Taking the waters : Montanas early hot spring resorts
by Marilyn Johnson McMillan

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS in History
Montana State University

Abstract:
Montana's early hot spring resorts from the frontier years to the First World War reflected the national use of mineral waters for both health and pleasure. American hot spring resorts, located primarily on the east coast, reached their peak of popularity in mid-nineteenth century and declined as the century waned. This slow decline can be attributed to both the increased professionalization of medicine as well as a change in social and recreational interests. Montana's imitation of eastern resorts, such as Saratoga Springs, New York, came at the time of decreasing interest in hot springs. From the outset, hot soring resorts in Montana experienced frustration and lack of success.

Montana's hot spring resorts also reflected living conditions on the frontier. The copying of eastern resorts emphasized the need by early frontier residents to soften the edge of life in a remote country. The rude log structures that gradually gave way to more sophisticated buildings were a source of pride to those who feared Indian attacks and howling coyotes. The medicinal hot waters provided relief from rheumatism and other cold climate complaints that was lacking in the primitive medical care. In addition to seeking health at the resorts, Montana pioneers found the developments to be centers of social activity. Hot spring resorts readily became the focus for nearby communities.

Like so much else in Montana's history, the folly of imitating east coast fashions was once again realized. Too isolated for eastern tourists, too little populated for sufficient local support and too far out of step with national trends, Montana's hot spring resorts encouraged optimistic investments and grand openings but experienced mostly disappointments and closings.

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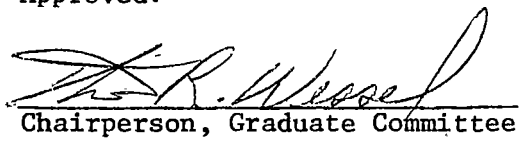
Approved:



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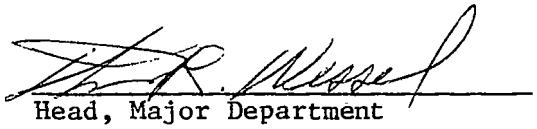

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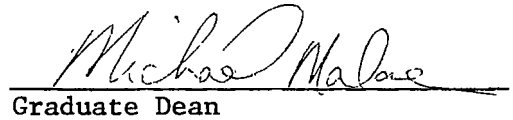

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Bozeman, Montana

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VITA

Marilyn Johnson McMillan was born on August 7, 1943 in Albany, California, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley J. Johnson. She graduated in 1961 from El Camino High School in Sacramento, California. She was awarded a Bachelor of Arts degree in English in 1965 from University of California at Davis. She received a Master of Arts degree in English in 1967 from California State University at Sacramento.

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Chapter 1

AN OVERVIEW OF MONTANA'S EARLY HOT SPRING RESORTS

Montana's early hot spring resorts from the frontier years to the First World War reflected the national use of mineral waters for both health and pleasure. American hot spring resorts, located primarily on the east coast, reached their peak of popularity in mid-nineteenth century and declined as the century waned. This slow decline can be attributed to both the increased professionalization of medicine as well as a change in social and recreational interests. Montana's imitation of eastern resorts, such as Saratoga Springs, New York, came at the time of decreasing interest in hot springs. From the outset, hot spring resorts in Montana experienced frustration and lack of success.

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Hot spring resorts, like so many of Montana's enterprises, have been dependent on outside economic and social conditions. Such an economy is particularly sensitive to national and international conditions. When the general economy is depressed, Montana is often one of the first regions to feel the pinch, and usually severely. When the Depression of 1893 hit, for instance, the demand for silver fell off. Silver mines closed down and mining communities were deserted overnight.

Montana hot spring resorts depended on a sufficiently large and stable population to assure developers of adequate returns. In the first years of mining activity, wild population shifts were expected. But by the second or third decade, with few exceptions, communities continued to experience dramatic population jumps: sudden influxes to a gold or silver strike and dramatic decreases when the flurry died. The first census conducted in Montana was in 1870. Taken only eight years after the first major gold strike, it showed a population of 20,595, primarily clustered around the mining activity in the southwestern part of the territory. Ten years later, in 1880, the population had nearly doubled to 39,159.

The decades of 1880 and 1890 saw great economic activity and accompanying population increases. The state as a whole recorded a population of more than 132,000, a dramatic increase in ten years. Helena, the largest town in the state, had nearly 14,000 residents.

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Livingston, the settlement closest to Hunters Hot Springs, recorded less than 3,000; Deer Lodge was smaller yet at 1,463 and Boulder had a mere 955. The owners of hot springs must have hoped to draw on a population over a large area in the territory.

By 1900 the total state residents increased by more than 100,000, to nearly 150,000. But Helena residents had dropped by almost 4,000, to 10,770, while White Sulpher Springs and Meagher County lost nearly half of their population because of mining depressions. Little wonder that optimistic speculators such as Charles A. Broadwater turned their hopes to outside tourists to support their resorts.

Montana was simply too remote, too isolated to experience the influx of tourism that entrepreneurs such as Broadwater had so much counted on. The northern tier states, even with the arrival in 1883 of the Northern Pacific Railroad and in 1887 of the Great Northern Railroad, never stood on the beaten track for wealthy eastern or mid-western tourists whose destinations were more often California, Arizona or even Colorado. The few months of seasonable weather hardly encouraged many visitors to make their way to isolated spas located at White Sulphur Springs or Boulder Hot Springs or even to the capital city of Helena and the fabulous Broadwater resort.

Because of its isolation, Montana always experienced a cultural lag. What was popular on the east coast slowly reached Montana's borders: "In the seventies and eighties, the tuberculars, the dropsical

and the scrofular had thronged, when they could afford it, to the resort hotels, and religiously purified themselves at the fountains and in baths of mud or salt water." The heyday of hot spring resorts peaked in the fashionable eastern resorts just as Montana was discovered by gold miners and the outside world.[1]

During the 1860-1880s in Montana, Hunters Hot Springs, White Sulphur Springs and Boulder Hot Springs offered only primitive facilities. While Saratoga Springs was thronged with the glitter and fashion of the eastern seaboard Montana during these decades was a primitive frontier. Vigilante activity and cattle rustling abounded. White residents, fearing Indian attacks, witnessed the opening and closing of military forts and major Indian scares including Custer's defeat at the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876 and, a year later, the flight of Chief Joseph and his Nez Perce band to Canada. Homestead activity culminated during the early years of the new century in the eastern part of the state. Living conditions in these later years were hardly comparable to those found on either the east or west coast. Both the resorts and their patrons would be ill at ease at Saratoga Springs.

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> season that took fewer families to the "regular" resorts, more to the farmhouse, country villages and groups of cottages, as well as to Europe....By the nineties, the whole character of tourism in Western America, so recently established, was clearly in flux. The indoor American, sedentary and dyseptic of disposition, as he had seemed in the seventies, was giving way to a new American whose taste for outdoor amusements made the Englishmen compare him to the Parisian and the Viennese.

Better medical training, more reliable equipment and a scientific approach to medicine resulted in turning away from the traditional use of mineral waters. Americans began to look toward the medical profession rather than relying on hot springs to remedy their complaints.[2]

At the beginning of the century the fashion continued away from vacations by rail to hot spring resorts by easterners: "The railroad had brought many Americans to the outdoors, especially when it learned to carry tents and duffle bags as well as steamer trunks, and then the branch lines pushed to the sites of the beach and mountain resorts. The automobile did still more; it has been a major factor in a reorientation of tourists' activities and interests that goes beyond mere convenience and cheapness of access..." Despite the large investments in hot spring resorts by James A. Murray in Hunters Hot Springs and Boulder Hot Springs, James Breen in the Broadwater and the Electric Hot Springs Company in Corwin Hot Springs, these developments failed to attract the outside tourists that the resorts so desperately needed. Even the local residents learned to use the rail and then the automobile to take them to the wilderness, particularly to Yellowstone

and Glacier National Parks inside Montana's borders.[3]

The years before the First World War coincided with a burgeoning interest in exploring the wilderness on one's own and the increasing accessibility of the auto increased one's mobility. Grand resorts like the Broadwater, Hunters and Boulder Hot Springs continued but with great difficulty. Like so much else in Montana's history, the folly of imitating east and west coast fashions was once again realized. Too isolated for eastern tourists, too little populated for sufficient local support and too far out of step with national trends, Montana's hot spring resorts encouraged optimistic investments and grand openings but experienced mostly disappointments and closings.

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Chapter 2

TAKING THE WATERS: A SHORT HISTORY

Montana's hot spring resorts were a late development in the long history of the use of mineral waters. From the earliest of times people have relied on mineral springs for their medicinal and curative powers. These springs attracted attention because of their smell, taste, color and temperature. The early Greeks built temples near the springs and rituals centered on the use of baths. Although mystical cults continued to exist in the days of Hippocrates, the waters were used for more therapeutic means. Plato, in his Dialoges, wrote that the "limbs of the rustic worn with toil will derive more benefit from warm water than from the prescriptions of a not overwise doctor."[1]

To the Romans "we owe the application, not only of baths, but also the drinking of mineral waters, for curative ends." Pliny, the Elder, recounted in Natural History the values of water and baths throughout the Roman Empire and of Roman baths found in France, Spain, Switzerland and England. Wherever Roman soldiers set foot they left place names indicative of their origin as Roman spas, such as Aachen or Aix that were derived from aquae. Rich and poor alike bathed in Imperial Rome. Superb public baths were found in Rome and every other town that could afford them. "Characteristic of Roman materialism...these baths were designed not only for comfortable and luxurious bathing but for club

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life, sport, permanent art exhibitions, and all and more than all the activities of the most elaborate community center - as Senaca, complaining of the noise describes." The baths cost the bather less than a penny, and this fee was sometimes waived by emperors to curry public favor. For "five centuries mineral waters were almost the only medicines used in Rome." With the decline of the Roman civilization, use of mineral waters also declined.[2]

During the Renaissance, interest in mineral springs along with renewed interest in physical science, revived. During the Middle Ages, curative use of baths had ceased except for the use of Holy Wells of which the Catholic Church had assumed guardianship. With improved social and economic conditions during the Renaissance, pilgrims treked to the springs, crediting the waters with cures. Britain and the European continent saw a revival of the use of mineral waters in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the health resort gradually gave way to the holiday resort. In the late seventeenth century, physicians were aware of the value of exercise and recreation. Such health resorts as Bath began at first to provide gentle entertainment as lawn bowling and tennis.

After the English Civil War and Restoration, a new age of frivolity and pleasure began. A new interest in scientific inquiry also spurred an interest in mineral springs and Royalists renewed an acquaintance with Continental spas. The growing economic wealth of the upper class

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The Court took the lead in the development of spas as social centers and by the end of the seventeenth century Bath, Tunbridge Wells and Epsom began to be known more for pleasure than for cure.[3]

The eighteenth century has been described as "an age of watering-places," a time when spas were growing into flourishing towns. Bath became the favorite gathering place for the Court and the aristocracy. Landed aristocracy mingled with European royalty, impoverished gallants waited for an heiress, mothers hoped to marry off a less-than-beautiful daughter to a wealthy old gentleman. Fortunes were won and lost at the gaming tables and political and ecclesiastical favors were meted out at the pump room. A typical regimen in the life of a Bath sojourner usually began with bathing in one of the baths from 6 a.m. to 9 a.m., then adjourning to the pump room where copious amounts of the hot water was drunk while listening to an orchestra. The rest of the day was spent drinking coffee, writing or promenading. Dancing, gaming or visiting occupied the evening hours. The reign of Beau Nash, the master of ceremonies, lasted until the end of the century and epitomized the fashionable life of the English spas.[4]

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During the eighteenth century the hot springs in colonial America first drew attention. By mid-century, the colonists had toiled for nearly 150 years in the wilderness. They had long followed the precedent established by the Indians to the mineral springs to escape the southern humidity and northern urban congestion. But for the first time, wealth and leisure time had sufficiently accrued for some to join in the luxuries of life that their counterparts were enjoying in the mother country. About 1760, when Beau Nash and Bath society were reigning in English society, the colonies witnessed "the beginnings of the annual seasonal migrations of individuals and families which made the aristocracy more urbane and cosmopolitan than many of their English contemporaries."[5]

In New England, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, the fad for taking the waters rivaled that in England. "Rather their being imitators of their English cousins by attending the mineral springs, the colonists were simply living in the manner of the eighteenth century." Southern colonists, as early as 1720, frequented springs in Virginia. One of the springs, called Berkeley Springs in the western part of the colony, was given by Lord Fairfax to the colony of Virginia. In 1775, the colonial assembly of Virginia laid out a townsite called Bath, hoping that it would become as famous as its English namesake.[6]

The springs in Virginia soon became fashionable but there was competition in New York at Saratoga Springs. Colonists in the late

eighteenth century first began to frequent the group of springs in New York. A log cabin built in 1783 soon became a tavern. Increasing visitors numbering the likes of General George Washington and Dr. Benjamin Rush boosted the popularity of the area.

Another group of springs located in Arkansas, the Arkansas Hot Springs, were settled a few years later, about 1800, after a much earlier visit by DeSoto and other Spanish explorers. In 1832 the United States Congress set aside about 900 acres that included the forty-six hot springs as a federal preserve for use by the public.

The popularity of the American spas reached their peak in the ante-bellum years. In 1832 Dr. John Bell of Philadelphia wrote that "all that has been performed by the Bristol, Buxton and Bath waters of England, may be safely claimed as of easy fulfillment by the use of Virginia waters." A "springs tour" became the favored entertainment of the American wealthy. Luxurious hotels were built, music and dancing amused those that came to bathe and drink the waters. Southern planters and their families toured the Virginia springs but many also sought the cooler climate of Saratoga Springs in the north.[7]

Saratoga boomed as southern cotton prices climbed. With the arrival of the railroad in 1833 the number of Saratoga visitors increased from 6,000 to 8,000 in a season. Where one hotel in the early years could accommodate visitors, now luxurious hotels named the Union, Congress and the United States hosted famous guests. Taking the waters

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was, as in the eigtheenth century English Bath, merely an excuse for the nineteenth century American wealthy to enjoy the pleasures of life, eating, drinking and gaming.

The Civil War made an obvious dent in the southern clientele in Saratoga but the northern wealthy seemed to make up for their loss. In 1861, Joe Morrissey, a retired boxing champion and professional gambler, opened a gaming house in Saratoga. Two years later, he built a horse racing track. Gaming and racing became the noted attractions of the spring for nearly thirty years.

Saratoga Springs, the "Queen of the Spas" and envy of every other hot spring resort in the United States, thrived on its reputation for gaming, racing, and being fashionable until the turn of the century. Presidents Hayes, Arthur and Harrison visited the springs. Tiffany's opened a branch store and other famous New York, London, and Paris shops sold their jewels, gowns and carriages to anyone who could afford them. Diamond Jim Brady mingled among the Whitneys, Vanderbilts, Sloans and Belmonts as well as with Anthony Comstock of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. In the first decade of the new century, Saratoga succumbed to the changes in American life style and moral climate. Hotels closed; gaming rooms were torn down. The state of New York purchased the springs in 1909 and operated them as public baths.

As an urban-industrial society came to dominate the lives of

Americans more and more, many turned to the freedom of the outdoors for their recreational pursuits. Hiking, camping and gold became enormously popular along with an increased interest in sports and health. The wealthy turned to the seashore and the middle class toured wilderness areas in the family auto. Medicine became professional and scientific and fewer invalids turned to the mineral waters for their complaints. The decline of the American hot spring resort was at hand.

When eastern resorts started to decline in popularity, dusty prospectors in frontier Montana were only beginning to discover hot springs. In the following decades, Montana entrepreneurs struggled to recreate the resorts that would soften the primitive lifestyle, reminding miners and homesick families of the more genteel life left behind in the "states."

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Chapter 3

IF HADS WERE SHADS: MONTANA HOT SPRINGS AS BUSINESS ENTERPRISES

Early Montana entrepreneurs faced many problems not confronting their counterparts in more settled communities. The scramble for gold in isolated mountainous regions brought on wildly shifting populations and uncertain shipments of goods to sell. Some merchants, faced with their customers running off to another strike, simply put their buildings on skids and packed them from gold strike to gold strike.

The first developers of hot springs did not have to deal with supply problems as did their fellow businessmen, but they faced other problems unique to their enterprise. Since the mineral waters were their commodity, the developers were unable to reorder or pack up and move when the camp's population moved on. The hot springs proprietor first had to attract customers to his springs and once there, sell the miners on the need to spend money on baths and hospitality that he was offering, both nonessentials in a life where mining supplies, grub, and whiskey were considered highest priorities.

