



The evolution of a frontier town : Bozeman, Montana, and its search for economic stability, 1864-1877
by James Bruce Putnam

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS in History
Montana State University
© Copyright by James Bruce Putnam (1973)

Abstract:

The period 1864-1877 saw the town of Bozeman evolve from nothing to the position of a stable, prosperous community with a bright future. The evolution of this nineteenth century frontier town is the story of the struggle for economic stability.

The town was founded in 1864, by John Bozeman, D.

E. Rouse and W. J. Beall, with the intent of making some money for its founders. Bozeman noted that pioneers pouring into the Gallatin Valley from the east, would have "golden fleeces to be taken care of." Consequently, Bozeman's residents followed the example set by John Bozeman and paid close attention to financial matters.

The town's early growth depended to a large extent on government monies brought in through the supply of military posts and Indian reservations. In addition, the promise of a railroad was briefly withheld from local residents because of the national financial collapse of 1873, which halted the advance of the railroad. But, aggressive measures undertaken by local businessmen remedied this situation. Following the Indian Wars of the late 1870's and the opening up of the Yellowstone Valley, the town's future seemed secure at last.

The founding and early growth of this frontier town was primarily an economic matter. Leading the town's quest for economic stability during these early years were an aggressive group of local merchants.

Statement of Permission to Copy

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree at Montana State University, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by my major professor, or, in his absence, by the Director of Libraries. It is understood that any copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Signature

James Bruce Peterson

Date

November 26, 1973

THE EVOLUTION OF A FRONTIER TOWN: BOZEMAN, MONTANA, AND
ITS SEARCH FOR ECONOMIC STABILITY, 1864-1877

by

James Bruce Putnam

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

History

Approved:

Pierce C. Mullen
Head, Major Department

Michael P. Malone
Chairman, Examining Committee

Henry L. Parsons
Graduate Dean

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY
Bozeman, Montana

December, 1973

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is indebted to several persons for services rendered along the way. Professor Emeritus Merrill G. Burlingame's suggestions and information at an early date, helped to initiate and aid the research that culminated in this paper. During the research process a special debt to Miss Minnie Paugh, Special Collections Librarian at Montana State University, was contracted. The unselfish giving of her time and effort were only exceeded in importance by her many helpful suggestions.

Throughout the entire project Professor Michael P. Malone was asked for and gave valuable suggestions and criticisms. Brenda Rae Putnam, the author's sister-in-law, deserves a kind word of thanks for the arduous task of typing both the rough and final drafts of this paper. And finally to my wife Marsha, a thanks for the infinite amount of patience she demonstrated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter	
I. JOHN BOZEMAN AND THE FOUNDING OF A TOWN	4
II. THE GALLATIN VALLEY INDIAN WAR OF 1867 AND THE FOUNDING OF FORT ELLIS.	17
III. BOZEMAN'S SOCIAL HISTORY.	31
IV. BOZEMAN'S ECONOMIC GROWTH AND THE PROMISE OF THE RAILROAD.	47
V. THE PANIC OF 1873 AND THE FAILURE OF THE RAIL- ROAD: GRASPING THE INITIATIVE.	68
CONCLUSION	87
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.	92

ABSTRACT

The period 1864-1877 saw the town of Bozeman evolve from nothing to the position of a stable, prosperous community with a bright future. The evolution of this nineteenth century frontier town is the story of the struggle for economic stability.

The town was founded in 1864, by John Bozeman, D. E. Rouse and W. J. Beall, with the intent of making some money for its founders. Bozeman noted that pioneers pouring into the Gallatin Valley from the east, would have "golden fleeces to be taken care of." Consequently, Bozeman's residents followed the example set by John Bozeman and paid close attention to financial matters.

The town's early growth depended to a large extent on government monies brought in through the supply of military posts and Indian reservations. In addition, the promise of a railroad was briefly withheld from local residents because of the national financial collapse of 1873, which halted the advance of the railroad. But, aggressive measures undertaken by local businessmen remedied this situation. Following the Indian Wars of the late 1870's and the opening up of the Yellowstone Valley, the town's future seemed secure at last.

The founding and early growth of this frontier town was primarily an economic matter. Leading the town's quest for economic stability during these early years were an aggressive group of local merchants.

INTRODUCTION

The city of Bozeman lies cradled in the southeastern corner of the Gallatin Valley in southwestern Montana. During the first decade of its existence, Bozeman developed into the leading financial center of south-central Montana. Its importance owes in large measure to the advantageous geographical position that it occupies.

Bozeman is surrounded on three sides by mountains. The Horseshoe Hills lie to the north and the Bridger, Gallatin and Madison ranges to the south and east. The 800-square-mile-Gallatin Valley, spreading mainly north and west from Bozeman, is drained by the east and west branches of the Gallatin River. "In geological times it was a lake bed; now it is a gently sloping plain of rich soil, much of it of volcanic origin."¹ While Bozeman's climate is cool, it is not nearly as dry, with an 18.03 inches average annual rainfall, as the portion of the valley farther west. The city's mean annual temperature is 41.9 degrees, and it averages 115 frost free days yearly.² Several stream-

¹Robert G. Dunbar, "The Economic Development of the Gallatin Valley," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XXXXVII (October, 1856), p. 117.

²Ibid.

eroded canyons allow natural passage to the world outside. The most important of these is Bozeman Pass, which provides an outlet eastward to the Yellowstone Valley. Because of its easy accessibility and good soil, the city of Bozeman quite naturally developed early into a leading agricultural and trade center.

This thesis is an attempt to describe the founding and early growth of Bozeman. The town demonstrated an atypical growth pattern compared to others in Montana. It did not owe its life to the existence of a railroad, although Bozeman residents directed a great deal of effort at securing the eventual arrival of one. In addition, the town depended only to a small degree on the mining of the territory for trade and prosperity and could never be considered a boom town. Area merchants, ranchers and farmers dominated and directed the town's early development.

Bozeman's early history must be seen through the causes and effects of events which occurred during the town's early years. For example, the Gallatin Valley Indian War of 1867, the Sioux Wars of the 1870's, and the arrival of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Several of these events held significance for the Territory of Montana and the western United States, as well as Bozeman.

Communities evolve like human beings. Like human beings, also, they can be warped by external problems that beset them, they can suffer from chronic afflictions, and they can develop distinct character from the crucibles in which they are formed.³

³K. Ross Toole, Montana: An Uncommon Land (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), p. 5.

I

John Merin Bozeman was born in Pickens County, Georgia in January, 1837, the son of William and Delila Sims Bozeman.¹ He was described as a "brave determined man, a great mountain pathfinder and Indian fighter." Bozeman stood "several inches over six feet tall" and "probably weighed two hundred and twenty-five pounds." He "carried no extra flesh; all was bone and muscle." Bozeman was reputed to be a very strong man and "quite a favorite with women."² He only used money "to bet with," and this generally took place in a saloon "with a few boon companions at a table, playing a game of draw."³

John Bozeman first experienced gold fever in 1849, when at the age of twelve he watched his father depart for the California gold rush, never to be heard from again. On January 9, 1856, John Bozeman married Lucinda C. Ingram. This union produced three daughters, Linda, Lila, and Martha C. Bozeman. But like his father before him, John

¹Merrill G. Burlingame, "John M. Bozeman, Montana Trailmaker," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXVII (March, 1941), p. 541.

²Ibid., p. 558.

³Ibid., p. 559.

was struck by the gold fever of the Colorado rush in 1860. Leaving his wife and three small children to provide for themselves, he left and joined the Green-Russell crowd in Georgia gulch, Colorado.⁴

Upon arriving in Colorado he soon discovered that most of the good claims had already been taken. He soon decided, at the suggestion of the famous Stuart brothers, to move on to the Deer Lodge Valley in Montana, which he did in 1862. As he did in Colorado, Bozeman remained only a short while in the Deer Lodge Valley. In January 1863, the news of the discovery of gold on Grasshopper Creek in the nearby Beaverhead Valley caused some excitement in the other gold camps of the region. Bozeman was among those who chose to answer this latest cry of gold. His luck, however, remained true to form. Once again, he missed out on securing a paying claim at the boom town of Bannack. His enthusiasm now began to wane, and he started to look around for a more lucrative line of work.

In 1863 there were two primary routes from the east to the gold fields of Montana. The first, the Missouri River route, led to the head of navigation at Fort Benton.

⁴Ibid., p. 541.

The second followed the Oregon Trail to Fort Hall, Idaho and then led north to the gold fields. The river route was "slow and expensive," and the Oregon Trail route "a long route much of it over barren plains." Bozeman, being a perceptive man, "sensed the need for a more direct overland route; one which was better equipped with water, grass, and wood."⁵

While in Bannack, Bozeman had made the acquaintance of John M. Jacobs. Together with Jacobs and his eight-year-old, half-breed daughter, Bozeman set out in the spring of 1863 to locate a more favorable route, over which emigrant trains could be brought to Montana. In the course of their journey, they passed through the Gallatin Valley via the pass later named in Bozeman's honor. It was probably at this time that Bozeman became impressed with the potential of the Gallatin Valley to support a thriving community. During the course of their trip they marked a trail that ran to the east of the Big Horn mountains in north central Wyoming. It considerably shortened the distance to the Montana gold fields. After completing their journey, Bozeman and Jacobs recruited immigrants

⁵Ibid., p. 542.

from the Platte River region for a trip up their new trail to Montana. This wagon train assembled and departed for Montana on July 3, 1863, led by John Bozeman. The pioneers never reached their destination because they were forced by Indians to turn back in the latter part of July, having only made it as far as the north fork of the Powder River in Wyoming. Bozeman and nine other men, however, continued on their own. And after a harrowing trip, during which they faced starvation, they arrived in Alder Gulch, the major gold camp in Montana, early in August, 1863.⁶

Although this expedition failed, members of the wagon train were impressed with the new route. Samuel Word, one member of the train, observed in his diary that not only was there a promise of good grass, but that this route could save a month or six weeks of travel time.⁷

As his earlier attempts at mining showed, Bozeman did not give up easily. Montana historian James M. Hamilton says that John Bozeman "conceived the idea of starting a colony of farmers in the Gallatin Valley to raise wheat

⁶Ibid., pp. 544-546.

⁷Samuel Word, "Diary of Colonel Samuel Word," Contributions To The Historical Society of Montana, VIII (Helena, 1917), pp. 56-57.

and potatoes to supply the mining camps."⁸ This is probably true. Speaking about a townsite in the Gallatin Valley, M. G. Burlingame says:

Here at the opening of several passes from the Eastern trails, a town could be laid out which would attract certain men who might engage in crafts or business and where a farming community could be built up, all to serve the incoming trains of emigrants whose supplies would be badly in need of stocking. Bozeman observed that such a settlement standing right in the gate of the mountains ready to swallow up all the tenderfeet that would reach the territory from the East, with their golden fleeces to be taken care of would be profitable to those in the little town as well as offering advantages to the tenderfeet.⁹

Whatever Bozeman's reasons for wishing to found a town were, it is obvious that he was, in large part, economically motivated. Bozeman arranged with W. J. Beall and D. E. Rouse, who were ranchers near the Three Forks of the Missouri, to lay out a townsite in the spring of 1864, while he returned east to gather a wagon train and pilot it to the Gallatin Valley. Beall and Rouse were to locate a

⁸James McClellan Hamilton, From Wilderness to Statehood: A History of Montana, edited by Merrill G. Burlingame (Portland, Oregon: Binford's and Mort, Publishers, 1957), p. 169.

⁹Merrill G. Burlingame, The Montana Frontier (Helena, Montana: State Publishing Company, 1942), p. 342; see also M. G. Burlingame, Gallatin Century of Progress (Bozeman: Artcraft Printers, 1964).

claim for Bozeman and all three would engage in real estate and commerce speculation upon his return.

Bozeman returned east to the Missouri area and formed another wagon train to travel to Montana. This large train arrived in Bozeman around August 1, 1864.¹⁰ The spring and summer of 1864 saw many people follow the lure of gold and silver to Montana. In addition to Virginia City, the boom towns of Helena and Diamond City attracted many people. Also in May, 1864, Montana achieved territorial status. Many people who experienced bad luck at mining elsewhere and ". . . others who were naturally disposed to other pursuits, found their way into the agricultural valleys of the territory."¹¹

The tendency of people to realize the advantages of farming, while many of their neighbors were struck by gold fever, is an interesting phenomenon. It helps to explain why many of those who passed over the rich, black, well watered soil of the Gallatin Valley chose to make the

¹⁰Burlingame, "John M. Bozeman," p. 551; see also Grace Raymond Hebard and E. A. Brininstool, The Bozeman Trail (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1922) Vol. I, p. 219.

¹¹E. Lina Houston, Early History of Gallatin County (Bozeman, Montana: Bozeman Chronicle Print, 1933), p. 17.

Bozeman area their home. Franklin Luther Kirkaldie, an early Gallatin Valley settler, showed a great deal of insight in the following statement.

