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MR. MONTANA: THE LIFE OF GRANVILLE STUART, 1834-1918

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Paul Robert Treece, B.S., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1974

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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PROLOGUE

On Sunday afternoon, October 6, 1918, a large group of Montana citizens assembled in the Deer Lodge Episcopal Church to pay their last respects to Granville Stuart. They had been gathering in the little valley community for several days and some, particularly those who had come a great distance, had not arrived until shortly before the service.

After the service, most of the mourners braved the sting of the autumn wind to follow the procession to the Hill Crest Cemetery, located about a mile west of the city. It was a typical Montana autumn day. The sun shone brightly but not warmly. Winter was in the air. To the west, within the easy view of the mourners who stood by the graveside, loomed majestic Mount Powell. The upper slopes of the mountain were covered with fresh snow. Great banks of clouds seemed to build up behind the mountain and then peel off from the summit to move steadily eastward over the valley. As the shadows lengthened on the ground, the occasional wintry blasts chilled the witnesses to the last rites for Granville Stuart.

Many of Montana's major political and economic leaders were among the mourners: two former United States Senators, a judge, a state senator, a former warden, a brewer, cattlemen, and wealthy mine owners, bankers, and merchants. Yet the man whose memory they were honoring by their presence had never succeeded in achieving his dreams of economic security and high social position. For decades he had sought to
get out from under the burden of heavy debts without success. He had died penniless in his eighty-fourth year.

Why did so many busy Montanans take the time and trouble to attend Granville Stuart's funeral? Why had the editors of the New York Times published an announcement of his death when the news of the impending collapse of Germany and Austria-Hungary and the movement toward an armistice demanded every available column-inch in the newspaper? Why was there a town, a railroad station, a scout camp, a World War Two Liberty Ship, an elementary school, and probably a mountain peak named after him. Indeed, why is Stuart mentioned in all but one of the seven major textbooks on the history of the westering experience, an honor shared by none of the mourners?

Granville Stuart was the most important single figure in the general development of Montana from the 1860s until his death. He had been, among other things, a prospector, miner, merchant, banker, legislator, land agent, vigilante, historian, author, promoter, gunsmith, speculator, rancher, diplomat, librarian, and civic leader. He personally had been involved in so much of Montana's early development that an admiring son-in-law said of him that "Granville Stuart was the history of Montana." He was the dean of the Montana pioneers. He was, wrote a contemporary, "...the Daniel Boone of Montana." "Granville Stuart was more than a Montana pioneer. In the fantastic historical phenomena of the American frontier, he was an extraordinary historical phenomenon," was a recent assessment of the man's life. "...He was part and parcel of practically everything of importance
that happened in Montana territory and adjacent lands from the year of
his arrival as a youth in 1858 to his death in 1918." He was "Mr. Montana."9

Granville Stuart deserves a carefully prepared full-length
biography. He has never had one. An unfinished autobiography, cover­
ing approximately two-thirds of his life, was published almost half a
century ago.10 Since that time, he has been the subject of only seven
scholarly articles although he has been mentioned in many others.11
One of his journals, especially interesting for the many drawings he
made in it, was published a decade ago.12 The author of this essay
makes no claim that it is a definitive biography of Stuart. The follow­ing life story emphasizes his earlier years because no adequate treat­ment of his later years is possible until the recently uncovered col­lection of Granville Stuart material, consisting of account books,
miscellaneous letters and documents, personal reminiscences, and copies
of hundreds of letters which Stuart wrote between 1887 and 1913,
becomes available to researchers.

Stuart did not live in a vacuum. This writer has taken pains to
describe the setting in which he operated and to identify as completely
as possible those with whom he associated. I have given particular
attention to family pressures, community pressures, and historical
events and trends, both large and small, which greatly influenced the
mature Stuart's attitudes, work habits, economic opportunities, and
social position.

Stuart could be viewed as a pathetic figure because his accomplish­ments did not equal his lifelong aspirations. It is impossible,
however, to pity him because he accomplished so much more than most mortals during his long life and because he had so much joy just in living it.
NOTES: PROLOGUE

1 A description of the funeral is in the Deer Lodge Silver State Post, October 10, 1918, and in John K. Hutchens, One Man's Montana, 102-105.


3 The town of Stuart was located in the Deer Lodge Valley of Montana and has since disappeared. The station is on the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul line east of Anaconda. The scout camp is on Rock Creek Lake west of Deer Lodge. The school is in Deer Lodge. The peak is northeast of Missoula but neither the Montana Historical Society (hereafter MHS) nor the Montana State Highway Department has information about the origin of the name.


5 E. C. Abbott and Helena Huntington Smith, We Pointed Them North, 130.

6 Hutchens, op. cit., 104.

7 Diary of Edgar Paxson, 1901, as quoted in Franz R. Stenzel, "E. S. Paxson--Montana Artist," Montana: the Magazine of Western History (hereafter Montana), XIII, No. 4, 67.


CHAPTER I
A FRONTIER CHILDHOOD

James Stuart and his brother, whose name may have been Thomas, arrived in Virginia from either Scotland or Ireland at the beginning of the American Revolutionary War. James, father of John, James II, William, Sarah, Mattie, and Elizabeth, settled with his family in northwestern Virginia on the South Fork of the Hughes River in Wood County.\(^1\) Granville Stuart remembered reading his great-grandfather's memorandum book which indicated that James had been a Virginia Indian trader in 1793.\(^2\)

Northwestern Virginia had long been a battleground darkened with the blood of white settlers, soldiers, and Indians. The region was part of the Ohio River Valley, claims to which had long been disputed by the French and the English. The bloodletting began in earnest when these two powers attempted to gain dominance over the valley through the control of the Forks of the Ohio. The result was the French and Indian War, ca. 1754-1763.

In 1761, four of the soldiers who garrisoned Fort Pitt (at the Forks) deserted the fort and fled up one of the forks, the Monongahela. After about a year, two of the party were recognized as deserters and were seized. The remaining two, Samuel and John Pringle, escaped capture. They remained in hiding in a remote spot until 1764 when they were joined by John Simpson, a fur trapper. Until giving up their
lives of solitude, the Pringle brothers and Simpson were the first known white settlers in the vicinity of what was to become Clarksburg. In 1768 Samuel Pringle led several interested persons to the site of a potential settlement on the Buckhannon, a tributary of the Tygart, which unites with the West Fork River to form the Monongahela. Settlement of the area began the following spring.

Three years later, in 1772, the first settlers on the actual site of Clarksburg were permanently established. Nutter's Fort, located nearby, provided badly needed protection from Indian war parties. The frontier settlers of northwestern Virginia were greatly concerned for their safety after the outbreak of Lord Dunmore's War in 1774 as once again red and white men made the region a dark and bloody ground. The sense of alarm greatly increased in 1778 and 1779 as the murderous raiding by small parties of Indians became a more frequent occurrence. In the latter year, ancestors of Granville Stuart's uncle, Valentine Bozarth, became casualties. Some isolated families had gathered at the Bozarth home on Dunkard Creek. In early April, a war party fell on the home. The children playing in the yard gave warning but were themselves killed before they could reach the cabin. Mrs. Bozarth mortally wounded three Indians with an axe, thereby saving herself and one seriously wounded white man. All the other whites perished in the attack.

This was not the last of the Indian troubles for the Bozarths. Although settlers were pushing further west into Kentucky and the Northwest Territory in the 1780s and 1790s, the Indian menace in northwestern Virginia was not greatly diminished by this expansion.
until "Mad" Anthony Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers on August 20, 1794. In the months that followed, most frontiersmen felt a sense of security for the first time in memory. "In this interval of time, there was but a solitary interruption, caused by the savage agression, to the general repose and quiet of North Western Virginia..." The residents on the Buckhannon River...had so long been exempt from the murderous incursions of the savages while other settlements not remote from them, were yearly deluged with blood, that a false security was engendered." On July 25, 1795, a war party surprised the Bozarths. John Bozarth and his two sons had the narrowest of escapes while a ten year old daughter and an infant were slain. John's wife and two other children were taken prisoner and the house was fired. Following the Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795, the Indians gave up Mrs. Bozarth and the children.

Some of the ancestors of Granville Stuart's paternal grandmother lost their lives in an Indian ambush on land eventually owned by Granville's father. The misadventures of the Bozarths and the other ancestors were not uncommon occurrences in northwestern Virginia in the late eighteenth century and serve to illustrate the ancestral background of Granville Stuart.

More is known of the Bozarths than of the other Stuart ancestors. Part of the problem is that Stuart, Stewart, and Steuart, often used interchangeably, was an extremely common name in early Virginia. We do know that Granville's grandfather, James, married Sarah Richards on January 3, 1806. Robert Stuart, Granville's father, was born on Sycamore Creek in Harrison County on May 15, 1807. Another son,
Madison, was born at the same place about 1810. On November 15, 1830, Robert married Nancy Currence Hall, sister-in-law of Valentine Bozarth, in her father's home at Clarksburg.

Although Robert Stuart was born on Sycamore Creek in Harrison County, was married in Clarksburg, and owned property on Sycamore Creek near Clarksburg in 1833 or earlier, there is quite a bit of evidence that he and Nancy lived for awhile on the South Fork of the Hughes River in Wood County, since the two oldest boys were born there. Sixteen months after their marriage, Nancy presented Robert with a son whom they named James. Granville, their second son, was born August 27, 1834. Both of these lads were born on the South Fork of the Hughes River. Two days before Granville's birth, his uncle, Valentine Bozarth, purchased fifty acres on Houghland Run, presumably a tributary of the South Fork. It is possible that Granville's parents lived on this land and that he was born there.

Meanwhile, in 1833 (or possibly earlier), Robert Stuart had acquired fifty acres on the West Fork of the Monongehela River at the mouth of Sycamore Creek. There were buildings on this land. When Stuart added to his land on the Sycamore, both he and the sellers were listed as being from Wood County. The additional tract, probably seven acres, was acquired on May 11, 1835, nine and one-half months after Granville's birth. Probably the Stuarts moved from the South Fork of the Hughes to Sycamore Creek about ten months after Granville was born. Sycamore Creek is located six miles southwest of Clarksburg and the Stuarts lived there until until they moved from the state.
Map 1. Western Virginia about 1836. Map drawn by Dr. A. Harding Gänz.
In the 1830s, Harrison County's population numbered about fifteen thousand. Five to six percent of this number were slaves. There were less than one hundred freed blacks in the county. Clarksburg, the county seat and largest community, had a population of about eight hundred. It had been incorporated in 1785 and was named after George Rogers Clark. By the 1830s, the community already experienced some urban problems and there was an attempt to rectify them through legislation. The numerous activities prohibited included the riding or galloping horses on "footways" (sidewalks), open wells allowing hogs to roam at large, discharging weapons, obstructing streets, allowing horses to mate in public. Property was to be fenced.

The Stuarts undoubtedly went into town occasionally to visit a physician, a church, the blacksmith shop, the saddler, or the general store. Other Clarksburg businesses included a hotel, distillery, salt works, tavern, and there was the financially troubled Randolph Academy. A militia unit mustered from time to time. The town had a series of weekly newspapers with high mortality rates. By the middle of the decade, coal mined in the county was barged up the West Fork to Pittsburgh. Beginning early in the decade, the first regularly scheduled stage coach ran from Clarksburg to the National Road at Uniontown and in 1836 the North Western Turnpike connected Winchester to Parkersburg, via Clarksburg. These roads did much to end the isolation of the county.

One of the more interesting descriptions of Clarksburg in the 1830s is found in a letter to a twelve year old girl enrolled in a boarding school for girls in Steubenville, Ohio, from her brother. The letter was written in 1835.
Miss Barton is still teaching school, in the room that Mr. Shinn formerly occupied—a silversmith and watchmaker has set up shop in the western room of the same house, by the name of Johnson—he has a sign similar to the one I saw in Steubenville—in the shape of a watch....

There was a barbecue in the academy on the fourth of July....The rifle company mustered on that day....

Springer and Nell have opened a medicinal store in the east of Mr. Field's new house just below Mr. Davis' [saddle] shop....We have a paper printed in town entitled the Countryman....There has been several negro buyers in town and they got a great many....

The street has been turnpiked from the bridge out beyond the graveyard, which has improved the street considerably.

Robert Stuart occasionally had to come to the Clarksburg courthouse. The building was constructed of brick and had two stories topped by a cupola. Behind the courthouse was a large tree trunk embedded in the ground. A large iron ring was attached to each side of the trunk which served as a whipping post. Often Stuart passed the courthouse and went to the building on the back lot. This was the residence of Samuel Hall, his father-in-law and sheriff of the county from 1830 to 1833. The sheriff's residence was attached to the jail, a stone building. To one side was a prisoners' exercise yard surrounded with a twelve foot stone wall.¹⁸

Much of Stuart's land was wooded with sycamores, chestnuts, beeches, sugar maples, and other varities.¹⁹ Sycamore Creek was "...named for a mighty sycamore tree which stood near the mouth of the creek at the West Fork River. This tree was so large that its cavity would admit a horse and rider."²⁰ In the early 1830s, John Tully Young erected a grist and saw mill on Sycamore Creek and constructed a dam across the stream. "The water was carried by a mill-race from the mill pond to an 'over shot' wheel which operated the machinery."²¹
It is perhaps through Young, who had been a scout on the Illinois frontier, that Robert Stuart learned about the fertile, flat, relatively treeless prairie lands then being settled in Illinois. Perhaps Stuart read about these desirable lands in newspaper accounts of the Black Hawk War. In any case, he decided to sell his property in Virginia and join the westward migration.

On March 10, 1836, Robert sold the fifty acre tract for $250. The next day he sold the smaller tract for $35 to Webster Richards, probably a relative. With this stake, the Stuarts prepared to leave Virginia. Goodbyes were said to relatives and friends, some who would never be seen again.

The ride aboard the stage from Clarksburg to Uniontown seemed like a long one, particularly for Nancy, already growing heavy with child. James had the responsibility of keeping his baby brother, not yet two years old, in good humor during the trip and he seemed quite earnest, for a four year old sibling, in his solicitude for Granville. At Uniontown, the Stuarts caught up with Valentine Bozarth, who had left a day earlier with a wagon filled with the Stuart's household effects.

The journey from Uniontown to Wheeling over the heavily traveled National Road was not as rough but Nancy was glad when they were at last aboard the steamboat. After helping to see that all of the Stuarts' things were safely on board, Bozarth paused before beginning the return trip to Clarksburg to talk over once again with Robert the possibility of joining the Stuarts later.
Warm farewells followed, not only between the Stuarts on deck and Bozarth on the dock, but also between the other passengers and their friends and relatives who remained behind. The excitement of beginning a new life on the frontier could not overcome the tug of leaving familiar places and familiar faces but Nancy could claim that that tear was caused by a tiny speck of soot from the double smokestacks of the steamboat which lodged in her eye just as the boat churned away from the Wheeling docks. Later, when the steamboat passed the mouth of the Big Sandy and the last view of Virginia slipped out of sight behind the thrashing sternwheel, Nancy would wonder if she would ever see Virginia again.

The trip was generally a pleasant one. While an occasional rain drove the passengers under cover, the late spring days were comfortably warm. Although the passengers felt cramped, friendships developed and conversation was plentiful. Much of the talk concerned the recent Battle of San Jacinto in Texas and the opportunities offered by various frontier communities but much of it also centered on politics and the coming presidential elections. How would Roger B. Taney, just confirmed by the Senate, compare with his predecessor, the late Chief Justice John Marshall? Old Hickory seemed unlikely to break precedent by seeking a third term because of his age and health. Who was to follow? Daniel Webster? Henry Clay? John C. Calhoun? Vice President Van Buren? What about General Harrison? Some of the conversation grew heated. Robert Stuart, an ardent Jacksonian, was not reticent about speaking up in defense of Democratic politics or the hero of the Battle of New Orleans.
Almost nine hundred miles below Wheeling, the boat left the Ohio and entered the Mississippi. It no longer seemed to glide effortlessly through the water. Now it labored against the current of the Mississippi. The ship passed the mouths of the Missouri just above St. Louis, the Illinois, the Des Moines, and the Iowa. At Rock Island the Stuarts left the steamboat and hired a wagon to carry them and their household effects to their new home. The road took them east past the little prairie towns of La Grange, Andover, and Providence.

Another traveler has left a description of what the Stuarts probably saw.

We left Princeton on the 17th of the month [June, 1841], and after passing a belt of forest... we found ourselves upon the wide, unfenced prairie, spreading away on every side until it met the horizon. Flocks of turtle-doves rose from our path scared at our approach; quails and rabbits were seen running before us; the prairie-squirrel, a little striped animal of the marmot kind, crossed the road; we startled plovers by the dozen, and now and then a prairie-hen...flew off heavily into the grassy wilderness. With these animals the open country is populous, but they have their pursuers and destroyers; not the settlers of the region, for they do not shoot often except at a deer or a wild turkey, or a noxious animal; but the prairie-hawk, the bald-eagle, the mink, and the prairie-wolf, which make merciless havoc among them and their brood.

At Windsor the Stuarts took the Peoria-Galena Road northward to their destination, Princeton, in Putnam County, Illinois. The journey from Clarksburg to Princeton had taken a month and now it was early summer. Peoria was an old French fur trading settlement on the Illinois River. In 1827 it was linked to the Illinois lead mining district, 160 miles to the northwest, by the Peoria-Galena Road.
immediately. Putnam County, organized in 1831, was bisected by the road. Princeton lay roughly midway between the two other towns.30

The late 1820s and early 1830s were bloody years in northern Illinois. Constant pressure on the Indians living in Illinois by the government and by land-hungry settlers culminated in the Black Hawk War in 1832. Putnam County was on the outer edges of the action. Within the county, several travelers and isolated settlers fell prey to the Indians. Widespread panic among the white residents of the county followed the victory of Black Hawk's followers at Stillman's Run, a tributary of Rock River. Fear of the Indians continued on into 1833. It soon became apparent, however, that white settlers would never again be menaced by the Indians. Consequently, the rate of settlement greatly accelerated. "During the summer of 1836, there was a great emigration to the western country and settlements were commenced throughout the north part of the state."32

The end of the Indian menace was not the only explanation for the accelerated rate of settlement. The process of pushing back the frontier was becoming comparatively less difficult as the result of improvements in transportation. Not only were steamboats an increasingly common sight on the Mississippi and its tributaries but also the Erie Canal, in operation for a decade, provided an all-water route from the populous Northeast to Chicago, by use of the canal and the Great Lakes. The National Road eventually reached as far as Vandalia, Illinois, and there were other available overland routes.33 The improvements in transportation meant not only an increase in the ease, comfort, and safety by which settlers moved themselves and their house-
hold effects but also an expansion of Northeastern markets for western agricultural products. At the same time that the western farmer could get his perishable foodstuffs to eastern markets more quickly and cheaply, America's infant industrial revolution was quickening in the 1830s. Those who forsook their New England farms for employment in a factory had to purchase foodstuffs which had been produced by others.

A third reason for the increasing numbers of migrants to the frontier regions was that the desire for cheap, fertile land and a restless desire to migrate to the frontier were becoming ever more prominent features in the psychology of the people of the United States. Americans were encouraged to take the risk of moving into a frontier region in 1836 by the booming national economy and the tremendous acceleration in land speculation, which drove the price of land up sharply in many localities.

Most of the early pioneers headed for the valleys of the Sangamon, Illinois, Rock, Spoon, and other Illinois rivers. Those who came next tended to stay with the familiar and settle on the timbered hills near the rivers. Later comers eventually found the lands to which they were accustomed were already taken. Consequently they had to...

...discard their prejudices, shatter past traditions, and develop an entirely new frontier technique. They had, for generations, judged the richness of land by the density of its forest growth, used wood for everything from homes to fences, and obtained fuel, game, and water from the wilderness. Now they must settle on a barren waste [i.e., the prairies] apparently incapable of supporting forests, unprotected from winter blasts or summer heat, without logs for their fires. They must dig wells rather than depend on rippling forest streams....Little wonder that settlers hesitated at the edge of the prairies before making the transition.34
The Stuarts arrived early enough to settle on forested lands bordering the prairies. Although the last buffalo had been killed five years earlier, in 1836, the year the Stuarts migrated into the area, there were still bears, panthers, timber and prairie wolves, deer, and wild boars. The county's first historian noted that in the spring of 1836

The dwellings throughout the county were log cabins, mostly built in the edge of the timber by the side of a spring. There was but one meeting house; two or three log school houses; only two surveyed roads and not a stream bridged....A few houses were clustered around Princeton, and with the exception of these, not a dwelling could be seen on the prairies of this county. All the land then under cultivation was a small field here and there adjoining the timber, and the prairies throughout the county were in a state of nature, a part of which had not yet been surveyed. Most of the early settlers believed that they [the prairies] would always remain vacant, and unoccupied, being valuable only for grazing land, for horses and cattle.

Cyrus and John H. Bryant, brothers of the author, William Cullen Bryant, had made land claims in the fall of 1832. Two more brothers, their families, and their mother had migrated to Princeton by the middle of the decade. "Physically, the village of Princeton to which Mrs. Bryant came in 1835 consisted of a post office, a tavern, three stores, and a few log cabins. There were two or three dozen families in Princeton township at that time but the large emigration in 1836 doubled this number. In addition to the Peoria-Galena Road, which ran north-south through the village, an Indian trail passed near Princeton "running east and west, over which passed Indians of the West on their annual trips to and from Chicago, to get their annuities." This was the so-called Sac and Fox Trail. Eventually Robert Stuart acquired land through which ran an old Potawatomie and Winnebago...
Trail. "Many places on the prairie the trail was worn down a foot or more below the surface by the incessant tramp of the ponies' feet." 40

Almost immediately after reaching Princeton, Stuart fell in with two land speculators, Thomas S. Elston, a handsome man of medium size, easy to recognize in his blue dress coat and white beaver hat, and John M. Gay, postmaster and proprietor of a general store. Gay was dark complexioned and resembled Stuart in his height and lankiness. 41 He had some legal training and following the organization of Putnam County in 1831, he was elected a justice of the peace, being the only man in the county so qualified west of the Illinois River. 42 In August and September, Elston, Gay, and Stuart each put up an equal part of $1600 to purchase 210 acres. 43 It is not known whether Stuart lived on and farmed any of these lands in Princeton and Dover townships, on other land he individually acquired in Dover township, or on one of the town lots in Princeton that he purchased from Elston. 44

Only a few of the twenty or so buildings in Princeton in 1836 were clapboard. The rest were crude log cabins with saddle and notch corners. All had one or more fireplaces to ward off the chill of the winter winds that swept across the prairies. Whether Stuart lived in Princeton or some five miles north of the village, he undoubtedly built a log cabin for his family. Clay was used to chink in the spaces between the logs. If he made a floor, it was made of puncheons, that is, comparatively small logs split in half and the edges straightened so as to avoid too large cracks between them. The round side was notched sufficiently to fit over the joists or "sleepers" so that when laid the upper (split) portions of the logs would form a reasonably
even floor....The roofs were made of clapboards split out from red oak trees....[L]eaky roofs were very common....
Doors were not only hard to make with the splitout boards, but still harder to hang, for hinges of any kind were scarce. Some of the poorer cabins had no swinging doors, but only some sort of curtain made of a quilt or of hides. Glass for windows was for some time very hard to obtain so windows were often small openings covered with oiled paper....
A crudely made ladder usually led to the attic, and to the cellar, which was but a hole under the house in which some provisions could be stored. In general the large stores of vegetables were in nearby caches, which were simply pits filled with vegetables over which was first laid a layer of straw, dried grass or leaves, then covered with earth of sufficient depth to prevent freezing. These caches were opened only occasionally as when a supply of potatoes was needed in the house....
The first cabins were built in or near timber and close to some spring or easily accessible water supply....

To supplement his income from farming and from speculation, Stuart surveyed land for the many newcomers who emigrated to Illinois. He found an old style compass and this allowed him to work as a surveyor.

Breaking the tough prairie sod was an occupation Stuart did not enjoy, He had begun to develop a restless nature and farming had little appeal.

On August 10, 1836, Nancy bore a third son, Samuel. The Stuarts were barely settled in their new cabin when they witnessed a phenomenon new to them--a prairie fire. Stepping out of their cabin on a November evening and looking west, they could see the glow of a huge fire as it burned some sixty miles across the prairie from the Spoon to the Rock River. The following month there was a warm spell but it suddenly changed into a gale which sent the temperature dropping some eighty degrees. Some travelers in the county froze to death as did some livestock. With not a little concern, Robert Stuart watched the pile of green firewood dwindle rapidly.
The residents of Putnam County living west of the river felt rather inconvenienced to have to cross the Illinois to Hennepin, the county seat, every time they had business at the county courthouse. At the end of February, 1837, the state legislature passed an act dividing the county providing a majority of residents in the county approved. A majority did. The new county was named Bureau after Bureau Creek. Princeton was soon selected as the new county seat. A new county required new officials, who were elected on the first Monday in June, 1837: John H. Bryant, county recorder; his brother, Arthur, a county commissioner; Robert Stuart, county surveyor. The restless Stuart was not in the county at the time of his election. He had temporarily left his wife and three sons for a region devoid of all settlement except that of the Indians. Stuart went to Rock Island and then across the Mississippi to Wisconsin Territory (now Iowa). After traveling to what is now Cedar Falls he spent the summer trading with the Indians. Stuart probably paid for his trade goods with the one thousand dollars he had received from the sale of some of his lands. Although it was extremely wet all summer and the Cedar River rose to a point higher than any time since, Stuart liked the area and made a vow to return.

Much of the emigration into northern Illinois and much of the prosperity of the area in the mid-1830s rested on the belief that the price of land and town lots would continue its steady rise. When Princeton was surveyed in August, 1832, the smallest lots, such as Lot 39 or Lot 42, were valued at $3.50 each while the largest lots, such as Lot 99, were valued at seventy dollars each.
Elston sold Robert Stuart parts of Lots 39 and 42 as well as Lot 103 in December, 1837, Stuart was willing to pay $780 for them. Rural land was similarly affected. Cyrus Bryant purchased four hundred acres for $500 and a year later sold forty acres of the four hundred for $600.

By the time Robert Stuart returned from his summer of trading with the Indians, the economic upheavals in the financial centers of the East were spreading outward like ripples on the water. Yet, in remote northern Illinois, there were only a few hints of trouble. Agricultural prices remained fairly good and the bumper crops of 1837 in the West minimized the impact of the downward slide of the nation's economy.

In mid-October, Stuart began performing his duties as county surveyor. With two other men he began to locate a road fifty feet wide by blazing trees from the bridge over Bureau Creek near Pete's Mill to an intersection of the road leading to Ottawa and Coles Ferry, a distance of four miles.

In the spring, 1838, Stuart again with two other men, began surveying a second road from Princeton to Greenfield (now Lamoille) by blazing trees and, on the treeless prairie, using stakes. Stuart continued surveying roads in 1838, beginning the seventh and final one in mid-September.

In the meantime, the effects of the Panic of 1837, had spread to Princeton. Stuart, like many others, ended his petty speculation in land and town lots and began a policy of retrenchment. Beginning in February, 1838, he started to sell off the remainder of his land and town lots one at a time. The fall in value of the Princeton town lots
apparently was less than the decline in returns from agricultural land and Stuart seems to have realized a small profit on their sale. In the late autumn, 1838, Stuart decided to move his family west of the Mississippi River into the Territory of Iowa.  

The trans-Mississippi area west of the state of Illinois had been reserved for the Indians. Until the early 1830s, only a few white settlers successfully squatted in this region but while the population density in Illinois and Missouri was building up, there was a corollary development of public opinion in favor of opening these fertile lands to white settlement. The Black Hawk War of 1832 provided the excuse. In September, the defeated Sac and Fox Indians were forced to cede a strip of land immediately west of the Mississippi in what is now Iowa. This so-called "Black Hawk Purchase" was opened to settlement on the first day of June, 1833, and the rush began immediately.

In the late autumn of 1838, the Stuart household was once again packed into a wagon and was hauled from Princeton across the prairies to Rock Island. There the Stuarts and their belongings went aboard a boat which carried them across the Mississippi to Iowa Territory. The Stuarts located in the northern part of Muscatine County, a portion of the Black Hawk Purchase. The area was in a state of nature. The first settlers had arrived only two years earlier. Indians, chiefly the Sac and Fox, were still quite numerous. Earlier in the year, Oliver Atwood, a Methodist minister in the area, had fallen victim to the Indians. During the winter of 1837-1837, some whites and Indians had gotten rip-roaring drunk at the tavern of Alexander Ross in the village of Moscow. The half dozen or so whites encouraged the three
or four Indians to do a war dance and the Indians accommodated them. After drinking and dancing for some time, the Indians demanded the rest of the contents of the whisky barrel. When the whites refused and attempted to throw the Indians out, a brawl ensued. Ross clubbed one of the Indians unconscious and after the other Indians fled, the fallen brave was dragged outside by Ross who then beat him to death. When Ross was acquitted of the murder on a technicality, the Indians were totally disillusioned with white men's justice and a handful sought revenge by attacking and killing an unsuspecting lonely traveler, Atwood, who had moved into the county in 1837. Atwood's killers escaped punishment and in the months that followed, the settlers came to regard the Indians as a nuisance rather than a danger. In 1839, when the Indians began to collect maple sugar as they had done for years, the settlers armed themselves, drove away the Indians, and burned their camps and equipment. 64

The region was rolling prairie except for the timber which stood along the banks of the rivers and creeks. Government workers surveyed the area in 1838 and when the land sale began in the autumn of 1838, their trails along the section lines were plainly visible on the prairie. 65

Still unwilling to locate on the prairie, Robert built a log cabin of one room in the timber along a minor tributary of the West Branch of Wapsinonoc Creek in Wapsinonoc township, two miles northwest of newly-established West Liberty. 66 The location in the woods provided Stuart with the materials to build the cabin as well as fuel to heat it. It
Map 2. Part of Illinois and Iowa about 1850. Map drawn by Dr. A. Harding Ganz.
also provided some security from the danger of prairie fires which might race across the grasses driven by a hot autumn wind. 67

The winter of 1838-1839 set in unusually early and brought suffering to many of the new emigrants in Iowa Territory. Many had come so late in the year that they had had no time to put in a corn crop. About November 10, 1838, the ice on the Mississippi was running so thick that navigation was interrupted. This prevented Muscatine, Prairie de Chien, and other river towns from receiving a winter supply of necessities by steamboat. It became necessary to supply these settlements by wagons coming from St. Louis. Consequently the prices of flour, salt, and other staples rose dramatically. 68

Nancy Stuart had been pregnant at the time the family moved from Illinois and on April 13, 1839, she delivered a fourth son, whom they named Thomas. 69

The run (as Virginians such as Robert Stuart called it) on which the cabin was built, rose in the prairie in the adjacent section to the east. In the spring it ran through a carpet of wild flowers. It provided the Stuarts with their water for both drinking and washing. Unfortunately, after the rapid spring runoff was over, the run was so full of mosquito larvae that the Stuarts found that they could not use the water until they strained it through a cotton cloth. The mosquitoes swarmed about and tortured the Stuarts from the first warm days in the spring until the first hard frost in the autumn. Perhaps because of their impure drinking water, all of the Stuarts suffered from fever and chills which they called ague. 70 It was perhaps a mild form a malaria. Granville Stuart remembered sickness thus:
During all this time we just shook, and shook, with the ague. We could only eat when the chill was on us, being too sick when the fever was on. I well remember how the cup would rattle against my teeth when I tried to drink and how, while trying to put the food in my mouth I would nearly put it in my ear, and how my spleen (commonly called the "melt" in those days) was swollen and felt hard as a piece of wood just below my ribs. This was known as ague cake. Almost everybody in that thinly settled part of Iowa would have the ague part of the time. Fortunately it was seldom fatal, but I can still see how thin and pale and woe-begone everyone looked.  

Robert Stuart had been urging his brother-in-law, Valentine Bozarth, to emigrate from Virginia. In 1839 Valentine and Rebecca arrived with their numerous children and with Robert's widowed mother, Sarah Richards Stuart.  

Sarah Stuart made her home with her son and helped Nancy with the care of the four boys. She was a very pious woman and "she enforced the same rules in the Robert Stuart home that she had in her own. The fires were put out at dusk on Saturday eve and no warm food until after sundown Sunday evening. They walked three miles to church and spent the day there." The church services probably had little appeal for the Stuart boys. The sermons were long and the backless benches hard. "A cold lunch, eaten outside the church, was followed by "...another sermon...and then the long walk home. No day was too hot or too cold to furnish an excuse to remain home from these services.  

Decades later, Granville Stuart would remember his grandmother carding her wool and working her spinning wheel. She knit socks, mittens, hoods, and scarves for the boys. She also read to them from the Bible and from Pilgrim's Progress.
In 1839 the capital of Iowa Territory was moved from Burlington to Iowa City. There was quite a bit of traffic between the Mississippi and the new capital and much of it passed the Stuart residence. To supplement their income, the Stuarts ran a "half-way house" where horses of the stagecoach could be changed and where passengers could buy a meal. As Christmas approached, Nancy took on an additional responsibility. She made a man's suit by hand and the customer was to pick it up before Christmas. This would provide her with some money to buy her children something special for Christmas. However, on Christmas Eve, when the passengers had reboarded and the stage departed, Nancy realized that the completed suit had been stolen. She had nothing for her children. That night she washed their stockings and hung them up by the fireplace to dry. Then she baked donuts and put them in the stockings so her children would have something for Christmas.

Early in 1840 the residents of Wapsinonoc township decided to build a school. The men and older boys congregated near the Stuarts' home...

...for the purpose of selecting a site and erecting a building. A suitable spot was soon chosen, on the brow of a low hill in a thick woods...about eighty rods to the northwest of the Stuart residence. Each man brought his ax and team. The material for the house and its furnishings were at hand in the standing trees, and the work began. Some cut down the trees and cut them into suitable lengths; others snaked the logs to the chosen spot with their teams. The work went merrily on, and soon was erected the first house for school purposes in Muscatine County west of the Cedar river. It was of meager dimensions, built of unhewn logs, roofed with clapboards, some say floorless and windowless, save for small orifices at one end. The walls were not well chinked and let in much of [the] cold and other things. A few split logs on wooden legs furnished seats, and split logs resting on wooden pins driven in the walls, desks. There opened the first school in the new settlement. Not a brilliant equipment for mental training for future statesmen and professors....
Valentine Bozarth's farm was adjacent to Stuart's and he needed funds to meet the expenses of getting the new farm into operation. Consequently, when "...the first session opened...Valentine Bozarth, a mild spoken, easy going man [was] at the desk...." His twenty-six pupils included six of his own children; the three Bagley boys, whose father, Simeon, had laid out West Liberty; the three sons of Andrew B. Phillips, who had emigrated from Virginia the same year as Bozarth; Asa Gregg's two boys; ten other boys and girls of neighbors; and Bozarth's nephews, James and Granville Stuart.

It was no light task the teacher had in controlling that obstreperous lot of boys and girls, fresh from the unrestrained freedom of the woods and prairie, and bring them into subjection to rule and order; and many were the trials and tribulations through which the school passed that first winter.80

The school was a subscription school whereby the teacher was paid a fixed price per pupil per month. Bozarth taught only the first year. The following year Miss Vienna ("Vannie") Winchester was the teacher.81 Decades later Granville Stuart could still vividly recall the poor light which came through the greased paper on dark days; the backless rough unplaned slab seats which were too high for the students' feet to touch the floor; and the earthen floor beaten smooth by the bare feet of children who attended the three months term during the summer.

"For a teacher we had some young woman in the neighborhood whose educational possibilities were embraced in the three R's (reading, riting, and rithmetic) and who was generally a little shaky on the last R. This fortunate young woman commanded the large salary of five to six dollars a month and the right to board in turn among the parents of her scholars. 82
By late 1840, Robert Stuart's creditors began to press him. Stuart was taken to court three times in seven months and each time there was a judgment against him, the highest being about one hundred dollars. During the same period, Stuart and four other men were indicted for gambling ("gaming.") A jury acquitted him. Apparently the judgments and the trial did not hurt Stuart's standing in the community because he served as a county commissioner with John Vanater and Benjamin Nye in 1841. The following year he was a justice of the peace and apparently held other "important offices in the county" from time to time.

In 1840 or 1841, the Stuarts had had enough of the mosquitoes and moved to higher ground. The new frame house was located on the edge of the prairie two miles south of West Liberty and near a small school which Granville and James attended with five other children of three or four families.

A small village of bark huts belonging to some Musquakie (Fox) Indians was located near the Stuarts. The Stuart boys enjoyed playing with the Indian children and with the children of their neighbor, William, John, and Solomon Phillips. The mothers of the Indian playmates occasionally gave the white children maple sugar to eat and would graciously give them maple sugar cakes to take home to their own mothers. These harmonious relations were badly disrupted once when the Stuarts, Phillipses, and some Indian youths were rough-housing on a bridge over Wapsinonoc Creek which ran through the section on which the two white families lived. Billy Phillips, about sixteen years old, was wrestling on the bridge with an Indian youngster when, without warning,
the Indian was thrown off the bridge into the creek. The victim's humiliation turned to anger as he swam to the bank. He ran to the Indian hamlet to get his bow and arrows, apparently intent on killing the Phillips boy. Andrew Phillips, Robert Stuart, and the Indian adults intervened. Explanations and apologies were followed by small presents and a tragedy was averted. The increasing density of white settlement drove off the game which the Indians hunted for food and when the whites covetously denied the Indians participation in the harvest of maple sugar, there was little for the Indians to do except migrate further west. 88

Beginning about 1841, Robert Stuart resumed his part-time occupation of petty land speculation. His holdings were heaviest in Wapsinonoc township but also included locations in the three townships to the east of Wapsinonoc, town lots in Moscow, Bloomington, and West Liberty (he owned nearly one-fourth of West Liberty at one time) and eventually locations in Cedar County to the north and possibly property in other counties as well. On most of his land transactions, Stuart merely broke even; but in a few instances he made as much as four dollars an acre on land that he had purchased for $1.25 89

On October 14, 1842, Nancy Stuart gave birth to a daughter. The infant was named Elizabeth. 90

In 1843 the Stuarts moved again. Robert had purchased three adjacent odd-sized tracts, totaling slightly less than 145 acres, on the west bank of the Red Cedar River. 91 The following winter was severe. A heavy snowfall of about two feet was followed by an extremely long cold spell, much of it below zero. The Red Cedar River remained
frozen until the second week of April, 1844, and when it broke, huge chunks of ice were pushed out onto the low spots along the banks.\textsuperscript{92}

During the severe winter, James and Granville attended a two months term at a school in the village of Moscow, on the east bank of the river about one and one-half miles above the Stuart farm. James had a pair of ice skates and would skate to school with Granville squatting behind him and clinging to his coattail. Over seven decades later, Granville still remembered using a variety of arithmetic books, \textit{McGuffey's Reader}, and \textit{Webster's Speller}. The spelling book had a... discouraging frontispiece, a picture of a very lightly clad young man weakening when half way up a high mountain with a little cupola on top of it and on its front gable the word "Fame," in large letters, and a rough looking female ordering him to climb or bust. I attribute my failure to achieve greatness to that picture. The constant contemplation of it so impressed the difficulty of being famous (in that costume) upon my youthful mind that hope died within me.\textsuperscript{93}

One of the brothers' classmates was a red-head named Erastus Yeager who, according to Stuart, was a good student. Twenty-one years later, "Red" Yeager was hanged by the Montana Vigilantes. After Yeager was cut down, "...in his pockets were found letters addressed to him in his family name and postmarked from the little town of West Liberty, Iowa. When shown to James and me knew we knew that Red was Frestus Yeager...."\textsuperscript{94}

Five moves in nine years had not found Robert Stuart a permanent resting-place. He longed to return to the falls where he had spent the summer of 1837 trading with the Indians. Consequently, the following summer, he joined a party of two other men for an extended hunting trip up the river to Cedar Falls. The men took a wagon drawn
by a pair of horses, stopping frequently to kill an elk or deer or
trap beaver. They also discovered numerous bee trees and, despite the
hazard of being badly stung, managed to fill an entire barrel with wild
honey. When they were ready to return, they sold the wagon and horses
and made a large canoe from a walnut tree. Gliding with the current,
the men leisurely fished, talked with the handful of friendly Indians
who they met, and feasted on the honey, game, and fish. "I remember
well," Granville Stuart wrote, "how we feasted on that dried elk meat,
which was the first we children had ever eaten. The honey in the barrel
was all candied and was delicious."95

During the summer of 1844, while their father was enjoying his
hunting expedition, James, Granville, Samuel, and Thomas attended a
three months term in a school located on the edge of a lake about one-
half mile south of the Stuart farm. The schoolhouse was built of logs
but the interior walls were plastered and there were windows with real
glass in them as well as a board floor. On the west side of the lake
were thickets of crabapple and plum making the setting quite attractive.
The students were able to escape the heat by swimming in the lake.96

While the Stuarts had not suffered from hunger, their meals lacked
variety until they moved to the farm on the Red Cedar River. The river
was crystal clear and various kinds of fish were added to their diet.97
Granville's older brother continued to play the role of watchful
protector and the two boys were not only brothers but also best friends.
James encouraged Granville to come with him as he checked his quail
traps and rabbit snares and was generous in sharing with Granville rides
on his pony. Nancy Stuart was often heard to say that "...she never
was anxious about Granville when he was with James. As a result, the two older brothers were allowed to use the big walnut canoe. There was little danger anyway for it was so broad that two men standing on one of its sides could not overturn it.

Often the two boys and their father would go spearfishing at night. "A tin lamp holding about a quart of lard with a rag wick..." provided the light. The boys paddled while Robert sat in the bow with his ten-foot pronged spear poised. Apparently the fish were curious about the light and were attracted to it. The clearness of the water and the sureness of Robert's aim produced in just a few hours of effort a dozen or two or even more fish. The next morning, two weary boys would distribute the surplus fish to their neighbors as presents.

Robert Stuart was not only skilled as a spearfisherman but also a hunter without peer. Although the Musquakies had been forced to migrate further west because of the growing scarcity of game (and the increasing hostility of the white settlers), Stuart found game in the wooded areas along the streams and on the prairies in sufficient abundance to provide his family with elk or deer venison, prairie chicken, squirrel, and wild turkey. A year after the move, there was corn meal and garden vegetables. Nearby trees provided maple sugar and syrup although cane sugar, tea, and coffee were always scarce. The Stuart's open fireplace was used for cooking as well as heating. The home became uncomfortably hot in the summer when Nancy was baking, so often her cast-iron skillet and Dutch oven would be used in an open fire outside.
Granville was taught how to hunt by his father. The youth loved to hunt and loved guns. In later years he began collecting a great variety of firearms. Robert used a heavy flint-lock rifle which had a long range when he was hunting in the woods. However, when he hunted out on the prairie, the wind often blew the powder out of the pan. Consequently, he also had a small-bore rifle which used percussion caps placed on the gun's nipple. When he was going after deer or elk, he occasionally borrowed a large caliber muzzle loader from a neighboring widow because the large balls were more lethal. If he was successful, the widow received half of the kill.

Granville continued his schooling until 1846 and afterwards worked as an assistant teacher. He also worked for his father on the family farm as did James. However, in order to earn some spending money, Granville clerked in Peter Heath's general store in West Liberty. In 1846-1847, James completed twelve months in a high school in Iowa City, some seventeen miles west of West Liberty. The school's principal was James Harlan, later a successful lawyer and a United States Senator. James worked for a West Liberty physician, chiefly was driver of the wagon in which the doctor made his rounds. However, he carefully observed his employer at work and was allowed to read the medical books owned by the doctor. As a result, he developed a lifelong interest in practical medicine.

All of the Stuarts were literate and Robert Stuart owned more than the average number of books. He would often read aloud to his family in the evenings.

The hunting expedition to Cedar Falls in 1844 was Robert's last extended trip for some time and Nancy hoped that her husband would be
contented to live out his life on the fertile farms on the banks of the beautiful Red Cedar River. Perhaps he would have been contented to do so had he not read the December 23, 1848 issue of the Bloomington Herald. President James K. Polk's fourth annual State of the Union Message to Congress confirming the rumored presence of gold in California set off once again within Robert the desire to see new unsettled places as well as the wish to gain wealth without having to do it as a farmer. Early in 1849, he resolved to go to California and "...formed a travelling partnership with three other men." The men departed in mid-April with four months' provisions in a wagon drawn by four yoke of oxen. Presumably they joined forces with a larger caravan before attempting to cross the unsettled Great Plains. Stuart and his partners arrived in the Sacramento Valley in the late autumn. Stuart was a part-time prospector and part-time hunter and made more selling antelope, elk, and deer venison to other miners than he did from seeking gold.  

Gold mining was hard, unglamorous work. It meant swinging a pick, shovel, or crowbar all day in the burning glare of the California sun, with the temperature up above one hundred degrees. It meant digging through gravel and sand until one's feet were numb and his shoes were a soggy, useless wreck. Or one might have to spend hours kneeling or stooping over while he scraped out crevices, or anxiously washed the "dirt" in his pan. Still others had to watch the daylight hours pass while they monotonously rocked the cradle to and fro and poured in "dirt" and water. 

There were a few places where men such as Stuart could seek a respite from their labors and escape from the loneliness of their tents or shoddily built cabins except the saloon or the gambling house. The saloons "...were the first places to which a stranger would turn when searching for a friend. They were the only places where a tired miner
could be sure of finding music, diversion, and the congeniality that arises from the presence of a crowd." Stuart no doubt enjoyed the solitude of his hunting trips but it is probable that he also sought to escape from it periodically and to quiet his concern and bad conscience about his family by visiting the saloon.

After two years at the gold fields, Stuart decided to return to Iowa. In the winter of 1851, he took a steamboat to Nicaragua, crossed to the Caribbean, and then traveled up the Mississippi to Muscatine. During the rest of the winter he paced about the house and occasionally had a bout of heavy drinking in spite of the disapproval of many of the inhabitants of the dry community of West Liberty. Before it was time to do the spring plowing in 1852, he decided to return to California. His eldest son was offered a chance to come along. Nineteen year old James wanted to go very badly but refused unless Granville, who was then seventeen, was also allowed to come. Finally Robert agreed.

In a frontier society, where children were given an increasing share of adult responsibilities as they grew older, Granville was already on the threshold of manhood. What influences from these early years helped to form his personality as an adult?

When Granville was only a few months old, his family moved from Wood County, Virginia, back to Harrison County. When he was two they moved from Virginia to Illinois. When he was four they moved to Iowa Territory. By the time he was nine, they had moved two more times although within the same Iowa county. His father was absent for long periods of time: the summers of 1837 and 1844 and from the spring of
1849 to the winter of 1851. In the spring of 1852 Granville and his older brother joined their father on a trip to the California gold fields. The frequent moves and the absence of the family breadwinner created in Granville a rootlessness and a restless spirit. He seldom lived long in one place and he frequently changed residences within the communities where he resided. He was a constant traveler, whether seeking gold or cattle ranges, visiting Iowa, surveying state lands, or seeing exotic Latin American scenes. Often, when he was unable to travel, he felt quite discontented.

The instability of Robert Stuart's family caused Granville to compensate by maintaining an extremely close lifelong attachment to his older brother, James. Granville makes it quite clear that the greatest tragedy in his long life was not the death of several of his children and their mother or his financial ruin in the late 1880s but rather the death of James at the early age of forty-two.

The family instability of his youth carried over into family instability in adulthood, complicated by race prejudice. Granville tried to overcome this and be a proper husband and father. Part of the time he was quite successful. His papers clearly reveal a tender consideration and a loving concern for the happiness and well-being of his Indian wife and their children. Yet Granville had another side. In a letter to James, written the same year James died, Granville revealed that he was considering the abandonment of his growing family. Years later, after the death of his wife, he carried this long suppressed thought into practice.
The restlessness which characterized Granville's life goes far to explain his failure to achieve great material success. While fate seems to have dealt perversely with Stuart, his inability to concentrate long on any one particular vocation is the major explanation why Stuart, despite his leadership qualities, never achieved a position of wealth similar to that of many of his more single-minded acquaintances.

Granville was a lifelong teetotaler. He disapproved of the consumption of alcohol and particularly of the behavior of those who drank in excess. This may have been a positive contribution the dry communities of Princeton and West Liberty made on his personality or a negative reaction to his father's occasional bouts with the bottle, or both.

Granville's formal education was rather limited but he became a highly educated man. In a sense he was quite bookish and his love for buying and reading books bordered on becoming an obsession. Stuart acquired a large personal library and kept purchasing books even when his financial situation was at low ebb. Late in life, he seemed reasonably content to spend a decade employed as a librarian.

In spite of his bookishness, Stuart was greatly influenced by his youth in frontier Iowa and later by his many years on the far western frontier. He loved the outdoors and disliked urban living. When he was well past the half-century mark, he continued to travel on horseback and camp without regard for the weather or temperature. Although he felt occasional pity for his victims and worried about the possible extinction of a species, he loved to hunt. Guns became almost as much a passion for Stuart as books were and he built up a splendid
collection of them. He frequently took part in shooting matches and later organized rifle clubs after urbanization made the spontaneous matches infrequent.

Stuart was to share with his father and their ancestors the experience of being directly involved with the Indians. Like his father, Granville had no use for dirt farming. He was more successful than Robert in avoiding it. Trading, gold prospecting, and surveying were some of the means that both father and son used to avoid donning the yeoman's overalls.
NOTES: CHAPTER I

1Granville Stuart, "A Genealogy of the Stuart Family," University of Montana (hereafter, G.S., Stuart Genealogy, UM.) The unsigned genealogy is in Stuart's handwriting and is dated April 4, 1873. In other sources, Stuart indicated that his ancestors came from Scotland. Stuart's genealogical account differs markedly from that drawn up by his wife which she claimed to have constructed from fragments of family letters and from records in old family Bibles. Her version is in greater detail and is written in an authoritative manner but many of the details are erroneous and many others contradict her husband's earlier version. Allis Belle Stuart, "Life of James Stuart," Works Progress Administration, Montana Writers' Project, unpublished "Livestock History of Montana," Special Collections, Montana State University Library (hereafter A.B.S., "Life of James Stuart," MSU.)

2G.S., Forty Years, I, 23. Stuart mistakenly identified the memorandum book as that of his grandfather but James Stuart II would have been only ten years old in 1793.

3Alexander Scott Withers, Chronicles of Border Warfare (hereafter Withers, Chronicles), 117-121; Willis De Hass, History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia, 75-76.

4Withers, Chronicles, 125-127.

5Ibid., 279-280.

6Ibid., 279-280, 428-430.


8G.S., Stuart Genealogy, UM; Harrison County, West Virginia, Court Records, General Index to Marriage Records, Males; Deer Lodge (Montana) New North-West, Dec. 7, 1888; Harrison County, West Virginia, Court Records, Marriage Record, Book III, 59.

James, grandfather of Granville, died at age twenty-eight at Sycamore Creek in 1809, apparently before the birth of Madison, according to Stuart's genealogy. Nancy Currence Hall was born on August 14,
1811, either in Barbour County, Virginia, or on Elk Creek in Harrison County. Currence was probably Nancy's mother's maiden name. The name appears in a census of Harrison County in 1785, in legal action in 1795, and there was a Currence Fort in the upper Tygart Valley in Randolph County. Haymond, History of Harrison County, 181, 198-199, 276; West Virginia Department of Archives and History, Harrison County, Abstracts of County Court Records: Records of the Superior Court, 1789-1796; Josiah Hughes, Pioneer West Virginia, 72.

9 G.S., Stuart Genealogy, UM. Elsewhere Stuart stated that James was born in Harrison County. See Granville Stuart, "A Memoir of the Life of James Stuart," Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, I, 36 (hereafter G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont.) In 1902 Stuart penned an autobiographical sketch in which he stated that he was born on the North Fork of the Hughes River. Although there were some Richards living on the North Fork, there is more evidence that Stuart was born on the South Fork. The sketch is located in the MHS. In his unfinished autobiography, published in 1925, Stuart stated that he was born in Clarksburg. G.S., Forty Years, I, 23. However, the weight of the evidence is that that 1873 genealogy is correct and that Stuart was born in Wood County, now Ritchie County, West Virginia.

10 Wood County, West Virginia, Court Records, Deed Book IX, 210, 435, and Minute Book, 1834-1835, 74; M. Lowther, History of Ritchie County, 55, 361ff.

11 Harrison County, West Virginia, Court Records, Land Book, 1833-1836.

12 Ibid., Deed Book XXII, 319.

13 John N. Hall to G.S., Apr. 3, 1873, MHS.

14 Davis, op. cit., 270.

15 Clarksburg Western Enquirer, I, No. 5, June 9, 1832.


17 Letter to Miss Emily B. Chapin from her brother, July 8, 1835, Smith Family Papers, West Virginia Collection No. 840, West Virginia University Library.
18 Haymond, *op. cit.*, 239, 243; Davis, *op. cit.*, 89, 124.

19 Harrison County, West Virginia, Court Records, Deed Book XXIII, 381-382.


23 News about the Black Hawk War may be found in the Clarksburg Western Enquirer, I, Nos. 5 and 15, June 9 and August 15, 1832, *et passim*.

24 Harrison County, West Virginia, Court Records, Deed Book XXIII, 381-382.


26 Stuart's $285 stake may have been larger because his wife was to receive $400 according to her father's will. West Virginia Department of Archives and History, *Harrison County, Abstracts of County Court Records; Wills, 1786-1899*. The will is not dated but it was entered into court records in May, 1834. Samuel Hall died between October, 1834, and June, 1835. Harrison County, West Virginia, Court Records, Deed Book XXII, 375, and XXIV, 36. Death and birth records were not kept in Harrison County until 1853.


28 Most of what occurred on the trip to Illinois is conjecture. The barest outline of the trip is in G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 23. Stuart would have been too young to remember much about the trip since he was not yet two. The route from Rock Island to Princeton may be found on the map accompanying Samuel Augustus Mitchell, *Illinois in 1837: A Sketch*. This popular Illinois emigrant guidebook by a Sangamon Valley land speculator is discussed in Paul W. Gates, *The Farmer's age: Agriculture, 1815-1860*, 189-190.
The Stuarts probably could have taken a steamboat to within a few miles of their destination. As early as 1851, steamboats came up the Illinois River as far as Ottawa. N. Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County*, 90. By 1838, there was a regular weekly steamboat run between St. Louis, on the Mississippi, and Peru, on the Illinois. Abner Dumont Jones, *Illinois and the West*, 61. The Stuarts arrived when the Illinois would have been high with the spring runoff so there is no known reason why they chose to go up the Mississippi to Rock Island.

29 Matson, *op. cit.*, 92. By 1837 a stage ran from Peoria to Galena three times a week. The fare was $12. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, 122, 126.


31 Matson, *op. cit.*, 96.

32 Ibid., 130.

33 The maps accompanying Mitchell, *op. cit.*, published in 1837, and Jones, *op. cit.*, published in 1838, show the National Road extending through Vandalia to Alton on the Mississippi. However, G. R. Taylor states that the road did not reach Vandalia until mid-century. George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860*, 22.


35 Matson, *op. cit.*, 100-102.

36 Ibid., 126.


38 n.a., *The Voters and Tax-Payers of Bureau County, Illinois*, 103.

39 Ibid., 107.
Stuart's land was located through the use of Bureau County courthouse records. The location of the Indian trail is in Doris Parr Leonard (ed.), *Big Bureau and Bright Prairies*, 152.

Even a cursory check of the Bureau County courthouse records for land sales reveals that Elston and Gay were speculators. The physical descriptions of these men is in Matson, *op. cit.*, 67.

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falls. Earlier the same year a Frenchman, Garvois Paul Somaneux, had camped by the falls long enough to build a crude cabin.

53 Western Historical Company, loc. cit.

54 Bureau County, Illinois, Court Records, Record of Land Sales, Book B, 18-19.

55 Ibid., Deed Record A, 148.

56 Bohman, op. cit., 183-184.

57 Reginald Charles McGrane, The Panic of 1837, 123.

58 Bureau County, Illinois, Court Records, Bureau County Road Records, Book I, 2.

59 Ibid., 6-8, 9-10, 13, 14, 16, 18-19.

60 Ibid., Deed Record A, 215, 342, 431; Deed Record B, 344.

61 The fact that Stuart owned no property except town lots in Princeton after February, 1838, indicates that from that date until the Stuarts moved to Iowa, they were living in town, not in the country. They may have lived in Princeton during their entire stay in Illinois.

The Territory of Iowa was established in July, 1838. Stuart is known to have emigrated into Iowa the same year. He could not have gone before finishing the road survey which he began in Bureau County in September, 1838. It is unlikely that he would have waited until winter set in to move his family (unless he left them behind until the next spring.) Consequently, he probably moved to Iowa Territory in the late autumn, 1838.

The arrival of Robert Stuart in 1838 was recorded by Asa Gregg, *Personal Recollections of the Early Settlement of Wapsinonoc Township and the Murder of Atwood by the Indians*, reprinted in George A. T. Hise (ed.), *One Hundred Years of History: West Liberty Centennial Celebration* (hereafter Asa Gregg, *Personal Recollections*), [12.]

Ibid., [10, 12, 16, 18.] The attempts to collect maple sugar probably occurred on government land. The Sacs and Foxes had been forced to cede most of what is now eastern Iowa from the Mississippi to about fifty miles westward except for a reservation of four hundred square miles along the Iowa River. This was ceded by another treaty in 1836. Although the Indians had been forced to give up their legal rights to the land in Muscatine and neighboring counties, there were still many of them living in the area and others who periodically visited the area throughout the remainder of the 1830s. Charles C. Royce, *loc. cit.*

Asa Gregg, *op. cit.*, [12.]


G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 24; Asa Gregg, *loc. cit.*

Irving B. Richman (ed.) *History of Muscatine County*, I, 477. However, the details of the severe winter are contradicted in Western Historical Company, *The History of Muscatine County*, Iowa, 339. Asa Gregg, a neighbor of Robert Stuart, supplied many of the details published in both books.

Leeson, *loc. cit.*


Ibid, I, 28.

The arrival of Valentine Bozarth is noted in Asa Gregg, *loc. cit.*
A.B.S., "Life of James Stuart," MHS.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Mosher, Log Cabin History, [30.]


Mosher, op. cit., [34.] Mosher probably did not realize the irony in his statement. In spite of the poor facilities, Granville Stuart, one of the students, was a "future statesman."

Ibid.

Ibid., 36

Ibid.

G.S., Forty Years, I, 26-27

Muscatine County, Iowa, Court Records, United States District Court Records, Book B, 11, 28, 119. The record book is incomplete and in poor condition.

Ibid., 20, 29, and Record of Lands, Book C, 25, 60-61, 178. Benjamin Nye laid out the town of Montpelier, the first settlement within the present limits of Muscatine County, in 1834. He was murdered by his son-in-law during a quarrel in 1852. John Vanater laid out the town of Bloomington in 1836 and the following year it became the Muscatine County seat. By early 1839, it had thirty-three buildings and a population of seventy-one. Irving B. Richman, op. cit., I 446-447.

Muscatine County, Iowa, Court Records, Record of Lands, Book C, 437-438.

87. G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 26. Local records show that Stuart must have been referring to land his father acquired in Section 24 of Wapsinonoc township. At one time or another, Robert Stuart owned most of this section while Andrew B. Phillips owned the rest. Muscatine County, Iowa, Court Records, Original Entries, New Book, 316-317 et passim.

88. G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 25-26. It is impossible to determine whether this incident occurred while the Stuarts lived northwest of West Liberty or south of the town. The dates in *Forty Years*, Mosher's *Log Cabin History*, and the Muscatine County land records present a slightly contradictory story. The most serious contradiction is between Mosher's early 1840 date for the construction of the school house near the Stuart residence with Granville and James attending school in it thereafter and Stuart's own statement that they moved in the spring of 1840 and that he attended school with only five other youngsters.


90. G.S., Stuart Genealogy, UM.

91. G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 28; Muscatine County, Iowa, Court Records, Record of Lands, Book C, 358-359.


93. Ibid., I, 28-29.
Ibid., I, 29-30. A personal search of old Moscow school records, now at Wilton Junction, Iowa, and a discussion with the superintendent of schools at West Liberty revealed that pre-Civil War school records for Moscow and West Liberty no longer exist. There were two Yeager families living in Moscow township, however, and Erastus could have been the son of either William or Austin B. Yeager. Muscatine County, Iowa, Court Records, Deed Book H, 376; Deed Book J, 664, 694 et passim.

G.S., Forty Years, I, 30.

Ibid., I, 30-31.

Ibid., I, 28.

A.B.S., "Life of James Stuart," MSU.

G.S., Forty Years, I, 30-31.

Ibid.

Ibid., I, 31-32

Ibid., 32-34

Leeson, op. cit., 1292; Missoula (Montana) Daily Missoulian, Oct. 4, 1918, obituary.

Leeson, loc. cit.; conversation and correspondence with Mr. Ray S. Heath of West Liberty, Iowa, who is a descendant of Peter Heath.


A.B.S., "America Eats," MHS.

A.B.S., "Life of James Stuart," MSU.


G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 37. In G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 37, he stated that his father returned from California by way of Nicaragua and New York. The New Orleans-Mississippi River version is more logical and was therefore used. It is worth noting that Robert did travel through Central America and the Caribbean. Granville developed a lifelong passion to visit Latin America and stories told by his father about his adventures south of the border may have been the origin of this desire.

Robert Stuart occasionally drank heavily and if he did not do so before going to California, it is a safe assumption that he did so by the time he returned from his first trip to the gold fields. Taped interview, Mrs. Vivian Kemp, May 30, 1971.

A.B.S. "Life of James Stuart," MSU.
CHAPTER II
OVERLAND TO CALIFORNIA

Once he had decided to return to California, Robert's air of discontent gave way to a purposeful busyness as he prepared for the overland trip. Based on his earlier experience of crossing the plains, mountains, and desert, Robert could plan intelligently for a journey of relative safety and comfort. As winter turned into spring, he rushed to finish his preparations. Robert's conscience undoubtedly was troubled by the fact that he was leaving his wife and three younger children to shift for themselves and he extracted a promise from Valentine Bozarth that help would be available for Nancy and the children if they should need it. Robert had to give as well as get a promise. He promised Nancy that he would return within a year regardless of his successes or lack of them in the California gold fields.¹

Accompanying the three Stuarts was Farrell Thomas Reilly, a cheerful Irishman to whom Robert had sold thirty-four acres of land in Cedar County in December, 1848.² Robert had collected two light spring wagons. Each would be drawn by four horses. Each wagon was roofed with canvas with openings at each end which could be buttoned to keep out the rain. Food and the other supplies were kept in the wagon bodies. Robert had tented during his 1849 trip and the experience had been disagreeable. The rain water had occasionally seeped under the bottom of the tent, soaking the bedding, and some of the gales blew
the tent down, assuring that the occupants would be thoroughly wetted. Consequently, on this trip Robert also loaded some boards in his wagons. At night the travelers would lay the boards across the top of the wagon bodies, place the bedding on top of the boards, and sleep under the canvas, safe from the soaking wind-driven rains which frequented Iowa and the Platte River Valley.³

While Robert had to hurry his preparations to be ready by the date set for departure, spring arrived with exasperating slowness for James and Granville who had been waiting out the winter in a state of barely suppresses excitement. But then all too suddenly it was time to go. Saying goodbye to sister Lizzie and to their envious brothers, Sam and Tom, was not nearly as difficult as saying it to their disapproving mother and grandmother whose loving concern brought an unmanly mist to the boys' eyes.

The mood changed, however, as the three Stuarts met Reilly in West Liberty amid the friendly best wishes of neighbors and relatives. Reilly and Granville climbed aboard one of the wagons, Granville's father and brother in the other. All of them had muzzle loaders and Robert also carried one of the first revolvers. It held twenty-five calibre balls and used black powder. The departure was made amid barking dogs and shouted advice, admonitions, and farewells on May 12, 1852.⁴

The first day's travel carried them through Iowa City, a community of about two thousand. There they forded the Iowa River and within a week they were in Des Moines, "...a poor looking Town[.  N]o Streets
put in any shape...," wrote another 1852 traveler. 5

West of Des Moines, Iowa was only lightly settled. By the end of
the second week, Reilly and the Stuarts had reached Kanesville, a
Mormon village named for Colonel Thomas L. Kane, an influential friend
of the Mormons. The fluctuating population was about the same as that
of Iowa City. The village, established as a resting place for Mormon
emigrants on their way to Salt Lake City, had a tabernacle and about
ten stores. 6 One emigrant found it "...a picturesque place [. ]t is
built right in a deep ravine in the bluff[. ]he buildings are mostly
made of logs [and there are] no large houses of any kind." 7 "At Kanes­
ville where the last purchases were made, or the last letter sent to
anxious friends the next settlement of any size being Salt Lake City,
the congestion became so great that the teams were literally blocked,
and stood in line for hours before they could get out of the jam." 8
Another 1852 traveler noted that "...Kainsville [was] such a rush of
waggons & Horses, Cattle, & Mules, no one ever saw in no fare [fair]
in the Old country." 9 The Stuarts and Reilly waited in Kanesville for
two days until it was their turn at the blacksmith's to get their
horses shod as well as some minor repairs on the wagon. 10

The crossing of Iowa had been "...most disagreeable..." to Gran­
ville as the result of the frequent thunder showers and the frequent
miring down of the wagons and horses in the "...deep miry sloughs that
...filled every low place..." in the road across Iowa. They had to
unload the wagons while standing in the mud and water and lift the
wheels in order to assist the horses to pull the wagons. 11
Kanesville, however, was only a few miles from the banks of the Missouri River at Council Bluffs, a village of about a dozen cabins. Here the Stuarts waited their turn to be ferried across on a "...flat scow..." rowed by three men and capable of carrying only one team and wagon at a time. The price of ten dollars per crossing seemed exorbitant until the passengers observed how hard the oarsmen had to pull against the current of the muddy river. Granville looked at the width of the river, bankful with the spring runoffs of many tributaries, and at the small, frail ferry in which he was sitting, and concluded that the chances of a safe crossing were rather slim. Soon, however, the Stuarts and Reilly were deposited on the west bank.

The Stuarts then spent a few days crossing the prairies until they reached the Elk Horn River. They paid a ferry toll of five dollars for each team but later, after following the same stream for several miles, discovered a spot where the river could have been forded, thereby saving them the ten dollars.  

There was only one more difficult river to cross before reaching the Platte. Traveling roughly westward, the Stuarts reached the banks of the Loup River, forded it, and then turned southwestward. They struck the Platte at Grand Island. The travelers then proceeded up the north bank of the Platte for more than two hundred miles. This was not the so-called California Trail but rather the Mormon Trail.  

The Platte was wide and shallow but the current could be deceptively swift and quicksand could trap an unwary traveler. "The bottom is quicksand, and full of holes, so that we were constantly in danger
of losing our footing, and plunging into abysses, from which it
would be impossible to extricate ourselves," wrote another 1852 immi­
grant. The entire section of the north side of the Platte was
devoid of timber for two hundred miles except for one lone tree. When
the Stuart party saw it, it had already been damaged and Granville
assumed that "...not a vestige of it remained by July."16

The problem of the absence of firewood was solved by the use of
buffalo dung or "chips."

We gathered them by the basketful, by the armful and by
the handful, and as they were plentiful I guess that we
gathered a wagon load, set the heap on fire and cooked
our supper.... The chips are a substitute for wood, and
were it not for them I hardly know how the traveler in
this part of the country would get along. Where there is
an abundance of chips there will also be seen thousands
of skulls and bones of the buffalo, the ground in many
places being white with them....17

Somewhere between Grand Island and Fort Laramie, the Stuart
party encountered a severe gale, the worst Granville had ever seen.
Great banks of dark clouds began to build up in the west and the
rumble of thunder in the distance warned the travelers that they
should make haste to prepare for the storm. Stakes were driven into the
ground and connected to each wagon wheel by a strong rope. The party
had just climbed into the wagons and buttoned the end curtains when
the storm struck, accompanied by wind and hail.

...[W]e could not hear each other speak for the deafening
peals of thunder which were preceded by blinding flashes
of lightning. The storm lasted about two hours, but with­
out any serious damage to us. The tight canvas kept us
dry and the picket ropes kept the wagons from turning over.

Next morning we passed a train that had set up tents.
The tents were blown over and their blankets and provisions
were soaked with water and they presented a dismal
appearance trying to dry out their things and gather up their tents. The women and children looked particularly uncomfortable, but they greeted us with a cheery "Good-morning" and were all making the best of the situation. 18

Many of the overland travelers were able to add fresh meat to their diet by hunting deer, buffalo, antelope, and other wild game. The Stuart party did not see, let alone kill a deer until they were seventy-seven miles east of Salt Lake City. Granville recorded that "We saw only a few straggling buffalo, as the great herds had passed on their annual migration north, while we were on the Platte river." 19

Stuart's comment seems to indicate that his party did not leave the main trail often because many of the 1852 emigrants who ventured a mile or two off the trail reported killing antelope, deer, and buffalo with ease. 20 The presence of wolves made many of the Plains travelers apprehensive.

The migrants generally had even greater apprehension about the Plains Indians. Dick Hickman wrote that most of the soldiers at Fort Kearny were "...out after the Pawnees, they having been committing depredations on the emigrants; the troops were ordered out with artillery to subdue them." Three months later when a horse was missing from Hickman's company, it was assumed that the Indians had stolen it during the night. A young man who had recently left the Hickman party came upon eight Indians. He thought he was about to be robbed so he fled. He was seriously wounded, not by the Indians, but instead by his own pistol which discharged as he drew it from its holster. Hickman's three actual encounters with Indians were pleasant and a harmonious trade took place. 21

It would appear that although the migrants' apprehensions were not
without foundation, their fears were probably exaggerated. Most of the "troubles" with the Plains Indians described by travelers in 1852 were not based on actual observation but rather on hearsay. The Indians did attempt to collect tolls from the migrants for crossing Indian lands and for using bridges or fords on those lands. While most of the travelers did not strongly object to paying tolls to use bridges or ferries operated by whites, many of them did object to toll collection by the Indians. Some, such as the Ezra Meeker party, beligerently refused to pay. Perhaps Mrs. Lodias Frizzell assessed the situation with a less prejudiced eye.

We are about 5 [miles] below Ft. Karney [sic].... As we started out [from] there, we saw a train of wagons which were passing, halt, & appear to be perplexed, we soon saw the cause, a huge indian, naked to his waist, with a drawn sword, brandishing it in the road, & seemed to say, "stand & deliver." But when we came up, he signified that he wished to trade, but they wished to proceed, & not wanting to be detained, they gave him some crackers &c, each waggon as they passed, throwing him some on a blanket, which he had spread on the ground beside the road; but I saw the Indians chuckle to one another, upon the success of the old chief['s] maneuver.

Generally the Indians in the Rocky Mountain region with whom the travelers came in contact in 1852 were friendly and merely wished to trade. The Indians in the Great Basin region were more threatening. There were not as many grants there to have collective security because many of the travelers had stopped at Salt Lake City or had turned north-westward toward Oregon. Consequently those crossing the Great Basin to California were easier prey. There were no forts with mounted soldiers to punish Indians guilty of depredations on the emigrants in the Great Basin as compared to the presence of Forts Kearney and Laramie which
protected the migrants on the Plains. It was more difficult to eke out an existence from the harsh dry environment of the Great Basin than it was on the Plains. This may explain why the inhabitants of the former area were more aggressive in their pilfering of the emigrants' property. The Indians of the Rocky Mountain region drew little attention from the diarists among the 1852 travelers. The whites had become accustomed to seeing Indians frequently and the absence of unfriendly activities on the part of the latter might explain why so little attention was given them.

The great majority of the 1852 overland travelers were concerned about the Indians but not seriously bothered by them. Watt Gibson, who attempted to drive a herd of cattle across the plains in 1852, felt that the Indians "...were peaceable and harmless, and did not mean to give us any trouble." Granville Stuart wrote that "We had traveled one thousand miles since leaving Council Bluffs....We saw only a few Indians (Pawnees) on the trip, and they were friendly to the emigrants." The readable John Hawkins Clark summarized the experience of many travelers when he wrote

We are now encamped at the headwaters of the dreadful Humboldt of which such hard stories have been circulated on the road. The Indians it is said have committed many outrages upon this river, are very wild and treacherous, killing pilgrims and stealing stock. We hear a good deal more than we can believe.

It would appear that the migrants were in as much danger from other whites as from warlike Indians. John Clark indicated that the disappearance of his company's cattle might be the work of "...a number of white men [who] are prowling about...." The next day he "...passed the
grave of a man found murdered,..." presumably by another white man. Mrs. Frizzell had passed the same grave a week earlier. Tom Turnbull wrote that "...white traders are more apt to steal they say than the root diggers [Indians.]" Tosten Stabeck's company had some oxen stolen along the Humboldt. "The Indians always got the blame," he wrote, "even though white men might be the ringleaders." The pious John Udell recorded that in August, 1852, his small party stopped on a branch of the Humboldt.

While there, Campbell Drury, who had parted from us at Salt Lake City, came up with a band of ruffians. They presented their pistols, demanded our provisions, and threatened to take them by force, if we refused to give them up. They were prevented from carrying out their threats, however, by a large train, encamped at a little distance from us, after I had appealed in vain to their sympathies, telling them that we had barely provisions enough to carry us through, and represented to them the cruelty of leaving us to starve on the plains. But the Lord in whom I trusted sent deliverance!

Theft and murder by whites was not without some risk. Angry vigilante-type groups sought speedy punishment of those considered guilty of major crimes. On June 17, John Clark noted passing "...the grave of a man just hung; it appeared that the culprit committed an unprovoked murder yesterday...." William Thompson, another 1852 emigrant, described the capture, trial, and hanging of a member of his party who had killed another member. Meeker's and Clarks' similar accounts seem to confirm Thompson's story.

If storms, overloading, high ferry tolls, quicksand, scarcity of grass and timber, concern about the Indians, and road agents troubled most of the travelers along the Platte, there was one hazard which
clearly menaced all of them—cholera. All the migrants who kept journals or diaries mentioned this scourge.

"Cholera was raging among the emigrants all along the road and many were dying," wrote Granville Stuart. "We drove as fast as our horses could stand it to get through this dreadful region of death, where we were seldom out of the sight of graves and saw many heart-rending scenes."

The Stuart-Reilly party was luckier than most others. One member of Tosten Staback's party died and Lafayette Spencer of Iowa recorded the deaths of his sister-in-law and one other person from his party because of cholera. The James Akin party (also from Iowa) lost two on the trail and two more immediately after reaching their destination while John Dodson's party had to stop to bury five of its members in the space of three days. John Clark's descriptions are particularly graphic.

Yesterday [June 6, 1852] we met three men returning to the states. These three are all left out of a company of seventeen men who left Ash Hollow a few days ago, bound for California. Sickness commenced soon after leaving the Hollow, and by the time Fort Laramie was reached fourteen of their numbers were dead. The remaining three concluded to return and from them we gleaned the above facts. A true story, no doubt. The road has been thickly strewn with graves.

Five days later he wrote that the "Sickness appears to be increasing if one may judge from the number of new made graves he sees by the road side. Yesterday we passed the grave of a lady, to-day saw her husband buried and their children left to journey with strangers." Later the same month he wrote that

...One day while traveling alone and in advance of our train I overtook a little girl who had lingered far behind her company. She was crying and as I took her into my arms
[I] discovered her little feet bleeding by coming in contact with the sharp, flint stones upon the road. I asked, "why do you cry, do your feet hurt you? see how they bleed."
"No," she said, "nothing hurts me now; I have lost my father and mother yesterday and I don't want to live any longer."
Then again a burst of anguish excered the sensitive child.
I remembered my own little girls at home....

Clark placed the orphan in the care of a woman in a passing train. A few days later he met her again in an encampment. The child was happy and had been adopted by a young couple "...who had lost an only child upon the road." 40

Another 1852 traveler wrote that "We were six months on the trip with ox-teams....I carried a little motherless babe five hundred miles, whose mother had died, and when we would camp I would go from camp to camp in search of some good, kind, motherly woman to let it nurse and no one ever refused when I presented it to them." 41

"Came in sight of Laramie Peak, its dark outline resting against the clouds had a sublime appearance," penned Mrs. Ledias Frizzell.
"Passed where they were digging a grave for a girl 12 years old; how hard it must be to leave ones children on these desolate plains...." 42

The Stuarts and Reilly met a young woman coming toward them in a light wagon drawn by two horses. Her four children, all under eight years, were with her. Her husband had died three days earlier and she was returning to her relatives in Illinois. The Stuart party tried to comfort her and gave her some coffee, sugar, and advice. Camp with other travelers, never alone, they told her, or you may be bothered by Indians. 43 Tosten Staback's party met a newly widowed mother with two
children returning to Missouri. The leader of his company persuaded her to rejoin her company by asking what would happen to her children if she became ill while alone on the trail. Hickman and Meeker met groups of returning widows.

The Stuart party camped near five abandoned wagons one night. There were several new graves next to the wagons and guarding one of the graves was a large yellow dog. Granville coaxed the dog, obviously weak with hunger, away from the graves and shared some of his supper with him. The dog lay by one of the graves during the night but was coaxed away again by Granville for breakfast. When the party was ready to begin the day's travel, Granville called the dog.

He followed a few steps and then turned and went part way to the graves, stopped and began howling, Oh! so mournfully. We stopped to see what he would do. He quit howling and turned and came slowly to us, and when we again started he followed us. His pitiful howling was his leave taking of the loved one who lay there in the lonely grave. My eyes filled with tears of sympathy for him and I did my best to make him feel at home with us, little thinking that he was to save my life the next year.

It soon became apparent that the dog was too weak to keep up the fast pace maintained by the horses so Granville put him on the footboard of one of the wagons. There the dog traveled part of each day all the way to California. How the dog saved Granville's life is not known.