In a region of shifting population, those springs that were developed to any extent were in proximity to centers of mining activity. Wassweilers Hot Springs, Brewers Springs, Alhambra and Boulder Hot Springs were developed by disappointed prospectors who turned to developing hot springs near mining camps.

Chapter 3

IF HADS WERE SHADS: MONTANA HOT SPRINGS AS BUSINESS ENTERPRISES

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Within two years of the Last Chance gold strike in the Prickly Pear Valley near Helena, an advertisement for "Hot Springs" appeared in the local Montana Radiator. The September 1, 1866 advertisement run by Ferdinand J. Wassweiler, the proprietor, stated that the springs, located on Ten Mile Creek, were noted for their "healthful, invigorating and high Medicinal Properties!" Visitors would find the springs improved with bath house and tubs. Transportation to the springs was provided by an express stage making two or three daily trips.[1]

Wassweiler had wasted no time since his 1865 arrival in Helena in locating and setting up business at the hot springs, about three miles west of Helena. Emigrating to the United States at the age of twelve, he sought his fortune in the gold camps of California and some years later, came to Virginia City and then on to Last Chance Gulch. On his arrival in Helena he purchased 160 acres that included the springs. He soon constructed a bath house and hotel for guests. Wassweiler found little difficulty inducing Helena visitors to travel only a short distance to the springs. More importantly, as Helena developed rapidly, miners were followed by shopkeepers and families. A permanent and growing settlement began to thrive.

Notes in local publications in the following years indicated that the springs were a popular spot for recreationists as well as health-seeking visitors. "It matters not what your disease is after washing in these life-giving waters you are bound to come out with a

clean skin." promised the Montana Radiator. Two years later an article in the Helena Business Directory prophesized that the hot springs at some future day will be "to Montana what Saratoga now is to New York...they are at present the resort of the invalid, visitor and pleasure-seeker. The hotel at the Springs is fitted up in an elegant manner." Ironically, this was the same year that mounting Indian attacks against immigrant trains forced the federal government to close the Bozeman trail to travel.[2]

In 1874, the year before the capitol of the territory moved from Virginia City to Helena, Wassweiler sold 80 of his 160 acres to Charles A. Broadwater, a Helena freighter. Broadwater speculated in the future of a booming settlement by acquiring the hot springs property, and laid the groundwork for the most pretentious of Montana's hot spring resorts.

Although Brewers Springs in the Smith River Valley did not have the advantage of being located just outside a thriving mining camp as did Wassweiler's, the springs were central to three areas of settlement. When James Brewer claimed the springs, he no doubt hoped to capitalize on their location, about 36 miles northeast of Diamond City, site of the largest camp in the rich Confederate Gulch area, and just 75 miles from Helena and 15 miles east of Camp Baker. Exactly when Brewer claimed the springs is not clear but his acquisition probably dates to the years 1866-1870. Michael Leeson, in The History of Montana, wrote

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that Brewer, a member of the 1867 Fisk Expedition, had come into the Smith River Valley in 1870 from Helena and pre-empted a quarter section of land that included the mineral springs. One year later Major R. C. Walker purchased half interest from Brewer. Both received a patent to the land. Leeson reported that "these gentlemen erected dwellings, bathhouses, stables, etc. and to them is accredited the honor of being both pioneers and founders of the town." The Meagher County Centennial stated that Brewer came west from Virginia in 1862 and to Montana Territory in 1864, the same year that the infamous Henry Plummer, sheriff of Madison County was hung by vigilantes for his role as leader in the Plummer gang. Brewer located the springs in 1866 and built the first house in the Smith River Valley. There was no mention of Captain Walker. Regardless of the accuracy of this report, what was certain was that by 1874, the first year of the publication of the Rocky Mountain Husbandman, Brewer was the owner of the springs. Before he sold out to Dr. William Parberry in 1877, he constructed primitive bathing facilities.[3]

Hot spring developments that were located near mining camps as Wassweilers and Brewers were fortunate. Other springs that had some assurance of patronage were located near agricultural trading centers, such as Bozeman and Deer Lodge. The earliest mention of the springs seven miles west of Bozeman appeared in the Bozeman Avant-Courier in 1877, which noted that the medicinal waters were "attracting no little

attention this season..." General Brisbin, when not on Indian attack alert at nearly Fort Ellis, was a regular visitor. Another reference in the Bozeman paper described the springs as "Al. Lund's place on the West Gallatin." Apparently some development had occurred before the first note in 1877 but the Avant-Courier which had begun publication in 1871 took no notice.[4]

Another hot spring located near a trading center was Warm Springs, about sixteen miles from the town of Deer Lodge, a center for cattle and farming that lay on the Mullan Road. The springs were first claimed by Louis Belanger in 1865. In 1871 he and his brother-in-law Elisha Gerard built a hotel and promoted the good fishing and hunting in addition to the warm baths and good hospitality offered by the hosts. The partners conducted the resort until 1877 when they sold out to Drs. A. H. Mitchell and Charles Mussigbrod for their use as a facility for the territorial insane.

Early developers hoped to locate near centers of population or at least on accessible routes. Pullers Hot Springs was located on the Salt Lake Road that travelers used on the trek from Utah to the mining camps in southwestern Montana. The springs, about sixteen miles southwest of Virginia City and the Alder Gulch camps, were first noted in the 1877 Rocky Mountain Husbandman. Correspondent Will Sutherlin wrote that he and a companion stopped for the night at Pullers Hot Springs and met "a number of persons who are sojourning for the purpose

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of improving their health by bathing." In the following years the Husbandman commented on the ammenities of the resort, particularly the spring called "Beelzebub" and the wonderful fishing.[5]

No further word of Pullers Hot Springs appeared in the paper after 1881 with the exception of James Puller's obituary appearing in the Madisonian in 1884. With the completion of the Utah and Northern Railroad from Corrine, Utah to Butte, Montana in 1881, and with the declining importance of the southwestern gold camps, perhaps Pullers Hot Springs fell victim to the changing transportation routes of the frontier.

As the early gold strikes and wild population shifts that followed gave way to quartz mining, single men and small groups no longer worked isolated claims. The mining of quartz ore required machinery, labor and large amounts of capital to mine on a large scale operation. With economic stability more of a possibility, single men began to marry and married men began to bring their families out to Montana. Such mining camps as Helena took on an air of permanence and agricultural towns like Bozeman and Deer Lodge had a steady, if not spectacular, growth.

As economic and social stability became more evident, residents of the territory invested in business ventures catering to the newly made money and leisure. A few of the doctors who chose to remain in Montana saw the possibilities of hot springs as a financial investment

as well as an opportunity to practice medicine. Three hot springs, Hunter Hot Springs, White Sulphur Springs and Warm Springs, all provide good examples of the evolution of hot spring development in the 1870s, from simple resorts developed by disappointed miners to the more extensive facilities built by physicians.

In April 1864, Dr. Andrew Jackson Hunter, his wife and three children set out from Nebraska City, Nebraska, to the western gold fields. According to an 1871 account published in the Bozeman Avant-Courier, the Hunters followed John Bozeman's trail. In late July 1864, they camped in the vicinity of Springdale. The doctor was exploring the country when he stumbled across the hot springs, and "realizing that he may have found a very valuable discovery, he followed this creek for some distance when he came upon a large Crow Indian camp and many teepees near some hot springs. He was quite excited about his discovery and promptly claimed the springs and named them after himself - Hunters Hot Springs." Dr. Hunter and his family continued on to Bozeman. For the next five years, Dr. Hunter moved from camp to camp in search of gold, from Virginia City to Helena to Confederate Gulch, southeast of Helena. Finally in December of 1869 he moved to Bozeman. The little town was the closest settlement to the springs and he could practice medicine there until he could develop them.

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Virginia Hot Springs in the east and even other Montana developers. The land that Dr. Hunter claimed was located about eight miles east of the Crow Agency, a government agency built in 1860 to administer the affairs of the Crow Indians. In 1871 the agency was named Fort Parker. Since the agency was so close to the springs, it brought some settlement to the area but also drew most of the Crow Indians several times a year to receive their annuities.

Letters from a Bozeman newspaper correspondent from the Crow Agency-Fort Parker during 1872 described the distribution of goods, "bolts of calico, sheeting and ticking, piles of tobacco, sacks, sugar, coffee and flour, kegs of powder and other thing innumerable are before the group." These goods were distributed in a scene described colorfully by the reporter: "The beating of Indian drums, singing of the braves and squaws and the barking of dogs, the clattering of horses' feet, squealing of papooses and the high pitched voice of a dusky warrior who assumes oratory, and for the time being holds forth doubtless to an enraptured audience, and whose voice by the way would drown that of an old-fashioned Fourth of July; these sounds form a combination which if praised for its volume could not be termed a sweet concord of harmony."[7]

Despite the usual peaceful intentions of the Crows, Dr. Hunter made a claim in the summer of 1875 that Indians drove himself and his family away and destroyed his crops. He claimed a loss of $2,485.

That same year the Department of Interior moved the agency to the eastern part of the reservation about 100 miles after the Crows agreed to give up the western part of their reservation to miners and settlers.

In addition to Indian problems, Dr. Hunter also worried about his title to the land. He first claimed the land by squatter's rights and in 1878 when a United States survey was completed, Dr. Hunter took a homestead claim. The Northern Pacific Railroad also claimed land on either side of its proposed track which included the springs. This issue was not settled until 1882 in favor of Dr. Hunter.

Despite occasional Indian harassment and uncertain land claims, Dr. Hunter continued his development. In May of 1873, the Bozeman Avant-Courier reported that bath houses were completed at the springs and "Dr. Hunter is now prepared to receive and entertain visitors and invalids in a comfortable manner." With the cession of lands by the Crows in 1875, surrounding lands could be claimed by white settlers. Dr. Hunter operated the springs on a small scale until 1882 when the claim by the Northern Pacific was finally settled. That same year the railroad was completed past his springs, about two and one-half miles distance to the Springdale station, and on to Livingston. Dr. Hunter completed a two story hotel in anticipation of a host of visitors and tourists traveling on the newly-completed railroad.[8]

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Billings and the surrounding area. Roving Indian bands were no longer a menace and the last herd of buffalo was killed. A touch of the frontier remained, however, to thrill eastern greenhorn tourists: passengers departing at the Springdale station were sometimes startled by an apparition of a wild-looking man with flowing locks and mustache and dressed in a red shirt, leather chaps and broad brimmed hat astride a large gray steed. "Visions of Jesse James flit through the imagination of the excited passengers, but the train hands view the supposed desperado with equanimity." The desperado was only an old sheepherder, Scotty, whose mind was "gone due to excessive drinking bad whiskey."[9]

In 1884, just as Dr. Hunter was beginning to see the rewards from his hot springs, he offered the property for sale. At the age of 69, he felt that the time in his life had come when he was "entitled to some rest from his labors of a lifetime and that he may now properly enjoy the fruits of his many years of waiting..." After several years of waiting for a purchaser, he sold the hot springs in late December of 1885 to the Montana Hot Springs Company, a stockholding company made up primarily of Livingston businessmen.[10]

Like Dr. Andrew Jackson Hunter, Dr. William Parberry had sought his fortunes in the Montana gold fields. Unable to make a strike in the Confederate Gulch mines, he turned to medicine and stock raising. With the proximity of the Brewers Springs, it was natural that Dr. Parberry looked to the hot springs as had Dr. Hunter as a business

venture. Dr. Parberry purchased the springs in June of 1877 from James Brewer and renamed them White Sulphur Springs. The following year Dr. Parberry built a log hotel.

In the next several years important strides were made in establishing the springs as a permanent and thriving resort. An editorial in the Rocky Mountain Husbandman noted that the White Sulphur Springs was the "best commercial and geographical center" in the county. In 1880 the county seat moved from Diamond City to White Sulphur Springs. Dr. Parberry was not idle during these years. He platted the townsite of White Sulphur Springs, including nearly 1000 town lots. The Husbandman noted in 1880 that four short years ago, the springs site had only a scattering of log cabins. Now the springs was a thriving village, enjoying mail delivery six times a week from Helena, a distance of 75 miles.[11]

Notwithstanding all favorable portents for the future. Dr. Parberry sold out in late 1882 to a group of Montana financiers. He preferred, as the Husbandman noted, "selling the property to undertaking its improvement single-handed."[12]

To the developers of hot springs, the coming of the railroads to an isolated region like Montana Territory meant survival and permanence to communities on the tracks. Both agricultural and mining interests were dependent on the rails. Farmers and ranchers needed railroads to ship their products to faraway markets. Mining

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investors needed the same to bring in machinery and ship out the ores. "Boosters of every region and town prayed and plotted for a railroad that would build to their doorstep and bring them instead prosperity and the guarantee of permanent growth."[13]

Since the territory's inception, both resident and eastern capitalist recognized the necessity of the railroad. In 1876, at a time when the Northern Pacific tracks were stalled somewhere in the Dakota Territory, a visiting British noble, the Earl of Duraven, noted the despair of Montanans:

> "When the railway is made" is, in Montana, a sort of equivalent for our phrase "When my ship comes." The Northern Pacific Railway was surveyed through the best parts of the territory, and under the benign influence of that great civiliser Montana would rapidly have developed into a prosperous State. But it is a case of "If hads were shads there would have been fish for supper!" The Northern Pacific came to an untimely end. No one but Providence and financial agents can possibly say whether it is ever likely to be "put through" and in the meantime the northern territories are steadily "advancing backwards".

The railroads did arrive and once they began to cross into the territory's borders in the early 1880s, a boom in silver mining that lasted more than a decade made Montana a leading mining region in the world. This mining prosperity was coupled with a great increase in agricultural production.[14]

The succeeding years, notwithstanding the Panics of 1883 and 1893, meant a great deal of interest in hot spring resorts, primarily from capitalists seeking new investments and hoping for new revenues from

tourists arriving on the trains. As they drew more tourists, "the railroads, both steam and electric, thus figured in shifts in American recreational habits that in a later day seemed products of the automobile alone." In the 1880s through the early 1900s White Sulphur Springs, Hunters Hot Springs and Boulder Hot Springs were purchased by investors. Reflecting the need for larger amounts of money needed for extensive development, the hot spring resorts were sold by entrepreneurs like Drs. Hunter and Parberry to financiers pooling their resources and minimizing their individual risks.[15]

In the first issue of the 1883 new year, the Rocky Mountain Husbandman headlined that the springs had been sold to a syndicate of leading Montana capitalists, the White Sulphur Springs Association. The property had been capitalized for $80,000 and all capital stock sold. The purchase included nine acres of ground surrounding the springs, seven acres on which the springs hotel was located and 1000 town lots. The most important member of the group was Aaron Hershfield of Helena. He was in partnership with his brother, Louis Hershfield, founder in 1865 of one of Helena's first banks. Other members of the Association included Timothy E. Collins, a partner with Louis Hershfield in the Bank of North Montana, Charles Duer, an associate of Hershfield and Collins, in the Fort Benton bank and Henry Sieben, a Helena rancher.

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sale. The Rocky Mountain Husbandman carried a report that it "understood also that a strong effort will be made to induce the Northern Pacific to build a branch to the Springs from Livingston which would require about sixty-five miles of road. A road might be built across from Townsend, but a branch from Livingston would be preferable on account of that being the point to which all tourists who travel to the National Park will have to come..."[16]

Despite enthusiastic prophecies for the future of the springs, within three years the Husbandman began to sound the first of many sour and progressively bitter notes. The editors claimed that the White Sulphur Springs Association "manifests a perfect indifference in regard to the progress and prosperity here" although the association held the majority of town lots. In 1887 progress was not being made: "The invalid business of the territory is going to Boulder and Hunters Hot Springs simply because the owners of the property are letting it go to rack and ruin and refuse to do anything calculated to attract." By November of that year, the paper was even more harsh in its criticism. If the White Sulphur Springs was "in the hands of public spirited men it could be paying a dividend of from fifteen to twenty per cent per annum. But the men who have the affairs in charge are playing the dog in the manger. They refuse to contribute themselves or give anyone else a show. They not only refuse to contribute to

public enterprise calculated to enhance the value of their real estate, but will not keep their own property in proper shape." The Husbandman suggested that Hershfield was more interested in personal gain than public good.[17]

The crying need for a rail connection was heard again and again. The Husbandman maintained that the future of White Sulphur Springs as a resort depended upon a rail service. It claimed that before railroads arrived in Montana Territory, invalids thronged the springs but "since the people have a taste of railway travel they positively refuse to leave the palace car for the old Concord coach, and many go even to the Hot Springs in Arkansas rather than stage it forty miles to Montana's great healing fountains." The invalids had not lost confidence in the springs but unless the Association secured a rail connection, those seeking medicinal waters would not come.[18]

From the 1880s through the 1890s, White Sulphur Springs felt "hard times" of the silver depression, especially in the silver mining areas north of the town. The pinch was also felt in Helena banks. Aaron Hershfield, president of the Association, and his brother were among the bankers who did not survive the Panic of 1893. Their Merchants' Bank closed in 1896-1897, passing into receivership until 1902.

