman too was at a loss for words and sought expanded information from the gold property owners. He asked for weekly written reports from the Seine country and if the informant came to Rainy Lake City in person, there was a standing invitation to drop in for a chat at the Journal office. Otherwise Bowman merely printed his fervent hopes for vast wealth, as if wishes would generate events. A portion of his prayer was always directed toward the coming of a railroad to this wilderness.[73]

To inspire his informants, the editor next made a snowshoe trip into the Seine River country, so that later issues were filled with news about the mines up there. Also, upon his return, he summarized the "Preliminary Report of the Rainy Lake Gold Region" by the state geologists Grant and Winchell. All in all, he thought their report was too conservative in tone, but admitted that it did support his claims that this was a gold-bearing region. At the same time Bowman was obliged to defend the Lyle Mine against disparaging remarks printed in the Minneapolis Journal. Bowman was losing some of his optimism about the goldfields and remarked in another article that he had gotten little thanks from mine property owners who had benefitted financially from his free boosterism and advertizing.[74]

Toward the end of February dynamite explosions again started to come from the Little American Mine. Another new superintendent, this one named Whitely, told the editor that it was his intention to push the shaft downward at flank speed to build up a large stockpile of ore. The mine had been stymied for some time close to the fifty-foot level and Whitely said they would run a horizontal lead at fifty feet and every fifty-foot depth after that. The stamp mill wheels were not to turn until enough ore had built up to prevent further stoppage.[75]

B. The Big American Mine and General Plans for Mine Development in 1895

In early March 1895 two significant items in the Journal came from the Duluth Commonwealth. One item involved the Big American Mine which had received minimal coverage in Bowman's paper. The Duluth paper reported that George W. Davis, also the co-discoverer of the Little American, had sold the Big American for $4,700 to Otto Watzke who also had an interest in the Lyle Mine. The Duluth paper also stated that the Little American mine had again changed hands, this time it had been bought by Cleveland capitalists.[76]

More details about the Little American came out the following week. Captain W.S. Mack of Cleveland had taken over as president of the Little American Mining Company. He had already brought new machinery to the mine including new engines, steam pumps and hoists. He intended to push the Little American shaft down two hundred feet and use a steam tug to haul ore from three of his properties to the stamp mill in Rainy Lake City. He had also leased the Little Chicago mine, half a mile east of town, and the Big Chicago mine of the Jeff Hildreth estate, half a mile west of town adjoining the Little American. The Little Chicago was owned by Dr. E.R. Lewis.[77]

C. Plans for the Lyle Mine

At the same time, in mid-March 1895, editor Bowman had a conversation with C.W. Giesen of the Lyle Mining Company who told of his plans. Giesen said that the forty tons of new machinery spoken of earlier in this narrative was now in place and he and his partners had no misgiving about losing the entire investment, they were so well fixed. The company even had a steam skip that deposited the ore from the shafts atop the mill so that handling was at a minimum. The plant had electric lights as well and soon a storage shed filled with a carload of dynamite would be ready. He intended to go down two hundred feet and build levels at fifty-foot intervals. He felt so confident in the Lyle's potential that he said none of its stock was for sale on the market and he and his partners had no intention of offering stock for sale.[78]

D. Plans for the Little American, the Bushyhead, and the Ontario Mines

Toward the end of March 1895, a news item about the Little American mine indicated the owners had not yet solved all of their financial problems. The newspaper down in Mesaba, Minnesota, revealed that F.A. Bates was interested in buying the Little American. Moreover, he had gone east in an attempt to raise capital for operating the mine. J.B. Weimer told the same paper that attempts to sell Little American stock through Duluth newspapers fell flat.[79]

About the same time the Rainy Lake Journal gave more details about the Bushyhead Mine:

> The Bushyhead mine is located on an island, a mile east of this city, and is so named because it rises boldly out of the lake at an altitude considerably above one hundred feet, and is crowned with a luxuriant growth of pine timber, giving it a "bushy appearance, an emerald set in a sea of glass."

The peculiar terrain made it possible for the miners to make their first entrance into the quartz by means of horizontal tunnels, a rarity for the area. Then, at fifty-foot intervals, they sank two shafts. So far they had gone down thirty feet in the first shaft, and a hundred feet in the second. The latter depth was a record for the immediate environs of Rainy Lake City. O.C. Seather, of Waupaca, Wisconsin, one of the owners of the Bushyhead, had given the information about the mine to the Journal. Seather had holdings in pine lands between Tower and Rainy Lake City, besides some investments in iron ore properties.[80]

An April 1895 article on the Little American Mine gave some idea of the structural mistakes perpetrated in the sinking of the earlier original shaft:

> The new shaft on the Little American Mine is now down 48 feet. It was sunk south of the vein which it is expected to strike at a depth of one hundred feet or so. It is the intention to put in the first level soon. The new shaft is 7 X 11 inside the timberings, and undoubtedly is one of the finest shafts yet sunk in the Rainy Lake gold region. The pump has been put into the old shaft, which will be retimbered and ore taken out as soon as it can be made safe for miners. Work has also been done on the open cut west of the old shaft. It is expected that when ore can be gotten out of the shafts and the cut that the mill can be started up again on the opening of navigation.

Besides the new steam pump the Little American now had a steam hoist as well. Over at the Lyle, the main shaft was down fifty-eight feet, with the crews working night and day. Their managers intended to start up their new ten stamp mill on the 15th of April.[81]

On the Ontario side gold fever was rampant, with six thousand acres of land purchased in the last thirty days alone. There were four crown lands surveyors going all the time. The land purchasers had to pay the surveyors eight dollars a day for their services, plus two dollars per acre for the land. There was a deferred payment plan for the land, but it took at least a dollar an acre to hold it. Forty and eighty-acre tracts were the most popular.[82]

E. Events in Rainy Lake City and Visitors to Town

The regularly printed minutes of the village council revealed that the editor of the Journal had been elected president or mayor of Rainy Lake City. John Berg, John Lang, and P.J. Roche were trustees or aldermen, with O.B. Robinson, recorder. April 1895 business included an attempt by the council to recover some village sidewalk planking that had been requisitioned by the Little American owners to shore up the mine. Other business included an application for a liquor license and a search for funds to repair the jail.[83]

Bowman was running an advertisement for the Rainy Lake Improvement Company in April 1895. In it the promoters not only boasted of the town's assets, but stated their need for a large general store, a drug store, a first class hotel, new sidewalks and street improvements. The company offered liberal inducements to achieve these goals, such as donating the site for the hotel.[84]

On April 11, 1895, editor Bowman reprinted a two column article from the Cleveland Plain Dealer which described the visit of a party of easterners to the Rainy Lake goldfields in late March. Although the article could not go into detail about the individual mines, it nevertheless gave a feeling of immediacy to the experience of moving through the wilderness during extremely cold weather. The only noteworthy comments of the writer on the American mines was that the stamp mill for the Little American would be better placed adjacent to the mine; also that the Old Soldier Mine owned by the Ward brothers might have to use the Cyanide Method for treating its refractory ores; and also that the Old Soldier was now twenty feet below the lake's surface and required only a half hour's pumping per day to keep it free of water. The writer concurred with editor Bowman's view that more mining progress was being made on the Canadian side of the boundary, "owing to the ease with which titles can be acquired."[85]

On April 18, 1895 the Journal printed a summary of steamboat traffic in 1894 between the Lake of the Woods and Rainy Lake. There were twenty-seven different steamers running, towing cumulatively twenty-nine different barges. The tonnage of these carriers was 2,100 valued at $200,000. They carried a total of 90,086 passengers and 4,900 tons of freight. Going in the other direction were 2,250,000 pounds of fish valued at $595,000. 287,315 logs were towed downstream; they contained 30,250,000 board feet of wood valued at $246,559. Besides the above, 425,000 ties worth $127,500 were exported down the Rainy River. Also $7,000 worth of cedar posts and stave bolts were also sent downstream.[86]

F. Lack of a Mining Law and Rival Gold Fields

In the same issue Bowman again went into high dudgeon about Minnesota's sad neglect of adequate mining laws. He used the Little American Mine as an arguing point, saying that despite bad management it still produced $6,000 in gold during 1894. From this he drew the conclusion that if the legal obstacles for acquiring mining properties were removed, capital would rush into the area and develop the mines properly.[87]

In late April 1895 editor Bowman first took note of the Yukon gold rush in print. This was bound to distract attention away from his own beloved Rainy Lake region. His argument against going to the Yukon was based on the extreme northern climate and the short working season. He wrote that it took a ton of supplies to subsist one man for a year, and this tended to increase the hardship and even cause starvation.[88]

Despite his disparagement of the Yukon, Bowman's own emphasis was slowly switching toward the Seine River Country in Ontario. The Weigand mine was getting a lot of publicity. Bowman could only write about the distant dynamite booms coming from the Lyle and Bushyhead mines on the American side.[89]

To make matters worse for the United States, new discoveries of gold were soon being broadcast for the Big Manitou Lake country, another arm of Rainy Lake on the Ontario side. Then too, stamp mills were sprouting like mushrooms on the Seine. Bowman could scarcely rival them with his news from the Little American and the Lyle. The former mine was still trying to repair damage from earlier mismanagement while the Lyle was showing feverish activity, the owners still being in the enthusiastic stage of development. Captain Wills was running the show at the Lyle and promised that the new ten-stamp mill would be functioning on the 15 of May. His shaft #1 was down fifty feet; #3 was down thirty-five feet with a seven by eight-foot shaft. At depth the latter hit richer ore and was widened to eight by twelve feet.[90]

G. The Little American Returns to Action

At last in May 1895 the Little American turned out another gold brick, this one eighteen ounces, worth $325. It took thirty tons of ore to make it. In figuring expenses for this run, the bill was $170, so the net profit was only $155. In Rainy Lake City proper, the council was preparing to lay new wooden sidewalks. Soon "the days of wading through mud and climbing over stumps and stones will end, at least, on those streets," [Duluth, Minnesota, and Main Streets]. In other developments, the Ward brothers, Edward and William, sold their interest in the Lyle mine to Otto A. Watzke of West Superior. It was reported that Watzke gave them $20,000. The Lyle mill was expected to start up around the 25th of May.[91]

On May 20th the Little American mill did a cleanup that gleaned twenty-seven ounces, seventeen pennyweights and 3½ grains of gold valued at $450. The mill was still processing some ore that Jeff Hildreth had rejected for use the previous fall. The Journal editor had heard that the company holding the lease on the Little American had found interested parties willing to invest in it, so as to place it on a paying basis.[92]

At this time editor Bowman ran an ad for silver properties in the Port Arthur, Ontario, area. The text of the ad predicted that silver prices would rise within two years to as high as a dollar an ounce. The prediction was based on a belief that large gold speculators, such as the Rothschilds would soon be flooding the market with their $900,000,000 hoard of gold. The result would be sinking gold prices and rising silver prices. The ad listed the silver properties and stated "apply to E.R. Lewis or Fred J. Bowman, Rainy Lake City, Minnesota."[93]

By the end of May the Little American mill had completed another run of sixty-six tons of ore that yield $6.33 gold per ton. Subtracting expenses the net yield was $2.45 per ton. A Journal summary went on to give the cold facts on the Little American for the previous year. The grand total was $5,024 from 320 tons milled, or about $16 per ton. Damming the mine with faint praise, the Journal added:

> The above figures are authentic and show that the Little American has free milling ore, and is a good piece of gold property, and, it is to be hoped, the lessees will be able to redeem the mine from the bad impression it has left in the minds of the public through the carelessness or indifference of the fee owners.[94]

Over at the Lyle, the stamp mill started up on the 28 of May, but the big regional news was that eight properties in the Seine region were sold in recent days for a cumulative total of a quarter of a million dollars. The buyers were all from the United States.[95]

In June, new gold discoveries were being announced on the Ontario side with every issue of the Journal. Most of them were on the Seine, but some were in the Rat Portage environs. The Canadians too were cutting wagon roads on a north and south axis from the Canadian Pacific line to their diggings on the Seine and the Manitous. Soon they would have no further need for utilizing the Tower route.[96]

In mid-June 1895 the owners of the Lyle Mine announced that the character of their ore was changing with depth. The ore near the

surface was refractory and would require the cyanide process. But as they got down sixty-two feet, the ore was turning up to be of the free milling variety, being a blue crystalline quartz. Over at the Little American, the managers reported that they were driving a drift into the ore body from the new shaft and soon would be milling fresh ore.[97]

A week later, C.W. Giesen, president of the Lyle Company, reported that an assay done on Lyle ore, had come out to $160 per ton. The assay had been done by James Austin & Sons of Providence, Rhode Island. At the same time, a prospector named W.R. Miller claimed to have found gold within two miles of Kettle Falls, but on the Ontario side. He had an assay done on his sample and it came out to $72.76 per ton. He headed for Fort Frances to file a claim on the property. In more mundane news, the new sidewalks in Rainy Lake City were completed. Happiness was universal. Everyone was out of the mud and even Indians were using the walks. Horses and cattle got up on them and gazed about "with an air of supreme complacency."[98]

H. The Great Rainy Lake Bank Robbery of June 19, 1895

The Rainy Lake Journal for June 17, 1895, told the curious story of the robbing of the town's bank; a story that also came down to us from other sources such as recollections of pioneers. The Journal version unravels in a pedestrian fashion that seems to either demonstrate the gullibility of the paper's editor, Fred J. Bowman, or the charitable character of the entire community in being unwilling to expose one of their neighbors to public ridicule and scorn. In the last analysis, however, the town banker, Walter W. Butler, had apparently robbed his own bank, tried to cover it up with a cock-and-bull story, and was caught red-handed with the money, and was thereafter genteely run out of town with his public reputation unscathed, but this is not how the story was told in the pages of the Journal.[99]

The Journal headline for June 27 read: "Held Up! Rainy Lake City In Its Genuine Wild and Wooly Style! Boodle All Gone!. . . Bold

Bank Robbery." The story was given to the editor entirely by the banker, W.W. Butler. Butler said that two strangers came to his residence about dusk on the evening of June 14. They had been paddling all day and were tired and hungry and wanted to transact some business, but first they wanted to get something to eat. So they arranged a ten o'clock rendezvous with Butler at the bank and left him to return to their tent on the lakeshore where they said they would cook their evening meal. The whole thing sounded suspicious to Butler, he said, but he believed the man because he represented himself to be a Denver capitalist and did show a bill of large denomination. The changing of this bill occasioned the moment when Butler had to open his safe. At that point the "Denver Capitalist" seized him, held him down, and an accomplice appeared. The two men emptied the safe, taking $3,000 in cash, some city warrants, and other papers. After the robbery, Butler sounded the alarm and a few citizens made a brief futile attempt to find the robbers in the darkness. The next portion of the Journal text reveals the naivete of the editor:

> Mr. Butler took the Lloyd the next morning for Duluth to set the minions of the law on the track of the robbers, and to see what he can do in satisfying the demands of the depositors.
>
> Public sentiment here, of course, censures Mr. Butler's loose way of doing business. It is evident that the ones who did the robbery must have been advised of the fact that they could gain admission in the way they did and so made an easy and sure plan to do him to the Queen's taste.[100]

In the following week's paper a thinly veiled version of Butler's crime was printed.

