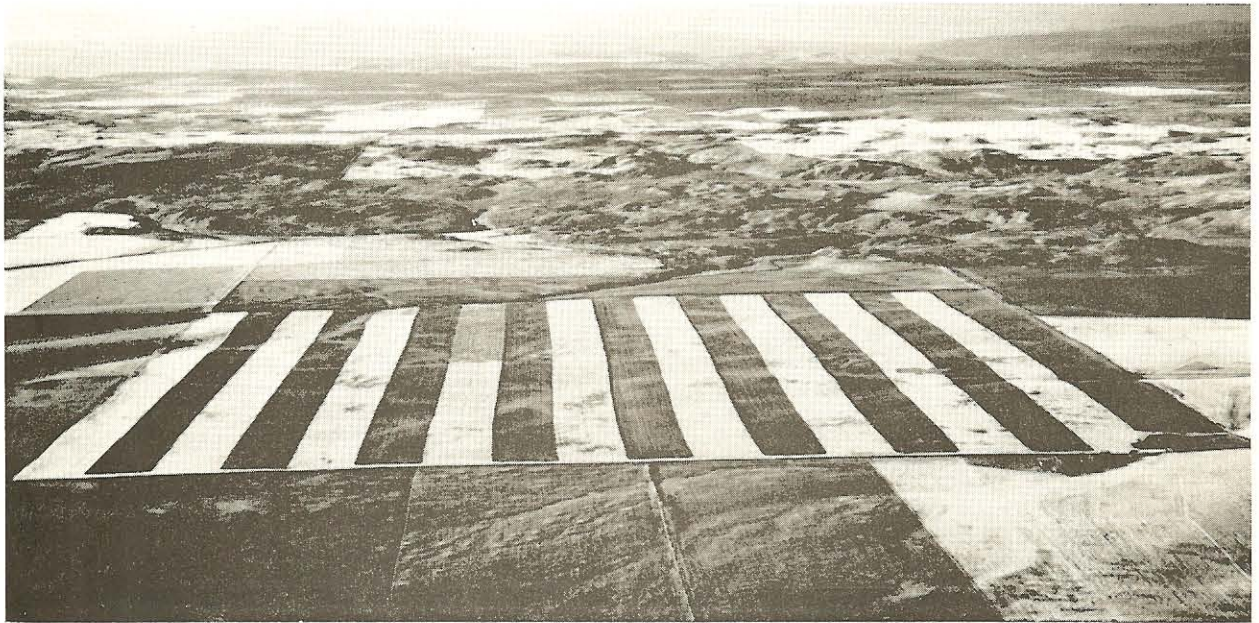


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THE Great Columbia Plain near Waterville. "In the middle distance is a portion of the terminal moraine of an ice lobe, disrupting neat rectilinear fields on this high undulating surface of the Great Plain near Waterville. The view is to the west, with the Wenatchee Mountains, beyond the Columbia, on the horizon." D. W. Meinig, *The Great Columbia Plain: A Historical Geography, 1805-1910* (Seattle, 1968), 14. Photograph courtesy of John S. Shelton.

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Inland Empire Mining and the Growth of Spokane, 1883-1905

BY W. HUDSON KENSEL

IN THE YEARS between 1883 and 1905, a number of mines were developed in the eastern and northern portions of the Inland Empire.¹ Spokane, newly linked to the East by the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railroads and advantageously located in relation to the mining districts, was in an excellent position to capture a large share of the wealth which soon began pouring in from the mines. In the early 1880's Spokane was only a jumping-off point to the mines, but eventually the city became an important clearinghouse for all the activities necessary to the financing and supplying of the mining districts. The contribution of mining to the growth of Spokane can be demonstrated by assessing the impact of the various mining districts upon the city during this period.

In 1855, sixteen years before Spokane came into existence, gold was discovered in the vicinity of Fort Colville on the upper Columbia. This discovery precipitated the first of a series of "rushes" which brought in hordes of gold-seekers to scour the mountains and streams of the Inland Empire. By 1870, when the last of the major gold rushes of this early period had subsided, it had been fairly well established that the entire Pacific Northwest lay in a rich mineral belt.²

There were no important rushes from 1870 to the early 1880's, but prospectors and small mining camps could still be found in various sections of the Inland Empire. Prospectors had little success until 1882, when A. J. Prichard, while searching for gold-bearing quartz in the

Coeur d'Alene Mountains of Idaho, made an important discovery of gold on a tributary of the North Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River. Prichard had intended to share his good fortune with only a few friends, but the secret leaked out, and miners from Montana, Colorado, and the Dakotas were soon rushing to the Coeur d'Alenes.³

One of those whose attention had been drawn by all of the excitement was H. C. Davis, an employee of the Northern Pacific Railway. Davis saw in the rush to the gold fields an opportunity to secure passenger business for the railroad and for settling the lands along the main line. He prepared a circular which grossly exaggerated the richness and extent of the gold belt of the Coeur d'Alenes. For example, he claimed that

Nuggets have been found which weigh \$50, \$100, \$166, and \$200. An intense excitement has sprung up in regard to the quartz deposits of this district, the immediate occasion of this being a "find" of a valuable quartz lode at the head of Prichard Creek. . . . The ore taken from the vein shows a great amount of free gold, in fact, it fairly glistens . . . the conclusion to be drawn in regard to the Coeur d'Alenes . . . is that they are inexhaustible. . . .⁴

This widely distributed circular was responsible for a virtual stampede to the Coeur d'Alenes in the winter of 1883-84. The Northern Pacific

¹The Inland Empire as defined in this study consists of eastern Washington, northeastern Oregon, northern Idaho, western Montana, and southern British Columbia. For a more precise description, see Herman J. Deutsch, "Geographic Setting for the Recent History of the Inland Empire," *PNQ*, Vol. 49 (1958), 152.

²William J. Trimble, *The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire*, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 638, History Series, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Madison, 1914), 143-220.

³John M. Henderson and William S. Shiach, *Illustrated History of North Idaho Embracing Nez Perces, Idaho, Latah, Kootenai and Shoshone Counties* (Spokane, 1903), 985.

W. HUDSON KENSEL is associate professor of history at Fresno State College. The present paper is part of a larger study of various economic factors that contributed to the growth and development of Spokane and the Inland Empire, 1881-1910.

provided the primary means of transportation. Towns along the railroad, such as Thompson Falls and Belknap in Montana, Rathdrum in Idaho, and Spokane, were jumping-off points for the mines, and each of these communities vigorously pressed its claim for the trade of the new Eldorado. Eagle City, the first town in the Coeur d'Alenes, sprang up in 1883 and soon became the local headquarters of mining activities.⁵

By May, 1884, Spokane had provided a means of transportation to Eagle City. Passengers traveled by stage to the town of Coeur d'Alene, where they embarked on a steamboat which carried them south down Coeur d'Alene Lake and then eastward up the river of the same name as far as Kingston. There they boarded another stage which carried them the rest of the way to Eagle City. The passenger fare was \$15.00, and the freight charge was 11 cents a pound.⁶

Spokane did not claim to be the nearest point to the mines, but it did maintain that it was the best place in which to outfit. On December 1, 1883, the Spokane Falls *Review* stated that during the previous several months hundreds of men had fitted out in Spokane and started into the mines. Everything could be obtained in Spokane, "from a horse to a frying pan," according to the *Review*, and at lower prices than elsewhere.⁷ After the summer of 1883, camp supplies and miners' outfits were standard items in Spokane's mercantile establishments.

Placer mining flourished during the years 1884 and 1885, and prospectors searched aggressively for new gold claims in the Coeur d'Alenes. During these investigations, silver and lead deposits were discovered on the South Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River. Noah S. Kellogg and his partners prospected in this area in the autumn of 1885. They discovered the silver and lead deposits at Milo Gulch (now Wardner, Idaho). These rich deposits later were developed as the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines. This important discovery started a general rush to the area.⁸ By 1886 the placers of the North Fork had

begun to wane, and the evident richness in silver and lead ores of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan, Morning, and other mines turned attention almost completely away from gold mining.