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claimed that after the first years, the Hershfields gained control of the White Sulphur Springs Association by "bearing" the property. By this time the 1893 Panic was fully on. Concluding that the springs were no longer valuable, "they drew money on their accounts, mostly officers salaries from their bank and put the company's paper in. Finally the bank failed and the property went into the hands of a receiver where it is today." The paper urged the White Sulphur Springs town council to purchase the springs.[19]

The fortunes of Meagher County did not fare well in these years as gold placers played out and silver and copper hit lows in the 1890s. The Smith River area was a valley with large ranches, not smaller homesteads with many families. "The resources from which White Sulphur Springs had hoped to draw its wealth were gone, and between 1890 and 1900, the county's population was cut nearly in half."[20]

The personal fortunes of the Hershfield brothers fared as poorly as that of the springs. In 1894 Aaron Hershfield was involved in a divorce scandal. After the bank's failure he was employed as a bookkeeper and before his death in 1918 became an inmate of the county poor house which "as he is said to observed to his friends, was a good place to spend his last days." His brother, Louis Hershfield returned to his native New York. His obituary notice observed that he had been a Montana resident of more than thirty years, a leading Helena banker and half-owner of the Homestake mine which produced nearly one million

dollars.[21]

In October 1902, Conrad-Stanford Company purchased the assets of the Merchants' National Bank including the springs. The Conrad brothers, Charles who died shortly after the purchase, and William, were early day Montana entrepreneurs. After nearly thirty years their extensive business interests included banking, cattle, mines and the town of Conrad in Northern Montana. The Conrad-Stanford Company was based in Helena in 1902.

The years had not been kind to either the resort or the town. "By 1904 White Sulphur Springs, which had held such high potential, had become just another dusty little Montana town in the middle of a vast cattle range." The railroads, the Northern Pacific as well as Montana and Milwaukee ignored the springs until White Sulphur Springs investors in 1910 finally raised $50,000 to construct a track south to meet the Milwaukee. Even the rail connections did not much help the resort. Several buyers were unable to complete their agreements with the Conrad Company and it remained in its hands for many years.[22]

When Dr. Andrew Jackson Hunter disposed of his interest in Hunters Hot Springs in late 1886, the purchasers, like most of White Sulphur Springs, were a group of businessmen pooling their capital to form a stockholding company. The purchasers of Hunters Hot Springs were local businessmen who incorporated under the name of Montana Hot Springs Company. In addition to the springs and facilities, the sale

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The years had not been kind to either the resort or the town. "By 1904 White Sulphur Springs, which had held such high potential, had become just another dusty little Montana town in the middle of a vast cattle range." The railroads, the Northern Pacific as well as Montana and Milwaukee ignored the springs until White Sulphur Springs investors in 1910 finally raised $50,000 to construct a track south to meet the Milwaukee. Even the rail connections did not much help the resort. Several buyers were unable to complete their agreements with the Conrad Company and it remained in its hands for many years.[22]

When Dr. Andrew Jackson Hunter disposed of his interest in Hunters Hot Springs in late 1886, the purchasers, like most of White Sulphur Springs, were a group of businessmen pooling their capital to form a stockholding company. The purchasers of Hunters Hot Springs were local businessmen who incorporated under the name of Montana Hot Springs Company. In addition to the springs and facilities, the sale

included over 1200 acres. The principal stockholders were Cyrus B. Mendenhall, a local rancher who had arrived at Springdale in 1882 from Colorado; A. L. Love, cashier at the National Park Bank in Livingston and Dr. Heber Roberts, identified as representing "Northern Pacific interest...of the surgical staff of the company." Dr. Robert's exact position with the Northern Pacific was not clear. The group intended to lay out a townsite, construct an iron bridge across the Yellowstone for passenger crossing from the Springdale station, and the building of a good road from the railroad station to the springs, about one and one half miles.[23]

Despite these ambitious plans, only seven or eight cottages were erected and no further improvements such as a spur track from Springdale to the springs or a new hotel was realized. The local paper commented that it "might have been the case had the Northern Pacific gained control." Newspaper accounts in the following years described Mendenhall as "sole owner and proprietor." What became of the other principals and the stockholding company was not certain. In any case, the springs did not meet with expected success either in the resort business or the selling of town lots. Rumors of sales to the Northern Pacific abounded throughout the pages of the Livingston Enterprise. In 1890 the paper reported that the Northern Pacific had taken an option on the property the previous spring but "nothing definite is known as to the intention of the company but as it has been the rumored intention to locate a

sanitarium for the employees of the company..." Financial problems, lawsuits and foreclosures were hinted at. Finally in 1899 James A. Murray of Butte acquired "all the interests of C. B. Mendenhall and wife to the lands, buildings and hot springs."[24]

Investors believed that adequate transportation and population were of critical importance to the success of a hot springs resort. White Sulphur Springs lacked both and suffered severely but neither did the coming of the railroad help Hunters Hot Springs. Charles A. Broadwater nevertheless believed that these two factors were essential to the success of a hot springs resort and he set about to ensure adequate rail lines to carry necessary patronage that he hoped to attract from the east.

Charles A. Broadwater, born in Missouri in 1840, came west to Montana in 1863. He settled in Virginia City and began working as a freighter, first for the firm of King & Gillette and then for the Diamond R. In 1869 he was made general superintendent of the Diamond R and when it was reorganized as E. G. McClay & Company, Broadwater remained superintendent and partner until 1879. He also began purchasing land for future enterprises, buying eighty acres from Ferdinand C. Wassweiler that included the hot springs resort and water rights to the springs on land that Wassweiler retained. In his activities as a freighter and investor, Broadwater made many contacts, particularly with United State government officials.

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Through his government contacts he received contracts for hauling construction materials for the building of Fort Assiniboine in 1879, six miles south of Havre, and for Fort Maginnis in 1880, twenty miles south of Lewistown. These projects netted him a great deal of money, and he became a partner in the trading posts at the forts.

Broadwater easily drew on his experience in overland freighting for that of railroading. When the railroads began pushing their way into the territory in the early 1880s, Broadwater again capitalized on his contacts. He saw that the railroads were vital to Montana and that a great deal of wealth could be gained from the creation of a transportation system. He felt Helena, the territorial capital, was a particularly good source to be tapped. It was surrounded by large gold and silver quartz mines, particularly Marysville, site of the fabulous Drumlummon Mine. During these years, the Northern Pacific arrived in Helena, giving the city east-west connections.

Clearly Broadwater saw that a rail line from mineral rich Butte to Helena and Great Falls, where great coal fields lay, could be hooked up with James J. Hill's St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad Company. Hill, always the promotor, "cleverly financed...C. A. Broadwater, when he incorporated the Montana Central Railroad in 1886," a mammoth undertaking. A year later Montana Central ran to Great Falls and two years later, south to Butte, linking the ores of Butte and Helena directly to the Great Lakes.

With its fabulous wealth and rail connections of the Northern Pacific and Montana Central, Helena was ripe for tourism. "As the railroads and the tourists penetrated new parts of the West, businessmen extolled the possibilities of Eastern-type tourist hotels as good investments in themselves and as means to attract investors in other and larger enterprises." Broadwater saw it exactly that way. On the eve of Montana gaining statehood, he began construction of his fabulous hotel in 1888. Two years after he expended some $500,000, Broadwater declared: "What I want to do...is to make a reputation for the hotel and springs such as will attract tourists." He pointed out that New Hampshire tourist business amounted to $8,000,000 the previous year. "When we can use the various springs in Montana intelligently, as they do in Europe, we will have made a big start toward making Montana a great tourist resort....This sort of business is well worth looking after. It made southern California, has a great deal to do with Colorado's prosperity and Montana could and will be benefitted the same."[26]

To this end Broadwater invested over half a million dollars in a grand hotel and natatorium on the eighty acres of land that he had purchased from Ferdinand Wassweiler in 1874 for about $10,000. The resort's construction required a "faith in the future of Helena which few would have possessed, and to many at the time it seemed a rash and perilous venture." The gala opening and summer seasons were the most

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opulent that Helena or Montana had ever seen.[27]

Broadwater was aware that Helena's population of less than 14,000 could not support so large a resort as the Broadwater. He had been instrumental in creating Fort Harrison, five miles northeast of Helena in 1892. Joaquin Miller, in An Illustrated History of the State of Montana published two years later, observed that: "It was probably in view of the necessity of creating a source of revenue for this magnificant resort that the idea of establishing a military post at Helena first presented itself."[28]

Broadwater died in 1892 at the age of 52, on the eve of the third season of the resort. "His death was probably as unexpected to himself as it was to his State and his many enterprises were all in that unfinished condition that marked out the necessity of much future work and development. His death came at a critical time in his own affairs and the affairs of the State..." Broadwater left an estate valued at more than $2 million.[29]

Broadwater's death dashed his dream of a Saratoga in Montana. The Panic of 1893 was around the corner and the subsequent depression which hit the other hot spring resorts also took its toll on the Broadwater. The grand hotel continued to open for only three seasons after Broadwater's death. The natatorium, appealing to Helena residents more interested in sport than fancy dining, continued to do business.

After nearly fourteen years in the hands of the Broadwater estate, the resort was sold to James Breen in September of 1906. Described as a mining man with hotels in Spokane and Tacoma, Breen was named as principal buyer with F. Augustus Heinze of Butte copper fame as an associate in the purchase. In addition to making needed improvements to the closed hotel for a January 1907 opening, Breen intended "to make the hotel a health resort, open all the year around, while the natatorium will be the pleasure resort." The Broadwater resort had been the only Montana hot springs to operate on a seasonal basis.[30]

Breen also realized that tapping railroad tourists, as Broadwater had envisioned, was imperative if the resort was going to receive the patronage it needed to survive financially. A. M. Cleland, general passenger agent of the Northern Pacific, announced that "the Northern Pacific Railway Company will do all it can to boom the Broadwater, as a health and pleasure resort." The Broadwater resort would be included in the Northern Pacific folders and the railroad would do "all in our power to keep it before the public." In the past years advertisements for the Broadwater had been included in folders advertising Yellowstone National Park.[31]

The Broadwater opened on a yearly basis in 1907 amid great fanfare, reminiscent of the opening eighteen years before. Notables included Helena's mayor, Congressman Joseph M. Dixon, and Broadwater friends of old. Congressman Dixon noted that the Broadwater "may

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have been built 15 years ahead of its time, but the 15 years have passed and its time has come."[32]

The gala celebration notwithstanding the resort continued to be beset by difficulties. The year 1907 had not been a good one for Breen's business associate, F. Augustus Heinze. After he sold his Butte mining interests to Standard Oil-Amalgamated Copper Company in 1906, Heinze left for Wall Street where he began a firm that would compete directly with the powerful Standard Oil. His fall on Wall Street "triggered a brief but sharp depression known in United States history as the Panic of 1907." Heinze never recovered financially or physically, dying in 1914 at the age of 45.[33]

Two years after the reopening of the Broadwater resort, the Butte Daily Miner in April of 1909 reported that James Breen of Spokane had filed suit against the Helena Hot Springs Company for $25,000, the amount of the first payment of the reported $100,000 payment for the resort. The paper reported that the Helena Hot Springs Company was "the concern organized by F. Augustus Heinze to take over and conduct the Broadwater hotel." Because of Heinze's financial failure and subsequent bankruptcy, the Broadwater resort plunged into debt.[34]

What resulted from Breen's suit is not certain, but in 1916 Breen, still the holder of the Broadwater property, made an agreement to sell the resort to Hugh Daly, owner of Gregson Springs south of Butte. Just as his predecessors before him had hoped to gain the

railroad trade, so Daly wanted "to go after the auto tourist trade." Daly's dreams fell short. Buying in September of that year, he experienced such a severe cash-flow shortage that the property was back in Breen's hands one year later.[35]

In 1920 a group of "public spirited citizens" banded together as the Broadwater Hotel Company to purchase the aging resort. The buyers included prominent men such as C. B. Power, T. C. Power, N. B. Holter and T. A. Marlow, Broadwater's nephew and administrator of the resort when it had been sold to Breen. A news account some years later claimed that

> ...the Broadwater Hotel Company contracted to purchase the property from Breen for $125,000. The Helena men subscribed $97,000 and paid $25,000. The mortgage for the remaining $100,000 was given to James Murray of Butte who had taken over Breen's interests and at his death Mrs. Murray gave the mortgage to her son's wife, who resided in California.[36]

During the roller coaster 1880-1890s, resorts like White Sulphur Springs, Hunters Hot Springs and the Broadwater experienced some good years and many poor ones. Optimism based on the influx of tourists with the coming of the railroads was not born out. The course of Boulder Hot Springs was no different from its counterparts. Like those in Hunters Hot Springs, investors in Boulder Hot Springs saw the coming of the railroad as a new era for the springs. In 1890 the Elkhorn line of the Northern Pacific had been completed within a mile of the springs. The man who contracted for the building of this track

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and the Gallatin-Butte line was a Minneapolis resident, C. W. Kerrick. "In Mr. Kerrick's opinion the time had arrived to make of the springs a popular health and pleasure resort, with all the modern conveniences and comforts." Kerrick negotiated a ten-year lease with Abel Quaintance that included the springs, hotel and one-quarter section of farm land attached to the springs. Helena and Butte residents were now within two hours by railroad from the Boulder Hot Springs. The following summer, 1891, marked the opening of the new Hotel May, a product of extensive remodeling and a new wing attached to the old hotel.[37]

Within six months of the grand opening, the Jefferson County Sentinel quietly noted a change in management of the resort. Kerrick had disposed of his interest to a stock company made up of local Boulder businessmen organized by "many of Boulder's most reliable citizens." The principal holders were George G. Beckwith, president and manager of the Boulder Hot Springs Company who had hotel and mercantile experience; W. B. Gaffney, associate with F. C. Berendes in Gaffney Mercantile Company; and F. C. Berendes, who also was cashier of the First National Bank in Boulder which he and Gaffney had organized in 1888.[38]

The Boulder Hot Springs Company held the lease for a number of years. In 1895 a local paper reported that Milo French, late of the Gregson Springs had "taken possession of Hotel May." Abel Quaintance held the ownership of the springs until James A. Murray of Butte

purchased the Boulder resort in 1908-1909.[39]

The fortunes to be made in silver and copper lured many of the world's leading capitalists into Montana and in time made many men wealthy. Not all made it in mining, as C. A. Broadwater and others found fortunes in transportation and banking. But the best known figures were those "copper kings" William A. Clark, Marcus Daly and F. Augustus Heinze. A lesser known man but a millionaire in his own right was James A. Murray, a Butte figure who early on made his fortune in mining and later turned to other enterprises, including that of hot spring resorts.

For a man as wealthy as Murray, remarkably little has been recorded about his business affairs. He was born in Ireland in 1838 and emigrated to Canada as a youth. He followed mining interests in California, Nevada and Arizona before coming to Montana in the early 1870s. There he quickly amassed a fortune in the Smokehouse lode and from litigation in the Bluebird mine. He expanded his interests to include banks. About 1904, in poor health as the "war of the copper kings" was raging in Butte, Murray moved to California, making his home in Monterey. He made periodic trips to Montana to check on his properties until his death in 1921 at the age of 83. A Butte paper reported that although he was "given to reticence in regard to his business dealings," he was thought to be worth about $3 million and of "late years it is believed that his principal property holdings

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consisted less of mines and mining than of hot springs, hotels, banks and residential property."[40]

The first hot spring resort that Murray purchased was that of Hunters Hot Springs in 1897-1898. The previous owner, Cyrus B. Mendenhall, a rancher, was hit hard by stock losses in the 1886-1887 winter. The local paper carried hints of financial problems for the springs. Once Murray purchased the springs, he hired John E. McCormick city passenger agent for the Northern Pacific in Butte, as business manager. Improvements were small during the first years although rumors of much grander buildings flew about the pages of the Livingston Enterprise. Murray apparently suffered a stroke in 1906 and plans were necessarily deferred.