> Rumors of all sorts, and stories of every shade were in circulation. Some even went so far as to insinuate that Mr. Butler had robbed his own bank and was making tracks for the coffee growing district of Nicaragua just as fast as steam would take him, and were anxious to set the dogs of the law at him to catch him before he could join the throng of Managers, Taylors, and that ilk, gone before. Others believed the facts to be as stated in the Journal last week, and were willing to let events so shape themselves as to demonstrate that the bank was solvent and that the depositors would lose nothing, as was stated by Mr. Butler before he left for Duluth.

> The wisdom of the latter sentiment and counsel was shown to be good when on Thursday night, [June 27] just one week from the day of departure, Mr. Butler returned, acccompanied by Archie Phillips, of Tower, a determined resolute fellow, who is as brave as a lion, and yet who has a heart in him as tender as a womans. In his charge and care $5,000 was placed by Mr. Butler.
>
> On his arrival, he called the depositors to the bank and told them that their money was ready for them. But only two took it, and they since replaced the same, now that their scare was shown to be groundless.
>
> The loss of course falls on Mr. Butler, and while considerable, we are glad to know in no way affects the solvency or financial integrity of the bank. Business will be conducted as heretofore, with this difference: on regular bank hours from 9 a.m. to 12, and from 1 to 4 p.m.
>
> Mr. Butler has learned a lesson, and a costly one, but one that in the long run will be better for him and his customers. The bank has a fine burglar proof safe, and now that regular hours are to be observed, the bank will be as safe for business as the Bank of England. And it is an institution that this city and country need as it is almost impossible to do business here without a bank.[101]

The irony of the editor's comments was magnified by the fact that the last paragraph of the June 27 article revealed that Bowman himself was one of the principal depositors at the bank. The later accounts variously report that Butler was caught with the money either at Kettle Falls or at Tower, was compelled to give up the cash, and was allowed to leave town without being jailed or brought to trial. In the pages of the Journal for the weeks and months that followed, the reader only sees notices of Butler's movements, how and when his family leaves town, and how the bank comes under new management, all without a breath of scandal in print. By September 19, 1895, the Journal printed notice from several Duluth papers that Butler was opening a new bank in Sandstone, Minnesota; and the September 26 issue told of Butler's resignation as city treasurer for Rainy Lake City.[102]

I. Mining Laws Again

Editor Bowman may have been naive in judging human nature, but he still laid claim to knowing the realm of gold mining and its requirements. Bowman reprinted an item from the Duluth Commonwealth that touched on Minnesota mining laws, or rather their absence. In the story, the estate of Jeff Hildreth lost some gold properties near Rainy Lake City because the commissioner of the general land office ruled that Hildreth's claim for the land was invalid on grounds that it was valuable neither for timber nor stone. So Mr. Edward C. Lamb was awarded the property on the basis of a homestead claim. The land was in T71N R22W, Sections 32 and 33. Bowman reprinted the item as proof positive that lack of mining legislation was ruining the Minnesota goldfields. He added "It is a matter of delay, loss, and worry to attempt to get title to land on the American side."[103]

J. Mining Technology and Late Developments in the Minnesota and Ontario Mine Fields

Bowman continued to present every bit of mining news he could get in the following weeks. He also tried to educate the public on the technology of mining, reprinting technical articles from all over the world, such things as details on the cyanide process or about a new dry crusher. Closer to home, he told of the prospective establishment of a custom stamp mill on the lake front east of the townsite near the Little Chicago mine. Other people needed the services of a custom mill and Charlie Moore of the Little Canada just across the line, wanted to ship his 150 tons of ore over for processing at the Lyle stamp mill near Dryweed Island. As for the Lyle itself, the manager's early suspicions about a switch to free milling ore were being confirmed. The former owners of the Lyle, the Ward brothers, were onto a new scheme down at Vermilion Lake. They wanted to revive an 1867 mine on Gold Island in that lake.[104]

Meanwhile, near Rainy Lake City, someone stole three cases of dynamite from the ordnance shed of the Lyle Mining Company. The thieves chopped their way in with an ax, so that the editor speculated on their familiarity with explosives. The company spokesman thought he could recover the dynamite, as the brand name was distinctive.[105]

The July news from the Little American mine and mill was good:

> The stamp-mill at the Little American mine began dropping stamps again Tuesday morning [July 16]. They have about 150 tons of ore on the dump and a force of miners working night and day in the old shaft, while another crew are driving the drift in the new shaft to strike the ore body. It is believed that there will be another good clean-up this run, as William Peters is again in charge of the mill.

A.W.B. Whitely had been the previous superintendent at the mill.[106]

The following week the Journal editor was berating the Little American owners for running some of the old ore through the mill, as the deceased Jeff Hildreth formerly rejected certain ore piles because he could see with the naked eye that they were inferior. Nonetheless, the old ore was processed, giving only $160 for a day's run. Bowman added:

> Most of the clean-ups have been short of that amount because of poor ore. It is a shame that so good a property is not developed as it should be by its owners, as it is capable of being made one of the finest mines in the country, with very little expense. It has demonstrated its worth as a bullion producer, even under the most trying and adverse circumstances.[107]

At the same time the Journal's emphasis was shifting subtly from the American side to the Manitous and the Seine country in Ontario. The only thing Rainy Lake City had to boast of during the summer was the establishment of an independent school district. An ad hoc organization elected officers and determined to raise $339 for establishing a school. A hundred dollars was set for fixing the schoolhouse, $19 for furniture, $200 for a teacher's wages, and $20 for fuel. The school was to start the first Monday in September and run for five months.[108]

In August 1895 word was received that James Maguire of Duluth had bought land east of the Little Chicago mine from E.R. Lewis. The Little Chicago was a mile east of the town on the peninsula; and Maguire not only acquired thirty-five acres in that vicinity but another forty acres south of the first tract. Maguire had an assay of one ore sample that showed $10 per ton. Maguire was establishing camps for sinking shafts; but would order his machinery only after assessing his holdings. Over at the Little American, the milling was still returning only $10 per ton. That meagre return was due partly to the running of a lot of slate which assayed at two dollars per ton. Once again Bowman sermonized the owners for improper management.[109]

While things looked dismal at the Little American, operations at the Lyle Mine were intense. Superintendent Griswold reported that their main shaft was down ninety-eight feet and at a hundred feet he intended to drive tunnels east and west. At that depth, Griswold said, the ore was much improved and was all of a free-milling character. The Journal noted too that the Lyle Mining Company had twenty-seven locations in the area and intended to begin active development soon on some of them.[110]

In the latter half of August 1895, the Lyle Mine was sending out drifts east and west at the hundred-foot level, as predicted, but word came out about further troubles with the Little American. It was only a rumor, but that unfortunate mine was probably going to have new owners with better financial resources in the near future. In the meantime Fred Bowman continued to heap praise on the mines of the Seine, the Manitous, and now around Lake Bad Vermilion, all in Ontario. As his leit motif he continued to sound the refrain calling for railroads to the country from whatever direction. Only Charlie Moore sounded a hopeful note for the Little Chicago Mine. Moore had gone to Chicago to see about buying machinery for his property. Meanwhile, Bowman grasped at straws, using an item from the Chicago Times-Herald of August 18, to predict that there would be a mining craze in the fall supported by big money out of New York.[111]

In September editor Bowman exulted in the prospect that the local mines would soon be properly supported with abundant capital. George H. Smith wrote to Bowman telling him that soon he and his colleagues would descend upon Rainy Lake City with a two million dollar war chest for developing mining properties. Their intent was to check any site thoroughly before bringing any machinery in. He said that among his associates was a Mr. Hill of West Superior and W.P. Daniels, the president and manager of several mines in Colorado.[112]

On September 16, 1895, the new school at Rainy Lake City opened with a Miss Dunphy of West Duluth as teacher. As for mining news, editor Bowman was focussed mainly on Ontario, and decided to take another tour up the Seine to get first hand information. Now there was word of a gold strike near Lake Harold, on the upper Seine. Upon his return, Bowman was mixing his gold enthusiasm with larger and larger doses of boasts about other virtues of the Rainy Lake country, such as farming, fishing, and logging. In other places too the paper told about departures of citizens besides banker Butler. In his own backyard, the editor admitted that he himself was the only typesetter left.[113]

K. Twelve Months of Missing Newspapers, October 1895 to October 1896

After the issue of October 3, 1895, all but one issue for the Journal are missing from the Minnesota Historical Society microfilm reel for a full year. The last issue before the break, that of October 3, 1895, gave a good summary of the Seine River goldfields, which were very active, and told about the only two American mines that showed much activity, the Little American and the Lyle. As regards the Little American, it appears that litigation was in progress between the lessees, Superintendent A.W.B. Whitely et al, and the owners, Bevier Mining Company, for non-fulfillment of contract. The article about it read as if the mine had been completely idle for the past year; but we have seen that that was not altogether true. Even now, the lessees were finally moving the stamp mill from the mainland to the island, as so many

observers had urged for two years. Again Bowman vainly prayed that the net result would be better management for the Little American.[114]

Over at the Lyle, the owners reported their progress at the hundred foot level. Cumulatively, moving both north and south, they found that the vein was at least forty-six feet wide. Even though it was low grade ore, they thought it would be profitable to process because of the ease of removing such a wide vein. Superintendent Griswold had not as yet received assay results on this ore.[115]

IV. EIGHTEEN NINETY-SIX

A. The Ontario Mines and the Need for a Railroad

The April 9, 1896, issue of the Journal, gave little perspective on the state of the American mines. This issue was broadcasting the wonders of the Ontario mines on the Seine and the Manitous. Yet Bowman had not given up all hope for his local Eden at Rainy Lake City. In talking railroads, he was on a new track. His caption read: "The Way to Get a Railroad is that Rainy Lake People Must Build it." Here too he was flourishing about agriculture and timber, as well as gold. He cited the case of Farmer Hines who was building a do-it-yourself railroad between Duluth and Drayton, North Dakota. Bowman printed Hines' scheme in great detail, with data about stock issues, the projected cost of rolling stock, and the magazine he used to promote the venture, "The Farmers Railroad." Bowman thought it a good idea and wrote: "The Lord helps those who help themselves."[116]

B. The Status of the Little American Mine in October of 1896

The next available issue of the Journal, that for October 1, 1896, revealed that the Little American mine was still alive. Now the news item was that the amalgam output of their mill was "very encouraging" and that there would be a cleanup later in the week. Yet a

portable boiler once used at the Little American was being shipped up the Seine. On the legal front there was notice that Angus Glassford was going to Duluth to effect a settlement with John B. Weimer who had lost a leg in a dynamite explosion near Rainy Lake City two years previously. Despite an atmosphere of decline at the town, Bowman would not give up and ran an ad in his own stead that promoted "Fred J. Bowman & Co. of Rainy Lake and St. Paul." He claimed to represent a syndicate of English, French, Belgian and American capitalists who wanted to buy first class gold properties in the region, ranging from Lake of the Woods to all of the subdistricts around Rainy Lake.[117]

During the rest of October 1896 the Journal was somewhat reticent about results at the Little American mine. In one place an article said it was the only active mine on the American side. Bowman had gone on another tour up the Seine and had switched his enthusiasm almost wholly to the Canadian side, using the Foley mine as the exemplar. In the weeks and months that followed, the Foley got considerable attention and seemed to be a genuine money maker.[118]

C. An Intrusion of National Politics

Since national politics in 1896 concerned itself deeply with monetarism and the question of gold and silver, editor Bowman naturally addressed the issue in his paper. The headline "Will Silver Win?" showed that he thought William Jennings Bryan had seized upon the vital question. Curiously, Bowman, though claiming to be an habitual Republican, nevertheless supported Bryan. His reasoning was somewhat convoluted, but it satisfied him and apparently convinced Rainy Lake City, as the majority voted for Bryan twenty-four to six. His argument proceeded along lines similar to this: Bryan was for the "little people" who supported silver, and though the local community was not a silver community, there were a lot of little people who were mining for gold; they should therefore, as little people, vote for Bryan. In any case, the editor felt the political trends he had perceived in the election of 1892, showed that the currents favored Bryan's cause and that he would win

the presidency. When the election results did not reach this outpost of civilization for some weeks, Bowman was impatient to learn whether his gift for prophecy was still intact. He was visibly upset on November 20 when the news reached Rainy Lake City as he formulated his page one headline: "Gold Bugs Win; The Man With Napoleon's Breeches Gets There! But He Had A Big Scare; Minnesota Goes Republican by Small Majorities, but Gold Bugs All Wiggle In!"[119]

D. The Little American Mine Managed by the Lyle Mining Company

On the local front, the Little American mine was being run by the Lyle Mining Company under the direction of Otto Watzke. Watzke was very close-lipped on progress and would only tell Bowman the minimum. "The output is satisfactory to the company, though not divulged, but it is believed that it is nearly sufficient, if not quite so, to meet all expenses of development. The mine gives employment to about 25 people."[120] Later in November, the Little American mill shut down again having run out of ore since the ice roads were not yet safe enough to bring it to the mainland. This report contradicts an earlier one that the stamp mill had been moved to the island; but with all of the confusion at that mine over several years, it is not surprising that the intended moving of the stamp mill never took place. At any rate the editor contended that while the mill was idle, mining continued at full speed with shaft-sinking and level drifting. Another hint of decline was the resignation of E.A. Warry, the amalgamator at the Little American mill. He went back to Rat Portage.[121]