At first the lack of rail transportation impeded development, but by 1887 Daniel Chase Corbin had provided the necessary connections. Corbin, a widely experienced businessman, had been induced to leave New York in 1886 by several Montana capitalists who were concerned with developing their interests in the Coeur d'Alene mines. Corbin was asked to determine whether the potential of the Coeur d'Alene mining region was great enough to induce railroads to build into the area. He inspected several claims and mines, among them the Bunker Hill and Sullivan, and concluded that a rail connection to the mines would be profitable. Corbin decided to build the railroads himself, a decision which marked the beginning of his long and successful career in constructing railroads linking Spokane to its mining hinterlands.⁹

Corbin's first rail line, the Spokane Falls and Idaho Railway, connected Hauser Junction, about 10 miles east of Spokane on the Northern Pacific, and the town of Coeur d'Alene. At this point the steamboats of the Coeur d'Alene Steam Navigation and Transportation Company, which Corbin acquired in 1887, made the trip down Coeur d'Alene Lake and upriver to the head of navigation at Cataldo. There the boats met Corbin's second rail line, the Coeur d'Alene Railway and Navigation Company, which by 1888 had been built through the mining district as far as Burke, Idaho. Ore was carried over this transportation network to the Northern Pacific road at Hauser Junction and hauled to smelters in Helena, Great Falls, Omaha, or Denver.¹⁰

The silver and lead mines proved to be more enduring than the placer gold mines, which declined rapidly after 1889. By 1887 a dozen towns had grown up in the new mining districts. Spokane was not only a central supply point for these districts, but also became the permanent headquarters for many of the mining companies and home for most of the mineowners and managers. Among the prominent men of this group who had established themselves in Spokane by 1887 were Amasa B. Campbell, John A. Finch, Patrick Clark, and Charles Sweeny. Other mining men made Spokane their winter headquarters, while the rank and file of miners thronged to Spokane on various occasions to spend their money in the city's saloons, theaters, and other parlors of amusement.¹¹

⁵ Excerpts from this circular are reprinted in Henderson and Shiach, *Illustrated History*, 988.

⁶ Henderson and Shiach, *Illustrated History*, 988-89.

⁷ Spokane Falls *Review*, May 3, 1884.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, Dec. 1, 1883.

⁹ Henderson and Shiach, *Illustrated History*, 990-94.

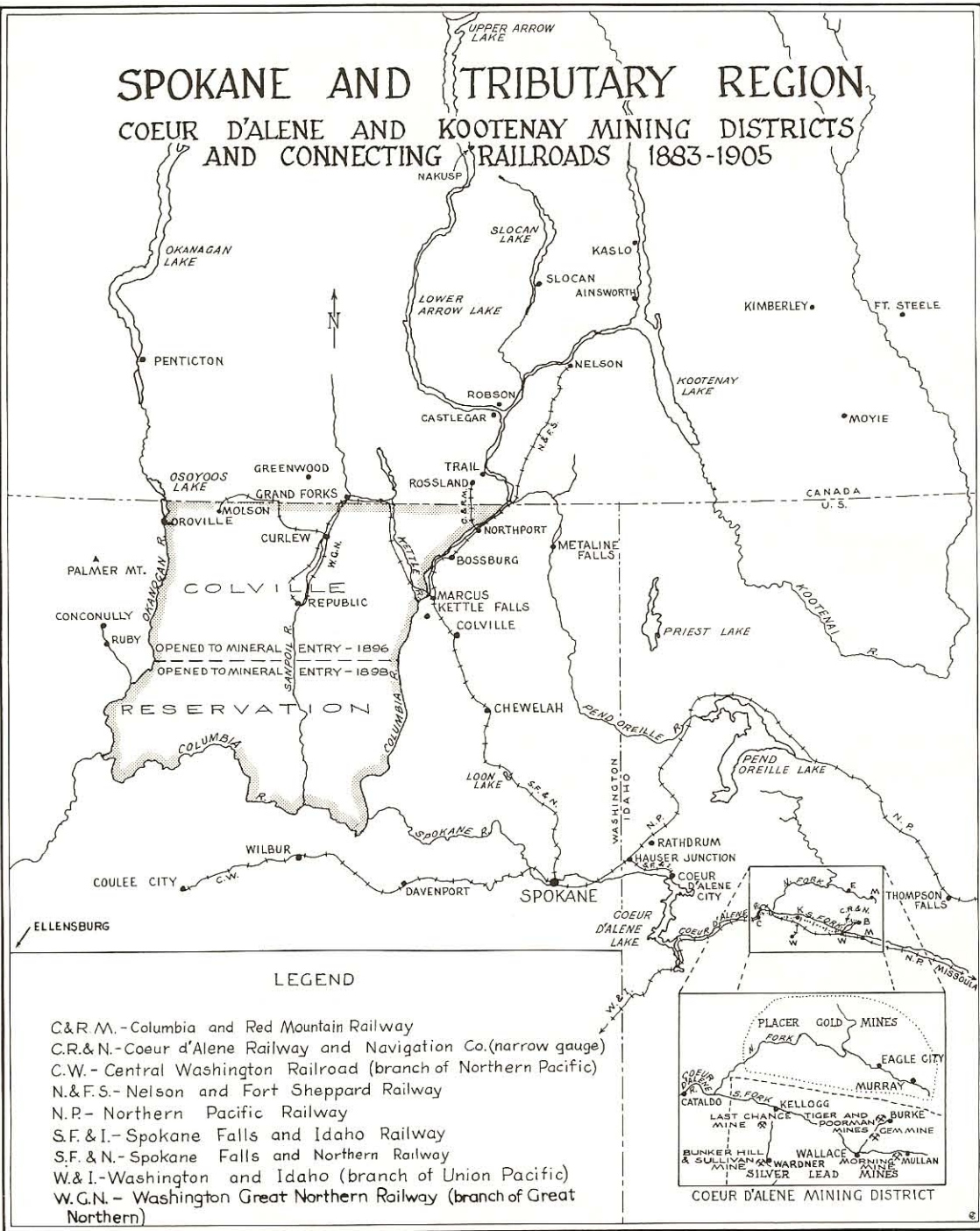
¹⁰ D. C. Corbin, "Recollections of a Pioneer Railroad Builder," *WHQ*, Vol. 1 (1907), 43-46.

¹¹ F. L. Ransome, "Coeur d'Alene District Economic Geology, I," *Northwest Mining News*, Vol. 3 (1908), 95-96; John Fahey, *Inland Empire: D. C. Corbin and Spokane* (Seattle, 1965), 20-48.

¹² F. L. Ransome, "Coeur d'Alene District Economic Geology, XII," *Northwest Mining News*, Vol. 5 (1909),

SPOKANE AND TRIBUTARY REGION

COEUR D'ALENE AND KOOTENAY MINING DISTRICTS AND CONNECTING RAILROADS 1883-1905



John A. Crosby, cartographer

The sale of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan to Simeon G. Reed of Portland in April, 1887, also proved to be a boon to Spokane. Frank R. Culbertson, Spokane businessman and banker, estimated that two-thirds of the money from this sale "found its way to Spokane and helped to build up the town." Jacob Goetz and Harry Baer, two of the owners of the mine, moved to Spokane and with their proceeds from the sale built the Frankfurt Building at an estimated cost of \$143,000.¹²

The Spokane Falls *Review* reported that upon the completion of this building "the sum of at least three hundred thousand dollars will have been invested in this city by Coeur d'Alene mining men." By 1890 the *Review* estimated that at least \$400,000 from the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine sale had been invested in buildings in Spokane. This was only the first of many mine sales and dividends which would be invested in the business and real estate properties of Spokane.¹³

The mining activities of the 1880's were not all confined to the Coeur d'Alenes. The Colville district, bounded on the west by the Columbia River, on the east by the Pend Oreille River, by

the Spokane River on the south, and by the international boundary on the north, had been the scene of feverish gold-mining operations in the 1850's. Placer mining in the region was short-lived, but prospectors continued to comb the area in search of a hidden bonanza. In 1883 and 1884 a number of silver, lead, gold, and copper deposits were found near the town of Chewelah.¹⁴

It was the discovery of the Old Dominion mine near Colville in 1885, however, which brought a rush of prospectors to the area. The first wagon loads of the rich silver and lead ores from this mine arrived in Spokane in May, 1885, for shipment to the smelter at San Francisco. Despite the handicap imposed by the inadequate mining equipment and transportation facilities, the Old Dominion produced substantial quantities of silver, lead, and gold ores the first year after its discovery. The stimulation to prospecting activities which this rich mine provided soon led to the discovery of two important silver and lead mines north of Colville: the Young America at Bossburg and the Bonanza, five miles southeast of Bossburg.¹⁵

