

BOOM AND BUST ON BALDY MOUNTAIN, NEW MEXICO

1864-1942

by

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STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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PREFACE

Historians of western America have devoted a great deal of attention to the mining of precious metals as an economic, political, and social factor in the development of the frontier. A large percentage of their research, however, has been concentrated in studies of the great "rushes" to California, Nevada, Colorado, Montana, Idaho, the Black Hills, and the Yukon. Remarkably little consideration has been given to the numerous lesser districts where mining was marginally profitable over a long period of time. The subject of this thesis is such a district.

The patterns of development in the Baldy Mountain district of northern New Mexico were typical. Easily located and inexpensively worked placer deposits provided the first gold. Then, as the rich gravel was depleted, lode mines were discovered and developed. The primitive arrastras which first extracted the precious metal from the ore slowly gave way to more complex and expensive mechanical devices. Thus the costs of mining rapidly increased, and larger amounts of investment capital were ever necessary. Informal partnerships and small companies were replaced by heavily capitalized corporations financed from outside the district.

In comparison with the renowned mining centers of the West, the Baldy Mountain area had little national economic significance. Its total production of gold over three-quarters of a century—estimated at seven to ten million dollars—was surpassed annually in many districts. Yet the discovery of placer gold in Willow Gulch in 1866 brought to a dramatic end the pastoral quietude of Lucien B. Maxwell's sprawling rancho on the Cimarron—the largest in the United States at that time. For the next seventy-five years the actual and anticipated treasure of Baldy Mountain lured thousands of people to New Mexico, added to its political prestige, and contributed to its financial well-being. A new county, towns, and roads were born out of the boom on Baldy Mountain. On its slopes a swarm of industrious miners and businessmen replaced the nomadic Indians, sedentary Mexicans, and complacent Americans of an earlier era.

The miners of Baldy Mountain faced problems common to all small mineral districts. Capital was always difficult to obtain, technical development was slow, and poor transportation facilities prevented efficient exploitation. How, it may be asked, was the district able to remain active for so long time in spite of consistently disappointing returns? Several reasons seem important. Scattered pockets of exceedingly rich ore, when found, produced sufficient wealth to keep eager prospectors working

at worthless claims in the hope of hitting a golden vein. And, even though an insufficient supply of water prevented large-scale placer mining in the district, there was enough water for profitable placering for a few months every spring. Finally, the insurmountable optimism of the American mineral seeker—that spirit which characterized the first prospector of 1866, the last promoter of 1942, and thousands of others in between—explains perhaps more fully than all other reasons why several generations of ingenious and persevering men lived and labored on the slopes of Baldy Mountain.

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Special thanks are also due to several persons who agreed to interviews, wrote letters, or otherwise provided particular material dealing with the Baldy Mountain mining district. Among these are Senator Clinton P. Anderson, Bill Brewster, the late Alvis F. Denison, Robert Evans, Floyd C. Fuller, Matt W. Gorman, Vernon Hansen, Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins, "Doc" and Vivian Leitzell, Penny Leitzell

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ABSTRACT

Colorful chunks of copper ore were discovered on the slopes of Baldy Mountain by Ute and Apache Indians in 1866. Men from nearby Fort Union found gold while searching for the copper mines and started a rush into the region. Initially activity centered in the Moreno Valley where placer mining flourished. Soon the towns of Elizabethtown and Virginia City were born there. In 1868 a rich lode mine, the Aztec, was discovered on the opposite side of Baldy; another town was founded and other miners set to work there.

In the seventy-five years that followed, Baldy Mountain mineral seekers struggled to keep their region active. To provide water, they built a great ditch system to transport water to the area; later they tried to use dredges which required less water. To operate lode mines profitably, they continually endeavored to discover rich ore, attract capital, and develop transportation facilities.

Finally, however, the efforts of prospector, promoter and capitalist failed. Many men did earn a living from the Baldy mines, but none ever became wealthy. Increased technology, higher costs, and poorer returns finally caused the suspension of activities in 1942.

CHAPTER I

RICHES ENCOUNTERED AND SECRETS DIVULGED

In the Cimarron Mountains of northern New Mexico, many shale-covered peaks tower over the dark spruce forests.¹ The highest of these is 12,441-foot Baldy Mountain.² Every spring its white snow cap gives birth to countless streams that rush downward, carving deeper the gullies in which they flow. To the west, the gulches called Humbug, Grouse, Nigger, and Willow mark historic paths into the broad, flat Moreno Valley, which separates the Cimarron range from the main Rocky Mountain chain. Ute, South Ponil, and Black Horse canyons provide southern and eastern paths to the plains, stretching out beyond the distant horizon.

Baldy Mountain once overlooked a prosperous mining community, but the men and women who lived and labored on

1. Many of the terms used here have been adopted by local residents through the years with little or no official sancation. Recently they have been recognized by G. D. Robinson, A. A. Wanek, W. H. Hays, and M. C. McCallum, Philmont Country: The Rocks and Landscape of a Famous New Mexico Ranch (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1964).

2. Early reports differed as to the altitude of the mountain. This is the most recent figure, appearing on the United States Geological Survey fifteen minute quadrangle map, "Ute Park," surveyed in 1955-56.

its slopes have departed for modern bonanzas in Albuquerque, Roswell, and Los Alamos to the south. Yet remnants of the past abound. Deep shafts honeycomb the mountain and the ridges that radiate from it; unnaturally piled stones give evidence of long-abandoned placer operations; decayed buildings stand vacant and uncared for. Out of the Baldy mining district vigorous men took seven million dollars' worth of gold within the last century. Now it is totally abandoned.

While the Baldy district boomed, many men attempted to explain the vast quantities of gold found inside the stark mountain. A Moreno Valley editor suggested fanciful possibilities: "Did the sun deposit his golden rays up there or the man in the moon weep golden tears and dry his eyes with this mountain peak?"³ Less romantic men developed more complex explanations. The mountains, they thought, constituted a great wrinkle which resulted from the cooling and shriveling of the earth. The movement bent an old ocean floor upward from the east, breaking or faulting the western side and causing a complex repetition of exposed layers of rock on that slope. The folded material was principally sedimentary: Dakota, Colorado, Montana, and Laramie type sandstones. Shales capped the upper elevations on the more

3. (Elizabethtown) New Mexican Miner, February 24, 1902, p. 1.

regular eastern side, only to be hidden by layers of laramie formation at lower levels. Dakota Sandstone rested beneath the shale, and a sheet of porphyry several hundred feet thick separated all these cretaceous, sedimentary formations from an underlying "basement" of older, pre-Cambrian origin. Minor faults or breaks rearranged the pattern and caused the surface appearances of all layers.⁴

4. L. C. Graton, "Colfax County," in Wedemar Lindgren, L. C. Graton, and C. H. Gordon, The Ore Deposits of New Mexico, United States Geological Survey Professional Paper 68 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1916), pp. 91-97, includes an excellent schematic diagram of the geologic structure of the district on page 93. See also G. D. Robinson, A. A. Waneck, W. H. Hays, and M. C. McCallum, Philmont Country: The Rocks and Landscape of a Famous New Mexico Ranch (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1964), 152 pp. Although organized poorly for the purposes of a detailed study of the Baldy area, this presents an excellent simplified picture of the geology of the region with quality maps and photographs. See Also Samuel G. Lasky and Thomas Peltier Wootton, The Metal Resources of New Mexico and Their Economic Features, New Mexico School of Mines Bulletin No. 7 (Socorro, N.M.: New Mexico School of Mines, 1933), pp. 40-43; Eugene O. Anderson, The Metal Resources of New Mexico and Their Economic Features through 1954, New Mexico School of Mines Bulletin No. 39 (Socorro, N.M.: New Mexico School of Mines, 1957), pp. 34-39; J. R. Finlay, Report of Mining Properties of New Mexico, 1921-22 (Santa Fe: Catholic Printing Company, 1922), pp. 69-70; L. L. Ray and J. F. Smith Jr., "Geology of the Moreno Valley, New Mexico," Geological Society of America Bulletin, Vol. 52, no. 2 (1941), pp. 177-210; and J. F. Smith Jr. and L. L. Ray, "Geology of the Cimarron Range, New Mexico," Geological Society of America Bulletin, Vol. 54 no. 7 (1943), pp. 891-924. New Mexico Bureau of Immigration, The Mines of New Mexico (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, n.d.), is less reliable. Fayette A. Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1904) has recently been reprinted with omissions as Old Mining Camps of New Mexico, 1854-1904 (Santa Fe: Stage Coach Press, 1964). It is very poorly organized and difficult to understand although interestingly written.

The richest lodes occurred where two types or layers of rock met; that is, where porphyry was in contact with Colorado or Montana shales, Montana with Laramie formations, and the like. At these junctures, where fracturing was facilitated, gold seeped into the open cracks. In most cases the gold deposits did not alter surrounding formations but left regular, well-defined veins. Only minor folds and breaks made it difficult to follow rich leads.⁵ In exceptional cases gold was found embedded within a shale layer. Iron, silver, and copper deposits were also unearthed in certain parts of the district where they were usually in contact formations where shales met porphyry.⁶ By the middle of the nineteenth century all geological upheavals had slowed. Men had moved into the area and settled down amidst the mountains.

In 1866 the territory of New Mexico remained much as it had been twenty years earlier when General Stephen Watts Kearny captured the Mexican province for the United States. The Civil War had affected the territory only to the extent that its residents profited from sales of supplies to soldiers on both sides. The more adventurous Americans within

5. Lindgren, Graton, and Gordon, The Ore Deposits of New Mexico, p. 95; Lasky and Wootton, Metal Resources, p. 41.

6. Lindgren, Graton, and Gordon, The Ore Deposits of New Mexico, p. 96.

New Mexico rushed into the Colorado gold fields in search of metallic fortunes; only the most complacent remained behind. In north-central New Mexico, scarcely south of the Colorado border, lay the agricultural empire of Lucien Bonaparte Maxwell, the largest landowner in the Southwest.⁷ Maxwell, of course, had no reason to stimulate activity or promote change. Hundreds of servile Mexican-Americans worked his fields and tended his flocks and herds while he lived in feudal splendor. Late in the 1850s he had moved his headquarters from old Rayado⁸ on the Santa Fe trail to the banks

7. His land was granted originally, with typically vague boundaries, to Carlos Beaubien, a French-Canadian operating a Taos store, and Guadalupe Miranda, an educated schoolmaster serving as the personal secretary to Governor Manuel Armijo of New Mexico, in 1841. Maxwell bought out the interests of the two men and their descendants to gain complete control of the grant. Finally surveyed, it contained 1,714,764 acres or nearly 2,680 square miles of land. A long legal fight between the Maxwell Land Grant Company, the most important of the foreign-owned corporations that controlled the grant, and the United States government over possession did not end until April of 1887 when the company's title was held valid by the United States Supreme Court. (121 U.S. 325). Numerous works detail the grant's long and complex history. Among these are Jim Berry Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), which emphasizes the business aspects of the region; F. Stanley [Francis Stanley Crochiola], The Grant that Maxwell Bought (Denver: World Press, 1952), which is very unreliable; and William A. Keleher, The Maxwell Land Grant: A New Mexico Item (Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1942). Harry G. Mc Gavran, M.D. is completing a work dealing with the early years of the grant and its inhabitants.

8. Maxwell had lived at Rayado since the late 1840s perhaps at times with his friend Christopher "Kit" Carson. A great deal of controversy surrounds this period in his life. W. Edmunds Claussen's articles—"Rayado Rancho," New

of the Cimarron River. The palatial home and outbuildings he constructed there provided the nucleus around which the town of Cimarron grew up. In 1864 he completed a large stone grist mill out of which his employees issued provisions to the Utes and Jicarilla Apaches in the area. Maxwell's government contracts for flour, beef, and other supplies for the natives provided him an additional income. Even the Indians caused little excitement on Maxwell's land. The natives were content to hunt and fish around their campsite in the big meadow where the Cimarron River and Ute Creek ran together.⁹

In Santa Fe, however, certain Americans were obviously dissatisfied with the economic stagnation in New Mexico. In 1866, a particularly slow year because of reduced military activity, John T. Russell, editor of the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, took notice of some gold and silver discoveries near the capital and urged the citizens of the territory to develop mining industries to counterbalance the

Mexico Magazine, March 1946, pp. 11-12 and "Kit Carson's Hospitality Headquarters," New Mexico Magazine, February 1950, pp. 11-12—were severely criticized by Mrs. P. M. Ruleau of Mountain View, Arkansas, in a letter to the editor of the magazine. She contradicted nearly all of Clausen's statements, which he based on material received from Philmont Scout Ranch, Boy Scouts of America, which owns the area today. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 11; Stanley, The Grant that Maxwell Bought, pp. 21-23.

9. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 3-16.

decline in other business ventures.¹⁰

Heretofore, there has been but little inducement to lead our people into this line of business. Other occupations have been so lucrative to almost every person of business qualifications that the prospect of making large earnings in the mines has not been able to divert labor, enterprise and capital to that branch of industry.... Business in all departments... is exceedingly dull, and no person is reaping large profits.... Hence time and attention may be advantageously given to the mining interests of our neighborhood, with the prospect of success ahead.¹¹

A month later Russell drew his reader's attention to the value of gold in the promotion of immigration to the region. Just as California, Colorado, and Montana had prospered from gold rushes, New Mexico might also. "Marvelous" tales, designed to "excite the capidity [sic] of the avaricious," would fail; legitimate discoveries would bring increased prosperity.¹² Russell's exhortations bore fruit just over a year later. The discovery of copper on the Maxwell grant was to set off a chain of events that would bring miners and settlers flocking into the territory from all over the west.

10. Although numerous gold and silver mines had been worked in New Mexico during the Spanish and Mexican periods, little mining was done by the Americans during the first years of occupation. Starting about 1866 numerous new mining operations started up around Santa Fe. These are usually referred to as the Old and New Placers. Other mining activity was carried out in the southern part of the territory. Warren A. Beck, New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), pp. 245-54, superficially discusses New Mexican mining.

11. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, April 21, 1866, p. 2.

12. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, May 12, 1866, p. 2.

The Utes and Jicarilla Apaches camped along the Cimarron River were never satisfied with the meager government dole from Maxwell's mill. Instead they roamed the slopes of Baldy Mountain, as they always had, in search of game. When a party of Indian hunters found a hillside covered with colorful lumps of copper float,¹³ several of them gathered the "pretty rock." A number of soldiers from Fort Union¹⁴ who were investigating Indian attacks on livestock in the vicinity of Maxwell's ranch probably heard of the discovery and saw the ore. With the Civil War over the men realized that they would shortly be mustered out of the service and reasoned that a copper mine could make them rich. Many showed considerable interest. William H. Moore

13. Copper float is vein material found on the surface, usually downstream or down hill from the outcropping. American Geological Institute, The Dictionary of Geological Terms (New York: Dolphin Books, 1962), p. 184.

It is impossible for the author to explain with any detail the numerous mining terms which will necessarily creep into his story. The best comprehensive layman's account of these is found in Muriel S. Wolle, The Bonanza Trail (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1953), pp. 12-16 and 477-82.

14. Fort Union was established by Colonel E. V. Sumner in 1851 to protect the Santa Fe trail from Indian attacks. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War it became the principal supply depot for the territories of Colorado and New Mexico. For many years after the war it was the principal supply depot for the southwest. Union was abandoned in 1890 and relinquished as a military garrison April 4, 1894. A very recent and detailed history of the fort is Chris Emmett, Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 436 pp. Less complete is James W. Arrott, Arrott's Brief History of Fort Union (Las Vegas, N.M.: n.p., 1962), 20 pp.

and others from the fort paid the Indians for the rock and sent one man off with a native to locate the source of the copper. The two had climbed nearly to the top of Mount Baldy before they found the slope, thickly blanketed with ore. The white man laid out a claim, known afterward as the "Copper Mine" or "Mystic Lode," jotted down its location, and raced back to tell Moore and the others of the discovery.¹⁵

15. The most often accepted story of the discovery of copper is that the Indians took the rocks they found to Fort Union where they traded them with soldiers who then sent an unnamed man back to the mountain. Letters in the National Archives, as collected by James W. Arrott and on file at New Mexico Highlands University, indicate that a group of soldiers from Company F, United States Third Cavalry under 1st Lieutenant George J. Campbell were ordered to Maxwell's on August 16, 1866. (Special Orders No. 26, District of New Mexico Orders Vol. 41, pp. 125-27). Other correspondence relative to the soldiers may be found in Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received from New Mexico Superintendency, 1867, Microcopy No. 234, Roll 554, National Archives. It seems reasonable that the Indians would have had much closer association with these men and that the group on the scene would have learned of the copper before those at the fort, nearly a hundred miles distant. There is no mention of early copper or gold discoveries in the military or Indian superintendency correspondence.

Professor Pearson was told by George W. Moore, son of William H. Moore, that an Indian was found dying and wounded by his father. In exchange for water and treatment at Fort Union, the Indian led Moore and a small party of soldiers to the peak. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 16. The more acceptable version, except for the location of the soldiers, appears in its fullest form in History of New Mexico: Its Resources and People (3 vols., Chicago and New York: Pacific States Publishing Company, 1907), II, p. 954. An earlier sketch is in Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals, p. 141. Charles A. Chase and Douglas Muir, "The Aztec Mine, Baldy, New Mexico," American Institute of Mining Engineers Transactions, Vol. LVIII (1923) p. 270, states that copper was first found in 1865 and

This report, together with the samples of float brought down to the post, further excited the Fort Union men. Moore, William H. Kroenig, and several other men became the leaders of the copper mining interests. They ordered Larry Bronson, Pete Kinsinger, and a man named Kelley¹⁶ back to Baldy in October of 1866 to do necessary assessment work and to start uncovering ore for shipment. Leaving the fort one morning, the three traveled to Cimarron, continued west through the narrow Cimarron River Canyon, and turned into the Moreno Valley. From there they climbed northward up Willow Creek, the southernmost stream flowing off the western side of Baldy. It was late afternoon when they arrived near the top. Rather than start work so late in the day, the men decided to set up a camp and spend the night. Bronson and Kinsinger cooked supper while Kelley, who had nothing assigned to do, took a gold pan from his pack and carelessly washed some creek gravel in it. Before long he ran to the cooks, showing them the fold flakes he had found in the pan. All supper plans were abandoned. The trio picked up tools and set to work in the stream bed.

development work begun the following year. This is probably incorrect. Although there is no evidence as to exactly when the initial discovery was made, most sources agree that it was during the summer of 1866, with development work starting in October of that year.

16. Despite persistent efforts by several historians, including Pearson and Emmett, Kelley's first name remains unknown.

Thoughts of a copper bananza were forgotten during the next few days as the three explored their private gold field, digging exploratory trenches, working gravel beds, and chipping away at likely looking rocks. Since they knew it was too late in the season for extensive operations, each swore to say nothing of the discovery until spring when they expected to return to a carefully marked tree under which they had camped, lay out claims, and make themselves rich.¹⁷ Retreating from the mountain late in the fall of

17. Several sources indicate that there were earlier gold discoveries in the area by Spaniards or Mexicans. Among these is Rossiter W. Raymond, Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 388, (hereafter referred to as 1869 Report). He reported that piles of stones found on Ponil Creek were said "to be the remains of ancient washings by the Spaniards or Mexicans." The Mining and Scientific Press asserted that the Spanish carried out placer operations in the district early "as 1640 and for forty years thereafter" which seems somewhat incredible. Mining and Scientific Press (San Francisco), March 6, 1897, p. 195. W. Edmunds Claussen reported diggings of a very crude nature in the area, containing three more than four hundred years old; he also suspected that Maxwell received royalties from there as early as 1862. It is entirely possible that there was some basis to these stories. See "Gold in every Gulch," New Mexico Magazine, April 1948, pp. 18-19, 46-47. Possibly the trio had heard tales of early gold in the area and took along a supply of gold pans to check out the story.

Several other accounts differ in the details of the discovery. After an early inspection trip to the mines Governor R. B. Mitchell and Chief Justice John P. Slough reported that the "first discovery of gold was made in the month of may last," (1867). Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, November 30, 1867. Another letter to the paper reported the discovery as having occurred in March of 1867, made "by a group of enterprising miners that happened to be prospecting in the said locality." Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 29, 1867, p. 2.

The traditional view is supported by Raymond, 1869

1866, they were certain of the riches beneath them. There was gold on Baldy Mountain.

The three discoverers, seething with excitement over their find, could never have kept their secrets. Within weeks after their return everyone at the fort had heard their story. Some especially anxious men may even have left the fort and spent the winter prospecting and mining on the still snow-covered mountain.¹⁸ Hundreds more saw the coarse gold flakes taken from Baldy; each told a few close friends, and soon the southern Rockies echoed with news of the gold strike on the Maxwell grant. By 1867 the Colorado gold rush had collapsed.¹⁹ Thousands of Pike's Peak miners making unsatisfactory returns from poor claims and unable to find work were ready to move on. Many packed their shovels and pans and headed southward. Uncle Dick Wootton, whose toll gate in Raton Pass blocked the path, graciously collected fees from the miners who tramped toward

Report, not published till a year later, and by a letter written by M. Bloomfield, a resident of the mining region and printed in the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 20, 1868. p. 2. Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals, p. 141, and History of New Mexico, II, p. 954, elaborate and color Raymond's early account. Pearson accepted the story without question, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 16-17.

18. (Santa Fe) New Mexican, June 8, 1867, reported "sixty men kept steadily at work all winter prospecting and mining with good results." No other source makes mention of the winter work.

19. Rodman W. Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880 (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1963), pp. 120-21.

Cimarron.²⁰ By early June 300 men had left their posts at Fort Union to head for the gold fields.²¹ Miners had crowded around Maxwell's mansion even before the snows stopped falling. With the first warm rays of the spring sun they flooded the new El Dorado, taking up claims and washing out gold. Surely, declared one miner, northern New Mexico would be "another California."

The discoverers themselves came back to Willow Creek in the spring of 1867 to find many other prospectors already at work. Larry Bronson brought three partners with him. Calling themselves "Arthur & Company," the men laid off five 200-foot claims from "discovery tree" where they had camped the previous fall.²² The company took out fourteen ounces of gold during the summer, then decided to go ahead with bigger plans and contracted to secure water from Bear and Willow Gulches.²³ Matthew Lynch²⁴ and Tim

20. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 17.

21. New Mexican, June 8, 1867, p. 2.

22. History of New Mexico, II, 954; Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals, p. 142, and Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 17-18.

23. Raymond, 1869 Report, p. 389, says that by April 1868 Arthur & Company had spent \$14,000 in opening claims, building ditches, reservoirs, and houses. In addition they had purchased a 600-foot hill claim from Lucien B. Maxwell for \$1,500.

24. Lynch emigrated from Ireland to New Mexico where he was given a grubstake by Lucien Maxwell. He apparently prospected for a short time, then went to California,

Foley, who would play important roles in the camp, arrived early in the spring, staked claims, and set to work.²⁵

While reports circulated that one group, the Idaho Company, had found "dirt" yielding thirty-five cents to the pan and that Arthur & Company had a layer of gravel eight feet thick that paid \$1.75 to the pan,²⁶ a disheartened prospector reported that the best "prospect" he had seen was "no more than fifteen cents to the pan." Dissatisfied with such second-hand information, the owner of the Tremont House in Denver, who had given "Outfit" and "grub" to several miners, visited the mines personally. After examining the entire length of Willow Gulch, he declared the diggings to be "as rich as any yet struck on the North American continent." His small investment by itself would yield him \$50 a day.²⁷

returning to New Mexico only after "researching among the mineral mountains" of the West. He was a resident of the district and ran prosperous hydraulicking operations until his death in 1880. Las Vegas Daily Optic, September 22, 1881, p. 1, and September 23, 1881, p. 1, and History of New Mexico, II, 956.

25. Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals, p. 142.

26. Other companies reported from fifteen to fifty cents per pan. The evaluation method indicates that this most primitive mining method prevailed at least through the first season. Mining and Scientific Press, February 8, 1868, p. 87, from Denver News, January 15, 1868.

27. The visitor, named Powers, returned home where his story appeared in the Denver Gazette. It was reprinted in the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, February 15, 1868, p. 2, with additional comments. Editor Russell of Santa Fe was particularly pleased with the Denver paper's prediction that "the days of California, Idaho, and Montana... [would] repeat themselves in New Mexico."

News like this drew even more miners into the district. Before long seventeen companies had staked claims along Willow Creek, and prospectors overflowed into the gullies on the western slopes of Baldy Mountain. A second Fort Union group, the Michigan Company, found gold in the flats of the Moreno Valley.²⁸ Tom Lowthian, Dick Turpin, and Jack Sherman had already staked claims in Grouse Gulch when the Michigan boys moved in to locate eight more claims there. Pete Kinsinger, one of the original discoverers, joined Lowthian and Colonel E. H. Bergmann, a Union commander during the Civil War,²⁹ on Spanish Bar at the mouth of Grouse Gulch. They may have been the first to extract gold by hydraulic methods.³⁰ Other miners laid out their claims

28. Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals, p. 142.

29. Bergmann joined the New Mexico volunteers at the start of the Civil War, served as commander of the 1st New Mexico cavalry and commanded Fort Bascom during 1864. F. Stanley [Francis Stanley Crochiola], Fort Union (Denver World Press, n.d.); Bergmann himself testified years later that he had built Fort Bascom, commanded it for four years and been mustered out as a lieutenant Colonel. Daily New Mexican, May 24, 1899, p. 4. A more objective view of that post's history is James M. Foster, Jr., "Fort Bascom, New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. XXV (1960), pp. 30-62.

30. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, November 30, 1867, p. 2. History of New Mexico, p. 697, and Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals, pp. 142-43 all contain essentially the same information. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 20, adds that Lowthian used a rubber hose to work his gravel, making him the first hydraulic operator in the district. In hydraulicking, water under pressure is directed by a powerful nozzle onto a bank of gravel. As the rock, dirt, and water wash off the hillside, they are funnelled into a long

in Nigger, Mills, California, and Mexican Gulches which ran off the western slopes of the big brown mountain and into the Moreno Valley.

The miners in that valley soon realized that some organized government was absolutely necessary to provide for the lawful location and working of their claims.³¹ One trip to the sleepy Mexican hamlet designated as the seat of Mora County³² convinced the men that they would have to

wooden box with slats (riffles) across the bottom, called a sluice box. Any gold that is washed from the hillside gravitates to the bottom and is caught by the riffles or by quicksilver added to some of the boxes. William S. Greever, The Bonanza West: The Story of the Western Mining Rushes, 1848-1900 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 50.

31. Jim Dan Hill, "The Early Mining Camp in American Life," Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 1 (1942), pp. 295-302, discussed the general characteristics of mining camp constitutions and by-laws. He notes particularly that most of these documents followed the same general outline even though widely separated in time and space. The regulations adopted in the Cimarron District are similar to those described by Hill, with one major exception. Since this district was in an already established political area, the miners did not establish criminal and civil regulations. Rather, they believed, perhaps wrongly, that the officials of the territory would assume responsibility there.

32. The district was originally a part of Taos County, created in 1844 to include all of northern New Mexico, from California to Texas. February 1, 1860, Mora County was created from that part of Taos lying east of the Taos Mountains in the Sangre de Cristo Range. Charles F. Coan, A History of New Mexico (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1925), Vol. I, p. 356. Rev. J. B. Salpointe was assigned to Mora Parish in October 1860 and reported some of his difficulties in that area in Soldiers of the Cross, Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New-Mexico Arizona and Colorado (Downey, Calif.: St. Boniface's Industrial School, 1898), pp. 234-41.

provide their own administration. As a result, the miners of the area met on May 13, 1867, under the leadership of the Michigan Company. John Codlin from Fort Union served as chairman of the meeting which proceeded to organize the district.³³ A committee drew up the constitution which the men approved. It laid down sizes for lodes and placer mines and requirements as to how much work was necessary to keep a claim active. To assure that accurate records were kept, the men elected William O'Neill as recorder. He was to serve for two years, filing mining notices, water and timber rights, bills of sale and deeds. To prevent underhanded activities, the prospectors demanded that his books be open to examination. The meeting finally moved that its minutes be published in the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette so that the whole territory would be informed of the activities on Baldy Mountain.³⁴

The old settled towns of the territory showed little interest in the mining boom even when they learned of it. The people of Taos, just a few miles west of the discovery

33. The district included only the Moreno Valley area. It started at the headwaters of the Moreno River, called the northeast fork of the Cimarron River, followed the Taos Mountains southward to "Maxwel's canon" [sic] (Cimarron Canyon) and returned northward along the summit of the Cimarron or Baldy range. The Ute Creek area, which was to gain importance in later years, was not included.