Mining even in good mining countries is uncertain business. Probably not more than one in fifty of the mining population ever get rich at it. While farming in a good mining country has almost universally proved profitable. And I think I can turn my past experience in farming to better account here than to attempt to engage in a business with which I am entirely unacquainted and which is uncertain in any case.¹²

As the summer of 1864 drew to a close, several more wagon trains reached the Gallatin Valley. It was reported that as many as 1000 wagons crossed the Bozeman Trail in 1864.¹³ The success of these pioneers encouraged others to follow them. This led to the fortification of the trail with Forts Reno, Phil Kearney, and C. F. Smith in the Powder River country in 1866. These forts, according to Burlingame, "caused it to become the most popular route to the Northwest," until 1868, when they were abandoned

¹²Letter, Franklin Luther Kirkaldie to wife, January 24, 1865, Montana State University, Special Collections, Franklin Luther Kirkaldie Papers; see also Dorthy M. Johnson, "The Patience of Frank Kirkaldie," Montana the magazine of Western History, XXI (January, 1971), 16.

¹³Mark H. Brown, The Plainsman of the Yellowstone (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1961), p. 138; see also Dorthy M. Johnson, The Bloody Bozeman (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971), pp. 3-145.

because of the threat posed by Red Cloud and the Ogallala Sioux.¹⁴

W. J. Beall and D. E. Rouse constructed the first log cabin homes on the present townsite of Bozeman in July, 1864. W. W. Alderson and his brother John also arrived at this time. They built the third home on a hill one mile south of the present day Main street. By early August, 1864, there were enough settlers in the Bozeman area to warrant some kind of community organization. Consequently, the settlers "determined to locate the town officially, and accordingly, a claim association was formed, by-laws were enacted, fees for recording were fixed and other necessary business was transacted."¹⁵ The minutes of the first meeting read as follows:

East Gallatin, Montana, Aug. 9, 1864
At a meeting held by settlers of Upper East Gallatin at Jacobs Crossing on Tuesday, August 9, 1864, John M. Bozeman was elected chairman and W. W. Alderson, secretary. The chairman stated the object of the meeting to be to form a claim association, for the purpose of making laws, etc., in relation to farming claims, and for mutual protection. On motion of W. W. Alderson, it was Resolved, First: that the

¹⁴Burlingame, "John M. Bozeman," p. 548; see also James C. Olson, Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), pp. 70-71.

¹⁵Houston, History of Gallatin County, p. 19.

town and district be called Bozeman, Resolved, Second: that the boundary of the district shall be as follows: Commencing at the northeast corner of Kimball's claim, thence east to the base of the mountains, to the Gallatin River, thence down said river to a point due west of said Kimball's claim, thence east to the place of beginning. Resolved, Third: that after any settler stakes out and records a claim he must be an actual resident thereof within ten days thereafter in order to hold said claim. On motion J. M. Bozeman elected recorder, and the sum of one dollar made the fee for recording a claim.¹⁶

With the formation of the town a pattern of growth began. Building took place on a larger scale, and six structures appeared during the summer and fall of 1864.¹⁷ By this time, there were enough travelers in Bozeman to warrant the building of a hotel. John Stafford and one Mr. Rice ran the small one and one-half story structure. They celebrated its completion with a grand ball held in it on Christmas Eve, 1864. The people attending characterized the occasion as "the first important social event in Bozeman." The hotel did yeoman service during the early years. The first wedding in Gallatin County and Bozeman took place there on January 11, 1865, when John Stafford and Sallie

¹⁶Minutes of the East Gallatin Claim Association, August 9, 1864 - February 11, 1865, Montana State University, Special Collections, Manuscript File.

¹⁷E. S. Topping, The Chronicles of the Yellowstone (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Company, 1888), p. 29.

Smith were married. It also served as a refuge for the women and children of the city during an Indian scare in July, 1865.¹⁸

John Bozeman earnestly promoted the town's growth. He played an important part in convincing Thomas Cover and P. W. McAdow to build a flour mill on the edge of Bozeman during the fall of 1864.¹⁹ This mill later became very important in the growth of the town and lent a measure of security to the oftentimes short food supply. The business community further expanded when in 1865 Caleb Fitz and his ten year old son opened and operated the first store.²⁰ At about the same time, Jack Mendenhall opened a saloon that also handled canned goods and sundry items.²¹ Dr. Achilles Lamme also arrived in 1865, and in partnership with L. M. Howell, he operated a store until 1869.²² It is interesting to speculate on why a qualified physician like Lamme

¹⁸Houston, History of Gallatin County, p. 19.

¹⁹Burlingame, "John M. Bozeman," p. 557.

²⁰M. G. Burlingame, "Beginnings in Bozeman" (a paper in Dr. Burlingame's possession, Bozeman, Montana), p. 2.

²¹Topping, Chronicles of the Yellowstone, p. 29.

²²Progressive Men of The State of Montana (Chicago: A. W. Bowen & Co., n. d.), p. 616.

would take up merchandising over his chosen profession. Perhaps he saw merchandising in a new community as a greater source of remuneration than the practice of medicine. Lamme, like the others, saw a future in Bozeman's burgeoning growth potential.

Two other men important to Bozeman's early history arrived in 1866. They were Lester S. Willson, a former general in the New York militia and personal friend of Horace Greeley, who ran a general store and freighting operation for years, and Nelson Story, who had been a vigilante in Virginia City and made a small fortune there with which he purchased a herd of longhorns to drive to Montana from Texas in 1866. Story ran a store for a short time but made his primary contribution to the community as a government contractor, freighter, and cattleman.²³

The necessity of feeding themselves at first preoccupied the Bozemanites. Because most of them didn't arrive in time to plant crops in 1864, preparation for the

²³Ibid., pp. 1871-1872, 1256-1257; see also T. B. Story, "History of Nelson Story," as narrated on tape by Ken Swenson and Tony Dassinger, Montana State University, Special Collections, Tape File; also Interview of Malcolm Story concerning Nelson Story, Sr., and Family, by Ken Swenson and Tony Dassinger, Montana State University, Special Collections, Tape File.

spring planting of 1865 began early. John Bozeman reported the following in the Virginia City Montana Post:

The valley is being fast settled up with farmers, many of whom came to Montana as a better class of miners and after a while quitting their original pursuits secured 160 acres of land on which they stick a stake giving the date, the name of their claim, they then build their cabins and go to work in true farmer fashion.²⁴

People continued filtering into the Gallatin Valley in 1865. Several men banded together and sent to Salt Lake City for seed grain. Tom Cover and P. W. McAdow imported the first threshing machine in 1865, in order to insure that they would have grain for their flour mill. Reapers also came to the valley by way of Fort Benton. Speaking about the advantages of farming in the Gallatin Valley, M. L. Wilson said that "Its rainfall is sufficient to grow fairly large cereal crops without irrigation, and its altitude is low enough to eliminate all dangers of frost." The Gallatin Valley shared several advantages with other mountain valleys in western Montana. Speaking about these, Wilson maintained that "A more favorable setting for agriculture can hardly be imagined, with high prices, proximity to markets, and almost protective tariff in the

²⁴Montana Post (Virginia City), September 17, 1864.

freight rate on food supplies from Salt Lake City, and fertile well-watered mountain valleys, free from Indian depredations."²⁵

In the fall of 1865 these industrious farmers realized the fruits of their labors. The Montana Post, reported that the Gallatin Valley produced 20,000 bushels of wheat that autumn.²⁶ Agriculture was placed on a firm footing, and the future of Bozeman looked bright indeed.

²⁵M. L. Wilson, "The Evolution of Montana Agriculture in its Early Period," Montana State University, Archives, Montana History Folder T-64, Agricultural Economics I Collection, p. 5.

²⁶Montana Post, March 3, 1866.

II

The year 1867 was an important one for Bozeman. The town stood on the eastern frontier of Montana Territory. Bozeman Pass, the gate to the Indian controlled lands of central and eastern Montana, lay only a few miles away. Bozeman residents became highly susceptible to frequent rumors concerning impending Indian attacks from the east because many travelers on the Bozeman Trail experienced clashes with the Indians. Nelson Story, a local merchant, wanted to supply all the forts on the Bozeman Trail but could only supply the northernmost one, Fort C. F. Smith, with goods. Business farther east seemed out of the question due to the fact that ". . . hostilities were constant from the Sioux."¹

Traditionally, Indians of this region considered the Gallatin Valley to be neutral ground. Various tribes used the valley to gain access to the rich buffalo lands farther east.

Rumors arose during the spring of 1867 that a large band of Sioux Indians, in the Platte River region, was

¹Hebard and Brininstool, The Bozeman Trail, Vol. I., p. 235.

readying itself for a push into Montana Territory. The Army "was planning a summer campaign against the Sioux north of the Platte River."² Local citizens feared that such a campaign would drive the Indians into the Gallatin Valley.

By February, 1867, the rumors of impending attack reached the Montana Post in Virginia City. The Post pointed out that although probably around 2,000 persons in the Gallatin Valley could bear arms, they occupied a very large area. It speculated that the valley faced "imminent danger," and that the emergency called for "an organization for mutual protection and defense."³

The residents of Bozeman were roused to action. They formed a committee to superintend the construction of a stockade around the Cover and McAdow mill. W. W. Alderson reported in his diary for March 23, 1867 that he had attended a meeting at which the resolution for erection of the stockade passed. He also reported: "Quite an Indian scare at Bozeman and throughout the valley on account of

²James L. Thane Jr., "Thomas Francis Meagher: The Acting One," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Montana, 1967), p. 67.

³Montana Post, February 9, 1867.

recent raids."⁴

Preparation continued during March and the stockade reached completion early in April, 1867. Thomas Cover, representing Bozeman residents, presented Acting Governor Thomas Francis Meagher with a request for arms and ammunition late in March of 1867. Governor Meagher responded by furnishing the Gallatin Valley residents with forty muskets and three thousand cartridges.⁵

For the most part, these rumors seem to have been only rumors nothing more. As often happens, these purported Indian scares seemed to bolster one another. A letter from John Bozeman to Governor Meagher further aroused alarm.

"General

"I take the responsibility of writing you a few lines for the benefit of the people of Montana. We have reliable reports here that we are in imminent danger of hostile Indians, and if there is not something done to protect this valley soon, there will be but few men and no families left in the Gallatin Valley. Men, women, and children are making preparations to leave at an early day. If you can make any arrangement to protect them, they will stay. If not, this valley will doubt-

⁴William W. Alderson Diary, March 23, 1867, Montana State University, Special Collections.

⁵Montana Post, March 30, 1867.

less be evacuated.

"J. M. Bozeman
"Bozeman City, March 25, 1867"⁶

Governor Meagher actively sought War Department permission to muster a force of volunteers sufficient to meet any situation that arose. Meagher telegraphed General U. S. Grant on April 9 that "The greatest alarm reasonably prevails . . . Danger is immanent [sic]."⁷ Meanwhile, Governor Meagher commissioned Martin Beem a captain and ordered him to begin recruiting and organizing volunteers.⁸

This stew of rumor, speculation and fear boiled over on April 18, 1867. While enroute to Fort C. F. Smith to secure flour contracts, in the company of Thomas Cover, John Bozeman was shot and killed. The commonly accepted story about Bozeman's death maintains that five Blackfeet Indians killed him. This occurred near the mouth of Mission Creek, close to the present-day site of Livingston.

Jefferson Jones, editor of the Bozeman Chronicle,

⁶Ibid., April 16, 1867.

⁷Thane, "Thomas Francis Meagher," p. 69, quoting Meagher to Grant, April 9, 1867, Division of the Missouri Special File, Indian Wars of 1867, Records of the United States Army Commands, Record Group 98, National Archives, Washington, D. C., Hereafter cited as Spec. File.

⁸Ibid.

put forth an interesting alternative explanation of Bozeman's death. He based his theory upon personal information given to him by T. B. Story, a son of Nelson Story, Sr., who was a contemporary of John Bozeman. T. B. Story's information came from his father, Nelson Story, Sr. T. B. Story reported to Jones that Bozeman "was murdered by his partner, Tom Cover." He supported his claim by pointing out that the shoulder wound that Cover had sustained in the fight was powder burned. Thus it appeared to have been self inflicted. Powder burns only occurred when the weapon inflicting a wound was held at very close range to the individual sustaining the wound. By Cover's own account he never got near enough to the Indians to receive a powder burned wound.

Upon hearing of Bozeman's death, Nelson Story sent an employee of his named Spanish Joe to the site of the murder in order to investigate the evidence before it was disturbed. Spanish Joe told Nelson Story that he could find no signs of Indians entering or leaving the murder site. In addition, Bozeman's belongings all seemed intact. Certainly this seems contrary to the normal behavior of marauding Indians. One might also wonder what five lone Blackfeet Indians were doing in the heart of Crow country.