The development of these three mines, not to mention numerous smaller claims, underlined the desperate need for railroad transportation into the Colville district. In 1886 several Spokane businessmen laid plans for building a railroad northward through the mining districts. This project languished until 1888, when A. A. Newberry headed a group of Spokane businessmen in reviving the plan and making surveys and other preparations for building a branch line from the Northern Pacific. These men lacked both capital and experience, so they decided to try to interest D. C. Corbin in their plan.¹⁶

Corbin agreed to build the road if Spokane would contribute \$100,000 toward its construction. The proposed road, the Spokane Falls and Northern Railway, was incorporated in 1888, and the people of Spokane subscribed \$100,000 for stock in the company. In June, 1889, Corbin began to build the new road.¹⁷

By October, the Spokane Falls and Northern Railway had built 88 miles as far as Colville, thus completing the first lap in a route that would eventually lead into British Columbia.¹⁸ The railroad was cheaper and more efficient than freight wagons for transporting ore to the smelters, hence contributed to the further development and production of the mines. It also

213; Henderson and Shiach, *Illustrated History*, 997; Nelson W. Durham, *History of the City of Spokane and the Spokane Country, Washington* (Spokane, 1912), I, 398; Spokane Falls *Review*, Dec. 29, 1883, Jan. 1, 1890; Spokane *Daily Chronicle*, July 10, 1914.

¹² The first report of the sale appeared in the Spokane Falls *Review*, April 24, 1887. The sale price has been the subject of controversy, but it has been conservatively estimated to be about \$650,000. See D. E. Livingston-Little, "An Economic History of North Idaho, 1800-1900: V, Discovery and Development of Coeur d'Alene," *Journal of the West*, Vol. 3 (1964), 323; F. R. Culbertson, "The Coeur d'Alene Mining District," *Illustrated History of the State of Idaho* (Chicago, 1899), 432; Durham, *History of Spokane*, II, 125-28; Spokane Falls *Review*, Jan. 1, 1889.

¹³ Spokane Falls *Review*, May 29, 1888, Jan. 1, 1890.

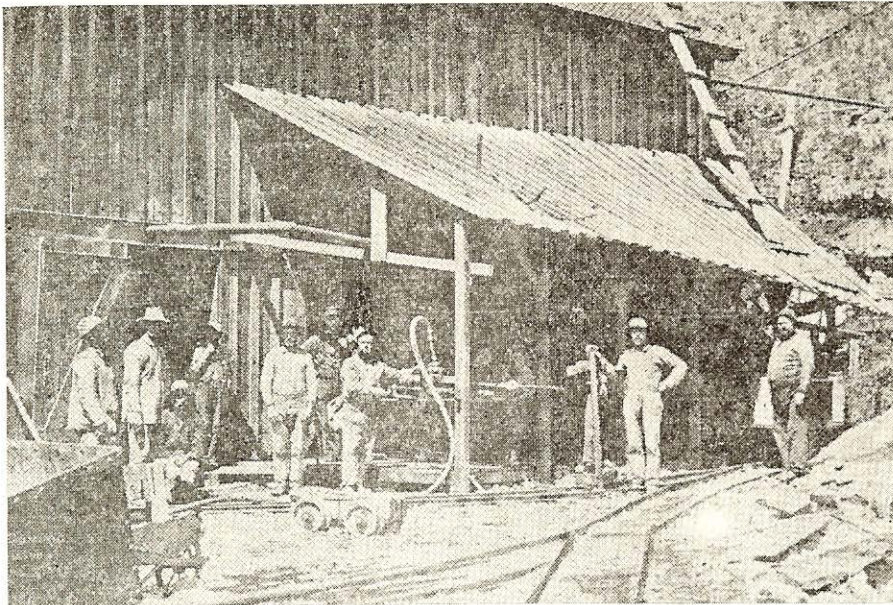
¹⁴ L. K. Hodges, ed., *Mining in the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle, 1897), 112; W. E. Embrey, "The Chewelah Mining District," *Mining*, Vol. 1 (1896), 195-96.

¹⁵ Richard F. Steele, *Illustrated History of Stevens, Ferry, Okanogan and Chelan Counties, State of Washington* (Spokane, 1904), 119-21, 123; Hodges, ed., *Mining in the Pacific Northwest*, 112; Spokane Falls *Review*, May 7, 29, 1885. It is difficult to determine just how much was earned from the Old Dominion's early production. Steele (p. 120) claims that the mine earned \$500,000 during the year of its discovery. The Spokane Falls *Review*, however, reported on Jan. 1, 1887, the much lower figure of \$180,000 for the first eighteen months of the mine's operation.

¹⁶ Spokane Falls *Review*, April 4, 1886; Durham, *History of Spokane*, I, 425; *Railroad Gazette*, Vol. 20 (May 11, 1888), 312.

¹⁷ John R. Fahey, "Spokane Falls and Northern," *Pacific Northwesterner*, Vol. 4 (Spring, 1960), 17-26; H. V. Poor and H. W. Poor, eds., *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States, 1890* (New York, 1890), 725; Spokane Falls *Review*, Feb. 21, 1889.

¹⁸ Fahey, "Spokane Falls and Northern," 26.



Shaft house,
Old Dominion mine,
near Colville,
1895

Eastern Washington State Historical Society

facilitated trade between Spokane and the Colville mining camps.

The next major ore strike was in the Okanogan country of northern Washington Territory. In 1886 the Columbia (Moses) Reservation on the west side of the Okanogan River was opened to settlement, and prospectors immediately invaded the area. During the same year rich gold-bearing ledges were found on Palmer Mountain. Almost simultaneously silver ores were discovered on the Salmon River, about 25 miles south of Palmer Mountain. Prospectors flocked to the Okanogan country from other mining regions of the Northwest and from Montana, Colorado, and California. The influx was so rapid that two towns, Ruby and Salmon City, sprang up within the year. The importance of the Okanogan and Colville mines was pointed out by Eugene Semple, Washington's territorial governor, who reported optimistically in 1887: "The mining of precious metals in the Territory, there is no longer hazard in predicting, will now begin upon an extensive scale."¹⁹

With mining activities constantly erupting in its hinterland, Spokane, too, was aware that mining would be on an extensive scale, and the city aimed to be the trading center for all the surrounding camps. Spokane was connected by rail to the Coeur d'Alene and Colville districts by 1889, and her merchants encountered no particular difficulties in securing a large portion of the trade of these areas. But there was no rapid, inexpensive means of transportation to Ruby,

Salmon City, and other points in the Okanogan mining district, which was 150 miles or more northwest of Spokane.²⁰

By 1890 the Northern Pacific had begun building a branch line, the Central Washington Railroad, westward from Spokane to the new mining district. It was five years, however, before this railroad was completed to Coulee City, nearly a hundred miles from the mining fields. During the interval most of the traffic went by stagecoaches which made regular trips from Spokane to Ruby and Salmon City. The trip by stage took from two to four days. Consequently, Spokane merchants faced vigorous competition for the Okanogan trade from the businessmen of Ellensburg.²¹

Ellensburg was about 20 miles nearer the Oka-

¹⁹ Steele, *Illustrated History*, 513, 514, 524, 538, 556; *Spokane Falls Review*, April 24, 28, 1887; *Message of the Governor of Washington Territory to the Legislative Assembly and Extracts from His Report to the Interior Department* (Olympia, 1888), 69.

²⁰ *Spokane Falls Review*, April 24, 1887.

²¹ *Poor's Manual, 1895*, 691; *Spokane Falls Review*, April 24, 1887.

²² Samuel R. Mohler, "Boom Days in Ellensburg, 1888-1891," *PNQ*, Vol. 36 (1945), 291-92; *Spokane Falls Review*, April 24, 1887.

²³ *Spokane Falls Review*, April 24, 28, May 10, June 7, 1887; Mohler, "Boom Days in Ellensburg," 291-92; Steele, *Illustrated History*, 541, 556.

²⁴ F. W. Howay, W. N. Sage, and H. F. Angus, *British Columbia and the United States* (Toronto, 1942), 247, 270-89.