As the travelers journeyed up the Platte, the gradual change to a drier climate became more noticeable. About thirty miles downstream from the confluence of the North and South Forks of the Platte, the flatness of the country changed into that of rolling hills. The cholera
epidemic seemed to be somewhat less severe on the north side of the river but by remaining on the left bank, the Stuarts were able to view some of the trail's famous landmarks only at a distance. A few miles beyond Scott's Bluff and Laramie Peak came into view. Two or three days travel from the Bluffs brought the party to Fort Laramie, located on the Laramie River, just upstream from where the Laramie River empties into the North Platte.

"The cholera did not extend above Fort Laramie," Granville wrote, "and as soon as we struck the mountains we felt safe from it." Other parties also felt relieved to be in the mountains where they felt safe from the deadly infection. On June 19, when they were about two days travel from Independence Rock, Mrs. Ledias Frizzell described her encampment. "In a tent near by ours, they were fiddling & dancing, nearly all night; this was the first dancing I had seen on the plains...[T]here had been so much sickness on the Platte, that perhaps they were rejoicing that they had left it." Mrs. Frizzell did not feel like joining the celebration. A week later she wrote

We are about 15 ms from the South Pass, we are hardly half way. I felt tired & weary, 0 the luxury of a house....I would have given all my interest in California, to have been seated around my own fireside, surrounded by friend & relation. That this journey is tiresome, no one will doubt, that it is perilous, the deaths of many testify, and the heart has a thousand misgivings, & the mind is tortured with anxiety, & often as I passed the fresh graves, I have glanced at the side boards of the waggon, not knowing how soon it might serve as a coffin for some one of us....

The celebration was probably premature. Dick Hickman, who crossed South Pass two days before Mrs. Frizzell, later recorded a cholera death along the Humboldt and the accounts of other travelers reveal
that cholera did not stop at the western edge of the Plains or even at the Continental Divide.  

The large number of deaths among the migrants in 1852 was related to the huge size of the migration. At the time Robert Stuart was finishing his preparations for the trip, the editor of the *Muscatine Journal* noted that "The number of persons who have started from the eastern and western States, to visit California this year is almost incredible....We think the number will exceed 60,000...." A historian recently placed the number of overland travelers along the Platte in 1852 at 52,000. Ezra Meeker's brother fell ill and part of the party stopped for four days until he was well enough to travel again. During this time, about 1,600 wagons passed them with almost 40,000 head of stock and an estimated 8,000 people. "The throng had continued to pass the [Missouri] river more than a month after we had crossed, so that it does not require a stretch of imagination to say the column [of migrants] was five hundred miles long, and...fifty thousand strong," Meeker wrote. "We were all the while in one great train, never out of the sight or hearing of others. In fact, at times the road would be so full of wagons that all could not travel in one track, and this accounts for the double roadbeds seen in many places on the trail...." Meeker's statements here do not seem exaggerated.

The "migration season" had definite limits. The *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* of Muscatine carried an article on April 3, 1852, stating that sixty wagons had passed through Muscatine on the way to California and Oregon. "They are too early and will suffer severely for want of grass."
May is soon enough to start and if cold and frosts continue, there will be but little grass then." Yet all the migrants probably were well aware of what had happened to the Donner party from Illinois in 1846 when the company became trapped by heavy snows in the Sierra Nevadas which they attempted to cross too late in the year. Of the fourteen diaries and journals I have examined, nine of them give the exact date on which the travelers crossed the Continental Divide at South Pass. The earliest crossing was June 20 (Turnbull) while the latest was July 27 (Dodson.) If the entire migration of 50,000 or so had only about forty days between the most advanced and the laggards, it meant an average of more than twelve hundred persons crossed the pass every day.

John Clark estimated that two to four thousand migrants had perished west of the Missouri in 1852. Meeker's estimate was ten percent of his estimate of the number of migrants, or in other words, five thousand souls. To arrive at his estimate, he used the 1852 diary of Mrs. Cecilia McMillen Adams. She counted each new grave she passed. During the third week of June, she counted seventy-five graves and estimated that she would have seen five times that number if she had visited the campgrounds. Her trip was made on the north side of the Platte where the deaths from cholera were supposed to be less than on the south side. A historian recently had estimated that for the period of the great migrations, 1842-1859, 20,000 to 30,000 died, an average of ten or more graves for every mile. His figure is that not less than one person in seventeen travelers died before reaching California or Oregon.
From about the time they sighted Laramie Peak on the western horizon, the Stuarts were aware that the trail was gradually climbing in altitude. It is probable that they did not cross the North Platte with their wagons to reach Fort Laramie but rather left the wagons on the north bank and went over to the fort on the ferry boat. There they mailed their letters and visited the post trader's store to purchase needed supplies.\textsuperscript{59}

The party then continued up the Platte and perhaps crossed it to the south bank. By temporarily leaving the river and striking across country for about forty miles, the party could save many miles of travel through the elimination of several bends in the river. After having traveled in a northwesterly direction for several days, they reached the northern base of the Laramie Range. It was probably at this location that James and Granville were allowed to wander several miles "...from camp to take our first look at a mountain stream. Here the water was roaring and foaming over enormous boulders, with cliffs almost perpendicularly rising from one hundred to three hundred feet above the water, a wonderful sight for two boys who had always lived in a level prairie country with sluggish muddy creeks."\textsuperscript{60}

The Stuarts probably either forded the North Platte or paid to cross on the Mormon Ferry and were once again on the left bank of the river. Again they struck out overland, turning their backs on the Platte for the last time. They traveled in a southwesterly direction, roughly parallel to the Platte, and passed the Red Buttes at a distance. The entire area through which they were passing had a reddish
appearance: the rocks, the hills, the soil, and even the water in a pond. A considerate traveler had erected a sign warning that the water was unfit to drink. The corpses of two oxen and a horse nearby testified to the accuracy of the warning. To the south, a high peak could be seen with patches of snow on it. Granville thought it was wonderful to see snow in July.  

Independence Rock was the next landmark. Hundreds of names were written on the rock with paint and tar and a few were chiselled into the rock's surface. Robert Stuart pointed out his name to his sons along with the date July 29, 1849. No doubt the boys walked up to the top of this huge granite dome. From the top they could easily see the route to be followed the next morning: the Sweetwater River, a tributary of the Platte, flowing through Devil's Gate.  

Devil's Gate is formed by two cliffs which rise three or four hundred feet perpendicularly from the river. The river is swift and deep at this point and the overland travelers could not have passed through the Gate as they ascended the Sweetwater. Fortunately for the migrants, the Gate is located near the east end of the Sweetwater Rocks and only a short detour around the edge of the ridge was necessary.  

About a dozen miles west of Devil's Gate, the Stuarts passed Soda Lake which an earlier observer described thus: "...[w]e passed what at a distance appeared to be a small lake or pond, frozen over and covered with a very light fall of drifting snow. The illusion was perfect, and was maintained to the last moment, even when riding up to its very margin. It was found to be a slight depression...covered
Mrs. Frizzell was one of those emigrants. "We passed an alkali pond this morning & gathered up a panful of the salaratus, which looks like frozen snow, forming a crust around the edge of the water; I tried some of it, in some bread; it made it quite light, but gave it a bitter taste." Granville was similarly fooled.

After traveling on another thirty-five miles, the Stuarts came upon another interesting phenomenon. By digging down about a foot and one-half in a marshy area known as the Ice Slough, they came to "...a bed of solid clear ice. We dug up enough to put into [the] water-kegs and enjoyed the luxury of ice-water all that hot day...." After traveling for three days up the Sweetwater beyond Devil's Gate, they left the river at Strawberry Creek and began the long ascent of Rocky Ridge. Soon they were at the top of South Pass, the famous break in the Rocky Mountain chain discovered by another Robert Stuart in 1812. The top of the pass was surprisingly level and this relative flatness stretched on for miles. Northwest of the pass, Granville could easily see the formidable snow-clad Wind River Range. The high altitude caused him to have a series of nose-bleeds, a problem he never again experienced.

After camping at Pacific Spring, west of the Continental Divide, the party traveled in a southwesterly direction, crossing Dry Sandy Creek and passing the eastern end of Sublette's Cutoff leading to Fort Hall. They crossed the Little and Big Sandy Creeks and soon arrived on the bank of the Green River. Here they turned downstream and
traveled to the Lower Ferry, where they crossed. The Green, then its tributary, Black Fork, and finally Hams Fork, a tributary of Blacks Fork, were crossed. Intending to lay over in Salt Lake City, they did not linger at Fort Bridger, a trading post owned by Jim Bridger.  

Another day's travel put them over the eastern edge of the Great Basin. They forded the Bear River and arrived at the head of Echo Canyon. Following Echo Creek down the canyon, they admired "...the lofty pinnacles and cliffs of deep red sandstone forming some grand scenery." At Cache Cave the boys saw and killed their first deer since the beginning of the trip.  

Some four days later, they reached Salt Lake City, the "City of the Saints." Its five thousand residents made it by far the largest community between the Missouri River and California. Travelers had little difficulty in trading for anything they needed although some of them felt the Mormons were sharp traders. Most of the emigrants were impressed with the intricate system of irrigation which the Mormons had already established and found the city "...clean, snug, and cozy..."  

The Stuarts laid over in Salt Lake City for a month and during that time were "...kindly treated..." by the Mormons. The weary travelers boarded with John Taylor, one of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. Granville remembered him as "...a pleasant old gentleman..." of ordinary dress. Taylor's first wife lived in the house where the Stuarts boarded. She was a friendly woman who was skilled in cooking and assiduous in housekeeping. To Mrs. Taylor's embarrassment, her
paying guests were driven from the adobe house by bedbugs and slept in the yard. Granville thought the entire valley was infested with these insects and their presence in the Taylor household did not reflect on Mrs. Taylor's housekeeping.  

On leaving Salt Lake City the Stuarts traveled northward along the emigrant road for two days to the Weber River. Here a large number of skunks swarmed out of the sagebrush at sunset to disturb their rest. A much more serious problem occurred at the encampment, however. Granville became seriously ill with "mountain fever" and was bedridden in one of the wagons until the party reached the Sierra Nevadas.  

The Stuarts probably had to pay three dollars per wagon to be ferried across the Weber and a similar toll to be ferried over Bear River the following day. The route swung westward and passed north of the Great Salt Lake and the Great Salt Lake Desert. The Raft River was crossed and a week's travel from Salt Lake City brought them to Goose Creek. Many of the emigrants tied small trees to their wagons to slow their descent into Goose Creek Valley. The Stuarts traveled up the creek for about seventy-five miles and then crossed over to Thousand Spring Creek Valley. Another divide was then crossed and they reached the Humboldt River.  

They left the Humboldt before reaching its sink and struck out across a desert for the Truckee River, about forty-five miles distant. By midnight, after some eight hours of travel in the desert, they were about half way across. Here they reached "...a very large boiling spring..." where some thoughtful emigrants had left some extra barrels
filled with the spring water. It was cooled enough to drink and the Stuarts had their fill. Their horses were watered and the kegs were refilled. After an hour's rest, they resumed their night march across the desert. The Truckee was reached at lunchtime and James was delighted to splash in its cold water. The river was quite clear and a great number of large trout were easily seen. Granville's health improved and he was able to join in the successful fishing activities which allowed the party to rest and feast on fish for two days. 78

As the boys sat and fished, they gazed up at the mighty Sierra Nevada mountains which blocked their way into the Golden State. However, while still along the Humboldt, they had heard of a pass through the mountains which had been newly discovered by a mulatto frontier adventurer named James Beckwourth. The pass offered the most direct route to their destination and the Stuarts decided to try it. In the valley leading up to the pass they found Beckwourth himself. 79 He undoubtedly lamented to them about his failure to receive the compensation promised by the citizens of Marysville, California, for opening the pass in 1851. Two years later Beckwourth dictated his autobiography and included in it a description of the place where the Stuarts met him. "In the spring of 1852 I established myself in Beckwourth Valley, and finally found myself transformed into hotel-keeper and chief of a tradingpost. My house is considered the emigrant's landing-place, as it is the first ranch he arrives at in the golden state, and is the only house between this point and Salt Lake." 80

The Stuarts crossed Beckwourth Pass and reached the Middle Fork
of the Feather River a few miles beyond the pass. They followed the river to within ten miles of American Valley. Here they learned that the wagon road ended and the section linking American Valley with Bidwell's Bar was not yet completed. While they waited for a buyer for the wagons and for Granville to regain enough strength to be able to travel on horseback, they stayed at H.J. Bradley's hotel, known as the American Ranch.

The delay was for several days and each of them had to pay three dollars for a day for meals in the hotel. Granville had no complaints, however, about the quality of the food and his strength continued to return. Finally a prospective buyer offered fifty dollars for both of the wagons, only about one-eighth what could have been gotten for them in the Sacramento Valley, but the Stuarts felt compelled to accept the offer. They had more luck with the eight horses and harnesses and received two hundred dollars for each of them. They bought saddle horses and mules to backpack their possessions. The trail to Bidwell's Bar ran along the Middle Fork through the mountains and was quite steep. Granville discovered he was still very weak and had difficulty staying in the saddle. The first night out they stayed at Balsein's Ranch. Granville was too exhausted to eat and could barely stand. The next day he felt better and the trail was not as arduous. That night the party reached the ferry opposite Bidwell's Bar on the Middle Fork, the first they had seen since crossing the Green River near Fort Bridger. They ferried across to the town and spent the night in a hotel.
From Bidwell's Bar, a community of about three hundred, they traveled the short distance to the Feather River. They followed the river down to White Rocks where they camped. In the vicinity of White Rocks they observed that the river had been turned into a great flume by a diversionary dam. The river bed was exposed for about one-fourth of a mile and a number of miners were busy digging up the bed and washing the "dirt" through sluices. The yield from this type of mining seemed good but the scope of the undertaking should have forewarned the Stuarts that this region was already well worked over by individual miners using the unsophisticated mining technology of the late 1840's and that more complex technology, larger investments, and group efforts would now be required to collect gold in any sizeable amount in the Sacramento and Feather River Valleys.

In less than a day's travel from White Rocks, they came to another ferry, crossed to Morris Ravine coming out of Table Mountain, and traveled up the ravine. A few miles further they entered the Sacramento River Valley. On September 26 they reached Samuel Neal's Rancho and stopped at a two-story hotel. They had reached their destination.

The Stuarts spent a week at Neal's Rancho. The boys became restless about paying a dollar a meal and decided to go up into the nearby mountains which were then being actively mined. They bid goodbye to their father who was to stay in California only until the following summer. Presumably the boys saw him again before he left the state but if not, they had seen him for the last time.

Robert returned to Iowa in June, 1853, by the same route he had
used in the winter of 1851. The same year or the next one the restless father moved his wife, mother, and three children to the region he had first explored in 1837. The townsite of Cedar Falls had been laid out in 1851 around the mills west of the river. By 1854 the population had grown to 450. In the middle of the year Robert was joined by two of Valentine Bozarth's sons, Clinton and John, the former having just returned from California.  

The 1837 visit to the pristine falls of the Red Cedar River was doubtlessly enough to warrant a place for Robert Stuart in all the local histories of Cedar Falls and Black Hawk County. However, in case it was not, an incident eighteen years later seems to have assured him a place in local history.

In 1855, Stuart was at Cedar Falls; while there an evangelist visited the place and held meetings in the school house every evening during the week, and announced three discourses on the Sabbath. He drew large audiences, and it was understood that a collection was to be taken up in his behalf, on Sunday afternoon. The house was crowded as usual; Bob Stewart, the pioneer of 1837, was among the audience; the sermon was long and Stuart got tired. He was near the door and determined to leave; he rose to his feet and deliberately marched up the aisle toward the preacher. Every eye was upon him, for he was over six feet tall, gaunt, stoop-shouldered, grizzly and dressed as a frontiersman; he halted at the desk, thrust his bony hand deep into his trousers, fished out a ten-cent piece, which he turned over on the open Bible with a muscular slap, and exclaimed, "Here's my sheer!" turned on his heel and passed out the door, leaving both the preacher and the congregation paralyzed with astonishment.

The incident tells us much about the man. Robert was cool toward such strenuous religious activities. Instead of quietly leaving by the nearby door, he chose to make a scene which had to have embarrassed his mother, wife, and children. This incident indicates a
degree of callousness on his part toward his family's feelings and social standing. Stuart's frontier garb indicates that he found it difficult to adjust once again to living a sedentary life as a farmer. The rapid settlement of Black Hawk County was bittersweet. Land prices were rising and the early settlers benefited in a materialistic sense. However, Stuart must have been somewhat saddened by the rapid disappearance of virgin land, game to hunt, and a frontier atmosphere in the county.

The special Iowa state census of 1856 reveals Stuart living in Cedar Falls township of Black Hawk County with his wife, three youngest children, and mother. Stuart listed his occupation as a surveyor, not as a farmer. Tom, the youngest boy, had acquired 120 acres and had fifteen acres under cultivation. County records indicate that Sam was buying town lots in Cedar Falls, presumably for speculative purposes, and that James and Granville also acquired some town lots there in 1854.87

In 1859 Granville's mother, Nancy, purchased town lots in West Liberty and the United States census of the following year shows that she and her daughter, Elizabeth, were living there. However the same census reveals that Robert was still living in Cedar Falls or its vicinity.88 This indicates that Granville's parents were divorced or separated in the late 1850's. Robert either lived alone or with his mother in Cedar Falls until his death in March, 1861, at the age of fifty-four. Sarah Stuart presumably then took up residence with her daughter-in-law, Nancy, until her death in November, 1867.89
The causes of the divorce or separation will never be known but one might speculate that Robert may have begun to talk about returning to California or to journey to some other eldorado and that Nancy refused to tolerate another long and irresponsible separation. Perhaps their poverty compared to their hard-working neighbors, who obtained prosperity farming the fertile solds along the Cedar River, galled her. Perhaps Robert drank heavily and began to abuse his family. Whatever the reasons, there was a separation. Perhaps this is the reason Thomas Stuart never spoke of his father. 90

The incident involving Robert Stuart at a Cedar Falls religious revival indicated that he lacked a degree of respect and high regard for religious leaders. This attitude may have been symptomatic of an attitude of disrespect for religion in general, an attitude he may have passed on to Granville. In any case, by the late 1850's Granville was an agnostic and became firmer in his dislike of organized religion as time progressed. Perhaps this was a reaction to the extreme piousness of his grandmother, Sarah Stuart, and to the atmosphere of the pious communities of Princeton and West Liberty. Undoubtedly the secular environment of the frontier helped to erode whatever religious convictions Granville had once held.

Those who made the overland journey from the Mississippi to California seemed to be aware that their experience set them apart from most Americans. Like so many Civil War soldiers, the overland travelers felt they were a part of a major historical event. Perhaps this is the reason why so many of them kept diaries and journals chronicling the
journey. A substantial number of these journals written in 1852 have been published. None of these record meeting or traveling with the Stuart-Reilly party, but they do corroborate most of Stuart's account as well as fill in many missing details.

Granville's great-grandfather passed to later generations a fine portrait of his wife and children and a memorandum book. Robert Stuart kept a journal of his experience as a forty-niner. Both James and Granville began keeping journals while in California and quite probably on the overland trip to the gold fields. At some point in the 1850's, Granville seemed to have become well aware that he was taking part in a great national drama: the conquest of space, environment, and aborigines and the settlement of the western frontier. Aware that he was a witness to a series of great historical events which could never be repeated in this country, he became a faithful recorder of what he experienced. Often James co-authored the journals with him. Both of them developed a historical awareness and went to some pains to help document the westering experience of the United States.
NOTES: CHAPTER II

1 Dorothy Stone Winner, "From Gold to Grass: A Biography of Granville Stuart [1852-1862]" This was an unpublished research paper prepared for a University of Idaho history course. Mrs. Winner's research included conversations with Allis B. Stuart. "...I am helping a Moscow Idaho girl with a biography of Mr. Stuart," Allis Stuart wrote to the librarian of the Montana Historical Society on November 27, 1944, "[and] she is taking up the phases [sic] of his life that none of the others have touched[.] I think her work is very good and I want to help her all that I can." Mrs. Winner now resides in Tucson, Arizona.

2 Cedar County, Iowa, Court Records, Records of Lands, Book E, 308.

3 G.S., Forty Years, I, 39-40.


6 Uriah Pierson James, James' Travelers Companion...Guide Through the West and South, 160. Published in 1853.

7 George F. Weisel (ed.), "The Diary of John F. Dodson; His Journey From Illinois to His Death at Fort Owen in 1852," Montana, III, No. 2, 26. The quote is from an entry on May 23, 1852, a few days before the Stuarts' arrival. Dodson's scalp became a Blackfoot trophy the same year.

8 Ezra Meeker, Personal Experiences on the Oregon Trail Sixty Years Ago, 5, 7. Meeker also was in Kanesville in May, 1852.

9 Paxson, op. cit., 160.

10 G.S., Forty Years, I, 40-41.

11 Ibid., I, 40.

12 Ibid., I, 41. There were ferries at three points on the Missouri
near Kanesville. Some migrants had to wait as long as six weeks until their turn in 1852. The ten dollar fee was standard. Merrill J. Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 124-127.

13 G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 41.

14 Ibid., 42. Mattes states that the Mormon Trail was also variously known as the Northern Route, the Council Bluffs Road, the Omaha-California Trail, and the Omaha-Fort Kearny Military Road. Mattes, op. cit., 129.


16 G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 42. Stuart does not mention stopping at Fort Kearny, some forty miles upstream from Grand Island and on the south bank near a ford.


18 G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 42-43. The precaution of tying down the wagons was justified as several diarists reported wagons being blown over during a storm.

19 Ibid., I, 49, 51. The distance from Salt Lake City is in Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah*, 280.

20 Stuart's statement about the scarcity of game could indicate his party's position in the migration. If they were to the rear, the large numbers of travelers who had already passed could account for the absence of game.

21 M. Catherine White (ed.), "An Overland Journey to California in 1852: The Journal of Richard Owen Hickman," *Sources of Northwest History* No. 6, 6, 9, 13, 18, 19. Later Hickman became Stuart's roommate during a session of the territorial legislature at Virginia City, Montana, according to Stuart's widow. Still later he kindly hired the unemployed Stuart as his assistant.


26 Barry, *op. cit.*, 279. The Humboldt is in the present state of Nevada.


28 Frizzell, *op. cit.*, 17.

29 Paxson, *op. cit.*, 203.


31 Udell, *op. cit.*, 72.

32 Barry, *op. cit.*, 255.


34 Meeker, *Personal Experiences*, 14-15; Barry, *op. cit.*, 263. The execution, according to Meeker, left a widow and four small children to fend for themselves alone on the approaches to the Rocky Mountains.

35 G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 43.


37 Edward Everett Dale (ed.), *The Journal of James Akin, Jr.*, 13, 14, 31; Weisel, *op. cit.*, 27. Akin also mentioned hurrying by another encamped train containing persons with smallpox.

38 Barry, *op. cit.*, 248-249.


40 *Ibid.*, 266.


42 Frizzell, *op. cit.*, 23.

43 G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 43.

44 Stabaek, *op. cit.*, 106.
45 White, op. cit., 6-7; Meeker and Driggs, op. cit., 42.

46 G.S., Forty Years, I, 43-44.

Ibid., I, 44. The fact that the disease had not yet spread above the fort indicates that the Stuart's fast-moving horse-drawn wagons must have passed many of the slower-moving ox-drawn trains and have arrived near the front of the migration.


49 Ibid., 29.

50 White, op. cit., 17.

51 Muscatine Journal, May 8, 1852.

52 George R. Stewart, The California Trail, 303.

53 Ezra Meeker, The Ox Team or the Old Oregon Trail, 39-40, 61-62.

54 Barry, op. cit., 259.

55 Meeker, op. cit., 40.

56 Meeker was apparently referring to Cecelia E.M. Adams, "Crossing the Plains," Transactions, Oregon Pioneer Association (1904), 288-329.

57 Meeker and Driggs, op. cit., 41.

58 Mattes, op. cit., 82.

59 David L. Hieb, Fort Laramie, 11, 33; G.S., Montana As It Is, 132.

G.S., Forty Years, I, 44-45. It cannot be ascertained what Stuart meant when he wrote that they "...continued up the North Platte river to the can[y]on..." He probably was referring to the canyon of a tributary creek. The only place the California-Mormon-Oregon Trail is conveniently close to the mountains before Independence Rock is at the northern base of the Laramie Range, i.e., Casper Mountain. Perhaps the brothers visited the popular Garden Falls.

61 Ibid., I, 45. Stuart identified the mountain as Laramie Peak but he must have been mistaken. Laramie Peak is east, not south, of Independence Rock and it is impossible to see it because of the intervening mountains. Stuart probably was referring to the Seminoes or the Shirley Mountains or possibly one of the distant peaks of the Medicine Bow Range.
It is possible that the adventurous Stuart brothers climbed to the top of the eastern cliff from the fairly gradual eastern slope although Granville does not mention doing it. Other travelers did climb it, however, and were treated to a spectacular view of the gorge and the surrounding landscape. Frizzell, op. cit., 27; Irene D. Paden, The Wake of the Prairie Schooner, 213 ff.

65 Stansbury, op. cit., 67. Other travelers called it Alkali Lake.

66 Frizzell, op. cit., 28.

67 G.S., Forty Years, I, 46.

68 Ibid., I, 47. Some of the other emigrants called it Ice Spring.

69 Ibid. Stuart stated that South Pass is 6,000 feet but the 1971 Wyoming State Highway Commission map lists it as 7,550 feet. It is worthy of note that Stuart's published account of his 1852 travels in Forty Years is in far greater detail for that part of the trip west of South Pass. It seems likely that when Stuart prepared the entire account in 1916, he had the use of a day book in which either he or James recorded the details of the journey west of the Continental Divide. The account is so detailed that the route taken from South Pass to California may be easily traced on United States Geological Survey topographical maps. The day book was not located. The brothers had the example of their father who kept a similar record in 1849. The account of the trip from Iowa to South Pass in Forty Years may have been written from memory because it is less detailed, vague in spots, contains several minor errors, and contains no references to some of the more notable landmarks, e.g., Court House Rock, Chimney Rock, Scott's Bluff, the "Black Hills," Split Rock, and the "Three Crossings" of the Sweetwater.

70 Ibid., I, 47-49.

71 Ibid., I, 49.

72 Barry, op. cit., 271-274. Another traveler reported that "...we were well treated [by the Mormons], and the charges were reasonable. I think the Mormon people have been very much misrepresented, and that injustice has been done them by travelers...." Udell, op. cit., 67.

73 John Taylor (1808-1887) was the third president of the Utah branch of the Church of the Latter Day Saints.
G.S., Forty Years, I, 50-51.

Ibid., I, 51. Stuart may have meant Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever.

Ibid.; Barry, op. cit., 275-279. With some bitterness Clark wrote that "This [the Weber] is a good stream, fordable at low water. We could have passed over quite comfortably had not the Mormons dug great holes at the crossing to keep us from doing it."

G.S., Forty Years, I, 51.

Ibid., I, 52.

T.D. Bonner (ed.), The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth, 519. According to Stuart, Beckwourth's unpaid generosity toward needy emigrants eventually caused him to be forced into giving up his trading post. He migrated to Montana and eventually died there. G.S., Forty Years, I, 53n. Stuart acquired the Bonner book around 1905. It is now in the home of Granville S. Abbott, his grandson and son of "Teddy Blue" Abbott. On page 15 in the Bonner book is written: "Granville Stuart says there is a lot of truth in the Book to his Certain Knowledge. The trouble is people nowadays don't want the truth. They want lots of Blood and Hairy Chaps etc. Beckwourth was a very reckless Brave man [and] that he did kill the Bear as told here[.] Teddy Blue 3 Duce [sic] Ranch Fergus Co Mont."

G.S., Forty Years, I, 53-54. The American Ranch became the seat of Plumas County, California, when the county was formed in 1854. At that time the town was called Quincy after Bradley's hometown in Illinois. Erwin G. Gudde, California Place Names, 247.

G.S., Forty Years, I, 54. The exact location of "Balsein's ranch" is not known although Stuart stated that it was "...on the divide between the middle and north forks of the Feather River."

Ibid., I, 54-56. The exact location of White Rocks is not known although Bidwell wrote that he camped there near Bidwell's Bar in 1848 and that he discovered gold at that site. Rockwell D. Hunt, John Bidwell: Prince of California Pioneers, 152ff. John Bidwell (1819-1900) came to California with the Bidwell-Bartleson party in 1841, the first party to make the overland trip from Missouri. In addition to his gold discovery, Bidwell played an important role in the movement for California's independence from Mexico, was a large landholder, politician, and became the state's best known agriculturalist. The thesis of a changing technology in California mining is well developed by Rodman W. Paul, California
Stuart called the ravine "Morrison's ravine." White Rocks, Table Mountain, and Neal's Rancho are all in the vicinity of Oroville, county seat of Butte County, California. Mildred B. Hoover et al., Historic Spots in California, 38. Samuel Neal, a Pennsylvania German who came west with John C. Fremont in 1844, was a co-grantee with John Sutter of a Mexican land grant on Butte Creek called Neal's Rancho or Esquon. Gudde, op. cit., 98. Stuart stated that Bidwell and Neal each collected about $100,000 in gold in 1848-1849 and used native Indians to do the mining. The Stuart party took 139 days (about four and one-half months) to reach their destination although this included a month spent in Salt Lake City.

Western History Company, op. cit., 310. The same story is in n.a., Historical and Biographical Record of Black Hawk County, Iowa, 499-500; John C. Hartman (ed.), History of Black Hawk County, Iowa, and Its People, 36-37; n.a., Historical Souvenir and Official Program: Cedar Falls Centennial, 1852-1952, 4.

1856 Iowa Census, State Historical Society of Iowa, Box 5; Black Hawk, Iowa, Court Records, Record of Lands, Book A, 470, 477, 487. Samuel's occupation is not legible.

Muscatine County, Iowa, Court Records, Record of Lots, Book T, 602-603; 1860 United States Census, N.A. Microcopy 653, Rolls 312 and 327. Sarah Stuart does not appear in the listings with Nancy and Elizabeth, with Robert, or with any of the Bozarths in spite of the fact that she was still living in 1860.


CHAPTER III
MINING FOR GOLD IN CALIFORNIA

Having bid goodbye to their father and to Reilly, the boys turned their backs on Neal's Rancho and traveled up into the nearby foothills to a ridge on which were clustered about ten buildings. The village soon was known as Dogtown. East of the hamlet was the deep canyon of the West Branch of the Feather River while west of the village flowed Little Butte Creek. Miners were busy along the West Branch taking out a fairly substantial quantity of placer gold but, unfortunately for the Stuarts, the entire area was already overlain with claims. Although their father had discussed the rudimentary techniques of mining with the boys during the evenings on the Plains and in the mountains, both boys concluded that "...we knew absolutely nothing about mining...."²

At this point the boys fell in with Wyatt M. Smith and Fountain J. Sweeney who were about the same age as Granville and who had been looking for some partners.³ It was quite common among the California miners to form informal or formal partnerships rather than to hire others at high wages to help perform the larger amounts of necessary labor involved in mining. In that manner, they could share the labor, risks, expenses, and rewards.

The four boys soon became good friends. Smith and Sweeney had been in California for a year and had learned something about mining techniques. The new friends suggested that they try some of the ravines located about half a dozen miles away. These ravines were known as...
"Tom Neal's dry diggins" and, after a rain, they emptied into Little Butte Creek. Smith and Sweeney already had some mining equipment and gear for cooking meals. The Stuarts made some purchases, personal things such as extra shirts as well as some tools to complement those possessed by their friends.  

With their new purchases packed on their backs, the partners hiked up Little Butte Creek. Granville felt he was entering a different world, a world of rough-looking, sunburned, heavy bearded men who scorned tents and cabins and slept on the ground in the open during California's dry seasons. The area was heavily forested and was cut by deep canyons down which tumbled the sparkling icy water from the banks of melting snow in the mountains. Unlike the haze of humidity which hung over Iowa, the sky was usually a beautiful blue unmarked by any passing clouds. At the bottom of the canyons, ducks, geese, and other water birds seemed little disturbed by the frantic mining activities while in the timbered hills above the streams there was a profusion of deer, elk, antelope, and bear. The area was also inhabited by handsome Indians who lived on fish, acorn bread, blood pudding, and grasshoppers and who felt no need to wear clothes. These vulnerable people lived in thatched huts which were partly below the ground. The huts were plastered with mud and remained relatively warm in the winter.  

The hike had taxed Granville's gradually returning strength but the excitement of entering "...a new, strange, and untried life..." made him impatient to go on when they stopped to rest.  

Selecting a site near a small spring of good water, the boys
constructed a cabin. They cut down several small trees and removed the limbs. The cabin walls rose to a height of seven feet, sixteen feet on a side. Granville was surprised how easily and uniformly sugar pine could be split into clapboards for roofing.\(^8\)

The site was so beautiful that more than sixty years later Granville would remember the months they lived and worked there as one of the happiest periods in his life. The surrounding forest contained sugar pines which grew to six feet in diameter and rose three hundred feet above the ground. The smooth trunks were bare of branches as high as eighty feet above his head. There were many other kinds of firs as well as oaks, madrona trees with edible red berries, manzanita, huge flowering bushes which filled the air with a delightful fragrance. In the forest glades a surprising variety of delicate alpine flowers intermingled with the grass. At night a breeze cooled the cabin, causing the fir trees to "roar." Pine cones were shaken loose to fall on the roof. During the day, Watch, the dog Granville coaxed from his master's grave, often startled a covey of quail which lived near the cabin. High above, large gray squirrels chattered and scolded the dog while flocks of birds abruptly flew to and from inviting perches. Granville was fascinated by a species of woodpecker which pecked small holes in the limbs of the trees and snugly placed acorns in the holes.\(^9\)

Both Wyatt Smith and Granville enjoyed hunting and took turns providing the supper. While Granville could not bring himself to turn his muzzle loader on the quail, he could not resist using it against the squirrels. They were not easy targets because they were in the
branches high above the ground but Watch proved to be an excellent hunter. His powerful sense of smell located the prey. Granville would find the dog barking at the base of one of the tall trees and would strain to see where the squirrel was crouching along a branch or slipping around to the other side of the tree. The skins were usually sown into money bags.

The desire for a change of diet provided an excuse for the boys to stop work and go hunting for deer or elk. Often they took along an Indian. As they noiselessly crossed the forest floor thickly carpeted with centuries' accumulation of fallen pine needles, the Indian would suddenly stop and point to a target still unaware of and unseen by the white hunters. After the kill, the Indian would carry the animal back to the cabin where he would dress it with a borrowed hunting knife. For his efforts as guide, porter, and butcher, the Indian would receive the head, neck, and hide and frequently an entire quarter as well.

The Indians seemed quite willing to work for the boys and had a reputation for complete honesty. Often an Indian would be hired to travel to Dogtown, purchase supplies at the store, and carry them the six miles up to the cabin. The supplies often included fifty pounds of flour, an equal weight of bacon, as well as other items. The pay was one cotton shirt which cost less than one dollar. Eventually the male Indians took to wearing clothes but the females still were not doing so when the boys left the area.

Once the cabin was finished the boys began to prospect and found a likely spot nearby. They ordered some lumber for a long tom and a
door for the cabin from Dogtown. Although they could use a wagon to haul the boards to the road's end, the boys had to carry them on their aching shoulders the last mile. Soon they finished the long tom, a device used to separate gold from sand and gravel, and eagerly awaited the advent of the rainy season so they could use the contraption.

On October 26, 1852, exactly one month after the Stuarts reached Neal's Rancho, it started to pour. It rained for six days and nights without letting up. The West Branch rose precipitately and miners who had built cabins along its banks had them washed away along with all their mining equipment and supplies. The boys soon were busy with their picks and shovels, digging up the gulch, shovelling the sand and gravel into the tom, and washing it through the perforated sheet iron and over the riffle bars.  

The water lasted until early March and the boys managed to take out a daily average of twelve to twenty dollars worth of gold. Occasionally they found small nuggets worth eight to sixteen dollars each in the spring of 1853, shortly before the diminished water supply forced them to stop mining, Granville found a large nugget worth $240.  

Early in the spring Sam Neal began to build a sawmill on Little Butte Creek near Dogtown. Since mining the "dry diggins" was no longer possible, Granville secured employment from Neal driving twelve oxen yoked to felled trees to the sawmill. In the meantime, James went prospecting.  

In July, while James was in Dogtown, he heard a great commotion.
Walking over to investigate, he saw a group of Chinese carrying two corpses and two wounded men. The Chinese had been mining claims abandoned by whites along the West Branch when they were attacked by a party of Indians from a village on the North Fork of the Feather River. While many white miners scorned the Chinese, the sight of the dead and wounded men, punctured by arrows, excited their sympathy and several, including James, immediately volunteered to go chastise the Indians if the Chinese would come along as porters. Sixteen well-armed whites and a dozen Chinese soon departed from Dogtown in hopes of overtaking the murderers. The expedition lasted three days, during which time the men came upon some Indians who were assumed to be the culprits. The miners opened fire, inflicting several casualties, two of them fatal. "The grateful Chinaman," wrote Granville of the incident, "sent to San Francisco and presented each of their white allies with a large embroidered red silk handkerchief and a quart of brandy." 16

The same month the Neal mill closed down. Granville found himself out of work but James had found a promising spot to mine on the West Branch. The boys purchased a rocker, a mining device even more rudimentary than the long tom. The operation of the rocker paid well for a week but then the claim suddenly played out. 17

The brothers became acquainted with two miners from Big Butte Creek canyon and formed a partnership with them. Their new partners wanted to turn the creek through a small canal by means of a diversionary dam and work the exposed creek bed. The brothers carried
their provisions, tools, and food about five miles to the new site where they then spent the following six weeks performing the back-breaking work. At night they slept under the stars and during the day they built the dam. The two faces of the dam were built of stone while the center section was filled with red dirt lugged down in bags from the nearby hillside. The dam turned the water of the creek, then running at a low volume, just as the miners had planned. However, there were two complications. The exposed stream bed was littered with large boulders which prevented a thorough working of the bed. Most of these rocks were too large to be moved. In addition, a considerable amount of water seeped under the dam, interfering with mining operations. After trying to work the bed with only slight success, the partners decided to abandon the project. After gaining another year of mining experience, James and Granville decided that they could have overcome these problems, worked the claim with more success, and that they should not have abandoned it. They concluded that their two experienced partners had probably returned to the claim and worked it until the rainy season washed out the dam, thereby benefitting from the unpaid labor of two Iowa farm boys.

On their way back to their cabin, the brothers, accompanied by a friend named Abe Folk, stopped at a gulch near their original claim which had been mined by Tom Neal and others in 1850. Gold worth several thousand dollars had been taken from the gulch but it then played out and the claims were abandoned. The boys began poking about in the thin soil covering the bed rock with an old case knife. Within a few
minutes they had scratched out four dollars in gold and became convinced that they had located the elusive "pay-streak." However they had no other tools with them and lacked paper and a pencil to stake out a claim so they went to their cabin, about two miles away, planning to return the next morning.  

The following morning was Sunday, traditionally the day the miners did not work in the mines. James and Abe decided they would postpone staking out their claims and would instead do their washing. Granville felt they should go stake out the gulch but his brother and Abe laughed at his anxiety. No one will find their discovery, he was told. In fact, no one else would come into the ravine during the dry season, which would last another two months, they said. In the afternoon, however, Tom Neal and some friends happened by the discovery site and Tom stopped to show them where he had been mining in 1850. The knife was where the boys left it beside the gouged out side of the ravine. When Neal made the same discovery the boys made the previous day, he and his friends began to stake claims over the entire area. "It was by far the most costly washing that ever any three men indulged in," lamented Granville, because when they arrived with pencil and paper on Monday morning, they found that Neal and his friends had staked out all of the ravine around the exposed "pay-streak." Greatly disappointed, the boys realized they should have covered their scratchings and should not have left the knife at the point of discovery. During the next rainy season, Neal and his friends washed out twenty-five thousand dollars worth of gold.
On Sundays the miners usually went into town to purchase supplies and fraternize. Even hamlets the size of Dogtown had one or more gambling halls and many miners, lacking other diversions, visited the halls to talk, listen to the music, watch the gambling, or to drink, visit the girls upstairs, and join a faro or monte game. One night Granville visited a hall as a spectator and saw a man he had known in Iowa. The man's name was Brier and he was working as a faro dealer. Brier had come to California in 1849 with an overland company from Jackson County, Iowa, and back in Iowa he had been known as Preacher Brier. Granville remembered him well.

...At our home in Iowa we had always attended preaching regularly and our house had been a favorite stopping place for the circuit rider, as mother was an excellent cook and there was always plenty of nice chickens on hand.

Of these preachers one, Brother Briar [sic], gave a most lurid description of hell-fire and painted a most vivid picture of what would become of us if we did not repent. We hardly knew what we were expected to repent of, but he scared us up plenty. James and I felt that we must do something quick in the way of getting good or something terrible would happen. We would go home from meeting, climb up into the loft where we slept, with our hair standing on end, and dream all night of lakes of fire and brimstone and devils, big and little with pitch forks. We thought Brother Briar [sic] a lucky man to be so good as to be safe from such a pitfall.

Granville had forgotten about Brier and his frightening sermons and certainly was not expecting to see "...the self-same man coolly and calmly dealing faro." At that very moment, Stuart recalled, "...I lost my faith in the preachers of the Gospel....I said to myself, he don't believe in hell-fire and never did, and neither do I."
Another Sunday, when Granville was again in Dogtown, he had nothing to do. He did not drink and had not yet developed an affection for gambling, he was uninterested in attending church (if one existed in Dogtown), nor was he interested in attending the dog fights, cock fights, or horse races. He wandered a short distance out of town and slowly worked his way down into West Branch Canyon. He lazily sat down on a boulder and was enjoying the feel of the sun on his back, the smell of the pine in the breeze, and the sound of water roaring and tumbling through the canyon below when his ears caught the sound of something walking behind him. He picked up his rifle in one hand and a rock in the other and threw the rock at the sound. A large buck sprang out and in seconds Granville killed him. After butchering the deer, Granville walked back into town to find some friends who would help him carry the quarters of the animal. Within minutes after they returned with the deer, miners hungry for fresh meat had purchased three of the quarters for $7.25 apiece. Granville often reflected on the incident and concluded that it "...should have shown Brother and I a sure way of making a steady income, by buying two or three burros to pack, and then devote ourselves to hunting and delivering meat to the various little towns scattered everywhere through the mines. It would have been a sure thing, as the demand was always good." Robert Stuart probably had come to the same realization during his first stay in California but neither father nor sons could give up the dream of discovering an eldorado. "Like everybody else in those days," Granville concluded, "we were bitten by the gold bug, and mine we must,
and mine we did...."24

After the brothers had failed to secure claims in the ravine where Tom Neal and his friends would soon begin to extract an impressive amount of gold, they had little to do except wait until the beginning of the wet season when they could work their original claim. During these weeks in the late summer and early autumn of 1853 the boys felled some sugar pines and cut them up into clapboards. The demand was heavy and the brothers kept busy for several weeks, realizing a handsome return for their labor.25 Like the sale of the venison, the success of this venture probably should have persuaded the brothers that they could be assured of substantial and steady income working in one of several possible occupations whereas the prospecting for and mining of gold was a chancy business in which the majority would have been better off doing something else. Gold production had already reached a peak in California and had begun a rapid descent. After only three years of intensive mining, the Alta California, California's leading newspaper, warned that

The real truth is, by far the largest part of the gold...[already mined] was taken from the river banks, with comparatively little labor. There is gold still in those banks, but they will never yeild as they have yielded. The cream of the gulches, wherever water could be got, has also been taken off. We have now the river bottoms and the quartz veins; but to get the gold from them, be must employ gold. The man who lives upon his labor from day to day, must hereafter be employed by the man who has in his possession accumulated labor, or money, the representative of labor.26

In the autumn of 1853 a stranger came to the Stuart cabin and knocked on the door. When James opened the door, he was confronted
by a bedraggled, sickly-looking youth who shook continuously. Granville could hardly control Watch who strained to attack this strange looking creature. The visitor said his name was Rezin Anderson and he was from Illinois. He had just crossed the Plains and had come into the state by way of the Carson River. Immediately after reaching the Sacramento Valley he had come down with fever and chills. A doctor was consulted and Anderson was told his best chance for getting better was to go up into the mountains. He met a man from Dogtown who told him that other men with the same sickness had gone there and that they had recovered their health. Upon his arrival at Dogtown, Anderson was directed to the Stuarts by a man who thought they were from the same state. Anderson was too weak to walk the six miles to the end of the road so he hired someone with a wagon to haul him there. Not only was he so sick that Granville thought he would die soon, he was also broke. He threw himself on their mercy. Would they shelter and feed him until he was strong enough to work? He would repay them as soon as he was able. The Stuarts couldn't turn him away.

Despite the obvious fact that Anderson was a poor risk for repayment, the brothers not only had a basic sense of decency and humanity which prevented them from closing the cabin door on the luckless youth but also there was something about him that jogged some forgotten facet of their childhood memories. They began to ask him questions. Anderson said he was born in Kentucky in 1831, the second of three sons born to William and Rebecca Nelson Anderson. While the boys were still young, the family migrated to DeWitt County, Illinois. His father was
developing a prosperous farm on the outskirts of Clinton when he died a few years later. His mother married a widower named Thomas Cuppy in 1846. They moved to Iowa for a short time. "Where?" asked the Stuarts. "Muscatine County," came the reply. "We lived near some people named Bozarth." Although Anderson's appearance rendered him unrecognizable, the Stuarts realized they had met him while visiting their uncle's farm. They urged him to go on. The Cuppys did not stay in Iowa long, he told them. They moved back to Illinois and Anderson was apprenticed as a blacksmith in Waynesville, northwest of Clinton. Immediately after finishing his apprenticeship he left for California.

While James had worked for a doctor in Iowa, he had read about a German cure for chills and fever called the "Presnitz Water Cure System." He offered to try it on Reece, as Anderson came to be called, and the ailing youth agreed. Anderson was stripped, wrapped in a wet blanket and then in several dry blankets. The cabin was already rather warm and Anderson was given hot tea to encourage him to perspire heavily. After an hour, he was rubbed dry and put to bed. This was repeated nightly until the fever and chills left him and his appetite returned. His strength began to return and in a few weeks he had completely recovered. In the meantime, a great friendship had developed which was to span the next several decades.

The rainy season finally began in the late autumn of 1853. Again there was flooding and most of the roads became impassible. No supplies or food reached Dogtown for more than a month. However only flour was in short supply. By the time a pack train reached Dogtown, the Stuarts...
had been without flour for two weeks and had been living on a diet of beans, bacon, and fresh squirrel meat. The packers declared the roads were in such bad shape that they would not return until spring and demanded that they be paid fifty dollars for each hundred pound sack of flour. Not wishing to be without flour all winter, the Stuarts paid the fifty dollars. They still had much of the flour left when two more pack trains, both carrying flour, arrived at Dogtown and only twelve dollars a sack was asked. According to Granville, the California miners were totally dependent on Chile as their source of supply of both beans and flour, the latter being yellow in color and "first class."30

The Stuarts worked their claim through the wet season with indifferent success. In early 1854 they felled a large tree and cut it into hundreds of boards in order to supplement their meager mining income. In February or March they had grown tired of their "dirty diggins" and their dependency on the rainy season in order to be able to mine their claim.31

Hopeful of finding a rich claim which could be mined on a more regular basis, the Stuarts and Anderson decided to go to Rabbit Creek in Sierra County. They retraced the route they had taken to Dogtown in the autumn of 1852, ferried across the Feather River, and walked to Forbestown. With each footstep the trail climbed in altitude, the air became colder, and their backpacks grew heavier. The snow became deeper but the trail was well beaten down by the passage of several pack trains. High on the ridge which they had been climbing stood the
Mountain Cottage House, a hotel owned by a Colonel Prentice, government agent to the Yuba Indians. By the time they reached Rabbit Creek the snow had accumulated to a depth of sixteen feet. To reach the door of the miner's cabins, the occupants had cut steps down from the surface of the snow. Open fireplaces instead of stoves were commonly used and the miners had had to erect extra tall chimneys to clear the top of the snow. The cabins, virtually hidden by the snow, were quite warm during the winter.

In 1853 the miners in the area had adopted a more advanced form of mining technology known as hydraulic mining. The great banks of gold-bearing gravel in the area were washed down in much the same manner as one might wash down a hill of sand with a garden hose and nozzle. The debris was then washed through a long series of sluice boxes and much of the gold was separated from the other material. About fifty companies were in operation along Rabbit Creek during the wet season in 1853.

In March, 1854, the boys prospected along Slate Creek and its tributary, Rabbit Creek. The area along the creeks was already claimed so each of the boys staked out a claim further back from the water. While they waited for the hydraulicking to disintegrate the claims in front of theirs, they busied themselves building flumes and working for a mining company called Porter and Company. On May 1, James sold his claim to Porter for two hundred dollars and Reece and Granville perhaps did likewise. James and presumably the others continued to work irregularly for Porter, sometimes on a night shift.
On June 4, 1854, the Stuarts were visited by their cousin, Clinton Bozarth. Clint, as his friends called him, had come to California in 1850 and was on his way to his home in Iowa. He had been mining and operating a pack train in the vicinity of Yreka, Siskiyou County, on the Oregon border. Before he started for San Francisco two days later to catch a steamer for Nicaragua, Clint told them about a potentially rich area near Yreka, rich that is, if it could be mined hydraulically. The Stuarts suddenly felt homesick and considered going home with Bozarth but they decided that they were not yet ready to settle down on an Iowa farm. Bozarth's information about northern California caused them to decide to visit that region instead of returning home.

In mid-June James began a quick trip back to Butte County, apparently to settle some unfinished business there before leaving the region altogether and to acquire some mules. He purchased two mules and was back at Rabbit Creek on June 29. In addition to Anderson and the Stuarts, their party included John L. Good. They loaded all the bedding, food, supplies, and equipment on one of the mules. The four men took turns riding the other mule over the pack trails which crisscrossed the western face of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. They followed the mountain route in order to avoid the heat of the Central Valley and also because the Stuarts had come to enjoy being in the mountains.

The party traveled only seven miles in a northerly direction to the tiny community of Grass Valley on the first day of travel. During the days that followed, they averaged about twenty miles a day.
By noon of the second day they had reached the canyon of the Middle Fork of the Feather River and that evening they camped in the American Valley at about the spot where they had entered it on their arrival in California. Their route eventually turned westward, across Indian Valley, and on to the North Fork of the Feather River at Big Meadows on July 3. From Big Meadows they followed the well-traveled Lassen Emigrant Trail southward to Deer Creek Pass and westward to Tehama on the Sacramento River. The summer heat became more intense with each passing day. From Tehama the party traveled northward on the California-Oregon Road, passing through the villages of Shasta and Whiskeytown, until they reached Oak Bottom on Clear Creek in the middle of the month.39

After a bit of prospecting they purchased one-third interest in a water ditch and began hydraulic mining on Oak Hill. The temperature often rose to well over one hundred degrees in the shade and the only respite was to lie in the creek for an hour during the heat of the day. On the other side of the creek was Oak Bottom House, owned by Frank Vandeventer and his sister. The sister was a cook of some merit and the miners supplemented their monotonous diets with her delicious fresh-baked pies.40

By the latter part of September, the men grew dissatisfied with their operation at Oak Hill. They had earned only enough to cover their expenses from Rabbit Creek and so they sold their one-third interest. They purchased a blue mare and two more mules for $351
so that each would have a mount as well as an extra animal to pack their supplies. The party departed on September 28 and reached the Trinity River the next day. This stream was followed up to the headwater. The party crossed the divide and entered Scott's Valley.

After traveling down the Scott River for a short distance, they camped under the stars. During the night they were awakened by the restlessness of their mules. A short distance from them was a huge grizzly bear which soon disappeared into the brush. By the time they calmed the mules and checked the picket ropes, they were wide awake. There was a continuous splashing in the river and they wondered if a beaver colony was at work. They wanted to investigate the noises but they were not curious enough to chance meeting the grizzly in the dark. In the morning they discovered that salmon were trying to force their way over the rapids and shallow spots. One of the boys grabbed a club and they all waded in. Thoroughly drenched, they landed one salmon over three feet long, enough to feed them for two days. They concluded that well-fed grizzly was not much interested in them or their mules.

Two days later, October 4, they reached Yreka and rented a cabin. The horse and mules were sent to a nearby ranch for the winter. They were greatly disappointed with the mining prospects. The mining area was too level to submit to hydraulicizing or to the use of sluices without difficulty. Water was not plentiful and had already been engrossed. The men were dubious that the ground could be worked with picks and shovels. Nevertheless they purchased a claim for fifty dollars, purchased water for their sluices, and mined the claim from
With the ground frozen and impossible to work, they began to cut boards in order to build a house. In the meantime they tried to make the cabin where they were living in the woods just west of town ready for winter. After a great deal of trouble with the stick chimney, which had not been properly lined with clay, they gave up and moved into a shanty in Yreka on January 3, 1855. Two days later, with forty-five hundred boards on hand, they began building a house. The next day the temperature was ten below and there was two feet of snow on the ground. Little wonder Granville wrote that "We began to wish ourselves back in Dog Town with its balmy climate," or that James recorded in his diary on January 14: "Sunday. Done nothing. All in ill humor." The hard feelings and bickering continued over the next two days. On January 18 they were able to move into their new house, constructed in only two weeks. "Moved in our cabin," James wrote. "All flat broke & out of grub and cant get credit." Three days later Johnny Good pawned his gun so they could buy some beef. The same day Hugh Bratton extended them enough credit to get fifty pounds of flour and ten and one-half pounds of coffee. In the meantime, they washed "dirt" through their sluices when the weather and temperature permitted but usually got only about one and one-half cents worth of gold from each bucket of "dirt." On February 4, James recorded in his diary without elaboration that the "Boys had blow out yesterday." Good may have moved out for he is not mentioned again. In any case the Stuarts and Anderson realized that something had to be done to end
their idleness and bring in an income so on February 7 they began to work irregularly for Hugh Bratton.

At the end of the month a revealing incident occurred in Yerka in which Anderson and the Stuarts appear to have had no direct role but which served to demonstrate the miners' dependence on water to work their claims. The so-called Greenhorn War resulted over a struggle for water rights. The Yreka Flats Ditch Association, from whom the Stuarts were buying their water, had control of the water in most of the creeks in the vicinity of Yreka and through ditches supplied it to the miners on Yreka Flats. The partial drying up of the creeks led to the discovery of gold deposits along the beds of the creeks and these beds were soon overlain with claims. During the dry season, all of the water was turned from the creeks so that the Yreka Flats miners could continue to work their claims. Being unable to work their own claims, the miners along the creek howled in protest. Eventually the miners along the lower Greenhorn Creek cut some of the ditches, turning the water back into the stream bed. The ditch company got an injunction from the local court, forbidding the miners to make any more ditch cuts. The injunction was ignored and several miners from Greenhorn Creek were arrested. After uttering loud threats, friends of the incarcerated miners stormed the jail. According to Stuart, the threats had forewarned the jailors, who were well-prepared to prevent the rescue of the imprisoned miners. Four miners among the attackers were killed and as many as twenty were wounded. The wounded men were hidden by their friends and the sheriff made no further
effort to punish the attackers. Eventually the prisoners were released but the court continued to stand by its decision that the ditch company could use the water from Greenhorn Creek.\textsuperscript{44}

On March 18 the Stuarts purchased a claim on the Shasta River near Yreka from Hugh Bratton for three hundred dollars. Sluices and tools were included in the purchase price. Anderson decided there was a greater assurance of an income by practicing his trade and secured employment in a blacksmith shop for five dollars a day. Granville and James worked their new claim "...out of which we took considerable gold..." until the latter joined a prospecting expedition. During James' absence, Granville continued to work the claim alone.\textsuperscript{45}

In spite of their lack of great success since their arrival in northern California, the Stuarts had not made a bad decision to go there. There the Coast Range and the Sierra Nevadas come together so that the entire region is broken by mountains and deep valleys. Winters are severe. The Indian tribes in the area were not yet completely subdued and still posed a threat to the miners. There were no easy transportation routes into the area so that it was difficult to bring in necessary supplies as well as to communicate with the outside. Although the area was rich in gold, the population was sparse. "...By the very fact of having so few people in so large a territory, the northwest was able to offer unexplored, virgin ground at a time when the men of the older section [to the south] were reworking the same diggings for the sixth or seventh time."\textsuperscript{46} Lacking the capital to invest in advanced mining equipment and strongly desiring to avoid
working for an employer if it was possible, the Stuarts had come to the region in California where their chances for a successful gold strike were the greatest.

On April 19, 1855, James joined a group of prospectors bent on seeking gold around the headwaters of the Sacramento River and around Mount Shasta, then known as Shasta Butte. After traveling twenty-five miles, the men had to endure rain and snow all night. The next day they traveled eighteen miles to Strawberry Valley, just west of Mount Shasta. Again it snowed all night and continued snowing and raining for the next five days. Unable to move from their encampment in Strawberry Valley, the party moved on the evening of the thirteenth to the nearby camp of T.D.M. Hays and Company where there was a weather-proof cabin. On April 15 James and some others went hunting and although they saw bear tracks, they returned empty-handed. That night some of the men stole a ten-gallon keg of whiskey and most of them were drunk all the next day. On the twenty-first, after succeeding in acquiring some fresh meat, the party attempted to leave Hays' camp. They were able to move only two or three miles. However during the following day they succeeded in passing around the base of Mount Shasta and reaching the edge of the McCloud River Valley. Deer became more abundant and there were indications that numerous elk were in the area. It took four more days to reach the McCloud River. There, James observed, they "Found plenty of fish and Indians." That day and the next, he wrote, they were followed by a hundred men (presumably Indians.) After traveling down the McCloud for five miles on April 27,
the skies opened up around noon and the prospectors stopped to build a bark house. It kept most of the rain out. Their next encampment was near some Indians and on the evening of April 29 James wrote that "The hills [are] covered with Indians yelling like Coyotes. Tonight or tomorrow I expect we will have to fight." They were not molested, however, and reached the Sacramento River on May 2. During the next two days, James prospected some river bars and staked out claims on two of them. He was back in Yreka on May 7.47

On May 26 James left on another prospecting trip or to work his claim on the river bars. However his diary breaks off at this point and there are no more entries for more than two years.48 Consequently it is not known where he went or how long he was gone.

About the third week in June, 1855, James and Granville started on still another prospecting expedition. The other members of their party included Hugh Bratton, their sometime employer; Ed Tolts, Tom Burns, John Cotton, and Tom Duffy. Duffy, a veteran of the war with the Rogue River Indians in the early 1850's, had been told by his wife, a Shasta Indian, that Butte Creek was observed to be rich in gold by the Indians. Butte Creek flowed northward into the Klamath River approximately halfway between Sheep Rock and the Lower Klamath Lake. There was no direct road to the creek up the Klamath Valley so the party took a round-about route. From Yreka they traveled roughly eastward over the Yreka Trail to the Lower Klamath Lake. Then they followed the Oregon road northwestward until it crossed the Klamath River. At that point they left the road and followed a heavily used
Indian trail for only a short distance when a volley was fired at them from the forested mountainside above them. No one was hit and the prospectors retreated to a nearby grove of giant oaks before the ambusher could reload their muzzle loaders. From their defensive petition, the prospectors could now look down the slope to the river where they could see several Indians hiding among the boulders on each side of the stream. Duffy and Burns recognized some of the Indians as frequent visitors to Yreka and some had even visited Duffy’s house. In fact, one was his brother-in-law.\(^50\)

The prospectors called out to the Indians in Chinook jargon, the language commonly understood by the Indians and traders of the Pacific Northwest, and demanded an explanation. None was forthcoming and as the hours slipped by, several additional Indians joined the attackers. "This," Granville declared in an understatement, "put a stop to our prospecting in Butte creek and we decided to return to Yreka." In the early hours of the following morning, long before sunup, the men slipped out of the oak grove and climbed to the top of the canyon. They rode their mounts for several hours through a trackless forest until they came to a creek running through a meadow. Exhausted, they made camp. Long before the sun had burned away the dew from the meadow grass, they were underway once again. Soon they struck Yreka Trail and were able to ride on into Yreka without incident.\(^51\)

According to Granville, upon reaching town they learned that a few days earlier some fifteen miners had been killed by Indians along
the Klamath River not far from the spot where they were ambushed. "Those who fired on us," Granville theorized, "knew about the massacre ..., and some of them may have been implicated in it." Later Duffy and Burns saw two of the ambushers in Yreka. The Indians were arrested, quickly tried, and hanged.52

There is another possible explanation for the behavior of the Indians who fired on the Stuart party. Certainly these Indians would have been aware of the killing of the miners but perhaps they were not accessories to it. In the past, when there had been troubles between the miners and the Indians of northern California and Oregon, the miners and militiamen had not always been discriminating in the infliction of reprisals on the Indians. Occasionally innocent tribes or subtribes were punished for the misdeeds of others. The ambushers may have assumed that the best way to protect their innocent villages from attack by the Stuart party, which could have been an expedition seeking revenge rather than gold, would be to frighten off the party. In this way they were quite successful. They may not have been poor marksmen at all but instead may have deliberately fired over the heads of the prospectors, who were then allowed to "escape." The two Indians who were hanged may have been victims of a miscarriage of justice. They may not have been in Yreka to see what the whites were up to, as Granville assumed, but rather, feeling innocent of any wrongdoing, going about their normal business.

According to Granville, the murderers fled northward into Oregon
where they joined those Modocs and Rogue River Indians who were again to resist actively the destruction of their culture and their tribes. In any event, the second phase of the Rogue River Wars had begun.

From the beginning of white settlement in northern California and southern Oregon settlers plowed up and fenced the meadows. Their plows and their hogs uprooted the camas lily bulb, a staple in the diet of the region's Indians. The farmers cut down many of the great oaks, thereby diminishing the Indian's supply of acorns, another staple. Farmers, miners, and emigrants made major inroads into the supply of elk, deer, and antelope. As early as 1851, Redick McKee, Indian Commissioner for northern California, found many of the Indians, who had once proudly worn handsome deerskin garments and woven basket caps, clad in the ragged castoffs of the miners. The miners polluted the creeks with their tailings, depleting the supply of fish, the Indians' most important food. Traders debauched the Indians through the whiskey trade. White man's diseases decimated the tribes. Many whites viewed all of the Indians as members of some sort of subspecies worthy only of extermination. This attitude was typified by Benjamin Wright, a hater and killer of Indians, who was appointed Indian Agent for all of the tribes south of Coos Bay, Oregon Territory. Once, in a drunken rage, Wright forced Checto Jenny, a government interpreter, to strip and then proceeded to whip her through the streets of Port Orford, Oregon Territory. During the Rogue River War of 1853, whites killed peaceful Indians, including women and children, as well
as active warriors. The hatred, fear, and other passions aroused in 1853 had not subsided two years later. In fact, all of the causes of the earlier conflict were still present in 1855.

A recent scholarly version of the events of 1855-1856 differs somewhat from Granville Stuart's account. In May, 1855, a lone miner was killed on Indian Creek. Two volunteer companies killed four male and female Takelma Indians, presumably from the guilty village, in retaliation. In July, some Indians who were drunk on liquor traded them by some packers, killed another lone miner on Humbug Creek, a tributary of the Klamath. Then these Indians attacked and killed eleven other miners on the Klamath, Scott, and Shasta Rivers. This may nor may not have been the Indians who ambushed the Stuart-Duffy party. Six Indians who had written passes to leave the Table Rock Reservation in Oregon Territory were in the Klamath Valley at the time of the killings. They hurriedly returned to the reservation but were seen on the way and were presumed to be the culprits. The following month a large body of volunteers arrived at Fort Lane demanding the surrender of these Indians and threatening to take them by force. Captain Andrew Jackson Smith, commander of the fort, and Agent George Ambrose refused to be intimidated into turning over their wards to the Californians and the volunteers returned to Yreka grumbling about the government's protection of murderers. The return of these six men to Oregon Territory probably gave Granville the idea that the murderers had gone to Oregon and had joined the war faction of the Modoc and Rogue River Indians.
In July, 1855, the Stuarts and Reece Anderson enlisted in the Siskiyou Mounted Volunteers commanded by Captain William White. The volunteers were to receive three dollars a day but each had to provide his own horses and firearms. The trio each carried a muzzle loading long gun and a "Colt's navy cap and ball revolver." They were a part of a twenty-five man scouting company which was sent to the lava beds southeast of the Lower Klamath Lake to ascertain whether or not the Modocs had joined the warring Rogue River Indians. The scouts spent a month in the field and then returned to Yreka to report that the Modocs were peaceful. Sometime during the month, however, James and another man were sent to the Shasta Valley for supplies. On the way they happened onto two Indians who were driving horses assumed to be stolen from the valley with the apparent intention of driving them to the lava beds. The Indians were killed and the horses were returned to the valley. The Stuarts and Anderson mustered out although, contrary to Granville's opinion, the war was not over.

The warring Indians committed isolated acts of theft, vandalism, and violence but the war probably would have petered out had not the Yreka volunteers under James Lupton, a packer, massacred a sleeping village of peaceful Indians on October 8, 1855. Twenty-three Indians were killed, all but four of them being women, children, and elderly men. Another group of Yreka volunteers attacked another band at the same time and killed three women and children. Captain A. J. Smith had warned these two bands of the probable danger and the men of warrior age had already moved into the security of Fort Lane, expecting the
women, children, and elderly to follow within the week. The unpro-
voked attacks were too much for the Rogues and they went on the war-
path the following day.\(^{58}\)

The various groups of volunteers, eventually numbering fifteen
companies, reacted by trying to exterminate all the Indians including
those who remained at peace. The whites scoured the valleys of the
region looking for victims throughout the autumn and winter. The
handful of Army regulars in the area could do no more than to try to
protect the innocent bands and occasionally take the field against
the hostiles. Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon Territory,
Joel Palmer, tried to save the small number of surviving Indians from
additional bloodletting by removing them to a more distant reservation.
The killing continued however and in February, 1856, the irascable
Benjamin Wright was killed and mutilated by the Indians. Atrocity
followed atrocity.\(^{59}\)

By the end of June, the Rogue River Indians either had surrendered
or had died. However some of the Modocs were still warring after
Wright's death, and in July Anderson and James Stuart became members
of Company B in the Modoc Expedition of 1856.\(^{60}\) The Californians
found the Modocs on islands in Tule Lake, east of the Lower Klamath
Lake, where the Indians had stored provisions. The volunteers appar-
ently made boats, rowed out to the islands, and inflicted major
casualties on the Indians. The expedition soon disbanded and James
and Reece rejoined Granville, who had continued to mine in the vicinity
of Yreka in their absence. They continued to mine until the middle
of the next year. 61

The parts played by Anderson and the Stuarts, especially James, in the California and Oregon Indian troubles is to be regretted. Superintendent Palmer, who seemed to see the situation objectively, blamed the troubles on "The tremendous excitement among the miners and settlers,... goaded on by reckless and lawless miscreants, who slaughter alike innocent and guilty of both sexes...." While the remarks were referring to the earlier conflict, they apply to the second conflict as well. "The future will prove that this war has been forced upon these Indians against their will, and that, too, by a set of reckless vagabonds...and sanctioned by a numerous population.... The Indians...have been driven to desperation by acts of cruelty against their people; treaties have been violated and acts of barbarity committed by those claiming to be citizens, that would disgrace the most barbarous nations of the earth...." 62

The role of James Stuart in the Siskiyou Mounted Volunteers and later as a member of the Modoc Expedition of 1856 is only an indication of an attitude which was much more apparent in the ambush of the Concow Indians and the execution of two Indians alleged to be horse thieves. Obviously James held the Indians in contempt and lacked a high regard for their lives. To him, they were not fully human beings. Granville probably shared this attitude to a certain extent.

The incident where the brothers allowed themselves to be bilked into abandoning a claim after weeks of hard work building a diversionary dam and the incident where they failed to stake out claims to Tom Neal's
"dry diggins" reveals not only a perverseness of fate but also that they probably were enjoying the search for gold as much as actually finding it. Certainly James preferred prospecting for that elusive el dorado to the hard work of mining.

The failure of the Stuarts to seek a regular income as meat suppliers, manufacturers of clapboards, suppliers of lumber or any one of several available occupations which would have yielded an adequate regular income indicates how deeply they were infected with the desire to find that undiscovered rich gold deposit even at the risk of losing everything, including life itself. In fact, the sum of Granville Stuart's California experience was to render him temporarily unfit for regular employment for decades.
NOTES: CHAPTER III

1 G.S., Forty Years, I, 57. After mentioning that Reilly joined them at the start of the trip from Iowa, Stuart never referred to him again but it may be assumed that Reilly was still with them when they reached their original California destination, Neal's Rancho. According to Stuart, Dogtown was originally known as Butte Mills. Dogtown got its name from the location of a dog kennel there owned by a French woman. The town has been called Magalia since the 1860s and is located a short distance north of Paradise in Butte County. Erwin G. Gudde, California Place Names, 87, 179-180.

2 G.S., Forty Years, I, 57.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., I, 57-58.

5 Ibid., I, 58, 60-61.

6 Ibid., I, 62, 65-66.

7 Ibid., I, 58.

8 Ibid. The site is approximately two miles west of Paradise.

9 Ibid., I, 58-59. Stuart's impressions of California may have been influenced by the 1855 publication of Frank Marryat, Mountains and Molehills, a book which Stuart had in his personal library.

10 G.S., Forty Years, I, 59-60.

11 Ibid., I, 66.

12 Ibid., I, 66-67.

13 Ibid., I, 69-71; Rodman W. Paul, California Gold, 61-62. The exactness of the date when the rains began to fall indicates that Stuart had his or James' diary or day book when he was preparing this section of his unfinished autobiography. It is not known if this source is extant.

14 G.S., Forty Years, I, 71-72.
I, 72.

Ibid., I, 79-80. Without elaboration, Stuart wrote that "I thought at the time that most of them [the whites] were ashamed of the raid after it was over." Stuart called the Indians "Concows." No other reference to a California tribe by that name was uncovered including R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple (comps. and eds.), The California Indians: A Source Book, 71 et passim, but there is a Concow Creek and a Concow reservoir east of Paradise. Stuart does not indicate how his brother, a teetotaler, disposed of the brandy.

G.S., Forty Years, I, 72; Rodman W. Paul, California Gold, 52-53.

G.S., Forty Years, I, 72-73.

Ibid., I, 73-74.

Ibid., I, 74-75. Stuart referred to the discovery as a "pay-streak" and meant gold found in the soil above the bed rock. Had he been referring to gold found in the bed rock the term "vein" would be more accurate. However, vein gold cannot be extracted by washing.

Ibid., I, 67-68; Fred W. Lorch, "Iowa and the California Gold Rush of 1849," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXX, No. 3, 364. Lorch's source for Brier is the Andrew, Iowa, Western Democrat, June 7, 1850.

G.S., Forty Years, I, 68.

Ibid., I, 68-69. The incident probably marks Stuart's first major step toward becoming an agnostic.

Ibid., I, 77.

Ibid., I, 75.


G.S., Forty Years, I, 75-76.

Mrs. Ethel L. Young to Conrad Anderson, Aug. 22, 1965, MSU. Rezin was born on August 16, 1831, in Grayson County, Kentucky. Mrs. Young is a granddaughter of Rezin but Conrad Anderson is not a descendant.

G.S., Forty Years, I, 76.

Ibid., I, 80-81. Stuart attributed the flour shortage to the
rains in the winter of 1852 but if the incident is placed in proper chronological order in his unfinished autobiography, the period of scarcity occurred during the winter of 1853-1854.

31 Ibid., I, 81; Diary of James Stuart, 1854-1857, Stuart Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (hereafter Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale.) Forty Years gives the date of 1853 but the original diary gives it as 1854. There are no entries in the diary between February 8 and March 25, 1854. On the latter date they had arrived at Warren Hill which must be in the vicinity of Rabbit Creek. The first part of this diary was kept in cipher by James for some unknown reason.

32 G.S., Forty Years, I, 81. Rabbit Creek got a post office in 1855 and was known as Rabbit Town. In 1857 the name was changed to La Port which is now in Plumas County. Forbestown is in what is now the eastern edge of Butte County. Mountain Cottage House was in what is now Yuba County. Mildred B. Hoover, et al., Historical Sports in California, 38, 283, 594.

33 G.S., Forty Years, I, 81.


35 Diary of J.S, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 81-82. It is possible that the three boys had only one claim.

36 James Clinton Bozarth (1830-1911) was the third son of Valentine Bozarth. Three of Clinton's children are still living, including Mrs. Myra Bozarth Hilton of Cedar Falls and Mr. Rodney Bozarth of Kalispell, Montana. Neither knew of the existence of any of the fairly extensive correspondence between their father and the Stuart brothers. The third living child is now in a California nursing home. See also the Historical and Geneological [sic] Record of the Bozarth Family, 15, 19, prepared and privately printed by Clinton.

37 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 83.

38 Ibid.

39 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale. Granville inserted this portion of the diary in Forty Years, I, 83ff, with considerable elaboration. Grass Valley was in Plumas County and should not be confused with the larger town of the same name in Nevada County. Indian Valley and the Big Meadows are also in Plumas County, the latter now largely inundated by Lake Almanor. Deer Creek Pass and Tehama are in Tehama County.
Shasta and Whiskeytown are in Shasta County, the latter being on the Shasta-Eureka Road, not on the California-Oregon Road. Stuart wrote that they stayed in Shasta at the St. Charles Hotel but Hoover et al., op. cit., states that the hotel burned in 1853 without indicating that it was later rebuilt. The location of Oak Bottom on Clear Creek was only three miles from the Mad Ox Canyon on Whiskey Creek, Shasta County, and not far from Whiskeytown. Hoover et al., op. cit., 280, 486-487, 503; Gudde, op. cit., 179.

40 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 86.

41 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 87-88. The Trinity River is chiefly in Trinity County and the Scott River is in Siskiyou County.

42 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 88-89.

43 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 89.

44 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 89-90; Hoover et al., op. cit., 508.

45 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 90.

46 Rodman W. Paul, California Gold, 9-10, 93-97.

47 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale.

48 Ibid. After making entries for May 26 and 27, James ended that part of his diary written in cipher. The next entry is June 14, 1857.
CHAPTER IV
ENTERING AN UNKNOWN LAND

After almost five years in the California gold fields, the Stuarts decided to visit their parents and other Iowa relatives. There was greater security crossing the mountains and plains in a large party so Anderson and the Stuarts joined with eight other men: Enos and John Dickey, Henry Buckingham of Norwalk, Ohio; Frank L. Stone, James Chapin, Samuel B. Byall, P.H. Redick, and S.S. Dickerman of Plainville, Connecticut. Each man rode a horse or mule and each carried a Colt revolver. All of them had a long gun or a double barreled shotgun. There were five or six pack horses and mules to haul blankets, clothes, some two months' supply of food, and other supplies. All were ready to start on June 14, 1857.¹

The party usually traveled about twenty miles a day but one day they made only eight miles while on another day they managed to travel sixty. On the day of departure the eleven men followed the Yreka Trail southwestward up the Shasta River Valley toward Mount Shasta. They spent the night at the base of Sheep Rock, which loomed some two thousand feet above them.²

The party then traveled in the same direction, leaving Yreka Trail to take a path newly cut through the forest to the trail to Oregon at a point where it curved around the base of a small mountain range. Their horses were already suffering because the heavily
forested country offered little grass for fodder. The Oregon Trail led them to the Pit River. They rode up the Pit Valley ten miles and camped where there was an abundance of grass. Continuing up the valley, they reached a ferry and camped again. At this point stood an empty log cabin, stable, corral, and a small fenced field. The owner and his family had been killed by Indians recently. The Stuart party probably used the cabin and corral for the night. Before turning in, all the travelers had a refreshing bath in the river.3

The following day they connected with the Lassen Emigrant Road. On June 20 they traveled only eight miles, fearing to go beyond a water hole which they had located because they had no idea how far it might be to the next one. The pine forests had begun to thin out and eventually became scrubby. No more creeks were crossed. The men were conscious that the trail was gradually ascending. Occasionally they sighted a deer, but all escaped the hunters' guns. On June 22 they topped a ridge called Fandango Pass and were able to look down into the dry heat of the Great Basin. They could see Honey Lake far below them near the base of the ridge. The long descent was so steep that the men walked most of the way down to save their mounts. The lake, later known as Upper Lake and now dry, was a disappointment. There was grass for the horses but the lake water had such a disagreeable taste that the men and animals could barely drink it. There were no trees or bushes but mosquitoes and gnats in great numbers added to the discomfort of the travelers and their horses.4

The conditions of travel over the next several days were much the same: no trees, poor water, but decent grass for the horses.
The encampment on June 26 was memorable because they found three springs from which clear, cold water with a pleasant taste flowed in abundance. The next camp was also pleasant. They camped along Granite Creek at the base of a mountain on which a few fir trees grew, the first they had seen since crossing the Sierras. The creek ran clear and the water was cold. There were many tracks of mountain sheep in the sand at the bottom of the canyon down which the creek flowed from the mountain but the men were too hot and tired to climb the mountain in search of fresh meat. They stopped early because they were aware that they faced an ordeal on the following day.\(^5\)

On June 28 they left Granite Creek at dawn and followed a road which crosses the dry bed of Mud Lake. The bed was whitened by alkali but was extremely hard and smooth. The dry heat was searing. A boiling spring was passed without stopping for it was too hot and probably poisonous. The exhausted men and animals continued on without water or grass until dark when they left the lake bed and entered some hills. After midnight they found a place to camp at Antelope Spring although there was no fuel, little grass, and the alkaline water could be secured only by digging. Two men stood guard while the others slept until daybreak. Then they were moving again, trying to reach good water and grass before they or their mounts gave out. Early in the afternoon they struck the Humboldt River at Lassen Meadow and found plenty of grass and water. The party made camp early to rest their animals and themselves.\(^6\)

The next several days were uneventful. There was plenty of grass along the stream for the horses and thickets of willows on the
banks but there were no trees. The party was now more concerned about the Indians, particularly concerning the security of their livestock at night. Therefore they would stop at dusk, cook their supper over a sagebrush fire, and wait until dark. After dark, they would be back in the saddle, riding on half a dozen more miles before they quietly made camp. Two men guarded the livestock.