34. The notice appeared in an advertising column and was apparently paid for by the miners. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 1, 1867, p. 2.

site, were never enthusiastic. Only after they were certain that there was gold in the area did many, "aroused by their sense of duty," set off on an investigation tour of the fields.³⁵ Santa Fe was even more reluctant. On June 1, Russell's Gazette published the constitution and by-laws of the Cimarron Mining District.³⁶ The following week the same paper announced "some startling intelligence" in regard to the discovery of gold near Maxwell's ranch.³⁷ The New Mexican, the capital city's old Republican stalward, "placed no confidence in flying reports" of gold until "several gentlemen" from Santa Fe visited the diggings and reported them "as rich as any in California."³⁸ But the mining leaders of that golden state were not about to welcome New Mexico into the fraternity of gold producers without some

35. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 29, 1867, p. 2. The first letter-writing visitor's interests may have been more than patriotic. He made a thorough investigation of the area, then wrote Russell, asking him to publish the letter in a "conspicuous place" and suggesting that the miners give their business to Taos merchants.

36. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 1, 1867, p. 2.

37. Even on June 8, 1867, the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette refused to express "an opinion in regard to the matter" of gold discoveries until additional information had been received. The extreme reluctance of these Santa Fe papers to advertize the diggings very definitely retarded initial developments.

38. Although the paper reported the discoveries as "new gold diggings and rich quartz lodes" it is improbable that extensive quartz mining had been carried out at such an early date. Only early exploratory work had been undertaken on the Copper Lode. New Mexican, June 8, 1867, p. 2.

real evidence of its richness. Not until January 11, 1868, did the leading technical journal of the West, the Mining and Scientific Press,³⁹ announce to its readers across the nation that there was "a great rush just now to the new diggings at Cimarron, New Mexico."⁴⁰ With that statement the district came of age.

During the summer of 1867 local people became certain that the area would have enduring importance and commenced development work. Miners demanded better routes through the narrow Cimarron River canyon separating Maxwell's ranch from the mining valley. Plans were laid that summer to improve the road at a cost of three or four thousand dollars.⁴¹

39. The Mining and Scientific Press was published weekly in San Francisco from 1860 until 1922, with slightly variant titles. Rodman W. Paul, in California Gold: The Beginning of Mining in the Far West (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), p. 355, calls this publication "the most important single source of mining history." Additional data on the journal may be found in Ethel Bluman and Mabel W. Thomas (eds.), California Local History: A Centennial Bibliography (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1950), No. 5050, p. 473.

40. The Mining and Scientific Press never sent a correspondent to cover the district personally, though the paper did do extensive articles with pictures or sketches of many mines around Santa Fe and throughout Colorado. Instead it picked up articles from Denver, Santa Fe, Cimarron, or Elizabethtown and reprinted them. This first item was taken from the Denver News, December 18, 1867, and appeared in the Mining and Scientific Press, January 11, 1868, p. 22.

41. After travelling over the road, J. M. Tierran wrote from the Willow Creek Mining District to Major B. C. Cutler of Las Vegas demanding an improved road and anticipating the construction of one. It was subsequently

More immediately important to placer miners was the development of an adequate supply of water. Although the slopes of the mountain were evidently exceedingly rich, large quantities of water were needed before the district could be made productive. Anticipating the impending water shortages, one company had a ten-mile ditch⁴² well under way by early June.⁴³ It was to collect water from high mountain streams and carry it via flumes and ditches to the mining operations below Baldy. A second project six miles in length and built to carry 2,000 miner's inches⁴⁴ of water was scheduled to be completed in the middle of August. A consolidated company, made up of "the most enterprising men...reputed for their honesty and integrity," started a third ditch to carry water four miles from the upper reaches of the Moreno

reprinted in the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, August 3, 1867, p. 2.

42. Because of haphazard references in the contemporary sources, it is impossible to identify many of these ditches with more specific data.

43. As completion of this ditch was expected by late July, it probably traversed relatively easy terrain as did most of those constructed the first summer. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, July 6, 1867, p. 2.

44. The term "miner's inch" was used as a measure of water in most districts, with the amount varying widely from place to place. Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals, p. 144, defined the amount as "that quantity of water which will flow through an orifice one inch square, where the head at the center of the orifice is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches." He calculated that this would amount to 1.53 cubic feet per minute.

and Mills Creeks to placer operations lower down in the Moreno Valley.⁴⁵

All the construction of flumes, sluice boxes, and living quarters increased the demand for lumber throughout the district. A man named Bourgh⁴⁶ erected the first sawmill, got up a "full head of steam," and set about "ripping out" three thousand feet of lumber per day. Even at fifty dollars per thousand feet, he disposed of all he could produce.⁴⁷ By fall William Kroenig and Lucien B. Maxwell also had sawmills in operation within the district.⁴⁸

Much of the lumber produced went into the construction of a little town overlooking the Moreno River. During the first summer William H. Moore, George Buck, and other pioneer miners asked T. G. Rowe to survey a town site, laying out blocks of lots in checkerboard fashion with wide avenues between them. The local citizens paid tribute to

45. The ditch was to be five feet wide, three feet deep, and carry 2,000 inches of water. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, July 13, 1867, p. 2.

46. A man called "Berk" from Coyote took a sawmill to the mines in late June. This is probably the same man here identified as "Bourgh," Loc. cit.

47. Loc. cit.

48. Two miners reported the price at \$50 per thousand on July 10, 1867. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, July 13, 1867, p. 2, and July 20, 1867, p. 2. By the following April prices had fallen to \$35 per thousand. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, April 18, 1868, p. 2. By fall the price had risen to \$40 to \$45 per thousand delivered. Daily New Mexican, November 20, 1868, p. 2.

Moore, who had been instrumental in organizing the early Fort Union interests, by naming the city "Elizabethtown" after his daughter.⁴⁹ Before long a village was rising up in the wilderness.⁵⁰ By June there were five small mercantile businesses—together equal to "half a country store,"—selling supplies to the prospectors.⁵¹ A month later twenty buildings were completed and that many more were under construction.⁵²

Activity in the lively camp⁵³ diminished during the winter when freezing weather and water shortages ended sluicing operations. While some miners left for bigger towns to await spring,⁵⁴ others remained. Especially popular

November 20, 1868, p. 2.

49. No contemporary evidence on the establishment of Elizabethtown has been found. The information in Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals, p. 144, apparently came from either an interview with Mrs. Joseph Lowry, who is alluded to, or from a pamphlet published by the New Mexican Miner in Elizabethtown in 1902. Designed as a promotional tract it was called Souvenir of the Great Elizabethtown Gold and Copper Mining District; Pearson gives the same information in The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 23.

50. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, July 13, 1867, p. 2.

51. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 29, 1867, p. 2.

52. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, July 13, 1867, p. 2.

53. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, July 30, 1867, p. 2.

54. Despite the cold weather, miners arriving as late as Christmas were out on the mountain prospecting. Mining and Scientific Press, January 18, 1868, p. 39, from Denver News, December 25, 1867.

were buildings like the May Flower Saloon where the cold miners warmed "the inner as well as the outer man."⁵⁵

"That house across the street," with its "two smiling faces," was particularly inviting to many. "You will be richer in pocket, better in health and wiser [in] mind," warned an oldster, if you stay away from there.⁵⁶ Most miners paid little attention to such advice. They were too excited about mining prospects to contemplate moral questions.

By the end of the season, an air of enthusiasm hung over the New Mexican district. Most miners who stayed during the first winter were optimistic. Their wait would pay off when the snows melted in the spring when streams of water would once again come cascading down off the mountain.⁵⁷ The prospectors took out little actual gold during 1867. They had scarcely scratched the hardrock interior of Baldy. Men needed time, capital, and heavy equipment to explore and develop quartz lodes. Mining companies had only temporarily

55. The same writer offered to introduce the new miners to "Mike D." who would "accommodate all the new comers with a little amusement" for the drinks. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, February 13, 1868, p. 4.

56. Numerous other sources of entertainment were available that winter. The Arbor Saloon, a billiard parlor, and gambling houses where a miner could "deposit all his hard earnings of weeks in a few hours" were popular. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, April 18, 1868, p. 2.

57. Loc. cit.

solved the persistent problem of securing a sufficient water supply for full-scale hydraulic operations. Yet, while less than \$100,000 in gold left the Moreno Valley during the first hard summer,⁵⁷ the year constituted a successful foundation for later developments. News of the discoveries spread and new miners came to the valley every day. Prospectors had explored the placer grounds and found rich new deposits; they had laid out a town and opened stores to supply an increased population. Most important, investors in the region had heard of the area and slowly come to show an interest in it. All these factors would merge to make the Baldy district a real El Dorado of New Mexico during 1868.

57. No accurate statistics on gold production were kept. M. Bloomfield, the E-town merchant who kept Rossiter W. Raymond, Commissioner of Mining Statistics in Washington informed and served generally to promote the region underestimated production at "nor more than thirty or thirty-five thousand dollars." Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 20, 1868, p. 2. Other reports credited a Colorado group with taking out \$40,000 in three months from Last Chance Gulch. Mining and Scientific Press, January 11, 1868, p. 22. A Mr. Robinson and four others claimed to have gotten \$55,000 by November 20, 1867. Mining and Scientific Press, February 8, 1868, p. 41. Assuming the last two statements to be greatly exaggerated, the estimate of \$100,000 seems reasonable.

CHAPTER II

LUCIEN B. MAXWELL: MORENO VALLEY BENEFACTOR

Most of the early miners on Baldy mountain worried little that they were on Lucien B. Maxwell's land, if indeed they were aware of the fact. Certainly the owner had done nothing to draw their attention to the status of the district. He was friendly to the miners as they passed through Cimarron, and more than once he offered lodging in his great adobe house or a grubstake to get started on. There were, however, limits to his hospitality. When one prospecting company tried to cross the mountains and locate a ditch and claim sites along the Ute Creek, Maxwell ran them out. The intruders were little impressed by their eviction, claimed "miner's priviledges" under United States law, and vowed to return.¹ In addition to knowing him as landlord, however, many of the miners in the Moreno Valley came to look on L. B. Maxwell as their benefactor during 1868. The moral and financial support which he lent to several projects did much that year to develop the district.

1. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, July 13, 1867, p. 2. The legal rights of miners on land grant holdings were not clearly defined. These would not be decided in the courts for many years. There was no additional trouble reported between Maxwell and the miners over entrance into the Ute Creek region at this time however.

During the winter of 1867-68 the Cimarron land baron determined to profit from his holdings, and he sent his old friend Colonel J. D. Henderson, who had once served as temporary agent to the Utes and Jicarillas, out to lease claims to the miners.² His supporters insisted that Maxwell's desire to encourage the settlement of the country was demonstrated in his "usual liberality" in negotiating agreements.³ For periods of one to ten years, a miner could lease a plot 500 feet square for one dollar per month.⁴ The miners were quite willing to deal with Maxwell and by February his agents had leased 1,280 claims.⁵

Late in 1867 Maxwell set about on another but less successful profit-making scheme. He joined some of the most prominent men in the territory in a plan to promote the development of a second town in the Moreno Valley, to

2. Keleher, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 54.

3. The letter cited was written from a report given editor Russell by Governor Robert Mitchell and Chief Justice John P. Slough who had just arranged with Maxwell to sell lots in the Virginia City townsite. This may account for the glowing description of the Cimarron land owner. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, November 30, 1867, p. 2.

4. The rates were quoted elsewhere at two dollars per month for claims of "two hundred feet." Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, January 18, 1868, p. 2.

5. Mining and Scientific Press, February 29, 1868, p. 135. Pearson in The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 22, asserts that only twenty-seven claims were filed in the Colfax County record books. Since Colfax County was not created until January 25, 1869, his note seems irrelevant.

be called "Virginia City" after Maxwell's daughter.⁶ Governor Robert B. Mitchell of New Mexico,⁷ William Kroenig and William H. Moore of Fort Union, the Indian agent E. J. Henderson, Charles F. Holly,⁸ Henry Hooper,⁹ and others were associated with the land owner. Another partner, Chief Justice John P. Slough of the territorial supreme court, was

6. Virginia Maxwell did not always act to suit her demanding father and caused him much grief in later years. She was raised in the splendid seclusion of the Cimarron home and educated at convents in Trinidad, Colorado, and St. Louis. When she returned to New Mexico, the girl met and fell in love with Capt. Alex S. B. Keyes, Cimarron Indian agent. They were secretly married on March 30, 1870, and fled the territory. Both Virginia and her husband died in San Francisco where they were buried. F. Stanley [Francis Stanley Crochiola], One Half Mile from Heaven of the Cimarron Story (Denver: World Press, 1959), pp. 28-29. Letters from Keyes in the National Archives make no mention of the romance and indicate that Keyes was transferred at his own request through regular channels to Fort Sill, Indian Territory.

7. Mitchell was born in Ohio in 1823. After studying law and serving as mayor of a small Ohio town, he went to Kansas in 1856 to promote free-soil interests. He served two sessions in the Kansas legislature before joining the Union army in the Civil War. Wounded after two weeks of duty, he recovered sufficiently to serve in several important campaigns. After the war he commanded military districts in Kansas and Nebraska before being appointed as governor of New Mexico in 1866. He remained in the territory until 1869 and died in Washington D.C. thirteen years later. National Cyclopaedia of American Biography (New York: James T. White Company, 1936), Vol. XXV, pp. 94-95.

8. Holly was an important Colorado mining promoter and lawyer who also served as speaker of the first Colorado legislature. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 49.

9. Hooper and Holly became closer friends of Maxwell and both served in the First National Bank of Santa Fe, founded by the Cimarron Land owner in 1870. Keleher, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 36.

killed before the project got under way.¹⁰ They selected a site in the lower Moreno Valley, close to its intersection with the Cimarron Canyon and south of Elizabethtown, already known to all as "E-town." After having four hundred lots surveyed, the promoters planned to sell these at public auction starting January 6, 1868. Ignoring Elizabethtown, they assured prospective buyers that Maxwell's holdings were "so extensive as to preclude the idea of a rival town."¹¹ By New Year's Day, hopes were high. Many miners had made inquiries about lots, and some ambitious ones had even purchased lumber so they could start construction immediately

10. Slough was born in Cincinnati and studied law there before moving to Kansas, where he was defeated in his candidacy for governor on the Democratic ticket in 1857. In 1860 he went to Colorado where he helped raise a regiment of volunteers which he led south to New Mexico in 1862. Slough resigned his command in early April of 1862 when General E. R. S. Canby ordered him not to pursue John R. Baylor's retreating Confederate troops. After Slough's resignation, the Rev. John A. Chivington took command of the Colorado volunteers and made himself famous leading them at the battle of Glorietta Pass. After the war, President Andrew Johnson appointed Slough as Chief Justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court. Upon his return to Santa Fe from a visit to the mines, Slough found himself being verbally attacked in the legislature by W. L. Rynerson. On December 17, 1867, Rynerson assassinated the chief justice in Santa Fe. William A. Keleher, Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-68 (Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1953), p. 204, and H. H. Bancroft, The History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), p. 697 and 723 reprinted with introductory additions (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1962).

11. The Advertisement and a notice explaining the enterprise appeared in the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, November 30, 1867, p. 2. Editor Russell assured his readers that with "enterprise, capital, and energy, backed with population, rich mines and...lands," Virginia City had to succeed.

after sales opened. Fully a hundred houses and two thousand inhabitants were expected by spring.¹² Plans were initiated for a local newspaper to be published by two Colorado men.¹³

The whole project was a failure. Shortly after the auction got under way, promoters boasted of room enough to build a town "as large as any other Virginia City in any other mining district;" yet the tract contained but one tent—a sales office.¹⁴ Forty houses were expected by mid-March,¹⁵ but only fifteen, half with roofs, were started by then.¹⁶ The wide streets of the town were neatly lettered and numbered; one store looked out onto them. There were no other facilities, and the population dwindled. By June fifty people called the little village their home;¹⁷

12. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, January 1, 1868, p. 2. The letter was from Virginia City and probably represented an attempt to revive interest in the sagging project.

p. 2. 13. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, January 18, 1868,

p. 4. 14. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, February 7, 1868,

p. 2. 15. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, February 29, 1868,

16. The letter continued sarcastically: "There is one store here, but no hotel, stable, restaurant, or barber-shop to greet the weary traveler, but after diligent search you can find some corner to sleep in, while your poor animal stands in two foot snow, with no hay and only a quart or two of bad corn." Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, April 18, 1868, p. 2.

17. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 27, 1868, p. 2, quoting from Rocky Mountain Herald.

two weeks later it was almost completely "played out."¹⁸

The promises of increased population and activity for the district provoked cries for improved facilities. Whether the whole district were on Maxwell's private land or not, the more vocal citizens insisted that it should be helped out by the government. One resident appealed to Charles P. Clever territorial delegate to Congress and part-owner of the Gazette,¹⁹ denouncing the "pony express" that carried letters from Cimarron at "ten bits" each and demanding that a mail route be established into the Moreno

18. Daily New Mexican, July 14, 1868, p. 1. The New Mexican became a daily July 9, 1868, when the telegraph lines were completed into the territorial capital. At the same time it increased coverage from the mines. Never a supporter of Slough, Mitchell, the Gazette, or President Johnson, the radically Republican paper loved to ridicule Virginia City. Two weeks before this letter appeared, the weekly printed a correspondent's report announcing the death of the little town: "Virginia City moved up here yesterday," reported the writer from Elizabethtown, "came up on a burro; says it is too lonesome down there and can't stand it; had to go three miles to speak to anyone, so it concluded to come up here." Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 25, from the New Mexican, June 23, 1868, p. 2.

19. Charles P. Clever was a Prussian who immigrated to the United States in 1848. By 1850 he had settled in Santa Fe where he was active in the trading business. In 1857 he bought an interest in the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette which was to become his political mouthpiece. Clever practiced law in the territory and was appointed United States Marshal and census enumerator in 1861. He served on General Canby's staff during the war and first ran for delegate in 1867. Thinking he had been elected, Clever served in Congress until February 20, 1869, when a Republican, J. Francisco Chavez, was seated in his place. Clever returned to New Mexico where he died in 1874. Biographical Directory of the American Congress: 1774-1961 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 205.

Valley. Turning his attention to the question of representation, the writer continued: "I hope the legislature will wake up from its 'Rip Van Winkle' slumber, throw off its partisan character and give us a new county" or "at least two precincts to make it easier to transact legal business."²⁰

Although better government would have to wait another year, the mail service was greatly improved when a stage line inaugurated tri-weekly runs between Maxwell's ranch and the Moreno mines on January 15, 1868. When the owner of the line, V. S. Shelby of Santa Fe, promised "utmost attention...to the comfort of the passengers,"²¹ some miners were reminded of the rich investors who could now travel to the district in luxury; others preferred to imagine lovely women stepping out of these carriages. "With a Concord coach for a conveyance," one miner declared, "we will expect them."²² The line was so prosperous during the spring of 1868, that daily service was started on July 1.²³ Anyone

20. In addition the writer reiterated the cry for improvements on the road between Maxwell's and E-town. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, January 18, 1868, p. 2.

21. The E-town road connected with the tri-weekly mail run from the east at Cimarron, enabling rapid communication with Hays City, Kansas, and Santa Fe. The Santa Fe Weekly Gazette first carried the advertisement January 16, 1868, p. 2.

22. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, February 7, 1868, p.4.

23. New Mexican, June 23, 1868, p. 2.

who could stand the wet, bumpy road through the Cimarron River was able to visit the mines for only eight dollars. Many did. The coaches "came in one day loaded down with passengers," and went out the next "with many an ounce of gold dust."²⁴ Shelby's success stimulated more stage service, and soon a second line from Taos east to Elizabethtown was providing more direct routes to and from Santa Fe.

Maxwell's plan for a ditch system to provide year-round water supply to the mines fared no better than the townsite scheme. Captain Nicholas S. Davis, who had come to New Mexico with General Carleton and had stayed on as a civil engineer,²⁵ studied the water problem during the fall of 1867 and proposed as a solution the construction of an extensive system of flumes and canals to transport water from the eastern slopes of the Moreno Valley. It was to draw water from Red River, a feeder of the Rio Grande

24. Daily New Mexican, July 14, 1868, p. 1.

25. Davis had joined Carleton's "California Column" as a company commander. On June 18, 1862, Carleton issued orders from Tucson making him chief of transportation for the column. Shortly afterward he served on the jury which convicted Sylvester Maury of treason. In New Mexico he worked with Carleton against the Ute Indians. There he met Colonel Bergmann who may have recommended him for the engineering position. U.S. War Department, The War of Rebellion, A compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. 8, p. 581, Vol. 41, Part 3, p. 244; part 4, p. 320; Vol. 50, Part 1, p. 1148. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 41, identified Davis as "a former army engineer" following Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals, p. 144, but there is no evidence that he had ever done engineering in the army.

in the mountains between the Moreno and Taos Valleys, carry it around the northern edge of the Moreno, and deposit it in the gold-rich gulches of Baldy Mountain.²⁶ The Plan sounded good to Maxwell.²⁷ With Captain Davis, the early William Kroenig and William H. Moore, the stage-line owner V. S. Shelby, and two Elizabethtown businessmen named John Dold and M. Bloomfield, he organized the Moreno Water and Mining Company.²⁸ The initial capitalization of \$115,000 was principally subscribed by Maxwell. Davis drew up elaborate plans, surveyed the route, and commenced construction on May 12, 1868.

Expectations rose as work progressed, and it was predicted that the "Big Ditch" would provide enough water to "employ thousands of men for a generation."²⁹ When the natural water supply diminished in late June, miners joined construction crews working on the ditch. Soon 400 men were

26. A letter in the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 20, 1868, paints a highly favorable picture of the ditch project.

27. Maxwell may have started the project alone. An article appearing in December, 1867, reported "Mr. Maxwell is bringing water from Red River." Mining and Scientific Press, January 11, 1868, from Denver News, December 18, 1867.

28. Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals, p. 144, and Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 41-42. The company was chartered in New Mexico on February 1, 1868, and identified by the Secretary of the Territory as No. 0370, State Records Center, Santa Fe.

29. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 20, 1868, p. 2.

building "a la Union Pacific."³⁰ Davis had hoped for completion in September, but the need of huge flumes to carry water over gulches and Valleys slowed work considerably. When the longest stretch above ground, 2,800 feet of flume trestled seventy-nine feet above a gulch,³¹ was completed early in November only nine miles remained to be built.³² Work ended for the winter on November 13, 1868,³³ but the next spring the men hurried back to finish the last few miles before the run-off was gone.³⁴ On July 8, 1869, the first water reached Humbug Gulch, just above Elizabethtown,³⁵ An engineering feat of the first magnitude, the system was supposed to transport water from the watershed of the Rio Grande to that of the Mississippi; more than forty-one miles long with three miles of aqueducts and side-hill flumes traversing steep mountain country, it had cost in excess of

30. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 27, 1868, p. 2.

31. The most complete description of the project is in Raymond, 1869 Report, pp. 391-93. The Daily New Mexican, November 18, 1868, reported the height of the trestle as seventy-eight feet. Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals, p. 144, relied heavily on Raymond and Souvenir of the Great Elizabethtown Gold and Copper Mining District, as does Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 41-42.

32. Daily New Mexican, November 18, 1868, p. 1.

33. Loc. cit.

34. Raymond, 1869 Report, p. 392.

35. Loc. cit.

\$200,000.³⁶ It was designed to carry 700 inches of water and could be enlarged to 1,200 easily, but only 100 inches trickled out of the huge wooden flume.³⁷ While visitors gaped in awe, disappointed miners faced poverty.

Before many days had passed, inventive men had hatched various schemes for making the ditch system work. One suggested covering the flumes with clay to prevent leakage.³⁸ Another called for a massive canal system to carry water into the district from the Pecos River, but neglected to mention how it should be induced to run uphill.³⁹ This was met by someone else who proposed tapping an additional fork of the Red River, as more water in the upper reaches of the system would certainly result in more reaching the lower end.⁴⁰ This last suggestion was finally adopted, and the stockholders spent \$20,000 in constructing additional flumes, ditches, and storage reservoirs to get more water into the district.⁴¹

The rates of the company were too low for successful operation, having been set with the assumption that 700

36. Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals, pp. 144-45.

37. Raymond, 1869 Report, p. 391.

38. Loc. cit.

39. Daily New Mexican, November 27, 1868, p. 1.

40. Raymond, 1869 Report, p. 391.

41. Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals, p. 145.

inches of water would be available for sale. The investors never made any profits,⁴² but Maxwell did improve the water supply for his own mining operations. He tapped the south branch of Ponil Creek as it came off the northeast slope of Baldy, and ditched it over a saddle and into New Orleans Flat on the western slope, and here built a reservoir to supply his placers.⁴³ By the time all these projects were completed, however, the demand for water and Maxwell's interest in providing it had declined considerably. By then the land baron had struck richer grounds over the mountain in the heart of Aztec Ridge.

42. Rates varied according to the amount of water used and the time of day or night it was delivered. During one week in August of 1869, the company delivered 4,315 inches of water but charged only \$948.38 for it. Raymond, 1869 Report, pp. 392-93.

43. Ibid., p. 393.

CHAPTER III

RETRIEVING AZTEC RICHES

Moreno Valley miners knew that deep inside the great stone vault called Baldy Mountain were locked rich gold veins which awaited discovery. They also knew that lode mining required greater technical knowledge, more complex machinery, and larger amounts of investment capital than placering. Again it was Lucien B. Maxwell who commanded the necessary money to take full advantage of rich ore discoveries. His success at the headquarters of Ute Creek stimulated other wealthy men to commence hardrock mining throughout the Baldy district.

Although overshadowed by readily profitable placer mining, some quartz exploration and development was carried out during the early years in the Moreno district. While at first sidetracked by their placer discoveries, Kelley and his comrades later did development work on the Mystic lode. They formed a company which sank a preliminary shaft and drove a 300-foot tunnel 150 feet below the original outcropping. In addition to the anticipated vein of rich copper, they found a ten-foot lead of gold-impregnated quartz.¹

1. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, November 30, 1867, p. 2

Another early lode claim showed a vein of partially decayed quartz fourteen feet wide. Its owners laid out a 1,500-foot claim, called it the Holland Lode,² started a tunnel and made plans to install an arrastra.³ Plans apparently fell through, for the vein diminished in size or value and the claimants never prospered. Prospectors made several other insignificant lode discoveries throughout the district, but no extensive development work was done on their finds.

The first step toward the exploitation of a very rich vein of ore was taken when Tim Foley and Matthew Lynch, Willow Creek prospectors, and Robert Dougherty sneaked past Maxwell and prospected Ute Creek in May of 1867.⁴ They found rich deposits of placer gold in the creek bed, but

2. The name suggests that John Holland, an old friend of Maxwell who designed and built his magnificent homes at Rayado and Cimarron, might have been involved in the development of the lode. There is no other information to identify owners or developers. The Dutch interests in the Maxwell Land Grant were not active until much later.

3. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, August 3, 1867, p. 2. An arrastra is an old Spanish device for crushing ore. A pole was suspended horizontally from the center of a stone-paved circular structure, enclosed by a short wall. Heavy stones were hung on the pole, which was then pulled around the circle by a horse or more. As the stones circulated, they crushed ore thrown into the pit. The finely broken rock was then put through a sluice box to separate the heavy gold from lighter rock elements. Greever, Bonanza West, p. 53, and Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West, pp. 31-32.

4. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, November 28, 1868, p. 2, and Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 44.

apparently gave up their work without extensive development or any attempt to trace the gold deposit to its source. Foley, Lynch, and Dougherty returned a year later, determined to explore the hillsides along the creek and locate the source of the nuggets they had found. They panned carefully upstream and when they no longer found gold in the gravel they searched the slopes above the stream for likely outcroppings. The spur running off Baldy Mountain and separating Ute Creek from South Ponil Creek was especially promising. They explored that mountainside thoroughly and found a thirty-foot depression, full of rotted quartz that shimmered with gold. Further exploration showed up three well-defined veins, each three feet wide and a foot apart.⁵ Maxwell very shortly learned of the discovery and, together with Lynch, V. S. Shelby, John Dold, and Colonel Bergmann, filed

5. It is possible that Foley, Lynch, and Dougherty are the men expelled by Maxwell in 1867 and that they returned to Ute Creek a year later. It might also be that the trio visited Ute Creek only once, in 1868. A letter written by John S. Watts and published in the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, November 28, 1868, p. 2, said the initial discovery of the Aztec followed directly on the early exploration work at the site. The date given is "May, 1867," however, with no account for the time lapse between then and the developmental working. It is very possible that a typographical error was made in the printing of the letter at Santa Fe. In his 1869 Report, Raymond described the discovery of the Aztec as having occurred in the spring of 1868; he makes no mention of earlier exploration. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 44, makes no account for the lapse of time between 1867 and 1868. The usual interpretation of the men being ousted seems strange in the light of Maxwell's rapid acquisition and development of the mine at a latter date.

location papers on the claim. They called the mine the Aztec.⁶

Before long mining men throughout the West knew of the Aztec discovery. The first to tell was Bloomfield, the vocal promoter of Elizabethtown. He saw a chunk of the ore and exclaimed: "If all is like it, one or two tons of this rock would be a fortune for anyone."⁷ Editor Russell of the Gazette was conservative as usual: Bloomfield's story, and others of ore assaying \$10,000 per ton, were too fantastic. He did not want to "discredit the statement" of the man from Maxwell's but did consider it "a pretty extensive one."⁸ Shortly the editor swallowed his skeptical tongue. When Maxwell sent a sample of ore to O. D. Munson, assayer of the branch mint in Denver, Russell printed the cold scholarly report without significant comment. The decomposed quartz from the Aztec lode yielded \$19,455.37 per ton in gold and \$189.08 in silver, totaling "a very handsome

6. Dougherty sold his interests to Shelby and Dold January 18, 1869, Colfax County Records, Deed Book A, p. 3. Shelby, Bergmann, and Lynch each owned one-twelfth interest; Dold had one-sixth, and Maxwell the remaining five-twelfths. When profits were divided up, the amounts given to each did not correspond with these percentages. Probably a more elaborate system for profit-sharing was devised that took into account such factors as the amount of time spent in management and others. Daily New Mexican, September 23, 1870, p. 1, quoting from (Elizabethtown) Press and Telegraph.

7. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 20, 1868, p. 2.

8. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, July 25, 1868, p. 2.

sum" indeed.⁹ The editor of the New Mexican proclaimed exuberantly that the "Ute Creek lode" was undoubtedly the richest gold quartz lode ever discovered; no other mine anywhere could equal its value.¹⁰ Stories spread rapidly. One editor took three weeks, worked over his figures, and computed Maxwell's wealth. Assuming the presence of only one hundred tons of ore, Maxwell and his partners would make two million dollars, "a princely sum indeed," from the mine. If per chance it turned out to be very large, the baron of the Cimarron would shortly be "known as the richest gold producer in the world."¹¹

Not content with such prophecies, Maxwell began at once to develop the mine. He sent an engineer to Chicago to buy a 15-stamp mill from the Gates Eagle Foundry. Each 435-pound stamp would crash down on an iron base thirty three times every minute, breaking the ore into fine powder as it went. A twelve-horsepower steam engine, with accompanying boilers drove the mill. The entire apparatus cost \$8,000 delivered. Before the equipment arrived, however, Maxwell's men constructed a frame building from locally-grown pine timber, probably cut at Maxwell's sawmill on Ute Creek, and

9. Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, August 1, 1868, p.2.

10. New Mexican, June 30, 1868.

11. Daily New Mexican, July 21, 1868, p. 2.

covered it over with shingles. Installed in this edifice, the machinery went through its initial testing and was set to work on October 29, 1868. Because the gold was free-milling, the process was simple. Once the ore had been ground fine, it ran into a sluice box in a rapid stream of water. There most of the gold precipitated out of the solution and settled on the bottom. What did not do so was caught by mercury in the bottom of a second sluice.

The whole milling operation, under the superintendency of Colonel Edward H. Bergmann, required only five men, and even Maxwell marvelled at his success. In the first six days of operation, the machinery extracted 120 ounces of gold valued at \$2,640. Mining men estimated that the Aztec would bring in a yearly profit of \$109,500 if run at the same rate for only three hundred days a year.¹² In the mines eighteen men kept busy supplying the mill, running four drills during the day and two at night. The company built a tramway to transport the ore and for nearly a year the Aztec continued at the same fast pace. Between October 29, 1868, and July 1, 1869, 1,810 tons of ore produced in excess of 4,682 ounces of gold valued at slightly more

12. The development of the Aztec mining and milling operations during the initial period is described by John S. Watts' letter published in the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, November 28, 1868, p. 2, and in Raymond, 1869 Report, pp. 384-87.

than \$100,000.¹³ Surely Maxwell had found his bonanza at last.

Maxwell's success at the Aztec mine stimulated additional prospecting on the eastern slopes of Baldy Mountain. A man called "Big Jack" discovered a rich lode just south of the Aztec. Maxwell himself owned most of this lode claim which was appropriately called the Montezuma. He ordered a 30-stamp mill for the property, sank shafts forty and fifty feet deep, and commenced work on a tunnel. By November 8, 1869, the mill was in operation. Pounding away on Montezuma ore, the mill was netting \$1,000 a day by the middle of the month.¹⁴ Inexpensive procedures, coupled with the easy removal of the gold from partially decomposed quartz, kept the cost of milling and extracting down to ten to twenty dollars per ton. The initial profits from the venture prompted John S. Watts,¹⁵ the new chief

13. Raymond, 1869 Report, pp. 387-88.

14. Although the Elizabethtown Telegraph reported that all thirty stamps commenced work on November 3 (reprinted in Mining and Scientific Press, November 20, 1869, p. 327), it apparently had its facts confused. A week later the paper, now referred to as the Colfax Telegraph, reported that the 15-stamp mill was producing \$1000 a day with the rest of the stamps expected daily. Mining and Scientific Press, November 27, 1869, p. 343.

15. John Sebrie Watts was born in Kentucky; as a boy he moved to Indiana where he was active in politics and law. He was appointed to the New Mexico supreme court in 1851, serving until 1854. He was territorial delegate during the Civil War, and was selected to be chief justice in the summer of 1868. He served in this position for one

justice of the territory, to declare it "the best lode in America."¹⁶ Soon a tramway was planned to carry ore from the mine to the mill. Workmen installed the supporting structures, but cable, wire, and other supplies were delayed in the heavy fall snows.¹⁷ When the equipment had not arrived by Christmas, the burro train was unable to provide enough ore and the mill shut down.¹⁸ Other problems retarded operations throughout 1870. Frequent and unexplained shutdowns indicated poor equipment, poor management, or both.¹⁹

year, after which he practiced law. He promoted the sale of the Maxwell Land Grant to a group of English capitalists in 1870 and was one of the front men for that group in the incorporation of the Maxwell Land Grant and Railway Company. His enthusiastic reports on the Aztec and Montezuma mines were important in attracting money to buy the grant. Bio-graphical Directory of the American Congress, p. 1784, and Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 49-50.

16. Raymond, 1869 Report, pp. 387-88.

17. Mining and Scientific Press, November 27, 1869, p. 343, quoting from Colfax Telegraph, November 13, 1869.

18. Scientific Press, January 29, 1870, p. 68, quoting from Elizabethtown Telegraph, December 25, 1869.

19. The mill was running with a limited supply of ore in early March (Scientific Press, March 26, 1870, p. 197, quoting from the Elizabethtown Press and Telegraph, March 2, 1870). A month later it shut down because of "trouble about the lode." Daily New Mexican April 20, 1870, p. 1, from Elizabethtown Press and Telegraph. It started up again early in May, but "for some reason" closed down after only three days in operation. Daily New Mexiaan, May 19, 1870, quoting from the Telegraph, May 14, 1870.

Prospectors also explored the north side of Aztec Ridge along the banks of the South Ponil Creek. After it was discovered by a fortunate miner, work began on the Swansea lode in the spring of 1869. Under the direction of "Professor" T. G. Rounds, miners extracted rich ore from a twelve-foot discovery shaft. Word that the rock had assayed \$430 per ton in gold²⁰ spurred on the work, and the men drove the shaft deeper. By midsummer it was down twenty feet,²¹ but progress was very slow during the fall and winter. The owners had dug only eight feet more by early February of 1870,²² and at this point the project died. It was never reactivated. Near the Swansea, however, a group of Frenchmen under the leadership of Henry Buruel started work that year. Their French Henry mine had a sixty-foot shaft and a good-sized ore pile ready to be milled by the spring of 1870.²³ Buruel obtained a deed to the lode from Maxwell,²⁴ only to discover that he had no way to work the ore. Maxwell's mills were too busy stamping rock from the Montezuma

20. Mining and Scientific Press, July 24, 1869, p. 55.

21. Raymond, 1870 Report, p. 388.

22. Scientific Press, February 5, 1870, p. 85, from the Elizabethtown Telegraph, January 15, 1870.

23. Scientific Press, April 2, 1870, p. 213.

24. Colfax County Records, Deed Book B, p. 151, records the transfer of title from Maxwell to Buruel, et. al.

and Aztec to bother with any "custom" work.²⁵ The cost of sending the ore to a smelter at Denver, Colorado Springs, or El Paso was prohibitively high. Unable to defeat Maxwell's mill monopoly, French Henry could do little. Soon he shut down the mine.

Maxwell's absolute control extended to placer operations on the eastern slopes of Baldy Mountain. Along Ute Creek, between the Aztec and Montezuma mines and the confluence of the creek with the Cimarron, spots of exceedingly rich gravel could be profitably worked with a minimum of equipment. Near the lode mines prospectors found chunks of rich ore that had washed off the slopes. In July of 1869 a lucky miner found a nugget worth forty dollars in the creek bed. Maxwell heard of this discovery and set to work developing the enterprise. He built a house for himself along the stream and started up a full-scale hydraulic operation. Under the landlord's personal supervision, hired men worked gravel from the surface down to bed rock—a distance varying from ten to thirty feet. Thirty men, supplied with two powerful hoses under 150 inches of water, kept at work throughout the summer of 1869. In one very productive week they took out \$700 worth of gold, and six

25. Daily New Mexican, November 30, 1868, p. 1.

weeks' effort produced \$1,700 for Maxwell's coffers. Less extensive placer operations were carried out along the South Ponil Creek, where there was some evidence of very early Spanish or Mexican activity, but little of value was found here.²⁶

While Maxwell reaped profits from the Aztec and Montezuma lodes and the Ute Creek placers, smaller operations took advantage of the water supplied by the big ditch and made a good living in the placer mines. Hydraulicking flourished. One of the most productive operations in Willow Creek belonged to Arthur & Company, the first organization in the district to placer. They commenced work on May 4, 1869. Supplied with forty inches of water and six-inch hoses, the miners sprayed at high pressure through a nozzle onto their rich gravel beds. Two hundred feet of sluice boxes caught the washed-out gold particles as they raced downhill. Log riffles in the bottoms of the boxes collected most of the gold. The miners distributed six pounds of quicksilver in all but the last two boxes so as to catch any flakes that did not naturally gravitate out of the muddy torrent. With a good supply of water, work proceeded well.

Every day the big hoses worked out an area ten feet long, fourteen feet wide and thirteen feet deep. While Arthur and Company took out only thirty-three ounces of

26. Raymond, 1869 Report, p. 388.

"yellow stuff" during their first five weeks of operation, the venture was reasonably profitable because of low overhead costs. Even in late summer when water supplies dwindled and forces were curtailed, it was possible to extract considerable gold.²⁷ Many small plants like that of Arthur & Company sent large quantities of gold to the Denver mint in 1869. The Baldy Mountain district had become a full-fledged, highly productive mining region.

27. Ibid., pp. 389-90.

CHAPTER IV

THE EVOLUTION OF ELIZABETHTOWN

Elizabethtown, where many of the miners lived, was very much "on the boom" in 1868.¹ It was rough and wild, yet pretended to have a certain "class." Successful placer and lode operations in the vicinity of the village had attracted many new prospectors; some were even accompanied by wives and children. In place of temporary shacks and tents which cluttered the townsite during the first frantic summer, well-constructed homes and stores soon faced the streets of Elizabethtown. Slowly the town took on an air of permanence and respectability.

On June 1, 1868, the Moreno Hotel opened with a flurry of glamor. To celebrate the event, the eighty-three guests enjoyed a "splendid repast" served upon the finest china in the territory. A few glasses of Mummis dry imperial champagne brought forth toasts of all descriptions. Some of the most biting ones were directed at the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette and its Democratic editor who had done so much to promote the district. The New Mexican gleefully

1. The History of the Famous Don Diego Hotel and Its Famous Founder (Springer, N.M.: The Tribune Press, n.d.), p. 10 quoting from the diary of Henri Lambert.

printed the proceedings.² The first hotel's flourishing business³ attracted other ventures. Henri Lambert, a colorful Frenchman who claimed to have cooked for General U.S. Grant at Vicksburg and President Lincoln in the White House, threw together a building of "logs and lumber," called it the "E-town Hotel," and began to make his fortune feeding miners.⁴ The ditch company opened a store under the management of V. S. Shelby;⁵ Obadiah J. Niles set to work in his wagon shop;⁶ Sam Salisbury and John Pearson opened the town's first shoe shop.⁷ Prosperity and development were fast making Elizabethtown the most important city in the northern part of the territory. Its citizens demanded recognition.

2. Daily New Mexican, June 23, 1868, p. 2, also printed a toast in which it was referred to as "the exponent and advocate of the true interests of New Mexico."

3. Daily New Mexican, July 14, 1868, p. 1.

4. History of the Famous Don Diego Hotel, pp. 2,9; and undated clipping from the Albuquerque Journal in Will C. Barnes Collection, Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.

5. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 27, 1868, p. 2. The New Mexican, March 27, 1869, p. 1, said Shelby owned the the store but sold it to Maxwell.

6. Niles arrived in Elizabethtown in 1868 or 1869 from Illinois. He served as Justice of the Peace for twelve years and was a charter member of the local masonic lodge. History of New Mexico, p. 677.

7. Pearson was a Swede. Arriving in E-town, he worked on the ditch and inside the Aztec before joining Salisbury in the shoe store venture. Later he ran several other stores in Elizabethtown, Willow Gulch, and Ute Creek. He died in 1906. Ibid., p. 697.

The maturity of Elizabethtown was recognized by territorial officials early in 1869. On January 25 the legislature heeded the demands of the leading citizens of the gold camp and established a new county, naming it for Vice President-elect Schuyler Colfax who was visiting the West. The seat of Colfax County was to be temporarily at Elizabethtown until a permanent site for the court house was chosen at the first general election.⁸ Early in March the residents of the area went to the polls. Maxwell was elected probate judge by a large plurality, receiving virtually unanimous support from the citizens of Cimarron and Ute Creek, which he owned, and A. J. Calhoun was elected sheriff. The voters retained Elizabethtown as county seat.⁹ Civilized as the seat of government pretended to be, its people did not welcome very warmly a Methodist elder, the Rev. J. A. Dyer, who did his best to take religion into the gold camps. Yet his unremitting attempts did lead to "quite a revival in religion."¹⁰ Perhaps the presence

8. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, February 6, 1869, p. 2, and Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 29.

9. A relatively complete vote was obtained in both Ute Creek and Cimarron, where Maxwell may have pressured his employees. Few miners in the Moreno Valley precinct voted and those who did split evenly between the two candidates. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, March 13, 1869, p. 2.

10. The Daily New Mexican, March 27, 1869, p. 1. Republicans were so strong in the territory during the late 1860's and early '70s that only one newspaper operated and all news was funnelled through the New Mexican.

of the minister at Elizabethtown helped to create a receptive attitude on the part of the officials and aristocrats of Santa Fe, for on February 3, 1870, the mining town was incorporated by the territorial legislature. It was the first New Mexican town to be so honored.¹¹ A convention of citizens met on March 18 and nominated candidates for mayor and councilmen. Early the next month, H. S. Russell, Colfax County's first legislator and a man "mainly instrumental" in getting the town incorporated,¹² was elected mayor over John E. Wheelock, a "popular and worthy gentleman."¹³

Even as a county seat, Elizabethtown had difficulty in supporting a newspaper. The first weekly in the valley was the Moreno Lantern, which appeared in the summer of 1869.¹⁴ It was short lived. The Republican victory in the territorial elections that fall killed the paper and sent its Democratic editor fleeing; the Santa Fe Republicans explained the editor's sudden exit: "The Territory was too Republican for him, and he has gone to hunt a more congenial clime and

11. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 29.

12. Daily New Mexican, March 29, 1870, p. 1.

13. Daily New Mexican, April 14, 1870, p. 1.

14. An article from the Lantern appeared in the Mining and Scientific Press, July 24, 1869, p. 55. As it usually took at least two weeks to transmit news, the first issue probably appeared no later than July 10.

cheap Democratic whiskey."¹⁵ By early October, Will D. Dawson had established a new paper, which he called the Elizabethtown Telegraph.¹⁶ Beset with trouble from the first, this weekly once appeared as a half sheet when its paper supply failed to arrive by press time.¹⁷ It did last despite such problems, and after a full year Dawson sold out to a stock company but remained as editor.¹⁸ Soon, however, he must have regretted his decision to stay on. Local law officers confiscated or destroyed most of his equipment "on the purjured oath of one Johnathan G. Osborn," leaving the editor without press, paper, or type.¹⁹ Never quick to capitulate, Dawson raised money among his friends

15. Daily New Mexican, October 4, 1869, p. 1.

16. Apparently editor Dawson changed the name of his paper several times. Although there are no known copies of the paper in existence, articles appearing in other journals refer to it in their news clippings. On November 6, 1869, the paper was called the Elizabethtown Telegraph (Mining and Scientific Press, November 27, 1869, p. 327). A week later it had become the Colfax Telegraph (Mining and Scientific Press, November 20, 1869, p. 343). November 20, it was again referred to as the Elizabethtown Telegraph (Mining and Scientific Press, December 4, 1869, p. 359), which name it apparently retained until its sale in October. Several years later the Cimarron News and Press was listed as a consolidation of the Cimarron News and the Railway, Press, and Telegraph of "Elizabeth City," Cimarron News and Press, August 7, 1875, p. 1.

17. Daily New Mexican, July 15, 1870, p. 1.

18. Daily New Mexican, September 15, 1870, p. 1.

19. Daily New Mexican, December 1, 1870, p. 1. Dawson's pleading letter requested that "other papers favorable to the cause of FREEDOM OF THE PRESS" reprint his note.

to refit the shop. By January of 1871 the paper had resumed publication.²⁰ The New Mexican proclaimed that the "handsomely printed" weekly was "a great improvement over the paper previous to its suspension."²¹

Ash Upton started a competing paper on March 18, 1871, named the Elizabethtown Argus; it was edited by Major R. E. Sprigman.²² After one issue the management found that it could not hire typesetters anywhere in the territory. After a two-week delay, the second issue appeared with promises that arrangements had been made for regular publication in the future.²³ Convinced that two competing papers could not survive in the valley, Dawson merged his journal with the Cimarron News and moved down the river where he helped edit and publish the Cimarron News and Press.²⁴ Soon after, the Argus also folded, for by now

20. Daily New Mexican, January 14, 1871, p. 1.

21. Daily New Mexican, February 15, 1871, p. 1. A Check List of New Mexico Newspapers (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1935), p. 35, contends that the National Press & Telegraph appeared from 1871 to 1874. Both name and dates are probably incorrect.

22. Daily New Mexican, March 10, 1871. The announcement does not clearly state which man was to edit the paper. Apparently Upton was the owner since it was he who was later reported to be considering the purchase of the Press and Telegraph.

23. Daily New Mexican, April 12, 1871, p. 1.

24. Daily New Mexican, July 3, 1871, p. 1, announced that Upton would buy the Telegraph and move it to Las Vegas. This never occurred and Dawson consolidated with the News.

the general decline of the district made it impossible for even one paper to operate profitably.

The prosperity of the Baldy district had begun to diminish in the spring of 1870 with the sale of the Maxwell land grant to a group of English capitalists. Although the original sale on April 30, 1870, excluded Maxwell's interests in the Aztec and Montezuma mines and his Elizabethtown store, these were sold in a separate agreement signed in late summer.²⁵ The new company optimistically declared its determination to develop the region. "The best mining appliances and the highest scientific knowledge," its managers promised, would be employed to make the Baldy area profitable and famous.²⁶ The miners were not so sure. When they learned of the transfer, a meeting was called on the third day of September and the residents of the district "duely and dispassionately" decided what to do. They insisted that their rights to the land on which they had established themselves were superior to those of either the company or the Indians. Only if the new owners could show a valid United States government patent to the land, and a survey specifically delineating the boundaries, would the residents

25. Transcript of Title of the Maxwell Land Grant Situated in New Mexico and Colorado (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1881), pp. 62-71.

26. Daily New Mexican, November 2, 1870, p. 1.

agree even to negotiate.²⁷ The company insisted that the miners sign leases or leave, initiating a dispute which would hamper the development of the district for a quarter century. The miners had never questioned Maxwell's rights to the land or openly opposed his attempts to negotiate leases. They would not, however, be molested by these Englishmen.

Peaceful meetings soon gave way to violence. On the night of October 23, 1870, a riot broke out in Elizabeth town when the miners resisted the company's attempts to expell them from their claims. The election of Dr. R. H. Longwill, a company supporter, as probate judge had further infuriated the men. Lieutenant Edmund Luff, commanding "L" troop. 8th cavalry, which was stationed in the area, refused to go to the scene of the riot until called on by civil authorities to do so. However, after the home of justice of the peace McBride was burned, Stephen B. Elkins, an important politician in the territory, allied with McBride in appealing for help from Santa Fe. Governor William A. Pile was absent from the territory at the time,²⁸ but

27. Daily New Mexican, September 16, 1870, p. 2.

28. Like so many other territorial governors. William Anderson Pile was a loyal Republican, defeated in an attempt to retain his Congressional seat, and rewarded by a western appointment. Born in Indiana, Pile went to Missouri where he was a Methodist minister. He served during the Civil War, achieving the rank of General of Volunteers. He served in the 40th Congress from 1867 to 1869 after

word of the trouble reached the district military headquarters and Luff was ordered to send a detachment to Elizabethtown. He immediately ordered Lieutenant Cobb and twenty-one men up the Cimarron to settle matters. Acting Governor Henry Wetter issued a proclamation "authorizing and requiring" the civil officers of the county to organize a posse, arrest law-breakers, and "maintain peace and protect the lives and property of the citizens."²⁹

The possemen were only temporarily successful. After a short winter armistice, new riots broke out in the spring along Ute Creek. At a meeting called on January 2, the miners refused as usual to recognize the company's right to collect rent on their placer claims.³⁰ When a band of company employees marched into the Ute Creek placers in mid-April, organized miners met them. "Unlawfully and

completing his term in New Mexico in 1870, Pile served as American minister to Venezuela for three years. He died in California in 1889. Calvin Horn, New Mexico's Troubled Years: The Story of the Early Territorial Governors (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1963), pp. 134-49, and Biographical Directory of the American Congress, p. 1459.

29. The dates given in the Daily New Mexican of October 28, 1870, p. 2, would indicate that the riot occurred on the evening of the 27th. However, correspondence from Lieutenant J. H. Hanker at Fort Union, indicates activity on the night of the 23rd. Copies of letters from Hanker, Luff, and others regarding the situation are in the James W. Arrott Collection at New Mexico Highlands University.

30. Daily New Mexican, January 17, 1871, p. 1.

violently combined together," the miners disarmed the invaders and held them as hostages.³¹ The New Mexican defended the Maxwell company, applauded its work in developing the territory, and pleaded for peace. Such acts, declared the editor, tarnished the "fair fame" of the territory, "lessened its material prosperity" and impeded its advancement.³² This time Governor Pile hurried northward from Santa Fe and ordered the miners to dissolve their organization and abstain from violence. Anyone who was dissatisfied, he insisted, should submit his claims to the courts. To support his position Pile saw to it that Major D. H. Clendinin and a force of soldiers raced from Fort Union to Cimarron. The major was to report to Pile and to use his troops "in aid of the civil authorities in sustaining the laws." He was warned, though, not to employ his men offensively against the rioters without explicit orders or to allow them to be identified with either of the disputing parties.³³ Again troops were successful; this time the miners left the district in droves, further lowering the area's population.

31. Daily New Mexican, April 18, 1871, p. 1.

32. Daily New Mexican, April 17, 1871, p. 1.

33. Governor Pile issued an official proclamation on April 18, apparently while he was in Colfax County. It was not printed until he returned to the capital. Daily New Mexican, April 21, 1871, p. 1. Copies of an abbreviated telegram and full orders to Clendenin, but no report, have been found in the James W. Arrott material at New Mexico Highlands University.

In the face of impending distress, the residents of Elizabethtown enjoyed a few final social activities. In December of 1870 Colonel Edward Bergmann, the military man and early miner who superintended mill operations at the Aztec, married Miss August Schwenck. Their wedding and reception were preliminaries to a "splendid ball" held in Garrick Hall. It was an event "longly and kindly remembered" by all participants.³⁴ An equally entertaining event occurred on July 4, 1871, when the citizens of the Moreno district celebrated the nation's birthday in "the due and ancient fashion." Shots rang out over the gold-rich hills as a parade of 500 marched to a pleasant grove for the festivities. There, Major Sprigman, editor of the Argus, read the Declaration of Independence, after which M. W. Mills, a prosperous mine owner, lawyer, and politician, delivered a spread eagle oration, "much above the average addresses upon such 4th of July-ing." As was customary, a great ball closed the day. With Mayor Russell as "chief manager," Colonel Bergmann "floor manager," and "Professor" H. S. Babock and his orchestra providing the music, the ball marked the final act in Elizabethtown's first boom.³⁵ The town would wait a long time for another celebration.

34. Daily New Mexican, July 17, 1871, p. 1.

35. Daily New Mexican, December 29, 1871, p. 1.

Organized opposition to the Maxwell company and hard times promoted general lawlessness in the district throughout 1871. On June 14 a shooting took place in J. S. Calhoun's Ute Creek saloon. The night before, James Rhodes, a twenty-six year old Pennsylvania miner who had been "drinking somewhat freely," sauntered up to Richard Morton and threatened to kick his pipe from his mouth. Although angry words followed, both men quieted down and went home. The next morning Rhodes was in the saloon eating breakfast with some other men when Morton walked in: "You d---d s-n of a b---h," he shouted, "you insulted me, and I'll make you suffer." Two shots rang out and Rhodes dropped to the floor, dead. Morton fled, never to return to the district.³⁶

Individual murders were followed by collective killing in the Moreno Valley. A Mexican-American accused of shooting an Elizabethtown miner had obtained a change of venue to Taos, but was being held temporarily in the Moreno Valley jail awaiting transfer. During the night he was "freed" by a party of disguised citizens and hanged. When his body was found the next day suspended from a tree, it bore a sign notifying all that this was "the result of a change of venue."³⁷ Other miners obtained financial rewards

36. The story was first told in the Cimarron News, reprinted in the Daily New Mexican, June 19, 1871. A more complete version appeared in the Argus, reprinted in the Daily New Mexican, June 22, 1871, p. 1.