²⁵ Hodges, *Mining in the Pacific Northwest*, 145-48; Howay et al., *British Columbia and the United States*, 270-71; A. M. Holdich, "The Nelson District, B.C.,"

nogan country than was Spokane and, like the latter city, aspired to capture a large share of the trade of the lucrative gold- and silver-mining districts. Freight was hauled from the Northern Pacific depot in Ellensburg to points on the Columbia River. From there the freight was shipped by steamboat northward via the Columbia and Okanogan rivers to the mining districts.²²

Spokane newspapers constantly warned the city's merchants of the competition offered by Ellensburg and exhorted them to make greater efforts to secure the trade of the Okanogan. Aware at last of the importance of the matter, Spokane merchants organized a board of trade on June 6, 1887. The board's first concern was how to build a better road into the Okanogan country. Ellensburg, however, continued to enjoy most of the Okanogan trade, at least until 1892, when depression in the mining districts forced much of the population to move away.²³

During the 1880's and 1890's, many important discoveries of gold, silver, copper, and lead were made in various districts of the Kootenay. This region has been likened to an isosceles triangle with its base along the international boundary and its apex at the head of the big bend of the Columbia River in British Columbia. Politically the area belonged to British Columbia, but geographically it was linked with the Inland Empire. Its river valleys and long, navigable lakes lay in a north-south direction, forming natural lines of communication with the United States. Moreover, rugged mountain country, vast distances, and a lack of adequate railroad transportation tended to separate the Kootenay from communication with either eastern Canada or the coastal cities of British Columbia.²⁴

The discovery of the rich silver ledges of Toad Mountain on the west arm of Kootenay Lake in 1887 focused the attention of the mining world on the region. The Silver King mine was devel-

oped from these "finds" by two brothers, Oscar and William Hall, and soon was established as the greatest producer of the Kootenay district. During the following year, prospectors rushed to the vicinity, and the town of Nelson soon rose on the west arm of Kootenay Lake.²⁵

By the late 1880's prospectors were setting out in all directions from Kootenay Lake. The next major strikes were made in 1889 and 1890 near Trail Creek, just north of the international boundary. These were gold, copper, and silver claims which later proved to be among the richest mines of British Columbia: the Lily May, War Eagle, Virginia, Centre Star, Le Roi, and Idaho mines. Ross Thompson's log cabin on Red Mountain near these mines was the beginning of the town of Rossland. In 1894 Rossland was a cluster of only four log cabins; two years later its population had increased to four thousand, and the village had become the center of mining activities in the Trail Creek district.²⁶

The Boundary district, north of the international boundary between the Trail Creek district and the Okanogan River, was opened in 1891. This district included a number of important gold, copper, and silver mines.²⁷

Until the end of 1891, attention was focused primarily upon the districts of West Kootenay. East Kootenay, which lay between Kootenay Lake on the west and the Rocky Mountains on the east, had been the scene of a major gold rush in the 1860's. Placer claims were still worked there, but quartz gold mining had become more profitable, and most of the prospectors were engaged in searching for gold-bearing quartz ledges. Joseph Bourgeois discovered the North Star, an important silver and lead mine about 20 miles west of Fort Steele. News of his find brought a rush of prospectors to the district in 1892, and within a short time the famous Sullivan mine was discovered at Kimberley and the St. Eugene at Moyie. By 1892 the greatest flurry of mining discoveries was over. Mining activities in the following decades were primarily concerned with the further development and consolidation of properties already located.²⁸

DURING THE 1890's, however, a number of serious problems hampered the development of the mining industry in the Inland Empire. In 1892 a general strike paralyzed production in the Coeur d'Alene district. The strike was accompanied by many acts of violence, including the destruction of the Frisco mill near the town of Gem, Idaho. After nearly a year of bitter and

Mining, Vol. 2 (1896), 42-45.

²² Hodges, *Mining in the Pacific Northwest*, 117-30; Howay et al., *British Columbia and the United States*, 272-73; W. A. Carlyle, "Report on Trail Creek Mining District, B.C.," *Mining*, Vol. 2 (1896), 95-100, 124-38, 143-51; F. W. Howay, *British Columbia: From the Earliest Times to the Present* (Vancouver, 1914), II, 474.

²³ Hodges, *Mining in the Pacific Northwest*, 130-42; 148-55; Howay et al., *British Columbia and the United States*, 275-77, 283-86; J. C. Hass, "Notes on the Boundary Creek Mining District," *Mining*, Vol. 1 (1896), 75-78; Harold A. Innis, *Settlement and the Mining Frontier*, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, ed. W. A. MacKintosh and W. L. G. Joerg, Vol. 9, Part 2 (Toronto, 1936), 278-80.

²⁴ Howay et al., *British Columbia and the United States*, 278-80; T. T. McVittie, "Mining Division of Fort Steele, B.C.," *Mining*, Vol. 3 (1897), 71-79.

fruitless negotiations, a compromise was finally reached by the Coeur d'Alene miners' unions and the mineowners. In the late fall of 1892, the mines began to operate again.

Following fast upon these events came the depression of 1893. The prices of lead and silver immediately began to fall, and it became apparent that unless the costs of operation could be reduced, the mines would be forced to close. The mineowners were unable to get freight-rate concessions from the railroads, and they were not ready to battle so soon again with the miners' unions over wage reductions.

In the face of these difficulties, the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines ceased operations in March, 1893. A succession of mine closures followed, and by the middle of August, every mine in the Coeur d'Alenes had shut down. The depression had a similar effect in the Okanogan mining districts, but in the Kootenay mines, where development work was still largely in progress, the depression resulted principally in a slowdown of investment capital.²⁹

Another major factor retarding the development of the mines was the roundabout and expensive means of transportation which plagued the Okanogan and the Kootenay districts. The first ore taken from the Le Roi mine in 1891 was hauled by wagons to Trail Creek landing, then shipped by boat down the Columbia River to Northport, where it was transferred to the Spokane Falls and Northern Railway. The ore was then hauled to the smelter at Butte, Montana.³⁰

Some improvements in transportation were made in the early 1890's. By 1892, D. C. Corbin had extended the Spokane Falls and Northern Railway to Northport and to the international boundary. The following year he secured a charter and a land subsidy from the government of British Columbia and built an extension, the Nelson and Fort Sheppard Railway, from the boundary to Nelson. By December, 1893, trains were running from Nelson to Spokane. Four years later Corbin completed a branch, the Columbia and Red Mountain Railway, from Northport to Rossland.³¹

The building of smelters in the Kootenay district and its vicinity also alleviated the transportation problem. In 1896 the Hall Mines Company established a smelter at Nelson for the treatment of the ore from the Silver King and other mines on Toad Mountain. During the same year F. Augustus Heinze, owner of a copper smelter at Butte, having obtained a contract to process the ore of the Le Roi mine, erected a

smelter at Trail. The enormous quantities of ore that were taken from the Le Roi soon outstripped the capacity of the Trail smelter, so the owners of the Le Roi built a smelter at Northport and had it in operation by January, 1898.³²

By 1896 prosperity was returning to the mining districts. Although the prices of silver and lead had not completely recovered, credit and capital for investment became more readily available. The Kootenay mines had been developed to the point where many of them were producing substantial tonnages of ore. The newly constructed railroads and smelters gave further impetus to the new boom. By 1896 all of the major mines in the Coeur d'Alenes were reopened or about to be, and mining was also revived in the Okanogan and Colville districts.³³

In February the northern half of the Colville Indian Reservation was opened to mineral entry. Prospectors, who previously had been forbidden to enter this territory but who knew of its rich gold deposits, immediately rushed into the region. Numerous gold, copper, and silver deposits were found in the Myers Creek district west of Northport, and discoveries were reported in various places in the northern portion of the reservation. A number of especially rich quartz gold claims were discovered south of Curlew Lake. Within a short time a substantial mining

²⁹ Robert W. Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892: A Case Study of an Industrial Dispute*, Oregon State Monographs, Studies in History, No. 2 (Corvallis, 1961); Steele, *Illustrated History*, 510, 541, 546, 556; R. A. Hutchinson, "The Okanogan Country," *Northwest Mining News*, Vol. 3 (1908), 9-10; Innis, *Settlement and the Mining Frontier*, 273, 275, 279-80; Hodges, *Mining in the Pacific Northwest*, 130.