At midnight on July 3 the men noticed a great storm building up fast approaching. Not wishing to be caught in the open, they stopped. Each began cutting willows and sharpening each end of the sticks. These they stuck in the ground, making a dome about waist high. They covered the sticks with a couple of blankets and made a bed on the ground under each dome. Except for the two men standing guard, the party remained reasonably dry when the rain began to fall. After being so hot and dehydrated during the week, the guards probably did not mind the soaking. Sometime before daylight, however, the rain turned to snow. The uncomfortable herders could only pace back and forth because the sagebrush was too wet to burn. It continued alternately to rain and snow on Independence Day until evening and the men were forced to remain in camp. Finally they were able to get a huge brush fire going and their first hot meal in two days. Everything had become soaked: clothes, blankets, provisions, livestock, and travelers. The fire partially dried things out. However they felt unable to move their camp in spite of the knowledge that Indians had probably seen their huge campfire.

During the following day the men passed between Stony Point on
the north side of the Humboldt and Battle Mountain on the side opposite them. They felt increasingly apprehensive about the Indian menace, since there had been several skirmishes between the Utes and the emigrants in previous years at that spot. They took care in selecting a camp site, picking an open one which would not allow the Indians to surprise them. In the morning a number of apparently friendly Indians visited the camp. Most of the whites kept their weapons in their hands. That evening they reached Gravelly Ford, again the site of many earlier incidents between the emigrants and the Utes.

The Indians visited the Stuart camp at Gravelly Ford and again there was no incident. The Californians' line of travel took them inland through a mountainous region during the following day, eliminating a bend in the Humboldt. Before dark they returned to the banks of the river. Throughout the day and during the next several days they and their mounts were tormented by swarms of gnats and mosquitoes. During the night there appeared to be signal fires in the mountains west of the camp.

During the day on July 8 the party encountered the first white men they had seen since crossing the Sierras, two Mormons in a one-horse wagon followed by a pack horse. They also saw more than six hundred hawks. On the ninth they met a lone Indian riding on a colt. Granville felt that there must be other Indians nearby or the single brave would not have been so nonchalant about meeting a party of heavily-armed white men. The heat, mosquitoes, gnats, and exhaustion began to wear on the dispositions of the travelers. John Dickey had
previously lost his temper and had beaten his mule without justification. Now he had lost it while hunting. He had gone in advance of the party a short distance and had twice missed a sage cock with his fine German double barreled rifle. He blamed the gun and in a rage bent the barrels and smashed the stock and locks. During the day they crossed the North Fork of the Humboldt.  

The party crossed the Humboldt on a very rickety bridge and left the river for the final time. Their next camp, in the mountains by a spring, was visited by friendly Snake Indians. Ignorant of the Snake dialect, the emigrants could not communicate with their visitors. As the company passed through the Thousand Spring Valley they met a Mormon wagon containing two men and a woman. Early the next morning they met a large number of emigrants bound for California in oxen-drawn wagons, the advance guard of the seasonal migration. When the Stuart party reached the head of Goose Creek Valley they decided to lay over for the remainder of the day, a Sunday, where there was grass for the horses and some good water. During the next several days they continued to meet large numbers of emigrants, some of whom kindly sold them coffee, bacon, sugar, and other scarce foodstuffs at reasonable prices.  

On July 14 the men left Goose Creek Valley, passed through the City of Rocks, and reached the junction in the road. The right fork led to Salt Lake City and it was over this road that the Stuarts had come in 1852. The left fork was known as the Hudspeth Cutoff and led to Soda Springs on the Oregon Trail. The party took the left or
the north fork and camped on the West Branch of the Raft River. During the day Granville began to feel ill and this was the last entry in his diary in 1857.  

The next day they camped on the East Branch of the Raft River where there were two Mormons selling supplies to the emigrants. Granville felt more ill than he had the previous day. The men pushed on for two more days and on July 17 they camped near the head of the Little Malad River. The stream was appropriately named because Granville had steadily become more ill during those two days and on the morning of the eighteenth he was too sick to travel. The illness was similar to the "mountain fever" which had struck him near Ogden Utah Territory, in 1852, forcing him to remain inactive in the wagon until the party reached the Sierras. The eleven men waited for a week to ten days for Granville to recover. It was then decided without acrimony that he might not recover at all and if he did so, it might be weeks before he could travel again. Consequently all of the party except the Stuarts and Reece Anderson resumed their trip in the last week of July. As Granville slipped closer to death, his brother desperately applied his limited medical knowledge to the task of saving him. Having exhausted their supply of quinine, James nursed his brother on a diet of sage tea and rabbit broth, later adding boiled venison and sage hen. Finally the fever broke and Granville, firm in the belief that his brother had saved his life, began to make an extremely slow recovery. Seven weeks elapsed before he was able to resume traveling.  

While Granville was slowly recuperating, James and Reece became acquainted with Jacob Meeks, a former Hudson's Bay Company courier out of Forts Boise and Hall, who had a camp nearby and who was engaged in trading with the emigrants. In exchange for their cash or wornout livestock, Meeks offered them fresh horses, tanned animal hides, and clothing made out of the hides.  

One morning while Anderson was fixing breakfast, a great commotion was heard from an emigrant train camp nearby. This was followed by scattered gunshots. The emigrants had not posted a guard over their horses but instead had allowed them to wander some distance from their camp. Four mounted Indians had managed to slip in amongst the horses unobserved. Without warning, they stampeded eight loose horses. In the ensuing exchange of gunfire, one emigrant was wounded in the foot.

The angry emigrants assumed that Meeks, who had horses to trade, was in collaboration with the Indians by pointing out easy victims and buying the stolen property for resale to later emigrants. The presence of his attractive mixed-blood wife, Mary Payette Meeks, seemed to the irate travelers to be absolute proof that Meeks was connected with the thieves. Had James and Reece not intervened, Meeks probably would have been killed on the spot. James told the angry group of men that they had been camped near Meeks for several weeks and had observed no wrongdoing. In fact Meeks himself had had two of his ponies stolen by the Indians only two days earlier and that they (the Stuarts and Anderson) would have lost their own horses at the same time if one of them had not been standing guard. The mob was persuaded of Meeks'
innocence and returned to the wagon train. Meeks let out a sigh of relief. 17

In the meantime, a national drama was being played out in Washington and Salt Lake City. Relations between the Buchanan administration and the Mormons had become strained to the breaking point. Most of the gentile territorial officials in Utah felt so much har­assed and threatened that they had left the territory. In May, 1857, the badly advised President took the extreme step of ordering the army into the Territory of Utah to crush what was considered to be a revolt against the authority of the federal government. The Mormons reacted strongly. The territory was in the grips of a religious revival and the devout well remembered their mistreatment in Missouri and Illinois. They feared that the federal government was embarking on a policy of further harassment and persecution. They feared loss of their untitled lands into which they had poured so much effort to irrigate and cultivate crops. They feared the arrest of Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders; the imposition of unfair, Mormon-hating, heavy drinking gentile territorial officials; the destruction of their local governmental arrangements; an assault on polygamy and other beliefs and practices; the presence of unruly soldiers and teamsters in their midst; and the encouragement of the Indians to attack Mormon settlements.

The advance units of the unprepared army did not leave Fort Leavenworth until July and straggled up the Platte Valley. The bitterly cold weather of the Rocky Mountains forced them into winter
quarters in the vicinity of Fort Bridger, already partially destroyed by the Mormons. Entrance into the valley of the Great Salt Lake would be delayed until the spring, 1858. In the meantime, the Mormons, who had not been expected actively to oppose the approach of the army, organized into militia units and prepared to defend their homes. In early October mounted Mormons attacked and destroyed three poorly guarded contractors' supply trains on the Big Sandy and on the Green River. On September 15 Brigham Young, who had not yet been officially relieved of his post as the governor of the Territory of Utah, declared martial law and placed restrictions on the movement of civilians traveling through the territory. Perhaps Young was attempting to minimize the chances for a repetition of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, which had occurred four days earlier, by sharply reducing contacts between the frequently belligerent and insulting gentile emigrants and his greatly excited flock. 18

While Granville was recuperating near the headwaters of the Little Malad River, passing emigrants told James and Reece that the roads through Utah territory were closed by bands of armed Mormons and if they were caught, they would be arrested, taken to Salt Lake City, and probably executed as government spies. 19

The Stuarts and Anderson believed that they were in a precarious situation. There would be Mormon patrols between them and South Pass as well as other patrols covering the road westward to California. They could not go to Salt Lake City and if they remained where they were, they were liable to be arrested by the Saints. 20 Their problem was more complicated. If they went on, they were likely to be caught
by the winter snows in the Rockies, particularly because Granville’s weakened condition would force them to travel at a slower pace. If they managed to get through the mountains, they were likely to be caught on the Great Plains by blizzards. They could not count on meeting Albert Sidney Johnston’s army and receiving assistance and protection from it because they could not have known where it was located. They could not return to California. None of them had the stomach to travel through the dry, burning hell whence they had just come. If they succeeded in crossing the Great Basin, they could not have safely crossed the snow-covered Sierras so late in the year. There was also the Indian menace. Eleven well-armed men were not a very tempting target for Indian harassment but three weary travelers might be. The Indian threat was real enough whether they went east across the Plains, west down the Humboldt, or stayed where they were. Although they were in Washington Territory, not Utah, and probably not in any real danger from Mormon harassment, there was little game to be had so near the emigrant road and a supply of food must be available if they were to survive the approaching winter. They could not seek winter refuge at Fort Hall for it had been abandoned by Hudson’s Bay Company in 1856.

Not knowing what to do, they wisely consulted Jake Meeks, who had traveled extensively throughout the area. Meeks told them that he was planning to go to the Beaverhead River Valley, some two hundred miles to the north, where he had spent the past winter, 1856-1857, as soon as the footsore livestock he had acquired in trade along
the emigrant trail were sufficiently rested to travel the distance. The valley offered several advantages over their present situation: the winters there were thought to be comparatively mild, there was a bountiful supply of game in the valley, and the Indians in the area were considered to be peaceful. Meeks told them that their best course of action was to winter in the valley with him. In the spring they could return to the Oregon Trail and resume their overland trip to Iowa or go down the Missouri River from Fort Benton in a fur company boat.21

Although they had never heard of this region, the Stuarts and Anderson saw no alternative but to trust Meeks and go with him and his wife to the Beaverhead. There was a pressing problem, however. The party lacked sufficient supplies of food, powder, and lead to undertake the journey. From whom could they obtain these supplies in this area inhabited only by hostile Mormons and by Indians since the emigration season was over? Meeks had the answer. There was a Mormon village and fort called Malad City many miles down the Little Malad headed by a Mormon bishop named Barnard. Meeks thought Barnard would sell them their necessities so on September 16 he and James climbed aboard a wagon drawn by two teams of oxen which Meeks had acquired in trade with the emigrants and drove it down to the village. Barnard agreed to sell them what they needed on the condition that they wait until midnight to bring the wagon into the fort and promise to be far away by dawn. Meeks and Stuart agreed. At the appointed hour, the men guided the wagon around the dark outlines of the adobe
residences and through the gate of the fort. Barnard was waiting for them and the transaction took place quickly. The men purchased small quantities of bacon, sugar, powder, lead, and percussion caps. They also purchased three hundred pounds of flour, ten pounds of chewing tobacco, fifty pounds of coffee, ten pounds of soap, one bolt of hickory cloth, one bolt of dark calico, four pounds of saleratus, one overshirt, one fine comb, and one coarse comb. By sunrise, they were well on their way back to where Anderson was watching over the convalescing Stuart and anxiously awaiting their return.

Early the next morning, after the return of Meeks and James, the camps were taken down and the equipment was loaded into the wagon. James and Reece drove Meeks' horses and cattle with Meeks' help when he wasn't spelling the still-weak Granville on the wagon seat driving the oxen. The party moved slowly northward and reached the Snake River at Fort Hall. The Mormons had begun to dismantle the fort, abandoned a year earlier, in order to obtain its lumber.

The party crossed the always treacherous Snake River and saw little game as they moved over the Snake River Plains north of the river. On October 10 their route began to rise in altitude gradually as they moved up Dry Creek. After a few miles of travel they reached the Continental Divide at Dry Creek Pass and passed into Nebraska Territory.

As soon as we had crossed the divide a wonderful change appeared in the country. Instead of the gray sagebrush covered plains of the Snake River, we saw smooth rounded hills and sloping bench land covered with yellow bunch grass that waved in the wind like a field
of grain. A beautiful little clear stream later called Red Rock River ran northwest on its way to join the Missouri River....The forepart of October gave days of brilliant sunshine, warm and pleasant with no snow anywhere except on the tops of higher mountains and very little even then.

Every now and then the four men would see bands of five to twenty antelope on the benchlands above Red Rock River which were bare of timber and large boulders. The extreme shyness of the animals indicated that Indians had recently hunted them. Unable to approach unobserved, the men were forced to fire on their targets from a great distance. The sights on their muzzle loaders were not set for such long range shooting but after they had wasted some powder and lead, they learned to compensate for the greater distance in their aim. They had had no fresh meat for several days and the antelope venison provided a welcome change in their diets. Upon reaching Sage Creek, a tributary of the Red Rock, near its mouth, the four men rested in camp a few days. Then on October 24 Meeks, an experienced mountain traveler, observed that the weather was about to change for the worse. With the sting of winter on the wind, the men hurriedly broke camp and rounded up the livestock. Instead of following the curve of the Red Rock, they followed the creek almost to its head, crossed a high ridge to near the head of Blacktail Deer Creek, and moved down this stream almost to its mouth. Meeks' assessment was correct. That night a raging snowstorm struck their camp and it turned bitterly cold. The storm continued all the next day and left a foot of snow on the ground. Meeks had carefully selected their campsite for just such an eventuality. There was sufficient wood for fuel to carry them through the winter, and the Beaverhead River Valley, of which Blacktail Deer Creek is a tributary, abounded with elk, mountain
sheep, and blacktail deer (i.e., mule deer). Consequently the four men established their winter quarters, building elkskin tepees which proved to be very comfortable. Soon they were joined by two mountain men, Robert Dempsey and Antoine LaClaire, their Indian wives, and LaClaire's grown sons, Oliver and Michael.  

After the late October storm, the winter proved to be rather mild. The Stuarts often went hunting without a coat and occasionally visited a larger "settlement" some twenty-five miles down the Beaverhead River at the mouth of the Stinking Water River (now known as the Ruby River). There the Stuarts met Richard Grant, a tall old Scotchman and former employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, and his family which included two grown sons, John Francis and James C. Grant, and their families. Also living there were John M. Jacobs and his family, Thomas Pambrun and his family, John Morgan, Robert Hereford, John W. Powell, John Saunders, mixed blood Antoine Pourrier (or Poirier), a man named Ross, and several other men who were employees of Hereford or the Grants. Many of these men, like "Captain" Grant, were previously associated with the Hudson's Bay Company. Another mile down the river resided Antoine Courtoi and his family and the two largest Indians the Stuarts had ever seen, Jim and Ben Simonds, who were Delawares.  

All the people wintering along the Beaverhead lived in elkskin tepees except the Captain who had a three room log cabin. The Grants, Hereford, and Jim Simonds had large stocks of goods to trade with the Indians and most of the other men had lesser amounts with which to acquire furs, dressed skins, and horses from the Indians.
The white and mixed blood traders could offer blankets, shirts, cloth leggings, mirrors, knives, and assorted trinkets. However, lead and powder approached the common denominator in the Indian trade with the standard number of lead balls and powder being given in exchange for dressed deer, elk, antelope, and beaver skins, moccasins, and so forth. Both Hereford and Jim Simonds had a large amount of whiskey on hand but wisely refused to trade it to the Indians. "But the whites and half-breeds drank enough...for themselves and all the Indians in the country," Granville noted, "and their extravagant antics were true copies of the pictures drawn by [Benjamine Louis Eulilie de] Bonneville of the mountaineer and trapper rendezvous. At times it seemed as though blood must be shed; but that Providence that seems to watch over the lives of drunken men stood by them, and the end of the liquor was reached before anybody was killed." 29

In addition to the white men, mixed bloods, and their families, several small groups of Bannocks, Snakes, and Flatheads camped in the vicinity. Some ten lodges of Nez Perce had come into the Beaverhead Valley at about the same time the Stuarts and Anderson were led there by Meeks. These Indians were peaceable but most of them had a mild case of smallpox. None of them died from the disease but Robert Hereford's Bannock wife caught it and died. Everyone else escaped the illness. 30

The residents of the little communities idled away the early part of the winter hunting, trapping, drinking, gambling, and visiting. The supplies of food that James and Meeks had acquired from Bishop
Barnard did not last out the winter and the four men were reduced to a mountainous diet of unseasoned meat and little else. Fortunately the supply of game never gave out although by spring, the taste of the meat reflected the poor condition of the game animals. Many of the Indians and mountain men whiled away their idle hours during the winter playing a game called Hands. Two men would sit facing each other. One would have a small bone or stick which he passed from one hand to another until he thought he had confused the man facing him as to which hand the object was in. Win or lose, the players might gamble away their tobacco, skins, robes, clothes, blankets, mocassins, saddles, and all their possessions. The Stuarts did not join in the drinking but quite possibly joined the other men in a game of Hands.31

Captain Grant invited the Stuarts, Anderson, Meeks, Ross, and others to a banquet on Christmas Day, 1857, and the men accepted the invitations without hesitation. They found a long table covered by a white table cloth, the first the Stuarts had seen in more than five years. Mrs. Grant, a convent-educated one-quarter Indian, assisted by her daughters and daughters-in-law, was busy with the dinner cooking over the open fireplace. The Captain, following a Hudson's Bay Company tradition which called for a toast of rum on Christmas, New Year's, and the Queen's birthday, broke out a jug and poured everyone a drink. The Stuarts looked hungrily at the dinner being prepared and at one another. Not wishing to offend their host, who was not in good humor, they did not refuse the drink. No one was offered a second one.32
As the men talked and sipped their rum, the Grant women began to set delicious smelling dishes on the table. Roast elk and buffalo, boiled smoked tongue, baked beans, dried fruit, chokecherry preserves, bread, coffee and a pudding known as blackberry duff were set before the hungry men. "This was an elaborate dinner for those days," Granville fondly remembered. "Supplies were scarce and...most of us were living on meat straight." 33

After the Christmas dinner, the men went outside and some of them set up a target. A bow and arrows were used instead of using up scarce powder and lead. James Stuart surprised most of the other guests with his ability to send the arrow into the target. While still a boy, he had been given a bow by an Indian neighbor in Iowa and he had become quite proficient with it. 34

After Christmas, while Meeks and Anderson crossed the Continental Divide into Washington Territory, traveled up the length of the Deer Lodge Valley and down Clark Fork through the Hellgate to the junction of the Bitter Root River, and up the Bitter Root Valley to visit "Major" John Owen and Fred Burr, the Stuart brothers were moving their camp from the mouth of Blacktail Deer Creek to the vicinity of the Backbone on the Big Hole River. The move may have been brought about by a desire to get further away from the drunken quarrelsomeness of the gamblers. Certainly the Stuarts felt more secure from the Mormon raid which everyone was expecting in the spring. There was also great concern about the Blackfoot. As soon as the snows allowed these Indians to pass over the mountains, raiding parties threatened to
steal the horses of every white, mixed blood, and Indian in the Beaverhead Valley. The Stuarts thought that the game would be more plentiful and less scrawny than that found in the Beaverhead Valley which was more heavily traveled and settled. For these reasons, the move into the Big Hole Valley was made. However the Stuarts were soon disappointed. The game was at least as scarce and in as poor a condition on the Big Hole as it had been in the Beaverhead Valley.

While the Stuarts, Anderson, Meeks, and possibly others waited out the winter on the Big Hole River, disaster struck. In the middle of January, a party of Nez Perce stole many of their horses and drove them over the Continental Divide into Washington Territory. Meeks and Anderson pursued them. They arrived at Fort Owen, John Owen's trading post, on January 23, 1858, the same day that Fred Burr arrived there with Dr. Monroe Atkinson, a Pennsylvanian who had been mining in the California gold fields, and Benjamin Ficklin, leader of a party which had just crossed the mountains in the dead of winter in search of beef cattle and horses to purchase for Johnston's army, then in winter quarters near Fort Bridger. Five days later Meeks and Anderson had recovered all but one of the missing horses and returned to the Big Hole. Ficklin departed for the Deer Lodge Valley about the same time and apparently soon thereafter took up winter quarters in the Big Hole Valley not far from the Stuart camp.

The Mormon excitement was not over. In February, 1858, John W. Grant followed the Big Hole to its head and crossed the Bitterroot Range to Fort Lemhi to trade with the Shoshones and Bannocks who had
several lodges there. He found the Indians in a bitter mood. They said that not only were the Mormons occupying Bannock lands without offering compensation, but also they had fed and armed a war party of Nez Perce who then stole the Bannock and Shoshone horses. The Indians asked Powell if the federal government would want to utilize their services in a common war against the Mormons. Powell claimed he told the Indians that the government was not in need of their services and that after they resolved to attack the fort anyway, he warned the Mormons. The attack occurred around March 1. Two Mormons were killed, several more were wounded and more than 250 head of livestock were captured by the Indians. The Mormons later accused both Powell and Ficklin of inciting the Indians to attack Fort Lehmi, and based on the statement of a Bannock chief named Snagg, also claimed that Powell met the murderers with their stolen livestock at Soda Springs and offered to conduct them to Johnston's army.\(^{37}\)

The Stuarts, Anderson, and Ross, who had been eating nothing except unsalted meat and fish since Christmas, joined in a general exodus to Fort Bridger to obtain supplies on March 28. The men brought with them twenty horses which they hoped to sell to the army. They followed the same route they, and later Ficklin, had taken into Nebraska Territory in 1857. As they drove the horses up toward Dry Creek Pass, they were set upon by a fierce late spring blizzard. The soft snow was six feet deep in the mountains and the horses exhausted themselves trying to break a trail through it. With darkness approaching, the men decided to turn back to their previous night's
camp on Red Rock Creek, where there was no snow. The Stuart party, which had joined a larger group of mountaineers, now held a council. The men decided to move to the southwest and attempt a crossing of the mountains at Medicine Lodge Pass.  

As the men approached the pass, they camped in Sheep Horn Canyon and attempted to kill enough game to carry them over the divide and across the Snake River Plains which were virtually devoid of game. It soon became apparent, however, that the wildlife had vanished and that the men would soon have to resort to eating their horses. The Stuart party was unwilling to eat their only assured source of income and decided to turn back. They planned to go to the Deer Lodge Valley where the game was plentiful and where they might hunt and dry enough meat to be able to make the trip to Fort Bridger later without the need to depend on killing game along the way. There is also strong possibility that they heard of rumors about gold being discovered on Benetsee Creek and wished to take a firsthand look.  

The first week of April, 1858, found them in Deer Lodge Valley. Granville and Reece went up into the mountains and managed to kill three mountain sheep. "This was the first fat meat we had had for several months," Granville later wrote, "and it was a great treat to us." After butchering and drying the meat the party moved down to Hell Gate River where they soon joined John Jacobs' encampment on the Benetsee Creek. Jacobs had several head of cattle which he had acquired from Johnny Grant on shares. Some of the cows were domesticated to the extent they could be milked and the men thoroughly
enjoyed the luxury of milk with their unsalted meat. The thoughts of Anderson and the Stuarts must have briefly turned to their old homes in Illinois and Iowa. Jacobs had an English-made Westly Richards muzzle loader which had been made for tiger hunting in India. He had acquired the gun from a Hudson's Bay Company trader and was dissatisfied with it, feeling that it was poorly sighted. Granville looked it over with care. He decided that it was an extremely high quality firearm and that the frequent misses by Jacobs when he was hunting were not the fault of the gun. He casually offered an even swap, his well-used Kentucky rifle for the Richards gun. Jacobs knew Granville was a skilled hunter and that the gun offering him was completely reliable so he accepted the offer to trade. Both parties were satisfied. Granville found that Jacobs, disliking the hard recoil, had been using less powder than he was supposed to use to insure the gun's accuracy. Using the proper amount of powder, Granville found the gun to be deadly accurate although the recoil would turn him half way around. The gun had a relatively short barrel of two feet. It accepted a sixty-five calibre one-ounce ball. A mound and a heavy leather case came with the gun. There was plenty of deer, antelope, and even some moose in the vicinity and the accuracy of the Richards gun insured the men a steady supply of meat.

In the middle of April the men were joined by Thomas Adams, who had come west with Fred Burr as part of Isaac I. Stevens' party in 1853 and had become attached to Lieutenant Mullan's party. Like Burr he had subsequently become a Bitter Root Valley trader.
Downstream from the encampment was a small camp of Flatheads consisting of eight tepees. Having seen no Blackfoot for some time, the white men and the Flatheads carelessly allowed their horses to graze together on the good grass next to the creek without picket ropes. Granville arose with the sun one morning shortly after Tom Adams joined their camp and went to check on the horses. Only a few steps from their tepees he discovered a pair of badly worn mocassins hanging from a willow branch. He was afraid he knew exactly what the footwear symbolized. In so many words, the former owner was announcing that he was tired of walking and had taken one of the horses. He no longer needed his old mocassins but perhaps the white man could use them when he walked in search of another horse.

"The Blackfoot have stolen our horses!" he yelled.

His friends stumbled out of the lodge, rubbing the sleep from their eyes. Quickly the men ran to where the unguarded horses had been grazing. They were lucky. Only four were missing while the Flatheads had lost twice that number. The Flathead braves swiftly departed in pursuit of the thieves but the Blackfoot had had a head-start for several hours. The Flathead tracked their enemies for a considerable distance but quit the chase when the trail led into Blackfoot territory where it would be almost certain death for the pursuers to go.

After the easy acquisition of a dozen horses, the Blackfoot made repeated attempts to steal more horses and only the vigilance of the night watchman prevented their success. The Stuarts and their
associates decided to move from Benetsee Creek as soon as they did some prospecting and thereafter to build a corral into which the horses would be driven every night. The cattle belonging to Jacobs, Adams, and Grant were not in as great a danger because the Blackfoot did not attach as much prestige to killing or stealing a cow as they did to successfully stealing a horse. In addition, stolen cattle would slow the escape of the thieves, allowing the pursuers to catch up. This would make bloodshed probable, a situation which, fortunately for the greatly outnumbered white men in the region, the Blackfoot seemed desirous of avoiding at that time.

Regrettably the sequence of events which occurred between the middle of April and the middle of June, 1858, cannot be reconstructed with certainty. This is unfortunate because Granville Stuart, at the end of his life, felt that his chief claim to fame occurred during this sixty-day period, a claim which has been surrounded by an irresolvable controversy. It appears that soon after Adams joined the Jacobs-Stuart-Anderson camp at the mouth of Benetsee Creek, the Stuarts, Anderson, Adams, and possibly others went up the creek to do some prospecting. They lacked the usual mining equipment. Adams found a spade with a broken handhold in a wagon he had purchased in Salt Lake City. The Stuarts had brought from California a tin bread pan which could be used to wash for gold. They traveled some five miles up the creek, carefully looking for some sign that the banks or bed of the creek had been disturbed by prospectors rumored to have searched the creek earlier. Finding none, they sank a prospect hole
some five feet and with the greatest care poured the sand and other material into the bread pan. Holding the pan at the surface of the water and carefully agitating it to wash out the lighter debris, the heavier material was allowed to settle on the bottom of the pan. After several minutes, the contents of the pan were carefully examined. There was about ten cents worth of fine gold in the bottom! The men were convinced they were on to something but already the sun was slipping toward the far side of the mountain. Not wishing to have some uninvited guests relieve them of their horses, the men stopped prospecting and made a campfire to cook their supper. By building a fire just before dusk, the smoke which would have been visible for miles in the bright daylight was not nearly so apparent to any Indians in the vicinity. If they had waited until darkness to set in, the fire would have shone like a beacon for miles. After they had eaten, they sat around the fire digesting their meal, talking about their exciting find, and discussing what should be done next. It was decided that the original plan should be followed: hunt for more meat and dry enough to get to Fort Bridger; buy foodstuffs, mining equipment, and other supplies at the fort; and then return to prospect in earnest for gold. If they remained in the area much longer, the odds were that they would lose all their horses to the Blackfoot.

Some of the men were not satisfied with this course of action. The dissenters were worried that this was merely a freak deposit which would play out almost immediately. If there was really enough gold to be worth getting excited about, it should be found in several other
areas as well. The logic of this idea was persuasive and the men agreed that they would travel to the other side of the mountains, the Flint Creek Range, and prospect there briefly in order to ascertain if gold had been washed down the western face of the mountains into Flint Creek. If gold was found there, their discovery took on much greater significance. If the extensive presence of gold was confirmed by their prospecting, they would go to Fort Bridger to buy mining equipment. In the meantime, they would build a heavy corral in the Flint Creek Valley into which the horses would be driven every night to protect them from the Blackfoot. Having decided on their next course of action, the men extinguished the fire and waited quietly for darkness to settle over them. When the moon finally slipped behind a large cloud and it became so black that Granville could not see his hand in front of his face, the men soundlessly led their horses some distance to a preselected clump of willows. The horses were led into the center of the patch and the men bedded down nearby. One man stood guard and was relieved every two hours. The other men slept soundly, confident that they would be warned of approaching enemies by the breaking of the willow branches.

As the men prepared to leave in the morning, one of them had another suggestion. Many of the other mountaineers had already traveled southward toward Fort Bridger or westward toward Fort Colville on the Columbia River in order to obtain supplies. These men would return to the area long before the Stuart party could get to Bridger and return. If a gold strike was talked about, the best sites
would already have been claimed by the time the gold discoverees returned from purchasing their own supplies and equipment. The best course of action would be to act nonchalant, to put on a poker face, to suppress the sense of infectious excitement which could generate a premature rush that would leave them the unrewarded discoverers. The men in the group need not lie to their friends, but only to minimize the importance of the discovery of a few specks of gold. The Stuarts, if not the originators of the idea, undoubtedly seconded it wholeheartedly, for they had often been frustrated in California by finding a likely site already covered with claims. The rest of the men could see the wisdom of this suggestion and agreed that silence was the best policy.

The party retraced their steps down Benetsee Creek to Hell Gate River and then followed the trail along the river a dozen miles down to the mouth of Flint Creek. They traveled up the creek more than twenty miles to a site where they built a stout log corral for the nightly protection of their horses. However game was so scarce that they remained only two days after the construction of the corral and then moved on April 21 to the west fork of the creek where Jacobs was camped. There some of the men prospected, some built a new corral, and others hunted for fresh meat. The Stuarts made a flying trip to Fort Owen in search of supplies during this period and returned on April 29.

Granville Stuart wrote several accounts of the discovery of gold which were published between 1865 and 1925. Unfortunately these
accounts are somewhat contradictory, as are the other extant records for this period, making a precise reconstruction of events leading up to the discovery impossible. The date of the discovery is uncertain except that most of the evidence points to the second half of April, 1858. In none of his accounts, however, did Stuart claim for himself and the other members of his party the credit for having made the first discovery of gold in what is now Montana. Stuart acknowledged that Francois "Benetsee" Findlay found gold in approximately the same place in 1852 as did the Hereford party in 1856. Various writers have given credit to as many as a dozen different individuals, including Verendrye, Father De Smet, John Owen, and John Silverthorn. Who was the first discoverer probably will never be known. It was not Granville Stuart.

Several writers, including Stuart, have claimed that Stuart was not the first discoverer of gold but rather that his party made the first serious search for gold. This assertion has much greater validity (depending on one's definition of "serious"). It is impossible to determine how serious Findlay and the members of the Hereford party were in their respective activities on Benetsee Creek. One must at least question, however, whether one prospect hole on Benetsee Creek and a few days of prospecting on Flint Creek constituted a serious search by the Stuart party.

Some writers, including Stuart, have claimed that the Stuart party was the first to find significant amounts of gold. Yet the ten-cent piece of gold found by the Hereford party was so much larger a flake
than anything the Stuart party uncovered until they began sluicing that Granville came to doubt that it was found along Benetsee Creek at all. 

Stuart and other writers have advanced the claims that the Stuart party was the first to mine for gold and that they erected the first sluices in the region. Yet Stuart's own account contradicts these assertions and indicates that the credit belongs to Henry "Gold Tom" Thomas.

Finally, Stuart and other writers have claimed that his party caused the mining rush into what was to become Montana in much the same fashion that news of Christopher Columbus' re-discovery of the New World led to the transAtlantic migrations which populated the New World with whites. This claim will be examined in another chapter.

Stuart did not attach much importance to the idea that his party was the discoverer of gold in Montana until he had reached the end of his life and the wolf was at his door. At that time there was some movement within the Montana legislature to vote him a lifetime pension by virtue of his being the discoverer of gold. It was only then and after his death that there was much importance attached to such a claim. Until that time, Stuart seemed very content with the knowledge that he was among the first discoverers of gold in the region. This essay minimizes the importance of the claim while at the same time attempts to show Stuart's significance in the development of early Montana.
Quite by accident, the Stuarts and Anderson had taken up residence in a new society. While there were some social elements which were similar to those societies of rural Iowa or the California gold fields in the 1850s, there were many significant differences. As the result of Granville's illness, they found themselves in a society in which the Indians formed the majority group although this group was split into many tribes and sub-tribes. The next largest group was made up of those of mixed blood, the half breeds as Stuart and others called them with no intention of being derogatory. Whites formed the third and smallest group. Nomadic hunting was the most important occupation in the region, followed by trading, trapping, and stealing and not necessarily in that order. The Stuarts had ambivalent feelings about this new society. They loved the openness and freedom of action it permitted and were fascinated by the different life-styles of the region's inhabitants. On the other hand, they were somewhat appalled by the smoky-smelling, bad-tempered women; the irresponsible drinking and gambling of the mountaineers; the propensity toward violence; and the constant need for vigilance against the loss of their horses. They also had this feeling of ambivalence about the environment. They loved the feeling of being in an unspoiled land of towering mountains, clear mountain streams, virgin forests, and most of the sights, smells, and sounds emanating from the wilderness. They loved the ease in which they could hunt and fish. They loved the sense of newness and discovery. Yet they came to find the winters disagreeable, the distances to "civilization" inconvenient, and the earning of a livelihood
from nature unpredictable and usually less remunerative than seemed justified by the required effort.

Later generations of Americans are much the richer for the Stuarts' sojourn into the northern Rockies in the late 1850s and early 1860s for the brothers were among the few who attempted to record this aspect of our heritage as they experienced it and Granville is among the very few who attempted to translate what he had personally recorded (along with the accounts of others) into a readable narrative.
NOTES: CHAPTER IV

1 Diary of Granville Stuart, 1857-1858 (hereafter Diary of G.S.), Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 105. It is interesting to note that Stuart wrote that they were returning to Iowa for a visit, implying that they had no intention of settling down there.

2 Diary of James Stuart, 1854-1857 (hereafter Diary of J.S.), Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 105.

3 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 106. The "Oregon Trail" mentioned here was laid out by Jesse and Lindsey Applegate in 1846 and by Peter Lassen later. The Pit River was named by Hudson's Bay Company trappers in the late 1820s for pits dug by the Indians to trap wild animals.

4 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 106-107. Fandango Pass was also known as Lassen's Pass.

5 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 107-111. Encampments at Willow Creek, Mud Springs, and Smoke Creek are mentioned but these locations are not known except that they are in the northwest corner of Nevada or the extreme eastern edge of California.

6 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 111-112. Granville may have crossed the Black Rock Desert thinking it was part of the lake bed of Mud Lake. He mentions "Rabbit spring wells" [Rabbit Hole Spring], which is more than fifteen miles from Lassen Meadow on the Humboldt which James correctly calls Antelope Spring.

7 Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 112-113.


9 Diary of J.S. and Diary of G.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 114; Irene D. Paden, The Wake of the Prairie Schooner, 397-402. Granville's diary is only a fragment and entries for June 14 to July 5, 1857, are missing. However the entries still extant are much more complete than those in James' diary for this trip. Granville was undoubtedly using his own diary in preparing this segment of his unfinished autobiography although the version in Forty Years has been expanded and elaborated considerably compared to the original entries. Paden states that the Indian menace was provided by the Utes but in G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 38, he referred to
"...the known hostility of the Tosa Weeh or Digger Snake Indians of that vicinity, who had murdered many emigrants there in former years."

10. Diary of G.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 115. In the former, he wrote "Saw Signal fire on the mountain to westward." This could have been the campfire of other emigrants. A more dramatic version in the latter was "Plenty of Indian signs, saw signal fires on the mountains to westward." The diaries of James and Granville reveal some discrepancies about the number of miles traveled each day. In Forty Years, Granville tended to use his brother's figures rather than his own.


14. Diary of J.S. and Diary of G.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 117-118; Dorothy Stone Winner, "From Gold to Grass," MHS; A.B.S., "American Eats," MHS. There are some indications that Stuart was felled by typhoid.

15. Diary of G.S. and Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 119. There is some confusion whether the name was Meek or Meeks. Meeks may have been a half-breed son of mountain man Joseph L. Meek or his brother, Stephen Hall Meek. See Leroy R. Hafen (ed.), Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West, I, 313-335 and II, 225-240; Frances Fuller Victor, The River of the West; Stanley Vestal, Joe Meek: The Merry Mountain Man.

16. G.S., Forty Years, I, 118-119.

17. Ibid., I, 119; Ethel L. Young to Conrad Anderson, Aug. 22, 1965, MSU. Mary Payette may have been the daughter or granddaughter of Francois Payette, Hudson's Bay Company factor at Fort Boise. See LeRoy R. Hafen, op. cit., VI, 325-352. In Forty Years, Stuart gave no indication that Meeks' wife was with him on the Little Malad and there is some evidence to the contrary where Stuart mentioned those men by name who were with wives and Meeks was not one of them. Her presence has been assumed simply because it is the only convenient place in the narrative to introduce the future wife of Rezin Anderson.

18. The best source on the Mormon War and the one principally used here is Norman F. Furniss, The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859. Furniss does not think gentiles traveling within the territory were in serious danger from the Mormons (p. 129). Stuart's version is in Forty Years, I, 119-124 and "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 38.
In G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 120, he stated that they found all of the roads to be patrolled and guarded by the Mormons. This is probably an exaggeration of the situation because it would have been almost impossible to have obtained that information without being discovered by the Mormons.

G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 121.

Ibid., I, 121-122.

Diary of J.S., Beinecke-Yale. The list of supplies in *Forty Years* contains only two duplications in James' diary, flour and coffee. Meeks and James appear to have paid $49.25 plus three head of cattle worth thirty dollars for the supplies.

There is a description of Fort Hall in G.S., *Fort Hall on Snake River, 1857,* Paul C. Phillips Papers, UM. Later Granville made a sketch of the fort and sent it to his mother. This is the only Stuart material found among the papers of the editor of *Forty Years* although at one time Professor Phillips had possession of a huge collection of Stuart journals, diaries, account books, papers, letters, scrapbooks, and sketches along with other material which Stuart had collected in an attempt to write his autobiography and a history of Montana. The description of the fort by Stuart was probably intended to be included in his six-volume history of pioneer Montana on which he was working at the time of his death. There is distressingly little contained in the Phillips Papers in either the University of Montana Library, where he taught, or at the Indiana State Library in Indianapolis, particularly when one keeps in mind that Phillips wrote and edited an extensive number of books and articles.

G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 124; G.S., *Life of James Stuart,* Cont., I, 38. Stuart was in error when he labeled this area Dakota Territory in 1857. Dry Creek Pass is now known as Monida Pass and Dry Creek is now Beaver Creek.

G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 124.


G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 125-127; G.S., *Life of James Stuart,* Cont., I, 38-39. Richard Grant (1794-1862) came from a family prominent in the fur trade. John Francis Grant (1832-1907) was born in Canada and was educated in Quebec. He had been in the Northwest since 1847 but did not settle in what became Montana until the year of the Stuarts' arrival. It is said that he had one wife from each of the
seven Indian tribes in the area and fathered sixteen children, including seven by a white woman he later married in Canada. Louis R. Maillet was a French Canadian and was born the same year as Granville. His parents took him to reside in the United States after the Canadian Rebellion of 1837. In 1849 he moved to St. Louis and two years later he joined a party crossing the Plains. He had been closely associated with Neil McArthur, onetime trader in charge of Fort Hall, with the Hudson's Bay Company, and with John Owen of Fort Owen. In the summer of 1857 Maillet was hired to guide two men to Johnston's command in the vicinity of Fort Bridger. At the mouth of the Blacktail Deer Creek, the three men met John Jacobs, "An old mountaineer." Jacobs so frightened Maillet's charges with stories about the Mormon scouting patrols that they refused to go on. "At this place they learned that Jake Meeks had just come in from the emigrant road in company with James and Granville Stuart and Resin [sic] Anderson, three Californians. Maillet met the Stuart boys here for the first time and declared that the friendship which sprang up between them has lasted without a break...." John W. Powell, like the Stuarts, was a Virginian and was born the same year as James. He fathered five children by a Bannock woman. Mount Powell and Powell County, Montana, were named after him as he was the first white man known to have climbed the peak. Powell drank heavily and during a card game in which all the players were drunk, he was shot and killed by a man named Rhoeder, May 7, 1879. Thomas Pambrun was the son of the mountain man Pierre C. Pambrun. A recent historian has described a Ben Simonds as the chief of the Weber Utes and Stuart may have been confused on this point. There was a Jim Simonds. Isaac I. Stevens found "Delaware Jim impressive in appearance and manner. This tall old mountain man was descended from a white mother and a Delaware chief. LeRoy R. Hafen, op. cit., III, 239-247 and IX, 165-186; K. Ross Toole (ed.), "Perry W. McAdow and Montana in 1861-1862," Montana, II, No. 2, 44n, 48n; W. F. Wheeler (ed.), "Historical Sketch of Louis R. Maillet," Cont., IV, 197-209; Anne McDonnell, "James Bird, Junior," Cont., X, 259; Furniss, op. cit., 160, 162; Hazard Stevens, The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens, II, 69 et passim. Jim's picture is opposite II, 118.


30 G.S., Forty Years, I, 127, 129.


32 A.B.S., "America Eats," MHS; G.S., Forty Years, I, 126n, 129.

33 A.B.S., loc. cit.; G.S., Forty Years, I, 129. The captain's bad disposition was brought on by rheumatism, business problems, and fear of a Mormon raid. He moved all of his portable property and his livestock to the relative safety of the country of the Flatheads before
the end of December.

34 A.B.S., loc. cit.; G.S., "A Historical Sketch of Deer Lodge County, Valley and City," Cont., II, 121. During the dinner, the Stuarts were told about the rumored presence of gold found by a mixed blood named Francois "Benetsee" Finlay in 1852 near the mouth of a creek which flowed into Clark Fork River. Finlay, who was probably a descendant of James Finlay, a prominent Canadian fur trader in the 1700s, had recently returned from California in 1852. He did not find enough "color" to justify more than a superficial examination but the word that gold had been discovered was rumored among the mountain men for years until Robert Hereford and others wintered on Benetsee Creek in 1855-1856. In the spring they found a flake which James Stuart proceeded to identify of a piece of gold worth about ten cents. The Stuarts had already heard these stories from Meeks while waiting for Granville to recuperate along the Little Malad River and was one of the reasons why they had accompanied Meeks to the Beaverhead Valley.

35 G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 41; G.S., Forty Years, I, 130. John Owen, proprietor of Fort Owen, was an Indian trader and a special agent to the Flatheads. Frederick H. Burr had been an engineer with Mullan's road surveying party. He came to the Bitter Root Valley in 1854 and remained as an Indian trader for several years. He moved to Canada in 1868 and died in Washington, D.C. in the late 1890s. Lieutenant John Mullan had come west with Isaac Ingalls Stevens Expedition of 1853 to determine the feasibility of a northern transcontinental railroad route. In 1855 Mullan was directed to survey and build a road linking Fort Benton with Wallula, the heads of navigation of the Missouri and the Columbia respectively. Both Burr and Owens noted the Meeks-Anderson visit in their diaries. See Seymour Dunbar and P.C. Phillips (eds.), The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen, I, 187, and F. H. Burr Diary, 1857, Beinecke-Yale.


37 McLemore, op. cit., 68-69; Furniss, op. cit., 160ff. The Mormons and the federal government exchanged charges that the other side was attempting to incite the Indians to attack. Ficklin and Powell denied any connection with the attack. Although he knew Powell, who was at Fort Leham just prior to the attack, Granville wrote in Montana As It Is, 88, that "I have never been able to ascertain the cause of this apparently unprovoked outrage."

38 G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 40-41; G.S., Forty Years, I, 130-131. Medicine Lodge Pass is above the headwaters of
Medicine Lodge Creek, now in Clark County, Idaho.


40 G.S., Forty Years, I, 133-136; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 42. There is a contradiction here. In the former work, Stuart wrote that they reached the Deer Lodge Valley on April 4, 1858, the same date he gave in the latter work when they left the mountain-eers who were struggling to cross the snow-covered mountains.

41 G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 42; G.S., Forty Years, I, 134-135, 139.


43 Diary of F. H. Burr, 1858, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 133-137; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 42.

44 The motives of the men here are, for the most part, speculation. However it is remarkable that Fred Burr was not sufficiently excited to record a gold find on Benetsee Creek by the Stuart party and that when the Stuarts finally returned in 1860 to the site of their discovery, with one exception no one else was or had been mining there. How else could one explain this except that there must have been a "conspiracy" of silence? The chief objection to this theory is that Tom Adams and others who may have been present, such as John W. Powell, who had no particular allegiance to the Stuarts, would have remained silent and would not have claimed part of the creek before 1860. The counter-argument would be that these men were not miners and prospectors. They were not as badly bitten by the gold bug as the Stuarts and Anderson and as traders and trappers they might have felt some reluctance to jeopardize their wilderness existence by the gold rush which would inevitably follow the discovery of a significant amount of gold in that region. The curious lack of a reaction to the find might also be explained by the notion that Granville later exaggerated its potential value. After all, they had washed only one panful (although in various accounts of the discovery Stuart raised this to several pansful). Perhaps the find was not considered worth getting excited about.

45 Diary of F. H. Burr, 1858, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 133-137; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 42.

46 John Owen was not in the vicinity to record these events. He had left for Walla Walla on March 25. See Dunbar and Phillips,
Thomas Harris, Owen's associate at Fort Owen, did not record these events either. See the Thomas Harris Journal, MHS. Louis Maillet had gone to Fort Colville in March, 1858, and did not return to the vicinity of Fort Owen until June 9. Consequently he was away at the time of the discovery. See Wheeler, op. cit., 211-212. John Mullan was in New York during this time. See John Mullan, Report on the Construction of a Military Road from Fort Walla-Walla to Fort Benton, 8.

The only known account written at the time of the discovery is Fred Burr's Diary of 1858 (Beinecke-Yale). Unfortunately the diary does not present a totally clear picture of what occurred. Burr started from his residence in the Bitter Root Valley for the Deer Lodge Valley on March 6, 1858. During the day of March 8 he crossed Flint Creek. The next day he arrived at John Jacobs' camp "...about five miles from Little Blackfoot," i.e., about five miles west of the mouth of the Little Blackfoot River. This junction is about ten miles east of the mouth of Benetsee Creek. After hunting in the Deer Lodge Valley, Burr began his return trip. On March 21 he "Moved about 1 mile below Jacobs camp on Hell's Gate [River]. Jacobs crazy about Gold being found on Gold creek or Penetsee's [sic] creek." The importance of this statement is unclear. Did Jacobs find some gold between March 9-21 or was he merely excited by the rumored presence of gold since 1852? Why was he excited on March 21 but not on March 9? Burr gives no indication of what occurred between those two dates nor does he indicate that Jacobs was joined by the Stuarts and Anderson during that period. If Jacobs was so excited about gold, why didn't he join in the prospecting activities by the Stuart party later?

Burr's entry for April 12 reads: "Clear and pleasant. went Gold digging found but small prospect...." On April 15 "...Adams moved camp,..." presumably to join Jacobs and the Stuarts. The next day Ross left. Either he or more likely Burr "...went to Jacob's camp. found The two Stuarts & Anderson camped there...." On April 17 we wrote: "Cold & windy. Moved camp up Flint Creek. rained as soon as we got to camp. Hired Ross for a month." Who does Burr refer to as "we?" If it included the Stuarts, it implies that Jacobs' camp had been at the mouth of Flint Creek. On April 19 he noted: "...Moved up Flint Creek about five miles....Boys made a corral. Two days later "...Adams moved camp." The next day, April 22, "...Ross prospected & found the color on the left [west] fork of Flint Creek...." On April 23 "...Jim [Stuart?] & I went hunting...." The following day Burr went to Adams' camp. On April 30 he noted that the "...Stewarts and Reese arrived from B.R. [Bitter Root] valley yesterday...." On May 2 he "went to Adams' camp. John Jacobs moved up right [east] fork of Flint creek. Adams & the Stewarts started prospecting...." While Burr does not indicate where the prospecting took place, it could have been along Benetsee Creek on the other side of the mountain range but it was more likely to have been in the vicinity of Flint Creek. Was Burr implying that this was the first prospecting done by the Stuarts?
On May 9 Burr moved his camp to the main fork of Flint Creek. The next day he recorded that "...Jim [Stuart?] finished corral. Bear Track came bringing news that the Blackfeet (supposedly) stole 7 horses, two from him & five from Adams' camp night before last. Adams moving this way." The theft of the horses from the Adams-Stuart party could have placed them on Benetsee Creek or elsewhere. Note the discrepancy concerning the number of stolen horses. On May 12 there is an extremely interesting notation: Penetsee [Francois Finlay] came out from the Flatheads,..." which provided Burr and perhaps the Stuarts with an opportunity to question him first hand about his gold discovery. Granville maintained that he did not meet Finlay until two and one-half years later. In any case, Burr rode over to Adams' camp the following day, perhaps to tell the others what he had learned from Finlay. On May 18, Burr noted that "...Jim [Stuart?] making corral. Alarm of Blackfeet...turned out a humbug...." Unfortunately, he does not elaborate. There is no mention of the discovery of good gold prospects by the Stuart party. Burr stated on June 13 that "Reese & his party started for Bridger..." Granville gave the date of June 14 in his "Life of James Stuart" and June 16 in his Forty Years.

Stuart's earliest version on record is in his Montana As It Is which he wrote in January 1865, and published the same year. In it Stuart wrote that "About the year 1852, a French half-breed from Red river of the north, named Francois Finlay, but commonly known by the sobriquet of 'Benetsee,' who had been to California, began to 'prospect' on a branch of the Hellgate, now known as Gold Creek. He found small quantities of light float gold in the surface along this stream, but not in sufficient abundance to pay. This became noised about among the mountaineers; and when Reese Anderson, my brother James, and I, were delayed by sickness at the head of Malad creek, on the Hudspeths cut-off, as we were on our way from California to the states in the summer of 1857, we saw some men who had passed 'Benetsee's creek,' as it was then called, in 1856, and they said they had got good prospects there, and as we had an inclination to see a little mountain life, we concluded to go out to that region, and winter, and look around a little...and in the spring of 1858, we went over to Deer Lodge and prospected a little on 'Benetsee's creek;' but not having any 'grub' or tools to work with, we soon quit in disgust, without having found anything that would pay, or done enough to enable us to form a reliable estimate of the richness of this vicinity." In this version, the Stuart party went northward from the Little Malad River, not to escape the Mormons or find a safe winter quarters, but rather to seek gold and enjoy the life in the mountains. In this version, Stuart has minimized the importance of what they found on Benetsee's Creek.

Stuart's next version was his "Life of James Stuart," published in 1876. Here they left the mountaineers trying to cross into Utah Territory on April 4, 1858. They found Jacobs camped at the mouth of Benetsee Creek. They were joined by Adams and found "...fair prospects near the surface..." when they prospected Benetsee Creek. The Blackfoot stole four of their horses and nightly were trying to get the rest so the prospectors then went to Flint Creek (near present-day
Phillipsburg) where a corral was built. The game became scarce so they went down to the "...west fork of Flint Creek...." There they rejoined Jacobs and built another corral. This sequence is more logical than that in Forty Years, i.e., the Indian menace to their horses drove them away from Benetsee Creek and thereafter they built a corral. The rumored presence of gold was not given as a reason for traveling northward from the Little Malad River.

The same year that James Stuart's biographical sketch was published, Granville again took up the subject of the gold discovery in a Fourth of July address as part of the centennial year celebration, 1876. It was published in 1896 in Cont., II, 119-125, under the title "A Historical Sketch of Deer Lodge County, Valley and City." In it, Finlay's prospecting was "...of a very superficial character [and] he found no mines that would pay." Hereford and his associates heard rumors about the gold find and on their way from the Bitter Root Valley to Salt Lake City, perhaps the fastest and easiest route but hardly the most direct one, they prospected and "...found more gold than had been obtained by Finlay." They gave a ten-cent piece to Captain Grant.

During the two decades which elapsed between the time of the address and when it was published, Stuart began to doubt the story told him by Grant and Hereford. He inserted his editorial remark in the published version: "My own experience of some years mining in that vicinity leads me to doubt that [Hereford] party's finding that 10¢ piece of gold on Benetsee Creek, for in all our prospecting in that vicinity we did not find a piece of that size until we went to work sluicing, and although we carefully searched that vicinity and the country roundabout, yet we never found where any one had dug a hole, or the slightest evidence of any prospecting or mining work having been done. Where we found 10¢ to a pan of gravel in 1858, we dug a hole about five feet deep, and 10¢ was made up of some 15 or 20 small particles of gold."

During the last two decades of his life, Stuart tended to minimize Finlay's role in the opening of the gold fields in the northern Rockies. Stuart implied that although Finlay had gone to California during the gold rush, he was not very familiar with the proper methods of prospecting for gold and did not recognize it with certainty when he found it. "...Nothing ever came of his discovery," Stuart wrote near the end of his life, forgetting that he had earlier stated more than once that his own party was drawn into the region by rumors of Finlay's discovery on Benetsee Creek, already called Gold Creek by many inhabitants of the region. See P. C. Phillips and Harrison A. Trexler, "Notes on the Discovery of Gold in the Northwest," Mississippi Valley Historical Review (hereafter MVHR), IV, No. 1, 89-97.

Professor Phillips rescued Stuart's unfinished autobiography from oblivion and in this version, published in 1925, Stuart's account was basically the same as that published in the biographical sketch of his brother with certain important differences. The sequence of events in Forty Years is as follows: The Stuarts, Ross, and Anderson joined the camp of John Jacobs at the mouth of Flint Creek after leaving the
mountaineers some time before April 4. Soon they were joined by Tom Adams and all but Jacobs prospected up Flint Creek as far as a point three miles south of where Phillipsburg would later be built. This would have been near the mouth of Fred Burr Creek. Here a corral was built. Then the prospectors went down to the "...West Fork of Flint Creek" in the vicinity of where the village of Hall now stands. Here they rejoined Jacobs. Another corral was built. However the horses had been allowed "...to run loose and feed on the luxuriant grass along the creek bottom." Consequently the Blackfoot stole four horses. On May 2, 1858, the Stuarts, Anderson, and Adams started for Benetsee Creek to do some prospecting. Assuming they struck the creek at its mouth, they went some five miles up the creek from its mouth to a point "...at the foot of the mountain..." where they sunk a prospect hole. Stuart claimed that this "...was the first prospecting for gold done in what is now Montana and this is the account of the first real discovery of gold within the state." Here the Hereford party is not mentioned and Benetsee's activities apparently were no longer considered to have been prospecting. This version seems less logical because it makes no sense to build a corral and then allow your horses to run loose. By the time Stuart prepared this account, he was eighty-two years old, broke, and asking friends in the state legislature to vote him a lifetime pension as the discoverer of gold.

In 1917 Mrs. Mary E. Morony Lalor, an American resident of France who had been raised in Deer Lodge, Montana, provided funds for the erection of a sixteen-foot marble shaft as a memorial to her father, James H. Mills, onetime editor of the Virginia City Montana Post and later the Deer Lodge New Northwest on the site of the first discovery of gold in Montana. Granville Stuart was the guest of honor and featured speaker. He mentioned prospecting in the spring of 1858 at two locations along Flint Creek. Then, apparently using the account he had prepared for his autobiography, he gave an almost verbatim account of the discovery as it appears in Forty Years. However he then added to his claim to fame by stating that "...on the 8th of May ...we set the first strong of sluices ever used in Montana...." Stuart was vague about the year but was referring to 1862, not 1858. No mention of Finlay was recorded. Another speaker, A. L. Stone, Dean of the School of Journalism at the state university in Missoula, stated that "...Mr. Stuart gives full credit to the stories of prior discoveries of gold in Montana; he claims for himself and his associates nothing more than the discovery of gold in paying quantities at this place in 1858. If there had been prior discoveries they had been selfishly guarded; they never did Montana any good; they are not worthy of consideration. Let us dismiss them...." Stone's remarks reveal that some Montana citizens were sensitive about the various claims of the first discovery as well as that, to him, a gold rush, with all its attendant destruction of the environment and of the native cultures and with all its attendant vices and personal violence, was "good" for Montana. The inscription on the monument was more sweeping than the statements of either Stuart or Stone. It read: "This monument is erected to permanently identify the gulch in which gold was first
discovered in the present state of Montana on the second day of May, 1858, by Granville Stuart, James Stuart, Reece Anderson, and Thomas Adams, prospectors." The inscription also credited the discovery by the Stuart party with the great acceleration of migration into what became Montana. These new claims will be dealt with later. Anaconda Standard, Oct. 7, 1917; Butte Miner, Oct. 7, 1917.

The controversy heated up after Stuart's death in 1918 and after publication of Forty Years in 1925, particularly as the result of his widow's growing insistence that her husband and three companions were the first to discover gold in Montana. She even took exception, apparently without realizing it, to her husband's first version (Montana As It Is, 1865). In the margin of her copy of Forty Years, I, 140, she wrote: "No one ever told the Stuarts at Malad Creek that there was gold in the country north. They went North because of the Mormon War they could go no where else. The first they heard of gold in Montana was at Capt Richard Grants Christmas dinner when Capt Grant showed James Stuart the small piece of gold that Bob Hereford had found on Gold Creek and presented to the Captain. He asked James Stuart if it was gold. James said it was. At that time Grant told the Stuarts that Francois Findlay [sic] had told him that he thought this was a gold country. Mrs. Granville Stuart [Oct. 10, 1940]." The two volumes are now in the possession of Mrs. Roger Williams of Helena. The weight of the evidence is that there were discoveries of gold prior to the Stuart party's find. Further, several persons were prospecting for gold in the spring of 1858 and some of them, if the date of May 2 for the discovery by the Stuart party is correct, found colors before the Stuarts, according to the Burr diary. Finally the Stuart discovery may not have been particularly significant, i.e., it did not give the appearance of paying well. Burr's newly available 1858 diary does not mention it, at least directly, and the Stuarts did not return to mine their discovery site for three years.

I have attempted to reconstruct the discovery of gold by the Stuart party using the extant contradictory versions written by Stuart as well as Burr's diary. In attempting to do so, I have favored the earlier accounts, changing the sequence of events only when the sequence as presented was illogical. Someone else could arrive at a much different version using the same materials.
CHAPTER V

THE OPENING OF THE MONTANA GOLD FIELDS

By the middle of June, 1858, the grass had come up and the horses were completely recovered from the attempt to cross the mountains in April. James had fully recovered from the slight concussion he had received in a horse accident in late May or early June. The men had been successful in accumulating a supply of dried meat, particularly moose meat. Consequently the Stuarts, Anderson, and Ross made ready to depart for Fort Bridger. Preparing to leave was easy. The two dozen horses were already in the corral on the morning of their departure. Their baggage chiefly consisted of dried meat, lard, rope, a frying pan, an axe, and a change of clothes. By now most of their cloth clothes had been worn into tatters and they dressed almost entirely in buckskins. Each carried a revolver and all but Ross had a long gun. 

The four men followed the now familiar route toward Dry Creek Pass. When they reached the Big Hole River, they found it out of its banks in many spots and its strong current was carrying all sorts of debris downstream. Since there seemed to be no alternative but to cross it, the men began to hunt for materials to make a raft. Downstream they found some dead cottonwoods standing along the bank. They felled several of these trees and cut them into twelve-foot logs.
Photo 1. Mary Stuart, daughter of Granville Stuart, ca. 1886 from tintype. Photograph courtesy of Granville Stuart Abbott.
They slipped the logs into a flooded area where the current had no effect, lashed them together, and tested the raft. It seemed to be seaworthy so the men then stripped and divided their clothes, provisions, and weapons, lashing some to a pile of brush in the center of the raft and some to the saddle horses. Then they drove all the horses into the water. The animals emerged a hundred yards downstream on the opposite bank. With some misgivings the men climbed aboard their raft and pushed away with long willow poles. The current carried them past their horses but another fifty yards downstream they were able to grab some willow branches with one hand while clinging to the lashings with the other. The raft stopped suddenly and water poured over the deck. Fortunately the water, while soaking the men, ran under the brush on the raft so that their provisions remained dry. Two men quickly unloaded the raft while the others clung to the overhanging willows. After they unloaded it, the men had the foresight to undo the lashings and save the ropes.

They rounded up the horses and spread the clothes and blankets that had been tied to the horses out on bushes to dry. After supper, they doused the fire. When darkness fell, the men rode and drove the horses another half dozen miles to a stand of good grass along a creek. Without speaking louder than a whisper, they posted a guard while the others bedded down. After breakfast they set off at a rapid pace, hoping to average fifty miles a day in order to reach Fort Bridger before their provisions ran out.

Soon they reached their old campground on Blacktail Deer Creek.
The creek was bankful and deep enough that the horses had to swim. However the men were able to remain on horseback and soon crossed over the divide to Sage Creek. After crossing Red Rock River, they began to climb to the top of Dry Creek Pass. They managed to cross the divide without difficulty but that night they had to make camp in a driving rainstorm. Water ran down the slope and soaked their bedding as they attempted to sleep on the ground. They spent an unhappy night and were glad when dawn finally arrived. A great bonfire was built and clothes, blankets, and men began to dry out. The sun quickly rose in a cloudless sky and completed the job of warming the thoroughly chilled travelers. Camas Creek was also flooded but fordable. The men began to feel optimistic that they would reach Bridger in good shape. Now and again, however, one of them would remark that they had not seen any signs of game for days. They expected to find none between the Snake River and Bridger and would have to make do with the provisions they had brought with them. This seemed somewhat ominous but it did not prepare them for what lay ahead.

When the Snake River at last came into full view, they were dumbfounded by what they saw. The river was well out of both banks and was four hundred yards across. Through the center they could see a raging torrent of current that smashed with tremendous force against all obstructions and threatened to sweep all before it. The surrounding plains were devoid of timber so there seemed to be no chance of building another raft. It seemed to be certain death by drowning to attempt to go on but there was no real alternative.
Their lard was gone and the supply of dried meat was almost exhausted. To turn back invited a slow death by starvation.  

They went down the river several miles and came to a spot where the river narrowed as it cut through a lava flow. The water rushed through this narrow point with greatly increased velocity and turbulence and the men estimated that the river was a hundred feet deep at this point. All of them felt dizzy to look at it and more than a little apprehensive. Moving down the river, which continued to be constricted by the lava flow, they finally spotted some dead cottonwoods standing in two or three feet of floodwater. Seeing no better alternative, the men made camp, stripped, and waded out to the trees. They constructed a raft in the same manner as the previous one and their belongings were divided in the same fashion. The horses literally had to be beaten into the fast-moving water and were immediately swept downstream. The men's hearts sank as the horses made for a tiny willow-covered island only forty yards from the far shore. Once on the island, they would never leave unless driven into the water once again. Without their mounts, the men would be lucky to get to Bridger at all and without their horses to sell, they would be unable to purchase food and other supplies. It was crucial that the raft not be allowed to be swept by the island. Poles were of little use to the men because of the depth of the water so they equipped themselves with paddles and pushed off into the surging current. Immediately the raft sank to a depth of half a foot below the surface of the river. Icy water dashed over the seated men who clung to the ropes with one hand and their paddles with
the other. In a few seconds, however, the raft bobbed up and rode high in the water. They had no time to cheer because they were approaching the island at a giddy speed. They paddled frantically and just managed to catch some of the willow branches near the lower end of the island as they swept by it. Arms aching, two of the men held the raft while the other two leaped off and drove the horses back into the water. Then they returned to the raft which negotiated the remaining distance without difficulty.

Once again they made camp and began to dry out their belongings. After camp was made, Ross began to look about and spied a bird's nest in a nearby cottonwood.

"We shall have fresh meat for supper," he announced, "if you don't object to raven. That moose is so dry and hard it's like trying to eat flint. I bet if I hit it together, I'd get a spark." With that he climbed up the cottonwood, oblivious to the menacing passes of the adult ravens.

"Just one apiece," he called as he reached into the nest and threw down four birds, almost full grown, but not yet ready to fly. Anderson and Ross quickly cleaned the birds and began to roast them over the campfire.

"There was a peculiar flavor and smell about the flesh," Granville vividly remembered, "that soon sent James and me back to our dried meat." Their two friends laughed at the Stuarts' squeamishness as they each downed a second bird with relish.

The following morning they followed the left bank of the Snake
down to where they came to the Oregon Trail. All the time they kept a sharp lookout for hostile Indians and Mormons but the land was empty of all humanity except themselves. They followed the emigrant road to Soda Springs. Their provisions were exhausted and the last morsel of food was eaten while they were nooning on June 26. Eight hours later they arrived at Fort Bridger. They had come six hundred miles without seeing any game or any other person. 8

Their joy to have reached the fort safely was short-lived. Most of the army, customers for their horses, had already departed and on that very day were entering the Great Salt Lake Valley. In spite of the fact that the federal government and the Mormons had reached a peaceful accommodation, Mormon settlers in the northern part of Utah Territory had fled their homes before the army advanced. 9 This was the reason why no Mormons had been seen between the Snake and the fort. It was still too early for the vanguard of the seasonal migration to reach that point on the Oregon Trail. The Indians, having no one with whom to trade or from whom to steal, had not yet moved down to the trail from their winter quarters.

There were some supplies available and the four men remained at Bridger for two weeks, resting and enjoying the company of many of the mountaineers with whom they had wintered on the Beaverhead. These men had crossed the mountains after the Stuart party had turned back and had been idling away their time while waiting for the tide of migration or while preparing to follow the army to Salt Lake City. While at Bridger, the Stuarts first learned of the massacre at Mountain Meadows.
Had they known, they assured their friends, they would not have tarried on the Little Malad but would instead have left the region in greater haste.\textsuperscript{10}

Johnston's army did not remain in Salt Lake City. Wishing to avoid incidents between the nervous Mormons and the rowdy soldiers and teamsters, and needing a better place to graze their animals, the Army of Utah moved on to the Cedar Valley, west of Utah Lake, some forty or fifty miles south of Salt Lake City. There they established Camp Floyd, named for the Secretary of War.\textsuperscript{11}

The Stuart party followed, entering Salt Lake City on July 11, and then proceeding to Camp Floyd. There they quickly sold the horses but instead of departing for Benetsee Creek at once, they lingered on, hoping to find someone who could sell them mining equipment, and fascinated by the wide-open spirit of the camp, nostalgically reminding them of "...the good old days in California." Prostitutes, professional gamblers, and saloon keepers had gathered there in suprising numbers despite the offense their presence gave to the Mormons. Money and liquor flowed freely, most of the former in solid gold pieces of varying denominations.\textsuperscript{12}

After tiring of the place, Reece Anderson and Ross decided to buy some goods to trade with the Indians and departed for the Flathead Country. The Stuart brothers thought they could make more money trading with the overland travelers bound for Oregon and California. After having made enough money for a "stake," they would find someone willing to sell them mining equipment and return to the vicinity of the
Hell Gate and Deer Lodge Valley. They said goodbye warmly to Ross and to their companion of the last five years, not realizing they would never see the former again. Ross drowned in the Bear River in 1860 while attempting to cross with a horse herd in circumstances almost identical to the recent crossings of the Big Hole and Snake Rivers.

On the first day of August, 1858, the brothers left Camp Floyd for Fort Bridger to trade with the emigrants. They could not, of course, trade within the fort because William A. Carter, the fort's sutler, had a legal trade monopoly there. Consequently they centered their trading operations on one of the emigrant crossings of the Green River, east of the fort. Here they found Jim Baker, a muscular blue-eyed blond trapper and adventurer who stood over six feet tall. They also found Bob Dempsey, with whom they had wintered in 1857, and "Friday" Jackson, a companion of Dempsey's. All of the traders seemed to be heavy drinkers and once again the Stuarts were reminded of Bonneville's statement as they "...witness such carousals and orgies among those assembled 'mountain men' as were almost beyond belief.... There were some close calls, but again their luck carried them through and none [of the brawling drunken traders] were killed." 14

In spite of his frequent bouts with the bottle, Dempsey had the capacity to pay the bare minimum for a wornout ox or cow or a lame horse, a capitalistic attribute which Granville admired and strove with success to imitate. The weary livestock slowed the progress of the wagon trains and the Stuarts often acquired them "...for a very small sum and after caring for them and resting them up for a month or
two, they were fit as ever and could then be disposed of for a good price.\textsuperscript{15}

The Stuarts were unlikely to have prospered greatly despite their ability to buy or trade cheap and sell dear for they did not arrive at the crossings of the Green River until very late in the migratory season. Most of those who hoped to reach California or Oregon before the snows blocked their passage through the mountains were already moving down the Humboldt or up the Snake by mid-August, the earliest date the Stuarts could have reached their trading spot. Consequently almost all the emigrants still crossing the Green were those who planned to winter in Salt Lake City. Since that community was only a few day's travel away, many of the emigrants would not feel an urgent need to dispose of their footsore livestock. In fact, about the only customers the Stuarts would have had were Indians and those unfortunates who had exhausted their provisions or their animals crossing the Great Plains and who desperately needed food or fresh oxen to continue their journey. The emigrants may have thought they would get better prices for their jaded livestock from the traders, among whom there was some spirit of competitive bidding, than at the fort where there would be none.\textsuperscript{16}

The Stuarts did not remain on the Green River long, for the emigrant trade quickly petered out and it was time to find some winter quarters. The mountaineers had a popular wintering spot nearby. Henry's Fork, a tributary of the Green, was known as an area where the weather was relatively mild during the winter and where there was but
a light snowfall. The area was partly timbered and partly bush-covered, providing fuel for the men and shelter for their livestock. There was good grass in the area and herds of cattle belonging to Johnston's army had spent the previous winter there. While there was no game, the absence of any probably insured the absence of any hostile Indians. 17

The Stuarts joined the movement to Henry's Fork in October, 1858, a trip of some fifty miles. Dempsey and Jackson were there as well as other mountaineers including several French Canadians. The brothers enjoyed talking with the Canadians and Granville's interest in the French language, already stimulated by his contact with Louis Maillet and other French-Canadians the previous winter, was reawakened. One day, on his weekly trip to Bridger for mail, he fell in with a Canadian, Ely Dufour, who learned that Stuart was trying to master French. Dufour kindly gave him a French-English, English-French pocket dictionary. Stuart carried it everywhere for the next several years and still owned it a half-century later. With this aid, he developed at least a rudimentary reading knowledge of the language. 18

The winter was not severe. Snowfall was rare. In April, 1859, the Stuarts moved to the mouth of Hams Fork on the emigrant trail between South Pass and Fort Bridger. Soon they began to trade their healthy livestock for wornout emigrant stock. One evening a train of freight wagons made camp just upstream. Within minutes a shot rang out in the vicinity of the freight wagon. The brothers walked over to investigate and were shocked to see a corpse laying in a pool of fresh
blood, a gaping hole through the heart. The dead teamster, Farren, had irritated the wagon boss, Joseph A. Slade. Slade had gotten mean drunk at the Green River crossing and had been swearing at Farren and generally abusing him for fifteen miles. After they made camp, Farren could no longer hold his tongue and answered his critic. Slade instantly drew his revolver and killed the man. Farren's friends wrapped him in blankets and buried him along the side of the road. The grave was still marked when the British writer and world traveler, Sir Richard Burton, arrived at Hams Fork in August of the following year.¹⁹

Later in the year, Reece Anderson rejoined his friends after a successful trading expedition to the Bitter Root Valley where he had exchanged his trade goods for twenty Indian ponies.²⁰

Before long another man appeared before their tepee, actually a youth about twenty years old. He was walking, carrying a couple blankets and a change of clothes. He asked if he could remain with the three men until he arranged for passage to California with some passing wagon train. The men assured him that he was welcome. Soon another party stopped and camped nearby. In this party were two men, one of them with a wife and five children. A couple of days later a rough looking character came along with a whiskey keg and joined the family and their friend. The three men soon began drinking the contents of the five-gallon keg and remained drunk for several days. During this time the Stuarts' young guest told Granville that one of the drunken men had accosted him and after an altercation had threatened to kill him. Granville urged the youth to stay away from
the other camp and to keep out of sight as much as possible. Since
the youth was unarmed, Granville lent him his revolver.

Later the same day Anderson and the brothers went out to check
their livestock. As they were returning they heard three shots fired
in the vicinity of their camp and then saw the youth run from the
teepee a short distance before collapsing. The three inebriates ran
from the Stuart camp toward their own, one of them limping as though
wounded. By the time the traders ran to the boy's side, he was dead!
Granville and Reece were infuriated and were ready to go to the other
camp and punish the assassin. James, usually a man of action, now
urged restraint. If they went to the other camp immediately, while
the three men were drunk and everyone was wrought up, the three drunks
would probably have to be killed unless Reece and Granville were
willing to allow their own blood to be shed. This would leave a widow
with five youngsters stranded in the hostile mountains even though her
husband might not have been directly responsible for the murder. The
angry men could see that wronging the helpless mother by killing her
husband was not justified by the tragic end to the youth who lay dead
at their feet. There was no civil law closer than Bridger, even if a
territorial official happened to be there. If not there, the closest
appeal to law would be in Salt Lake City. There were no nearby emi-
grant trains to which an appeal could be made for an extra-legal trial.
There seemed to be no choice but to wrap the luckless young man in his
blankets and bury him. A tall cottonwood became his tombstone but
Granville earnestly wished that the tree had instead served as a
gallows.
Once again the Stuarts turned southward in the autumn rather than turning northward toward Benetsee Creek. There may have been an explanation for this. The men may not have been able to purchase the mining equipment they needed. The overland travelers probably would not have been a good source for such equipment because those who were bound for the California or Nevada gold fields would not want to sell any mining equipment they had brought along. Those returning from California, unless they were headed for the Colorado gold fields, undoubtedly sold their gear in the Golden State rather than consider carrying it two thousand miles or more across the plains and mountains.

An ever-growing number of the western migrants of the late 1850s were going to California not as prospectors but rather as settlers, with skills in demand in the rapidly expanding economy of the west coast despite the setback of the Panic of 1857. These farmers and artisans were not carrying mining gear.

However Salt Lake City had long been a supply center for the emigrants going to California and the Stuarts probably could have purchased the kind of simple mining equipment to which they were accustomed in the City of the Saints. They would need only some saws, axes, shovels, picks, buckets, rope, goldpans, sheet metal with holes in it and very little else (if a fair guide to their needs may be the materials they used when they eventually began mining in earnest). The reason or reasons for their delay in returning to the site of their discovery is incomprehensible. Possibly they were less successful than has been indicated in their traveling operations and still lacked the
funds to purchase supplies, possibly the mining rushes to Washoe and Colorado had exhausted the Saints' stocks of mining tools, or possibly the gold discovery on Benetsee Creek was not as exciting to them as Granville later indicated.

In October, 1859, they moved to Henry's Fork and took up winter quarters near the site of their camp the previous winter. Once again the winter was mild and their stock was in excellent condition by the following spring.  

In April, 1860, the three men, having acquired a large wagon and three yoke of oxen, loaded their trade goods and supplies, gathered their livestock, and moved their trading operation to Lander's Wagon Road where it crossed the headwaters of the Salt River, a tributary of the Snake. During the move to their new location, they followed the Green River as far as the road. At one of their camps along the Green, they were joined by twenty-five Bannock Indian lodges. Some of the Indians had obtained liquor from traders down the river and now became insolent. One made an insulting remark and charged the party on horseback, slashing at James with his whip. James was unarmed and ran into his tepee to get his Colt revolver, fully intending to kill the offender. When he emerged, his assailant had disappeared. In a loud voice James savagely warned the Bannocks that death would be the price of the next insult. Had fighting broken out, the three greatly outnumbered whites would have been killed. Fortunately there were no more incidents. 

The summer passed quickly for the three traders camped in the
Salt River Valley, which Granville declared at the end of his life to be"...the most beautiful spot I have ever seen." In September the Stuarts and Anderson decided to return to the area where they had wintered in 1857-1858 and then in the spring to investigate further their gold discovery of more than two years earlier. They broke camp and moved down the valley. Near a campsite in the lower end, they observed what appeared to be a grass-covered meadow in the middle of which was a few acres of snow. Upon closer examination they found the "snow" to be a four-inch layer of pure salt, deposited there by a brine spring located on one of the sides of the valley. Vividly remembering the seven months in 1858 when they were reduced to eating unseasoned meat, the men wisely scraped up a large amount of the salt to take with them. Half a century later, Granville lamented that "...when the gold mines brought a rush of people to Montana and Idaho a company from Salt Lake established [a] salt works there and supplied all this section with the finest quality of salt and from 1864 to the present time [1916] have paid dividends that far exceeded those of any of the gold mines that we were interested in." The Stuarts did seem to have a certain capacity for failing to grasp unglamorous but profitable opportunities which they encountered.