Discovery by the Crows would have meant certain death for them.⁹

There were enough other inconsistencies in Cover's explanation to raise at least some doubt as to the validity of his account. Whatever the real explanation for Bozeman's death, its significance lies in what people believed. Most people thought he was killed by Indians. These real or imagined Indian deprivations during the spring of 1867 "sent a chill of fear over the frontier which in the hands of commercial and political leaders took on an added impetus."¹⁰

Acting Governor Meagher faced a grave problem. Historians generally question his handling of the situation facing him in the spring of 1867. Meagher, an Irish immigrant, had made a name for himself as the General who led the Irish Brigade during the Civil War. President Johnson rewarded him for his service with the position of territorial secretary of Montana. When Governor Sidney Edgerton

⁹Jefferson Jones, "The Murder of John Bozeman???", a paper presented at a meeting of the Q K Men's Club in Bozeman, Montana, December 13, 1955, Montana State University, Special Collections, Q K Club File, pp. 1-19.

¹⁰Merrill G. Burlingame, "The Influence of the Military in the Building of Montana," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XXIX (April, 1938), 149.

left the territory in 1865, never to return, Meagher became acting governor.¹¹

Thomas F. Meagher was an aspiring individual. He might even be considered a glory seeker in the same class with George Armstrong Custer. The circumstances in the Gallatin Valley in the spring of 1867 lent themselves nicely to exploitation by a man like Meagher. Upon hearing of Bozeman's death, Meagher wired Secretary of War E. M. Stanton, that ". . . our Territory in serious danger from the Indians. Richest portion already invaded. Citizens murdered."¹² This is an obvious overstatement of the events that had occurred. But a weaker plea by Acting Governor Meagher would have had less effect on the military authorities.

The Acting Governor asked for authority to raise a force of 800 militia to deal with the alleged uprising. Federal officials, including Secretary of War E. M. Stanton and General William T. Sherman, hesitated to authorize

¹¹Thane, "Thomas Francis Meagher", see also Robert G. Athearn, Thomas Francis Meagher: An Irish Revolutionary in America (Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1949), pp. 156-164.

¹²Thane, "Thomas Francis Meagher," p. 70, quoting Meagher and Hosmer to Stanton, April 27, 1867, Spec. File.

Governor Meagher to raise and equip a militia force at federal expense. Secretary Stanton told General Sherman that:

. . . discretion to call out the militia in Montana, or any other of our territories, cannot safely be lodged with their governors, for to be candid, each has an interest antagonistic to that of the United States. Meagher in Montana is a stampeder, and can always with a fair show of truth raise a clamor, and would have in pay the maximum number of men allowed.¹³

However, despite his skepticism, General Sherman finally consented. On May 7, 1867, he telegraphed Meagher permission to raise 800 volunteers. Later in May, General Sherman sent a telegram to Major William H. Lewis, his representative in Virginia City.¹⁴ He ordered Lewis to:

. . . muster in a battalion of eight hundred men at the cost of the United States, for two months. Equip them as best you can until the arms en-route reach Fort Benton. Move quickly to the threatened point. . . let the men furnish their own horses at forty cents a day and be rationed by contract. When the service is rendered I will order payment by regular paymaster.¹⁵

This telegram was shown to merchants and they began

¹³Ibid., p. 73, quoting Stanton to Sherman, May 3, 1867, Spec. File.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 75-79, see also James L. Thane Jr., "The Montana 'Indian War' of 1867," Arizona and the West, VIII (Summer, 1968), 153-170.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 78-79, quoting 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, House Misc. Doc. 215, 2.

"supplying the volunteers with everything from horses to whiskey to a ten-dollar truss, confident that the federal government would repay them." General Sherman later withdrew this authorization, but it was too late, the wheels of speculation had already been set in motion.¹⁶ Speaking about Governor Meagher's "War" against the Indians in the Gallatin Valley, Professor Robert G. Athearn said that he "was more interested in raising a command than in watching expenditures. It was a marvelous opportunity to raid the Treasury, and in a country where government funds were looked upon as fair game, the financial dredging proceeded with utmost avidity."¹⁷

Governor Meagher appointed General Thomas Thoroughman to command the field camp at Bozeman. Of the nine companies organized only two or three saw service in Bozeman. Fort C. F. Smith, which lay several hundred miles east of Bozeman, became the focal point of the "War." Rumors had it that the Sioux held it under siege and that the soldiers were in danger of starving. A relief force of forty volunteers under the command of Colonel W. W. DeLacey escorted

¹⁶Ibid., p. 79.

¹⁷Athearn, Thomas Francis Meagher, p. 162.

a supply train from Bozeman to the fort.¹⁸ Aside from this one expedition, few other incidents occurred during the summer of 1867. The volunteers constructed Camp Elizabeth Meagher eight miles from Bozeman and Camp Ida Thoroughman on the Shields River forty miles from Bozeman.¹⁹ These outposts accomplished nothing. In fact the "expected Indian attack never materialized." The militia did kill three Indians involved in an act of horse stealing.²⁰ By October, 1867, the militia forces in Bozeman became discontented, and they "dissolved into bickering among themselves." Men began deserting and upon the recommendation of General Terry, the new Governor, Green Clay Smith, "mustered out the volunteers."²¹

One of the most important effects of the "Gallatin Valley Indian War of 1867" upon Bozeman was the fact that it led to construction of a permanent military post in late August of 1867 on the outskirts of the town. Bozeman's death in the spring of 1867 led to the militias entering

¹⁸Thane, "Thomas Francis Meagher," pp. 77-78.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 80.

²⁰Ibid., p. 83.

²¹Ibid., p. 84.

the valley for the summer and "sent a deep wave of fear through the frontier community, and a clamorous insistence brought the location of Fort Ellis."²² Captain R. S. LaMotte supervised the construction of the fort. E. S. Topping pointed out the importance of Fort Ellis to the fledgling town of Bozeman when he said: "From the moment this fort was definitely located, Bozeman's future was assured."²³

Settlement of the war claims against the federal government immediately became an important issue. Those merchants, ranchers, and farmers who had supplied the volunteer forces felt themselves entitled to reimbursement by the government. Bozeman residents held several of these claims against the government.

Montanans billed the federal government for \$1,000-000.²⁴ An investigation followed, but it was not until 1874 that a House committee authorized a scaled down payment of the claims. The committee passed an appropriation

²²Burlingame, "Beginnings in Bozeman," p. 3.

²³Topping, Chronicles of the Yellowstone, p. 68.

²⁴U. S. Congress, House Report 82, "Montana War Claims," Congress, 2nd Session, May 24, 1872, pp. 39-50.

for \$513,343 to pay the claims.²⁵

In 1872, Representative William G. Donnan, a member of the committee on military affairs, concluded:

There is no question that many irregularities, extravagant expenditures, and doubtful, if not fraudulent, transactions occurred in connection with supplies furnished, and especially with the final disposition of Government property, remaining on hand about the time these troops were disbanded, which have cast a cloud over the whole matter, and without doubt have prevented the payment of just claims of innocent parties . . . It further appears that in some instances vouchers were issued for a greater number of articles or larger amount of property than were actually furnished; and in still other instances that vouchers were issued for property at an extravagant value; and in still other instances for property which never was purchased at all.²⁶

This report also included a comparison of the prices charged with the prices at which the purchases could have been made. Hay sold for ten to twenty-five dollars above normal; coffee and flour sold for nearly twice their normal price; arms, saddles, clothing, medicine, and hardware prices rose from 25 to 60 per cent above normal.²⁷

²⁵U. S. Congress, House Exec. Doc. 9, "Montana War Claims," 43rd Congress, 2nd Session, December 19, 1874, p. 2.

²⁶U. S. Congress, House Report 82, p. 4.

²⁷Ibid.

A partial list of Bozeman men submitting claims included L. M. Black, Nelson Story, Loren Tuller, Charles Rich, William Tracy, Lester S. Willson, W. J. Beall, Thomas Cover, and P. W. McAdow.²⁸ The largest claims, over \$100,000, belonged to L. M. Black. When the government authorized payment in 1874, several of these individuals alone received an aggregate sum of \$40,000.²⁹ Obviously the claims paid to local men for the "Gallatin Valley Indian War of 1867" provided a substantial economic shot in the arm for the young community. They started several of the Bozeman area residents off on the right financial foot.

The end of the "War" also enabled local contractors like Nelson Story to continue doing business with the forts to the east. In the fall of 1867, Story contracted to deliver 100,000 pounds of potatoes to Fort C. F. Smith for the consumption of the soldiers during the following winter. He purchased the potatoes for one dollar per hundred weight and sold them to the government for ten dollars per hundred weight delivered.³⁰

²⁸Ibid., pp. 39-50.

²⁹U. S. Congress, House Exec. Doc. 9, pp. 2-5.

³⁰T. B. Story, "History of Nelson Story."

In the final analysis, the establishment of Fort Ellis and the "influx of federal money into the local economy" provided great impetus for the future growth of Bozeman.³¹ The frontier town learned to appreciate the advantages of federal monies at an early date.

³¹James L. Thane Jr., "Montana Territory: The Formative Years, 1862-1870," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1972), p. 198.

III

An evaluation of the early history of Bozeman would not be complete without a discussion of the town's social history. By 1865 enough families resided in Bozeman to generate an interest in the education of the young. During the winter of 1865-1866, a subscription school started in the back of a store operated by Caleb Fitz. Samuel Anderson instructed a class of six pupils in this first term of school. The following winter Miss Florence Royce conducted the second term of school in Bozeman. By 1868 the school age population had increased sufficiently to warrant the construction of a school with public money. This frame structure cost the taxpayers \$500 and served the community for eight years until a new brick school building replaced it in 1877.

In addition to public education, Bozeman also benefited from a private academy. In October, 1872, the Reverend L. B. Crittenden and his daughter Mary Gertrude opened the Bozeman Academy in the Good Templars' Hall on the present day site of the Episcopal Church. In the following year, 1873, Miss Crittenden started the Gallatin Valley Female Seminary at a private residence in Bozeman.

She later transferred it to Hamilton, a small town west of Bozeman in the Gallatin Valley.¹

In 1872 the cause of education in Bozeman advanced again with the establishment of the first library in Gallatin County. The Young Men's Library Association established it in a room over Alward's Drug Store. In 1873 the Young Men's Christian Association also started a library.²

By the end of 1874, local teachers were numerous enough to organize a Gallatin County Teachers Association. By the fall of 1878, the local educational requirements demanded a principal and a planned course of study. Professor W. W. Wylie became the first principal, and during this same year the second high school in the territory opened in Bozeman. There were twenty-five students in attendance and the first class of two people graduated in 1883.

These settlers, like all others, needed something more than knowledge gained in the traditional sense to sustain them. Organized religion flourished in Bozeman from the very beginning. W. W. Alderson, one of the first settlers in the area, was a licensed preacher of the Methodist

¹Houston, History of Gallatin County, p. 31.

²Ibid., p. 32.

Church. Shortly after he arrived, in the summer of 1864, he preached the first sermon in the Gallatin Valley at the Merrit and Oscar Penwell cabin west of Bozeman.³

Probably because of Alderson's influence, the Methodists were the first organized religious group in the Bozeman area. In July, 1866, Reverend W. W. Alderson organized the first Sunday school and continued as its superintendent for twelve years. In August of the same year, the Reverend A. M. Hough, Superintendent of Missions for the Methodist Episcopal Church in the territory, organized the Methodist Episcopal Church in Bozeman.

At about this time, plans arose to raise money for the construction of a church. The church was erected, on what is now the southwest corner of Main and Tracy streets, with donations contributed by local residents during 1866-1867. It served several purposes for the early community. A term of the district court was held in it with Judge Hezekiah Hosmer, then chief justice of the supreme court, presiding.⁴ In addition, several school classes convened in the church for a short time. The Methodists also

³Esther C. Niebel, A Century of Service (Bozeman, Montana: Artcraft Printers, 1966), p. 2.

⁴Ibid., p. 5.

allowed visiting ministers of other denominations the use of the structure. This often left the mistaken impression that it was a "Union Church."⁵ In 1868, Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle arrived in Bozeman and organized an Episcopal Church. The Episcopalians held services in various locations in Bozeman until they purchased a building and fitted it out in 1876.⁶

The third and last church to organize in Bozeman during its early period was the Presbyterian Church. Reverend William S. Frakelton and Reverend Sheldon Jackson organized the local church in May, 1872. The Presbyterian congregation completed a church in 1880.⁷

When Bishop Tuttle arrived in Bozeman in 1868, he found "a town of about 150 people in some 40 dwellings, three stores, a hotel, a grist mill, a blacksmith or two and two saloons."⁸ The census of 1870 listed Bozeman's population at 574, a significant increase since 1868. But

⁵Marie Flaherty, "A Short History of Bozeman" (a paper in Dr. Burlingame's possession, Bozeman, Montana), p. 2.

⁶M. A. Leeson, History of Montana 1739-1885 (Chicago: Warner, Beers & Company, 1885), p. 621.

