“Christmas... a time when all earth is in harmony... and all creation is one.”
May the peace and joy of the season 
be yours throughout the New Year.

John and Darlene

Owen - the less-in-the-glass bar sign in Chinook was acquired by 
several local businessmen - some my classmates - who are raising 
money to restore it. Where it goes when they do is a problem for 
another day. I bought $30 in raffle tickets to support the cause!
ST. BONAVENTURE INDIAN MISSION AND SCHOOL
serves the people of the Eastern Navajo Reservation.
We provide education programs for over 300 Navajo boys
and girls, buses and vans to bring the children to school
from the high desert and remote mesas without roads,
and an outreach program which delivers water, meals,
clothing and bedding to those who need them.
The sender of this card supports the work of

ST. BONAVENTURE INDIAN MISSION & SCHOOL
P.O. Box 610, Thoreau, New Mexico 87323
The Elk Bar in Chinook, Montana, sometimes referred to locally as "The Lass with Her A--- in the Glass".
Mr. Iwan Doig  
17021 10th Ave. N.W.  
Seattle, Wa., 98177  

Dear Mr. Doig;

"You Can't Not Go Home Again" .........what a breath of fresh Montana air this article brought to this ex-Montanan! I do thank you for your courtesy in taking time from your busy schedule to prepare and mail that article. Permit me to impose again on your time with a few remarks to accompany the enclosed pictures.

After a 4 year stint with the U. S. Navy in World War II, I rejoined my former company and went to Montana to open a new department store in Great Falls. A few years later I transferred to Billings where I spent the next 13 years. At that time I became well acquainted with several members of the Crow tribe, especially the "River Crows": Edward P. (Posey) Whiteman was able to work his way into the chairmanship of the tribe with the help of a Billings attorney, and successfully staved off the efforts of the Mountain Crow to replace him for several years. Posey's wife was one of 12 children of George and Sarah (DeCrane) Goes Ahead. In the hunting picture, this deer was processed into pemmican by the wife of Bill Russell, Josephine Pease PlainFeather Old Coyote Russell, who furnished us the best Spanish rice dish I've ever eaten (made with venison).

Later, I moved to Great Falls again to take over the management of a sign company that specialized in on-premise business signs. Looking through Duncan Kelso's book "Inside This House of Sky" today at our library, I couldn't help but notice the sign on that Dupuyer bar as it related to the work I did in my travels for several years on the HLine. Sometimes I think I have a weird sense of humor in looking for the odd, strange and curious in signage which, after all, is visual communication. I thought you might enjoy these few Montana bits of whimsical advertising. You see, after 1946 because of the pent-up demand for signs for the many new businesses opening up, many designs were simply doodles on a napkin in the bar. However, that Elk Bar sign in Chinook is still operating after more than 35 years and it has taken on the status of a city "treasure". This, I am sure, took more than just a little amount of design work.

Thank you for letting me furnish you a few "shots" of negatives I found while rummaging through my files last week, much to my own enjoyment.

Sincerely,

Herb Griffin
Dear Herb—

This has to be just a quick thanks, but a fervent one.

By nifty coincidence, I’m about to head off to Shelby, Maine and Chincoteague stuff for my next novel, and so the Elk Bar sign is a reminder for me. I’ll check to see if it’s still there. Whether or not, that class may find her way into something I write, surely.

W. L. Jones, Jr.

in great appreciation,

Dear Mr. Bore, &<br>

Juanita's family may.

With another. This is a big thanks for your company and good wish of ＄100,000 to your name.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.

A. E. C.
from Pat Brick, Mont Hi's Soc, 17 June '82

Sheep & cattle - photo
1910

- 3
drift - name replaced
- 2-story - res'd office on 2d floor
- recessed front door
- hi ceiling
- corner banks on opposite corners
- creamery on back st
- county kitchen
- need - well - name: ranchers mov'g to town
- smaller trees
- lawns: white picket fences
- wrought iron gates
- county seats
- brick hotel OK
- glass plate windows in n/paper
- drugstore - art deco, marble w/ tops
- WPA - cement sidewalks; b'hoods built
- cafes: neon arc / for signs
- banner pole - mounted a: wall
- jewelry store w/ modern sign: black glass, gleam on black
- stationery store glass in sidewalks (over tunnels)
- tailor shop
- city directories
- John Algernon - p a lot (lots) paper
- school - 2 blocks away from chin
- no net pattern to pub parks
- big brick or stone church
- wide st's
- deer from main st; farmhouses & gardens outside
- steel were trails
- craftsman-style homes (bungalows); other dormers, porches
- Compad: + reptile
- ice creamery
In 1865, the entire Montana Territory had only 1,796 sheep and 1,896 cattle.\(^\text{18}\) By the 1870's, these totals were dwarfed by the number of sheep and cattle in single counties (Table 1). Livestock

**TABLE 1**

*CATTLE AND SHEEP PER COUNTY, 1873 AND 1879*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Cattle 1873</th>
<th>Cattle 1879</th>
<th>Sheep 1873</th>
<th>Sheep 1879</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beaverhead</td>
<td>7,858</td>
<td>26,915</td>
<td>6,262</td>
<td>8,606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choteau</td>
<td>3,721</td>
<td>35,204</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>14,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custer</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deer Lodge</td>
<td>17,167</td>
<td>28,129</td>
<td>4,14</td>
<td>31,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallatin</td>
<td>11,830</td>
<td>35,029</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>9,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>11,284</td>
<td>19,577</td>
<td>2,450</td>
<td>14,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis and Clark</td>
<td>9,591</td>
<td>30,212</td>
<td>917</td>
<td>18,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>11,288</td>
<td>34,178</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meagher</td>
<td>8,570</td>
<td>38,734</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>59,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missoula</td>
<td>5,335</td>
<td>15,210</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>2,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>86,944</strong></td>
<td><strong>263,788</strong></td>
<td><strong>10,597</strong></td>
<td><strong>168,891</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{a}\text{Refer to Figure 6 for county locations.}\)


became so numerous and land so valuable for agriculture, that livestock ranching spread east of the mountains. By the early 1870's, large numbers of cattle and sheep grazed the Judith Basin and adjacent areas. The livestock industry continued to push eastward as

from areas to the south, especially Texas (Fig. 25).

Both the number of cattle in the territory and the percentage on the plains increased during the early eighties. In 1882, approximately 50 per cent of the territory's 287,200 cattle and 52 per cent of the 362,700 sheep were on the plains.\(^{21}\) Within three years, approximately 70 per cent of the 613,000 cattle and 68 per cent of the 793,600 sheep were in the plains area counties.\(^{22}\)

As cattlemen, and later, shepherders, moved onto the plains, the center of the livestock industry was pushed eastward. Meagher County was the center of both the cattle and sheep industry in 1882.\(^{23}\) By 1885, Custer County was the center of the cattle industry; the sheep industry remained centered in Meagher County.\(^{24}\) The eastward shift of cattle was reflected in Dawson County where the number of cattle increased from 341 in 1882 to 71,929 in 1885.\(^{25}\)

Cattle raising on the plains became big business and was soon dominated by wealthy individuals and stock companies. An 1885 issue of the Great Falls Tribune warned the remaining small operators:

\(^{21}\)Woolman, Annual Report, 1882, pp. 5-6. (The plains area then included Chouteau, Custer, Dawson, and Meagher Counties.)

\(^{22}\)J. P. Woolman, Annual Report of the Auditor and Treasurer of the Territory of Montana, 1885 (Helena: Fisk Brothers, 1886), p. 6. (The plains area then included Chouteau, Custer, Dawson, Meagher, and Yellowstone Counties.)

\(^{23}\)The county then had 70,371 cattle and 1,48,549 sheep.

\(^{24}\)In 1885 Custer County had 176,000 cattle and Meagher County, 331,000 sheep.

The small owner has no business on the cattle ranges of Montana today. But a man with sufficient capital to cope with the cattle lords can invest his money to no better advantage than in Montana range cattle.26

Potential profits reported in books, such as James Brisbin's The Beef Bonanza and Baron Walter von Richthofen's Cattle Raising on the Plains of North America, attracted outside capital. Capitalists were anxious to buy into a business in which an initial investment of $20 per head of livestock resulted in an average profit of $39.27

The speculative boom in the range cattle industry continued until the "Hard Winter" of 1886-87. During that winter,

There was a heavy snow in November, then a thaw in mid-December, followed by several months of uniformly low temperature and bitter winds. The thaw produced a nearly impenetrable ice sheet which was covered by more snow.28

The severe weather caused immense losses in the number of range cattle. Mortality may have averaged 85 per cent in some areas.29

With the great cattle losses came the closing of the open range. A new permanence displaced the traditional mobility of the range livestock industry. Smaller herds, barbed wire, and greater dependence on winter feed characterized the more carefully managed industry. The number of cattle increased steadily under the new system.

26Great Falls Tribune, June 11, 1885, p. 2.


28Toole, Uncommon Land, p. 145.

29Zellick, "Fergus County," ch. 3, p. 16.
With the relative decline in the importance of cattle, came an increase in the importance of sheep. Sheep had fared better than cattle during the winter of 1886-87. Their numbers increased from 798,000 in 1885 to 1.1 million in 1888. They continued to flourish during the 1890's and numbered 6.1 million by 1900.

The Patterns, 1880 to 1900

Post Offices and Towns, 1880 to 1890

Figure 26 suggests major new habitation in central, south-eastern, and extreme eastern Montana. The rapid influx of population into these areas was linked with the spread of the cattle and sheep industries. Eastward migration of livestock in the central part of the territory moved cattle as far east as the Musselshell River. Rail service in the east along the Yellowstone River and anticipated service along the Missouri and Milk Rivers stimulated the stock industry in those areas.

The three aforementioned areas link to delimit an arcuate front or frontier zone in the eastern half of the territory. Concave to the north, the zone parallels the Yellowstone River from the eastern Montana border, continues southwest to the confluence of the Bighorn River, and arcs to the northwest along the eastern front of the Big Snowy Mountains and through the junction of the Marias and Missouri.


early twentieth century; additions in central, south-central, and extreme eastern Montana were most significant.

Agricultural Development on the Plains

As early as the 1880's, plains area livestock ranchers realized they would eventually have to yield their land to the farmer. In an 1880 address to the Montana Stockgrowers, one cattleman stated, "When homesteaders or preemption settler takes up our occupied lands we will willingly seek new fields for pasture or give up our occupation."9

Fertile river valleys were the first to pass to the new agrarian land owners. Opening of former Indian lands to white settlement, such as the Milk River Valley in 1888, helped attract the first farmers—those using irrigation. Widespread agricultural occupation of these lands did not, however, begin until the turn of the century. In 1900 the G. N. began an advertising campaign extolling the potential of irrigation in northern Montana.10 Legislation such as the Carey Act of 1894, designed to inaugurate irrigation on unappropriated government land, the Federal Reclamation Act of 1902, and the passage of state laws permitting formation of irrigation districts, accelerated the rise of irrigated farming. The Carey Act's Valier, Billings, Big Timber, Teton, Flatwillow, and Little Missouri Projects totaled 172,000 irrigated acres.11 The Federal Reclamation Act's Milk River

---

9Rocky Mountain Husbandman, March 11, 1880, p. 2.


11Montana, Department of Agriculture and Publicity, Resources (1920), p. 58.
Yellowstone, Huntley, and Sun River Projects covered 458,000 acres.\footnote{Ibid., p. 56.}

While irrigated farming experienced a boom in the valley areas, a new "Dry Land Farming" or "Scientific Agriculture" appeared on the less desirable benchlands. Professor Hardy W. Campbell was instrumental in the initiation and propagation of the new farming technique. Deep plowing, sub-surface soil packing, seeding alternate years, and other moisture conserving techniques were basic to the method. Professor Widtsoe's book, \textit{Dry Farming}, bulletins by the State Agricultural Experiment Station, lectures and writings of Professor Thomas Shaw, and coverage of the dry farming technique in national magazines helped increase its exposure and implementation.

Dry land farming seemed the key that would unlock the agricultural potential of Long's "Great American Desert." Railroads, eager to develop the plains portion of the state, employed Professor Shaw, established a series of agricultural experiment stations, and initiated a calculated propaganda campaign that reached as far as Europe. In 1907, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad attempted to attract settlers to the Judith Basin, and became the first of the major dry land promoters. Other railroads joined in the promotion and sent special "wishing trains" exhibiting agricultural products of eastern Montana to the Midwest and Europe in an attempt to lure settlers to Montana.

Railroads were not alone in the attempt to attract settlers. Chambers of commerce, banking associations, farm implement dealers,
townsite promoters, land locators, and even the state joined the campaign. The state appropriated $50,000 to advertise its agricultural products at the 1915 San Francisco Panama-Pacific Exposition and was rewarded with numerous prizes.\textsuperscript{13} One newspaper boasted that "Gradually people are beginning to understand that Montana is an agricultural state."\textsuperscript{14}

The bid for settlers was extremely successful. Montana's eastern plains, traditionally an obstacle and only recently proven fit for livestock, became the destination of tens of thousands of new dry land farmers (Fig. 37). Table 4 shows the number of homestead entries and corresponding acreage filed on in Montana between 1900 and 1919.

The influx of settlers was accelerated by several factors. The Enlarged Homestead Act allowed 320 acres per homestead.\textsuperscript{15} Weather was also favorable between 1900 and 1915. These years were exceptionally wet and wheat production averaged approximately 24 bushels per acre and oats about 40 bushels per acre (Table 5). The steel plow, reaper, harrow, and other necessary tools were on the market.\textsuperscript{16} A good demand for grains and adequate rail access were also factors (Fig. 38).

The dry land boom continued until 1915 when wheat production averaged 26.5 bushels per acre and oats, 52.0 bushels per acre. The

\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Helena Independent}, July 11, 1915, page unknown.

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Ibid}.

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Enlarged Homestead Act, Statutes at Large}, XXXV, Sec. 1, 639 (1909).

### TABLE 4

**MONTANA HOMESTEAD ENTRIES, 1900 TO 1919**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>126,141</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,822</td>
<td>277,716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1,211</td>
<td>162,119</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2,729</td>
<td>427,982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>1,009</td>
<td>140,590</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>3,307</td>
<td>504,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>1,097</td>
<td>157,061</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>7,258</td>
<td>1,327,911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>974</td>
<td>141,979</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>11,898</td>
<td>2,523,964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1,366</td>
<td>199,426</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>10,644</td>
<td>2,198,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1,333</td>
<td>191,941</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>11,014</td>
<td>2,308,311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1,629</td>
<td>238,459</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>14,981</td>
<td>3,300,706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1,456</td>
<td>218,217</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>11,178</td>
<td>3,191,706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1,610</td>
<td>243,388</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>8,840</td>
<td>2,005,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>99,261</strong></td>
<td><strong>19,785,378</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### TABLE 5

**MONTANA WHEAT AND OATS STATISTICS, 1900 TO 1919**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat Acres</th>
<th>Wheat Bushels</th>
<th>Wheat Bu./acre</th>
<th>Oats Acres</th>
<th>Oats Bushels</th>
<th>Oats Bu./acre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>72,555</td>
<td>1,929,963</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>65,865</td>
<td>2,568,735</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>119,169</td>
<td>2,843,326</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>178,911</td>
<td>7,389,024</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,880,000</td>
<td>10,560,000</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>350,000</td>
<td>13,000,000</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>870,000</td>
<td>20,673,000</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>21,750,000</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1,590,000</td>
<td>12,180,000</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>600,000</td>
<td>31,200,000</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>2,221,000</td>
<td>10,729,000</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>612,000</td>
<td>6,120,000</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

next year drought struck and lasted for several years. By 1919, most weather stations reported record low amounts of precipitation. Wheat yields fell to 4.8 bushels per acre and total production was only one-fourth that of 1915, even though there were some 630,000 more acres under production.

Due to settlement inertia and increased market demand generated by World War I, settlers continued to arrive despite the great possibility of their failure. Low yields, however, soon forced out even the most persistent. Many went bankrupt, retreating to the plains towns. As many as 60,000 may have left the state.17

For those familiar with the ways of the plains, it was expected that drought would follow a wet period. The new settlers had made the mistake of equating weather with climate. The dry land farmers may not only have been deceived by the weather for as Webb stated, "Dry farming, like many other phases of development in the West, has suffered from the over emphasis and misrepresentation of land boomers and speculators"18 (Fig. 39).

The Patterns, 1900 to 1920

Post Offices and Towns, 1900 to 1910

Postal additions between 1900 and 1910 were most numerous in two general areas: the extreme eastern portion of the state and a hundred mile wide northwest-southeast trending zone just east of the


TABLE 6

ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE HAMLETS OF BAINVILLE AND AUGUSTA, 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Establishment type</th>
<th>Bainville</th>
<th>Augusta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Store</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meats</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saloon</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumber</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grain Elevator</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


and Virginia City declined to Village status. Mining Villages and Hamlets such as Hecla, Rimini, Elkhorn, and Castle fell below the necessary 100 population and were not mapped.

Towns, 1920

The last major influx of settlers occurred between 1910 and 1920. Montana's population grew from 766,053 to 548,389 during that decade. During the next fifty years, the state population increased by less than 150,000 according to the 1970 census.

The larger population of 1920 resulted in statewide growth of previously existing towns. More important, however, was infilling
between existing centers. Much of this infilling occurred along rail
lines in the plains (Fig. 44).

The trickle of arriving dry land farmers prior to 1910 became
a flood during the next ten years. Many of those who arrived after
1910 settled in the state's central and northern plains areas. In
just ten years, the swift growth brought twenty-two new centers along
a 400 mile section of G. N. track in the northern plains between Cut
Bank and Bainville. Similar additions appeared along other sections
of track.

The new agricultural occupation on the plains was reflected
in an increase in the number of grain elevators in the state and a
more than proportional increase on the plains. In 1910, 52 per cent
of the state's 66 grain elevators were in plains or plains dominated
counties; by 1920, these figures had risen to 85 per cent of 539.25
A possible link between grain elevators and town growth is suggested
by development of the northern plains towns of Scobey and Wolf Point.
In 1912, Scobey had a population of 25; Wolf Point claimed 60 inhabi-
tants and neither had a grain elevator.26 Eight years later Scobey
had 1,170 residents and 4 grain elevators; Wolf Point's population
was 2,098 and grain elevators totaled 5.27

25Montana, Department of Agriculture and Publicity, Resources

26R. L. Polk and Company, Minnesota, North and South Dakota
and Montana Gazetteer and Business Directory, Vol. XVIII (St. Paul:

27R. L. Polk and Company, Montana State Gazetteer and Business
and 371.
The continued regimentation of eastern towns, "lined up densely like pearls on a string," clearly illustrated Kraenzel's "sutland" and "yonland" plains settlements. The sutland is the area of most dense settlement, generally string-like and located along major transportation routes. Larger towns are found within these sinuous bands. The yonland is the area between the linear sutlands. There, transportation is generally poorer and only small centers exist. In the east, proximity of major settlement and rail lines, and the existence of only small scattered towns between rail lines is obvious. Here, the densely settled sutland and its rail service encircle the thinly settled Isolated Eastern Interior, or yonland.

Western development was not as spectacular as that in the east. The Butte-Anaconda cluster still dominated. Butte reached its maximum census population with 41,611, a mere 2,000 increase over the 1910 population. Anaconda's growth also slowed, adding only about 1,000 inhabitants. Great Falls, hub for a radiating web of rail lines, almost doubled its population to more than 24,000.

The linear arrangement of centers is not as obvious in the west. There, rugged topography limited such development. The most pronounced lineation appeared along the Flathead and Bitterroot railroad branch lines which extended north and south, respectively, from Missoula.

The Hierarchy, 1920

Between 1910 and 1920, the number of Hamlets almost doubled

---

28 Christaller, Central Places, p. 58 and Kraenzel, Transition, pp. 194-211.
from 73 to 136; Villages increased from 56 to 91, Towns from 16 to 26, and Cities decreased from 7 to 6 (Fig. 45).

The increase in Hamlets and Villages was most obvious in the fertile northern piedmont and northeast portions of the state. As during the previous decade, the areas of chernozem and chestnut soil attracted and held the greatest agricultural populations.

Small local trade centers were still necessary in 1920. In that year, only 36 per cent of Montana's farms had automobiles.\textsuperscript{29} The percentage among new dry land farmers was probably even less. With trucks on only 2 per cent of the state's farms, the horse and wagon remained the primary means of transporting grain to the railroads.\textsuperscript{30} This limiting factor also made proximity to a town elevator an economic necessity.

Complementary regions for these small railroad towns suggest an elliptical form. Close spacing of these towns, particularly in the northern piedmont, limited railroad "frontage." This long-lot-type arrangement was the most efficient for funneling locally produced, transport sensitive grain to shipping points.

The number of higher order centers on the plains also increased. Chinook, Malta, Sidney, Harlowtown, and Choteau all changed to Town status. The Towns of Scoobey, Wolf Point, and Hardin appeared for the first time and Lewistown became the plains' second City.

Without exception, plains Towns and Cities were located on

\textsuperscript{29}U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, \textit{Agriculture, Fourteenth Census}, p. 50.

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid.
rail lines and within the settlement. Consistent with Kraenzel's theory, these centers had all the facilities associated with large towns. In the plains region, concentration of business and industrial establishments and educational, governmental, and social functions were located in these larger centers.

Development in western Montana was not as swift and spectacular as that in the east. Rather, it was more of an adjustment which brought both declines and rises in the hierarchical level of centers.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

I desire no future that will break the ties of the past.

--George Eliot

Montana's town pattern resulted from unique and/or constantly changing relationships between spatial forces generated by such diverse factors as topography, perception and location of resources, technology, transportation, Indians, corporate activity, state and national governmental policy, national mood and events, weather, and inertia of settlement. Although all were important, transportation (railroads) had the most direct and positive influence on the pattern in the east. Topography, particularly major valleys and rivers, exerted the greatest force in the west.

An Historic Core of settlement formed in southwestern Montana by 1870 (Fig. 46). Centrifugal forces from this Core brought an outward expansion of settlement. The diffusion of towns followed in the wake of the advancing frontier. As the frontier moved east, these centrifugal forces became centripetal about an isolated Eastern Interior. The high gradient of the isochrons around this region attests to the retardation of the frontier advance. In 1900, this region was void of major settlement; twenty years later, it still lacked large centers.

Exploitation of the land was the central theme in the development of the pattern of towns. Development was focal, linked to inter-
Fig. 46—Map of settlement expansion.
action and transportation within and between towns and hinterlands.

The distribution of centers at any time represented the most efficient arrangement for extracting wealth with the technology available.

Towns were then, and still are, unique vehicles to achieve this end. Towns disappear if they are unable to produce profits.

The study indicates that further research is needed; the following points should be considered:

1) A study that covers 117,000 square miles over a period of sixty years must omit and generalize.\(^1\) More intensive studies, involving shorter time spans are needed. Geographic-historic studies of the town pattern in smaller regions, such as the Bitterroot, Gallatin, and Upper Yellowstone Valleys and the Judith Basin, are also needed.

2) Maps of historic post office locations appear to be valid tools for tracing the spread of human habitation. Further use of post office locations in similar studies in other states and time periods would test its full value.

3) The simplified hierarchical town classification helped explain the evolving pattern of towns. A more sophisticated central place study might help one to better understand the patterns.

4) The swift growth of Montana's town pattern was the result of a society recreating itself in an accelerated fashion. Such a compacted history offers unique opportunities to the social scientist. This "almost yesterday" development is more easily studied and documented than similar development in other areas of the country. Thus far, geographers have not generally concerned themselves with these early, dynamic phases of the West.

During a span of less than one man's life, from 1860 to 1920, Montana's town pattern evolved from a single river fort, to a network of 263 centers. These clusters of concentrated human habitation became the most distinct and modified elements on the new cultural

\(^{1}\)Perhaps historical geographers need a term such as "square-mile-years" to express the intensive or extensive nature of their studies. The 8,820,000 square-mile-years (117,000 square miles x 60 years) indicates the extensive nature of this study.
landscape. A potential exists today for an equally rapid appearance of additional, larger, and even more distinctive townscapes. Regional and national power requirements, government population redistribution programs, increased national awareness of amenities, and more efficient long distance transportation may result in a greater urban population.
Counsils of Power

LOUIS RIEL lay dead—a failed hero, hanged but not forgotten. His surviving followers who had fought against Canada in the 1880s, a few of them against Britain’s regulars even, were broken and scattered like their hopes. A forlorn jetsam of Riel’s Rebellion wandered through southwestern Canada. Of these woeful castaways of fortune, the most abject were the Cree.

Crees were Indians of imprecise ethnological origin amalgamated under a distinct religion. These were dignified people, long independent, long honored friends of Cheyenne and Assiniboine. Now humbled and outcast, they meandered toward the northern United States. To reservations of their possible brothers they trekked, and some headed for Assiniboine country in Montana.

Vagabond ways charmed these former braves, and in time they became desperate wanderers. Visitors to various reservations, they had no land, no place on government ration lists, no belonging. A few claimed Canadian support, some were by birth United States charges—all bore the burden of hard history. Some chiefs of these Prairie People sought acceptance by American authorities, begged a shred of some ground, a patch on existing reservations, and longed really for the old buffalo country along Milk River. But nomadic beggars had no force for attention, no political power, and lived the loneliness of the dispossessed.

People without countries, and the Cree were truly stateless, seem incongruous, interloping parasites to be exploited or expelled. The Cree knew this kind of cruelty well. Against it they fought with argument, petition, hard work for those who would give them work, finally with obsequious cunning. No system worked. American whites played tricks of mood: kind now, cold later, sometimes helpful, other times angry.

And the Cree did cause problems. Citizens gave what they could, some kindly army officers arranged unauthorized rations, and concern mounted through official channels. Consciences and misguided rations had limits, of course, and where private welfare ended, public began. These rootless Indians came to threaten various public treasuries, and when they reached that destitution, they were pariahs. Something ought to be done about them. What? Who would do whatever was done? Montana, frail still in statehood newfound in 1889, lacked great wealth. The state asked federal assistance. Could the army help with the Cree problem?

These plaints, increasing through the late 1880s and early 1890s, collided with certain Indian realities already plaguing the army. In the late eighties new treaties had almost eliminated the reservations of the Assiniboine, Blackfeet, and Gros Ventre. Tribesmen who subscribed to the new situation were nonetheless irked at their tiny pieces of the future and were restive. They were on their shattered lands, but the army watched them carefully.

A Far and Lonesome Fort

The troops best suited to Indian pacification, suited by experience and training, were the famed Buffalo Soldiers of bygone Apache campaigns. Consequently Negro infantry and cavalry units were deployed throughout Montana, with the 10th Cavalry assigned to Fort Assiniboine (the army’s spelling varied from the usual), an isolated post in north central Montana, above the Missouri River.

There, on that isolated post in restless country, 1st Lt. John J. Pershing reported on October 2, 1895. Change had its rewards. True, the fort lacked the charm and sophistication of Lincoln and the university, but Jack admitted to himself that he had “gotten tired” of college duty. Friends and remembrances from those years as military instructor were dear to him, but he had a soldier’s need for the field. A new regiment offered challenge, as did service with Negro troops, but Jack now cherished few qualms. He set himself to enjoy a return to the army and surveyed his new home.

Thirty miles south of the Canadian line, Fort Assiniboine backed against the Bear Paw Mountains. With the plat-like order of most

frontier posts, Assiniboine had the familiar rectangular parade, the facing stretch of quarters and offices, and, a little distant, the sprawl of stables and warehouses. Seven regiments, cavalry and infantry, shared the post, and the most obvious distinction of this fair-sized complement was color. Enlisted men were black, officers mostly white. Col. John K. Mizner commanded the 10th Cavalry.

New to post and new to 10th Cavalry, Lieutenant Pershing found himself a curiosity. How would he fit in? Regiments are small societies with personalities known around the army. Rumors persisted that the 10th Cavalry, like the ill-fated 7th, suffered troubles with its officers. Nothing you could point to and correct, just a vague dissatisfaction. And now in October, 1895, the whole regiment clustered for the first time in quite a while. Would the officer problem continue? Would new officers help or hurt? Pershing’s reputation boded well, and the new major, Myles Moylan, looked solid and reliable. But they were unknown factors and were watched.

Pershing’s good looks caught the fancy of the few women—no more than half a dozen graced the post—which probably irked some officers accustomed to their devotion. Moylan’s past was good for many evenings’ gossip; an air of tragedy and mystery clung to his career. He was a survivor—an officer of the 7th Cavalry who missed the Little Big Horn because Custer put him in arrest just as the Garryowens rode out against Sitting Bull. The Casters were fond of Moylan’s young wife, and apparently the general, in a moment of doubt, clapped his young lieutenant in arrest to save him. That protective impulse haunted Moylan always.

Any tidbit for talk was magnified in an isolated world. Fort Assiniboine had a purpose defined by its location squarely on the Assiniboine Reservation, but troubles with Indians were increasing and chances for field service consequently scant. In good weather, scouting kept troopers sharp and officers occupied. Bad weather locked the post in ennui.

Jack’s first touch with the fort came when the days were crisp, the air bracing, the sun sparkling on the mountains and on Beaver Creek’s feather of blue and gray anemones. That place had a wild picturesque, which years of familiarity could never have taught in a man.