In 1908 Murray returned to action. That year J. L. Link of Link and Haire, Billings architects, drew up plans for a reported $150,000 improvements at Hunters Hot Springs. These included a new hotel, bath house and the laying out of golf and baseball grounds. The following year was even a bigger one for Murray's hot springs investments. Several months before the opening of the new hotel "Dakota" at Hunters Hot Springs, Murray completed his purchase of Boulder Hot Springs. The previous year he had purchased half of Abel Quaintance's interest in Boulder and the following year bought out Quaintance entirely. Murray made numerous improvements under his manager McCormick who had moved from Hunters Hot Springs to Boulder resort to

supervise the new improvements. The hotel was closed for several months for renovation and opened in the summer of 1910.

These years of 1908-1910 were especially active ones for investors in hot spring resorts. James Murray in purchasing and renovating his two resorts was not the only one busy in investing in what he hoped would be the boom in tourism in Montana. In the upper Yellowstone Valley another hot spring resort was in the making. The proposed Electric Springs would be the third resort in Park County, in addition to Hunters and Chico.

Incorporating in the winter of 1908, the Electric Hot Springs Company was composed of local businessmen. Dr. F. E. Corwin, a physician at Chico Hot Springs since 1903, was named president of the group. Others included Charles S. Hefferlin, president of Merchants Bank in Livingston, Livingston businessman John Holliday and W. G. Norman of Lewistown and Walter Winnet of Flat Willow. Stock was sold to the public and on January 1, 1909, the group announced that $80,000 had already been subscribed.

Elaborate plans were made for the building of the resort. Link and Haire of Billings, the same architects engaged by Murray for the plans of the Dakota Hotel at Hunters Hot Springs, drew up plans for a large hotel with bath houses attached to either end. Heat for the resort would be provided by the hot springs. Since the resort was located on the north side of the Yellowstone River, on the opposite

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bank from the railroad spur of the Northern Pacific to Yellowstone Park, the Electric Hot Springs company convinced the Park County Commissioners to divide the cost of a $14,000 bridge across the river. Named after a nearby peak, Electric Hot Springs was changed to Corwin Hot Springs in 1909 to correspond with the post office and railroad station.

Although construction was slow, and the hotel was not completed until mid-summer of 1909, a grand opening was held in July in anticipation of attracting summer tourists to the National Park as well as those tourists going west to the Seattle Exposition. The resort was advertised in the Northern Pacific folders. Hoping to entice those traveling to the north entrance of the Park, just eight miles from Gardiner, the company also reduced rates for the Northern Pacific employees.

Six months after the opening of the resort, the board of directors of the Electric Hot Springs Company declared that "everything [was] in a prosperous condition" and the patronage of the hotel was increasing as the months continued by. But all was not well. Evidently the same problems that plagued hot spring resorts in Montana since their first development continued to be great problems for Corwin Hot Springs. Access to good transportation certainly was in the resort's favor. But the local population was just not able to support so large a resort and eastern tourists chose to stay in the

Park, bypassing Corwin Hot Springs just outside the boundaries.[41]

Although the local paper carried no reports of financial problems, by about 1913 Charles Hefferlin, president of the Merchants Bank, was president and owner of the resort. A grand opening was held in April of 1914, apparently marking the change in ownership. Patronage increased as automobiles were allowed in the Park in 1914-1915.

On Thanksgiving day of 1916 a fire destroyed the Corwin Hot Springs hotel. Loss was estimated at $100,000. The hotel was covered by $50,000 insurance. The news account noted that Charles S. Hefferlin "became the owner of the property about three years ago and the hotel began to enjoy a larger patronage after automobiles were admitted into the Park." After the blaze, Hefferlin declared that he would rebuild but only a few cottages were built around the plunge. Hefferlin died a few years later.[42]

Hefferlin had hoped to entice patrons to Electric Hot Springs who were seeking relief in the medicinal mineral waters, one activity that the nearby national park discouraged. Use of mineral waters for medicinal purposes was also particularly attractive to the early Montana residents.

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Chapter 4

A PANACEA FOR HUMAN ILLS: MONTANA HOT SPRINGS FOR HEALTH

Oh! fountain of perpetual youth,
We hail with joy the evincing truth:
That in thy magic water is rife,
A balm for all the ills of life;
And nowhere in this world is found,
Save on this very hallowed ground -
Of pharmacists' or Nature's compound -
A remedy, in which there doth abound
A healing power that can compare
With thy boiling fluid, pure and fair.

In thee, is beauty for the faded cheek.
An appetizer for the faint and weak;
The lame to leap, and the blind to see,
The old rheumatic from pain set free;
Dyseptic's life in thee is saved,
Old age snatched from verge of the grave;
Eternal youth and beauty divine,
To the sons and daughters of every clime,
Who, in thy crystal pools do dip,
Or from this sparkling fountain sip.

-Rocky Mountain Husbandman,
January 7, 1886

Mostof the men and women who followed the gold strikes in early Montana enjoyed good health. A few, however, had come west for the climate, mostly those suffering from tuberculosis or lung troubles. One of the tuberculars who sought health in the cool, clear air was Thomas Dimsdale, editor of Montana's first newspaper and author of The Vigilantes of Montana. Only a few years after his arrival in Virginia City, he died at the age of thirty-five.

Even the most hardy of men found the conditions in the mining

Chapter 4

A PANACEA FOR HUMAN ILLS: MONTANA HOT SPRINGS FOR HEALTH

Oh! fountain of perpetual youth,
We hail with joy the evincing truth:
That in thy magic water is rife,
A balm for all the ills of life;
And nowhere in this world is found,
Save on this very hallowed ground -
Of pharmacists' or Nature's compound -
A remedy, in which there doth abound
A healing power that can compare
With thy boiling fluid, pure and fair.

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Even the most hardy of men found the conditions in the mining

camps difficult. Respiratory ailments, rheumatism, arthritis and pneumonia were common. Miners working in placer claims had to endure cold water and even colder temperatures. Indoors, heat was intermittent, if at all. Squeezed together in crowded saloons, gambling rooms and dance halls, contagious diseases quickly spread. Victims dosed themselves with quinine and large dollops of whiskey.

Other complaints peculiar to the hard and rugged living conditions of the miners and families were mountain fever, spotted fever and typhoid. Smallpox was frequent, spreading first among the whites and then to the Indians. Children in the mining camps were struck by whooping cough, scarlet fever and diphtheria.

For those suffering ill health in isolated mining camps, the medical profession offered little. While the sciences of chemistry, physics and biology were making great strides, "at its best, medicine in the nineteenth century was to a large degree still speculative and theoretical." Differing theoretical schools, contradictory and often bitterly recriminating, confused physicians and patients alike. Allopathic doctors followed the eighteenth century theories, that sickness was best treated with large doses of medicine followed by bleeding and lancing. Homeopathic physicians, on the other hand, believed in lighter doses. Hydropathic doctors prescribed use of water either by bathing or drinking. Then the eclectic group claimed to make use of all the theories. "In truth, the public image

of the profession had declined as the 19th century advanced."[1]

If the state of medicine was dismal in the states, then health care in isolated Montana mining camps was even more uncertain. Most of the doctors who came to Montana in the early days were "more interested in finding the precious metal than in practicing medicine and surgery...few came for purely professional reasons." Many doctors, like miners, came from the border and southern states where life during the Civil War years was difficult. Doctors from foreign countries, equally encouraged by opportunities in the American west, followed many of their English, Scot, Irish and German compatriots to the gold fields. No laws regulated the practice of medicine and surgery. Few of those calling themselves physicians had probably graduated from a recognized school. Many had read medicine with another doctor. Others simply read a book or two on medicine. Most of the doctors had tried their luck as prospectors in California or Colorado gold fields before moving on to the northwest.[2]

Once in Montana, they moved frequently, following the latest gold strike. When a doctor set up practice, he had to wait for patients, those that consulted him mostly were miners with little or no ready cash. Patients were scattered along impassible roads, making the life of a mining frontier doctor exacting.

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With little or no equipment, "methods of diagnosis used by the physician were not far in advance of those used by the patient

himself." The doctor had to rely on external observations such as counting the pulse, taking temperatures, and looking at the patient's tongue. The doctor consulted a book to find a set of symptoms that matched those of the patient or simply fell back on his own experiences. No laboratory analysis, x-ray or sophisticated equipment was available. Physicians carried in their bags primitive surgical equipment, and drugs used as standard prescriptions, such as tonics, stimulants, emetics, cathartics, diuretics as well as narcotics and sedatives.[3]

Since physicians were spread thinly throughout the huge territory, drug stores were important to those needing to dose themselves. Most camps had at least one such store. Shipped up the Missouri River to Fort Benton or in later years on the railroads, drugs came in bright bottles and concoctions. "These were remedies concocted for cures of all sorts of ailments and the efficacy of their work would only be judged by the recommendations on their labels."[4]

By 1870 the gold strikes and wild population shifts were subsiding. Placer mines were being replaced by quartz mining that required machinery, capital and skilled labor. Large companies were formed that would provide the needed capital and administration. Company headquarters became permanent settlements, drawing from the isolated camps and hard-rock mining families. Settlements began to take on the socialability of communities left behind.

Through time, residents began to experience the more creature comforts left in homes far behind. Still, "many of the old diseases of the gold rush period persisted and were still baffling." Mountain and spotted fever, smallpox, and typhoid continued to afflict them. Inadequate heating and outdoor occupations made arthritic and rheumatic complaints as persistant as ever.[5]

With the inadequacies of nineteenth century medicine and the long tradition of "taking the waters," it was no wonder that early Montana inhabitants turned to the hot mineral springs for their assorted ailments. "The hot springs prevalent throughout the western half of Montana had, from time immemorial, been appreciated for their medicinal qualities." One such hot spring resort that flourished in the early mining days was Pullers Hot Springs, located in the Ruby Valley about sixteen miles southwest of Virginia City on the Salt Lake Road. The resort drew patrons from the mining camps of Alder Gulch and travelers from Utah to the Montana mining camps. James V. Puller came to Alder Gulch in the early days, establishing the resort about 1872.[6]

Guests at the springs made enthusiastic use of the mineral springs for bathing. In addition to a hotel, Puller constructed several pools and plunges. The principle swimming bath, about four feet deep and forty feet in length, was fed by some forty springs. Sulphur and iron were the prevalent minerals in waters that were

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about 102 degrees. Three or four private plunge baths, with furnished dressing rooms were adjacent to the large pool for those of a more modest nature.

The great attraction at Pullers for those suffering from rheumatic complaints was a spring named "Beelzebub," about ten feet square by three feet deep. The "Wayside Correspondent" from the Rocky Mountain Husbandman described it as a "perfect gush of hot sand and water." A cold shower bath was poised over it so patients could adjust the temperature, "driving out a rheumatic pain, and makes one feel pleasant, active and happy." The users of Beelzebub must have found it a mixed treatment because they were described as "shrieking with pain, imploring divine assistance, as 'God help me'; 'this is Hell.' It amused healthy boys, who were certain the victim would go fishing with grasshopper bait not longer than two weeks hence."[7]

In another column the "Wayside Correspondent" of the Husbandman wrote that he was "thoroughly cured of everything, not even excepting bad habits, and are all right if we do not have a relapse." He commented on his fellow guests, with tongue-in cheek, who also sought the waters:

> There were invalids there from all points of the compass. S. E. Larabie was there to be treated for horse fever but it did him no good, as after the first bath he struck out for Raymond Bros.' horse ranch. Amos C. Hall, of Summit, who had fallen off in flesh when he only turned the scales at 223, gained two and a half pounds -- principally fish.

> There were others there, whose maladies were not serious, and some whose only hope was in the healing waters, among them Mrs. Vaughan of Helena, nee Wilkerson, already "on the river" with a painful cough, but I am pleased to say that she is slowly improving and has faith in ultimate recovery.[8]

Hot spring resorts like Pullers flourished without the services of a physician although resorts that wished to attract the "invalid business" usually sought the association of a resident doctor. Many of the early hot spring resorts were in fact either established or further developed by physicians. In either case, these physicians were among those who, not finding fortunes in the gold fields, turned to the hot springs as a natural extension of their medical interests. Dr. William Parberry of White Sulphur Springs and Dr. Andrew Jackson Hunter of Hunters Hot Springs both serve as good examples of the prospector-physician who developed noted health resorts.

To the east of Confederate Gulch in the Smith River Valley was a group of hot springs developed by James Brewer in the early 1870s. Dr. William Parberry, a physician in Diamond City, the principal settlement in the Confederate Gulch area, sent patients there to soak away rheumatic pains in the hot sulphur water. He occasionally took the treatment for his rheumatism and "the ennui from his mind, by chasing the elk, deer, antelope and mountain sheep which abound in that region."[9]

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Dr. Parberry was among those attracted to the Montana gold

fields. He was born in 1833 in Kentucky, moving early with his parents to Missouri. He first read medicine with Dr. Rothwell of Pattis County, Missouri, and continued on to Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia where he graduated in 1858. He practiced medicine in Missouri for six years. Dr. Parberry then went to Bellevue Hospital in New York City to study as an intern for a year.

In 1865, the following year, the young physician struck out for the Montana gold fields with "only five dollars which a patient on the trip had paid him for a cure of typhoid fever." Not finding his fortune in Bannack, he moved on to Confederate Gulch. There he was one of the camp's first doctors, building his reputation on his surgical abilities and optimistic attitude. During his years in Diamond City, Dr. Parberry made occasional trips east visiting Arkansas Hot Springs and other medical resorts.[10]

In 1877, the doctor purchased Brewers Hot Springs from James Brewer, renaming the springs White Sulphur Springs. His reputation as a competent physician served him well in his new business: "Persons visiting this resort may rest assured that they will have a square deal. If the case is one that is incurable, or one that the Springs will not benefit (as was that of the late John Luke, who consulted Dr. Parberry), he will frankly tell the patient his condition, and not run up a bill of cost in an endeavor to accomplish something that is hopeless." With Dr. Parberry's purchase of the

springs, the paper commented that patients using the waters no longer had to rely on their own judgment, that the doctor could administer them with the proper skill.[11]

Dr. Parberry's use of the waters for patients suffering from rheumatism, dyspepsia and skin diseases and those afflicted with the harassing cares of business included both the drinking of the waters as well as bathing. A Helena Independent reporter spent two weeks at the springs under the care of Dr. Parberry the year after he purchased them. The correspondent observed that visitors drank copiously of the waters, twenty glasses a day not uncommon. The waters tended to increase the appetite and at meal times he was in the company of healthy men and "it must be with a tinge of sorrow that the landlord gazes at the wolves seated at the table."[12]

For those who wished to bathe, there were four private baths and a plunge bath, with temperatures ranging from 100-125 degrees. He generally bathed once a day in a pool that he described as quite "sultry." A heavy vapor hung over the water, the dense steam lifting to reveal the hot water that appeared to be boiling, only to close down on the surface again. "Ha! it is boiling there,' cries the shuddering bather, and he cautiously moves around to the other side of the room; he rehearses to himself again the instructions given him; wonders if it isn't the wrong bath, after all, and finally gets desperate and makes a plunge; when he catches his breath, his

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first thought is to call for help, but in a moment that feeling passes away, and then it feels the most delightful bath possible - in fact, Dr. Parberry's chief trouble is to keep men from bathing too much." The resort averaged about twenty patients year round.[13]

Proprietors of hot spring resorts in isolated Montana always wanted to impress upon their patients that the mineral waters were in every way as beneficial as those at noted eastern resorts. The White Sulphur Springs was often touted as "Montana's Saratoga." An analysis by V. C. Vaughan, Lecturer of Medical Chemistry at the University of Michigan, advertised his findings that the waters contained highly medicinal sulphur, much to no one's surprise. On other occasions, the springs were likened to the Warm Springs of Arkansas. Dr. Samuel Work of the Arkansas Hot Springs wrote the Husbandman that he wished to examine the waters and facilities of White Sulphur Springs with a possibility of locating there. The paper commented that the doctor believed that "the waters here superior to Arkansas" and that the doctor's reputation would bring patients to the springs.[14]

Other more fantastic claims for the water's medicinal qualities were made by the Husbandman. The paper noted that some of the guests at the White Sulphur Springs "discovered that by adding a little pepper and salt to the water of one of the Springs in the park when it's fresh and hot, that it makes a first class chicken soup. Nearly everyone in town has sampled the soup thus made and pronounced the

flavor perfect." Those living in the vicinity of the springs were unusually healthy. The Husbandman reported that "there is no question but what the fumes of sulphur arising from the waters here have a beneficial effect in purifying the atmosphere and preventing the usual amount of disease among the little ones." For a different use altogether, Dr. Parberry found that the waters made a good sheep dip.[15]

After Dr. Parberry sold his interest in the springs in late 1882, Dr. Joseph Kumpe took over the medical practice at the resort. Dr. Kumpe was friend of Dr. Parberry's wife in Leighton, Alabama. Kumpe was born in LaGrange, Alabama, and graduated in 1873 from a medical course at the Alabama Medical College. He carried on the medical practice at the springs until he died in 1905.