⁷Ibid., pp. 621-622.

⁸Burlingame, "Beginnings in Bozeman," p. 7.

the total county population of 1,578 is more significant in assessing the town's growth. Bozeman was the agricultural and trade center for the whole valley, and an outlying farm population relied upon its services. The men in the area outnumbered the women by three to one. With an overwhelmingly white population, the town had only four Chinese residents in contrast to the markedly higher oriental population in the mining camps of the territory.⁹

Communication with the outside world meant everything to the growing and isolated population of the Gallatin Valley. Before 1869 the mail had been routed through Helena, but during the winter of 1869-1870, Joseph R. Farley began carrying the mail horseback from Bozeman to Virginia City. This sped up mail delivery. Communication with the rest of the country received a much greater boost with the completion of a telegraph line between Bozeman and Helena on November 11, 1871.¹⁰

As the town grew, incorporation became necessary. Local residents formally platted Bozeman in 1870, and they

⁹Ellis L. Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864 (Missoula: University of Montana Press, 1958), p. 24, quoting 1870 census data.

¹⁰Leeson, History of Montana, p. 620.

organized the town as a corporate body in 1874.¹¹ Following the incorporation of the town, the Bozeman Land District was created, also in 1874. This same year the second land office in Montana Territory opened in Bozeman.¹²

Oftentimes a good gauge of the growth of a community is its newspapers and the quality of their journalism. H. N. Maguire established Bozeman's first newspaper, the Pick and Plow, in 1869. The first issue appeared on the Bozeman streets on December 31, 1869. The paper lasted only a short while. H. N. Maguire sold the physical plant to L. M. Black in 1870. Black then leased the office to Joseph Wright, who began publishing the paper under the title of the Avant Courier. The Courier first appeared on September 13, 1871, and continued under Wright's editorship until he became ill late in 1876. Joseph Allen, the associate editor, managed the paper for a short time until it was sold to W. W. Alderson in January, 1877. This paper, like most, did yeoman service in promoting the interests of Bozeman and the surrounding area during these early years.

¹¹Burlingame, "Beginnings in Bozeman," p. 7.

¹²M. G. Burlingame and K. Ross Toole, A History of Montana (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1957), Vol. I, p. 308.

Bozeman had one other paper during these years, The Bozeman Times. It began publishing on November 13, 1874, under the direction of J. V. Bogert and L. M. Black. It lasted only ten months initially, but Henry C. and Raleigh F. Wilkinson revived it in December of 1875. E. S. Wilkinson edited The Bozeman Times until August 27, 1878, when W. W. Alderson purchased it and merged it with the Avant Courier.¹³ Competition among frontier newspapers usually led to colorful and emotional, but not always accurate, reporting. During the period of their mutual existence, The Bozeman Times and the Avant Courier were often at odds, but both usually agreed on advancing the economic and social interests of the community.

Every developing young community needs a bank to help stabilize and insure its economic growth. The First National Bank of Bozeman opened its doors in August, 1872. One of the town's most prominent citizens, L. M. Black, became the president, with George W. Fox the cashier, and C. J. Lyster and John P. Bruce directors.¹⁴ The bank serviced the area for over five years, but it fell upon hard

¹³Leeson, History of Montana, p. 331.

¹⁴Houston, History of Gallatin County, p. 35.

times in 1877 and closed its doors in 1878. Between 1878 and 1882 Bozeman had no bank. Upon the arrival of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1882, Bozeman received two new banks, the Bozeman National Bank and the Gallatin Valley National Bank. The railroad meant everything. As J. M. Hamilton points out, ". . . with the advent of the Northern Pacific Railroad new banks were established in every town of importance from Glendive to Bozeman."¹⁵

The political inclinations of the Gallatin Valley residents were interesting. Christmas day of 1867 held not only religious importance for Bozeman residents but also political and governmental significance as well. An election was held on this date to determine the location of the county seat of Gallatin County. C. P. Blakely, a member of the territorial legislature from Gallatin County, owned a ranch near Middle Creek, the present Hyalite Creek. He had visions of the county seat being located on his land. He intended to develop there a town to be called Farmington. Bozeman citizens "reacted violently" and the town of Bozeman entered the county seat race. In the ensuing election Bozeman won over Farmington by a significant

¹⁵Hamilton, From Wilderness to Statehood, p. 381.

margin.¹⁶

In 1867 Gallatin County extended eastward to include what are now Park and Sweet Grass Counties. In addition, because Big Horn County, which included the entire eastern portion of the territory, had almost "no white inhabitants," it was placed under the supervision of Gallatin County officials. This meant that these officials had control of 80,000 square miles of land, "one of the largest local government units which has existed in the United States."¹⁷ As M. G. Burlingame points out "such an expanse, even though thinly populated, brought considerable trade and commerce to the town, as well as a definite psychological lift."¹⁸

The natural ties between Gallatin County and the town of Bozeman, always strong, were strengthened by the fact that many Bozeman residents served as county officeholders. A partial list for the early years includes John Mendenhall, Achilles Lamme, John Bozeman, P. W. McAdow,

¹⁶Burlingame, Gallatin Century of Progress.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Burlingame, "Beginnings in Bozeman," p. 4.

Thomas Cover, L. S. Willson, and Otho Curtis.¹⁹

J. V. Bogert, writing in the Avant Courier in 1881 and referring to Bozeman's political growth, said: "A portion of the community has ever been somewhat impulsively progressive, while another portion has been extremely conservative. The result is, [that] a steady and safe equilibrium has been maintained. . . ." ²⁰

Bogert missed the point. The truth is that Bozeman displayed little political balance. With the exception of the 1865 election, Gallatin County residents voted for the Democratic delegate to Congress in every election from 1864 until 1880.²¹ Therefore, it seems safe to speculate that Bozeman and the surrounding county, at least during the first sixteen years of its existence, was a Democratic stronghold. During this same period, the territory of Montana also demonstrated strong Democratic inclinations. This authors persistent research turned up nothing that would substantiate Roberta Cheney's claim that Bozeman was

¹⁹Houston, History of Gallatin County, p. 6.

²⁰Avant Courier (Bozeman), December 1, 1881.

²¹Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864, pp. 8-36, passim.

for a time called "Missouri" because of the number of Missourians among the settlers.²²

Bozemanites always took an interest in territorial affairs, especially the fight over the location of the state capital between Virginia City and Helena. Twice during the period 1869-1874 the Bozeman area voted strongly in favor of locating the territorial capital at Virginia City rather than Helena. On the second occasion, in 1874, the Gallatin County votes were rejected because of some voting irregularities.²³ Bozeman also took a keen interest in the quest for statehood. During the 1866 Constitutional Convention, Gallatin County sent five delegates: J. D. Davidson, H. P. Downs, Andrew J. Hunter, G. W. Morrison and A. Metcalf.²⁴

Like most isolated frontier towns, Bozeman cherished its social and cultural affairs. Because the first settlers of the territory and Bozeman were primarily miners, hunters, single farmers and wanderers, the early female

²²Roberta Carkeek Cheney, Names on the Face of Montana (Missoula, Montana: Printing Department, University of Montana, 1971), p. 25.

²³Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864, pp. 22,28.

²⁴Ibid., p. 16.

population remained very small. The first white woman to locate near Bozeman, Mrs. W. J. Beall, arrived on August 1, 1864.²⁵ As late as 1869, women in Bozeman still seemed "objects of curiosity." Sarah Jane Tracy reported that some Bozeman men had decided that they could not live alone and hence set out for the "states" to find a "better half". Those who remained behind waited to see how the venture would "pan out". Being an object of curiosity probably proved to be embarrassing sometimes. Mrs. Tracy noted that the Guy House, a local hotel where she ate her first supper in Bozeman, had "seventy-five extras for supper" that night.²⁶

The troops at nearby Fort Ellis, a combination infantry and cavalry post manned by five companies of soldiers varying between 200-300 men, also figured largely in the social life of the young community.²⁷ M. G. Burlingame points out that: "The 'West Point tradition' which was evident in even the frontier forts assisted in providing social occasions which were considerably more elaborate than

²⁵Houston, History of Gallatin County, p. 44.

²⁶Bozeman Daily Chronicle, August 10, 1954.

²⁷Burlingame, Gallatin Century of Progress.

the size and location of the town merited."²⁸ Consequently, military detachments "were constantly in demand to aid in the developmental work of a community acquiring the accoutrements of civilization."²⁹ Some of the activities that the town and the soldiers participated in jointly included dances, plays, dinner parties and musical presentations. Sons of prominent eastern families often entered the military with aspirations of an invigorating frontier duty. Several of this type served at Fort Ellis. For example, Lieutenant Lovell H. Jerome, an uncle of the American journalist and novelist Winston Churchill, served at Fort Ellis in 1872.³⁰

Several distinguished persons visited Bozeman at an early date. In 1872 Lord William and Lady Mary Blackmore, an Englishwoman and intimate of Queen Victoria, visited Bozeman in the company of Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden, the nations first official geologist and head of the U. S. Geological Survey, on an expedition into Yellowstone Park.

²⁸Burlingame, "Beginnings in Bozeman," p. 4.

²⁹Burlingame, "The Influence of the Military," p. 143.

³⁰"Historical Map of Gallatin County," 1951, prepared by the Montana Institute of Arts, Bozeman Branch, History Group, Montana State University, Special Collections.

Lady Blackmore became ill and died in Bozeman on July 18, 1872. Lord Blackmore purchased five acres of land and presented it to the town for a cemetery. It is now part of the present Sunset Hills Cemetery and Lady Blackmore is buried there. Bozeman residents named Mount Blackmore, south of Bozeman, in honor of the English noblewoman.³¹ Another famous resident of the Bozeman cemetery is Henry T. Comstock, who discovered the famous Comstock Lode in Nevada. He committed suicide in Bozeman on September 28, 1870.³²

The fraternal instinct always thrived in pioneer communities. People were separated most of the time, and they sought out their neighbors every time they could. Several fraternal groups organized in Bozeman during the 1870's including the Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Good Templars' and several Masonic lodges.³³ In addition the usual ladies' church groups and men's forums existed.

³¹Fred F. Willson, "Bozeman" (paper presented at a meeting of the Q K Men's Club, Bozeman, Montana, October 15, 1940), p. 10, Montana State University, Special Collections.

³²Leeson, History of Montana, p. 622.

³³Houston, History of Gallatin County, p. 43; see also Leeson, History of Montana, p. 622.

Several other social groups organized during this same period. The Pioneer Society of Gallatin Valley appeared in 1872, and so did a young man's association, and the Gallatin County Bar Association.³⁴ In 1877, a Self-improvement Society appeared "for the purpose of training the moral and intellectual faculties of its members."³⁵

Because of bad crop conditions and the high prices they had to pay for finished products, local farmers met in 1873 to remedy their situation. Out of this meeting a Bozeman chapter of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry arose on December 22, 1873. The Bozeman chapter was the first Grange in Montana Territory.³⁶ This group did not do a great deal for local agriculture during its existence.

All forms of frontier social gatherings flourished in Bozeman, including dances, concerts, meetings, church sociables, suppers and fairs: they "were patronized by the entire community regardless of what, for it was enter-

³⁴Leeson, History of Montana, p. 630.

³⁵Ibid., p. 629.

³⁶M. L. Wilson, "Evolution of Montana Agriculture," pp. 10-11.

tainment."³⁷ An editorial in the 1873 Avant Courier gives a good description of how the community occupied its time.

Bozeman isn't likely to be dull this winter. The citizens are determined to enjoy the evenings. Besides the Masonic, Odd Fellows and Good Templar meetings, on Monday evenings we have the Amateur Concert - Tuesday evenings speaking at the Lyceum and prayer meetings on Thursday evenings. Then the regular services at the church on Sunday morning and evening. The attendance on all of these is full. Our people are fully alive to intellectual improvement, and perhaps there is no community in Montana where the same interest is manifest in such things. All this has a tendency to drive dull care away and carry us through till the flowers bloom again and active work begins for another season.³⁸

Actually, Bozeman was far from being a sleepy little community. On the contrary it seemed very much alive and active, both economically and socially.

³⁷Fred F. Willson, "Bozeman," p. 24.

³⁸Avant Courier, December 12, 1873.

IV

The period from 1867-1873 saw the erection of a strong economic foundation upon which the future of Bozeman would stand. The stuff from which this foundation took shape consisted of government monies for the supply of military posts and Indian reservations, agriculture, the fur trade, traffic through Bozeman to the newly created Yellowstone Park and, probably most important, the promise of a railroad. The citizens of Bozeman were fully aware of the potential of these various factors, and they exploited them to their best advantage.