Pershing’s romantic nature responded always to new posts, to first glimpses of a parade, to the ageless duty of the army. Wild country, traces of danger, whetted his martial spirit. On his new post he found the cavalry tradition firm and flourishing, the men of different color proud, disciplined troopers, and the hint of history echoing afar in the Bear Paw Mountains. A trail into those lofty ridges would take a man to strange, moldering earthworks lingering from Chief Joseph’s last stand during the epic flight of the Nez Perce. Those works reminded Jack of a great Indian leader, of a victory for old Indian fighter Nelson Miles, and rekindled lost glories of war. These things were a soldier’s life.

Other things, too, were part of soldiering. Upon reporting for duty Jack found his company commander absent on recruiting service, so Company D, 10th Cavalry, fell to Jack Pershing’s command. Quickly he learned the reliability and professionalism of his troops. While fair weather held, the troopers worked on field problems and maneuvers. Buffalo Soldiers showed a proficiency nearly equal to Jack’s Sioux Scouts. Company D could stand muster with any in the cavalry, and Jack became proud.

Swiftly, though, winter trapped the fort. Boredom became tangible as the regimental world shrank to a room’s dimensions, and diversion consisted of elaborate indoor drills for the troopers and elaborate fencing contests for the officers. Boredom’s chief ally, monotony, sapped spirit and strength. An awful sameness in company sparked petty, spiteful sniping—the kind of quarrels to lubricate gossip. Probably the wearied familiarity of food took the fullest toll of spirit. Long-stocked venison, tasty in moderation, became oddly flavorless with overexposure. Some antelope meat offered variety, but the crying need remained vegetables. The storehouse sometimes proffered hoards from summer gardens, and then officers’ strikers vied for choices. But a handsome bachelor officer, in demand as a dinner guest, fared remarkably well. The few wives at Assiniboine were proud and resourceful cooks. They boasted a fine red jelly made from rough-looking buck berries, sauerkraut laboriously cooked. These foods, and the inevitable similarity of menu, the thinning conversation, the almost constant chill, wore everyone down. Jack, whose spirits were higher than most, finally knew how slowly time could pass.

A man of the land from his boyhood, Jack responded to place more

---


3 PM, vol. 1, ch. 6, pp. 8-9.


5 Mrs. C. C. Bateman, "True Indian Stories," pp. 53-54.
than most. His mood often reflected his ground. That first winter, his mood slipped into a flat, weary acceptance. He found a "barren sort of country... the winters too long and dreary," where weather made prisoners of men and animals. Blizzards became a pleasure for being different; chinook winds were blessed as their hot breath melted ice and snow in tiny returns of sun and circulation. Respite were no more than that, and lives siphoned through an endless, clothed hourglass of cold. Yet there were opportunities for life beyond the obvious, opportunities available to the resourceful. Jack Pershing was always resourceful.

Thespian urges are unquenchable, especially among lonely folk. The play's an exciting thing, and a small, hopeful repertory group struggled diligently to buck Assiniboine's boredom with mime. Jack had no fear of acting, just of speaking. He joined the cast with gusto, found the humdrum little romances perhaps silly but certainly opportune. He and his fellow players were long on rehearsal, if short on talent. Custom of the theater and of society required that such intimacies as kissing, even if demanded by some unwholesome script, be faked in practice and endured in solemn performance. On one occasion when the script called for a solid kiss, Jack delivered it properly during rehearsal—the leading lady forgot her lines, other actors were flustered, routine collapsed, and rehearsal was canceled.6

In a way people expected that sort of ardor from Jack. No one doubted he liked women—it was natural, for they liked him. Pretty girls had clustered around him since Kirkville days; a fair damsel graced his gallant arm at each West Point hop. Handsome, the girls called him, gallant, dashing, bold even, but he had a quality beyond naming, a fascination to transcend looks and compel women to him.

Shallow theatricals with skittish actresses, tidy acquaintance with officers' wives, these were teas to a man with romance to unleash. What could a gentleman do?

All gentlemen on that post, as it happened, journeyed betimes to the post trader's store. Ladies and gentlemen both gathered at this magical place. A good deal of life focused on the trader's place. Here the outer world entered the garrison's closed realm; here gineracks, liquors, smokes, fashions, cloth, and color came to lift the drab of isolation. Assiniboine, happily, sported a trader with wit, uncommon charm, and a lovely daughter. He had, also, an unusually fine library.

Increasingly, on long winter days when work was done, Jack
drekked the cold way to the store—for stimulating company. The trader liked the young lieutenant whose brightness picked up the intellectual quotient of the post. He could scarcely have missed the lieutenant's fascination with his daughter. As the interest grew, some disturbing things about it were gossipied. The trader's girl was scarce sixteen, although her swirling blonde tresses, her twinkling blue eyes, and full figure belied it. Unaffected, unspoiled, she had a delectable sense of humor, a full, laughing mouth, a pertness to twit old-maidish matrons, and she loved Jack's attention. He kept visiting. They became great friends—a friendship that included the girl's mother, whose taste in literature matched Jack's own and whose unconcern for convention may have encouraged a young man to forget its tentacles.

Talk is venom from certain lips. Talk is nowhere more poisonous than in a closed world short of women. In that kind of place envy replaces judgment and jealously breeds contempt. In that kind of world, too, caste runs life and station is a social word. Whispers, working eyebrows, discussions over crewel, fixed the trader's daughter tightly in her place. Lovely she was conceded, but the wrt was clear: "She wasn't a lady, naturally, as the Post Trader was not considered a gentleman, running a trading post." And her mother? A woman of talent, certainly, educated beyond her role and competent in her piano lessons, but not really welcome in one's home. She even had a copy of Nana, which, according to rumor, she lent to officer's children!

As for Lieutenant Pershing's attentions—he could sow his oats with the girl's type, but should be prevented from something foolish. Eyes watched, lips pursed, and judgment waited.

Fortunately for judgment, Jack, and the army, winter broke at last and spring revived duty. The 10th Cavalry must deal with the poor, wandering Cree.

Round-Up

All through a hard stretch of snow, ice, and rejection, the Cree had huddled in drogged villages, in scattered camps, in wind-riven lodges. Like the starving antelope that had claimed and found mercy from hunger at Fort Assiniboine in the worst of winter,8 the Cree had floundered among ranches and towns. At Assiniboine they had even raided garbage dumps for survival scraps.9 Robbing when they had to,
the Cree fought the elements and Montana’s patience for livelihood. Patience wore thin. A few years before some spirit of accommodation had lent ease to charity, but a lasting evil calloused conscience. New politicians came and heard new complaints. The governor could ignore protest no longer, and in January, 1896, sent a list of grievances about the Cree to Richard Olney, secretary of state: “This office has had previous correspondence with the Department of State in relation to the presence of a number of Cree Indians in our State. . . . In default of a reservation and the restrictions of the Federal Government they become an intolerable nuisance, constantly violating our game laws, foraging upon our herds, and not infrequently looting isolated cabins. The patience of our people has been sorely tried.”

Congress appropriated money to solve the Cree problem through deportation—they were to be returned to their Canadian guardians. Since they would not go voluntarily, troops would escort them. Infantry would help, but the larger job fell to the 10th Cavalry. As it worked out, most of the chore went to Troop D, which Pershing still commanded. He got orders, dated June 12, 1896, to ride for Great Falls, Montana. The whole picture he did not yet know; he was aware of the general nature of the troop’s mission—Indian round-up—and that the entire operation rested in charge of Maj. J. M. J. Sanno, 3rd Infantry, to whom Pershing would report.

Jack picked one officer, 2nd Lt. L. J. Fleming, and forty-two men for the assignment. His noncoms were efficient in preparation, and on the thirteenth the troop was ready to go. “Boots and Saddles” rang across the parade; the old thrill came to every trooper. Good-byes were said and the order to mount called by Pershing, who turned his horse toward the Great Falls road, and waved his men forward.

Oddities there were to this mission. Just what arrangements had been made with Canadian authorities for handing over the deportees, presuming they were found, Jack had not heard. Indian attitudes were unknown but resistance was expected. What manner of handling did the government intend for the Cree? Were they to be coerced, fought, if necessary? These questions he hoped Major Sanno would answer.


Early stages of the march were uneventful, like all previous route marches Pershing remembered. But Montana was tough territory. On the fifteen, as Jack’s troopers approached the Marias River below Fort Benton, they looked at a booming, careening torrent. Another crossing doubtless could be found, but Jack knew the need for speed. Cross here, he ordered, and waded in to help. “Our two wagon beds were converted into ferry boats by covering the sides and bottoms with canvas tent flies,” Jack noted. “By the use of a cable made of lariats tied together and carried by boat to the opposite shore, upstream each trip, the current swung them back and forth, forming a sort of flying ferry. Supplies were crossed in this way and we swam the horses and mules. It took us from daylight to dark to make this crossing, but it was a thorough test of what these black troopers could do.” It was also a good test of leadership. Chaos swirled around the whole troop: wagons partly awash, men struggling with the canvas kayak effect, horses plunging and shying, men yelling and cursing to get their mounts into the water and swimming, men screaming unheard supplications as they surged along in the foam. In that curling moment there could be no shirkers—and there was one. A trooper long on goldbricking bent apparently to work under Pershing’s gaze, but had no heft or effort to him. His sergeant knew it, rode him hard, but unsuccessfully. On this day, though, Pershing had had enough. Wet to the waist, tired, nervous about the safety of his command, he splashed to where the malingering carefully avoided getting his feet wet. Get into the water—it was a direct, tough order. The trooper made no move to comply. A riled lieutenant strode to him, cocked a fist, and knocked the enlisted man sprawling in the river. After a moment’s shocked silence, the veteran first sergeant smiled broadly and said: “Lieutenant, that’s what I’ve been wanting to do to him all day.”

It was a ticklish thing, and Pershing knew it. He had no affection for officers who compelled obedience through terror, but an old schoolteacher felt that “there are moments when an example is necessary.” And no one could deny the salutary effects of that dunking. Anytime anyone shirked, a companion would say “you better git at it fellor or ‘Old Red’ will knock you into the Marias River.” Jack had no idea why the sobriquet—save it possibly described his temper. Anyway, his men respected him for convictions well enforced. With a new morale,
the troops rode on to Great Falls, which they reached on the seventeenth. Major Sanno waited with orders and some answers.

According to the major, Canada had agreed, with some reluctance, to take back the Cree. Just what the legal status of these former rebels might be remained obscure. Some old amnesty apparently covered them, at least most of them, and time surely tempered vengeance. The place of return was Coutts Station on the international line, a long way in time and distance. Cree bands were farflung; rumor was that some were fleeing toward Idaho or other neighboring states, some were trying for anonymity on existing reservations. And some were simply waiting. Many of them were veterans of the deportation game from previous attempts and looked forward to regulation rations for a time. Whatever their attitude, numerous Cree were close to Great Falls, and Pershing could get right to business.

According to rumors Sanno had heard, the nearby Cree were sullen and might resist arrest. Pershing should proceed as though in hostile country. Ammunition distributed, all troopers alerted, Troop D swooped down on the Cree camp not far from Great Falls on June 18, 1896, and scored a total surprise. There was no time for resistance. Pershing told the frightened Cree that “the Great Mother of Canada” had pardoned them for complicity in Riel’s Rebellion, and this calmed them quickly. One hundred seven men, women, and children were captured and swiftly sent into town. Once there they became the focus of constitutional wrangle. A local lawyer obtained a writ of habeas corpus requiring Pershing to show cause why the Cree should not be released. Nothing about the case looked simple except to Pershing. With a smooth professionalism doubtless pleasing to the bench, Pershing cited the facts and the precedents that covered his actions and argued that the main issue involved federal-state authority. And it scarcely took a legal degree to see that no state had jurisdiction over federal agents. By the time the court accepted Counselor Pershing’s argument, the issue was moot—Pershing had the Indians on a train headed for Canada.

Impressed with the swift military and civil performance of his field commander, Sanno sent Pershing into the next phase of the round-up. Things now began to have a curious similarity to the Sioux campaign of 1890–91. No reliable intelligence came, just rumors, wilder and

---

more alarming daily. Indian bands were here, there, going in all directions. Lessons taught by War Eagle and General Miles were not forgotten by Lieutenant Pershing. He checked the rumors carefully, yielded never to whim, and moved with command well supplied and in hand. Phantom braves were few, real ones fewer. On the night of June 24, Pershing’s men took eighty-four bedraggled Crees from Custer to the rail line for Canada, then rode on through Great Falls to Garrison, Montana, where an old, abandoned camp was found; the Indians were gone. Undaunted, Jack took Troop D out on the old Lewis and Clark trail toward Fort Missoula. Garrisoned by the 25th Infantry (Colored), this proved a happy post, and it served as base for Troop D for a few days in early July.

Reports put a large Cree settlement at Camas Prairie, about a hundred miles away—but a hard hundred miles. Getting there would involve a time-consuming crossing of the Flathead River. Pershing guessed that if he knew of them, the Cree might learn of him, and delay might lose them into the vastness of Idaho’s mountains. He did the obvious thing and took the train. His men, less a small detachment at Missoula guarding prisoners, rode from Perma to Horse Plains, debarked, and rode swiftly on to Camas Prairie. On July 9, seventy Crees were arrested before they could flee, and Pershing was proud of the job. All along he worried that this group would escape him, and he knew that the railroad decision had made the difference. Success should pacify the quartermaster general and his transportation auditors.

Logistics briefly slowed his expedition. Rations for the captives and his own men for at least three days were needed, plus forage. Without careful planning, the trip back to Missoula could become a stupendous disaster of starvation and lost Indians. But Jack planned carefully. He also dreaded the trip. While speed beckoned him to the railroad, penury required a march back—and he disliked that decision a good deal since it forced a crossing of the Flathead River by his whole peculiar entourage. It turned out to be troublesome, comical, and somehow heroic on everybody’s part. Certainly the crossing was colorful.

A day and half slipped by while troopers and Indians slithered, swam, cajoled and pushed ponies into and across the Flathead. The afternoon of July 12 was spent in trying to get the party across, but so many people, so many animals remained that camp was made that night on both sides of the river. Next day the struggle resumed, with slow but sound results. No Indians or troopers were swallowed in the stream, but a few ponies disappeared. Although Jack hated losing

Councils of Power

anything—it tended to reflect on his leadership—he did boast of a full human complement.

Service in this peculiar campaign taught him technique. On the fourteenth, his column near Ravalli, Pershing sent a courier to Saint Ignatius Mission with special orders. Find out if Crees were in the area, and if so, treat with them. “If possible... induce them to come in in lieu of being hunted down.” Again assurances of Canadian forgiveness doubtless contributed to reason—forty Indians came voluntarily to Fort Missoula on July 17, the day after Pershing’s party from Camas Prairie arrived. A motley lot were camped near the fort, a lot to confound Solomon.

Loud cries of injustice were heard: many Cree complained that they were U.S. citizens; some, obviously half-breeds, demanded and got exemption from deportation; a few produced Canadian land scrip and were also released. But lists were confusing, time passed, stray parties kept arriving, and diligent Lieutenant Fleming found another batch of 21 Cree near Bonner and added them to the potpourri. After sorting, discarding, and organizing ended, Pershing counted 148 Indians for transport to Canada. This aggregation of families, possessions, and animals must be marched northward. Jack and his men would have to set the route, arrange the column, and ride herd on the whole community. A lot depended on logistics, since food and transportation were questionable, but most would depend on leadership. While a spirit of camaraderie made a good many Indians helpful, there was still a high possibility of straying en route. Pershing wanted everyone to get to the Canadian line, and he prepared with caution. Rations were gathered and inspected with care; spare rations went ahead to stations where strays might appear; orders for reserve rations were dispatched to Fort Harrison so that no lapse would occur. Then Lieutenant Pershing took a close look at Indian transportation. What he saw hardly heartened him. He counted a few serviceable wagons, but noted the vast majority were old, creaky, ramshackle, scarcely able to move; he noted, too, that most of the scattered buggies were decrepit and unreliable. A few travois were glimpsed, sturdly but slow. And then Jack looked at the horses. No Indian community moved without horses; the Crees had a remuda of 500 ponies, many wild and unbroken. Order must come from this melange.

Bluecoats went to work patching vehicles, forage masters tried to strengthen the ponies. As wheelwrights, commissaries, and quarter-

18 JJP Report to Sanno, p. 4.
masters fought to prepare, Pershing pondered his route. A column in fragile condition must follow easy ground, and Jack sought old Indian or settler trails through the high country toward Canada. But he considered such intelligence as filtered through; word was that more Crees would join from Butte. Jack guessed a junction at Helmville for this accretion to his column, and that gave him a route along the Blackfoot River bottom, across the Marysville Divide, and then into the Rockies. He picked a trail hugging the eastern slope of the mountains that would bring his command to the old McLeod Trail toward Canada. Not all of it would be easy country, but it seemed possible and as safe a way as could be conjured.

On July 22, 1896, Pershing's strangest command took the road north. As his column strung out, he watched with a twinge of nostalgia. It was, he felt, a “strange cavalcade of typical American aborigines” made up of primitive “blanket” Indians, “old and young, men and women, warriors, squaws and papooses.” Slowly this wisp of the past moved toward an uncertain rendezvous with the future.

Marching discipline could not be expected; Pershing's previous experience with Indians told him that. But his own men were there to discourage dawdling. Up and down the column his black troopers ranged, their blue field uniforms and broad-brimmed campaign hats flashing among the variegated blankets, clothes, and scraps of their charges. Usual delays occurred: deep-grained Indian mischief snarled order, breakdowns slowed traffic. And then measles hit the column. A doctor was requested, arrived, and did his best with scared, superstitious patients. There was another medical problem—one woman gave birth on route, and all the troopers basked in foster parenthood.

There were other troubles. Pershing was nearly killed by an Indian suicide; the death bullet passed through the Indian's brain and just missed the commander. Which was bad enough, but a lapse of judgment of his own bothered Jack far more. It happened when his coterie again reached the Marias River and camped before crossing. Instead of sitting the camp on high ground overlooking the river, Jack allowed everyone to cluster on the bank. Darkness came, quiet settled, fires flickered; the water rose—without warning, men, women, children, ponies, troopers, and wagons were awash. Screams, neighs, barks, rent the night as camp broke for refuge. Troopers were swift to help, courageous in crisis, and no lives were lost, but Pershing's pride suffered. "It was," he reminded himself, "a practical lesson in the wisdom of an

old axiom of the frontier—never camp on the near side of a river that has to be crossed if you can help it."20

Upland the country had a grandeur to transfix a man's soul. Pershing responded as always to the land and waxed almost lyrical in his reaction: "Much of the route up the Blackfoot River and across the Rockies afforded striking scenery. We climbed snowcapped mountains fringed with stately pines and camped beside beautiful streams. Then with the divide behind them, the travelers came to harder, harsher land. East of the Rockies barren, stony ground greeted them, water became scarce, and people simply endured. Slowly Canada approached. On August 6, Pershing gathered his command at Coutts Station for delivery across the border.

A glance around camp showed a larger number of Crees than had begun the trek. Strays had joined en route, and spread out in woeful numbers were 190 Indians and over 500 horses. A birth filled a death and so no lives need be counted lost. All together a remarkable migration, managed professionally. But Pershing's responsibilities were not yet ended.

That day, the sixth, he reported to an officer of the Mounted Police to hand over the Cree and was refused. Measles prevented acceptance of the Indians into Canada! No formality would deter a man who had pushed so far with so many for so long. Canada had to take the Indians, Pershing told the Mountie; "it was obligatory upon his government under the agreement to receive and hold them if necessary in quarantine upon their own soil." No.22

Rations were about gone along with patience, and Pershing appealed to department headquarters by wire. Next day came peremptory orders from Ottawa to admit the Indians, and Jack's mission ended. In a week's time Troop D marched back into Fort Assiniboine. They had rounded up and deported about 300 Crees in various batches, helped deport another 100, and had marched 1,050 miles. There had been lapses, false alarms, mistakes, but achievement stood its own testimonial. Major Sanno knew where credit belonged. In his final report of Cree removal, he wrote that "Lieutenant Pershing exhibited soldierly qualities of high order and his conduct throughout is worthy of the highest commendation. He made long tedious and tiresome marches maintaining his horses in good condition. He showed

20 PM, vol. 1, ch. 6, p. 13.
21 Ibid., pp. 13–14.
23 JJP Report to Sanno, p. 7.
Councils of Power

A Lucky Visit and a Lofty Summons

Fort Assiniboine's broad dirt roads, planked walks, and verandahed quarters shimmered in a warm, somnolent sun that summer of 1896.27 Flowers, birds, and children abounded, and a kind of starched languor lulled everyone on the post. Languor merely dulls routine, and routine is a stalking enemy. Increasingly in those quiet days the post trader's daughter reacquired Jack's attendance. Gossip waxed, but Jack went blissfully unaware. Beauty was not all of his lady fair's charm. Her sense of humor warded some disdain; her capacity to laugh at her own predicaments did win reluctant approval, even from the post's primmest dames. And yet, withal, she did seem, well, rascous—at least loudly gay, which was, of course, unsuiting altogether. If young Pershing fell for the girl, all could understand, but the lieutenant must not get serious about her. Ladies said so, husbands heard. Everything became extremely sticky when the commanding officer's wife joined the muted warmers. Might something be said to Jack, for his own good, of course? Not quite yet.

While friends and colleagues anguished about his reputation, Jack continued his quest for fun. From his earliest days at the fort he had marveled at the game abounding everywhere. Antelope, deer, prairie chickens, wolves, ducks, hill cranes, and even larger animals were handy to hunters. All officers of a hunting bent were encouraged to track wolves—every kill meant less fear. Some years earlier Capt. John Bigelow's brother, diplomat Poultney Bigelow, had given Fort Assin-
In this issue of Preservation

Caring for older properties

Character & choices

Whatever the State Preservation Office’s usual optimism and advocacy, we recognize that owners of older properties face a variety of choices and dilemmas. Considering any change to an older building requires an owner to weigh the value of the historic qualities of the property against the need, impact, and nature of modernization. Usually the choices are not black and white; dollars do not always equal preferences.

In recognition of those dilemmas, this article begins a series that will address questions facing owners of older properties. Articles on specific problems such as wooden windows, insulation, and the use of porches are being planned. But in this first issue, we want to set the stage with the general premises that should govern decisions about treating historic properties.

Like people, older properties have character. We consider character of an older property a positive attribute, reflecting both its uniqueness and its market value. The first step in a rehabilitation project should be to define what gives your particular older property character.

Just as a person’s character reflects the experiences of his past, so too does the older property bear the imprint of its original owner and subsequent occupants. The basic character is shaped at the time of construction, reflecting the tastes and economic status of the builder. A building’s evolution, including all changes from completion to the present, is evidence of its history and development and each change should be evaluated for its relation to the entire building. And too, as an individual’s personality is affected by those who surround him, the older building needs to be considered in the context of its neighbors. Often the attractiveness of a particular building stems from a special identity that is the result of its collective appearance.

The romance of owning an older property is partly attributable to the link it provides us with the past. I can now speak from experience rather than theory, for as the recent purchaser of an older house, I have quickly developed an attachment to three of the former owners. The first is the wealthy widow who built the house and landscaped the lawn with plants from the conservatory she operated. The second owners were two miserly sisters who ran a luncheonette and...
Character & choices

divided portions of the house to rent out, all the while hoarding away $100,000 in their safe deposit box. I now feel that the fragile reminders of themselves that they have passed on to me are almost as significant in my planned rehabilitation as the carved stair balustrade and the fine stone masonry work, which represent the first owners. Nonetheless, like many of you, I have to make my 2600 historic square feet affordable and useable. That's a perplexing undertaking for all of us.

The destruction of the character of older properties is usually unintentional. We are daily barraged with television commercials, newspaper ads, and sales pitches touting miracle cures and wonder products. But synthetic siding (steel, aluminum, and vinyl) for example, is no longer recognized universally as the solution to exterior maintenance problems. Besides destroying architectural details and proportions, the synthetic siding can trap moisture within the walls causing structural deterioration. Meanwhile, in the name of energy conservation, lean-to greenhouses are appearing on the fronts of historic homes and windows are being blocked down to accommodate lowered ceilings. The list goes on and on.

The planning of a rehabilitation project should begin with two basic precepts. First, respect all architectural details. These details are reflections of the craftsmanship of an earlier time; they provide a sense of individuality in our mass production world. Second, take the time to insure that changes you make are reversible. Future owners' needs will be different than yours, just as yours differ from previous owners'.

Advice on how to preserve the architectural integrity of your building without sacrificing practicality is available from the State Historic Preservation Office. Often the alternatives are no more expensive, and the long-term benefits can be great.

Lon Johnson

Two views of neighborhoods (above) show how identical house styles have been modified by different owners in quite different ways—as they made their own choices about how to use, improve, adapt, and maintain the buildings. Below, two examples show the kinds of architectural details that shape the character of older buildings, in the gingerbread trim of a porch and the carved-lintel window treatment.
Above, left and right, identical buildings in the same neighborhood illustrate how one owner has decided to update his building. The use of a contrasting color of paint has been used to great advantage to highlight the trim and details of the building on the right. However, the addition of the sun porch on the second story in not sympathetic to the original architectural design.

Three different Montana properties, each with its own character: left, Smelter Hill in Great Falls; right top, International style in Helena; right bottom, a cottage in Basin.

A sampling of helpful organizations, publications

The following is a list of organizations and publications useful to those interested in maintaining and rehabilitating older houses and businesses. The list is in no way complete, but was compiled from those we find most often referenced.

The Montana Historical Society is the place to start when researching the history of your older property. Photo archives, Sanborn insurance maps, and other library resources can tell you about your property's earlier appearances.

The State Historic Preservation Office is a division of the Montana Historical Society, but has specific people, resources, and files of interest to the owner of older property. We can provide technical assistance in a wide variety of areas and we maintain a collection of brochures that are available upon request. A sampling of the titles available include:

"Conserving Energy in Historic Buildings."
"Dangers of Abrasive Cleaning."
"Aluminum and Vinyl Sidings on Historic Buildings."
"The Repair of Wooden Windows."
"Storefront Rehabilitation."

We also maintain copies of one-of-a-kind and larger, more expensive publications that you may look over in our office, or we can provide you with ordering instructions. Some are federal government publications; others are private:

"Access to Historic Buildings for the Disabled."
"Main Street Historic Districts: Rehab Guidelines."
"Pressed Tin Ceilings."
"Solutions for Exterior Paint Problems."

The National Trust for Historic Preservation provides members with a monthly newsletter, Preservation News, and a bi-monthly magazine, Historic Preservation. Full-length original articles on all aspects of historic preservation, book reviews, descriptions of products and services, and classified ads listing historic properties for sale. NTHP, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

The Association for Preservation Technology publishes quarterly a scholarly bulletin. Preservation and restoration technology, technical information. APT, Box 2487, Station D, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5W6, Canada.

The Old-House Journal is a down-to-earth, do-it-yourself monthly publication addressing the practical rehabilitation of older houses. Restoration and maintenance techniques, products, helpful publications, classified ads. OHJ, 69A Seventh Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11217.

The Victorian Society in America provides members with a quarterly magazine, Nineteenth Century. Articles feature Victorian-related architecture, interior design, and preservation techniques. The Victorian Society in America, East Washington Square, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106.
New tax incentives in effect

Since passage of the Tax Reform Act of 1976, federal tax incentives have stimulated the private investment of over $5 million in the rehabilitation of more than 20 historic properties in Montana. From Billings, where an automobile showroom was rehabilitated to provide office space, to Columbia Falls, where a vacant church now houses chiropractic offices, the tax incentives have been directly responsible for providing the economic edge necessary to insure the continued life of several historic properties.

The Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981, signed into law August 13, makes dramatic and sweeping revisions to the Tax Reform Act of 1976. These changes are recognized by tax experts as providing a veritable “Gold Mine” to investors and owners considering major rehabilitation of historic buildings. The benefits should surpass the immediate financial gain reaped by a few individuals as entire neighborhoods and business districts are favorably affected by the investment in certain historic buildings.

The new law, effective January 1, 1982, provides a 25 per cent investment tax credit (ITC) for the “qualified rehabilitation” of a “certified historic structure.” The ITC may be combined with a straight-line depreciation to recover rehabilitation cost over 15 years. The owner is not required to deduct the ITC from the qualified costs to be depreciated.

A “certified historic structure” is any building listed individually in the National Register of Historic Places, or a building located in a Registered Historic District if it is identified by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and the National Park Service (NPS) as contributing to the significance of the district. One additional qualification is that the structure must be used for income-producing purposes: commercial, industrial, or residential.

A “qualified rehabilitation” must meet two tests. First, there must be a “substantial rehabilitation.” This means that the rehabilitation expenditures must exceed the greater of $5000 or the adjusted basis of the property (cost of the building plus capital improvements, less depreciation), with a 24-month period. The law provides an alternative 60-month period to meet the substantial rehabilitation test if the work is set forth in phases outlined in architectural plans completed before the rehabilitation begins.

The second requirement is that the work must be a “certified rehabilitation.” To meet that requirement, the proposed work must be reviewed by the SHPO and the NPS and be determined to be consistent with the historic character of the building or the district in which the building is located.

The State Historic Preservation Office acts as the liaison between the building owner and the National Park Service in reviewing both the historic significance of the property and the proposed or completed rehabilitation work. The property owner is responsible for completing the two-part “Historic Preservation Certification Application” which is available from the SHPO. The SHPO strongly urges that the application be completed prior to the initiation of the rehabilitation work so that any potential problems which could lead to denial of certification can be identified.