On November 27 Otto Watzke staged a day-late Thanksgiving party for his crew on Little American Island. A storm had delayed things. A hard freeze enabled teams to cross the ice for the first time between mainland and island, so that ore hauling also commenced in the first days of December 1896. Hence the mill would soon start again; besides, the Lyle Company had a new amalgamator, John Sutherland, who had been hired from one of the companies on the Seine at the town of Mine Centre.[122]

In mid-December 1896 there were genuine evidences that Otto Watzke was serious about his intention to do something about the Little American mine. He had pushed the new shaft to the ninety-five-foot level and had a fifteen-foot drift there as well as a fifty-foot drift at the sixty-five-foot level. Both of these drifts were alleged to have "a fine breast ore that is the richest yet struck in the mine." The old shaft was down to seventy-five feet, but presently it was lying idle because water in it troubled the miners during cold weather. On the surface, Watzke had put in "a new engine house, two new shaft houses, a blacksmith shop, a new office building, a big new barn, and an addition to the camp building." Besides, the mine had "two steam hoists, pumps, tracks, cars, ore chutes, etc." The mine was building up a store of ore and Watzke was still dickering with John Sutherland to leave his Seine River position permanently, for the Little American needed one or two competent amalgamators.[123]

E. Ontario Distractions

Aside from the above story, editor Bowman's emphasis continued to shift to the Seine mining complex. The Foley mine was getting considerable coverage. At the same time, the intensity of a northern winter was descending on the region. Word was out that a party of four had disappeared in the blizzard between Wabigoon Station on the Canadian Pacific and the Manitou country. The men had only two weeks provisions and had not been seen longer than that.[124]

At the same time word was out that a Toronto man was organizing a telegraph company that would run a 125 mile line between the same Wabigoon Station and Fort Frances. While better communication was a crying need for the mining outposts, it did not occur to Bowman that the completion of such a telegraph line might contribute to the growing isolation of Rainy Lake City from the real center of mining activity in Ontario.[125]

V. EIGHTEEN NINETY-SEVEN

A. The Revival of the Little American's Prospects

In January 1897 the Little American mine had two hundred tons of ore on its stockpile. Manager Watzke had gone to West Superior to hire eleven more miners. Upon his return Watzke would start up the stamp mill to run day and night. He also intended to pump water from the old shaft and start working it again with two shifts.[126]

While editor Bowman was getting most of his January news from the Seine country, he did print an item about Manager Watzke taking out $4,000 in bullion from the Little American to sell it in Duluth. A week later Watzke did reveal that the mill was turning out an average of $40 per ton. The drifts at the hundred-foot level in the mine were established on an east-west axis and were being worked at top speed. Watzke was also adding another amalgamator to the mill.[127]

Already in early February the Journal was again predicting a wild gold rush in the spring. As usual, the prophecies included a railroad and a telegraph. Yet in his gasconades about the local prospects, Bowman was writing more about diversification of economic activity. Now he would invariably include mention of fisheries, wood pulp, timber, and fine agricultural lands. To hedge his bets, the editor associated himself with J.C. Foley, the successful mine owner on the Seine. The new scheme was called the Security Gold Mines Development Company, was offering 200,000 shares for sale at five dollars each and had offices at Harding, Minnesota, and Foley, Ontario.[128]

The Little American continued to stay in the news during February 1897. Watzke was still boasting about getting twenty dollars a ton and Bowman wrote: "We think Mr. Watzke will have a brick bigger than his head to take out next time." It would have been interesting to learn if Mr. Watzke was blessed with unusual head size.[129]

B. A Petition for a Railroad and the Continuing Trials and Tribulations of the Little American

The Journal for February 18, 1897, printed an exceedingly lengthy petition, (nearly a full page) to the Canadian Minister of Railways and Canals at Ottawa, begging for a railroad from Port Arthur through the Seine River goldfields to Fort Frances. The printed petition was paid for by residents on the Ontario side. In the same issue editor Bowman presented a lengthy summation of the trials and tribulations of the Little American mine. Most of these facts have already been recited here, but Bowman confessed that the first shutdown of the Little American in late 1894 had nearly killed the town of Rainy Lake City. In the sequence of owners/managers since then, only the officers of the Lyle Mining Company had sufficient capital resources to make a go of it. Bowman listed their present roster of officers: C.W. Giesen, president, of Calmar, Iowa; J.H. Haug, vice-president, of Spillville, Iowa; A. McRobert, secretary and treasurer, of Calmar, Iowa; Otto A. Watzke, General Manager, of West Superior, Wisconsin; E. Hoxie, of McGregor, Iowa; William Becker, of Fort Atkinson, Iowa; and William Weder of Ashland, Wisconsin, directors.[130]

The same article described the leakage problem in the old number one shaft as being caused by the "gopherings" of the former operators which sprang the walls and permitted water from the lake to leak in. Because of this earlier error in engineering, the new number two shaft had to be jury-rigged in the following way:

> The New or No. 2 shaft, is 45 feet deep, put down vertically in the slate. From the bottom a cross-cut tunnel was run to the north a distance of 25 feet, where a 45 degree incline was sunk 12 feet, and from this point a new shaft was put down 40 feet, making the deepest level now 97 feet. On the 97 foot level cross-cuts have been run 25 feet to the north and no wall has been struck. Another cross-cut on the same level has been run south on the vein for a distance of forty feet, and no wall has yet been reached in that direction either, making the known ore body on that level 65 feet wide! On the 50 foot level, a drift eight feet wide has been run east a distance of 65

feet, and every foot of it is in pay ore! All the new workings are dry, and not a drop of water is to be found anywhere. An up raise is now being put in on the lower level to reach the shaft above and at the same time the work of sinking the shaft will be begun on that level and continued for at least 600 feet without cessation. A singular thing about this property is that "Everything Pans." It is impossible to pick up a piece of slate, even, that will not yield colors of gold.[131]

The article told how most of the Lyle Mine equipment was being brought over to the Little American, especially the ten-stamp mill, which was to be placed on the island. Of course, the men who had been working the Lyle had all been transferred so that presently the Little American was the only active mine on the American side of the border. When all the adjustments were ready, the mill capacity would soon be twenty stamps with the prospect of adding twenty more. Watzke's boiler capacity could handle forty stamps, but his engine capacity could manage only thirty. Watzke was moving the Lyle's sawmill over too, as the mine had immediate need for 200,000 board feet of timber for shoring. An electric plant was to be set up at once so that the mine, mill, camps and offices would all be lighted, a big saving over kerosene. Watzke also planned to add an air compressor plant with drills as well.[132]

Bowman computed the nascent wealth from all this as being 32,500 tons of ore, worth $30 to $50 per ton, as $975,000. Besides they could go down indefinitely after that. He concluded that the little 3 1/2-acre island was "one of the richest places of gold bearing ground on the green earth." The editor thought there was twenty-five million dollars in it at a cost of only five million to mine. The Lyle Company was presently capitalized at $400,000, but the owners felt it was such a valuable property that they were not selling stock on the market.[133]

In March C.W. Giesen stated that the Little American was averaging $35 per ton at the mill and that a gold brick of unspecified size had been taken out to Duluth. A week later the owners of the Foley mine in Ontario made a similar announcement, claiming to get $60 per ton; but would not reveal the size of recent gold bricks they had shipped out.[134]

The optimism engendered by the increased activity at the Little American was reflected in the property value assessment for Rainy Lake City. In 1895 the total value of the town was assessed at $33,806; in 1896 it was $42,203; and in 1897 it went up to $71,976. Editor Bowman added to these statistics: "And next year? Well, just watch our smoke."[135]

In April 1897 the Lyle Mining Company published an apology in the Journal for borrowing planks off the town dock. They promised to replace the planks as soon as they were able, but apparently they were not fast enough, as the dock collapsed in May with a load of their ore on it. Despite this poverty-stricken appearance, the owners of the Little American property turned down an offer of $400,000 for their holdings at this time.[136]

C. The Grassy Island Mine and Other Active Mines in May 1897

About the same time a new company made up mostly of Duluth men was formed with a capital stock of one million dollars. This was the Grassy Island Gold Mining Company, incorporated under the laws of West Virginia. The location was given in the Journal as "only a short distance from the Little American mine adjoining this city" and "west of town." The president of the company was C.O. Baldwin, the vice-president was Charles Fitzsimmons, secretary John J. Skuse, and treasurer E. Field. O.K. Weinman of New York and J.F. Tilson of Duluth were also on the board of directors. They expected to begin development of a mine soon.[137]

Meanwhile, the Little American was headed for the two hundred foot level and several hundred tons of ore were on the dump. The stamp mill was not operating while Mr. Watzke was away, but he was expected back daily.[138]

A May issue of the Journal summarized the active mines around Rainy Lake City:

> The Little American, the Big American, the Grassy Island, all now being developed, with two new ones soon to be opened, and with the Bushyhead and others soon to be developed near Rainy Lake City, together with sawmills, and placer gold near by, it would seem that Rainy Lake City, "The Hub of the New Gold Fields" ought to come pretty near making something of a town, after all.[139]

The same paper told something about the Big American mine, which for some reason had been lying idle. Otto A. Watzke and his associates of the Lyle Mining Company had acquired the Big American two years previously (1895) from the same George W. Davis who had discovered the Little American. The Big American was on a thirty-acre island north of town and had a vein of ore between fifteen and twenty feet wide which assayed on an average at $14 per ton. Watzke had appointed Captain Gust Petersen of Rainy Lake City to set miners at work to sink a shaft for the Big American mine.[140]

Despite improved prospects on the American side, the Foley mine on the Seine was still stealing the headlines. In late May 1897, it was reported that J.C. Foley himself made a trip to Rat Portage transporting fifteen more gold bricks from seventeen days run at his stamp mill. So the boom atmosphere was on again and editor Bowman was feeling feisty again. He would promote any railroad scheme, urged the completion of the old Dawson Trail canal lock at Fort Frances, was berating Minneapolis editors for their skepticism about the goldfields, and even criticized lumber jacks when he considered their remarks against a proposed mining law detrimental to the common good.[141]

In late May 1897 editor Bowman gave one of the few notices about activity or lack of it at the Bushyhead mine. Charles Johnson, one of the owners, told Bowman that nothing will be done for the present at the Bushyhead, since he and his colleagues were preoccupied with several of their properties on the Seine.[142]

Superintendent Theodore C. Menges was now overseeing both the Little and Big American mines. At the former his men were down 127

feet; at the latter only fifteen. If things looked good at the fifty foot level in the Big American, a decision would be taken as to the size of plant for it.[143]

In June 1897 editor Bowman reprinted some copy by M.C. French of the Superior Daily Telegram about the Rainy Lake City situation. At first French thought the town was a pretty dead place, but then the fireworks began.

> The glass in the Little American mine office shook and accompanied by O.A. Watzke, Ed Ward and Theodore C. Menges we all went over town to find out what was the matter. It was a celebration over the starting up of the sawmill and the discovery of placer mines on the Rat Root river.

The last mentioned item was the discovery of L.M. Bolin of West Superior, who had found placer gold on the Rat Root when he had gone down there to do some farming. As for the Big American, several shafts were to be sunk and drifting done. Watzke was to add another crew to the Big American the following week. As for the celebration, M.C. French said it cost ten dollars to buy a round of drinks for the crowd, but he did not get a chance till the following morning.[144]

At the same time the Journal editor gave some faint praise to Congressmen Morris and Eddy for sponsoring a bill to make Minnesota a mining state. He stated that he thought it was possible for mining men to co-exist peacefully with the lumber and wood pulp interests. Yet if the timber men wanted to freeze them out, the mining men would move over to Canada where their business was possible.[145]

Also in June, it was reported that the Little American was producing a gold brick a week. The new main shaft was now down 130 feet. There were new finds too. D.C. Dixon of West Superior had found good ore in Lot 5, Section 25, T71N R21W. W.B. Holman found two veins more than five feet wide each near the Brule Narrows on Lots 1 and 2, Section 31, T71N R20W. Both of these finds were east of town. On the

other side, on Lot 5, Section 25, T71N R23W, on Grassy Island, F. Tilson had found a vein more than five feet wide. This was on the western end of that island.[146]

D. Fred J. Bowman, Patron Saint

Bowman printed an outsider's assessment of Rainy Lake City in June. It was from John L. Morrison, reporter for the Duluth Herald:

> Rainy Lake City is but a shadow of what it was in the palmy days of 1894, then half a thousand or more people entered all kinds of business and those who could not secure buildings, used tents. There was money and trade, excitement and Wild West features - in fact a genuine booming American town. Over 300 votes were cast in the first election that was held. Then came the panic. Next the Little American seemed to be a failure. People fled like rats from a sinking ship and those who stayed did so because they could not get away. Through it all Fred J. Bowman remained and issued the Rainy Lake Journal. The value of his work cannot be estimated in dollars and should this country ever choose a patron saint, it would be Fred J. Bowman without a dissenting voice. I am pleased to be able to state that he had managed to secure several gold properties and the prospects are fair that he will get a little of his reward in this world. Things are looking up again. People are coming in and the properties are assuming value again. The hotel is small, but comfortable, and exceedingly clean. Rainy Lake City may yet see a glorious resurrection. Stranger things have happened.[147]

E. The Active American Mines in the Summer of 1897

In late June 1897 the Big American was down thirty feet and the ore was found to be thus far identical with the Little American. If perceived values continued at this rate, Watzke intended to send down another shaft and run levels between the two to allow stoping ground. Watzke also held off on an on-site stamp mill decision for the Big American until he was absolutely certain about the quality of the ore.[148]

The Little American was still aspiring toward its two hundred foot depth. The earlier predictions that a mill with twenty stamps would

be placed on-site at the mine had not as yet come to fruition. Watzke was waiting until he had blocked out large drift sections both at the 150 and 200 foot levels to give him a large reserve supply of ore. Despite the lag on the stamp mill front, he did have his sawmill at the scene, turning out timbering for the shaft.[149]