37. Daily New Mexican, September 1, 1871, p. 1.

from their violence. Two men killed "Coal Oil Jimmie" and collected a big reward. A pair of Ute Creek men allied with Taylor and Burns, desperados who had held up the Cimarron and Elizabethtown stages several times; they then killed the hold-up men and obtained the reward.³⁸ The killers brought back their dead to Cimarron: "Taylor was lying on his back booted and spurred, with one gloved hand raised and his double-barrelled shotgun by his side; Burns was on his left side with his legs drawn up and hands clenched as if he had died in terrible agony."³⁹ The exhibit must have served its purpose for crime decreased throughout the district.

Although many miners fled the district because of difficulties with the new owners of the Maxwell grant, they also left for other reasons. After 1870 the richest ore bodies were gone, and inexpensive transportation to and from the area was necessary if profitable operations were to be continued on lower quality ores. The high cost of carrying supplies and machinery into the district increased the expenses of living in the area and deterred mine owners from purchasing modern equipment. Realizing the need for a railroad, the influential mining men urged the territorial legislature to approve a one-million dollar subsidy

38. Daily New Mexican, November 8, 1871, p. 1.

39. Daily New Mexican, November 6, 1871, p. 1.

to promote the construction of one. As soon as the bill was approved, H. M. Russell organized the Moreno and Rio Hondo Railroad Company to fulfill the desires of the area. Its stockholders supplied an additional million dollars to pay for construction. The surveyors had the line laid out by January of 1871. The completion of the track to the Denver and Rio Grande company's line near Sangre de Cristo Pass would assure a "slow but sure mode of travel for all who wished to visit old Mexico or China."⁴⁰ More importantly it would assure a fairly rapid, inexpensive mode of transportation to and from the mining district. The decline in gold production and population, which the railroad might have curtailed, and difficulties with the Maxwell company ended railroad plans. Construction never got under way.

Placer miners did not need the railroad so desperately, but they did have to have a permanent solution to their water problems. In addition to providing more feed water from Red River, the owners of the "Big Ditch" partially "puddled" it in an attempt to curtail leakage. Yet water was too expensive and too scant to allow for profitable operations except in a few especially rich areas.⁴¹

40. Weekly New Mexican, January 31, 1871, p. 1.

41. Rossiter W. Raymond, Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 292.

M. Bloomfield, the enterprising mine operator and gossip, tried to reduce the amount of water needed by erecting an elaborate device by which gravel was collected via a tramway, then doused with small quantities of water to secure the gold. He ran into many difficulties with the tramway and his drainage system.⁴² The system failed, like so many others, and pushed more and more men out of the area.

As the population of Elizabethtown dwindled, many of its businessmen left. Henri Lambert was one of the first. He successfully forecast the trends and moved his hotel to Cimarron, calling it the Saint James.⁴³ That same year the territorial legislature moved the county seat down the canyon to Maxwell's old headquarters.⁴⁴

Although a few businessmen stayed on, Elizabethtown and the Baldy Mountain district were virtually deserted by 1875. C. M. Chase, an eastern newspaper man, described the old county seat as it looked when he visited it in 1881:

⁴². The device consisted of a tramway 200 feet long and thirty-five feet high. Rather than spray tremendous quantities of water at the gravel as usual, the rich gravel was here laboriously shoveled into cars, pulled up the tramway by a steam-powered hoist, and emptied onto a platform. There a smaller quantity of water was poured onto the gravel, taking the gold into a sluice below. Bloomfield was only taking fifty cents worth of gold out of every cubic yard, leaving him with very little profit. Ibid, p. 309.

⁴³. History of the Famous Don Diego Hotel, p. 10.

⁴⁴. History of New Mexico, II, p. 666.

It makes one lonesome to walk the streets of Elizabethtown. Although not an old place, it is deserted and, instead of crowded streets, or crowded houses, rum shops, gambling saloons, and hourly-knock downs, of a few years ago, a sort of graveyard stillness, deserted buildings and general tumble down appearance is everywhere observed. There is one store, part of another hotel, the tail end of a Catholic church, a barn, a good deal of glass and other fragments of former prosperity left, but the pith, the vitality of village life has departed no more to return, unless some water is brought from Red River, or some large companies are formed, to begin pounding up the quartz rocks by steam.⁴⁵

Less than two decades separated the discovery of the first golden flakes high in the Willow Creek wilderness and the despairing gloom which hung over the Moreno Valley in 1879. The initial discovery of gold, encouraged by the presence of Indian hunters and military promoters, was followed by a population explosion of large proportion as thousands migrated into the Cimarron Mountain wilds. Towns sprang up, filled with the usual assortment of businessmen, land promoters, prostitutes, and card-sharks. Capital, provided at first by Maxwell and later by increasingly more distant men, had made possible the construction of the "Big Ditch" and other necessary facilities. With the discovery of the Aztec, an interest in lode mining developed. Stamp

⁴⁵. Chase returned home to Vermont and published a series of sketches in a booklet, The Editor's Run in New Mexico and Colorado (Montpelier: "Argus and Patriot" Steam Book and Job Printing House, 1882). A copy of this rare publication was found in the Denver Public Library. This portion is also reprinted in Stanley, The Grant That Maxwell Bought, p. 221, and Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 83.

mills, hard-rock drills, and tramways largely replaced gold pans and sluice boxes. The area's productivity and population increased until territorial officials were forced to create a new county. Religion, social festivities, and lawlessness were all found together in the prosperous mining community around Baldy Mountain.

Despite their temporary successes, the men of the district had not been able to finally solve their basic problems. The water supply was insufficient; the transportation system was inadequate for the development of a modern mineral community. Sufficient capital was not available to buy expensive equipment to provide scientific exploitation. Disputes over land between the miners and the Maxwell company consistently repelled new investors and frightened prospectors away. These problems, however, could all be solved. When finally they were, the Baldy district would revive and prosper.

CHAPTER V

REVIVAL ON OLD BALDY

Lode mining was particularly unprofitable on Baldy Mountain in the decade between 1880 and 1890. The Aztec closed down in 1879 because of litigation when its owners were unable to agree on a plan of development.¹ Because the two mills in the Ute Creek area were inactive, most of the mines there were paralyzed. Many other small operations were forced to shut down. Continued friction between the settlers and miners and the owners of the Maxwell land grant discouraged outside investment in the district. Only a concentrated promotional program initiated by the grant owners would now be able to end an era of inactivity and bring new life to the slopes of the rich peak.

One of the early mines on Ute Creek, the Rebel Chief, did show signs of revival in the opening years of the decade. The Irwin brothers had discovered the Rebel Chief during the boom days, but completed only thirty feet of development before they suspended operations.² In 1880 I. W.

1. Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, June 28, 1879, p. 2.

2. Mining and Scientific Press, September 25, 1880, p. 63, quoting from the Cimarron News and Press, September 16, 1880.

England, publisher of the New York Sun, and Frank Hoxie of New York organized the Cimarron Mining Company³ and bought the mine. They hired Colonel Bergmann, the experienced mine operator who had been so successful in the Aztec mill for many years, as manager and invested large amounts of capital in the property.⁴ Bergmann ordered machinery from the East, ran a 140-foot tunnel into the claim, tapping two veins, and built offices, a boarding house, and a blacksmith shop.

By March of 1881 200 tons of ore had accumulated on the dump. That same month 45,000 pounds of machinery was hauled in from the railhead at Springer. Captain Fletcher was charged with the job of installing the Howland Pulverizer, one of the first machines of its kind used in the West. The ambitious owners of the Rebel Chief were unable, however, to overcome all the problems now confronting them. When a pick fell into their machinery and severely damaged it, S. F. Clouser bought into the company to pay for repairs. A. S. Fuller, mining editor of the Sun, then replaced Bergmann as superintendent, but the ore was proving not even rich enough to pay expenses. Soon the hopes of

3. The company was incorporated March 21, 1881, in New Mexico. Corporation Index, State Records Center, Santa Fe.

4. News and Scientific Press, December 25, 1880, p. 405; Mining and Scientific Press, April 8, 1881, p. 229; and Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 85-86.

of the New Yorkers had vanished and the mine closed down.⁵

An ambitious young lawyer, Frank Springer,⁶ tried to open the Aztec in 1881. Colonel Bergmann was hired to do prospecting and development work. Early in March he found a five-foot vein and proceeded with plans to open the mine. "Baldy Town" grew up around the Aztec mill site as Bergmann built a store, a saloon, boarding houses, and numerous log cabins below the mine. He was finally replaced, however, by Charles Smith, who also failed to find significant quantities of gold. Soon Springer grew tired of pouring money into the property and closed the mine.⁷

5. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 86-87.

6. Frank Springer was born in Wapello, Iowa, in 1848. He attended public schools in Iowa and graduated from the state university in 1867. In addition to his regular studies, he undertook work in archeology and paleontology under the guidance of Professor Louis Agassiz. He was admitted to the Iowa bar in 1869. In 1873 the young man moved to Cimarron, New Mexico, where he served as publisher of the News and Press and as attorney for the Maxwell Land Grant Company and the Santa Fe Railroad. While in the employ of the land grant company he argued its cases before the United States Supreme court and was praised by Justice Samuel F. Miller for his work. In 1883 he moved to Las Vegas, continuing his legal practice from there. He was particularly interested in the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe and spearheaded the move to renovate it. He served as president of the New Mexico Normal School (now Highlands University) at Las Vegas and did much to help the Santa Fe art museum. His work in archeology and paleontology won him honorary doctorates from the Universities of Bonn and Pennsylvania, as well as George Washington University. Paul A. F. Walter, "Dr. Frank Springer," New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. 2 (October 1927), pp. 387-93.

7. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 86-87.

In 1884 V. S. Shelby, Thomas B. Catron, and James Lynch, owners of a five-twelfths interest in the Aztec, leased the remainder of the property from the Maxwell Land Grant Company. The trio organized themselves as the Aztec Mining Company⁸ and commenced work on November 8, 1884. After preliminary repairs had been completed, W. B. Scott was hired as superintendent at a salary of only \$150 per month. From the start, however, the owners were continually forced to subsidize the venture. Each of the three owners contributed more than \$4,000 to balance the books at the end of 1886, and an additional sum of \$3,500 was assessed in 1887. Less than \$2,000 in gold was taken out of the area during the same period. Still the Aztec operation continued even though the company had no mill of its own. At first hiring Joseph Fletcher to mill their ore at four dollars a ton, the owners later rented Fletcher's machinery. In May of 1889 they bought a fifteen-foot "Huntington" mill⁹ at a cost exceeding \$5,000, but their optimism was soon exhausted. Shelby, Catron, and Lynch now

8. The company was not incorporated in New Mexico until June 6, 1887. Incorporation Index, State Records Center, Santa Fe.

9. The Huntington mill was based on the same principle as the arrastra, used so much earlier by the Hispanic-Americans. It consisted of a number of 15-foot rollers which circulated around on a platform, crushing ore beneath them into fine powder as it did so. The powder could then be processed to extract the gold.

refused to pour additional funds into the mine and again it stood quietly on the barren hillsides of Aztec ridge awaiting eventual sale.¹⁰

Further down Ute Creek the other small claims that had opened in the summer of 1885 were flooded out in a violent August rain storm. Their owners could not afford the expensive pumps necessary to reopen them and most shut down.¹¹ Ute Creek, like the Moreno Valley, was at least temporarily still. Despite generally poor conditions throughout the district, limited placer operations continued in the Moreno Valley throughout the decline of the mining region. Matthew Lynch bought several large placer grounds and worked them with water from the big ditch, which he had purchased from Lucien Maxwell for \$12,000

10. The records of the Aztec Mining Company were kept by one of the partners, T. B. Catron, a Santa Fe attorney, and are included in the collection of his papers at the University of New Mexico. The detailed financial accounts indicate something of the heavy expenses and small income which the Aztec showed during this period." See also the Las Vegas Daily Optic, May 13, 1885, p. 1. Pearson, making no use of the Catron papers, indicates nothing of the history of the Aztec under the trio of minority owners. He writes: "After Scott, others tried their luck but the results were mostly negligible until the end of the century." The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 87.

11. Las Vegas Daily Optic, August 26, 1885, p. 1. The flash floods of northern New Mexico were often disastrous to the lode miners who found all of their equipment washed away, their vertical shafts full of water, and many pilings and supports washed out. In most cases the miners were financially unable to cope with such calamities. As a result many mines were abandoned after such a flood, only to be restaked and worked at a later time.

in 1875.¹² When his brother died, James Lynch took over operations. After cleaning up and repairing the ditch, the younger man worked gravel in Michigan Bar and prepared for extensive hydraulic operations elsewhere in the Moreno Valley.¹³ Another outfit, the Central Company, netted twenty-five ounces of gold from its gravel in only five days' operations,¹⁴ and for many years Joseph Lowrey operated hydraulic equipment profitably in the Moreno Valley.¹⁵ Despite such successes on the part of a few men, however, the limited water supply kept production and profit down. There could never again be massive hydraulicking in the valley.

In spite of the decline of population in the district, there was plenty of excitement in Elizabethtown during the 1880s. Jack Greeley and J. A. Harbenger, two saloon keepers,

12. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 83-84.

13. News and Scientific Press, April 30, 1881, p. 277, from Cimarron News and Press, April 14, 1881. Lynch was apparently successful or very generous, for two years later he gave a six-ounce nugget from his workings to a Trinidad, Colorado, banker as evidence of the richness of the district. Las Vegas Daily Optic, December 28, 1883, p. 1, quoting from Trinidad Review. Stationery in the T. B. Catron Collection indicates that Lynch had soon become president of the American Savings Bank of Trinidad.

14. News and Scientific Press, April 30, 1881, p.277.

15. History of New Mexico, II, pp. 949-50.

held competing dances one Saturday night in June of 1886. When Harbenger met his rival on the street the next morning, he asked if Greeley's dance had been profitable. Told that it was none of his business, Greeley announced that he would settle their prolonged dispute right then. He pulled a revolver and fired at Harbenger, but missed. A crowd of townspeople gathered, disarmed both men, and sent them off. Greeley obtained a rifle and returned to his saloon; Harbenger got his revolver and went after his foe. Walking into Greeley's bar, Harbenger killed his opponent with one well-directed bullet. He then walked up to the body, fired three more shots into Greeley's head, and proceeded to the home of Judge Obadiah J. Niles where he gave himself up. Remembering the earlier Elizabethtown lynching, Judge Niles kept the prisoner under heavy guard until he could be transferred to the safer environs of Cimarron to await trial.¹⁶

In the very year of Greeley's murder, the climate of violence at Elizabethtown was combatted by its new Roman Catholic priest, Father Valezy, whose home parish was in Taos. Taking over the circuit-riding duties of the ailing Father Accorsini,¹⁷ the energetic young cleric stimulated

16. The whole affair was reported in detail in the Springer Stockman, then reprinted in the Las Vegas Daily Optic, July 12, 1886, p. 1.

17. Stanley, The Grant that Maxwell Bought, p. 189.

a religious fervor that spread rapidly through the town, and within a few months a church was under construction. The first services were held here in September of 1866.¹⁸

Elsewhere on the Maxwell grant clergymen and violence were much in evidence during the '80s. When the English-controlled Maxwell Land Grant and Railway Company collapsed in 1880, the Dutchmen who had purchased bonds from their English associates foreclosed and reorganized as the Maxwell Land Grant Company.¹⁹ Settlers and miners were even less willing to deal with the new group than with the Englishmen. The anti-grant movement gained momentum after the mysterious death of the Rev. F. J. Tolby, a Methodist minister of Cimarron. A popular leader of the settlers, Tolby was elevated to martyrdom as his death was blamed on the officials of the Maxwell Land Grant company. The Rev. Oscar P. McMains, another Methodist clergyman, became fanatical in his desire to revenge Tolby's assassination. He established a newspaper, the Raton Independent, became

18. Las Vegas Daily Optic, September 24, 1886, p. 1.

19. The legal complications involved in the transfer of title are described by Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 72-80 in some detail. A very thorough legalistic discussion is in Keleher, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 134-68 while Stanley, The Grant that Maxwell Bought, reprints several of the legal documents. See Also The Maxwell Land Grant Case (121 United States 325), and Transcript of Title of the Maxwell Land Grant.

the spokesman of the squatters, and openly defied the Dutchmen. On frequent trips to Denver, Washington, and New York the fiery preacher defended the squatters' cause before all who would listen.²⁰ He was particularly interested in the miners along Ute Creek. McMains warned that disastrous results would be forthcoming if the company tried to collect rent there. "The Ute Creek miners," he announced, "will not be gobbled up by the thieves who have stolen the grazing land. Miners will not permit any monkeying with their rights."²¹ Although he prodded hard, little response came from the miners who had to make a living from the Ute Creek lode and placer operations.²² He did manage, however, to keep the district so stirred up that no outside capital

20. The long battle between the settlers and the company over rights to the land was particularly hot between 1880 and 1887. The "war" between these two factions is detailed in Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 112-43, and in Keleher, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 119-25.

21. Las Vegas Daily Optic, August 24, 1885, p. 2. reprinted as "Solemn warning in the Raton Independent."

22. In 1870 there were only 132 people in the Ute Creek district; the same number resided there in 1890. It seems very likely that there were no more than that number spread all the way from the Aztec to Ute Park when McMains urged them to action. Many of these worked for the company and certainly would not be expected to initiate any rebellion. Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, The Statistics of the Population of the United States... Compiled from the Original Reports of the Ninth Census, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), Vol. I, p. 285. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Compendium of the Eleventh Census, 1890 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), Part I, "Population," p. 280.

would dare come into it. The supreme court of the United States finally upheld the validity of the land grant in 1887,²³ thus voiding the preacher's claims, but it was not until 1889 that McMains gave up the fight and fled to Colorado. His existence made difficult the peaceful development of the grant.²⁴

Between 1893 and 1895 the Baldy mining district awakened suddenly after a twenty-year economic slumber. The excitement was not induced by old word-of-mouth stories or by spectacular new discoveries; rather the Maxwell Land Grant Company, under the leadership of Frank Springer, manufactured the boom through carefully planned advertisement of the district and its potentials. The sad status of the area was clearly revealed by the United States census returns of 1890. In the year only \$15,451 worth of gold was taken from the placers of the Moreno, Ute, and South Ponil creeks; and only half that amount came from the once famous lode mines.²⁵ Well aware of the physical

23. The Maxwell Land Grant case was decided by the highest court in the country on April 18, 1887. The decision of Justice Miller, rendered in the name of a unanimous court, held that although the original grant to Beaubien and Miranda far exceeded the limits prescribed by Mexican law, the enlarged tract was patented by Congress and could not therefore be invalidated. The decision vested complete title to all the land claimed in the Maxwell grant company and its foreign investors (121 United States 325).

24. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 142.

25. Probably because of the intense Congressional

difficulties of mining in the district, Springer designed a program calculated to attract capital. Clearly, the day of the sluice box and the small operation was gone; only the bigger companies, with sufficient money to open lode mines and bring in ore-crushing equipment, could be expected to restore vigor and profit to the Baldy district.²⁶

In July of 1892, at Springer's instigation, the Maxwell grant company invited N. C. Creede,²⁷ discoverer of the rich silver mines in the mountains of southern Colorado

debate then underway on the question of federal purchases of silver or gold, this census reported in detail on the mining industry throughout the nation. It listed numbers of mines in operation, their production, number of employees, expenditures and assessed valuation. The whole picture looked grim for Colfax County. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Report of the Mineral Industries in the United States at the Eleventh Census, 1890 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), pp. 87-89.

26. As in many other aspects, the drastic changes which came to the Baldy area in the '90s were widespread. Outside capital became the lifeblood of most small camps as they reopened in the period. Capitalists were willing to invest in risky ventures everywhere with the hope of making fortunes.

27. Nicholas C. Creede was born in 1842 with the name William Harvey in Fort Wayne, Indiana. When his brother married the girl with whom he himself was in love, Harvey moved to Colorado and changed his name. In 1889 after many years of prospecting, he discovered rich chloride of silver in the southern part of the state. The town of Creede was found on the site of his discovery. In 1892 poor health forced Creede to move to Pueblo, Colorado, just north of Baldy. He moved to California in 1893 and committed suicide there on August 2, 1898, after a family dispute. Nollie Mumey, Creede: History of a Colorado Silver Mining Town (Denver: Artcraft Press, 1949), pp. 19-21.

to visit the area.²⁸ Although Creede knew very little about gold mines, he was famous in mining circles and, if duly impressed, might spread word of the district's potential to capitalists in Colorado and elsewhere. Springer toured the area with Creede, making sure that he saw its advantages, and sent him home. During the next two years more and more businessmen from Denver, Cripple Creek, and other Colorado cities visited the area to investigate its rumored richness. Many bought lode mines from the Maxwell company or from individual owners or prospectors.

Springer's program was boosted also by the move to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase act²⁹ passed in

28. Creede invaded the district with two other "experienced miners" in the summer of 1892. Although the man had prospected widely in Colorado for nearly a score of years, his big success had been silver, not gold, mining. Yet a well-known man would do much for the reputation of the district. He was apparently guided by M. P. Pels, the Dutch manager of the grant under specific instructions from Springer. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, July 8, 1892, p. 1, reported Creede's plans; Pels reported that the Coloradan intended to "give personal attention" to the district. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, August 10, 1892, p. 4.

29. This legislation was an attempt to satisfy western demands for silver support while simultaneously allaying the fears of eastern capitalists that the country would abandon the gold standard. Neither group approved of the bill. It led to serious depletion of the country's gold reserves and stimulated national financial panic. The repeal bill, approved November 1, 1893, was interpreted by many as evidence of renewed support of gold and led them to increase investments in gold mining areas of the West. A detailed analysis of the congressional struggle for passage and repeal may be found in Clarence A. Stern, Golden Republicanism: The Crusade for Hard Money (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1964).

1890. Unlike many western mining regions, New Mexico contained deposits of both silver and gold; it was to the advantage of the territory, therefore, to promote the use of both metals by the national mint. In urging the purchase of both gold and silver, the New Mexican seemed sure that bimetallism would be victorious in the "great contest" in Washington and that a boom would follow.³⁰ When the government did stop buying silver, the eastern capitalists who had been so reluctant to deal in gold mining investments came forward. By 1894 outside capital and federal support had come to be felt generally in New Mexico. In the next decade these factors would mix in the Baldy district to produce a new wave of prosperity.

The Maxwell Land Grant Company attempted to attract small investors and prospectors into the area to complement and assist the big capitalists. The regulations laid down by the Cimarron Mining District were long forgotten. As the company had the right to regulate the exploitation and operation of mines on its mineral lands, it now established a new mining code.³¹ Written and approved in the spring of

30. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, August 28, 1893, p. 1.

31. Apparently the company had previously operated under a purchase program which required more time and labor. A claim 1,500 by 600 feet could, under the old programs, be acquired for \$5 an acre or \$100. Then the prospector was required to do \$100 worth of work for five years before he could obtain title. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, August 10, 1892, p. 4.

1894, these "Regulations for Mineral Prospectors and Intending Locators upon the Maxwell Land Grant" were advertized as "more liberal" than those of the United States government.

This statement was not entirely true. The regulations provided that a prospector could lay claim to a plot of ground 1,500 feet long by 300 to 600 feet wide simply by posting a notice on the site and laying out boundary markers. Within sixty days he was required to sink a ten-foot exploratory shaft and file a "certificate of notice of location" in the company's offices, paying a fees of twelve dollars. Unlike the federal program, however, the Maxwell company reserved for itself extensions on either end of the claim equal to it in size. This prevented long chains of claims and assured the company of part ownership of every lode. With these regulations taken care of, the miner could enjoy rights of possession for two years. By then, if he decided the lode was rich enough to merit the work and money required, the miner could work to complete a thirty-foot-exploratory shaft. The company would then survey the claim for a fee of ninety-five dollars and advertize the location. If no adverse claimants came forward, the miner could finally buy his claim outright for ten

dollars per acre.³² Forty thousand copies of a booklet detailing the regulations and describing the district in glowing terms were widely circulated in the East by the Santa Fe railroad.³³ The company's proposals appealed to many eastern and midwestern workingmen and to numerous recently arrived immigrants. All climbed aboard the Santa Fe and headed west to New Mexico.

However, effective such promotions may have been, most of the outside capital and labor coming into the Ute Creek and Moreno Valley areas was attracted by the many lodes which were discovered, investigated, and worked in

32. In addition, the company trod on shaky legal ground when it stipulated that changes might be made in the regulations at any future date. Mines having been taken up under the older rules were then required to pay additional fees and to comply with the new rules in order to obtain up-to-date deeds. Later revised regulations were approved April 5, 1897, and December 5, 1901. Souvenir of the Great Elizabethtown Gold and Copper Mining District.

33. The 31-page booklet was produced for the Santa Fe Railroad by its Chicago printer, Poole Brothers, in the spring of 1894. Harry Whigham, the company's "General Land Commissioner" visited Chicago and arranged for the publication of the brochure in April. It contains the earliest available pictures of mining operations on the Ute Creek side of Baldy and is entitled The Gold Mines of the Moreno Valley and Ute Creek Districts, . . . A similar booklet, entitled A Sketch of the Gold Mining Camps and Mining Regulations of the Maxwell Land Grant was issued in the spring of 1896. (See Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, April 18, 1896, p. 1); and a third appeared in 1897 (See New Mexican Miner, May 18, 1897, p. 1). A multi-colored, undated publication called Guide to the Maxwell Grant—1 3/4 Million Acres in New Mexico and Colorado and printed by Rand, McNally & Company of Chicago, was devoted to providing data on the "10,000 farms for sale in the serene, sunny clime" of the area, but also contained descriptions of mines and placers.

these last years of the nineteenth century. As it proved most of the operations were relatively small. A prospector with limited funds, or a group of men who invested capital and hired labor under some company name, would find a rich vein, locate it according to the regulations prescribed by the Dutch corporation, and proceed with limited operations. If the ore proved to be rich and plentiful, they might build a small mill; if not, they carried their rocks to a nearby stamp or shipped them to smelters outside the district.

Most of the miners around Baldy during the 1890s barely eked out livings for themselves and their families. No great fortunes were made. On the western, Moreno Valley side of the peak too many faults and too much erosion made hard-rock operations difficult and even precarious. The valley would always be famous for its placers. There were fewer mines on the Ute Creek side where steeper slopes left less room for laying out claims, but these were far richer than those across the mountain to the west. Up and down both Ute Creek and South Ponil Creek, north and south of the old Aztec, companies struck rich ore, and some were able to follow their leads for long distances and make considerable profit. Many did not. Yet, like the twentieth century slot-machine players, all the Baldy miners kept at their work, hoping and praying but not expecting that the next day would bring a strike equal to that of the

Aztec. Although, like the storied "jackpots" of today, the riches of that famous mine had become vastly exaggerated, each repetition of the story of its discovery caused men to redouble their efforts.

CHAPTER VI

INTO THE HEART OF THE MOUNTAIN

Sounds of activity once more echoed through the canyons of Baldy Mountain. Clangs and creaks again could be heard in tunnels where miners hacked chunks of ore from the mountain's mass and rolled them toward daylight in ponderous ore carts. Iron stamps crashed down on the gold-rich rock with monotonous regularity. Chattering youngsters, gossiping women, and yapping dogs joined in the chorus that announced the revival of the Colfax County mining district in 1893.

Of the mines of Baldy Mountain, the largest and most productive had been the Aztec. Like all the others, however, it was not actively worked after the withdrawal of Shelby, Catron, and Lynch in 1889. Having poured an immense amount of money into the reorganized Aztec Gold Mining Company, the three men were anxious to sell their five-twelfths interest and lease they held on the remaining stock. Through Robert C. Beatie of Trinidad, Colorado, and a promoter named Mattingly, the trio managed in 1892 to arouse the interest of a London syndicate. When the syndicate, which was directed by one Clinton Butterfield, sent an "expert" to visit the site, the resident manager

took him to "every good place" in the mine and showed him the best possible prospects. The Londoners actually visited the premises and found the mine and mill were in operation, started up especially to impress them with the profit-making potential of the area.¹

The three minority owners were unable to acquire controlling interest from the Maxwell company, but the enthusiastic Englishmen cared little. On June 20, 1893, they incorporated the Aztec Gold Mining and Milling Company in the State of Colorado with Henry T. Rogers as president and with a capital stock limit of \$600,000.² Ten days later the new corporation assumed control of the Aztec by purchasing the minority interest of Shelby, Catron and Lynch plus the lease on the company's seven-twelfths interest for \$100,000.³

1. Letter of March 24, 1893, to V. S. Shelby at Fort Worth, Texas, from James Lynch in Thomas B. Catron Collection, University of New Mexico, and Stearns-Roger Manufacturing Company V. Aztec Gold Mining and Milling Company, et. al. (14 New Mexico 300), p. 312.