Not everyone was happy with the facilities at White Sulphur Springs, particularly after Dr. Parberry sold the resort to the White Sulphur Springs Association. A visitor at the springs, Mattie Yost, in a letter to the Husbandman complained that the resort might be a "suberb sanitarium to suffering humanity" if the syndicate did not follow a "picayunish policy of getting all they can and making as small return as possible." She declared that a female attendant was needed, with a steaming room and vapor bath. A cooling room was even more urgent because when she fainted, "there was no place to fall except in a splint-bottomed chair." After the parboiling that a

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patient received in the baths, rooms where one's system could regain its normal state were imperative. After Dr. Parberry's departure, the springs never enjoyed as much regard as a health resort.[16]

Dr. Andrew Jackson Hunter, developer of Hunters Hot Springs, shared much the same background as Dr. William Parberry and other early Montana physicians. Born in 1815 in Virginia, he moved with his parents at an early age to Kentucky. Following the wishes of his father, he studied medicine with Dr. William Price in Boonesboro, Kentucky. He first practiced medicine in Louisiana, then returned to Kentucky and later for a few years was a surgeon for the Illinois Central Railroad. He was practicing medicine in Missouri when the war broke out in 1861 and although he had Union sympathies, he entered the war for Confederate forces as a surgeon.

In 1864, married with a family, Dr. Hunter began the trek westward to the Idaho gold fields. With new strikes in Montana territory and with a "severe case of gold fever," he tried his luck first in Virginia City, then Helena, then on to Confederate Gulch and Diamond City, the same camp where Dr. Parberry was practicing.[17]

By 1868 Hunter realized that his future lay in medicine rather than in mining. He set up practice in Canyon House, now Canyon Ferry, west of Diamond City. During the year that he remained there, Dr. Hunter thought about the hot springs in the upper Yellowstone Valley that he had seen enroute to the gold fields. "The thought of

developing a medical center at the springs, similar to that in Arkansas which he knew, haunted him." Late in 1869 he moved his family to Bozeman, the closest settlement to the springs where his family could remain until the opportunities to develop the springs arose. Besides his medical practice, he had a contract with nearby Fort Ellis as a surgeon and in 1871, he was Gallatin County physician for $8.00 a week.[18]

In 1870 Dr. Hunter claimed the hot springs, about twenty miles east of present day Livingston, by squatter's rights because no land survey had been made. He built a house and bath houses that were considered rather in an "elegant style." Dr. Hunter and his family divided their time between the springs and Bozeman. In the succeeding years, Indian problems and uncertain land claims made development a bit uncertain. But by 1882, Indian problems were past and Dr. Hunter's claim to the land was settled. The following year, in 1883, the Northern Pacific was built past his springs and Dr. Hunter at the age of 68 began at last to develop them.[19]

To promote his enterprise, Dr. Hunter printed a pamphlet in 1883 entitled "The Great Sanitarium of North America, Hunter's Hot Springs, Montana." Dr. Hunter declared that as a "practitioner in long practice, and possessing all the abhorance of quackery that should be felt by every legitimate physician...his duty both to himself, as owner of the property, and to affected mortals throughout

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the world, to make known the curative properties of these waters." The springs comprised about twenty pools, two of the largest springs boiled up as miniature fountains. The temperatures ranged from 148 to 168 degrees.[20]

Dr. Hunter compared his springs to those of Arkansas. Although he had "no desire to decry the Southern resort," he nonetheless claimed that Hunters Hot Springs surpassed the famous southern springs because of the high temperatures of the water. He reasoned that if the warm springs of Virginia, for example, had only a temperature of 80 degrees, "how much more positive must be the effect of water of twice that degree of heat, when a stream nearly as large as a man's body can be directed upon any desired organ with great force, especially when these waters possess mineral elements superior in curative properties to any springs in the world."[21]

Dr. Hunter made claims for the curative properties taken internally as well as for bathing. Particular diseases, which he numbered over thirty, the waters "cured or benefitted," including rheumatism, gout, paralysis, syphilis (acquired or hereditary), colic from lead, bunions or corns, complexions of young or old, all womb troubles and many others "which have not been tried or enumerated in the catalogue of diseases."[22]

Local patients who benefitted from Dr. Hunter's springs were ready to endorse his claims. The Bozeman Avant-Courier noted that

several who had been hobbling around all winter with rheumatism now were "under the restorative influences of springs, able to take an active part in the athletic sports of the boys, and judging from the hirsute appearance of those who had been there, we opine that the legion of baldheaded bachs' who waste time and money on bogus hair restorers, would find a few weeks sojourn at the warm springs more conducive to the rejuvenation of their capillary adornments."[23]

Another patient, E. H. Bly from Bismark, Dakota Territory, reported the springs "to be the best on the American continent, not excepting the famous Eureka Hot Springs..." The paper noted that Mr. Bly was as spry and coltish as a boy in his teens. But perhaps that was due more the the 27 pounds of fresh speckled trout of a day's catch.[24]

In addition to the taking of waters for the common complaints for rheumatism and arthritis, men also frequented the hot springs to "boil-out" from over-exertions at business and bottle. One story was told that a guest, after spending a great deal of time at the hotel bar, stumbled accidentally into one of the pools. Making his rather soggy way out of the hot water, and back into the bar, his friends asked if he was all right. He replied, "Yes, but don't go outside - it's raining like hell!"[25]

Almost forty years after Dr. Hunter first opened his bath houses to the public, treatments and claims for the mineral waters were much

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the same. In a promotional pamphlet advertizing major renovations at the springs in 1909, entitled "Hunter's Hot Springs" and reminiscent of that published by Dr.Hunter in 1883 boasted that under the ownership of Butte millionaire James A. Murray that "sanitary arrangements and treatment are under direction of an experienced regular physician." Curing rheumatism had largely made the reputation of Hunters Hot Springs for the past forty years and treatment for it continued. Cures were usually affected in two weeks. Trained nurses and bath house attendants ensured "sanitary conditions and privacy."[25]

The three hot spring resorts, Pullers, White Sulphur Springs and Hunters exemplified the resorts that attracted guests interested in the medicinal value of the waters. Several other resorts provide interesting examples of hot spring facilities used for associated health care in addition to water therapy. Warm Springs housed the first territorial asylum for the insane. Two Deer Lodge physicians, Dr. A. H. Mitchell and Dr. Charles Mussigbrod, won the contract for the caring of the indigent insane. They purchased the hot springs resort and begin caring for their patients, at the same time continuing the public resort. Two other springs, Boulder and Alhambra, were the sites of a national franchise for the cure of alcoholic and drug addiction, the Keeley Cure. This treatment, a hypodermic application of gold, was conducted by the resident physicians at the resorts.

Armistead Hughes Mitchell shared much the same background as William Parberry and Andrew Jackson Hunter. Dr. Mitchell was born in 1831 in Kentucky, son of a prominent lawyer. He was sent to the University of Virginia and during his third year ran off to join in the Mexican War. Mitchell's father soon learned of this and had the young boy sent home to study medicine in Louisville. First attending lectures at Jefferson College, he went on to graduate in medicine from the University of New York City in 1852.

From New York, Dr. Mitchell began a long series of adventures in the west. He spent time first at his father's sugar plantation on the Brazos River, near Galveston, Texas. Then Mitchell spent a year in Mexico and then continued west to San Francisco. In California young Mitchell was caught up in mining speculation as well as practicing medicine and politics. He was elected to the state legislature from Tulare and Fresno counties in 1859.

Not yet ready to settle, Dr. Mitchell moved on to British Columbia to gold strikes on the Fraser River, then south again to Nevada. Here he struck gold, with a successful mine at Esmeralda and operated it until 1863. Leaving Nevada with quite a fortune, he drifted on the British Columbia, Idaho and then to Montana.

After locating first in Helena, he moved on to Deer Lodge in 1869 when he was appointed by President Grant as the commissioner to supervise the building of the penitentiary at Deer Lodge. When the

Armistead Hughes Mitchell shared much the same background as William Parberry and Andrew Jackson Hunter. Dr. Mitchell was born in 1831 in Kentucky, son of a prominent lawyer. He was sent to the University of Virginia and during his third year ran off to join in the Mexican War. Mitchell's father soon learned of this and had the young boy sent home to study medicine in Louisville. First attending lectures at Jefferson College, he went on to graduate in medicine from the University of New York City in 1852.

From New York, Dr. Mitchell began a long series of adventures in the west. He spent time first at his father's sugar plantation on the Brazos River, near Galveston, Texas. Then Mitchell spent a year in Mexico and then continued west to San Francisco. In California young Mitchell was caught up in mining speculation as well as practicing medicine and politics. He was elected to the state legislature from Tulare and Fresno counties in 1859.

Not yet ready to settle, Dr. Mitchell moved on to British Columbia to gold strikes on the Fraser River, then south again to Nevada. Here he struck gold, with a successful mine at Esmeralda and operated it until 1863. Leaving Nevada with quite a fortune, he drifted on the British Columbia, Idaho and then to Montana.

After locating first in Helena, he moved on to Deer Lodge in 1869 when he was appointed by President Grant as the commissioner to supervise the building of the penitentiary at Deer Lodge. When the

building was completed in 1871, Dr. Mitchell was appointed physician and surgeon of that institution.

In 1875-76, Governor Potts appointed Dr. Mitchell to care for the county indigent because his "organizing ability was very clearly and emphatically demonstrated in his private operations and in his construction of the prison." This contract soon led Dr. Mitchell to form a partnership with Dr. Charles F. Mussigbrod and a contract for caring for the territorial insane.[27]

Dr. Mussigbrod was one of the many professional men who followed his miner compatriots from western Europe to the fortunes of western America. He was born near Berlin, Germany in 1815. Earning a degree in medicine, he practiced in Germany for many years before emigrating about 1860 to the United States. He moved first to Colorado and then in 1863 to Virginia City, Montana. He found practice there difficult, "perhaps the fact that he was a German, retiring in manner, and speaking uncertain English, hindered his ready acceptance as a physician." At any event, he moved on to German Gulch, where there were many of his countrymen, then on to Bozeman. In 1874, he moved again, this time to Deer Lodge. He was appointed U.S. Surgeon and Physician for the Montana penitentiary and there he met and formed a partnership with Dr. Mitchell.[28]

Warm Springs, about twenty miles from Deer Lodge, numbered about ten or twelve pools, clustered at the base of a cone rising about

forty feet. In 1865, Louis Belanger claimed the springs. With his brother-in-law Elisha Gerard, he built a hotel and bath house, opening to the public in 1871. The Deer Lodge paper, the New North-West, announced that the "curative properties of the chalybeate waters" were rapidly becoming well known. The resort attracted both invalids and healthy guests. "The medicinal qualities of the waters for Rheumatic and Scrofulous diseases are unequalled, and a ride up there, with a good dinner to hold it steady, will give health a double blessing."[29]

In March of 1877, Dr. Mitchell received a telegram from Montana Governor Potts advising him that he had been awarded the contract to keep, clothe, maintain and medicate the indigent insane of the territory. As the lowest bidder, he was to be paid $8 per week for any number of patients. The contract further specified that the "treatment shall be of the same character that patients now receive in the best regulated asylums in the 'States'." At this time, Drs. Mitchell and Mussigbrod purchased the Warm Springs hotel and 160 acres from Elisha Gerard. By June of that year, the doctors had about seventeen patients under their care.[30]

The care and treatment of the patients was paternal and friendly. A reporter for the New North-West noted that he "stopped temporarily at the Insane Asylum and was courteously shown over the premises by Mr. Pascoe. The inmates look happy and contented. The chains and

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manacles were taken off of all of them, including Tousely and the negro..." The patients were sitting in their dormitory room, looking satisfied, except one who had tried to escape the previous day, was shackled temporarily. The patients had the freedom of the enclosed yard during the day and at night only those violent were isolated.[31]

The patient Tousely mentioned in the New North-West reporter's notes evidently caused a great deal of mirth among outsiders. His activities were reported on several occasions by the Deer Lodge paper.

> Dr. Mussigbrod has been promoted. A day or two ago he had the manacles taken off the limbs of Tousely of the asylum and after clipping his hair, treated to a good bath and told him the irons would not be replaced unless necessary. Tousely was grateful, thanked him rationally and feelingly and then relapsing into his pet idea, drew a brass key about a foot long from a place of concealment in his clothing and presented it to the doctor, saying, "I am God: I hereby appoint you keeper of the gates of hell and present you with this key; do your duty like a man." The Dr. turned the key over to Pascoe, an assistant keeper and Tousely is now rid of half his troubles.[32]

Dr. Mussigbrod was particularly generous with his charges. During the holidays in 1884, for example, he distributed nearly $300 worth of gifts: "Every patient received something to brighten the cloud that hangs above him whose reason is dethroned."[33]

The two doctors were exemplary in their care of their patients. In 1887 the medical examiners report made by Dr. William L. Steele, Territorial Inspecting Physician, to the Governor, Dr. Steele found

the 132 patients in excellent care. "The diet, medical and surgical treatment and attention, and all other matters pertaining to the welfare of the patients, are beyond criticism. There is no exception to the kindly treatment, constant care and attention paid to the unfortunate persons. Their surroundings are homelike, and nothing is left undone to restore them to the right of their reason." Dr. Steele concluded his report by noting that the two doctors were entitled to the gratitude of Montana citizens.[34]

While caring for their patients, Drs. Mitchell and Mussigbrod continued to run the hotel and springs as a pleasure and health resort. "The general management, housekeeping and table have been notable for years as unsurpassed in Montana...no improper characters are allowed or liquors sold on the premises...." Through the years, improvements were made, new and larger buildings erected to accommodate the increasing number of territorial patients as well as guests. Accommodations for the insane were separate, a high board fence separating them from the public. Spacious parlors, bedrooms and dining rooms were under the supervision of ladies who took "pride in their vocation."[35]

By 1890, the doctors must have found that their interests in the hotel resort, the care of the insane and ranching interests including more than 1800 acres taxing. They closed the hotel and springs to the public that year. Neither was their own health good. They

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hired Dr. Otey Y. Warren, a well-educated physician to supervise the hospital. He introduced "advanced methods of treatment, particularly of diseases induced by alcoholism, the cause of many cases of insanity in the hospital."[36]

Dr. Mussigbrod died in 1896 and Dr. Mitchell, two years later. The widow of Dr. Mitchell, Mary Mitchell and one of Dr. Mussigbrod's sons, Dr. Peter S. Mussigbrod, continued to run the facility until 1912 when the State of Montana purchased it. The institution was renamed Warm Springs State Hospital.

The last decades of the nineteenth century were marked by scientific advancement in medicine. At the same time, numerous claims and cures fostered by superstition and ignorance raised quackery to a fine art. In addition to the confusion amid the "regular" and "irregular" physicians, a myriad of treatments, sure-cures, abounded for the addiction of alcohol and drugs, as opium and morphine. One of these sure-cures, the Keeley Cure, was available to Montana residents.