The trio trailed their herd slowly northward, following approximately the same route that they had used in 1857. The treacherous Snake was now well within its normal banks and the men were able to ford it on horseback. They crossed the Continental Divide by way of the Medicine Lodge Pass and took up winter quarters on the Beaverhead
River at the mouth of the Stinking Water (Ruby) River. Game was abundant once more and there was good shelter and grass for their stock. Their encampment soon included Pierre Ish Tabbabo, an Indian lad from the Snake tribe, and Louy Simmons, a forty-three year old mountain man and a onetime son-in-law of Kit Carson. The Indian youth was employed by the brothers and Anderson to herd their livestock and, in particular, to guard their horses, a service the boy performed loyally.25

In spite of the fact that the Stuarts had spent more than two years at Camp Floyd, Salt Lake City, Fort Bridger, and trading spots along the emigrant trails, they still lacked enough gun powder, lead, percussion caps, and trade merchandise. On the other hand, they had a large accumulation of furs, particularly beaver skins, which had little value to them. Consequently, as soon as the winter quarters was established, Granville and Reece loaded the furs and some provisions on pack horses and rode some two hundred miles to Fort Connah, a Hudson's Bay Company trading post near St. Ignatius Mission. Arriving without incident, they traded the furs for necessities and hurried back toward the Beaverhead, wishing to avoid finding the mountain passes blocked by an early snowfall. When they reached Camp Creek: on the Big Hole River, they met James, Tabbabo, and Simmons driving the stock to the Deer Lodge Valley. After Reece and Granville had departed, a band of Indians led by a huge man called Ar-ro-ka-kee had moved into the area of their winter quarters. The Indians displayed a great deal of hostility and began to kill the Stuarts' cattle.
Wishing to avoid trouble, James decided to move their winter camp. The men held a discussion about what to do next. They decided that their best course of action would be to establish winter quarters on Gold Creek, as Benetsee Creek was coming to be called, and begin serious prospecting and mining in the spring. They decided to send Granville ahead to establish a claim on part of the creek and to begin the construction of a corral. James and Reece would follow with the stock.

Granville quickly prepared for the trip of more than eighty miles. He was accompanied by Simmons and Tabbabo and had with him one pack horse carrying provisions and the elk skin covering for their tepee. At the mouth of Cottonwood Creek in the Deer Lodge Valley was the nascent settlement of Cottonwood, earlier known as Spanish Forks because most of the residents were Mexican. Simmons and the Snake youth decided to remain there so Granville traveled on alone to the mouth of Gold Creek. A short distance from the mouth he picked a site for their winter quarters and began to cut corral poles. His brother and Reece arrived four days later with the big ox-drawn wagon and their stock. Snow was falling daily in the mountains and there was scum ice in their water bucket each morning, sure signs that they must hasten in the preparation of their winter camp.

The Stuart brothers had now been away from Iowa eight and one-half years and Anderson for seven and one-half years from Illinois. Three years earlier they had come into what would one day be Montana simply to avoid involvement in the pending hostilities between the
Mormons and the United States Army. They apparently had had every expectation of leaving the region forever in the following spring. Now, after more than two years absence, they had returned and although none of them realized it at the time, they had taken up a permanent home.

Housed in the snug cabin on Gold Creek, Washington Territory, the Stuarts were blissfully ignorant of the events occurring in the "states" during the winter of 1860, except for an infrequent letter from home or a well-read old newspaper carried into the region by a traveler. Abraham Lincoln won the Presidential election in November. His victory frightened the leaders of seven southern states into embarking on a secessionist course. James Buchanan, the old lame duck President, had been roundly criticized for acting too quickly in 1857 during the controversy with the Mormons. This may help to explain why the President took no significant action to head off the greatest crisis the nation had ever faced.

There were more personal events of which the Stuarts learned only through letters from home, letters sent by steamer down the Mississippi to Nicaragua or the Isthmus of Panama, up the Pacific coast, and up the Columbia to Walla Walla. About a year earlier, their mother, Nancy, and their brothers and sister left Robert Stuart in Cedar Falls and moved into a house on Fourth Street in West Liberty. Sister Elizabeth, who was only eighteen, died of tuberculosis on September 17, 1860. The next spring, March 8, 1861, their father died at Cedar Falls. The same month their brother, Thomas,
left home for the Colorado gold fields. During the month after that, Confederate forces fired on Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. On April 15, Lincoln asked for seventy-five thousand volunteers. One week later Sam Stuart, their brother, enlisted in the First Infantry of Iowa. That autumn while between tours of duty, Sam would marry Amanda Jane Swein, a prim and proper nineteen year old former Hoosier. The next week Grandmother Sarah Richards Stuart, age eighty-one, passed away. Between the time James and Granville started from California for a visit to Iowa and the end of 1861, the household of the Iowa Stuarts declined from six to only their mother. "Back home" would never be the same. It must have been months before news of these events caught up with the frequently-moving brothers.

Events were occurring which would have a more immediate effect on the residents at Gold Creek. In 1859 a lone steamboat came up the Missouri to within a dozen miles of Fort Benton. The next year two steamboats reached Benton on July 2. Others might be expected in the summer of 1861, making the region far less remote. It would be easier to get supplies, to communicate with the "states", and the area was more open to emigration.

In December, 1860, the territorial legislature of Washington created the new county of Missoula, which contained all of the present state of Montana west of the Continental Divide. Elections of county officials were scheduled for the summer of 1861.

The Stuarts and Anderson were not the first miners to take up
residence on Gold Creek. During the summer of 1860, Henry Thomas followed Clark Fork into the area from Pend Oreille Lake, probably after disappointment in prospecting during the Fraser River or Fort Colville gold rush. Some "Frenchmen" told him about the rumored gold discovery on Gold Creek and where the creek was located. Apparently Thomas was also told about the prospecting by the Stuart party in 1858 for, according to Granville, he began prospecting along the creek by searching for their old prospect hole. He easily located it and got the same results as had the Stuart party, that is, about ten cents from a pan of gravel. Since the prospect hole was in an area covered by huge boulders which made it impossible to dig extensively, Thomas moved the location of his mining activities to the bank of the creek a short distance from the original prospect hole. Using little more than an ax, he hewed out the lumber needed to mine his site. Working without assistance, he sank a shaft twenty to thirty feet deep. In spite of his back-breaking labor, Thomas never took out more than $1.50 in gold a day and often took out less. Granville often came up to the creek to visit him and marvel at how much he was able to accomplish working alone with such primitive tools. Thomas hewed out four seven-foot sluice boxes and used them during the summers of 1860 and 1861, nullifying Granville's claim that the sluices set up by his party in 1862 were the first used in what is now Montana. Granville nicknamed the man "Gold Tom". 38

In the autumn of 1860, before the Stuarts and Anderson had built their cabin and corral on Gold Creek, two merchants from Walla
Walla packed their wares on horses, and moved to a site three or four miles west of the present city of Missoula. They erected a log cabin and store on the Hell Gate River. The place was named Hell Gate by the partners, "Captain" Christopher Powers Higgins, an Irishman, and Frank L. Worden, originally from Vermont.

The store prospered and the partners soon had to add a clerk, Frank H. Woody, and build a storehouse. The prosperity of the Worden and Higgins establishment resulted from the location of their store astride the Mullan Road and it became the nucleus of a little community. In about a year there were a dozen buildings, evenly divided between the north and south banks, including a "hotel," saloon, and blacksmith shop.

Anderson and the Stuarts spent a pleasant winter. The weather was not as mild as the winters of 1857-1859 but it was not severe enough to jeopardize their livestock, starve the wildlife on which they were living, or discourage visitors.

In March, 1861, Anderson decided to return to Illinois to visit his mother. With Anderson's departure and the advent of better weather, the Stuarts were hard at work making their camp livable, providing themselves with food, trading, and prospecting for gold. Hell Gate, some sixty miles downstream from the mouth of Gold Creek, was by far the most convenient place where the Stuarts could secure provisions. They learned that the store had some vegetable seeds for sale and that reminded them that they had not tasted any vegetables since they left California except for a few they had purchased at Camp
Floyd in 1858. They also learned that John Owen had purchased a plow at Fort Benton but had been forced to abandon it in a gulch when the Blackfoot ran off most of his pack animals. They purchased some seeds and bought the plow from Owen sight unseen. As soon as they thought the season was sufficiently advanced, they plowed up a patch of low-land along Gold Creek and planted their seeds. The garden included wheat, oats, corn, turnips, pumpkins, peas, carrots, cabbage, radishes, potatoes, muskmelons, squash, beets, and onions. They worked harder on their garden than they did prospecting in 1861 but were doomed to disappointment. The low lying area which they had chosen was subject to frost every month of the year. Had they chosen a site on higher ground near their cabin and been willing to carry water from the creek, their effort might have been rewarded. One Sunday in mid-August they had green peas from their garden but two nights later there was a heavy frost. The next day they had the last of the peas for dinner—frozen. Near the end of the month they harvested two bundles of oats and a few potatoes. Some wheat was harvested in September but all this represented very little return for their hard work.

Since the Stuarts had built a sizable herd of livestock, they were in no danger of starvation. During 1861 they inventoried fifteen oxen, two steers, three bulls, thirty-three cows, four yearlings, twenty-one calves, and some horses. Some of the cows could be milked so they were able to enjoy fresh milk and butter. They had chickens to furnish them fresh eggs and could buy flour and wheat when necessary.
They shot deer, elk, ducks, geese, and moose. Presumably the men also acquired buffalo meat, tongues, and pemmican from the Indians. When there was no game available, they killed a beef steer. To minimize the risk to their livestock, they put out strychnine and managed to poison several predatory wolves. 45

In addition to farming, hunting, and fishing, the brothers busied themselves cutting logs and poles for fencing for their garden and two corrals and constructing a milkhouse, hen house, and possibly an outhouse. Granville occasionally cleaned "chips and other trash" from their "yard," probably referring to debris left from hewing the logs rather than animal manure. He shoveled up banks around the house to make it warmer and more airtight in winter. James daubed (or chinked) the cabin for the same reason. The Stuarts also helped to construct buildings for some new neighbors. 46

On May 1, 1861, the Stuarts spent the afternoon prospecting and "...found tolerable good prospects. There is gold in all the ravines that we have tried," James declared. However, neither of them prospected again for three weeks. Then James prospected five more times before the end of the month, reporting that he found "color," "good prospects," and once he got an average of a cent and one-half for a pan of washed "dirt." Henry Thomas visited them in late May and again in early June. During the latter visit he showed them several pieces of gold which he had found. James thought they were worth ten to fifteen cents each and was encouraged by Thomas' find. Two days after the visit, James, Fred Burr, Burr's Indian wife, and twenty month old daughter, Jeanie, started for Fort Benton, more than 180
miles away on the other side of the Continental Divide at the head of navigation of the Missouri River. There they hoped to meet an American Fur Company steamboat and purchase provisions, trade goods, and most especially mining equipment. The party traveled on horseback and probably used a travois to transport Burr's elkskin tepee. Undoubtedly they also took along some extra horses which they intended to use as pack animals after they made their purchases. Once they crossed the mountains, they were in the country of the Blackfoot and took turns standing guard over their horses at night. When they struck the Missouri, they did not cross but rather followed the left bank down the river. At Fort Benton they impatiently awaited the arrival of a steamboat in company with Louy Simmons, John W. Powell, and others who had also come to the post to purchase supplies.  

The boat never arrived. On June 23, the Chippewa, heavy laden with Frank Worden's merchandise, $5,000 worth of annuity goods for the Blackfoot, numerous passengers, and a large quantity of supplies and trade goods belonging to the American Fur Company, including barrels of gunpowder and of alcohol, took fire and blew up moments after the last passengers safely disembarked. There were no supplies for the waiting mountain men to purchase and there was, of course, no mining equipment, either.

Many of the passengers continued their trip. Perry McAdow, William Graham, Worden, and three other men "...ploded [sic] along, arriving at the fort [Benton] on the 4th of July. There we met John Powell, Fred Burr, Louy [sic] Simons [sic], and several other mountain
men who had come to meet the boat and get supplies." 49

The men waiting at the fort had already gotten the bad news and some of them had already departed. Many of them lingered on long enough to get the details of the disaster from the McAdow party and others who may have straggled in. James left for Gold Creek ahead of Burr and having only buffalo meat to live on, he covered the last half of the return trip in slightly more than a day. Burr and Ned Williamson arrived the next day and survivors and other disappointed mountaineers passed the mouth of Gold Creek for the next several days. When the McAdow party passed by, McAdow observed that "...James and Granville Stuart, John Powell, Fred Burr, James Minesinger, and Tom Adams had built some cabins and were living, seemingly contented and happy." 50

Appearances may have deceived McAdow. The men lacked many dietary staples and the others were in short supply. They had been unable to purchase goods for the Indian trade and the Stuarts were unable to get their needed mining equipment. In addition, Indians had made off with many of the horses belonging to the whites including some of the Stuarts'. 51

During James' absence of five weeks, Granville prospected five times, although he never devoted an entire day to it. Perhaps not typical but nevertheless suggestive of a certain want of initiative is Granville's comment on June 12 following the mention of his prospecting efforts that day. "This has been a beautiful day," he wrote. "Smoky, like Indian summer[,] I read Byron and indulged in many reveries."
Elsewhere he added that the daydreaming occurred while he was lying under a tree and that he was lulled to sleep by the murmur of the creek. It should not be difficult to condone and envy such lack of action, but that was no way to discover gold deposits. 52

Within a week after his return, James did some prospecting and got one and one-half cents worth of gold per pan. Although he prospected several other times, this was the highest yield they recorded in 1861. James also worked for several days on a ditch to carry water from the creek to their diggings. The brothers hired two men to whipsaw some lumber at the rate of ten cents per foot. The lumber was used to build some sluice boxes. By mid-October the Stuarts had acquired some shovels and picks. Granville made new handles for the picks and sharpened the shovels. They began to work on another ditch as well as a dam which would divert water through their ditches and into their sluice boxes. They now had to await the next spring's run-off. 53

In the meantime Perry McAdow had reached his destination, Fort Owen, only to find that the Major had gone to the Pacific coast. When Owen returned in October, he brought with him Abraham Sterne Blake and his brother, L.L. Blake. "Stearney" and "Bud" McAdow hit it off and decided to do some prospecting together. McAdow had been told about the "colors" found in Gold Creek when he and Graham passed by on their way from Fort Benton. The new partners reached the Stuart cabin on December 9 and then went on up Gold Creek to the vicinity of Pioneer Gulch. There they dug prospect holes three of four feet down to the
bedrock in several dry gulches and got up to ten cents per pan. Then winter set in and the ground was frozen. The two men had to abandon their prospecting until spring.54

Until the Blake-McAdow discovery, the Stuarts had had very little about which to feel encouraged. Their best average yield per pan had been only one and one-half cents, even though they prospected around the site of the 1858 discovery as well as other spots up and down the creek. Henry Thomas had abandoned his diggings. At one point, James was plainly discouraged. They had failed to get their equipment at Fort Benton; most of their horses had been stolen and not recovered; the frost had nullified their efforts to provide themselves with fresh vegetables; they were tormented by mosquitoes, gnats, and horse flies; and, he wrote on July 28, "Our Financial Affairs [are] in a horrible condition. We are owing every body and have no money to pay them." Yet James was an optimist by nature and less than a month later he wrote in a more cheerful tone: "Done nothing. It is very comfortable to be circumstanced so that you only work when you feel like it."55

Perhaps this cheerfulness was the result of an overnight visit on that date by jovial Captain Richard Grant and Tom Pambrun. It was the first time the brothers had seen Grant in a long time and they were happy for him that his rheumatism was troubling him much less than the last time they had visited with him. Even more exciting was the fact that Grant brought them letters from their mother, Valentine Bozarth, brother Sam, and Valentine's lovely daughter, Sallie. This prompted
James to answer these letters the next day as well as write one to their brother, Tom. James' optimism must have influenced what he wrote to Tom for he described the results of their prospecting in glowing terms and urged his brother to abandon "Pike's Peak" and join them. The letter, simply addressed "Tom Stuart, Colorado," eventually reached Tom and although he did not decide to go immediately to Missoula County on the basis of the contents of the letter, he showed it to several Colorado prospectors who did. A number of the Colorado miners started off in the spring of 1862. Some of them, including John M. Bozeman, finally reached Gold Creek in July.  

During the last quarter of 1861, Gold Creek took on a different appearance. "[The] Neighbors [are] all busy building houses," James noted in their joint diary in mid-November. By the end of the year, the population of the new community, now called American Fork, consisted of the Stuarts, Adams, Minesinger, Powell, Burr, Joe Howard, and possibly John Jacobs, as well as the wives and children of some of the men. After the first of the year, Louis Cossette, Tony Cosgrove, Pete Martin, his wife, and a young Blackfoot named Baptiste moved to American Fork. Cosgrove, Howard, and Cossette were employed by the Stuarts, Powell, and Burr respectively and each was to be paid fifty dollars a month and board.  

A warming trend began in late March and by April there were sure signs of spring. Granville began to see curlews and he heard a pheasant drumming. Elk and antelope returned and ducks and geese quacked and honked overhead as they flew northward. The yard was
filled with bright yellow and red "moss" flowers. Frogs croaked along the creek. The willows and current bushes began to leaf out and mosquitoes, horse flies, and lightning bugs reappeared. The spring rains came, sometimes gentle, sometimes fierce, and the streams soon climbed out of their banks. By mid-June, all the residents of American Fork who had earth-covered roofs, and that included most of them, were plagued by leaks. 58

The advent of spring meant that the frustrated gold-seekers could once again begin prospecting and mining. James prospected extensively but never found more than one cent of gold per pan. Three other miners arrived from Hell Gate and on April 17, A.S. Blake and Perry McAdow came over from Fort Owen. "On arriving at Gold Creek," McAdow wrote, "we found the same old crowd there, the Stuarts, Burr, Powell, Adams, and Minesinger taking things easy and...waiting for something to turn up." 59

After some intense activity, the Stuart party began turning water into their ditches on May 7. The ditch was pierced immediately and repairs had to be made. Wooden horses were constructed to support the sluice boxes and some extra joints in the flume were installed. The next day the Stuarts, Tom Adams, and Jim Minesinger began to wash "dirt" through their sluice boxes. Almost immediately the ditch broke in approximately the same place. They stopped to repair it and then continued their mining operations. The three hired hands were kept busy digging more ditches. The mining operations ended at dusk when the ditch broke for a third time. The Stuarts and Minesinger
built a flume to replace the broken ditch and the mining operations then proceeded in the same manner for the next two days. Their yield after three days of operating the sluice boxes was seven and one-half dollars in gold "dust" and a gold-bearing quartz stone worth seven dollars. After resting on Sunday, the mining operations resumed and continued until May 17 when it became too cold and everyone was suffering from sore hands. As the men rested on Saturday and Sunday, Granville and Tom Adams cleaned ten dollars in gold out of the sluices.

The men had now mined approximately seven and one-half days and had taken $24.50 in gold from their sluicing operations. There were now a total of four hired hands being paid a total of one hundred dollars a week plus board. In addition, the Stuarts, Burr, Minesinger, Adams, and Powell (who apparently had the assigned task of providing the others with fresh meat by hunting) expected to receive an income from their labors. Assuming that they expected to earn not less than their hired hands, this ten-man operation had to clear at least $250 a week to be considered "making expenses." After approximately one week of sluicing, the men had made only ten percent of that figure.

More miners continued to arrive from Cottonwood, Fort Owen, Fort Benton, and elsewhere. Most of them took up claims some distance up the creek at a spot which came to be known as Dixie. All of the members of the Stuart party were back at work mining and ditching on May 19 except Powell, who had gone hunting, and Adams, who had gone to Dixie. The following day, while the others worked, Powell, Burr,
and James went up to Dixie, finding McAdow, Gold Tom, Dr. Monroe Atkinson, the Blake brothers, and others hard at work and gathering a respectable amount of gold for their efforts. L.L. Blake was acting as cook and the visitors from American Fork were invited to join the men for lunch (rice) and supper (beans). "They are a jovial set of miners and we had plenty of Fun at one anothers expense in the way of Jokes," James wrote. "I like the appearance of the diggings better than I thought I would. [T]here is plenty of hard work but I think there is good pay for doing it." The men returned to their own camp after supper. The next morning, May 21, Bob Dempsey and Charley Jackson found the miners at American Fork hard at work shoveling soil and gravel into the sluice boxes. The boxes were cleaned at the end of the day. The yield was twelve dollars for the three days of labor. "Everyone disgusted with that place," James wrote, "and we are going to abandon it." It was not much of a return after four years of effort to get the right equipment and some weeks of preparation in the autumn of 1861 and the spring of 1862.

By May 26, Granville, Minesinger, and Cossette had moved up the Dixie and most of the others soon followed. James remained at American Fork to keep watch over the stock. He also did quite a bit of hunting and sent fresh meat up to the miners with one of the hired men. On June 13 L.L. Blake, Peter J. Bolte, the Hell Gate saloon keeper; Baptiste Quesnelle and Tom LaVatta, Mexican residents of Cottonwood, arrived at American Fork. They reported "...that there is a general stampede from B[itter] [R]oot Valley, Frenchtown & Hellgate
for the mines on American Fork and vicinity." Sure enough, a large number of men arrived the next day, including William Graham, and that night they went on a spree. The little mining settlement of American Fork was coming of age. A couple of days later, the English poker-playing trapper, Bill Hamilton, moved to American Fork with a supply of "Minnie Rifle whisky."62

The incipient mining boom dwindled somewhat as Fred Burr, who had gone to Fort Benton with Lieutenant John Mullan, brought word that some steamboats were expected there. Many miners, starved for supplies, left for Benton at once, Hamilton among them, thereby temporarily ending James' poker game. A party passed from Benton on June 25 and reported that four steamboats had reached the fort, "...loaded with Emigrants, Provisions, and Mining Tools." Mullan's party arrived the same day and confirmed the report. Most of the remaining miners started for the fort by June 28, leaving American Fork so deserted that James plaintively wrote "I have had the Blues very bad today." The yield from the Dixie diggings probably didn't provide him any cause for cheer. During the third week of the month, the Stuart party mined forty-five dollars. For the last week of the month, their recorded take in gold was only $7.20.63

In the meantime, two brothers who were steamboat captains, John and Joseph La Barge, had been sufficiently impressed with business prospects on the upper Mississippi to join three other men to form the La Barge, Harkness & Company in 1862 in St. Louis to rival the American Fur Company. The new company sent two steamboats up the river at about
the same time the American Fur Company sent two boats. Aboard these four boats were Charles Chouteau of the famous fur family, Captain Humphreys of the ill-fated Chippewa, Father Pierre De Smet, Indian agents, ethnologist Lewis Henry Morgan, the Reverend John Francis Bartlett, health seekers such as Chancellor Joseph Gibson Hoyt of St. Louis' Washington University and his wife, St. Louis dentist Dr. J. H. McKellops, James Harkness of the new rival company, at least one shady lady (who later married Sheriff Henry Plummer), and many gold seekers, most of whom were headed for the mining district of what is now Idaho. Among the last were Samuel T. Hauser, future millionaire territorial governor of Montana; Charles Rumley, future Montana Historical Society Librarian; Walter B. Dance, future merchant partner of Granville Stuart; William Hulburt, who with an unknown Negro partner would make a major gold strike in July of that year at a place called Prickly Pear Diggings, and others. All four boats passed up the river to the head of navigation without serious misadventure. The firm of La Barge, Harkness & Company established a post a mile and one-half up the river from Fort Benton, naming it Fort La Barge.

Sam Hauser (1833-1914), a secessionist Kentuckian whose family was unionist in sentiment, was seeking his fortune and an escape from family pressures brought on by his life in a border state during the Civil War. Arriving at Fort Benton, he joined some twenty other men who were also going to the Salmon River mines because a larger party provided greater safety from possible Indian attack. Hauser and a few others wanted to send a smaller (and faster traveling) advance party
ahead to locate the best route to the mines, judge the possible
dangers, locate the best diggings, and then return to meet the main
party in the Deer Lodge Valley. The members of the party agreed and
Hauser, apparently unconcerned about the Indians, pushed on ahead with
three other men. On June 29, six days after the party left Fort
Benton, James Stuart recorded their arrival at American Fork. In a
letter to his sister, Hauser also recorded the visit. 

"...We arrived at and saw the first house of the trip from Fort Benton,
one 'Stuards' [Stuart's] a mountaineer and a 'Va' [Virginian]. His
house a log, covered with mud, was decidedly a welcome sight, as we
had been lost from the trail all day and had been overtaken by Indians
whose looks we by no means fancied. We found 'Stuard' a clever whole
souled fellow with two squaws for wives."  

James did not have two wives. Hauser mistook Granville's wife
to be one of James'. James spent three days prospecling with the men
with total lack of success. Nevertheless he enjoyed playing the role of
the tough, experienced mountain man. He took them up to the Dixie
diggings twice and noted that "They were much pleased with the looks
of the Diggings."  Near him [referring to James] there had been
some gold discovered," Hauser wrote to his sister, "and he took great
pleasure in showing us the country generally. [After] Two [actually
three or four] days with him, we were off again...."  

Jake Mauthe
decided to remain at Dixie while Hauser and the other two men went on
toward the Salmon River diggings.  

On James' second visit to Dixie with the Hauser party, he talked
to Frank Woody, the associate of Higgins and Worden. The next day, July 4, he went back to Dixie to have more discussions. "I made arrangements about going into Partnership with Frank H. Woody in the Deadfall line of business," James wrote about the conversations. He had in mind a general store which dispensed groceries, merchandise, and liquor. The Stuarts' lack of success in mining during May and June, coupled with the pressure James was feeling from their many creditors, forced him to make the attempt to capitalize on the opportunities presented by the sizable numbers of emigrants who were daily arriving at American Fork. 69

Certainly the debts were bothering the Stuarts. When Sam Martineau came up to American Fork on May 17 to collect the fifty-five dollars they owed him, James could pay him only twenty-five dollars and then he purchased Martineau's rifle on credit. The next day Granville gave Martineau his saddle in order to settle the original debt but James presumably still owed the man for the rifle. Two days later Louis Maillet came by on "...a collecting tour." James offered to resell the Stuarts' favorite horse, Brooks, to Maillet for two hundred dollars. Maillet, who originally owned the animal and was on his way west, refused when Dave Pattee told him he could not get $150 for the horse in Walla Walla. Finally on June 4, Maillet agreed to buy Brooks for $175. "Alas, poor Brooks," grieved James, "in all probability you will never see Old Friend and Parkie [other Stuart horses] again. It seems...almost as if I had lost some dear Friend or Relation. But mankind are [sic] controlled by circumstances and I had to do it to get
Granville had been doing some gunsmithing and gun trading but this did not yield them enough income to stay out of debt. The Stuarts were butchering and selling beef to the miners but they did not have enough steers to make a steady income. Trading was an alternative except it would appear that the Stuarts were so lacking in capital that they did not have the funds to make the trip to Fort Benton for supplies and trade goods when the other miners rushed there. Most of the capital to start up the new store came from Woody's association with it. Drinking and particularly drunks were extremely distasteful to both the Stuarts, but James felt their desperate circumstances justified the means he proposed to follow to make some money. Granville presumably concurred.

In the meantime, the numbers of travelers coming to and passing through American Fork were increasing. Passengers from the steamboats were arriving at Gold Creek the day the Hauser party departed for the Salmon River mines. On the second day after the Hauser party's departure, there were forty-five emigrants at the diggings along the creek. More continued to come. Charles Rumley arrived at "...the Stewarts at the Junction of Hellgate & American Fork rivers" on July 8 with some of the other passengers. The next day he went up to Dixie, took out claims for himself and some friends, and began digging.

Not all the emigrants were from the steamboats. A party which apparently included Jim Bozeman, later known for discovering Bozeman Pass and for laying out the Bozeman Trail with John Jacobs, arrived on
July 15 from the Colorado mines. Many of the newcomers had known Tom Stuart, who was planning to come in the autumn. The newcomers had gone to Salt Lake City and then started north with the intention of going to the Salmon River mines. They got as far as old Fort Lehmi on the river but could not get their wagons downstream. They started for the Deer Lodge Valley but became lost. Aeneas, an old Iroquois whose home was in the Bitter Root Valley, found them and guided them to American Fork. Many of them took up claims near Dixie and called the area Pike's Peak Gulch.73

However the next day the boom along Gold Creek began to deflate as many of the new arrivals left for the Salmon River mines while others departed for Walla Walla or for the states. Despite the steady drain of potential customers, James opened the saloon in Jim Minersinger's house on July 21. "Plenty of Whisky drinking," he noted with mixed feelings. Only five days later James sadly noted that the "Whisky business is very dull." The novelty wore off quickly and the outward migration was taking its toll. Higgins and Worden came down to open a branch store and James kindly helped his competition in the construction of the store. On the last day of the month, John Jacobs arrived with an emigrant train numbering forty wagons. Prosperity temporarily returned to James' saloon although the wagon train was bound for Walla Walla. Jacobs told James there were many more wagons following his train. On August 1, James happily recorded that "The Grocery is doing a flourishing business. [S]everal fights almost every day."74
In addition to supplying groceries, liquor, and provisions, the Stuart-Woody store also had a monte table "...going every day...."

Another large influx of Colorado miners arrived and the partners purchased 188 gallons of liquor for their store. John W. Powell, who had been prospecting on North Boulder Creek (i.e., Boulder River, a tributary of Jefferson Fork), arrived at American Fork following his discovery of a major pay-streak. The excited, hard-drinking Powell became one of James' best customers. The more he drank, the more he talked, and with each telling, the richness of his discovery grew. By August 10, a majority of the residents on Gold Creek were getting ready to cross the mountains to North Boulder Creek. The stampede began the next day. Business at the Woody-Stuart store was slow after the rush decimated the settlement's population.75

Things were not going well at the Dixie mines either. Granville came down from Dixie for a visit. Jim Minesinger had injured himself several days earlier and was unable to work. The brothers' spirits were at low ebb but they were brightened considerably when Reece Anderson arrived on the evening of August 15. The three men talked almost the entire night, trying to catch up on events since March, 1861. The grocery business picked up a bit the next day as Anderson's wagon train and some emigrants from Walla Walla arrived at American Fork.76

Frank Woody arrived on August 19 with vegetables and chickens to sell at the store. He reported that there was a gold strike near the head of the Big Hole Valley. Miners there were getting as much as two and one-half dollars a pan. The news touched off great excitement.
among those remaining along Gold Creek and the second stampede from American Fork in less than two weeks got under way. Included in this rush were Woody, Fred Burr, and many others.  

In the meantime an election was held in Missoula County on July 14, 1862. There were polls open at American Fork, Hell Gate, and Fort Owen. L.L. Blake defeated C.P. Higgins for territorial representative; Granville and Thomas Harris were elected county commissioners; James, sheriff; Frank Worden, treasurer; Woody, county auditor; Charles Allen, justice of the peace; and John Powell, coroner. 

By the last week of August, times were dull at Gold Creek. In spite of the sluggish local economy, James made a contract with Jim Minesinger by which the latter would build a three-room grocery building with exterior dimensions of twenty by forty feet. Fred Burr and some other men returned from the Big Hole diggings in disappointment. Granville quit mining at Dixie and moved back to the cabin. Reece got some coal and was preparing to open a blacksmith shop. On September 10, James posted bond and officially became the sheriff of Missoula County while Granville and Woody went to Hell Gate for a week to organize the county government. While Granville was away, James occupied his time playing poker and visiting the diggings in Pioneer Gulch (Dixie). Most of the men were using rockers and were making "...big wages." Bud McAdow took out one thousand dollars in gold during the spring and summer of 1862. James saw the miners find a nugget which was worth more than a dollar. It seems strange that the Stuarts could not make their expenses in the same area, particularly
when one considers the mining experience the brothers had acquired in California. Yet Granville later was to write that

the Stuart company kept their horses picketed on a grassy slope, now known as Bratton's bar, which, in 1866, was accidentally discovered to be rich in gold, and has paid enormously ever since; but in '62 nobody ever thought of looking on a grassy hillside for gold, although the subsequent developments proved that there were many rich channels and deposits on the hills in that vicinity, while the creeks and gulches were usually too poor to pay for working. Such is mining in which it is better to be lucky than to have the wisdom of Solomon.

Unhappily the Stuarts seemed to lack both luck and the wisdom to apply their experiences at Rabbit Creek in 1853-1854 and northern California in 1854-1857 to their present situation. At Rabbit Creek and at Oak Hill near Whiskeytown they had had experience hydraulicking, that is, washing down a hillside and finding that it contained gold. Consequently, it is rather remarkable that "nobody thought of looking on a grassy hillside for gold" along Gold Creek.

Granville soon discovered an outcropping of coal in Pike's Peak Gulch which provided Reece with a steady supply of fuel for his blacksmith fire. Granville became busier as a gunsmith and apparently the two men had a shop together. They made about fifty-eight dollars the first week and a similar amount the following week.

On September 26, Captain James L. Fisk arrived with the first of several wagon trains he led into the region from Minnesota. Dr. William D. Dibb (1827-1871), a member of the Fisk party, noted in his diary on that day that "This morning we go down Deer Creek to the 'American Forks' & as we have some shoeing to do, we camp near the settlement...." The next day's entry read: "Saturday 27. Go around the village to see
the sights it consists of some 15 houses, small log houses covered with poles, & earth—rather a hard looking place—2 stores—2 saloons—2 Smith shops."

Frank Woody arrived on October 2 and told the miners along Gold Creek that quite a bit of gold was being taken out of the mines in the Beaverhead Valley. Most of the residents prepared to leave Gold Creek at once. The whiskey trade in the Woody-Stuart saloon was very brisk until the Stuarts, Woody, and most of the residents left for the Beaverhead mines on October 9. These mines were not actually along the Beaverhead River but rather along Williard Creek, so named by Lewis and Clark, but later called Grasshopper Creek. Many of the Pike's Peak miners had left Colorado for Gold Creek or the Salmon River mines in 1862. One such group was the party of John White. On July 2, 1862, White discovered gold on Williard's Creek. "This attracted almost every man in the country to the spot, and the mines at Gold Creek were deserted for the richer ones at 'Bannack City,' as a small town that had sprung at the head of the canon of Williard's creek was called...." The Stuarts found some four hundred men working there and "Everybody was making money...." They remained about ten days at Bannack. A man was hired to build them a twenty-foot square grocery building for $140. Woody remained at Bannack while the Stuarts returned to Gold Creek for the remainder of their supply of whisky.

When they reached Gold Creek on October 22, they were delighted to see an old California acquaintance, their former employer, Hugh Bratton. Two days later James, Bratton, and several other men started
for Bannack with the balance of the Woody-Stuart trade goods in a wagon. Granville and Reece decided to remain at Gold Creek during the winter. Granville began to gather in the cattle, cut firewood, daub the cabin and shop walls, and trade for horses in the Flathead village that was camped along the creek. He butchered a couple steers and had no trouble selling them. He also sold eight beeves at sixty dollars a head. Unfortunately two-thirds of the sale was on credit. Nevertheless he was able to pay Worden and Company about $280 in gold dust, part of the $450 which he and James owed the company. Reece and Granville went up to Pioneer Creek to the almost completely deserted diggings at Dixie and hauled down the rest of the coal which they had mined as well as some fourteen abandoned sluice boxes for the lumber they contained. Granville was able to repurchase Brooks, the horse which grieved James when he was sold to Louis Maillet. He rode over to Flint Creek looking for their stray cattle but did not find any. He butchered one of their beeves and immediately sold a quarter to Pete Martin and one to George Ives, who was later hanged as a road agent. 

Worden arrived from Bannack on November 11 with the news that James was not far behind. James and Bratton arrived the next day and some of their acquaintances also returned for the winter the same week. The reunion called for a party so they "...had a big dance in Minesinger's house." Apparently some of the guests did not enjoy themselves as they usually did for Granville caustically noted that "Dempsey & Powell went home sober--something [is] wrong."
Granville took advantage of a break in the cold weather to brand the cattle belonging to Burr and to Minesinger as well as some of his own which he had missed. Anderson found plenty of work in the blacksmith shop. Both the Stuarts prepared to go back to Bannack while Anderson would remain at Gold Creek to watch over their property and operate the blacksmith shop.

A decade had now elapsed since the Stuart brothers left their Iowa home for the gold fields. During the first half of that decade they were prospecting and mining in California. Apparently they enjoyed only indifferent success there. In 1858 they were among the first, but not the first, to discover proof that there was gold in the northern Rockies. The Stuart party may have made the first serious search for gold in what is now Montana. Some doubt must be cast, however, on just how seriously they took their discovery because almost four more years elapsed before they began mining in earnest.

The honor of being the first to set up sluice boxes belongs to Henry Thomas, not to either McAdow or the Stuarts. The brothers' claim that they found the first significant amounts of gold must be tempered by the fact that the amount of gold which they mined between 1858 and 1863 was not enough to meet the expenses of collecting it. Every year after 1861 there were other miners who were getting more gold.

James Stuart's letter to his brother, Thomas, probably did encourage some of Tom's Colorado friends to start for Gold Creek. A substantial number of immigrants entered the region and between the autumn of 1861 and the autumn of 1862, a settlement had sprung up at
the mouth of Gold Creek and took on the characteristics of a boom town only to have its population decimated by the rush to Bannack City and elsewhere.

There were many reasons for the influx into the region. Among them were the advent of reasonably dependable steamboat transportation up the Mississippi to Fort Benton, the construction of the Mullan Road from Benton to the Columbia River, the opening of the Salmon River and Caribou gold fields, the Thomas Holmes and James L. Fisk wagon trains which pioneered a wagon route across the northern Plains in 1862, and the desire to escape the Civil War. Most of the people, including the Colorado miners, who entered the region were bound for some other place. The Stuarts cannot take credit for this immigration.

As the dozens of emigrants passed the mouth of Gold Creek, however, they found the hamlet of American Fork. The Stuarts were the first residents of this tiny community. Their enthusiastic belief that they were going to mine a substantial quantity of gold had drawn others there. A tiny village grew up in late 1861. As the steamboat passengers, Colorado miners, members of the Holmes and Fisk parties, and others came into the area, they heard about the activity at Gold Creek, activity not based on the rumored presence of gold but rather on the actual mining of the precious metal. Many of those who were bound for other locations were immediately drawn to Gold Creek and its tributaries. Others, like Sam Hauser and Perry McAdow, continued toward their destinations only to be drawn back to American Fork and Dixie.

The Stuarts' discovery and subsequent activities in 1861 and 1862 did
not draw a large number of people into the region, but it did cause a substantial number of people who were traveling through the region to linger there and try their luck at the diggings.

The majority who excitedly dug into the banks and bed of Gold Creek and at nearby locations were disappointed by the ratio of hard work to the return in gold. Many drifted away. Yet the knowledge that there was gold in the region caused numerous men, who would have otherwise passed through the region without stopping, to tarry long enough to prospect along unexplored gulches. New gold strikes were made, strikes which were much more significant than the Stuarts' discovery. News of these major strikes touched off the gold rush to what is now Montana. Indirectly Granville Stuart and his companions were responsible for these strikes and for this reason they could be given the credit for the opening of the Montana gold fields.
NOTES: CHAPTER V

1 G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 42-44; G.S., Forty Years, I, 141.

2 G.S., Forty Years, I, 141-143; G.S., "Life of James Stuart, Cont., I, 44.

3 G.S., Forty Years, I, 143; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 44.

4 G.S., Forty Years, I, 143-145; G.S., "Life of James Stuart, Cont., I, 44.

5 G.S., Forty Years, I, 145; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 44.

6 G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 44; G.S., Forty Years, I, 146-147.

7 Ibid.

8 Diary of G.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 44; G.S., Forty Years, I, 124, 147. In the diary and in James' biographical sketch, Stuart used the date of June 26 while in the other source he used June 28.

9 Norman F. Furniss, The Mormon Conflict, 183-184, 201-203.

10 G.S., Forty Years, I, 147.

11 Furniss, op. cit., 202, 205ff.


14 Diary of G.S., Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 148-149; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 45; W. N. Davis, Jr., "The Sutler at Fort Bridger," Western Historical Quarterly, II, No. I, 37-54. Stuart referred to "Friday" (Charles?) Jackson as Dempsey's "man" which may mean his employee. Jackson may have been a black. In LeRoy R. Hafen (ed.), The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far

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West, III, 39-47, Nolie Money wrote that Baker (1818-1898) had been Captain Randolph B. Marcy's guide in 1857-1858 when March was sent from Fort Bridger to Fort Union, Territory of New Mexico, for supplies. "Baker's next venture was in a business he established on the Mormon Trail at the Green River Crossing. He established a small trading post where he did a good business with the Indians and the passing emigrants. A Frenchman arrived and set up a rival post. Baker became incensed over the competition and challenged the Frenchman to a duel. Both men started drinking. They would appear in their cabin doors, fire their revolvers, then go back and drink more between each round of shots. They became so intoxicated that they were rendered harmless." Later Baker prospered in the Colorado gold fields. However it was little wonder that Stuart wrote that "It made me sad to see him ruining himself drinking whiskey."

15 G.S., Forty Years, I, 149.

16 The emigration season may have lasted longer than usual for some travelers coming from the east were bound for the new diggings in Nevada and consequently would not have to risk an autumn crossing of the Sierras. Others were coming from California bound for the new Colorado gold fields.

17 G.S., Forty Years, I, 149-150; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 45; Furniss, op. cit., 150.

18 G.S., Forty Years, I, 149-150; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 45.

19 G.S., Forty Years, I, 150-151; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 45; Richard R. Burton, The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California, 191ff. Burton also passed three spots where the remains of the wagon trains burned by the Mormons in 1857 were plainly visible. The cold-blooded murder of Farren in the proximity of the Stuarts was undoubtedly a factor in the decision to execute Slade made by the Montana vigilantes in 1864. Slade was born of a prominent family in Clinton County, Illinois, and Anderson, who was from the same county, already knew of him or even knew him personally.

20 G.S., Forty Years, I, 152.

21 Ibid., I, 152-153.

22 Ibid., I, 153; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 45.

G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 153-154. The Salt River Valley was later called Star Valley and was mainly settled by Mormons. "Salt of 99.99 percent purity is deposited along the tributaries of Stump Creek, west of Auburn [in Star Valley]. The salt fields were once held by Indian tribes, who traveled great distances for the salt, which they used for medicine, for tanning leather, for curing meats, and for flavoring foods. In the late 1860's, Emil Stump and William White established a salt works on Stump Creek, then known as Smoking Creek. The refined salt, hauled by ox team over the Lander Cut-off, was sold in Montana and Idaho mining camps for as much as 60¢ a pound..." Works Progress Administration, *Wyoming: A Guide to Its History, Highways, and People*, 393, 396.

G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 154; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 46; LeRoy R. Hafen, *op. cit.*, V, 317-324. Louy (or Luther W.) Simmons was born in 1817 in Kentucky. He became a mountain man at age fifteen, principally operating in the Southwest. Like Baker, he was with Marcy on his trip from Fort Union to Fort Bridger. A big, tall man, Simmons died in the state hospital at Provo, Utah, in 1894.


Ibid.


Muscatine County, Iowa, Court Records, Record of Lots, Book T, 602-603. Nancy C. Stuart purchased two lots in the spring of 1859, her only real estate transaction in the county until the 1870s.

G.S., Stuart Genealogy, UM; Deer Lodge, *New North-West*, Dec. 7, 1888; West Liberty City Hall records for Oak Ridge Cemetery, Lot 1, Block 57, East Oakridge Division. Elizabeth is buried on the same plot with her aunt and uncle, Rebecca and Valentine Bozarth, and with Eddie Stuart, a son of Samuel and Amanda, who died in infancy.


Anaconda Standard, May 24, 1915.

*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion... 1861-1866*, 71.

G.S., Stuart Genealogy, UM: Muscatine County, Iowa, Court Records, Marriage Register I; U.S. Census, 1880, N.A. Microcopy T-9, Roll 358, XXV.
35 G.S., Stuart Genealogy, UM.


39 Higgins was born in Ireland in 1830. He received some business experience before enlisting in the U. S. Army at the age of eighteen. After five years of service as a dragoon, he became a member of the Steyens Surveying Expedition of 1853. He married Julia P. Grant, a daughter of Richard Grant, in 1862, and had a large family. Francis Lyman was born in Vermont in 1830. He was schooled there and in Troy, New York, where he became a clerk at the age of fourteen. In 1852 he went to San Francisco and again worked as a clerk. Later he went to the Territory of Washington, took part in an Indian war, and was employed by Governor I. I. Stevens as a bookkeeper. He later clerked at The Dalles and then opened his own store in Walla Walla, where he also was postmaster and where he met Higgins. He died in 1887. H. H. Bancroft, Works, XXXI, 784n; Wilbur F. Sanders, "Francis Lyman Worden, Cont., II, 362; Albert J. Partoll, "Frank L. Worden, Pioneer Merchant, 1830-1887," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XL, No. 3, 189-202.

40 Frank H. Woody (1833-1916) was born in North Carolina. He joined the rush to settle Kansas in 1855 after the passage of the controversial Kansas-Nebraska Act a year earlier. Lacking money, he took employment with John Wadell, a Mormon who was in the freighting business, as a cattle herder in Leavenworth, Kansas Territory. In June of 1855 he became a teamster for the same employer and drove a wagon to Salt Lake City. He spent an unprosperous year in Utah Territory and then was happy to accept employment as a teamster for a Mormon named Van Etten who wanted to haul some trade goods into Flathead Country. Woody remained in the area of the Hell Gate River after his arrival in the autumn of 1856. Frank H. Woody, "How an Early Pioneer Came to Montana and the Privations Encountered on the Journey," Cont., VII, 138-164; Woody, "A Sketch of the Early History of Western Montana," Cont., II, 88-106.

41 Albert J. Partoll, Missoula-Hellgate Centennial, 1860-1960, Souvenir Program, Historical section. Higgins and Worden are considered to be the founders of Missoula.

Forty Years, I, 158-159; Joint Diary, James and Granville Stuart, 1861-1866 (hereafter Joint Diary), Beinecke-Yale. James usually made the entries unless he was away. The normal entry included discussion of the climate, e.g., how thick the ice on the creek was. Granville included a substantial part of the diary in Forty Years, beginning on p. 165 of the first volume. However, in Forty Years, many passages as well as entire entries have been deleted while other entries have been given considerable elaboration. The proper chronological order has been altered in some cases. There is little evidence that Paul C. Phillips checked Granville Stuart's rough draft of the autobiography against the Joint Diary even though the diary was in Phillips' possession at the time he edited Forty Years. Except where otherwise noted, the original diary entries were used rather than Forty Years.

Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.

Ibid.

Ibid.; Diary of F. H. Burr, 1858, Beinecke-Yale.

Sunder, op. cit., 223-228; K. Ross Toole (ed.), "Perry W. McAdow and Montana in 1861-1862," Montana, II, No. 1, 41-46; Bancroft, op. cit., 616, 790n; Hiram Martin Chittenden, History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River: Life and Adventures of Joseph La Barge, I, 220-221; G.S., Forty Years, I, 181ff; "Steamboat Arrivals at Fort Benton, Montana, and Vicinity," Cont., I, 317; John Mason Brown, "A Trip to the Northwest in 1861," The Filson Club History Quarterly, XXIV, Nos. 2-3, 103-136, 246ff. Perry McAdow (1838-1918) was born in Kentucky. His family moved to Missouri in 1839. After attending a Masonic college, he went to Fort Bridger in 1857 (presumably as a teamster). He joined A. S. Johnston's army the following year. After the heyday of the gold rush in Montana, he became a miller, agriculturist, and real estate dealer. He died in Punta Gorda, Florida. William Graham (1815-1878) was born in New York City. He was a forty-niner and later a member of the territorial legislature of Montana. He died in Phillipsburg, Montana. Both men were on their way to visit Major Owen at Fort Owen.

Toole, loc. cit.

Ibid.; Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale. McAdow's memory slipped a bit here (the account was written when he was seventy). In July, 1861, the Stuarts were the only residents at the mouth of Gold Creek. When McAdow returned to the area in December, he would have found the six men he named living there. Ned Williamson was a mountain man. He was a guide for Ficklin and later an expressman for Mullan. See John

51 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.

52 Ibid.; G.S., Forty Years, I, 173.

53 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., "A Historical Sketch of Deer Lodge County, Valley and City," Cont., II, 122; G.S., Forty Years, I, 47. In Forty Years and the "Historical Sketch", Stuart stated that the picks and shovels were brought in by Higgins' and Worden's pack train from Walla Walla. The version in the biographical sketch, however, agrees with that in the diary, i.e., Stuart acquired the picks and shovels from a fleeing killer, Frank Goodwin, in exchange for cutting out a stock for Goodwin's gun.

54 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; Toole, loc. cit., 47; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 47.

55 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.

56 Ibid., G.S., Forty Years, I, 185-186; G.S., "A Historical Sketch of Deer Lodge County, Valley and City," Cont., II, 122; G.S., Montana As It Is, 8.

57 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale. James Madison Minesinger (ca. 1832-1894), a Tennessean, married a mixed blood woman named Nellie who gave him four children. He died in Calgary, Canada. Joe Howard was an employee of John Owen in 1856 and was described by Owen as "...a stout hardy, Young 1/2 breed inured to all hardships of a Mt. life." Louis Cossette was murdered by road agents in January, 1863. Tony Cosgrove died on the emigrant road near Hams Fork in 1868. Peter Martin was a Mexican who had been living at Cottonwood. Toole, op. cit., 46n; Seymour Dunbar and P. C. Phillips (eds.), The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen, I, 144 et passim; "List of Early Settlers," Cont., I, 336; Stuart Account Book, Clark Library, University of California at Los Angeles (hereafter Clark Lib.-UCLA).

58 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.

59 Ibid.; Toole, op. cit., 51. McAdow's comment carried the strong implication that the men residing along Gold Creek, including the Stuarts, did not appear to possess much initiative nor to be very active in seeking gold.

60 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.

61 Ibid.

Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.


Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.

Hauser to Hauser, *loc. cit.*

Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.


*Ibid.* Pattee, also spelled Petty and Pettee, was a mountain man and onetime associate of John Owen.


*Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; Helen A. Howard, *loc. cit.*, "Diary of James Harkness," *Cont.*, II, 354-357. Charles Rumley probably patronized the store when he purchased "Goods: on July 24, the day the store-saloon opened. James Harkness arrived at "Adams and Stuart's camp on Gold Creek" on July 25. On a return trip the following week he "Stopped with Adams at Gold Creek; his sluices are not doing well and he talks of stopping work. Worden & Company are building a store."

Granville also wrote in the biographical sketch that there was only one claim in Pioneer Gulch which paid more than one to three dollars daily and it paid six to twelve dollars. This seems to contradict statements in the Joint Diary. However if several men were working one claim, one thousand dollars for the season or six to twelve dollars daily from a jointly owned claim would not be very much money per worker. Mark Ledbeater, then mining in Pike's Peak Gulch, wrote on August 31, 1862, that the claims above his were paying five to twelve dollars a day while the ones below were paying four to six dollars daily. He also commented on how hard one had to work either returning home or going on to another gold field where they hoped to find gold with less effort. See Helen McCann White (ed.), Ho! For the Gold Fields, 44-45.

Ibid.

White, op. cit., 67.

Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Montana As It Is, 9. The longer quote is from the latter source.

Ibid.
In 1846, Francis Parkman and a friend spent a few months traveling from St. Louis over the Oregon Trail as far as the edge of the Rockies, southward to the Arkansas River, and then eastward to Missouri. During part of this time, Parkman lived with a tribe of Sioux Indians. The story of this trip began to appear in serialized form the next year and soon became the classic *The Oregon Trail*. The appeal of the book is that, while Parkman missed much, he observed and wrote about the Great Plains region on the eve of a great transition brought about by the Mormon trek, the Mexican War, the California gold rush, the great annual migration, and the rapid development of new forms of transportation and communication.

While Granville Stuart lacked Parkman's college education and many of the abilities that allowed Parkman to become a prolific major historian, Stuart also entered a frontier society on the eve of its upheaval. Twelve years after Parkman observed the Plains Indians, the Stuarts entered the remote northern Rocky Mountains and in the course of another half dozen years they witnessed the region's transformation from an Indian-fur company-trapper and trader society to a gold rush society. Parkman, a cultured easterner from a well-to-do family contrasts strongly with the impoverished, self-educated refugee from an Iowa farm. Yet Parkman's brief journey meant that his observations...
could only be superficial. Stuart's long residence in the northern Rockies gave his observations on frontier society greater authority.

The winter of 1860-1861, when the Stuarts and Anderson were getting settled in their new cabin near the mouth of Gold Creek, was not severe enough to discourage numerous visitors. There was constant travel between Johnny Grant's camp (soon called Grantsville) at the mouth of the Little Blackfoot River, Fort Owen, Hell Gate, and the settlement at the mouth of Cottonwood Creek in the Deer Lodge Valley. Almost all of these travelers spent the night with the Stuarts and Anderson and sometimes more than one night if the weather was bad. They were considered non-paying guests, a courtesy which was reciprocal when the hosts were traveling. In a more limited fashion, they extended their hospitality to bands of Flatheads, Yakimas, Coeur d'Alenes, and Nez Perce who passed on their way to hunt buffalo on the Plains or who were returning from the hunt. The prospectors invited the headmen to dine with them, and offered cloth, beads, knives, powder, lead, percussion caps, blankets, vermillion paint, and combs in exchange for the Indians' money, buckskins, buffalo robes, tongues, and dried meat. Usually the Nez Perce had money but rarely did the other tribes have any unless they had just won some gambling with the Nez Perce. The Stuarts were willing to sell to the Indians on credit and Granville later stated that "We never lost a dollar through crediting them...." If the debtor was killed, a relative made good the debt. In return, the Stuarts and other whites were welcomed on visits to the Indians' camps.¹
However, the frequent visits did not completely fill in the void resulting from winter inactivity. James and particularly Granville were avid readers and the complete absence of things to read had created in them an enormous appetite. During the winter they learned that there was a man camping in the Bitter Root Valley who had a trunk filled with books. Upon hearing this welcome news, the brothers immediately saddled up, packed some jerky and other supplies on a third horse, and set off. With difficulty, they forded the icy swirling waters of the Hell Gate, Blackfoot, and Bitter Root Rivers. In the vicinity of Fort Owen they learned that the owner of the trunks had left the area but the trunk had been left in the care of Henry Brooks who lived further up the Bitter Root Valley at Sweathouse Creek. The brothers found Brooks and carefully steered the conversation to the subject of the books. Brooks said he had them in his tepee but that their owner, Neil McArthur, had entrusted them to him and had said nothing about selling them. The Stuarts told Brooks that they had ridden for several days in the cold to buy some books and that they would assume full responsibility for satisfying McArthur when he returned if he was discontented with the transaction. Brooks finally agreed to sell them five books at five dollars each providing they were willing to pay McArthur more if he felt he hadn't received enough for them. The Stuarts were like youngsters in a toy shop for they could not choose without difficulty which five books to buy from the many in the trunk. At last they chose one illustrated volume of Shakespeare's works, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, an illustrated edition of
Byron's poems, LaSainte's Bible (in French), and Headley's two volume *Napoleon and His Marshalls*. They might have been able to persuade Brooks to sell more but they had no more money. The books were carefully packed so that they would not be damaged or wetted when the rivers were forded on the return trip, a distance of about one hundred miles. The books afforded the Stuarts many pleasant hours of reading and rereading during the many periods of enforced idleness spent waiting for the weather to improve or for needed supplies to arrive. McArthur never returned to claim his trunk but the Stuarts were not able to get any more of the books. Of the ones they purchased, Granville still had all but the Adam Smith volume at the end of his life. *Wealth of Nations* disintegrated from heavy use. This incident has been immortalized in picture and is cited by historians of frontier culture as an example of the frontiersmen's love for "...civilization and the written word...."²

In the spring Reece returned to Illinois to visit his mother. In early June, James and Fred Burr went to Fort Benton, expecting to meet the ill-fated Chippewa. Things did not go well in James' absence. The trouble began on June 7, only three days after James' departure. After dark, Granville thought he saw two Indians riding on one horse. The next day Ned Williamson's horse was missing. On June 10, three passed in pursuit of some Bannocks who had stolen some of their ponies the preceding night. Granville gave them some balls and a box of percussion caps and they continued the chase. He concluded that, after searching for Williamson's horse, that it had been stolen and
his suspicion rested on the Bannocks. The Flatheads did not recover their horses and passed by once again. Then Johnny Grant, his mother-in-law, John Powell, and several other white and half breed residents in the area discovered that some of their horses were missing. It appeared that the thieves had made an attempt to steal the Stuart's and Burr's horses, for on the morning of June 15 Granville found them split into two herds and acting peculiar. Thereafter he kept their best horses tied by the cabin door. The next night the thieves blundered into the camp of a Flathead war party on the Big Hole River and, being outnumbered eleven to four, they had to flee, leaving many of the stolen horses behind. The Flatheads recovered a dozen and returned them to their rightful owners. The Flatheads passed down the creek opposite the Stuart cabin waving a Bannock scalp from a pole. They paused to sing him a war song. A second Bannock had been killed and another had been wounded. He and the fourth Bannock were allowed to escape and the Flatheads hoped the lucky survivors would serve as a warning to other Bannock horse thieves. "O mercy ill bestowed!..." Granville declared in his diary on June 22. All of their horses, except for the three tied by the cabin door, and all those belonging to Burr were gone that morning. He followed the trail and soon came upon one of their mares with her colt and one filly belonging to Burr abandoned by the fleeing Indians. Their loss was six mares and three colts, while Burr lost eight mares and six colts.\(^3\)

Indians were not the only ones to pose a threat to the horses. Between Christmas and New Year's, two lawmen passed by with a prisoner
named Jack Williams who was accused of stealing horses. Williams' fate is not known.4

Not only were the Bannocks blamed for the loss of the Stuarts' horses, but on July 22, James wrote that "War parties of Bannacks [sic] have the mountains on fire in all directions." A week later he wrote that he "Tried to stop a fire from coming down the creek at the foot of the mountain. [From here to Flint creek has all been burned over and the fire is still going towards the head of Deer Lodge Valley.]" He complained about the smoke throughout August and as late as Semptember 5.5

While the Stuarts prospected relatively few days in 1861, they were far from idle. In addition to gardening, tending the livestock, combatting horse thieves, fighting forest fires, improving their "ranch", hunting, fishing, making rawhide ropes, remodeling an old hat, ditching and damming, repairing mining tools, making hoe and ax handles, writing letters, keeping a diary and weather record, poisoning wolves, trading, reading, and helping neighbors construct cabins and other buildings, they entertained an extraordinary number of visitors. The Joint Diary kept by the Stuarts mentions about fifty different people who stopped for a visit. Many of these also stayed overnight and many of them paid more than one visit to the Stuarts.6

Some of these visitors came to play cards. Once John Powell "...and two other sports..." came by the Stuart place and played poker with James all night. Powell lost almost a hundred dollars and one of the other men lost sixty five dollars. James and the other "sport"
won. In the autumn James had another all-night poker session and won two horses from Charley Gwin as well as a hundred dollars. The last week in September found James at Grantsville. He got into another poker game and won $425. At such high stakes, everyone in the game was excited. There was an abundance of liquor for those who drank it. Frank Goodwin got into a drunken altercation with twenty year old Michael LeClaire. Goodwin, much larger than LeClaire, could have settled the quarrel without a gun. Instead he pulled out his Colt revolver and shot the young man twice. LeClaire died eighteen days later. His murderer suffered an equally cruel fate. Godwin was killed by a Greek whom he had abused at Fort Benton the following year.

Granville was not particularly interested in playing poker but he was not adverse to gambling, especially if it involved his interest in guns. He had achieved a reputation of being an outstanding marksman. His brother and his friends had been bragging about it. When Blake and McAdow had to abandon their prospecting in late December, 1861, they moved down to the mouth of Gold Creek. Camped a few miles away near Grantsville was a mixed band of Bannocks, Shoshones, and Turkuarikas led by Chief Tendoy, a brother-in-law of Johnny Grant. Tendoy sent a runner up to American Fork with a challenge for a shooting match. John Powell could speak Bannock and went down to Grantsville to arrange the details of the contest. It was decided that the target would be placed initially at a distance of one hundred yards and would be moved a hundred yards further with each subsequent round, up to a distance of one thousand yards. Powell and his friends thought
this was a good method of acquiring the Indians' horses and buffalo robes for, while the Indians were superior marksmen at short ranges, the men at American Fork were better marksmen at the longer ranges. ³

On December 24, 1861, the entire population of American Fork along with Blake and McAdow rode down to Grantsville carrying blankets, beads, butcher knives and other items to wager. Granville was unanimously chosen and backed as their marksman. Tendoy selected an Indian named Pushigan, who was another brother-in-law of Johnny Grant, to represent the Indians in the match. The population of Grantsville unanimously backed Pushigan. A tail gate from Johnny Grant's wagon, which measured about three feet on a side, was covered with a paper bullseye and placed one hundred yards from the firing line. The confidence of the American Fork faction soared when they saw the gun Pushigan intended to use. It was an old muzzle loading Dimmock which weighed about thirty pounds. "He had taken a piece of hoop-iron and improvised a sight by slightly turning up the end in which he filed a notch," wrote McAdow. "This contrivance... was fastened to the gun-barrel with buckskin thongs, and by means of a small wooden wedge he could raise and lower the sight to suit his fancy." Knowing that in spite of the use of such a gun, the Indian would be a formidable marksman at the shorter distances, the supporters of Stuart each bet only a dollar on the first round. Pushigan stepped up to the firing line and scored a bullseye. Granville, McAdow related

...stepped up to the scratch and took deliberate aim; with the crack of the gun the dust flew up away beyond the target. He had missed the board, which was not very
encouraging considering the close proximity of the mark. As the match progressed, up to five hundred yards we had not made a single score, but at six hundred yards Granville managed to strike the board near the bull's-eye. Up to this point we had been making very light bets, but now confidence was restored with a whoop and betting ran high. Powell began wagering two horses for one, but alas for our hopes. Pushigan began to more carefully manipulate his hoop-iron sight and up to nine hundred yards we had but one score to our credit. By this time our crowd was "flat broke", with not a pony, blanket, or butcher knife left. James Stuart bantered Chief Tendoy to bet one horse against his long-range [Maynard] rifle, but after carefully examining the gun, the wily old chief handed it back with the remark, "Cultus," which meant "No good." We had to foot it back to the camp, arriving late in the evening, tired and hungry, much sadder and wiser men than when we started out so gayly in the morning.

Deeply embarrassed, Granville could only remark that "He never did believe in gambling." 10

"Too bad you didn't bet that gun and lost it," Powell retorted. 11

The next morning was Christmas and the Stuarts went to Pete Martin's in Cottonwood for a delicious supper. They then danced until sunrise. Many of the Indian and mixed blood wives from Grantsville were there. Most of them had emigrated from Fort Union and had learned the cotillion and other dances there. Several of the guests became drunk but no unpleasantness spoiled the party. The Mexican's hospitality eased Granville's discomfiture by allowing him to forget the humiliation of the shooting match. He did not forget it altogether, however, and continued to ponder the cause of his poor performance. He concluded that the fault lay in how he had reloaded the cartridges. Exactly forty grains of black powder were called for but before the match he had not taken the time to measure the powder as he put it into the shells. The first chance he had to reload the cartridges, he
measured out the required amount with utmost care. He then set up a target and hit it regularly at any distance. His erratic shooting at the match was explained by the fact that some of the shells had too little powder, causing the bullet to fall short of the mark, and some had too much, causing the bullet to go high.

Dancing was a popular pastime during the long winter nights. Louis Maillet had spent the preceding winter with Johnny Grant and recalled that "As there were so many people in the vicinity, dancing was proposed as a winter amusement. The women from Fort Union could dance, and soon there were dancers enough among them to form two cotillion sets. [I]...enjoyed this winter of 1860-1861 better than any other winter [I]...spent in the mountains, and everyone else seemed to find it equally pleasant."

Certainly the most curious party among the several that one or both of the Stuarts attended was the one which took place in Cottonwood on December 1-2, 1861. On the first, James wrote in the diary that "Granville went to a Shin dig [at] L[ouis] Demars and [Leon] Quesnelle's Ranchos." Years later, Granville added the notation that the dance was at Cottonwood. On December 3, James wrote that "Granville returned in the evening--" The bottom line of the entry has been erased and written over in Granville's handwriting are these words: "--bringing a wife, old Micheles daughter Susan"!

Granville's common-law marriage to Susan was not destined to last long. Troubles began six weeks after the marriage. On January 17, 1862, he wrote "Grand stampede [sic] of wom[en.] I was married one
night and a widow[er] tonight." By way of contrast, the entry for January 17 in the unfinished autobiography reads that

All the women in this part of the country have been at John Grant's [the Joint Diary bears this out]...[but] it has broken up in a row. All the women have left for home. That is, they have joined their own people, leaving a goodly number of widowers. Next thing the aforesaid widowers will have to hunt up their absconding wives and the chances are most of them will have to yield up a number of good blankets or [a] horse or two to father-in-law to persuade the lady to return.16

Apparently the separation was not permanent. On April 5, James wrote that "Granville's Woman Susan Stampeded, went above to her Fathers."17

The day after Susan left, Granville went to Cottonwood, apparently in an attempt to induce her to return. He did not return from Cottonwood until April 10 but exactly what he accomplished may never be known because the next two lines of the diary are erased. Presumably Granville divorced the woman, which he could have done as easily as he married her, for he added to the entry of April 15 that "I took Burrs wifes sister a young woman (Awbonny) for my better half. G.S."

Two days later James wrote in the diary that "...Madam Susan came for her beads and got them...." The next day Granville wrote that "Our horse guard (Old Micheles boy Pierre [who would have been Susan's brother]) took French leave today, that family is all troubled with a lack of sense...."18

In the meantime other women resided at American Fork. In mid-February, 1862, an Iroquois named Little Aeneas, who lived with the Flatheads, camped with his family one night near the Stuarts on the
return trip from the buffalo hunt. Another Indian named Narcissus and his family set up a tepee nearby. On February 25, "Little Aeneas and Narcissus (Flathead) killed Peedgegee (a Snake) at the Cottonwoods [Cottonwood] and took his lodge & camp fixins [sic] [and] one of his wives (he had only three) and all his horses (Eight)." The next day Narcissus left the captured woman at John Powell's and went on down the Hell Gate. The same night, Thomas "Adams took unto himself a better half...Louise, Lon[e]pennys step daughter." Louise was a Flathead.

On March 1, James wrote in the Joint Diary that "Powell had captured Pe.e.ge.gah's young women [sic], from Eneas [sic] and Narcis [sic] for me. He had to give three Blankets." His entry for the following day reads "I married last night." The entry for March 3, the next day, included the information that Louise and Tom Adams agreed to dissolve their marriage and that she had left him.

There is no more to be learned about James' wife, not even her name. Granville's wife, Awbonnie Tookanka (with several variant spellings), a full-blooded Shoshone Indian, was born in what would become the Territory of Idaho. She was twelve at the time of her marriage to Granville. James was twenty-nine at the time of his marriage while Awbonnie's husband was twenty-seven.

Most of the white men who had been living in the region for any length of time took Indian or mixed blood wives or had one or more Indian or mixed blood concubines. Like most of the white frontiersmen who felt morally bound to these marriages, Granville eventually
Photo. 2. Awbonnie Stuart, Granville's wife. Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Mary Matejcek and the Montana Historical Society.
regretted his marriage to a non-white woman and developed a feeling of ambivalence toward his marriage and his half-blood children. As more white women came into the area, race prejudice against these mixed marriages greatly increased. Because of his marriage and his unwillingness to terminate it, Granville was held back from the high social status that was otherwise his due. This, in turn, held him back politically and economically. In 1879, another Montanan experienced what had already troubled Stuart for more than a decade and one-half. Young Andrew Garcia had been trading with the Indians in central Montana. Returning to Bozeman with his Indian bride, he observed that "...I had to pass by several persons who had always been friendly to me. I could not fail to notice the black looks they now gave me. Instead of a friendly greeting, they went by me in silence. I knew the cause of this when I heard one fellow say to another sneeringly, as they went by me, 'Squaw man.'"\(^\text{23}\)

These troubles, however, were still ahead of the Stuarts. The winter social season continued unabated into the new year of 1862. On New Year's Day, the residents of American Fork and those living in the lower end of Deer Lodge Valley were caught in the open by a morning snowstorm as they struggled toward Grantsville where Johnny Grant was giving a holiday ball. The snow let up at about noon but a bitterly cold wind swept westward over the Continental Divide, driving down the temperature to well below zero. Yet after the travelers had reached the genial Grant's home safely, they danced all night, oblivious to the howling blizzard outside. At the time the sun would normally have
risen, it was still dark and the blizzard continued without letting up. Drifting snow had already reached the level of the windowsills and the temperature stood at forty below. Grant insisted that no one attempt to return home in such a storm and none of the dancers argued with him. Breakfast was served and then the guests lay down on the floor, fully clothed, on buffalo robes thoughtfully provided by their host. Everyone slept until early afternoon. Dinner was then provided and after that the dancing resumed. It continued, with an interruption around nine o'clock for a delicious supper, until dawn on January 3.

The gale had stopped, having deposited a foot of snow, but the temperature remained about the same. After breakfast, the guests departed, some with their children.

There were other types of social gatherings. For instance, on January 11, Granville noted that "Everyone [is] on a spree at Dempsey's Ranch." This did not, in all probability, include either of the Stuarts for they disliked drinking and drunks. Granville recorded on January 28 that Pete Martin, Johnny Grant, and their wives came down to American Fork for a dance. Between the twenty-ninth of January and the sixth of February, there was only one night when the Stuarts did not record in their diary that they went to a dance, that is, eight dances in nine days. John Franks was one of their fiddlers and sometimes they had two. Several men took turns as callers, directing the dancers over the rough puncheon floor. The quadrille was the community's favorite for almost all the men already knew it. They usually trimmed their beards and hair, scrubbed, and donned their best clothes.
Granville always wore his fringed, highly decorated buckskin suit, fancy moccasins and a clean flannel shirt. The women frequently spent most of their idle moments manufacturing beautiful, intricately beaded clothes for just such an occasion for their children and for themselves. There was rivalry among them to be the best dressed. What a colorful sight these ladies must have been at the dances! Fiddlers sawing out a lively tune, the caller's nasal voice directing the maneuvering dancers, the thump of beaded moccasins on the puncheon floor, the jangle of ornamental belts made of coins, shells, and beads, and the swirl of bright plaid blankets, scarlet leggings and a rainbow of printed calicoes. There were always more men than women at these dances.  

In addition to visiting and being visited, James had another diversion to help pass the time. In mid-March, Louis Maillet, Frank Worden, and Louis Cossette came over from the Bitter Root Valley on snow shoes. James, Powell, Adams, and Burr went with them to Grantsville. Inevitably a poker game occurred. James won forty-one dollars. Seventeen more games occurred, many of them all-night affairs, between June and September, 1862.  

The winter of 1861-1862 was a severe one, as the New Year's Day blizzard should indicate. The Stuarts had to chop firewood frequently. Game became scarce and the snow was often too deep in the mountains for the men to go hunting. Consequently the supply of beef on hoof diminished at an alarming rate. On January 13 Granville wrote that "This has been the coldest day that we have had this winter." On
January 18 he noted that "It has been bitter[ly] cold every day from the 1st of the month." He elaborated considerably on this entry in his unfinished autobiography. There were twenty-eight inches of snow on the ground, all but eight inches of it on top of a hard crust where the snow had melted slightly and then refrozen. The Hell Gate and Gold Creek were frozen and their livestock were often out on the ice seeking water. The Stuarts remembered the advice a French trader named Marjeau had given them three years earlier while they wintered on Henry's Fork. He told them not to allow stock to drink ice water, which was dangerous to their health, because with each bite of grass the animals took in enough snow to meet their requirements for water. The horses would paw through the snow to the grass and the cattle would soon learn to remain with the horses. Consequently the brothers drove their stock across the Hell Gate, just opposite their cabin, into a deep ravine where there were willows and tall rye grass. Since the ravine drained from the north southward into Hell Gate and the prevailing wind direction was west, the wind did not blow up the length of the canyon but rather blew over its rims. They then cut some logs, hauled them across the river, and built a corral. One cow soon died and Granville poisoned her carcass, killing at least four wolves.27

The intense cold did not let up until the second week in February, but the thawing spell lasted only four days. On February 17, "Ja[m]es froze his face [or foot] pretty bad" on a return trip from Grantsville. Apparently he suffered no serious consequences because the matter was not mentioned again. The cold and snow continued and ten inches fell
on the twenty-fifth. "A horrible day," James wrote, "snowing and blowing furiously." Another five inches fell the last day of the month and there was considerable drifting. On March 11, two men arrived on snowshoes from the Bitter Root Valley and reported that the snow was two feet deep and the livestock were dying. The two men brought a letter from their brother, Sam.  

Within a few days of the receipt of the letter, the bitterly cold weather came to an end. The ice on the Hell Gate began to break up and the melting snow caused the river to rise quickly. The huge chunks of ice swept down the river by a tremendous discharge of melting snow endangering all who sought to cross. High in the mountains, the end of winter came more slowly. Part of the Flathead village had camped just over the mountain from Gold Creek and there the snows had trapped them. Travelers reported to the Stuarts in the last week of March that the village was out of meat and all the Indians' horses had died during the severe winter. Gold Creek went out of its banks before the end of the month, covering the Stuarts' old garden site, and the dry ravine between the Stuart cabin and Powell's was filled with "...avalanches of water and snow...."  

At the end of April, 1862, the Stuarts received their first letters via Fort Benton, which was now in Dakota Territory. One of the letters was from their uncle, Valentine Bozarth, who wrote of coming there for a visit. Another was from their brother, Tom, who was planning to come there from Colorado in the fall. In July, C.P. Higgins, the Hell Gate merchant, arrived from Walla Walla, bringing the
Stuarts welcome letters from Samuel and from a cousin. In the meantime, a party of men including John Jacobs and Dr. Atkinson, brought the Stuarts some pictorial periodicals along with nails, candle wicks, and tobacco from Hell Gate. When Fred Burr came from Hell Gate, he brought them several old newspapers. The news was never old to the isolated residents of American Fork and all the papers were read several times. Even the illiterates of the community kept abreast of the news for men, such as the Stuarts, would kindly read aloud from the newspapers. News was so slow in reaching them that the Civil War had broken out three months before the Stuarts were aware of it.

The Stuarts never enjoyed complete security for their horses. In early February, 1862, Granville saw a party of Flatheads driving off a herd of Bannock horses. The next night some pursuing Bannocks passed American Fork and returned the next morning with their horses and two scalps. When the Bannocks passed through Deer Lodge Valley on their way to the Beaverhead, their presence caused Johnny Grant's horse herders to quit their posts. The Stuarts felt no sympathy for Grant and he chuckled about the possibility that he might have to herd the horses himself although it was less amusing when Pierre, their own herder, quit. Granville had to take over that task himself. Joe Howard went to get his brother-in-law, a Blackfoot youth, as a replacement for Pierre. The lad refused to come and Howard beat him up. In unusual ill-humor, Granville wrote that Howard "ought to have killed him." During the following months, whites and half breeds had their horses stolen by Nez Perce, Bloods, Bannocks, and Blackfoot.
In April, Granville spotted a Snake Indian with two stolen Nez Perce horses, taken near the Stuart place. Granville was certain that the Indian had a partner nearby and began tying up his three favorite horses at night once again. Within the week some Pend Oreilles were in the neighborhood, on route to the Beaverhead to steal horses from the Snakes. The Stuarts weren't certain that the Indians would be so discriminating and they continued to tie up some of their horses at night. If that wasn't enough of a threat to their peace of mind, the next day Johnny Grant sent over a runner to warn them that a war party of Blackfoot had been seen by Tom Campbell and Gold Tom crossing to the Stuarts' side of the mountains. The Stuarts took Tony Cosgrove off the ditching project and had him rush to completion their new corral. Two days later the Bannocks were headed their way, having told some of the residents of Cottonwood that they were going to steal some Flathead horses. "Very doubtful," worried Granville with plenty of justification for there was evidence that the Indians had been around the corral that night. On May 5 they tried to cut down the corral gate and Granville had to spend the afternoon repairing it.

On July 25, James and Tony Cosgrove went to Cottonwood in pursuit of a white horse thief. They spent the night at Dave Contois' place and then, learning that the man had started for Fort Benton, hurried up the Fort Benton Road at daybreak. The thief was overtaken just as the sun was dropping behind the mountains to the west and the pursuers made camp with the unsuspecting old Frenchman. The next morning, the three men arose, made breakfast, and then Stuart and Cosgrove pulled
their guns and arrested the man. It took all day to return to Gold Creek. After dark the word went out that there was going to be a miners' trial the next day.

The morning skies of July 28 were somewhat cloudy but it was already quite warm when the miners assembled in front of the Stuart-Woody store to try the case. It was a no-nonsense trial. There is no evidence that the incompetent Missoula County Justice of the Peace, Charles Allen, was present or that a jury of six or twelve was chosen. Apparently the miners en masse formed the jury as well as acted as judge. The Frenchman was quickly found guilty but the man's repentance and his age caused the miners to be lenient. He was ordered to return all the stolen property and was banished from the region. He was given twelve hours to leave. The prisoner then told the miners that they might as well kill him because to send him off without provisions was the same as imposing a death sentence. As the man was totally without provisions or funds to buy any, the miners, grumbling about the strange twist of justice, collected amongst themselves about fifteen dollars and some food. The Frenchman left immediately and was never seen again.