The federal government chartered the Northern Pacific Railroad on July 1, 1864 and gave it a liberal land grant. The proposed route of the railroad ran east-west between Lake Superior and Puget Sound. Bozeman residents knew that the railroad would pass through Montana, and they hoped desperately that it would be built through Bozeman. An article in the 1869 Pick and Plow well expressed this hope. "The Northern Pacific Railroad must pass right through this valley --- that is, if the company adopts the route by which their land grant will prove most valuable

which it is reasonable to suppose they will."¹

M. L. Wilson points out that: "By 1870 the farmers and businessmen of the territory were conscious of their isolation from the world's markets and of the necessity for cheaper transportation which would give them an outlet for their agricultural surplus."² This attitude definitely applied to the residents of Bozeman and the surrounding area, who watched and waited with great anticipation when actual construction began on the railroad in 1870.

The establishment of Fort Ellis near Bozeman in 1867 to "guard the Yellowstone route" gave Bozeman residents hope in the early 1870's that "the railroad would be routed by Bozeman."³ Another incentive for the routing of the railroad through Bozeman appeared when Colonel James D. Chestnut discovered a large coal field in Rocky Canyon, just a few miles from the town, in 1867. This coal field produced high quality coal. Both the promise of the rail-

¹The Montana Pick and Plow (Bozeman), December 31, 1869.

²M. L. Wilson, "Evolution of Montana Agriculture," p. 10.

³Burlingame, "Beginnings in Bozeman," p. 8.

road and its close proximity to Bozeman and Fort Ellis assured its success.⁴ In addition to these factors, Mark Brown points out that: "The broad valley of the Yellowstone affords peculiar facilities for a railroad. . ."⁵ The Bozeman Pass, over which the railroad would later run, lay directly between the broad Yellowstone and Gallatin Valleys. Mother nature proved a valuable ally to the Bozeman area residents in this matter.

A good portion of the first issue of the Avant Courier on September 13, 1871, pondered the railroad and its rewards:

Bozeman is destined to be one of the leading cities of the Great New Northwest. Occupying a central point of the Northern Pacific Railroad its rapid and steady growth, and ultimate magnitude, may be judged by other Western railroad towns occupying less favorable locations There is something in a name. And we imagine the first question which everyone will ask after seeing the name we have selected will be, of what is the paper the 'avant courier'? Well, we answer the Railroad --- the great Northern Pacific.⁶

The following week the Courier further elaborated

⁴Rita McDonald and Merrill G. Burlingame, "Montana's First Commercial Coal Mine," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XXXVII (January, 1956), 24.

⁵Brown, Plainsman of the Yellowstone, p. 123.

⁶Avant Courier, September 13, 1871.

on the importance of the arrival of the railroad. "That the resources of our mineral and agricultural lands will to a great extent lie dormant until the great commercial lever, the railroad, comes to our relief we are convinced, and consequently anything looking to an early railroad connection is hailed by the people of Montana as a harbinger of the promised relief."⁷ Later in the same autumn, the Avant Courier pointed out that Bozeman merchants had decided in the previous two years "that it is more advantage to them to get their goods by way of the Railroad than by the river route."⁸

In 1872, Joseph Wright, publisher of the Avant Courier, sent a letter to Jay Cooke and Company, financiers of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Wright pointed out that the early completion of the Northern Pacific "is a matter of considerable importance to the people of this section of Montana."⁹ Jonathan T. Bruce, the editor of the Avant Courier, also wrote a letter to the Northern

⁷Ibid., September 20, 1871.

⁸Ibid., November 9, 1871.

⁹Letter, Joseph Wright to Jay Cooke and Co., November 7, 1872, Montana State University, Special Collections, Northern Pacific Railroad Correspondence 1872-1874.

Pacific Railroad, inquiring about its progress. Bruce's letterhead expressed the archetypal boosterism of small town newspapers. It referred to Bozeman as:

The metropolis of Eastern Montana located immediately on the line of the Northern Pacific R. R.; The Gate City of Montana and the outfitting point for the wonderful Yellowstone Country; surrounded by rich and almost unbounded agricultural and mineral resources its progress is rapid and will be permanent.¹⁰

Another important factor in the growth of the town was the establishment of the Crow Indian Reservation near Bozeman. The reservation offered lucrative contracts to local merchants and farmers. The federal government appointed Colonel Leander M. Black, a prosperous businessman who made most of his money as a government contractor, special agent to the Crow Indians and authorized him to build an agency. Black soon became one of Bozeman's leading citizens. During the fall of 1869, Black built Fort Parker, the agency's original name, at a cost of \$35,000.¹¹

Establishment of the Crow Reservation near Bozeman provided a considerable increase in trade for the young community. F. D. Pease became Crow Indian Agent in November

¹⁰Letter, Jonathan T. Bruce to Northern Pacific Railroad Company, November 8, 1872, Ibid.

¹¹Bozeman Daily Chronicle, August 10, 1954.

of 1870 and received permission to let a contract for the erection of twenty-five "doublehouses" for use by the Indians around the agency. C. W. Hoffman of Bozeman received the contract.¹² It seems reasonable to assume that the labor and material used for the project came from area suppliers. Consequently, construction of the reservation stimulated the local economy.

Because the Indians engaged in very little farming of their own, the supplying of foods and other goods to the Indians lined the pockets of Bozeman merchants. In the first years of the agency's existence, Colonel Black apparently became the prime contractor for goods and services on the reservation. Referring to Colonel Black's merchandising business, an 1871 article in the Avant Courier reported: "This year he is probably the largest shipper of merchandise in Montana."¹³ Numerous other mentions of Black's trade with the Crows appeared in various issues of the Courier throughout 1871 and 1872.¹⁴

Colonel Black had established his headquarters at

¹²Burlingame, The Montana Frontier, pp. 182-183.

¹³Avant Courier, September 27, 1871.

¹⁴Ibid., December 19, 1871; January 18, 1872; February 22, 1872; May 9, 1872.

Bozeman and within a few years he had expanded his contracting business to cover the whole of western Montana and adjacent territory. His bull trains were kept regularly running throughout the summer and fall carrying flour, sugar, coffee and other goods to the Indians and into his mammoth warehouse, built in 1870, at least two-thirds of the flour produced in Gallatin County found its way.¹⁵

Colonel Black later established trading posts in eastern Montana. In 1872 he sold his interest in the trading post at Crow Agency to C. W. Hoffman of Bozeman. These various interests, naturally, all enriched the local economy.

Several other Bozeman merchants also prospered in the trade with the Crows and other Indians. J. V. Bogert arrived in the Bozeman community during the early 1870's and opened a general merchandising firm. In 1873 he formed a partnership with Lester S. Willson and Charles Rich in the merchandising business. Speaking about this association, the Avant Courier said: "Mr. Bogert, the new partner in the firm, has been a resident of our city for the past year and a half, during which time he has been largely interested in Government contracts and has paid out about half a million dollars in cash to the citizens of Gallatin

¹⁵Bozeman Daily Chronicle, August 10, 1954.

valley for grain, wood, etc."¹⁶ Willson and Rich, Bogert's associates, also participated in the freighting of goods to Crow Agency.¹⁷ Before the advent of the railroad, the freighting business proved very lucrative in the Bozeman area. White Calfee, an early Bozeman freighter, received seventy-five cents per hundred pounds of flour delivered at Crow Agency.¹⁸

Nelson Story was another important local contractor during the 1870's. He became one of the largest suppliers of beef, bacon, and flour to Crow Agency during the 1870's. Oftentimes these contracts involved very large quantities. In 1873 he contracted to supply Crow Agency with 225,000 pounds of beef, to be delivered at thirteen cents per pound.¹⁹ Over a period of years these contracts provided substantial sums of money for the contractors and the area's overall economy. In addition, Story provided, on several

¹⁶Avant Courier, January 10, 1873.

¹⁷Fred Fielding Willson, "General Lester Sebastian Willson," Montana State University, Special Collections, Willson and Rich Papers.

¹⁸Mary Kirk, "Early Travels in Montana" (paper written for a class in Industrial History at Montana State University, 1906), appendix C, p. 2, Montana State University, Special Collections.

¹⁹Avant Courier, May 16, 1873.

occasions, the annuities received under treaty stipulation by the Crows annually. For the most part, Bozeman area residents produced the agricultural products supplied to the Indians. The Courier records the steady stream of these transactions throughout this entire early period.

In addition to the Crow Reservation, local contractors also supplied many of the other Indian reservations in the territory. W. W. Alderson, appointed U. S. Indian Agent at the Milk River Agency in 1873, mentions on several occasions in his diary that Bozeman contractors, including Nelson Story, Charles Rich and Lester Willson, were supplying the agency with meat and merchandise.²⁰

Nelson Story, as well as one Mr. Myers of Bozeman, also negotiated several contracts for flour, beef, and bacon for the Blackfeet Agency.

On at least one occasion in these early years a large band of Indians took it upon themselves to visit Bozeman and spend time trading with local merchants. In October, 1871, a band of 225 Nez Perce under Chief Looking Glass came to Bozeman to trade for flour, sugar, coffee, powder, bullets and guns. Some people objected, but others

²⁰Alderson, "Diary," pp. 123, 138.

pointed out that the town wanted the trade.²¹ This type of a visit probably occurred on several other occasions.

Most local residents very much understood the importance of the Indian trade. An incident that occurred in 1872 highlighted this. In 1872 a bill appeared in Congress to move the Crows to another reservation. This no doubt stemmed from the interests of some people in the land the Crows occupied. The editor of the Avant Courier stoutly opposed the Indian removal for these reasons:

Our people would be acting very unwisely in this effort to procure the removal of the agency from its present location, while affording, as it now does, a ready market for a great portion of the produce of the valley. Remove the Crows and other Indians from their present reservations and the necessity for a Government fort and military posts will no longer exist in our neighborhood, and they will doubtless, be removed to the vicinity of the new reservations and the people of the Gallatin valley will have the questionable satisfaction of realizing that they have built their neighbor's house at the expense of their own. . . . the people are acting against their own best interests in thus persistently agitating the removal question, both in the matter of protection and profit.²²

This agitation for removal did not persist, and the reservation remained in place. Doubtless the threat to the local economy, once realized, helped people regain their

²¹Bozeman Daily Chronicle, August 10, 1954.

²²Avant Courier, May 23, 1872.

senses. A concern over loss of government contracts won out over a few people with a hunger for land.

The quest for success and prosperity sometimes led a few to use tactics that were, if not openly illegal, at least questionable. As Mark Brown put it:

There is no more malodorous chapter in the history of the frontier than that of dealings involving supplies for Indian Agencies. Even honest men were harassed and subjected to libelous statements and in the end the Indian was the loser.²³

A local scandal involving alleged graft on the Crow Reservation arose during 1875-1876. The principals in this story were Dexter Clapp, the Indian Agent, Captain Ed Ball, local inspector of Indian supplies, and two prominent local contractors, Nelson Story and L. M. Black.

Allegations arose that Black and Story had engaged in various devious plots to cheat on the contracts for Crow Agency. The charges included allegations of double sacking flour, so that, after the outer sack was removed it could be counted more than once; the filling of pork and beef barrels with questionable pieces of meat, such as heads, shoulders, backbones, tails and trimmings; the payment for these products in excess of what the weight of

²³Brown, Plainsman of the Yellowstone, p. 436.

each barrel warranted, and in Story's case, charges of theft of agency cattle.²⁴ It is impossible now to determine the accuracy of the charges. A grand jury convened at the time in Virginia City failed to return any indictments. But Judge Blake, the presiding judge, "rebuked its members and insinuated that they had not done their duty."²⁵

Major James S. Brisbin, stationed at Fort Ellis, reviewed all the allegations in a long, seventy-six page letter to his superiors in 1878. Included with this report were several affidavits from local individuals with first hand knowledge, which sustained many of the charges. Major Brisbin seemed convinced that several wrong doings had occurred.²⁶

Another incident involving questionable practices in handling government contracts involved Nelson Story's

²⁴Ibid., pp. 436-439, see also The Madisonian (Virginia City), April 15, 1876 and April 22, 1876; The Bozeman Times, June 29, 1876, and August 3, 1876; and Avant Courier, July 28, 1876.

²⁵Brown, Plainsman of the Yellowstone, p. 438; The Madisonian, April 15, 1876, and April 22, 1876.

²⁶James S. Brisbin, "Brisbin's Report of Indian Frauds Made to General Sheridan," pp. 1-73, State Historical Library, Helena, Montana, Brisbin Papers.

sale of horses to the government. According to Malcolm Story, grandson of Nelson Story, after seeing fifty to one hundred head of horses which supposedly represented the general quality of Story's herd, army inspectors agreed to pay thirty-five dollars a head. But, they wanted to see "a little bigger sample." At this point Nelson Story told his foreman: "Run them around the hill again."²⁷ This meant that the inspectors were looking at the same bunch of horses twice. This type of practice seems to have been more commonplace than it should have been, in Bozeman and throughout the west.