The Tilson Mine on Grassy Island was still in the developmental stages. Tilson had gone down eight feet in a vein that was six feet wide. Another vein was visible on the surface a short distance away and Tilson was sure the two veins could be worked by a single shaft and crosscut.[150]

The Fourth of July celebration for 1897 was solemnly held at Rainy Lake City with guests from Fort Frances and the Seine country. It may not have equalled the 1894 celebration, but it had a similar program of sports, fireworks, and a picnic. Mayor Redding gave the opening address; Fred J. Bowman read the Declaration of Independence; the Honorable P.D. O'Phelan gave an able and instructive speech; while T.C. Menges, the able young superintendent of the Little and Big American mines, gave a rattling patriotic address.[151]

The Tilson and Dixon mines got further attention in July. Tilson's location was further delineated as being four miles west of town. D.C. Dixon's mine was two miles east and Dixon had a mining engineer, E.F. Russell, managing his enterprise.[152]

In late July the Big American was down forty-five feet; and Giesen and Menges were at last moving the Little American stamp mill next to the mine from the town location. The moving process would take three months and that mill was rated at ten-stamp size. The owners still planned to expand this mill to twenty stamps.[153]

In August 1897 editor Bowman came back from a tour of the Seine Country, yet used the occasion to boast of the activity on the American side. He said that the Little American had two shafts at

ninety-eight and 140 feet below the surface. The large breast of ore at the hundred foot level was averaging $16 per ton in production. Discounting the slate and talc mixed with the quartz, it would average $50 per ton. The Big American was now down fifty feet. There were now two shafts at the Tilson mine. The Dixon mine had one assay that showed $48.16 gold per ton, plus twenty ounces of silver per ton.[154]

In late August Bowman ran another ad for a promotion company, The Minnesota and Ontario Gold Mining Company. Again he was among the officers, on the board of directors. Meanwhile, the Little American had reached 150 feet and a crosscut was being started at that level. The stamp mill for it was in place, but had not started up as yet. Over at Tilson's mine on Grassy Island, a new company had been formed with O.K. Weinman as president. It was called the Grassy Island Mining Company. Aside from these developments editor Bowman casually dropped the report that about twenty years previously with the cutting of the Fort Frances canal, gold had been found in that rock formation and that it doubtlessly extended to the American side into the village of Koochiching. There was gold nearly everywhere.[155]

Another gold find on the American side was announced in September 1897. The location was not given with any precision, merely as "within four or five miles of Rainy Lake City." The discoverers were J.B. Jacquemart and William Thielman of St. Cloud, Minnesota. The lead at the surface was only eight inches wide, and although they did not have an assay as yet, the finders panned it at the rate of $2,000 per ton. Thielman and Jacquemart got a tablespoonfull of gold out of a chunk of quartz the size of a man's fist. The discoverers were keeping their location secret until they could establish ownership. At the same time they mimed Bowman's theme of getting a good mining law for Minnesota.[156]

F. The Foley Mine in Ontario Overshadows Them All

Despite signs of success on the American side, developments on the Seine always seemed to overshadow them. The newest rumor regarding the Foley Mine on the Seine was that it was to be sold for a million dollars to the American Developing and Mining Company of Butte, Montana. Their manager, Bernard MacDonald, had looked the Foley over, and changes in personnel at the mine seemed to confirm that the rumor was true. The Foley people had spent $208,000 in developing the mine, and everyone believed it was operating at a profit. At first the Foley property was supposed to have eight veins appearing on the surface, but more recent explorations showed these were thirty-three parallel veins exposed on the surface. So far the main shaft there was down two hundred feet, with an objective set for five hundred feet.[157]

Over at the Little American the main shaft was down 162½ feet. The work crew started crosscutting at that depth to determine the width of the vein. The managers now planned to go down three hundred feet. On the surface the stamp mill was nearly ready. The batteries were being moved as well as the big Gates crusher. The sawmill at the mine was making shaft timbers as they were needed.[158]

G. Bowman Gives Up On Rainy Lake City, the Beginning of the End for the Minnesota Mines

The Journal made an unexpected announcement on September 23, 1897. The editor, Fred J. Bowman had concluded a deal with the Rat Portage Miner which in effect turned the Journal over to Rat Portage management. Bowman speculated that the Journal would change its name, as it did; but for the present his son Frank A. Bowman would function as its editor. The other part of the bargain was that the senior Bowman would join the staff of the Miner and move to Rat Portage on October 1. His associates there were J.P. Earngey of Toronto and M.C. French of West Superior, Wisconsin. The meaning of the move so far as Fred Bowman was concerned, was that he had lost faith in Minnesota's

resolve to protect mining with a good mining law. He was going where the gold could be taken out without hindrance, to the Ontario side. And without his boosterism, the resolve of the American gold seekers would doubtlessly soon wither and die.[159]

The next week, in his valedictory, Bowman revealed that the newspaper change was akin to a merger, and that the combined circulation of the Journal and Miner would be in the neighborhood of two thousand copies, with expansion planned upon. The local paper would change its name to the Rainy Lake Herald the following week under his son's editorship. Bowman senior stated that the scope of the Miner was to be broader, covering the gold mining fields from Winnipeg to Port Arthur and down to Duluth. The Journal was to have more local focus on the Rainy Lake and Seine River scene.[160]

It took Frank Bowman a few weeks to sort out the problem of converting the paper's masthead from Journal to Herald. Some of the pages had "Journal" at the top while the identifying logo had switched to "Herald."[161]

Young Bowman reported in mid-October 1897 that the Little American was down 175 feet and that the moved stamp mill was two weeks away from its start up. There were a hundred tons of ore on the stockpile.[162]

H. Logging Becomes More Prominent in the Area

It quickly became clear under Bowman Junior that the new paper had a different emphasis with different goals. Frank Bowman promoted any enterprise that would help to hasten the opening up of the northern country. Already in late October 1897 he publicized the trek of several unidentified timber estimators, one of whom may have been Edward Wellington Backus, who largely controlled the destiny of the border country for the next thirty-five years. Young Bowman wrote:

> A party of timber estimators passed through here this week en route to Koochiching. They will estimate the amount of available wood pulp material in the vicinity, and if found to be sufficient, a large wood-pulp mill will probably be put in at Koochiching. There can be no reasonable doubt, however, of there being sufficient poplar.[163]

Meanwhile too, the new editor told of the establishment of several winter lumber camps on Lake Kabetogama. There would be at least fifty men and a dozen teams working that winter to harvest four million feet of logs. For the moment they were held back only by the non-arrival of their winter supplies.[164]

During the next week the editor learned that another logging camp was being set up two miles east of town. Obviously gold mining in that area had ceased. At the same time the only word about the Little American involved the travels of the mine officers. In recent weeks T.C. Menges made a trip to Philadelphia "on very urgent business." C.W. Giesen had gone to West Superior for fear of "threatened illness."[165]

I. Renewed Hopes for Ontario and Minnesota Gold Mining

Gold mining news from the Seine always adumbrated the same from Rainy Lake City. The Herald editor wrote a summary of their doings and stated that "Several properties have shafts from 200 to 400 feet deep while many have reached the 100-foot level. . . ."[166]

Despite bad signs the people of Rainy Lake City had not given up. The city fathers were betting on the town's future by planning to build a new jail and council room to be completed by February 1, 1898.[167]

Just before Christmas, a hiatus from information on the Little American was broken. The mine was down 210 feet and had three feet of solid fine high grade quartz at that point. In a south crosscut a lense was so far five feet wide and perhaps wider. The stamp mill apparently had been held up because a roof for it was lacking, as were other supplies. The company had built a new shaft house on number two shaft

and it soon would have a large cage for lifting ore. A tramway had been built from the top of the shaft leading down into the crusher. Also, for lack of supplies, the mine had been shut down for a week. Winter weather was hampering transport.[168]

VI. EIGHTEEN NINETY-EIGHT

A. The Defections from Gold Mining Become More Visible

The seeming transition from gold mining to logging was strengthened with word that another logging camp was reported on Lake Kabetogama. Mose Stafford from Senator Buckman's camp visited Rainy Lake City to tell of activities in the woods. His camp had seventy-five men and was ordering more teams out of Koochiching.[169]

As 1898 began, the Herald's interest in logging continued. As for mining, the Seine River Country and the Foley Mine in particular, were dominating the news. The only compensation for the American side was the fact that winter traffic over the Tower Route was heavier than any of the Canadian routes.[170]

In February and March 1898 editor Bowman's distraction with logging and wood pulp intensified. His issue of the Herald for March 3 wrote extensively about prospects for a new pulp mill at Koochiching. An estimate of the pulpwood in the area had been made by L.A. Ogaard, U.S. Court Commissioner at Koochiching. Ogaard thought the abundance of pulpwood so great that it would last forever. He said too that the certainty of reliable wealth in the region was sufficient to guarantee the early arrival of a railroad. R.H. Green of Appleton, Wisconsin, was the professional timber estimator for an unstated employer, perhaps it was Backus; but he said that with the resources available a mill could produce a hundred tons of paper daily ad infinitum. The plant would employ six hundred men and many more would find jobs in the forest. Green too said that this was the best pulpwood region he had ever seen. He had

concentrated his survey to the south and west of Koochiching within the drainage of the Little and Big Fork Rivers. He also saw plenty of timber for ties, telegraph poles, and lots of pine for lumber. Green's appraisal also included an estimate of 30,000 horsepower in hydroelectric energy from the waterfalls at Koochiching. Green's glorious vision of the future of the place had not included the gold in the ground, which editor Bowman added as if as an afterthought.[171]

B. J.A. Osborne Takes Over the Journal/Herald

Without much warning in April 1898 the Rainy Lake Herald came under new management and ownership. There had been little warning for this move. J.A. Osborne was the new editor and proprietor. He did not explain his antecedents in any great detail, but merely wrote "We are not unknown to the residents of this district." His opening style was not so exuberant as Fred J. Bowman's, and he did not promise to center his interest on gold mining. He did say:

> We can advance the interests of this great gold bearing region. We believe we have the richest and finest country in the world and invite the fullest investigation into its capabilities and boundless wealth.[172]

The context of the Herald's pages for the second issue under Osborne's leadership demonstrated two striking facts: that Osborne was an absentee owner and that he intended to move the paper immediately to the town of Koochiching. The relevant text stated:

> Mr. J.A. Osborne, the editor of the Rainy Lake Herald, was in town for a few days this week. Mr. Osborne has some intentions of removing his paper and plant to Koochiching. This will be a great benefit to this district and we sincerely hope he will.[173]

C. The Final Decline of the Little American and Rainy Lake City

For the last few months there had been thunderous silence about the status of the American gold mines around Rainy Lake City.

Now only a whimper ended that silence: "The Little American mine will likely resume operations on the opening of navigation."[174]

The last few issues of the Herald while it remained in Rainy Lake City were preoccupied with subjects that took the reader away from gold in Minnesota. There were the distractions of the spectacular Klondike gold rush, the less dramatic news of gold removal in the Seine country, the fact that low water in the entire Rainy Lake district was hampering logistics for the mines, and that a new brewery at Rat Portage was bringing the benefits of three new brews to the region, all of them named after successful gold mines on the Lake of the Woods: "Sultana" Lager, "Mikado" Pale Ale, and "Regina" Porter.[175]

The Herald for May 12, 1898, printed several items that presaged the end to gold mining operations in Minnesota. The front page headline announced that Congress passed a bill authorizing the construction of an hydroelectric dam at the Koochiching falls. This meant in effect that there would be a large paper and pulp mill at the same place and that the railroad was on its way. Curiously, the article did not mention E.W. Backus' role in all this, but he was doubtlessly the mover behind the scenes.[176]

Also on the legislative front, the Herald reported that Representative Page Morris of the district had failed to gain passage of a bill that he sponsored for a mining law for Minnesota. Osborne, like Fred Bowman, before him, concluded that this defeat had profound ramifications for the borderland. It practically killed any hope for encouraging the development of gold mines in Minnesota. A correlative news item in the same issue of the Herald confirmed the end to mining claims. The Duluth land office reported transactions for April to be entirely homestead, timber and stone entries. There was also a report on a special law passed to protect soldiers going off to war with Spain against claim jumpers while they were away.[177]

The same issue made a revelation too about the Seine gold mines. The Foley Mine, the most successful one in that district, had been sold to an English syndicate for $750,000. The surprising part of the article was that Foley and his cohorts had spent a quarter of a million dollars on the property and had only extracted $100,000 in gold.[178]

There was an indication as well that gold mining was dead, or nearly so, at Rainy Lake City. T.C. Menges, Manager of the Little American Mine, left the area for his home in Calmar, Iowa. The Herald wrote that Menges' many friends in town "will be pleased to see him come back if at all possible."[179]

In actuality, the Little American mine lingered on until 1901. Finally the owners gave up on throwing good money after bad. If it were ever profitable, it was never very much so. Perhaps the owners met their expenses and donated a few onsite artifacts to posterity free of charge. With the failure of the Little American, Rainy Lake City faded into nothingness. The population there had fluctuated considerably during every moment of the town's existence. The drift of people away from Rainy Lake City intensified during the summer of 1898 when the annually predicted boom went elsewhere, probably to the Klondike, or maybe off to the Spanish-American War. A sign of the decline was the town's loss of saloons. In 1894 there had been thirteen; by April 1898 there was only one saloon left.[180]

Duncan McPhee, a widower, was living with the Frank S. Langs in Rainy Lake City during 1899. They were said to be among the last dwellers in the town; but several secondary accounts say that there was one diehard resident left in 1906, named Tim Harrington, who paid but a single penny's property tax in that year. The town's post office had closed in May 1900 because the place was "practically abandoned."[181]

As for gold mining, there were several feeble attempts at revival in the 1920s and 1930s. Again the Little American mine had been the last best hope.[182]

D. Conclusion: An Epitaph for Fred J. Bowman

In conclusion, the view presented here closely resembles that of Fred J. Bowman, the indomitable editor of the Rainy Lake Journal. It might be an inflation of Bowman's achievement, but the reporter from Duluth who wrote that Bowman was the patron saint of the border country was not far from wrong. Bowman may have been nothing more than an overenthusiastic booster, the kind that Sinclair Lewis made famous in his fiction; but Bowman was indeed a two-way channel who brought a wide well-informed view of the world into the wilderness and who sent out to the world his enthusiasm about gold in the ground near Rainy Lake. He was the perpetual optimist who patted men on the back for their very least achievements. He gave praise to prospectors, miners, merchants, steamboat captains, mine owners, capitalists, schoolteachers, businessmen, and anyone who was striving to make something of Rainy Lake City and the region generally. He only deprecated editors in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth and Grand Rapids who denigrated his beloved goldfields, or as in the case of the Grand Rapids editor, who would try to deprive the citizens of northern Itasca County of the full benefits of citizenship, the right to vote and a say in how their taxes were spent.