³⁰ Howay et al., *British Columbia and the United States*, 273.

³¹ "The Spokane Falls and Northern Railway," *Northwest Magazine*, Vol. 10 (June, 1892), 36-37; *Poor's Manual*, 1895, 301; Howay et al., *British Columbia and the United States*, 257; *Spokane Falls Review*, Dec. 15, 1893.

³² Innis, *Settlement and the Mining Frontier*, 276-77; Steele, *Illustrated History*, 144; *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, Dec. 31, 1896.

³³ Innis, *Settlement and the Mining Frontier*, 281; Henderson and Shiach, *Illustrated History*, 1008-15. The price of lead remained low from 1893 to 1897. It began to rise in 1898, and by 1900 a record high price was recorded. Except for a temporary decline following the panic of 1907, the price of lead remained high throughout the early 20th century. This was of great importance to the Coeur d'Alene district and in fact to all of Idaho, whose chief source of mineral wealth at this time was its lead production. For price statistics, see U.S. Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1904* (Washington, D.C., 1905), 270, and *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1910: Metals* (Washington, D.C., 1911), I, 253; Steele, *Illustrated History*, 103-106, 509-11, 532.

³⁴ Steele, *Illustrated History*, 110, 143, 411-12; B. Hopson, "Myers Creek Mining District," *Mining*, Vol. 5 (1900), 207-22. The Colville Reservation, which lay approximately

camp was established, which later was platted as the town of Republic.³⁴

The most important of the Republic gold claims was the Republic mine, located by Philip Cresor and Thomas Ryan. In 1897 a number of prominent Spokane and Montana mining men led by Patrick Clark purchased this mine and organized the Republic Gold Mining and Milling Company. The following year the company declared its first dividend. Within a short time all of the land in a radius of about 10 miles from the Republic mine had been taken up by promoters and prospectors who came in increasing numbers to the district.³⁵

These activities caused a boom in Spokane, which was the nearest supply point to the Republic camp. Traffic from the city went by way of the Spokane Falls and Northern Railway to Bossburg and from there by stage 80 miles to Republic. The boom in Spokane, however, was only temporary. The lack of sufficient local capital for the full development of the Republic mine resulted in its sale in 1899 to Canadian interests.³⁶

On July 1, 1898, the southern half of the Colville Reservation was opened to mineral entry. The stampede to the "South Half" exceeded even that to the "North Half." Within a week after the opening, it was estimated that five thousand mining claims had been located, pri-

marily along the Sanpoil and Nespelem rivers. Several important deposits of quartz gold, which also contained smaller proportions of silver and lead, were found. None of these, however, ever equaled in quantity or richness the ores of the Republic mine.³⁷

The prosperity of the mining districts was reflected in Spokane. New wealth came from the additional trade with the growing mining camps and from dividends realized on mining investments. In 1895 the War Eagle, which was owned principally by Spokane men, paid dividends amounting to \$132,000. During the same year the Spokane-owned Le Roi mine also paid a substantial dividend. By 1896 the Slocan Star, controlled by Byron White of Spokane, had paid \$300,000 to its stockholders. It would be impossible to determine either the number of people in Spokane who held interests in the various mining districts or the extent of their holdings. It is certain, however, that enthusiasm for mining schemes was rampant. As Nelson Durham pointed out, "everybody caught the infection and fell to dabbling in mines."³⁸

JUST AS THE Coeur d'Alene discoveries had aroused Spokane from the doldrums in 1883, the renewal of mining activities helped to raise Spokane from the throes of depression in 1896. Bank clearances, which furnish a rather accurate indication of a city's economic activity, climbed from \$15,671,060 in 1894 to \$25,091,225 in 1896, and continued upward for the next three years at an even greater rate: \$33,233,154 in 1897, \$45,756,956 in 1898, and \$63,996,255 in 1899. The editor of the *Spokesman-Review* commented in 1899 that "much of the increase in the clearances is attributed to the mining business."³⁹

The growing influence of agriculture on Spokane's economy should not be ignored, however. After 1896 the harvesting of bumper crops of wheat, oats, and barley in the Big Bend and Palouse farming regions, which lay immediately to the west and south of Spokane, respectively, also stimulated the city's business activities. With economic recovery underway and its population steadily increasing, Spokane experienced a building boom in 1897. Durham noted that the value of buildings completed or under construction in the city during 1897 totaled \$1,280,000. Spokane grew from a village with a population of only 350 in 1880, to a town with a population of 19,922 in 1890, and 36,848 in 1900.⁴⁰

between the Colville and Okanogan mining districts, was bounded on the east and south by the Columbia River, on the west by the Okanogan River, and on the north by the international boundary.

³⁴ *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, June 13, 1897; Steele, *Illustrated History*, 416. Patrick Clark was the manager and principal owner of the Republic mine. Clark came to Spokane in 1887 from Butte, Montana. He was widely known as a highly successful manager and owner of some of the most famous mines in the Inland Empire. In addition to opening up the Republic mine, he was instrumental in opening the Anaconda mine in Montana, the Poorman mine in the Coeur d'Alenes, and the War Eagle mine in the Trail Creek district. Durham, *History of Spokane*, II, 295-96.

³⁵ "A Mining Boom in Spokane," *Northwest Magazine*, Vol. 17 (April, 1899), 28; *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, March 16, 1899.

³⁶ Steele, *Illustrated History*, 406-407; "On the South Half," *Mining*, Vol. 5 (1900), 106-10.

³⁷ Durham, *History of Spokane*, I, 477; E. S. Moore, *American Influence in Canadian Mining* (Toronto, 1941), 72; *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, Sept. 18, 1895; Howay et al., *British Columbia and the United States*, 277.

³⁸ *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, Jan. 1, 1899; Claude A. Campbell, "The Old National Bank of Spokane (Part A)," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, XVII (June, 1949), 84.

³⁹ Durham, *History of Spokane*, I, 484, 517; *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Population*, Vol. I (Washington, D.C., 1892), 108, 416; *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Population*, Vol. I (Washington, D.C., 1902), 112, 407.

Further evidence of the impetus that mining gave to Spokane's commercial activities is indicated in the trade figures from the Canadian customhouse at Nelson, which had jurisdiction over the entire mining region of the Kootenay. The customs figures, published in the *Spokesman-Review*, showed that in the month of December, 1896, goods valued at \$156,963 were imported into the Kootenay. All of these imports came from Spokane over the Spokane Falls and Northern Railway. A sizable portion of these goods were purchased in Spokane, and most of those that were bought elsewhere passed through Spokane wholesale houses.⁴¹

The *Spokesman-Review* also estimated that an average of two carloads of fruit a week was shipped to the Kootenay mining districts. In addition, the paper reported that

eggs, flour, feed, all kinds of vegetables, meats, large quantities of beer and many other natural and manufactured products are sent into the district from this city and the surrounding country. In other lines, machinery, some manufactured here and some elsewhere; groceries canned goods, mining supplies and many other articles are purchased through Spokane houses.⁴²

With these enthusiastic reports, the Spokane newspaper carried items portending the challenge that Canadian merchants would soon offer to Spokane businessmen for the trade of the Kootenay. It was with less enthusiasm that the *Spokesman-Review* reported in 1896 that two hundred cars of freight at Revelstoke were awaiting shipment down the Columbia River and Arrow Lakes to points in the Kootenay.⁴³

Even as the Corbin railroads were drawing the business of the Kootenay south to Spokane, the Canadian Pacific was building several branches to attract the ores and trade of the region north to Revelstoke on its main line. During the years 1893 to 1895, the Canadian Pacific built the Nakusp and Slocan Railway to connect the Slocan district with Nakusp on Upper Arrow Lake. From Nakusp the ore could be transported by boat across the lake and up the Columbia River to Revelstoke. Another Canadian Pacific branch, the Columbia and Kootenay Railway, completed in 1891, provided service between Nelson and Robson—a shipping point on the Columbia River. This railroad was extended into the Slocan district in 1894. In 1898 the Canadian Pacific purchased the Columbia and Western Railway from F. Augustus Heinze. This road, which connected Rossland and Robson, permitted ores from Trail Creek mines to be shipped via the Arrow Lakes and the Columbia River to Revelstoke.⁴⁴