A moral evaluation of these practices will be left to the reader. Historian Mark Brown concluded: "The truth was hard to come by for according to the run-of-the-mill morals of the times, it was not a sin to swindle or steal from either the Indians or the government."²⁸

When considering the importance of government monies to the local economy, one must also discuss the importance of Fort Ellis to the town of Bozeman. "The citizens from the first insisted upon a sovereign right to go

²⁷Malcolm Story, "Nelson Story Sr."

²⁸Brown, Plainsman of the Yellowstone, p. 439.

whither they will at any time, and grumbled if the protecting arm of the government was not around them at every moment."²⁹ A threat of Indian hostilities, either imagined or real, frequently prompted an outcry for protection. However, it often seemed to be caused more by "a desire for federal monies than by an actual fear of Indians." As the case of Bozeman demonstrated, the location of troops near the town provided local businessmen and farmers with "lucrative supply contracts."³⁰ The town's namesake, John Bozeman, had in fact died while on a trip to secure a government flour contract.

The establishment of Fort Ellis in the vicinity of Bozeman, in 1867, proved to be a big boon to the burgeoning young community. It served a double purpose, providing both a market for the agricultural products of the valley and protection for the local residents from hostile Indians. Lester S. Willson noted that: "Until Fort Ellis was established we never felt safe going beyond the creek [Bozeman Creek] unless we were fully armed."³¹

²⁹Burlingame, "Military in Montana," p. 147.

³⁰Thane, Montana Territory, p. 198.

³¹Burlingame, "Beginnings in Bozeman," p. 2, Bozeman Creek lay on the town's eastern edge.

During the period that Fort Ellis existed, a climate of interdependence between the town and the fort developed. The townspeople desired and needed the fort's protection and trade, and the soldiers depended upon the products of the town and its surrounding area to subsist. The situation was mutually advantageous.

Articles in the 1871 Avant Courier demonstrated this harmonious relationship. "Our streets have presented a lively appearance the past few days. The arrival of trains with goods and transit of those supplying the Fort with hay, grain, etc. keep the streets almost blockaded."³² A December issue of the Courier pointed out that through the supply of goods to Fort Ellis local ranchmen "expect to get money to pay their debts and make future purchases."³³

The items supplied by local residents consisted mostly of staples, including straw, hay, wood, flour, grain, beef, pork, potatoes and coal. Many local freighters also profited by carrying troops and military supplies to and from Fort Ellis. A partial list of local residents involved in the supply of Fort Ellis includes L. S. Willson,

³²Avant Courier, October 26, 1871.

³³Ibid., December 21, 1871.

E. A. Rouse, Hugh Kirkendall, P. W. McAdow, A. Lamme, J. S. Mendenhall, H. B. Calfee, White Calfee, B. F. Bisel, J. V. Bogert, Colonel James D. Chestnut, W. H. Tracy, Nelson Story, L. M. Black and the firm of Martin and Myers.

In addition to the supply and freighting contracts, area merchants also profited from expenditures of the Fort Ellis payroll. Because Bozeman was the largest population center near the fort, the troops almost invariably spent most of their payroll in the town. Local saloons, billiard halls, hotels and restaurants profited immensely by providing entertainment and various other services to the troops. The Avant Courier noted in 1872: "The soldiers of the command at Fort Ellis were paid off yesterday. Result: the blue jackets are numerous on the street, and scattering greenbacks profusely."³⁴ Fort Ellis also provided a good base of operations for the protection of Northern Pacific survey crews operating in the Yellowstone valley to the east of Bozeman throughout the 1870's. This in turn had a great deal to do with insuring the eventual arrival of the railroad in Bozeman.

Early Bozeman residents profited from the supply of

³⁴Ibid., June 13, 1872.

goods and services to other territorial military garrisons too. Fort Shaw and Camp Baker were also among the military posts with which local merchants, freighters and farmers transacted business. In the final analysis the supply of these military posts, especially Fort Ellis, "added greatly to the prosperity of all classes," in the area.³⁵ The economic prosperity that Fort Ellis provided the local economy continued until the post was abandoned in 1886.

As late as the 1860's and 1870's, a significant fur trade still thrived in territorial Montana. The small fur bearing animals residing in the forested mountains and valleys had been pretty well trapped out by this late date, but they still provided a few trappers with a livelihood. The largest portion of the fur trade during these decades centered in buffalo hides. In fact the exploitation of these plains animals during this period almost led to their complete demise by the late 1880's. During the 1860's Bozeman served as both the outfitting point and chief market for the furs obtained by trappers in the Yellowstone Valley.³⁶ By the early 1870's Bozeman had developed into

³⁵Leeson, History of Montana, p. 618.

³⁶Topping, Chronicles of the Yellowstone, p. 29.

"something of a fur center."³⁷

The man most responsible for the development of the fur trade in Bozeman was Walter Cooper, a man of many interests, including logging, gunsmithing and politics. He arrived in Bozeman in 1869 and "engaged extensively in the fur business in 1872, giving this branch of business such energy and attention that, as a result of his efforts, Bozeman in three years became second in importance in Montana as a shipping point for fur robes, furs and skins."³⁸

Cooper bought most of his furs from white traders and Indians and sold them to a firm in New York. The enterprising local businessman L. M. Black also engaged in the fur trade. Black's freight wagons carried supplies to Crow Agency and returned full of buffalo robes.³⁹ The Willson, Rich and Bogert Company of Bozeman sent a mule train loaded with 50,000 pounds of robes and furs to Corrine, Utah in 1873.⁴⁰

³⁷Dunbar, "Economic Development of the Gallatin Valley," p. 122.

³⁸Tom Stout, Montana: Its Story and Biography (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1921), Vol. II, p. 556.

³⁹Avant Courier, May 9, 1872.

⁴⁰Ibid., May 2, 1873.

In 1874 it was reported that \$40,000 had been paid out in Bozeman for furs the previous spring.⁴¹ During the spring of 1874 many Indians visited Bozeman and traded buffalo robes and furs for "heap greenbacks." Walter Cooper continued to dominate this trade.⁴² By 1875 the local fur trade had increased to a volume of \$60,000 in furs shipped out of Bozeman.⁴³ The fur trade in Bozeman during these early years contributed significantly to the growth of the local economy and hence the town.

During the period 1867-1873 one other flower in the economic bouquet of the early town blossomed. The exploration and development of Yellowstone Park, to the south of Bozeman, began during this period. In 1870 Lt. G. C. Doane of Fort Ellis led the army unit that escorted a group of prominent Montanans on an exploration of the Yellowstone headwaters region. As a result of this trip N. P. Langford pushed for and acquired the establishment of this region as a national park in 1872.⁴⁴ Bozeman quite naturally devel-

⁴¹Ibid., December 18, 1874.

⁴²Ibid., April 24, 1874.

⁴³Ibid., June 25, 1875.

⁴⁴Nathaniel Pitt Langford, The Discovery of Yellowstone Park (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972).

oped in a short time into the primary outfitting point for sightseers and hunting expeditions into Yellowstone Park because, as a Bozeman newsletter pointed out: "The nearest and most practicable route to the National Park is by way of Bozeman."⁴⁵ In combination with Fort Ellis, the town of Bozeman outfitted most of the official and unofficial visiting parties to the park for several years. Fort Ellis hosted and supplied several distinguished visitors to the park during the 1870's. Secretary of War William W. Belknap visited the area in 1875, and so did General William T. Sherman in 1877 and President Chester A. Arthur in 1883.

In 1874 L. M. Black, L. S. Willson and J. V. Bogert all of Bozeman, along with C. J. Lyster of Helena, secured a charter from the federal government for the incorporation of a National Park Wagon Road and Hotel Company.⁴⁶ This is a good example of local businessmen grasping at the opportunity to advance their financial position. They realized at this early date the tourist potential that Yellow-

⁴⁵"Bozeman News-Letter," March, 1883, Montana State University, Special Collections, Leggat Manuscripts Collection.

⁴⁶Avant Courier, May 29, 1874.

stone Park held for the community. Tourist dollars came to be appreciated at an early date in the town of Bozeman.

The seven year period from 1867-1873 was an important one for the town of Bozeman. During this period, an especially aggressive group of merchants built a strong economic foundation. The year 1873 brought some dark clouds, which for a short time hid the promise of this firm foundation from observers. But this setback, events soon proved, would be only temporary.

The year 1873 was very significant in the early history of Bozeman. Adversity clouded the economic horizon for a short while. But, the aggressive nature of the local community enabled it to weather the storm. Jay Cooke and Company, the financial representatives for the Northern Pacific Railroad "strained" their credit "to the breaking point" in order to "bolster the railroad."¹ This caused the failure of Cooke's banking house, which in turn contributed significantly to the onset of the Panic of 1873. Business and credit collapsed nationally and construction on the Northern Pacific Railroad halted in the middle of Dakota Territory.

Because local area residents had looked to the early arrival of the railroad with great anticipation, its halting at Bismarck seemed "a severe blow." The editor of the Avant Courier engaged in some optimistic editorializing in order to bolster the hopes of the local population; but, as Mark Brown points out, his writings "had the tone

¹Leroy R. Hafen, W. Eugene Hollon, and Carl Coke Rister, Western America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 407.

of the proverbial small boy whistling in the dark."²

Additionally, placer mining declined in the late 1860's, while quartz mining was slowly increasing. This type of mining required bigger outlays of money and equipment and fewer men to run it. Consequently many of the miners who remained in the territory took to farming in order to make a living. This led to an overproduction of farm products, beginning about 1869 and lasting through the 1870's.

It was evident to a large segment of the farm population that they had to find a cheap means of exporting these excess products. The ultimate answer of course was the early arrival of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Their hopes collapsed with the failure of Jay Cooke and Company and the ensuing Panic of 1873. This all prompted an outcry from the Grange of Montana that ". . . the territory must have a railroad at all costs. . . ." ³

Under these circumstances, in an effort to open a trade route between Bozeman and the railhead at Bismarck, Bozeman area residents organized themselves during 1873.

²Brown, Plainsman of the Yellowstone, p. 210.

³M. L. Wilson, "Evolution of Montana Agriculture," p. 11.

Fathered by the Panic of 1873 and mothered by aggressive Bozeman residents, an "expedition" began taking shape. Local residents had demonstrated a keen interest in the Yellowstone Valley for several years prior to 1874. This gateway to the east closed when the Bozeman Trail was abandoned in 1868. After 1870 the prospect of the railroad advancing through the valley gave Bozeman residents renewed hope. The failure of the railroad in 1873 temporarily dampened these hopes again.

While the railroad inched westward, the problem of clearing the Indians out of the Yellowstone Valley had not seemed a serious one, because the army seemed obligated to protect it. An 1872 editorial in the Avant Courier demonstrated the local attitude regarding the Indian problem. Commenting on a rumor that several Indian tribes were uniting on the plains to oppose the advance of the Northern Pacific Railroad, the paper said:

If we have to fight our way through the Indian country let the means be provided to make the conflict short and decisive and give the Indians a lesson that will teach them the futility of opposition to the progress of civilization, and effectually deter them from any future outbreaks. Mere defensive measures are insufficient as through their acquaintance with the topography of the country, the Indians would easily evade all the defensive posts that may be established; but means should be provided to

carry an aggressive, and, if necessary an exterminating war even into the heart of the Indian country, and we believe this is the only way, in the event of Indian trouble, that the road can be efficiently protected.⁴

By July of 1873, Bozeman began to feel the pinch of the national financial collapse. During that month the Yellowstone Wagon Road Company formed in Bozeman. The organizers intended to open a wagon road between Bozeman and the head of navigation on the Yellowstone River, then supposed to be the mouth of the Tongue River.⁵ This would have linked Bozeman with the railhead in Bismarck and hence the eastern United States. Local officers of the Company included George W. Fox, Nelson Story, H. N. Maguire, J. S. Mendenhall, Charles Rich, C. C. Clark, P. W. McAdow, Charles Hoffman, and D. A. McPherson.⁶

At about this same time, during August, 1873, another local expedition coalesced, to prospect for gold in the Yellowstone country. Frank Murray organized this expedition, its reported purpose being to head into the

⁴Avant Courier, June 6, 1872.

⁵James H. Bradley, "Bradley Manuscript: Yellowstone Expedition of 1874," Contributions To the Historical Society of Montana, VIII (Helena, 1917), pp. 106-107.

⁶Avant Courier, July 4, 1873.

Yellowstone Valley, "prospecting the country for gold, and viewing the situation of affairs in this promising section."⁷ The men involved in this expedition found great encouragement in the reports of J. L. Vernon, a former Bozeman school teacher, who claimed to have discovered gold in the Wolf Mountains. This report later proved false, and Vernon departed the expedition in fear of reprisals against him.

By January of 1874, preparations for both these efforts advanced at a rapid pace and late in January 1874, the two expeditions merged. The new organization would venture forth under the name of the Yellowstone Wagon Road and Prospecting Expedition.