Bowman's trove of information was remarkable. He must have subscribed to a large number of American and Canadian newspapers. In addition he must have had a store of technical manuals and journals centered on the subject of gold mining, for he frequently printed technical articles about state of the art developments in every aspect of mining from prospecting to sinking a shaft to processing the ore. Perhaps his knowledgability was not so surprising for his day, as it was an era when Americans were afflicted with goldbug fever and it was the commonest subject for conversation. He had as well, the affliction that Robert W. Service called "clean mad for the muck called gold." Bowman's paper was monomaniacal on the subject. Everything pointed to gold. He printed every rumor, every hint, every fact, every notion about gold in the area that extended from Rat Portage on the West to Fort Frances, to

Rainy Lake City, to the Manitous, up and down the Seine, to Mine Centre, up the Turtle River, and on over to Port Arthur and environs on the east. He kept his readership informed, as well, about events in every American and Canadian gold mine that he heard of. There was considerable data about Colorado mines at Central City, Cripple Creek, Leadville and Idaho Springs. He passed on everything he learned about mining developments in California, Nevada, Montana, Idaho, Arizona, and all of the western states. He branched out beyond that to Australia and South Africa and to the one area that may have done him in, the Yukon.

Bowman had a few canons of faith and the central one was that gold mining would never succeed in Minnesota unless that state had a proper mining law. The second article of faith was that railroads were necessary for making mining profitable. They brought down the cost of supplying the mines and determined whether or not a mine would operate in the red or black. He probably left Rainy Lake City for Rat Portage because he perceived that the latter place better fulfilled his staunchest beliefs. Rat Portage was in Ontario, and Ontario had the benefit of Canada'a more encouraging mining laws and had easy access by means of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Only a portion of Bowman's outlook was presented here. The present writer tried to pass on the central facts about mines and mining around Rainy Lake City on the American side of the boundary. Beyond that, the narrative is an incomplete story about the town. Only incidentally did a few details about life in Rainy Lake City come forth. The Rainy Lake Journal and Herald is a treasure trove of facts and ideas that could be used to construct a pretty good social history of the town. For the paper tells a lot about the people, about the town's government, about the town's buildings, about the steamboats and other vessels that plied the lakes and streams, about fishing both commercial and casual, about dozens of schemes for bringing in a railroad, about the onerous travel routes that had to be used, about severe winters, about farming and logging which became the region's real vocation, and about the coming of the dam that would transform the area. All these things are

not contained in the present narrative, but they are available to the interested researcher in the pages of the Rainy Lake Journal and Herald.

As for the rest, it is amazing to say that Minnesota had a moment of gold rush fever in the 1890s. Few today would list that state among the nation's gold bearing regions, but a reader of Fred J. Bowman's newspaper of that era might wonder why all that gold is being left in the ground with no one caring to dig it or blast it out.

E. A View of Rainy Lake City From the Outside World

The Engineering and Mining Journal, for one, gave a view of the Minnesota gold rush of the 1890s as it was perceived by its editorial staff in New York City, a distinctly outside world view. An unidentified and unidentifiable witness, known to the journal's readers only as a "special correspondent," reported to the journal regularly from the borderland, sometimes listing his news with Minnesota events and sometimes with Ontario's.

The correspondent made it clear that gold had been found first in Ontario around the Lake of the Woods, as much as five years before the discoveries around Rainy Lake. The Engineering and Mining Journal first took note of the Minnesota gold find in its issue for November 4, 1893. Already at that moment he referred to the quality of ore as "low-grade." The mining journal never engaged in the blatant boosterism of editor Bowman at Rainy Lake City, and as early as March 1894 stated that "samples so far analyzed do not run as rich as samples should." A couple of weeks after this, the correspondent speculated that the best veins of gold were thought to be on the Canadian side, a speculation that proved to be accurate. The strongest language used by the mining journal regarding the Minnesota ore were phrases like "excellent specimens," and "rich specimens."[183]

The mining journal anticipated editor Bowman in his complaints against mining laws by saying, as early as June 30, 1894, that "owing to

the non-application of [U.S.] mineral laws to lands on the American side of the lake, all prospecting work is now carried on in Canadian soil." So practically from the beginning, prospectors and miners were driven away from Minnesota.[184]

In October of 1894 the special correspondent revealed that the Little American mine had been getting only $9 to the ton instead of the $17 originally claimed. Besides this, the reporter disclosed that there was little hope of getting much gold from the Little American tailings. Early predictions had stated that $200 to $300 per ton would be garnered from the tailings, but in October the correspondent wrote: "The tailings . . . are actually of very little value, so free is the quartz."[185]

In late October, 1894, a different correspondent from the Ontario side seemed to contradict the above report from Minnesota; but he was probably passing on the earlier outdated rumors circulated from Rainy Lake City.[186]

In November of 1894, the assistant state geologist, H.V. Winchell, together with a colleague, U.S. Grant, reported the results of their earlier survey of the Rainy Lake district, stating that there were good quantities of low-grade ore in the area; but that the ignorant methods of the mine operators might render the results unprofitable. Some of these deficiencies were showing themselves at the Little American mine, where frequent breakdowns of the stamp mill demonstrated either poor logistics planning in stocking replacement parts for machines, or deficient management practices in operating the machinery. Water seepage into the shafts at the mine also could have been the result of bad management, or alternatively, bad luck.[187]

The special correspondent for the Engineering and Mining Journal announced as early as February of 1895 that "the boom of Rainy Lake City is over, for all time in all probability." Afterwards, the emphasis of that journal's pages tended to confirm the dismal estimate, when there were fewer reports from the Minnesota side of Rainy Lake,

and lengthier and more abundant reports from the Lake of the Woods or Rat Portage district; or from Mine Center on the Seine River, a tributary on the north side of Rainy Lake; or from the several adjoining lakes on the north side, such as Bad Vermilion Lake, Wild Potato Lake, Calm Lake, or Lake Manitou. There were, of course, still sporadic reports on doings at the Little American or the Lyle mine in Minnesota; but the thrust of the news was that operations there were on a smaller scale, accompanied by only a modest success. The mining journal continued to echo editor Bowman's lament that the lack of adequate mining laws in Minnesota forced prospectors to cross the boundary into Ontario when searching for gold.[188]

In June of 1895 the mining journal stated the stark facts about the Little American mine, that it was producing only $6.33 in gold per ton of ore processed at a cost of $3.88 per ton for labor and other expenses. At about the same time the Lyle mine was having trouble too with the character of its ore. From week to week the ore in the vein varied from free milling to refractory and back to free milling again. As it varied, the managers vacillated about policy on milling methods, and for a time experimented with wet processes. Like other mines in the region, the ownership of the Lyle changed hands several times, and this tended to make the lives of its workers unstable and make the future prospects of the enterprise uncertain. In January of 1896 the Lyle shut down.[189]

In early 1896 the gold mining activity in the Rainy Lake region continued to be mainly on the Ontario side of the border. Throughout the rest of the year, and into 1897 and 1898, the Foley mine at Mine Center on the Seine, Ontario, and the Sultana, Regina and Mikado mines near Lake of the Woods, got the best press notices on the Canadian side.[190]

On May 8, 1897, the Engineering and Mining Journal published a rumor given as "newspaper reports" that the Little American mine owners had been offered $400,000 for the property, which they refused. The journal's comment: "They are probably very much out of the way;"

which meant that the value of the mine was much exaggerated in the press. After that time, the Little American got little publicity, except that an item in September of 1897 claimed that the mine would be expanding from a ten to a twenty-stamp mill. It never happened, however, because by October 1898 the sheriff of Itasca County was custodian of the Little American's ten-stamp mill and sold it to entrepreneurs at the Olive mine on the Ontario side. A week earlier, the mining journal had revealed that the sheriff had seized the mine for non-payment of laborers' wages to the total of $1,500. The sheriff's sale transferred the land itself to John Berg, who had been a merchant in Rainy Lake City throughout its short life, selling supplies and staples to the miners. In this role, Berg was one of the residents of the town who turned a profit. Years later, Berg became a judge of probate at International Falls and was one of the few people who gave a brief memoir about Rainy Lake City to the Minnesota Historical Society. His memoir came nearly forty years after events, in the 1930s.[191]

F. A Brief Word About the Tools, Methods, and Processes Used in Mining Gold Near Rainy Lake City

Casual reading in the pages of the Rainy Lake Journal reveals that men with ample capital never took an interest in gold mining on the Minnesota side of Rainy Lake, and that therefore the scale of operations was always small and usually tended toward the usage of primitive tools and methods. The most impecunious miner who wandered into town there, minimally relied on such hand tools as pick, shovel, hammer, and chisel. And yet this poorly equipped gold seeker might also have a few sticks of dynamite bought in John Berg's store. Dynamite was widely available and used everywhere in mining, since it had been more than twenty-five years after Alfred Nobel discovered how fuller's earth safened nitroglycerine. At Rainy Lake City the price of dynamite was probably higher than at most places, because of the high cost of shipping anything there; but nonetheless the cost was not prohibitive. At New York City in 1891, the price for a pound of dynamite with 75% nitroglycerine was advertised at 32¢. A twenty-five pound keg of blasting powder was

$2.40; cotton safety fuses cost $2.85 for a thousand feet; and detonating caps were $5 per thousand. There were also electrical devices for setting off explosives in 1891; but these were proportionately more expensive and used by the larger companies with better capital resources.[192]

There were a few mining organizations at Rainy Lake City that used machinery in the working of their mines. The Little American mine was one of these and it had several steam engines to power a variety of machines such as drills, hoists, and mill equipment. The problem with steam engines was that they usually transmitted their power by means of belts, wheels, or pulleys, so that it was difficult to apply their power in locations remote from the steam engine. A case in point were the pneumatic drills used in the mines. The air compressor had to be close to the steam engine which powered it; but the air compressor could transmit its pressurized air for considerable distances into the mine shafts through hoses. The technology of the 1890s was already experimenting with electrical motors and internal combustion engines; but their usage occurred only in the more progressive and advanced factories, and not in Rainy Lake City. We do know there were several generators around Rainy Lake City; nevertheless, they were used mainly for electric lighting systems in the mines.[193]

The techniques of digging into the ground or auriferous quartz had analogies with all other forms of mining for precious as well as non-precious minerals; not to speak of stone quarrying or coal mining. The Rainy Lake gold miner's modus procedendi was to start a test pit using hand tools, air-driven drills, or dynamite, to get his shaft started. As he proceeded, he would shore up the walls of his shaft with timbers obtained from the abundant pine forests in the vicinity. The larger mines usually built a sawmill nearby that depended on steam propulsion. The Rainy Lake shafts followed the veins of quartz wherever they led, with the significant limitation of avoiding water when they descended beneath the surface of Rainy Lake. In time water leakage became a problem at most of the Rainy Lake mines, and pumps were added to the list of machines powered by steam engines.[194]

In following gold-bearing quartz veins, the timbered shafts could be vertical, horizontal, or inclined at any angle, depending on the whims of the vein. If a good wide body of ore was found underground, or on the surface, stopes, or steplike hollowings would be established to build up a stockpile of ore. Later the stope areas could be filled in with waste stone or tailings.[195]

The methods of removing the ore at Rainy Lake included the use of small railway cars, usually above ground only, and steam powered hoists for lifting buckets or other containers up the vertical shafts. Since the underground horizontal shafts at the Little American were never very long, it is doubtful that they ever had small rail cars inside the mine; nonetheless, they did use hoists to bring the ore to the surface.[196]

At the diggings above ground the Rainy Lake mines had narrow-gauge railed tracks with small ore carts on them. The workmen probably pushed the cars manually to their destination which was never distant. Technologically speaking, the mining industry had already invented self-dumping cars, yet it is doubtful that this advance had reached the Minnesota borderland. The management of the Little American Mine vacillated between placing the stamp mill on the island or at Rainy Lake City. In the end, the mill was established in the town and never moved from it. The added cost of loading ore in barges at the island and towing them a half mile across the channel, only to be required again to handle the ore at its unloading, was just one more feature of inefficiency that made the Little American unprofitable. Towards wintertime the problem was compounded. When the water first froze, ore could not be moved in sledges until the ice was thick enough to hold their great weight. And working in a severe arctic climate did not alleviate their difficulties.[197]

Once the ore reached the stamp mill, it was confronted by a building that was striking for its vertical dimension. In other words, the mill required several different levels to fulfill its function. The ore started at the top of the mill and ended at the bottom, assisted by

gravity and a number of machines propelled by one or several steam engines. While the capabilities of the 1890s could have provided ore elevators, such as endless belts, to lift it to the top of the mill, the Minnesota mines did not engage in such an extravagance. In Colorado, the mountainous terrain lent itself naturally to the construction of these vertical mills which clung to the hillside. However, in Minnesota at Rainy Lake, the terrain was not so vertical and a ramp might be needed to deliver the ore to the high side of the mill. By whatever means, the Minnesota ore was dumped down a chute called a grizzly. The grizzly was nothing more than an inclined trough whose bottom was a grating that let smaller rocks fall through. The smaller pieces fell into another chute that led to the stamps. The larger chunks of ore, however, first tumbled down the grizzly into the ore crusher.[198]