The law also includes a 15 per cent investment tax credit for building 30 years and older, or a 20 per cent tax credit for buildings 40 years and older, either of which can be combined with a 15-year straight-line depreciation. Unlike the certified rehabilitation of an historic structure, however, the law requires that the tax credit be subtracted from the total rehabilitation costs in computing the amount to be depreciated. These lesser credits apply only to commercial and industrial buildings and not to residential rental buildings. Review by the SHPO and the NPS is required for buildings that are listed in the National Register or within a registered Historic District.

Additional provisions and regulations in the new law should be carefully considered by the property owner and his tax attorney or accountant.

Historic preservation grant status

Montana’s chances of receiving federal fiscal year 1982 historic preservation fund monies are looking better. But, the final decisions still haven’t been made at the federal level.

As of mid-November, final review by the SHPO and the NPS is required for buildings that are listed in the National Register or within a registered Historic District.

Who should receive SHPO’s ‘81 awards? (Part II)

In the fall issue of the Post Preservation supplement we asked for your suggestions of candidates for the 1981 Historic Preservation Awards. We also indicated that those awards would be presented during the Montana History Conference, held the first week of October. However, for a variety of reasons, the newsletter seeking your suggestions has not been mailed to you until after the date by which we needed candidates’ names. So, we have not yet selected 1981 award winners and we made no formal presentations during the History Conference. Instead, we postponed making the selection until our next Preservation Review Board meeting scheduled for mid-January 1982.

This awards program is designed to recognize and publicize sound, creative preservation work regardless of whether public money or public processes were involved. It is not officially linked with the grants program or National Register of Historic Places activity handled by the Preservation office.

Awards will be given in two categories — to people or organizations, and to specific rehabilitation projects and the people responsible for them. The first award honors those whose work, in rehabilitation, survey, writing or organizing, has been especially effective in broadening and educating community interest in preservation. The projects category recognizes rehabilitation work that is innovative, sound, and economically productive.

The Preservation Office needs brief suggestions of people or projects for these awards, rather than lengthy nominations. To suggest a candidate, please send a short description of the activities or project to Dr. Robert Archibald, Director, Montana Historical Society, before January 8, 1982.

Update on nominations to Register

The moratorium on nominating privately owned property to the National Register is about to be lifted. For the past year, the Department of Interior, National Park Service, did not accept nominations of privately held property while they wrote and received necessary approval of new regulations on the nomination process. Those regulations specifically address how an owner’s concurrence in Register listing will be sought. But that long regulation-writing process is slated to end by December. Since all nominations must be considered by our Preservation Review Board (a group of preservationists appointed by the Governor) prior to our forwarding of them to the Department of Interior, we will plan to hold a Review Board meeting in mid-January. By that time, we will have seen the final Register regulations and had an opportunity to act on the time tables they establish for owner notice and concurrence.

Montana State Historic Preservation Office

Marcella Sherfy - Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer; Historian
Lon Johnson - Historical Architect
Patricia Bick - Architectural Historian
Diana Vanek - Archaeologist/Anthropologist
Denise Thiel - Secretary

The SHPO’s ‘81 awards? (Part II)

In the fall issue of the Post Preservation supplement we asked for your suggestions of candidates for the 1981 Historic Preservation Awards. We also indicated that those awards would be presented during the Montana History Conference, held the first week of October. However, for a variety of reasons, the newsletter seeking your suggestions has not been mailed to you until after the date by which we needed candidates’ names. So, we have not yet selected 1981 award winners and we made no formal presentations during the History Conference. Instead, we postponed making the selection until our next Preservation Review Board meeting scheduled for mid-January 1982.

This awards program is designed to recognize and publicize sound, creative preservation work regardless of whether public money or public processes were involved. It is not officially linked with the grants program or National Register of Historic Places activity handled by the Preservation office.

Awards will be given in two categories — to people or organizations, and to specific rehabilitation projects and the people responsible for them. The first award honors those whose work, in rehabilitation, survey, writing or organizing, has been especially effective in broadening and educating community interest in preservation. The projects category recognizes rehabilitation work that is innovative, sound, and economically productive.

The Preservation Office needs brief suggestions of people or projects for these awards, rather than lengthy nominations. To suggest a candidate, please send a short description of the activities or project to Dr. Robert Archibald, Director, Montana Historical Society, before January 8, 1982.

Update on nominations to Register

The moratorium on nominating privately owned property to the National Register is about to be lifted. For the past year, the Department of Interior, National Park Service, did not accept nominations of privately held property while they wrote and received necessary approval of new regulations on the nomination process. Those regulations specifically address how an owner’s concurrence in Register listing will be sought. But that long regulation-writing process is slated to end by December. Since all nominations must be considered by our Preservation Review Board (a group of preservationists appointed by the Governor) prior to our forwarding of them to the Department of Interior, we will plan to hold a Review Board meeting in mid-January. By that time, we will have seen the final Register regulations and had an opportunity to act on the time tables they establish for owner notice and concurrence.

Montana State Historic Preservation Office

Marcella Sherfy - Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer; Historian
Lon Johnson - Historical Architect
Patricia Bick - Architectural Historian
Diana Vanek - Archaeologist/Anthropologist
Denise Thiel - Secretary

Who should receive SHPO’s ‘81 awards? (Part II)

In the fall issue of the Post Preservation supplement we asked for your suggestions of candidates for the 1981 Historic Preservation Awards. We also indicated that those awards would be presented during the Montana History Conference, held the first week of October. However, for a variety of reasons, the newsletter seeking your suggestions has not been mailed to you until after the date by which we needed candidates’ names. So, we have not yet selected 1981 award winners and we made no formal presentations during the History Conference. Instead, we postponed making the selection until our next Preservation Review Board meeting scheduled for mid-January 1982.

This awards program is designed to recognize and publicize sound, creative preservation work regardless of whether public money or public processes were involved. It is not officially linked with the grants program or National Register of Historic Places activity handled by the Preservation office.

Awards will be given in two categories — to people or organizations, and to specific rehabilitation projects and the people responsible for them. The first award honors those whose work, in rehabilitation, survey, writing or organizing, has been especially effective in broadening and educating community interest in preservation. The projects category recognizes rehabilitation work that is innovative, sound, and economically productive.

The Preservation Office needs brief suggestions of people or projects for these awards, rather than lengthy nominations. To suggest a candidate, please send a short description of the activities or project to Dr. Robert Archibald, Director, Montana Historical Society, before January 8, 1982.

Update on nominations to Register

The moratorium on nominating privately owned property to the National Register is about to be lifted. For the past year, the Department of Interior, National Park Service, did not accept nominations of privately held property while they wrote and received necessary approval of new regulations on the nomination process. Those regulations specifically address how an owner’s concurrence in Register listing will be sought. But that long regulation-writing process is slated to end by December. Since all nominations must be considered by our Preservation Review Board (a group of preservationists appointed by the Governor) prior to our forwarding of them to the Department of Interior, we will plan to hold a Review Board meeting in mid-January. By that time, we will have seen the final Register regulations and had an opportunity to act on the time tables they establish for owner notice and concurrence.

Montana State Historic Preservation Office

Marcella Sherfy - Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer; Historian
Lon Johnson - Historical Architect
Patricia Bick - Architectural Historian
Diana Vanek - Archaeologist/Anthropologist
Denise Thiel - Secretary
Governor Presents Preservation Awards

At 8:00 p.m., February 3, 1983, during the Montana Historical Society's Legislative Open House, Governor Ted Schwinden presented 1981 and 1982 Historic Preservation Awards and National Register of Historic Places Certificates to almost forty Montana preservationists. He began that ceremony with remarks that constitute a clear and needed tribute to these award and certificate recipients. Moreover, his presentation was designed to inspire the rest of us to strengthen our understanding and love of Montana's special historic and prehistoric places and to improve our practical preservation skills. Finally, the address demonstrates why thanks and respect are due a Governor with so visible and thoughtful a pride in our heritage properties.

In praise of award and certificate recipients, in gratitude for the Governor's preservation leadership, and in an undeniable spirit of missionary zeal, we are pleased to reprint Governor Schwinden's Preservation Award Ceremony remarks.

I do not need to preface our presentation of awards and certificates with a speech convincing you of the richness, color and importance of Montana's history. Those of you here bring with you an abiding interest in our past.

It is important, however, to spend a few minutes recalling the history to be gleaned from historic buildings and sites: from our ghost towns, our buffalo jumps, our one-room schoolhouses, homestead remnants, boarding houses, mines, and mansions. The relationship between history and historic places must be reiterated from time to time, because too many of us take for granted the incomparable historic and prehistoric resources we've been given.

If that's a fair charge, and I believe it is, it is explainable. We are a young state. We consider the Lewis and Clark Expedition as 'old'; but we are not sure that our parents' past should be treated with the respect due age. Our youthfulness makes us impatient, bent on modernization. Some fear that too much attention to historic sites will hinder our efforts to be contemporary and business-like. Though we may not want to admit it, we are victimized by National Geographic and Williamsburg posters — encouraged by slick advertisements and magazines to think that historic value lies only in grand, colonial, one-of-a-kind buildings or ancient archaeological sites. While colonial buildings and archaeological digs do represent certain kinds of history, they are by no means exclusive.

We are honoring tonight a group of people who recognize and appreciate the diverse historic gifts Montana has to offer — people who value a wide range of Montana's resources for their own special worth.

By way of recognizing those who will receive awards and certificates, we must consider the importance of Montana values. Our historic buildings do not look like Williamsburg shops, nor should they. How fortunate we are to still be able to trace historic travel on the Mullan Road; to recall Fort Benton's days as a center of western commerce by viewing the jail, the courthouse, and the Grand Union Hotel. I am proud to live in a state where I can still be reminded of the travails and strengths of my homesteading ancestors by the cabins they built to "prove up." I am equally proud of the elegance and architectural whimsy that Montana's gold, coal and copper wealth could afford. I am reassured knowing that the Miles Building in Livingston survives to document for my grandchildren the life of that railroad town in its heyday.

If we love Montana's past, we must value the buildings and places that represent that past. If we don't, our historical interest is the stuff of romantic soap operas — not diligent scholarship or stewardship. We are false-fronted stores; sod huts; plain, solid ranch homes; tipi rings and dinosaur bones.

But loving Montana's historic resources is not enough. We must find realistic ways to use them or protect them. Protecting our historic values requires people with affection for historic sites; people who know efficient ways of siding houses; people who know how to build beds; people who know how to build homes; people who know how to build communities.

(Continued on next page)
The 1981 State Historic Review Board Commissions were awarded to:
Dr. Leslie B. Davis, Montana State University, for skill and energy in preserving the values and processes of archeology to professional and lay publics.

Mrs. Phyl Peterson, Helena, for effectively marshaling volunteer help for the restoration and maintenance of the Silver Creek Schoolhouse (Little Red Schoolhouse) project.

The 1981 Historic Preservation Awards for Preservation Education and Influence were presented to two recipients:
Jim McDonald, Architect, Missoula, for successful advocacy of preservation principles to community leaders and business owners in association with preservation, coupled with initiating specific project work which demonstrated to those same community leaders Jim's willingness to work well and as a guide.

Kommers, McLaughlin, and Leavensgeld and the City of Livingston for, as a team, demonstrating to the community and the region a variety of ways in which preservation of buildings and neighborhoods makes sound economic sense.

The 1981 Historic Preservation Award for an Outstanding Rehabilitation Project was given to: Granite County Commissioners for restoration and reuse of the Granite County Courthouse and Jail, combining sound energy conservation, adaptation to current office and jail standards, along with maintenance of the building's architectural quality.

The 1981 State Historic Review Board Commissions went to: James M. Manning, Community Development Officer, Anaconda, for his efforts in harmonizing the interests of historic preservation with other divergent plans for commercial revitalization in Anaconda.

Shirley Zapan, Red Lodge, for her quiet, powerful and successful efforts in explaining the effects and values of National Register listing to Red Lodge citizens.

The 1981 Historic Preservation Award for Preservation Education and Influence was presented to: Janet Cornish, Butte-Silver Bow Development Office, for her skill in explaining and demonstrating to planning and business communities around the state how their interests could be served by attention to reuse of existing historic buildings.

The 1981 Historic Preservation Award for an Outstanding Rehabilitation Project went to: Scott Hudson, Billings Pipes and Pizza Restaurant, for commercial rehabilitation of the Carlin Hotel in which serious attention was paid to retention of significant interior character along with changes needed for a new business.

Gov. Schwinden...

who are familiar with tax breaks for preservation, who know when not to worry about the slow "melt" of ghost towns, who can organize volunteers, explain procedures and write reports.

The people we are honoring tonight represent a remarkable blend of interest and pragmatism. They are people who, in a variety of ways, demonstrate their appreciation for buildings and sites distinctive to our communities, our state or our region. These award recipients set an example for us in researching, fundraising, problem-solving, advertising — in finding commonwealth, common purpose, common cause.

Please join me in honoring Montana preservationists, past and present, and celebrating their commitment.

The National Register, as many of you know, is a list of properties that are significant for their association with important people or events, their ability to provide us with information about the past, or their distinctive, typical or unusual design. Register listing encourages preservation, but does not force owners to take any particular action. Register listing does, however, rely on the active cooperation of property owners. Register listing reflects the stewardship and care owners have afforded those properties. The result benefits us all.

Montana Historic Preservation Award, and Review Board Commissions winners, are selected by the staff of the Historic Preservation Office within the Montana Historical Society, an agency of the State Historic Review Board. The board is a group of nine Montanans with interest and expertise in our history. I have appointed them to provide oversight and counsel to the Preservation Office staff.

State Historic Preservation Review Board Commissions recognize individuals who have made specific, visible contributions to preservation in particular projects. Historic Preservation Awards are given in two categories: first, for preservation education and influence throughout the state by helping a broad range of Montanans understand why it is important to respect older properties; and second, for an exemplary historic building rehabilitation project.

Although there are many Montanans who deserve recognition, I am grateful for the opportunity to present awards to these special stewards of our heritage.

Shirley Zapan, Red Lodge, for her quiet, powerful and successful efforts in explaining the effects and values of National Register listing to Red Lodge citizens.

Main Street film is here:

The Preservation Office just acquired a copy of the film Main Street, USA, produced by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. We are anxious to make it available to business, civic, education, and preservation groups throughout the state. Whenever the economics and timing of travel permit, the office will also send a staff member with the film to talk with you about preservation and main street revitalization.

The film concentrates on three mid-western, mid-sized community main streets and the changes that are accepted and rejected in them. A variety of community and business leaders from those towns describe their widely varying judgments of the values of historic associations and architecture in relationship to the financial stability of their business centers. The movie is not a mood piece.

Nor does it narrowly claim that building preservation is the answer to all of a main street's problems. It concentrates on considering good design as one element of a four-part program for revitalization, along with organization, promotion, and economic restructuring. The film confronts directly the problems of sustaining America's main streets in the face of many pressures and then looks at whether good care of historic buildings is necessary to main street revitalization.

If you are interested in showing the film, please contact Lon Johnson, Historic Preservation Office, Montana Historical Society, 225 North Roberts, Helena, Montana, 59620, or phone 449-4584.

Preservation Week: Time to Plan

1983 Historic Preservation Week has been scheduled for May 9 through May 14. Its primary sponsor, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, suggests as a focus for the week the theme "preservation is housing America!"

The Trust, along with many state and local organizations, has sponsored Preservation Week for much of the last decade. Like all commemorative weeks and days, Preservation Week is what we — or you — make it of. We may see it either in the context of symbolic recognition, or as a chance to accomplish activities and programs on which we've been preoccupying.

If you are interested in planning activities in your community to celebrate Preservation Week, consider a wide range of possibilities: walking tours, programs for civic organizations, classroom visits, special tours of historic buildings, a workshop on filling out National Register forms given by someone familiar with the process, etc. We cannot bring you all those programs from Helena. But we are glad to talk with you as you make plans for that week and assist with programs as our schedules allow.

Finally, if you do plan Preservation Week activities, please let us know what they are. In the May-June newsletter we would like to be able to describe the events that did occur.

Update on Federal Grant Funds

If you are interested in applying for Federal Historic Preservation Grant funds, we urge you to do so now. As of February 1, the Preservation Office knew that, in spite of President Reagan's recommendation for zero funding, Congress had appropriated preservation monies for state activities, that the Department of Interior had developed an appropriation formula, and that Montana was likely to be awarded $535,041. Final awarding of that sum to the state occurs after additional application materials are submitted to the Preservation Office to the National Park Service and are approved.

In order to make our application more specific and to speed the commitment of funds awarded to us, we urge you to talk with us about and apply for those federal preservation monies. Funds approved by Congress can again be used only for survey and planning projects. Congress did not approve the use of federal dollars for actual rehabilitation projects. However, survey and planning projects can be used for a wide range of preservation projects including:

- community or rural architectural, historical, or archaeological survey work;
- community or neighborhood historic planning and feasibility studies;
- development of materials which explain or illustrate preservation projects and goals;
- preparation of plans and specifications by an architect in anticipation of actual rehabilitation in a project that will spur private investment.

In each project, federal dollars need to be matched with state, local, or private funds or the donation of labor or materials.

If you are interested in all in preservation funds we urge you to contact the Preservation Office (449-4584) to discuss your ideas, to secure application materials, and to learn more about the grant program.
Recent Montana Additions to the National Register

The following Montana properties have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places, all in January 1983.

**Deer Lodge County**
Barich Block, Anaconda.
Davidson Block, Anaconda.

**Gallatin County**
Gallatin County Jail, Bozeman.
Bozeman National Fish Hatchery.
Upper Madison School (addendum to One- Room Schoolhouses of Gallatin County), near Three Forks.

**Silver Bow County**
Silver Bow Brewery Malt House, Butte.

**Yellowstone County**
Antelope Stage Station, Broadview.

Getting onto the Register

If you are interested in listing a property in the National Register of Historic Places, please call or write us. The process is not as difficult as you may imagine. The Register is designed to include a broad cross-section of older properties. The Preservation Office can send you immediately a packet of material on the Register, on the results of Register listing, and on researching older properties.

If you have already begun working on a National Register nomination, we remind you that draft nomination materials must be received 60 days before a Review Board meeting, if you want them considered at that meeting. The time lapse is needed to accomplish legal notification measures, to edit and type the material in final form, and to give Review Board members an opportunity to read it before a meeting.

Review Board Meeting Schedule for 1983:
May 6, 1983
August 5, 1983
November 4, 1983.

What Montana’s Preservation Office Offers You

Please call or stop by the Preservation Office (or direct others to us) if you would like:

- the latest information on how or whether to apply for Federal Historic Preservation Grant monies. You can inquire about either funds for actual rehabilitation (which have been nonexistent the last two years, but might return) or funding for surveys, preservation plans, and feasibility studies.
- information on the National Register of Historic Places program, including:
  - what it means to have a property listed in the Register
  - what kinds of properties qualify for Register listing
  - what kinds of information we need to review a Register nomination
  - who reviews and approves Register nominations
  - how long it takes to get a property listed
- guidance on when and how to take advantage of Federal tax incentives for the rehabilitation of commercial properties listed in the National Register

- technical advice on how to maintain, care for, or rehabilitate older buildings and sites — be they homes, businesses, or public properties. We are able to provide direct assistance in many instances, or can give you written information or sources if we do not have the information ourselves. A great deal of research is already available on questions such as how to undertake energy retrofit of historic buildings so that it does not damage historic character; the effects of re-siding historic properties; what problems to remember in reusing historic chimneys, etc.
- explanations of what an architectural, historical, or archaeological inventory is and whether it would be of use to your area.
- any of our previous publications, including the Preservation supplement to the *Montana Post*
- information on whether a federal or state agency might be affecting significant cultural resources in any of their projects or in projects which they approve

State Historic Preservation Office Staff
Marcella Sherfy, Historian and Program Manager
Lon Johnson, Historical Architect
Pat Bick, Architectural Historian
Diana Vanek, Archaeologist
Tom Foor, Archaeologist
Margaret Dykstra, Secretary
Grants at Work in Montana

Last January, for Federal Fiscal Year 1980 (FY 80), the Montana State Historic Preservation Office received permission to fund nine new Acquisition and Development grant projects using Federal Historic Preservation Fund dollars. Like other States, we had just begun getting specific Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service (HCRS) approval of plans and specifications and signing State contracts when the Federal government impounded almost one third of the full allocation in its search for defense dollars. In Montana, the Conrad Mansion, Kalispell, and the Charles Clark Mansion, Butte, projects were authorized to proceed just before the impoundment. By midsummer Congress released of some of the frozen funds, allowing the owners of W.A. Clark Mansion, Butte, and the Grand Union Hotel, Fort Benton, to begin their rehabilitation projects. Because the Secretary of the Interior's Discretionary Fund was not affected, restoration of Billings Fire House #2 proceeded through the summer on schedule. But four Montana projects waited until October 1, 1980 — almost a full fiscal year beyond what they anticipated — before release of the last of the impounded funds launched their restoration:

The interior of the Carlin Hotel, part of the Billings Historic District, will be

1912 cell house, Old Montana State Prison, Deer Lodge.
renovated into a ground floor restaurant and upper floor offices.

In Great Falls, grant dollars will help paint the outside of the C. M. Russell House and restore the Studio’s log exterior.

Historic Preservation Fund (HPF) grant dollars, private funding, and other Federal money will transform St. Joseph’s Hospital, Lewistown, into retirement housing.

With matching of local funds, money from Lorimar Productions, and our preservation funds, the Montana Territorial Prison has received and will continue to receive a refurbishing that extends its life as a movie set, a historical museum, and a community center.

Pictured here are grant recipients: St. Joseph’s Hospital at Lewistown, (above) and C.M. Russell’s log cabin studio in Great Falls (left).

What About Grants?

You need to know that:

- the grant application period runs from October 1, 1980, until June 15, 1981;
- that the property or properties on which you will work must be listed in the National Register of Historic Places, first, unless you are applying for funds to do a systematic inventory.

- we are not apt to have a good idea of how much money Montana will receive in full until late spring or summer 1981, at the earliest;
- the money will not actually be available for your expenditure until December 1981 or January 1982 at the earliest — and will have, as described below, strings attached.

You need to begin by:

- thinking through which kind of grant money might best fit your needs, recognizing that emphasis is placed on sound planning prior to actual restoration work;
- writing our office (225 North Roberts, Helena 59620) for application forms, an outline of the criteria we will be using to consider/rank grants and other materials.

- calling us if you have questions (449-4584).

Basics of Preservation Grants

- They are appropriated by Congress, having been authorized by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended.
- They are administered by the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service (HCRS), within the Department of Interior.
- HCRS apportions the grants appropriated by Congress to States — State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) — on the basis of a series of factors, some of which change each year. These factors include size and population, how well we have spent the previous year’s money, and how we commit ourselves to HCRS priorities.
- The schedule of grant applications and grant awarding is determined by the Federal fiscal year, which runs from October 1 to September 30, and by Congressional appropriation hearings and action, which usually end in December.
- Federal Fiscal Year 1981 (FY 81) began on October 1, 1980, and while we will not know exactly how much Montana’s apportionment will be until Congress acts in December, the period for FY 81 grant applications has ended.
- Hence, we are concentrating now on seeking applications for FY 82 funding.
- With exceptions outlined elsewhere, all grants are awarded on a matching basis.
- Given the relative scarcity of preservation grant dollars, it is national and also State policy to seek projects where small amounts of Federal dollars can attract a good deal of funding from public sources or local, public sources.
- In addition to recommending grant projects on the basis of Federally established priorities, HCRS expects us to make our own first cuts or set our own priorities on the basis of specific Montana criteria or factors.
- Federal grant dollars that come to Montana are spent in three different ways, or for three different purposes. Some of our Federal apportionment matches money appropriated by the Montana legislature for the program’s administration. The remaining Federal money (roughly two-thirds to three-fourths of what we get) is regranted for either Acquisition and Development projects or for Survey and Planning projects.

Acquisition and Development (A&D) grants can fund the physical restoration of a historic property, the purchase of an endangered structure or site, or the excavation of an archaeological site under certain conditions.

More precisely, while A & D funds cannot finance the cost of routine building maintenance or upkeep, they can fund many kinds and levels of work needed to retain or restore a building’s historic character and to bring a building up to its potential for active, economically productive use. This can range from the replacement of deteriorated or missing historic features to weatherization. Archaeological site work usually entails excavation which is needed to preserve certain kinds of information and which is guided by a detailed research design.

A & D grants must be matched on at least a 50/50 basis and the source of match must come from the particular project in question. The match can take the form of actual dollars spent, donated labor or materials, or, in some instances, the value of the cost of acquiring a property in order to preserve it.

All work proposed for a building receiving A & D grant dollars must be done in conformity with the Secretary of Interior’s Standards for Historic Preservation Projects. These Standards are written to encourage retaining as much of a building’s historic character as possible. Both the SHPO and HCRS review plans, and specifications for potential grant work, prior to approving the grant to make sure that the Standards will be met. The SHPO then actively monitors work in progress to make sure it follows these plans. A & D
grants are selected on the basis of very specific (often numerically weighted) Federal criteria and on the basis of Federally reviewed State criteria.

A & D grants may run for periods of 24 to 36 months.

Survey and Planning (S&P) grants can be used to accomplish what their title describes — not the physical construction of renovation, but the "homework" needed prior to the preservation decisions or actual rehabilitation. Specifically, S & P dollars can fund:

- a systematic inventory of buildings or sites in a given area such as a neighborhood, a town, or a county for the purpose of determining which properties might be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, and as a basis for community planning about which buildings to keep. Surveys also make it easier for city officials, county officials, Housing and Urban Development (HUD) funds or other Federal grants to comply with Federal historic preservation laws;
- an assessment, undertaken by an architect, especially a historical architect, of a building's condition, evolution, and character, in order to decide how best to respect the building's historic qualities during renovation and still be sure that it is functional and meets local codes;
- an architect's preparation of the actual plans and specifications that will guide physical rehabilitation;
- a detailed assessment of the information likely to be available from a historic or prehistoric archeological site.

All S & P grants should have at least a 50% match. This match can come from actual money donated by individuals, organizations, or local governmental units, or labor donated to the project, or, in the case of surveys, Community Development Block Grant Funds from HUD.

In instances where there is clear community interest in an S & P project, but an inability to locate the match, we urge communities to talk with us about the project, because we would not apply. In some instances, we are able to find a match for such projects from other projects that are overmatched, or from other sources.

The SHPO office will then work with grant recipients to determine the final grant "product" and review it in draft and final form to assure sources of funding and to conform to the original intent of the grant and general preservation requirements.

S & P grants are chosen on the basis of general Federal criteria and specific State priorities that have been reviewed by HCDA.

S&P grants run for periods of 18 to 24 months.

**Preservation Perspectives**

by Marcella Sherfy

This second issue of *Preservation Perspectives* concentrates on money and historic preservation. We do so not because we think that circumstances or the amount of dollars available warrants promoting preservation primarily on the basis of sizeable grants. Quite the opposite. But the Montana State Historic Preservation Office is the funnel through which Congressionally appropriated Federal Historic Preservation Funds (HFP) reach Montana preservation projects. We are also responsible for administering — at the state level — Federal tax incentives for preservation. Hence, we want Montanans to know that funds are available, when and how those funds can be sought, and when the tax structure can be used to encourage preservation. Whatever the dollar amount, it is critical that the full range of qualified people know what dollar incentives exist to buttress their own preservation efforts, and that they can work with us in developing our priorities and their applications. But first, we would like to outline the relationship between preservation and special money.

Federal historic preservation grants have never been massive and aren't apt to be in the future. The largest national appropriation ever passed for Fiscal Year 1979 (FY79), was $160 million. Compared to housing and highway programs, for instance, that is modest. Given the current efforts to reduce the size and impact of Federal programs and to balance the budget, historic preservation is not as likely to be funded even at previous levels.

Montana's FY 80 portion of Federal preservation dollars was $688,000 — its largest allocation during the program's life. Based on national cuts, our FY 81 apportionment may drop to $280,000.

Clearly, then, the only way Montana preservation projects can put Federal funding to wise use is as we increase significantly the number of properties on the National Register of Historic Places and as interest in reusing older structures grows throughout the State, there will be even more good candidates.

So, rather than seeking grants as Federal building welfare to which we are entitled, we need to seek and use them for their original purposes:
- to create interest in preservation;
- to tackle unusual construction or preservation problems;
- to serve as a catalyst for major local funding efforts;
- to be bonuses for people who want to make sure their work sets a special example in preservation techniques.

Finally and happily, given the economic and political personality of Montana, the purposes and practices of preservation do not have to depend on the sheer volume of outside money. The philosophy governing the amount and use of Federal dollars aligns nicely with our needs and interests. In Montana, it seems that we can put limited preservation grant dollars to good use without growing to depend on them.
Preservation Tax Benefits

The rehabilitation of older buildings has gained momentum as a result of federal tax incentives introduced by Congress in 1976 and 1978. The new tax incentives, (Section 2124 of the Tax Reform Act of 1976 and Sections 701(f) and 315 of the Revenue Act of 1978) provide three tax advantages for property owners of commercial or income-producing historic properties who undertake rehabilitation: 1) an owner may completely write-off, or amortize, the costs of a rehabilitation project over a five year (60 month) period, even if the useful life of the improvements exceeds this time span; 2) or an owner, who substantially rehabilitates an historic building, may take an accelerated depreciation on the total value of the property; and 3) an owner may elect a ten per cent investment tax credit for rehabilitation expenses on commercial properties only. It provides a dollar-for-dollar credit against tax liabilities up to $25,000. Taxes owed in excess of $25,000 can be reduced on a percentage basis (60 per cent in excess of $25,000 in 1979, 70 per cent in 1980, 80 per cent in 1981, 80 per cent in 1982). If the credit more than offsets all of the federal income tax owed in the initial year, it may be carried back for three years and/or forward up to seven years. To further encourage preservation, the Tax Reform Act disallows the owner to deduct the costs of demolition of a 'Certified Historic Structure' and only permits a 'straight-line' depreciation of new construction on the site of the demolished historic structure.