The Avant Courier, commenting about the expedition, said that: "What is needed and demanded is a direct connection East and not West if we are to derive substantial advantages." Speaking about establishing a connection with the railroad, the paper characterized the expedition's organizers and contributors: "They see in it a measure calculated to afford relief from the present embarrassed condition of affairs and have an abiding faith in its advan-

⁷Ibid., August 1, 1873.

tages."⁸ This is an obvious reference to the hard times in Montana Territory caused by the Panic of 1873 and the failure of the railroad to advance any further.

The front door to Montana is on the East side and it must be opened and invitations extended to all to enter therein. . . . When emigration has a chance to come directly from the East it will pour in on us, thereby creating a demand and outlet for our products. . . . a little pioneer army, composed of our truest and honest men, fully equipped for self-defense and supplied with six months provisions and all kinds of mining and mechanic tools will move out of Bozeman and into the Yellowstone Valley determined to make a permanent stand where the head of navigation of that river is supposed to be. . . . And thus shall the Indian question be solved --- in the same way that it was solved in Kentucky, Michigan, Colorado, California and all the Western states --- by the brave enterprise of pioneers; and thus will be restored to Montana the prosperity of other days.⁹

The expedition spent January and a portion of February, 1874, in preparation. The horses, wagons, oxen, cattle and supplies were contributed almost totally by local merchants and other prominent men of the Bozeman area. This was in the truest sense a locally conceived and locally nurtured expedition, meant to advance the interests of the entire community.

⁸Ibid., January 16, 1874.

⁹Ibid.

By the middle of February, 1874, the expedition stood ready to depart. With ". . . 146 men, everyone having a saddle horse, the outfit included about 20 wagons with 50 teams and some cattle, 100 pack horses, one 12 pound howitzer and one 12 pound Napoleon." Benjamin Franklin Grounds was elected captain of the expedition, which included "ranchmen from Gallatin Valley, citizens of Bozeman, hunters and trappers from the Yellowstone, prospectors and miners from various parts of the territory."¹⁰ The Avant Courier reported that the expedition had 60,000 rounds of ammunition and the two artillery pieces.¹¹ This amounted to over 400 rounds of ammunition per man. Surely, this seems an excessive amount for an expedition whose only published objectives were to open a wagon road and do some prospecting.

One natural conclusion might be that this heavily armed expedition intended to do more than simply participate in mere defensive measures. The Avant Courier, for February 27, 1874, gives a clue to the intent of the expedition: "The men of that expedition are a host within

¹⁰Houston, History of Gallatin County, p. 15.

¹¹Avant Courier, February 20, 1874.

themselves and hostile Indians had better keep out of their road."¹² Bozemanites desperately wanted to open the Yellowstone Valley for railroad and river access to the "states," and they hoped to open the rumored gold fields. This meant simply that the Sioux must be removed.

L. S. Willson and J. V. Bogert expressed the concern of the local community for the safety of the expedition in separate letters to Territorial Governor B. F. Potts late in February 1874. Willson pointed out that: "Nearly all of the citizens of the Co. have an interest in this matter, and in some way have contributed towards it." He also voiced the fear that the expedition "will encounter the whole Sioux Nation."¹³ J. V. Bogert stated it even more bluntly when he said: "Believing that the Government favors the settlement of that lower country, and that that will do much to solve the Sioux problem, the committee believes that with your assistance Military aid can be obtained."¹⁴

¹²Ibid., February 27, 1874.

¹³Letter, Lester S. Willson to B. F. Potts, February 22, 1874, Montana State University, Special Collections, Northern Pacific Railroad Correspondence File.

¹⁴Letter, J. V. Bogert to B. F. Potts, February 21, 1874, Ibid.

In response to these requests, Governor Potts corresponded with General G. W. Cass, president of the Northern Pacific Railroad, in regard to the matter. He asked the General's assistance in securing military protection for the expedition and ended with a telling comment: "I think the success of the expedition will very materially aid your company in the future."¹⁵

Apparently from this request for military aid, officials in Washington D. C. then discovered the existence and intentions of the expedition. It seemed to cause considerable consternation on the part of several high civilian and military authorities. Columbus Delano, Secretary of Interior, wrote Governor Potts concerning the matter on March 13, 1874. Speaking about the recent departure of the expedition he said: "There is grave apprehension that the movement of such a formidable organization through the region of country more or less traversed by various bands of Indians will provoke collisions that may culminate in a general Indian War."¹⁶ In a letter to General G. W. Cass

¹⁵Letter, B. F. Potts to General G. W. Cass, February 24, 1874, Ibid.

¹⁶Letter, C. Delano to B. F. Potts, March 13, 1874, Montana State Historical Library, Manuscript Case, Yellowstone Expedition 1873-74 File Folder.

on March 23, 1874, Governor Potts, referring to the Yellowstone Wagon Road and Prospecting Expedition, reported that the Interior Department had ordered him to "stop its departure."¹⁷ The order came five weeks too late. The expedition was now already deep in Indian country.

The Avant Courier reported that General George Armstrong Custer was also voicing some objection to the expedition. He maintained that the expedition might "precipitate difficulties with the Indians." The paper answered, in a candid tone, that: "It is possible the boys may precipitate difficulties and possibly stir up a fight with the Indians."¹⁸

In defense of the expedition, the Avant Courier continued:

If the hardy pioneers of the West were compelled to supinely wait on military operations to make the way into rich mineral and agricultural regions yet unexplored, clear of hostile Indians they would remain in their wild uninhabited state until doomsday, and the hidden wealth yearly thrown into the channels of commerce would lie forever in its dormant state. We would rather see a little more military execution instead of all those proposed operations. Effective operations will be

¹⁷ Letter, B. F. Potts to General G. W. Cass, March 23, 1874, Northern Pacific Railroad Correspondence.

¹⁸ Avant Courier, March 27, 1874.

good medicine for the Indians; but an Indian war fought almost exclusively over the telegraph wires, and all the poms of military movements in the East, do not hurt the Indians nor benefit the pioneer struggling to make himself a home in the West.¹⁹

The expedition traversed the Yellowstone country from the middle of February until the middle of May, 1874. A newspaper correspondent accompanying the expedition wrote: "The report of the Indian outbreak at the Red Cloud Agency gives the boys renewed courage as it relieves us of the responsibility of causing an Indian war."²⁰ This seems to indicate that the members of the expedition did not flinch at the prospect of widespread Indian hostilities.

Headlines in the Avant Courier for May 1, 1874, indicate the extent of the expedition's encounters with the Indians: "One Month's Hard Fighting, One Hundred Indians Killed, One White Man Killed and Two Wounded, Four Pitched Battles and Continuous Skirmishing, The Boys Make a Gallant Fight Against Large Odds." While these accounts may be exaggerated, it is evident that the expedition had several serious encounters with the Indians. The writer of the above article concluded by saying: ". . . give us a

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid., February 27, 1874.

few more men as we have and we can clean out the whole Sioux nation."²¹

At the conclusion of the venture the expedition committee secretary, J. V. Bogert, wrote a letter to the committee chairman, John P. Bruce, which in fact was the final report of the expedition. One of the conclusions reached by Bogert in this letter, printed in the Avant Courier, is extremely illuminating.

. . . the Sioux, though formidable, can be subdued much more easily than has been supposed, and at one-tenth the legendary estimated cost; and that it needs but one or two careful systematic persistent campaigns to crowd them into submission. They hold, against settlement and development, a rich, beautiful and extensive region, and so holding it, interpose a bloody barrier between us and an outlet to the East, for want of which a Territory full of enterprising, ambitious, working men, suffers for a market and the means of emigration into and development of a country they have sacrificed so much to open.²²

In the same article Bogert estimated that the expedition "probably" killed sixty Indians and wounded another 100. Ten scalps were brought back.²³

A second expedition followed the first and resulted

²¹Ibid., May 1, 1874.

²²Ibid., May 22, 1874.

²³Ibid.

in the establishment of a blockhouse called Fort Pease at the mouth of the Big Horn River in 1875. The founders intended the fort to serve as a trading post and to establish a foothold in the Yellowstone Valley. The 1875 expedition was smaller and not as well organized as the 1874 expedition. Its primary significance lies in the fact that it simply further defied the Indians, who usually ranged along the Yellowstone Valley. The 1875 expedition had a secondary importance in as much as the men occupying Fort Pease were placed under siege by the Indians and were only saved when a relief column from Fort Ellis reached them in March, 1876.²⁴ This incident served further to involve the military in the developing struggle with the Indians over control of the Yellowstone. According to J. V. Bogert, valley citizens had tried for years to get the military to mount a campaign against the Sioux.²⁵

Several writers who have dealt with the events surrounding the advent of the Sioux Wars argue that one of the primary objectives of these expeditions was quite simply to incite the Indians in the Yellowstone Valley, which

²⁴Ibid., March 17, 1876.

²⁵The Bozeman Times, March 2, 1876.

in turn would force the military to take action. This would serve, in turn, to speed up the opening of the Yellowstone Valley, and the advance of the railroad. All of which would advance the economic interests of local businessmen, ranchers and farmers.²⁶

These arguments seem at least partially valid in light of the fact that the Indians were incited, and also that a general Indian war did follow in a very short time after the advance of the expeditions. It appears to this writer that most of the men involved with these ventures aimed primarily, not at inciting the Indians, but rather simply at the opening up of the Yellowstone Valley. It is evident, however, that many of them held and expressed a total disregard for any rights the Indians might have and were very unconcerned with the fact that they might have to drive them out in order to accomplish their mission. Some probably did want a war. The men involved were the representatives of economically motivated people living under distressed economic conditions.

We should recall that, at the same time these

²⁶Burlingame, "Military in Montana," p. 148; Leeson, History of Montana, p. 619; Topping, Chronicles of the Yellowstone, pp. 104-122; M. L. Wilson, "Evolution of Montana Agriculture," p. 11.

expeditions were pressing the Indians from the west, a similar push stemmed from the east, which effectively placed the Indians in a vice and left them little alternative but to fight. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 had guaranteed to the Sioux their hunting grounds in the Black Hills and the Powder River Country. But the discovery of gold in the Black Hills in the mid 1870's led to the "illegal encroachment of hundreds of prospectors."²⁷ Thus the Sioux were pressed on the east at the same time that the push originating from Bozeman harrassed them on the west. It seems that there was only one logical alternative for the Indians if they were to maintain their dignity and independence, and that was to fight. "If ever a people was goaded into war - not once but several times - it was the Sioux."²⁸

The chain of events led irresistibly towards collision and it culminated in the demise of General Custer's 7th Cavalry on the Little Big Horn in June, 1876. The ensuing subjugation of the Indians is a matter of record and need not be dealt with at great length in this paper.

²⁷Hafen, Hollon and Rister, Western America, pp. 362-363.

²⁸Ibid., p. 360.

However, mention should be made of the fact that several Bozeman men profited from the supply of the military expeditions directed against the Indians.

Speaking about Dr. Achilles Lamme, a prominent local merchant, the Avant Courier said shortly after the Custer battle: "Doctor Lamme we learn has become a good, loyal citizen and is in the employ of the Government having chartered his boat to Uncle Sam to transport supplies to the forces on the Yellowstone."²⁹ Talking about the establishment of two military posts on the Yellowstone, which resulted from the battle, the Avant Courier noted: "The people East and West, North and South, since the Custer massacre, are aroused and all unite now in the necessity for a thorough subjugation of the Indians, or extermination." Continuing, the writer said: "We feel very much encouraged by the direction affairs are taking, and believe we will all come out right and that a better day is dawning for Bozeman and Gallatin County and that good markets will spring up for all our products."³⁰

Later in the month of August, 1876, the Avant

²⁹Avant Courier, August 18, 1876.

³⁰Ibid., August 11, 1876.

Courier reported that the quartermaster at Fort Ellis was authorized to ask for bids on oats to supply the new post at the mouth of the Tongue River. The writer commented: "This is quite encouraging to our farmers."³¹ On August 25, 1876, W. H. Tracy, another prominent Bozeman businessman, had his mackinaw fleet loaded with produce and ready to depart down the Yellowstone, "destination, the front."³² On September 1, 1876, the paper again commented on the importance to the local economy of supplying the troops on the Yellowstone. The writer said, "This is a new outlet for our produce that promises remunerative prices."³³

In the spring of 1877, Dr. Lamme went East on a buying trip for his mercantile business. He stopped in St. Paul and felt out the military officials with regard to troop movements in the Yellowstone Valley for the coming winter. Dr. Lamme wrote J. S. Mendenhall, another Bozeman merchant, concerning these troop movements: "Tell John Guy he needn't be afraid but what he can sell everything he can raise down the Yellowstone as there will be about

³¹Ibid., August 18, 1876.

³²Ibid., August 25, 1876.

³³Ibid., September 1, 1876.