In early March of 1893 Dr. George W. Archer, "state medical director" of the Keeley Institute of Montana opened a branch of the national franchise at Boulder Hot Springs. The Institute was an authorized branch of the Keeley Institute of Dwight, Illinois, and the Keeley Institute of Butte, the latter opened for about nine months. The Jefferson County Sentinel heartily welcomed the Boulder

Hot Springs branch "in our community and bid it God speed in the great work which it is doing." The Keeley Cure claimed cures for liquor, opium, morphine, cocaine, cigarette and tobacco habits and neurasthenia or nerve exhaustion.[37]

The debate over the merits of the Keeley Cure raged in the pages of The Arena in the same months as the opening of the treatment at Boulder Hot Springs. In the early 1880s, Dr. Leslie E. Keeley, M.D. and L.L.D., began to experiment with the hypodermic application of bi-chloride of gold as a cure for inebrity and the opium habit. In the January of 1893 issue of The Arena, Henry Wood wrote that although the formula of the preparation has not been made public, there was "overwhelming evidence that a very large number of radical and positive cures have taken place." Wood, a psychologist, claimed that the so-called "bi-chloride of gold is in reality an 'unconscious Mind Cure'!" Further the use of gold was good only as a "concession to prevailing materialism". He conceded, however, that if Dr. Keeley had called his institutes "mind-cures" he would have had few patients and so the remedy "though far from an ideal one - will be of great service in breaking the shackles of the animal selfhood."[38]

Two months later in the March issue of The Arena, Leslie E. Keeley answered Wood's charges in "Does Bi-Chloride of Gold Cure Inebrity?" Since Wood did not have access to the formula, Keeley reasoned that Wood was not able to prove that the Gold Cure did not

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work. Keeley did not seem too concerned that the miraculous cure for one of mankind's longest addictions was used only for private profits, and further he did not intend to make it available for others to effect cures. "None but the members of our firm, three in number, know this precise formula and while we live, no others will know it." Keeley countered Wood's argument that the Keeley Cure or Gold Cure was a mere psychological ploy. Keeley argued that alcoholism was a disease, and like other diseases, there were cures. "My treatment for inebrity must rank as a special remedy for this special disease. It must rank among the first and most successful remedies of this kind."[39]

Other critics, however, were concerned about the medical ethics of treatment by "secret" formulas. In the August of 1893 number of The Arena, Keeley felt compelled to answer charges proposed by E. D. Evans, M.D. In an article by Dr. Evans in Medical News in May of that year on "Keeleyism and Keeley Methods, with Some Statistics," Evans apparently charged that Keeley had disregarded ethics of the American Medical Association by using a secret formula. Evans claimed that he had uncovered the formula, published in his article, and further discovered that it caused insanity. Keeley vigorously denied Evan's formula that included use of "atropia, strychnia, aloes, cinchona, apomorphia." Keeley did admit that the Cure did include the use of gold. The formula, Keeley reiterated, "has never been

published, and it is my present belief that while I live it will not be published." Keeley argued that his remedy performed a miracle in 110,000 cases of inebrity and in several cases of insanity, but never caused insanity.[40]

The discoverer of the Keeley Cure worried little about violations of the American Medical Association code. The grievance consisted "in the fact that I have suggested and demonstrated that inebrity is a disease and is curable, and that a personal supervision of the patient is necessary."[41]

Gold had been used as a medicine for centuries and as far as the gold cure treatment, Keeley fired the parting shot: "I pronounce the criticism of Dr. Evans unscientific. In fact, knowing that his motives are malicious, and that he is entirely ignorant of the pathology of inebrity and of my remedy, his criticism is unworthy of the attention of persons who investigated all things and phenomena from the standpoint of science with honesty and without prejudice..."[42]

Three years after the first exchange, one more article appeared in The Arena in 1896. William G. Haskell in "The Keeley Cure for Inebrity" wondered why temperance workers, philanthropists and clergymen seemed uninterested in "any consideration of inebrity as a disease, to say nothing of its possible cure." Haskell suggested that because the Keeley Cure was a business enterprise, the remedy had not received wide acceptance. Haskell wrote that the Keeley Cure

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was used by most of the branches of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers with wonderous results.[43]

While the ethical charges were battered back and forth in the pages of The Arena, the Keeley Institute at Boulder Hot Springs seemed at least moderately successful under successive physicians. After the first few months of the Keeley Cure, Dr. Ira Leighton severed his ties with the Boulder Hot Springs and the Keeley Cure to concentrate on his private medical practice. A Dr. Lebscher was in residence at the springs and directed the program for the following two and one-half years.

In November of 1896, Dr. Joseph C. Hunter, the resident physician at Boulder Hot Springs, moved to Alhambra Hot Springs with the Keeley Cure franchise. There has been some confusion about the name and location of these springs. Paul Phillips in his book Making of Medicine in Montana apparently believed that Clancy and Alhambra Hot Springs were two separate resorts. A local newspaper, the Helena Weekly Independent, referred to the springs as Clancy Hot Springs until 1886 (from the first citation that appeared in 1874). From 1886 onwards, the paper noted only items about Alhambra Hot Springs. The Jefferson County Sentinel published at Boulder, began publishing in 1886 and made reference only to Alhambra Hot Springs. All evidence points to the conclusion that there was just one springs resort, known in the early years as Clancy, from the nearby settlement,

and later as Alhambra Hot Springs.

Under the auspices of Dr. Hunter the Keeley Cure was at first quite successful. A Jefferson Valley Sentinel reporter noted:

> One patient, a perfect giant in stature and strength, a popular young fellow, determined that he wouldn't leave his drinks, but that they should leave him. When he came, he stipulated that he must have at least one big drink an hour. He averaged the first four days and nights about twenty-four drinks a day, but on the fifth day of his treatment whiskey left. He remarked to me one morning, "There is not money enough in Montana to make me take a drink. I couldn't drink if I would, and I wouldn't drink such nasty stuff if I could." There are quite a number of gentlemen here now undergoing treatment, and they are the happiest men in Montana, for they know they will soon be free of the incubus that has been their bete noir - will soon return to homes made happy by the knowledge that this great affliction has passed from them for ever.[44]

In 1899 Dr. Joseph Hunter was back at the Boulder Hot Springs with the Keeley franchise. Two years later, in the spring of 1901, Dr. Ira Leighton travelled to Illinois in order to receive instruction at the Dwight Institute. The Rocky Mountain Husbandman in 1903 reported that the cost of treatment for the Keeley Cure was $100 for four weeks for liquor cases. For neuroasthenia and tobacco addictions, the cure was $25 per week for remedies and treatment. Board and room at Boulder Hot Springs per week was $12.50. The article noted that patients were treated as guests, not confined in any way, with no accompanying illness or sore arms. Treatment was supplemented by the medicinal waters of the springs.[45]

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Leighton and F. G. Cornish. Dr. O'Leary moved to Alhambra Hot Springs, the former site of the Keeley Cure under Dr. Hunter. There was no further word of either the Keeley Cure or Dr. O'Leary.

Although many patrons sought the resorts for health reasons or for services physicians could provide, just as many frequented the resorts for the social activities that the springs offered. In the early years of settlement, particularly, remote mining towns offered little in the way of recreational activity. Residents naturally gravitated to the hot springs developments for entertainment.

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Chapter 5

AN ELDORADO OF EASE AND ELEGANCE: MONTANA HOT SPRINGS FOR PLEASURE

The amusements that Montana hot spring resorts such as Warm Springs and White Sulphur Springs offered were by most standards, mostly eastern standards set by Saratoga Springs, simple and downright rustic. Pretensions to the "Saratoga of Montana" and the Baden-Baden of the West" must have been laughable to any easterner who might have strayed into one of these establishements. Any resemblance to the real or fancied delights of resorts on the east coast undoubtedly reeled against the realities of rude log hotels, howling coyotes and feared Indian attacks. Montana's hot spring resorts functioned as gathering places for isolated people in isolated communities. Even as settlements began to grow up around the springs, the resorts continued to be focal points for community activities.

When Elisha Gerard and his brother-in-law built Warm Springs Hotel at the Deer Lodge Mount in 1871, they hoped to attract customers willing to drive the sixteen miles from Deer Lodge, a nice afternoon excursion by private rig or on the stage. There were few similarities to Saratoga and Virginia Springs: good food and wholesome entertainment in these early days were enough for the local patrons who enjoyed the social activities that resorts, as Warm

Springs, provided for isolated settlements.

The main building of the resort was of "real size and elegance," 24 x 44 feet of hewn logs, plastered within and weather-boarded on the outside. It stood two stories high, and housed ten guest rooms that were large, well-ventilated and furnished. An adjoining building contained bath and bedrooms for invalids in addition to a large swimming bath. For those pursuing more active interests, a ballroom finished in a similar style to the hotel was available for parties who wished a "social hop".[1]

Elisha Gerard and his sister and brother-in-law, Louis Belanger, entertained visitors for the next six years until they sold the property to the Doctors Mitchell and Mussigbrod. Throughout these years Gerard and the Belangers hosted parties to mark the seasonal holidays. In 1872, 700 people attended a July 4 ball. Two days later, the Deer Lodge paper noted that "at last accounts it was still in progress."[2]

Christmas balls at the Warm Springs Hotel were as popular as those held on the Fourth of July. Guests attending a Christmas ball in 1874 enjoyed a superb supper, entertainment and festivities. "The dance only lasted until breakfast was announced, which was perhaps owing to the fact that it was the second or third successive evening that many of the party had danced til daylight. Something ought to be done by the legislature to encourage a leve [sic] for

dancing in Montana."[3]

In addition to providing social activities for the Deer Lodge population, meals at the hotel attracted customers. A correspondent from the New North-West identified only as "Calcium" was moved by one meal to log this report:

> Prince [his horse] stood in the stalls of contentment and I supped at an epicurean table. All that surprises us is that a six-horse coach is not required to carry guests to Belangers. Think of the breakfasts. Coffee, clear, dark and fragrant, flanked with rich cream: biscuits, crisp and browned to artistic beauty, opening their hearts to the golden butter: here a juicy steak and a plate-length trout, and there a broiled chicken, while in between the lesser virtued dainties tempt a triumph; and all this sixteen miles from Deer Lodge, every morning.[4]

Like the Warm Springs resort, White Sulphur Springs (first named Brewers) was a source of recreation and amusement for the wide-spread, isolated mining communities of Confederate Gulch and Smith River Valley and Camp Baker. As the village of White Sulphur Springs began to grow around the resort, the springs became the focal point for social activities for the community. Dr. William Parberry purchased the springs in 1877 and for the celebration of Fourth of July that year, he promised to host one of the liveliest parties ever known. As many as five horses entered the races, and a game of baseall provided amusement for the more active. Even more attractive were several ladies from Diamond and a number from the Missouri Valley attending the festivities. Men began arriving for the July 4th

celebration several days in advance to settle in for the week-long activities. More than 330 had gathered from Diamond City, Gulch and Cave mining camps to enjoy racing, dancing, fishing and ball playing.

All this hilarity was not without dangers. White residents in western Montana who were terrified by Custer's defeat at the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876, now feared a year later Chief Joseph and his Nez Perce fleeing through the Yellowstone Valley and the Smith Valley in a vain attempt to reach the Canadian border. A note appeared in the Rocky Mountain Husbandman advising "persons contemplating visiting the Springs need not be deterred from doing so on account of the Indian troubles, as Dr. Parberry has provided a dozen stand of arms and plenty of ammunition and there are always a number of guests to 'hold the fort' against the hostilities."[5]

Rude realities of frontier life did little to evoke the glamorous, sophisticated image of New York's Saratoga or Virginia Springs. In 1878 the year after his purchase of the springs, Dr. Parberry began construction of adequate facilities for his guests. A large hotel would include gentlemen's and ladies' parlors, reading rooms, and a large billiard saloon, at a "sufficient distance from the hotel that the hilarities of gaming may not disturb in any way those who have a distaste for such things." The Husbandman noted that the "increasing of accommodations has become a necessity and we are glad to learn that the log cabins of the pioneers are to give place to the more modern

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structures of civilization..." Those living in early Montana were particularly sensitive about how "uncivilized" those back home in the "states" considered them.[6]

With the completion of his new hotel, Dr. Parberry determined that the second Fourth of July would be an even greater success than the first. "Being fully aware that their reputation of this far-famed resort in a measure depends on their efforts, the new proprietors will be alive to every emergency, and considerate of the comforts of every guest, however large the crowd..." The celebration proved to be an even greater success than the doctor imagined. Some 500 merchants, miners, farmers, herdsmen and professional men, young and old, with wives, daughters and sweethearts, gathered together. Passengers desiring transportation for the five hour stage trip from Diamond City to the springs needed to register at a local Diamond City store. Billiard and dance halls were filled, and the dining room was enlarged to seat one hundred persons at one serving. Racing, the craze of Saratoga Springs, proved as popular: "Nearly every man on the Smith River and the Mussleshell and a number on the Missouri Valley, have ponies training for the event."[7]

The springs resort was the major source of recreation and social activities for the community and surroudning settlements. Additionally, the grounds were a gathering place for residents and guests for the few months that the harsh Montana weather allowed.

When the White Sulphur Springs Association purchased the resort in later 1882, included in the sale was the hotel of forty-seven rooms and the bath house that was located about one block from the hotel in the center of a large square of four acres. This area was the pride of the community as well as a gathering place for its residents. In its first years of ownership, the association made great plans for the park; a Chinese pagoda graced the center of the square and $100 was allocated for the purchase of a pair of swans to grace the lake in the park's center. The square became so attractive that it was a "favorite resort for the ladies of the town and every evening from seven o'clock until the twilight fades into starlight the walks are thronged with bevys of ladies and girls promenading, and large numbers cluster about the springs drinking the hot sulphur water, or loiter upon the green watching the varied hues of the sky and mountains as the sun goes behind the Western hills."[8]

The park afforded privacy for young lovers as well as strollers. "There are no naughty brothers or sisters rushing upon the scene to frustrate matters, and no angry father with heavy boot to show the young lad the door, no ambitious mother to please; and the consequence is young ladies are caught in the tails of matrimony almost invariably within a few months of their arrival."[9]

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As the territory began to accumulate capital and to develop urban centers, communities slowly took on the trappings of a more

sophisticated life, more reminiscent of the eastern towns and cities that residents had left. More men worked for large mining companies. More leisure time and more families meant that hot spring resorts were more than a warm bath and a good supper for single men. The mineral water resorts began to be developed by capitalists with an eye to profits. Larger facilities were built. By the 1880s, the wealth of the rich mines began to be felt in Montana's economy and politics. Some of the resorts, like Hunters, Boulder and White Sulphur Springs, were trying to attract the noveau riche, local residents who had struck it rich and eastern tourists lured by the rustic western wonders of Yellowstone Park and the Pacific coast. The "wild west" image of Montana managed to be perpetuated through these years of increasing civilization through the Indian uprisings and the activities of "Stuart's Stranglers," a vigilante group of cattlemen led by Granville Stuart in 1884 to combat what they feared as epidemic cattle rustling. None of the resorts so far could measure up to Saratoga standards. But Charles A. Broadwater meant to try.

It was in the summer of 1888 that Charles A. Broadwater began to translate his dream of a resort worthy of the Saratoga onto the Helena landscape. It was to be located on Ten Mile Creek, about one and one half mile this side of the old Helena Springs Hotel, property he had purchased some fourteen years earlier. Preliminary plans called for a first class hotel and a large plunge. Surrounding these two

structures would be a number of cottages available for families during the summer months, much like the cottage arrangements at the old Virginia Springs resorts. At the same time articles of incorporation were filed for an electric motor line to provide transportation for Helena residents out to the springs.

In the following months, more details were revealed about Broadwater's lavish plans and the local papers followed them eagerly. Herman Kenna (variously spelt Kema and Kemmor) of the architectural and construction firm of Wallace, Thornburgh and Appleton designed the plans for the hotel. Once completed, the hotel was a long, low structure, two stories high and capped by a tower seventy feet high. From the top of the tower's cupola, a fine view of Mt. Helena and the surrounding countryside could be viewed. A wide, eighteen foot wide veranda, with open balconies and piazzas extended entirely around the perimeter. More than 100,000 board feet of wood, mostly from Oregon and Minnesota, was imported for the construction,

The interior was as impressive as the exterior. The forty bathrooms were fitted up with silver-trimmed porcelain tubs with marble feet imported from Paris. Hot and cold water was piped into one hundred chambers with marble stands. Polished hardwood floors were covered with costly rugs. The entire hotel was lighted by electricity and heated by the hot springs. Public rooms included a bar, billiard rooms and card rooms, and three ladies parlors. The

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kitchen was located in the rear of the building in order to isolate cooking odors.

The plunge bath, the natatorium, particularly caught the imagination of the designer and observer alike. One of Helena's papers reported that "the most wonderful feature of the place is the mammoth plunge bath, which is every day developing more marvelous under the skilled hands of the constructing artesians."[4] Designed by architect McConnell and Paulse, the natatorium was build by the same firm that designed and built the hotel, Wallace, Thronburgh and Appleton. The design of the natatorium was moorish, with walls of glass, half clear and half stained glass. The plunge measured 300 by 80 feet, averaging eight feet deep and lined with cement.

Inside the great stained glass dome, a rockery at the south end of the plunge was the focal point for bathers. A concealed staircase wound to the top of the butte, on which twenty persons could view the scene below. Water plunging to the bath below flowed in miniature cascades was highlighted by many iridescent electric lights.

Helena residents followed the construction of the resort closely. On pleasant summer afternoons, families on outings would drive the several miles to check the progress of Colonel Broadwater's project, by now estimated to cost $500,000. Landscaping the forty acres surrounding the grounds included paved roads, foot paths and lawns.