2. Joining president Rogers on the board of directors were Frank W. Ellis and Elbridge Sabin. State of Colorado Incorporation Records, State Archives, Denver.

3. Half of this amount was to be paid in cash on July 1, 1893, and the remainder on January 1, 1894. Beatie, in writing to Shelby, noted that the Englishmen were not interested in the acquisition of the majority ownership and added that it was best that the previous minority owners be able to control the mine through the Maxwell company should difficulties be forthcoming. Letter from Robert C. Beatie to V. S. Shelby in Thomas B. Catron Collection, University of New Mexico.

A year later Butterfield bought an additional 320-acre plot around the lode for a mill and town site,⁴ and hired Sherman G. Sackett to superintend the operation.⁵ Sackett was soon able to put the mine in first-class condition. As the Englishmen poured money into the venture, modern equipment was installed and the Stearns-Roger Manufacturing Company of Denver began construction of a 30-stamp mill with concentrating tables and a tramway to connect mill with mine.⁶ At the same time Sackett's carpenters were busy renovating residences and building business houses for the reincarnated Baldy Town. But the superintendent had his share of trouble. In the fall of 1893 four men tried to jump a part of the Aztec claim. They timbered two old tunnels, built a cabin to live in, and proceeded to haul out the Englishmen's ore. Sackett seemed powerless to stop it.⁷

4. Stearns-Roger Manufacturing Company V. Aztec Gold Mining and Milling Company, p. 316.

5. Apparently Sackett had powers beyond those of resident superintendent. A notice in Santa Fe referred to him as the company's agent "to accept process" in New Mexico. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, October 19, 1893, p. 1.

6. Stearns-Roger Manufacturing Company V. Aztec Gold Mining and Milling Company, p. 316. The Denver company insisted later that the "tramway material, stamp mill material, and mill extras and stock material" for the 30-stamp mill were valued at \$17,332.96, excluding labor costs. The mill was valued on the basis of the 40-stamp plans drawn by Stearns-Roger and completed February 13, 1894. They are on file at the company's Denver offices, catalogued as 1283/2 and 1340.

7. Sherman G. Sackett to T. B. Catron, November 22, 1893, in Thomas B. Catron Collection, University of New Mexico.

Then "French Henry" Buruel, claiming rights to an old mining claim, declared his ownership of the Aztec mill site and the water near it.⁸

These problems must have been satisfactorily solved, however, for work proceeded until the fall of 1895 when Sackett suddenly announced that there was no more workable ore to feed the mill. He closed down operations.⁹ The Englishmen, in a desperate attempt to supply their expensive plant, contracted with private parties to drive a new exploration tunnel into the mountain.¹⁰ Nothing was found. Shortly their creditors foreclosed, and the Maxwell company regained control of its famous but disappointing property.¹¹

The Black Horse mine, located on a tributary of Ute Creek just south of the Aztec was typical of lode operations on the east side of Baldy. John Kempt first discovered and filed upon the claim in 1871,¹² but abandoned it shortly

8. Sherman G. Sackett to T. B. Catron, March 18, 1894, in Thomas B. Catron Collection, University of New Mexico.

9. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 181.

10. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, June 5, 1895, p. 1.

11. The whole matter of who owned the mine came into dispute in Stearns-Roger Manufacturing Company V. Aztec Gold Mining and Milling Company, not settled until January 13, 1908.

12. Colfax County Records, Miscellaneous Book A, March 18, 1871, p. 199.

thereafter with only limited development work completed. The claim was unworked until Thomas W. Knott and Charles L. Mills relocated it in 1880 as the Four Creeks Mining Company.¹³ The new comers, lacking vigor and capital, accomplished little until Baron Philip H. Van Zuylen joined their enterprise in 1891.¹⁴

In 1884, "Van" leased land on Ute Creek from the Maxwell company¹⁵ and set up a small mill which crushed ore from the few mines that managed to survive those difficult years. When he joined the Four Creeks company, the baron moved his equipment to Black Horse Canyon¹⁶ and enlarged it, adding concentrator tables to remove a larger percentage of the gold.¹⁷ For the next fifteen years the energetic Dutchman associated himself with the Black Horse. He bought and sold interests in the mine and mill, supervised operations, and even provided manual labor. He was

13. Thomas W. Knott, et. al. relocation notice of Black Horse Mine, in Colfax County Records, Miscellaneous Book C, p. 278, April 21, 1880.

14. Cimarron Citizen, March 25, 1908, p. 1, reported on Van Zuylen's inheritance of part of a \$17,000,000 estate. Naturally it described "Van" and his past in glowing terms.

15. Colfax County Records, Mortgage Book B, p. 432, March 21, 1884.

16. Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, September 28, 1891, p. 1.

17. New Mexico Bureau of Immigration, The Mines of New Mexico (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1896), p. 12.

able to make himself a comfortable living doing so.¹⁸

Even though the Black Horse closed down several times for lack of development capital, Van Zuylen and his friends were always able to find new investors and resume work.¹⁹ "Van" never married, but saved his money for a trip back to Holland. This dream he fulfilled in 1897.²⁰ On his return to the district, the baron started back to work at the mine; but when the property became involved in litigation after the turn of the century, the old miner moved to Cimarron.²¹ In 1908 he was preparing to resume operations²² when he received word that he had been left a very

18. As in most cases the exact history of the mine and the sales, leases, and mortgage transactions surrounding it are vague. See New Mexican Miner, January 12, 1897, p. 1; Mining Reporter, January 31, 1901, p. 73; and Santa Fe New Mexican, May 30, 1898, p. 2.

19. The exact relationship which Van Zuylen had with the original proprietors of the Four Creeks Mining Company is unknown. Since the company had extensive operations in the Cimarroncito and Urraca districts several miles south of Baldy, they probably gave most of their attention to that area.

20. New Mexican Miner, June 2, 1897, p. 1.

21. In January of 1901 lessees had taken control of the mine and done 1,700 feet of development work (Mining Reporter, January 31, 1901, p. 73). Van Zuylen was probably involved in that work. During the summer of 1901, he hurt his back in a tunnel cave-in (New Mexican Miner, August 9, 1901, p. 1) and probably moved to Cimarron at that time. When he learned of the inheritance, he was reported to have resided in and about Cimarron for "a number of years." Cimarron Citizen, March 25, 1908, p. 1.

22. Mining Science, February 27, 1907, p. 234.

large fortune by a relative in Holland.²³ Although the size of the inheritance was evidently grossly exaggerated, he never returned to active mining operations. Without him the mine went on the inactive list for many years. While the Black Horse never made anyone wealthy, still it provided an income for Van and many employees for more than ten years.

In addition to newly opened mines like the Black Horse, many of the older producers on the east side were now reactivated. The Mystic, where copper float had attracted attention thirty years previously, stayed in the news because of the frequency with which it changed owners. During a two-year period, it was bought, sold, or leased five times; capital from Chicago, Baltimore, and Boston was poured into the mine. Apparently the difficult milling process necessary to remove the silver, gold, and copper combinations reduced profits and retarded development.²⁴ Another, the Rebel Chief—out of which the prominent New York publisher I. W. England and his associates had so little

23. For a short time early in the century there were two newspapers being published in Cimarron, the Citizen and the News and Press. They battled furiously over the amount inherited by Van Zuylen. It would appear that the total value of the estate was \$17,000,000; "Van" received only a portion. Cimarron Citizen, April 8, 1908, p. 1.

24. Santa Fe New Mexican, July 2, 1898, p. 2; New Mexican Miner, December 2, 1898, p. 1; Daily New Mexican, June 2, 1899, p. 2, and June 7, 1899, p. 2; Mining and Scientific Press, June 17, 1899, p. 644; and Mining Reporter, November 23, 1899, p. 319 and January 11, 1900, p. 24.

satisfaction in 1885—showed signs of revitalization in the 1890s. At first operated by lessees using the fancy but impractical grinding machinery of the earlier period, the Chief was bought by a Chicago syndicate in 1898.²⁵ Plans were made to erect a cyanide plant to separate the gold more effectively,²⁶ but these never materialized and production ceased. On Ponil Creek still another abandoned mine, the French Henry, came again to life. In 1894 operations commenced there under the Claude Mining and Milling Company²⁷ which installed a stamp mill and a 2,700-foot bucket tramway.²⁸ When the mill and mine were bought by J. B. Wheeler of Colorado Springs, he overhauled the mill and profitably extracted ore for several years.²⁹ Scores of other mines

25. New Mexico Bureau of Immigration, Mines of New Mexico, p. 12, and Santa Fe New Mexican, May 30, 1898, p. 2.

26. This process made use of the abilities of cyanide to dissolve the gold and silver out of gold ore. Finely ground rock was put into a solution of cyanide; there all the gold and silver were dissolved, leaving worthless sand to be disposed of. When the solution was saturated, the precious metals were precipitated out of it by chemical means. R. Stuart Browne, "The Cyanide Process," Mining and Scientific Press, May 27, 1905, p. 337.

27. The company was incorporated August 2, 1892. Incorporation Index, State Records Center, Santa Fe.

28. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, April 30, 1894, p. 1.

29. There is some confusion as to when Wheeler bought the mine. In 1894 his plans to spend \$10,000 in developing the property were announced. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, May 5, 1894, p. 1. Seven years later his plans to purchase the mines were printed. New Mexican Miner, June 14, 1901, p. 1. The latter article reported, in addition, that

had similar histories during this period. None were spectacular successes, but many provided good incomes to their owners and operators and added significantly to the production records of the district.

While vigorous activities were underway on Ute and South Ponil Creeks, mining enterprises also turned up on the western slopes of Baldy Mountain. Here other men burrowed into the mountain in search of glittering minerals, but they were usually less successful than their fellows to the east. The geological irregularity of the district made it more difficult to follow the veins for any distance; faults, slides, and intrusions seemed constantly to break off rich veins which could not then be found again. The gentler western slopes of the mountain had washed more too; the same process that produced rich placers in Willow, Grouse, and Humbug gulches had sapped the mountain of much internal wealth. Finally, the Maxwell company did not promote the Moreno mines with the same vigor that it had on Ute Creek, and as a result capital was not so readily available.

Despite such difficulties, several important mines in this area produced considerable amounts of ore. One was the mines and mill had been closed down because of "dissent and litigation." It may have taken Wheeler that long to purchase the controlling interest in the mine so that he could proceed with his plans for development. See also New Mexican Miner, February 9, 1900, p. 1, reprinted in the Mining and Scientific Press, February 24, 1900, p. 210; and Mining Reporter, February 16, 1905, p. 204.

the legal tender,³⁰ located on a ridge between Willow and Grouse gulches. Six or eight men, working under C. W. Watson, already had 600 feet of development work completed by 1894. It is strange that even though the men were extracting ore worth \$20 to \$200 per ton in gold, they were using a primitive arrastra.³¹ Then Watson's men discovered ore rich in silver and lead as well as gold.³² The arrastra was incapable of grinding such ore, and Watson soon sold out to operators better able to provide the needed machinery and technical skill than he. The Kansas City group which first purchased the property accomplished little,³³ but in 1899 the three Matkin brothers of Chicago organized a company to work the Legal Tender. Two of them moved to Elizabethtown to handle operations on the site; the third recruited new capital in Chicago and throughout the East. O. F. Matkin, superintendent, kept the mine in operation until at least 1904,³⁴ deriving a good profit for himself and his

30. The Legal Tender Mining Company was not incorporated until June 16, 1897, apparently when bought by Kansas City interests. Incorporation Index, State Records Center, Santa Fe.

31. Gold Mines of the Moreno Valley and Ute Creek Districts, p. 12; New Mexico Bureau of Immigration, Mines of New Mexico, p. 13.

32. Mining and Scientific Press, May 16, 1895, p. 334.

33. Santa Fe New Mexican, March 23, 1897, p. 1.

34. A whole series of short articles describe the development of the company during these years: Mining Reporter, November 30, 1899, p. 336; December 14, 1899, p. 364;

brothers but little for the capitalists who invested in the mine. As at the Black Horse, local management and outside financial support had successfully combined in the operation of the properties.

Pittsburg investors provided the capital for the Senate-Bobtail complex at the head of Grouse Gulch.³⁵ After years of relative inactivity in the gulch the Smithfield Company³⁶ installed machinery and put a force of men to work in the Senate-Bobtail during the winter of 1899-1900.³⁷ With a conservative program of development underway, the managers of this company did well at first. They took out paying ore while proceeding with a long-term development program.³⁸ Then the managers struck ore worth \$500 a ton, and this kept the newly-installed mill pounding away for a year.³⁹ When a rich vein of silver ore was struck,

July 10, 1902, p. 37; and December 5, 1902, p. 476; Mining and Scientific Press, July 6, 1901, p. 9; October 5, 1901, p. 146; and January 18, 1902, p. 47.

35. Mining and Scientific Press, October 5, 1901, p. 146.

36. Incorporated August 14, 1899. Incorporation Index, State Records Center, Santa Fe.

37. Daily New Mexican, January 2, 1899, p. 2, and Mining Reporter, December 14, 1899, p. 264.

38. New Mexican Miner, May 12, 1900, p. 1.

39. The same article reporting the discovery of an 18-inch vein with values to \$500 per ton appeared in the Mining and Scientific Press, March 2, 1901, p. 119; March 9, 1901, p. 128; and July 6, 1901, p. 9; in the Mining Reporter, February 28, 1901, p. 137; and in the Engineering and Mining

however, trouble began. Even the expensive machinery bought to work this ore could not do so, and inadequate water supplies and inexperienced labor ate up the profits.⁴⁰ New managers searched for a vein of easily milled ore, but had no success.⁴¹ Finally the mine closed after a last attempt by other Pittsburg investors failed in 1907.⁴²

The Legal Tender and Senate-Boobtail were smash successes in comparison with many smaller but highly touted operations that failed to produce even modest returns. Between 1899 and 1901, for example, the promoters of the Golden Era loudly predicted a bonanza; the company capitalized at \$100,000, built a mill in Nigger Gulch, and put men to work day and night. When all its eastern capital was gone, the Golden Era closed—never to reopen.⁴³ Under the leadership of the Walsh brothers, the Ohio Gold Mining and Milling Company worked the Denver mine. They installed a cyanide plant with a capacity of fifty tons of ore daily and prepared for extensive operations. As in the Tombstone

Journal, March 2, 1901, p. 285.

40. Mining and Scientific Press, January 18, 1902, p. 41, and March 1, 1902, p. 120; and Mining Reporter, July 10, 1902, p. 37.

41. Mining and Scientific Press, January 24, 1903, p. 62.

42. Mining Reporter, September 19, 1907, p. 278.

43. Mining Reporter, December 14, 1899, p. 364; January 11, 1900, p. 24; and Mining and Scientific Press,

mines of Arizona, the shafts flooded; costs of pumping water were too great and the project collapsed.⁴⁴ The Mills Tunnel Company got its capital from Colorado, New Mexico, and Ohio;⁴⁵ and used it all in vain. The Ajax obtained money from Denver and Kansas City, but showed no return.⁴⁶ Over and over such undertakings were launched, lasted only a short time, and failed undramatically. Eastern capitalists who poured money into the Moreno District in these days were sorely disappointed.

Yet hundreds of gold-seeking prospectors and capitalists swarmed into the Moreno Valley in the 1890s, necessitating the re-establishment of public transportation. To meet the demand, the Springer and Moreno Valley stage line started daily runs on May 1, 1894. The same combination of capital that manifested itself in so many mines promoted the line; Harry Whigham, "Land Commissioner" of the Maxwell

December 22, 1900, p. 600; June 2, 1900, p. 415; January 26, 1901, p. 66; and April 27, 1901, p. 305; Mining Reporter, February 14, 1901, p. 106; March 21, 1901, p. 191; and April 18, 1901, p. 255.

⁴⁴. Mining and Scientific Press, July 1, 1899, p. 15; March 16, 1901, p. 139; July 6, 1901, p. 9; November 9, 1901, p. 197; November 30, 1901, p. 237; February 1, 1902, p. 81; and March 29, 1902, p. 183; Mining Reporter, January 31, 1901, p. 73; and Engineering and Mining Journal, February 23, 1901, p. 256.

⁴⁵. Incorporated July 22, 1897. Incorporation Index State Records Center, Santa Fe. Mining and Scientific Press July 31, 1897, p. 103; and Santa Fe New Mexican, July 16, 1898, p. 3 and October 19, 1898, p. 1.

⁴⁶. New Mexican Miner, December 4, 1897, p. 1.

company, M. W. Mills, Las Vegas politician, businessman, and mine owner, and Gilbert R. Weir, A Denver capitalist, were its incorporators.⁴⁷ The passenger traffic was so heavy that the company had to run double-headers every other day to keep up with the demand;⁴⁸ Wells Fargo express business increased its profits, as did federal mail contracts.⁴⁹ A competitive line owned by H. H. Hankins, soon inaugurated coach and freight business. It did poorly at first, but when Hankins threatened to suspend operations the residents of Springer raised \$1,600 to pull him through.⁵⁰ Business soon improved, and Hankins prospered. In one month his coaches carried 221 passengers; each paid five dollars to make the rough and dirty ride from the railhead at Springer into the Baldy district.⁵¹

and Santa Fe New Mexican, November 7, 1898, p. 2, and December 6, 1898, p. 2.

47. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, May 5, 1894, p. 1. An earlier article in the same paper (April 30, 1894) made no mention of Wier.

48. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, April 10, 1896, p.1.

49. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, May 5, 1894, p. 1.

50. There is some question that this stage line was discontinued by a man named "Hawkins" and reopened by one called "Hankins." Daily New Mexican, December 4, 1896, p. 1; March 29, 1897, p. 1; and April 10, 1897, p. 1, all refer to the second man. Apparently the Whigham-Mills-Weir enterprise dissolved sometime during this period, which would account for the increased prosperity of the Moreno Valley Company.

51. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, July 16, 1897, p. 1.

Most of the visitors to the district ended up in Elizabethtown, which had regained much of its old vigor and enterprise. The primitive character of the town had largely disappeared. People were more interested in education, religion, and even the arts. Newspapers reported fewer shootings, no lynchings, and more church socials and dinner parties. The first evidence of the boom was the founding of a newspaper. Like almost everyone, the editors, Hutchinson and Barnett, had come from Colorado where they had run a La Junta paper. More recently they had managed the Colfax County Stockman in Springer.⁵² After a decline in the cattle business, the two moved to Elizabethtown. The Northern New Mexican Miner first appeared in the early fall of 1896; publication continued uninterrupted until 1902.⁵³

Other evidence of prosperity at Elizabethtown was apparent in the spring of 1897 when carpenters were particularly busy building residences and business structures.⁵⁴

52. Daily New Mexican, August 31, 1896, quoting from the Springer Stockman. The location of the article on page four indicates the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the still very Republican New Mexican to the inauguration of a Democratic paper in Elizabethtown.

53. Before long the word "Northern" was dropped, and the paper became the New Mexican Miner. A Check List of New Mexico Newspapers, p. 12.

54. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, April 28, 1897, p. 1, and May 21, 1897, p. 1.

When the population reached 200 in June,⁵⁵ the old school building was bursting and the citizens demanded a new one.⁵⁶ When it was completed for the fall semester of 1898, 191 pupils were in attendance.⁵⁷ Three hotels were open: B. Nadock's Moreno Hotel, Mutz's substantial Story Hotel, and the Miners' Inn.⁵⁸ Wilson and Perry opened a meat market in 1898 which prospered in the bustling little town.⁵⁹

The residents of Elizabethtown considered themselves to be really cosmopolitan when a Sunday school and an amateur dramatic society were established in 1898.⁶⁰ Some local composer even wrote a poem which exhibited the civil enthusiasm of the day:

Read it here, read it there
 Read it up and down.
 You can see it everywhere,
 The boom has struck the town.

Sound it from the housetops,
 Paint it in the sky.
 E-town's boom has come to stay.
 You know the reason why?

55. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, June 9, 1897, p. 1.

56. Santa Fe Daily New Mexiaan, May 21, 1897, p. 1.

57. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, November 5, 1898,
 p. 1.

58. Hazel Cooke Upshaw, "Gold Rush Town," New Mexico Magazine, April 1958, p. 49.

59. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, June 17, 1898, p.1.

60. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, April 29, 1898, p. 2, and June 7, 1898, p. 2.

We have the stuff—we have enough
We're not the men to blow it,
And we mind, it is the time,
To let the wide world know it. 61

Although the quality of the verse may be indicative of the level of literacy in Elizabethtown at the end of the century, such enthusiasm pointed the way towards an even more prosperous future.

61. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 265, from New Mexican Miner, June 2, 1897. Several stanzas comparing Elizabethtown with other towns in the area are here omitted.

CHAPTER VII

PATHS TO PROSPERITY—OR TO RUIN

Expressions of confidence from the people of the Baldy district at the turn of the century coincided with a significant turn in the history of the area. The vast sums of capital attracted by the Maxwell Land Grant Company would now have to be adequately used if the district was to maintain its prosperity. The men interested in its mines would have to keep abreast of technological advances if they were to extract wealth from the big mountain. If these goals could be achieved, the Baldy district might retain its fame and its boom. If not, it would sink to the status of other broken, worthless mining towns which already were cluttering the West.

One objective was the development of a railroad to supply adequate transportation to the district. Such a road would facilitate the shipment of complex ores and concentrated amalgams to distant smelters and provide a cheaper means of bringing heavy mining machinery into the region. It would also allow for the exploitation of rich iron deposits which had been found in the area. In 1893 a group of New York investors under the leadership of W. D. Cameron laid the first plans for a road from the main line

of the Santa Fe at Maxwell City westward to Taos and then northward into Colorado. Such a line would pass through the heart of the Baldy district. But these plans were abandoned after the Panic of '93 and several years of railroad inactivity followed.¹ Then, in the last months of the century, three separate companies announced new plans to put a railroad into the Baldy area. The Colorado and Southern was to build south from Catskill, a little lumber town west of Raton, to a point only twenty miles from the mining region;² The New Mexico and Western proposed to follow the old Cameron route,³ as did the Taos and Cimarron Railroad.⁴ None of these got past the surveying stage.

The Mining areas surrounding Baldy Mountain were without railroad communication for a few years more, but in 1905 the St. Louis, Rocky Mountain and Pacific line commenced work. It planned to build south from the Santa Fe's connection at Raton, through the rich coal beds of

1. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, October 21, 1893, p.1.

2. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, January 12, 1900, p. 1, and Mining Reporter, May 3, 1900, p. 270, quoting from Elizabeth Mining Bulletin. (This paper, which apparently was printed for a time in Elizabethtown is very obscure. No information has been found as to editorship, dates of publication, or the like.)

3. Mining and Scientific Press, May 23, 1899, p.421.

4. Mining Reporter, April 14, 1899, p. 123.

northern Colfax County to Cimarron, and west into the Baldy area.⁵ Construction pushed on rapidly, and on December 10, 1906, the first train pulled into the old Indian campsite at Ute Park,⁶ just a few miles south of Baldy Town and the Aztec mine. When the owners of the railroad bought a tract called "Iron Mountain" near Elizabethtown,⁷ the citizens of the Moreno Valley expected a momentary announcement of plans for completion. Elizabethtown's residents anticipated the establishment of reduction and manufacturing plants in the area to consume the vast iron deposits which they expected to be worked.⁸ But high hopes vanished as the railroad failed to move westward. The track to Ute Park was purchased by the Santa Fe company in 1913 and continued to be used until 1942,⁹ promoting development of the Ute Creek properties but doing little to save the dying valley of the Moreno.

5. The line was incorporated on June 26, 1904, and commenced construction soon after. James Marshall, Santa Fe The Railroad That Built an Empire (New York: Random House, 1945), p. 434.

6. Robert M. Ormes, Railroads and the Rockies, A Record of Lines in and near Colorado (Denver: Sage Books, 1963), p. 345, and Mining World, February 3, 1907, p. 297; and Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 208. Marshall, Santa Fe, p. 434, says operations started in 1907.

7. Mining and Scientific Press, May 4, 1907, p.553.

8. Mining and Scientific Press, March 31, 1906, p. 229.

9. Marshall, Santa Fe, p. 424. Actually the purchase was achieved gradually. The road was separately operated by the Santa Fe at first. The name was then

Even without the railroad, many miners looked to the introduction of large-scale industrial placer mining as the panacea for Elizabethtown's troubles. Operators such as the Lynch brothers and Thomas Ritchie had profitably operated hydraulic systems on the slopes of the Moreno Valley for years.¹⁰ A big dredger with equipment to minimize water consumption and increase production, many still thought, would bring prosperity to the area. In 1894, Henry H. Argue and a group of Buffalo investors had become interested in placering. Leasing a tract of Moreno Valley land from the Maxwell company, Argue negotiated with the Bucyrus Dredger Company for the installation of their large machinery. Delivered and installed by the spring of 1895, the dredging machine set to work. It was constructed on a steam-powered railroad car so that it would move forward, scooping up,

changed to the Rocky Mountain and Santa Fe Railroad Company, in March, 1915, and it was leased to the parent company on July 1 of that year.

10. An account in the Santa Fe New Mexican, June 5, 1893, p. 1, gives some indication of the tremendous amounts of water consumed by these wasteful hydraulicking operations. "A four-inch stream of water is forced from the nozzle of an iron pipe under a head of 200 feet perpendicular pressure, against a gold bearing gravel bank, from eight to twelve feet high, above the bed rock. This rapidly disintegrates large quantities of gold-bearing gravel and washes it through a long narrow arroyo called a ground sluice, and on through long boxes in which the gold is saved and the earth, gravel, and rocks are washed on through and dumped in great masses below the rushing flood of water passing through the sluices."

washing, and spitting out immense quantities of gravel with relatively small amounts of water. It was unsuccessful, however, as expenses were too high, and after several attempts, the project was abandoned. Argue's company continued to operate conventional hydraulicking machinery for some time to recoup its losses.¹¹ Then, in 1897, reincorporated as the Moreno Valley Mining Company, the Buffalo people tried a new dredger.¹² This time Chicago interests cooperated in building the apparatus, which operated sporadically for two years. It was no more successful than its predecessor and was finally abandoned.¹³

Despite the failure of Argue's two projects, H. J. Reiling of Chicago determined to let his newly developed dredge machine prove itself in New Mexican gravels. In the fall of 1900 Reiling organized the Oro Dredging Company,¹⁴ secured two and a half miles of placer ground 1,000 feet

11. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 195-96, details the early Argue operations but does not cite any sources. Presumably the material was gleaned from the Maxwell company files, to which he had access.

12. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican announced the incorporation of the new company on March 22, 1897, p. 1, with an unusually large story headed "Capital for Baldy—Organization of a Heavily Capitalized Association...."

13. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 196.

14. Pearson (Ibid., p. 197) says that the company was incorporated on February 1, 1901, but the Incorporation Index at the State Records Center, Santa Fe, dates its incorporation from February 28, 1901. Preliminary work got under way long before then.

wide along the Moreno River, and proceeded with actual building.¹⁵ C. J. Dold contracted to supply 200,000 feet of lumber for the big boat,¹⁶ and other Elizabethtown people agreed to build a dam for backing up water in which the machinery might rest.¹⁷ Meanwhile the two Taos men undertook the task of transporting 35,000 pounds of equipment to the site. The huge boilers and hundreds of wheels, beams and other parts were inched through the rugged Cimarron Canyon between the railhead and Elizabethtown.¹⁸ By August 20, 1901, all was in place, and that day people from Colfax County and many distant places gathered on the flats below Elizabethtown for the dedication of the "Eleanor." H. J. Reiling opened the ceremonies:

We have gathered here today to christen this boat and I have chosen the name of a lovely girl, one who is a precious stone, a diamond in her home...I can name this boat Eleanor, and know success is sure....My associates and I have invested thousands of dollars here. If we succeed, we know we will have your hearty congratulations;

15. Mining and Scientific Press, September 29, 1900, p. 378. The article also noted that the "pay dirt" was eighteen feet thick and tested out at thirty cents per yard. It was expected that two dredgers would be in operation by June of 1901.