In the 1890s there were a wide variety of ore crushers; the brand name most frequently mentioned around Rainy Lake City was the Gates Crusher. The present writer did not find detailed specifics about the mechanical principles brought to bear in the Gates Crusher; yet it is certain that most crushers used some form of rotary motion imparted by a set of gear wheels that included an eccentric gear or two in their makeup. In some way the various devices squeezed large rocks between several hard metal surfaces to produce smaller rocks. Usually the crushers were supplied with a stream of water that helped to dampen the noise of crushing rocks, settled the dust, and washed away some of the waste materials.[199]

The ore coming out of the crusher next fell down another chute that led to the hopper, feeding the milling stamps. Beneath the hopper was an automatic ore feeder that sent the ore continuously under the stamps. Needless to say, the ore feeder, like all of the machines inside the mill, were kept in motion by one huge steam engine whose force was transmitted to them by a series of wheels, belts, and axles. Each machine achieved its requisite rpms through variance of the size of the drive wheels or other application of the laws of mechanical motion. Thus

the same steam engine could rotate the crusher shaft at 250 rpm, the ore-feeder at 135 rpm, and the stamp shaft at 45 rpm, by way of example.[200]

When ore was fed into the stamping device, it fell into a receptacle that had a series of mechanized mortars and pestles. Industry practice was to have the stamps mounted on a crankshaft in batteries of five, although variations from this theme are known. The five stamps were mounted very much like the pistons on a modern automobile crankshaft. They were mounted in a straight line and had counterweights to balance out the disparate forces from the turning drive shaft. Also resembling an auto's pistons, the stamps were set to descend in a fixed sequence. When two five-stamp batteries were mounted together, their sequence was sometimes set as follows: 1-7-3-9-5/2-8-4-10-6. This particular arrangement was found to create the proper oscillating water waves that sloshed in such a way as to grind the ore most evenly.[201]

Each stamp had a hardened piece of metal at its lower extremity made of cast iron or ferro-aluminum that was called a shoe. The shoe pounded the ore between itself and a die of softer metal beneath it. Shoes and dies had to be replaced regularly. The weight and stroke of the stamps was determined by the character of the ore. California ores, for example, usually had lower percentages of pyrite mixed in with them and could therefore be ground by means of a process that resulted in a coarser pulp. For this reason, a California mill at Angel's Camp in Calaveras or Sutter Creek in Amador County, California, had heavier stamps, between 750 and 1,000 pounds apiece, that fell only four to six inches at the rapid rate of about ninety drops a minute. In contrast, a Colorado mill at Blackhawk, for example, had stamps weighing between 500 and 600 pounds, with drop ranges between sixteen and twenty inches, with the rate of falling being set rather slowly, around 24 drops per minute. The Minnesota ore probably came closer to the quality of the California variety mentioned above, because it was generally of the free-milling type.[202]

When the pulverized ore was discharged from the mortar beneath the stamps, it next fell upon a vanner, or a series of vanners. The brand name occurring most frequently around Rainy Lake City was the Frue vanner. This and other types of vanners were nothing more than shaking tables whose oscillation was produced by eccentric gears. The vanners were set at an inclined position, so that the rate of descent was about an inch and a half for every lineal foot of travel. The vanners shook out the gold through a screen in a fashion that is analogous to panning or using a sluice box in placer mining. Free gold was thus collected beneath the screens on an amalgamated copper plate.[203]

Not all of the gold could be separated from its accompanying pulp by means of the mechanical shaking process and its reliance on gravity's pull. Therefore, various chemical processes were invented to complement the mechanical means. The only chemical process used at Rainy Lake City was the usage of mercury or quicksilver, since the perfection of the potassium cyanide method for extracting gold was still in an experimental stage during that decade and only the more progressive and prosperous mills were working with it.[204]

At Rainy Lake City the mercury was added to the pulp either on the lower end of the vanner or at some point after the vanner. The gold combined chemically with the mercury to produce an amalgam. The town gold producers had the capability of separating the gold from the quicksilver in the amalgam by heating it in a retort. None of the mills at Rainy Lake City had the capability of extracting the gold from the concentrates, so they had to be shipped to the outside world, to Newark, New Jersey, for extraction. The quantities of concentrates were never large at Rainy Lake City, so the problem was not a major one. The captured free gold was easily melted into bricks at Rainy Lake City and was sent out in that form.[205]

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

1. Richard N. Current, T. Harry Williams, and Frank Freidel, American History: A Survey, 3rd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 340, 509-515; John M. Blum, Bruce Catton, Edmund S. Morgan, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Kenneth M. Stampp, and C. Vann Woodward, The National Experience, 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968), 289-290, 416-422, especially page 419; Richard B. Morris, ed., Encyclopedia of American History, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 207. Anyone familiar with American historians will know that Richard B. Morris is one of the pillars of his profession, having gained his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1930; holding three honorary doctorates of literature from other prestigious schools; being at age 82 the Gouverneur Morris professor emeritus of history; being winner of the American history profession's most prestigious award, the Bancroft Prize for his The Peacemakers in 1965; author and editor of innumerable books on American history up to the present, including this Encyclopedia of American History, which has been so successful as to run into its sixth edition, published in 1982, being a source of unimpeachable accuracy. A government document, Mineral Resources of the United States, (1883) under the direction of Albert Williams, Jr., Chief of the Division of Mining, U.S. Department of the Interior, provides statistical data on gold and silver production on pages 172 to 185. A table on page 181 shows that California gold production for 1851 was $55 million, the same figure cited in the text. For more information on Mark Twain's career and his association with miners, see volume one of Albert Bigelow Paine's biography of Twain, or Paul Fatout's Mark Twain in Virginia City, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana Univ. Press, 1964).

2. John A. Garraty, The American Nation: A History of the United States Since 1865, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 72. There is a chronology of gold and silver discoveries in the territory that became the United States in a book by Walter R. Crane, Gold and Silver (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1908), 115-150. The recitation runs from the year 1513 to 1906. From 1845 to 1906 there were new discoveries every year.

3. The term monetarism is not a familiar one to the layman, and even some dictionaries fail to take note of its existence. The Encyclopedia Britannica tells us that monetarism is any of a variety of schools of thought that maintain that monetary measures alone are sufficient to maintain economic stability. In the nineteenth century United States after the Civil War, monetary policy became a nearly continuous topic for political discussion and culminated in the election of 1896, which some historians have contended came closest to being the only election decided on a single issue, monetary policy. The years previous to 1896 brought out every theorist, across a spectrum from professional economist to deluded crank, who turned out a variety of

books expounding their theories of monetarism. The most famous or notorious of these was William Hope ("Coin") Harvey, whose book, Coin's Financial School, sold by the hundreds of thousands of copies after 1894. In more recent times, monetarism has grown more respectable, or at least more sophisticated. Milton Friedman is looked upon by many as being at the center of this movement, and there are at present at least three books in print that use the term monetarism in their titles: Nicholas Kaldor, The Scourge of Monetarism, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); George Macesich, Monetarism: Theory & Policy (New York: Praeger, 1983); and Thomas Mayer, The Structure of Monetarism (New York: Norton, 1978). The Oxford American Dictionary, (1979), s.v. "monetarism," defines the term as "the theory that governments create inflation by putting too much money into the economy;" but this is a rather narrow definition in view of the considerable present-day debate among economists, inspired mainly by Milton Friedman; and that therefore it must be conceded that monetarism is any one of a variety of theories, all of which posit the effects of money supply and money support as they affect inflation or deflation in an economy.

4. Morris, Encyclopedia, 250-1. See also Paolo E. Coletta's essay "Greenbackers, Goldbugs, and Silverites; Currency Reform and Policy, 1860-1897," in The Gilded Age, H. Wayne Morgan, ed., (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1963), 111-139; and Walter T.K. Nugent's essay "Money, Politics, and Society: The Currency Question," in The Gilded Age; Revised and Enlarged Edition, H. Wayne Morgan, ed., (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1970), 109-127; Milton Friedman and Anna Jacobson Schwartz, A Monetary History of the United States, 1867-1960 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1963), 104-119.

5. Morris, Encyclopedia, 254-5, 257; Joseph Nathan Kane, Facts About the Presidents (New York: Permabooks, 1960), 217. The interpretive aspects of this paragraph are based on Morris and the essays of Coletta and Nugent mentioned in endnote #4 above. The statistics on Greenback Party voter strength are from Kane. Kane is a highly reputed fact compiler. He has been compiling factbooks for more than fifty years; his first compilation Famous First Facts came out in 1933 and is now in its fourth (1981) edition. In 1959 and 1960 he added the factbooks on presidents and U.S. counties. Both of these have also been so successful as to run to fourth editions in 1981 and 1983 respectively. In 1970 he added a new compilation on nicknames and sobriquets of U.S. cities and states. Practically every large library carries at least one of his compilations in its reference section. Kane is here cited merely for his facts and statistics, and not for interpretive purposes; this has been the intended purpose of such compilations, as they have a lot of facts in one place that would otherwise be scattered over a wide field. Kane is one of the most reputable compilers in this line of work.

6. Statistics are from Kane, Facts, 227, 245; interpretation is based on Morris, Encyclopedia, 254-5; and Coletta and Nugent as cited in endnote #4 above.

7. The Harvey vote statistics for 1932 are from Kane, Facts, 342; the interpretation is based on Morris, Encyclopedia, 261-4; and Coletta and Nugent as cited in endnote #4 above. Richard Hofstadter wrote a lengthy essay on "Coin" Harvey that places the latter in the total context of the times. It is in his seventh chapter, "Free Silver and the Mind of 'Coin' Harvey," in The Paranoid Style In American Politics and Other Essays (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), 238-315. This essay, in turn, is a revised version of the same treatise as it appeared as an introduction to Hofstadter's reprint of Coin's Financial School (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963), 1-80.

8. The closing line of Bryan's Cross of Gold speech is cited in Current, Williams and Freidel's American History, A Survey, page 512; the 1892 Populist vote and the fact of their merger with the Democrats in 1896 is shown in Kane, Facts, 262, 269. The interpretation follows Morris, Encyclopedia, 262-5 and Coletta and Nugent as cited in endnote #4 above.

9. Crane, Gold and Silver, 115-150; also Mineral Resources of the United States, 172-185.

10. Anna Maria Ettel, "Minnesota Gold Rushes", (Typescript in the Minnesota Historical Society's Archives and Manuscripts Division, 1965), 2, 3. In the early research phase of this project, before a copy of Ms. Ettel's paper was obtained, and it was known only as a bibliographic entry, it was thought to be the key that would unlock all the secrets about Rainy Lake City and the Minnesota borderland gold rush of the 1890s. While Ms. Ettel's paper has a lot of useful information, it is only a fifteen page typescript, and nine of those pages deal with other earlier gold discoveries in Minnesota. Her documentation, which is good, centers largely on more than a dozen Minnesota state government reports and secondary printed accounts that only make brief mention of the Rainy Lake gold fields. Aside from these, she used more than a dozen newspaper sources and most of these deal with the earlier gold fields. The brief portion of her narrative about Rainy Lake City depends largely on the Rainy Lake Journal. Ms. Ettel also used Horace Johnson's pamphlet as a source. From its title, Gold Rush to the Vermilion and Rainy Lake Districts of Minnesota and Ontario in 1865 and 1894, the present writer, seeing it as a bibliographical entry, thought it too would be a treasure trove of information. Once again the actual source was a disappointment. Johnson's pamphlet was only twenty pages long and parts of only five pages dealt directly with the Rainy Lake gold finds. The pamphlet also reprints a number of letters from parties living in Rainy Lake City during the gold rush; but only one paragraph from these talks about gold production, and figures are merely repetitive of statistics that appeared originally in the pages

of the Rainy Lake Journal. So two suspected good sources turned out to be blighted hopes. The Minnesota Historical Society Archives had about ten folders that related to various gold rushes in Minnesota and Ontario at the turn of the century. Mrs. Helen McCann White put together one folder of fourteen items that related mainly to the Lake Vermilion gold rush of 1865/66; but she also included copies of Ettel's and Johnson's brief contributions on Rainy Lake City. There were at least a half dozen folders that related indirectly to Minnesota gold rushes that were compiled by WPA workers in the 1930s. Several of these were brief county histories, such as of Itasca and Koochiching, which related only remotely to the gold discoveries. Each of these were either two or three pages of typescript in length. One of these WPA compilations was a copy from an article printed in the International Falls Echo of January 5, 1906, that constituted a thumbnail history of the (then) ghost town of Rainy Lake City. The article did not contain any unusual information that was not also found in the pages of the Rainy Lake Journal. The above narrative, with but few modifications, was also filed with the Minnesota Historical Society under a different label, as if it had been composed by a Mrs. R.H. Doherty in 1937 for the WPA. Aside from the WPA items, there was only one five-page memoir by a Judge John Berg of International Falls in the 1930s, nearly forty years after events. While there were a few anecdotal stories in Berg's reminiscence, there was not much in it about gold mining. Another couple archival contributions were made by Ira W. Hinckley in radio broadcasts done in the 1940s over CKFT, Fort Frances, Ontario. One broadcast was on "Historic Rainy Lake City" and closely mimed the 1906 article from the Echo cited above. This broadcast also recounted the story of a man named Butler robbing his own bank in Rainy Lake City; but the sequence of events, dates, and the wrong set of initials for Butler seem to indicate that Hinckley was using second, third, or fourth-hand accounts of the event. Later in this report the story of the bank robbery will be included, based on the fresh account done by the editor of the Rainy Lake Journal only days after the robbery. Hinckley also did a broadcast about Fort Frances that only touched on the gold rush. Finally, there was a sixteen page typescript at the Minnesota Historical Society entitled "A History of Koochiching County" by David Slafer, done at some indeterminate date, probably the 1930s. Only two and a half pages of this typescript dealt with the gold rush and this portion was based on an article from the International Falls Daily Journal of April 23rd, 1936. This version contributes nothing unusual to the story of Rainy Lake City and tells another version of the Butler bank robbery that resembles Hinckley's, with similar errors. All of the materials mentioned in this endnote are included in the bibliography at the rear of this report.

11. Ettel, "Minnesota", 3-9. See also Grace Lee Nute, Rainy River Country (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1950), 72.