It should be born in mind that while James had been elected sheriff, he had not yet officially assumed the office and therefore had no authority to arrest the horse thief except as a citizen's arrest. The justice of the peace should have presided as the judge at such a trial, providing Allen had already taken the oath of office. If he had not, there was no legal authority in the county.
Between the stampedes to Boulder River and the Big Hole River, three well-armed men arrived at Gold Creek with six horses and very little else. One of them, B.F. Jeragin, did not even have a saddle for the horse he rode. He and William Arnett were rather hard looking characters while the appearance of the third man, C.W. Spillman, was a marked contrast to his companions. Spillman was soft-spoken, polite, and much younger than his friends. By August 23, James Stuart had lost three hundred dollars in three days to these men by staking another man to deal monte for him. By the next day, the three men seemed to be on their way toward breaking the entire community. However on the twenty-fifth, they banked a monte game for some two hundred dollars and James, not one to be timid about gambling, broke it in twenty minutes. In the afternoon, two men named Fox and Bull arrived at Gold Creek in pursuit of the three monte sharps on the charge of stealing horses from the vicinity of Elk City. They asked James and some other men for their assistance in arresting the three men. James assured them they would have it. Spillman was found in Worden's new store and arrested at gunpoint. He did not resist. Arnett and Jernagin were in a saloon. The former was sitting at a monte table, a revolver on his lap. Bull, Fox, and some Gold Creek residents burst into the room and demanded their surrender. Arnett started to raise his gun but Bull fired at him with a shotgun. The noise of the discharge was multiplied in the small room, now filled with gunsmoke, but the smoke did not conceal the fact that Arnett had caught the full force of the blast, knocking him backwards over his chair, onto the floor. He was killed instantly and the
only other sound than the echoing of the explosion was Jernagin pleading for his life. He was placed under guard and the word was sent out that there would be a second miners' trial the next morning.35

Once again the miners lay down their tools and came into Gold Creek to sit in judgment on two men accused of committing a crime. As soon as Arnett was buried, still clutching the playing cards in one hand and his revolver in the other, the trial began. There is no indication that a legally elected justice of the peace was present or that there was a defense counsel, empanelled jury, or other apparatus of a formal judicial system. Jernagin claimed that he was hiking along a trail, carrying a little food wrapped in his blankets. Arnett and Spillman met him and offered to let him ride one of their horses. Spillman confirmed this and Jernigan was more or less acquitted. Even though he was not considered guilty, he was given six hours to leave the region. Spillman was tried separately. He offered no defense and was found guilty. He was sentenced to be hanged in one-half hour. During this time, he wrote a letter to his father and then bravely faced his death. He was buried next to Arnett.36

"The other day," wrote Mark Ledbeater, a hard-working emigrant at the mines in Pike's Peak, to a friend

one man was shot, another hung and another sentenced to be hung. The three had stolen some horses....The one that was hung jumped off of the wagon as soon as the rope was put around his neck. The other has since been released.37 Such is the way they deal with thieves in this country.

Years later, Granville was of the opinion that James destroyed the condemned man's letter, thinking that the father's ignorance of his
son's fate was preferable to knowing that he was executed as a criminal. Granville remembered Spillman as a handsome larger-than-average man who did not look like a hardened criminal. "I have always regretted that Spillman did not plead for his life, because if he had, I think he could have made such a good showing that the death penalty would have been commuted to banishment," Granville wrote many years later. "I now think that he was so stunned by the fearful calamity that had overtaken him, that despair seized him and he thought it useless to try to escape death." Yet Granville thought the miners were justified in taking such an action for "...there was no recognized court in the county," the nearest jail was at Walla Walla, and a community as small and poor as Gold Creek could not afford "Costly criminal prosecutions and hence it was advisable to inflict such punishment as would strike terror to the minds of evil doers, and exercise a restraining influence over them." Although he conceded that the execution was a drastic punishment in relation to the crime committed, he wrote that "Justice was swift and sure in those days. There was no moving for a new trial or any of the thousand other clogs upon the wheels of justice, which but too often rendered the execution of the law a mockery."

The incident is regrettable for several reasons. The crime was committed in another county and it is not mentioned whether Fox and Bull had the credentials to prove that they were legitimate law enforcement officials. Spillman was executed only on the testimony of these two unknown men from another political jurisdiction within the Territory of Washington. Their names are as suspicious as if they had
been Lyon and Bear, Pike and Trout, or Byrd and Nest. The two pursuers simply could have been embittered victims of the monte skills of Arnett and Spillman. If fact, was not the judge-jury at the trial largely composed of resentful victims of the "monte sharps" who were "about to take the town"? No accusation was made that the men were cheats. The term "sharp" does not necessarily carry that connotation. The fact that Spillman might have saved his life by begging for it indicates a deplorable capriciousness in the operation of "justice" in Missoula County. Why wasn't Spillman returned to the county where the offense was alleged to have occurred so he could face his accusers? Granville was not writing about swift and sure justice and the clogged wheels of justice but rather about punishment, which is not synonymous. It is even to be regretted that James decided to play the role of censor and deny Spillman's father the knowledge that his son was dead. Not knowing of the fate of one's offspring seems more cruel than allowing one to hope for years that a letter or news of one's child would be received or that the son would return home.

Two weeks later James posted bond and took the oath of office as sheriff of Missoula County. Until that time, he could not have acted in an official capacity. That mattered little for James was a man of action. Impulsively he helped the Chinese miners avenge the deaths of their companions by an attack on some California Indians. James and another man apparently killed other California Indians they found driving stolen stock. Without his commission as sheriff James pursued and arrested a French horse thief and aided in the attempt to arrest
In November, 1862, while Reece and Granville were residing at American Fork, the former saw an Indian steal an ox. The next day he, Granville, Fred Burr, Bill Fairweather, and Edwin R. Purple pursued and caught the thief some twenty miles from Gold Creek. The Indian claimed to have gotten the ox in a trade with a white man. The owner of the ox was not in the area so no one could ask him if the Indian was telling the truth. The men did not believe him, made him a prisoner, brought him back to American Fork, and locked him in Fred Burr's house. The Indian escaped during the night and fled without trying to recover his horse or other possessions. Undoubtedly he had heard of Spillman's fate at the hands of the Gold Creek miners. Innocent or not, he wisely chose to avoid a trial by the whites. The miners did not take the time to hunt for him.

In the meantime, the new emigrants were changing the social structure of Gold Creek. Granville's published entry for July 12, 1862, reads:

With the emigrants today is a Mr. B. B. Burchett with his family, consisting of his wife, two very handsome daughters, one a blonde and the other a brunette, and two little tow-headed boys. It looks like home to see little blonde children playing about and to see white women. Miss Sallie Burchett is sixteen years old and a very beautiful girl. Every man in camp has shaved and changed his shirt since this family arrived. We are all trying to appear like civilized men.

A few days later he noted:

Arrived at our town to-day a fine violin player accompanied by his handsome, seventeen year old wife. His name is J. B. Caven. We purchased a good violin sometime
ago, so we have the Cavens over often and enjoy the society of an intellectual white woman and good music. Certainly we are approaching civilization or rather civilization is coming to us. All the men are shaving nowadays and most of them indulge in an occasional hair cut. The blue flannel shirt with a black necktie has taken the place of the elaborately beaded buckskin one. The white men wear shoes instead of mocassins and most of us have selected some other day than Sunday for wash day.

Mrs. Burchett and one of the daughters dined with the Stuarts after her husband went to the Bannack mines in late September. The same month, Granville noted that "...P. C. Woods and "Buzz [sic] Caven moved here... We are glad to have Cavan for we will enjoy some good music and like to have his white wife about. We have had no white women in camp since Mrs. Burchett and family went to Beaverhead mines." 44

None of these three quotations appear in the original diary. While Granville is guilty of passing them off as part of the diary, he has not seriously tampered with history by presenting false information. There was a B. B. Burchett who had a wife, two daughters, and probably two sons. Burchett became a judge at Bannack City. There was a Buz Caven who was a talented musician and who had an attractive white wife. He served as a sheriff in Bannack City for a few weeks. No doubt the presence of these white women in the mining camps influenced the behavior and appearance of at least some of the miners. It really doesn't matter if Burchett did not arrive at Gold Creek on July 12 or Cavan on July 23. It is interesting to note, however, that neither James' wife nor Granville's wife are mentioned in Forty Years again while Granville has gone to some pains to write about the presence of
some of the other white women. His doing so is an indication of the ambivalent feelings the squaw men had toward their wives and children. Many of these men took common-law Indian or mixed blood wives, never expecting to live in white society again. "Little did I know that day that I was giving up all hope to be a white man again,..." wrote one Montana squaw man. Then with great rapidity, white migration brought "civilization" to many of these remote areas and with it came white women. Many of the squaw men regretted their ties with the darker women and more than a few repudiated them with a "common-law divorce". Men, such as Granville Stuart, who had a conscience and could not desert their families, considered themselves to be somewhat tragic figures, consigned to a social standing lower than that of men who were married to white women. Some came to think of themselves as unfit to mix as equals in "civilized society." In most American communities, the "first families" have had the highest social standing, but on the frontier where white men took Indian wives when there were no white women, these men found themselves assigned to a lower social standing than the newcomers. While Granville Stuart had a fairly high social status because he was recognized to be an influential and educated pioneer, his economic and political advancement was retarded by the fact that he was a squaw man. This retardation continued as long as Awbonnie was alive and when she died, Granville was fifty-four years old and his most productive years were already behind him.
NOTES: CHAPTER VI

^1G.S., Forty Years, I, 157-158.

^2Ibid., I, 159-161. Here Stuart wrote that the journey was one hundred and fifty miles one way and he implied that he had not met Brooks previously. In a letter in 1903 to the librarian of the Montana Historical Society, Stuart discussed all of the volumes except Wealth of Nations which, presumably, had already disintegrated. "There are also the following books that my brother James and I made a special horse trip of 280 miles in April 1861, to purchase, paying $5.00 apiece for (all the money we had, but we greatly longed for something to read, hence money was no object as against those books and I shall never forget the pleasure with which we read them, again and again.)" G.S. to Laura E. Howey, Aug. 6, 1903, MHS. In addition to the difference in distance, in the unfinished autobiography prepared a decade and one-half later, Stuart wrote that "After paying for them we had just twenty-five dollars left...." Perhaps he did not remember precisely or perhaps he was embarrassed to admit he would spend his last dime on books, a habit he followed through most of his life. According to the official Montana highway map, the distance between Gold Creek and Victor (Sweathouse Creek) is slightly less than one hundred miles.

The episode was recently drawn by Irvin "Shorty" Shope of Helena, Montana, and printed for contributors to the University of Montana Library. An example of a citation of the episode as an example of the level of frontier culture is in Earl Pomeroy, "Toward a Reorientation of Western History: Continuity and Environment," MVHR, XLI, No. 4, 594. He inaccurately stated that Stuart brought the books "...three hundred miles through the mountains in winter." For an interesting discussion of the role of reading matter in the lives of frontiersmen, see Ray A. Billington, America's Frontier Heritage, Chapter 4.

Either James or Granville had met Brooks previously or the details concerning when the episode took place and who went along are incorrect. John Owen wrote in his diary that "Mr Adams and Mr Stewart rode down from above..." on December 24, 1860. On January 3, 1861, he wrote that "...Mr Adams & Stewart down from Bishop Brooks ranche having been up there on a visit[.]

Seymour Dunbar and P. C. Phillips (eds.), The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen, I, 227, 229. The major was away from Fort Owen during much of April, 1861, and did not record a visit to Brooks by the Stuarts. However, as the Owen diary entries indicate, one of the Stuarts already knew Brooks before the April visit or one of the brothers was not involved in the purchase which took place at the end of 1860, not in April, 1861. Wouldn't Brooks have already had McArthur's trunk in late December because McArthur would not likely be traveling through the mountains between
January and April, 1861? The episode is not to be doubted but some of the details are contradictory, namely the distance of the trip, whether the amount paid was $25 or $30, whether this was all the money the Stuarts had, whether the transaction took place in the dead of winter or in April, whether Brooks and his location were already known, whether the brothers learned of the existence of the books from Indians or one of them discovered the existence of the trunk in late December, 1860. One must also ask why Adams and one of the Stuarts were going to visit Brooks in December unless they had heard about the books?

Neil McArthur, "a trader in charge of old Fort Hall," visited Salt Lake City with Richard and Johnny Grant in 1851 where he met and hired Louis Maillet, first as a herder and later as an office clerk and French teacher. Maillet was associated with McArthur as an employee and partner off and on until 1858 when McArthur took all their livestock and trade goods to the Fraser River gold rush while Maillet was visiting his family in Canada. When Maillet returned the following year he discovered that McArthur's poor business judgment had lost them their $150,000 inventory. McArthur wrote Maillet that "...he was broke, had a bad horse, and was prospecting, 'so farewell.'" W. F. Wheeler (ed.), "Louis R. Maillet," Cont., IV, 198-217. This would indicate that the trunk was in Brooks' possession much earlier than December, 1860.

Henry Brooks had entered the Bitter Root Valley in 1855. In 1860 he became a justice of the peace, performed the first marriage in Missoula County, and hence acquired the nickname "Bishop," according to Dunbar Phillips. He was shot to death in October, 1866, in Blackfoot City, a mining camp some twenty miles west of Mullan Pass. Dunbar and Phillips, op. cit., I, 124 and II, 31, 33. However, the editors' explanation of Brooks' nickname may be incorrect in that he did not become justice of the peace until mid-1861 and did not acquire the nickname until the next year.

In a Stuart account book for 1862-1863, Granville penned the following explanation why the account of Henry Brooks for $139.91 was never paid. "This acct was squared by his getting accidentally shot & killed at Uncle Bens Gulch[,] Deer Lodge Co[,] MT." Later Stuart added that "Some drunken fellows began shooting in a saloon and poor Brooks who was outside went to a window and peeked in just in time to meet a bullet coming out and was mortally wounded." Stuart Account Book, Clark Lib.-UCLA. Woody gave a similar account of Brooks' death in F. H. Woody, "A Sketch of the Early History of Western Montana," Cont., II, 101.

Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale. The three horses tied to the cabin were Brooks, Old Fiend, and Caw Haw. Louis Maillet sold a year old sorrel to Bob Dempsey in April, 1857. Later Dempsey sold it to the Stuarts. "It became the famous traveller Brooks, making in one day the distance between Virginia City and Deer Lodge [111 miles on the road map] without distress. This was the longest journey it ever carried its rider and it was never known how far it was able to go." Wheeler, op. cit., 208.
Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.

Ibid.

Ibid., G.S., Forty Years, I, 186-187, 201, 208.

Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid. The account of the shooting match does not appear in the original diary. Stuart obviously adapted McAdow's 1908 account to his unfinished autobiography because the details are too similar to be a coincidence. The only significant difference is that McAdow wrote that "James Stuart had in his possession a Henry rifle which was about the first breech-loading long range gun brought into that part of the country." Granville called the gun a Maynard which belonged to him, not James. See Forty Years, I, 168, 188, 190ff. The question of ownership is apparent in the two versions as Tendoy declares the Maynard which James offered to bet him to be no good in McAdow's version while in Stuart's version, James offered to bet a "trusty long range rifle" but Tendoy refused the offer.

The chronology is a bit mixed up, causing both McAdow and Granville to state incorrectly that they walked back to American Fork after gambling away their horses. In the Stuart version, the description of the contest follows the entry for December 2, 1861; the next entry being December 25. McAdow is vague about when the match took place except that it took place after he and Blake were forced to end their prospecting by the cold weather and came down to the mouth of Gold Creek. Consequently the match must have taken place between the time Blake and McAdow came down to American Fork and the dance at Peter Martin's on Christmas Day. In the Joint Diary, James wrote on December 22 that "Blake and McAdow moved down here." On December 24, he wrote that "All went to Johnny Grants 'En route' to Don Pedro Martinos ball...." The match had to have occurred that day but instead of the disappointed men walking back to American Fork, tired and hungry, on Christmas Eve, they actually stayed at Grantsville and went on to Cottonwood the next day. It is also likely that they did not walk but rather borrowed horses or rode in a wagon.

Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 191-192; Wheeler, op. cit., 218. The explanation for the poor shooting is in Forty Years but McAdow uncharitably does not mention it.
Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale. The very shaky hand with which the interpolation was written indicates that Granville added it after his trip to South America in the 1890s. The handwriting is the same as examples of his writing in the last decade of his life, i.e., ca. 1908-1918. Elsewhere in the diary Granville referred to a Paul Michael and to an Old Michele, who was half Nez Perce. Either may have been his father-in-law and the references may have even been to the same person. At my request, a member of the staff at the Beinecke-Yale Library kindly took the Joint Diary to the Yale Medical Center and had those pages on which there are erasures x-rayed. Unfortunately the x-rays did not bring out what was erased.

Common law marriage was the usual way by which frontiersmen took Indian or half-breed brides because there were few opportunities to make the marriage official. The nearest priest was at St. Ignatius Mission north of Hell Gate although occasionally a priest or Protestant missionary passed by. Keeping in mind Granville's aversion to organized religion, it is a safe conclusion that the marriage was not solemnized by a man of the cloth. On the other hand, Justice of the Peace Henry Brooks had the authority to perform a marriage ceremony since the middle of the year.

Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale. The April 5 entry in the unfinished autobiography omitted any reference to woman troubles. In the diary, another name or word was erased and "Susan" written over the erasure. Part of the entry for April 13 has also been erased.

The version of James' marriage in the unfinished autobiography is somewhat different as well as being a substantial elaboration of the diary entries. For February 26, Granville elaborated on the information that the captured woman was left at Powell's:

Narcisses [sic] came down from Cottonwood with the captured woman. Powell and I [supposedly James] ransomed the captive woman, thinking it just as well not to allow Narcisses [sic] to take her down to the Flathead country. It is usual when they take a captive to turn her over to the women of their tribe and they promptly make a slave of her; imposing all the drudgery of the camp on her, and making her life anything but a
bed of roses. This woman is fair with red cheeks and brown hair and eyes and is evidently half white. The two other women of Peed-ge-gee made their escape to the white settlement on Cottonwood [Creek] where they were cared for by some Bannock women until they had a chance to join their own tribe the following summer.

This version, including the part which follows, does not sound nearly so crass as the diary in which James bought the woman for a mere three blankets. For the March 1 entry in the unfinished autobiography, James is supposed to have written:

I brought with me the Indian woman ransomed from Narcisses [sic], the Flathead. Powell's wife objected to having her and as we have no cook it seems to fall to my lot to take care of her at least until we can turn her over to some of her own people, should she wish to go. I might do worse. She is neat and rather good looking and seems to be of good disposition. So, I find myself a married man. Granville says "Marrying is rapidly becoming an epidemic in our little village." J.S.

Granville may have said it, but it didn't get recorded until about 1916. James seemed to be well satisfied with the connection he had made. On July 12, 1862, he wrote in the diary "I had all the Strawberries and cream that I could eat. Nothing like having a squaw to gather berries for a fellow." In marked contrast is the entry for that date in Forty Years in which two attractive white girls are discussed and no mention is made of the squaws.

20 G.S., Forty Years, I, 198.
21 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.
22 Anne McDonnell (ed.), "Letter to a Brother: Granville Stuart to James Stuart, April, 1873," Montana, III, No. 3, 5; U. S. Census, 1870, Deer Lodge County, Montana Territory. Awbonnie Tookanka's name has also been spelled Aubony, Aubonny, Aubonnie, Auboniy, Aubonnie, Awbony, etc. Samuel J. Stuart, one of their sons, claimed his mother's name was Ellen Powell. See Everett W. Brown to F. W. Powell, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Feb. 5, 1968; G.S., Forty Years, I, 206n. Granville kept a record of his and James' children's births and deaths. In it, he writes his wife's name Awbonnie Tookanka (or Tookanika or Tookarika or Tookavika). See G.S., Record of Stuart Family Births and Deaths, Dick Flood Collection. The grandchildren of Granville Stuart who are living in the Lewistown, Montana area, insist that their grandmother's name was Arbony and this is how it appears on her tombstone. According to the Joint Diary, Granville married Awbonnie on April 15, 1862, while in Forty Years he gave the date as May 2, 1862. The different dates are not significant. Nor, for that matter, is the fact that the notation in the diary was added at a somewhat later date. The handwriting in this interpolation (April 15) indicates that it was done
within a short time after the original entry was made and not at a
much later date, such as when Granville was going over his papers in
1916.


26 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; Wheeler, *op. cit.*, 225. For
example, on June 20 James won a revolver and a horse as well as some
money and on September 21 he won $152 from the House brothers, Edward
and Freeman. James did not record losing more than forty dollars in a
poker game and he seems to have won much more than he lost, both in
terms of money and in frequency of winning. Ed House died of smallpox
in Walla Walla and Freeman later left the region, owing the Stuarts
about fifty-five dollars. Stuart Account Book, Clark Lib.-UCLA.

27 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 149, 195-196;
G.S., "Notes on the Climate of Montana," F. V. Hayden, *Reports of the

28 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.


33 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., "Life of James Stuart, *Cont.*, 
I, 49-50.

34 F. H. Woody, "A Sketch of the Early History of Western Mon-
tana," *Cont.*, II, 99. Most of the county officials, including the
sheriff and the justice of the peace, who had been appointed when Mis-
soula County was created in 1861, were ineligible to take the office.

35 The outline of the story is in the Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale,
but most of the details are in G.S., "Life of James Stuart," *Cont.*, I, 

This was the first execution in Missoula County and for some years
American Fork (also called Gold Creek) was known as Hangtown to many
in the region although not to those who had lived there.
Mark Ledbeater to Will Mitchell, Aug. 31, 1862, in Helen McCann White (ed.), *Ho! For the Gold Fields*, 45. The author of the letter does not appear to have witnessed the events he described.


Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.

Ibid. Bill Fairweather was the discoverer of the fabulously rich gold deposits in Alder Gulch in 1863.

G.S., *Forty Years*, I, 213. Here Granville has deleted his brother's original entry containing a reference to his squaw. One might ask why the Stuarts, married and almost twice Sallie Burchett's age, bothered to change their appearance for her sake.

Ibid., I, 215. This is in place of another deletion of James' original entry. Stuart has probably exaggerated the impact the presence of these girls had on the appearance of the miners.

Ibid., I, 223; Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.

MR. MONTANA: THE LIFE OF GRANVILLE STUART, 1834-1918

VOLUME II

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Paul Robert Tracee, B.S., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1974

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CHAPTER VII
JAMES STUART BECOMES A LEADER

Sometime after November 17, 1862, the Stuart brothers moved from Gold Creek to Bannack Creek. Reece Anderson, Hugh Bratton, Pete Martin, Tom Adams, and at least thirty-five other men and their families remained at Gold Creek. A comfortable log cabin had already been constructed in Bannack for the Stuarts and they soon contracted for the construction of a butcher shop. A saloon-grocery store was either part of this shop or was constructed separately. Granville and Harry Husted (or Heusted) ran the butcher shop. Before the end of the winter, Granville had cleared about six hundred dollars from his share of the butchering business.¹

James and Woody operated the saloon-grocery. Although there was some shortage of water for mining during the winter, most of the four hundred miners at Bannack seemed to be making money. It seems odd that neither James nor Granville took time from their respective occupations of grocer-bartender and butcher to do any mining. Eventually Woody and James had a falling out and the latter bought out the former. By the spring, Granville was hopeful that his brother's business would break even or make a very small profit when the assets and liabilities were balanced.²

In March, 1863, the Territory of Idaho was carved from parts of the Territories of Dakota, Washington, and Nebraska. The new territory
included all of the present states of Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana.  

By the time that Idaho territory had been created, James had come
to the realization that his mercantile activities in Bannack were not
going to bring him many financial rewards. Furthermore, while the area
around Bannack seemed to be rich in gold, all of the most promising
sites were already claimed. In addition, James gave little indication
that he had any taste for the hard, unglamorous work of mining for an
extended period in one location if he was getting only a modest return
for his efforts. He was the sort of person a recent historian had in
mind when he wrote that

Some were too restless to endure such a life [as a hard­
working miner]. They felt sure that if they ventured beyond
the boundaries of the known auriferous area they could find
new, untouched "diggings," where nuggets could be had for
the picking up. So they organized "prospecting" expe­
ditions. They would load a pick, shovel, pan, some food,
and a gun onto a mule or onto their own backs, and start off
across difficult ravines, gulches, and mountains, and in the
face of Indian danger, in search of virgin ground.

The notation that if the area along Grasshopper Creek was rich in
gold then there must be other not distant and undiscovered areas rich
in gold had a certain logic to it, and, as later events would demon­
strate, the idea was absolutely correct.

On April 9, 1863, as the result of this notion, James and a few
other men left Bannack City for a rendezvous with other prospectors at
a camp on Rattlesnake Creek (then known as Fifteen Mile Creek). When
James arrived at about ten o'clock in the evening, he found there was a
total of only nine men. They decided to wait for the others to join
them. The next morning, after more men had come into camp, the
prospectors organized themselves into a company.

Having determined to explore a portion of the country drained by the "Yellowstone," for the purpose of discovering gold mines and securing town sites, and believing this object could be better accomplished by forming ourselves into a regularly organized company, we hereby appoint James Stuart captain, agreeing upon our word of honor to obey all orders given or issued by him or any subordinate officer appointed by him. In case of any member refusing to obey an order or orders from said captain, he shall be forcibly expelled from our camp. It is further understood and agreed, that we all do our equal portion of work, the captain being umpire in all cases, sharing equally the benefits of said labor both as to the discovery of gold and securing town sites.

The document was signed by the fourteen men: Stuart, Samuel T. Hauser, Henry A. Bell, A. Sterne Blake, George H. Smith, Cyrus D. Watkins, John Vanderbilt, James N. York, Richard McCafferty, James Hauxhurst, Ephraim Bostwick, Henry T. Geery, Drewyer Underwood, and William Roach. The fifteenth man, George Ives, did not reach the camp until the night of the eleventh and apparently no one thought to have him sign the document.

After the company had been formed, the men spent the balance of the day rounding up their horses which had been wintered in the vicinity. The following day the company proceeded to a camp just below the Backbone on the Big Hole River where the Stuart brothers had spent part of the winter of 1857-1858. A guard was posted that night for the first time. "It seems like old times to have to stand guard," Stuart wrote in his journal.

Stuart had slain a wolf and two geese and the latter were boiled all night. However the fowl proved too tough to eat for breakfast and
the men had to leave them to the coyotes. Before the expedition would
return, the men would have been only too happy to eat the geese. Stuart
had worse luck hunting the next day. He missed another goose and hit a
deer in the leg, breaking it, only to lose the unfortunate animal in the
brush. The company proceeded to the mouth of the Stinking Water (Ruby)
River where they were to rendezvous with more prospectors: Louy Sim-
mons, Bill Fairweather, Henry Edgar, Barney Hughes, Thomas Cover, Mike
Sweeney, and Harry Rodgers. In comparing the journals of Captain and
Henry Edgar, it is obvious that there had been a misunderstanding as to
the place where the rendezvous was to occur. The members of the Louy
Simmons party were expecting to meet the Stuart party at the mouth of
the Beaverhead River but when the smaller party arrived in the vicinity
of the mouth, they couldn't agree on its location. On April 4, the Sim-
mons party moved their camp to Mill Creek, a tributary of the Stinking
River, while keeping a constant lookout for the larger party. When the
Stuart company arrived at the mouth of the Stinking Water, they found
no trace of the other group. Assuming that the Simmons party was
delayed and would be able to follow their trail and unsure whether or
not these men were coming at all, on April 12 the Stuart party decided
to go on. They passed the mouth of Mill Creek the same day. It is
surprising that the prospectors did not hear the hunters' guns from the
other party because the two groups were within a few miles of each
other. While hunting on April 15, Edgar and Fairweather found the shod
horse tracks of the Stuart party. The next day they hurried to catch
up. Their failure to do so resulted in the most important discovery of
gold in the region, certainly one of the greatest ironies of Montana history.8

After an unhappy night rounding up horses stampeded by a returning hunter during a snow squall, the Stuart party traveled eastward. Elk and mountain sheep were seen but the hunters failed to kill any. An early camp was made about five miles west of the divide between the valleys of the Stinking Water and Madison River. While the men rested in camp, Geery and McCaffertny did some prospecting. They found a "splendid prospect" and told Stuart about it. The three men agreed to keep quiet about it for such news probably would break up the expedition. The discovery was only a few miles from the site of Bill Fairweather's major gold strike in Alder Gulch on May 26. Once again one of the Stuarts failed to capitalize on a great opportunity to fulfill dreams of material success. According to Granville Stuart, the Geery-McCafferty discovery site was on Granite Creek, a branch of Alder Gulch. James intended to have his company prospect the area carefully on the return trip from the Yellowstone. By the time they returned to Alder Gulch, it was full of excited miners.9

James left the camp and rode up to the top of the divide. Below him was the beautiful Madison River Valley and beyond that the Madison Range. Looking down into the valley, Stuart could see what he guessed to be a herd of buffalo, elk, or horses. They were probably Indian ponies for the next morning, as the company moved up the divide, they met an advance party of Bannocks. The Indians were returning from their winter buffalo hunt along the Yellowstone. When the main party
came up, Stuart encountered an old enemy, Ar-ro-ka-kee, also known as
Le Grand Coquin or the Big Rouge. This huge Indian had made the
Stuart's encampment at the mouth of the Stinking River untenable in
1860. Fortunately for the Stuart company, the Big Rouge was accompanied
by Standing Cottonwood, an Indian friendly to the whites, and that the
Bannocks were under the medicine chief, Winnemucca, instead of Ar-ro-ka-
kee.

The Indians requested that the expedition make camp with them
about three miles distant. The white men agreed. They were escorted
to the camp by some forty warriors. Chief Winnemucca requested them to
put up their tents near his. The men thought it best to humor him.
The chief gave them some elk meat and asked for some tobacco. Tobacco
was then selling for fifteen dollars a pound in Bannack City and the men
had brought along only a limited supply. Stuart, however, felt he could
not refuse the request and gave the chief a small piece. The braves sat
on the ground in two semicircles, one behind the other. The Indians and
their guests smoked, traded news, and told tall tales. At the end of
this congress, Stuart warned the Indians about coming near the white
men's horses that night. He said the horses would be tied up and
guarded and the guards could not distinguish good Indians from bad ones
in the dark. The Bannocks were more interested in trading for the white
men's tobacco and ammunition than stealing their horses and the remunda
was not disturbed during the night. Nevertheless the prospectors did
not sleep soundly that night because the Indians danced and sang,
waving scalps taken from some luckless Flathead buffalo hunters whom
they had surprised a week earlier on the Missouri. Three inches of snow fell on the men as they tried to sleep and the constant wind had a cold, biting edge.\textsuperscript{11}

The next day Stuart killed two mule deer and an antelope and there were many more in the vicinity. Anxieties about the Bannocks and about the lack of fresh meat diminished and the party's morale climbed. Members of the expedition stopped occasionally to prospect. Colors were found the following day but the men concluded that there was not enough gold to be worth mining. That night, as the men crowded in closer to the campfire, muttering about the snow which whitened the saddle blankets under which they tried to sleep, Stuart penned his unannounced concern about the condition of some of their horses. "I am afraid some of us will have to walk before we get back," he wrote in his journal.\textsuperscript{12}

As Gallatin Valley was crossed, the skies cleared, the wind abated, and the sun quickly warmed the valley. Game abounded: black-tailed and white-tailed deer, geese, ducks, prairie chickens, black bear, wolves, antelope, elk, and buffalo. The rock and gravel beneath their horses' feet had given way to soil and there were few prickly pears to stick the unwary traveler. Progress was much faster and the men's spirits soared.\textsuperscript{13}

However Stuart continued to worry about the condition of the horses, particularly because many of them were developing sore backs. The company continued to travel roughly northeastward, with detours around drifting snow and broken red hills. Prospecting efforts bore no fruit. Stuart had difficulty keeping the men from wasting too much time
and ammunition killing the game which surrounded them. Bostwick was attacked by a grizzly bear while out hunting but managed to kill it before he was mauled. Most of the party flocked to see the fallen beast, much to their regret, for it was covered with lice and soon they were also.\textsuperscript{14}

The men had been using the published notes and map of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and by the day after Bostwick's encounter with the grizzly they decided that they had wasted some four days since they left Bannack by not following the Bannack and Snake Indian trails to the buffalo range along the Yellowstone. The men had reached the Shields River, a tributary of the Yellowstone. They crossed it and traveled down the east bank. The prospectors found some colors but still not enough to make them feel it was worth their time to prospect the area more carefully. The character of the country was changing. Although there was an isolated range to the northeast, the Crazy Mountains, the snow-covered Absaroka Range to the south, and an outline of more peaks far to the west, there were no mountains to be seen to the east. The boulders and gravel gave way to sandstone and thin clay. It rained off and on for three days and the exhausted horses mired frequently.\textsuperscript{15}

Stuart climbed a butte on April 24 and was able to see the Yellowstone only a few miles away. The company reached the river the next day. Several members prospected but none of them found a trace of color. Bell and Blake caught some trout to supplement their diet of fresh game. The men were entertained by the residents of several prairie dog towns and the night guards were serenaded by the buffalo wolves. Rain
continued to fall, making travel difficult although the men found some
elegant grass for their exhausted horses. Unfortunately, the ground
was covered with small grasshoppers, constantly landing in the men's
food as they tried to prepare and eat it. Stuart worried about the
return trip for the full-grown insects would destroy all of the fine
grass by then. In spite of the frequent showers, the men had difficulty
finding water to drink. They were forced to drink water which looked
bad and tasted like it looked. Fortunately it did not seem to have any
ill effects on the men and all of them continued to enjoy good health.16

The company traveled eastward down the left bank of the Yellow-
stone for three days. The rain finally ended. Stuart observed another
transformation of the countryside. The sandstone took on a different
appearance and there was more gravel mixed which thinly covered the
hills along each bank of the river. There were more cottonwood trees
as well as a few pine and cedar. The men saw bighorn sheep for the
first time on the expedition and northward-flying geese and ducks
flocked along the edges of the river. Stuart also saw fresh tracks of
a dozen ponies while he was hunting on April 27 and assumed that the
war party would soon make an attempt to steal their horses. In the
meantime, Bell's mare had given out and Stuart lent him one of his
horses so that the mare could rest.17

The men named their camp of April 28 "Eagle Camp" because Stuart
killed one of the huge birds soon after they stopped for the day. The
sun was low in the sky to the west and the men were sitting around the
campfire talking and resting when they heard several gun shots from
across the river. A party of some thirty Crow Indians forded the river as the prospectors scurried to tie up their horses and check their weapons. Stuart came forward as the company's captain to talk and smoke with the leaders of the Indians and their interpreter, a Snake Indian. "Our party stood guard over our horses and baggage, while I smoked and exchanged lies with them." Stuart wrote in his journal. The discussion seemed to Sam Hauser to go on for hours. The camp was throbbing with unbearable tension and excitement. The young Crow braves attempted to take forcible possession of the horses and belongings of the whites, discharged their weapons near the prospectors, and menaced them with drawn bows and arrows. Some of the men, particularly Bostwick and Watkins, had no small dislike for Indians in general and found this threat to their lives and property intolerable without at least making a fight of it. One Indian discharged his firearm close to Watkins' head and Watkins reached for his revolver. Instantly another brave threw a buffalo robe over Watkins' head and body, preventing him from completing his rash act. When the white man was released, his rage seemed uncontrollable. He swore the fight would be postponed no longer and several men agreed with him. Hauser rushed to tell Stuart that fighting was about to commence. Stuart told Hauser to tell the others to await his orders to fight and then ordered the chief to get his men away from the company's horses and tents. The chief signaled his braves to lower their guns and the crisis was over temporarily. About eight o'clock in the evening the two hostile groups separated and the company prepared to settle down for the night. Stuart quietly
instructed Hauser to tell the others that they would saddle at daylight without breakfast and attempt to put some distance between them and the troublemakers. Should the Indians attempt to take possession of their horses or other property, the company would kill as many as they could and then flee northward to the safety of Fort Benton, a distance of some two hundred miles. This would prevent the surviving Indians from getting reenforcements from the main Crow camp, then about twenty miles away in another direction, in time to kill the prospectors. Hauser was greatly impressed with Stuart's coolness under intense pressure.

During the three or four hours that the chiefs had been talking and smoking with our captain, they were apparently perfectly indifferent to what was going on between their men and ours, acting as though the row was a thousand miles away. And in this little game our leader stood them off, by appearing as utterly unconcerned as they possibly could.  

Stuart's plan was not to work. The braves wandered about the company's camp all night, boldly seizing everything which struck their fancy. In spite of the guards and the bright moonlight, the Indians systematically looted the camp, fearlessly reaching under tent sides to take possession of all that they could. At three in the morning, the company silently began to saddle their horses, preferring to leave quickly without bloodshed and save what they still possessed rather than stay and try to recover what they had lost, a course of action which made the shedding of blood probable, if not certain. Instantly the Indians were among them, forcibly "trading" the whites' inferior horses, blankets, and other goods. The supreme crisis was at hand.
Without giving the appearance of being greatly perturbed by these incidents, James passed close to Sam Hauser and muttered to him under his breath to "Tell the boys there's going to be trouble--to be ready--keep a close watch, and do as I do, and for their lives not to fire until my gun goes off." With that he calmly lit his pipe and then moved about the camp directing the men to prepare breakfast, pack their belongings, and prepare to break camp with an air of nonchalance. Hauser also circulated through the camp, passing along Stuart's directions to the other men of the expedition. The Indians, in the meantime, grew more confident that their actions were not going to be challenged and became bolder. They began to quarrel among themselves over the possession of the white men's horses and other belongings. A full quarter-hour elapsed and Stuart's apparent indifference caused some of the men to mutter about his timidity.20

At the moment when the major chief stood apart from his warriors, however, Stuart approached him and at point-blank range he aimed his rifle at the Indian's heart. Instantly the other fourteen prospectors raised their weapons and leveled them at the nearest Indian. Within seconds the Crows had allowed their buffalo robes to fall from their shoulders to the ground, revealing their firearms which in turn were leveled at the whites. Tension-filled seconds turned into minutes as the hostile parties glared at one another. The Indians, seeing that their chief would surely die if fighting commenced, refrained from discharging their weapons. The badly outnumbered whites did likewise and the supreme suspense grew unbearable.21
Stuart, his light blue eyes blazing in anger, berated the Indians, calling them thieves and liars. He ordered the chief to call off his warriors, mount their horses, and go to their own camp or be killed. The chief glowered at Stuart and at the end of the rifle only two feet from his breast. The prospectors were unable to tell whether he would obey Stuart's orders or signal his own glorious end along with a massacre of the intruders onto the lands of the Crows. In almost all situations where humiliation of living is less painful than the certainty of dying, human nature will opt for the former. The chief waved his hand and his followers lowered their weapons, sullenly picked up their robes, and began to mount their ponies. Stuart, who had faced death unflinchingly, now looked relieved and said so. Hauser unwisely let out a whoop of delight. This enraged one young Crow who challenged Hauser to individual combat. Hauser ignored the challenge. The crisis had passed and bloodshed had been averted.22

From that point onward, the fourteen prospectors looked upon Stuart as a hero, as a man of extreme courage and coolness under duress, to whom each owed his life. This intense admiration helps to explain why James Stuart, throughout the remainder of his life, was thrust into positions of leadership, trust, and responsibility by the other members of the frontier society in which he lived. Stuart had certain qualities of leadership as well as a charismatic personality which caused most of his peers to like and to trust him and to mourn his passing years after his death.

Eight of the Crows insisted on accompanying the expedition despite
Stuart's insistence that his men were angry and would not share dinner with their uninvited guests. As they rode along, Stuart continually berated the Indians for their behavior. After riding about half a dozen miles, the men stopped for lunch. The Indians sat on a log while the members of the expedition ate. Afterwards James collected the scraps and gave them to the Indians. Some of the Indians offered to give the men their buffalo robes but Stuart declined to accept them because the prospectors had nothing to offer in return. Stuart told the Crows that when they met again, they would exchange presents. After lunch, the Indians departed and the company continued down the Yellowstone.

Timber became increasingly scarce as did the game, the latter because of the proximity of the Crow's camp. A few elk and antelope could be seen but the animals were out in the open where they could not be easily approached to within rifle range without detecting the hunters. The expedition chose to avoid a time-consuming hunt and instead hurried on. At dusk, the encamped prospectors spotted two Indians approaching the camp on horseback. The Indians' boldness indicated that more were nearby and the prospectors began to tie up their horses. The men made no attempt to keep the Indians from riding into camp and when they arrived, all activity and conversation stopped. The Indians silently sat on their horses looking over the camp and the men. Several minutes elapsed and then one of the Indians asked which one of them was their leader. Stuart responded that he was. The Indian then dismounted, took off his hat, pulled a small bundle from it, and took from within
the bundle a letter from the Indian Agent at Fort Union, located at the mouth of the Yellowstone River. The letter stated that the bearer was Red Bear, one of the main chiefs of the Crow Nation.24

The men invited Red Bear and his companion to have supper during and after which Stuart and the chief had a long conversation. Red Bear asked about Jim Bridger, who had been in the area as a guide to the expedition led by Captain William R. Reynolds to explore the region in 1859-1860 for the Army Topographical Engineers. The chief also asked about Peter Martin, the Mexican, who apparently had been in the area as a trader some years earlier. He wondered why Martin and Bridger no longer came to visit the Crows. Red Bear, as other Crows had done, worried Stuart with rumors that the Sioux had attacked the American Fur Company's boat from Fort Benton in the vicinity of Fort Union and some of the crew and passengers were killed and others were prisoners of the Sioux. John W. Powell and Frank Worden were supposed to be aboard the boat and these rumors caused Stuart no little anxiety for the safety of his acquaintances as well as for that of the others on board. The chief also professed to be friendly to Stuart and his party and presented James with a black horse. Stuart gave him his white mare in return and felt he got the best of the trade.25

In spite of the fact that Red Bear had assured Stuart that his Crows would not disturb the prospectors' property, before midnight the guards spotted an Indian crawling toward two of their most dependable horses which were tethered to the same tree. The guards fell on the Indian just as he was untying the horses. The slightly embarrassed
Red Bear claimed the culprit was both deaf and insane. Although Stuart did not believe the Indian's alibis, he had their prisoner freed and the Indians departed the next morning.26

While Stuart felt angered by the attempt to steal their horses, he had, in fact, expected it and was not too ethnocentric to realize that the moral values of the Indians were not the same as his own. Stealing horses from other tribes or from white men was not considered a crime in the culture of most of the region's Indian tribes.

The members of the expedition packed up as soon as their uninvited guests departed and continued down the Yellowstone. Far away to the west they could see some snow-covered peaks but these were further behind them each day and there were no others on the horizon in any direction. The prospectors, having become accustomed to the mountains, experienced a sense of forlornness out on the plains. The party passed the mouth of Clark Fork of the Yellowstone River and found a good camp site covered with rich buffalo grass some three miles below the fork. Since the grass was full of crickets, Stuart worried that all the grass would be consumed by the insects and that the horses would suffer much more on the return trip. He decided that after one day of travel, Red Bear had bested him in the horse trade.27

That night Bostwick and Geery stood guard. The sky was cloudless and the moon was almost full. Soon the guards spotted an Indian but only for an instant, not long enough to take a shot at him. Silently they moved toward the spot where they saw him and with equal silence the Indian's partner slipped into the other end of the camp, cut loose
Bostwick's roan, and led it away while the guards' attention was centered on trying to slip up on the thief's accomplice. Bostwick was hopping mad and damned the Crows but he was one of the guards and could not pass the blame for the loss onto any other member of the expedition. Perhaps it was fortunate that he could not do so because the strain of the travel, the harassment by the Indians, and the disappointment at not finding any worthwhile gold deposits were beginning to show in the dispositions of the men.28

At mid-morning, May 1, the men saw buffalo for the first time on their expedition. They made camp immediately and as soon as they had lunch, Stuart, Underwood, and Bostwick, whose natural good humor had returned, went out into the nearby hills after the buffalo. Hunting buffalo proved more difficult than the men had supposed but after several hours the successful hunters returned to the camp. The men traveled on, managing to go another fifteen miles down the river before camping for the night. The prickly pears had been troubling the men and horses and some of the latter were sore-backed, lame, and exhausted.29

The valley tended to open up as they traveled down it and the bluffs on the south side gave way to broken hills. There was still a bluff on the north side in the distance but now there was more timber on both banks. On May 2 the expedition crossed the river at a point where it was separated into four channels. There were numerous uninhabited log and bark dwellings and empty corrals among the trees on the south bank, apparently a wintering ground of the Crows. The men traveled on, noting that the hard east wind carried a smell of rain with
After dark, the wind reversed and a soaking rain fell for two hours. All of the tents were blown down, wetting all their provisions.

John Vanderbilt's horse gave out the next day and he was forced to walk except when the other men dismounted and let him ride their animals for a while. George Smith's mule also gave out during the day. Stuart allowed him to ride his extra horse until the mule recuperated enough to be ridden again. During the afternoon, the expedition reached Pompey's Pillar. Here they found the name "William Clark" and the date "July 25, 1806" carved on it along with the names of two other men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. There were also two other names, "Derick" and "Vancourt" carved on it along with the date "May 23, 1831." The prospectors had heard that there was a spring on top of the Pillar but investigation proved the information to be incorrect.

Pompey's Pillar was situated in the heart of Crow country and Stuart found it easy to understand why the Indians liked the region so much. The buffalo, now constantly present, were not very wild and small game was not only plentiful but also rather tame. "It was a perfect paradise for a hunter," Stuart concluded. The men camped some three miles below the landmark and only two hundred yards from a well-used watering hole. A large bank of buffalo went to it to drink after dark and Stuart, with three or four other dare-devils, crept up to within a few feet of the thirsty beasts. The jokesters then jumped up, yelling and screaming, throwing the buffalo into a panicked stampede. Several collided and fell down and some of the calves came close to drowning in the rush from the unfamiliar sounds and sights. The pranksters thought
their deed was terribly funny and were weak from laughter by the time they returned to camp. 32

Perhaps it was just as well that the men could still enjoy themselves and find a release from the tension which now enveloped them. The conversation often centered on water, particularly about which mountain stream had the best-tasting water. The water where they were was foul-tasting and there was no indication that it would soon get any better. Many of the mounts were in terrible condition and the backs of some looked like they had been skinned alive. Stuart was annoyed with the men who abused their mounts. "Some of our horses are in pitiable condition,..." he wrote in his journal. "Some of the party do not know how to travel with horses, but they will probably learn by the time we get back to Bannack City, for they will have to walk; and the next time they get a horse, they will take better care of it." Stuart ordered that no one fire his weapon without his permission because the expedition was down to a two-week supply of ammunition. 33

On May 5 the expedition arrived at the mouth of the Big Horn River. The morale of the men improved tremendously for they had accomplished one of their goals. In the evening some of the prospectors dipped their pans into the loose gravel on a bar in the Big Horn and washed the "dirt", getting a good return for their efforts in the form of gold flakes. The men also got good colors from a gravelly bank some fifty feet from the water's edge.

Early the next day Stuart divided the men into three groups. Five men rafted across the Big Horn to lay out "Big Horn City," four
men began prospecting it, and the others remained in camp to guard the horses. The surveyors laid out the central city of 640 acres surrounded by thirteen 160-acre tracts for the prospectors on the right bank at the junction of the two rivers. Stuart and York claimed 160-acre tracts on the triangle formed by the junction of the two rivers. Stuart and some of the other men of the party cut their names and the date into a sandstone cliff near the camp. "It will stay there for ages," Stuart wrote, "and if I perish on this expedition, I have left my mark."35

Having laid out Big Horn City but not finding enough colors to detain them, the expedition started up the west bank of the Big Horn River on May 7. Game was plentiful, particularly the buffalo, and the waters of the Big Horn, although muddy, did not have a disagreeable taste like the waters of the Yellowstone. There were an increasing number of fresh signs that there were Indians around the campsite. The men resolved that they would fire on a party of more than two Indians rather than allow them to enter the camp again. York had the permanent assignment as daytime horse guard and the other men each guarded the horses half of one night each week. The horses were picketed in a small area at night. "... It[...] takes all the romance out of traveling in the mountains," Stuart wrote of his guard duty, "to have to leave a warm comfortable bed at one P.M. [actually A.M.] on a cold, windy, rainy night, and stand guard until six next morning, the weary hours cheered by the infernal howling of coyotes, buffalo, wolves, and pleasing thoughts of Indians crawling around the camp, and the probabilities of hearing their arrows and bullets come hissing through the pitchy darkness."36
Despite the shortage of ammunition, the men foolishly engaged in a shooting contest on May 9 and Stuart did not prevent them from wasting a hundred rounds of ammunition in a buffalo chase the following morning. The hunters felled two buffalo, mortally wounded many more, and further exhausted their horses.  

As the party traveled up the Big Horn, they spotted three white men across the river some three-quarters of a mile away. Stuart's group hailed the trio but the latter neither answered nor stopped. Stuart sent two men to overtake them in order to learn any news and to find out about crossings and good campsites. Later he and another man joined in the attempt to overtake the smaller party. The attempt turned into a chase which went on for miles until the mysterious trio lost themselves in a side ravine. There were some indications later that the party was John Bozeman, John Jacobs, and Jacobs' daughter. They were looking over a possible wagon road from the North Platte. The eventual result was the Bozeman Trail. The Bozeman party had been threatened by Indians a few days earlier and upon mistaking the Stuart party for Indians, they fled.  

On May 12, Stuart became convinced that they were being followed by an Indian war party. He had spotted groups of buffalo stampeding toward the expedition's line of march several miles away. He concluded that a war party was traveling at about the same rate parallel to them, frightening the buffalo herds. That night after the men had made camp and were busy with their assigned duties, Stuart picked up his rifle and slipped away into the surrounding hills. He returned in about an hour.
with some pemmican abandoned by the Indians. "Those thieving scoundrels are close around here," he reported, "so close that, in their haste to keep me from seeing them, they dropped that [the pemmican], and if we don't look sharp, we will get set afoot tonight."  

With the approach of darkness, the sky became threatening so the prospectors carried all their sacks of flour, saddles, and other provisions into their tents, piling them next to the walls. The men took their weapons into the tents because Stuart was sure there would be an attempt to get their horses during the night. Yet the men did not feel apprehensive, for the Crows had not made any attempt to molest the members of the party since the confrontation two weeks earlier and every morning the men had found evidence that Indians had been near the camp in a nightly attempt to steal the horses. Being accustomed to the idea that there were Indians nearby, the men slept soundly. Hauxhurst and Roach slept under a canvas supported by poles while Hauser, Underwood, Micafferty, and York shared one tent; Ives, Watkins, Bostwick, and Geery another; and Vanderbilt, Bell, and Blake a third. Smith and Stuart took the first turn of standing guard over the horses.  

Just before eleven o'clock, Stuart observed that the horses nearest him were stamping and snorting, obviously disturbed by something. He had been lying on the ground but now sat up and took out a match in order to light his pipe and to read his pocket watch. At that moment, Smith whispered that something was among the horses at his end of the camp and Stuart could hear the ominous clicks of guns being cocked. "Keep close to the ground!" he yelled. He no sooner fell to
the ground than the unseen Indians fired two volleys into the sleeping camp. The air was filled with the sound of gunfire, the screams of wounded horses and men, the yells of the ambushers, and the acrid smell of gunsmoke. "Keep close to the ground!" Stuart yelled again.

"Someone knock down the tents!" York rushed out of one of the tents and knocked all three of them down in an instant, preventing the Indians from using the dark outlines of the tents as targets. 41

Watkins, Bell, and Bostwick were fearfully wounded while Underwood, Geery, Hauser, and Ives suffered painful but less dangerous wounds. Four horses were killed in the volleys including the two between which Stuart had been lying. Their prone bodies probably saved his life. Half a dozen pain-crazed horses raced about the camp, arrows sticking from them, adding to the confusion. Hauser's life had been saved by a memorandum book which had slowed and flattened a lead ball in its flight toward his heart. He suffered only a flesh wound in the chest. He and Underwood crawled out from their collapsed tent into the darkness. The Indians had stopped yelling and firing their guns, realizing that the noise and flash of burning gunpowder would draw avenging return fire from the white survivors. Arrows whizzed out of the blackness as Hauser and Underwood crawled toward the sound of Stuart's voice. He calmly issued orders dispersing the men able to fight into position to repel an expected assault directly on the encampment. The prospectors were ordered not to fire at the unseen Indians because that would only provide targets for the Indian bowmen. 42

The attack never came. The men spent an awful night listening to
the groans of the wounded, the whiz of arrows, and the mutterings of the Indians hidden in a ravine not more than ten yards away. While the threatening storm did not materialize, the camp remained encased in pitch blackness for hours. With the first streaks of daylight, the Indians retired to a distance of five or six hundred yards from the camp to survey the results of their attack in the light of day.43

Daylight revealed the tents and ground splattered with blood, the former pierced an estimated three hundred times by balls and arrows. Dead and dying horses, the wounded men, and dozens of spent arrows lying around the camp, while Indians moved among the trees and rocks in the distance, just out of the range of the prospector's guns. Although the men were not hungry, Stuart insisted that they build a campfire and cook breakfast. As they sat around drinking their coffee, they discussed what they should do. There weren't many alternatives. They could not go back to Bannack City through the Crow country now that the Indians' hostility had boiled over into bloody action. The only real chance for survival was to continue up the Big Horn and its tributary, the Popo Agie, and then strike out for the emigrant road on the Sweetwater River. The three most seriously wounded men were not expected to live out the day and after they expired, the survivors could discard all but enough provisions for about a week's travel. With lightened loads, they could move rapidly up the river toward the emigrant road. Apparently Cy Watkins did die without regaining consciousness within a few hours after he was shot through the temple. Bostwick, who was in agony from five wounds, was in no condition to travel. He insisted that he be
left so as not to endanger the chances of the others to survive. He asked for and was given his revolver to defend himself and without warning he put the gun to his head and took his own life. Bell, shot through twice, was willing to attempt to travel with the rest of the party. After burying Watkins and Bostwick, the men discarded much of their provisions and left "Bloody Camp" about noon. They traveled slowly for about five miles. The Indians shadowed them but stayed out of the range of their weapons. Much to their surprise, Bell did not die but instead seemed to be getting stronger. Stuart called a halt for supper and examined Bell. His examination left no doubt that Bell had a chance and that the others could travel no faster than Bell was able. "This was a serious and desperate change in our plans," Hauser wrote later, "as we had thrown away nearly all of our provisions, expecting to go seventy-five miles in the first twenty-four hours, and thus get beyond the reinforcements to, and possibly out of reach of the Indians, who were at that moment gathering about us on the hills." The Indians would have already taken their abandoned provisions so there would be no point in attempting a return for them. "Still the men all cheerfully and heartily endorsed the captain's resolution," Hauser wrote, "and we halted and remained some two or three hours, getting supper, and allowing Bell to rest." Despite Bell's poor condition, the party started again at 4:30 P.M., traveled east for five miles, then turned south and traveled another ten miles. At ten o'clock they quietly made camp without lighting any fires. Stuart adopted this style of travel as a means by which he hoped to prevent the Indians
from firing into their encampment again. They would eat supper before dark so that their campfire would not be as obvious at a distance, travel several miles in the dark, and then abruptly change directions for one-half mile or more before picketing the horses and bedding down without a fire. 45

On the day after the attack, another tragedy occurred. The party had stopped for supper at about four in the afternoon. As some of the men were unloading the pack animals, York warned that he could see Indians gathering above them. In the rush for weapons, Geery jerked his rifle from under some blankets he had thrown on it as he unloaded his pack horse. The gun discharged, striking him in the chest. As he sank to the ground, his companions rushed to his side. Geery, revolver in hand, announced that he had accidentally inflicted a mortal wound upon himself and that he would not allow the other members of the expedition to be endangered by the encircling Indians while they waited for him to die. The men tried to persuade him that he was not dying. Geery turned to Stuart and demanded that he "...tell the truth; tell the boys I can't live over a few hours at most." Although in tears, Stuart could not lie to his companions so he avoided answering the question. "Never mind, Geery; we will stay by you—all the Indians in the world couldn't drive us away from you."

"See comrades, Jim knows that I am fatally wounded, and must die soon, but he avoids telling me; and the fact that you would all, I know, stay by me, and die for me, has determined me [to end my life]."

When Geery put the gun to his temple and pulled the trigger, only
the cap exploded. His friends begged him not to try it again, but he bravely recocked the revolver and successfully ended his life. One-half hour later the weeping men buried him, covered the grave with brush and branches, and lit it in an attempt to hide the grave from the Indians who by then had approached to within rifle range. The men repacked and moved on another six miles and hid in the sagebrush.

The party traveled slowly southward across the western slope of the Big Horn Mountains. Indian smoke signals were seen on the sixteenth. However the members of the expedition were aware that they were approaching the invisible boundary between Crow country and the domain of the Sioux. They hoped that the Crow war party would not follow them into their enemies' territory and that the company might escape a meeting with the Sioux. Water was often available only at the bottom of deep canyons, perfect ambush locations. There were deep drifts of snow to cross. Some of the horses gave out. Bell's mare fell into a deep gully and was abandoned. McCafferty's mare had a colt on the twenty-third, the same day the men found fresh Crow moccasin tracks around their camp. The colt was killed because it slowed their flight. However, in spite of the lack of provisions, the concern about another ambush, and worry for the wounded men, the men often prospected in the vicinity of each campsite. While the two maps Stuart used were inadequate and he did not know exactly where they were, he was able to identify correctly the major landmarks they passed including the rugged Wind River Mountains on their right. Stuart deliberately chose a difficult route to the emigrant road. "Our route, since the massacre,"
he wrote, "has been through a part of the country too mean for Indians to either live or hunt in, and I came through it to keep out of their way. We are traveling for safety, not comfort." 47

At noon on May 26 they came upon some wagon tracks, the first they had seen in hundreds of miles of travel, and were convinced that they were in the Popo Agie River Valley. Two days later they struck the emigrant road on the Sweetwater River sixteen miles downstream from Rocky Ridge. Two miles further and they saw telegraph poles. Soon a wagon train was spotted. The men slowly followed the train until it stopped for the night. They rode in slowly, realizing that the emigrants were likely to mistake them for Indians, an estimation which proved to be correct. Fortunately the nervous emigrants held their fire until the Stuart party could be identified as white men. There were four soldiers from South Pass Station with the emigrants and from them the prospectors learned why the members of the wagon train had been so edgy. An Indian war party had run off forty head of livestock from some nearby trains the day before. The Indians were pursued and fled toward the Big Horn Mountains, abandoning some flour. Stuart was convinced that it was the same party that had fired on them at "Bloody" Camp" and that these Crows had followed them through Sioux country looking for an opportunity to finish them off. When the expedition approached the emigrant road, the Crows despaired of finding a chance to safely attack the white intruders and veered off to plunder the emigrants. 48

The soldiers and emigrants treated the exhausted prospectors well,
giving them a week's supply of food. The men, particularly Stuart, enjoyed visiting the passing trains and getting news from the states. Stuart visited several of the men he had known when trading along the emigrant road in 1858-1860. Some of them had settled more or less permanently in the area on both sides of South Pass. He also noted the many changes that had occurred along the road. The men traveled leisurely westward along the road and crossed South Pass. Bell was sent by wagon to the Three Crossings of the Sweetwater where there was a surgeon who could extract the ball which Bell was still carrying. Bell planned to return to Bannack City with emigrants going there as soon as he recovered from the operation. Bud McAdow's brother, Bill, was with a large freight outfit that passed by. He decided to travel with the Stuart party to Bannack City while York joined the freight train bound for Salt Lake City. Stuart gave York the black horse he had traded from Red Bear.49

After extensive visiting in and around Fort Bridger, the party turned northward on June 8 in company with several emigrants bound for the Bannack gold fields. The two-week trip to Bannack City was uneventful until June 21 when the party met Jake Meeks. He had taken four loads of flour to Bannack but business had been so bad that he had to store the unsold flour. There had been a rush to the new diggings on a tributary of the Stinking Water River. The Geery-McCafferty discovery was no longer a secret.50

The next day the men traveled forty miles to reach Bannack City and arrived late in the evening. Hardly anyone recognized the ragged
band of prospectors who had traveled an estimated sixteen hundred miles, most of it without a change of clothes or a tent.\textsuperscript{51}

In March, 1864, James organized another expedition to travel to the Yellowstone Valley to prospect for gold and to seek revenge for the deaths of Bostwick, Geery, and Watkins. In addition to James, who was elected captain, William Graham, John Vanderbilt, and seventy other men scoured the Yellowstone and Big Horn Valleys for Crows upon whom they might inflict reprisals. The Indians were nowhere to be found for they were spending the spring in the Musselshell and Missouri Valleys. Severe winter weather dogged the men. On May 18, James, who was probably more interested in vengeance than prospecting, returned to Virginia City with fourteen other men, claiming pressing business. Soon thereafter, two of those who remained became separated in a snow squall from the main party while hunting. One was killed by the Crows and the other taken captive. He escaped two weeks later. The other men traveled to the emigrant road on the Sweetwater River. There the group split up. Some of the prospectors returned to Virginia City in July and August, 1864.\textsuperscript{52}

In 1870, Sam Hauser, later the territorial governor of Montana, and Nathaniel Pitt Langford, later the author of \textit{Vigilante Days and Ways} and the first superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, began promoting an expedition to the headwaters of the Yellowstone River. Included in the expedition were Henry Dana Washburn, Surveyor-General of Public Lands in Montana; Cornelius Hedges, later a ranking Montana politician and the man who proposed the creation of Yellowstone National
Park; Walter Trumball, son of a U. S. Senator from Illinois; Truman C. Everts, one-time Assessor of Internal Revenue for Montana who would become lost after being separated from the others; three other civilians; Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane, leader of the expedition's military escort; and several soldiers, packers, and cooks. Hauser and Langford wrote James Stuart, encouraging him to come along on the expedition. Stuart had heard from another source that there would be only eight men on the expedition and had not learned about the military escort. On August 9, 1870, he wrote to Hauser and Langford that eight men would not be "...enough to stand guard, and I won't go into that country without having a guard every night....It is not...safe to go into that country with less than fifteen men, and not very safe with that number...." At the bottom of the letter he added: "At the commencement of this letter I said that I would not go unless the party stood guard. I will take that back, for I am just d--- fool enough to go anywhere that anybody else is willing to go, only I want it understood that very likely some of us will lose our hair...."53

However within the week Stuart wrote Langford that his name had been drawn for jury duty and he would not be able to go on the expedition.54

That James was elected the leader of the 1864 Yellowstone Expedition and invited to take part in the 1870 Yellowstone Expedition is an indication of the reputation he had made for himself as the leader of the Expedition of 1863. "...[I]t... seemed impossible for any of us to escape,..." Sam Hauser later wrote about the attack at "Bloody Camp."55
Yet all of them except the three men who suffered fatal wounds did escape and all of them felt that they owed their lives to Stuart's leadership, courage, knowledge about the character of the Indians, and experience as a mountaineer and as a Great Plains traveler. Some of the men who looked up to Stuart became influential politically and economically in Montana Territory. Hauser, later a millionaire and a major figure in Montana politics, assuming that Stuart's leadership qualities would extend into the world of business, provided encouragement for Stuart to turn his energies toward a business career.

James Stuart's assumption of a major position of leadership in Montana territorial society had a large impact on the life of his admiring younger brother, Granville. When James died unexpectedly at a relatively early age, much of the high regard in which he was held by other influential Montanans was unconsciously transferred to Granville. His brother's mantle of leadership became Granville Stuart's most important inheritance.
NOTES: CHAPTER VII

1 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, I, 231-232; "List of Early Settlers," 1862-1863," Cont., I, 337, 343-346. There are no entries in the Joint Diary between November 17, 1862 and March 14, 1863 although Granville created four entries (November 18, 19, 22, 23, 1862) for the unfinished autobiography. Granville wrote a brief summary of his activities during this period on March 15, 1863 in the diary.


3 James McClellan Hamilton, History of Montana, 273.

4 Rodman W. Paul, California Gold, 56.


6 Ibid., 150. Hauser, Blake, and Ives have already been introduced. Vanderbilt was born in New York in 1833. He died in Helena in 1909. Underwood came up the Missouri on a steamboat in 1862. He died in Missoula in 1891. Bostwick had been living in the vicinity of Grantsville until the rush to Bannack City. Bell had been living in the vicinity of Gold Creek until the same rush. Little is known about the other men. See Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; "List of Pioneers Who Have Died During the Years 1907-8-9," Cont., V, 341; K. Ross Toole (ed.), "Perry W. McAdow," Montana, II, No. 1, 52n.

7 J.S., op. cit., 150-151.

8 Ibid., 150-153; Israel Clem (ed.), "Journal of Henry Edgar--1863," Cont., III, 124-128. Hughes was born in Ireland in 1819. He died in Montana in 1909. Edgar was born in Scotland in 1836. He died in Montana in 1910. Fairweather, Sweeney, and Rodgers were natives of Newfoundland. Cover was an Ohioan and was the only person with John Bozeman when the trailmaker was murdered by Indians. See "List of Pioneers," op. cit., 324, 334, and a similar list for the years 1910-1916 in Cont., VIII, 349, 350.

9 J.S., op. cit., 153-154. Later McCafferty and a couple other members of the expedition returned to his discovery site only to abandon it as unprofitable soon thereafter. Had the fifteen members of
the Stuart company prospected the area carefully, however, it is quite conceivable that some of them might have hit upon Fairweather's discovery site before he did or soon enough after the May 26 discovery to have secured claims on some of the best locations.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., 154-157. Winnemucca, the "Big Medicine," was not a Bannock. He usually lived among the Paiutes in the Great Basin but exercised some authority over the Bannocks as a medicine man and prophet.

12 Ibid., 157.

13 Ibid., 157-158.

14 Ibid., 158-160.

15 Ibid., 160-161, 180, 208. The expedition was also using a map prepared by the U.S. Army.

16 Ibid., 161-163.

17 Ibid., 162-164. By then the expedition was near the heart of the region occupied by the Crow Indians.

18 Ibid., 165-168.

19 Ibid., 168-169.

20 Ibid., 168-171.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid. Stuart was rather modest about his role in averting a massacre of his men. Most of the details of the incident are from Samuel T. Hauser's extensive notes which accompany the published Stuart journal. These details are corroborated on all the important points by another member of the expedition, John Vanderbilt, who kept "An excellent pencil diary...every day during the time of the march." A summary of the diary was published in what is thought to be the Indianapolis Sentinel in April, 1893. See Clipping File, MHS.

23 J.S., op. cit., 171-172. The eight Indians probably endured the abuse in order to determine the direction of travel to be taken by the company.

24 Ibid., 172-173.
Ibid., 173; William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration of the American West, 1803-1863*, 417ff. The rumored attack on the boat apparently was only that. Red Bear may have come into the camp in order to ascertain the company's strength and alertness.


Ibid., 174.

Ibid., 174-175.

Ibid., 175-176.

Ibid., 176-177.

Ibid., 177-178. Stuart's journal appears to provide the first published notice of Clark's name on Pompey's Pillar since the publication of the Lewis and Clark journals.

Ibid., 178-179.

Ibid., 179, 181.

Ibid., 180-181.

Ibid., 181-182. Seventeen years later, almost to the day, Granville Stuart examined the cliff. He could not find his brother's name but did find the names of Ives, Roach, Underwood, Blake, and Hauser. G.S., *Forty Years*, II, 122.


Ibid., 185-187.

Ibid., 187-189. According to Granville Stuart, two days later the Bozeman-Jacobs party was overtaken by a large party of Indians, was plundered, and was barely able to reach the emigrant road before they starved to death. In this footnote, Granville has Bozeman traveling south whereas James' published journal clearly states that the trio was coming down (i.e., north) the Big Horn. According to Merrill G. Burlingame, "John M. Bozeman, Montana Trailmaker," *MHVR*, XXVII, No. 4, 541-568. Bozeman was born in Georgia in 1837. He was killed by Indians in April, 1867.


Ibid., 190, 193-194.

Ibid., 190-191, 194-195. The sacks of flour, the saddles, and the other gear piled against the tent wall undoubtedly saved the lives
of several of the sleeping men.

42 Ibid., 191-192.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., 192, 196-197. In 1880 Granville Stuart came upon the site of "Bloody Camp" while searching for good cattle range. The site was near what would become a graveyard for Fort C. F. Smith, established in 1866 to protect the Bozeman Trail and abandoned in 1868. See G.S., *Forty Years*, II, 119.


46 Ibid., 200-203. Presumably the graves of Watkins and Bostwick were concealed in the same manner.

47 Ibid., 203-204. The discovery of fresh signs of Indian activity became a regular occurrence after May 23.

48 Ibid., 214-217.

49 Ibid., 217-220.

50 Ibid., 220-232.

51 Ibid., 232-233.

52 G.S., "Life of James Stuart," *Cont.*, I, 56-58; Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; "George Ives Account Book," Beinecke-Yale. Ives' account book was acquired by James Stuart and used to keep a journal of his travels during his second expedition to the Yellowstone.


54 Ibid.

55 J.S., *op. cit.*, 199. Stuart's account of the assault on the "Bloody Camp" required only four published pages compared to Hauser's notes detailing Stuart's heroism during the incident which consumed almost ten pages of small print. The details in the Indianapolis Sentinel, "Scout's Thrilling Story: Some Stories of Adventure Related By John Vanderbilt," April [?], 1893, Clipping File, MHS, are in substantial agreement with Hauser's account.
CHAPTER VIII
FROM PROSPECTORS TO BUSINESSMEN

On April 17, 1863, the mapless Louy Simmons party broke camp and hurried to catch up with the Stuart company. On the twenty-fourth they came upon the carcass of the grizzly Bostwick had killed three days earlier. The seven men pressed on, hoping to overtake the larger party soon. On May 1, they came to the site of Stuart's "Eagle Camp" of April 28, where there was ample evidence of the beginning of the troubles the Stuart company had had with the Crows. The next day the main Crow camp bumped into the Simmons party, making the seven men prisoners. Red Bear, the horse trader and one of the major chiefs, managed to save the prospectors after some of the latter had foolishly antagonized the Crow's medicine man and the other Indians. All the whites were relieved of most of their property except their weapons. They were "traded" inferior Indian horses and directed to leave the area. Had they followed these directions explicitly and not heeded the warning of an old squaw, they probably would have ridden into an ambush. Instead they fled westward, leaving the Yellowstone Valley and then traveling south-westward. Delayed by the need to hunt and dry meat and by a lame horse, Bill Fairweather and Henry Edgar prospected a gulch on May 26 and discovered an exciting quantity of gold. Two days later they named the ravine Adler Gulch. On May 30, they went to Bannack City for supplies and some among them were unable to keep their pact of secrecy.
A mob or more than two hundred excited miners followed them back to Alder Gulch and staked out claims. Thus the mining camp of Virginia City (originally Varina) came into existence.¹

In the meantime, Granville had liquidated all of the brothers' assets in Bannack City except for two town lots, each with a building on it, for twelve hundred dollars. On April 24, 1863, he started back to Gold Creek alone.² During the several months of Bannack City's existence, a substantial number of prostitutes, gamblers, thieves, and murderers had gathered there along with the prospectors, miners, and merchants. Granville was well aware that only a few months earlier lone travelers had been robbed and murdered in the vicinity. He had taken pains to collect the money quietly and had told no one when he was leaving town. He was heavily armed and had left Bannack before sunrise. In spite of all these precautions, he was barely clear of the town when he heard hoofbeats behind him. Within minutes, three men came into his line of sight. Two of them he recognized as "tough characters," Bill Graves and Charlie Reeves. As the trio drew near, Granville dismounted and pretended to adjust his saddle cinch. He kept his horse between the other men and himself and had his breech-loading rifle close at hand. Apparently the men were unwilling to attack Granville so close to Bannack and, seeing that they could not do so without suffering one or more casualties, they rode on toward Cottonwood after a brief conversation with Stuart. Granville then heard another rider approaching from Bannack and feared that it was an associate of Graves'. This would have positioned enemies both to the front and rear, making it
impossible for him to escape.3

The rider approached. Granville was relieved to recognize him as Edwin R. Purple, a friend from the Gold Creek days. Purple, who was also heavily armed, agreed to ride with Stuart. They soon caught up with the trio. The frustrated bandits stopped frequently to adjust their saddles and seemed anxious that Stuart and Purple ride with them. Stuart and his friend stopped every time the trio did and never allowed the men to get behind them. After several unsuccessful attempts to do so the following day, the three men gave up and galloped off.4

When Stuart arrived at Bob Dempsey's ranch in the Deer Lodge Valley, he discovered James' Bannock wife on her way to rejoin her tribe. She refused to return to Gold Creek so Granville made her give up a saddle which belonged to James. He reached Gold Creek on April 27 only to discover that the woman had also taken some property belonging to some Gold Creek neighbors. The next day he returned to Dempsey's and took from the woman everything she had except one buckskin dress.5 Obviously James' marriage had terminated.

Granville and Reece Anderson remained at Gold Creek, living in the "old style," while blacksmithing, repairing guns, mining coal, butchering beef, fishing, hunting, playing chess and cribbage, prospecting, trading, and improving their buildings. Granville made a "bosom board" and a white woman living in Gold Creek showed his "Native American" how to starch his shirts and iron them on it. The village was almost deserted except on Saturdays and Sundays when the miners from Pike's Peak and Pioneer Gulches and elsewhere came to the hamlet to trade,
talk, and get their equipment repaired.  

On the last day of May, Granville returned to Bannack City to try to collect some outstanding debts. He was able to collect about three hundred dollars. He rented their Bannack grocery to a baker for forty dollars a month in advance. James, who had survived the Yellowstone Expedition, and Granville returned to Gold Creek around the first of July. Two weeks later James and Pete Martin took two wagons over to Bannack to purchase supplies and trade goods. The baker had abandoned the rental building and joined the rush to Virginia City so James rented the place to a prostitute at the same rate of forty dollars a month.

On July 25, the day after James and Pete Martin returned from Bannack, the Stuarts, Martin, Anderson, and Hugh Bratton, who had been living with Granville and Reece while he was laid up with rheumatism, held a grand "Consultation" on our future prospects and concluded to send James & Reece to the "Stinking Water" [Virginia City] diggings to see if there was any chance to make anything by moving there, for this place is entirely "played out" the diggings only pay 3 to 5 dollars per pay & the water is very scarce & it will not pay to bring in a ditch [for hydraulicking] as it would cost too much for a small extent of four or five dollar diggings. There only remains eight Migers in these diggings and they will probably leave soon.

Early the next morning, James, Anderson, and Martin started for Alder Gulch while Bratton, Granville, and Awbonnie remained at Gold Creek. There was little activity there until James, Anderson, and Martin returned on August 7. They had hired a man for $150 to build a blacksmith shop in Virginia City. The companions began preparations to leave Gold Creek permanently. The big "Steamboat" wagon was repaired,
tools were sharpened, and a supply of meat and fish was gathered. On Sunday, August 15, the men "Started to Stinking water mines 'Bag & Baggage.'" Their travel was slowed by the heavily-loaded wagon and the trip required ten days. The blacksmith shop was almost ready for use. Reece and Granville began blacksmithing on August 28 and found that there was more business than they could handle. They took in Frank Connell as a partner and operated two hearths. James formed a partnership with Walter B. Dance, who he had known in Bannack. Dance already had a large supply of shoes, boots, saddles, and leather on hand to stock their store. Dance and Bratton started to build the store from lumber which the Stuarts had stored in Cottonwood until they needed it. The store was opened in late October.  

Shortly after the brothers arrived, they and their companions, Awbonnie, Dance, and Anderson, fell seriously ill. Granville described the sickness as typhoid fever, mountain fever, and the bloody flux. Fortunately all of them recovered. Awbonnie presented Granville with a daughter, Kate, on October 9, 1863, probably the first child born in the Virginia City mining camp. The new father could no longer be extricated from his romantic entanglements as easily as his brother had been. Granville had a highly developed sense of ethics which required that he play the role of protective father and husband, regardless of the social hardships imposed on squaw men.

Shortly after the Dance and Stuart store opened, a crippled man named "Clubfoot" George Lane asked the proprietors for a little space in their establishment to set up a shoe repair bench. The partners felt
sorry for the man so obviously down on his luck and generously granted his request. Unhappily, Lane turned out to be a member of a criminal organization which included the three men who sought to rob Granville on the road. He had sought the space in the Dance, Stuart and Company store in order to gather information about potential victims of the road agents (as the bandits were called). Dance and Stuart had one of the two safes in Virginia City and many miners deposited their gold there for safety. From the vantage point of his workbench, Lane could inform his friends who had withdrawn his wealth from the safe and the destination of the traveler leaving Virginia City. 11

On November 14, 1863, Sam Hauser and N. P. Langford set off on a trip to the East with a substantial amount of money including at least one thousand dollars belonging to the Stuarts. While camped along the road, they narrowly escaped being robbed by George Ives, one of the members of the Expedition of 1863; Henry Plummer, the sheriff; and two other bandits. The same month, Granville recorded several highway robberies and murders in his diary. On January 3, 1864, he began a somewhat detailed account of the activities of the extra-legal group known as the Vigilantes. Before the Vigilantes were finished, they had executed more than two dozen men including Sheriff Plummer, George Ives, George Lane, and Joseph Slade, the killer of the teamster named Farren in 1859. The correctness or necessity of these extra-legal measures is not a concern in this thesis because, contrary to the assumption of most Montanans, the Stuarts were not directly involved as Vigilantes. James had, in fact, left Virginia City for Deer Lodge (as Cottonwood had
Photo 5. Ellen LaVatta Stuart, James' wife, in 1865. Photograph courtesy of the Montana Historical Society.
come to be called) on December 13 and did not return until February 12. The majority of arrests, trials, and executions occurred during this period. It is clear that Granville was not involved either for his entries in the diary read as though written by an interested spectator, not as a participant in the Vigilante activities.  