16. Mining and Scientific Press, October 27, 1900, p. 499.

17. Engineering and Mining Journal, June 1, 1901, p. 392.

18. This version of the transportation difficulties is in a highly colored story by Manville Chapman, "The Eleanor of E-town," New Mexico Magazine, November 1937, pp. 20-21. Person, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 198, has another tale.

if we fail, the regrets and sympathy of all. With such effort we feel we can risk much to make this camp a success.

He then introduced Mrs. W. A. Maughey, "The loveliest pearl that fair Ohio had produced" who dedicated the cumbersome dredge as though it were a graceful ocean liner:

With the authority given me by the powers that be, I christen thee, Eleanor. May thy wheels never turn without profit to thy owners; may there be no loss of gold to thy owners; may there be no leakage of water in thy seams. May harmony and success prevail. May our kind host gather wealth and comfort from thee and ever continue to be one of us—a good fellow.¹⁹

Soon after the festivities the land-locked barge was put to its work. Full scale operations commenced on September 26 and continued until mid-December when cold weather forced the shutdown of work. The machine was successful from the first.²⁰ By 1903 reports credited the little ship with taking out \$750 to \$1,000 per day²¹ and producing one-third of the entire gold output of the territory.²² Reiling's successful operations during 1904 prompted a group of California speculators to consider a competitive project. They sent a crew to the district to explore its gravel and determine if it could be successfully

19. Chapman, "The Eleanor of E-town," pp. 20-1,46.

20. Ibid.

21. Mining Reporter, July 2, 1903, p. 22.

22. Mining Reporter, September 24, 1903, p. 296. New Mexico produced only \$531,100 in gold during 1902 which would put the estimated take of the dredger at about \$175,000. Mining World, June 21, 1911, p. 107.

worked by additional dredges.²³ These plans floundered, however, and the Oro Dredging Company looked forward to many years of profitable work as the 1905 season got under way.

Reiling's company proved so successful that he soon extended operations into Colorado. The old dredger was mortgaged to raise capital, and Reiling left to superintend the new machine.²⁴ The expansion was disastrous. After only one season of unprofitable grounds and poor management, the company found itself bankrupt. On June 26, 1906, the big boat was sold to Charles Springer and J. Van Houten of the Maxwell Land Grant Company to satisfy the mortgage holders.²⁵ They never operated the machinery again. The failure of the dredge operation marked the end of large-scale placer mining in the Moreno Valley and another step toward the end of production in the district.

Argue's perseverance in the dredge business was surpassed only by that of two brothers, Alexander T. and

23. The Mining Reporter, February 16, 1905, p. 204. seemed certain that at least one more dredger and possibly two would be installed because of the amazing profits reaped by the one already established.

24. Among these professional journals which predicted increased production for the machine in 1905 were the Mining and Scientific Press, January 14, 1905, p. 53, and Mining Reporter, May 18, 1905, p. 514.

25. Mining Reporter, July 19, 1906, p. 73, and Chapman, "The Eleanor of E-town," p. 46. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 202, fails to mention Van Houten.

William P. McIntyre,²⁶ who searched for the "mother lode" in Baldy Mountain for nearly forty years. In 1898 the New Mexican Miner proposed that some outside capitalists "tunnel...the mountain" and suggested a geological theory of its own:

Disregarding the learned and scientific ideas, and taking the common and accepted theory, there must be far riches and better leads than have ever been taken out in the Baldy region....Where there is all this "smoke"..there is certain to be a great and hidden "fire."

The editor continued by challenging any other mining camp in the world to propose a "more alluring" proposition to "the conservative, venturesome capitalist."²⁷ The first group to try to tunnel all the way through the peak was organized on February 27, 1899, as the "E-town Tunnel Company,"²⁸ but its plans were never put into operation. In the fall of 1900 the McIntyres and Leroy Burt incorporated a company

26. The McIntyre brothers were both born in Brooklyn, but reared in an orphanage in Iowa. The pair never married. Before coming to New Mexico sometime in 1899 the two men had done considerable prospecting in Colorado. Hazel Cooke Upshaw, "Deep Tunnel Mne," New Mexico Magazine, March 1950, p. 23; History of New Mexico, II, p. 959; and interview with William Brewster at Cimarron, New Mexico, August 28, 1963, Brewster, a nephew of the McIntyres, worked for them from 1921 until 1936.

27. New Mexican Miner, October 21, 1898, p. 1.

28. Mining and Scientific Press, March 11, 1899, p. 258.

of their own, the Gold and Copper Deep Tunnel Mining and Milling Company.²⁹

The plans of the McIntyres were as formidable as the name of their organization. They would start at the top of Big Nigger Gulch above Elizabethtown and bore 3,000 feet into the mountain in a northwesterly direction, reaching a depth of 1,800 feet. Within a few weeks several "commodious" buildings had been erected and two shifts were at work.³⁰ The men labored with hand drills that first winter, but when the board of directors met in January they voted to install machinery and power drills.³¹ The work moved faster during the spring, and by June 350 feet were completed.³² The end of the year 1901 found the tunnel over 500 feet into the mountain.³³

29. New Mexican Miner, October 25, 1900, p. 1. Mining and Scientific Press, November 3, 1900, p. 512. Burt "recently from Iowa," was an old friend of the McIntyre brothers. The three were joined on the board of directors by Brian M. Blackwell and James Lynch, old-time Moreno Valley prospectors and mine owners. The company was incorporated in the territory on October 20, 1900. Incorporation Index, State Records Center, Santa Fe.

30. New Mexican Miner, November 8, 1900, p. 1. Also reported in Mining Reporter, November 8, 1900, p. 288, and Mining and Scientific Press, December 1, 1900, p. 564.

31. New Mexican Miner, January 16, 1901. The original board of directors was re-elected, as were the officers. The McIntyre brothers and Burt solidly controlled the company during these first years.

32. New Mexican Miner, June 21, 1901, p. 1.

33. New Mexican Miner, August 20, 1901, p. 1.

After one full year of operation, work on the deep tunnel slowed. The McIntyre brothers found it necessary to sell stock so that they could continue operations, which was practically on a day-to-day basis. One brother usually stayed at the mine, superintending work or serving as consultant to some other company to make expenses, while the other went east and sold stock to keep the operation going.

Late in December, 1901, the company ordered a Victor hand-power drill which was expected to speed up tunnelling and cut costs.³⁴ It arrived and was carried up the mountain to start work, but the bit quickly proved imperfect and had to be replaced.³⁵ The new bit, made of steel instead of cast iron, was installed in late January and served quite successfully.³⁶ Curious as to the operation on Baldy, the editor of the New Mexican Miner came up to investigate early in February of 1902. "We took a candle," he reported, "and proceeded to inspect the property as much as our experience would permit." The journalist did notice that in the last "shot in the breast" there were some small veins of white quartz, containing copper and iron "plainly visible to the naked eye." His report was exuberant:

34. New Mexican Miner, December 6, 1901, p. 1.

35. New Mexican Miner, December 20, 1901, p. 1, and January 3, 1902, p. 1.

36. New Mexican Miner, January 10, 1902, p. 1, and January 17, 1902, p. 1. The steel drill arrived in time to be reported in the Miner published January 31, 1902, p. 1.

This proposition is one that will test old Baldy Mountain for ore values as all veins in the immediate vicinity run into the mountain we expect to receive the good news any day that a rich ore body has been encountered in the tunnels.³⁷

That good news never came, but still the McIntyres pursued their endless work. The years between 1902 and 1908 were disappointing ones for the Deep Tunnel Gold and Copper Mining and Milling Company and its determined promoters. They plunged deeper and deeper into the mountain, but nothing of value rewarded their efforts. In July, 1902, hopes were high enough to predict a strike of twenty "known" veins and sufficient water to supply the placer mines in the Moreno Valley.³⁸ Two years later the mighty hole was 1,200 feet long, and still the work went on.³⁹ At 1,400 feet a promising vein of Petzite, "a silver-gold telluride," was struck along with a gushing stream of water,⁴⁰ but soon both "pinched out." During 1906 the brothers discovered a number of rich "stringers" of ore at the 2,000-foot level, but were unable to find the long-awaited vein.⁴¹ By 1908 they were no longer able to attract sufficient capital to keep

37. New Mexican Miner, February 7, 1902, p. 1.

38. Mining Reporter, July 10, 1902, p. 37.

39. Mining and Scientific Press, September 24, 1904, p. 214.

40. Mining and Scientific Press, May 28, 1904, p. 370.

41. Mining Reporter, July 5, 1906, p. 21, and Mining and Scientific Press, July 14, 1906, p. 24.

men at work. From time to time some investor would provide enough money to hire a gang to tunnel a few more feet or to let a contract for work to be completed, but it would be twenty-five years before the tunnel would be completed all the way through Baldy Mountain.

While the Deep Tunnel company was boring into the mountain from the west, others continued digging into Aztec ridge on the eastern slopes of the peak. After the failure of Sherman Sackett and the English development company in the mid-1890s, Charles Ferris of Denver and other Colorado investors attempted to reactivate the rich Aztec mine. Unsuccessful at first, the Denver group interested a number of wealthy Chicago businessmen who organized themselves as the Baldy Gold Mining and Milling Company⁴² and promised to put \$18,000 in development money into the area.⁴³ David R. Smith, the secretary of the company, proceeded to develop the corporation's land in a "business and

42. Incorporated June 23, 1898. Incorporation Index at State Records Center, Santa Fe.

43. The Chicago group did get the old 20-stamp mill going in the fall of 1897. (Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, November 4, 1897, p. 1). It was apparently notoriously inefficient for Dr. Shuler of Raton denounced the method which retrieved only thirty to fifty per cent of the values and declared that any camp that could "survive under these crude methods must be worth looking into." Mining and Scientific Press, June 11, 1898, p. 623. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 182-83, goes into detail in discussing the financial arrangements of both the Ferris company and the Baldy Gold Mining and Milling operation.

and systematic manner" in 1898. Professor R. C. Wilson, known for his abilities to get work done, took over the superintendency and pushed development.⁴⁴ Wilson sank a working shaft to 100 feet below the oldest previous workings and dug a crosscut tunnel at that level. The forty dollar ore retrieved was pounded in the overhauled mill, which he had enlarged to double its previous capacity.⁴⁵ The men struck a large body of high grade ore in December of 1898 and all were in "fine feathers" by Christmas.⁴⁶ The professor was able to take fifteen pounds of gold from the Aztec after only two weeks of work on his new strike.⁴⁷

44. Smith paid a personal visit to Elizabethtown and the mine in the fall of 1898 to inspect the property and assure the residents of the district that he would bring the Aztec "once more into the list of producers." New Mexican Miner, September 3, 1898, p. 1.

45. New Mexican Miner, November 25, 1898, p. 1. Santa Fe New Mexican, November 26, 1898, p. 2. Mining and Scientific Press, December 3, 1898, p. 559, and December 24, 1898, p. 638. Santa Fe New Mexican, December 17, 1898, p. 2.

46. New Mexican Miner, December 23, 1898, p. 1. Reprinted and elaborated in Daily New Mexican, January 7, 1899, p. 2. and Mining and Scientific Press, January 7, 1899, p. 7.

47. New Mexican Miner, January 12, 1899, p. 1. Judge S. E. Booth, the representative of the Maxwell Land Grant Company in the district showed a \$65 nugget around the county in early January which he said came from the Aztec. New Mexican Miner, January 12, 1899, p. 1, from Las Vegas Daily Optic. The rich ore was stored at the mine for shipment to the mill or in some cases to outside facilities where it could be more efficiently worked. Three sacks of this "high grade" were reported stolen during the winter. It was worth \$3 per pound. New Mexican Miner, January 20,

While the mine was closed later that winter, the mill was revamped to enable more efficient operation, the contracts were let for 1,000 cords of wood to supply the steam boilers during the coming year.⁴⁸ All prospects pointed to unprecedented success for 1899.

Activities in the little village of Baldy Town rivaled those of its neighbor in the Moreno Valley for a few years just before the turn of the century. In the fall of 1897 men from all over the district gathered there to watch a lightweight boxing match between Sturbo and Connelly. Henry Buruel of the French Henry mine was timekeeper. Connelly recovered once after having been down to the count of seven, but he was finished when Sturbo's fist crashed against his face for a second time.⁴⁹ The next spring the residents of the village met after the sinking of the U.S.S. Maine in Havana Harbor to announce their support of the war against Spain. After "spirited outbursts of patriotic speeches by the prominent citizens of the City of Baldy,"

1899, p. 1. The author received a letter in 1963 which purportedly gave directions to the spot on French Henry ridge where large quantities of this ore had been hidden by discovered miners many years ago. They were unable to return later to get their gold.

48. New Mexican Miner, January 27, 1899, p. 1.

49. New Mexican Miner, August 21, 1897, p. 1.

a series of resolutions were passed in which the people "promised financial and physical support" for the nation. The enthusiasm was tremendous. "Never before in the history of our city's life," reported a citizen, "has there been such a gathering of people....Undoubtedly 1,000 men could be raised on two days' notice."⁵⁰ On a more cultural level, Miss Virginia Keyes was keeping school⁵¹ in the little town while the Rev. A. A. Hyde attempted to get a Methodist church started on land donated by the Maxwell Land Grant Company.⁵² Like Elizabethtown, Baldy had achieved an air of respectability.

The 1899 mining season proved disastrous, and the Aztec operators went broke as fast as had the dredge men in the Moreno Valley. The company feared losses and sent a major stockholder and officer, H. Lutzcherchen, from Chicago to superintendent operations.⁵³ He quickly hired D. B. Merry to make underground surveys in hopes of finding additional veins to replace the earlier ones which had played out.⁵⁴

50. New Mexican Miner, August 6, 1898, p. 1.

51. Santa Fe New Mexican, April 23, 1898, p. 1, reported that Miss Keyes was visiting her sister in E-town. Although this woman had the same name as Maxwell's daughter who married Captain Keyes, it is doubtful that she was a relative of the famous family.

52. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, June 4, 1895, p. 1.

53. New Mexican Miner, January 27, 1899, p. 1.

54. New Mexican Miner, June 2, 1899, p. 4.

Everything went wrong. High development costs combined with poor lode returns to overburden the company with debt. When the eastern investors, wisely foreseeing the financial collapse of the mining company, refused to provide additional support, operations closed down. Before long the company was unable to make its mortgage payments and lost control of the mine, mill and townsite.⁵⁵ Between 1902 and 1907

A. G. Ward did intermittent prospecting and small development work within the mine, but he lacked any financial backing and was generally unsuccessful.⁵⁶ By 1908 everyone realized that the mine could be profitably managed only with direct control and support from the Maxwell Land Grant Company. It alone could provide sufficient capital, local interest, and skilled management to produce a financially rewarding situation.

The year 1908 marked the temporary end of all important operations on the slopes of Baldy Mountain. After the residents of Cimarron complained bitterly of water pollution in the Cimarron River, the Maxwell company ordered that all placer operations be suspended.⁵⁷ Such a command

55. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 183-84, goes into some detail as to the elaborate financial difficulties which the Baldy company encountered before finally losing the property.

56. Ibid., p. 184, and Mining and Scientific Press, April 4, 1903, p. 183.

57. Mining Science, February 29, 1908, p. 234.

severely hampered the Moreno Valley which had previously held on through the difficult periods of lode mining with its placers. That same year the company announced new policies which required that a miner purchase land script before he could locate claims. They seemed logically sound, but the amount of capital necessary to enable a prospector even to go out in search of rich leads prevented many poorer men from exploring the rocky slopes of Baldy Mountain.⁵⁸

Disappointments over the failure of the railroad to reach Elizabethtown, over the failure of the dredges to continue profitable operation, and over the failure of any lode mine to produce for any length of time bled the district of capital and miners. By 1910 the eastern slopes of Baldy Mountain were still. Deep inside the mountain a little life stirred around the activities of the Deep Tunnel Company, but very little. In the Moreno Valley the hulk of the "Eleanor" rusted slowly away, covered more and more by the blowing dirt and sand of the valley. All social activities moved from Baldy Town and Elizabethtown to Eagle Nest, near old Virginia City, where a new dam drew tourists and sportsmen from all over the West. At the headwaters of Ute Creek the Aztec was vacant. It remained the only hope for another revival of the district.

58. Cimarron Citizen, March 18, 1908, p. 1.

CHAPTER VIII

RALLY ON AZTEC RIDGE

In 1909 Colfax County miners knew that there was still a tremendous store of precious metals locked inside the great vault called Baldy. But how, they wondered, could it be profitably extracted? A shortage of water in the Moreno Valley had doomed all but the richest placer grounds; giant dredges like the "Eleanor" seemed incapable of earning sustained profits. Mine and mill operators with insufficient technical knowledge and practical experience had been responsible for staggering losses to all but a very few investors on both the fractured slopes of Baldy. Elusive veins inside the mountain had evaded the Deep Tunnel of the McIntyre brothers. After the promoters of the once-renowned Aztec mine failed to exploit their property profitably, many predicted that the Baldy district was bound on a one-track tramway to abandonment.¹

1. The census figures for 1910 demonstrate the decline which the district, particularly Elizabethtown and the Moreno Valley around it, had suffered. E-town, which had had 572 residents a decade earlier, could claim only 229 by 1910. By contrast, tourist enterprises and railroad activity at Ute Park, together with construction at the Aztec had pushed Baldy precinct's population to 148, 47 more than at the last count. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the

As it proved, the Maxwell Land Grant Company would invalidate these cheerless predictions of failure. The resurrection of the Aztec mine in 1919 opened the third and final act in the drama of Baldy Mountain. After A. G. Ward abandoned his prospecting schemes there in 1907, two inactive years went by until the Dutch corporation employed J. T. Sparks to superintend miners working at the headwaters of Ute Creek. Sparks was neither a professional engineer nor a practical miner, but he was rough enough and tough enough to control the local miners working under his direction.² To give Sparks technical advice, the company officials hired as consultant a well-known Colorado mining engineer, Charles A. Chase.³

Year 1910 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), Vol. II "Population," p. 163. During that same year the total mineral production in Colfax County was valued at only \$13,358, of which more than two-thirds came from placer mining. Lasky and Wootton, Metal Resources of New Mexico, p. 41.

2. Ernest V. Deshayes to Author, October 24, 1964.

3. Chase was born in Hartford, Wisconsin, in 1876. He attended the University of Colorado, graduating in the class of 1898. He then went to work for the Liberty Bell Gold Mining Company where he remained for many years. Chase also served as consultant for mines in Colorado, South Dakota, and other western areas. He later was a member of the board of directors of the Bank of Telluride, Colorado, and held an esteemed position among Rocky Mountain engineers. After a long career, Chase died on August 31, 1955. John W. Lund (ed.), Who's Who in Engineering, 1922-3 (New York: John Lund Company, 1923), p. 256; W. S. Davis (ed.), Who's Who in Engineering (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1931), p. 225; National Cyclopedia of American Biography (New York: James T. White Company, 1962), Vol. XLV, p. 455.

It was probably on the recommendation of Chase that Sparks sank four shafts, identified numerically, at intervals of seventy-five feet along Aztec ridge. Shaft No. 4 struck a contact formation ore body late in 1911. During the next four years activity at the Aztec centered at this pit, the most important source of gold in the Baldy district. Sparks probed from the initial find, but was able to extract only meager quantities of low-grade ore.⁴ Because of high development costs, his expenses exceeded returns by \$24,796.55. What was worse, Sparks started drinking excessively. After Superintendent Jan Van Houten learned that his mine foreman was in a drunken stupor much of the time, he discharged Sparks on April 10, 1914.⁵

Van Houten immediately summoned Ernest V. Deshayes,⁶

4. Narciso Federici, a pioneer Cimarron resident, reported in an interview August 27, 1963, that Sparks purposely avoided exploiting the rich veins which he found, hoping that the Dutch company would lose interest and that he could lease the mine. The company refused his offer, said Federici, and discharged him.

5. Chase and Muir, "The Aztec Mine, Baldy New Mexico," pp. 270-71; Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 250, from reports and letters in the files of the Maxwell Land Grant Company, Raton; and Ernest V. Deshayes to Author, October 24, 1964.

Deshayes was born in 1888 in Westchester County New York. Because of his mother's persistent ill health, young Deshayes spent much of his boyhood in the country and developed a distinct dislike for city life. While Deshayes was still in his teens, the family moved to Pueblo, Colorado, where he finished high school. His desires to work in the country prompted the boy to attend Colorado College, where he graduated with a degree in mining engineering in

an Easterner turned mining engineer who had worked as assayer and surveyor under Sparks. Deshayes was put in charge of Baldy operations, but sternly warned that unless he uncovered promising ore within three months the company would discontinue work at the mine. The young engineer already had a plan. Coordinating geology and mine maps, he had calculated that a second contact formation, three hundred feet below the old Aztec level, should contain rich ore. He had proposed this theory to Sparks, but it met a cold reception. By early summer of 1914, the new superintendent had a tunnel in progress and three crews working twenty-four hours a day driving it in a southwesterly direction from the bottom of Shaft No. 4 to test his proposition.

Miners found the expected contact formation, but it did not appear to contain values. As a matter of routine, however, the superintendent did send a few samples to the assayer. Deshayes recalled the incident:

That afternoon the assayer looked me up and handed me the assay returns on the samples. To my amazement the return on the simple shale was a

1910. After working at the Golden Cycle mine at Cripple Creek for a year, Deshayes was hired by Van Houten to work at the Aztec in 1911. After six extremely successful years on Baldy, Deshayes made mining examinations of a zinc mine in Montana and a lead mine in Canada. Early in 1919 he was hired as manager of mines for the American Asphalt Association's gilsonite mines in northeastern Utah. Except for an unhappy war service with the United States Bureau of Mines, Deshayes remained with American Asphalt until his retirement in 1955. He resides in Denver, Colorado. Ibid.

value in gold of nearly three thousand dollars per ton. I told the assayer that there must be a mistake for that sample was ordinary shale. "Well," he replied, "if that was just shale it was the most valuable shale I ever heard of."

Although further exploration showed that the high-grade ore constituted a large body, the amount of rock removed was always relatively small. The lode was so rich however that the Maxwell company profits surged upward. The manager set another crew to work milling the ore. Soon the 10-stamp mill was working around the clock, smashing twenty tons of ore daily. The Wilfley concentrator never failed to recover at least twenty dollars in values from every ton of rock.⁸ Immediately the Aztec shifted to the credit side of the Maxwell ledgers. The total Colfax County gold mine production jumped from \$15,588 in 1913 to \$350,745 in 1915. Between November of 1914 and July of the following year, 2,100 tons of ore returned an average of \$107.60 per ton to the Dutchman's coffers.⁹

7. Ibid.

8. Chase and Muir, The Aztec Mine, Baldy, New Mexico, p. 271; Willis T. Lee, "The Aztec Gold Mine, Baldy, New Mexico," United States Geological Survey Bulletin No. 620, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), p. 330; and interview with Matt W. Gorman, September 1, 1964, in Trinidad, Colorado, as revised October 30, 1964, p. 1. Gorman was hired as assayer at the mine by Charles A. Chase to replace Deshayes and continued to play an active role in the district for the next quarter century.

9. Lasky and Wootten, Metal Resources of New Mexico, p. 41, and Lee, "The Aztec Gold Mine," p. 330.

Despite these impressive statistics, Chase was never satisfied with the results of Aztec exploitation. In May, 1915, he wrote Superintendent Van Houten to complain of the "continuing backwardness of development." Chase protested that progress in extending the No. 4. level, where the rich ore had been uncovered, was extremely slow because only hand drills were being used. Fifteen hundred dollars in power equipment and accessories, he insisted, would not only expedite work but also cut costs; and new tracks inside the mine would facilitate the movement of hand carts of ore and waste to portals. Most deplorable to the mining engineer was the mill operations. Tailings—the waste material thrown out into huge piles below the mill—were found to contain nine dollars in gold unretrieved from every ton. The mill structure itself was badly in need of repair, the ore bin was ready to topple, and the Wilfley tables were endangered by collapsing walls. "All these parts may last several months," Chase sternly warned his employers, "but any part or all may collapse at any time, perhaps with serious results to equipment and even danger to the employees."¹⁰ There is no evidence as to how many of Chase's suggestions were heeded.

10. Charles A. Chase to J. Van Houten, May 15, 1915, in Matt W. Gorman Collection, Trinidad, Colorado.

Rapid development in mine and mill generated feverish activity in the little village perched high on the eastern slopes of Baldy Mountain. So many families arrived at Baldy Town that the Maxwell company was unable to accommodate them, and many were compelled to live in tents. Because everyone aspired to work in the mines, men to do necessary construction work were scarce. In July of 1916 the Dutchmen contracted with two local builders, Scott and Balkely, to erect a boarding house. Designed to accommodate single men, it would relieve the desperate housing shortages. Carpenters hoped to complete the project within two weeks. The company simultaneously announced that it would commence building other quarters just as soon as the ground could be broken and cleared.¹¹ When the "hotel" was completed, several hundred guests trekked to Baldy from all over the district to attend a gala-house-warming and ball.¹²

Despite his success, Deshayes refused to take advice from Superintendent Van Houten and Charles A. Chase, both of whom were paid to give it. By late in 1916 the rich ore body was nearly gone¹³ and the area where it was found

11. Cimarron-News-Citizen, July 13, 1916, p. 1.

12. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 250-51.

13. Deshayes believed that a contributing factor in the rapid depletion of the ore body was "high grading." Miners quickly learned that rich ore, cautiously stuffed into pockets or lunch buckets, added to their wages. About \$300,000, he estimated, was filched from the Aztec in this manner. Ernest V. Deshayes to Author, October 24, 1964.

thoroughly explored without success. Deshayes proposed that test drilling be done on the Ponil slopes of the ridge in hopes of finding rich ore further down the contact formation. Van Houten vetoed this plan and insisted that a long tunnel be driven from the northwest or Ponil side to intersect the contact at great depth. Deshayes continued to object loudly to the Dutchman's intervention, and on September 8, 1917, he submitted his resignation.¹⁴

The Deshayes administration had proven the value of scientifically trained personnel at the Aztec. While Deshayes was still at the mine, Van Houten had hired Edward H. Perry and Dr. Augustus Locke,¹⁵ trained mining consultants from California, to make a thorough geological study of the mine and propose a plan for its operation. The pair completed their work in the fall of 1916 and submitted a report which made specific recommendations as to where shafts and tunnels should be driven to reach the richest

14. Ibid., and Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p, 251.

15. Locke was born in 1883 in North Adams, Massachusetts. He attended Harvard University between 1900 and 1914 when he received the Doctor of Science degree, with membership in Phi Beta Kappa. After miscellaneous work as a mining engineer, he became a full-time mining consultant in 1915. Locke was still living in Menlo Park, California, in 1954. John W. Lund, Who's Who In Engineering, p. 778, and Who's Who in the West (4th ed., Chicago: Marquis, 1954), p. 403. No information was found on Perry, suggesting that he was probably the junior member of the team.

ore.¹⁶ Shortly after Deshayes' resignation, Oscar H. Hershey, another California engineer,¹⁷ went to Baldy to explore the Aztec with diamond drills,¹⁸ much as Deshayes had suggested. Scientifically accurate and thorough, both reports assisted Chase and the later superintendents in developing the underground workings at the mine.

Deshayes' successor, Frank E. Lewis, was not notably successful in his brief tenure as foreman. American participation in the European war had created formidable difficulties for the managers of the Aztec. Certain necessary materials were in scant supply; labor was scarce; prices were prohibitively high. Van Houten and James Hunt of

16. A copy of this technical report is in the Matt W. Gorman collection, Trinidad, Colorado. Chase and Muir, "The Aztec Mine, Baldy, New Mexico," discusses and evaluates the report, which was the basis for much of the exploration work the two of them did at Baldy. Both seemed to have great faith in it.