Responsibility for administering the rehabilitation tax incentives is shared by the Department of the Interior, through the State Historic Preservation Office, and the Internal Revenue Service. The SHPO acts as the liaison between the property owner and the Department of the Interior, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service (HCRS), in reviewing both the historic significance of the property and the proposed or completed rehabilitation work that is submitted for tax "certification." All information relevant to this certification is submitted to SHPO for review before going to HCRS.

To qualify for the tax benefits, the property must be: 1) individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places; 2) located within a National Register Historic District and be a contributing element; 3) or be individually eligible and/or located within a potential historic district that will be nominated to the National Register. The proposed or completed project work must then conform with the "Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation." The application is in two parts.

Part One of the application is to document the physical appearance of the structure and explain the structure's historic significance. For any building or structure that is individually listed on the National Register this part of the application is unnecessary.

Part Two of the application is to document the existing building and the proposed or completed rehabilitation work. This part of the application may be submitted prior to construction or after the rehabilitation work is completed and should be submitted to the SHPO office in conjunction with Part One.

The SHPO suggests that Part Two be submitted to the SHPO office in conjunction with Part One. The SHPO suggests that Part Two be submitted prior to construction for review against the Secretary's Standards, in order to insure that proposed work meets the standards and can be certified. MCRS, in recent statistics, has shown that 100% of the projects that have received preliminary certifications have been certified and that the projects which have been submitted at the time that construction has been completed have had a denial rate of approximately 10%. After receiving preliminary certification, only the property owner's submission of photographs of the completed work and a standard form letter supplied by NCPR or the SHPO is necessary for final certification.

The new tax incentives have stimulated the sensitive re-use of older historic buildings. To date, in over 170 projects nationally, more than 800 million dollars worth of private capital (4.5 million in Montana) has been invested in "certified rehabilitations" and the national awareness of the incentives is steadily growing. Although the Tax Reform of 1976 expires in June of 1981 renewal is being presented to Congress, hopefully to carry it for another five year period so as to encourage the re-use of many historic buildings. For further information on the certification process, please contact the State Historic Preservation Office at (406)-449-4584 or write to: SHPO, Montana Historical Society, 225 N. Roberts, Helena, MT 59620.

—by Jonathan Hayt

Above, the Carlín Hotel in Billings, whose interior will be renovated for a restaurant and offices, using grant funds and tax incentives. Below, the Eddy's Bakery Building, Helena, owned by Eric Myhre, is a certified rehabilitation under the Tax Reform Act. Drawing by Richard I. Shope, Architect.
How to Research the History of an Older Building

No matter what your reasons for wanting to learn about a building’s past, your search into property history can be organized to answer a series of questions. Those questions and your identification of the ones to which you most want answers then can determine the sources you first plumb. That list of questions is apt to include:

- When was the property built; by whom?
- Who has occupied the building?
- How has the building been used?
- What importance in the community own- ers, occupants, architects, and builders of the building played?
- What changes have been made to the building; when; why were they done?

- What or who determined the building’s design?
- Where were materials for it purchased or gathered?

Research also can be organized around the categories of information needed to complete either a State Historical or Architectural Inventory form or a National Register of Historic Places nomination form. The State Historic Preservation Office in the Montana Historical Society will be glad to provide you with those blank forms.

Next, location of records likely will determine the pattern of your research. Summarized, information on buildings can be found in one of four places: among county or town legal records; at

The Whitehall Stage Stop, shown here as photographed in 1868, was built by Wells, Fargo & Co. in 1867. The building still stands (lower photo), although in a much altered state. The original “salt box” shape remains distinguishable, but the original chimneys have been removed, the porch has been changed, and windows have been altered. The building was remodeled in 1914 to resemble a craftsman style residence, then a popular architectural style.
your local historical society or library, among the belongings and memories of family and friends, in the Library and Archives of the Montana Historical Society. This is the database of possible research and record sources that follows tries to identify which of those plans can be tapped for which kinds of information.

PUBLIC RECORDS
Look for the following legal records at either your county courthouse or at the county clerk's office. In addition to researching the specific groups of sources identified below, ask whether the community ever had the required filing of other permits, licenses, death records, store inventories, etc., that might provide building information.

- Building Permit Books often contain information about the architect, builder, cost of construction, number of stories, rooms, stories, building materials, and date of construction. If a new permit was required, additions or alterations to the original structure also may be noted.
- Plat records show the original map, the official plat of a town or village, and show all lots or parcels of land, including streets, alleys, and streets as well as the property lines. These records will tell building dates, but they do not show the buildings.
- Sewer Permits may tell you the name of the original owner of the house, if you know the legal description of the property. Since sewer permits were issued when sewer and water lines were connected to the city sewer system, they likely would indicate a property construction date, if the building was built before 1970, the year sewer systems were made legal.

- Address books will give the date the address was assigned to a property of a person. Often this date corresponds with the construction date of an improvement. The address book's name should also be recorded on the card.

SANBORN FIRE INSURANCE MAPS
The Sanborn Map Company (later known as the Sanborn-Perini Map Company) was a firm that compiled maps of many cities and towns throughout the United States. The maps were then used for property assessment. The Sanborn maps are a useful tool for identifying the structure and location of buildings in a given area. If you live in a community with a large number of Sanborn maps, you can use these maps to discover changes or additions in building plans and their rough time period in which they occurred. Some local historical societies and libraries have secured Sanborn maps for their own use. The Montana Historical Society also holds Sanborn maps for many communities.

The Montana Historical Society and some local newspaper offices will hold back issues of community papers. The Montana Historical Society has an estimated 50% of the newspapers ever printed in Montana, many of which are on microfilm. It's important to remember, however, that newspapers are rarely indexed. Anticipate spending time with them in their value; anticipate just enjoying the broad look at your community's history.

PROMOTIONAL LITERATURE
Many railroads, land developers, and local trade associations widely advertised the potential economic potential of Montana. This early promotional literature offers a valuable source of information: biographical profiles of prominent local businesses, architects and builders: descriptions of local industry and business: listings of a community's financial assets: photographs of major residences, commercial structures, and public buildings. Local libraries and the Montana Historical Society Library are both sources worth checking for this kind of information.

MANUSCRIPTS, JOURNALS, DIARIES
Think through the possible existence of, and then hunt for, family or business records that might provide information on buildings and their creation. Inventories, city directories, and personal financial records are likely sources. Insurance files may contain loss- or damage-claims or inventories of possessions. If you have identified your building's contractor or architect, you can look for the records of the firm in question. Unions associated with it are of prominence, records of this kind usually remain in private ownership or in local historical societies, or have been deposited in places like the Montana Historical Society. Once you've found outline information on your property, you will be in a better position to know where to look for this kind of source material.

ORAL HISTORY
Other long-time residents and neighbors can be a wonderful source of information about your property. They can be asked specifically about construction dates, owners and occupants, uses, and changes. Seeking answers to specific questions likely will provide you with concrete data, prompting general reminiscing will give you anecdotes and an understanding of previous residents or users. Keep in mind that people are not always consistent in their memories. Anticipate verifying dates if possible or giving the person with whom you are talking as much of the outline as you already have compiled on your property.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Historical photographs can provide a great deal of building information through careful examination and comparison. Look in all photographs, even family portraits, for building details, furnishings, window and door locations, and building details you haven't seen recently. Neighborhood photographs or birdseye views of an entire community can be enlarged and printed in sections so you can look for a particular property carefully. Hiding for photographs, look in county libraries, local historical society buildings and county and city offices, and the Montana Historical Society's collection, which is indexed by city and town. Also, inquire of community residents for the availability of pertinent views.

COUNTY HISTORIES
Since the mid-1960s, many Montana counties have undertaken the writing of county histories. While format, content, and length vary considerably, make sure you have looked for such a volume addressing your area. It will likely be unindexed, but still worth your review.

MANUSCRIPTS AND CATALOGS
Builder's manuals, architectural styles, and popular magazines will not tell you information about your specific property, but may give you a much better idea of how or whether your property was representative of it in time and design. Such source material portrays popular architectural styles, construction materials, decorative features, color schemes, and more. Anticipate verifying dates if possible or giving the person with whom you are talking as much of the outline as you already have compiled on your property.

Sarnick fire insurance maps, such as this one showing a portion of Kalispell in 1927, measure 211/2 x 251/2 inches and are colored coded to depict building materials. Building shape, number of windows and chimney placement, roof covering, and often the use of the building are also shown on these maps.

- Sanborn maps are a useful tool for identifying the structure and location of buildings in a given area. If you live in a community with a large number of Sanborn maps, you can use these maps to discover changes or additions in building plans and their rough time period in which they occurred. Some local historical societies and libraries have secured Sanborn maps for their own use. The Montana Historical Society also holds Sanborn maps for many communities.

- The Sanborn Map Company (later known as the Sanborn-Perini Map Company) was a firm that compiled maps of many cities and towns throughout the United States. The maps were then used for property assessment. The Sanborn maps are a useful tool for identifying the structure and location of buildings in a given area. If you live in a community with a large number of Sanborn maps, you can use these maps to discover changes or additions in building plans and their rough time period in which they occurred. Some local historical societies and libraries have secured Sanborn maps for their own use. The Montana Historical Society also holds Sanborn maps for many communities.

- The Sanborn Map Company (later known as the Sanborn-Perini Map Company) was a firm that compiled maps of many cities and towns throughout the United States. The maps were then used for property assessment. The Sanborn maps are a useful tool for identifying the structure and location of buildings in a given area. If you live in a community with a large number of Sanborn maps, you can use these maps to discover changes or additions in building plans and their rough time period in which they occurred. Some local historical societies and libraries have secured Sanborn maps for their own use. The Montana Historical Society also holds Sanborn maps for many communities.
Caring for Older Properties

Historic Property Insurance—Some Considerations

Obtaining adequate insurance coverage for older houses can be a frustrating experience. What initially would appear as a simple matter soon becomes a perplexing and time-consuming problem when you discover most insurance policies are written to cover the typical ranch style house in suburbia.

The owners of many older houses have consciously chosen the individuality, the quality and the craftsmanship those houses afford over the blandness that sometimes accompanies mass-produced newer construction. Yet, the American insurance industry seems mistakenly to assume that most of us who own older houses latentlly desire a ranch style house. And, if we suffer a loss, that ranch style house is exactly what we are likely to end up with.

When recently purchasing insurance for my older house, I was sold a “replacement-cost” policy. Sounds adequate? It took only a few searching questions to discover that my idea of replacement and the insurance company’s idea of replacement were not exactly the same; for that matter, not even close to the same. The replacement cost used by the agent for an older house is the same as for a house of new construction. That cost is based on a square footage replacement cost in today’s market, with today’s materials. What that means is if my 2500-square-foot Victorian house is determined a complete loss, I will collect only enough money to replace it with a 2500-square-foot ranch style house.

For many owners of older houses, the premiums on a realistic “replacement-in-kind” policy would be prohibitive. Yet, there are options available, and this is where you need to locate an agent representing a company experienced in writing insurance for older houses. If you are purchasing a replacement-cost policy, you are basically determining the point at which it would be meaningless to attempt a restoration.

For example: You have purchased a 2500-square-foot Queen Anne house for $60,000. The insurance company has determined, using their square footage method, that the replacement cost in today’s market is $100,000. An appraiser has valued the actual reconstruction of an identical house at $175,000. You are satisfied that the $100,000 you would receive in a total loss would allow you to purchase an existing similar house in the neighborhood. However, if you suffer only a partial loss the maximum you could collect is $100,000. You would have $100,000 to repair the roof, replace the oak flooring, or find a craftsman to rebuild the carved staircase. $100,000 would probably cover any of those individually, but would it cover all of them at once? The same percentages are apt to be as applicable to a smaller older home, as well.

In the past, owners of newer homes were offered the more economical home owner’s policy, which covered the cost of the house, appurtenances, personal property and liability. Owners of older houses were forced to insure the house under a dwelling policy and add on other coverages at additional cost. More and more companies are now offering home owner’s policies to owners of older houses. You will find that unless your house is in perfect up-keep with the electrical and mechanical systems updated, the extent of coverage may be limited. Also, it will most likely be your responsibility to request any additional coverage for important features of your home.

Nationwide, many owners of older homes have been caught in the 80 per cent co-insurance trap, which requires that at the time of an insurable loss, the homeowner must be carrying insurance equal to at least 80 per cent of the replacement cost in order to be paid in full. Montana has a valued policy law which requires payment for claims on residential properties to be paid to the limits of the policy as long as the house is insured for 80 per cent of replacement cost. You and your agent can reach an agreed amount less than the 80 per cent replacement cost, but make sure that the decision is specifically endorsed in the policy.

Responding to the particular needs of the owners of historic homes, we have heard of at least one nationwide company that has introduced an “Historic Home Policy.” There may well be many others. The St. Paul Insurance Company is offering a modified replacement-cost clause. It allows the owner to choose the amount of his coverage ranging from 40 to 100 per cent of replacement cost subject to a minimum of the lesser of $30,000 or the market value. The company also offers a valued endorsement specifically to insure significant features of the house. The policy is currently available to owners of properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places or within National Register Districts. The house must also be in good repair.

In beginning to write this article, I had hoped to be able to give clear guidance for owners of older houses when insuring their homes. After discussions with local agents and the state insurance commissioner’s office, it became evident that there are no easy answers. If you are seeking insurance for your older house, do not be afraid to ask questions. Invite the agent to your house to show him the details you feel are important, and then take the time to allow him to explain the different types of policies and their ramifications. Also, each year you should review the policy with your agent to determine if additional coverage is required because of increases in market value or completed rehabilitation work.

Lon Johnston

Preservation Review Board sets nominations schedule

At the winter meeting on February 5, 1982, the State Preservation Review Board set the dates for its quarterly meetings as May 7th, August 6th, and November 5th. In order for a property to be considered by the Board for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, the nomination must be received by the SHPO by the following dates:

Spring nominations: March 5th
Summer nominations: June 4th
Autumn nominations: September 3rd
Montanans have always been interested in where they live and how they got there, often recording the story of their community or area in some lovingly-prepared by local residents. But in 1979, Livingston began a new generation of community studies with its Historic Resource Survey, the first of its kind in Montana. Other inventories of historic properties had been done before in the state, but Livingston was the first community that systematically at all its buildings. It wasn’t the last.

Twenty historic and architectural surveys have been started in Montana since Livingston’s, including full inventories of numerous communities, a look at all one-room schoolhouses in Gallatin County, and an inventory of all institutional state-owned buildings. Although these surveys differ in scope, sources of funding and methods, they all aim towards the same result, a careful and comprehensive look at “what’s out there.”

If you’re interested in what’s out there in your community or area, consider planning an historic resource survey. A survey need not be difficult, but it does require some time and thought. You may want to take a few tips from those communities with experience in the process.

The first step in a survey is simply deciding what to look at. This means taking a quick look at the area to outline clear and reasonable boundaries for the actual building-by-building inventory. The scope of the survey area may differ from town to town. Butte has found that a series of interlocking surveys, each one concentrating on a separate section of the city, will best serve its needs, while Hot Springs is planning a survey of the whole town.

Consider the uses to be made of the survey information when determining inventory boundaries. If there is a part of the community subject to change in the near future, it should probably be included in the survey. The purpose of a survey is not to save all older buildings, but to look at what’s there in order to determine what is worth saving and how best to do it. If a downtown area is scheduled for revitalization, the buildings there should be looked at to see what most needs work and also what is worth working on. Each community and area will have different needs depending on its size, location, the way it has developed and what will be happening to it in the future.

The next step in the survey process could be called “doing one’s homework.” Before going out to look at the individual buildings, the history and background of the survey area should be researched. This means reading historical studies of the area, collecting old photographs, architectural papers and maps, and documenting the significant people and events that influenced the area’s development. Some towns, such as Red Lodge, already have very good town histories published. In other communities the history may not have been written down, but still lives in the memories of long-time residents. Interviews with “old-timers” were an essential source of historical information for the Troy survey. In Kalispell, senior citizens were invited to a special meeting to share their knowledge of the town’s history, older buildings, and early residents. Other sources might be letters, diaries, newspapers and journals.

This preliminary historical overview should uncover the potential significance of certain properties that might otherwise be overlooked. Buildings of outstanding architectural merit, such as elaborate mansions or train depots, are easy to spot, but the historical value of many structures doesn’t show on the outside. As an example, in Billings the surveyors first thought that one rather nondescript neighborhood of small homes was probably built in the 1920s and therefore not vitally important to the

Streetscapes such as this one on Butte’s north side are what surveyors will be examining in Montana communities.
survey. But after the historical search, they found that the neighborhood was actually built in the 1880-1890 period! That made it one of the first neighborhoods in town. The Billings survey also had individuals compile histories on their own neighborhoods. The results have heightened the residents’ awareness of their history and their own neighborhoods’ significance.

After the survey boundaries are set up and the historical background is researched, the step-by-step looking begins. The key to this inventory phase is actually looking at and recording each structure in the area. The buildings are described, photographed and mapped with the aid of an inventory form. (See example of the form included in this issue of Preservation.) Surveyors are careful to note the alterations to a structure over the years, the presence and function of the outbuildings and any interesting design features.

Follow-up research on specific buildings will need to be done to determine the date of their construction, who the original owner was, and how the building was used through the years. All this information is added to the inventory form for a more complete evaluation of the property’s historical significance. This research is often done in the county courthouse by looking at tax records, plat books, and city directories. In Billings, a large number of surveyors in teams of two tackled the courthouse records. In Missoula, in addition to records research, surveyors have set out to investigate a wide range of special topics. One person became interested in the background of street names and went on to compile a history of the persons or events associated with the naming of Missoula’s streets.

The next step is deciding what is important in the wealth of information gathered during the inventory. This evaluation should involve a variety of people, including historians and community officials. Determining which homes and buildings are significant in a community should be based on the structures’ historical and architectural value for that community. Historical values include more than a building’s having been owned by an important member of the community. The use a building was put to, such as blacksmith shop, dairy, post office, etc., may demonstrate early commercial patterns, and changes in building use can document social history, such as Kalispell’s Masonic Temple that now houses a Coast to Coast store.

While nominations to the National Register of Historic Places are not the principal reason for doing a historic resource survey, the documentation on structures within the survey area ought to be sufficient for a “determination of eligibility,” if that is desired. The survey in Deer Lodge is being done partly to determine which properties are eligible for nomination, as well as to set up a self-directed walking tour of the town.

Dillon and Livingston already have published walking tour brochures based on the information gathered in their surveys.

The last step in an historic resource survey ties in with the first step. What are going to be the future needs of the community and area? How can the survey information be used to help meet those needs? A survey provides a community with much more than a forgotten set of forms and photographs locked away in some file cabinet. Information gathered in a survey is available to the public, both in the Preservation Office in Helena and at the local courthouse, library or planning office. Publicizing the evaluation, such as in a brochure or an organized exhibit, allows a wide range of people to come to know and appreciate the significance of historic properties. The Northern Cheyenne tribe is planning to use the information gathered in the survey of their reservation in high-school history classes. Adult education classes through local schools and historical societies are another possibility.

The information from the survey is also useful for local planners and other citizens interested in preservation. Besides pointing out those properties which are genuinely historic, the inventory data can give planners a clear and well-informed basis for future zoning and development decisions. Respecting important and irreplaceable buildings and structures from the past and incorporating these in future development aids inculcably in a community’s retaining its “sense of self.” Livingston and all these other Montana towns know this. Your town can too.

For your own use

With all this interest in historic resource surveys, do you wonder what sort of information a survey gathers? Take a look around your own home. If you were going to inventory it, where would you start? Reproduced on the following pages is the inventory form being used right now for surveys throughout Montana. Try actually completing it, for your house or some other interesting building, following the instructions on the form and the information below. (If you don’t live in Montana, contact your state’s Preservation Office for a copy of their form.)

This can be more than just a casual exercise, too. Send the completed form to our office and we’ll add it to our growing inventory of Montana properties. Be sure to attach a photograph (a Polaroid works well) and sketch the floorplan and the site, showing how the building relates to streets, driveways, etc.

Some structural terms are illustrated by the drawings below; the terms refer to features commonly found in most Montana towns. For instance, under “number of stories,” the choices include 1½, 2½ and 3½. If a house has dormers added to make living space out of an attic, as many houses do, this is called a “half-story.”

Send your completed form to the State Historic Preservation Office, Montana Historical Society, 225 N. Roberts, Helena, 59620. If you’d also like to investigate the history of a building which seems particularly significant, write for a free copy of our booklet, “How to Research the History of Older Buildings.” If you need help in understanding architectural styles a good reference is John J. Blumenson’s Identifying American Architecture, A Pictorial Guide to Styles and Terms, 1600—1945.

SHINGLE EDGES
spaced and cut
fish scale
feather cut
imbreasted and beveled
stagger butt

STONWORK
rubble stone
coursed stone
### MONTANA HISTORIC * ARCHITECTURAL INVENTORY

**LEGAL LOCATION:**
addition block lot(s)

**ADDRESS:**
no. street city county

**OWNERSHIP:**
- [ ] public
- [ ] private

**DATE:**

**CONTACT PHOTO**

**HISTORIC NAME:**

**ORIGINAL OWNER:**

**DATE OF CONSTRUCTION:**

- [ ] documented
- [ ] estimate

**COMMON NAME:**

**ARCHITECT/BUILDER:**

**ORIGINAL USE:**

**PRESENT USE:**

**RESEARCH SOURCES:**

- [ ] abstract of title
- [ ] plat records/maps
- [ ] tax cards
- [ ] building permit
- [ ] other

**SURROUNDING ENVIRONMENT:**

- [ ] open land
- [ ] residential
- [ ] agricultural
- [ ] scattered buildings
- [ ] commercial
- [ ] high building density
- [ ] industrial

**NUMBER OF STORIES:**

- [ ] 1
- [ ] 1½
- [ ] 2
- [ ] 2½
- [ ] 3
- [ ] 3½

**CHIMNEYS:** position and number

**BUILDING TYPE/ARCHITECTURAL STYLE:**

**ROOF:**

- [ ] gable
- [ ] gambrel
- [ ] hipped
- [ ] dormers
- [ ] combination

- [ ] flat
- [ ] shed
- [ ] mansard
- [ ] turret
- [ ] asphalt

**covering**

- [ ] wood shingle
- [ ] metal
- [ ] wood shake
- [ ] slate
- [ ] asphalt

**WINDOWS:**

- [ ] double hung
- [ ] casement

- [ ] 1/1
- [ ] 2/2
- [ ] 3/1
- [ ] 4/1

- [ ] fixed

**type**

**sash arrangement**

**EXTERIOR MATERIALS:**

- [ ] brick (coursing & color)
- [ ] log (notch type)
- [ ] shingle (edge type)
- [ ] clapboard
- [ ] shiplap
- [ ] stucco
- [ ] asbestos siding
- [ ] aluminum siding

**OUTBUILDINGS:**

- [ ] barns
- [ ] sheds
- [ ] garage
- [ ] carriage house
- [ ] sauna

**other:**

- [ ] documented
- [ ] estimate

- [ ] Sanborn maps
- [ ] sewer permit
- [ ] city directories
- [ ] obituaries
- [ ] biography

- [ ] rubble stone
- [ ] coursed stone
- [ ] concrete
- [ ] concrete block

- [ ] other

** physical description:**

Describe significant architectural features and note any additions, alterations, & changes in materials.
HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: Describe important persons, events, and/or historical patterns associated with structure, site and surrounding area.

ARCHITECTURAL SIGNIFICANCE: Explain how location, design, materials, and/or workmanship contribute to the property's significance.

INFORMATION VALUE: Explain how the extant structure/site may demonstrate or yield information about its historic use or construction.

CONTRIBUTION TO A DISTRICT: Describe the visual and historic relationship between the structure/site and the surrounding area.

FORM PREPARED BY:
Name: ____________________________ Telephone Number: ____________________________ Date: ____________________________
Address: ____________________________

SHPO COMMENTS:

SEND TO:
MONTANA STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE
225 N. Roberts
Helena, MT 59620

UTM Reference: / / USGS map Sec T R
Montana Historic Bridge Inventory

by Fredric L. Quivik

EDITOR’S NOTE: While Montana’s Historic Resource Surveys have so far been limited to buildings and sites, other visible traces of the state’s history also remain, ready to yield their stories to the careful surveyor. Engineering structures, such as tunnels, bridges and water towers, can prove as valuable in tracing the development of Montana as the buildings of the towns they served.

The following article describes such a structures survey, the Montana Historic Bridge Inventory. Bridges included in the Inventory range from the massive 825-foot Ft. Benton Bridge over the Missouri River, to the wooden truss Coburg Bridge spanning the Milk River. Following the history of bridge-building in Montana is one way of discovering how we have traveled from there to here, across the river and into today.

The Montana Historic Bridge Inventory was begun in 1979 by the Montana State Highway Department and the Historic American Engineering Record. It documents all public and many private bridges in Montana older than forty-five years and over twenty feet in span.

It is the responsibility of the Highway Department to protect cultural resources from the adverse effects of federal aid highway projects. Because federal money is used to repair and replace bridges in Montana, the Highway Department needed an inventory of all old bridges in the state to determine their significance and to make responsible decisions on their fate.

This inventory was planned through a joint agreement between the State Historic Preservation Office, the Office of Planning & Research at the Highway Department, and the Historic American Engineering Record. HAER has since merged with the Historic American Buildings Survey to form the National Architectural and Engineering Record, a division of the National Park Service. The inventory cost $33,500, paid by the Highway Department with U.S. Department of Transportation monies.

Inventorying all bridges in the state in one coordinated study accomplished three things: It provided an historical and structural context which allowed a more accurate determination of the significance of individual bridges; it was much cheaper than inventorying the state’s many bridges piecemeal; and the results of the inventory can be used in the planning process for future bridge projects. This should prevent costly delays once a project has begun.

The Montana Historic Bridge Inventory involved several stages. Field work began with visits to all qualifying bridges. Public bridges were located through Highway Department records. Private vehicular bridges (on ranches) were found, with luck, simply by watching from the roads and asking local residents and road crews where the bridges could be found.

Railroad bridges were also included—easily located on maps. Even though this project was a Highway Department inventory, it was necessary to document railroad bridges to create the overall context of Montana’s transportation history. Unlike the public bridges, however, only the more significant and representative railroad bridges were considered.

Each bridge was photographed and sketched, and a description of the structure and its condition was written. Historical records were researched after the site visit to determine dates of construction and possible modification, bridge designer and builder, and other pertinent historical information. Most of the documentation existed in the county courthouses since many of the bridges inventoried were county-owned and not on the Federal Aid System. County records varied greatly in extent and quality of information, but the Highway Department has a near complete collection of historical information for bridges on the Federal Aid System.

Preparing inventory cards for each bridge was the next stage of the inventory. Each completed card contains information on ownership, condition, description of structure and history, photographs, and site map. About 500 standardized NAER inventory cards (8x10) were prepared. Copies were filed at the State Highway Department and the State Historical Preservation Office in Helena. Copies were also sent to the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., and the National Park Service Regional Office in Denver.

After on-site and background information was gathered, the bridges were then categorized. Category I bridges are the twenty most significant bridges in the state, slated to receive additional documentation. Category II bridges are other historically significant bridges; fifty-eight of these were found. (The State Historic Preservation Office is preparing a thematic nomination to the National Register of Historic Places this summer for all seventy-eight Category I and II bridges.) Category III bridges are those which are not eligible for the Register or for which enough information was not available during the Inventory to determine their eligibility.

The next step in the Inventory was preparing a final report. This contained a general historical narrative about bridge building in Montana and described the significance of each of the Category I and II bridges. The historical narrative is important because many individual bridges are not structurally important, although they played a significant role in Montana’s economic history as it relates to transportation.

In April 1981, the Inventory was presented by NAER to the Montana Highway Department, SHPO, and the Bridge Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee was appointed by the Highway Department to ratify NAER’s findings. It represents state engineers, historians, and the State Historic Preservation Review Committee. The findings of the Montana Historic Bridge Inventory were approved and accepted. They were accompanied by some recommendations for minor modifications in the final report and the categorization of bridges.

Once the assignment of bridges to Category I had been approved, NAER proceeded with more detailed documentation. Each of the twenty Category I bridges was recorded in further detail by NAER’s photographer. Black and white photographs were taken of each bridge, including contextual shots, profile, portal and ¾ views, and numerous details of the

The Snowden Bridge over the Missouri, just west of the North Dakota border, was built by the Great Northern Railroad in 1913. Its 296-foot vertical lift span was designed to allow riverboats to pass underneath.
structural connections between various elements of the bridge.

The last stage of the Montana Historic Bridge Inventory, publication of the final report, is accompanied by the NAER photographs, as well as photographs reprinted from the Historical Society and Highway Department Archives. The publication was prepared at the U.S. Park Service Regional Office in Denver. The Inventory found that many of Montana's bridges have been destroyed with little or no documentation. Many surviving historic bridges lack maintenance. The initial documentation on the surviving bridges provided by the Inventory will help ensure careful consideration of the cultural resources affected before historically significant bridges are modified or destroyed. The Inventory will also inform Montanans of the importance of our historic bridges, encouraging us to keep them in better repair in the future.