12. Nute, Rainy River Country, 72-3.

13. Rainy Lake Journal, June 28, 1894; hereafter cited as RLJ. The Rainy Lake Journal is a unique source; in a sense there are more artifacts remaining of the ghost town of Rainy Lake City in the pages of this newspaper than in the ruins of the town itself. That is to say that here we have a lengthy, detailed, printed record of what took place in the town and in its environs. The archeological remains can never tell us as much. The present writer grants that the Journal has all of the limitations of a newspaper as a source. In order to make press deadlines, the editor makes snap decisions as to his assessment of what took place or is taking place within recent memory. He has the advantage of being close to events; the things he is talking about took place only a few days ago, and in this way he has a prime advantage over all the other sources mentioned in endnote #10 supra. As for the prejudices of Editor Bowman, they are not insuperable in so far as evaluating the worth of his information. His paramount prejudice was the fact that he was a booster, an enthusiast, and a perpetual optimist. With this bias, he may have kept the town of Rainy Lake City alive a greater deal longer than it deserved to live. But the reader is aware of that prejudice: he knows that the town failed and that gold was never extracted in significant quantities to make the area a major goldfield. So it does not matter to the reader that Bowman's dream is just a pipe dream. The reader can still glory in the sheer enthusiasm of the moment. As for Bowman's other prejudices: politically he was a Silver Democrat, and that became a minor factor only in the weeks before and after the 1896 election. He is an oddity in this, because he is a man seeking gold, which he believes to be the metal of the rich; while he is favoring the free and unlimited coinage of silver, which he believes to be the metal of the "little people." In expounding his monetarist theories, he is only miming the then current fad ideas of Coin Harvey. It is a perfectly comprehensible prejudice that should bother the reader not at all. He is merely a man of his times voicing one of the fads of his times. To see it in that way is to get a better feel for what it was like to live day by day in Rainy Lake City. In using editor Bowman's outlook extensively throughout this paper, the present writer utilizes the interpretive perspective provided by Richard Hofstadter, Paolo Coletta and Walter Nugent as stated in endnote #4 supra. This counterbalances any distortions caused by Bowman's limitations of perspective.

14. RLJ, June 28, 1894; July 5, 1894.

15. Ibid., June 28, 1894.

16. Ibid.

17. Nute, Rainy River Country, 79-83.

18. RLJ, July 5, 1894.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., July 12, 1894.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., July 19, 1894.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., July 26, 1894.

34. Ibid.

35. There are references to the various routes in nearly every issue of the Rainy Lake Journal, frequently in conjunction with commentary on the quality of mail service. See also Nute, Rainy River Country, 74-6 and Ettel, 11-12.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., August 2, 1894.

38. Ibid., August 9, 1894.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., August 16, 1894.

43. If editor Bowman's math had been up to par on this occasion, doubling the $78,000 per annum figure would have given him $156,000 per annum for the ten stamp mill and $1,560,000 for the hundred stamp mill.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid., August 23, 1894.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid., August 30, 1894.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., September 6 and 13, 1894.

52. Ibid., September 13, 1894.

53. Ibid., September 27, 1894.

54. Ibid., October 4, 1894. The reader should not become unduly alarmed by the diversity of names associated with a given mining property, such as with the Bushyhead mine mentioned here and with endnote #25 supra and endnote #61 infra. In fact, the frequent change of owners' names is a major explanation for much of the heartbreak associated with gold fields. Among the people who usually profited from a gold strike, whether major or minor, were the prospectors who either found or said they had found a big gold strike, and would then sell the property without developing it at all. Such prospectors would move on from "strike" to "strike," making a profit from each of the transactions and never engaging in any mining at all. Certain personalities became famous for unwittingly disposing of properties that later became the Comstock Lode or the Homestake Mine. Ever after they would be pointed out on the street as unwise entrepreneurs who had lost major bonanzas. More frequently it went the other way around, with the new owners holding or developing a nearly worthless property. The most prominent instance of this phenomenon in the Rainy Lake region was the Foley mine on the Ontario side of the line. By late 1897 the Foley mine was acknowledged to be the best gold producer in the region; yet it was not widely known that J.C. Foley and his cohorts were operating in the red after sinking $208,000 into that mine's development. At that point in time it was rumored that Foley was offered a million dollars for his investment; but it is not known whether the prospective buyers went through with the deal or not. On the Foley, see the text associated with endnotes #128, #141, and #157 infra.

55. RLJ, October 11, 1894.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid., October 18, 1894.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., October 25, 1894.

61. Ibid., November 1, 1894.

62. Ibid., November 8, 1894.

63. Ibid., November 15, 1894.

64. Ibid., November 22, 1894.

65. Ibid., November 29, 1894.

66. Information from the Lyle is from RLJ of December 20, 1894. Other data was from the issues of December 6 and 13.

67. Ibid., December 27, 1894.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., January 3, 1895.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid., January 31, 1895.

73. Ibid., February 7, 1895.

74. Ibid., February 14, 1895.

75. Ibid., February 21, 1895.

76. Ibid., March 7, 1895.

77. Ibid., March 14, 1895.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid., March 21, 1895.

80. Ibid., March 28, 1895.

81. Ibid., April 4, 1895.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid., April 11, 1895.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid., April 18, 1895.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid., April 25, 1895.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid., May 2, 1895.

91. Ibid., May 9, 1895. Items on the Lyle mine are from Ibid., May 16, 23, 1895.

92. Ibid., May 23, 1895.

93. Ibid. The rumor about the Rothschilds was part of the mythology circulated by William H. "Coin" Harvey that placed the English branch of the Rothschild family at the center of an immense worldwide conspiracy whose object was the destruction of the American laboring classes. Harvey's book, Coin's Financial School, had come out in June of 1894, and here, in May of 1895, eleven months later, several hundred thousand copies of it had been sold. Harvey himself guessed that the book ultimately sold a million and a half copies. The most conservative estimate of its circulation was 650,000 copies; Harvey's wife thought that about a million copies were sold. It was a very widely circulated book, and known to most well informed American citizens of that time.

94. RLJ, May 30, 1895.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid., June 6, 1895.

97. Ibid., June 13, 1895.

98. Ibid., June 20, 1895.

99. Two items from the Minnesota Historical Society reveal that Butler robbed his own bank. The first is a sixteen-page typescript by David Slafer entitled "History of Koochiching County." (1937). Slafer derived his information from an article in the International Falls Daily Journal for April 23, 1936. The second source was from a radio transcript by Ira Hinckley who did a series on "Rainy Lake Legends" for radio station CKFI at Fort Frances, Ontario, in the mid-1940s. The relevant broadcast was called "Historic Rainy Lake City." In the text Hinckley said he got the information about the robbery from the International Falls Daily Journal of September 18, 1941, an article titled "Down the Years With Our Pioneers." These later productions are accurate in their overall or general outline; but tend to wander into inaccuracies of detail about the bank robbery because of their time-distance from events. For immediacy, the pages of the Rainy Lake Journal at the time of events are far superior to the later sources.

100. Ibid., June 27, 1895.

101. Ibid., July 4, 1895.

102. See note #99 supra, as well as the following issues of the RLJ: July 4, 1895; August 22, 1895; September 5, 1895; September 19, 1895; September 26, 1895; and April 9, 1896.

103. RLJ, June 27, 1895.

104. Ibid., July 4, 1895.

105. Ibid., July 11, 1895.

106. Ibid., July 18, 1895.

107. Ibid., July 25, 1895.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid., August 1, 1895.

110. Ibid., August 15, 1895.

111. Ibid., August 22 and 29, 1895.

112. Ibid., September 5, 1895.

113. Ibid., September 5, 12, 19 and 26, 1895.

114. Ibid., October 3, 1895.

115. Ibid.

116. Ibid., April 9, 1896.

117. Ibid., October 1, 1896.

118. Ibid., October 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1896, and December 31, 1896.

119. Ibid., October 29 and November 5, 12, 19 and 26, 1896.

120. Ibid., November 5, 1896.

121. Ibid., November 5, 19, and 26, 1896.

122. Ibid., December 3, 1896.

123. Ibid., December 17, 1896.

124. Ibid., December 24 and 31, 1896.

125. Ibid., December 17, 1896.

126. Ibid., January 7, 1897.

127. Ibid., January 21 and 28, 1897.

128. Ibid., February 4 and 11, 1897.

129. Ibid., February 11, 1897.

130. Ibid., February 18, 1897.

131. Ibid.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.

134. Ibid., March 4 and 11, 1897.

135. Ibid., March 18, 1897.

136. Ibid., April 15, 1897. See also Hiram Drache, Koochiching (Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers, 1983), 51.

137. Ibid., April 29, 1897.

138. Ibid.

139. Ibid., May 13, 1897.

140. Ibid.

141. Ibid., May 20, 1897.

142. Ibid., May 27, 1897.

143. Ibid.

144. Ibid., June 3, 1897.

145. Ibid.

146. Ibid., June 10, 1897.

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid., June 24, 1897.

149. Ibid.

150. Ibid.

151. Ibid., July 8, 1897.

152. Ibid., July 15, 1897.

153. Ibid., July 22, 1897.

154. Ibid., August 12, 1897.

155. Ibid., August 26, 1897.

156. Ibid., September 2, 1897.

157. Ibid., September 9, 1897.

158. Ibid.

158. Ibid., September 30, 1897.

160. Ibid.

161. Rainy Lake Herald, October 7 and 14, 1897; hereafter cited as RLH.

162. RLH, October 14, 1897.

163. Ibid., October 28, 1897.

164. Ibid.

165. Ibid., November 4, 1897. See also Ibid, October 14 and November 25.

166. Ibid., November 18, 1897.

167. Ibid., November 25, 1897.

168. Ibid., December 23, 1897.

169. Ibid., December 30, 1897.

170. Ibid., January 6, 13, 20 and 27, 1898.

171. Ibid., March 3, 1898.

172. Ibid., April 7, 1898.

173. Ibid., April 14, 1898.

174. Ibid.

175. Articles on the Klondike occur in RLH for April 21, 28 and May 12 and 19, 1898. Items on the Seine goldfields occur in every issue during April and May 1898. Items about low water occur in RLH for April 21 and 28 and May 12 and 19. The beer ads were printed in RLH on April 14, 21 and May 5, 1898.

176. Ibid., May 12, 1898.

177. Ibid.

178. Ibid.

179. Ibid.

180. Drache, Koochiching, 53; Nute, Rainy River Country, 78-9.

181. Drache, Koochiching, 54; Nute, Rainy River Country, 79.

182. Nute, Rainy River Country, 79.

183. Engineering and Mining Journal, November 4, 1893, page 480; March 31, 1894, page 302; April 28, 1894, pages 399-400; hereafter cited as EMJ.

184. EMJ, June 30, 1894, 614.

185. EMJ, October 13, 1894, 349.

186. EMJ, October 20, 1894, 376.

187. EMJ, November 17, 1894, 470.

188. EMJ, the quote is from February 2, 1895, 110; other information is from ibid., March 2, 1895, 206; March 9, 1895, 231; April 27, 1895, 397; May 4, 1895, 422; and June 1, 1895, 519.

189. EMJ, June 15, 1895, 566; June 22, 1895, 559; June 29, 1895, 613; January 25, 1896, 93.

190. EMJ, February 15, 1896, 166-7; August 29, 1896, 208; September 19, 1896, 280; October 24, 1896, 399; November 7, 1896, 447; November 28, 1896, 519; December 26, 1896, 616; January 9, 1897, 52; January 16, 1897, 75-6; May 1, 1897, 435; Setpember 4, 1897, 290; October 9, 1897, 439; November 20, 1897, 620; December 4, 1897, 679-680; December 11, 1897, 710; April 23, 1898, 504; May 7, 1898, 564; May 14, 1898, 593; May 21, 1898, 623; June 25, 1898, 773.

191. EMJ, May 8, 1897, 460; September 4, 1897, 286-7; October 1, 1898, 409; September 24, 1898, 379. See also Berg's five page "Reminiscences of Rainy Lake City," undated typescript in the Minnesota Historical Society, Archives & Manuscripts Division.

192. EMJ, July 4, 1891, 28. This place in the journal was sort of a yellow pages for mining supplies. The information about Alfred Nobel is from Asimov's Biographical Encyclopedia of Science and Technology (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1982), 462-3.

193. ENJ, July 4, 1891, 7, 25; July 11, 1891, 49; September 19, 1891, 334; September 26, 1891, 357; October 3, 1891, 388; October 10, 1891, 425-7; October 24, 1891, 481; December 26, 1891, 720.

194. EMJ, April 14, 1894, 350; August 25, 1894, 182; October 13, 1894, 349; February 16, 1895, 158; June 1, 1895, 519; July 27, 1895, 87; September 7, 1895, 232; August 29, 1895, 208; September 26, 1896, 304; November 28, 1896, 519; September 4, 1897, 286-7, 290; October 9, 1897, 439; November 20, 1897, 620; April 23, 1898, 504; September 24, 1898, 379; October 1, 1898, 409.

195. A diagram of a typical mine shaft system is shown on page 17 of Bruce Robert's The Carolina Gold Rush: America's First (Charlotte, North Carolina: McNally & Lofton, 1971).

196. On Rainy Lake equipment, see note #194 supra.

197. See note #194 supra. There is an article on the self-dumping car in EMJ, October 3, 1891, 389. For some of the problems at the Little American mine, see Sections II J & P, and III J above.

198. EMJ, June 2, 1894, 511-2.

199. EMJ, June 22, 1895, 582; June 15, 1895, 561.

200. EMJ, June 2, 1894, 511-2.

201. EMJ, "The Philosophy of Stamp-Milling" by T.A. Richard, March 16, 1895, 243-5; "Variations in the Milling of Gold Ores--XII. The Black Hills, South Dakota," by T.A. Richard, September 7 and 14, 1895, pages 221-3 and 247-251.

202. Ibid. Also, see note #194 above for the specifics of Rainy Lake methods.

203. See note #201 supra.

204. Ibid. See also EMJ articles on the cyanide process on April 27, 1895, 389; May 4, 1895, 411-3; June 29, 1895, 604; November 14, 1896, 460.

205. EMJ, August 4, 1894, 110. See also note #194 above.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: Little American Island from Black Bay Forestry Tower. Undated, but recent. MHS Collections.