17. Hershey was born in 1874 in Blue Rock, Pennsylvania. He attended high school in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, and in 1896 began to study geology in the field, predominantly in California and the Isthmus of Panama. He worked with the U.S. Geological Survey in Colorado the summer of 1904 and examined various mines and prospects between then and 1908. He was a member of the firm of Burch, Caitan & Hershey and later of Hershey & White in San Francisco. Hershey died December 11, 1939. Who Was Who in America, Vol. I, 1897-1942 (Chicago: Marquis, 1943), p. 556.

18. Matt W. Gorman reported that Hershey was unable to recover many cores and sludge from test holes. As a result, Gorman believed that the engineer accomplished little. (Interview with Gorman September 1, 1964, as corrected October 30, 1964). The Gorman collection contains a letter from Douglas A. Muir, soon to become superintendent, to Hershey, enclosing a drilling report, and asking for "comment, criticism, and guidance."

The Maxwell company was strongly anti-German and insisted that the employees agree with their sentiments. Contributions to the Red Cross, investment in Liberty Bonds, and pro-British fervor were pre-requisite to success at the Aztec.¹⁹ By the time Douglas Muir had replaced the unlucky Lewis in the spring of 1918, rich ore bodies were becoming more and more expensive to exploit. Costs in the mill had risen to \$10.07 per ton while development prices surged to \$15.89 per foot over nearly a thousand feet of work.²⁰ Where it had previously been profitable to work low-grade ore, now only the richest could be handled profitably.

As mine production at the head of Ute Creek decreased, so did the yields of Colfax County. From a high of \$417,258. in 1916, gold extraction from lode mines fell to \$238,056. in 1919. Reports for 1920 showed only \$81,722 from Baldy lode mines. By the time Muir ran out of ore completely in 1921 and the Maxwell company decided to close down the venture, the production of gold in the county had tumbled to hardly more than \$5,000.²¹ Despite persistent

19. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 251.

20. Chase and Muir, "The Aztec Mine, Baldy New Mexico," p. 281. This extensive work was apparently undertaken in driving the Ponil level and Ponil incline to intersect the No. 4 level as Van Houten had suggested to Deshayes.

21. Lasky and Wootten, Metal Resources of New Mexico, p. 41.

difficulties which eventually caused the mine to be shut down, the Aztec had produced \$1,680,718 in bullion between 1912 and 1920, while Colfax County as a whole yielded only \$1,832,397 from its lode mines during the same period. Thus the aggregate production of other mines totaled less than \$20,000 per year.²² These statistics conclusively demonstrate the importance of the Aztec mine to the mineral industry in Colfax County during these years.

107. 22. Ibid., and Mining World, June 23, 1911, p.

CHAPTER IX

DECADES OF DISAPPOINTMENT

Excitement at the Aztec obscured all other activity in the Baldy district in the two decades after 1910. No endeavors were as successful as the Ute Creek mine, however, because the economic problems which threatened the district with extinction remained unsolved. The discovery of extraordinarily rich ore at the Maxwell company mine made profitable exploitation there possible. The promoters of the Deep Tunnel and of many small lode and placer operations found little gold-laden rock and faced only disappointment.

The McIntyres sporadically continued their work in pushing a tunnel completely through the mountain. Forced to stop work in 1908 for lack of funds, the valiant brothers pushed on two years later. By 1912 they had issued and sold \$200,000 worth of stock as originally authorized and had spent the money. Burdened with non-assessable shares, the pair had no choice but to increase capitalization and sell more stock. This they did, and within the next fourteen years an additional \$90,000 worth went by the

beards.¹ When Bill Brewster, a nephew of the McIntyres, went to the mine to work in 1921, he saw the results of many of those expenditures. A small mining community had been established at the head of Big Nigger Gulch. The superintendent's house, two-story bunk house for the miners, cook shack, dining room, power building, brick tunnel house, blacksmith shop, and a large edifice with 100-ton mill marked the entrance to the Deep Tunnel. In the decade that followed, the two brothers sold just enough more stock to pay for driving their tunnel further into the heart of the mountain. They were consistently optimistic, always certain that they would soon encounter those elusive veins. They never struck it rich. After William P. McIntyre died of pneumonia in a Raton hospital on April 26, 1930, his brother Alex continued the project alone.

Two years after the death of "Billy," employees of the Deep Tunnel Mining and Milling Company appeared at the headwaters of South Ponil Creek to start work on a second tunnel, designed to intersect the first deep inside Baldy. The culmination of the new tunnel project would complete the long crosscutting work. A young geologist, Alvis F.

1. Walter Garfield Neale (ed.), The Mines Handbook Succeeding the Copper Handbook (Vol. XVII, New York: The Mines Handbook Company, 1926), p. 1361.

Denison, first ran a transit line over the mountain from one side to the other, establishing an exact starting point for the new entrance. On February 8, 1936, when another engineer, C. J. Petit, and his workmen broke through the rock, the two tunnels met with such remarkable precision that only an inch separated their centers. When the trans-mountain underpass was complete, the little camp at Big Nigger Gulch was soon enveloped in obscurity and desolation. When a visitor climbed up to the once-active mine headquarters in 1940, he found a "deserted village where men had lived and hoped and worked." The old ore cars, warped and rusty from disuse, still rested on tracks going into the mine. Although it was possible even then for a visitor to walk straight on through Baldy Mountain from one side to the other, he would see no veins of gold on the way. The Deep Tunnel Gold Mining and Milling Company had been a colossal failure, exhausting the money of many investors and the lives of William and Alex McIntyre.²

Placer miners were less persistent than investors in the Deep Tunnel fiasco. Although many mining journals announced in 1915 that "a sum equal to \$300,000" would be

2. Hazel Cooke Upshaw, "Deep Tunnel Mine," pp. 23, 43; Interview with Bill Brewster, August 28, 1963, at Cimarron, New Mexico; and Alvis F. Denison to the Author May 4, 1964, p. 3. See also Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 244-47.

spent in working the Moreno Valley placers that year,³ production statistics give no evidence of such activity. Sluicers took just over \$16,000 in precious metal out of the placers of Colfax County in 1916, and never again during the next two decades did production for any year exceed \$10,000.⁴

Across the mountain Ute Creek saw a series of small placer companies starting up in the early 1920s. The first, the Ute Gold Mining Company, was incorporated in September of 1921. Capitalized at \$200,000, the company issued \$66,000 in stock and bought some machinery. Five years later it was bankrupt.⁵ In September of the following year the Baldy Mountain Placer Company was organized. The corporation leased 170 acres of placer ground below the Aztec which its managers worked with a steam shovel and 500-cubic yard amalgamator. This typically short-lived company was dissolved on September 9, 1925.⁶ A third firm

3. Mining and Engineering World, June 12, 1915, p. 1092.

4. Lasky and Wootten, Metal Resources of New Mexico, p. 41.

5. Lenox H. Rand and Edward B. Sturgia (eds.), The Mines Handbook Succeeding the Copper Handbook (Vol. XXII, Suffren, N.Y.: Mine Information Bureau, 1931), p. 1694.

6. Harvey M. Weed (ed.), The Mines Handbook Succeeding the Copper Handbook (Vol. XVI, Tuckahoe, N.Y.: Mines Handbook Company, 1925), p. 1548; "Baldy Mountain Placer Company" file, Incorporation Records, State Records Center, Santa Fe.

was started in April of 1926 by Robert G. Mullen, who had promoted large numbers of mining ventures in the district. The Ute Creek Gold Placer Company was incorporated at \$500,000 and Mullen planned to buy placer grounds at a foreclosure sale. During the year 1927 the company actively placered with a 1,000-yard steam shovel,⁷ but it probably lasted only a short time after that, though specific information is unavailable.

Just above Ute Creek was the Black Horse mine, operated by Baron Van Zuylen and the Four Creeks Mining Company for two decades after 1890. In 1922 the Black Horse Gold Mining Company was organized to work the historic claim. Employees of the corporation reopened the old workings and announced that they had found a large body of low-grade ore. Apparently unable to exploit the find profitably, the company was dissolved after only three years of corporate existence.⁸

Also incorporated in 1922 was the Aztec Extension Gold Mines Company. It seemed as harmless as the rest until a poignant letter from Frank J. Desmond, president of the

7. Mullen was president and manager; E. G. Vlhagen was treasurer; S. J. Craig, secretary and assistant manager. Vlhagen, W. A. Chapman, and E. D. Devenny were directors. Rand and Sturgis, Mines Handbook, Vol. XXII, p. 1694.

8. Ibid., p. 1662; and Neale, Mines Handbook, Vol. XVII, p. 1374.

company, exposed it as the most glaring example of promotional deceit ever perpetrated in the Baldy district.

Desmond reported:

I was Pres [ident] of the Aztec Extension Gold Mines Company because I had put the most money in it, and I was quite sure that it was a "going" concern until I learned that it had "gone." They told me it was a "good buy" but they must have spelled it "good bye."

The unlucky investor explained further that it was S. C. Curtis who was the "main fury and all the jewels" in the company. He had told Desmond that Aztec Extension would be able to lease valuable mining property through cooperation with the Rosita Mining and Milling Company, and that the corporation could then open the mine and extract great riches from it. When the negotiations were finally completed, however, Desmond discovered that his company had not even been mentioned in them. His money, he complained, had mysteriously disappeared:

So it appears that the Aztec Extension Gold Mines Company has been dissolved into that non-assessable spirit world of dreams and hopes and paper returns of perverted "hunks." If you should decide that the corporation is non-existent, so be it. As far as I know the company did nothing except what it did to me. Hopes, thrills, delusions, then the transformation into doubt, dismay, and despair. Regret, yes. Remorse, Ah, no. You know the old saying...there's one born every minute, and two or three to sell him some stock.

9. Undated letter of Frank J. Desmond to New Mexico Corporation Commission in "Aztec Extension Gold Mines" folder, Corporation Commission Records Center, Santa Fe.

That unnamed mine which Desmond hoped to lease was probably the Aztec. Left completely deserted when the Dutch ordered suspension of work. Baldy Town presented a "forlorn appearance of complete abandonment" when a state appraiser visited it in 1921. He examined the mine, described the hazards of trying to reopen it, and estimated the current value of the famous old mine as "zero."¹⁰ The first of the lessees to bring life back to Baldy was the Aztec Gold Mines Company, incorporated in 1921 with an initial capitalization of \$1,000,000. Robert G. Mullen was chief promoter. Not long after the last of the Maxwell crews had left, these new operators replaced the 10-stamp mill with Lane Chilean machinery,¹¹ which increased its daily capacity to 100 tons. Mullen's men also installed a two-bucket gravity tramway to haul ore off Aztec Ridge. Even though his company reported gold production of \$20,000 a month during the last half of 1922, it was in perilous financial condition when the newly rebuilt mill was

10. Finlay, Report of Appraisal of Mining Properties, pp. 69-70.

11. The Lane Chilean mill consisted of an iron tub with screened bottom. Two or three large wheels propelled by a central drive shaft ground up the ore in a similar manner as the old arrastras. The fine ore particles were then processed on Wilfley tables or some other refinement of the timeless sluice to remove the gold. A good indication of the consistent technical retardation of the area is one authority's statement that these mills were used extensively before 1910. A. M. Gaudin, Principles of Mineral Dressing, (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1939), p. 92.

severely damaged by fire on May 24, 1923. Unable to raise sufficient capital to rebuild, the corporation was dissolved and its lease on the Aztec cancelled.¹²

Never easily discouraged, Mullen managed to raise new financial support in Dodge City, Kansas, and incorporated the Rosita Gold Mining and Milling Company in October of 1923 with capitalization of \$1,000,000—an amount which was doubled just two years later. The new group rebuilt the mill in 1924, apparently increasing its capacity as they did so, and had 150 men at work a year later. Persistent quarreling among the owners and drinking on Mullen's part contributed to the failure of the Rosita company. In February of 1926 the Maxwell company officials decided they had endured the unsatisfactory operation of the mine long enough and cancelled its agreement with Mullen.¹³

Perhaps the underlying reasons for the withdrawal of the lease were the Maxwell company's plans to open the mine itself. After completion of initial exploration work under Frank C. Bowman, the Dutch company decided that it would once again rehabilitate the mill. Bowman installed a

12. Neale, Mines Handbook, Vol. XVII, p. 1374, and Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 253. In an interview September 1, 1963, Matt W. Gorman, who was employed by the Maxwell company to supervise work of the lessees, reported that the fire started from a home-made oil burner in the mill.

13. Weed, Mines Handbook, Vol. XVI, p. 1548, and interview with Matt W. Gorman, September 1, 1964.

second Chilian grinder and flotation equipment,¹⁴ and early in 1927 the new machinery was set to work. Like his predecessors, however, Bowman was unable to get along either with his men or with officials of the company. After just about a year as superintendent, Bowman was dismissed and replaced by Alvis F. Denison,¹⁵ a graduate engineer who had been mine foreman.¹⁶ High costs prompted Van Houten and A. H. Officer, the representatives of the Maxwell company, to close the mill. They did permit Denison to retain a small crew and to continue his search for ore inside the

14. Flotation equipment took advantage of the principles of surface tension and oil chemistry to separate a valuable mineral from the worthless rock in which it is imbedded. Oil was put in water or some other solution. When finely powdered ore passed through this liquid, the precious metal was attracted to the oil floating on the surface, while waste washed away. Herbert A. McGraw, The Flotation Process (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1918), p. 3.

15. Denison was born in 1899 in Cushman, Arkansas, was graduated from the University of Missouri in 1922. He then worked at copper mines in southern New Mexico and lead mines in Chihuahua, before taking the Aztec job. After leaving Baldy, he worked in his father's manganese mine in Arkansas and operated manganese and uranium mines in New Mexico, Arizona, and elsewhere. He was also active in road building and property development throughout the southwest. Denison died on July 23, 1964, after a long illness. Winfield Scott Downs and Edward N. Dodge (eds.), Who's Who in Engineering (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1959), p. 600; Alvis F. Denison to Author, May 4, 1964; and J. W. Leitzell to Author, September 27, 1964.

16. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 253-54. makes this explanation for the dismissal of Bowman. Denison, who was hired as mine foreman in August of 1927, refutes Pearson's contention, insisting instead that the morale was good with "very little bickering if any." Alvis F. Denison to Author, May 4, 1964.

mountain. He evaluated maps of the workings and decided that there should be a large body of rich ore on the north or Ponil side of the ridge. As Van Houten had come to the same conclusion earlier, Denison received permission from company officials to run several exploratory raises off the main Ponil tunnel, paying particular attention to areas where sandstone and shale met. It was there, he knew, that intrusive, gold-bearing ore should be found.

Denison was consistently disappointed, however, and never uncovered paying ore. Like several of his predecessors, he recommended that a thorough geophysical study of the Aztec area be made to take advantage of technological developments since the last survey. Van Houten contacted the Radiore Corporation of Los Angeles, which sent a crew to Baldy to undertake the work. Several likely spots were located and pointed out to the managers. The best was on the Ponil side of the mine. In addition, Denison obtained a portable compressor and diamond drills to do exploratory work of his own. His only discovery was a copper ore deposit beneath Copper Park, again on the north side of the Aztec. A tunnel to reach this area had been driven 100 feet into the mountain when Denison resigned in the spring of 1930 to operate his father's Arkansas manganese mine.¹⁷ His

17. Alvis F. Denison to Author, May 4, 1964.

replacement was James P. McMenemy, who continued work on the "H Tunnel" under Copper Park. On April 30, 1930, Van Houten cabled McMenemy to cease all work except on the main tunnel, and shortly thereafter the American stockholders of the Maxwell company ordered even that project stopped. Four board members, disregarding company policy, authorized McMenemy to expend an additional \$10,000 in exploratory endeavors, but when that money was exhausted by the 1st of June, the mine closed and Baldy Town again was virtually deserted.¹⁸

Little other activity enlivened the Baldy district during the "prosperity decade" following the world war. In 1920 the state appraiser reported that no mines but the Aztec had "any presumption of value" whatsoever. In the Moreno Valley he saw only a few prospectors sinking a single shaft. There was no other evidence of activity around the deserted little village of Elizabethtown.¹⁹ In the first five months of 1930, a full decade later, the Aztec produced only \$248, a sum which constituted the total gold production of the district.²⁰ All appearances indicated that a quarter

18. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 254.

19. Finlay, Report of Appraisal of Mining Properties, pp. 69-70.

20. Lasky and Wootten, Metal Resources of New Mexico, p. 41.

of a century of exploration and development on the slopes of Baldy Mountain had done little to brighten the dark prospects of the area. Instead the many forecasts of disaster were being proven accurate.

CHAPTER X

DISCORD, DEPRESSION, AND DEATH

Baldy Town slowly died during the 1930s. There were no discoveries of rich ore to end the economic stagnation which had characterized that area during the previous decade. While a world-wide depression caused despair everywhere, quarrels among supervisory personnel caused difficulties to be aggravated at the mine. The German invasion of Holland sounded the death knell of the little town perched at the headwaters of Ute Creek and of the renowned Aztec mine.

For two years after 1930 only J. W. Leitzell, who arrived at Baldy penniless in 1927 and stayed a decade,¹ and Walter Elrich, lessee at the Nancy Hanks mine,² remained

1. Leitzell was born in Cedarville, Illinois, in 1898. In addition to serving as watchman, Leitzell operated a store at Baldy under a lease from the Maxwell company for three years. In 1938 he and his wife Vivian, who had taught school in the mountain-top village, moved to Cimarron where he managed a gasoline station for many years and where they still reside. Interview with J. W. Leitzell, August 22, 1963, and J. W. Leitzell to Author, October 27, 1964.

2. Elrich was born in Iowa but moved to Colorado Springs while still a boy and attended high school there. His interest in mining carried Elrich to Leadville, then south to Baldy in 1917 where he lived intermittently until his death January 16, 1937, of pneumonia. J. W. Leitzell to Author, October 27, 1964.

at Baldy Town to shield supplies and equipment from vandals. In 1932 Matt W. Gorman,³ former Baldy Town assayer, leased the Aztec from the Maxwell company. He immediately attempted to repair the neglected Lane Chilean mill and the power plant, but had little success. Gorman could not make major capital outlays himself, but within a year was able to obtain backing from Jan Van Houten, the Maxwell company officer. No doubt the Dutchman was more easily persuaded to invest in the project after President Roosevelt announced that the government would buy gold for thirty five dollars an ounce.⁴ With profits assured by that high rate, Van Houten agreed to provide capital while Gorman would direct work on the mountain. Profits were to be shared equally between the two. The new partners immediately disposed of the obsolescent crusher and brought in the first ball mill⁵

3. Gorman came from St. James, Missouri, and attended pharmacy school while a young man. He was hired at Baldy particularly because of his baseball-playing talents, but stayed many years at the Aztec, mostly as assayer, before taking out the lease. After leaving the mine, Gorman managed the French Henry and Red Bandana mines in the district. Gorman is now retired and lives in Trinidad, Colorado, Loc. cit., and Interview with Matt W. Gorman, September 1, 1964, as corrected October 30, 1964.

4. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Minerals Yearbook, 1934 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934), p. 32.

5. A ball mill consists of a large closed drum into which metal balls and ore are dumped. As the drum rotates, the balls fall upon the softer ore, breaking it into a fine, powdery substance which can be treated to remove precious metals.

ever used in the district, powered by a modern D-13000 diesel engine.⁶ On May 3, 1934, the mill and mine went into full operation, and concentrates and bullion were regularly shipped for the remainder of the year.⁷

By the spring of 1935 the directors of the Maxwell Company realized that the high guaranteed price for gold now meant that the company might derive better profits from the Aztec than Gorman had been able to; its better equipment and advance capital for underground development assured this. On April 10 of that year the company cancelled Gorman's lease, agreeing to a new one by which he would manage the Aztec.⁸ The modernization program continued under Dutch control. In 1935 new flotation equipment was installed which had a capacity of one and a half tons per hour; in the next year, the mill capacity now increased to 100 tons per day, an average of $42\frac{1}{2}$ tons was treated daily.⁹ New air compressors and a 6-cylinder Caterpillar diesel engine were installed on the Ponil side of the mine.¹⁰ Inside

6. Interview with Matt W. Gorman, September 1, 1964, as corrected October 30, 1964.

7. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Minerals Yearbook, 1935 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 282.

8. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 261.

9. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Minerals Handbook, 1937 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 469.

10. Interview with Gorman, September 1, 1964.

Aztec Ridge, Gorman discovered ore bodies six to fifteen feet below the contact zone where ore usually had been located. By breaking through the floors of tunnels dug by Denison, Gorman's employees were able to locate substantial quantities of valuable rock, though none was as rich as earlier finds.¹¹

Activity at the Aztec and higher gold prices invigorated other mine operators around Baldy. I. E. Pippert, the Montezuma lessee, worked intermittently after 1934, treating his ore in a 10-ton mill at the mine and sending concentrates to the Golden Cycle mill at Colorado Springs. At the Rebel Chief, selected chunks of rich ore were ground by hand and panned to remove the gold;¹³ at the Red Bandana operators had a 20-ton Huntington mill to grind the ore.¹⁴ The Raton Mining and Milling Company leased several mines near the French Henry to C. H. Henderson of Amarillo, who erected a 50-ton stamp mill and undertook development

11. Alvis F. Denison to Author, May 4, 1964.

12. U.S. Department of the Interior, Minerals Handbook, 1935, p. 292.

13. Loc. cit.

14. U.S. Department of the Interior, Minerals Handbook, 1937, p. 469.

work.¹⁵ In Mills Canyon on the western slopes of Baldy, the New Mexico Gold Producers Association leased land from the Maxwell company and moved in a drag line and portable washing plant. In a test which ran from May 15 to June 20, 1935, on 14,600 cubic yards of gravel, the association obtained 675 pounds of black sand containing gold--not, however, a large enough amount to justify continued exploration in the gulch.¹⁶ Other more traditional sluicing and hydraulicking placer works were carried on in South Ponil, Ute and Willow Creeks.¹⁷ The revival of activity between 1933 and 1937 was finally demonstrated in the totals. While in 1933, the gold product of the district amounted to only \$7,176, the sum had risen four years later to \$126,331--the largest yield since 1919.¹⁸

15. Henderson leased the mines from Raton Mining and Milling Company on April 13, 1935. In 1936 the mill was erected, and development work started the following year. A government loan financed 636 feet of development work underground, accomplished from January 1 to July 15 and October 10 to December 31, 1937. Loc. Cit; William A. Keleher to Author, September 17, 1964, and United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Minerals Yearbook, 1938 (Washington: Government Printing Office), p. 399.

16. U.S. Department of the Interior, Minerals Yearbook, 1936, p. 316.

17. U.S. Department of the Interior, Minerals Yearbook, 1935, p. 282; 1936, p. 316; 1937, p. 469; 1938, p. 399.

18. Lasky and Wootten, The Metal Resources of New Mexico, p. 41, and Anderson, The Metal Resources of New Mexico...Through 1954, p. 356.

In spite of increased production, the Aztec failed to return profits as anticipated. Purchases of necessary machinery in 1935 resulted in a new loss of \$19,000, and the Aztec earned only \$6,000 for company coffers during the following twelve months of work. Furthermore, mill repairs and water shortages indicated that only meager profits could be expected in 1937.¹⁹ When a mining engineer on the board of directors of the Maxwell company examined these statistics in Amsterdam, he suspected incompetence on the part of the local managers. He proposed that Victor J. Van Lint, a Dutch geologist with extensive experience in Indonesia²⁰ be sent to New Mexico to assist and advise Van Houten, and the board agreed.

Like Chase before him, Van Lint was very critical of the Aztec operation. The assaying, he complained, was not properly done; ore cars, rails, and pipe were in short supply; and the diesel engine which drove compressors at the Ponil entrance lacked sufficient power. Although maps of segments of the Aztec had been drawn, no one had ever collated these so as to show the general geological patterns

19. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 261.

20. Van Lint, who had been trained at Delft University, was eager to accept the American appointment. Initially as Van Houten's assistant, he assumed the duties of resident manager when his superior retired. In 1951 Van Lint arranged for the sale of the remaining Maxwell company property for \$1.5 million. When President L.M.A. Thole of Amsterdam refused the offer, Van Lint resigned, forcing Thole to buy his stock. Interview with Van Lint, December 21, 1963.

inside Aztec Ridge. Personal friendships rather than business principles, Van Lint thought, long had dictated policy at the mine, and as a result many of the men on the payroll were incapable of handling their jobs. Gorman, who was still in charge of both mine and mill, had no formal training and his friend Leitzell regularly overcharged the miners for provisions bought at the Baldy Town store.²¹

Because of such outspoken criticism and his brisk European mannerisms, Van Lint quickly became intensely unpopular at the Aztec. Few people would have any social contact with him or his family. They accused the newcomer of expecting men to accomplish the impossible and of treating the Hispanic-Americans like Indonesian savages because he could not understand their unhurried work habits. Among his managerial associates, The Dutchman's lack of familiarity with specific problems at the Aztec did little to earn him respect.²²

21. Ibid., and Pearson, the Maxwell Land Grant, p. 262.

22. Interview with Vernon Hanson, mine superintendent and later general manager at the Aztec, by William R. Craig for the author at Eugene, Oregon, March 4, 1964. Interviews by the author with Bill Brewster, Cimarron, New Mexico, August 28, 1963; Matt W. Gorman, Trinidad, Colorado, September 1, 1964, as corrected October 30, 1964, and with J. W. Leitzell, Cimarron, August 22, 1963. Among other things Van Lint was accused by some of poking the Spanish-Americans with sticks in an attempt to make them work faster.

Nonetheless, life at Baldy had become quite comfortable for all by 1937. Most people were comfortable there even though winter still brought intense cold to the 10,000-foot town, snow still blew under loose-fitting doors, and water pipes had to be thawed with blow torches. The married Anglo-Americans employed there lived in frame houses clustered northwest of the mill in the shadow of Baldy. Here the men and women enjoyed the comforts of electricity and steam heat as long as the mill was operating. Most of the single men lived in the two-story boarding house built some twenty years before. Their cook, Francis Nish, was a good-hearted woman who specialized in over-cooked meat, potatoes, and scrambled eggs with leftovers.²³ The Spanish-Americans were socially segregated from their English-speaking comrades. At first they lived in an old abode just below the mill, but most moved with their families into a number of box-like structures below the mill when the old building burned in a mid-winter fire. The laughter of Spanish speaking children soon filled the new neighborhood, known to all as "Chihuahua." So many children were now at Baldy that a

23. Interview with Robert W. Evans, Denver, Colorado, June 9, 1964. After graduating from the Colorado College of Mines in the spring of 1937, Evans worked in the mill at Baldy for several months. He then worked in several other mining districts and now sells mining machinery for the Stearns-Roger Corporation of Denver.

new school, which doubled student capacity, was built in 1938.²⁴ Improved transportation eliminated the need for entertainment in town. Instead, Baldy residents negotiated steep mountain roads to the village on the banks of Eagle Nest Lake where they crowded into bars and dance halls.²⁵

Van Lint and Gorman were soon in violent disagreement on matters large and small. When the economy-minded Dutchman decided that the generator, which provided all the electricity at Baldy Town, would be shut off at ten o'clock in the evening, Gorman called Van Houten to protest. He argued his case vigorously, but the lights went off. Van Lint even accused the foreman of dumping rich ore into waste piles and running worthless rock through the mill to make him look bad before company officials.²⁶ Hostilities culminated in the spring of 1938 when Van Lint refused to renew Gorman's contract and ordered him out of camp. Simultaneously the Dutchman fired several others whom he felt were allied with Gorman against him. Vernon Hanson,²⁷ the

24. Van Lint reported in an interview December 21, 1963, that the boarding-house fire was caused by one of the women residents pouring out hot ashes next to the wooden building. Films of the fire, construction of "Chihuahua," and of the school buildings were presented by Van Lint to Philmont Scout Ranch in 1964.