All of these branches depended upon water connections with the main line of the Canadian Pacific at Revelstoke. The routes entailed heavy transportation costs and provided only seasonal connections because the upper Columbia River and Arrow Lakes were frozen over in the winter. These branch lines kept alive the interests of Canadian merchants in the Kootenay, but they could not compete strongly with the Corbin lines, which provided all-rail, all-season connections to smelters and to a relatively close business center in Spokane.⁴⁵

The completion of the Canadian Pacific's Crowsnest Pass Railway from Lethbridge to Cranbrook in 1898 gave Canadian merchants a more direct and less expensive route to the Kootenay district. Moreover, the Canadian Pacific reduced its freight rates from Edmonton to the Kootenay on various manufactured and agricultural products. The aims of this policy were to develop agriculture in Alberta and southern British Columbia and to allow machinery and finished goods manufactured in eastern Canada to compete in the Kootenay with similar American products. The success of this policy is shown by the stimulation it gave to agriculture, flour milling, meat packing, lead refining, and other industries in Alberta and British Columbia. "By 1904," H. A. Innis concluded, "Kootenai was the chief Edmonton market."⁴⁶

Edmonton was not the chief source of supplies for the Kootenay, however. The Great Northern Railway, which built through Spokane in 1892, acquired Corbin's lines into the Kootenay six

⁴¹ Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, Jan. 11, 1897.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1896.

⁴⁴ Howay, *British Columbia: From the Earliest Times to the Present*, II, 485-86.

⁴⁵ *Railway Gazette*, Vol. 22 (Aug. 15, 1890), 577; Margaret A. Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Vancouver, 1958), 316-17.

⁴⁶ W. T. Easterbrook and Hugh G. J. Aitken, *Canadian Economic History* (Toronto, 1956), 498; Innis, *Settlement and the Mining Frontier*, 308-12. Innis observed, however, that Spokane continued to supply the markets of West Kootenay—namely, Rossland and Nelson—with early green produce. Spokane also supplied creamery butter and fresh eggs to the West Kootenay and Boundary districts.

⁴⁷ *Poor's Manual*, 1893, 288; *Poor's Manual*, 1899, 625; *Poor's Manual*, 1908, 652; Howay et al., *British Columbia and the United States*, 249; William J. Wilgus, *Railway Interrelations of the United States and Canada* (New Haven, 1937), 131 and map between pp. 124-25.

⁴⁸ Howay et al., *British Columbia and the United States*, 257.

⁴⁹ Moore, *American Influence in Canadian Mining*, 72.

⁵⁰ Howay et al., *British Columbia and the United States*, 272-73, 282; Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, Dec. 5, 16, 1894, Jan. 21, 1897; Moore, *American Influence in Canadian Mining*, 72; Durham, *History of Spokane*, I, 477.

years later. The Great Northern then constructed a branch, the Washington Great Northern Railway, from Republic along a route that crossed and recrossed the United States-Canadian boundary before it reached Molson, Washington. Completed in 1906, this road went directly through the Boundary mining district of British Columbia and the upper Okanogan country in Washington and brought the trade of these areas to Spokane. By 1906 the Great Northern had built other branches into Canada from Montana and Idaho. Thus, despite the best efforts of the Canadian railroads to keep the trade of the Kootenay in Canada, that trade continued to drain southward over the Great Northern lines to Spokane.⁴⁷ The Canadian historian, W. N. Sage, concluded:

Spokane was the natural centre of the whole "Inland Empire," on both sides of the international boundary. The British Columbia coast cities could not hope to compete, and even after the completion of the Crow's Nest line the pull was still to the south. Winnipeg was too far away and Calgary was herself being drawn into the Spokane orbit.⁴⁸

American promoters and capitalists, a large number of whom were from Spokane, had initially opened up the Inland Empire mines. The richness of these mines, evidenced by the large dividends paid after 1895, soon attracted international attention. In the late 1890's and early 1900's, a number of these mines passed under the control of eastern Canadian and American investment syndicates. Among the most notable

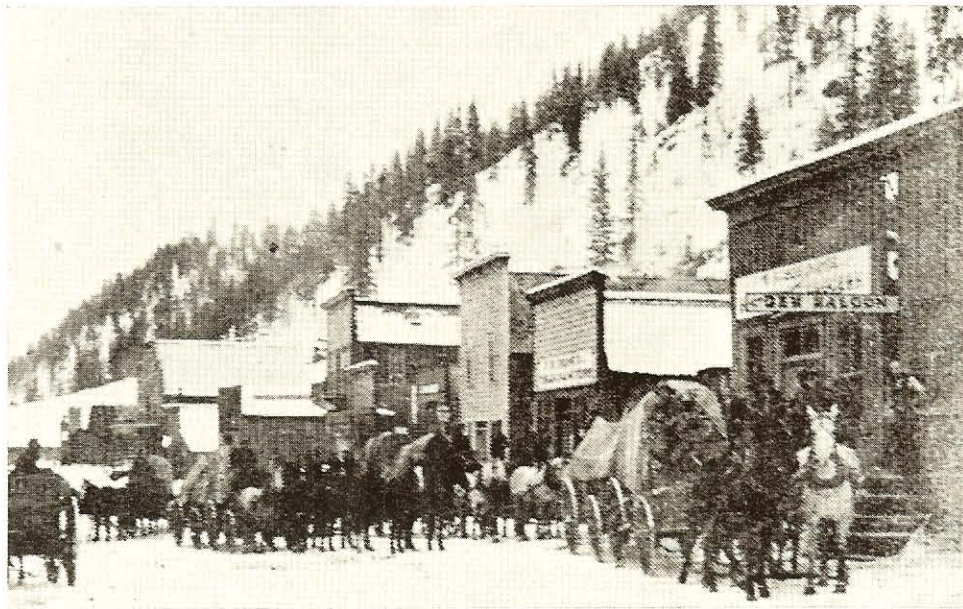
of the Spokane-owned properties thus acquired were the War Eagle and Le Roi mines and the huge mining corporations organized by Jay P. Graves and Charles Sweeny of Spokane.⁴⁹

The War Eagle mine had been located in 1890 by Joseph Bourgeois and Joseph Morris. They sold it in 1894 to a group of Spokane men, including Patrick Clark, John A. Finch, A. B. Campbell, E. J. Roberts, and Austin Corbin, son of the railroad builder. Systematic development of the War Eagle began immediately after its purchase, and in 1895 it became the first mine in the Trail Creek district to declare a dividend. By the end of 1896, it had paid \$187,500 in dividends. Early in 1897 the mine was sold to the Gooderham-Blackstock syndicate of Toronto, Ontario, for a reported sum of \$700,000.⁵⁰

The Le Roi mine, which adjoined the War Eagle, was also located in 1890. Its owner, Eugene S. Topping, lacked the funds to develop his claim; he sold it the following year to George M. Forster and William Ridpath of Spokane. They organized the Le Roi Mining Company and issued stock. A number of Spokane men, including George Turner, I. N. Peyton, W. J. Harris, J. M. Armstrong, and D. W. Henley, purchased substantial amounts of the stock. Production began immediately, and the Le Roi became the first mine in the Trail Creek district to ship ore to a smelter.

By 1894 the high-grade copper and gold ores of the Le Roi mine had established it as the

Okanogan County Historical Society



Ruby,
Washington,
about
1896

richest in the district. The mine had paid \$725,000 in dividends up to 1898, when it was sold to the British America Corporation, a syndicate of Canadian and British capitalists, for about \$4 million. Since the Spokane investors held nearly four-fifths of the 500,000 shares of Le Roi stock, the sale yielded them approximately \$3 million, thus laying the bases for their fortunes.⁵¹

THE DEVELOPMENT and sale of these two mines illustrates not only the growth of Canadian influence in the Kootenay, but also the impact of the Kootenay mining districts upon Spokane. The mines initially offered opportunities for the investment of Spokane capital, investments which were handsomely repaid in regular dividends. The mines contributed to the growth and prosperity of Rossland, Kaslo, Nelson, and numerous other towns in the Kootenay which became important markets for the wholesale houses of Spokane. The mines stimulated the building of railroads into the Kootenay, and these lines continued to draw trade toward Spokane even after the mines had ceased production or had been sold to foreign interests.