Below, a 1912 bridge over the Judith River near Rosa Fork is representative of the type commonly built in Montana 1910-1917, the riveted Warren pony truss. At right, the oldest surviving bridge in Eastern Montana is the Tongue River Bridge in Miles City, a sub-divided steel truss bridge built in 1897.

Lodge Grass's timely survey

by Deborah Rokita

The town of Lodge Grass, population 776, is the only incorporated town within the boundaries of the Crow Indian Reservation. One of the earliest settlements in the area, Lodge Grass was a thriving community with many prestigious Crow chiefs and prominent ranchers living in and near the town even before its incorporation in 1927.

During the past year, Lodge Grass has been using a HUD Community Development Block Grant for housing rehabilitation. This summer, due to more awareness of their town from the Housing Rehabilitation project and a coal development contract recently signed between the Crow Tribe and Shell Oil, the business community and Senior Citizen group of Lodge Grass requested that a historic survey be undertaken. A portion of the CDBG funds are being used to match Federal Historical Preservation funds to accomplish the intensive historic and architectural survey of the community.

The survey is not just a luxury, it is particularly needed in Lodge Grass at this time. As a result of some of the pioneer families leaving, a number of private structures are abandoned and in need of restoration and repair. At the same time, the potential population growth from the coal development will force the community to move from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy. This transition, though gradual, has prompted private developers and local businesses to buy speculation property. All this makes the survey even more timely, since it is possible that structures of historic significance will be torn down and replaced by new buildings.

As a first step in the survey, each and every building in Lodge Grass was photographed. We brought these photographs to meetings with the Senior Citizens and the local Advisory Council to figure out which structures date back to the town's beginnings. Since very little has been written concerning the history or development of Lodge Grass, historic information for the survey came primarily from the old photographs, a mail-out questionnaire, group meetings, and interviews with members of the founding families. The cooperation and enthusiasm shown by the people of Lodge Grass was very gratifying.

Researching the history of the older buildings in town brought some surprises. For example, the contemporary appearance of the Pease House gives few clues, but historic photographs and oral interviews with Helen Pease Wolf established this as one of the earliest and more significant dwellings in the community. The house was built by George Pease, the son of Major Fellows D. Pease who was the first Indian Agent for Crow Reservation, assigned in 1871. Although the house was re-sided, the roof recovered, the front porch enclosed, and the windows altered, the Pease House has retained its basic form and may easily be recognized in the old photographs.

Another structure of particular interest in Lodge Grass is the Schinderline House. Built in 1909, this home is the only one in town constructed of carved sandstone blocks. Although the Schinderline House has changed hands throughout the years, it is now back in the family that originally built it.

Lodge Grass became more than just an Indian and government camp, when W.A.

Helen Pease Wolf shares pictures and her knowledge of early-day Lodge Grass with interviewer Maribeth Koch.
Montana surveys so far

Historic Resource Surveys are taking place in many communities around Montana. Most of these surveys are receiving some assistance from the federal Historic Preservation Fund grant program. These grant funds are limited and each federal dollar received by a community must be "matched" by at least the same amount in local funds or donations.

Donations need not be exclusively in cash. Many surveys are employing volunteers whose donated time may be used as match for the Historic Preservation dollars. The involvement of local people in a survey effort is vital to the success of the project. "In-kind" donations other than services might be office space for a survey's headquarters, telephone service or perhaps the use of darkroom facilities.

While some communities are using in-kind donations for the total donation, others depend upon the availability of Community Development Block Grant funds. In some instances, city and county funds have been used and even donations from Chambers of Commerce have helped support surveys. Private donations from interested groups and individuals should not be overlooked as possibilities, especially if these donations can be used to spur fund-raising activities. Corporations or businesses interested in developing specific areas may be required by law to complete some survey work before starting their projects. These surveys may be coordinated with other local survey efforts and the corporate funds used to match the federal funds.

SURVEYS COMPLETED

Fort Benton Historic Survey, used Historic Preservation Fund (HPF) dollars under the supervision of a local historian who donated many hours of his time. Missoula Historical Resource Survey, used HPF dollars matched with Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds and the equivalent of salaries for volunteer workers. Pryor Mountain Survey (1980 portion). HPF dollars matched with University of Maine funds and the salary equivalent for a volunteer anthropology professor. Kalispell Historical and Architectural Inventory, Livingston Historic Preservation Survey, and Troy Historical and Architectural Survey, all used HPF dollars matched with CDBG funds. Red Lodge Historical and Architectural Survey. HPF dollars matched with private donations. State Building Survey. Accomplished as a service to all Montana state agencies by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). Historic Bridges in Montana. Funded by the Montana State Highway Department under auspices of Historic American Engineering. One Room Schoolhouses of Gallatin County. Prepared by School of Architecture, Montana State University. Billings Historic and Architectural Resource Survey. HPF dollars matched with CDBG funds, donation from city and equivalent of salaries for volunteer workers. Volunteer teams trained by survey consultant; workshops, a luncheon, flyers, and newspaper and TV stories used to recruit volunteers; and local Boy Scouts volunteered to paste contact photographs on inventory forms. At one point there were 42 volunteers actively working on this survey. Dillon Centennial Historical Survey. HPF dollars matched with CDBG funds. West Yellowstone Historical and Architectural Survey. HPF dollars matched with county funds through West Yellowstone Chamber of Commerce.

SURVEYS IN PROGRESS

Plains Historical and Architectural Survey. No outside funding, all work being done by volunteers on local individuals' own initiative. Philipsburg Historic and Architectural Survey. HPF dollars matched with county funds, in-kind donations and the equivalent of salaries for volunteer workers. Volunteer researcher is University of Montana history student. Deer Lodge Inventory of Historical Structures. HPF dollars matched with in-kind donations and equivalent of salaries for volunteer workers. Volunteers include a research historian, an engineer, and a professional photographer. Butte National Landmark Survey (Phase I)—Northwest Neighborhood. HPF dollars matched with ARCO funds and equivalent of salaries for volunteer workers. Volunteers from Butte Historical Society are to do background research and inventorying. Helena Historic Resource Survey. HPF dollars matched with CDBG funds and equivalent of salaries for volunteer workers. Hot Springs Historical Survey. HPF dollars matched with CDBG funds and equivalent of salaries for volunteer workers. Volunteers include a research historian and photographer. Lodge Grass Historical Preservation Survey. HPF dollars matched with CDBG funds. Senior citizens volunteered their time for oral interviews and brought in photographs.


SURVEYS BEING CONTEMPLATED

The Butte and Northern Cheyenne surveys will be done in planned stages over the next several years. The Pryor Mountain archeological survey is also a continuing project.

Lodge Grass as it looked about 1917.

Petzoldt built the first Baptist mission school in 1903. The Baptist Mission School Church in New York was asked by the Crow Tribe to sponsor a school because the people wanted their children at home rather than at the boarding school in Crow Agency. As families settled permanently near the new school, local commerce soon expanded. Two trading posts were built in 1902, and in 1904, the permanent brick structure now known as Stevenson Store was built by A. M. Stevenson. The store is still operated by his grandchildren. The other trading post, built by George Pease, changed hands several times and was eventually abandoned. However, it still stands, looking very much as it did in 1902. In the ensuing years a bank, two hotels, hardware store, granary, train depot, lumber yard, butcher shop, drug store, shoe shop and numerous homes were built. Most of the commercial buildings, though still standing, are now abandoned. More interviews are being conducted with the citizens and a comparison file of old and new photographs is being constructed. Through their enthusiastic help, the people of Lodge Grass have made this survey their personal effort, and a source of regenerated pride in the community.
Who should receive SHPO’s ’81 awards?

The State Historic Preservation Office is accepting suggestions for candidates for the 1981 Historic Preservation Awards, which will be presented October 2 at the Montana History Conference in Helena.

This awards program is designed to recognize and publicize sound, creative preservation work regardless of whether public money or public processes were involved. It is not officially linked with the grants program or National Register of Historic Places activity handled by the Preservation Office.

Awards will be given in two categories—people or organizations, and for projects. The first award honors those whose work, in rehabilitation, survey, writing or organizing, has been especially effective in broadening and educating community interest in preservation. The projects category recognizes rehabilitation work that is reasonably sound, economically productive or sustaining.

The Preservation Office needs brief suggestions of people or projects for these awards, not lengthy nominations. To suggest a candidate, send a brief description of the activities or project to Dr. Robert Archibald, Director, Montana Historical Society, before September 23.

Funding status report

As of press time, we did not have final word on the status of appropriations for the Historic Preservation Fund for Fiscal Year 1982 (October 1982—September 1983). So we do not know how much we may be receiving from HPF for grant projects, or even if we will receive any funding.

If you remember, the Reagan administration recommended no funding for any State Historic Preservation activities, including both planning and rehabilitation grants. However, before Congress’s August recess, the House and Senate appropriations committees both recommended funding of $39.5 million for nationwide historic preservation activity (compared to $32.5 million appropriated for the current fiscal year, FY 81).

While final amounts and conditions for use will have to be approved by the House and Senate after the recess, we are encouraged by the current support of grant funding. It appears likely, though, that in approving the limited grant funds for the coming fiscal year, Congress may restrict the use of this money to planning activities only. This will eliminate funding for actual rehabilitation work, the “bricks and mortar” aspect of the preservation grant program.

It is important to remember, though, that the current funding debate will not affect the money already committed by the appropriations from previous fiscal years. That funding remains solid.

Preservation Perspectives

by Marcella Sherffy

Of all the historic preservation activity we encourage, surveying is the most important and the least glamorous. Compare it to actual building restoration. You can watch an old, neglected property take on new life with the replacement of bricks and shingles. But the process of conducting an architectural and historical inventory is relatively invisible and the benefits less splashy or immediate. In fact, because a survey results first in completed inventory forms like the one reproduced in this issue, it is subject to the charge of generating useless paper rather than new places to live.

Greet that charge with healthy skepticism. Like lots of other instances in life, the quietness of the survey process demonstrates rather than detracts from its value. It is relatively easy to spend money on a fancy old building in a community. It’s not so easy to be sure in spending that money—be it ours or Uncle Sam’s—that the choice of a property or the number of dollars expended constitutes a good investment. For a community to look after its heritage, the odds for getting on a given property get better the more it knows about all the properties in town.

Let me illustrate that claim with an analogy. Most of us pass through adulthood with a grab bag of belongings: gifts (wanted or otherwise) alongside carefully-chosen furnishings, family treasures mingled with garage sale bargains. Every now and then something provokes us into taking stock of that collection—perhaps packing for a move or furnishing a daughter’s new apartment. Usually with some system, we look more carefully at what we’ve got than we do in the course of ordinary days, pulling some things out of dark storage and relegating others to Goodwill. Sometimes, we’ll end up wishing for things thrown away earlier.

An architectural and historical survey is that stock-taking process on a community or neighborhood scale, often prompted by the need for a new survey, because it involves so many lives and so much property, must be more organized than what we undertake in our own attics, but the results should be similar: a better sense of what we’ve got and a sounder basis on which to decide what to keep; what to spend money on; what to defend from outside interference; how to keep what we like. Note that in both cases, the process of inventorying is as important as its conclusion.

Don’t let anyone dissuade you from considering an inventory with the argument that what is historically important in your community is obvious. Indeed, most of us as families or communities can agree respectively on the value of two or three home or city heirlooms; the grandfather’s clock; the city hall; the hand-carved rocker; the earliest log cabin. But those properties are not likely to be threatened or neglected. A survey forces us to identify and think about those older properties whose values are more elusive: the houses we drive by so often we don’t even consider; the buildings whose exteriors don’t reveal the importance of their original occupants; the properties whose craftsmanship can’t be seen from a car window; or the neighborhoods that are lived in by folks we don’t know so well.

This issue of Preservation is devoted to explaining architectural and historical surveys in greater detail and telling you how they can be accomplished, using examples from the communities who’ve undertaken them recently. I invite you to read it considering what might come if systematic curiosity were applied to the buildings in your own community.

Don’t stop here! If you are interested in learning more about surveying, if you would like to discuss the various sources of funding for surveys, or if you want to know if any surveys have been done in your area, please feel free to contact us at the Preservation Office.
December 15, 1983

Ivan Doig
17021 Tent Ave. NW
Seattle, WA 98177

Dear Ivan,

Thank you. I enjoyed the walk through Gros Ventre immensely. A most plausible town. I especially liked the corner pillar come barber's pole detail. For a town of 1000 in the middle of prime homesteading country, there easily could have been four banks staring "down each others' throats" at the intersection. The fact that there were only two might testify to the good sense of the people who established Gros Ventre and perhaps maintained a degree of control during the onslaught. Certainly this town has been one of MT's most stable in terms of population! The only building that does not fit my preconceived notions of likely design is the Carnegie Library. These usually diminutive buildings tended to be Classical in detailing. Prairie School influences emerged during the later teens. The plans were sometimes provided and always approved by the Carnegie Foundation. Practicality, cost-efficiency, and an appearance of rather conservative "good taste" were emphasized by the Foundation. No palaces of knowledge these libraries. I don't know what you mean by "a fancy caboose", but, then again, I only know of a few of the fourteen Carneiges in the State.

I look forward to seeing the whole story!

Cheers!

Pat Buite
Dear Pat—Your timing is exquisite. The letter came today as I was going through my ms for the final time; tomorrow I photocopy it and mail it to NY. You’re absolutely right about the library of my town. I got lazy on that and just did a description from memory of a Carnegie Library in a neighborhood of Seattle. Thanks to the pics you provided, I’ve now glanced the main features of the Lewistown one, and the description reads something like “The little Carnegie library, with its flight of steps and its portico which looked as if a temple had been intended but the money gave out.” The population stability of my town is a kind of tenfold tribute to Dupuyer, which is on the actual site I’m writing about; in the 30 years I’ve been around it, Dupuyer has been remarkably stable. And I appreciate learning that I could have even more banks, if I want; likely won’t, though, as I’m saying much of the homesteader boom happened closer to Valier and Conrad and those places would have sopped up the rest of the banking. The detail of the barber “pole” painted on an old bank (or possibly hotel) column is actual—I think you can see it in Chester. My wife has a picture of it, and much else of Gros Ventre, around here.

So, thanks again, for the help both early and late in the writing of that part of my novel. I hope you have a thrilling th.
Lawhims, 1905-6
T. J. Tubb, local contractor
No architect noted
(Very well could have been Carnegie Design)
$10,000 grant
Red Lodge

No info at hand but typical design of late teens
Malta, 1917

$15,000 grant from Carnegie
F. F. Bossout, local architect
Dillon, 1902
C. S. Haire, architect from Butte
$7,500 grant
($100 cost overrun)

This one is an anomaly, likely due to early date of construction, before Carnegie formed stated ideas about library design.
December 1, 1983

Ivan Diog
17021 Tenth Ave. NW
Seattle, WA 98177

Dear Ivan,

I would be very pleased to look at the 1930's Montana town you have just recently created. Thank you for inviting my comments. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Patricia Bick
Dear Pat--

Here's the town. Gros Ventre (pronounced locally GROVE on), population about a thousand, the year 1939. The town's site is the actual one of Dupuyer, its cottonwoods are Choteau's but double-rowed in the style of some of Great Falls's old neighborhoods, several of its downtown buildings are ones Carol photographed for me in various northern Montana towns, but some I just made up.

Anyway, I'd like to know how the town sounds to you. Particularly anything that's illogical, or downright wrong. It is meant to be an imaginative place, in civic terms, somewhat as I think of Choteau as being; but I don't want to overdraw it either. A couple of things you may notice: the speaker's stump is one I've adapted out of Alaska history (village of Metlakatlah), and for some reason I've simply left out churches, which would be mainly Catholic and Presbyterian. Is either too outlandish?

A bit of background to the pages: my narrator, just short of his 15th birthday, is riding into town for the 4th of July. He is on his father's mouse-colored horse, named House. The narrator, Jack, is going to stay overnight with a school chum, and so is heading for the chum's house to leave his warbag for the night, before going on to the town picnic where he'll meet his family. Confusing enough?

Thanks for inspecting this for me. See you next time I'm at the Society.

best,
Dear Pat--

A quick query: would you have time to look over my fictional version of a 1930's Montana town? You may recall that you helped Carol and me, a couple of summers ago, with a list of characteristics to watch for as she photographed and I took notes toward this created town for my next novel. For better or worse, the place is built. The description runs 35 typed double-spaced pages, and all I'd ask you to do is jot in the margins wherever anything doesn't sound right to you. What do you think, can you manage this?

All is well here, I'm in the last couple of weeks on this Montana novel. It should be ready on schedule, for publication next fall. Then I hope to start on one about homesteaders.

best regards
Figure 11.23  View of Jacksonville, Oregon: 1883
Figure 17.20  View of Durango, Colorado: 1889
Figure 16.7  View of Jamestown, North Dakota: 1883
Figure 12.12  Plan of St. John's, Nebraska: 1856
Figure 12.13
Plan of Omaha, Nebraska: 1854
GROS, grô, Antoine Jean (1771–1835). French painter, famous for his battlefield portraits of Napoleon and scenes from his campaigns. Born in Paris on March 16, 1771, Gros studied under the neoclassicist Jacques Louis David and in 1794 went to Italy to paint Napoleon. He was attached to Napoleon’s staff as a commissioner of art, with the duties of selecting art objects from Italian collections to be installed in the newly created Musée du Louvre. As staff artist during later campaigns, Gros painted flattering portraits of Napoleon commanding in the field.

After David’s exile to Brussels following the Battle of Waterloo, Gros attempted to continue David’s neoclassical program, but was unsuccessful. Although Charles X made him a baron in 1824, Gros’ gradual loss of popularity led to his suicide, at Meudon on June 26, 1835.

Gros’ best-known paintings are Víctor of Arc, The Battle of Eutau, and Napoleon Visiting the Pest House at Jaffa. In this last painting, his exploitation of the esoteric Middle Eastern setting anticipates the later romantic interest in that area. Even more significant is the pessimism expressed in the portrayal of the dead and dying soldiers; the realistic rendering of these pathetic, plague-ridden figures contradicts the idealized neoclassicism of David and anticipates the romantic realism of Géricault.

H. Dustin Rice, Columbia University

GROS VENTRES, grô’ vân’tër, a North American Indian tribe of equestrian warriors and bison hunters that resided in the Milk River area of Montana. The name Gros Ventres (“Big Bellies”) was given them by the French. They were also known as the Atsina, from a Piegan name probably meaning “gut people.” They called themselves Haaninin, which meant “chalk men” or “lime men.”

The Gros Ventres were an Algonkian people who separated from the Arapaho Indians. They are often confused with the Hidatsa Indians of North Dakota, also known as Gros Ventres. The Gros Ventres culture was not clearly distinguished from that of their neighbors. Their social and religious observances, such as the Sun Dance, were as elaborate as those of the Arapaho.

A typical Plains tribe, they placed great emphasis on war honors. They fought much with the Crow, Dakota, and Assiniboine. The Gros Ventres allied themselves with the Piegan and other Blackfeet, but in 1867, after joining the Crow in an expedition against the Blackfeet, they were severely defeated. Their numbers were further reduced by disease. By 1900 very little remained of their culture. Settled with the Assiniboines on the Fort Belknap Reservation in Montana, about 1,000 persons still identified themselves as Gros Ventres in the late 1960s.

Stephen E. Ferlita
U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs

GROSBEAK, grô’sbèk, any of a group of large finches that have large, seed-cracking bills. Grosbeaks are generally found from subarctic North America to Argentina; the pine grosbeak (Pinicola enucleator), however, also occurs in Europe, Asia north of the Himalayas, northern Arabia, and Africa north of the Sahara.

Grosbeaks are from 6 to 10 inches (15–27 cm) long. The males are brightly colored—black, white, and red in the red-breasted grosbeak (Pheucticus ludovicianus) of eastern North Amer-
near his head, and said to it, "If the snake comes, fall on my face." Then, indeed, the snake came, and the arrow fell on him, and he woke and got up. But one night he was very sleepy. He stuck the arrow tightly into the ground, and went to sleep. The snake came to where he was lying. The arrow tried to fall. It tried several times. But it could not fall. The snake was close. Then it made a dash, and shot into the boy's anus. "Well, at last I have you. You said I would not catch you. This is the last you will live. Now you will die." Thus the snake said to the boy. But he answered, "No, I do not think I will die. You will become hungry, or out of breath, and you will leave me." The snake said, "No, I will remain in you until you die." The boy said, "No, I do not think you will. I think you will go out from me before I am dead." The boy lived some time with the snake in him. Then he died. The snake was in him still. After a time he had become nothing but bones. The snake would not leave him. He continued to lie there. Then the Moon wondered where his boy was. He never saw him going about any more. At last the boy was tired of lying on the ground so long. He said to his father, "Do something for me. I am tired of lying." Then the Moon made a cold rain. The snake crawled about under the bones, and at last went to find shelter. As soon as it had gone out from him, the boy stood up alive, just as he had been before. He caught the snake and cut it to pieces. He said, "You thought you would kill me. You were deceived. Instead of killing me, you are dead yourself." As the boy rose from his bones, his mother at the same time also got up alive.1

22. The Boy who was Raised by the Seven Bulls.

There was a camp. A boy and a girl were lovers. The girl became pregnant. Her mother asked her what made her belly swell. She would not acknowledge, but said that she was sick. When she was about to deliver, she told her mother, "I have had a lover and am pregnant. I am ashamed. Let us throw the child away." The camp moved, and she and her mother fell behind. She was in great pain. When the rest of the camp was out of sight, they stopped, and the girl gave birth to a boy. Her mother dug a hole in a buffalo-wallow, put the child in, and covered it with earth. Then they left it. The child cried and struggled, and partly uncovered itself. Seven old Buffalo-bulls were near by. They were following the trail of the camp. One went to the wallow in order to wallow in it. He heard a sound he did not know. Then the others came, until all seven were there. They found the child and looked at it. They pitied it. One of them said, "Let us raise it. We will have it for our son." Then the first Buffalo began to wallow. As he wallowed, he licked the boy all over. Then another one licked him. When all seven had licked him, he was no longer a baby, but a boy. The Bulls told him to climb on the Bull who had first found him, and to hold on to his mane. Then they went off. The Bulls thought the boy hungry, but did not know what to give him to eat. They asked him, "Will you eat grass with us?" "No, I cannot eat it," the boy said. "What do you eat?" "I do not know," said the boy. One of the Buffalo said, "They eat buffalo." At first the Bulls did not know how to kill a cow for him. They planned. They got a cow among themselves, and killed her with their horns. They told the boy, "Break a stone, and use the sharp edge to cut her up with." The boy broke rocks, and used the points and edges for a knife. Thus he was happy, for he had much to eat. He played with his fathers. When he found feathers, he would tie knots in the long hair of their manes, and fasten the feathers there. He also tied feathers to their tails. Then the Bulls told him to make a bow. He knew nothing of the life of his tribe, therefore they instructed him. "They told him, "Go into the woods and cut a piece of cherry-wood. Make it so long. Cut also seven sticks of cherry-wood for arrows. Season these. Shape the wood into a bow and arrows. Then cut sinew, and twist it into a bowstring." The boy did all this. Then they told him how to attach feathers to the arrow with sinew, and how to break flipt into shape for arrow-points. When the boy had finished his bow and arrows, his fathers told him to kill his game himself. They carried him into a herd on their backs. In the middle of the herd he would jump off, and kill the cow he thought the best. The Bulls loved the boy very much, and never became angry at what he did. Sometimes the boy in play cut thongs of rawhide and tied their feet together; but they did not become angry. Each in his turn, they carried him over the country. He lived with them until he was a young man. Then his fathers took him to a large herd in which there was a powerful Bull. He kept only young Cows in his herd. Whenever any Bull approached, he drove him away. One of the Seven Bulls told the young man, "You must be very careful when we come to this herd, for the Bull is jealous and powerful. Do not even go near the Cows, or you may lose your life." When they reached the place where the herd was, they saw the dangerous Bull. The Seven Bulls watched the young man closely. But he escaped from them, and went toward the herd. One of the young Cows came running to him. "I heard that the Seven Bulls had a good-looking young man. Are you he?" she said. "Yes." "You are indeed handsome." Then she began

to try to attract the young man’s desire, and at last succeeded: he went to her and asked alacavait. Then a young Bull, a servant of the powerful Bull, went and said, “A young man, the son of the Seven Bulls, is with one of your young wives.” The Bull became angry. He came swiftly to where the young man was standing with the Cow. When the young man saw the Bull, he fled. The Bull said, “It is useless for you to try to escape. I will overcome you together with your fathers, the Seven Bulls.” When the young man reached his fathers, they said, “You must save our son, even though we die for it.” They got up and stood around him with their tails raised. One of them went out to meet the powerful Bull. The powerful Bull broke all his legs so that he was unable to move. Then another one went, but was disabled; and another; and so all went against him, and had their legs broken. Then the powerful Bull said to the young man, “Now it is time for you to be killed.” The young man said to him, “I do not think you will kill me. Perhaps you will kill me; but I do not think so.” He rolled up his sleeve, preparing to shoot. He had a white plume on his head. The Bull charged on him, and tossed him up; but only the white plume flew up in the air. When it came down, there stood the young man. The Bull tossed him repeatedly, but did not injure him. Then the young man shot the Bull. His arrow nearly went through him. Then he went to the other side of him, and shot another arrow nearly through him. Then he killed the powerful Bull. After he had killed him, he told his seven fathers, “I will try to heal you.” He went to the one who had first found him, drew his bow on him, and said, “Get up, or I will shoot you.” Four times he made a motion as if to shoot. The fourth time, the Bull got up well and sound. Then the young man took another of his seven arrows, and pretended four times to shoot one of the others, and this one arose sound. With each of his seven arrows he cured one of the Bulls. Each of the seven thanked him. They said, “You have shown that you think well of what we have done for you.” Then one of them said, “It is time for you to go to your own people. We have raised you. You are a man. Now it is time for you to go. We cannot change you into a buffalo. Go to your father and mother.” Then they went to look for the camp where his parents were. They went one behind the other, and the young man rode them in turn and played with them. When they came near the camp, they all stopped. “Your people are very near. You had better go to them.” We thank you for restoring us to life.” The young man thanked them for having raised him to manhood. As he was about to leave them, he stopped and said, “I do not like to leave you, my fathers. I love you. If I go to the camp, I shall not know my people. I shall not understand them if they talk to me. I shall not know my father and mother.” The Bulls said to him, “You will know your father and mother when you reach the camp. You will understand the people when they speak to you, and they will understand you. You are a human being: we are animals. We cannot turn you into an animal. That is why we tell you to leave us. Now go. When you are near the camp, stop. Many young women will be playing ball. The ball will roll straight to you, and stop in front of you. Then pick it up. One of the young women will follow the ball, and will come to you. She is your mother. When she comes to you, you must give her the ball, saying, ‘Here is the ball, my mother.’” The young man did all this. When he said, “Here is the ball, my mother,” she was ashamed. Instead of acknowledging him as her son, she ran home, crying. All the other young women were surprised to see him following her. She entered the tent, and he entered it after her. There he saw her father and mother. He said to them, “My grandparents, I am here. I am your grandson.” When he had said this, his grandmother spoke. She said, “How is it that we are your grandparents?” “Do you not know,” said the young man, “that, when the people were moving camp, my mother gave birth to a child? After I was born, you buried me in a buffalo-wallow. Seven old bulls found me. They brought me up until I was a man.” His grandfather was surprised. He had known nothing of what his wife and daughter had done. When the young man had finished telling about himself, the girl stopped crying, and his grandson took him in his arms and kissed him as his grandson. When night came, the young man said, “Now I will go and look for my father. I want my mother to go with me.” Then they went out. Many young men were gambling with hiding-buttons in a tent. The young man and his mother went there. He looked in at the men gambling. While he looked, one party guessed right. Then the others threw the buttons (kāqahān) to them, and the man that picked them up was his father. As soon as he saw this, the young man went in and said, “My father, let us go home.” The man was surprised and got up. The young woman had come in too. Then all three went out and to their tent. That is how the young man found his father and mother.

23. **White-Stone.**

There were seven brothers and one sister. Every morning one of them went hunting and did not return. The oldest was the first to go. Then the next oldest went to look for his brother. He also did not return. Thus they continued until all were gone. When the woman knew that her

---

1. Told by informant P.
Gros Ventre was a two-barber town, Gene Ladurie's big-windowed shop in the middle of the main block and Shorty Hooker's in what had been the West Pondera Stockman's Bank. In practical terms I believe that proportion is about right for a town, twice as many saloons as barbers. Thirst always is more frequent than the need for a haircut. The social side of having two barbershops does bother me a bit, though, for it runs a line between people. Gene's shop was the respectable one, drawing not only the shopmen of the town but their wives, for Gene's wife Dolores operated her Modern Beauty Shoppe in the left-hand half of the building.
prominently beckoning to him was kastell: prison.

So Braaf became another in the 1851 contingent to New Archangel, and at once skinning knives and snuff boxes and twists of Kirghiz tobacco and other unattached items began to vanish from the settlement as if having sprung wings in the night. The Russians vented fury on the harborfront natives for the outbreak of vanishment, but the coterie of Swedes and Finns rapidly made a different guess, for Braaf was becoming a kind of human commissary in the barracks. Because he was reasonable in his prices—interested less in income than in chipping the monotony of Alaskan life, which he found to be a rain-walled prison in its own right—and was diplomatic enough not to forage anything major from his own barrackmates, nothing was said against him.

How hard it would have been, anyway, to lodge a believable case against Braaf. At twenty, he displayed the round ruddy face of a farmboy—an apple of a face—and in talking with you lofted his gaze with innocent interest just above your eyes, as if considerately measuring you for a hat.