25. Interview with J. W. Leitzell, August 22, 1963, and with Vernon Hanson, March 5, 1964.

26. Interview with Victor J. Van Lint, December 21, 1963.

27. Born in Texas in 1906, hanson had worked in various Baldy mines, including the Deep Tunnel. He was

assistant foreman, replaced Gorman, and when the lease on Leitzell's store expired, he found it advantageous not to renew.²⁸

When Hanson took over management of the mine, he was immediately troubled with inadequate supplies of ore. Development work on the Ponil slope was failing to uncover any new ore pockets and several leased mines—including the Montezuma—were recalled to guarantee sufficient rock to keep the crushers running. An increasing quantity of dump ore, from which the managers hoped to remove enough gold unrecovered from previous milling to be profitable, was remilled. After the Fair Labor Standards Act became law on June 25, 1938, the company was forced to pay an hourly minimum wage of twenty five cents and a higher rate for time over forty hours. When all work stopped during the usual winter shutdown in 1939, Hanson and Van Lint made

hired at the Aztec as machine operator and later served as assistant foreman, foreman, and finally superintendent. After the mine closed, he moved to Oregon where he has worked since that time in the lumber industry. He resides in Eugene, Oregon. Interview with Vernon Hanson by William R. Craig, March 5, 1964.

28. Interview with Victor J. Van Lint, December 21, 1963, and with Matt. W. Gorman, September 1, 1964; Vernon Hanson, interviewed by William R. Craig on March 5, 1964, described the event: "I noticed things didn't look to be the same this morning, and nobody said anything. I went in and did my book work and somebody says 'Van Lint wants to see you over at his house! In a little while somebody came in and said, 'Well, we all got canned.' So I went over and stopped by Van Lint's house and he called me in and he says: 'Can you take over and run the mine and put out the rock?' and I says, 'Well, sure.'"

a thorough examination of the mines. They suggested to company officials that exploration be continued the following spring.²⁹ The plan was approved, and mine and mill reopened on April 1, 1940.

During the next five months, less than 1,700 tons of Aztec ore went through the mill while over 17,500 tons of dumped ore was reworked.³⁰ By the end of the summer Van Lint was at last ready to admit that the Aztec had become a liability. Holland had been overrun by German armies and certainly the Dutch stockholders of the Maxwell company could no longer operate a mine in America which did not even pay expenses. Consequently the mine and mill ceased operation on September 1, 1940. Two weeks later the little town was once more virtually abandoned. By early 1941 its houses had been demolished, the mill machinery sold, and rails, pipe, and everything else of value hauled away. Baldy Town was no more.³¹

29. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, pp. 263-64.

30. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Mines Yearbook, Review of 1940 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941), p. 413.

31. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant, p. 265.

CHAPTER XI

FINAL FRUSTRATIONS

All economically significant mining on Baldy Mountain ended with the suspension of activities at the Aztec lode in 1940. Yet several small operations continued to be worked. Financed by outside capitalists willing to invest in such very speculative mineral ventures, these companies were never financially successful. The active entrance of the United States into World War II late in 1941 forced even these wealthy operators to close. Three quarters of a century of mining on the slopes of Baldy Mountain had come to an end.

Just over Aztec Ridge from Baldy Town was the French Henry mine, worked sporadically by C. H. Anderson in 1937. In September of that year a group of wealthy men organized a company, one of the few entirely speculative endeavors in the history of the district, to open the mine. Included among the promoters were several of the most distinguished businessmen of New Mexico. Colonel Raymond L. Harrison,¹

1. Raymond Leyden Harrison was born in 1896 in Minnesota. During World War I he served with the transportation corps, joining the Corps of Engineers for the second world conflict. He was discharged with the rank of colonel and assumed the title in civilian life. In 1921 Harrison moved

Albuquerque automobile parts dealer, was the principal sponsor; Clyde Oden,² Duke City new car dealer, was president; L. R. Allison,³ an El Paso contractor, and L. R. Ruffin, New Mexico gasoline distributor, were also major investors. Within a short time the founding group was joined by Clinton P. Anderson, influential Albuquerque insurance agent and prominent Democratic politician.⁴ The men had invested in

to Albuquerque and established the R. L. Harrison Auto Parts Company. He served as vice president of the Tri-State Equipment Company of El Paso. In 1947-48 Harrison was special assistant to Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson. Who's Who in the West, p. 397.

2. Oden was a native of Texas. In 1919 he moved to Albuquerque from Oklahoma City and established the Oden Motor Company. He served on the regional National Recovery Administration board for the Southwest and was chairman of the New Mexico State Highway Commission. He also served on the Albuquerque City Council. Who's Who in New Mexico (Vol. 1, The Abouselman Company, 1937), p. 160.

3. Allison was born in 1894 in Americus, Georgia. He attended South Georgia College before moving to Albuquerque in 1913 and enrolling at the University of New Mexico. He worked on road projects in Alaska, Texas, and New Mexico before 1928 when he established a general contracting firm of his own. In the following nine years his firm constructed 450 miles of highway in New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado. Ibid., p. 12.

4. Senator Anderson was born in 1895 at Centerville, South Dakota. He attended college in South Dakota and Michigan before moving to Albuquerque where he was employed as a newspaper reporter, editor, and insurance agent. Anderson held various government positions before he was elected to the United States Congress in 1941, serving till mid-1945 when he was appointed Secretary of Agriculture, in which position he remained until May 10, 1947, when he was elected to the Senate from New Mexico. Anderson was re-elected in 1954 and 1960; his current term expires in 1967. Biographical Directory of the American Congress, p. 478.

several other speculative ventures together and agreed informally that any two of them could commit the rest to participation in any project. Colonel Harrison and Oden had seen rich ore reputed to have come from the French Henry mine on South Ponil Creek. Relying solely on an evaluation by "a local engineer of sorts who could do surveying," Harrison and Oden induced their associates into the venture.⁵ On July 5, 1938, the French Henry Mining and Milling Company was incorporated under the laws of the State of New Mexico.⁶ Three months later C. H. Anderson, who had a lease right on the mine from Raton Mining and Milling, assigned all his rights to the new group.⁷

Matt W. Gorman, who had left the Aztec after continued differences with Van Lint, was employed as resident manager of the company. He quickly purchased milling machinery, including a 50-ton ball crusher, and "a host of mechanical devices for separating the gold from the crude ore," at a cost of about \$200,000.⁸ In addition, Gorman erected a

5. Clinton P. Anderson to Author, September 23, 1964.

6. Barney Cruz, Jr. Director New Mexico State Corporation Commission, to Author, September 11, 1964.

7. W. A. Keleher to Author, September 17, 1964; Keleher, a noted New Mexico historian, was attorney for the company.

8. Clinton P. Anderson to Author, September 23, 1964. The figure only partially represents the amount invested. The large diesel engines for the plant were purchased from Colonel Harrison's company, as was other

large log building for the officers to stay in while visiting their mine,⁹ as well as several other structures for employee's residences, storage facilities, and the like along the banks of the South Ponil. At the mine Gorman's men drove a tunnel 150 feet above the French Henry and struck a vertical ore body with values of only fourteen dollars a ton. An aerial tramway carried rock from mine to mill.¹⁰

The investors very soon realized that they had been duped. The ore recovered was not at all like that which they had been shown, and soon they suspected that their mine had been salted with Aztec ore. Anderson was appointed to manage a scientific investigation which would determine the course of future activities. He contacted an old friend, Dr. Gurdon Montague Butler, Dean of the College of Mines and Engineering at the University of Arizona¹¹ and asked

equipment. According to Anderson the Colonel "put into the venture only what he made in the way of profits on the sale of equipment."

9. Anderson described the cabin: We had bunks along the side of it which could be let down to make beds at night but roll away so we could use the cabin in the day time and every evening we put a card table in there and we would play cards when we were up there. As a matter of fact when it became apparent that the mine...would be closed down... Mr. Oden protested. He said, 'How can you close the mine down, if you do that how are we going to play poker?'"Ibid.

10. Interview with Matt W. Gorman, September 1, 1964, as corrected October 30, 1964.

11. Born in 1881 in Wisconsin, Butler received the degree of Engineer of Mines in 1902 and of Doctor of Science two decades later at the Colorado College of Mines. He taught

for his recommendation of a competent mining engineer to do the work. On Butler's advice, Anderson hired a former Arizona Bureau of Mines geologist, James B. Tenney,¹² who proceeded to make a thorough study of the prospects at the French Henry. His conclusions confirmed suspicions that the mine was worthless; he recommended that development work cease immediately. Fortunately for the speculators, two-thirds of their investment was saved as the result of the sale of equipment.¹³ The closing of the French Henry marked just one more instance of the failure of Baldy lode mines to produce satisfactory dividends which might rescue the district from an increasingly dismal situation.

After the closing of the South Ponil mine, Matt W. Gorman quickly obtained a managerial position at the Red

at Colorado and at Oregon Agricultural College before joining the University of Arizona Faculty in 1915 as Dean of the College of Mines and Engineering. He retired in 1954 and died in California on February 21, 1961. Tucson Daily Citizen, February 22, 1961, p. 1; University of Arizona, Announcement for the Academic Year, 1937-1938 (Tucson: University of Arizona, n.d.), p. 12. Butler file, Faculty Records, Office of the President, University of Arizona.

12. Tenney received his mining degree at Columbia University in 1927 and soon afterward joined the staff of the Arizona Bureau of Mines where he remained until 1934 when he went into private practice as a mining consultant. Tenney file, Faculty Records, Office of the President, University of Arizona.

13. Clinton P. Anderson to Author, September 23, 1964; Anderson and his friends were certainly not bankrupted by the mine fiasco: "I was not surprised at the failure but it did not take too much money and it was something we could charge off on our income taxes so I guess we did not worry about it too much. The company was dissolved June 12, 1940. Barney Cruz Jr. to Author, September 11, 1964.

Bandana claims operated by the Deep Tunnel Mining Company of Cleveland. The experienced foreman opened up the old shafts and tunnels, uncovering low grade ore deposits. Workmen ran the 40-ton cyanide mill from July 8 to September 19 on ore from their mines and did custom grinding on rock from the Ajax, Black Tail, Memphis, and Black Copper shafts.¹⁴ The Moreno-Red Bandana was operated during the summer of 1942 by Merco, Incorporated, but was soon closed down for the duration of the war by government order.¹⁵

In the Moreno Valley opposite Elizabethtown, small placer mining activities went on for two years during the early 1940s. Gorman had leased a piece of property, successfully mined by the Lynch brothers a half century or more earlier, from its owner, Dr. Walter L. Newburn, of Trinidad, Colorado.¹⁶ Gorman was searching for someone who could provide capital when Charles F. Johnson from Chicago and

14. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Minerals Yearbook, 1940 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 408. Interview with Matt W. Gorman, September 1, 1964, as revised October 30, 1964.

15. Loc. cit., and United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Minerals Yearbook, 1942 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 449.

16. Born in 1899, Newburn received a medical degree from Tulane University in 1924 and commenced the practice of medicine in Trinidad, Colorado, that same year. American Medical Association, American Medical Directory, 1940 (Chicago: Press of the American Medical Association, 1940), p. 432.

Albuquerque,¹⁷ appeared, investigated the placer grounds, and requested a 30-day option to sub-lease the property.¹⁸ Johnson then contacted Gilbert S. Monroe of Portsmouth, Ohio, the president of a sand and gravel company and his close associate, Floyd C. Fuller,¹⁹ both of whom were in search of new fields of investment. After several meetings, the pair decided to invest in New Mexico placer mining. With other Ohio businessmen, Fuller and Monroe incorporated the Fullroe Company October 17, 1940,²⁰ and shortly thereafter they signed a lease-purchase agreement with Newburn and Gorman.

Since placering with sluice boxes or by hydraulics was no longer profitable, Johnson sought to obtain modern

17. According to his son Johnson conducted a placer mining operation of his own on the floor of an upland meadow near Elizabethtown for two seasons just before World War II. He suspended work at the beginning of the war to mine flour-spar. Charles J. Johnson, Jr, to Author, October 19, 1964.

18. Interview with Matt W. Gorman, September 1, 1964, as corrected October 30, 1964.

19. Monroe was president of a contracting firm which did excavating, street and road paving, and sewer building in Ohio, and also of Portsmouth Sand and Gravel Company which dredged sand and gravel from bars in the Ohio River and processed it for sale. Floyd C. Fuller was secretary-treasurer and general manager of the later company. Floyd C. Fuller to Author, October 8, 1964.

20. Monroe became president and Fuller secretary-treasurer. Other stockholders included George W. Watkins and Hayden Miller of Portsmouth, Walter O. Brewer or Chillocathe, Walter S. Williams of Columbus, and Henry W. Lark of Sunbury, Pennsylvania. The lease-purchase agreement between Fullroe and Gorman-Newburn is in Colfax County Records, Book 64, p. 309. Floyd C. Fuller to Ronald M. Zimmerman, October 3, 1964, and to the Author, October 18, 1964. Barney Cruz Jr. to Author, September 11, 1964.

machinery. Most important was a huge revolving drum which separated valueless rocks from sand and gravel which might contain gold flakes. The machine pumped the remaining muddy mixture onto a large flat table where corduroy riffles caught the precious minerals just as had sluice boxes three-quarters of a century earlier at the same site.²¹ A gasoline powered shovel with drag line, deep-well pump, tractor, light plant, bulldozer, and truck completed the equipment, which cost some \$25,000 in all. As soon as Johnson completed purchasing and leasing necessary water rights in the spring of 1941, the machinery was started up under the management of Victor J. Van Lint, still employed by the inactive Maxwell company.²² Operations continued for eight months, producing small but satisfactory returns.

Because of difficulties in obtaining water,²³ Van Lint moved the Fullroe equipment to the Grouse Gulch placer, leased from the Maxwell grant company, for the 1942 season.

21. Loc. cit. and Janney V. Fullroe (47 New Mexico 423), p. 425. Films of the Fullroe operation, taken by Van Lint apparently in the fall of either 1941 or 1942, were presented by him to Philmont Scout Ranch in 1964.

22. Floyd C. Fuller to Author, October 11, 1964, and Victor J. Van Lint to Author, undated letter written in the spring of 1964. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Minerals Yearbook, 1941 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 424.

23. Gorman says (Interview September 1, 1964) that the men used water from the Deep Tunnel mine until Van Lint filed a claim on that water and forced them to move to some ground of the Dutchman's which was less productive.

Between April 1 and October 15 the machinery chewed up Moreno Valley gravel in search of gold. The Fullroe Company produced most of the \$10,500 in minerals that came out of Colfax county that year.²⁴ The Ohio men planned to continue gold mining for many years in the Moreno Valley,²⁵ but the war finally intervened. After consulting their attorney, George W. Robertson of Raton, the stockholders decided to dissolve the company on October 12, 1942, because of "general business conditions attributable to the present war" and "various government orders, rules, and regulations."²⁶ Even after the sale of equipment and land, the venture cost stockholders only \$25,000.²⁷ Like the Albuquerque investors

24. U.S. Dept. of Interior, Minerals Yearbook, 1942 p. 449.

25. The company had bought the 33-acre Leahy tract at the mouth of Willow Gulch from the heirs of the early miners there (recorded in Colfax County Record Book 73, p. 398) and acquired other leases to land and water rights. Floyd C. Fuller to R. M. Zimmerman, October 3, 1964.

26. Floyd C. Fuller to Author, October 11, 1964. Many believed that "the real trouble" was that the ore was not rich enough to show a profit. A law suit filed by a Fullroe Employee, (Herbert H. Janney) to collect compensation for loss of his lower right arm and injuries to his left wrist and thumb while lubricating the washing machinery) eventually reached the New Mexico Supreme Court. For some it was the most interesting aspect of the isolated little enterprise which ended 75 years of Baldy placering.

27. The Willow Creek property went to Monroe, Fuller Walker and Brewer who sold it to Dr. E. Garth Blakely of Raton in 1962. All remaining equipment and various leases were sold to Ray A. Bennett of Denver in 1945. Fullroe was dissolved on November 21, 1945. Floyd C. Fuller to R. M. Zimmerman, October 3, 1964, to Author, October 8, 1964; and Barney Cruz, Jr. to Author, September 11, 1964.

on the South Ponil, the Ohio men had sufficient wealth that the failure of the Fullroe company caused them little financial distress.²⁸

A few other small placer mines operated simultaneously with the Fullroe company. The Peerless Mining Company ran a portable washing machine, 1½ cubic-yard gasoline shovel, and bulldozer on Ute Creek placer grounds during the summer of 1941.²⁹ The next year a permanent sluice, fed by water piped off Baldy, was installed on Willow Creek to treat placer gold and tungsten deposits.³⁰ The American Pipe and Concrete Company of Los Angeles, using land leased from the Maxwell Company, hoped to extract gold while cleaning gravel for concrete manufacture. Extensive testing was undertaken before the outbreak of the war disrupted the plans of the company.³¹

28. Just as Clinton P. Anderson described his memories of French Henry disaster, Floyd C. Fuller, the only living stockholder of the Fullroe company, wrote: "Altho [sic] it is always more or less painful to lose money, I have never regretted the fact that I joined up with Monroe, Brewer, and others in this venture. It was a great experience. I met and enjoyed friendly contact with many fine gentlemen. It gave me an excuse to make two trips to New Mexico and to spend a little time at Santa Fe, Taos, Albuquerque, Raton, Eagle Nest, etc." Floyd C. Fuller to Author, October 22, 1964.

29. U.S. Dept. of Interior, Minerals Yearbook, 1941, p. 424.

30. U.S. Dept. of Interior, Minerals Yearbook, 1942, p. 449.

31. Victor J. Van Lint to Author, Undated letter, spring of 1964.

The entrance of America into World War II marked the end of all significant mining work in the Baldy Mountain district. Since 1942 a few lone prospectors have sluiced small quantities of precious metal from the Moreno Valley, but never since then has that amount exceeded \$500 per annum.³² Across the great mountain at the headwaters of Ute Creek an equally dismal scene of desertion greeted the visitor to Baldy Town. From Aztec Ridge only the fast crumbling walls of "Doc" Leitzell's stone store and the tall, naked fireplace which once warmed miners in the town's hotel break the green monotony of overgrown mine dumps and shafts. The people who once lived in Elizabethtown have now moved to Eagle Nest, where fishermen, winter sports enthusiasts, and sightseers support a year round population. In 1953 a visitor described the abandoned capital of the old Baldy district:

E-town was deserted when I visited it, and the wind blew in cutting blasts across its treeless streets. On the crown of one low hill is a church built of stained and weathered boards; on the top of another hill is the cemetery. Below the church, which dominates the townsite, stands a schoolhouse, and in front of that are two or three terraced grass-grown streets, reached by rutted roads. Tall sagebrush hides many of the foundation holes, in which debris and fragments of sun-tinted lavender

32. Anderson, The Metal Resources of New Mexico... Through 1954, p. 36.

glass lie jumbled together. In one the carcass of an upright piano lies flat upon its back. The entire rear wall of a stone-and-adobe pool hall has been torn away, and in it only a billiard table and part of a bar are left...E-town may come alive in summer, when fishermen and tourists roam the mountains and cattlemen drive their herds into the fertile valley and up the slopes of Old Baldy, but in February it is only a rattling husk.³³

33. Wollé, The Bonanza Trail, p. 33. Additional life was assured to the eastern slopes of Baldy in 1962 when the Philmont Scout Ranch purchased 10,098 acres of land there for \$196,520, in cash and planned to incorporate it into the 127,00-acre Philmont Scout Ranch. Included for that price was the Aztec mine, which alone had produced over \$4,000,000 in gold since 1868.

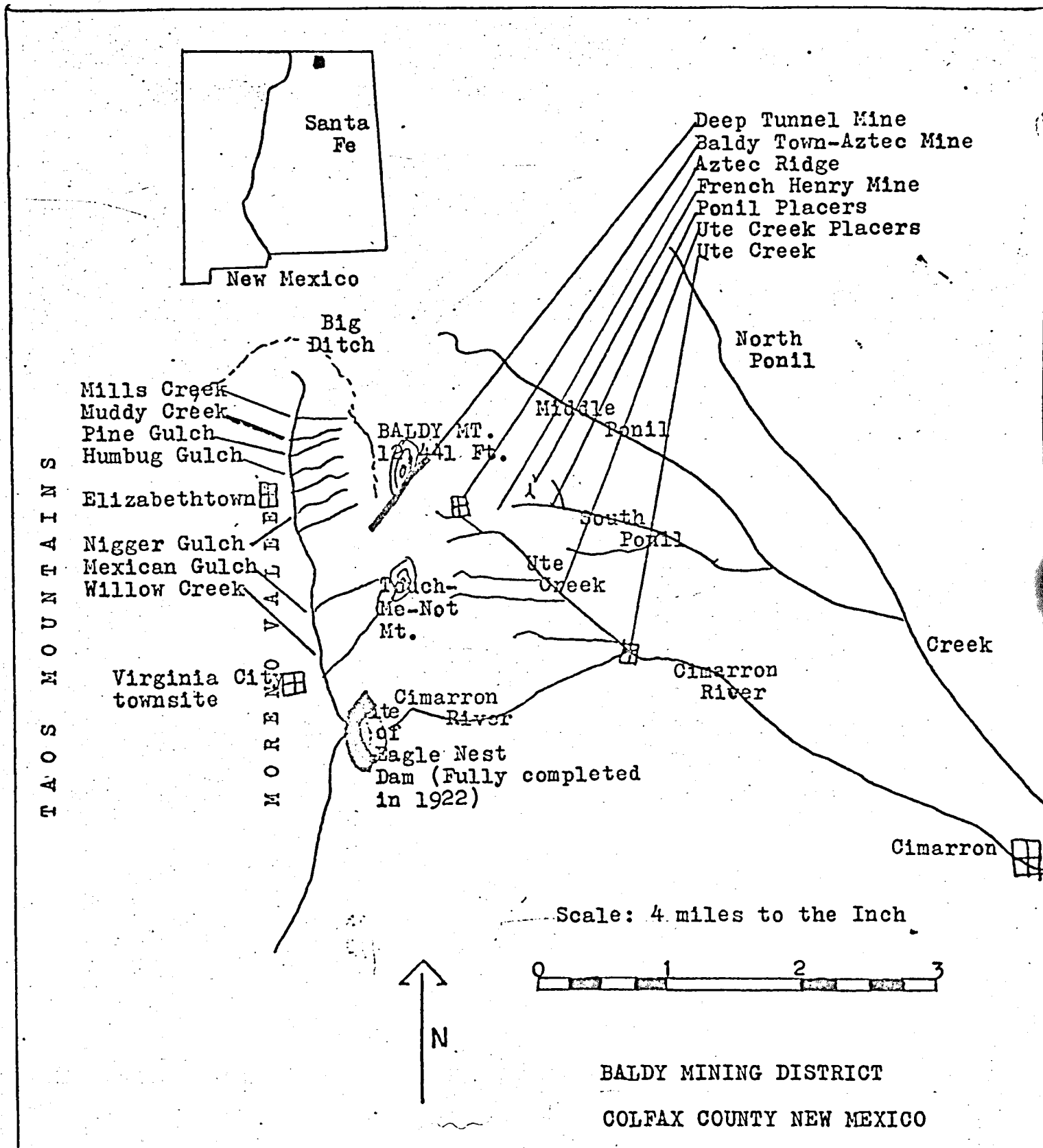
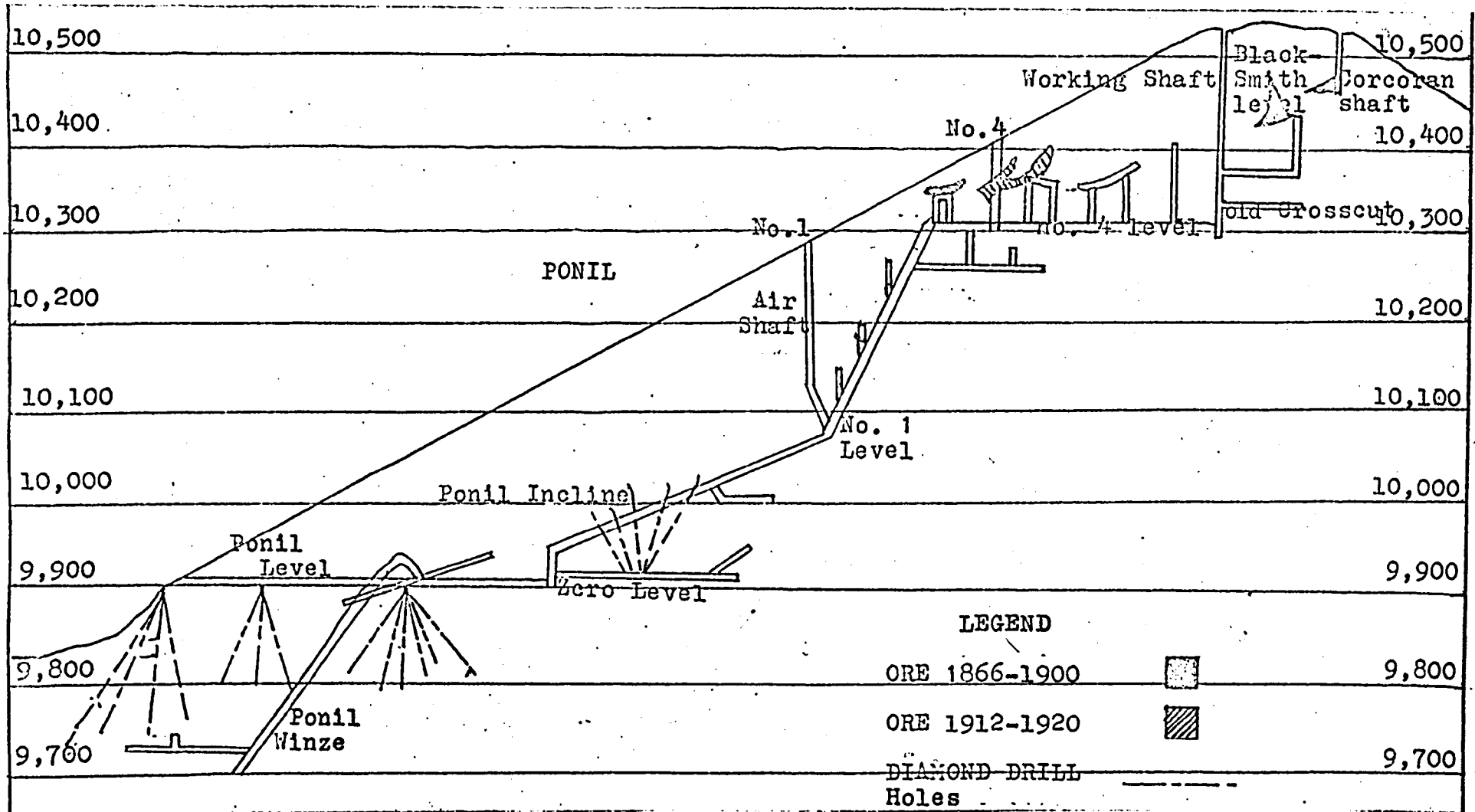


Fig. 1--Baldy Mining District



(Modified from Charles A. Chase and Douglas Muir, "The Aztec Mine, Baldy, New Mexico," American Institute of Mining Engineers Transactions Vol. 68 (1923), p. 273.)

Fig. 2--NORTHEAST-SOUTHWEST SECTION AZTEC GOLD MINE
BALDY, NEW MEXICO



Fig. 4--Lucien B. Maxwell



Fig. 5--Ute and Apache Indians Receiving Goods from Maxwell's Mill at Cimarron.



Fig. 6--William H. Moore



Fig. 7--William Kroenig



Fig. 8--Frank Springer



Fig. 9--Elizabethtown in 1900



Fig. 10--Hydraulic Mining in the Moreno Valley



Fig. 11--The Dredge "Eleanor"



Fig. 12--Baldy Town from the Aztec Mine



Fig. 13--Elizabethtown Ruins and Baldy Mountain

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