The date for the grand opening of the hotel and plunge was set

for August 26, 1889 although much remained to be completed. Colonel Broadwater planned to host a grand ball, to which residents of Helena, Butte and other cities would be invited but "after figuring out the requirements for such an entertainment...." the idea was abandoned. In preparing for the gala opening, one serious structural defect became apparent. Three days before the scheduled opening several leaks in the plunge were discovered, disappointing those who arrived with bathing suits in hand.[11]

About four o'clock in the afternoon of August 26 the grand hotel was formally opened. Some four hundred people made their way to the Broadwater by the new motor line, and another one hundred arrived by private carriage. Dinner was served from six to ten p.m., tables covered by damask linens and accompanied by glittering silver and crystal service. Fifty guests could be served at one time by black waiters attired in full dress suits. Many a "dainty hand raised a glass to the health of Col. Broadwater and the success of his magnificent hotel." The diners enjoyed a choice of soups, fish, beef, chicken and turkey accompanied by assorted vegetables. Those with a sweet touth could choose among a variety of puddings, pies, gateux and chesse.[12]

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meeting with Colonel D. D. Curtis, postmaster, addressing citizens and city council members. Noted citizens Thomas H. Carter, Colonel Wilbur F. Sanders and Major R. C. Walker made appropriate remarks. The secretary of the Board of Trade then introduced a resolution commending Col. Charles A. Broadwater for "his appropriate conception of a public resort that would be an ornament and honor to any city in the world, and for his executive ability in completing the same without regard to expense, so as to conserve the taste and requirements of modern public institutions...where the pleasure seeker, tourist and invalid may enjoy a charmed life under the vivifying influence of Montana's glorious climate peculiar only to the Rocky Mountains." The resolution quickly and enthusiastically was cheered and the meeting adjourned. It was after midnight before the last train left for town.[13]

Despite the problems with the plunge, the days following the repaired proved the popularity of the natatorium. The lowest receipts for one day were $200; $400 was collected the first Sunday. For fifty cents, a man, woman, or child could rent a bathing suit and sport in the 90 degree water. A "skilled corp of polite officials" patrolled against "boisterous conduct, loud talking or swearing in the bath, and no intoxicated person is permitted to enter it. Any lady or gentleman can visit the bath at any time without fear of insult or offense."[14]

The Broadwater hotel and plunge opened for its first full season of five months in 1890 in the last week of April. Although most Montana hot spring resorts were open the year round, Colonel Broadwater chose not to follow. Helena residents were hopeful that the resort would stay open throughout the winter, probably in part to relieve the boredom of long, cold winters. The prospect of a good dinner and a warm bath could raise spirits considerably. A committee appointed by the Board of Trade approached Colonel Broadwater requesting him to open the resort throughout the year, apparently with a $10,000 guarantee. The Colonel replied that he did "not of course desire to play the role of dog in the manger and close the hotel when the general wish of the citizens has been that it shall be kept open, but neither does he care to be the subject of charity in the matter of the $10,000." Further, the Colonel said that practical matters made it impossible to rehire the staff and advertise in less than two to three months. In the meantime the hotel would lose money. "These considerations would make the reopening unwise as a business proposition and naturally the Colonel would not care to undertake it any other way."[15]

The following year, 1891, was disappointing. Manager A. W. Campbell reported that it "had been a very dull season for hotels throughout the country and even the best at the principal Eastern watering places and fashionable resorts have scarcely paid expenses."

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The Broadwater enjoyed a fairly good business but "its patronage has not been half of what it deserves." The resort closed for the season in September and the local paper exhorted its readers the "during the intervening time many of our wealthy people, who have contributed little to the patronage of this splendid home attraction" spent their time and money elsewhere. The following years were much the same as this, interrupted only by the untimely death of Colonel Broadwater just at the opening of the third season.[16]

If the patronage of the Broadwater hotel was not what the Colonel hoped or deserved, Helena's residents proved to be enthusiastic supporters of the natatorium. Warm summer weekends attracted crowds of 5,000 to 7,000 people, crowded onto the grounds; some 711 enjoyed the plunge in one day. One day in June of 1890, "the great plunge was crowded with bathers, and at all times presented the appearance of a pool covered with heavy raindrops so thickly was it studded with heads." Transportation for the two mile trek from town was provided by the new electric motor line and the old steam line, hacks and private rigs. On popular weekends, public conveyances were packed from ten in the morning to well past midnight.[17]

Once one had made his way out to the grounds, jostled on the new electric line, if it was a very warm summer's day, he first noticed the summer costumes sported by the crowds. Men wore straw hats and shirts without vests while the ladies wore "all manner of

light and airy coverings which look and undoubtedly are cool and which no man knows how to name or describe."[18]

After a dip in the plunge and maybe dinner at the hotel, one might stroll along the paths and sit on the open verandas, listening to Professor Romandy's concert of violin and piano. Or perhaps the First Regiment from the U.S. Calvary might be performing daily at four o'clock in the afternoon and at eight o'clock in the evening. Another time one might hear a benefit concert by the Fort Custer military band on dress parade. Oscar Ringwall's orchestra, direct from the Eastman Hotel in Hot Springs, Arkansas, opened the 1892 season. This company of musicians classed as the best in the land was engaged at the cost of $1,000 a month for the season.

The Fourth of July was a special day for any of the hot spring resorts and it was especially so at the Broadwater. In addition to the usual attractions, special contests at the plunge were held, swimming and tub races. The July 4th fireworks in 1895 were particularly dazzling. About 9:30 p.m. Manager Waite, dressed in a "long, oilskin coat and a big nor'wester to protect himself from the sparks" sent a huge rocket skyward, throwing out many colored stars in its wake. Pin wheels, double and single, flower pots, Roman candles and eight and ten pound rockets sent out loud retorts. The colorful display culminated in the burning of a display in the likeness of George Washington. "The crowd immediately burst into a wild hurrah

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that showed they still remembered the deeds of the 'father of his country'."[19]

Notable out-of-town guests were reported in the local papers but far more common patrons were local residents and special excursion trains filled with area residents. In August of 1894 four hundred residents of Marysville, a mining camp north of Helena, descended upon the resort. They arrived on a special Northern Pacific train, filling six coaches, traveling one hour to reach the capitol city. On reaching Helena, the coaches were run out to the Broadwater on the Rimini branch line. The Marysville visitors disembarked to the strains of visitors disembarked to the strains of the Marysville brass band. In the evening a special ball was held. "For several hours the visitors and their Helena friends mingled in the pleasure of the dance."[20]

The heyday of the Broadwater lasted for only six short years until it fell to the over-optimism of its conceiver and the fecklessness of tourist tastes. The hotel closed after six seasons but the natatorium continued to give pleasure to local residents. Despite the discouraging precedent, another Montana millionaire concluded to try his fortune only a few years later at another hot spring resort.

James a Murray, the Butte mining millionaire, first acquired part of Hunters Hot Springs in 1897. By 1899 he had purchased all

of Cyrus Mendenhall's interest. Rumors of great improvements ran rampant in the years after Murray's purchase. Enlargement of the dining room, a new kitchen and a handsome residence for Mr. Murray were about all that took place although these hinted at even more sweeping plans to follow.

Livingston, a town of fewer than 6,000 in 1905, could hardly be expected to fill the three hundred rooms. But most of the guests were locals from nearby communities. The local papers were filled with activities marking the 1909 opening of the Hotel Dakota. A two-day sports carnival was held in early November. Football contests between Park and Gallatin county teams attracted much notice. Many Livingston residents went to the springs in their autos, enjoying a dip in the plunge and then dinner. At six o'clock in the evening, 150 guests were several a several course dinner followed by music by an Italian orchestra. "With the finishing touches now being put on the new hotel, Hunters is becoming one of the famous resorts of the country, as is shown by the large number of eastern people who are there now." Some 81 out-of-town guests in addition to those from Livingston and Big Timber were registered.[22]

Fannie Tolman Folger, an easterner, stayed at Hunters Hot Springs in 1909. She wrote several letters to her sister in Massachusetts, Helena Geneve Morrow, about experiences in the west. Mrs. Folger did not mention a great deal about life as a visitor or a patient at

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the springs but noted that life was simple, "so restful and sort of grand." If her sister could imagine a "street two blocks in length, with plain cottages, out buildings, a country store and post office and 2 2-story hotels on opposite sides of the street and you have Hunter's." One memorable occasion was a cloud burst in July that muddied the hot springs and baths to the extent that they were unsuitable for several days. No foundations for the buildings existed "as is the Montana custom, the water poured in through the billiard room and they had to bore holes to let the water out."[23]

At the same time that he was enlarging Hunters Hot Springs, James Murray was rebuilding and remodeling Boulder Hot Springs. Murray had purchased part interest in the resort in 1907-1908 and in 1909, the same year that the Hotel Dakota at Hunters Hot Springs opened, Murray expended a great deal of his new investment.

The new additions were attached to the old buildings of 1883 and 1891 in the currently fashionable California mission style. A wide veranda unified the wings. The 125 hotel rooms, each with an outside window, was equipped with electric lights, telephones and hot and cold water. "Mr. Murray himself particularly specified that the guest rooms must be as comfortable as they could be made, attractive as possible and complete." The public rooms, the dining halls, lobby and bar were detailed in mission style, plain but rich mahogany. The dining room featured oriental rugs on polished hardwood floors,

genuine Spanish leather-covered furniture and linens from Belfast.[24]

No formal opening of the "rejuvenated resort" was held because as J. E. McCormick, the manager, explained that "at this season of the year it would be impossible to entertain all those who would attend such an affair...." Manager McCormick planned no activities, simply entertaining as if the Boulder Hot Springs had not been closed for a time.[25]

From the earliest of days, Montana's hot springs attracted entrepreneurs hoping to develop the mineral waters into thriving enterprises. Patrons sought both health and pleasure from the springs, developers attempting to entice their customers by imitating the glamorous eastern resorts. But Montana was too remote, too thinly populated and too far out of step with eastern trends to support the resorts profitably and these early business ventures faded into the past.

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APPENDIX

A BRIEF HISTORY OF INDIVIDUAL MONTANA HOT SPRING RESORTS

Alhambra Hot Springs

The Alhambra Hot Springs were located about one to one and a half miles from the mining town of Clancy, southwest of Helena. Willson Redding, a miner seeking his fortune has usually been designated as the first developer of the springs. Redding purchased the springs an 160 acres of land for $3,000 in gold dust in 1866 from Sylvenius Dustin, the first settler at the springs. Redding and his father-in-law, Dr. G. E. Stein, were both involved in running the resort. That first year Redding put up a hotel of log and frame. In the following years Redding leased out the springs until Clancy experienced a mining depression in the late 1870s. But by the early 1880s, the economy recovered and rail connections brought customers from Helena. In 1886 Dr. Stein and his wife completed a dance hall and a new hotel. They celebrated the hotel opening by a grand ball and entertainment.

The springs enjoyed unprecedented popularity in the 1890s, as did the neighboring resort of Boulder Hot Springs. Alhambra Springs was a popular spot for bathers and picnicers during these years. The resort was served by two trains, the Northern Pacific and the Montana Central, both running to Helena and Butte. Dr. Joseph Hunter, in charge of the Keeley Cure at Boulder Hot Springs, moved the franchise with him to Alhambra Springs in 1895 until he left three years later.

Alhambra Hot Springs

The Alhambra Hot Springs were located about one to one and a half miles from the mining town of Clancy, southwest of Helena. Willson Redding, a miner seeking his fortune has usually been designated as the first developer of the springs. Redding purchased the springs an 160 acres of land for $3,000 in gold dust in 1866 from Sylvenius Dustin, the first settler at the springs. Redding and his father-in-law, Dr. G. E. Stein, were both involved in running the resort. That first year Redding put up a hotel of log and frame. In the following years Redding leased out the springs until Clancy experienced a mining depression in the late 1870s. But by the early 1880s, the economy recovered and rail connections brought customers from Helena. In 1886 Dr. Stein and his wife completed a dance hall and a new hotel. They celebrated the hotel opening by a grand ball and entertainment.

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The Keeley Cure treatment returned to the springs in 1904 under a different doctor. That same year Redding and his daughter, Mrs. W. R. Logan, sold the springs to Michael J. Sullivan, a local man. The resort continued under his ownership for a number of years.

Boulder Hot Springs

Boulder Hot Springs, located about two miles from the present town of Boulder, was claimed by a prospector in 1863, James E. Riley. Not much is known about the early development but in 1881 he enlarged the hotel at the springs. The following year Riley began to construct a new hotel that would accommodate fifty people. In September of that same year, Riley died of smallpox. After Riley's death, Abel C. Quaintance and Cornelius Griswold bought the springs. They completed the hotel that Riley had begun and after a short time, Quaintance bought out his associate. Quaintance leased the springs on a short term basis while he maintained his ranching interests.

In 1890 C. K. Kerrick of Minneapolis, a railroad contractor, was reported by the local press to have secured a ten year lease. Kerrick supervised the construction of a large addition to the old hotel structure, renaming the hotel, Hotel May. At the time of Kerrick's lease, the hot springs were two hours by rail from Helena and Butte. The Elkhorn line of the Northern Pacific completed that year brought

rail service to a quarter mile from the springs. Kerrick disposed of his interest in the Boulder Hot Springs that same year to local businessmen. The principal holders of the stock company were F. C. Berendes, W. B. Gaffney and G. C. Beckwith. The springs in the following years operated with apparent success. The Keeley Cure, a sure-cure treatment for alcohol and drug addiction, was located at the springs in the mid 1890s under the auspices of several resident physicians.

Quaintance made various attempts to sell the springs but the buyers were unable to make good on the deals. In 1909 James A. Murray, owner of the Hunter Hot Springs and Butte millionaire miner and banker, purchased the springs. In 1910 the hotel underwent a thorough renovation.

Bozeman Hot Springs

The first mention of these springs just seven miles west of Bozeman on the West Gallatin River appeared in an 1877 Bozeman Avant-Courier. The springs were noted as attracting a great deal of attention for relief from rheumatism. In 1879 Jerry Matthews, a Bozeman resident, purchased the springs from Al. Lund. Eleven years later, Matthews in failing health sold the springs and died the following year.

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hotel, two stories high with verandas and balconies after the general plans of summer resorts in the east and south. Fifteen to twenty rooms were fitted up in addition to forty to fifty tents used for overflow of guests.

The springs were evidently held in Ferris hands until about 1910. Through the Ferris years, the resort remained a small but popular resort for the residents of Bozeman and surrounding areas.

The Broadwater

Colonel Charles A. Broadwater had been in the hot spring resort business some years before he built the famous Broadwater Hotel and Natatorium in 1888-1889. About fourteen years before, Broadwater had invested in eighty acres which included the Helena Hot Springs hotel, bath house and water rights to the springs held by Ferdinand Wassweiler. This land was about three miles west of Helena on Ten Mile Creek. During these years he apparently leased the resort. Eugene Meyer operated the resort when a fire in 1887 razed the bath plunge to the ground.

In the summer of the following year Colonel Broadwater announced plans for the construction of the largest resort in Montana Territory. The resort, about one and one-half miles from the old Hot Springs hotel included a large hotel and a natatorium. The Broadwater, as the

resort was named, formally opened on August 26, 1889 amid great fanfare. Even after Colonel Broadwater's untimely death in 1892, the resort continued to operate apparently successfully for three more seasons. But the Broadwater hotel did not open for the 1897 season although the natatorium continued to be open.

The Broadwater resort remained in estate hands until 1906 when the Helena Hot Springs Company purchased the resort. James Breen a millionaire mining man from Butte and Spokane, and F. Augustus Heinze, the legendary Butte mining magnate were the principals in the sale that was reported to be about $100,000. After extensive renovation, the resort reopened with public ceremonies on January 3, 1907.

The Broadwater remained in Breen's hands until 1916 when Hugh Daly, owner of Gregson Springs, purchased the resort. The hotel had been closed for several years abut the natatorium continued to be enjoyed by the locals. Daly made the deal in September but unable to make the payments, he lost the mortgage the following year.

Breen finally sold the resort three years later in 1920 to the Broadwater Hotel Company for a reputed $125,000. The company was composed of prominent residents. James A. Murray, owner of Hunters and Boulder Hot Springs, was the major mortgage holder.

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Camus Hot Springs

When the first white settlers in the valley arrived in 1910, facilities at the hot springs in Sanders County were four wooden bath tubs enclosed by wood and canvas structures. More modest bathers pinned handkerchiefs over the holes in the canvas tent sides. With the coming of more settlers, demand for better facilities resulted in a proper bath house in 1011. The building was financed and constructed by the community . The new bath house had seven bath rooms and eight bath tubs. A much larger and refined structure was built in 1913. Sometime about 1919-1921, the United States Department of Indian Affairs leased the springs to Albert Hurst.