The sale of the mines in which Spokane men were heavily invested—in particular, the War Eagle and Le Roi—brought enormous sums of money into the city. Much of this money was invested in Spokane and aided materially in developing the city. George Turner built the Columbia Building at an estimated cost of \$100,000. I. N. Peyton built the Peyton Block, the Seven Gables Block, and the Peyton Building at an estimated cost of more than a quarter of a million dollars. W. J. Harris and his wife built the New Hotel Victoria and purchased the Aberdeen and Westminster hotels. They also had investments of about \$350,000 in minor realty holdings. The Hotel Ridpath was constructed by W. M. Ridpath, who also invested extensively in other Spokane properties.⁵²

The earnings from the mines, whether from dividends or sales, gave prestige and power to some of the mining men of Spokane and enabled them to exercise important influence in the economic, political, and social life of the city and of the Inland Empire. George Turner, for example, who derived a large share of his income from mining, became one of the leading spokesmen for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. His position was not based upon the belief that a free-silver policy would alleviate pressing farm problems of the

day, but rather upon the advantage Turner saw in the policy for men like himself who held substantial interests in the mining industry.

In 1896 Turner was instrumental in uniting the Silver Republicans, Populists, and Democrats under a common banner. This newly organized fusion party nominated the Populist leader, John R. Rogers, for governor. Turner enthusiastically endorsed and supported Rogers, who subsequently was elected to the office. Recognition of Turner's leadership in the fusion party came when he was elected to the United States Senate in 1897. Turner served creditably in the Senate until 1903.⁵³

John A. Finch and Amasa B. Campbell headed one of the most prominent mining firms in the city. In addition to their part in developing the War Eagle mine, they opened and developed the Enterprise and Standard mines in the Slocan district, and the Gem, Standard, and Hecla mines in the Coeur d'Alene district. They also controlled the Kendall Gold Mining Company, one of the largest gold-mining concerns in Montana.

Finch and Campbell also held responsible positions in various business and civic enterprises in Spokane. Finch was a trustee of the Union Trust Company and held offices and directorships in numerous business enterprises in the state of Washington and in Idaho. He donated the sites for St. Luke's Hospital and the Children's Home in Spokane. Campbell was a director of the Traders National Bank and a director and a large stockholder in the Washington Water Power Company. He also held stock in the Spokane and Eastern Trust Company and in the Grote-Rankin Furniture Company. He

⁵¹Howay *et al.*, *British Columbia and the United States*, 273-75; Moore, *American Influence in Canadian Mining*, 72; Durham, *History of Spokane*, I, 488-89; Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, Sept. 18, 1895, June 3, 1896, May 14, 1898.

⁵²Durham, *History of Spokane*, I, 487, II, 174-75, 441; Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, Jan. 1, 1889, July 31, 1903, Feb. 14, Aug. 15, Oct. 3, 1908.

⁵³Claudius O. Johnson, "George Turner, Part I: The Background of a Statesman," *PNQ*, Vol. 34 (1943), 253-64.

⁵⁴Durham, *History of Spokane*, III, 84-87, 277-79; Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, Dec. 5, 16, 1894, May 18, 1901, July 14, 29, 1903.

⁵⁵Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, May 29, 1897. The account of the various companies organized by J. P. Graves is based largely upon a series of nine newspaper articles written by Aubrey L. White, which appeared in the magazine section of the Sunday edition of the *Spokesman-Review* from Jan. 15 to March 11, 1928. White became an associate of Graves in 1896 and participated actively over a long period of time in all the various enterprises undertaken by Graves. These articles are reminiscences of this association.

⁵⁶Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, Oct. 15, 1900, Jan. 29, 1928; Durham, *History of Spokane*, I, 489.

contributed the land on which the Carnegie Library of Spokane was constructed.⁵⁴

THE SALE of Spokane interests in the War Eagle and Le Roi mines in the late 1890's was followed after the turn of the century by the sale of the mining corporations of Jay P. Graves and Charles Sweeny. In 1896 Graves had purchased control of the Old Ironsides mine, a copper claim in the Boundary district of the Kootenay which had been located in 1891. He raised enough capital in Spokane for the purchase and initial development of Old Ironsides. In the preliminary work, however, the mine showed great bodies of ore, and Graves was forced to seek elsewhere for the additional capital needed to develop the property fully. He persuaded capitalists of Montreal and Ottawa to invest in his enterprise by convincing them that the large ore bodies of Old Ironsides were highly valuable. The funds contributed by the Canadian interests enabled Graves to secure adjoining claims which were organized into the Granby Mining and Smelting Company in 1898.⁵⁵

Ore was ready for smelting by 1899, and construction had begun on a smelter near Grand Forks, British Columbia. In the same year the Canadian Pacific built a branch line in the Boundary district of British Columbia from Robson through Grand Forks to the mining camps. The first carload of ore was shipped the following year to the newly constructed smelter at Grand Forks.⁵⁶

After 1900 Granby produced enormous tonnages of ore, and by 1906 it had become the largest copper-mining company in Canada. From

1903, when the first dividend of \$135,500 was declared, until 1919, when the Granby mines in the Boundary district were exhausted, more than \$10 million was paid to Granby stockholders.⁵⁷

Graves had started Granby with no capital of his own and with only the backing of a few Spokane people who shared his faith in the Old Ironsides mine. By gradually enlarging capital resources and acquiring mining claims, Graves developed Granby into one of the most successful mining enterprises in Canada. Much of the wealth it produced directly benefited Spokane. The building of the Washington Great Northern Railway into the Granby mining camp in 1905 enabled Spokane to sell large amounts of supplies and equipment to the mines, as well as to contribute a major part of the labor supply for the camp.⁵⁸

Graves was the vice-president and general manager of Granby from the time it was organized in 1901 until 1913, when he retired. The considerable fortune he acquired was invested in various Spokane and Inland Empire enterprises. Between 1902 and 1906 he helped to organize the Spokane Terminal Company, the Spokane Traction Company, the Spokane and Inland Empire Company, and the Coeur d'Alene and Spokane Railway Company. All of these companies were merged in 1906 into the Inland Empire Railroad Company with Jay P. Graves as president. Graves also invested large sums in various bank stocks and held directorates in the Old National Bank, the Union Trust Company, and the Union Securities Company.⁵⁹

Consolidation of mining properties was also under way in the Coeur d'Alene district during the late 1890's. In May, 1898, Charles Sweeny of Spokane organized the Empire State-Idaho Mining and Development Company to assume control of the Last Chance mine at Wardner and sixteen other claims in the Coeur d'Alene district. Several New York financiers were stockholders in this company, but it was largely owned and controlled by Sweeny. In 1899 he purchased the Tiger and Poorman mines, two important silver and lead producers near Burke. Under his aggressive and successful management, the various mines of the Empire State-Idaho produced large tonnages of ore, and by 1903 the company had paid a total of \$1,713,324 in dividends.⁶⁰

Sweeny became dissatisfied with the arrangement his company had with the American Smelting and Refining Company, which controlled the reduction of ores in the Coeur

⁵⁴ Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, Feb. 26, March 4, 1928; Moore, *American Influence in Canadian Mining*, 76; Durham, *History of Spokane*, I, 518.

⁵⁵ Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, Feb. 26, March 4, 1928; Moore, *American Influence in Canadian Mining*, 76; Durham, *History of Spokane*, I, 518.

⁵⁶ Durham, *History of Spokane*, I, 515, 521-22, 531, III, 421-23. The Inland Empire electric railway provided efficient freight and passenger service to the Palouse country, a farming area lying south of Spokane, and was important in opening up this country to Spokane merchants. George W. Hilton and John F. Due, *Electric Interurban Railways in America* (Stanford, 1960), 389.