The morning after tea was taken outside the stockade of New Archangel by a pair of men, it was taken by a trio.

"Me?" Braaf murmured when Melander loomed over him and Karlsson appeared at his opposite shoulder. "No, I was just about to... Sorry, I must... Maybe the noon-break, I'll..."
Pretty much, then, that was Gros Ventre of this time. Scuffed but surviving. Although, because this has been a sheep's-eye view
Not that this balance-point notion can be carried very far, for Gros Ventre catches the weather—and with it the reputation—of the most rambunctious choice, the mountains. And most of its livelihood depends upon the benchlands and plains which serve as platforms for stock- or grain-raising. But I still say that Gros Ventre
Perhaps because of the coming and going, from freight trail days to the highway, and because of the mix of plain and foothills and mountains, Gros Ventre never seemed to me as set in its ways as a lot of towns. Maybe it came down to this: the town tended to draw people who were there from choice rather than merely lack of imagination.

If I put my mind to it, I suppose I am capable of reciting every enterprise of Gros Ventre of that era. 00's grocery store, with the Eddy's bread sign in its window. The Toggery clothing store. 00's drugstore, with the mirror behind the soda fountain so that a person could sit there over a soda and keep track of the town traffic behind him. The sidestreet businesses, Tracys' creamery and Heaney's lumber yard. The bank buildings at the heart of town—
Doc Spence's office. Across the empty lot from Doc's, the lawyer
Eli Kinder's office.
MHS Addition Completed

The Montana Historical Society has a new, three-story building addition. After nearly a year of construction, the Society has acquired new public galleries, offices, and work and storage areas—16,000 square feet in all. The Montana history museum will double in size, and almost every program at the Society—from the Library to the Photograph Archives—has considerably more room.

You can see some of the changes when you first enter the Society’s lobby. The Mackay Gallery of Charles M. Russell Art and the temporary exhibits gallery have been moved to new quarters on the main floor, and the nearly 4,000 square feet that the galleries formerly occupied are being remodeled as part of the new Montana history exhibit.

The Museum’s new Mackay Gallery features state-of-the-art lighting, beautiful hardwood floors, and the Society’s large collection of Russell paintings, drawings, bronzes, and illustrated letters. “A World to Remember: Bronzes of the American West,” an exhibit of forty-seven bronzes from the Society’s collections, is currently showing in the temporary exhibits gallery. This handsome gallery, also located on the addition’s main floor, will exhibit art and historical materials from the Society’s collections and will host traveling exhibitions from other museums.

The Library, located on the second floor, has an enlarged and remodeled reading room, additional stack space, and a staff workroom. The reading room now houses the Library’s extensive vertical files and more microfilm readers, and the new stack area allows for

Continued on page 2
Continued from page 1 quicker retrieval of frequently requested state documents.

Of all the Society’s programs, the Photograph Archives has undergone the most dramatic transformation. In its new offices on the addition’s third floor, the program has a public reference area where researchers can work with the Photograph Archives’ large collection. The photograph reference room will be open Monday through Friday, from 1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. The Photograph Archives also has new offices, a storage area, a workroom, a special vault for the storage of volatile nitrate film, and a state-of-the-art darkroom.

The Oral History Program has moved from the basement to the first floor of the original building, where it has more than twice the space that it had before. Although the Archives Program has not moved, it now has 4,000 square feet of new work, office, and stack areas. Both oral history and archival materials are still available to researchers in the Library’s reading room.

The Publications Program has a new office on the east end of the addition’s second floor, next to the Library’s new workroom. The Merchandising office is located next to the Director’s office on the main floor, and a new museum shop will soon be built next to the Montana history exhibit.

In addition to new galleries, offices, and reference areas, the Montana history exhibit is under construction. With twice the space of the Formal Museum and ten times the artifacts, the new exhibit will be completed in 1988. The Society is also planning more public programs, with more traveling exhibits and publications.

The Montana Historical Society continues as a dynamic institution, growing and changing to meet new needs and interests. The Society’s hours are from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The next time you are in Helena, please visit our new addition and see all of the exciting changes.

This plan of the Society’s first floor shows where the new exhibit galleries are located.

Montana Historical Society
225 N. Roberts, Helena 59620
(406) 444-2994

ISSN 0047-7958

The Montana Post is the official newsletter of the Montana Historical Society. Unless otherwise specified, modern photographs are by John Smart and historic photographs are from the MHS Photo Archives. The Montana Post appears quarterly in Feb.-March, May-June, Aug.-Sept., and Nov.-Dec. and contains articles on Society holdings and views of the Montana Historical Society and its membership. Permission is granted for reprinting articles that appear in the Post, provided that credit is given to the Montana Historical Society. Editor: Marianne Kedington; Assistant Editor: Rick Newby.

The title “Montana Post” is used with the permission of the Historic Landmark Society of Montana. This newsletter is not intended as a continuation of Montana’s first newspaper of the same name, published at Virginia City beginning on August 27, 1864.

The Society’s new building addition is seen here in the final stages of completion.
Elks' Russell Collection at Society

A new collection of Charles M. Russell art is now a part of the Society's Museum. The collection includes a number of Russell's celebrated illustrated letters: an oil, Deer at Lake McDonald; six illustrations in pen and ink or watercolor; and a copy of the 1899 Pen Sketches/ Charles M. Russell The Cowboy Artist. The collection, purchased with funds from the 1985 Montana Legislative Assembly and individual donors, comes from the Great Falls Elks Lodge.

According to Curator of Collections Sue Near, the acquisition has more than doubled the size of the Society's collection of Russell's illustrated letters, making it a significant addition to the Museum's important holdings of the Cowboy Artist's oils and watercolors. All fourteen of the letters in the new collection were written to Bill Rance, proprietor of the Silver Dollar Saloon in Great Falls, Russell's adopted hometown.

Russell wrote to Rance when he was away from Great Falls, describing his adventures for his friend and the "bunch" at the Silver Dollar. In an undated letter from Glacier National Park, Russell wrote:

I have just returned from the glacier Bill. They say the trail has been improved a lot since you were up that may be but it will need sum more fixen before the goats are troubled with autos. Its a good trail for air ships they have a rope on the last clime now an when I got a holt it was mine all right an Kid Curry are no other hold up could take it with all the guns in the state. This is the nearest hevan ever I was an if the trail is the same all the way Ill never make it. Its a sinch Ill go south with best whishes to the bunch your friend C M Russell.

Rance carefully preserved his letters from Russell, and before his death in 1932, he donated them to the Great Falls Elks Lodge.

When the Great Falls Elks Lodge put the Rance letters—and several other Russell items—up for sale, the 1985 Montana legislature determined to keep this fine collection in the state and appropriated $300,000 of the $482,650 purchase price. Individuals, foundations, and corporations have donated almost half of the remaining $182,650, but the Society still needs to raise $90,000. To make a donation, write or call Bev Harriott, Public Relations Officer, Montana Historical Society, 225 N. Roberts, Helena, 59620; 444-4697.

News and Notes

Montana History Day. The Third Annual Montana History Day, whose theme is "Conflicts and/or Compromises in History," will be held at the Montana Historical Society and the State Capitol building on Saturday, May 3. Entry forms for the contest must be received by the Society's Education Program by April 11.

Western Rendezvous Exhibit. On July 18, the Society will open a month-long exhibit of paintings and sculptures by artists featured in the ninth annual Western Rendezvous of Art. The exhibit in the Society's new temporary exhibits gallery will allow visitors to preview one work by each of the forty artists invited to participate in the Rendezvous. The Rendezvous, which is sponsored by the Helena Arts Council, begins on August 21 in the Helena Civic Center. A full-color catalog, including the pieces in the preview show, will be available.

Museum Guide Updated. The Education Program has updated its Guide to Montana Museums, Art Centers and Historical Organizations. If you already own the 1982 guide, you can purchase the revised listings for $3.50. The complete updated guide is available for $6.50. To order, write or call Joan Haefler, Montana Historical Society, 225 North Roberts, Helena, 59620; 444-4789.

MHS Education Program. This summer, the MHS Education Program will distribute "Liberties with Liberty," a traveling exhibit that traces the changes in the representation of Liberty over the last two hundred years. Produced by the Museum of American Folk Art, the exhibit features twenty framed color or posters by American artists.

The Education Program and the OGM Restoration Board have produced a fifteen-minute slide presentation on the Original Governor's Mansion in Helena. Intended for a seventh-grade through adult audience, the slide show documents the history of the elegant Victorian-era mansion.

To reserve the "Liberties" exhibit or the slide program, write or call Curator of Education Jennifer Jeffries Thompson, Montana Historical Society, 444-4794.

National Archives Grants. The National Archives offers grants to nonprofit organizations for the development of their archives or records management programs. The Montana Historical Records Advisory Council periodically reviews the grant proposals originating in Montana. If you would like to know more about the Council or the National Archives' grant program, write or call Larry Hibpsman, MHS Archives, 444-4775.
The Montana Small-Town Experience

by Laurie Mercier

When I began interviewing people for the "Small Town Montana" oral history project, I expected to become quickly satiated with familiar stories describing small-town life. After all, America's small towns evoke images of stability, limited opportunity, friendliness, intolerance, peacefulness, and boredom. And much of the popular literature about small-town life—even classic works like Thornton Wilder's Our Town, Sinclair Lewis's Main Street, and Edgar Lee Masters's Spoon River Anthology—reinforces those images. When I looked at the local histories written about Montana's small towns, each town's history seemed indistinguishable from the next; these publications invariably focus on town pioneers, extraordinary residents and events, and specific families. But while working on the "Small Town" project, I discovered that life in Montana's small towns can be fascinating and diverse.

Montana is a small-town state. Only 9 of its cities have over 10,000 people; 129 towns record less than 10,000; and 68 have fewer than 1,000 people. Montana is large and sparsely populated, and for many of its residents, small towns have been the centers of economic, educational, political, cultural, and social life. When I began driving the state's lonely stretches of highway, I realized that small towns are the source of human contact between centers of population and that they provide a sense of community for a significant number of Montanans.

The towns profiled in the "Small Town Montana" project were selected to reflect diverse regions, sizes, and economies. We interviewed fifteen to twenty people in each town and sought narrators who represented various age groups (sixteen to ninety-six years), occupations, socioeconomic backgrounds, local institutions, and organizations. The recorded interviews tell us something about these communities and, taken together, reveal much about the patterns of small-town life in Montana during the twentieth century.

Small towns are vital, changing organisms. Towns and town life have continually been shaped by external forces and the community's response to those forces, whether to the closure of the single manufacturing plant in town, the improvement of highways, changing markets, or the discovery of oil in the county.

One force that inevitably shaped a town's character was its location. Like many towns on Montana's northern border, for example, Plentywood has traditionally depended on trade with Canada and is deeply affected by fluctuations in the exchange rate. The town has also been influenced by developments across a state line: Since the 1920s, North Dakota's strong farmer organizations have defined the political sentiments of this agricultural community. Location affected Montana communities in other ways. That Roundup lay on the Milwaukee Railroad axis and was the center of roads serving a large agricultural hinterland certainly aided the town's mining industry and its local business district. And Columbia Falls' development was so clearly affected by the Hungry Horse Dam project on the South Fork of the Flathead River, begun in 1947, that the town's history can be categorized into two eras: before and after dam construction. Most importantly, this inexpensive source of power attracted a major new industry, the Anaconda Aluminum Company plant.

Locals did not always perceive public works projects as economic blessings. Eureka residents resented the Libby Dam for bringing in transients who later competed with them for employment, for re-routing the Great Northern Railway, for inundating several established communities, and for ruining fishing stream in Montana, something that was really good. And it caused an awful influx here. . . . A lot of people who stayed are real good people, an asset to the community, but for every one that is, there are ten that aren't. . . . You couldn't take a prettier drive anywhere. I don't care where you go, than down along that river. And they destroyed it, it's gone.''

County seats have enjoyed a degree of economic security not experienced by other towns. County courthouses, high schools, and hospitals employ local residents, and these centers for county government and services attract shoppers, distributors, federal and state government offices, and amenities such as county museums and libraries.

Small towns in Montana are most influenced by their dominant industries. Because of distances to markets, transportation costs, and a harsh climate, the type of industries that have developed are resource-based. But all coal-mining or farming towns are not alike, even though they share common characteristics. Varying responses to the emerging industry and different rates of economic development have created individual, unique communities.

Sugar-beet factories, for example, were established in both Chinook and Sidney in 1925 and had a profound effect on local economies. The Chinook plant closed in the 1950s: nothing has
ever replaced the loss of the plant and its large payroll and value to irrigation farmers. The Sidney plant, on the other hand, continues to operate, and Sidney has become less dependent on sugar beets, as the oil and gas booms of the 1950s and 1970s ushered in new growth and gave new dimensions to the town's character.

In an October 24, 1984, interview, Annie Larsen of Roundup recalled how shocked her community was when the last major coal mine in the area ceased operations. She describes how merchants responded to a changing economic climate:

"Then local businessmen began to realize what agriculture means to this community and they began then to, well, rather to court the ranchers and the farmers and that sort of thing. Before, the mines had such a hold, I mean, the income was so great from the mines that you didn't think too much about—it and then they realized that there were other sources where they could get their business."

Division also diminished. Ethnic differences dissolved as children of immigrants intermarried and became "Americanized"; Catholic-Protestant antagonism softened, and a new ecumenical spirit emerged among mainstream churches. Rural residents, once conspicuous in their worn clothes on their Saturday visits to town, became more accepted by townspeople, as automobiles, electricity, and affluence narrowed the gap between rural and town lifestyles.

What people did in their leisure time began to change in the 1940s. Traditional community-wide celebrations for such holidays as the Fourth of July and Labor Day began to wane

Rebekas, the Woodmen and the Royal Neighbors and... We did it because we had socials. We'd meet and we'd have lunches in the afternoon and we'd do, we'd have parties in the evening... And we were very, very active... We had over a hundred active members in Columbia Falls at one time."

After the war, television, bowling, high school basketball, and outdoor recreation became the predominant forms of entertainment. Residents could no longer expect to run into acquaintances at the theater, the grocery store, or other accepted gathering places; by the 1950s, contact became less frequent as residents drove to larger cities for shopping and as television replaced the local cinema.

Small towns in Montana are now undergoing another transitional period. For the first time, stable communities with diversified economies are experiencing a simultaneous decline in several supporting industries. Traditionally, when agriculture has suffered, for example, oil and gas revenues have stabilized the area economy; but even the residents of thriving towns like Sidney (which has grown by 500-1,000 people every decade since 1910) are worried. Many towns have lost hope for reviving a traditional industry and have settled into being a service center and home for retirees; others look to tourism as a way to keep the community viable.

As the "Small Town Montana" project shows, the histories of Montana's small towns are interesting and complex, and recent developments provide numerous possibilities for more oral history interviews about contemporary small-town life. Community historians might seize the opportunity to document the recent past, while memories are still clear, to aid us in our understanding of how small towns in Montana change and adapt.

Note: LAURIE MERCIER is MHS Oral History Coordinator. The "Small Town Montana" project was sponsored by the Montana Historical Society with support provided by a coal severance tax grant for cultural and aesthetic programs awarded by the 48th Montana State Legislature. The towns included in the study were: Broadus, Chinook, Choteau, Columbia Falls, Cut Bank, Eureka, Forsyth, Philipsburg, Plains, Plentywood, Roundup, and Sidney. The project was completed in June 1985, and the 200 interviews created are on deposit with the Montana Historical Society Archives and town repositories. Jackie Day served as interviewer in four of the towns.
Preservation No Longer in Post

For the last five years, the State Historic Preservation Office staff has generated text and gathered pictures for *Preservation*, a separate newsletter contained within the *Post*. With this issue, those four extra pages will no longer appear in the *Post*, and in the spring, the Preservation Office will begin printing a bimonthly preservation news sheet. In it, we will concentrate on providing current preservation grant and tax news, grant application directions, preservation meeting dates and agendas, and descriptions of new preservation publications and technical assistance sources. Information and mailings will be directed to Montanans with an active interest in or official responsibility for preservation and management of Montana’s rich collection of historic and prehistoric sites.

Our column on properties recently listed in the National Register of Historic Places will continue to appear in the *Post* along with features and news items from the Preservation Office of interest to the Montana Historical Society’s full membership. We have appreciated the opportunity to provide preservation information and news through the *Post* and now look forward to communicating with many of you through both the *Post* and our own news sheet. We will use file information to create our news sheet mailing list and would welcome a card or call from you if you would like to be included.

*Marcella Sherfy*

*State Historic Preservation Officer*

| Museum |
|------------------|------------------|
| Joseph Poindexter, Brooklyn |
| Eula May Hall, Helena |
| Mary Lou Tobin, Helena |
| Helen Poindexter Morgan, Monroe, Connecticut |
| Tom K. Morrow, Kalispell |
| Mrs. Arthur Hahn, Washington, D.C. |
| Joan Holter, Helena |
| Treasure State Council of Telephone Pioneers, Helena |
| Harvey & Esther Moen, Helena |
| John & Carla Cronholm, Helena |
| Irene Miller, Helena |
| Jerry Metcalf, Helena |
| Norman Winestine, Helena |
| Betty Ford Jackson, Moscow, Idaho |
| PEO Chapter AA, Helena |
| Lon Johnson, Helena |
| William Summers, Helena |
| Jack & Ella Gaffaney, Helena |

| Accessions |
|------------------|------------------|
| Painting by Albert Stadler: Fan M., 1966 |
| 2 crib spreads, 5 bedspreads, 2 sheets, baby pillow, & pillow case |
| 10 crystal goblets |
| Painting by Emerson Woelffer: The Thermal, 1959 |
| 6 bronzes by A. Phimister Proctor |
| Ermine baby carriage robe and muff, 3 clothing bags |
| Charles M. Russell bronze, 2 pastels, 1 oil painting by Harley Brown, baby clothes worn by Florence J. Holter |
| Candlestick telephone, ca. 1890. |
| 3 pieces of linoleum |
| Brass chandelier, dress form |
| Gearhart knitting machine, ca. 1914 |
| Feather duster |
| Silk top hat worn by Dr. Louis Fligman, ca. 1905 |
| Pink chiffon formal worn by Mrs. Sam Ford, ca. 1941 |
| Tablecloth made by Dixie Lindberg |
| Gas stove, ca. 1906 |
| Bedsprings for double bed |
| 2 doorknobs, 1 pushplate with handle |

| Chubb & Mary Munger, Helena |
| Janet Sperry, Helena |
| Montana Dept. of Commerce, Helena |
| Mrs. Peggy Darcy, Boulder, Colorado |
| Myrtle Campbell, Anaconda |
| Lucille Balfour, Florence, Oregon |
| Jean Barrett, Helena |
| Avalon Hill Game Co., Baltimore |
| Susan Near, Helena |
| Terry & Linda Wilson, Helena |

| Archives |
|------------------|------------------|
| Austin Stratton, Lothair |
| Ann Jancie, Helena |

| Archives Archives |
|------------------|------------------|
| Lewistown City Library, Lewistown |
| Photograph Archives |
| Lewistown City Library, Lewistown |

| GE refrigerator, electric popcorn popper |
| Gas stove, bedsprings |
| Original artwork by Shorty Shope for 1941 Montana highway map |
| 2 glass shades for electric chandelier |
| 2 pairs of child’s drawers, 1 slip |
| Quilt, ca. 1900; kitchen scales, ca. 1920; movie projector, ca. 1935 |
| 26 dollars, bedsheets, pillow sham, 2 pillow cases, 2 table covers, 2-piece bag, 1906 calendar |
| Yellowstone “Book Case” game |
| “Morning Glory” disposable panties |
| “Hotpoint” electric stove, ca. 1940 |

| 14 financial volumes, Hagerty Livestock Company, Browning, Montana, 1907-1925 |
| Photographs, diaries, agricultural bulletins, clippings, correspondence, etc. belonging to Charles & Marguerite Greenfield, Helena |

| 5 reels of 16 mm film (b/w no sound): 2 reels titled “Ceremonial Dances of the Pueblo Indians,” photography by Glenn C. Morton, Lewistown; 3 reels titled “Growing Baby Beef in Montana...” photography by Glenn C. Morton, 1933-1934 |
| One album: Views of the construction of Fort Peck Dam, Wheeler, Montana, Cye & Florence Wagner |

| Cye & Florence Wagner, Reno, Nevada |
“Metals in Montana” Oral History Project

The Society’s Oral History Office has begun work on “Metals in Montana: Industry and Community in the Twentieth Century.” The year-long project will focus on the metals industry in Montana and its relationship to four communities in which manufacturing plants—smelters and refineries—were located: Anaconda, Black Eagle, Columbia Falls, and East Helena. The project is funded by the Forty-ninth Montana Legislative Assembly through a grant from the coal severance tax fund.

The metals industry has played a major role in Montana’s development; but according to project director and oral historian Laurie Mercer, historians have paid little attention to the reduction of ores to metals in the state. Metals production has given Montana an infusion of capital and technology, large corporations, strong unions, and the looming presence of enormous physical plants. In East Helena, Anaconda, and Black Eagle, the industry even caused the creation of entire towns.

Mercer will interview people who have lived in Anaconda, Black Eagle, Columbia Falls, and East Helena for ten years or more or who have worked in the Great Falls Reduction Works, the Anaconda Reduction Works, the ASARCO smelter, or the Columbia Falls aluminum plant. She will be seeking information about work, family, ethnicity, unions, neighborhoods, companies, and local institutions.

The research for “Metals in Montana” will culminate in a book and a traveling photograph exhibit. This important undertaking and its products will provide a foundation for understanding Montana’s industrial communities and for making comparative studies of those towns and industry in the Rocky Mountain West.

If you know someone who should be interviewed for the project or if you want additional information, write or call Laurie Mercer, Montana Historical Society, 225 North Roberts, Helena, 59620; 444-4779.

National Register Update

The following buildings were added to the Lewistown Multiple Resource Area in Fergus County on January 10, 1986:

Ayers House, 316 Eighth Avenue South
House at 301 Eighth Avenue South
First Presbyterian Church, 215 Fifth Avenue South
Lewistown Mercantile Company, 220 East Main
House at 618 West Janeaux
Clark-Carwell House, 523 West Watson

Traveler’s Companion Available

A Traveler’s Companion to Montana History by Carroll Van West is available for immediate delivery. West’s highly readable text takes travelers on thought-provoking tours of the state’s famous historic sites as well as places with surprising histories.

Generously illustrated with maps and historical and contemporary photographs, this is a book no Montana enthusiast will want to miss.

The 240-page book sells for $9.95. To order A Traveler’s Companion to Montana History, send $10.95 (includes $1.00 shipping) to Montana Historical Society Press, 225 North Roberts, Helena, Montana 59620. Copies can also be purchased in the Society’s Museum Store.
from the
Editor's File

There is now a Montana chapter of the Society for Industrial Archeology (SIA), a national organization devoted to the study, preservation, and appreciation of the nation's industrial heritage. For $5.00 in annual dues, members of the Klepetko Chapter—named after a well-known Montana metallurgical engineer—receive a quarterly newsletter containing announcements of chapter activities, research notes, and short articles. The new chapter has as one of its first activities a tour of industrial sites in the Billings area in May. For more information, write to Fred Quivik, P.O. Box 4113, Butte 59702.

D. J. O'Malley was one of Montana's best known cowboy poets. Author of such classics as "When the Work is Done Next Fall" and "A Cowboy's Death," O'Malley captured the rhythms of western life in verse. Now his poems are available again. The Montana Folklife Project has reissued the 1934 pamphlet, "D. J. O'Malley, 'Cowboy Poet,'" with ten poems and a new foreword by John I. White, O'Malley's friend and a scholar of cowboy poetry and songs. To order copies, send $3.00 to Michael Korn, Montana Folklife Project, 35 South Last Chance Gulch, Helena 59620; 444-6430.

The newly created Montana Historical Preservation Alliance is planning its first annual Montana preservation conference. Scheduled for May 8 through May 10, the conference will hold interest for archaeologists, planners, curators, historians, architects, and local historical society supporters. For more information about the conference, call the State Historic Preservation Office at 444-7715.

The Coalition for Western Women's History (CWWH) recently published Women's West Teaching Guide: The Multicultural History of Women in the Nineteenth Century American West, a teaching tool designed for use with standard U.S. history textbooks in secondary school social studies classes. In addition to a bibliography and lists of readings, films, videotapes, and sources of information, the guide contains lessons, essays about various aspects of western women's history, and activities designed for the classroom. To order the guide, send $8.00 per copy to CWWH, c/o Women Studies, Washington State University, Pullman 99164-4032.

With the publication of a new technical leaflet series by the Idaho State Historical Society, local historians now have at their fingertips a great deal of information about researching, collecting, and preserving local history. The five leaflets contain concise and practical advice, annotated bibliographies, and lists of organizations that can provide help. For more information write or call Idaho State Historical Society, 610 N. Julia Davis Drive, Boise, Idaho 83702-7695; (208) 334-3863.

My Calendar

Special Events

March 26  Brown Bag Lecture Series. 12 noon to 1 p.m.: "Lizzie Fisk: A Woman's Perspective on Helena, 1867-1896," by Rex Myers, Western Montana College.

April 16  Friends of the Society meeting. Program at 10 a.m. "Folklife in Montana," by Michael Korn, Montana Folklife Project.

May 3  Montana History Day, Montana Historical Society and State Capitol building.

May 21  Friends of the Society meeting. Program at 10 a.m. "Blind Corral," by Ralph Beer, author and rancher.

July 18-August 18  Preview of Western Rendezvous of Art, temporary exhibit gallery, Montana Historical Society.

August 21-24  Western Rendezvous of Art, Helena Civic Center.

1986 Spring Hours

Montana Historical Society  225 N. Roberts, Helena

Monday-Friday, 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.

Saturday, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Closed Sundays and holidays

Original Governor's Mansion  304 N. Ewing, Helena

Closed March, except for tours made by appointment. Open April-May, Tuesday-Saturday, Noon to 5 p.m. Last tour at 4 p.m. Tours begin on the hour.
**Items of Local Interest**

The K. K. Club had a weiner roast at the Osborn park last Saturday evening. A very nice time was had by those present.

Mr. and Mrs. L. B. Stockton returned home from Lewistown last Monday where Mr. Stockton was called by the death of his sister.

Bill Jones' mother, Mrs. Jones of Pendroy, and sister, Mrs. Samuel McIvanie of Bozeman visited at the Jones' home last week.

Mrs. Fred McCullough entertained the M. E. Ladies Aid last Wednesday. A very enjoyable afternoon was had by the 21 ladies present. Plans were made for a Bazaar to be held November 15th and for a food sale October 9.

Mrs. A. D. Cox and Mrs. Charles Horton attended a birthday party for Mrs. Oran Hazelton in Billings Wednesday.

Mrs. E. A. Hug was hostess to the K. K. club at her home Thursday afternoon. A delicious lunch was served at the close of the afternoon.

The Osborn Community Club met with Mrs. W. A. Goldsmith last Thursday. Mrs. Ed. Brown gave a report on the state federation at Roundup and Mrs. Dan Hansen gave a talk on "Highlights of Washington, D. C." A tasty lunch was served to 19 members and guests.

Mr. and Mrs. L. D. Hadley left Monday morning for their home in Santa Cruz, Calif., after visiting friends on the Project the past week.

Mr. and Mrs. Jack Kirch and Mary Ellen of Haysom were Sunday dinner guests at the A. D. Cox home.

**IN NERVOUS RUNDOWN CONDITION**

"For many years I was in a rundown condition, suffering from nervousness, heart and kidney trouble. I tried many kinds of medicine, and finding no relief, decided to try Wong Sun's Chinese Herb medicine, as my friends had praised it very highly. After taking the herbs for only one week, I found my nervousness gone and also my other troubles. After being relieved in such a short time, I praise the Wong Sun Company very highly and would give them a good recommendation at any time."

Mr. J. A. Songer.
Santa Rita Happenings

Editor's Note: This story was contributed by "Santa Rita," a local observer who has provided insightful comments on various events.

For the Great American Adventure, a group of local residents set out on a journey to experience the beauty of the mountain west. This story takes us behind the scenes of their journey, capturing the moments that made the trip memorable.

The mountain west we like to think we have seen it all. We have driven through its dramatic landscapes and its idyllic small towns. But the adventure of discovering something new and unexpected is what makes it so special.

This story is about the people who venture into the unknown, who are willing to take risks and face challenges. It's about the joy of discovery and the satisfaction of accomplishment.

The group consisted of four friends, each with their own reasons for wanting to explore the mountain west. They were determined to make the most of their time and to try something new.

As they traveled, they encountered a variety of experiences. There were moments of glamour and excitement, but also moments of hardship and challenge. But through it all, they remained committed to their adventure.

One of the highlights of their journey was visiting a small town that was unlike any they had seen before. The town was known for its unique blend of art and culture, and the group was eager to explore.

They were greeted by the town's residents, who were friendly and welcoming. The group was struck by the creativity and diversity of the people they met.

As the sun began to set, they gathered around a bonfire, sharing stories and songs. It was a moment of true camaraderie, a bond that would last a lifetime.

The group eventually returned home, tired but satisfied. They had accomplished what they set out to do, and they knew that they had created memories that would last a lifetime.

The Great American Adventure was about more than just visiting places; it was about the people who make them memorable. It was about the joy of discovery, the satisfaction of accomplishment, and the bonds that are formed in the process.
FROM OUR Early Files

(From Conrail Independent)
December 13, 1911—Mr. Charley Martin and Miss Spy, daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Neta Pendleton, and R. H. Mason by Rev. Henry G. Hunt. A wedding dinner was served to about fifty people at the Julline home eight miles west of town. The couple will go to Dutton to reside for the winter.