The reign of lawlessness in Bannack and then in Virginia City and the organization of the Vigilantes did provide an unforgettable example upon which Granville Stuart could model his later behavior as a partner in a large ranching operation threatened by large-scale rustling. His response to the threat was the Stuart's Stranglers" of 1884.

On January 17, 1864, Granville received a letter from Louis Maillet, who was wintering at Deer Lodge. The letter informed Stuart that James probably would be married soon. The bearer of the letter had more definite information. James had married the daughter of Thomas LaVatta, Ellen, on January 10. Tom LaVatta was a Mexican, born in what became the Territory of New Mexico. Ellen, a half-blood, was born in what is now Montana. She was fifteen years old, less than half the age of her husband. Granville's comments in the diary clearly indicate that neither he nor Reece approved of James' marriage.

During the same month, the miners of Virginia City were tremendously excited by the rumors of other great gold strikes and dozens of them rushed off during three separate "stampedes," including Reece Anderson. During the stampedes, business at the blacksmith shop and at the Dance, Stuart and Company store was outstanding. Granville sold all their spare horses to the stampeder at greatly inflated prices and
could have sold fifty more if he had had them. Most of the stampeders returned to Virginia City within a few days or weeks, poorer but wiser. Another craze swept the mining camp itself and during a flurry of activity, some of the streets and sidewalks were staked out as claims and dug up. 14

Civilization was coming to Virginia City. In early February, a miners' meeting passed numerous town laws. Fines could be levied against those who used obscene language in public, blocked the streets with wagons or lumber, discharged firearms within the limits of the community, visited a house of ill fame, or committed one of several other offenses. Granville felt that many of these laws either couldn't or wouldn't be enforced. Immigration surged during the year. "The town is full to the brim with new comers, and still they come from all parts, and every nation," wrote a Pike's Peaker. Some frame houses were constructed and space in the narrow gulch for buildings became scarce. 15

James and Ellen arrived in mid-February and a month later James departed on the second Yellowstone Expedition. Reece quit blacksmithing and rented the shop for fifty dollars a month. Word came to Virginia City that a large number of Pend Oreille Indians were threatening the little community of Hell Gate. Accompanying this news was an appeal for volunteers. Granville went around the camp and was able to raise about $330 for the expenses of the volunteers but only six men offered to go fight the Indians. Consequently Granville refunded the money. Nevertheless, Anderson, Hugh Bratton, and four other men started for Hell Gate. The Indians dispersed, however, and bloodshed was averted. 16
In the meantime, Granville resumed the study of French under the tutelage of a French-Canadian and he worked as an employee, not as a partner, in the Dance, Stuart and Company store. In addition, he was preparing a book for publication. "I have lately been engaged in compiling a Dictionary of the Snake Indian language. It is about ready for publication if ever a chance to get it done arrives." Stuart found the time to complete his work and on the last day of January, 1865, he penned the preface. A New York printer published the work the same year with the title *Montana As It Is*. The Territory of Montana had been established in May, 1864, and Stuart's work became the first published book about the new territory. The 175-page book included a brief history of the gold strikes within the territory, comments about the natural conditions of the territory, a vocabulary guide for the Snake (Shoshone) language and for Chinook jargon, comments about the customs of the Montana Indians, itineraries for travel across the Great Plains and through the mountains, and many interesting anecdotes. Attached to each book was a copy of the map of the Territory of Montana prepared for the first Montana territorial legislature by Walter W. De Lacy. Fifteen hundred copies of the book were printed but in May, 1865, a fire destroyed the warehouse where the books were stored and only four hundred copies survived. "...100 were sent to me in Montana," Granville wrote, "were one and a half years in reaching me, on a bull wagon train, got wet, and were about ruined." According to Stuart, onetime Acting Territorial Governor James Tufts took possession of the remaining three hundred copies in New York without Stuart's permission and disposed of
them for personal gain. 17

The book carried the story about François Finlay's early discovery, the discovery by the Stuart brothers and their associates, and the influence that a letter to Thomas Stuart had on starting a mining rush into that region from Colorado. Consequently Stuart appeared in print as a tremendously influential figure in the region, discovering the existence of gold and attracting a white population. For the first time Granville emerged from James' shadow as a leader, a published man of letters if not a man of action. By word of mouth, his reputation spread far beyond the confines of the circulation of the limited number of surviving copies and through heavy borrowing and quoting from his book by other authors. Stuart did not make money from the publication of Montana As It Is but it gave a tremendous boost to his status in the frontier territory. In addition, the book did provide much useful information about the territory. For example, more than one-half century later, and Idaho historian and writer who had been an Indian trader wrote Stuart that he had found the Shoshone guide extremely useful, so much so, in fact, that he had worn out the book. 18

At the same time he was writing Montana As It Is, Granville was involved in other actions designed to preserve the history and enhance the culture of Montana. Along with his brother, John Owen, William Graham, W. W. De Lacy, C. P. Higgins, Wilbur F. Saunders (the leader of the Vigilantes), and five other Montana leaders, he drew up an act of incorporation of the Historical Society of Montana. The act of incorporation was approved in February, 1865. The same month the corporate
officers met in Virginia City at the Dance, Stuart and Company store and elected Sanders president and Granville secretary of the society.\(^{19}\)

The society had a struggle for survival during many of the early years of its existence but has now achieved the goals of Granville Stuart and the other corporate members. With the cooperation of the universities and colleges in Montana, the society has been outstandingly successful in the preservation of the rich historical and cultural heritage of Montana.

The same month that Montana became a territory, Thomas Stuart arrived in Virginia City from the Boise gold fields and took up residence with Granville. His arrival relieved his brother's loneliness at a time when James was away on the expedition, Reece was at Fort Benton to receive part of the thirteen thousand dollars worth of Dance, Stuart and Company merchandise which Dance had purchased in St. Louis, and Frank McConnell had left for Canada.\(^{20}\) Thomas Stuart married Ellen Hamell in November, 1865. Ellen's father was Augustin Hamell, a fur trader and Indian agent; her mother a Blackfoot.\(^{21}\)

Granville continued to work in the store in 1864 and 1865. James established another store in Deer Lodge in partnership with Frank Worden and took up residence there. In May, 1865, he was commissioned a lieutenant-colonel in the volunteer territorial militia. He led a unit northward to avenge the murder of ten whites along the Marias River by the Blood Indians. The Indians fled across the Canadian boundary, escaping chastisement by Stuart's troops, and the expedition became "...a lost chapter in our history." In October, James was elected to
the lower house of the first territorial legislature. He attended the first legislative session during the winter of 1865-1866 in Bannack City. 22

In May, 1865, Granville left the store in Virginia City and moved to Deer Lodge. The same month he traveled to Fort Benton with Frank Worden to meet freight coming up the river and Dance, Stuart and Company and for the Worden-Stuart store in Deer Lodge, known as Stuart and Company. At Benton, Granville took passage on the steamboat, Deer Lodge, the first he had seen for fourteen years, and rode it more than four hundred miles down the Missouri. After enjoying a buffalo hunt, he rode the steamboat back to Benton. His horse fell with him on the way to Deer Lodge and when Granville reached the community in early July, he was still a bit lame. However he and Tom soon went on a ten-day prospecting and hunting trip in the upper end of the Deer Lodge Valley. 23

Granville then spent a month in Virginia City. Upon his return trip to Deer Lodge, he assumed the responsibility for selling the lumber cut by the Stuart and Company portable steam-powered saw and assisting in the operation of the store. Thomas was named "engineer" while Reece became "head sawyer." The Dance, Stuart and Company store was sold in September. 24

In addition to the store and saw mill, James became president of the Deer Lodge Town Company, a firm dealing in real estate. Other members of the company were John S. Pemberton, Louis Descheneau, David Contois, Leon Quesnelle, and Francois Truchot. Sam Hauser, Walter Dance, and the Stuarts also became active in buying potentially rich
lodes and selling stock for their development to Eastern capitalists. It was on one such stock selling trip to New York City that Hauser arranged for the publication of *Montana As It Is.*

On August 22, 1865, Awbonnie presented Granville with their first son, to whom they gave the name Thomas. Granville remained in Deer Lodge throughout the remainder of 1865 except for a trip with Worden to Hell Gate in December.

More than thirteen years had elapsed since the Stuarts had left their Iowa home. During this period, Thomas had left home and had come to live with his older brothers. Granville's father, sister, father's mother (Sarah Richards Stuart), and mother's sister (Rebecca Hall Bozarth) had died. Most of the younger Bozarths were living in the vicinity of Cedar Falls. Nancy Stuart, Granville's mother, lived alone in West Liberty except for her son, Samuel, and his family; her brother-in-law, Valentine Bozarth; and more distant relatives.

On January 6, 1866, Granville, in company with Walter Dance and Frank Worden, left Deer Lodge for a visit to his mother. Business detained them for several days in Virginia City before they boarded an Overland mail coach for Salt Lake City. Crossing Dry Creek Pass in the dead of winter during a blizzard was no little accomplishment but the deep drifts of snow were thawing by the time they reached the valley of the *Sr* *xe* River. Unfortunately the stage bogged down in several of the low places, forcing the unhappy passengers to climb out of the coach and stand hip deep in snow and icy water while they dug the vehicle out. Later they decided to switch to a sleigh only to discover that there
was not enough snow to support it much of the time. The passengers had to walk through the mud while the horses struggled to pull the sleigh loaded with their baggage. After eleven days and nights of jolting, overcrowding, severe weather, and little sleep, the men arrived at Salt Lake City. The fare for each of them from Virginia City had been seventy-five dollars in gold dust or one hundred dollars in treasury notes. 28

The men waited from January 27 to 30 to obtain seats on the Overland stage from Salt Lake to Denver. During that time, there was little to do. The City of the Saints was encased in a dense fog and the lake and valley could not be seen. The theatre was closed until the night after they left the city. Fortunately they met several Montanans while they waited and passed the time talking with their acquaintances. 29

For six days and nights on their way to Denver, the men rode a number of different stages, most of which lacked seats and a roof. They came upon a teamster from Fort Halleck who had frozen to death on the Laramie Plains. Despite the severe jolting and lack of sleep, they did not rest long in Denver. Instead they took a coach down the South Platte and Platte Rivers past Fort Kearney and on to Atchinson, Kansas, where there was a railroad line, the North Missouri Railroad, to St. Louis. Except for pictures in periodicals, this was the first time Granville had seen a railway. It had taken them six more days to travel from Denver to Atchinson but only thirty-six hours to travel to St. Louis. There they met Sam Hauser and engaged in some high living during
the third week of February. 30

On February 21, Stuart turned his back on the theatres, the $4.50 a day hotels, and the other distractions of St. Louis and crossed the Mississippi to Alton, Illinois. From there he took a railroad car to Joliet, where he switched trains. Passing through LaSalle, close to the home of his infancy at Princeton, past the new federal armory being constructed at Rock Island, and across the Mississippi bridge to Davenport. The scenery slid by the coach window but to Granville's disappointment there was little in Wilton Junction or Moscow that looked familiar. At last he reached West Liberty which looked familiar indeed. There he put up at a tavern and enjoyed walking about the town unrecognized. Many West Liberty citizens mistook him for a minister while Valentine Bozarth thought he was an Osage orange seed salesman. Even his mother did not recognize him. 31

She did not know that he was coming and when he appeared at the door, she showed him to the parlor, and the best chair, thinking he was the new parson, and he did not enlighten her until they had almost finished dinner. He laughingly told her, that for once he got the gizzard and the choicest piece of her fried chicken. Auntie Stuart was so overjoyed at having her boy that she broke down and wept and Granville was so sorry that he said he would never do a thing like that again.

Apparently the three brothers had never told their mother that they were all married. "I told Mother & Uncle Bozarths folks all about our doings & situation & you can imagine the scene that followed--we including Thos are considered as being a little more wicked than the inhabitants of Sodom & Gommorrah ..." 32 Squaw men were held in even less esteem in the East than on the frontier.
In the same letter to James, Granville wrote about the attractive and apparently available girls in Iowa. "If I wasn't quite so much married already, I think I would have to succumb to the pressure...to drown my outfit...!" Granville probably was attempting to be humorous but the comment is not funny.

During his month-long visit, Granville took the opportunity to get his teeth filled. The frontiersman continued his free-spending ways. In addition to buying teeth for his mother, he spent some fifty dollars for presents for her and for other relatives. He purchased a gold ring for Awbonnie, three pistols, books, chessmen, toys, silk undershirts, slippers, photographs, and much more. Altogether, Granville spent more than eighteen hundred dollars on the trip.

Nancy Stuart wanted to return to Deer Lodge with her son and apparently Granville did not object. His brother, Sam, also wished to come but would not be discharged from the U. S. Army for a few more months. Consequently it was decided that Nancy would come to Montana with Sam and his family after his discharge. Sam had to return to Bowling Green, Kentucky, where his regiment was stationed, so he accompanied Granville as far as St. Louis. The brothers traveled to Chicago on the railroad and then on to St. Louis, arriving on March 27. Sam left for his post two days later. Hauser had already gone to Kentucky to visit relatives. Worden and Dance departed the city in early April, leaving Stuart to attempt some poetical expression of his feelings:

I wandered up and down
The lonesomest man by all odds in that town!  

Granville impatiently waited until the construction of the
Photo. 7. The Steamboat Walter B. Dance drawn by Granville Stuart in 1866. From Granville Stuart, Diary & Sketchbook (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1963) with the kind permission of Mr. Glen Dawson.
Walter B. Dance was completed. On April 14, he was able to board the new steamboat. Like the other passengers, he had many idle moments on board and all but two of the fifty-six pages of his journal of his trip were written on the way up the Missouri. In addition, he made some seventy sketches of the scenery beyond the deck railing, of boats, and of forts which reveal him to be a talented primitive artist.  

When he wasn't writing or sketching, Granville gave his attention to the other passengers. Many of them blazed away indiscriminately at the wildlife grazing along the banks of the river. The other passengers looked up to Stuart as a "Leatherstocking" and allowed him the first shot when he went ashore with a hunting party seeking fresh meat. An example of the hunting skills of the passengers in general appears in his entry for June 3, 1866:

...found a few buffalo on Cow Island, landed and went for them--such another scene I never saw, men and buffalo running through the woods in every direction, some shooting, some trying to climb trees, and getting up about two feet from the ground by the time the buffalo passed, some running over logs and brush into the mud. The whole scene beggars description. There was probably five hundred shots fired and only one poor old bull killed and several wounded...'tis strange that nobody was killed accidentally, for they were shooting towards each other half the time....

There were days when the Walter B. Dance went aground several times. The boat's captain did not attempt to navigate up the river at night. One night the boat tied up near some Indian graves. "...[S]ome of the boys went and carried off hair rings, paint-bags, arrow-case and ornaments from a skeleton on a scaffolding; suppose he died of small-pox?--comforting thought!"
Photo. 8. "Fort Benton, looking west (up the river) from Lookout Hill" drawn by Granville Stuart in 1866. From Granville Stuart, Diary & Sketchbook (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1963) with the kind permission of Mr. Glen Dawson.
On June 2 the steamer passed some eighty tepees belonging to the Crow Indians. Granville thought of the Crow's attack on his brother's company three years earlier. "...I wanted to train a howitzer, full of grape and canister on them so bad, that I could taste it...."  

The steamboat arrived at Fort Benton on June 8, the tenth of thirty-one dockings there in 1866, compared with a total of twenty-two in 1859-1860. At one point Granville could see five other steamboats as his steamer churned up the Missouri and there were seven boats docked at Benton while Granville was there.  

Granville could not find anyone who was willing to risk his life in the heart of Blackfoot country to ride with him to view the Great Falls of the Missouri River. Undaunted, Stuart went by himself and felt the risk was worth it. "[I] was well repaid by the magnificent sight," he later wrote in the final entry of the Joint Diary. He arrived in Deer Lodge on June 23 and resumed working as a bookkeeper on July 1.  

When Stuart's account of his trip was published in the Virginia City Montana Post, the territory's leading newspaper, the following January, his reputation as a writer, humorist, and authority on territorial geography, Indian affairs, travel, history, and Montana's potential was further enhanced. This account, coupled with the 1865 publication of Montana As It Is, assured Stuart's reputation as the region's man of letters.  

On January 7, 1867, James, Sam Hauser, and Green C. Smith, the territorial governor, left on a trip to the states. Three days
before his departure from Virginia City, James wrote Granville at Deer Lodge, warning him about extending credit too liberally and offering suggestions about how to collect some overdue debts. James was excited about pending business opportunities. "We have many strings in our bow," he wrote, "and some of them ought to prove good."^^

Three weeks later, James wrote again. His trip to St. Louis had been similar to Granville's. However, they did have the added feature of passing within twelve miles of three thousand Sioux and Cheyennes. "I will never be caught on another trip like this without a gun. I fairly shook in my Boots all the way from Denver to Junction...."44

In the meantime, Nancy Stuart's West Liberty home had been destroyed by fire "...with all the books and family pictures and the things that belonged to the Stuarts and Halls since the year one. The picture that their great grandfather painted of their great grandmother and her children [was hanging over the fireplace and since the fire began in the chimney, it could not be saved. Robert Stuart's 1849 diary and many other Stuart letters and papers were destroyed.] Soon as the news of the fire [reached him] James Stuart came home from Montana."

He was tall and slender and carried his head high, and walked like a soldier. He had small hands and feet and wore black clothes of the finest broadcloth and a white shirt with cuffs and collar and he had a gold watch and chain and a gold ring and fine calfskin boots. Nobody around West Liberty wore such nice clothes only the Banker. I sat on his knee and he let me hold the watch and hear it tick. He had thick black hair and dark blue eyes and a black beard.

No one could think how so nice a looking dressed up man could come from the Indian country and look and behave like James Stuart did....James Stuart brought us candy and wherever he went we followed him and he said he was glad to have us. He asked about our school and chores. He told us
about killing a bear that had lice on it and the lice got on his men....

James Stuart helped Aunty Stuart to get a new house, a small cottage where there was lots of trees and room for her flowers and garden and Brahman chickens and the cow and he got a neighbor boy (a good steady strong boy) to stay and do her chores and go to school.

James Stuart returned to Montana and Samuel Stuart and his family went with him. I never saw James Stuart again.

Auntie Stuart begged to go to Montana with James but he thought the country too rough for her and too many hardships so he persuaded her to remain in her home and with her friends....

James was back in St. Louis in mid-March and wrote Granville again. He encouraged Granville to liquidate their old stock at cost (in clean gold dust) if possible in order to make room for the large quantity of new stock he had purchased. He asked his brother to have suitable transportation waiting at Fort Benton for the merchandise and for Samuel Stuart and his family, a cousin, Valentine Bozarth, and himself.

Sixty-three year old Valentine Bozarth, who had been widowed for two years and would be buried beside his wife in three more years, actually made the trip. Sam, no longer in the army; his wife, Amanda; and a son also made the trip with James on the Walter B. Dance and arrived at Fort Benton on June 3, 1867. Sam's son, named for his Uncle James, was only two but decades later he claimed that "certain features of that boat trip [were] his first memories of childhood."

I can recall that there were great numbers of buffalo along the river, and at one place the boat had to stop when the herd crossed the river. I was very small, it is true, but I can recall watching with wonder as these strange beasts herded thickly along the river banks and across the stream.

My other outstanding memory of the trip is that adventure had me in trouble with my mother most of the time.
I could not resist the temptation to swing out over the deck and watch the water. I was spanked many times for that. I got lost on the boat too...[T]he mate took me to his state-room and kept me until I was called for."

Sam and his family remained in Montana only a year. Amanda "...didn't like it in Montana or...the way James and Granville lived. She reported that they worked their heads off and lived like Indians and never went to church and that they kept their store open on Sunday." Further, she was influenced by the racial attitudes widely held by white Americans in the middle of the nineteenth century. She felt superior to and held a dislike for the wives of her husband's brothers and for their growing number of half breed children. In addition, Sam was at loose ends since his discharge from the army and his heavy drinking disturbed his brothers, all of whom abstained altogether. The mutual unhappiness seems to have come to a head when Amanda and another white woman dressed up in blankets and cruelly mocked Amanda's sisters-in-law. A heated quarrel followed and the Sam Stuarts returned to Iowa in 1868. The family quarrel was a symptom of the social disease of race prejudice which troubled three of the Stuart brothers. The feeling of prejudice was becoming more intense as the white population of Montana continued to grow and as the Indian wars of the 1860s and 1870s ran their bloody courses.

The Montana gold rush of the early and mid-1860s transformed the mountain regions from the trapper-trader society and economy to that of a mining economy and society. The Stuart brothers, who did much to bring about the gold rush, seemed at loose ends as a result of it. Although they moved to the sites of the rich strikes around Bannack
City and Virginia City, they did not actively engage in mining. Granville and especially James spent an extraordinary amount of time traveling. James ventured into territorial politics while Granville began to make his mark as a preserver and writer of history. Both became interested in business.
NOTES: CHAPTER VIII


2. Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.

3. G.S., Forty Years, I, 234-236. The Joint Diary makes no mention of this episode except for an interpolation written after 1898.

4. Ibid., I, 236-237.

5. Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale. Actually the woman's tribal background is unclear. The diary merely states that she was on her way to see her Bannock friends.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid. Dance was born in Delaware in 1820 and died in Butte, Montana, in 1878. He lived in St. Louis for several years during his youth. K. Ross Toole (ed.), "Perry W. McAdow and Montana," Montana, II, No. 1, 52n.

10. Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Record of Stuart Family Births and Deaths, Dick Flood Collection.


12. Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; Thomas J. Dimsdale, The Vigilantes of Montana, 54ff; Langford, op. cit., 255ff. Hauser and Langford were carrying a small fortune. According to the Stuart diary, "We let him [Hauser] have a Thousand Dollars." This may have been a personal loan to Hauser or money which Hauser was to use to pay some Eastern creditors of Dance, Stuart and Company. Langford wrote that Dance and Stuart sent fourteen thousand dollars in gold dust with Hauser and him to pay their St. Louis creditors. The two accounts are not necessarily contradictory.
Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; Mrs. Frances Goble (James Stuart's granddaughter) to Paul Treece, April 18, 1971; Anne McDonnell (ed.), "Letter to a Brother," Montana, III, No. 3, 5. Granville's and Reece's objections to the marriage presumably were related to the fact that Ellen's mother was an Indian. However Reece married Awbonnie's step-sister, Mrs. Mary Payette Meeks, the next year. Mrs. Ethel Young to Conrad Anderson, Aug. 22, 1965, MSU.

Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.


Joint Diary; Beinecke-Yale. For some unknown reason, in G.S., Forty Years, I, 242, the Indian episode was removed from April 1864, to May, 1863.

Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; letters found with copies of Montana As It Is at UM and MSU.

John E. Rees to G.S., July 12, 1916, MHS. This was no small compliment for another Idaho historian wrote that Rees "...was probably the best authority on the Shoshone Indians of Idaho...." Rees (1868-1928) was born in Illinois and came to Idaho in 1877. "He was a post trader at the Lehmi Indian Agency for seventeen years and served terms in the Idaho legislature." He authored a history of Lemhi County as well as a reference book and an article on Idaho. He was also a newspaperman and an attorney. Byron Defenbach, Idaho, The Place and Its People, I, 16, 58, 95, 358, 494. The Stuart-Rees correspondence is scattered among the libraries of UM, MHS, and the University of Wyoming.

Cont., 16-35.

Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.


Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 58-59; Wilbur F. Sanders, "Address," Cont., IV, 136; H. H. Bancroft, Works, XXXI, 644. Walter Dance appears to have been associated with the Deer Lodge enterprise from its inception. Worden was bought out by Stuart in 1869.

Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.

Ibid.; Virginia City Montana Post, Nov. 25 and Dec. 2, 1865.
Powell County, Montana, Court Records, Deed Record Book 1, 37, 187 et passim; Thomas Adams to G.S., June 10, 1865, MHS; Walter B. Dance to G.S., July 5, 1865, MHS; Walter B. Dance to J.S., July 7, 1865, MHS; J.S. to Frank L. Worden, April 11, 1865, MHS; J.S. to G.S. and Walter B. Dance, Dec. 24, 1866, Beinecke-Yale.

G.S., Record of Stuart Family Births and Deaths, Dick Flood Collection.

Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.

Ibid.; "Original Manuscript Diary During His Overland Journey From Montana to Iowa and Back to Fort Benton...Jan.-June, 1866" (hereafter 1866 Diary), Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Diary & Sketchbook of a Journey to "America" in 1866, & Return Trip up the Missouri River to Fort Benton, Montana (hereafter Journey to "America"), 1-3. There are five versions of this 1866 diary. In addition to the original, Yale has two typescripts, one a rough draft, the other a finished draft, prepared by Granville Stuart as a chapter in his autobiography. The finished draft is numbered "Chapter 28" (pages 472 through 504). It was not included in Forty Years. Another version was published in four installments in the Virginia City Montana Post, Jan. 5, 12, 19, and 26, 1867. Journey to "America" is a reprinting of the Montana Post series in 1963. The later versions are expansions of the original. The earliest and latest versions have been used in this dissertation.

G.S., 1866 Diary, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Journey to "America," 3-11.

Ibid.

G.S., Journey to "America", 11-12. The significance of Osage Orange seed may be found in Walter Prescott Webb, The Great Plains, 290ff; A.B.S., "Recollections of William Morgan," MSU.

G.S. to J.S., Mar. 9, 1866, Beinecke-Yale.

Ibid.

G.S., Journey to "America", [53.]

Ibid., 12-14.

Ibid., x-xi, 14ff. The reason why the new steamer was named after James Stuart's partner was not discovered.
37 Ibid., 14-42.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid. The quote does not appear in the original diary.
40 Ibid., 38-50; G.S. 1866 Diary, Beinecke-Yale; "Steamboat Arrivals at Fort Benton, Montana, and Vicinity," Cont., I, 317-319. The rapid increase in river traffic underlines the changing character of the territory, i.e., a rapid increase in the white population, much improved communications, and access to supplies from the East.
41 Joint Diary, Beinecke-Yale.
43 J.S. to G.S., Jan. 4, 1867, Beinecke-Yale.
44 J.S. to G.S., Jan. 24, 1867, Beinecke-Yale.
45 A.B.S., "Recollection of William Morgan," MSU. There are so many errors in this typescript (the original wasn't located) that one must wonder whether it was manufactured by Allis Stuart. The juvenile style of the "Recollections" does not resemble the style found in Morgan's extant letters to Mrs. Stuart found at the MSU. Errors include the place of Robert Stuart's death and burial, descriptions of Elizabeth Stuart and her funeral (Elizabeth died before Morgan was born!), and that James and Granville visited their mother every year after 1867 (which they did not do). The fire is also mentioned in G.S., Forty Years, I, 37.
46 J.S. to G.S., Mar. 16, 1867, Beinecke-Yale.
47 Tombstone, Oak Ridge Cemetery, West Liberty, Iowa.
48 "Dr. James E. Stuart, Nephew of Famous Pioneer Brothers, Came up Missouri to Montana in '67," marked Rocky Mountain Husbandman, April 5, 1934, Clipping File, Billings Public Library. According to G.S., Stuart Genealogy, UM, Samuel and Amanda had another son, presumably their first-born, named Montana Stuart. William Morgan mentions two sons of Samuel Stuart. Apparently, Montana died in infancy as did a third son, Eddie, who is buried next to his Aunt Elizabeth Stuart on the plot of Valentine Bozarth and Rebecca Bozarth. Later the Sam Stuarts had another son and three daughters.
49 A.B.S., "Recollections of William Morgan," MSU.
Interviews with a daughter of Thomas Stuart and a grandson of Granville Stuart, 1971; G.S. to J.S., April 24, 1873, MHS. Awbonnie delivered a third child on November 4, 1867. His name was Charles. Ellen, James' wife, delivered a son, Richard, on June 13, 1866 and another, Robert, on April 24, 1868. Thomas had been married two years and had just begun his large family. See G.S., Record of Stuart Family Births and Deaths, Dick Flood Collection; U. S. Census of 1880, Town of Deer Lodge, Deer Lodge County, Montana Territory.
CHAPTER IX
THE STUARTS ENTER BIG BUSINESS

Samuel T. Hauser's origins were less humble than the Stuarts'.
A year older than Granville, Hauser received a public school education in Kentucky and advanced training as a civil engineer in Cincinnati. He was employed as a surveyor on the Kentucky Central Railroad, later as a Chief Engineer of a section of the Pacific railroad being constructed in Missouri, and finally as Chief Engineer of the Lexington and St. Louis Railroad (beginning in January, 1860). His cousin, Luther Kennett, vice president of the Pacific Railroad Company and mayor of St. Louis, and other influential relatives and friends aided Hauser's advancement. The outbreak of the Civil War disrupted this promising career. Although most of the members of his family were staunch Unionists, Hauser was pro-Southern in his sympathies. The need to escape from family pressures and ill-will may have sent Hauser from St. Louis to the gold fields of Idaho in 1862.1

Hauser's meeting of James Stuart the same year was the beginning of a lifetime friendship. In December, 1862, Stuart, Hauser, and several other men met to form a townsite association and to make plans to engross the townsites at the Three Forks of the Missouri. It was expected that a town would spring up there at what was assumed to be the real head of navigation on the Missouri once a method was found to bypass the Great Falls. On January 1, 1863, Stuart, Hauser, and five
other shareholders departed for Three Forks only to discover that a rival company had beaten them to the townsite. Attempts to establish a town downstream by the Hauser-Stuart Company did not bear fruit but it did lead to the organization of the Yellowstone Expedition of 1863. On March 9, plans were initiated not only to search for gold but also to establish a townsite at the point where the Big Horn flowed into the Yellowstone. There was some expectation that the Yellowstone would be navigable to steamboats and that a town would spring up at that point, connected to the gold fields by a wagon road. The expedition gave Hauser a very favorable impression of James Stuart's capabilities as a leader of men.²

Late the same year, Hauser and Langford traveled to the East. The former did not return for thirteen months. During his absence, James purchased for Hauser and himself silver quartz claims along Rattlesnake Creek, a tributary of the Beaverhead located a dozen miles north of Bannack City. Stuart and others also worked to pass special corporate charters in the first territorial legislature for the Big Horn Town Association and other companies in which the Stuarts, Hauser, Dance, and others had an interest.³

The claims acquired along Rattlesnake Creek seem to indicate that Stuart and Hauser believed that the development of quartz lodes, not placer deposits, was the surest way to future economic success. Hauser's visit to the East in 1865 eventually led to the formation of the St. Louis and Montana Mining Company (hereafter S.L.M.M.C.) in January, 1866. Officers of the company included Vice President Hauser
and his wealthy and influential cousin, Luther Kennett, President. The company's St. Louis directors included Kennett; John How, wealthy merchant friend of Hauser's, banker and onetime mayor of St. Louis; Samuel Gaty, foundry owner; Samuel Treat, sometime U. S. District Court Judge; and others. Montana directors were Hauser, Walter B. Dance, George Parker, and James Stuart.4

During the summer, the company shipped smelting machinery to Montana City on Rattlesnake Creek. The community soon came to be known as Argenta. Augustus Steitz, a German metallurgist, was employed as superintendent of the smelter, the first to be constructed in Montana. His assistant was Philip Deidesheimer, another German metallurgist and possibly the inventor of the square-set timber method of mining. Shortages of men and material slowed the erection of the smelter and digging up the lodes. The need for cash threatened to slow the project further until Hauser's newly created First National Bank of Helena advanced more funds. Hauser appealed to Dance, Stuart, and Company to do likewise. After making a personal inspection of the Argenta project, James wrote that "... [I have] a severe attack of quartz on the brain, and Dance and I are willing to advance any amount of money that you and the superintendent may want to carry on the operations of the company ...."5

The smelter went into operation in October. 480 ounces of silver were extracted from the first ton of processed ore. Later a 920 ounce brick of pure silver extracted by the smelter was exhibited to the delighted white residents of Montana.6
Photo. 9. The St. Louis and Montana Mining Company smelter on Rattlesnake Creek, the first smelter in Montana. From the St. Louis and Montana Mining Company Report, 1867.
During 1866, members of the S.L.M.M.C. investigated the rumored presence of rich deposits of silver ore in the Flint Creek Valley. On the strength of a recommendation by Philip Deidesheimer after his personal investigation, members of the company began buying up claims on the most promising lodes. In the meantime, the great optimism about the Argenta works turned to pessimism following the annual report of 1866. The mill was closed the following August. Despite the loss of most of the company's initial investment in Montana, Hauser was able to persuade the other members to transfer the center of operations to Flint Creek, to make additional large-scale investments, and turn from the reduction process to the amalgamation process of refining ore. The construction of the amalgamation works was begun near the town of Philipsburg, named after Deidesheimer. The mill was named the James Stuart Mill after its first General Manager. Production began in October, 1867.7

In the meantime, Granville continued to work as an employee of the Stuart and Company store and mill in Deer Lodge. James' new responsibility at Philipsburg and his long absences from Deer Lodge meant that he could no longer pay close attention to the details of his mercantile business except for the small Dance, Stuart and Company store he established at Philipsburg. It was Granville rather than Dance who seems to have assumed the lion's share of these extra responsibilities.

In May, 1868, James wrote to Granville that the quartz lodes claimed by the S.L.M.M.C. were played out. "...In my opinion," James wrote, "there is but one show for the Co & that is to go to doing custom
work...." James seemed to be looking ahead to the probable loss of his position as well as the possible failure of the company. "...I think that the absence of newspapers would be the hardest trial if we have to resume our old wandering habits which from present appearances we are liable to do--How I would like to take a trip down Green River to the Spanish Trail then through the Mountains to Los Angelos [sic]...."\(^8\)

James' next letter was no more encouraging. "...Our bad luck continues. The rock in the tunnel is the hardest rock to drill that has ever been found in the district...."\(^9\) In June, he wrote that he "...shut down the mill, discharged & paid all the employees except [Ferdinand] Kennett ...."\(^{10}\) However the operation did not cease entirely. In July, he wrote that he was using three miners (the company had previously provided employment for dozens of miners on two shifts)."

In August, he wrote a fairly optimistic letter to Hauser. The mill was in operation and doing custom work for Cole Saunders. Stuart felt there was enough ore to last until the next May. He even co-signed a note for Saunders for $4700.\(^{12}\)

Stuart and Company was not doing well. James decided to buy out Frank Worden, sell off the merchandise and other property, and dissolve the company. He reassured Granville that he need not worry about unemployment as he would be kept busy collecting overdue accounts owed the company.\(^{13}\) In February, 1869, Worden's share of the merchandise, profits, buildings, and real estate was assumed by Dance and James Stuart for $36,000, an amount not immediately paid to Worden.\(^{14}\) James wrote to Hauser about the transaction. "...I do not know what Judge
[Dance] intends to do but I am not going to buy any more mdse until times gett better. We...are not as well off as we were in [18]66 when we made the grand combination of D.S.&Co.--Think of that[! D]oing business over two years, handling several hundred thousand worth of goods and losing money which satisfies me that I am not competent to be a successful merchant therefore I am going to quit before I get flat-broke...."15

There were four reasons why the firm was not as well off in 1869 as in 1866. The local economy was undergoing a temporary contraction. There was more competition from other commission merchants. The company had always been too lenient in the policy of extending credit and apparently was not very forceful in the collection of overdue accounts. The company lent, apparently without interest, several thousand dollars to the S.L.M.M.C. Some of this was recovered but apparently all of it was not.16 James had not learned from his experiences at the Stuart-Woody store in Gold Creek and at Bannack City or at Dance, Stuart and Company that the extension of credit to friends made the collection from delinquents diffucult. Overdue accounts posed a grave threat to the company's ability to make a profit.

The James Stuart Mill was not doing well either. By the autumn of 1868, Stuart had run out of company ore which could be processed profitably and could not find enough Custom ore to process to keep the mill running efficiently. Both Stuart and Dance wrote Hauser predicting the collapse of the S.L.M.M.C. and urging him to sell their stock in the faltering company for whatever he could get for it, even if it was only
five cents on the dollar. Then Stuart and Company would attach all of
the S.L.M.M.C. property in Montana to recoup as much of their loan as
possible by selling off the attached property. On November 12, 1868,
Stuart wrote Hauser that he had "...shut down the mill and discharged
all the men except five miners....I am going to pay the men with the
bullion instead of turning it over to the Bank. I cant [sic] have the
heart to ruin the poor devils that have worked so long for the Com-
pany...."\textsuperscript{17}

James Stuart had divided loyalties as General Manager of the mill
and a partner in the Deer Lodge enterprise. Nowhere is this more
evident than in a letter to Fred Kennett in March, 1869, in which Stuart
implied that he intended to use mining revenues to pay off S.L.M.M.C.
debts to the Deer Lodge firm without being authorized to do so until
"[I]...get as near all the money that they own us as it is possible to
get then I will immediately resign. We will lose about $32,120 in the
operation."\textsuperscript{18}

Stuart had other troubles as well. Stuart and Company accounts at
the First National Bank of Helena, founded by Hauser in 1866, were in
disarray. Further, Cole Saunders left Philipsburg without making good
on the $4700 note which Stuart had cosigned. Saunders had given to
Stuart as security a mortgage to which he did not have a proper title.
Stuart thought he had been able to co-sign the note as an agent of the
S.L.M.M.C., thereby passing all responsibilities for the note on to the
company. However, he soon discovered that Saunders' principal creditor
was suing him as an individual rather than suing the S.L.M.M.C.\textsuperscript{19}
James' marital entanglements had grown tighter. A third son, John, was born on December 26, 1869.\textsuperscript{20}

The James Stuart Mill was closed during the spring and summer of 1868 while the principal stockholders of the S.L.M.M.C. in St. Louis groped for a solution to the problem of the continual demands for additional capital expenditures while getting very little bullion as a return on their investments. The company's executive structure underwent several structural changes and an agreement was worked out with the company's Montana creditors, including Stuart and Company, whereby they settled their debts with company bonds as well as with personal notes given by some of the major stockholders. The Deer Lodge firm appears to have received about $25,000 in bonds and notes but it is not known whether or not they were ever redeemable at face value, if at all. James continued as General Manager of the mill, at least in title, until late 1869 or 1870. Stuart and Company of Deer Lodge also lingered on until 1873 or 1874.\textsuperscript{21}

At the end of the decade, James summed up the situation in a letter to an Iowa boyhood friend. "...We still retain our taste for reading. We have the best library in the Territory. When Uncle Valentine Bozarth was here he seen the bright side of everything. We tried to make him enjoy the visit and I am afraid he has given you a rather rose colored view of Montana. The placer mines that were easy to work and...required only a little capital to work are nearly worked out. About all the mining hereafter will be done by companies or individuals who have large capital to invest in mining operations."
Photo. 10. Fort Campbell sketched by Granville Stuart in 1865. From Granville Stuart, *Diary & Sketchbook* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1963) with the kind permission of Mr. Glen Dawson.
He went on to write that men without capital could not hope for much except employment as day or week laborers and that men with money to invest but no mining experience will lose their investment: nine times out of ten. He wrote about the high prices, hard winters, and short mining seasons, plainly in an effort to discourage his old friend from coming to Montana unless he was single, broke, and without a farm. He offered no help, however, should his friend decide to come anyway.\textsuperscript{22}

In spite of the discouraging advice, Stuart and Company continued to invest in mining properties.\textsuperscript{23} In addition, the three Stuart brothers and Reece Anderson purchased mining claims on the north bank of Boulder River near Cataract Creek the same month James wrote to his friend.\textsuperscript{24} Anderson located there on a more or less permanent basis and was elected recorder of the local mining district, known as the Cataract Mining District. He began hydraulicking about three months later. Tom and Granville were at the mining site for extended periods of time throughout 1869 and afterwards.\textsuperscript{25}

Public employment offered an alternative source of income. James was at one time a U. S. Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue (when N. P. Langford was the Collector).\textsuperscript{26} In 1866, Granville asked Hauser to use his influence to get postmasterships for James (in Deer Lodge) and Frank Worden (in Missoula Mills) as well as the appointment as Blackfoot Indian Agent for himself.\textsuperscript{27} Later James wrote Hauser urging that he use his influence to get the two of them appointed negotiators of a treaty with the Crows which would limit the Indians to lands south of the Yellowstone River. The negotiated treaty would provide them a
Photo. 11. "A View of the Gold Creek Mountains from Deer Lodge Looking West" drawn by Granville Stuart in 1865. From Granville Stuart, Diary & Sketchbook (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1963) with the kind permission of Mr. Glen Dawson.
a chance to make $25,000 to $30,000 "very easy." In 1869, James asked Hauser to help him "...get me appointed Counsul to...Honduras. I am going there next fall if I have enough to take me there and...back, and if I could get office enough to pay my expenses. I don't suppose there is very much pay in it, therefore the position will not be very much sought after." Dreams of visiting Latin America awakened by his father in 1852 had not died.

Granville shared his brother's longing to travel. He dreamed of writing and illustrating travel books which would earn the expenses of his world tours. He had some talent as a primitive artist and he had been drawn in that direction by his friendship with the artist Peter Tofft and by his friends' admiration of the sketches he had made during the years 1865-1867. He confided his dreams to George Ware of St. Louis, a onetime Fort Benton merchant. This was Ware's reply:

Your favor of Nov 11th [1867] enclosing the four Photographs of your sketches is received here to day-- for which I am greatly obliged--they are all of them very good, and I think you have made great improvement in your drawing--& hope you will continue in your efforts to be a "drawist", you will take a great deal of pleasure in it, and especially if you carry out your programme of "doing" Europe, Asia, Africa, and other outside places-- ...I have not seen our friend Tofft....

It was as an authority on matters relating to the Territory of Montana, not as an artist, that Granville earned the most attention. Stuart's position of authority rested on the 1865 publication of Montana As It Is as well as on the subsequent articles in local newspapers, some of which were reprinted nationally. Two highly respected scientists enlisted his aid in obtaining information about Montana.
During 1869 Professor Joseph Henry of Smithsonian Institute appointed Stuart a statistical Correspondent. Two years later F. V. Hayden of the U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey credited Stuart as the source of some of the information on Montana, especially its climate, in an 1872 published report by the Department of the Interior. To Hayden's Reports of the U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, published the next year, Stuart contributed information about the climate, geography, and agricultural potential of the Deer Lodge Valley.

Others sought him out for information. For Augustus Steitz, Granville fulfilled a request for information on Montana history, climate, and geology. He responded to the request of Saul Wilkins, a New York City writer, for help in "...writing up Montana..." by sending historical materials. In answer to P. T. Barnum, a museum owner who was founding a circus, Stuart wrote that the Flatheads did not have flat heads but referred Barnum to a book on Puget Sound Indians by author, title, and publisher. Benjamin F. Pott's, Montana's Territorial Governor and friend of Stuarts, urged him to write a tract on the territory's climate for the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, which would become part of a promotional booklet published by the railroad company in several languages. One historian feels that Stuart's report may have had an influence on the company's plans for construction of the line through Montana. Stuart's essay was eventually published in the railroad's guidebook in 1883.

In 1870, the prolific author and publisher of western history,
Hubert Howe Bancroft, sought out Stuart for information on the history of the community of Deer Lodge. Stuart provided the information which Bancroft requested and presumably more, including *Montana As It Is*, for "...Bancroft tells of his indebtedness to Granville Stuart in Montana, saying that 'through him, and by various other means, I was enabled to secure from that quarter, including Idaho, sufficient [information] for my purposes....'"41

Granville's intellectual curiosity was never still. He practiced his French through almost flawless letters to his French-Canadian friend, Louis R. Maillet.42 In the early 1870s, he sent a steady flow of letters to the Winchester Repeating Arms Company, the Massachusetts Arms Company (manufacturer of the Maynard rifle), the Sharps Rifle Company, the Union Metallic Cartridge Company, and other arms and ammunition manufacturers offering suggestions for product improvement.43

In spite of the fact that the Stuarts were falling into hard times, he regularly mailed orders for books to eastern publishers and entreated friends and relatives to help him find hard-to-locate volumes. The book-buying vice became stronger with each passing decade throughout the remainder of his life. He soon added to it the vice of subscribing to a large number of periodicals and became a collector of source materials about the region in which he lived. His reading tastes were rather catholic although books about foreign places and about the history of the western United States made up a significant minority of his collection. He owned numerous books printed in foreign languages, particularly French and Spanish.44
During the late 1860s and thereafter, Granville Stuart was active in civic affairs. As early as 1865, he was a member of a commission which was directed to lay out the site of the town of Silver Bow. By the end of the year, this mining camp had grown to about one thousand and became the first seat of Deer Lodge County. Later the town suffered a decline as rapid as its earlier growth had been.  

By 1868 Stuart was president of the Deer Lodge Town Committee and played a leading role in assisting the Reverend Daniel Tuttle to establish an Episcopal Church there.  

By 1870, Stuart was the Chairman of the County Commissioners and the leader in the movement to get the territorial penitentiary located in Deer Lodge. The campaign was successful and Stuart was appointed to be one of the Territorial Prison Commissioners. In 1872 he was elected a trustee of the local school district. He was also very active in promoting the building of railroads within the territory and in the losing fight to get the territorial capital relocated in Deer Lodge.  

The Stuart family continued to grow. Awbonnie delivered a fourth child, Mary, on February 2, 1870, and still another, Elizabeth, on July 14, 1873. The Stuart family relations had been going through a rough period. Nancy Stuart had been hectoring her four sons to be allowed to come to Montana. "...I shall have to Say What you all will be glad to hear. that I am not comeing to Trouble [you] in your Western homes, I don't believe you could Feel Glad if you Could know how hard it is for me to give up the Fondly Cherished hope that I could go to you this
Spring....I do think it is awful hard to know that I Haven't only A
few days. at most. to spend here. and them must bee Spend alone Denied
the only Pleasure this. Wörd affords. of being with my children...."
She was concerned about something Granville had written about Samuel
and his family. "...I do hope there is no Trouble with Enny of you
...."51

The trouble, as already mentioned, had to do with Amanda's
attitude toward her three Indian sisters-in-law. There followed a
great domestic quarrel and the Sam Stuarts left Montana. Sam himself
did not seem at all angry at his three brothers when he wrote them from
West Liberty on Independence Day, 1869, that he and his family "...will
go back to Bell Plains [Iowa] next--and will probably make that place
our home as Manda is very desirous of living near her Father and Mother
...." Sam was having trouble settling down after the excitement of the
Civil War and a visit to the Northern Rockies. "...I don't know what I
will go at yet--did think awhile of going into the Photography business
--but have weakened on that--One thing sure--if I don't make much,
my expenses will be small...."52

Donald Chisholm and the other creditors holding the note which
James co-signed for Cole Saunders apparently filed a suit against James
for payment of the note.53 James could or would not make good on
Saunders' note. On October 28, 1870, he transferred to Granville the
titles to $14,500 worth of property in what is now Granite, Deer Lodge,
Powell, and Silver Bow Counties and possibly others as well. Included
were about nine town lots in Deer Lodge City, a saw mill, lumber, a
substantial number of lode claims (mostly in the Flint Creek [Philipsburg] District), water ditches, his share of all assets and debts of Stuart and Company, a personal debt of six hundred dollars owed to James, six horses, and assorted other properties. Then James declared bankruptcy. In this manner, James hoped to preserve his estate from legal attachment by Saunders' creditors.

The next month, Nathaniel Langford, with Sam Hauser's help, secured for James "...a license in my [Langford's] own name, for your [Hauser's] use and benefit for trading with the Gros Ventre, Assinaboine, and River Crow tribes of Indians at Fort Browning...." The fort and Indian agency had been established years earlier on the upper Milk River some 150 miles northeast of Fort Benton. James hoped to recoup his fortunes quickly by two seasons of trading for buffalo robes with the Indians.

James left by stage for the post around Christmas, 1870. He wrote Granville from Benton on December 29 that he had written their brother, Thomas, "...informing that he has a son...[who] is about eight days old...." Tom was visiting his mother in Iowa at the time.

"Went and seen Toms outfit [i.e., family] when I was in Benton," James wrote in his next letter, "[but] conversation on their part was limited to an occasional yes or no--stayed half an hour and retired without an invitation to call again. Benton is a miserable hole. [I] had to pay fifty dollars for a six bitt [sic] horse...." He reached the agency on Milk River on January 4. Having traveled some distance across northcentral Montana in the dead of winter, he could easily
"...understand the sufferings of the Artic explorers." His thoughts turned to his own family.

Before starting I did not tell Ellen [his wife] where I was going or how long I was going to stay. You can tell her where I am and that I will not be home before the first of April (providing the trade lasts that long). I am afraid that I am getting a new soft-spot in my brain for I often wonder how the children are getting along and what would become of them in case I went up in this country. It is the first time I was ever troubled with any such thoughts and I hope it will have a tendency to make me lead a comparatively virtuous life during my sojourn in this wilderness.

In a subsequent letter, written after he had received one from Granville, their brother was again in his thoughts.

...I was glad to hear that Thomas rather likes the states--there is a bare possibility that he may become attached to some gay gal and that with Mothers entreaties may prevail on him to sell out here and go back there to live--all of which I think would be the best thing that could happen to him--Samuel still continues rather flighty--can't even imagine what his future will be but I am afraid that he will never be the fortunate possessor of very much of "ye filthy lucre"--If he would only be contented with his lot and try and enjoy himself to the best of his opportunities the chances are that in a few years his prospects in life would brighten but by always looking at the dark side of everything he is always anticipating evil days before they come upon him--I think that if he had to spend one winter on Milk River that he would either be dead in the spring or that he would be willing [to] go home and be satisfied with enjoying the comforts of civilization and his family....

Granville wrote to James complaining that Reece's wife was feigning illness all of the time and that Awbonnie was having to work too hard taking care of the Anderson family as well as her own. James wrote diplomatically: "...I feel sorry for Reece. [I]t is rough for his outfit to be always sick but we all have our troubles and what can't be helped must be endured...."
In the exchange of letters, the intentions of the two brothers become clearer. James planned to trade with the Indians during the winters of 1870-1871 and 1871-1872 until he had brought in enough robes to more than clear them of their debts. The brothers were also thinking of traveling to the Latin American gold fields. Granville ordered by mail William Wells' *Explorations and Adventures in Honduras with Statistics of the Gold Region of Olancho* (1857) from Harper and Brothers. As he read it, he supplied James with many details about Honduras. How serious they were and whether or not they intended to include their families in their travel plans is not known.

James delayed his return to Deer Lodge in the spring several times and finally canceled it. In the autumn of 1871, the brothers were still exchanging daydreams. "Your speaking of the geese gone South & your wanting to go along just describes by feelings exactly," Granville wrote. "I long with an intense longing to go somewhere in the winter, in fact I long to travel & see the uttermost ends of the earth & if I was only foot loose I could do it & make expenses while at it for I feel fully competent to write a book or books of travels that would sell for enough to pay both our traveling expenses, if not more but alas! Can we ever burst loose from our evil destiny--It is awful to think how many d---d fools & asses are wallowing in wealth without any effort on their part to make it while we who could appreciate it & use it cant possibly make a cent." Granville's envy may have been directed at his hard-working neighbor, Conrad Kohrs, because after describing Tom Stuart's and Anderson's activities in a
sentence, he returned to the subject of travel. "Con Kohrs & wife start to Germany next week to stay all winter. Good God why cant we make enough to enable us to enjoy ourselves a little, or must we always work for grub and clothes...[?]" He then mentioned reading about some new gold discoveries in California. "How pleasant it would be to spend a winter looking around in Cal[ifornia] & visit the old familiar scenes & be a boy again...."  

There was little hope for the realization of Granville's dreams of wealth and travel and he realized it. Bitterly he complained to James that "...here we are bound hand & foot & can do nothing but await coming of events while the debts are eating our vitals out...." In the same letter he complained of a severe but short attack of what may have been either the flu or appendicitis. He concluded that "I'll have to take to traveling & out door life or I'm liable to die in some of these attacks--I want a warmer climate too...."  

James' family lived with Ellen's father, Tom LaVatta, first at French Gulch and then in the vicinity of Bozeman. By mid-1872, they had returned to French Gulch. James, who felt he had "...to be guided in my movements by [Andrew Jackson] Simmons," the Agent at Milk River, was not able to leave the Agency and visit either his family or his brothers in 1871 or 1872. By October, 1872, James and Ellen were informally divorced and she remarried a teamster named Trahant. Tom Stuart did not accept the advice of his mother and brothers but instead returned to his wife and children in Deer Lodge. Apparently the Sam Stuarts did not move to Belle Plains. Sam found irregular employment
in West Liberty as a carpenter.

After James' departure for his new assignment, Granville did not have many idle moments to dream of escaping the burdens of his many responsibilities by fleeing to Latin America. He, along with Dance, was in charge of the Stuart and Company operations where the emphasis was now on sawmilling rather than on merchandising. An increasing share of the responsibility for these operations fell to Granville because Dance's heavy drinking was having an effect on his business judgment. When business was slack, Granville tried, without much success, to collect from some of the men to whom Dance, Stuart and Company and Stuart and Company had extended credit. After months of wrangling, Dance and Granville worked out an agreement to dissolve the partnership with Hauser's assistance as mediator. The division of goods, accounts due, liabilities, real estate, and other property left Granville more than seven thousand dollars in the red.

The hydraulicking operation at their mines on Boulder River did not yield much gold and Granville and the other partners first sought to sell the property for four or five thousand dollars and then to some gullibel Chinese for any price. In October, 1872, Sam Hauser and Jasper A. Viall, Territorial Superintendent of Indian Affairs, agreed to pay almost twenty thousand dollars for the property. Little if any cash was exchanged as the money was used to wipe out much of the indebtedness of the Dance and Stuart enterprises with Hauser's First National Bank of Helena. Meanwhile Granville kept a close watch on the S.L.M.M.C. operations in Philipsburg, ever ready to attach any profits made from
its irregular operations there in order to satisfy the Stuart and Company claims against the company. Tom Stuart and Reece Anderson, with Granville's assistance, resumed mining operations along Gold Creek and tributary gulches and in the highlands between Gold and Flint Creeks. The joint operations were not very successful but Tom Stuart, working on his own, took out several thousand dollars in gold in 1871.

In the autumn of 1871, Granville wrote an essay on the state of the Rocky Mountain Indians and his ideas about the current government's Indian policy in a letter to a friend in St. Louis. He hadn't intended to make his views public but the friend had the essay published in the St. Louis Republican in September and some of the territorial and national papers reprinted it including the New York Times.

In the same autumn, there was some movement, particularly within Hauser's circle, to start a national bank in Deer Lodge. Granville was asked if he could raise the capital, a stock subscription for fifty thousand dollars, needed to start the bank. He was not able to raise such a large amount and felt bitter about losing a chance to become the bank's president or cashier.

Almost every letter from James or Granville to the other contained some political news, gossip, or advice. Granville became one of the thirteen members of the Council, the upper house of the seventh session of the territorial legislature which met at Virginia City from December 4, 1871, to January 12, 1872. During this session Granville tried to get the capital relocated in Deer Lodge. When he saw that he didn't have the votes, he thwarted those who wanted to move it to Helena by
leading a successful fight to keep it at Virgina City. Many of the members of the legislature drank heavily through the session and some of the disappointed Helena supporters who were drunk verbally abused Granville for his stand against removal to Helena. One evening, Warren Toole of Helena, drunkenly berated Granville in terribly abusive language. Toole was thought to be carrying a derringer in each pocket while Granville was unarmed. Granville told Toole there was a mistake and that he would see him the next morning. The following morning, Granville, smarting over his public humiliation, armed himself and went to look for Toole. A duel or shooting was probably averted only by the fact that Toole had caught an early stage for Helena. According to Granville, when he found Toole in Helena later, Toole apologized profusely for his drunken behavior. 76

Granville's accommodations at the capital were very spartan. He shared a large room over a tavern with at least two other men which was accessible only by an outside staircase. The lumber in the building had shrunk and some of the clapboard siding had fallen off, allowing mid-winter winds to blow through the room. In spite of the inhospitality of the room, it was a meeting place frequented by most of the legislators of both parties.

One evening Colonel [Wilbur F.] Sanders was a visitor and the party was gathered about the red hot stove, discussing matters of import. The Colonel went to the water bucket to get a drink. The dipper was frozen in the ice that had frozen over the top of the bucket and in an effort to loosen the dipper, the waterbucket overturned and the icy water poured through the open cracks of the floor and down on to the occupants of the saloon below.
One of those occupants was bad-tempered C. C. O'Keefe, who was there to lobby the legislature for an appropriation to build a new bridge across the Hell Gate River.

Baron O'Keefe, ...half asleep by the fire below, was deluged with the icy water; [he] jumped to his feet and grabbed his Colts revolver and sent three shots through the ceiling. The bartender knowing that there was always quite a gathering in the room above, sprang across the bar and grabbed the gun before the Baron could fire again, shouted, "Don't you know the Legislature is in session up there?"

There was a general scramble for the door and the staircase to ascertain if anyone was hurt. No one was, but the Baron shouted—"To think, I might have shot one of the men that's voting for my bridge. Well, ye are all right, come down and have a drink."

Not all the legislation before the Council was self-seeking. Although Granville loved to hunt and fish, he was developing a genuine concern for the conservation of wildlife, fowl, and fish in the territory. Consequently he drew up a bill which restricted the time when wildlife and fowl might be hunted, restricted the methods fishermen might use to catch fish, imposed a four-year moratorium on the killing of quail, partridge, prairie chickens, robins, meadowlarks, thrushes, goldfinches, and any other migratory songbirds. The bill provided one-half of the fines collected from violators would go for the support of public schools. Granville's Game Bill was passed by both houses and signed into law.

James and Granville had discussed making a trip to West Liberty for more than a year. Granville departed for Iowa in February 1873, alone. He traveled to Corinne, Utah Territory, on a regularly scheduled stage, a six-day trip. There, not far from the site of the
the golden spike ceremony four years earlier, he boarded an east-bound Union Pacific train. When he got to West Liberty he found

...everybody well altho Mother & Samuel had had the "epizoo" & were scarcely recovered....Sam is very steady [i.e., sober] but can't get work all the time, he is a carpenter, feel very sorry for him, he would like to get away from there, but I am afraid he could not stand temptation in a free & easy country like any one of the western territories....

I gave Sam & Mother each a $100.00 being all I could spare. Sam was much astonished & very grateful, he evidently thought we had quit on him for good. Amanda [Sam's wife] ignored the feud & was friendly, apologized for not shaking hands with you, etc., etc., so that it is tacitly understood that the hatchet is buried amongst us without any disagreeable explanations. Amanda had a daughter on the 16th of March [1873], called it Maud....

When Granville returned to Deer Lodge by the same route on April 21, he wrote a twelve-page letter to James. In it he described meeting four men on the railroad to Cheyenne.

I have at last struck it about Gold Mines in South America. At Cheyenne four men got on....They soon came & made themselves known to me. They were John Ely (of famouse Raymond & Ely mine in Nevada) & his brother & Geo Cristman...and a man by the name of Chisholm [but apparently not the man who sued James], formerly of Va City. [The men were on their way to French Guiana and soon told Stuart why.] Cristman said he saw over a million dollars in gold dust while he was there & that they the French Guianan miners knew almost nothing about mining only saw one long tom & no sluices--mostly rockers & pans....Ely wanted me to go with them & altho I was crazy to do it, I explained that it was impossible just then but that I was dead on it as soon as I could get ready....

Now how is that for good old fashioned Excitement any how? It will utterly depopulate the mining territories if true & have got it bad as it will give me a chance to reconstruct my social basis & close out my present family arrangements for I shudder with horror when I contemplate getting old in my present fix, or ever to get poor would be awful, it does very well while one is young, but it don't last, & my repugnance to my present mode of life increases daily--you are now free of all incumbrances and for heavens
sake James do keep so, just think of having to go anywhere with such an outfit as mine. [0]n the [railroad] cars for instance & then to settle in a strange place & live in defiance of public opinion as we have always done. [I]t wont do when one begins to get old & besides I dont want to live always in this cold climate it dont agree with me, & with my present outfit I can never go anywhere else.... I remember your saying that you or I could never marry any respectable or high toned or rich woman after our conduct. Now dont entertain any such idea & thereby take up with any inferior outfit, for I have paid particular attention to that matter this trip and I have seen & heard enough to convince me that outside this particular vicinity, we could marry almost who we pleased regardless of their station or wealth....I hear Ellen...[is] in the family way [i.e., pregnant by her new husband], which is good but I regret to state that my outfit...[is] also in the same fix which is bad....

Granville urged James to come to Deer Lodge as soon as he was permitted to leave the Agency. "Reece & Tom...argue that your time is up because you did not get your promised furlough of three months, etc. We are all so terrible afraid to have you stay in that dangerous country any longer. [W]e are always uneasy about you." He went on to write about a rumor that Col Saunders had come into some money through the sale of some mining property. "Now if Sam [Hauser] holds the say on him [Saunders] you will get even with Cole--It was understood that the [S.L.M.M.] Company was to pay all Coles indebtedness hope its so it will be everything for us...."

The letter reveals Granville was still dreaming about a Latin American eldorado and that more than ever he was feeling the social stigma of being a squaw man.

In June, 1873, James was finally able to leave the Agency, which was in the process of being moved to Fort Peck, some two hundred miles
to the east, on the Missouri River, for a visit with his brothers in Deer Lodge. James did not look well and his brothers urged him not to go to Fort Peck. However, James had promised Simmons, who had resigned, that he would return to his post until Simmons was able to escort the new agent to the fort. While James was in Deer Lodge, he and Granville discussed French Guiana and both apparently were interested in going there the following winter.

After James' departure for Fort Peck, Granville decided to visit Yellowstone National Park, created a year earlier as a direct result of the Washburn-Doane Expedition of 1870 to which James had been invited to be a member but had had to decline. Granville left Deer Lodge on August 18 with ten other men. They traveled leisurely to Virginia City, where provisions were purchased, and then over to the Madison Valley. They traveled slowly up the river while hunting fowl and fishing and then crossed over to Henry's Lake. They continued the leisurely pace on into the Park, hunting, fishing, and admiring the scenery, geysers, and mud pots. In the meantime, other small groups joined their party including one led by Wilbur F. Sanders. On August 31, they met a photographer who took a group picture of them in front of the Castle Geyser and charged each of them one dollar.

The expedition was enjoyable but not eventful. There were no Indian troubles. While the men saw plenty of game, no one was able to kill any so they lived off an ample supply of fresh fish and fowl. The party left the Park and traveled to Bozeman and Fort Ellis. Granville and a small group of men then went to Deer Lodge by way of the old
Stuart-Anderson diggings on the Boulder River. The diggings were deserted. Granville reached Deer Lodge on September 12.

Granville wrote to James about the trip on September 17. "I never enjoyed a trip so much in my life... I saw most of the geysers spout & the other wonders generally & only lacked one thing & that was to have had you along to see & enjoy them also. Tom would have went only Simmons wanted him to go down to [Fort] Peck on or about Sept 1st to [over] see distribution of annuities etc & now that seems to have fallen through since S[Simmons] is removed & Rev Alderson of Bozeman in his place...." Granville also wrote that during his absence there was "...Not a word from anybody about Guiana. I am afraid the whole thing is a bilk." 

James wished he could have gone on the expedition. He had disliked Fort Browning from the first day he saw it. The water was bad and he was in constant fear of the Indians, particularly the first year he was there. The landscape was bleak and the bitterly cold Canadian winds lashed against the walls of the fort and other buildings, often causing them to tremble. In James’ written remarks about the place, the words "God forsaken" occur many times. These remarks portray a man overwhelmed by loneliness. There were few white companions. Jack Simmons frequently was absent for long periods. William B. Judd was a temporary companion but by 1873 he had left the region and had, in fact, been a member of Granville’s Yellowstone expedition. Dave Contois and James struck up a friendship after a five-year separation but Contois did not live at Browning and visited only occasionally. Half breeds
and Indians came and went. At one point, when the fort was deserted by the Indians who were hunting, James, who ordinarily was extremely exasperated by the natives, wrote "...It seems lonesome since the Indians left."89

The life of a post trader was a difficult one. During the lengthy absences of Agent Simmons, who escorted some chiefs to Washington, D.C. and who delayed returning to his post in order to court a judge's daughter, James had the responsibilities of an agent as well. This included receiving and keeping accurate records of Indian goods, distribution of annuities, keeping track of the whereabouts of the tribes and sub-tribes under the jurisdiction of the agency, watching out for illegal traders, and many other chores. In addition, in early 1872 James was also appointed the post physician. He complained in his journal of long hours in tedious negotiations with begging, hectoring, stealing Indians in a smoke-filled room, of Indian dogs who barked all night, of rumors of threatened attacks on the fort by Sitting Bull's band and by others, of poor quality and scarcity of buffalo robes, and other worries and exasperations. Although James did not care much for most of the Indians he met, he was fair and compassionate in his dealings with them. For example, in noting the distribution of sacks of flour, he wrote that he "...Give 1 s[ac]k to 7 lodges that did not belong to any band--rather bad precedent to establish but I couldn't help pitying them...."90

In spite of the exasperation in dealing with the Indians, the fear, the loneliness, and the frustrating awareness that his profits from trading were not coming up to his hopes and expectations, James had a
joy for living. Particularly with the coming of spring, he was very
much alive and aware of his surroundings. His journals are filled with
notations about the songs of the meadowlarks, nest of swallows, and
the like. He even philosophized about his existence.

Sunday May 12th 1872...Nine years ago tonight the Crow
Indians fired upon fifteen men, myself included, near the
lower can[y]on of the Big Horn river, killing and wounding
eight men the first fire. We left two men--Watkins and Bost-
wick--on the ground, and buried Geary [sic] two days after-
wards. The balance of the party got out of the country, by
having a rough time. Wonder if I will be as lucky in get-
ting out of this country with my scalp where it naturally
belongs. I expect that it is my destiny to wander around
in the Indian country until I will get wiped out. There
[is] a charm in the danger and excitement of a life among ye
gentle savages, that keeps a man away from the everyday
sameness of civilization. There is an innate longing in most
of men to be free and independent of his fellow man, either
by being wealthy, powerful, or in some locality where he is
the peer of his associates.

James' end almost occurred two days later.

On Tuesday the 14th this journal came very near being
finished for all time. About 10 o'clock A.M., while
endeavoring to put a prop under the cross tie between my
room and the dining room, the roof of the building fell
upon me. It dont seem possible that I could have escaped
alive, for the roof was made of heavy timbers, and about
one foot of dirt on top of them. I did not have any bones
broken (except my nose), but I was literally mashed up,
feet, legs and breast, and it was sixteen hours after the
accident before reaction [intense pain] commenced....My
nose was a total wreck, mashed and jammed into my left
eye. I reduced the fracture as well as I could, had to
take one piece of bone about as large as a finger nail,
and several smaller ones, could have made a very creditable
nose, only I was utterly prostrated, not able to set up with
out assistance. I cant describe my feelings while the men
were digging me out of the dirt and fallen timbers, a life
time will not efface the horror of that time from my mem-
ory.
James survived being crushed by the collapse of the roof and was transferred to Fort Peck during the second part of the year. On September 1, W. W. Alderson was appointed Simmons' replacement. During Simmons' absence, James remained at Peck, awaiting the arrival of Anderson. At that time, his own resignation would become effective. However the day Granville wrote him about the Yellowstone trip, James became painfully ill. One week later, September 25, one of James' half breed friends at the post penned a note to Granville and Tom Stuart.

I write at this time at the request of your brother who has been sick now for some time and would like one of you to come down for him and take him to Deer Lodge....[H]e would rather be buried there than here...He may not be as sick as he is thought to be, but at best it will take him some time before he will be able to do any thing....

James mustered the strength to add a postscript to the letter. "If I die," he wrote with a steady hand, "you must come after my remains [because I] couldn't rest in this infernal country. Jas Stuart."  

Granville received this chilling note on the evening of October 3. He left at daylight the next day. Tom joined him in Helena. When the worried brothers reached Fort Shaw, only one-quarter of the journey behind them, they learned that James had died on September 30! They telegraphed Simmons in Helena to send a metal coffin on the next coach to Fort Benton where they would meet it. Simmons and the coffin met them in Benton and they proceeded to Peck on a light spring wagon, arriving seven days later.

W. W. Alderson received his formal commission and letter of instructions as the new Agent at Fort Peck on October 9. He had been
expecting it and was prepared to leave Bozeman immediately. The man whose arrival would have allowed James to leave the inhospitable region reached the Agency on October 19. On October 24, he tersely noted in his diary that "Simmons and party, Daniels and Fanton started for [Fort] Belknap this morning together with Stuart Bros. and body of Jasper [sic] Stuart for burial at Deer Lodge."\(^96\)

Fanton was the new Agent at Fort Belknap. Daniels was a physician and had arrived at Fort Peck by steamboat four days before James' death. He diagnosed the illness as a liver disease and felt there was nothing that could be done which had not already been done. The funeral cortege was stopped by a party of sixty Sioux warriors as it made its way across the vastness of central Montana toward Deer Lodge. Simmons informed the war party that the coffin contained the body of Po-te-has-ka (Long Beard). The warriors expressed sadness at the death of a friend, some of whom James had treated as post physician.\(^97\) The cortege arrived in Deer Lodge after dark on November 4. James was given a Masonic funeral and burial the next afternoon.\(^98\)

Granville was profoundly shocked by the unexpected death of his brother at the age of forty-two. If Granville had been planning to leave his family and go to Latin America with James, death seems to have intervened to destroy the plans. Gone were the dreams of discovering that elusive eldorado, establishing a successful business or industry, authoring and illustrating travel books, or achieving great political or financial success because all of them had included James.\(^99\)

To an Iowa friend he wrote, "I am feeling so bad and out of heart
I hardly know what to do. We had been together all our lives and his death leaves a gap in my life that will never close.100

Almost three months after James' death, Granville still had not recovered from the shock, as may be seen in a letter to his mother.

I have not written you for over a month, partly because I had but little to write, but mostly because I was feeling so gloomy and disconsolate that I disliked to write. I feel as though I could not get over poor James' death. We were much nearer and dearer to each other than brothers usually are. We had been together all our lives and passed through many perils unscathed and our lives were so closely knit together that the separation is dreadful beyond all description to me. I feel like my life was shipwrecked shattered, & that all our toiling & struggling had been in vain since he is taken from us.101

Granville Stuart had reached the nadir of his life.
NOTES: CHAPTER IX


2 Ibid., 18-22.

3 Ibid., 22-24; G.S., Forty Years, II, 20.


5 S. T. Hauser to J.S and Walter B. Dance, Aug. 26, 1866, MHS; J.S. to Hauser, Sept. 14, 1866, MHS; Rodman W. Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880, 64, 103; Hakola, op. cit., 41-43; Sorte, op. cit., 6-7, 85-87.


7 S.L.M.M.C., loc. cit.; Hakola, op. cit., 43-51; Sorte, op. cit., 7-10; Dan Cushman, "Cordova Lode Comstock," Montana, IV, No. 4, 12-17.

8 J.S. to G.S., May 1, 1868, Beinecke-Yale.

9 J.S. to G.S., May 4, 1868, Beinecke-Yale.

10 J.S. to G.S., June 4, 1868, Beinecke-Yale. Kennett was a cousin of the president of the S.L.M.M.C. He was born in 1840 and died in Missoula in 1915. "Deceased Pioneers," Cont., VII, 354.

11 J.S. to G.S., July 29, 1868, Beinecke-Yale; Cushman, loc. cit.

12 J.S. to S. T. Hauser, Aug. 31, 1868, MHS.

13 J.S. to G.S., Sept. 8, 1868, Beinecke-Yale.

14 Walter B. Dance to S. T. Hauser, Feb. 22, 1869, MHS; J.S. to Frank Worden, April 23, 1869, UM.

15 J.S. to S. T. Hauser, Feb. 8, 1869, MHS.

16 James was working as General Manager without salary until January 1, 1869, and may have never received compensation for his services in that capacity. The amount owed Stuart and Company by the S.L.M.M.C. was stated in various places to be as low as ten thousand
dollars and as high as about forty thousand dollars or more. J.S. to N. P. Langford, Oct. 29 [?], 1869, UM; J.S. to S. T. Hauser, Oct. 16, 1868, UM; G.S. to Thomas Bruce, Jan. 5, 1869, UM; "Statement of Dance Stuart & Co. assets & liabilities, Jan 1, 1869, UM; J.S. to Fred Kennett, March 19, 1869, UM; J.S. to Hauser, April 28, 1869, UM; J.S. to George W. Irvine, Sept. 20, 1869, UM.

17 Walter B. Dance to S. T. Hauser, Oct. 12, 1868, MHS; J.S. to Hauser, Oct. 16 and Nov. 12, 1868, UM; Hakola, op. cit., 51-57; Sorte, op. cit., 10-16.

18 J. S. to Fred Kennett, March 19, 1869, UM.

19 J.S. to Charles Tanssig, Feb. 12 [?] and May 30, 1869, UM; J.S. to S. T. Hauser, June 22, 24, and 26, and July 8, 1869, UM.

20 G.S., Record of Stuart Family Births and Deaths, Dick Flood Collection.

21 J.S. to Charles Tanssig, loc. cit.; Hakola, op. cit., 53-56; Sorte, op. cit., 13-16; Walter B. Dance to S.T. Hauser, Feb. 5 and 22, 1873, and May 12, 1874, MHS.

22 J.S. to George W. Schell, Jan. 14, 1869, UM.

23 J.S. to L. R. Maillet, March 22 [?], 1869, UM; J.S. to Lott and Jones, April 20, 1869, UM.

24 J.S. to S. T. Hauser, Dec. 3, 1868, UM; J.S. to Fred Kennett, Jan. 14, 1869, UM.

25 G.S. to L. D. Burt, April 22, 1869, UM; G.S. to Ketter and McKay, April 23, 1869, UM; J.S. to S. T. Hauser, April 28, 1869, UM; G. S. to S. V. Clevenger, May 5, 1869, UM; G.S. to Hauser, May 5, 1869; Muriel Sibell Wolle, Montana Pay Dirt, 153; Cataract Mining District, Montana Territory, By-Laws and other mining records...1867-1872, Beinecke-Yale; G.S. Dairy and Pencil Sketches in Montana, 1867-1872, Beinecke-Yale.

26 J.S. to George W. Irvine, Sept. 20, 1869, UM.

27 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, April 7, 1866, MHS.

28 J.S. to S. T. Hauser, Dec. 3, 1868, UM.

29 J.S. to S. T. Hauser, Dec. 5, 1869, MHS. Hauser had gone east to seek the hand of a friend of the family. James wrote that "If your gal throws off on you I expect that you will want to emigrate, then we will go together. It would be a pleasant trip, even if we failed to find any mines that would pay...." The unmaterialistic spirit of
adventure displayed by James was shared by Granville but not by Hauser.

30 George Ware to G. S., Nov. 29, 1867, Beineke-Yale; G.S. to J.S., Oct. 11, 1871, Beineke-Yale; Seymour Dunbar and P. C. Phillips (eds.), The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen, II, 15, 16, 18. Ware had probably seen Stuart's sketches in 1866 at Fort Benton where Stuart arrived after a visit to Iowa. Tofft was at Fort Owen around 1865 and Granville Stuart's widow still had eight watercolor illustrations in 1940 which Tofft had given her husband. M. Harzof to A.B.S., July 5 and 19, and Sept. 20, 1940, MHS. Tofft (1825-1911) was a Dane who traveled extensively. One of the best examples of his work in Montana is in C. C. O'Keefe, Rides Through Montana," Harper's Magazine, XXXV, No. 209, 568-585; Robert Taft, Artists and Illustrations of the Old West, 1850-1900, 308.

31 G.S. to J.S., Oct. 11, 1871, Beineke-Yale.

32 G.S. to S. V. Clevenger, May 8, 1869, UM; G.S. to Joseph Henry, June 12, 1869, UM.


35 G.S. to Augustus Steitz, Oct. 18, 1869, UM. This was more than twenty pages of information on mining districts written by hand.

36 G.S. to Saul Wilkins, Oct. 19, 1871, UM.

37 G.S. to P. T. Barnum, Oct. 30, 1871, UM. The Stuart letterbooks at the UM contain several other examples.


39 Victor C. Dahl, "Granville Stuart: Author and Subject of Western History," Pacific Historical Review, XXXIX, No. 4, 504. Also see G.S. to A. Heath, July 13, 1871, UM, answering Heath's inquiries about "...probable cost of labor and supplies for the construction of the Northern Pacific R.R. in this vicinity...."


G.S. to L. R. Mailet, Dec. 18, 1869, and Jan 25 and Feb. 28, 1870, UM.

G.S. to Winchester Repeating Arms Company, March 18 and April 19, 1871, UM; G.S. to Massachusetts Arms Company, April 22, 1871, UM; G.S. to Sharps Rifle Company, Nov. 7, 1871, UM; G.S. to Union Metallic Cartridge Company, Oct. 26, 1871, UM; et passim.

G.S. to Winchester Repeating Arms Company, March 18 and April 19, 1871, UM; G.S. to Massachusetts Arms Company, April 22, 1871, UM; G.S. to Sharps Rifle Company, Nov. 7, 1871, UM; G.S. to Union Metallic Cartridge Company, Oct. 26, 1871, UM; et passim.


Muriel Sibell Woole, Montana Pay Dirt, 158.

Daniel S. Tuttle to G.S., Sept. 15, 1868, Beinecke-Yale; Daniel S. Tuttle, "Early History of the Episcopalian Church in Montana," Cont., V, 316.

G.S. to Joseph Tackley, Feb. 10, 1870, UM; G.S. to A. H. Saunders, Oct. 31, 1870, UM; et passim.


G.S., Record of Stuart Family Births and Deaths, Dick Flood Collection; 1870 U. S. Census, Deer Lodge County, Montana Territory. The census incorrectly lists Mary as a male infant called Miller.