Figure 2: Little American Gold Mine, Rainy Lake, 1894. MHS Collections.



Figure 3: Rainy Lake City during the Minnesota Gold Rush, ca. 1894. MHS Collections.

Figure 4: Rainy Lake Hotel, ca. 1895. MHS Collections.


RAINY LAKE HOTEL

Figure 5: Exterior of the Eaton Cabin, ca. 1894. MHS Collections. The author was unable to discover any further information about the Eaton brothers beyond that provided by the Minnesota Historical Society in its captions for Figures 5 through 8 infra.



Figure 6: Claim Cabin in Northern Minnesota. Eaton's Cabin, 1895. Photo courtesy Chisholm Childrens Museum, Duluth, Minnesota. MHS Collections.



Figure 7: Interior of Eaton Brothers Log Claim Cabin During the Minnesota Gold Rush, 1895. MHS Collections.



Figure 8: Surveying Crew, Eaton's, During the Minnesota Gold Rush, 1895 or 1896. MHS Collections.

Figure 9: Rainy Lake City. Undated. MHS Collections.



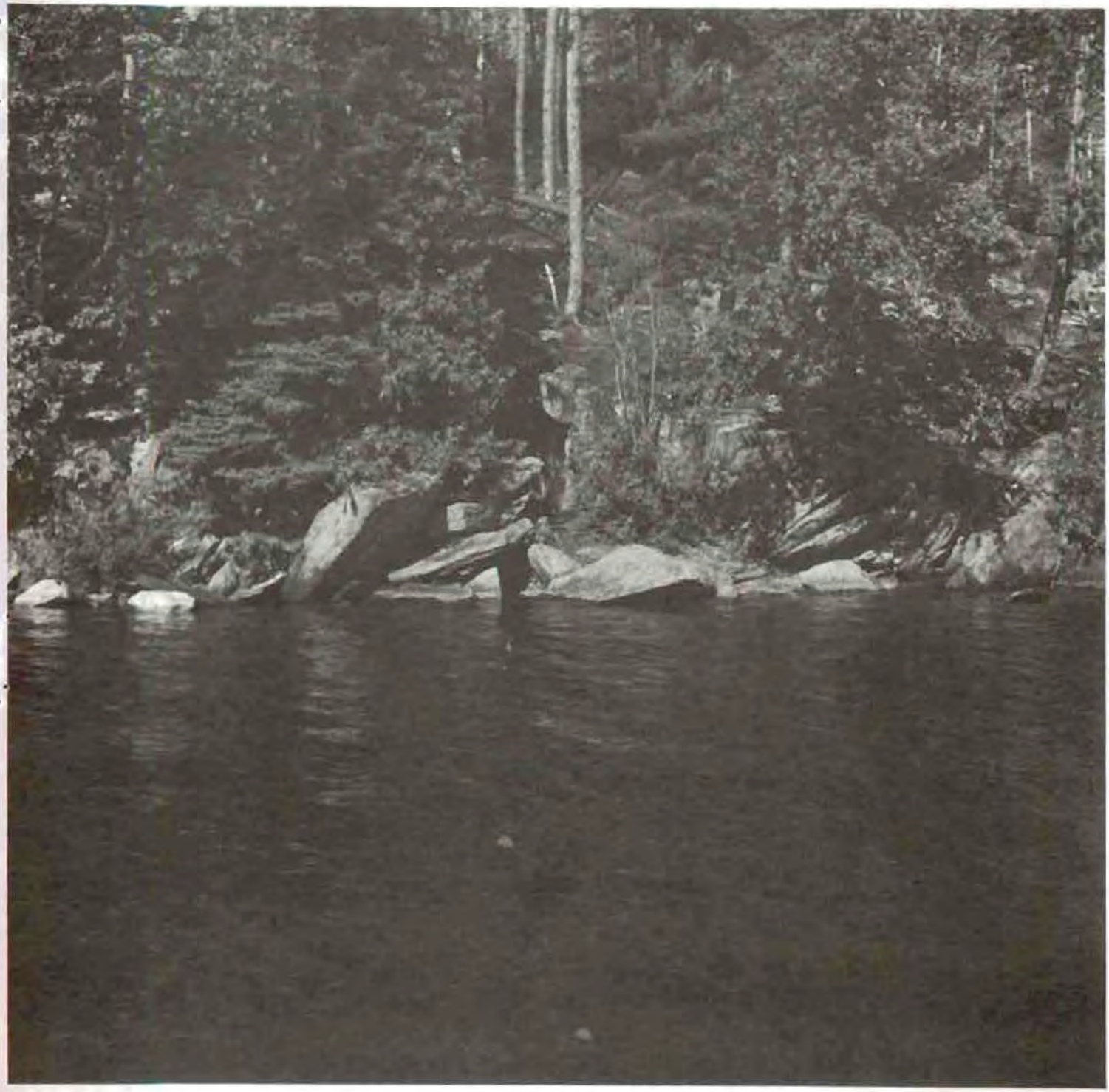
Figure 10: Green Tree Hotel, Rainy Lake City, ca. 1895. MHS Collections.



Figure 11: Islands and Dock at Rainy Lake City, ca. 1910. MHS Collections.


99
I. P. & I. Co.
ISELANDS & DOCK AT RAINY LAKE CITY.
NEAR FT. FRANCES ONT

Figure 12: Gold Mine on Rainy Lake, ca. 1959. MHS Collections.



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2. Interview

Interview of Donahue, Ethel and Patrick by Mary Lou Peason at International Falls, Minnesota. June 23, 1976.

Mining (Triangle Symbol)

1. Tilson and Grassy Island Mines on Grassy Island. VNP files.

2. SW¼ of SW¼, Section 25, T71N, R22W. Unnamed mine. VNP files.

3. Markham mine on island one mile east of Rainy Lake City. It was never worked beyond the exploratory stage. VNP files.

4. Big Chicago mine located one-half mile west of Rainy Lake City adjoining the Little American mine. VNP files.

5. Little Chicago mine located one-half mile east of Rainy Lake City. VNP files.

6. SE¼ of SW¼, Section 23, T71N, R22W. Old Soldier mine. VNP files.

7. SW¼ of SW¼, Section 26, T71N, R22W. A vein was uncovered on a blunt point of land. VNP files.

8. NW¼, Section 26, T71N, R23W. Some small veins on Kingston Island which were worked in 1894. Not shown on the map. VNP files.

9. A partial mine drift on an island nearest the west of Little American. VNP files.

10. A twenty-five feet shaft dug by the Syndicate Mining Company on an island one and a half miles east of Rainy Lake City. VNP files.

11. Section 30, T71N, R21W. Evidence of blasting on an island three miles east of Rainy Lake City. VNP files.

12. Ben Franklin mine on a thirty-acre island west of Scott Island. VNP files.

13. NW¼ of SE¼, Section 26, T71N, R22W. Bushyhead gold mine site. VNP files.

14. NE¼ of NE¼, Section 34, T71N, R22W. Site of Gold Harbor or Holdman gold mine. VNP files.

15. E½, Section 34, T71N, R22W. Site of Rainy Lake City gold mine. VNP files.

16. NE¼ of NW¼, Section 33, T71N, R22W. Little American gold mine (National Register). VNP files.

17. NE¼ of NW¼, Section 6, T69N, R18W. Mica mining site. VNP files.

18. SW¼ of SW¼, Section 25, T71N, R22W. Unnamed mine shaft. VNP files.

19. Lot 5, Section 27, T71N, R22W. Big American gold mine site. VNP files.

20. SE¼ of SE¼, Section 34, T70N, R19W. Mining site test holes. VNP files.

21. SE¼ of SE¼, Section 23, T71N, R22W. Lyle gold mine. VNP files.

22. SE¼ of SW¼ of SW¼, Section 25, T71N, R22W. A gold mine shaft on the west end of a small island north of Dove Bay. VNP files.

Chippewa (Oblong Symbol)

1. Lot 4, Section 21, T69N, R19W. A supposed burial area on the tip of Tar Point. VNP files.

2. Wake-um-up Island where Chief Wakeumup lived. VNP files.

3. Cemetery Island - a Chippewa burial ground. VNP files.

4. A cemetery and small village in T69N, R19W just north of Hoist Bay. VNP files.

5. Village sites on western shores and islands of Kabetogama Lake. VNP files.

6. Camp or village sites on south shore of Black Bay near the eastern side. VNP files.

7. N½ of NE¼, Section 22, T70N, R20W. Possible Indian Village site on a small peninsula south of Kawawia Island. VNP files.

8. NW¼ of SW¼ of NE¼, Section 27, T69N, R19W. A supposed burial ground which is now covered by water. VNP files.

9. Section 27 and center bottom of Section 22, T69N, R19W. Historic Chippewa village which was abandoned in the late 1920s. VNP files.

10. Williams Island, south part of Cemetery Island, and adjacent part of Sweetnose Island were used as Chippewa gathering areas. VNP files.

11. NE¼, Section 31, T70N, R21W. Historic Chippewa village site. VNP files.

Bootlegging (Oval Symbol)

1. A saloon was built on Little Martin Island in Kabetogama Lake in 1918. It included a bar and bunkhouse. VNP files.

2. A round saloon site on Round Bear Island. VNP files.

3. Harry Smith had a saloon in Tango Bay west of Dryweed Island, Rainy Lake. VNP files.

4. Bert Osborn and Harry Buck made poor quality moonshine in Joe LaBounty's shack on Moose Bay. VNP files.

5. Blind Pig Still site on Blind Pig Island in Namakan Lake. VNP files.

6. Harry Maines, a moonshiner, had a cabin in the Hoist Bay area. VNP files.

7. Jug Island was a way station where bootleggers and commercial fishermen hid their jugs for safekeeping. There are two Jug Islands one in Namakan Lake and one in Kabetogama Lake. Data does not indicate which Jug Island is correct.

8. Moxie Island named for Moxie Letsze. He had a cabin there where he made moonshine. VNP files.

9. Bill Randolph had a saloon below the dam at Kettle Falls before the dam was built. VNP files.

Resort (Hexagonal Symbol)

1. Site of Tom Watson's store at Gappa's Landing on Kabetogama Lake. VNP files.

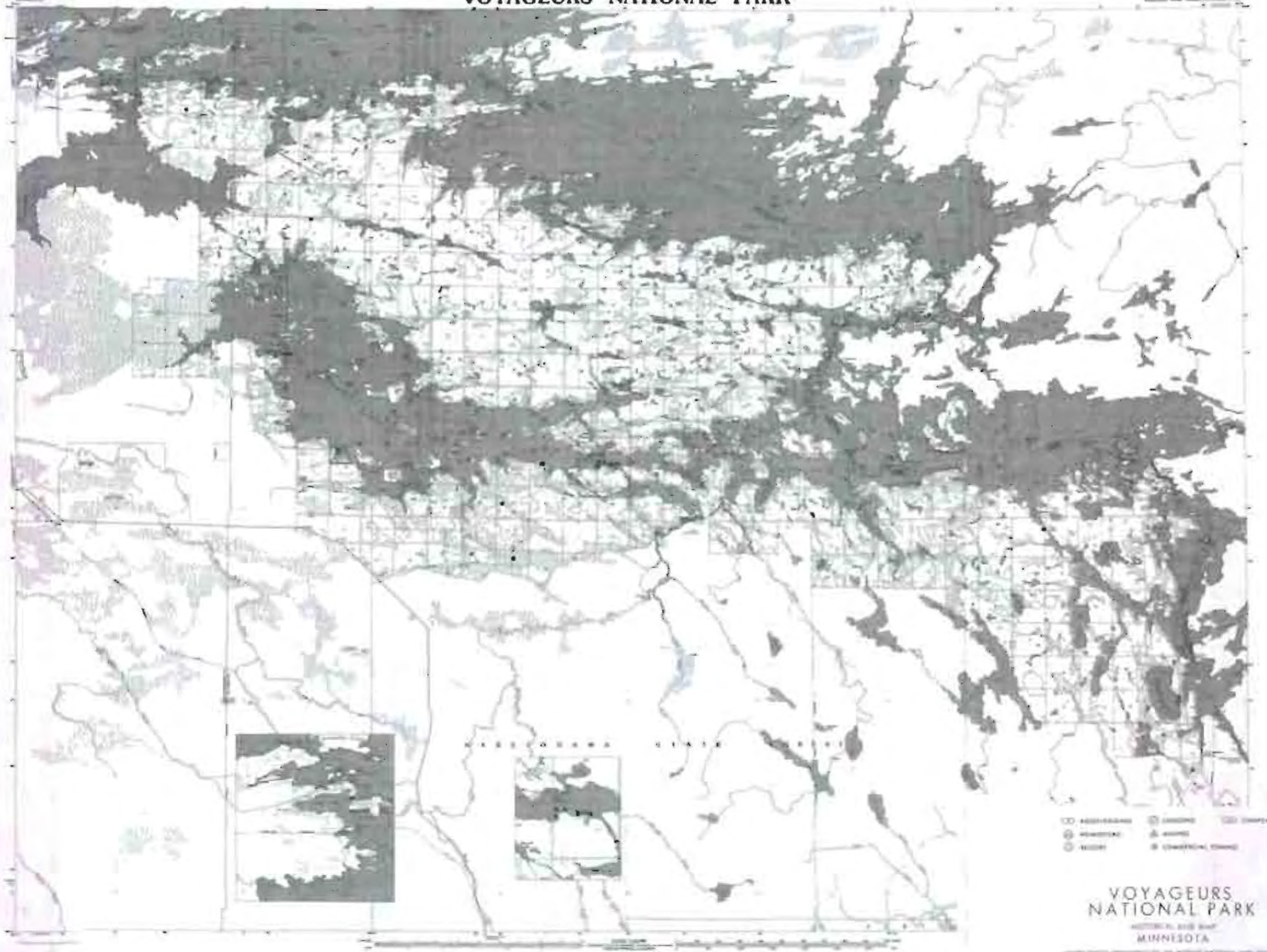
2. Site of the Kabetogama Hotel at Gappa's Landing on Kabetogama Lake. The hotel was razed in the 1960s. VNP files.

As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The department also has major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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