R. H. Hattersley went to Helena Tuesday morning where he laid the plans for the scenic tent at the new outer sewer where the staal board of health for their approval were to be held.

December 21, 1911—A notice of stockholders meeting of the First National Bank of Conrad, was signed by W. E. Swann of the Bank. A special meeting was held to organize a new bank.

Mr. Charley Martin and Miss Spy, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Neta Pendleton, were married by Rev. Henry G. Hunt. A wedding dinner was served to about fifty people at the Julienne home eight miles west of town. The couple went to Dutton to reside for the winter.

F. C. Gearhart, manager of the United States Cigars, from Chicago, arrived Monday evening. He intends to stay in the Conrad Hotel dining room.

Mr. Gearhart and J. W. Madsen, Pacific gold miner from Great Falls, representative of a broker interested in the association were Walter Givens of the Pendleton, the late W. H. Crawford and Geo. Yenger, associations directors and Blaine Ferguson, financial secretary of the committee appointed consisting of J. F. Kumpf, Chas. Ackor, Everett Aarren, Fred Redmond and the late Charles C. G. Redmond. Mr. Gearhart presented the 1933 edition which was read and discussed at the meeting. After considerable discussion it was announced that this contract was fair. Under the new system it should bring every grower, with the government benefits, etc., at least $7.50 per ton, a contract very similar to that used last year, which was generally acceptable to all growers in this section.

In the discussion of factory possibilities, Mr. Gearhart stated that he was not authorized to talk factories, but had no objection to the association of the growers at Salt Lake City and the following day was sent Monday evening:

Mr. Fred Taylor, General Mgr.
Cutter-Maholo Sugar Co.
Salt Lake City.

At a conference of our directors of board growers it was decided to inform you that the Association of growers will have a thousand acres of hand signed to us for the 1934 crop. They are close to 80% of the total acreage in the county. The company is now offering $7.50 per ton for the crop this year. And that you respectfully consider our request for the creation of a new factory in the county to handle this crop. We believe that the present system is very satisfactory, with a proper organization, and positively desire a conference with you in preferably the near future.

Ponders Beet Growers Assn.
By Blaine Ferguson, Secretary.

F. L. Crook, chairman of the University of Minnesota board of control, and his wife, visited the Loma Club yesterday and were entertained at the Women's Club luncheon. Mrs. Crook is the Assistant Secretary of the Minnesota Agricultural College. The Loma Club recently completed a new dining room and the Crooks were guests of honor at the luncheon.

E. R. Crook, chairman of the Loma Club committee on Boy and Girl Scout activities, called a meeting consisting of the Loma Club officers, the City Recreation Commission and the Boys and Girls Club. The meeting was held in the Women's Club rooms at the Loma Club. Mrs. M. K. Peterson was present and the group discussed the expansion of the Boy and Girl Scout activities in Conra.

Mrs. H. K. Blackman was named chairman of the board of directors of the Women's Club. The Board of Directors is considering the expansion of the Women's Club activities and the group will meet soon to discuss the matter.

Will Design

The county will be governing of the Montana Agricultural Society and the Montana State Fair, under the direction of the Montana Agricultural Society. The fair will be held at Billings, Montana, and the Montana State Fair will be held in Helena, Montana. The Montana Agricultural Society will be held in Bozeman, Montana.

Evangelist

The annual gathering of the Montana Agricultural Society was held in Helena, Montana. The society will be held in Bozeman, Montana, and the Montana Agricultural Society will be held in Helena, Montana. The Montana Agricultural Society will be held in Bozeman, Montana.

Evangelist

The annual gathering of the Montana Agricultural Society was held in Helena, Montana. The society will be held in Bozeman, Montana, and the Montana Agricultural Society will be held in Helena, Montana. The Montana Agricultural Society will be held in Bozeman, Montana.

New Game Warden

Mr. W. H. Vochow, the new district game warden for the state, is in his new position and is in charge of the game officers in the state. Mr. Vochow will be in charge of the game officers in the state.

Kevin Wins Match

The Conrad rifle and pistol club is composed of a small number, but they are very active. Mr. Kevin Vochow, the new district warden, is in charge of the game officers in the state. Mr. Vochow will be in charge of the game officers in the state.

The program starts promptly at 11 o'clock a.m., consisting of local events and a national event, which is an annual event. The program will be followed by a special event, which is an annual event.

Remember the rate in March, Monday, February 14th.

NARVE E. HAGEN

Narve E. Hagen, passed away at his home on Monday, February 14th, leaving behind a wife and three children.

Helen S. Hagen, 76, passed away at her home in Bozeman, Montana, on Monday, February 14th, leaving behind a wife and three children.

Helen S. Hagen, 76, passed away at her home in Bozeman, Montana, on Monday, February 14th, leaving behind a wife and three children.

Win and Los Gables

Conrad won its first baseball game of the season against Richfield, 3 to 1. The game was played on Monday, June 14th, at the Richfield Baseball Park.

Conrad won its first baseball game of the season against Richfield, 3 to 1. The game was played on Monday, June 14th, at the Richfield Baseball Park.

Conrad won its first baseball game of the season against Richfield, 3 to 1. The game was played on Monday, June 14th, at the Richfield Baseball Park.

Conrad won its first baseball game of the season against Richfield, 3 to 1. The game was played on Monday, June 14th, at the Richfield Baseball Park.

Conrad won its first baseball game of the season against Richfield, 3 to 1. The game was played on Monday, June 14th, at the Richfield Baseball Park.

Conrad won its first baseball game of the season against Richfield, 3 to 1. The game was played on Monday, June 14th, at the Richfield Baseball Park.

Conrad won its first baseball game of the season against Richfield, 3 to 1. The game was played on Monday, June 14th, at the Richfield Baseball Park.
**Woman Braves Yellowstone On Boat Trip Across U. S.**

When Mrs. E. B. Clegg of Vancouver, B. C., crossed the United States by car several years ago she lamented that stream-lined highways too often ignored the trails and landmarks made famous by trappers and covered-wagon pioneers. So she resolved that one day she would take a trip by water across the United States. This English-born Canadian woman and her companion, Hallie (Holt) Holmstrom, set off on their Journey by boat, the "Mongoose," with the thought that the trips would be part of their journey behind them.

Traveling and camping on the dangerous Snake river of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho where for 110 miles no other river flows into the Colorado, in the world, Mrs. Clegg at last was fulfilling her wish to cross the country by river.

The Snake river was a difficult one to travel. The travelers recognized that fact before they started at Coquille, Ore. So Mrs. Clegg and her companion in the cabin, with great interest in what they were about to see, gathered a crew of four men and a boat. Two power boats were necessary to take each of the two boats across several stretches of the river. The road passage was impossible. The family voyage continued through Weiser, Idaho, and on a third at Idaho Falls. In the early morning Mrs. Clegg and her companion were driven to Gardiner, on the continental divide. From this point the Honeycomb, Missouri, and Clegg, the New York state, was a hard sail, and the Humboldt, Missouri, was a hard sail. All this was on the Snake river.

On the way to the Humboldt, Mrs. Clegg and her companion camped on a small island, and the boat sank down to its bottom. Mrs. Clegg said that she knew the river was very deep, but it was long and big. It was also "exiting," Mrs. Clegg said.

**News Briefs**

**From the Treasure State**

**Butte** - A. Evans of Butte was recently elected president, secretary and treasurer of the Sheep Shearers union of America No. 1.

**Kalispell** - An annual flower show of the Choteau Woman's Club which will be held Friday, Sept. 2, Mrs. J. J. Kilgore is chairman of the activities for the event.

**Roundup** - Farmers north of Glasgow reported that horses of many owners had been stolen during the past of late in southeast New Mexico. One rambler reported he left his pack train on one of the wagon roads and found that the horses were missing.

**Butte** - Plans are now under way for the fourth annual convention of the Montana Association of Montana, which will be held in Bowman Aug. 17. A.J. Grossan, president of the organization, said.

**HELENA** - Montana's deputy game warden was arrested and was employed as a costumed guide for the park. The state fish and game department has received $100 in voluntary contributions toward the preservation of the park.

**Early Education in the Home**

"The Child's First School Is the Family!" - Froebel

**Making Their Own Playthings**

By DIXIE M. BURTON

Lowell, a little neighbor, had been to the circus. When telling me of the boy's experience, his mother said the boy had enjoyed the trained animals. Back riders and traperry performers, but had seemed especially interested in the big tent that housed the circus.

"How do they get the canvas over the poles?" Lowell had asked. "Do the poles and ropes ever break?"

"In the electric lights," Lowell answered.

The morning after the circus, I saw him carrying armed sticks from the garage to the yard. He then went into the house and came out with a hammer, a box of nails and a white horse. He was told to be confused, so he had little trouble hammering it into the ground. I formed the stick into a center, a straw gun. He then strung a rope between two sticks, having an opening for the gun. The gun was made in the opening from the center pole to the surrounding one.

"Oh yes," Lowell said. "That's what's in the circus business." Occasionally, as the boy worked, I heard his mother offering him advice or suggestions from an open window at which he sat sewing.

**Butte's Reel Honor of Mayor of Statehood**

Mrs. Ingrid Clegg, who has lived in Butte for more than 20 years, was elected a resident. Compared to the state of Butte, this was a notable event. The election of Mrs. Ingrid Clegg, a resident of Butte, is interesting to the people of Butte.
MEALS AT ALL HOURS

NORTHERN HOTEL

C.E. SEDGWICK, PROP.
Lewiston, 1905-6
T. L. Tubb, local contractor
The architect noted
Very well could have been Carnegie design
$10,000 spent

Ivan Doig
17021-10th Ave. N.W.
Seattle, WA 98177
Miles City - Gen. Nelson Miles  - also Austin (?)  
Terry  - Gen. Alfred H. Terry  
Wibaux  - Pierre Wibaux  
Choteau  - Pierre Chouteau Jr.  
Valier  - Peter Valier  
Conrad  - W.C. Conrad  
Cut Bank  - deep gorge nearby, name by Cut Bank Creek  
Great Falls  - geography  
Bozeman  - John Bozeman  
Billings  - Frederick Billings  
Butte  - sentinel-like peak (Big Butte) rise of town  
Ekalaka  - Indian girl, niece of Sitting Bull (ITAKA/KA)  
Glasgow  - Glasgow, Scotland  
Belgrade  - Belgrade (named by a Serbian capitalist)  
Big Timber  - large cottonwood trees  
Cascade  - falls in this Missouri R. (the not close)  
Crow Agency  - Indian agency HQ  
Froid  - perhaps from old Nebraska map, "Cold."  
Fromberg  - Slavonic name, many Slavic people in area.  
Geraldine  - Geraldine Rockefeller  
Maudslay  - Maud Harlow  
Laura  - Early settler named it for daughter of frontiersman  
Nugoman  - ?  
Sandcove  - descriptive of terrain  
Sweetgrass  - grass on surrounding prairie  

P. Valier of La Conner, Wis. married Lily of Montana Western R.
northeast and where the Heaneys' house stood.

Mouse and I met Main Street at the bank corner, alongside the First National, and here I can't help but pause for a look around Gros Ventre of that Fourth of July day, just as I did then before reining Mouse north along the street.

Helwig's grocery and merc, with its old-style wooden square front and the Eddy's bread sign in its window.

The Toggery clothing store, terra cotta along its top like cake frosting.

Musgreave's drugstore, with the mirror behind the soda fountain so that a person could sit there over a milkshake—assuming a person had the price of a milkshake, not always the case in those times—and keep track of the town traffic.

Grady Tilton's garage.

Dale Quint's saddlery and leather repair shop. Maybe a decent description of Gros Ventre of that time was that it still had a leather man but not yet a dentist. A person went to Conrad for tooth work.

Saloons, the Pastime and Spenger's, although Dolph Spenger was a dozen or more years dead.

The Odeon movie theatre, the one place in town with its name in neon script. The other modern touch lent by the Odeon was its recent policy of showing the movie twice on Saturday night; first at 7:30, then the "owl show" at 9.

The post office, the only new building in Gros Ventre since I
THE MIDWESTERN COUNTRY TOWN—MYTH AND REALITY

LEWIS E. ATHERTON

Department of History, University of Missouri

The appearance of Edgar Lee Masters' Spoon River Anthology in 1914 provided midwestern intellectuals with a damning indictment of the moral and cultural aridity of the small town which so many of them had fled. In epitaph after epitaph Masters depicted barren, mean, and mean lives of villagers, and created for his men a picture of moral and intellectual depravity only occasionally by reference to individuals or humanitarian impulses. As a person of the Lincoln country in Illinois, the center of America's faith in the village as a home of men of Lincoln's stature, Masters set out his rebellion against the cultural standards of the small communities of his own early life. But Masters appealed only to a limited audience. Six years later, in 1920, Sinclair Lewis published his famous novel, Main Street, in which he succeeded in reaching a large audience. If Sinclair Lewis and Henry Adams were to symbolize sterile towns and despondent inhabitants who found it impossible to change, and to break the cultural patterns for the better, Didactic Sermons, simply written, Main Street penetrated the consciousness of even the more intellectually obtuse. In doing so it combined with Spoon River Anthology into an indictment which now attracted the attention of all classes of Americans.

Realists like Mark Twain, Edward Eggleston and Ed Howe had pointed out the limitations of small-town culture, thus depriving Masters of his own

The paper was presented as the presidential address, 1951-1952. The term "country town" as used in this paper is defined primarily in terms of service functions, land rather than size, although I have tried to limit my investigations primarily to towns with less than five thousand population. I have in mind to include Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa and Missouri, and the farming fringe of Kansas, Nebraska, and South Dakota in the report. In the report, I have included ideas from the University of Missouri for the academic year 1951-52 and additional grants from the University Research Council over the past several years.

Lewis of any claim to fatherhood in creating the realistic vogue. Spoon River and Main Street were timely books in the sense that they marked a peak of disillusionment with small towns. Americans were ready for them and more than willing to examine their claims, even if only to scoff and jeer at their conclusions. For several generations Americans had at least pretended to believe that log cabins surpassed mansions in producing statesmen, that agriculture and country town constituted the proper environment for creating leaders in the arts and professions, and that pastoral pursuits contributed to virtue, the good life, and happiness. Masters and Lewis challenged all this, and in doing so they served a new age of industry, urbanization and revolution by weakening the credo which had justified agricultural America.

Literary and economic criticism of the country town in many respects have run parallel courses. Both have historical depth and both reached a peak of destructive comment by the 1920's. Writing in 1923, the distinguished American economist, Thorstein Veblen, provided an economic analysis of the country town which was as devastating as the literary efforts of Masters and Lewis. In Veblen's words, "The country town is one of the great American institutions; perhaps the greatest, in the sense that it has had and continues to have a greater part than any other in shaping public sentiment and giving character to American culture." This was true, in Veblen's estimation, because the country town was and is the perfect flower of self-help (rugged individualism) and cupidity. In elaborating this theme, Veblen's incisive language and his gift for irony enabled him to lay bare in a most effective manner the shortcomings of the country town as they appeared to him.

After the 1920's, virulent economic and literary criticism of the country town declined in favor of a more balanced evaluation that attempted to avoid the twin pitfalls of adulation and condemnation.

9 Thorstein Veblen, "The Country Town," Freeman, 7: 417-420 (July 11, 1923) and 440-443 (July 18, 1923). All references to Veblen in this paper are based on this article.
tion. There was need for a moderate approach if writers hoped to avoid the substitution of a new set of myths for the old. Country newspapers, business and professional records, reminiscences, diaries, and autobiographies all bear witness to the complexity and contradictions which have characterized the culture of midwestern country towns. When these are set off against generalizations offered by critics they demonstrate the extent to which interpretation often has departed from reality.

One example involves derogatory generalizations concerning small-town business psychology. As an unfriendly critic, Veblen stated a number of propositions critical of business men in country towns. He accused them of trying to monopolize the farm trade and of exploiting the farmer to the extent that monopoly could be achieved. Needless duplication of overhead and personnel and a virtual monopoly in their own areas led merchants to levy charges at the very peak of what farmers would pay without being driven away. In groceries and banking, where Veblen thought the monopoly was most complete, top price levels often were reached, but seldom in the conduct of ordinary trade. In the latter, the dominant note was "circumspection" or "salesmanlike pusillanimity." This meant that storekeepers attempted to avoid all offense, to cultivate good will without suffering financial loss in so doing, and to exploit a rival merchant's disabilities in every possible way. Veblen also accused storekeepers of being aggressively and truculently conservative. Much prestige value came from contributions to causes which fitted accepted community beliefs, and business men made much of this in their quest for trade. When the chains arrived and began to sell goods at price competition, the storekeeper was snared by the competitive philosophy which he had preached over the years. Lastly, in Veblen's opinion, farmers and townsmen cooperated only to boom real-estate values; otherwise relations were marked by hostility.

In stating such clear-cut propositions Veblen failed to distinguish between motivations and the extent to which these were realized. He was also guilty of ignoring the full range of motivations which governed the actions of small-town business men. For these reasons, his analysis, like that of many other unfriendly critics, resulted in an unbalanced picture both of purposes and results as these worked out in country towns.

Newspapers and other records sustain Veblen's charge that small-town business men desired trade monopolies, a not unusual purpose in all occupations, but the same records indicate how far such monopolistic promises failed to contribute to agricultural conditions. Nor was such a material, even in the age of horse-drawn transportation, a farmer had a choice of trading centers and town. Even the railroads, agencies of long-distance transport, enabled, enabled, enabled, contributed to this end. As early as at least two towns in 1865, for instance, Lacon, Illinois citizens invited to visit Putnam's clothing emporium and immediate to Chicago, a hundred miles away. According to the Chicago Tribune advertisement, Putnam's had the largest and most supplies of clothing and had the lowest prices. Lacon by railroad.

Putnam's advertisement was all this is fully somewhat unique only in the sense that it is. Downer kept on the six miles from the town in shopping trips to larger cities.

In the 1860's and 1870's newspapers in country towns carried retail advertising from stores in business men in larger cities some distance away. Lacon, Illinois used their mail as thus faced retail competition from Peoria actually in the dead Chicago; Monroe, Wisconsin, from Janesville, Madison; Cedar Falls and Chicago; Chaffee, Minnesota, from Chicago; Winona and La Crosse; Centerville, Missouri; they felt at home in the city, from Three Rivers and Kalamazoo, Tiffin, Ohio; from Toledo and Zanesville; and Galena, Illinois, from St. Joseph. Moreover, storekeepers in the villages and hamlets within driving distance of the family bought their wares. The Galatian paper carried advertisements from Pattonsburg and Hamilton, Iowa, offered seen near the Tiffin, Ohio, paper from Fostoria; the Centerville store in the village, Michigan, paper from Burr Oak,Courtesy Lee exercise. Mendon; the Chaffee, Minnesota, paper from Fillmore. The father; Hamilton and Preston; and the Lacon store seat at St. Joseph, Illinois, paper from Washburn, Chillicothe, and even as a result, and uses from the Ridge, and La Rose.4

4 Illinois Gazette, Jan. 4, 1865.  
4 See issues of Lacon, Illinois, Illinois Gazette, 1867, 1875, and of Lacon Home Journal for 1875; of Monroe, Wisconsin, Monroe Sentinel for 1869 and 1876; of Green Castle, Indiana, Putnam Republican Banner for 1867 and 1874; of Algon, Illinois, Upper Des Moines for 1867 and 1877; of Chaffee, Minnesota, Chaffee Democrat for 1867 and 1875; and of Aurora, Michigan, St. Joseph County Republican for visits to 1869 and 1879; of Tiffin, Ohio, Tiffin Tribune for 1868; and of Galatian, Missouri, North Missouri in 1865 and 1873. Almost any issue for the year for the distance occasioned will reveal advertising of the types specified. An attendance of the
in all occurrences and at how large a scale, and as a whole, Monopolistic practices and policies obviously are in keeping with the facts. Horse-drawn transportation was the transportation of choice, and it circumscribed the range of stores which citizens could patronize, but the very duplication of trading centers and towns, of which Veblen also complained, enabled farmers to select their purchases from at least two or three trading centers. They lived in town in their immediate vicinity for mail and newspaper, but to dispose of immediate needs at frequent intervals but to the greatest extent. They used the supplies of clothing and major needs once a year. In the interval, they fingered the small margin left for merchandise on display in various general stores and had pondered the advertisements in the trip fare from store to store, and then, finally, fully documented in farm diaries.

In 1811, the Downers kept a record of his activities in the township in DeKalb County, Illinois, some miles from the village of Lee, for the period from 1811 to 1831. Over the years the Downers relied on storekeepers in the villages near them for clothing, men in Lee for many services and supplies, and on the railroad for their mail at the local post office. Occasionally, they shopped in the village of Lee and sometimes as far as 16 miles from the village of Lee.

Over the road to go even that distance, and for all practical purposes could go considerable variety of goods in Lee under the circumstances. Their store, the Downer Store, operated one of the stores in the town for a time, a store which sold goods and groceries from Lee stores and the storekeepers in the village to deliver milk from the farm. The Downers had rubber boots, oysters, firewood, paper and groceries from Lee stores and the storekeepers in the village to deliver milk from the farm.

By 1888 the Downers had almost daily contact with the family andania that their son, Fred, had gone to the village to sell his papers and to the Lincoln Locomotive Works. The father of the family had to go to the store to pay taxes and to settle a court, and such trips occasionally resulted in purchases from Sycamore merchants. Far more important was the town of Rochelle, where the Downers bought lamps, a buggy and wagon, washing machines, overcoats costing twenty dollars, and the like.

The charge that the business man's character was marked by "salesmanlike pusillanimity" is harder to sustain. Daniel M. Storer was a merchant for forty years, operating for much of the period in the '80s.


Shakopee, Minnesota. His diary over the years reveals a man who liked and believed in the small-town credo. He was miserable during an interlude of storekeeping in St. Paul, where he moved temporarily in an attempt to better himself financially. In Shakopee, his friends presented him with a goldhead cane on his twenty-fifth wedding anniversary, and he was so choked with emotion at this gesture that he had to ask a friend to deliver his speech of thanks. When his little granddaughter, Edna, sang at a Methodist festival in the GAR Hall, he confided to his diary that “She done first rate.”

He played the fife in Decoration Day parades, fiddled for a dance given by the Episcopalians, and was active in the local lodge. Lodge affairs, funerals, socials, and community festivals provided opportunities for social participation. Farm women who won prizes on canned goods displayed from a booth in front of his store during the local street fair were no prouder over their success than was he in making them possible. As a small-towner, he was more interested in the names and family connections of the young ladies who came to his store to serve cocoa on Saturday afternoons than he was in the manufacturers who were beginning to use that procedure to popularize their special brands of beverages. The social and intellectual code of Shakopee was as right and natural to him as was food and sleep. “Salesmanlike pusillanimity” scarcely identifies the attitude of a man like Daniel Storer.

In spite of the mutual interdependence of town and countryside, some evidence supports Veblen’s charge that hostility prevailed between the two. The Granger movement of the late 1860’s and early 1870’s was a case in point. Perhaps, however, passive indifference or acceptance of the farmer’s patronage as a natural advantage constituted the more usual relationship. Storekeepers in country towns were satisfied to let farmers work out their social life around schools and churches in their own towns. Concentrated organized efforts by business men were likely to go in the direction of seeking new industries so that their villages could awoke the tremendous growth in numbers, wealth, and real estate values already taking place in larger American industrial centers. As Ed Howe’s famous Story of a Country Town put it:

There was a very general impression that factories were needed, and this was talked about so much, and so many inducements were offered, that the prestige of gold became discouraged, believing that the average American manufacturer had a wicked heart and a hollow breast, and lived in Dakota wrong Twin Mounds. The people were content with the spirit of miserable by reason of predictions that, unless they increased the visible amounts of money were given to certain enterprises, the town would be ruined, and although they always gave, no sooner was one fund exhausted than another came to be necessary to raise another. In the west of the matter since, I have thought that there would have been a much better town but for the top of a hill which never came, for the people were too prone to exercise their energy, if they had any.

Aspirations to become city people made the inhabitants of country towns sensitive to the notion that they were almost as rural as the who thronged their streets on Saturday afternoons and they were inclined to look askance at any ways. The very similarity of culture in town and town and the ease with which people moved back and forth from one to the other added to the need for villagers to search acuteness of their superiority. The revolutions in transportation, manufacturing, and management developed in the post-Civil War years new competitive threats to the domination of trade by business men in country towns. For this, they perhaps should have attempted a cultural, social, and economic affinity instead of indifference to their rural heritage. Machiavellian efforts to exploit the same device of the error of small-town business was not as easy. A great volume of literature on the similar movement in the rural town in the twentieth century were offered to settle the question of isolation and threatened their very existence. The country town received the advantage of the midwestern stant hammering as the rest of the United States first from the westward movement and the revolutions in transportation, manufacturing and management. The advertising of cultural frontiers and of new towns bore the established culture in areas which had passed beyond them.


3 Daniel M. Storer Diary 1849-1905, Minnesota Historical Society.
at the beginning of development. When James Bryce visited
the American Commonwealth in the 1880’s the town frontier was cen-
tered at some point in Dakota and beyond. Bryce quickly caught
the atmosphere of optimism and boom which had char-
terized the process of town-site speculation from
the beginning. He happened to be in Bismarck in
1884 when that young settlement celebrated the
laying of the cornerstone of its Capitol, intended
as the seat of government when the Territory be-
took statehood. The Capitol was to be located on
a hill a mile away in the brown and dusty
prairie. Bryce thought perhaps that Dakotans in-
tended to use the surrounding land for a public
park. He was informed that it would be needed for
the needs of a growing population. The Capitol ultimately was to
serve as the center of Bismarck and citizens of the city were none too much to allow for ex-
travagance. This Capitol burned in 1930, and when
it was replaced as a nineteen-story skyscraper, it was
bigger than the city. Realism had arrived at
Bismarck.

Midwestern towns lost population to such an extent that it was necessary to carry out campaigns and glorification of local advantages to lessen migration. Algonca, Iowa, was
organized in 1854, late enough, seemingly, to escape
the impact of competition from new agri-
forests. There was no attempt to compete with the attractions of other frontier
towns, and as late as 1908 citizen in the immediate
area were being wooed by advertisements of the	
extension of the Chicago,Mil-
waukee and St. Paul Railroad. In these, the Com-
pany sent out eight free pamphlets describ-
ing the Dakota, Montana, Idaho and
Wyoming, one of which concerned government
and how to obtain it. The railroad
published Homeside’s Excursions at special
time for those interested in success and in-
vestment.

A competition from a plethora of frontier towns
and the beginning for these supposedly midwestern communities. Attention has
been given to the industrial craze which swept
American urban communities and which has
not subsided. Midwestern country towns
launched campaigns to raise money to sub-
ead the establishment of local shoe factories or to
obtain some new form of transportation. Some suc-
ceded, many had to settle for axe-handle factories, and others were denied even that solace. Whatever
the outcome, such campaigns stimulated dissatis-
faction with existing conditions and a determina-
tion to bring about a change.

The basic skirmishing for what became a twentieth century “battle of the brands” developed in the
1860’s and 1870’s in promotional efforts in-
volving durable goods like pianos, farm ma-
achinery, and most of all, sewing machines. Brand
names were common in all these fields, and manu-
facturers went over the heads of local retailers in
offering to sell goods on approval, in seeking local
agents for their sale, and in offering to establish
agencies in stores already in operation. A growing
volume of such advertising began to close in on
country storekeepers and in the end made them
primarily distributors for national brands at
recognized prices. Here again constant change was
the order of the day, although merchants accepted
this trend much more gracefully than they acceded
to other shifts in local economy.

Decade by decade the revolutions in transportation, manufacturing and management modified
the economic life of midwestern country towns.
The electric trolley car, rural free delivery, mail-
order houses, the telephone, chain stores, the
automobile and truck all contributed to shifting
patterns of operation and helped to determine the
degree of prosperity which prevailed in any
particular town. Some profited by the changes being wrought in economic life and others suffered,
but all felt the impact of constant change.

Lack of recognition of this long-continuing pat-
tern of change in midwestern country towns has
contributed to a third common opinion which partakes of myth more than reality, namely,
that the country town is a dying institution. The growth
of metropolitan centers and the ease of reaching
these by automobile, truck and bus has seriously
injured and even destroyed many country towns.
Vacant buildings along Main Street offer compelling
evidence of the changes under way and
apparently provide irrefutable proof that the country
town is rapidly disappearing from the American
scene.

Viewed historically, however, the picture takes
on new meaning. Vacant buildings and declining
population in a considerable percentage of towns
seems to have been characteristic of midwestern
history for almost every decade from the beginning
of settlement. County histories testify to the num-

Bryce, The American Commonwealth (New
York, 1911), p. 702.

Iowans, The Upper Des Moines, Apr. 15,
of ghost towns which fell prey to destructive forces or were still-born long before the automobile. In 1930, for instance, Iowa, which became a state only in 1846, had 2,615 completely abandoned towns, villages, hamlets and country post offices. Reasons for this high mortality in less than a hundred years were legion. Loss of the county seat to a larger or more aggressive town; abandonment of a military road; exhaustion of coal veins; declining importance of grist and sawmills; declining importance of river traffic; shifts in local advantages with the coming of railroads— all these and other factors contributed to a heavy mortality before the automobile era. In this earlier period, however, few people expressed any fear concerning the future of the midwestern country town.