Nancy C. Stuart to "My Dear Children," March 8, 1868, MHS.

Samuel Stuart to J.S., G.S., and Thomas Stuart, July 4, 1869, MHS.

Granite County, Montana, Court Records, Mortgage Record A, 12-13.

Ibid., Deer Record A, 512-516. This transcribed record from Deer Lodge County also appears in the court records of Silver Bow and Powell and perhaps elsewhere.

G.S. to J.S., Sept. 17, 1873, Beinecke-Yale.
P. Langford to S. T. Hauser, Nov. 11, 1870, MHS; A.J. Simmons to Hauser, Jan. 4, 1871, MHS.


J.S. to G.S., Dec. 29, 1870, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Stuart Genealogy, UM. The infant was named James.

J.S. to G.S., Dec. 29, 1870, and Jan. 6, 1871, Beinecke-Yale; J.S., Private Diary, 1871-1873, Beinecke-Yale. Two weeks later James began keeping the first in a series of six young Indian concubines.

J.S. to G.S., Feb. 6, 1871, Beinecke-Yale.


G.S. to J.S., Nov. 13, 1871, Beinecke-Yale.


J.S. to G.S., Sept. 4, 1871, Beinecke-Yale; J.S., Fort Browning Memoranda, Beinecke-Yale; Anne McDonnell (ed.), "Letter to a Brother: Granville Stuart to James Stuart, April, 1873," Montana, III, No. 3, 5n; Walter W. Johnson (comp.), "List of Officers of the Territory of Montana to 1876," Cont., I, 328, 332. Simmons (1834-1920) was raised in Indiana. He crossed the plains to California the year before the Stuarts did. He joined the rush to the Comstock Lode and served as a member of the Nevada Territorial Legislature, 1862-1864. He claimed he was once Mark Twain's roommate. He later lost his mining earnings in the San Francisco mining stock market and moved to Idaho and then Montana. He followed Nathaniel Langford as the U.S. Collector of Internal Revenue (1868-1869) and then was the Special Agent and later Agent at Fort Browning and Fort Peck (1871-1873). He joined the rush to the Black Hills mining fields and served as a Rapid City council and then mayor. Rodman W. Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 185-186, 213.
G.S. to J.S., April 24, 1873, MHS.


G.S. to J.S., Oct. 11, 1871, et passim, Beinecke-Yale.

G.S. to J.S., Jan. 16, 1873, Beinecke-Yale.

G.S. to J.S., Oct. 13, 1871, and March 6 and Oct. 9, 1872, et passim, Beinecke-Yale. The reasons for Hauser's generosity cannot be ascertained. However Granville placed his total trust in Hauser in this complicated deal, a position both James and Granville adopted most of the time.


Robert Campbell to G.S., Sept. 28, [1871], Beinecke-Yale; G.S. to J.S., Sept. 28, 1871, Beinecke-Yale; Virginia City Weekly Montanan, Oct. 12, 1871; New York Times, Oct. 4, 1871. Campbell (1804-1879) had been a fur trader on the upper Missouri and was an Indian Peace Commissioner and successful St. Louis capitalist at the time of the article. LeRoy R. Hafen (ed.), The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West, VIII, 49-60.

G.S. to J.S., Nov. 13, 1871, Beinecke-Yale.


A.B.S., "When Virginia City Was the Capital of Montana Territory," Montana, III, No. 1, 79-80. According to Mrs. Stuart, one of Stuart's roommates was Richard Owen Hickman who had also crossed the Great Plains in 1852. The other roommate was Seth Bullock. His version is printed in the Butte Miner, Nov. 17, 1918. Mrs. Stuart's story may be a great exaggeration of the Bullock article because Hickman was not a member of the seventh session of the territorial legislature. On the other hand, Hickman was active in politics and had been a member of the sixth session. He may have been in Virginia City for some other purpose.


G.S. to J.S., April 24, 1873, MHS, and reprinted in McDonnell, op. cit., 3. The reprinted version was used here.

McDonnell, op. cit., 3-6.

Ibid., 6-7.


G.S. to John Ely, June 30, 1873, UM. Samuel Stuart wrote to Granville that he was forwarding books which the latter had ordered while in Iowa. "...I also send you a little article on Guiana, don't amount to much, but it gives a few facts about that sunny land whereof we have heard such wonderous tales of gold, and which we intend [to?] invest in next winter." Samuel Stuart to G.S., April 15, 1873, Beinecke-Yale. While in Iowa, Granville also wrote to New York City for a subscription to a Spanish newspaper, The New World. G.S. to El Neuvo Menado, May 7, 1873, UM.


G.S., Journal of a Trip to the National Park, 1873, Beinecke-Yale.

Ibid.

G.S. to J.S., Sept. 17, 1873, Beinecke-Yale.

J.S., Fort Browning Memoranda, 1871-1873, Beinecke-Yale; J.S., Private Diary, 1871-1873, Beinecke-Yale. The Fort Browning Memoranda is a priceless record of the trials and tribulations of a northern plains post trader. James undoubtedly intended it to be published and wrote it in a painstakingly careful hand. Included in the 174 pages is a weather record for the same period. By contrast, James never expected the Private Diary to see the light of day. It was not even signed but plainly was kept by him because the color of ink and the penmanship are the same as is found in his Memoranda and in letters which he wrote. Further, in the Private Diary he described traveling in the open during a blizzard with George A. Baker and a black man Tom Jones. There is an almost verbatim account of the experience in J.S. to G.S., Jan. 12, 1871, Beinecke-Yale. Consequently, the authorship of the Private Diary is beyond dispute. In addition to the Memoranda, Private Diary, and letters, all valuable historical documents, James kept a separate weather record and wrote an article entitled "Adventure on the Upper Missouri" about the history of Fort Union while at Browning and Peck. The latter is published in Cont., I, 80-89. Contois, a French-Canadian, was a long-time resident of Cottonwood.
J.S., Fort Browning Memoranda, Beinecke-Yale. Simmons often failed fully to inform Stuart of his whereabouts and plans and frequently imposed upon him the duties of acting Agent as well as post trader and physician. Stuart showed him uncharacteristic deference.

R. S. Culbertson to G.S. and Thomas Stuart, Sept. 25, 1873, Beinecke-Yale. Culbertson, a close friend of James', probably was a half-breed son of Alexander Culbertson, founder of Fort Benton, and a principal source of information for James' article on Fort Union.

G.S. to Nancy and Samuel Stuart, Nov. 5, 1873, UM.

W.W. Alderson Diaries: 1864-1879, transcribed by Merrill G. Burlingame, 102-103, MSU.

G.S. to Nancy and Samuel Stuart, Nov. 5, 1873, UM; G.S., "Life of James Stuart," Cont., I, 59ff; interview with Mrs. Vivian Kemp, daughter of Thomas Stuart (who was a member of the cortege), May 30, 1971; Thomas Donaldson, Idaho of Yesterday, 341.


As late as the day Granville received Culbertson's letter, he had written for a book about yellow fever in British Guiana. G.S. to Leggatt Brothers, Oct. 3, 1873, UM.

G.S. to B.F. Nichols, Nov. 26, 1873, UM.

G.S. to Nancy Stuart, Dec. 22, 1873, UM.
CHAPTER X

THE RISE AND FALL OF A CATTLEMAN

During 1873, the national economy dropped almost as fast as Stuart's spirits following the death of his brother. The local impact of the Panic of 1873 was to bring to an end, at least temporarily, hopes for an end to Montana's isolation through the completion of the transcontinental Northern Pacific Railroad and the north-south narrow gauge line to be extended northward from Salt Lake City. "This country is under a cloud," Stuart wrote to Philip Deidesheimer who was making a fortune in San Francisco. "Our isolation tells fearfully against us and we cannot hope for much of a change till we have railroad communications & our chances for getting that are far from flattering."\(^1\)

The local economy of the Deer Lodge Valley was so depressed that Stuart made little effort to bring in an income during the winter of 1873-1874. "My brother Thomas & myself are not carrying on any business at all this winter," he wrote to Culbertson.\(^2\)

Stuart spent some time trying to sell or rent properties in the vicinity of Deer Lodge and Philipsburg and to straighten out the complexities involved in administrating his brother's estate. James had died intestate. In addition, the complications arising from the Stuarts' connection with the S.L.M.M.C. at Philipsburg proved to be so difficult that the issue of property ownership of the several lodes was not resolved during Granville's lifetime.\(^3\) "I have plenty of good
property but cannot sell just now without loss as everything is depressed here now so I must bide my time," he wrote to his mother. 4

To his brother, Sam, he wrote that "We are well, & plodding along the even tenor of our way. We are trying to sell all our mines & if we succeed we will have means enough to start in some business here until we can finally settle up all our outstanding affairs when we will probably go to California, this cold climate does not suit me well. My health is always better in hot weather & besides I feel like forever abandoning these familiar scenes where everything reminds me of the pleasant hours I have spent among them with poor James, and that all our many plans of what we would do in Coming years are now wrecked and sunk in the sea of death. The enjoyment that either of us took in anything was always in proportion to the pleasure it gave the other, and hence the dreadful sense of lonesomeness and loss that strikes my heart at every turn." 5

Stuart obviously did not know what he wanted to do. During the same week that he wrote to Sam, he sent off three letters inquiring about the gold fields in Guiana. "If I go," he wrote to George Chris-
man in Cayenne, French Guiana, "my two brothers will most probably accompany me for we are getting tired of this cold climate. Everything lies idle here during the winter and times are becoming worse every year, & this joined to a natural love of travel makes me ready to strike out to any country that promises new gold fields & a warmer climate." 6

Stuart was not idle during the months following his brother's
death. As a school district trustee, he sent proposals concerning public education to his friends in the territorial legislature. "We are anxious to have our School Law as perfect as it can at present be made," he wrote to Cornelius Hedges, "but also wish to avoid making it too cumbersome in its workings or add anything that would make it more expensive." Among the proposals to which he objected was compulsory school attendance and the admittance of blacks into the white schools. He was silent on the matter of having half breed children attend white schools and apparently his did so along with James' two boys who had been living with Granville and Awbonnie since early 1872. Robert and Richard were raised to adulthood by Granville and for years believed they were his own children.

Early in 1874, Stuart sent a huffy letter to Governor Potts, resigning from the Board of Directors of the Montana Penitentiary but a conciliatory reply from the governor caused him to withdraw the resignation and serve out his term of office. In the late 1870s, he was on the board of trustees who founded the Montana Collegiate Institute at Deer Lodge, the first institution of higher learning in Montana.

With his time not entirely consumed by remunerative work, Stuart, who was vice president and a member of the board of directors, fell to the task of revitalizing the dormant Historical Society of Montana. He wrote several inquiries about historical materials such as the four journals of James H. Chambers which the mountaineer had kept prior to 1855. He also was at work trying to form a public library, either at
Throughout the 1870s he sent large orders for books to eastern sellers as well as orders for newspapers, magazines, and back issues of periodicals. While most of these orders were for his personal library, some may have been for the public library he was trying to found. Stuart wrote a long biographical sketch of his late brother for publication by the Historical Society and edited James' essay on the history of Fort Union. He sought and received Sam Hauser's assistance in editing James' journals of the 1863 Yellowstone Expedition for publication.

In addition to buying a large number of books and periodicals, Stuart began ordering several guns including two Winchester "One in One Thousand" rifles. Some of the gun orders were for friends but he purchased so many for himself that one can only conclude that he had become a serious gun collector. He also purchased an expensive telescope and several other costly items by mail. Presumably he was using monies secured from the sale of some of his properties and from James' estate to make these purchases.

Still Stuart could not rid himself of the sense of gloom which set upon him after his brother's death. He turned down a chance to become Territorial Treasurer or Auditor although either position would have provided him with an income at least until the next election. He complained of being ill and reordered medicine by mail for "heart diseases". His illness may well have been psychosomatic in origin. In June, 1874, he returned to Iowa to commiserate with his mother and brother. He had planned to return to Montana by way of San Francisco
but it appears that he did not. He was back in Deer Lodge in mid-August.20

One and one-half years after James' death, Granville began to get a grip on himself and cast off the depression which had weighted him down. He went to the Territorial Railroad Convention in Helena, which had since become the capital with his blessing, and was elected president of the convention. The assembly met to examine ways of promoting the construction of railways in and through the territory.21

Later in the year he busied himself organizing a Deer Lodge rifle team while Hauser took a hand in organizing one in Helena. The Deer Lodge team, consisting of Granville and Tom Stuart, Reece Anderson, and H. McKinstry, defeated the Helena team at every distance.22

At the beginning of 1876, Stuart was again in Helena, this time as an elected member of the lower house of the territorial legislature.23 Instead of returning directly to Deer Lodge, he traveled over the mountains into Idaho Territory and fished through the ice for salmon near Salmon City.24

At the end of August, 1876, D. C. Corbin resigned as cashier of Hauser's First National Bank of Helena. E. W. Knight was promoted from bookkeeper to cashier and Stuart was appointed to fill Knight's old position. Stuart purchased sixty-three shares of the bank's stock from Corbin at one hundred dollars per share.25 Early the next month he moved from Deer Lodge and took up residence in Helena.26

Stuart did not enjoy the sedentary life of a banker despite the fact that he was elected to the board of directors in 1877.27 He also
acted as the Receiver for the defunct Peoples National Bank of Helena in 1878. He grabbed at a chance to get away from the city in the summer of 1878 and went prospecting for salt mines and for other minerals in Idaho. A serious illness interrupted this trip but he soon recovered and was back in the capital in July.

In the meantime, Stuart's family continued to grow. Emma was born in Deer Lodge on August 18, 1875; Samuel in Helena on August 5, 1877; and George in the same place on March 8, 1880. Tragedy struck that year for George died of measles less than a month later and Emma perished of pneumonia in October. According to the 1880 U. S. Census, the Stuart household included Granville and Awbonnie, ages forty-five and thirty respectively, seven children (George had just died), plus James' two sons and Mary Burr, Granville's sister-in-law, or altogether twelve persons.

Stuart served another term in the lower house of the territorial legislature in 1879. By 1879, the national recession had abated, there was a revival of interest in building a railroad across Montana, and the Indians' capacity to prevent usurpation of what traditionally had been their lands was greatly diminished by the events following Custer's defeat in 1876. Coupled with these developments was the rise of large-scale open-range cattle raising, its spread northward across the Great Plains encouraged by publications such as Hiram Latham's *Trans-Missouri Stock Raising* (1871); Union Pacific publicist Robert Strahorn's *Hand-Book of Wyoming* (1877), *To the Rockies and Beyond* (1878), and *The Resources of Montana Territory and Attractions of*
Yellowstone National Park (1879); James S. Brisbin's *The Beef Bonanza: or, How to Get Rich on the Plains* (1881); Walter von Richthofen's *Cattle-Raising on the Plains of North America* (1885), and others.  

With the prospect of getting lands formerly controlled by the Indians, having access to eastern markets by the extension of railroads into Montana, and encouraged by the publicists, Stuart and Hauser began planning the development of a large ranching operation. To accomplish this end, the two men formed a partnership with Andrew Jackson Davis, wealthy Butte miner and banker, and his brother, Erwin Davis of New York. Each of the Davis brothers put up one-third of the $150,000 capital investment while Hauser put up $30,000 which he borrowed in part from Erwin Davis, and Stuart put up $20,000 which he borrowed from the First National Bank of Helena. Stuart was named the Superintendent and General Manager of the ranching operation.

During the winter of 1879-1880, Stuart began making contracts for the purchase of cattle in Oregon, the Deer Lodge Valley, the Sun River Valley, and elsewhere, even though the partners had not yet picked a location for the home ranch. He planned to go to Oregon personally but measles struck every member of his family except himself and he was forced to postpone the trip and then send a substitute. By the spring, Stuart had committed most of the partner's initial capital investment to buy more than nine thousand head of cattle. He departed by stage from Helena on April 11, 1880, on a trip to locate the most suitable range lands for the operation. He traveled to Bozeman and then eastward to Miles Town (later Miles City) where he had arranged to
meet an old friend, Thomas H. Irvine. Irvine was a Deputy Sheriff for Custer County, Deputy U. S. Marshall, a private detective for the Union Pacific Railroad, and one of Montana's most colorful pioneers. Earlier he had described his community. "...Miles Town has about three hundred & fifty inhabitants. Five stores. 20 saloons. About twenty five whores. Lots of gamblers and as many theives [sic] as any town of its size in the world." 36

Stuart stayed with Irvine, who had agreed to act as a guide, while the men organized a pack outfit. A captain at Fort Custer named Baldwin was invited to come along and the officer agreed. The day before they were to leave, however, Baldwin had to quit the expedition because of other business. Stuart and Irvine were joined by "Yellowstone" Kelley (Luther S. Kelley), an army scout; Eugene Lamphere, Baldwin's nephew; L. A. Huffman, a photographer from Fort Keogh whose pictures would eventually be considered among the best of the photographic records of the old West; and a man named Phillips, the "boss packer". The search for grazing lands got under way on April 22. 37

The expedition traveled up Rosebud Creek for several days and then crossed over to the Tongue River. After several days of travel, all of the party except Stuart and Irvine had to return to their homes. The two men then crossed to the Little Bighorn River. Soon they crossed to the Big Horn River and visited the site where James had been ambushed in 1863. Then they re-crossed the divide to the site of Custer's defeat near the Little Bighorn four years earlier. There remained plenty of grisly evidence of the battle. 38
During the journey, Stuart paid careful attention to the steepness of the banks, the probable mires, the quality and quantity of the water, the availability of timber (for fuel, wind breaks, and building materials), the quality of the grass cover, the presence of natural meadows, and the depth of the creeks' channels. He asked everyone they met about the average depth of the snowfall and how it usually lay on the ground. He also wondered whether cattle would run with the buffalo, which were extremely plentiful, but assumed that the rapid extermination would soon end that worry.  

The two men traveled down the Little Bighorn to the Big Horn and down that river to the Yellowstone. Stuart liked some of the land over which he had traveled but it was within the Crow Reservation and he was unsure whether he would be allowed to establish a ranching operation there. Consequently they ferried across the Yellowstone to the north side. There they met John Roberts who Stuart hired to accompany them for the balance of the trip. They had left the land of the Crows and were now entering the land of the Sioux. The men traveled north toward the Musselshell River and Flat Willow Creek where Stuart had heard that there were good grazing lands. Stuart located some suitable grazing ranges there although he preferred the land in the Little Bighorn Valley.  

He returned to Helena in late May. A week later he traveled to Bozeman to meet the Crow Indian Agent who was returning from Washington D. C. with an Indian delegation. The Agent was afraid to broach the subject of allowing Stuart to lease some of the Indian lands for cattle
grazing in the Big Horn and Little Bighorn Valleys until after the Indians had ratified the cession of part of their reservation. Consequently Stuart decided to locate the ranching operation in the vicinity of Flat Willow Creek.  

He returned to Helena but remained only a week. Then he started for Flat Willow Creek by way of Fort Benton. At the end of June, he had located a range near the eastern base of the Judith Mountains on Fords Creek which had groves of cottonwoods scattered through it. "This is the very place we had been hunting for. The whole country clear to the Yellowstone is good grass country with some sage and all of this country for a hundred miles in every direction is well grassed, well watered, and good shelter. There is an abundance of yellow pine and poles for all fencing and building purposes at the foot of Judith mountains. This is an ideal cattle range."  

Stuart had the three men who had accompanied him lay some foundation logs at several sites in order to "claim" the choice hay lands nearby. None of the lands had been surveyed and there was no way to take possession of the lands legally. Then Stuart hurried off to Helena in order to start several herds of cattle towards Fords Creek. A. J. Davis purchased some twenty quality bulls to upgrade the herd and had them sent from the Midwest to the ranch.  

Stuart had chosen a spot on Fords Creek near some old springs for the home ranch house. The building was constructed of logs in the shape of an L. Each wing was eighty feet long. The Stuarts planned to occupy one wing while the Reece Andersons would occupy the other.
The room formed by the intersection of the wings was to be Stuart's study, library, and office. The building was designed so that the two open sides of the L could be quickly enclosed by a stockade fence in times of emergency. A corral, some sixty feet square, was located about one hundred yards from the house, and featured a bastion on each corner.44

Almost immediately there arose complications in the plans of the partners of the Davis, Hauser, and Company. For about five years, the federal government had been pressured to construct a fort near the Musselshell River which would help to protect the interests of the new stock growers. In July, 1880, the site of the new fort was selected not far from the DHS (Davis, Hauser, and Stuart) home ranch house. The military reservation around the fort encompassed the choice natural hay lands, the only such tract in the vicinity. Through Hauser and his influential friends, Stuart eventually persuaded the government to restore most of the lands claimed by squatter's rights by the DHS ranch which had become part of the Fort Maginnis military reservation. In addition, the fort, located only two miles from the ranch house, served as a minor market for beef and hay, a post office, a place to buy supplies, and a telegraph office. While Stuart would have denied it, the garrison did provide some protection to the DHS enterprise against open attacks by the Indians.45

The relations between the soldiers and the employees of the DHS ranch were not always amiable. The commander of the fort rejected early DHS bids for furnishing the soldiers with beef. He purchased steers
some distance away and the troops attempted to drive them to the fort. The cattle frequently stampeded and mixed with those belonging to the DHS and the other ranches on the unfenced grazing lands. The clumsy efforts by the soldiers to round up their beef caused all the cattle on the range to lose weight by being run by the soldiers as they attempted to sort out their own cattle. Stuart claimed that he eventually told the commander at Fort Maginnis that in the future the soldiers disturbed his cattle at their own risk! He further claimed that thereafter the DHS ranch provided the fort with butchered beef.46

General Manager Stuart also had difficulties with the Indians. A band of Cree Indians, faced with starvation in Canada, crossed the international boundary and the Missouri River and built a temporary village on grazing lands claimed by the DHS Ranch. As there was not enough wild game to support a village of some fifty men, women, and children, the Indians killed the range cattle for their food. Stuart rode over to the village with some of his employees (cowboys) and discovered that the Indians had slaughtered five head of cattle which had belonged to the DHS outfit. He extracted five Indian ponies from them as compensation. Ignoring the pleas that the Indians were starving and it was the fault of the cattle that the buffalo had gone away, he ordered them out of the region. He threatened to hang the white priest who accompanied the Indians if the band returned. This particular band did leave the area but Indian depredations of the range cattle never ceased to be a problem for Stuart during the 1880s.47

In June, 1881, Stuart took his half-Indian family and Anderson's
from the social snubs and city confinement of Helena to the ranch. The procession eastward must have been quite a sight. There were several wagons piled high with furniture and other household effects as well as cages of chickens, ducks, and turkeys; Anderson's blacksmith tools; and mowing machines. There were six children belonging to Granville; James' two adopted sons; Awbonnie, then in her eighth month of pregnancy; Mary Payette Anderson, Reece's wife, and her six daughters; Granville and several of the DHS employees.48

After experimenting with different cattle brands, Stuart selected a D-S (D Bar S), which was the DHS run together.49 During the first year of operation, the D-S did not share the range with anyone. Cowboys headquartered in range cabins kept the grazing cattle from wandering off. After the first roundup in May, 1881, Stuart estimated that there had been a thirteen percent loss as the result of predatory animals, Indian thieves, and a severe winter kill. Nevertheless, he sold 1,266 head to Conrad Kohrs at Miles City for more than $39,000. The D-S partners had decided to sell to Kohrs as a middleman because none of them had any experience in shipping cattle and selling them on the Chicago market. There were no dividends declared after the sale and profits were put back into the ranching operation. The next year 1,149 head sold for more than $40,000 and the cattle left on the range had increased to eleven thousand. Dividends were paid from an accumulated profit of more than $37,000.50

In the meantime, other stock growers moved close to the D-S operation including James Fergus and Conrad Kohrs. They often shared
the same range. Stuart had foreseen this development. In an article in the Deer Lodge New North-West in November, 1880, he had compared the central Montana grazing land unfavorably with those found west of the Continental Divide. "There are, however, large areas hitherto ungrazed and thus offering facilities not now obtainable on the West Side." Then with remarkable prophetic vision, Stuart added that he thought "...in five or six years the ranges will begin to exhaust. Stock raisers will then have to reduce their herds, inclose lands, grow hay and breed finer cattle, and even then will be at a disadvantage with growers near the great markets. In the meantime, with ordinary good luck, there is 'big money' in the business."\textsuperscript{51}

Hauser, always a promoter, tended to lose interest in many of his financial ventures once they were established. In 1882 he decided to sell off his share of the D-S enterprise. A. J. Davis was not interested in buying Hauser's share for almost seventy-five thousand dollars.\textsuperscript{52}

The projected sale of the Davis brothers' share to an Englishman, Baillie-Grohman, the same year evoked an emotional response from Stuart. He pleaded with Hauser to oppose the sale. He felt that prices would go higher and he did not want to dispose of his share. In addition, the sale to the Englishman "...completely busts me up. I have but just got fixed up to live comfortably at a world of trouble and expense. I have a large family on my hands....[I]n any other business my family would be a millstone around my neck. Of course the case is entirely different with you and the Judge [A. J. Davis], this being a trifle on the side to
both of you, keeping or selling of which is of little importance, while it is a grave question for me...."  

In 1883 the Davis brothers sold out their interest in the D-S ranching operation to Conrad Kohrs, already one of the largest stockmen in Montana, and his partner, John Bielenberg. The entire property and twelve thousand head of cattle were purchased for $400,000, the largest cattle transaction in the territory. Kohrs and Bielenberg put in $266,667. The partnership of the Davis brothers, Stuart, and Hauser was formally dissolved. The D-S brand was kept although the new enterprise was first known as Stuart, Kohrs and Company and later as the Pioneer Cattle Company. Stuart felt that he could get along well with Kohrs, his former neighbor in the Deer Lodge Valley, and was satisfied with the changes in ownership.  

In 1882, Stuart skillfully drew a map of the D-S range and the surrounding region on a scale of six miles to an inch. He shaded in the triangular area which the D-S owners considered to be the grazing range for their cattle. The map showed the range to be anchored by the Judith Mountains on the northwest and the Little Snowy Mountains on the southwest. Flowing southeast out of the Judiths was Box Elder Creek, which formed the northern boundary of the range. Flat Willow Creek, flowing northeast out of the Little Snowies toward a junction with Box Elder Creek, formed the southern boundary. Over this range wandered numerous bands of Indians, buffalo hunters, wolfers, trappers, traders, whisky peddlers, and others. Located some forty miles to the north
along the banks of the Missouri were hamlets of seasonally employed woodhawks, i.e., woodcutters who sold fuel to the Missouri steamboat traffic. All of these groups of people posed a potential threat to the D-S cattle and the economic success of the ranching operation. They stole horses and cattle, slaughtered cattle, and fired the range grass. Stuart, as manager of the ranching operation, was particularly concerned about these losses. He complained to Hauser and urged him to use his influence to curb the wanderings of the reservation and Canadian Indians. He also wrote directly to Montana's Territorial Delegate, to Indian agents, to military leaders, and others. He wrote to newspapers urging a petition campaign to be directed to the President, Congress, and the Secretary of the Interior. For example, in August 1881, he penned an angry letter to the Fort Benton River Press, stating that there was not enough game in Judith and Musselshell country for a dozen men to live on and certainly not enough for several bands of Indians to survive on; that Indians do not come onto those ranges to hunt but rather to buy whisky; that one hundred horses, stolen from whites by the Indians, passed through Benton and over the ferry without being disturbed (a slap at the sheriff in Benton, John J. Healy); and that losses of stock would increase yearly "...if these lazy brutes are allowed to roam at will over our ranges..." unless something is done. "All Indians are bad when on a stock range where there is no game.... They must eat cattle of sheer necessity; and the only possible way to remedy the evil is to confine the Indians to their reservations, and unless this is done, war will be inevitable...." Stuart went on to urge
a petition campaign "...asking that the Indians be kept on their immense reservations, and not allowed to ramble forth to prey at will on the fruits of our labor, and if our just requests are without avail, then let us rise up like men and defend our property, and teach these breech-clouted pets of the government that we have some rights which we will compel them to respect...."56

Following the example of the cattlemen elsewhere, on May 29, 1882, a group of men met at the D-S Ranch and worked out an agreement concerning the use of the common range. The agreement dealt with roundups, branding, the ratio of bulls to heifers which each rancher must furnish, mavericks (unidentifiable motherless unbranded calves), and other matters. Stuart was the secretary of the meeting.57

In the autumn, Stuart noted that there were a dozen or more children living on or near the D-S ranch. He organized a new school district, hired a teacher, and turned over a room in the ranch house to the teacher for a classroom.58

Stuart's civic involvement did not end at the boundaries of the range or county. The same autumn he was elected to the Montana territorial Council, the upper house of the legislature. The chamber included six Republicans and seven Democrats. Stuart, the least partisan among the Democrats, was elected President of the Council. He and other cattlemen who were in the legislature pushed legislation needed to protect the interests of the open-range stock growers. There was opposition from the mining interests in the western part of the territory and from the newly appointed territorial governor, John S.
Crosby. The legislature did send a request to the United States Congress that the government prevent depredations by the Indians. The Piegan depredations of the livestock industry in particular were cited as an example. Another memorial to Congress expressed concern over the possibility of importing diseased cattle into the territory. The legislature created a Board of Stock Commissioners and assessed a yearly tax of one-half mill on the taxable property within the territory for the support of the board which was empowered to employ range detectives and stock inspectors. The governor vetoed the bill.  

The letter and petition campaign had been marked with little success and the governor's veto prevented the stockmen from using the machinery of government to protect their interests. As early as 1881, stock growers in some areas of Montana had formed local associations for mutual protection. A larger association was formed in 1883 among the cattlemen in the Sun River Valley west of Great Falls. In October of the same year an Eastern Montana Stockgrowers Association was organized at Miles City.

Depredations among the stock by Indians continued to be a problem for the D-S partners and for other cattlemen in the vicinity. By 1884, however, half breed and white thieves posed an even greater threat to the stockmen's cattle and horses. When the Eastern Montana Stockgrowers Association again met in Miles City in the spring of 1884, many of the members clamoured for a "rustler's war" against the thieves who threatened them with economic ruin. Present at the meeting were Granville Stuart, young Theodore Roosevelt, the wealthy Marquis de Mores
and many others. Stuart opposed the proposed campaign on the grounds that the thieves were well organized and headquartered in heavily fortified cabins in the inaccessible Missouri badlands. Deciding on such a campaign against them would put them on their guard. Attacks on these cabin-forts would cost the vigilantes many lives. Some of those present at the meeting questioned Stuart's bravery but in the end, the association voted against a "rustler's war".  

After the meeting ended, a small executive committee met. While the word went out that the association rejected any drastic action, Stuart and the other members of the committee secretly planned just such a campaign. Apparently Roosevelt got wind of it shortly before its execution. He and a guest, a young Englishman named Jamesson (whose brother would become famous as a raider in South Africa), and the Marquis caught a train and met Stuart at Glendive, Montana. According to Hermann Hagedorn, the three "amateur frontiersmen" demanded to be included in the action.

But Stuart refused pointblank to accept their services. They were untrained for frontier conditions, he contended; they were probably reckless and doubtlessly uncontrollable; and would get themselves killed for no reason; above all, they were all three of them of prominent families. If anything happened to them, or if merely the news were spread abroad that they were taking part in the raid, the attention of the whole country would be drawn to an expedition in which the element of surprise was the first essential for success.

Stuart, James Fergus, and other ranchers organized a series of surprise raids against the headquarters of groups of alleged stock thieves. On about July 7, 1884, Stuart sent a party led by the D-S
foreman, William Burnett, which included Reece Anderson and A. W. (Gus) Adams, the latter a detective and stock inspector from Miles City, with a man and his son who were trailing a party that had stolen fifty horses from them. They located the five thieves in a cabin on the Missouri near the mouth of the Musselshell, and captured the single mounted lookout, riding a Pioneer Cattle Company (D-S) horse, before he could alert his four companions sleeping in the cabin. The sleeping thieves were captured and although the brands had been modified, the father and son identified their horses in a nearby corral. The pair were sent on their way with their recovered property. As soon as they were out of sight, the vigilantes hanged the five thieves.63

That evening Reece Anderson and some of the others, against the wishes of Burnett, went to a nearby trading post owned by William Downes. Downes had a reputation for honesty but there was ample evidence at his post that he knowingly or unknowingly was trading in stolen property—stock on the hoof and hides. Downes' squaw and children witnessed what happened as indicated in a letter from Downes' brother to James Fergus inquiring about Downes' fate. "...It appears when they went to my brothers, they said he had horses belonging to them and he told them if so to take them, but he got them honestly in trade. Now they as we have been informed took them and rode off but returned again endeavoring to persuade him to go with them as guide but he refused. They returned the third time when they compelled him to go as we have been told riding off as one of themselves since which time we have not heard a word of him."64
It is a safe assumption that Downes was lynched. Stuart did not condone the action and prohibited Anderson from taking part in any more vigilante activities. 65

Upon returning to the D-S ranch, the party fell in with William Cantrell, who asked to join them and to see Stuart. After reaching the ranch, Cantrell told Stuart that he was a woodchopper at James' Woodyard at Bates Point on the far side of the Missouri and in the badlands some two dozen miles downstream from the mouth of the Musselshell. Hidden at the woodyard, Cantrell said, was a party of stock thieves and one hundred stolen horses. Stuart sent a message to Fergus to send a party to meet at Rocky Point and then organized a group of D-S cowboys to go to the hideout. No longer trusting Burnett's ability to restrain the vigilantes, Stuart personally led the group from the D-S Ranch on the morning of July 12. Three days later they met Fergus' group from the other side of the Judiths. 66

The vigilantes located the suspected hideout. It was a log cabin with a dirt roof. There were gun ports in the walls and the nearby stable was connected to the cabin by a corral. Not far from the cabin was a tent in which some of the alleged thieves slept. The cabin was situated on bottom land covered with cottonwoods, brush, and thick grass. 67

After a careful investigation of the stronghold, the vigilantes moved against it on the night of July 19-20. They avoided the two guards, sons of old man James, who was thought to be a cousin of Frank and Jesse James of Missouri. The vigilantes surrounded the place and
were not discovered until the James boys returned to the cabin at day­light. The boys sounded the alarm by yelling and shooting. A great exchange of gunfire followed during which time the two James boys were killed and Stuart's hearing in one ear permanently impaired by one of his cowboys firing a gun too close to his head. The tent was riddled by bullets and most of the men who had been sleeping in it were wounded. Still, most of them managed to crawl through the grass and brush to the river bank. The vigilantes did not pursue them but instead concentrated their fire on the cabin where the remainder of the thieves were holed up. Two of the D-S cowboys, Lynn Patterson and Jack Tabor, crawled in from the other side and fired the cabin stable. Both buildings burned to the ground. Of the dozen thieves at the hideout, only a few escaped by building a raft and drifting down the Missouri.

The vigilantes included Stuart, Cantrell, Patterson, Tabor, Adams, Burnett, Jim Hibbs, Bill Clark, Jack Ludich, Charlie Petit, John Single, J. L. Stuart, Andrew Fergus, Butch Starley, Pete Proctor, and Frank Headly. Most were cowboys for Stuart and Fergus. Andrew was James Fergus' son, while J. L. Stuart (no relation to Granville) was a rancher. Tabor was the only member of the party known to have had a criminal record. He was convicted of murdering a sheepherder some years later in a drunken brawl. Eventually he was pardoned by the governor, partly at Granville Stuart's request.

The vigilantes left the scene of the fight in the mid-afternoon. They proceeded to Bill Williams' place for dinner the next day (July 21). It is not clear whether Williams was their host or was one of the
thieves wounded or killed in the fighting. The next day they saw and hailed a steamer coming down the Missouri. The vigilantes purchased some food from the captain and Pete Proctor, who apparently suffered a serious wound, was put on board in anticipation that he would receive medical attention at a fort or post downstream.

On board was Rufus F. Zogbaum, an artist who wrote and illustrated articles for Harper's Monthly and other periodicals. He described the trip through the Missouri badlands, where stolen horses and cattle could be easily concealed from the owners' search parties. He also described the woodyards where "...some squaw-man...or some half-breed, solitary dwellers in the wilderness, turn an honest penny now and then by the sale of wood to the occasionally passing steamer." He went on to write that many of the woodhawks were honest men but others were not.

...At one of the little landing-places we hear rumors of a raid by Vigilantes on the desperadoes and horsethieves who have established their haunts along the banks of the river and its tributaries and for a long time have endangered the lives and property of the settled country south of the great stream. A band of them had carried their audacity to such an extent as to attack the escort of an army paymaster en route to a military post to pay the troops stationed there, and although they failed in their object, at least one of the soldiers guarding the treasure had met with his death in the discharge of his duty while protecting the property of the government.

Smoke has been seen rising over the trees down the river, vague rumors of a fight below seem to fill the air, and the feelings of excitement communicates itself to our little group of passengers, and as the boat swings out again into the swift yellow current and continues on her voyage down-stream, we gather along her low rails, looking out curiously and anxiously ahead at the high, sandy, tree-covered banks on either side. Rounding a long point of land running out into the river, a call from the pilot-house attracts our attention to a blackened, smoking heap of ashes on the left bank—all that is left of a ranch that had stood
there—and a short distance further down we slow up a little at the still burning ruins of another house.

"It's the Jones [James] boys' ranch," says the mate.
"By Jiminy the cow-boys is makin' a terrible clean sweep of the kentry."

The passengers blanch at the still-smouldering buildings, some dead animals caught by the gunfire, and a man hanging by a rope from a tree limb. The boat moved on.

"Look! Look! down by them cottonwoods! that's the cow-boys!" Half hidden in a mass of wild rosebushes, backed by the gray trunks and graceful feathery foliage of the poplars, a group of men and horses is standing. We gather close up to the rail, eager to see the dread horsemen, the result of whose avenging ride we have witnessed but a short half-hour ago. As the current takes the boat close inshore, and we approach nearer and nearer, they present an interesting tableau. Most of them have dismounted....They are evidently under some discipline, for no one else moves as a tall, handsome, blondbearded man, flannel-shirted, high-booted, with crimson silk kerchief tied loosely, sailor-fashioend, around his sunburned neck, advances to the water's edge, and with courteous wave of broad-brimmed hat hails the boat. The stranger politely requests information about the purchase of some supplies, and inquires as to the news up the river. Many on board recognize him for a man of wealth and education well known in the Territory, but nothing is said as to the errand of himself and his men in this distant wild region....

Dr. J. M. Alter, who is presently editing the Zogbaum journals for publication, writes that "Zogbaum is almost coy in his description ...but] his journal, fortunately, clearly identifies Granville Stuart as the vigilante [leader].

After the encounter with the steamboat, Stuart entrusted the leadership of the group to Cantrell and rode without stopping to the D-S Ranch, a distance of sixty-five miles. Almost immediately he caught the stage for Helena and arrived on July 28, in time to attend the
opening of the meeting to revive plans for a Montana Stock Growers Association. Before departing from the D-S, he reported the escape of some of the thieves on a raft to Deputy U. S. Marshall Sam Fischel and some of the officers at Fort Maginnis. Because the thieves had stolen some army horses and had made an attempt to steal the army payroll, he got the full cooperation of the military. They telegraphed the post at Poplar and other points downstream to be on the lookout for the fugitives. 

In the meantime, the other vigilantes had buried the dead, gathered up the stolen horses, and returned to the D-S Ranch. Then the news came that the authorities at Poplar had spotted and arrested five of the wounded fleeing criminals. Marshal Fischel deputized Reece Anderson and some of the vigilantes so they could accompany him to bring the prisoners to Fort Maginnis. Apparently it was the Marshal's intention that the men should be tried there rather than at Miles City. While camped along the Musselshell on the return trip, Fischel and his deputies claimed they were surprised by a group of men who relieved them of their prisoners. The captives were hanged shortly thereafter. There is reason to believe that there was no other party, that Fischel, Anderson, Cantrell, Adams, and the others executed their prisoners, and that they made up the story.

The actions of "Stuart's Stranglers," as some have entitled the vigilantes, was at first overshadowed by a shootout on July 4 between two outlaws and the citizens of Lewistown, a few miles from the D-S Ranch. As news of the hangings spread throughout the territorial press
and beyond, however, the actions by Stuart's group were far from being universally praised. Many in the territory strongly criticized the vigilantes for the disappearance of Billy Downes. The critics worried about the execution of innocent men, a fate which almost befell John Eaughbough. Stuart, as leader of the vigilante activities, drew most of the criticism. Many people were aghast when the story was circulated that one of Stuart's relatives had been among those wounded or killed by the cowboys at Bates Point. The story appears to have some validity. One of the men wounded apparently was Dixie Burr, son of Fred Burr, and Stuart's nephew. Awbonnie and Fred Burr's wife were sisters or half-sisters. Correspondence between Stuart and Fred Burr after 1884 reveals no hostility between them over the alleged incident. Dixie Burr's ultimate fate is not known. The vigilantes were also criticized as tools of the cattle barons who warred on the homesteaders under the guise that their victims were rustlers. Stuart emphatically denied it and there seems to be no truth in the story.  

At the second of the meetings of the Montana Stock Growers Association in Helena, Stuart was elected president. Russell B. Harrison, the only son of the future President, Benjamin Harrison, was elected secretary. Benjamin Potts, the former Territorial Governor, was elected vice president. During his year in office as president, Stuart helped to lay the groundwork for the consolidation of his association with the Eastern Montana Stock Growers Association, forming one association for the entire territory.
Stuart served as one of Montana's delegates to the National Cattle Growers' Convention in St. Louis in November, 1884. The southwestern stock growers strongly favored a resolution calling on Congress to establish a National Cattle Trail from Texas to the northern plains in Wyoming and Montana Territories. The Montana and Wyoming delegates opposed the idea because they feared the further spreading of cattle disease, the further overcrowding of most of the northern ranges, and the continuous intermingling of Texas stock with Montana and Wyoming herds which were slowly being upgraded by the expensive introduction of better quality bulls. On the second day of the convention, already split along sectional lines, Stuart and the other delegates from Montana and Wyoming withdrew.77

The Montana Territorial Legislature again passed a bill creating a Board of Stock Commissioners and this time the governor did not kill it. In 1885 Stuart became the first president of this board and he served in that capacity, without pay, until 1891.78

Stuart also served as chairman on a commission appointed to investigate the possibility of sending Montana beef to eastern markets via Minneapolis-St. Paul rather than via Chicago in 1885. He reported favorably on the market potential in the Twin Cities and encouraged businessmen there to provide suitable stockyards and packing facilities to allow this transfer of business.79

In the meantime, the publicists had made stock raising on the Great Plains so popular that the ranges were becoming overcrowded. Breed stock from the Middle West crowded the stock driven in from
Oregon and Texas. The fecund range stock gave their owners a substantial natural increase. Herds of sheep and horses further crowded the ranges, which were almost entirely part of the public domain. Dirt farmers, lured west by railroad promoters and ignorant of the semi-aridity of most of the region, often claimed a homestead which included a waterhole or stream that the cattlemen had used for several years or which was located on natural hay lands which the established cattlemen considered his through the operation of the principle of priority.

Throughout the West, the cattlemen's response to these threats to their "accustomed range" for their growing herds was to attempt to control the ranges by means of a type of proclaimed boycott:

Notice to Stock Growers

At a meeting of the stockmen, owners of stock on the Musselshell, said range being defined as follows: to wit, Beginning at the mouth of Box Elder Creek, on the Musselshell River, thence up the Box Elder and Flat Willow to the head of same, thence westerly along the divide to Judith Gap, thence westerly along the divide to Copperopolis, thence southerly along the divide to the divide between Fish Creek and Sweetgrass Creek, thence easterly along the divide between the waters of the Yellowstone and Musselshell rivers to a point opposite or south of the mouth of Box Elder Creek. We, the undersigned stock growers of the above described range, hereby give notice that we positively decline allowing any outside party, or any party's herds upon the range, the use of our corrals nor will they be permitted to join in any roundup on said range from and after this date.

When this attempt proved ineffective, the stockmen resorted to barbed wire fencing. Fences would protect improved herds from inferior or diseased stock, protect hayfields and waterholes, turn aside sheep and other cattle herds, reduce the need for range cabins, and discourage dirt farmers from settling on the "accustomed range". Many
excluded stockmen and potential settlers were quick to point out that the fences on an "accustomed range" which was part of the public domain were illegal. Apparently it was also dangerous. As early as 1879, in a Preliminary Report of the Public Land Commission on an extensive survey conducted throughout the frontier West, James Gibson, a stock raiser at Old Agency, Montana Territory, questioned the desirability of fencing. "Cattle men do not fence their ranges in this country," he wrote, "and it would not be safe to fence cattle in on a range in winter unless it was quite extensive." While opinion was far from unanimous, another person surveyed wrote that "To confine stock in a small enclosure, say 2,500 acres, is to invite destruction or compel winter feeding, which amounts to the same thing....If the water supply should fail within the inclosure [sic], the result would be equivalent." Many cattlemen feared that in the event of a severe blizzard, the cattle could drift with the wind only as far as the fence where they would die.

The summer of 1886 was unusually dry. The range grass cured prematurely under the burning rays of the sun. Some of the best grazing areas were destroyed by grass fires. Water-holes and some streams dried up. With the portent of disaster looming before them, the owners of the Pioneer Cattle Company sought to unload the ranch onto a group of wealthy Easterners. Acting through Russell Harrison, Secretary of the Montana Stockgrowers Association and son of the U. S. Senator, the partners hoped to sell their property to a group of capitalists headed by Stephen and John Elkins, intimate friends of Benjamin Harrison.
Photo. 17. "DHS Fall Roundup in '86 Near Fort Maginnis" photographed by W. H. Culver. Photograph given by his daughter, Mrs. Sibyl Musson of Lewistown, to Paul Treece.
Negotiations seemed about to bear fruit when they suddenly collapsed with the death of John Elkins. By the middle of the autumn, Russell Harrison wrote Samuel Hauser that "We might as well forget the whole project." 82

Conrad Kohrs leased some range across the line in Canada and apparently drove some of his stock to it. However it was too late in the season to drive Pioneer Cattle Company stock that far. Accordingly, the partners decided to sell off all of the beef cattle for slaughter if they could find buyers despite the falling price resulting from cattle-men throughout the West doing the same thing. The quality bulls were to be rounded up and driven into feed lots near the home ranch. Five thousand heads were cut out of the herds and driven across the Missouri to the foot of the Little Rocky Mountains after Stuart searched for and located some less heavily grazed ranges. There was little else Stuart could do but hope for the best despite the poor condition of the cattle. 83

Severe storms with heavy snowfalls and sub-zero temperatures struck in November and December but each was of short duration. On January 9, 1887, an Artic wind eventually brought temperatures down to forty-six below, according to Stuart, and dropped sixteen inches of snow everywhere. The storm raged ten days. "The cattle drifted before the storm and fat young steers froze to death along their trails. Conditions were so changed from what they were in [the severe winter of] 1880-81. The thick brush and tall rye grass along the streams that afforded them excellent shelter at that time was now all fenced in and
the poor animals drifted against those fences and perished." The Pioneer Company lost half of their cattle during that blizzard. The rest of their cattle drifted so badly that a year elapsed before some of them were located. Storms of lesser intensity killed off more of the weakened cattle in February. 84

When spring finally came, the cowboys were able to get out to estimate the losses. The story was the same everywhere. From Dakota, Theodore Roosevelt wrote to his aunt: "I am bluer than indigo about the cattle; it is worse than I feared; I wish I was sure I would lose no more than half the money ($80,000) I invested out here. I am planning to get out of it." Four days later he wrote to Henry Cabot Lodge. "Well, we have had a perfect smashup all through the cattle country of the northwest. The losses are crippling. For the first time I have been utterly unable to enjoy a visit to my ranch. I shall be glad to get home." 85

Teddy Blue Abbott, later Stuart's son-in-law, estimated that the Pioneer Cattle Company may have lost as many as 33,000 head from herds numbering only forty thousand. In July of 1887, Abbott was working some cattle with an older man.

The weather was hot, and the dead cattle stunk in the coulees—you'd come across little bunches of ten or fifteen or twenty of them piled up—pfew! I can smell them yet. There was an old fellow working with us who had some on the range; I don't remember his name. But I'll never forget the way he stopped, with the sweat pouring off his face, looked up at the sun, sober as a judge, and said: "Where the hell was you last January?" 86

Many cattlemen lost heart. The Marquis de Mores went back to
Paris and then on to India. Teddy Roosevelt returned to New York and entered politics. Even Stuart was terribly discouraged. "A business that had been fascinating to me before, suddenly became distasteful. I wanted no more of it. I never wanted to own again an animal that I could not feed and shelter."87

When most of the surviving D-S cattle were moved over to a range along the Milk River, Stuart, who like his late brother loved the mountains and disliked the plains, refused to go along. Conrad Kohrs took over the management of the herds. The loss of two-thirds of their herds in 1886-1887 was a crushing economic blow for Stuart. By 1890 he was no longer able to pay the installments on the money he had borrowed from A. J. Davis to buy into the original DHS partnership and was forced to turn over to Davis' estate all of his interest in the ranch except a token single share of stock.88

In the meantime, the Stuart family continued to have good moments and bad. Awbonnie had another boy, Edward, on July 19, 1881. On August 17, 1882, Stuart wrote his mother in West Liberty, Iowa, to expect a visit from him and his daughter, Katie, and plan to go with them to Deer Lodge for a visit. They arrived in Iowa late the following month, took his mother to Deer Lodge, and were back at the D-S Ranch at the end of October. Nancy Stuart made Montana her new home and lived in Deer Lodge with the Thomas Stuarts until she died on November 30, 1888. The Samuel Stuarts had settled in the Deer Lodge Valley once again and Sam worked as a carpenter, a miner, and a laborer in Deer Lodge until his death in 1909. Five children survived him: three daughters and
two sons. One of the sons became a highly respected physician in Livingston, Montana; the other a Philadelphia artist. The daughters married well. 89

Thomas Stuart, Ellen, and their large family saw at least one fortune come and go. Tom worked as a miner, quartz mill owner (the Tom Stuart Mill near Georgetown), horse raiser and racer, state veterinarian, night watchman, water ditch superintendent, and several other jobs. He died on May 23, 1915, near Deer Lodge. 90

Generally, the Granville Stuart and Reece Anderson homes were happy ones. Stuart was most solicitous of his family's health and happiness and while he regarded it as a social albatross around his neck, there is no hint that his behavior toward them reflected this attitude as long as Awbonnie was alive. On the contrary, his many letters express a concern about the upbringing, health, and enjoyment of life. After one trip to Helena, Stuart and his older daughters brought back several pairs of roller skates. Stuart had some ranch hands make some modifications to the dining room and add a handrail around the walls to assist his children and Anderson's while they learned to skate. There were also parties. Miners from the nearby camp of Maiden in the Judiths were invited down for a Christmas ball. Other dances included soldiers from Fort Maginnis and the D-S ranch hands. Stuart often hired the military band from the fort or the miner's brass band from Maiden to put on concerts at the ranch. Saturday night dances were a weekly occurrence. Stuart, like his late brother, had a violin. He would take it with them when the family traveled to another rancher's
home for the dance. According to his children, he was quite skilled as a violinist. Stuart took the responsibility for the public schooling of the area children. Eventually there were three small schools. Stuart personally interviewed the teacher-applicants for these schools. He welcomed his children as well as anyone else who was interested into his three thousand volume library. He often read to his children from the many books and periodicals he had acquired.\(^91\)

On September 13, 1885, Awbonnie gave birth to another son. They named him Harry. Exactly four years and two weeks later, the eleventh child, Irene, was born. Awbonnie did not recover from this delivery. A fever racked her body and on October 17, 1888, she died. She was buried in the Fort Maginnis cemetery following a simple nonsectarian service, for Stuart's agnostic ideas, nourished by the reading of many freethinking books and periodicals and by long conversations with his neighbor across the Judiths, James Fergus, were well established.\(^92\)

The Stuarts' first-born, Katie, died of tuberculosis the following May, the same disease that took her sister Lizzie's life in 1903. In less than eight months, Stuart had lost his wife, mother, and eldest child. Mary, now the oldest living daughter, having postponed her marriage to Teddy Blue Abbott, a D-S cowboy, because of parental opposition and then because of the deaths of her mother and sister, finally married Abbott in the autumn of 1889.\(^94\)

In 1888, with many of his ranching responsibilities assumed by Con Kohrs, the major stockholder, and H. P. Kennett, the assistant superintendent, Stuart took on the added responsibility of
superintending the mining operations of the Maginnis Mining Company near Maiden, a firm principally owned by Hauser and A. M. Holter, a wealthy Helena businessman. Among Stuart's responsibilities were to end the miner's practice of high-grading, i.e., smuggling high grade ore out of the mine in their lunch buckets, and to oversee the safe delivery of the bullion from the mill to the railroad. He was successful in both endeavors.95

Stuart had been one of the most important figures in the early development of the mining industry in Montana. During the 1880s and early 1890s he became an extremely prominent figure in the development of the Montana cattle industry as general manager of one of the territory's largest ranch operations, as a founder and an officer of the Montana Stockgrowers Association, and as President of the Board of Stock Commissioners.

Overextension of credit to purchasers had been the most important reason for the eventual failure of the Dance, Stuart and Company and the Stuart and Company. As a borrower, Stuart discovered that credit, coupled with a high interest rate, was his undoing as a ranchman. Although the deaths of thousands of cattle disheartened him, the primary reason for his leaving the business was his inability to meet his financial obligations to Davis. It is unfortunate that Stuart could not have held on. While the industry had already passed through the boom period, one could still make money raising cattle after 1887. In addition, Stuart had found his niche in life. Zogbaum and others had already romanticised the lives of cowboys and cattlemen. Stock raising
did not offend Stuart's dignity as dirt farming did. He found the position interesting and capable of providing a sufficient income, respect, and adventure. It shielded him and his family from the social pressures which eventually broke it.
NOTES: CHAPTER X

1 G.S. to Phillipe [sic] Deidesheimer, Jan. 28, 1875, UM. Stuart congratulated Deidesheimer on his material success and then added: "I send you bills of accounts we hold against you since the days of our unfortunate operations at Phillippsburg [sic], & from which we never have recovered." The seven year old account carried charges of some $1300.

2 G.S. to R. S. Culbertson, Jan. 26, 1874, UM.

3 G.S. to T. C. Power and Brother, Jan. 29, 1874, UM et passim. The Stuart letterbooks at the UM and the carbon copies abound with examples of these ownership problems concerning property in the Flint Creek Valley.

4 G.S. to N. C. Stuart, Jan. 29, 1874, UM.

5 G.S. to Samuel D. Stuart, Jan. 7, 1874, UM.

6 G.S. to S. G. Ely, Jan. 8, 1874, UM; G.S. to James Simpson, Jan. 8, 1874, UM; G.S. to George Chrisman, Jan. 11, 1874, UM et passim.

7 G.S. to Cornelius Hedges, Jan. 2, 1874, UM et passim.


9 G.S. to Samuel D. Stuart, Jan. 7, 1874, UM; Mrs. Don Goble (granddaughter of James Stuart) to Paul Treece, April 6, 1971. James' last son, John, died in convulsions at French Gulch on September 10, 1873. His father did not learn of his death before his own death twenty days later. G.S., Record of Stuart Family Births and Deaths, Dick Flood Collection.

10 G.S. to B. F. Potts, Jan 5 and 10, 1874, UM.


12 G.S. to Major W. H. Lewis, Dec. 29, 1873, UM et passim.

13 G.S. to George J. W. dePeyster, Feb. 19, 1875, UM.

14 G.S. to Fisk Brothers, Jan. 13, 1874, UM; G.S. to Martin
Maginnis, Jan. 17, 1874, UM; G.S. to David G. Francis, Dec. 9, 1874, UM et passim.

15 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, May 5, 1875, MHS; G.S. to Hauser, Aug. 29, 1875, UM. The publications referred to are all in Cont., I. In 1875, Stuart was vice president and W. F. Sanders was president of the Historical Society. The former frequently was called upon to answer questions about the early history of the region, e.g., about the Verendyre Expedition route and John Coulter's route. See G.S. to Sanders, May 31, 1875, and Feb. 26 and March 27, 1876, et passim, MHS.

16 G.S. to Winchester Repeating Arms Company, Oct. 22, 1874, et passim, UM. The One in One Thousand rifle has become an extremely valuable collector's item. One of Granville's is in the hands of Clay P. Bedford of Phoenix, Arizona. See Frontier Guns, Amon Carter Museum publication. This model became the subject of a Jimmy Stewart western movie ca. 1950.

17 G.S. to Henry Whitall, May 20, 1875, et passim, UM.

18 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, Jan. 21, 1874, UM.

19 G.S. to Fred Watts, March 5, 1874, UM; G.S. to Dr. S. B. Norton, Oct. 25, 1874, UM.


21 G.S. to G. W. Case, April 30, 1874, UM; G.S. to Sidney Dillon, April 30, 1874, UM; G.S. to John W. Young, April 30, 1874, UM; G.S. to James H. Kelley, April 30, 1874, UM; G.S. to Charles Atkins, April 30, 1874, UM; G.S. to Leland Stanford, May 1, 1874, UM.

22 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, Aug. 29, 1875, et passim, UM.


24 G.S. to W. F. Sanders, Feb. 21, 1891, MHS.

25 Herbert Peet Papers, Notebook XII, MHS; Stockholder Record, 1866-1894, First National Bank of Helena, MHS.

26 Deer Lodge New North-West, Oct. 6, 1876.

27 Record Book and Directors' Meetings Minutes, First National Bank of Helena, MHS. Stuart served as a director from 1877 to 1880.

28 G.S. to Miss Mary Stuart (no relative), Dec. 5, 1878, Beinecke-
After Granville's 1873 visit to Iowa, brother Samuel became restless and went to Denver where he unsuccessfully sought regular employment as a carpenter. G.S. to J.S., June 29, 1873, Beinecke-Yale. Apparently he returned to his family in Iowa shortly thereafter but in 1876 he was in the Deer Lodge area working as a miner. G.S. to Amanda Stuart, June 26, 1876, UM. The 1880 census shows him living with Thomas Stuart while Amanda and their children remained in Iowa. Tom's Deer Lodge household in 1880 included Sam, Ellen, five children, and a male servant. 1880 U. S. Census, Deer Lodge City, Deer Lodge County, Montana Territory.

Owings, loc. cit.


Thomas H. Irvine Diaries, 1879, 1880, MHS.

Ibid., 1880; G.S., Journal of a Trip to the Yellowstone Country to Look for a Cattle Range...1880, Beinecke-Yale; G.S., Forty Years, II, 97-144. The trip is not mentioned in M. M. Quaife (ed.), "Yellowstone Kelley": The Memoirs of Luther S. Kelley.
Historians have found Stuart's description of the Custer battlefield useful, e.g., Edgar I. Stewart, *Custer's Luck*, 44.


G.S., *Forty Years*, II, 138-139.


Taped interview of Mary Stuart Abbott (Granville's daughter) by Oscar O. Mueller, June 21, 1958, MSU; Larry Gill, *op. cit.*, 38ff. Gill was once a resident of Lewistown, Montana, where he personally knew Mary S. Abbott. Mueller was onetime mayor of Lewistown.


Deer Lodge, *New North-West*, Nov. 11, 1880; G.S., *Forty Years*, II, 150, 165. James Ferguson (1833-1902) emigrated from his native Scotland to the Middle West by way of Canada. He became a businessman in Moline, Illinois, and then in Minnesota. He sought gold in Colorado and later in Montana. His friendship with Stuart stretched over several decades and, like Stuart, he left an invaluable collection of letters and documents. See Robert M. Horne, "James Ferguson: Frontier Businessman - Miner - Rancher - Free Thinker," unpublished D.Ed. dissertation, UM. Conrad Kohrs (1835-1920) was born in Germany. He lived for a time in Iowa, was a California miner, and came to Montana in 1862. He bought out Johnny Grant in 1866 and the Grant-Kohrs ranch and home just north of Deer Lodge has recently become a National Historical Monument.

52 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, Oct. 31, Nov. 14 and 18, and Dec. 24, 1882, MHS; A. J. Davis to G.S., Oct. 21, 1882, MHS; Hauser to G.S., Oct. 25, 1882, MHS. Carrie Adell Strahorn, wife of the publicist, once asked a stage driver if Davis was married. "'Married!' [came the reply], 'Why that there old fellow is just too damned stingy to even divide his affections.'" C. A. Strahorn, Fifteen Thousand Miles by Stage, 94.

53 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, Nov. 18, 1882, MHS. William A. Baillie-Grohman (1851-?) authored Camps in the Rockies (1884) and several other books.

54 White Sulphur Springs, Montana, Rocky Mountain Husbandman, July 19, 1883; Dissolution of Co-partnership Notice, August 1, 1883, Beinecke-Yale. According to Donald MacMillan, "Andrew Jackson Davis," 107-109, Davis realized more than 150 percent profit plus dividends on his investment in three years. The reorganized firm incorporated in 1885 under the name of the Pioneer Cattle Company with Stuart (and Reece Anderson) holding one-third; Kohrs and Beilenberg, one-third; and one-third held by Sam Hauser through his stepson, Holter Percy Kennett (who had already established a horse ranch in the area and who became Assistant Superintendent of the D-S operations), Albert J. Seligman of the major New York banking family, E. G. Bailey and Bailey's cousin, Parmlee Billings, son of Frederick Billings of the Northern Pacific Railroad after whom the Montana town is named. Also see Hakola, op. cit., 242.

55 G.S., "Map Showing the Cattle Range of Davis, Hauser, & Co., Meagher County, Montana...1882," MHS.

56 Fort Benton River Press, Aug. 31, 1881; Andrew Garcia, Tough Trip Through Paradise, 45; G.S., Forty Years, II, 150ff. Garcia wrote that many of the citizens of Miles City were gamblers, prostitutes, and hard-drinking, heavy-betting soldiers, trappers, buffalo hunters, and other tough characters. "After the buffalo were all killed off [ca. 1883], many of those gentry promptly took up horse stealing and cattle lifting as the next best job to buffalo hunting...." John J. Healy, a discoverer of gold in Idaho, was Sheriff of Chouteau County from 1877 to 1882. The outline of his career in Montana is in Paul F. Sharp, Whoop-Up Country: The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885, 115ff. Professor Emeritus Merrill G. Burlingame is preparing a full-length biography of this colorful Irishman.

57 G.S., Forty Years, II, 165-166.
58 Ibid., II, 167.

59 Ibid., II, 168-171; G.S., Scrapbook No. 4 (containing newspaper clippings describing the legislative session), MHS; Owings, loc. cit.; Robert H. Fletcher, Free Grass to Fences: The Montana Cattle Range Story. 62-64. Fletcher's book would be the definitive work on the Montana Stockgrowers Association, whose records were his primary source, if he had included footnotes and a bibliography.

60 Fletcher, op. cit., 64; J. M. Hamilton, op. cit., 404; M. G. Burlingame, The Montana Frontier, 278-279; G.S., Forty Years, II, 156, 175-178.

61 E. C. Abbott and H. H. Smith, We Pointed Them North, 131-132; Hermann Hagedorn, Roosevelt in the Bad Lands, 142-147; Donald Dresden, The Marquis de Mores: Emperor of the Bad Lands, 173-182; G.S., Forty Years, II, 195-197. John A. Jameson was later a house guest of Stuart's. It was his warning that Baillie-Grohman was rumored to be a poor credit risk which ended the proposal to sell him the D-S Ranch. Abbott was Stuart's son-in-law and lived in central Montana from the 1880s until his death in 1939.

62 Hagedorn, op. cit., 146-147.

63 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, Sept. 10, 1884, MHS; Mueller, "Central Montana Raids of 1884," MHS.


65 Muller, loc. cit.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.; G.S. to A. M. Thompson, July 24, 1884, Beinecke-Yale; Fort Benton River Press, July 30, 1884; G.S., Forty Years, II, 206-209; G.S., "[Secret List of Bates Point Vigilantes], MHS; Andrew Fergus Diary, MHS; G.S. to Nancy Stuart, July 9, 1884, Beinecke-Yale.

69 Muller, loc. cit.

70 Ibid.; Andrew Fergus Diary, MHS.

Judith MacBain Alter, "Rugus Zogbaum and the Frontier West," *Montana*, XXIII, No. 4, 50.

G.S., *Forty Years*, II, 208-209; Muller, *loc. cit.*

Ibid.


Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 68ff.


Report of the Board of Stock Commissioners of Montana Territory, (1886, 1887, 1889, and 1891-1899); G.S., *Forty Years*, II, 210-211.

G.S., *Forty Years*, II, 229-230; Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 85-86.

White Sulphur Springs *Rocky Mountain Husbandman*, July 19, 1883, as quoted in Osgood, *op. cit.*, 185-186.

House Ex. Doc. No. 44, Cong. Sess. 2, 273, 311. James Gibson is one of the men from whom Stuart sought to purchase cattle.


G.S., *Forty Years*, II, 231-234; Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 86-87; E. C. Abbott and H. H. Smith, *We Pointed Them North*, 171-172. Abbott wrote that "In 1886 the only new range left in Montana was north of the Missouri River, on the Blackfoot reservation....Granville Stuart got permission from the government to move his cattle up there." If this was the case, it indicates that Stuart had powerful friends for such a move was contrary to the spirit of President Cleveland's Proclamation of August 23, 1885, ordering the removal of herds of cattle from lands that their white owners had leased on the Cheyenne-Arapahoe reservation, Indian Territory.


G.S., Forty Years, II, 237-238; Larry Gill, "Granville Stuart: Cowman," unpublished manuscript, 143ff; Pioneer Cattle Company Records, MHS; Hakola, op. cit., 252-253. According to Hakola, the matter was left unsettled by Davis' death in 1890 until 1895 when Stuart's interest was sold for $35,000. The Davis estate got $20,000 and Hauser's First National Bank of Helena received the rest on an overdue account.

G.S., Record of Stuart Family Births and Deaths, Dick Flood Collection; G.S. to Nancy Stuart, Aug. 7 and Oct. 29, 1882, Beinecke-Yale; Deer Lodge New North-West, Dec. 7, 1888; Butte Inter Mountain, June 7, 1909.


Deer Lodge New North-West, June 14, 1889; Lewistown [Montana] Democrat, Oct. 9, 1903; G.S., Record of Stuart Family Births and Deaths, Dick Flood Collection.

Abbott and Smith, op. cit., 141-208.

CHAPTER XI

DREAMS ABOUT LATIN AMERICA FULFILLED

The winter storms and cold decimated the D-S herds in 1886-1887 and with it most of Stuart's hopes of achieving economic success and an escape from the heavy debts and crushing interest owed to A. J. Davis and to the First National Bank of Helena. These reverses had hardened Stuart emotionally. The deaths of his wife, mother, and some of his children had had the same effect. By the end of the 1880s, Stuart knew that his days as a part-owner of the D-S ranch were numbered. This shattering of dreams of a middle-aged man along with the accumulated impact of decades of living in the harsh realities of the frontier and the conflicts with rustlers, Indians, and thieving mine employees had brought about a hardness in Stuart's personality which seemed contrary to his gentlemanly manners and basic gentleness. The snubs he had received as a squaw man and father of a number of half breeds had left him feeling touchy about family affairs as well as somewhat ill-tempered and testy about all criticism.

In the winter of 1889-1890, Stuart decided to remarry. It appears that the decision was relatively sudden. The object of his affections was a twenty-six year old white woman, Allis Brown Fairfield, who had been one of the teachers Stuart had hired previously as a public school teacher for his and his neighbor's children in the mid-1880s. In January, 1890, Allis Fairfield was living with her parents in Grantsdale,
Montana, in the Bitter Root Valley.1

Isabella (or Allis Belle) Brown was born to Samuel and Ann Rebecca Brown on December 16, 1863. In 1870 Sam Brown moved his family and two sisters to a farm near Bellevue, Iowa, on the rich Mississippi bottoms some seventy-five miles north of Muscatine. Six years later the family moved across the state to Sioux City on the Missouri River. In 1879 the Browns moved to Philipsburg, Montana. In 1883 the family moved to Maider where Sam Brown had a job running a boarding house for the miners from the Collar Mine. Isabella was hired by Stuart in December, 1883, and taught one term. In May, 1884, Sam Brown moved his family to Livingston and then to Grantsdale, Montana, where he took up a homestead. Isabella did not go with her parents. Instead she went East for teacher's training. She may have attended Vassar College as she claimed later. She did attend the Northern Indiana Normal College at Valparaiso.2

Following her studies at Valparaiso, she taught at schools in Wyoming at Rock Creek and Trabing, both in Johnson County, and in Montana at Sidney on the Yellowstone River near the Dakota line. While in Wyoming, she married a man named Fairfield but was soon divorced or widowed. Then she either sought a teaching position from Stuart or was sought by him in 1889. The end result was a rapid courtship which resulted in their marriage on January 8, 1890, in Grantsdale.3

According to Stuart's grandchildren, the new Mrs. Stuart did not conceal well the attitudes commonly held by most white Americans in the nineteenth century, i.e., that the white race was superior. Knowledge of these attitudes as well as exposure to other aspects of her
personality had caused the Stuart children to develop an intense dislike of her. In June, 1889, Mary Stuart wrote to her fiancé that "The teacher is the girl Will Burnett [D-S foreman who was once a cowboy in Johnson County, Wyoming] run with when she taught school here[. Her name was Belle Brown but now it is Mrs. Fairfield, but I dont think she was ever married[. You know what she was don't you[?] I am surprised that papa got her but guess it is for his benifit [sic] don't you. Well Ted she is very pretty but did you ever see one that was[n]'t."^4

Teddy Blue Abbott, who became Mary's husband three months later, recorded his reactions to the remarriage in a diary in 1890. On January 17 he wrote "I pity Granville Stuart I could not believe it at first. he will bitterly repent ever marrying her ere long I am disgusted with him yet I will help him but her never I feel ashamed of him tonight. T.A."^5

The next day he visited the D-S Ranch. "Lizzie is about heart-broken over her Fathers marrige with Madam Rahah...it makes me Hot to think Granville Stuart would ever marry such a thing or that he is surely crazy and worst of all in my opinion a rank Sucker. Well I look for rocks ahead for that family. T.A."^6

Abbott was ill on January 28 and was unable to go to the D-S Ranch. "...I expect G. Stuart & Wife arrived home this evening," he wrote in the diary. "Wish I could look in now and see the play acted Ill bet its rich as they all hate her like Pizen."^7

Abbott's references to Allis Stuart in February include the words "Hag" and "Bitch". Apparently his feelings reflected only too well
those of Stuart's children. Some of Stuart's daughters apparently verbalized these sentiments. In March, the Stuart household exploded in a great domestic quarrel. On March 26, Dick Stuart, Granville's eldest adopted son, left to work in Canada, perhaps seeking to escape the impending domestic turbulence. The events of the next day are recorded in Abbott's diary. "...Mrs. Stuart had kicked Poor Lizzie out of the House and her Father the Hon Granville Stuart lets his daughter go to Hell for all he cares. Just think. Lizzie is only 16 years old how a man can turn his own child adrift on the world for the sake of an old Whore is more than I can tell. but Lizzie can stay with us as long as we can eat--I will give her a home poor as I am and her Brothers stand it too aint that Hell...."8

The explosion destroyed the Stuarts as a family unit. Of the ten living natural and adopted Stuart children, five were twenty or more years old in 1890. Presumably all of them worked as cowboys on nearby ranches except Tom who was working in Great Falls, Dick who went to Canada temporarily to work, and Mary who had married Abbott. Lizzie moved in with the Abbotts. The four youngest, Sam, age thirteen; Edward, age nine; Harry, age five; and Irene, age two, were placed in the St. Ignatius Catholic mission school on the Flathead Reservation north of Missoula. Edward promptly ran away and apparently lived with the Abbotts. Sam studied telegraphy and engineering with uncertain enthusiasm for a year or so and then returned to central Montana where he became a well-known cowboy. He was written about in Life Magazine and Walt Coburn's Pioneer Cattlemen of Montana. Granville never came to
claim Harry and Irene. Ironically, Harry was adopted by a Flathead named John B. Finlay, undoubtedly a direct or indirect descendant of Stuart's rival claimant as the first discoverer of gold in Montana, Francois Benetsee Finlay. Harry died on June 25, 1906, and was buried on the reservation. Neither the Bureau of Indian Affairs at the Flathead Agency or the Sisters of Charity at St. Ignatius have any record of what happened to little Irene. She may have died at a very tender age although according to some of Stuart's grandchildren, she eventually became a nun, Sister Marie, and even visited Rome. When she died, the Mission wired the Stuarts for a decision about what to do with her remains. Her step-mother did not inform her husband of Irene's death and curtly directed the Sisters to "Bury her." The story is repeated in a magazine of popular western stories. Its author identifies her source of information to be Mary Stuart Abbott. The abandonment of his children reveals the extent to which Stuart's many adversities had hardened his heart. During his stay in South America, his son, Thomas, was declared insane by a judge and two doctors and was committed to the state asylum at Warm Springs, Montana.9

During the time that Stuart and his new wife lived on the D-S Ranch, Stuart supplemented his meager income working as a dirt farmer. Mary Stuart Abbott remembered seeing her proud graying father in farmer's overalls tending a garden and feeling that he must have felt compromised and degraded by the necessity of doing these chores.10 Stuart did not remain a dirt farmer long. Within months after his marriage to Allis Fairfield, the couple moved to Butte. While living there, Stuart
solicited his friend and Montana Stockgrowers Association associate, Russell B. Harrison, son of the President of the United States, to use his influence to get Stuart the position of Receiver of the Spokane National Bank. The position had already been filled.11

Only two weeks after his marriage, a State Land Office was established (Montana had become a state in 1889). Joseph K. Toole, a Democrat, the first governor of the state of Montana, appointed Stuart to be the State Land Agent. The appointment was confirmed by the State Board of Land Commissioners on March 14, 1891. Stuart's new duties were specified the next month. "...It was ordered that the Land Agent be requested to gain what information he could from the Surveyor General of the United States in and for the State of Montana concerning the most available lands are unsurveyed out of which the State may select the lands granted it by an Act of Congress...1889." Governor Toole wanted Stuart to examine surveyed federally-owned lands in Montana in order to aid the Board secure "...the necessary information to be laid before the Secretary of the Interior of the number of acres of land that the State desired to be surveyed...out of which it might make its selection of the different donations made it under the Act of Congress approved February 22, 1889...."12

Among the lands Stuart examined were those located in the Valleys of the Bitter Root, Blackfoot, Flathead, Kootenai, Clark Fork, Swan, Ruby, and other rivers. He was directed to examine the Fort Shaw Military Reservation. After doing so, he recommended that some forty thousand acres and the buildings thereon become the State Agricultural
College. As he traveled around the western half of the new state, he encountered old friends, squatters, timber thieves, and new emigrants. He was a witness to the land rush which filled the lands around Flathead Lake. "I have examined the land in the Flathead Valley and find but little available," he wrote the governor. "A vintage land craze is raging here. Men are coming at the rate of 80 to 100 per day and the woods are full of them locating claims...."\(^{13}\)

Stuart also encountered heavy rains, mosquitoes, and other hazards. "...I have been much delayed by the difficulty of finding grass for my horse in the forest region so early in the season. The dense forests & lack of roads or trails have also rendered my progress slow & difficult,..." he wrote to Toole.\(^{14}\)

Allis Stuart accompanied her husband on most of his surveying expeditions. Apparently she did not have much difficulty in keeping up with the frontier-hardened man who was thirty years her senior. There were many happy moments for the couple. Mrs. Stuart loved the magnificent forests and felt saddened by the ruthless logging off of great sections of them. In spite of the fact that she was unable to ride side saddle, the only way she had learned to ride, because of the density of the forests, she quickly learned to ride like a man and found herself enjoying the encounters with surprised deer, fishing, camping without a tent, and the magnificent scenery, as much as her husband did.\(^{15}\)

In 1892 John E. Rickards, a Republican, was elected governor. This was indeed bad news for Stuart, a life-long Democrat. It was obvious to Stuart that when Rickards took office, there would be a new Land Agent
who was a loyal Republican. Luck would have it, however, that the new
Agent was Richard O. Hickman, who, according to Mrs. Stuart, had been
Granville's roommate during one of the sessions of the territorial
legislature in Virginia City. As soon as Hickman took office, he
requested that an Assistant State Land Agent be hired and in June 1893,
Stuart was appointed to that position under Hickman at a monthly salary
of $175 and expenses.16

Stuart did not wait idly for the ax to fall. After the 1892
election of Democrat Grover Cleveland to a second term as President of
the United States, Stuart began to solicit his wealthy and politically
powerful Democratic friends to use their influence on the Cleveland
administration to win him a federal position. To Montana Congressman
W. W. Dixon he wrote: "Dear William, As we failed to carry the State at
the late election I will lose my position as State Land Agent....I am
so situated financially that it is very necessary that I should have
something to do. I am capable of filling the Office of Surveyor General,
and will try to secure it, and hope from our acquaintance[ship] and
friendship, that you will aid me, and I will gratefully return the favor
when the occasion serves...."17

When Dixon could not or did not produce the desired results, Stuart
turned to his long-time friend, Sam Hauser, Democratic Territorial
Governor of Montana from 1885 to 1887. "So far as I have seen in the
papers Prest Cleveland has not yet appointed a Minister to Bolivia. If
I should not be appointed Surveyor Genl please try it for me. I am
familiar with the Spanish language and could do well down there. The
pay is not large, only $5,000 a year, but could save some out of that
sum and any port in a storm [the Panic of 1893] for I must have some-
thing to do."18 Stuart repeated the request four months later,
mentioning that he had also written to Senator George Vest about it. A
few days later he repeated the request again, adding the Ministership to
Ecuador to his list of possible positions.19

Stuart finally got just the type of position he had been seeking.
On March 1, 1894, President Cleveland and Secretary of State Gresham
signed his appointment as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipoten-
tiary of the United States of America to Paraguay and Uruguay.20 The
position paid $7500 a year.21

On April 3, Stuart and his wife left Helena on the Northern
Pacific Railroad for his new appointment. They were delayed for more
than a day in North Dakota after a freight train ahead of them plunged
through a bridge into the icy Heart River. When they reached St. Paul,
Minnesota, they took the Milwaukee, St. Paul, and Chicago Railroad
through LaCrosse and Milwaukee and finally reached Chicago late in the
evening. The next morning they visited R. 0. Hickman in St. Joseph's
Hospital. Hickman, who still held the office of State Land Agent, died
fifteen months later.22

The Stuarts continued on the Pennsylvania Railroad the next morning
and arrived in Washington, D. C. on April 9. There they spent a week
while Granville was briefed at the State Department on "...the history
of our diplomatic intercourse with Uruguay and Paraguay...." The couple
had time to do some sight-seeing and enjoyed their visit to Mount Vernon.
Stuart looked with longing at the locked bookcases filled with interesting old volumes which had belonged to Washington. In addition to the other sights within the District, they visited the Capitol building. "...We enjoyed our visit to it very much & especially to the great library and wished I could go into partnership with Mr. Spofford the ancient librarian for his life is a life that would be pleasant to one, to wander at will amongst the piles & forests, so to speak of rare and curious books, life would glide away like a pleasant dream...."²³

Upon reaching New York City, the couple scurried about buying steamer tickets, looking at Central Park, and shopping. They paid a visit to the store of David G. Francis, the bookseller to whom Stuart had mailed book orders numbering in the dozens over the years. This time they purchased a 1632 copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and a volume entitled *The La Plata Countries.*²⁴

They did their sightseeing and shopping at a frantic pace, for they had arrived shortly before midnight on April 17 and had to board the Royal Mail Steamer *Clyde* at two o'clock the next afternoon. In an hour they were underway. There was no direct oceanic connection between the United States and Montevideo. The *Clyde* would carry them to Southampton, England, and then to Uruguay.²⁵

The Stuarts enjoyed seeing the Statue of Liberty, the Brooklyn Bridge, and the other ships and ferry boats from the decks of the *Clyde.* Both were feeling fine when they went down for supper at six o'clock but the sight and smell of food caused Allis to become seasick instantly and she fled to their stateroom. She remained ill for more than six days,
unable to come to the dining room until the last day of the voyage. Stuart ate by himself. "I did not feel ill until I went into our stateroom & saw Belle sick....I was then sick for about 24 hours...."  