Chico Warm Springs

The springs were located in the upper Yellowstone Valley, the scene of early mining activity in the Emigrant Gulch area. During the 1880s some sort of bathing facilities were constructed although no hotel was built. When William Knowles in 1899 purchased the springs and surrounding land, there were bath houses, rustic cottages and a tent community put up by locals for their temporary pleasure.

The grand opening of the Chico Warm Springs hotel was held in June of 1900. The hotel was able to accommodate up to forty guests. The local paper published guest lists from time to time. The patrons

were mostly local, although a few from Bozeman, Helena and Billings managed the trek, and numbered about one hundred on a summer Sunday.

In addition to physical improvements at the springs, Knowles obtained the services of a doctor, Dr. F. E. Corwin, to oversee the guests who came to the springs for rheumatism and internal complaints. Dr. Corwin continued at the Chico resort until 1908 when he left to join a group of men who were developing a hot spring resort nearby that would bear his name, Corwin Hot Springs.

Knowles died in 1910. The operation of the springs was left to his widow and Percie Knowles proved to be quite a manager. In 1912 she hired Dr. George A. Townsend, a young doctor from the midwest, to locate at the resort. Dr. Townsend soon made a widespread reputation for himself and the springs. In 1916 a hospital wing was added to the hotel. Dr. Townsend remained at Chico until 1925 when he moved to a less strenuous practice in Livingston. Chico Warm Springs continued its popularity through these years as both a pleasure and health resort.

Corwin Hot Springs

In December of 1908 a group of Montana capitalists announced plans for the building of a summer resort and sanatarium just outside Yellowstone National Park on the Yellowstone River. The Electric Hot Springs Company was headed by Dr. F. E. Corwin, the resident physician at

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Chico Warm Springs, and included Charles A. Hefferlin, president of the Merchants Bank in Livingston and other businessmen. The resort, first called Electric, after a nearby mountain peak, was changed to Corwin Hot Spring in 1909, to conform to the name of the post office and railroad station.

The hotels and baths were located several miles from the hot springs on the north side of the Yellowstone River. The settlement of Gardiner adjacent to the entrance of the national park was nine miles to the south and the railroad town of Livingston was forty-five miles to the north. The Yellowstone Park branch line of the Northern Pacific ran from Livingston to the park entrance at Gardiner. The opening of the resort the following summer in 1909 was just in time to take advantage of the tourists traveling in the Northern Pacific to the Seattle Exposition.

Despite its proximity to the national park and excellent rail connections, the resort was mostly patronized by local residents. With the admittance of automobiles to the Park in 1915, the hotel began to enjoy a larger patronage but not enough to overcome financial losses. The resort burned to the ground on Thanksgiving Day of 1916. In the newspaper account, Hefferlin was identified as the owner. Despite Hefferlin's stated determination to rebuild, the hotel was never rebuilt. The plunge continued to be used in the following years.

Elkhorn Springs

Elkhorn Springs was located near Plaris on the Wise River in southwestern Montana. In 1905 Samuel Engelsjard filed the first water claim. About 1906-1907 he built cabins and a large stable building for resort purposes.

Gregson Hot Springs

Gregson Hot Springs were located about fifteen miles from Butte and two miles from the old Stuart Station on the Utah & Nothern Railroad. Three Gregson brothers, Eli, George and Jackson, with their brother-in-law, moved west from their home in Iowa in 1864. They first arrived in Alder Gulch and then moved on to Nelson Gulch near Helena. George and Eli Gregson moved to Deer Lodge county in 1869. The two brothers purchased the hot springs and 320 acres from a Mr. Hulbert in 1869 for $60.

In the following years the brothers erected a bath house and hotel for the use of their guests. The resort attracted local residents who took the waters primarily for rheumatism. The Gregson brothers, in addition to their small resort, farmed a great deal and maintained extensive cattle operations.

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disposed of the springs, Milo French, one-time proprietor of the Boulder Hot Springs, was the proprietor of the springs. A large fire in 1901 burned the hotel, natatorium and pavillion. Peter Hale and M. P. Lavelle of Butte purchased the springs in 1904. Hale died a year later. The springs then were sold to Hugh Daly in 1910. Five years later, Daly sold the springs and embarked on a short and unrewarding ownership of the Broadwater.

Hunters Hot Springs

Hunters Hot Springs were claimed by Dr. Andrew Jackson Hunter, a gold-seeking physician who made his way to Montana with his family in the spring of 1864. The springs were about fifty-five miles to the east of Bozeman Pass, near the Crow Agency on the upper Yellowstone River.

Dr. Hunter divided his time between his medical practice in Bozeman and making improvements at the springs in order to fit them up as a health resort. Dr. Hunter faced two major problems that hindered much development for the next ten years, an unclear land title and roving bands of neighboring Crow Indians. When these problems were cleared by 1882, Dr. Hunter began to develop the springs, building adequate facilities that included a hotel of about twelve rooms. In late 1885, at the age of seventy, Dr. Hunter decided to retire to

Bozeman, practicing medicine until his death in 1894.

When Dr. Hunter moved to Bozeman, he sold the springs property to a group of local Livingston businessmen. The Montana Hot Springs Company was formed by Cyrus J. Mendenhall, Heber Roberts and A. L. Love. Additional improvements were made on the hotel and bathing accommodations.

In 1897, James A. Murray of Butte, a mining and banking millionaire, acquired part of the holdings at the springs. The following year, he bought all of the interests held by Mendenhall. Three years later, in 1906, Murray suffered a stroke and improvements ceased until 1908 when plans for a new hotel were drawn by Billings architects Link and Haire. The "Dakota" Hotel opened in the summer of 1909, the same year that Murray acquired the Boulder Hot Springs and began extensive remodeling there as well. Murray retained ownership of the Hunhers Hot Springs until his death in 1921. The hotel burned in 1932.

Jackson Hot Springs

Jackson Hot Springs in Beaverhead County on the Big Hole River was a stopping place for the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1806. Captain Clark and his men had lunch there on July 7, 1806. In later years there were three stage stations, one of which was above Jackson Hot Springs, named for Antone and Herman Jackson. The springs attracted

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local people for the medicinal value of the waters but no resort was built for many years.

Lolo Hot Springs

The old log hotel at Lolo Hot Springs was evidently built by Mart Slocum as a road house to serve travelers and pack trains on the Lolo trail that connected western Montana's Bitterroot Pass with the fertile Idaho valleys and mining camps. When travelers found easier routes than the rough trail, Slocum turned his attention to the development of the hot springs. He advertized the springs as a summer resort, attracting families from Missoula, some forty miles distance. William Boyle joined Slocum's business, eventually buying out his partner's business in the late 1880s. On the death of Boyle, W. A. Simons bought the springs and in 1900 the old log hotel burned. Several fires ensued after that one and in 1903, Paul Gerber bought the property. He built a new hotel and improved the plunge. He and other family members ran the hot springs for many years.

Medicine Springs

Medicine Springs was the first of several springs in the Bitterroot Valley in western Montana to be developed as a resort. About 1880 Ed Wiles constructed a bath house, calling the springs "Wiles Hot

Springs." About 1889 or 1890, he was joined by George Lord, a New Yorker. They constructed a three story frame hotel. Wiles added a footbridge and a croquet ground. In 1902 Wiles was killed. Sometime between 1907 and 1910, E. M. "Ed" Smith bought the resort and renamed it Medicine Hot Springs.

Pipestone Springs

Located about eighteen miles east of Butte in Jefferson County, the hot springs took their name from a plentiful material in the area from which the Indians used to make their clay pipes. In the mid 1860s gold was discovered in the area and extensive placer mining followed for several years until the strikes played out.

According to one source, the Pipestone Springs were located in 1862 by John Paul. As a young boy, Paul was indentured to a hard master in northern Missouri. Running away to Springfield, Illinois, he was befriended by a young lawyer by the name of Abraham Lincoln. Miss Ollie J. Barnes and her brother in 1875 purchased the springs. Four years later, she bought out her brother and continued as sole owner. She built a hotel, a new barn and a guest house.

In 1886 John Paul was evidently the owner. During the 1890s two local papers, the Jefferson County Sentinel at Boulder and the Jefferson Valley Zephyr at Whitehall reported on the activities of the

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springs. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Burket, John Paul's daughter and son-in-law, managed the resort. Special excursion trains ran from Butte on the Northern Pacific line.

About 1912 Roy S. Alley, an attorney for the Anaconda Copper Company, bought the resort. In addition to the hotel and bathhouses, there were about one hundred frame guest cottages roofed with canvas. Shortly after Alley purchased the springs, the hotel burned and was rebuilt in 1918, only to burn again. The Alley family continued to operate the resort until the 1960s.

Potosi Hot Springs

In the 1870s mining north of Virginia City in Madison County centered about the settlement of Pony. Potosi Hot Springs were located about nine miles from Pony and about 75 miles southeast of Butte. The hot springs were discovered by prospectors who built cabins around the springs. In the late 1870s Horace Walters first built guest cabins and later a hotel. William Young purchased the hotel from Walters, conducting the hotel as a summer resort. About 1910 the hotel closed and the buildings fell into ruin. In the following years many local residents camped in tents at the springs for summer outings.

Pullers Hot Springs

The springs were named after James W. Puller, the man who first developed them as a resort and way-station for travelers on the Salt Lake Road that ran from Utah into the mining camps of southwestern Montana. Pullers Springs were frequented by residents of Virginia City, sixteen miles northeast of the springs. Puller came to the Alder Gulch area in the early days to seek his fortune. About 1872 he developed the resort that attracted glowing reports from the Rocky Mountain Husbandman correspondent. Puller built a hotel and bath houses for his guests. Among the more notable of the several springs was "Beelzebub," a gush of hot water and sand. Puller died in 1884.

Sleeping Child Springs

One of the several developed springs in the Bitterroot Valley, Sleeping Child Springs were located southeast of Hamilton in western Montana. The springs were apparently difficult to reach and little developed for many years. In the 1890s B. F. See built a commodious bath house with numerous rooms and a hotel. For those who preferred less comfortable beds, ample camp grounds were available.

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White Sulphur Springs

Like so many southerners, Virginian James Scott Brewer came west during the Civil War years. He settled in the Smith River Valley, east of the Confederate Gulch gold strikes, on the east side of the Belt Mountains. Although the date of his Brewers Springs claim was unclear, by 1872 he had built a bath house and a plunge. In 1877 Dr. William Parberry, seeking his fortunes in Confederate Gulch and Diamond City, purchased the springs from Brewer. Changing the springs name from Brewers to White Sulphur Springs, he built a hotel the following year.

In the boom times of the 1880s, the potential of the White Sulphur Springs caught the interest of investors. In December of 1882 a group of capitalists from Helena, Fort Benton and White Sulphur Springs bought the property from Dr. Parberry. The purchase occurred just as the Panic of 1883 aroused a financial nervousness in Helena, as in the eastern financial establishments. Aaron Hershfield, cashier and partner with his brother in a Helena bank, gained control of the White Sulphur Springs Association, owners of the springs. The springs continued with moderate success for several years until the property was caught up in the financial entanglements of the Hershfields. The resort languished in receivership until 1904 when the Conrad-Stanford Company of Great Falls and Helena bought the assets of the bank that

held the springs. The resort was held by the Conrad family for many more years. White Sulphur Springs faded early and never recovered.

Wassweilers Hot Springs

Helena Hot Springs

Ferdinand J. Wassweiler, born in 1836, emigrated to Milwaukee from Germany with his parents as a young lad. Coming west to Helena in 1865 he claimed the 160 acres on Ten Mile Creek. There he built a hotel and bath house around the hot springs. Seven years later, Charles A. Broadwater purchased 80 acres, hotel and bath house and rights to the springs for $10,500.

After its sale to Broadwater, the Helena Hot Springs or Ten Mile Springs as it was variously called, continued to operate under various proprietors. Henry Haupt and Eugene Meyer were noted in local papers as being excellent hosts. In 1887 the bathhouse was razed by fire. That same year Broadwater's Montana's Central Railroad arrived in Helena. The following year, in 1888, Broadwater began construction of the Broadwater resort, about one mile and a half from the old hotel.

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Warm Springs

Louis Belanger claimed the Warm Springs in 1865. Together with his brother-in-law, Elisha Gerard, they built a hotel and bath house in 1871. Located about sixteen miles from the town of Deer Lodge, the resort soon became a popular destination for fishing and junketing parties, as well as for invalids seeking the waters.

Drs. Armistead H. Mitchell and Charles Mussigbrod purchased the hot springs from the owners in 1877. Dr. Mitchell's lowest bid had won him the contract to keep the indigent insane of Montana Territory. In addition to keeping the patients, the doctors continued to carry on the resort trade. As the resort continued its success, the number of territorial patients also increased. With the deaths of Dr. Mussigbrod in 1896 and Dr. Mitchell in 1898, the hospital continued in the hands of Dr. Mitchell's widow and Dr. Mussigbrod's son. In 1912 the State of Montana bought the hospital and springs from the heirs of the two doctors.

Zeiglers Hot Springs

Located several miles from Twin Bridges on the Big Hole River, the springs were developed by Charles Zeigler, an Iowan who followed the gold strikes to Alder Gulch in 1864. He eventually moved on to farming, owning several thousand acres at one time. About 1890 he

disposed of his land and bought the hot springs, which he gave his name to. He constructed a two story log hotel and dance pavillion. Zeigler died in 1910 at the age of 73. The springs were mostly used by local residents.

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

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Like those of Britain and Europe, sources for American resorts most generally focused on specific resorts with the exception of Carl Bridenbaugh's "Baths and Watering Places of Colonial America," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. iii (April 1946): 151-182. Another source that contained some historical perspective was Harry B. Weiss and Howard R. Kemble's They Took to the Waters (Trenton, New Jersey: The Past Times Press, 1962), although the book primarily focused on hydropathy, a mid-nineteenth century health craze for intensive water therapy with the use of mineral waters. Overviews were also found in two articles by Henry Sigerist: "Rise and Fall of the American Spa," Ciba Symposia, Vol. 8 (April-May 1946): 313-326

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and "American Spas in Historical Perspective," Bulletin of the History of Medicine, V. 11 (February 1942): 133-147.

For information on individual resorts see Hugh Bradley, Such Was Saratoga (New York: Doubleday, 1940); Cleveland Amory, The Last Resorts (New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1948); Perceval Reniers, The Springs of Virginia (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1941), and Henry Sigerist, "Early Medical History of Saratoga Springs," Bulletin of Medical History, Vol. 13 (May 1943): 540-584.

The history of tourism, particularly in the west, seems to be a much neglected topic. For a well-written and interesting account, see Earl Pomeroy's In Search of the Golden West, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957). For an enlightening discussion of cultural transformation, including recreational interests, at the fin de siecle, see John Higham's article "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890's" in The Origins of Modern Consciousness, John Weiss, ed. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1965): 25-48.

Sources, both secondary and primary, were even more difficult to locate for Montana hot spring resorts. For a good general overview of Montana history, consult Michael P. Malone and Richard B. Roeder's Montana: A History of Two Centuries (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976). The old subscription or "mug" histories were particularly useful: Michael Leeson, History of Montana: 1739-1885 (Chicago:

Warner, Beers and Company, 1885); Joaquin Miller, An Illustrated History of the State of Montana (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1894); Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, Progressive Men of the State of Montana (3 vols.; Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1913).

Local histories, many written during the Bicentennial Year of 1976, were helpful although they need to be used with critical care. Other local histories, such as the one written by Livingston resident Doris Whithorn were well documented: "Photo History of Chico Lodge" privately printed in Pray, Montana. Paul Phillip's Medicine in the Making of Montana (Missoula: Montana State University Press, 1962) resulted from a project sponsored by the Montana Medical Association. The book, one of the few on Montana medicine, was particularly useful.

The search for manuscript collections and other primary sources for information on early Montana hot spring resorts was not fruitful. Out of necessity, then, newspapers were the major source of information. Users of newspapers, of course, must read these contemporary accounts fully aware of the boosterism and often strongly biased flavor of the old journalism. But it was exactly these detailed, colorful and often extremely well-written accounts that offered so much information beyond the usual dry and factual reporting. The following newspapers were read in detail: Bozeman Avant-Courier (1875-1904); Helena Herald (1890-1902); Helena Independent (1867-1889); Jefferson County Sentinel (1886-1904); Jefferson County Zephyr

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(1894-1901); Livingston Enterprise (1883-1916); Deer Lodge New North-West (1869-1889) and Rocky Mountain Husbandman (1875-1904). These newspapers were chosen because they reported in detail local activities.