2,000 troops winter down there next winter and I hope he can make some money out of it."³⁴ L. S. Willson and Co. of Bozeman also profited by army contracts for supply and transport of goods and troops involved in the Indian campaign.³⁵ In addition, the local mills kept busy turning out flour for the army troops.³⁶

E. S. Topping noted that: "From the commencement of the Indian war the people of the Gallatin and upper Yellowstone Valleys have been bringing provisions down the river by boat and by wagon train, and all producers and carriers were making money."³⁷ He further pointed out that the start of the Sioux wars "revived" the local farming interests and that consequently, ". . . prosperity again came to the country."³⁸

The start of the Sioux wars did revive the local economy, and with the ending of the wars ". . . the finan-

³⁴Letter, A. Lamme to J. S. Mendenhall, March 20, 1877, Montana State University, Special Collections, J. S. Mendenhall Papers.

³⁵"General Lester S. Willson and the Willson Company," p. 12, Montana State University, Special Collections.

³⁶Avant Courier, October 20, 1876.

³⁷Topping, Chronicles of the Yellowstone, p. 200.

³⁸Ibid., p. 169.

cial horizon cleared."³⁹ Herein lies the significance of the expeditions that left Bozeman during 1874-1875. A Bozeman newsletter of 1883 observed: "Undoubtedly those daring volunteer enterprises of the Gallatin Valley settlers precipitated the war against Sitting Bull."⁴⁰ The truth of the matter falls a bit short of this statement. The fact is that the expeditions of 1874-1875 were only a part of the cause of the Sioux Wars, an important part, but only one cause in several.

The real significance of these expeditions is that they helped to force the resolution of the Indian question and in the process revived the local economy and assured its future. The opening up of the Yellowstone Valley expedited the advance of the Northern Pacific Railroad and laid the foundation for the rise of Bozeman as a thriving, prosperous community for many years to come.

³⁹Peter Koch, "Historical Sketch, Bozeman, Gallatin Valley and Bozeman Pass," Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, II (Helena, Montana: State Publishing Company, 1896), p. 138.

⁴⁰"Bozeman News-Letter."

CONCLUSIONS

With the great Indian wars of 1876-77 came the end of one era and beginning of another in the history of Bozeman. Once the eastern plains of Montana and the Yellowstone Valley were opened, the future advance of the railroad was a foregone conclusion. Local people seemed convinced that ". . . where buffalo and Indian trails cross a country, wagon roads and railroad are sure to follow them, when their time comes."¹ Bozeman, strategically located near Bozeman Pass, with fine agricultural surroundings, had geographic advantages which could not be ignored.

Following the Indian wars, Bozeman residents engaged in optimistic waiting. They based their optimism on the knowledge that with the eventual arrival of the railroad, a new period of economic prosperity would ensue. They waited simply for construction to begin on the railroad.

The removal of the hostile Indians from the Yellowstone Valley allowed construction on the railroad to start again and it arrived in Bozeman in March, 1883. This ended almost two decades of relative isolation. Speaking about

¹Koch, "Historical Sketch," p. 138.

the arrival of the railroad, Peter Koch said: "Not only was the gate wide open at last, it was completely torn away."² The arrival of the railroad ended forever the isolation of the town and joined the community to the national economic network. M. L. Wilson points out that the railroad wiped out forever "the painful solitary pathway of the pioneer."³

The decade of the 1880's would see Bozeman advance from the position of a small town to the status of an incorporated city. Reflecting on its early period as a small town, it is easy to see that it never was really a boom town. Its growth was slow and steady from the start. The town's early growth was based primarily on three factors. First, Bozeman occupied favorable geographic position in a large, fertile, and protected mountain valley. It enjoyed the advantage of being located near Bozeman Pass, a natural gate to the east. Secondly, early residents of the town were ambitious, aggressive and determined men. They combined the attributes of business acumen with a somewhat flexible conscience in financial matters. They

²Ibid.

³M. L. Wilson, "Evolution of Montana Agriculture,"
p. 13.

were quick to exploit every opportunity that arose, and where opportunity failed to arise naturally, they alertly made their own opportunities. Third, Bozeman enjoyed the influx of federal monies into the local economy from a very early date. The supply of Indian reservations and military garrisons provided local farmers and merchants with a permanent market for their products.

As should seem natural, both the founding and survival of a nineteenth century town in western America rested primarily on economic factors. Consequently, the men and women who founded and sustained the growth of early Bozeman thought and acted with constant attention to their economic situation. What was good for business and agriculture, they felt, was good for the community, whether this meant railroads, Indian removal, government contracts, or a military post.

All the above is not intended to cast shadows upon the character of the town's early businessmen. For as Daniel J. Boorstin points out, the man called a "booster" today was a "businessman" in nineteenth century America. Boorstin also points out that: "Rewards went to the organizer, the persuader, the discoverer of opportunities, the projector, the risk-taker, and the man able to attach him-

self quickly and profitably to some group until its promise was tested." Like Boorstin's businessman who was a resident of cities farther east and of an earlier day, Bozeman's early businessmen "thrived on growth and expansion."⁴

Finally, Bozeman did not typify the Montana frontier town. It was a commercial center preceding the arrival of the railroad. It was not a mining town, and only to a lesser degree did the early community depend on trade with the mining towns. The first two or three years saw local residents primarily concerned with providing for their own sustenance. Only after they had done that did they export crops and merchandise to other territorial communities.

Bozeman residents learned at an early stage the economic advantages that government contracts held out for a growing young community. The money made by Bozeman area men supplying the troops involved in the Gallatin Valley Indian War of 1867 whetted their appetite for more. The community soon became dependent on monies brought in through trade with Indian reservations and supply of the

⁴Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), p. 123.

troops at Fort Ellis and other posts.

After 1870, the arrival of the Northern Pacific Railroad became the primary concern of the community. To this end area residents devoted most of their efforts during the decade of the 1870's. The Indian Wars of the mid-1870's were a large financial boon to the local economy and with their end the arrival of the railroad and the future of the town seemed properly secured. Admitting that economic growth is only one cog in the wheel of survival of a young community, it does appear, in the final analysis, to be the most important. In Bozeman's history, the most significant "frontiersmen" were not fur trappers, prospectors, or cowboys. They were merchants.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

Burlingame, M. G. "Beginnings in Bozeman." A paper in possession of M. G. Burlingame, 1954, Bozeman, Montana.

_____. "Some Firsts in Bozeman." A paper in possession of M. G. Burlingame, n. d., Bozeman, Montana.

Flaherty, Marie. "A Short History of Bozeman." A paper in possession of M. G. Burlingame, n. d., Bozeman, Montana.

Jones, Jefferson. "The Murder of John Bozeman???" A paper presented at a meeting of the Q K Men's Club, Bozeman, Montana, December 13, 1955. Montana State University, Special Collections, Q K Club File.

Minutes of the East Gallatin Montana Claim Association, August 9, 1864 - February 11, 1865, Montana State University, Special Collections.

Thane, James L. Jr. "Montana Territory: The Formative Years, 1862-1870." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1972.

_____. "Thomas Francis Meagher: The Acting One." Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Montana, 1967.

Willson, Fred F. "Bozeman." A paper presented at a meeting of the Q K Men's Club, Bozeman, Montana, October 15, 1940. Montana State University, Special Collections, Q K Club File.

DOCUMENTS

U. S. Congress. House. Montana War Claims. House Report 82, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., May 24, 1872.

U. S. Congress. House. Montana Indian War Claims of 1867.
House Ex. Doc. 9, 43rd Cong., 2nd sess., December
9, 1874.

NEWSPAPERS

Avant Courier (Bozeman, Montana), 1871-1877.

Bozeman Daily Chronicle, 1954.

The Bozeman Times, 1874-1878.

The Madisonian (Virginia City), 1876.

The Montana Pick and Plow (Bozeman, Montana), 1869.

Montana Post (Virginia City), 1866-67.

PERIODICALS

Burlingame, Merrill G. "The Influence of the Military in
the Building of Montana." Pacific Northwest Quar-
terly, XXIX (April, 1938), 135-150.

_____. "John M. Bozeman, Montana Trailmaker." The
Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXVII (March,
1941), 541-568.

_____. and McDonald, Rita. "Montana's First Commer-
cial Coal Mine." Pacific Northwest Quarterly,
XXXVII (January, 1956), 23-28.

Dunbar, Robert G. "The Economic Development of the Galla-
tin Valley." Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XXXVII
(October, 1956), 117-123.

Johnson, Dorothy M. "The Patience of Frank Kirkaldie."
Montana the magazine of Western History, XXI (Jan-
uary, 1971), 12-27.

TAPES

Story, Malcolm. "Nelson Story Sr. and Family." An interview by Ken Swenson and Tony Dassinger, 1967. Montana State University, Special Collections, Tape File.

_____. "Bozeman's Early Businessmen." Prepared for MIA History Group, January 8, 1971. Montana State University, Special Collections, Tape File.

Story, T. B. "History of Nelson Story." Narrated by Ken Swenson and Tony Dassinger, 1967. Montana State University, Special Collections, Tape File.

MANUSCRIPTS

Alderson, Eddie C. Diary 1875-1879. Montana State University, Special Collections, Manuscript File.

Alderson, William W. Diary 1864-1879. Montana State University, Special Collections, Manuscript File.

"Bozeman News-Letter." March, 1883. Montana State University, Special Collections, Leggat Manuscript Collection.

Kirk, Mary. "Early Travels in Montana." A paper written for Miss Helen Brewer's class in Industrial History at Montana State College, 1906. Montana State University, Special Collections, Manuscript File.

Montana Institute of the Arts, Bozeman Branch, History Group. "Historical Map of Gallatin County." 1951, Montana State University, Special Collections, Manuscript File.

Montana State Historical Library, Archives, James S. Brisbin Papers.

Montana State Historical Library, Manuscript Case, Yellowstone Expedition 1873-74 File Folder.

- Montana State University, Special Collections, Franklin Luther Kirkaldie Papers.
- Montana State University, Special Collections, John S. Mendenhall Papers.
- Montana State University, Special Collections, Northern Pacific Railroad Correspondence 1872-1874.
- Montana State University, Special Collections, Willson and Rich Papers.
- Willson, M. L. "The Evolution of Montana Agriculture in its Early Period." Manuscript contained in Montana State University, Archives, Agricultural Economics I Collection, Montana History Folder. Also published as an article in Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, IX, Part III (1917-1918), 429-440.

BOOKS

- Athearn, Robert G. Thomas Francis Meagher: An Irish Revolutionary in America. Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1949.
- Bradley, James H. "Yellowstone Expedition of 1874." Contributions To The Historical Society of Montana. Vol. VIII, Helena, 1917.
- Brown, Mark H. The Plainsman of the Yellowstone. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1961.
- Burlingame, Merrill G. Gallatin Century of Progress. Bozeman, Montana: Artcraft Printers, 1964.
- _____. The Montana Frontier. Helena, Montana: State Publishing Company, 1942.
- _____. and Toole, K. Ross. A History of Montana. Vol. I. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1957.

- Cheney, Roberta Carkeek. Names on The Face of Montana. Missoula, Montana: Printers Department, University of Montana, 1971.
- Ellsworth, W. E. A History of the Gallatin Valley and the City of Bozeman. Bozeman, Montana: Avant Courier Publishing Co., 1898.
- Hamilton, James McClellan. From Wilderness to Statehood: A History of Montana. Edited by M. G. Burlingame, Portland, Oregon: Binsfords and Mort, Publishers, 1957.
- Hebard, Grace Raymond and Brininstool, E. A. The Bozeman Trail. Vol. I. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1922.
- Houston, E. Lina. Early History of Gallatin County. Bozeman, Montana: Bozeman Chronicle Print, 1933.
- Johnson, Dorthy M. The Bloody Bozeman. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971.
- Koch, Peter. "Historical Sketch, Bozeman, Gallatin Valley and Bozeman Pass." Contributions To The Historical Society of Montana. Vol. II. Helena, Montana: State Publishing Company, 1896.
- Langford, N. P. The Discovery of Yellowstone Park. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972.
- Leeson, M. A. History of Montana 1739-1885. Chicago: Warner, Beers & Company, 1885.
- McClure, A. K. Three Thousand Miles Through the Rocky Mountains. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1869.
- Niebel, Esther C. Century of Service. Bozeman, Montana: Artcraft Printers, 1966.
- Olson, James C. Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965.

- Progressive Men of The State of Montana. Chicago: A. W. Bowen & Co., n. d.
- Sharp, Paul F. Whoop-Up Country. Helena, Montana: Historical Society of Montana, 1960.
- Toole, K. Ross. Montana: An Uncommon Land. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959.
- Topping, E. S. The Chronicles of the Yellowstone. St. Paul: Pioneer Press Company, 1888.
- Stout, Tom. Montana: Its Story and Biography. Vol. II. Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1921.
- Waldron, Ellis L. Montana Politics Since 1864: An Atlas of Elections, Compiled with Maps. Missoula, Montana: Montana State University Press, 1958.
- Word, Samuel. "Diary of Colonel Samuel Word." Contributions To The Historical Society of Montana. Vol. VIII. Helena, 1917.

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
N378.P983. RL

The evolution of a frontier town :



3 1762 00160824 7