⁵⁷ Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, July 31, 1898, June 16, 1899, June 22, 1903. A considerable part of the account of the mining activities of Charles Sweeny is based upon an article written by Conner Malott, which appeared in the Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, July 23, 1916. Malott, the vice-president of the Spokane and Eastern Trust Company at the time the article was written and a former city editor of the *Spokesman-Review*, had a twenty-year acquaintance with Charles Sweeny. As a newspaper reporter who specialized in mining, Malott also had an intimate knowledge of the various mines which Sweeny controlled.

d'Alenes, and he decided to establish a competing smelter. The reputation that the Empire State-Idaho had on Wall Street enabled Sweeny to attract John D. Rockefeller, Jr., George Gould, and other New York financiers to his proposition. In 1903, with the financial backing thus secured, Sweeny organized the Federal Mining and Smelting Company. The new company eventually absorbed the Empire State-Idaho and its holdings in the Coeur d'Alenes, as well as the Puget Sound Reduction Company's smelter in Everett and the Monte Cristo mining properties located near that city. The Everett smelter and the Monte Cristo mines had been Rockefeller properties, but after Federal absorbed them, they were operated in conjunction with the Coeur d'Alene mines.

According to newspaper reports, the Federal Company was capitalized at \$30 million. As far as can be determined, Sweeny held less than 10 per cent of the stock of the new company. Although this may not have been a controlling interest, Sweeny, as president, unquestionably exercised considerable influence in directing the company. A. B. Campbell, John Finch, and George Turner later acquired much smaller blocks of Federal stock. The Rockefeller and Gould interests probably controlled the company through its main office in New York and left the actual management of the company's properties to Sweeny, Finch, and E. J. Roberts.⁶¹

The newly organized Federal Company immediately purchased the Standard and Mammoth mines near Burke. The Standard mine was considered the leading silver and lead mine in the district, having paid nearly \$3 million in dividends up to the time of its sale. By 1905 the Federal Company completed its acquisitions of mining properties in the Coeur d'Alenes when it purchased the Morning mine near Mullan.⁶²

In 1904 Idaho produced more than one-third of the lead smelted from domestic ores in the United States, and the Federal Company's mines produced more than 55 per cent of Idaho's total. The Federal Company was thus an important factor in the United States lead market, a factor which the major smelting concern in the United States—the American Smelting and Refining Company—could not afford to ignore. The only major mines in the Coeur d'Alenes not under the control of the Federal Company were the Hecla, the Hercules, and the Bunker Hill and Sullivan which remained independent. To avoid such formidable competition, the American Smelting Company bought control of the Federal Company in March, 1905.⁶³

When the American Smelting Company assumed control, Sweeny sold his stock in the Federal Company for a reported \$2,660,000. He continued as president, however, at a salary of \$50,000 a year until his retirement in 1909. Sweeny stated in 1905 that he had invested \$1,070,000 in Spokane, including business property, bank stock, and a residence. He owned the Exchange National Bank and Spokane National Bank buildings, the Great Western Lodging House, and the Rookery and Riverside buildings. He owned jointly with F. Lewis Clark of Spokane, his partner for some time, the Empire State building and the Spokane Club and Temple Court buildings. In addition, Sweeny was active in local and state Republican party activities and contributed money for financing Republican campaigns.⁶⁴

At the turn of the century, Spokane's influence in the great mining districts of the Inland Empire appeared to be waning. Although Spokane men were among the first to develop the mines of the Inland Empire and to reap the initial profits, they were unable to raise locally the enormous sums of capital necessary to exploit the mines fully. Such huge capital resources were not available in Spokane nor in fact in the entire region. Shortly after the sale of the Le Roi mine to large Canadian interests, the *Spokesman-Review* expressed relief that the

⁶¹ Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, Aug. 25, 26, 1903, July 23, 1916.

⁶² *Ibid.*, May 21, 1893, June 8, 1903, Oct. 8, 26, 1905, July 23, 1916.

⁶³ U.S. Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1904*, 261-62, 265. In 1904, 307,000 tons of lead were produced from domestic ores in the United States. Of this total, Idaho produced 108,854 tons. The major mines in the Coeur d'Alenes produced 107,349 tons of Idaho's total. The Coeur d'Alene output can be broken down as follows: Federal Company, 62,092 tons of lead-Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines, 30,718 tons; Hecla mine, 7,539 tons; and the Hercules mine, 7,000 tons. Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, March 29, 1905, July 23, 1916; U.S. Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1905* (Washington, D.C., 1906), 363. For a history of the development of the American Smelting and Refining Company, see T. A. Rickard, *History of American Mining* (New York, 1932), 125-27.

⁶⁴ Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, June 24, 1889, April 30, 1903, Nov. 4, 1904, May 12, 1905, July 27, 1907; Durham, *History of Spokane*, I, 524, 527.

⁶⁵ Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, May 14, 1898, March 16, 1899. Another indication of a lack of financial resources in Spokane and the Pacific Northwest was the statement in the U.S. Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1903* (Washington, D.C., 1904), 195, that out of 808 gold mines in the state of Washington, only 60 were productive and 748 were in the development or assessment stage. This clearly showed that the mining industry in Washington at this time was badly in need of investment capital to bring a majority of the claims to a productive stage.

⁶⁶ Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, Oct. 15, 1911.

mine had been sold. Even though the sale meant that Spokane men had relinquished control of an important mine, the editors believed that Spokane did not have the financial resources to risk in such large mining ventures as the Le Roi. Again, after the Republic mine was bought by eastern Canadian interests, the *Spokesman-Review* hailed the purchase as a great benefit to the Republic district, for it meant the introduction of capital resources sufficient for the fullest development of the mines located there.⁶⁵

Spokane financiers began to lose control in the mining districts in 1897, when the War Eagle mine was sold to the Gooderham-Blackstock syndicate. The exclusion process was essentially completed in 1905, when Charles Sweeny sold his interests in the Federal Company. Gigantic eastern American and Canadian corporations assumed control in the Coeur d'Alenes and in the Kootenay, and Spokane was relegated to the lesser role of supply center and local headquarters for the mining districts.

Spokane still served the mining areas after

1905, but on a lesser scale. Mining companies continued to make Spokane their headquarters, and dividends from Inland Empire mines still contributed substantially to the wealth of the city. In 1911 the editor of the *Spokesman-Review* observed that "between \$5,000,000 and \$8,000,000 is paid out annually to stockholders many of whom live in Spokane. . ."⁶⁶ The railroads continued to draw trade to Spokane, and the city's well-stocked wholesale houses remained important sources of supply for the mining districts. Prominent men in mining circles—George Turner, Jay P. Graves, Charles Sweeny, G. B. Dennis, John Finch, and others—continued to be influential in directing the business and civic affairs of the city. Imposing rows of office buildings, banks, theaters, and hotels, which had been built or purchased with the proceeds from the Bunker Hill and Sullivan, the Le Roi, the War Eagle, and the mines of Sweeny's Federal Company, lined the downtown streets of Spokane. The continuing impact of mining on Spokane was evident everywhere.

The Fragmented Metropolis

ROBERT FOGELSON's subject is the midportion of the history of Los Angeles, its 70th through 150th years, a period in which it rose from a little Spanish town to fourth in population among the nation's cities, in the opinion of the author, "the most extraordinary expansion in American urban history" (p. 1). Quantitatively, that growth has been dwarfed by what has happened in the following thirty-nine years, yet it is spectacular enough.

The introductory pages show less than complete understanding of the Spanish frontier method, the nature of the pueblo, why the site on the Los Angeles River was chosen, and the advantages this choice handed on to the American city. Fogelson takes the San Diego threat to usurp leadership more seriously than geography warrants. He correctly attributes subsequent development of Los Angeles to acquiring a railroad and a competing road, the health rush and the real estate boom, striking oil, adding a man-made harbor, bringing water from Owens Valley, being blessed by Pacific Electric, and obtaining some in-

dustry to go with the agriculture and trade for which momentum existed.

Fogelson's companion theme is the city's overpowering temptation to sprawl, which was induced by climate, the antics of the subdividers, and respect for earthquakes, and hastened by the plague of automobiles that choked off the big red cars and the smaller yellow trolleys. He writes principally about the city, which was not as coordinated as it might have been. The greater trouble, however, is with the metropolis, fragmented because it was never united.

Fogelson's notes and findings indicate that he examined a vast quantity of public and private records and reports, contemporary comments, and retrospective writings, including most of the major monographs and several dissertations. His method is to go behind such studies and cite the sources and the contemporary comment. He puts into the witness box a massive array of testifiers, more than anyone has heretofore marshaled for this eighty-year span of Los Angeles history. His book is also enhanced by period illustrations and excellent maps and charts.

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The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930. By ROBERT M. FOGELSON. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967. xv, 362 pp. \$11.95)