The Clyde arrived off Southampton on April 25 and would not sail until May for Montevideo. The Stuarts took advantage of the wait. After a two-hour train ride, they were in London. They visited the National Art Gallery, St. John's Church, Westminster Abbey, the Houses of Parliament, the Tower of London, St. Paul's, the Kensington Museum, and many other sights. On April 28 they crossed the channel and were in Paris the next day. They maintained their frantic sightseeing pace which included a visit to a theatre to see Sarah Bernhardt in "Fedora."  

At this point Stuart either abruptly terminated his journal, an unlikely alternative, or someone has detached the remainder and it is now missing. Much later in her life, Mrs. Stuart wrote a thirty-four page autobiography of her life with Granville with emphasis on the South American years. The autobiography contains several errors and contradicts Stuart's journal in several places. Although it is not reliable, it is the only available document for this period of Stuart's life with the exception of a few letters and some dispatches to the State Department.  

After reboarding the Clyde, the travelers crossed the Bay of Biscay. It was rough and there was more seasickness among the passengers. The ship put into the beautiful old Spanish seaport of Vigo and later Lisbon, Portugal. There was one more stop, the Canary Islands, before it struck the coast of Brazil at Pernambuco (Recife).
Because cholera had been reported while they were in Lisbon, the pa-
ssengers were not allowed to disembark. They were not allowed to go
ashore at Rio de Janeiro because a minor naval insurrection had just
been crushed and the authorities were understandably nervous. Stuart
deployed regretted that they had missed the action. Seeing a naval battle
would have been a once in a lifetime experience for non-sailors. Yellow
fever was raging throughout the city and those aboard the Clyde were
not anxious to expose themselves to it, incorrectly assuming that they
were safe from it aboard ship. The Clyde lifted anchor and sailed south
through some rough seas. The Stuarts were seasick but Granville proudly
wrote that he was the last passenger to succumb, that his sickness
lasted only an hour, and that some of the naval officers also became ill.
The steamer finally arrived at Montevideo, Uruguay, on May 25.29

The American legation in Montevideo was a disappointment to the
Stuarts. Stuart’s predecessor had been a bachelor who spent most of his
non-working time at a private club. The legation was an old building
furnished with some inexpensive, worn-out furniture. The Stuarts began
looking for better quarters. Eventually they rented a building facing
a park, installed three coal-burning fireplaces, and furnished it,
unwisely at their own expense. They spent much of their time performing
diplomatic social functions and overseeing the management of the
legation.30

Stuart did not enjoy dressing for these social encounters. Mrs.
Stuart loved them. Indeed the South American period was the high point
of her life, while Granville felt uncomfortable and unnatural in his
Photo. 20. Granville and Allis Stuart (on left) and others in the American Legation at Montevideo in May, 1895. Photograph courtesy of Dr. Stanley Davison and the Montana Historical Society.
role as Minister. To a close friend in Montana he wrote:

...The social duties of a Minister are just awful, and as you well imagine that sort of thing comes about as natural to me as climbing a tree does to a fish. If you could only see me in an evening suit, with white necktie, plug hat (d--m the man that invented 'em) toothpick pointed patent leather shoes (may the devil seize the maker of them) and wearing a cast iron diplomatic smile while I talk to one in Spanish, another in French, and when I encounter an Italian I fall back on Chinnook [sic] jargon and just paralyzed him. Oh Tom I know your first impulse would be to laugh but when you looked into my bosom and saw the pile of suppressed and unspoken cuss words that I habitually carry concealed there roofed over with longings for tall mountains full of elk, deer, mountain sheep, and bears beside cool rushing pine bordered streams, where the trout beg for grasshoppers, and wood ticks are sociable, you wouldn't laugh. No! you would cry....

Despite his lack of training and experience as a diplomat, Stuart, a political appointee, has been given high marks as Minister to Uruguay and Paraguay during a decade when America was becoming a protector and investor in Latin America. Although Stuart's social responsibilities demanded much of his time, he probably performed his official duties as well as a professional Foreign Service employee by reporting carefully to the State Department Uruguayan foreign and domestic problems as they arose and by assuming the responsibility for protecting American nationals whose safety was threatened by Uruguayan civil strife.32

The Stuarts had barely arrived at Montevideo in 1894 when the Uruguayan capital was rife with rumors of a pending foreign invasion. A war between Argentina and Chile over boundaries threatened to break out momentarily. The latter threatened an alliance with Brazil against the former while Argentina sought an alliance with Uruguay. The Uruguayan government wisely wished to pursue a policy of neutrality and
Foreign Minister Jaime Estranzulas made an unofficial visit to Stuart to see if Washington would declare that any violation of Uruguayan neutrality would be seen as an unfriendly act. Stuart could not commit his government to such a course without seeking further instructions and through several dispatches appraised the State Department of the delicate situation. Estranzulas seemed to get some small reassurance by Stuart's promises that the matter would be given attention in Washington. The threatened war did not materialize during Stuart's tenure as Minister.\textsuperscript{33}

The domestic crisis was much more difficult to deal with. The two political factions, the conservative Blancos and the reform-minded Colorados, had kept the nation in turmoil since 1828. President Idiarte Borda, a Colorado, had taken office just two months before the Stuart's arrival and made efforts to bring about stability and economic progress which at first favorably impressed Granville. By the end of 1896, Idiarte Borda's government had become more repressive, sparking secession by elements of his own party and a military revolt in parts of the nation. The government's press gangs seized luckless Uruguayans and probably some foreigners as well, for military service. Government censorship was tightened. By the spring of 1897 the nation was torn by civil strife.\textsuperscript{34}

In addition to reporting on the deteriorating situation to the State Department, Stuart's duties included the protesting about the seizure of horses from a United States consul and censorship of the communications of the American navy from Montevideo and the issuance of passports on his own authority to Americans living in Uruguay who had
Photo 21. A procession in Montevideo. The Uruguayan President was assassinated at this or a similar procession. A Granville Stuart photograph courtesy of C. A. Smithey.
allowed them to escape. The new passports made them fairly safe from the press gangs.  

On Uruguay's Independence Day, 1897, Stuart witnessed a tragedy. As dean of the diplomatic corps, he was marching immediately behind the President in a procession from a cathedral to the palace. An assassin sprang from the crowd and fired a revolver point blank at the President's chest. Stuart stood by the dying man's head, protecting him from further injury while a mob of soldiers and on-lookers scuffled around the prone leader in an attempt to save or kill the murderer. An artillery unit unlimbered its cannon and trained the weapon on the mob. Mrs. Stuart and some of the wives of American naval officers and other diplomats who had been watching the procession, suddenly found themselves staring at the business end of the artillery piece. They ran pell-mell for a hotel on the other side of the plaza. 

The assassination of Idiarte Borda soon resulted in a truce between the warring factions and in a new era of economic and social advancement without political turmoil. 

Although the Stuarts resided in Montevideo, Granville also was the accredited Minister to Paraguay. A few weeks after their arrival in Montevideo, the Stuarts made the trip several hundred miles up river on a steamer to Asuncion, the Paraguayan capital. Asuncion must have reminded them of some of Montana's gold rush towns. The streets were unpaved and there was no water works. The nation still showed the effects of the devastating war with Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina during the years 1865-1870. During their visit, the couple stayed at
the home of the American consul. They made a second visit eighteen months later, accompanied by Ensign B. B. Biercer, an American naval officer, who at Stuart's request, was to examine the river system of that part of the continent. Stuart did perform some useful services as Minister to Paraguay, but nothing comparable to his services in Uruguay.38

After a brief stop in Asuncion, the trio transferred to a steamer with a shallower draft and continued up the river. After a second transfer for the same reason, the group continued up a tributary to Cuyaba, capital of the Brazilian state of Matto Grosso. Granville and possibly his wife made visits to Buenos Aires and other places in Argentina in April, 1896, and again in November, 1897. Mrs. Stuart claimed that they visited every country in South America except the three Guianas but this is questionable. Even more questionable is her claim that Stuart was directed by the State Department to go up the Amazon to make a report on the Brazilian rubber industry.39

Realizing that his tenure in office rested on the continuation of a Democratic administration in Washington, Stuart was watchful for alternate economic opportunities.40 During the Stuarts' travels, Granville had an opportunity to observe the cattle raising industry in Paraguay, Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. In the autumn of 1896 he wrote to his wealthy friend and former D-S partner, Sam Hauser. After describing the trip up to Cuyaba and the friendly reception received there, Stuart wrote that since he had come to South America, he had been studying the cattle industry. He was not excited about prospects
in Uruguay and Argentina, both cattle producing nations, where men had
made fortunes in the business, because inexpensive land was not
available. On the other hand, Paraguay and Matto Grosso, Brazil,
offered great opportunities. Land was cheap, there were no diseases, no
wolves or bears to decimate the calf crop, no taxes on real estate; the
weather was mild all year (no Montana blizzards), and prices for beef
were good. The land was well watered and fertile. Wages for cowboys
would be low and rustling and straying would not be a serious problem.
Stuart predicted profits of 120 percent for the first six years and
thirty percent per annum thereafter!

I understand the business thoroughly and can improve
upon some of their methods of raising cattle.... I want
to buy from 80 to 100 square miles of land & stock it with
10,000 cattle to begin with....Now I want you to assist me
in borrowing this money in New York. You can testify to my
honesty & ability and my present position is evidence of my
standing in a general way....
I know I can make a great success of it otherwise I
would not dream of embarking on it. The climate agrees with
me. I am in perfect health and feel in the prime of life.
I greatly prefer to borrow the whole sum at a reasonable
rate of interest, say 6% if possible, for I can pay
principal & interest in installments inside of seven years &
have over $200,000 worth of property left. If you find that
you can probably get the money for me I can meet you & the
parties who will furnish it in New York at any time to
arrange the matter.
If I cannot get it in that manner I have another
proposition to make. I want a partner with $100,000 who
will lend me $50,000 without interest & put in $50,000 for
himself....
Now Sam this is no rose colored impracticable dream of
mine for I have carefully examined into every detail while
here upon the very ground where I expect to operate and I
am telling you the exact truth about it....
I know the language and these people and my position
gives me a great advantage in getting land & cattle....I
have conversed with and got the experience of many who have
long been in cattle. I have visited their ranches & saw with
my own eyes and carefully investigated the subject in all its
bearings and you can rely implicitly on what I tell you and for God's sake Sam rustle me up somebody who...will lend me a starter and you and he shall never regret it.

I am anxious to hold my position as Minister as long as possible for it is of great service to me as I am accredited to this Country as well as Uruguay I can start the enterprise without having to resign....In case William Jennings Bryan is elected please use every effort to enable me to hold my place for I am becoming better acquainted with the situation every day and hope to reap advantage of it.\textsuperscript{41}

Two more letters in the same vein were sent within the month. None of the letters showed any awareness of the depressed condition of the economy of the United States following the Panic of 1893. Stuart took it for granted that his benefactor could raise thousands of dollars for investment in a foreign country at little or no interest. Stuart's credit demands reveal an unawareness that his credit history since 1880 marked him in the eyes of any intelligent businessman as a very poor risk.

Another letter followed in January, 1897. The others were friendly, if somewhat demanding, in tone while this one was irritable. Stuart was unhappy over Hauser's failure to answer his letters and unhappy over McKinley's presidential victory which would inevitably cost him his position. Stuart asked Hauser to use his influence to allow him to serve for at least four full years and hopefully longer. Then his thoughts turned back to the dream of becoming a Latin American cattle baron. The focus of his attention was now Argentina. He wrote that for $650,000 he could buy 162,000 acres of well watered, fenced grazing and grain-producing land on a rail line only one night's ride from the large and growing city of Buenos Aires. The price included cattle and sheep already grazing on the land. "If the money could be raised in
New York I would like to superintend the property for about ten years guaranteeing that I could make a big success of it. Don't you know it is mighty discouraging to write and write and get no answer?"\textsuperscript{42}

Hauser's friendly letter parried these requests and demands. He wrote that he had been in New York for two months, implying that the trip delayed his receiving the Stuart letters and his replying to them.

"When I heard of the failure of our bank [the First National Bank of Helena failed during the summer of 1896] you can readily see and understand why I did not answer your letters in reference to your cattle enterprise. The truth is, as you can well know, that this added to the general great depression all over the northwest has made it absolutely impossible for me to get anyone to go into any new enterprises; and, in fact, Granville, it has been exceedingly hard to keep myself afloat and retain my property, which has greatly depreciated—not only here [in Helena] but all over the northwest....When I cannot write something good I always hesitate about writing."\textsuperscript{43}

In October, 1897, the sixty-three year old diplomat was informed that he would soon be replaced by a Republican newspaper editor from Wisconsin. After introducing his successor to the Uruguayan president, Stuart and his wife boarded the \textit{Luxor}, a German freighter, on January 9, 1898. After a brief stop at an Argentine coastal town, the freighter headed out into the open sea and a storm. Mrs. Stuart was terribly seasick for five days. The ship stopped at the Falkland Islands, a British possession, and then headed for the entrance to the Strait of Magellan. When the Pacific was reached on January 21, Mrs. Stuart was
again seasick. The ship docked at several Chilian seaports, the most interesting being Lota, a mining town. Here the Stuarts left the ship and visited the unfinished mansion of the owner of the coal and copper mines, Isidora Goyenechea de Cousino, reputed to be the wealthiest woman in the world. After visiting her beautiful gardens and private zoo, the Stuarts took a train to Concepcion and then to the seaport of Talcahuano, where they rejoined their ship.44

After stopping at several Peruvian ports, the Stuarts visited Lima and then took a train up into the Andes. Later Mrs. Stuart claimed that they visited an abandoned silver mine. The miners had stopped work when the silver vein ended, uninterested in the ample evidence of large quantities of copper. Stuart was most interested, however, and secured certain options on the property as well as a pledge from the Peruvian government that it would extend the rail line to the mine if it had "...certain guarantees from a responsible American company." Upon returning home, Stuart wrote up an extensive report which was acquired by the Salt Lake City firm of Haggin and McCune. On the strength of this report, the Anaconda Copper Company, which had been founded by James Ben Ali Haggin and others, purchased the Cerro de Pasco mine for a small sum, an investment which eventually yielded millions in return. Stuart, according to his wife, never was paid for the report.45

The Stuarts boarded another ship, the Aconcagua, which stopped at several other Peruvian and Ecuadorian ports. In late February they arrived at the Isthmus of Panama. Here they left the ship and crossed the Isthmus, presumably on the railroad. Then they boarded a third ship
which carried them to Caracas, Venezuela. There they first learned of
the sinking of the Maine in the harbor of Havana on February 15. From
Caracas the Stuarts probably sailed on a neutral ship and arrived in
New York City in the spring of 1898.46

The Stuarts were in New York in April, May, and June visiting a
married daughter of brother Samuel. Two of Sam's other daughters had
visited the Stuarts in Montevideo and one had married an American naval
officer there. While in the city, Stuart was busy building his library.
Of the somewhat more than one hundred books comprising the remnant of
his library found in the home of a grandson, twenty percent were pur-
chased in New York in the spring of 1898, indicating extensive book
buying by Stuart. Another dozen or more of the one hundred were books
purchased in South America. Stuart's taste ran strongly toward travel
books: Greece, Charles Wilkes' volumes on his exploring expeditions,
the Caribbean Islands, Spain, Alaska, the Philippines, the American West;
Basil Hall's travels along the coast of Chile, Peru, and Mexico in the
1820s; Captain Cook's voyages, and Captain M'Clintock's Artic voyage.47

The Stuarts had been foolish to indulge themselves with such
expenditures as the furnishing of the legation and the purchase of such
a large number of books. The tone of many of Stuart's letters during
this period indicates that he was far from being financially secure, yet
they did very little to save anything from his government salary.

Stuart's personality underwent a change during the 1890s although
there were indications of this change as early as the 1870s.
Emotionally, he was a much harder man in the 1890s than he had been
earlier. He had been extremely robust at the beginning of the 1890s, as can be seen by his exhausting activities as State Land Agent and by the schedule the Stuarts maintained on their way to Uruguay. During the decade, however, he changed from a physically fit middle-aged man to an old man. He became somewhat feeble and his hands began to shake, indicating that he may have had a mild stroke. By the end of the decade others viewed him as a senior citizen, a view Stuart himself shared.

He also became a less reasonable man as is indicated by the unrealistic dreams of another cattle empire, this time in South America, financed with loans bearing little or no interest. Stuart disliked to ask for help but his financial circumstances forced him to do so. He had overwhelming confidence in Sam Hauser's ability and willingness to help him find employment or loans. Over the course of several years, these requests for help often were demands. It appears that Stuart had never been out of debt since the 1860s. This worried him constantly and he felt crushed by his burden of debts on several occasions.

On the other hand, Stuart was an incurable optimist, whether it was seeking gold, investing in a business or mining company, planning to finance world-wide travel through published drawings, or planning to plunge into a new venture in South America. Perhaps the years of living among the splendid natural resources of the American frontier resulted in this personality characteristic. In any case, the optimistic Stuart probably saw little need to save for his old age because he thought that another chance to make it big would always come along. Throughout his long life, he entered each new occupation with a sincere enthusiasm and
energy, perhaps a trait related to his basic optimism.

Stuart disliked politics. Although he could have had a successful career as a territorial and state politician, he disliked elective politics most. While he assumed several local offices out of a sense of civic responsibility and often became politically involved in order to try to achieve a personal goal or bring about community betterment, it is clear that he was not happy during the terms he served as territorial legislator. He particularly disliked the personal criticism which was the natural result of partisan politics. On the other hand, Stuart viewed the existence of salaried appointive offices, whether it be postmaster, Indian agent, land agent, receiver of a bankrupt company, Surveyor-General, or diplomat, as opportunities to overcome periods of financial difficulty. It is indicative of this attitude, as well as an indication of a degree of unreasonableness, to note that around 1914 he stopped United States Senator Thomas J. Walsh, his onetime lawyer, on the street in Butte and strongly indicated that he wanted to become the next Ambassador to Great Britain. Walsh tactfully avoided telling Stuart he could not afford the post by suggesting that his advanced age would probably disqualify him from accepting such a rigorous overseas assignment. "Too old?" snorted the eighty year old Stuart to the Senator who was twenty-five years his junior, "Why Tom, I'll be dancing on your grave."48

Stuart was a lifelong Democrat. While his political persuasion would have helped him if he had pursued a career in local and state politics, it ruined most of his chances on the national level. Between
the time he first entered Montana and the Wilson Administration at the end of his life, there was only one Democratic administration in Washington, Cleveland's two non-consecutive terms. A change in the party in power cost him his positions as State Land Agent and as Minister. There is no indication that his friendships with Russell B. Harrison, son of the Republican President, Republican Theodore Roosevelt, Senator Walsh, or several of Montana's United States Congressmen helped him secure an appointive office.
NOTES: CHAPTER XI

1 Biographical Sketch of Allis Isabelle Brown, MHS.

2 Ibid.; A.B.S., "My Story," MHS; A.B.S., Autobiography, Ravalli County Historical Society, Hamilton, Montana; Paul E. Thune (Registrar, Valparaiso University) to Paul Treece, June 4, 1973; Katie Stuart Autograph Book, 1884-1887, MHS. No answer was received to an inquiry made to the Registrar of Vassar.

3 Biographical Sketch of Allis Isabelle Brown, MHS; A.B.S., Autobiography, Ravalli County Historical Society, Missoula County, Montana, Court Records, Marriage License Record A, 260; eight unidentified newspaper clippings about the wedding in the GS Papers, MHS.

4 Mary Stuart to E. C. Abbott, June 2, 1889, MHS.

5 E. C. Abbott Diary, 1890, MHS.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.


10 Interview with Mary Abbott Matejcek, August, 1971.

11 G.S. to R. B. Harrison, Feb. 1, [?] and 12, 1891, R.B. Harrison Mss., Lilly Library, Indiana University.

12 State Land Agent Letterpress Book, 1891-1897; Record of Minutes of Meetings of the State Board of Land Commissioner, 1890-1895; G.S., State Land Agent Field Book I; all Montana State Land Office. These records were located by the author with the assistance of MHS Chief

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Archivist John Coleman and Land Office employee Julia May Hall in Vault XV in the basement of the capitol building. According to Ms. Hall, some records were thrown out, lost, and/or badly mixed together when the building was remodeled ca. 1964. However, Stuart's part of these records seems complete. Ms. Hall also said that the Land Office still finds Stuart's accurate records as Land Agent useful in settling some conflicting land claims and that is the reason why they have not yet been turned over to the MHS.

13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 A.B.S., Autobiography, Ravalli County Historical Society.
16 Record of Minutes of Meetings of the State Board of Land Commissioners, Montana State Land Office; A.B.S., 'When Virginia City was the Capital of Montana Territory,' Montana, III, No. 1, 79-80.
17 G.S. to W. W. Dixon, Dec. 1. 1892, UM.
18 G.S. to Samuel T. Hauser, April 26, 1893, MHS.
19 G.S. to Samuel T. Hauser, Sept. 5 and 10 and Dec. 26, 1893, MHS.
20 Certificate of Official Appointment, MHS.
22 G.S. to 1894 Journal, MHS. Hickman died on July 20, 1895. Stuart kept the journal in anticipation that it would be published in the Helena Independent so that his Montana friends could read about his experiences. He sent three installments to Helena from Uruguay but two were lost in the mails.
23 G.S., 1894 Journal, MHS.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 A.B.S., loc. cit. According to Mrs. Stuart, they took an excursion steamer from Marseilles and traveled to Constantinople where she purchased several oriental rugs. Another stop was the Bay of
Naples and then Gibraltar where they met the steamer Clyde. Granville's letter to Hauser indicates that there was no Mediterranean cruise and that they reboarded the Clyde in Southampton or Le Havre.

29 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, Dec. 25, 1894, MHS.
30 A.B.S., loc. cit.
31 G.S. to Thomas Irvine, Sept. 23, 1895.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.; A.S.B.S, loc. cit.
37 Dahl, loc. cit.
40 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, Jan. 15, 1896, MHS.
41 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, Sept. 25, Oct. 17 and 18, 1896, MHS.
42 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, Jan. 17, 1897, MHS.
43 Clarence W. Groth, "Montana Banking History," and unpublished typescript, MHS; S. T. Hauser to G.S., MHS. The Hauser letter is undated but was written in the first part of 1897. In terms of bank failings, Hauser wrote that the depression was the worst in the nation's history.
44 A.B.S., loc. cit.; Dahl, "Account of a South American Journey, 1898," The Americas, XX, No. 2, 143-157. In addition to the Autobiography, Dahl had access to Mrs. Stuart's diary kept during the trip. The whereabouts of this diary is unknown to this researcher.
45 A.B.S., loc. cit.; M. G. O'Malley, "Granville Stuart's Role in Montana Gold Mining," Butte Montana Standard, Nov. 16, 1941; rough draft of a long letter to Editor O'Malley by A.B.S. in the autumn of 1941, MHS. This researcher made two trips to the Butte headquarters of the Anaconda Company and was told by various company officials that records which might confirm or refute Mrs. Stuart's contentions no longer exist.


47 Many of his most important books and documents were already deposited in the library of the MHS. The largest remnant of the book collection is in the home of Granville Stuart Abbott near Gilt Edge, Montana. Stuart often wrote his name and the date and place of purchase in his books. He often wrote identifying captions on photographs he acquired. Together they provide many clues as to his whereabouts in the 1890s and afterwards. Also see G.S. to Laura E. Howey, Dec. 5, 1898, MHS.

CHAPTER XII
ATTEMPTS AT IMMORTALITY

In late June, 1898, the Stuarts returned to Montana. Their return received little notice because Montana's newspapers were filled with news about the Spanish-American War. The Stuarts settled in Butte. In 1899 Mrs. Stuart was managing a boarding house known as The Dorothy with her husband's help. In the second half of the year, Stuart wrote several frantic letters to Sam Hauser requesting a loan of five or six hundred dollars to meet the furniture payments.\(^1\)

In November of the same year, Stuart asked Hauser to allow him to manage the Mantle mine. Hauser answered the next month, holding out the hope that Stuart might manage the Independence mine near the Mantle. He could promise nothing in this friendly letter because he was not an officer in the corporation controlling these properties, located about a dozen miles southeast of Deer Lodge near the Continental Divide. Hauser indicated that he was experiencing some hard times also. Stuart persisted, however, and again asked for a loan of "...a few hundred dollars" in January, 1900. Some of his Deer Lodge property had been sold for taxes a third time. Clearly the wolf was at the Stuart's door.\(^2\)

Back in 1890, Stuart had discovered that the Hope Mining Company of Philipsburg, Montana, the successor of the S.L.M.M.C., had taken ore from the lode belonging to Hauser and others including himself.
He pushed the matter aggressively in the courts with the help of a Butte law firm and the alliance with Byron Ballard, a onetime Hope Mining Company superintendent. Stuart forced the company to make a $2600 settlement with the various owners of the lode.3

With this example in mind, Stuart decided in 1900 that Ballard had wronged the owners and filed suit against him to recover one hundred fifty feet on the Hope Lode and some twenty-five hundred dollars in dividends paid from that part of the lode. Success in court depended on a deposition from Hauser. Stuart requested it from Hauser in July and again in August, 1900. Hauser may have refused to give it. In any case, during a meeting between Hauser and Stuart in the first part of August, the former said something which convinced the latter that he should look carefully at his records of business transactions involving the two of them. After having done so, Stuart was convinced that Hauser had failed to pay him his just share in three transactions: two involving Hope Mining Company stock in 1879 and the most important involving fifteen hundred shares of stock in the Parrot Mining Company of the Seven Devils region of Idaho in 1881. With accumulated interest at a rate of ten percent per annum, Hauser owed Stuart about thirty thousand dollars, he claimed! "And Sam," Stuart scolded, "had you placed these amounts to my credit at the time you received them I would not now be deeply in debt to the bank, and again Sam, you should remember the many, many times I risked my life while making large sums of money for you and the Davis' without any benefit to myself and [you] should pay me what you justly owe me."4
Either Hauser believed that he did not owe Stuart this sum or he was unable or unwilling to pay the amount demanded. Because many of the records are not available, there is no way in which the extremely complicated financial transactions involving Hauser and Stuart can be reconstructed. One can only feel sad that a friendship which spanned four decades must have come to an end. On March 5, 1901, two attorneys filed a suit for Stuart in the Third Judicial District Court of Idaho in Weiser against Hauser and six other men involved with the First National Bank or the mines in question. William E. Borah, later a United States Senator from Idaho, and other attorneys for the defendants won the case. Stuart hired two additional attorneys, Thomas J. Walsh, later a United States Senator from Montana, and W. Y. Pemberton, later Librarian of the Historical Society of Montana, to appeal the decision to the Idaho Supreme Court in December, 1902. The high court upheld the ruling of the lower court. An appeal was then made to the United States Supreme Court which dismissed the case in December, 1906, for want of jurisdiction.

The decision to sue Hauser and fight it to the nation's highest court must have cost Stuart a substantial amount of money for attorney's fees, court costs, and living expenses. He visited Weiser in November, 1901, following a long illness earlier in the year, lived in Boise from February, 1902, to September, 1903, and spent more money on a trip to San Diego, California, in 1902. Although the Stuarts were hard pressed financially, they seemed unable to conserve their resources.
In 1905 Stuart accepted an appointment as head librarian of the Butte Public Library at an annual salary of two thousand dollars. He became the first president of the Montana State Library Association which met in Missoula in May, 1906, "...to promote library interests in Montana." Mrs. Stuart, proud wife of the former diplomat, took a job as a clerk to help make ends meet. The next year she became the manager of the Montana Viavi Company which offered an unknown product or service. During the years 1908 to 1911, she worked as a hair dresser.  

Allis Stuart undoubtedly found their situation demeaning but Granville, who had envied the Congressional librarian in 1894, enjoyed his position. He held the job for ten years but few records exist documenting his service because the library was partially destroyed by fire in 1905 and completely destroyed in a more recent fire.  

Another fire caused Stuart to suffer a great financial and even greater emotional loss. In 1907, a fire swept the Great Pavilion of Columbia Gardens, a park outside Butte. A display of some 125 firearms which Stuart had collected over several decades was destroyed in the fire. Despite these losses and the Stuarts' precarious economic situation, Granville did not stop collecting guns.  

In spite of some concern over their financial security and the demands on Granville's attention by the court litigation in Idaho, the Stuarts found the time and money to make the trip to San Diego in 1902. After Stuart retired from the Butte library in 1914, he and Allis took another trip to San Diego and remained there long enough for Granville to be in charge of the Montana Building during the first year of the
Panama-California Exposition, 1915-1916. It was a salaried position. Before going to California, the Stuarts acquired 320 acres southeast of Hall, Montana, in the Flint Creek Valley about twenty miles downstream from Philipsburg. After their California visit, they settled on the ranch and attempted some dry land farming and raised some dairy cattle.

It cannot be determined when Stuart decided to write his memoirs. He may have had it in mind ever since he began keeping a diary in 1857 or earlier. In 1908, while he was still librarian, he complained that "I cannot make much headway in my reminiscences because of constant interruptions, but will keep at it...."^11

It is unlikely that Stuart was able to devote much time to his writing before his retirement. By the time he was settled on the ranch near Hall, he was over eighty and not in good health. His pride probably required him to spend some of his declining energy doing ranch chores. In addition, he was still an avid reader and letter writer. Nevertheless, by 1916, he had put aside the writing of his memoirs and begun work on a multi-volume history of Montana. The Stuarts began making elaborate plans to have it published in expensive bindings on top-quality heavy paper. There were to be some two hundred pages and fifty illustrations in each of the six volumes. They entered into negotiations with several publishing firms and eventually had a commitment from Lippincott of Philadelphia. They planned to sell one hundred deluxe autographed sets for one hundred dollars each and the other sets for twenty-four dollars. William A. Clark, the wealthy mine owner and politician, sent
the Stuarts a check for one thousand dollars as seed money to get the project off the ground. Presumably the money was not an outright gift but rather an advance order for ten deluxe sets. The Stuarts decided to pay for the cost of publishing the history through subscriptions. Immediately they began to solicit friends and acquaintances to subscribe. A. J. Noyes, author of *The Story of Ajax*, was commissioned to travel around the state collecting subscriptions. After a short period of intensive selling, Noyes was hardheartedly dismissed by the Stuarts who were advised by friends that they were foolish to pay Noyes the twenty-five percent commission when they could solicit the same people by letter. Letter writing, however, is not as effective as face-to-face salesmanship and it took a great deal of time from the actual research and writing of the history. It appears that the Stuarts and Noyes sold at least eighty-five sets and the former collected about three thousand dollars in advance.\(^{12}\)

Whether Montana needed another such history is questionable. In addition to Stuart's *Montana As It Is*, published in 1865, there were four others. In 1885, Michael A. Leeson edited *A History of Montana*, 1739-1885. Five years later H. H. Bancroft published Volume XXXI of his *Works*, a territorial history of Montana, Idaho, and Washington, in part based on material supplied him by Stuart. Joaquin Miller's *An Illustrated History of the State of Montana* was published in 1894. In 1913, Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, daughter of the vigilante leader and Republican politician, authored *A History of Montana* in three volumes. Her work was poorly organized. The first volume contained a historical
narrative in rough chronological order which included an enormous number of long quotations from other works. The two other volumes contained eulogistic biographical sketches in no ascertainable order. Stuart was determined that his would be different. It would be an extremely detailed "Pioneer History of Montana" with organization superior to Sander's work. In addition to his own collection of historical materials, which amounted to several trunksful, he began corresponding at a furious pace with other early settlers, soliciting information and historical material from them. While it probably is unfair to make a judgment about a work which was never completed, it appears dubious that Stuart's organization would have been much better than Sanders'. He collected an enormous amount of material which eventually proved unmanageable. On the other hand, the work would have included details written in Stuart's readable style available nowhere else and now probably lost forever. Stuart had a high regard for historical truth and most of the information in the work would have been accurate.\(^{13}\)

In addition to the precious hours Stuart spent planning the details of publication and the time involved in soliciting subscriptions for the work, his inquiries for information created a major problem. In addition to the letter of inquiry, a reply created the necessity for an acknowledgement and a thank you. Often the correspondent had nothing important to communicate but enjoyed renewing an old friendship as much as Stuart did. The inquiries created an avalanche of letters from old pioneers, from well-wishers, and from those who were inquiring about the progress of the work. This correspondence cut deeply into
the time and energy which Stuart had left at the end of his life to devote to his history. In addition, the Stuarts spent an enormous amount of time corresponding with other owners and their lawyers, agents, and bankers about some jointly-owned property around Philipsburg which a mining company wanted to enter in the belief that it contained a rich deposit of manganese, a metal in great demand during World War One.\(^1\)

Frequent illnesses required Stuart to make several trips to his doctor in Missoula. In the autumn of 1916, the Stuarts decided to give up the ranch and move to the lower altitude of Missoula where Stuart would be nearer his doctor. Almost immediately after they had moved into a rented home, Stuart was struck down by the flu, then a worldwide epidemic fostered by World War One. Stuart later wrote to several friends that he nearly died of the illness. In addition to his poor health and old age, Stuart had another major worry, i.e., keeping the wolf from the door. It does not appear that the Butte library provided him with any sort of retirement income. Social Security was only a socialistic vision in 1917. Apparently the Stuarts were without any income whatever except for the possible sale of a few shares of stock and the few pieces of real estate which he may have still owned. Stuart tried to sell some of his library to the State Historical Society and then tried to sell his personal papers and historical collection. His friends at the Society and in the state legislature who became aware of his plight, considered urging the legislature to vote him a life pension as the discoverer of gold in Montana. This evolved into a discussion of
getting an appropriation to buy Stuart's papers which in turn evolved
into a better idea. Friends decided to push through the legislature a
bill making Stuart the official state historian and commission him to
write a history of Montana. This would allow Stuart to keep his
library and papers intact and would provide useful employment for a
proud old man during his last years of life. The movement was also a
recognition of Stuart's long efforts to preserve for later generations
an accurate record of the struggles, successes, and failures of Mont­
tana's early residents, both red and white. The bill not only
recognized Stuart's financial embarrassment but also the fact that he
could make a permanent contribution to the preservation of Montana's
heritage. On February 22, 1917, Governor S. V. Stewart signed "An Act
to Provide for the Preservation, Collections and Publications of His­
torical Facts of the Early Settlement of the State of Montana." Stuart
became the first (and only) official historian of the state at an annual
salary of three thousand dollars, an amount which he first considered
generous, later adequate, and finally found it insufficient to meet all
of his expenses. The act also allowed $125 a month for a secretary.
Stuart hired Mabel Pringey, his niece. 15

When friends saw Stuart at the meeting of the Society of Montana
Pioneers in the autumn of 1916, they were shocked at his feebleness and
the appearance of failing health. Thinking that he might not have long
to live, they urged him to stop work on the history and resume work on
his memoirs which were already near completion. Stuart complied with
their wishes the following spring, planning to finish the reminiscences
in a few weeks and then return to the history which he expected would take two years to research and write. He wrote to those who had subscribed to the history, offering to substitute the memoirs or to refund the money. There is no evidence that any of them asked for a refund and several wrote their approval and encouragement for him to finish the reminiscences.16

Stuart continued working on the memoirs during 1917 but just after the beginning of the new year, he was thrown into a panic with the news that the American Historical Society commissioned H. W. Bingham to write a history of Montana. Stuart agonized over the possibility that another rival would beat him into print. Therefore he stopped work on the reminiscences, which he had stated to be only about thirty working days from completion, and resumed work on the history. This switch guaranteed his failure to finish either work. Bingham died before his work had progressed far but Tom Stout completed work on Montana: Its Story and Biography in 1921.17

In early September, 1918, Stuart attended the annual meeting of the Society of Montana Pioneers. He was not feeling well and remained in his room at the Montana Hotel in Anaconda during most of the convention. After returning to Missoula, he seemed devoid of any energy and remained in bed for long periods of time. A doctor began attending him regularly on September 16.18

The end came swiftly on October 2. Stuart rose from his bed and walked to the bathroom. Without warning he sank to the floor, his heart stilled. His wife and Mabel Pringey rushed to his side but he
was already dead. The cause of his death is given on the death certificate as organic valvular heart disease. Despite his wishes to the contrary, he was given a church funeral.¹⁹
NOTES: CHAPTER XII

1 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, June 23, Sept. 30, and Oct. 19, 1899, MHS; Polk's Butte City Directory (1900, 1901); Joseph J. McCafferty, Jr. (present owner of The Dorothy) to Paul Treece, Aug. 13, 1971; Victor C. Dahl, "Account of a South American Journey, 1898," The Americas, XX, No. 2, 143-157. It cannot be determined if the furniture was for the Stuarts' living quarters exclusively or if they were required to purchase furniture for the entire building.

2 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, Nov. 16, Dec. 7 and 22, 1899, and Jan. 6, 1900, MHS.


4 G.S. to S. T. Hauser, July 27, Aug. 2 and 16, and Nov. 18, 1900, MHS. Whereas earlier letters began with "Dear Sam," these began with "Dear Sir," and the usual closing of Mrs. Hauser is lacking.

5 Transcript, Idaho Supreme Court, Case 841, 1902; United States Reports: Cases Adjudged in the Supreme Court, XXIII, 585; Fort Benton River Press, Dec. 12, 1906.

6 G.S.; "Account Notebook, Account of mining transactions by Hauser, Holter, Kleimschmidt and Stuart, 1879-, 1896-97," MHS; A.B.S. to Laura Howey, March 15, 1901, MHS; G.S. to Howey, Feb. 8, 1902, and Feb. 20, May 27, July 5, Aug. 6, and Sept. 3, 1903, MHS; Polk's Butte City Directory (1902). The Stuarts may have arrived in Boise before and remained there longer than the dates given.


8 G.S. to Laura E. Howey, Dec. 15, 1905. Allis Stuart later wrote that her husband had stored most of his personal library in the basement of the public library building and this collection was extensively damaged by the fire, smoke, and water. If this was true, it was a grievous blow to Stuart. Some of the most important books from his collection were on a more or less permanent loan to the MHS and escaped the fire. Allis wrote that after her husband's death, she
sent the balance of the collection to Mary Stuart Abbott. Even more serious was the fact that about half of the twelve to fourteen thousand letters Stuart had received and copies of letters he had sent were destroyed in the fire. A.B.S. to O. O. Mueller, Sept. 7, 1944, MHS; Billings Evening Journal, March 12, 1917.

9 *Butte Inter Mountain*, Oct. 28, 1907.


11 G.S. to W. S. Bell, Oct. 2, 1908, MHS.


13 G.S. to W. F. Saunders, Sept. 18, 1915, MHS; G.S. to Horace Brewster, March 7, 1917, MHS *et passim*. Brewster was once the D-S foreman under Stuart.

14 For dozens of examples of the correspondence concerning the Philipsburg property, see the GS Collection and BSt9I file in the MHS. The matter went to court after Stuart's death but Mrs. Stuart and the other co-owners reached an out-of-court settlement with the Philipsburg Mining Company before the trial. See District Court of the Third Judicial District, Granite County, No. 1202, Register of Civil Actions, No. 3, 41 (March 2, 1920).

Consideration of a life pension for the discoverer of gold in the state apparently had precedent in other states. It emphasized in Stuart's mind at that late date and especially in the mind of his wife the importance of a valid claim to that honor.

16 G.S. to William A. Clark, Jr., March 9, 1917, MHS; C. F. Kelley to A.B.S., March 9, 1917, MHS; G.S. to William A. Clark, March 9, 1917, MHS et passim. The Society of Montana Pioneers began in 1884 with James Fergus as the first president. In 1886, Stuart became president, the society's third.

17 G.S. to Governor S. V. Stewart, Jan. 3, 1918, MHS; G.S. to W. Y. Pemberton, Jan. 12, 1918, MHS; Pemberton to G.S., Jan. 15, 1918, MHS; Charles S. Warren to G.S., Jan. 15 and May 15, 1918, MHS; G.S. to Warren, Jan. 22, 1918, MHS et passim.

18 Missoula County, Montana, Court Records, Death Certificate No. 2813; newspaper clipping in G.S. Clipping File, MHS, marked Treasure State, Oct. 2, 1918.
CHAPTER XIII

EPILOGUE

Three months after Stuart's death, A.L. Stone of the state university's School of Journalism and a personal friend of the Stuarts and J. H. Durstan visited Mrs. Stuart to examine the unfinished manuscripts on which Stuart had been working. "The manuscript which constitutes Mr. Stuart's reminiscences appears practically to be in shape for publication," Durstan wrote. "It would make two volumes of about 400 pages each. To this work Mr. Stuart devoted a good deal of time.... A great amount of material that is of enduring value in Montana's annals was prepared by Granville Stuart." By contrast, the manuscript of the proposed multi-volume history was "...not in shape for examination. Mrs. Stuart estimates that she could put [it] in form in about a year. As now planned, it would probably make three volumes of about 400 pages each."¹

The visit may have been the result of Mrs. Stuart's determination to seek an appropriation from the state legislature which would allow her to complete the work on the history. "The work is well along," she wrote, "the material selected and sorted, and no[t]es made, so that it can be completed as he would have done it."² The legislature did not make the appropriation she requested.

In the meantime, the inflation resulting from World War One had caused Lippincott to revise upward by forty percent their original offer
to publish two thousand copies of the memoirs for four thousand dollars. Mrs. Stuart decided to seek a publisher who would not require her to assume the financial risk involved in the publication of the reminiscences. She solicited the help of George Bird Grinnell, scholar and founder of the Audubon Society, who had expressed sadness about the death of her husband who "...I greatly admired." Grinnell talked to a representative of Charles Scribner's Sons but the 314,000 word manuscript with illustrations seemed too expensive an undertaking to the representative.

Following a rejection by Houghton Mifflin and possibly by other publishers, Mrs. Stuart sought the help of Hermann Hagedorn, who was just finishing his manuscript of Roosevelt in the Bad Lands. After receiving some encouragement, Mrs. Stuart sent the manuscript and some short stories which she had written to Hagedorn, who eventually forwarded the manuscript to Frederick Jackson Turner, a professor at Harvard. Turner "...suggested that the parts relating solely to Montana be published separately. He seems to feel that that part of the book is especially valuable. I have sent the manuscript with a letter to Harper & Brothers...." About the short stories, Hagedorn tactfully wrote that he found them tremendously interesting, but it would take a good deal of skillful work to make them saleable to any of the large magazines.

Another rejection followed. Mrs. Stuart returned to the idea of assuming the responsibility for the expense of publication and made inquiries to McClurg and Company of Chicago and presumably to other publishers. There the matter rested until Dr. Paul C. Phillips, a
close friend of the Stuarts while they lived in Missoula, gathered up all the Stuart papers and manuscripts. His editorial work on the reminiscences chiefly consisted of discarding some chapters which contained material available elsewhere, eliminating most of the material which was not exclusively autobiographical, adding one hundred footnotes, and rather abruptly ending the memoirs with the disastrous winter of 1886-1887. The 537 page work was published in two volumes by Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland in 1925 with the title *Forty Years on the Frontier*.

Apparently no one took much interest in what became of the Stuart papers following the publication of the work edited by Phillips. Gradually the papers, including those part of the reminiscences which were not published, became scattered from Connecticut to California, among several localities in Montana, and in as many as eight other states. Unfortunately many of the papers undoubtedly have been destroyed. Others may eventually turn up.

Mrs. Stuart moved from Montana in 1921. She was in Eureka, Utah, from late 1921 until sometime in 1922, long enough to open and use a checking account there. She lived in Denver from 1923 to 1930, employed by the federal government as a social worker for the Spanish-speaking people in Denver and other western communities.

In 1930, Mrs. Stuart moved to Grantsdale, Montana, and took up residence in the home of an older sister, Mrs. Ida Pringey. For several summers, Mrs. Stuart, then in her late sixties, was employed on a ranch near Darby, Montana as an excellent cook and competent overseer of the
kitchen. During this time, she sold her employer a twenty-four place set of old Meissen china in the onion pattern. It had been a gift from the gun crew of an American warship based at Montevideo to whom the Stuarts had extended a great deal of hospitality. During the same period, Mrs. Stuart sold off her beautiful antiques, furniture, silver, glassware, and other assets. Apparently Mrs. Pringey died in 1939 and Mrs. Stuart moved to Hamilton, Montana. 8

Residents of Hamilton who remember Allis described her as a tall, erect woman with aristocratic tastes and a regal bearing. She was no longer in good health. Her medical bills were high and soon there were no more assets to be sold. She felt that she was entitled to ample state support because she was the widow of Granville Stuart. This proud old lady eventually was forced to apply for welfare. From April 25, 1939 until her death, she received full support in the form of old age public assistance. 9

During the time Mrs. Stuart lived in the Bitter Root Valley, she continued to aspire to be a writer of short stories and factual articles, to write a book based on her husband's papers which still remained in her possession, and to honor her husband's memory. From July, 1940, until December, 1942, she was a researcher and writer for the W.P.A. Montana Writers Project, which was preparing a history of the Montana livestock industry. She was paid by the word but, despite her verbosity, her additional income was not great. The material which she contributed had little in it which was original and it is not of great historical value. During the time she was a member of this
project, she unsuccessfully sought employment as librarian of the state historical society. Friends were equally unsuccessful in seeking an appropriation from the society which would allow her to continue her book based on her husband's papers.\textsuperscript{10}

Mrs. Stuart suffered two strokes and had to walk with a cane. She had to give up her pleasant apartment and move into a home where wards of the county welfare office were boarded. In 1945, C.A. "Pete" Smithey, the Hamilton postmaster, and his wife, discovered Mrs. Stuart boarding in an unclean home aptly known as the "bedbug house". Mrs. Smithey couldn't stand it and moved Allis into the back room of her own cheerful home. On March 31, 1947, Mrs. Stuart sat in her room and wrote a letter. After finishing it, she came into the dining room and sat down at the table. Without warning, she collapsed, victim of a cerebral hemorrhage. Rose Smithey and the daughter of Bessie Monroe, a longtime friend of the Stuarts, summoned a doctor. He arrived within five minutes but it was too late. According to Mrs. Smithey, Mrs. Stuart had shifted from one religious denomination to another several times during her last years. At the time of her death, she was a Christian Scientist. The Smitheys and Mrs. Vivian Kemp, daughter of Granville's brother, Thomas, assumed the financial responsibility for the funeral, the transportation of the body to Deer Lodge, and the tombstone. Allis was buried beside her husband. Granville and his brothers were buried in the Hill Crest Cemetery just outside of Deer Lodge until one of Samuel's daughters had his remains moved to the Arlington National Cemetery.\textsuperscript{11}
NOTES: CHAPTER XIII

1 J. H. Durstan to David Hilger, Jan. 24, 1919, MHS.

2 A.B.S. to James Duncan, Jan. 2, 1919, MHS.

3 George Bird Grinnell to A.B.S., Feb. 17, 1919 et passim, MHS.

4 Hermann Hagedorn to A.B.S., Dec. 14, 1920, and March 24 and June 22, 1921, MHS.

5 A.B.S. to McClurg and Company, n.d., MHS.

6 Interview with Dr. Stanley Davison, June, 1971.


8 Records of the Ravalli County Office of Public Assistance; Mrs. Phyllis Twogood to Paul Treece, Jan. 26, 1972. Grantsdale, Darby, and Hamilton are in Ravalli County in the Bitter Root Valley.


10 A.B.S. to Governor S. C. Ford, Jan. 30, 1941, MHS; Ford to A.B.S., Feb. 1, 1941, MHS; A.B.S. to Josephine Hepner, March 7, 1941, MHS et passim; unpublished Livestock History of Montana, MSU.

CONCLUSION

For sixty years, from 1858 to 1918, Granville Stuart pioneered the general development of Montana. While it is not difficult to cite better artists or more successful businessmen, cattlemen, politicians, and exploiters of Montana's mineral resources, none of them were in the forefront of all of these other fields.

Granville Stuart made his first sketch as early as 1861, or earlier. The Danish artist, Peter Tofft, visited the area where Stuart was living in 1865-1866. Since Tofft was not yet an established artist, Stuart's influence on the man could have been one of offering encouragement and friendship and suggesting subjects. The men were friends for Tofft gave Stuart eight of his original watercolor paintings. An 1866 Tofft picture appears in Forty Years on the Frontier. The Dane seems to have encouraged Stuart to continue his own drawings. Many of Stuart's drawings were made in 1865 and 1866. Some of these were published in 1963 in Diary & sketchbook of a Journey...in 1866. In the Introduction to this book, Carl S. Dentzel, Director of the Southwest Museum of Los Angeles, wrote about the Stuart sketches.

...They are exceptional artistic records of American frontier art.

His remarkable sketches deal with many aspects of the Indian and pioneer frontier. For the most part they have been done on the spot and reflect the artist's exuberance for life, his appreciation of history and his love of beauty....

Stuart undoubtedly utilized his sketches to refresh his memory when writing his reminiscences. His art speaks eloquently of departed times, places, and people. It is by no
means photographic—it is art. Consequently, his work has a charm and atmosphere rare in the creations of the average American artist. His artistic views and notes tell a better tale than if he had used a camera.

Stuart's drawings have merit as accurate historical records. An 1878 Stuart sketch of the Big Hole Battlefield, drawn a year after the Nez Perce battle, is on display at the Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor's Center.

While Stuart was beginning to form his dreams of having his drawings of exotic places published, thereby financing his world travels, he had an opportunity to influence and be influenced by another artist. In the autumn of 1867, Nathaniel P. Langford, Stuart's friend and later the author of *Vigilante Days and Ways*, wrote Stuart this message: "Permit me to introduce you to Mr. A. E. Matthews, who visits your 'burg' on a mission in which you have always felt an interest, that of sketching such mountain scenery as may seem to him sufficiently attractive. Any attraction or assistance you may be able to render him will be appreciated by Your Friend, N. P. Langford." The results of Matthews' visit to the territory appeared in *Pencil Sketches of Montana* in 1868.

Stuart's influence as a subject on Rufus F. Zogbaum has already been discussed. During his career as a cattleman, Stuart fostered the work of Montana's most famous artist, Charles M. Russell. Russell was once employed by Stuart as a D-S cowboy and several of his experiences in this capacity have been immortalized in his paintings and sculpture. Russell had strong bonds of friendship with Charlie Stuart, Granville's son, and Teddy Blue Abbott, Granville's son-in-law. He was still
Photo. 25. "Laugh Kills Lonesome" by Charles M. Russell. The D-S chuckwagon is in the background while Russell is on the left. Photograph courtesy of the Montana Historical Society.
corresponding with the latter in the late 1920s and perhaps later. One of Russell's best friends was Bob Stuart, Granville's foster son, with whom he was a bunkmate during the winter of 1890-1891. They left the Judith Basin together in 1891 seeking adventure and employment.\(^5\)

Granville's influence on Russell was not merely an indirect connection through his relatives or as an employer. He collaborated with Russell on Russell's first published book. Russell could have written the captions himself or have had anyone of several people do it but apparently he had a lot of respect for the old ranchman. Stuart wrote the descriptions of Russell's pictures in *Studies of Western Life*. The book was published in 1890 and there is widespread agreement that it was what launched Russell's career as an artist.\(^6\)

Even before the time Stuart lived in Missoula, he had become friends with Edgar S. Paxson, another accomplished Montana artist, whose studio was in the university city. The June 6, 1901, entry reads:

I always enjoy his [Stuart's] visits and take great interest in all he has to say of his early days here in the Rockies and on the plains. He is, one might say, the Daniel Boone of Montana--a gentleman and a great student of nature and man, once a mighty hunter and explorer.

According to the author of an article about the Missoula artist, "Paxson obtained from Granville Stuart a number of his possessions, including a telescope and some of his personal apparel. He owned a rifle which belonged to Stuart and among his sketches, in 1901, is the hand of Granville Stuart holding a pistol, executed in pen and ink."\(^8\)

"The presence in Montana territory of Granville Stuart certainly was reassuring to Edgar S. Paxson and Charles M. Russell," wrote a museum
director. "He encouraged them both."9

Less certain is Stuart's influence on frontier photographers. Lewiston photographer W. H. Culver found Stuart and the 1886 D-S fall roundup suitable subjects for his camera. L. A. Huffman, one of the best frontier photographers, not only took photographs of Stuart, D-S cowboys, and related subjects, but also accompanied Stuart and Thomas Irvine on Stuart's search for the best cattle range in 1880. Thirty-six years later, Irvine wrote Huffman that "Granville Stuart was seriously ill all winter on his ranch on Flint Creek [near Hall.] I was afraid he would not live through but he is improving steadily now. He is writing a history of Montana. He can turn out a splendid book, and will. As soon as he is ready for me, I will go up there as he wants me for sometime to talk things over."10

Huffman answered Irvine's letter immediately. He reminisced about how they sometimes wasted time when Irvine knowingly spooked Huffman's gun-shy horse. Stuart, impatient to find his cattle range, would say "We're burning daylight." In a postscript, he wrote: "Tell Granville Stuart I am glad he's putting it down, its time. Also, Tom, tell him I haven't forgot what he said to you when you passed him the Buffalo fries while we camped near Lame Deer, nor can I forget what he said to me when he returned my moccasins after getting the prickly pears in his feet. Both bits ought to be put in his book, but won't because...he gets angry when boquets are shied his way."11

Stuart was directly or indirectly involved in much of the early exploration for and development of Montana's mineral resources. Stuart,
his brother, Reece Anderson, and Tom Adams were among the first to
discover and mine for gold in what is now Montana. The Stuart brothers
played a major role in creating and sustaining a gold rush into the
region.

Stuart discovered an outcropping of coal on September 21, 1862. He
publicized the presence of coal in the region in Montana As It Is in
1865. During his 1866 steamboat trip up the Missouri he noticed several
deposits of coal along the banks of the river. Again he publicized this
fact, this time in a series of articles in the Virginia City Montana
Post in January, 1867.

In Montana As It Is, Stuart also publicized the presence of
"petroleum or oil springs" in the Yellowstone basin. If one is to
believe Mrs. Stuart's dubious story, Stuart should be credited with the
discovery of rich copper deposits of the Cerro de Pasco mines of Peru
which brought great prosperity to Montana's Anaconda Company.

Stuart also revealed the presence of silver and lead in Montana
Territory and emphasized the richness of the silver quartz in the
vicinity of Rattlesnake Creek in Montana As It Is. His brother and the
other directors of the St. Louis and Montana Mining Company certainly
took these reports seriously and invested a large sum to build the
first smelter in Montana there.

Stuart's importance in the early discovery and development of Mon­
tana's mineral wealth was confined to the publicizing the presence of
this wealth except in the case of gold. He played a major role in the
discovery or re-discovery of gold and in the consequences of that dis­
covery.
Mineral extraction and livestock raising became Montana's most important industries as they are today. Stuart played a major role in the development of both. The Davis brothers and Sam Hauser put up the money but it was Granville Stuart who made the D-S a successful ranching operation from 1880 to 1886. Hauser and the Davises did lay down some general policy guidelines for the management of the ranch but it was Stuart who had to make them work. He, not they, had to cope with hungry Indians, rustlers, ignorant soldiers who jeopardized the well-being of his cattle, range fires, jailed cowboys, and other assorted problems. Often when the absentee partners tried to interfere with the day-to-day operation of the ranch, Stuart simply ignored them or waited so long to answer their inquiries and directives that it had the same effect. One popular western historian has written that "Granville Stuart [is] properly regarded as the 'father' of the range cattle business in Montana," Elsewhere he claimed that "Granville Stuart [was] the dean of Montana stockmen and its most influential leader...." There is no question that Stuart, Conrad Kohrs, Nelson Story, Robert Ford on the Sun River, and a handful of other actual ranchers were the leaders of the early successful range cattle industry in Montana.

Stuart's efforts on behalf of the cattle industry did not end with the actual management of one of the largest ranches in the territory. He tried to further the interests of cattle raisers as the President of the Montana Territorial Council in its Thirteenth Session. His peers elected him the first president of the newly formed Montana Stock Growers Association. He was one of Montana's delegates to the 1884
National Cattle Growers' Convention in St. Louis, where he helped protect the interests of Montana stockmen by opposing the proposed National Cattle Trail, and he chaired a commission to investigate St. Paul-Minneapolis as a possible market for Montana beef instead of Chicago. He became the first president of the State Board of Stock Commissioners in 1885 and served without pay in that capacity until 1891. Consequently he was not only in on the beginning of the boom period of the open range cattle industry but also was an effective instrument in helping the industry survive the disaster of 1886-1887 and make the transition to the present system of cattle raising through his government agency. Stuart has been enshrined in the National Cowboy Hall of Fame in Oklahoma City.

Stuart was not successful as a businessman. He pursued numerous occupations: gunsmith, butcher, blacksmith's helper, storekeeper, lumber yard manager, banker, and bank receiver. None of them earned him a satisfactory material return over an extended period of time. In several of these occupations, particularly as a merchant who was too liberal in the granting of credit, Stuart provided essential goods and services without which many of Montana's earliest white residents would have found a prolonged stay there untenable. For example, the possession of a usable weapon was an absolute necessity in frontier America in the 1860s and Stuart, as a gunsmith, repaired many of these essential weapons. The Dance, Stuart and Company and the Stuart and Company stores unwittingly grubstaked many prospectors who aided in the exploration for the mineral resources of Montana.
Stuart compiled an exceptional record of civic involvement and most of it brought him no direct benefit. In addition to the various offices he held as a leader of the Montana livestock industry, he served for five terms in the territorial legislature. Although little has been uncovered about his career in elective territorial politics, it is known that during the Seventh Session he successfully sponsored a bill protecting Montana's wildlife, fish, and songbirds from possible extinction. During the Thirteenth Session, he championed the interests of the growing livestock industry.

Stuart served for years as a school district trustee. He was a member of the Silver Bow townsite commission, president of the Deer Lodge Town Committee, chairman of the Deer Lodge County Commissioners, a member of the Montana Penitentiary Board of Directors, a founder and member of the board of trustees of the Montana Collegiate Institute, president of the Territorial Railroad Convention, president of the Montana State Library Association, a founder of a public library, and secretary, vice president, president, and member of the board of trustees of the Historical Society of Montana.

He became Montana's first State Land Agent and although he sought the position because he needed an income, he filled it with distinction. Despite his advanced age, he traveled on horseback through much of the state and made accurate sketches, reflecting an artistic talent, of geographic features in relation to section grids, claims, railroads, and so forth. The sketches are accurate enough still to be of use in settling present-day land claims problems. Stuart's letterpress book,
which he kept while the land agent, reveals that he constantly had the
best interests of the state foremost in mind. He played no favorites,
even with old friends such as James Fergus, who was considering
fencing the state lands.\textsuperscript{14}

To his positions as land agent and as diplomat, Stuart brought a
sincere enthusiasm and energy, and he filled both positions with com­
petence. While there is little evidence to document the assertion, it
appears to be a safe assumption that his duties as public librarian were
carried out in the same manner.

Stuart also made major contributions to the intellectual devel­
opment of early Montana. In addition to his efforts as school district
trustee, librarian, founder of a college and a public library, and as
founder and officer of the Historical Society of Montana, he served as
a scientific observer for Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian Institute,
F. V. Hayden of the Geological and Geographical Survey, and apparently
for one or more other federal agencies. He painstakingly answered
inquiries from easterners about the region's Indians, history, geog­
raphy, climate, and mineral resources and some of his opinions were
published in national newspapers such as the \textit{New York Times} and the St.
Louis \textit{Republican} as well as in Montana newspapers.

According to P. C. Phillips, who had access to all of the Stuart
papers before they were scattered across the country, Stuart worked
closely with Thomas J. Dimsdale and Nathaniel P. Langford as they
prepared their works on the vigilantes. He supplied materials to both
authors. Dimsdale's \textit{The Vigilantes of Montana} was first serialized in
the Virginia City Montana Post in 1865, a paper which Dimsdale edited. Langford's Vigilante Days and Ways was published in 1890. Phillips wrote that as Stuart prepared his autobiography, he borrowed back much of the material he had supplied earlier, particularly to Langford. Three of his chapters, "Undesirable Citizens," "The Knights of the Road," and "The Vigilantes" so closely paralleled Langford's published account that they were left out of Forty Years on the Frontier. These three chapters have since disappeared.

In January, 1865, Stuart finished Montana As It Is. It was published the same year, the first book about the new territory and a gold mine of information not available elsewhere. The material in the book was heavily borrowed by other writers. The book may have been reprinted in 1875 by Van Nostrand but most evidence indicates that it was not reprinted until 1973 when Arno Press (a New York Times affiliate) published it as part of a series of important histories of the far west.

Stuart next appeared in print in early 1867 in the Montana Post in a series of four articles describing his 1866 overland trip to Iowa and back up the Missouri on a steamboat. Other articles, addresses, and editorials appeared irregularly in territorial newspapers and elsewhere thereafter.

Stuart's published articles, editorials, and books reveal a man very much interested in Indian lore, Indian customs, the government's Indian policy, geographical knowledge, Indian dialects, the preservation of certain endangered species, regional history, free thought, and other subjects. He is listed as an important contributor to the revised
Stuart loved to acquire books. Only James Fergus had a private library in Montana which might have rivaled Stuart's in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Stuart not only acquired books, he read most of them at least once and had an excellent memory for what he had read and where he had read it. It was not unusual that he was able to refer P. T. Barnam to a book on the Puget Sound Indians, by author, title, and publisher. Another example was his reply to an inquiry about the origin of the name for a mountain pass. He thought the origin was a French-Canadian by the same name who was a guide for the Isaac I. Stevens party which surveyed for a possible transcontinental railroad route in 1853 and referred the questioner to a particular folio in a particular bookcase at the Historical Society, neither of which he could have seen for years. The depth of Stuart's love for books may be gauged by his mid-winter sojourn through the mountains in 1860 in quest of Neil MacArthur's trunkful of books. If one looked at the steady stream of book orders Stuart sent to the East, one would never know that he suffered occasional periods of serious financial hardship. Stuart did not limit his reading to books. He subscribed to numerous periodicals and eventually fell into the habit of ordering numerous back issues of certain magazines. He also read books and periodicals in French and Spanish. For example, while he was visiting Buenos Aires in September, 1894, he purchased Los Mil Y Una Noches (Paris: 1886), a Spanish edition of One Thousand and One Nights. About two words on
Stuart's skepticism with regard to organized religion became more pronounced with the passage of time. He purchased and read several books and subscribed to several periodicals which support this point of view in spite of the fact that he owned several copies of the Bible, including a French edition, and had read it enough to be familiar with its contents. His views were no secret. In 1879 he made a long speech (nineteen handwritten pages) opposing the passage of a Sunday blue law by the territorial legislature. During the time he lived on the D-S Ranch, his neighbor, James Fergus, who lived on the other side of the Judith Mountains, shared and supported these views but most Montanans did not. Yet if such men of integrity as Stuart and Fergus openly voiced unpopular minority views, it must have had a healthy effect on Montana society, i.e., to help to make it more permissive of divergent beliefs and opinions than was the case in many American communities.

The well-read Stuart was highly respected by his peers. He was not considered a bookworm. His peers saw nothing sissy about his love for reading. His actions helped to make the pursuit of knowledge respectable. Stuart played an important role in encouraging the intellectual development of his fellow Montanans.

Exactly three weeks before he died, Stuart wrote his good friend, Paul McCormick, another Montana pioneer who was then living in Billings.
As you doubtless know I am writing a History of Montana and I want it to be a good, accurate and complete one and as your early activities constitute so great a part of the settling of the Yellowstone, I want you to furnish me a sketch of them. Now Paul do this for if we elderly people don't furnish posterity with the pioneer history of this state they will never have it and we will be greatly to blame for robbing them of their birth right.

The statement shows Stuart to have been more than an old man who found a respectable way to spend his last days and to keep the wolf from his door. Instead we see an octogenarian who had enthusiastically dedicated all of the energy remaining in his frail body to the task of carefully recording the exciting story of the settlement of Montana before statehood. He felt that all the old pioneers had a duty to assist in the preservation of this rich heritage for later generations of Montanans. To have accepted the position as the official state historian in any other spirit would have been totally out of character with Stuart's long devotion to a "good, complete and accurate" historical record.

Sometime between 1852 and 1857, Granville Stuart began keeping a daily journal about what he did and saw and where he traveled. By 1857 (and possibly later) he was aware that these day-to-day events were bits and pieces of part of an unrepeatable historical event of great importance, the settlement of the western frontier. Occasionally illness, travel, forgetfulness, or the pressure of time caused him to neglect his diary. One can only regret that he was unable to keep as good a diary throughout his life as he and James kept jointly during the first half of the 1860s. From 1868 to the end of his life, Stuart recorded the vast majority of the thousands of letters he wrote by means
of a letterpress book. In addition, he saved his old account books, some of the letters he received, drawings, bills, vocabulary guides to Indian dialects which he and James composed, and other papers which, when eventually assembled, will not only allow a balanced, full-length biography of Stuart but also will offer a more complete picture of the westering experience.

Not only did Stuart keep journals and diaries but also he appears to have influenced others to do so thereby helping to preserve more of the history of the settlement of the frontier.

Two days after Stuart finished writing *Montana As It Is*, the territorial legislature approved a bill incorporating the Historical Society of Montana. Granville and James Stuart were two of the incorporators of the society and the former was elected a member of the board of directors and its first secretary-treasurer. In 1875 he became its vice president and served many years in that capacity. In 1890 he became its president, a position he held until he went to South America. After his return, he served on the board of trustees for several years.

Stuart, Wilbur F. Sanders, president from 1865 to 1890, and many others have managed to preserve much of Montana's heritage through the society, now known as the Montana Historical Society. In spite of the limitation that the society cannot purchase historical documents and papers, the collection of historical materials in the society's library and archives, along with its museum, art gallery, and historical quarterly publication put to shame the efforts of those in several of the older and wealthier states.
The society suffered several setbacks. One of the most serious was the great Helena fire on January 9, 1874, which destroyed almost all of the society's records and collections. Stuart and others helped rebuild the society almost from scratch after the fire. He was active in soliciting for the papers and journals of Montana's pioneers for the society and left on a more or less permanent loan dozens of his own rare books, pamphlets, government documents, and other materials as well as a bookcase to store them in. Early in the society's history, the librarian trustingly allowed some of these materials to go out on a loan and some were never returned. Later, under pressure from Stuart and others, the society's policy was changed to forbid anyone from taking its priceless materials from its building.

Almost to the end of his life, Stuart patiently answered the inquiries from the society's librarian about the probable disposition of the personal papers, the region's Indians, Verendrye's Expedition, John Colter's route, and so forth.21

Stuart was one of the prime movers in the publication of the first volume of the Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana in 1876. The volume was sort of a tribute to the memory of James Stuart who had died three years earlier. James' portrait, which Granville furnished, faces the title page. His biographical sketch, written by Granville, is the first contribution, followed by a history of Fort Union which James wrote shortly before his death. James' journal of the Yellowstone Expedition of 1863 is included with notes by Granville and by Sam Hauser, who Granville cajoled into helping edit the journal.
Among the other entries was an article entitled "Earliest Discovery of the Rocky Mountains, via the Missouri River by Sieur de la Verendrye and His Sons" by E. D. Neill, president of Macalester College of Minneapolis. Stuart wrote extensive notes which took exception to some of the assertions in the article. There is a section on "Steamboat Arrivals at Fort Benton, Montana, and Vicinity" and one listing all the people (except Indians) known to have been in Montana during the winter of 1862-1863. Both appear to be the handiwork of Stuart. Well over half of the material in the first volume appears to have been provided by Stuart, indicating that his was a major contribution to the successful commencement of the publishing venture. Nine more volumes were published between 1896 and 1940 and have conveniently supplied valuable material to researchers in their own university or historical society library.

Apparently Stuart was one of the founders of the Society of Montana Pioneers in 1884 and served as its third president in 1886-1887. The society met annually. Stuart found these conventions extremely useful as a means of contacting other pioneers and eliciting from them their personal experiences in the settlement of Montana. He also got other useful information such as the location of historically valuable papers, the names of others involved in some historical event, as well as many tall tales. The society published a useful book in 1899 entitled Society of Montana Pioneers: Constitution, Members, and Officials with Portraits and Maps edited by James U. Sanders.

Stuart helped in the preservation of Montana's heritage through his
authorship of *Montana As It Is*; of James' biographical sketch, and of a history of Deer Lodge County and Valley in *Contributions*; through his editorship of other *Contributions* articles; through his authorship of numerous newspaper articles and editorials, through his authorship of sections of government reports and railroad promotional pamphlets, and through his attempts to write a definitive six-volume history of pioneer Montana as well as his autobiography.

Stuart made a further contribution through his own collection of historically valuable books, pamphlets, maps, documents, treaties, government reports, and manuscripts. He solicited a large number of early residents of Montana for their memoirs and got useful responses from many of them. His collection of these materials has become scattered since the publication of *Forty Years on the Frontier* but presumably most of the materials are extant.

Stuart also cooperated with others who were researching some facet of history. When Neil Howie and H. N. Maguire began collecting material for a history of Montana in the early 1870s, Stuart was happy to satisfy their request for help. Their history was never published but the article which Stuart had written for it appeared in part in Joaquin Miller's *An Illustrated History of the State of Montana* (1894). This occupation did not stop at the state line. John K. Rollinson wrote that

The second of these outstanding rangemen was Granville Stuart [John Clay was the first.] I met him in the early years of the century. Knowing of my great interest in learning the actual facts concerning the cattle empire of his day, he permitted me to ask him many questions, and he gave me full and complete answers, going into intricate
Even when Stuart was out of the country, researchers sought him out for information. For example, Jacob Brewer wrote that

Two important documents, one from the pen of Hon. Granville Stuart, of South America, defining the true meaning of the name Tozabe-Shock-up, as applied to Montana, meaning, "The country of the Mountains," and one from the Kanza Indians, declaring that they do not know the meaning of the word "Kaw" or "Kanza," both procured for publication herewith, were destroyed [by fire in St. Paul on December 19, 1896.]

Stuart has been the source of much information written by other historians. For example, We Pointed Them North by E. C. Abbott and Helena Huntington Smith and Ubet by John R. Barrows draw heavily on Abbott's and Barrow's association with Stuart as D-S employees. Not only does Stuart appear in histories of Montana and the northwest region, he also is found in livestock histories, textbooks on the westward movement, social and intellectual histories of the frontier, novels, articles in magazines of popular western stories, mining histories, and even in The History of Violence in America: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence edited by Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr in 1969. The importance of Montana As It Is cannot be measured by its small circulation. Other writers borrowed large parts from it, much of it verbatim. Borrowers include the Montana Territory History and Business Directory, 1879; John W. Clampitt, Echoes from the Rocky Mountains (1888), and all of the Montana territorial and state histories mentioned in this essay including H. S. Bancroft's regional history. Forty Years on the
Frontier has become a classic work on the frontier experience and has gone through three printings: 1925, 1957, and 1967.

It is extremely ironic that Stuart was a pioneer in so many aspects of the general development of Montana but personally profited very little from any of these activities. In spite of the great variety of responsible public and private positions which he held, he was never free from the insecurity of lacking sufficient resources to meet expenses during his last years of life. Instead, he was forced to seek the assistance of men like Samuel T. Hauser and William A. Clark. His widow was even less fortunate, spending her last years on welfare and living on the charity of relatives and friends and only through their generosity did she escape a pauper's grave.

Granville Stuart became a published artist in 1963. He was an accurate recorder of history through his drawings. He was a discoverer of gold in what is now Montana as well as one of its first miners. He was a very important publicist of Montana's mineral wealth and one of its first. He was a supplier of essential goods and services. He was the most important figure in the early cattle growing industry in Montana. He was deeply involved in important civic affairs in Montana for sixty years. He was instrumental in advancing the intellectual development of the region. His role in the preservation of Montana's history is unmatched. He was Montana's first published historian (1865) and her only official one (1917-1918). His published books and articles contribute much to our knowledge of the early settlement of Montana. He played a major role in the founding and preservation of the Montana
Historical Society and appears to have been instrumental in the commencement of the publication of ten volumes of history, much of it a primary source of information for later historians. He was an advisor, friend, inspirator, subject, and collaborator with other artists and historians. Granville Stuart deserves to be known as "Mr. Montana."
NOTES: CONCLUSION

1G.S., Diary & Sketchbook of a Journey to "America", 7.

2Seymour Dunbar and P. C. Phillips (eds.), The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen, II, 15, 16, 18. That Tofft was not yet considered a professional artist is indicated by Owen's remark that "He does well for an ' Amateur' ...."

3G.S., op. cit., x, xi.

4Nathaniel Pitt Langford to G.S., Oct. 1, 1867, Beinecke-Yale.

5Harold McCracken, The Charles Russell Book, 90-94, 142-150; E. C. Abbott and H. H. Smith, We Pointed Them North, 4, 104, 143ff; Charles M. Russell, Good Medicine, 33, 91. An example of the influence of the D-S experiences on Russell's painting may be seen in "Laugh Kills Lonesome" (1925) in which Russell painted himself standing on the left of the campfire with a cook's wagon in the background. The D-S marking shows plainly on the wagon's canvas side.

6McCracken, loc. cit.


8Ibid. Faxson gave Stuart a portrait of Daniel Boone in 1916. A.B.S. to Anne McDonald, Aug. 1, 1944, NHS.

9G.S., op. cit., xi.

10Thomas H. Irvine to L. A. Huffman, n.d., typescript in the P. C. Phillips Papers, UM.

11L. A. Huffman to Thomas H. Irvine, June 14, 1916, typescript in the P. C. Phillips Papers, UM.

12G.S., Montana As It Is, 18.

13Harry Sinclair Drago, Great American Cattle Trails, 235, 239.


Prior to the mid-1870s, John Owen had the biggest library in the territory.

His speech begins on p. 784 of the Stuart Letterpress Book, UM. His subscriptions to free thought periodicals are shown in part in the same book, p. 717 et passim. Among the remnants of his library found in the home of Granville Stuart Abbott is Robert Ingersoll's Six Interviews on the Sermons of Reverend T. De Witt Talmage (Washington, D.C.: C. P. Ferrell, 1882). Elsewhere Stuart noted "Passages in the Bible that plainly indicate the prevalence of phallic worship." He cited thirty passages from both testaments. G.S., "Account Notebook, Account of Mining Transactions by Hauser, Holter, Kleinschmidt and Stuart, 1879-, 1896-97," MHS.

Stuart expressed similar ideas in the Preface to Forty Years, I, 19-21.

Stuart apparently would have written it "To yabe-Shock up" as it appears in Montana As It Is, 5.

Clampitt gave a garbled account of the gold discovery, spelling Stuart's names "Granby Street" while Reece Anderson became "Robinson".
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Dr. Stanley R. Davison of Dillon, Montana. Associate of Paul C. Phillips.

Mrs. Hazel Dubar of Oregon. Former wife of Andrew Fergus and associate of Allis B. Stuart.

Mrs. Alice Farlin of Hamilton, Montana. Director of the County Office of Public Welfare and friend of the late Allis B. Stuart.

Mr. Dick Flood of Mesa, Arizona. Friend of Allis B. Stuart and Mary Stuart Abbott and dealer in western history and art materials.

Mr. Ray S. Heath of West Liberty, Iowa. Descendant of Peter Heath, onetime Granville Stuart employer.

Mrs. Myra Bozarth Hilton of Cedar Falls, Iowa. Granddaughter of Valentine Bozarth.

Dr. and Mrs. William Jellison of Hamilton, Montana. Acquaintances of Allis B. Stuart and Paul C. Phillips.


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