**TABLE 1. Number of People Living in Towns in Eight Midwestern States, 1895 and 1932**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Town</th>
<th>1895 Population</th>
<th>1932 Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>99 or less</td>
<td>345,376</td>
<td>254,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-499</td>
<td>1,053,979</td>
<td>1,210,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-999</td>
<td>728,921</td>
<td>857,357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000-1,999</td>
<td>819,626</td>
<td>1,012,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000-2,999</td>
<td>486,665</td>
<td>648,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000-3,999</td>
<td>326,713</td>
<td>406,183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000-4,999</td>
<td>280,411</td>
<td>366,558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000-9,999</td>
<td>875,627</td>
<td>1,404,772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 10,000</td>
<td>1,112,855</td>
<td>1,584,768</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the turn of the century this attitude was replaced by growing alarm over the decline of rural communities and country towns. The past half century has seen literally a flood of articles on how to save Main Street, most of which seem to have assumed that the rural village was rapidly disappearing. This state of mind undoubtedly stimulated efforts to find out exactly what was happening to country towns. In the 1920s, the Institute of Social and Religious Research carried through an intensive field investigation of 140 villages of between 250 and 2,500 population, 60 of which were located in the Middle West. On the basis of this data, an analysis of census figures, and supplementary estimates from the Rand McNally Atlases where the census was incomplete, the Institute pointed out that the agricultural village was not disappearing from the American scene.\(^{12}\) Edmund Brunner, who played a prominent part in the investigations of the Institute, joined with J. H. Kolb in writing the book *Rural Social Trends* which appeared in 1933 as a volume in the Hoover series on recent social trends. In this book the authors confirmed the earlier conclusions of the Institute after examining all available data.

An examination of the evidence for the 8,900 villages of all types and also for the sample of agricultural villages, therefore gives no support to the theory that the American Villages as a class are a disappearing declining population type. That is not to say that some villages with their communities do not decline or even disappear. But the evidence indicates that hundreds of villages grow and that thousands hit their own in the general growth of the total population.\(^{13}\)

Data collected by a graduate student at the University of Missouri confirms the general picture presented for the period to 1930 and indicates what has happened since then. Midwestern country towns of less than five thousand population have declined from 18 per cent of the total midwestern population in 1903 to 16 per cent in 1930 and to 10 per cent in 1952. Country towns of 5,000 to 9,999 have declined 18 per cent of the total population residing in them. On the other hand, the number of people living in country towns in 1952 is actually greater than in 1930 in all size groups with more than 100 people. The figures appear in Table 1.\(^{14}\) In 1927 for various indices of measurement, the Institute found that census data were inadequate to measure population trends in country towns. The figures were divided into urban and rural population has been reduced over time. The figures in the Rand McNally Atlas as a basis for data on the rural areas from which field workers made counts of population. The Institute found that the Rand McNally Atlas checked out fairly closely with figures on the total population from the official census category in the table above (1932) for each of the size ranges above for the years 1900 and 1930. The data collected by Joseph LaPage with my supervision. The eight states examined were listed in footnote one. Since small towns within these metropolitan areas have been shown to grow at a different rate than those in non-metropolitan areas, the first made a list of all counties included in "non-metropolitan areas" as defined by the 1950 census. These were eliminated from all consideration. The data suggest that the count of population is a smaller issue, as people born in midwest no longer achieve the same. On the basis of such a finding, one student that country towns. They were addicted to useful and the practical artistic career brought to the residents of Midwestern towns were left primarily to the art that must first of all be known by the fathers of William Masters and Thomas Edison. Artists, strongly opposed to turn to art for instance, wanted the art advantage. On his terms, the artist was at an expenses organ and gladly played music. When his local musical affairs or dollars earned by calling services, they felt rewarded with an adding machine for each of the size ranges above for the years 1900 and 1930. The data collected by Joseph LaPage with my supervision. The eight states examined were listed in footnote one. Since small towns within metropolitan areas have been shown to grow at a different rate than those in non-metropolitan areas, the first made a list of all counties included in "non-metropolitan areas" as defined by the 1950 census. These were eliminated from all consideration.

\(^{12}\) See, for example, E. Brunner, G. S. Hughes, and M. Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York, 1939).


\(^{14}\) These data were collected by Joseph LaPage with my supervision. The eight states examined were listed in footnote one. Since small towns within metropolitan areas have been shown to grow at a different rate than those in non-metropolitan areas, the first made a list of all counties included in "non-metropolitan areas" as defined by the 1950 census. These were eliminated from all consideration.
MIDWESTERN COUNTRY TOWN—MYTH AND REALITY

...putting farm population in the Mid-West, it is evident that the country town has displayed an astoundingly large capacity to survive. Moreover, the figures definitely indicate the mythical nature of the assertion that the midwestern country town is a dying institution.

Laudy, the charge that such communities have been and are barren and sterile culturally and intellectually needs reappraisal in terms of surviving historical records. Space permits attention to only one class of these, the autobiographies of people born in midwestern country towns who went on to achieve prominence in the arts or professions, on the basis of such records it is thoroughly evident that country towns were not creative centers. They were addicted to the cult of the immediately useful and the practical. Financial success in an artistic career brought recognition from the masculine inhabitants of Main Street but artistic matters were left primarily to the womenfolk, who insisted that art must first of all be moral. Professional men were the fathers of William Allen White, Edgar Lee Masters, and Thomas Hart Benton, the Missouri artist, strongly opposed the inclinations of their sons to turn to artistic careers. White’s parents, for instance, wanted their only son to have every advantage. On his tenth birthday they presented him with an expensive Mason and Hamlins cabinet organ and gladly provided additional sums for music lessons. When he participated in impromptu and musical affairs or brought home two or three dollars earned by calling and fiddling at country dances, they felt rewarded for providing him with an amusing and popular social accomplishment.

But when he began to practice seriously enough to indicate that he might be contemplating a musical career, that was a different matter. His father pointed out to him the example of a local “whiskey-soaked failure” who gave fiddling lessons and played for dances, and urged his son to turn to a more suitable occupation.15

On the other hand, lawyers, doctors, newspaper editors, preachers and teachers found employment and encouragement in the country town. Moreover, citizens of such communities were eager to aid promising youngsters. A lawyer in Osage, Iowa, offered to take Hamlin Garland into his law office,16 from where he could have moved on to his literary career had he not chosen another avenue. Sherwood Anderson as a boy was given a key so that he could make use of the high-school principal’s private library whenever he wished.17 Difficult and belligerent as he was, Edgar Lee Masters received encouragement and challenge from teachers, doctors, preachers, and lawyers in the small Illinois towns where he spent his youth. Some of them achieved a measure of intellectual distinction of their own, and all seem to have been anxious to foster talent in others.18 Herbert Quick, Iowa novelist, was a farm boy who passed through the stages of teaching rural school, a principalship of village grade schools, the reading of law, and on to a profitable legal practice. In his autobiography, published in 1925 at the height of the debunking crusade, he commented:

There is a school of writers much in print, and some of them in vogue recently, who have set themselves to the analysis and description of country, village and town communities, with the purpose in mind of displaying to the world their—the localities’, not the writers’—soiled drabness, their utter poverty of inspiration, their lack of men and women above the plane of two-legged horses and cattle.

There are too many such in all human societies; but I have spent a good deal of my life in such communities, and I have never failed from time to time and at important crises in my life to make contact with the

16 Hamlin Garland, A Son of the Middle Border (New York, 1920), chapter 18.
18 Masters, Across Spoon River, passim.
AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

souls who led me outward and upward. One of our
geniuses in gloom, if any such has read this history so
far, will be sure that there was no source of light for
me in those days. But they are looking for darkness.
I, without knowing it, was looking for light. Now the
one search is as one-sided as the other; and when it
comes to the artist's task, brings forth work not as
faulty.19

Although evidence of this type does not eliminate
the charge of cultural poverty, it indicates the fal-
laciously nature of sweeping generalizations on that
theme. The nostalgic effusions of a Zona Gale are as
wrong on the one hand as are the fulminations of a
Sinclair Lewis on the other. While his heroine,
Carlo Kennicott, supposedly represented the de-
pressing effects of Main Street on the artistic
spirit, she easily could have been used by an
novelist to depict frustrations resulting from a lack
of ability but blamed on environmental surround-
ments. Too many creative intellects were awakened
in small-town Mid-America for one to conclude
that Main Street destroyed creative impulses. We
should not necessarily condemn the small town
because its distinguished sons often sought res-
ting and companionship in cultural islands in large
cities. Preparation in the arts and professions was
generally demanded more even in the way of
material resources than the country town had been
able to provide.

For generalizations to have validity they need
be based on a multiplicity of records and data that
encompasses, and at the same time transmits
purely personal experiences. Only through such an
approach can one hope to separate myth and fact
as they relate to the midwestern country town.

19 Herbert Quick, One Man's Life (Indianapolis,
1925), 164.

VIRGINIA AGRICULTURAL REFORM, 1815-1860

CHARLES W. TURNER

Department of History, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia

That Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and
Henry helped Virginia to reach a sort of political
zenith at the beginning of her Statehood, all would
agree I am sure.1 Some of these men were "giants
in the earth" in another field, that of agriculture—
the basic economy of any political State. By the
time of the Revolution, certain of the farmers of
the Tidewater realized that soil exhaustion was res-
ulting from the so-called "skim the cream" poli-
cies. Numbers resorted to the Piedmont and be-
yond for new lands to exhaust; others began to
employ methods suggested by European reformers
and a few colonial pioneers. Angus McDonald,
formerly of the United States Department of
Agriculture, has described some of them in his booklet
Early American Soil Conservationists.2 One, John
Taylor, realized the significance of certain of his
neighbor's efforts along the line of soil conserva-
tion and praised them in his paper The Arator by
saying "When the future historian of our re-

dla search for acts of patriotism, and perhaps
biography, the contrast between the heroic
farmers who created, and the politicians who
ruined a nation will afford him ample room for
exhausting the strongest phrases of censure."

These early conservationists proved to be
number, and farm after farm suffered from crop
failure. It remained for the following generations to
continue the efforts the colonists had made, namely,
to ordinate the methods of soil conservation and
initiative of the farmers into a national program
to preserve the soil. Actually, as late as 1865, it
was little crop rotation, and the ruinous prac-
ture was leaching the soil. The scarcity of

1 This article was presented before the Southern
Historical Association, Atlanta, Georgia, Nov. 9, 1950.
2 Angus McDonald, Early American Soil Conserva-
tionists (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Misc. Pub.
449).

1815-1860

1 John Taylor, Arator, 1818, p. 291.
PODNER COUNTY

Pondera County was organized on February 17, 1919, from parts of Chouteau and Teton Counties. Originally Pend d'Oreille, the county's name was changed to a form resembling the phonetic spelling to avoid confusion with the Idaho town and lake of the same name. Conrad was the county seat.

The area was formerly Blackfeet country and impinges on the present Blackfeet Reservation. Fort Conrad, a log structure, built in 1875, was probably the first trading post in what is now Pondera County. It was bought in 1877 by Joe Kipp, an Indian trader, and operated until burned down in 1888 by a band of outlaw Indians.

White settlement began with stock raising on the open range. Homesteading began in 1905 and most of the farm land in the county was homesteaded by 1912. Wheat raising became and has continued to be the dominant industry. Oil was discovered in 1927.

Conrad had its beginning as a small settlement on the narrow-gauge railway from Great Falls to Lethbridge built in the early 90's. This was known as the "Turkey Track" and brought Lethbridge coal to the Great Falls smelters.

Conrad was incorporated in 1908 and became county seat when the county was formed in 1919.

AREA: Total, 1,654 sq. mi. (44); land, 1,641 sq. mi.; water, 13 sq. mi.
Land owned and operated, 1949, 441 sq. mi. (35.4%); deaths, 1954, 86 sq. mi. (51.0%);
Land in farms or ranches, 1954, total, 1,369 sq. mi. (82.6%); commercial, 32 sq. mi. (1.5%);
Land in farms or ranches, 1954, total, 1,369 sq. mi. (82.6%); marketable, 1,027 sq. mi. (66.7%);

POPEULATION: July 1, 1957 estimate, 7,490 (87); 1950, 6,992 (31); % change, 1940-50, 4.8.

HISTORY, 1890, 53 persons per sq. mi. (16). Distribution, 1956, rural non-farm, 55.2%; rural farm, 44.8.

HOSPITALS, 1956: Births, 253 (26); deaths, 53 (54).

AGRICULTURE: 1955; value of all products, $1,259,020; value added by manufacture, N.A.

CASH RECEIPTS FROM FARM MARKETING, 1955, total, $14,323,000 (7); crops, $12,157,000; livestock and products, $1,947,000.

CASH RECEIPTS FROM FARM MARKETING, 1944, 147 (31). net return to farm operators, 1944, 68 (12). net return to operators, 1955, 95 (19).

POWDER RIVER COUNTY

Powder River County was organized on March 17, 1919 from the southern half of Custer County, with Broadus as county seat. Its name was taken from the river, so named because of the gunpowder-colored sand on its banks.

The Chevalier de la Verendrye is reputed to have crossed the Powder River in 1742. In 1805, Francois Larocque, agent for the Northwest Fur Company, made an expedition into the area, followed by a brief flurry of trappers. The area was then left to the Crow Indian inhabitants, apart from a hunting expedition by a wealthy Irish sportsman, Sir George Gore. About 1855 he hunted in the Powder River region, and established his winter quarters there.

He and his men slaughtered so much game that the Indians protested. His Boone consisted of several guides, 20 servants, 112 horses, 12 yoke oxen, four wagons and 21 carts loaded with arms and ammunition.

There were no settlers until the 1880's, when trail herds were brought up from Texas. Stock raising is still the dominant industry. In 1917 a survey was made for a railroad lead in from Belle Fourche, South Dakota, but the war interrupted and the county is still without a railroad.

AREA: Total, 2,388 sq. mi. (16); land, 2,385 sq. mi.; water, 13 sq. mi.
Land ownership: federal, 1949, 327 sq. mi. (22); state, 1949, 1,528 sq. mi. (12); 65.9%.
Land in farms or ranches, 1954, total, 2,971 sq. mi. (12); commercial, 97 sq. mi. (4.2%); marketable, 2,924 sq. mi. (10); pasture, 5,386 sq. mi. (7); irrigated, 5 sq. mi. (0.2).

Note: the numbers in parentheses denote rank of the county among the state's 56 counties.
James Brewer was said to be the first white man to see the Hot Springs in 1866 though the Indians had used the waters for medical purposes long before. They had log pens built to take mud baths in and others to use just the water. They called the springs Wampum Waters and they were claimed to be neutral and open to all tribes.

Mr. J.B. Whitson squatted on the grounds but Brewer bought him out in 1872. They built a cabin near the Springs which was the first built in Smith River Valley. Brewer paid $350.00 for the quit claim deed and it was said that he bought the whole town for that price.

In 1873 Mr. Brewer built more on his cabin and started a saloon and kind of an eating place. He drained out part of the springs and built a cabin over one and charged the boys $.75 for a bath. As my informant said "It was a H'ill of a place."

In 1868 the Diamond R ( ) stage line was completed from Bismarck to Miles City, Lewistown, Fort Benton etc.

In the late 70's Dr. William Parberry, Jonas Higgings, T.E. Collins, Almond and Harvey Spencer, W.H. and R.N. Southerland, B.R. Sherman, John O. Marr, P.H. Maloney, J.J. Hennessy, John Dunham, and some others got together and decided that the Hot Springs was a much better location than Diamond City (the county seat then) for a permanent County Seat. It was more centralized to the Neihart, Castle and other mining districts and a better supply center for the Stock Districts.

In 1879 Dr. Parberry bought the Brewer property and platted the town and in 1880 the County Seat was moved to the Springs and the name was changed from Brewer to White Sulphur Springs. In surveying out the town site it was run out with a pocket compass and a rope to chain with, so that today the town site is not exactly straight with the true directions, and the lots very a /ittle in size.

Dr. Parberry offered a lot free to anyone that would put up a building and start a business in the town.

In 1879 Jonas Higgings moved from Diamond City and put up a store where the present Edwards Lumber Company yards now stands, the building facing South.

When the Parberry town site was accepted it left the Higgings store one block north of Main Street. Higgins then plotted an addition to the Parberry town site just to the east. He run straight north 500 ft. without an alley and plotted that part of town so that every street and alley was different than the older site. The County Commissioners, Dr. Clark, William Berkins, and Mr. Haas accepted this town site though they were begged not to by a majority of the citizens of the town. So to day we have a town with jogged streets from the stubbornness of two of the early founders of the town.
In 1876 Dr. Parberry built the Springs Hotel and Almond Spencer ran the place for two years, then Badger and Woodson run it until 1882. Spencer Mayne and Heltman run it for two years more and it was run by different parties up to about twenty years ago when part of it was torn down and the rest was made into rooms.

The Southerland Brothers moved the "Rocky Mountain Husbandman" from Diamond City in 1879 and located it in the building now occupied by the Meagher County News although the present building was constructed in 1890.

In 1878 and 1879 Thomas C. Power and his brother, Almond and Harvey Spencer started the mercantile business in White Sulphur Springs under the name of "Powers and Spencer. In 1881 they built the first real business structure in the town and large warehouses in the back. (The present Woodward store building) In 1882 Powers and Spencer dissolved partnership and the company changed to Spencer Mayne and Heltman. This became one of the largest businesses of Central Montana.

E.J. and James T. Anderson started a store in 1882 where Fretwells store and the bakery now stand. They continued this partnership until James died and then E.J. ran the establishment until his death in 1917.

In 1891 B.R. Sherman built the Mammoth Red Barn, livery feed and sales stable which was burned in 1905 with 36 head of horses. He also built a saloon and Restaurant which were run by Ira Miller and "Dick" Daniels.

The First National Bank was started in 1884 by John Potter Sr. James H. Moe and Jonas Higgens.

The Sherman Hotel was built in 1884 and called the "Higgings House" which is now the Sherman Hotel and run by Pat Towe.

The Court House was constructed in 1882 and the present County Jail in 1916. The original jail was a woden structure and was moved when the new jail was built.

The first school in White Sulphur Springs was run in the Springs Hotel dining room in 1878 and 79 with Arthur W. Sias as the first teacher. The first school house was a one room building just North East of where the Auditorium now stands. It was built in 1879 and Henry Foster taught the term in 1879 and 80.

The next school was built across from the Court House in 1885 and torn down in 1918 or 1919. The old High school was built in 1916 and the New High School building was constructed in 1921. Today White Sulphur Springs has one of the best schools in the State with Professor D.D. Cooper at its head.

In 1891 the Auditorium was built by M. Southerland.

The first brick residence was built by Woodson in 1881 and still stands and is now known as the old Gile House.

In 1892 B.R. Sherman built the big stone mansion on the hill. Other important residences in the Springs were Almond Spencer, Dr. Parberry, "Dick" "ights, E.J. Andersons, R.S. Collins, Dr. McKays and several others.

WATER SYSTEM

White Sulphur Springs was the first town in the state to put in its own water system. In 1898 water was put in from a spring.
about six miles South East of the town in the edge of the Castle Mountains. It was put in at a cost of $30,000 and proved such a success that many other towns followed suit. Prior to this time White Sulphur Springs only had lawns and trees where the owners had money enough to put in private pumping systems to irrigate with.

The main sewer system was put in in 1914 at a cost of $15,000. White Sulphur Springs had a private lighting plant until the time the Montana Power put in a line from Loweth on the Milwaukee Railroad.

In 1915 cement walks were put in all over town.

TRANSPORTATION

Up to the time of the building of the JawBone railroad to Dorsey in 1891 goods were freighted from Livingston or Fort Benton. Passengers were carried on the old Concord stages from various points as White Sulphur Springs is located in the center of most of the old mountain crossings. In 1909 the Milwaukee put its main line through and in 1911 a 23 mile branch was built into White Sulphur Springs.

Since Brewer started the first saloon, White Sulphur Springs has been a great gathering place for cow boys. There has never been less than three or four saloons and as high as seven regular places, not to mention the blind pigs etc during the dry days. At one time it was noted for its gambling joints.

The red light district (a block just east of the Sherman Hotel) was fenced in with a nine foot board fence. There were always a lot of girls working there and the places were pretty well patronized. In this manner the cow boy or sheep herder that had worked hard and had a roll always found some one that was willing to take care of it. One could come in and generally by morning he was broke and he couldn't remember what happened. Some saloon keeper would generally give him enough money for his breakfast and a quart to sober up on and start him back to work. In this way every saloon keeper figured he had so many men working for him all the time.

The prominent Saloon men were Betes and Wild, Thompson and Jackson Miller and Daniels, Harvey Spencer, Phelps and others (names not available)

Before the cement walks were put in there were hitching posts on the side streets next to main street and three livery stables. These places were full on Saturday nights and Sundays. It was no uncommon thing to see, a better rodeo than those put on today, pulled off when the boys got their horses and started home. They would wake up the town with their six guns but I do not know of any one being shot. I know of one Marshall that was going to arrest one of the boys for disturbing the peace. The cow boy pulled his gun and said "stay where you are until I get going." The officer stood and the rider soon got his horse headed toward home.

On July 4th 1874 a large crowd from Castle, Neihart, Musselshell, Missouri Valley and in fact all around, had gathered at the Springs. Brewer had set up a tent for the ladies to dress in. Every body
had gathered to see the horse races, drink, gamble, fight and have a real time. Sanford Moore had a horse full of drink. He tied him to the hitch rack and a gambler known as six fingered Jess (Jess Edwards) got on him and rode out to the races. After the races the boys started running horses back to the house. Jess's horse turned loose bucking and threw him off, turned the saddle under him, ran into the guy ropes of the ladies dressing tent and turned it over leaving the ladies standing like bathing beauties. But the fun went on and every body had a good time.

Party at C.W. Cook's, as told by John Moore.

In the winter of 1875-76 a party of Len Lewis and wife, Joe Stephens and wife, John Moore and wife, Miss Kennecutt, Jim Morgan, Dave Pulson and some others went up to C.C. Cooks, about 10 miles S. West of town and staid a couple of days. Cook had built a big one room cabin and we all cooked ate and slept in the same room. When it came time to go in bed we hung a wagon sheep across the center of the room and the women slept on one side and the men on the other. You can talk about the first settlers not having a hard time and suffering, but we did not know it and what few are left would like to live it over.

Notes from Tom Berkins in the 30's

At that time Sheep Creek was full of trout. One Sunday mornings John Moore and I would get up early and go fishing. The neighbors would all gather at a grove where there was a fine spring on Sheep Creek and by noon John and I would have all the fish we could eat. Some times as many as sixty five persons there and we fried trout for everybody. The Watson girls, Shannon girls, the Berkin girls and a few teachers were just beginning to think they were young ladies and the way Jimmy Johnson, Harry McClure and some others hung around was something fierce. But those good old days are gone. This gives a sketch picture of the woes and pleasures of White Sulphur Springs and the vicinity.

The cattle business is still an important business. The White Sulphur Springs and Yellowstone Park Rail Road has averaged 300 cars of stock a year. This is besides those driven out and loaded at other places, Sixteen, Ringling, Lennep, Martinsdale and Townsend.

The cowboys around here are mostly from Texas, Missouri and a number of Norwegians. Their talk and clothes are pretty well on the western story type. Of course some times we get a Sears Roebuck type but they dont stay that way long.
These notes were taken from our old timeres by interview and old notes such as:

Gib Spencer
Chas. Sherman
R. S. Collind
Mrs. Isiac Stephens

These four were amoung those attending the first term of school in White Sulphur Springs, Montana.

John and Perry Moore
C.C. Cock
Jimmie Johnston
Mrs John Shannon

and a number of others.

A

Alva J. Vinton
Field Writers Project
White Sulphur Springs, Montana.
November 28, 1940
Dear Sister Marita—

You may recall helping me in my research when I’ve been in Great Falls the last couple of summers, working on a novel about Montana during the Depression. Now I’m about to pester you long-distance.

The epilogue of my book will tell what became of various characters, and one of them is a girl, about 12 years old in 1939, whom I’d like to have go one and become a nurse. Her family is Catholic (as were many of the families in the Dupuyer area, the region of my book.) Can I accurately have this young woman take her nurse’s training at the Deaconess Hospital in St. Falls, in the years just after World War Two? If not, can you suggest where she logically would have gone for such training? Spokane? Someplace in St. Paul?

All is well here, spring has sprung. I’ll more than likely pass through the library again this summer. I am on the downhill slope of this book.

best wishes

Ivan Doig

p.s. If my Deaconess scenario is okay, what is the full and exact name of the hospital?

If she stayed in Great Falls, she could go to the Columbia School of Nursing, Catholic

Columbus Hospital
1610 3rd Ave North
St. Falls, MT

In 1939 the Consolidated Deaconess School of Nursing was organized. All Deaconess Schools of Nursing in Montana became affiliated with the Montana State College at Bozeman. Part of the training could be in Bozeman.

Deaconess Hospital
1109 6th Ave North
St. Falls, MT
19 April '83

Dear Sister Marita—

Thanks immensely for the information about nurses' training. It takes care of my question nicely.

A very early spring—almost summer—out here.

Likely will see you in July. Till then, all best.
Columbus School of Nursing, Montana's First, Presents Caps to Last Freshman Class Today

The last freshman class at the Columbus School of Nursing here is being capped today. In the spring of 1967 the school will become a unit of the nursing school of Montana State University, Bozeman. Continuous operation of the school as a hospital program will cease in 1968, ending 72 years of service, according to Sister Raymond Arthur, Columbus Hospital administrator.

THE LAST FRESHMAN CLASS under the hospital's administration enrolled last fall. All current students will have completed their three-year nursing course by 1968, Sister Mark, nursing school director, explained.

During the changeover with MSU the Columbus nursing education program still will be completely operative because of the overlap in students attending both the old and new programs, Sister Mark said.

Montana State University students will be assigned to Columbus for clinical experience. Students will enroll at MSU because entrance applications will no longer be processed here.

Columbus Hospital had Montana's first nurses' training school. It was established Nov. 11, 1894, under the administration of Sister Joseph Aminthea, superior-administrator of the hospital.

Sister Mary Columba was director of the first nurse's educational program. She was head of the school until 1911 when she was replaced by Sister Ignatius of the Sacred Heart.

GREAT FALLS DOCTORS responded to the program with enthusiasm and the first year there were as many teachers as students.

Four students were accepted into the school and two were graduated after attending lectures given by Drs. C. D. Ladd, A. F. Longeway, F. J. Adams and John Sweat.

The first students wore long white aprons and bibs over blue dresses. Their shoes and stockings were black.

The girls were expected to work 12 hours a day, six days a week. The day began at 7 a.m. with breakfast followed by floor duty at 7:30 a.m.

Lunch was served at noon with tea at 3:30 p.m. Dinner was at 5 p.m. followed by floor duty until 7:30. Lectures would begin at the close of floor duty.

NURSING THE SICK in homes in Great Falls and nearby areas was common practice for students. Transportation usually consisted of riding a stagecoach part way and then finishing the trip on foot. Students also assisted doctors with patients in homes.

By 1897, six girls had enrolled in the school and Misses Maylan and Kelly were graduated with "much aplomb and ceremony."

Plans for a new student nursing home began to germinate in the early 1900's. It was supposed, during this early period, the number of students could be doubled if the facilities were available.

Ground-breaking for a second building for the school was held in May, 1903. Enrollment gradually increased and in 1909, there were 25 nursing students at Columbus Hospital.

Sister Ignatius died in 1912 and her duties were taken over by Sister Wendelin who served as director of the school until 1917 when she was transferred to Walker, Montana.

1901 GRADUATE—Mrs. C. H. Campbell of Great Falls was one of the first two nurses who received diplomas from Columbus School of Nursing. Her name was Lucy Askew when she and Nellie Young were graduated in 1901. Mrs. Campbell lives...
Reunions Here Saturday

Montana Deaconess Hospital School of Nursing classes of 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951 will hold their reunions here Saturday, June 10, at the DeMolay Memorial, during the festivities honoring the current graduating class of 1961.

These class reunions for many years have been a part of the annual spring banquet given by the Great Falls Hospital Alumnae Association in honor of the current graduates, and have proved highly successful. Many alumnae from Montana and other states attend each year and letters are read from those unable to attend.

The reunions have played a big part in keeping the Alumnae Association a strong, closely knit group. As graduates have been admitted to membership each year, the circle has widened until it now reaches around the world. Eleven members of the association have gone out as missionaries to Korea, China, India, Thailand, Sumatra, the Philippines and Alaska.

The successful establishment of the Alumnae Association, which cannot be separated from Montana Deaconess Hospital and its nursing school, is primarily a projection of the commanding personality and singular consecration of Miss E. Augusta Ariss, the hospital's first superintendent and the first president of the local alumnae group.

On Dec. 16, 1906, four graduates — Ruth Hooker, Edith Long, Faye Jacobs and Anna Roberts — gathered in Miss Ariss' office to form the association. There were 34 graduates at this time.

Meetings were held each spring after that organization session and quarterly meetings were inaugurated in 1930. In 1933, the alumnae began meeting monthly. Monthly meetings still are held today.

The meetings are not purely social, although there are entertainment and visiting periods. Meetings usually begin with technical talks by physicians or nursing supervisors to help brief graduates on new medications and treatments.

Thus the association helps keep its pledge to continue nurses' education and raise standards of nursing service.

But it is not concerned only with the alumnae; it helps under-graduates continue their schooling by means of scholarships. It also maintains a loan fund for student nurses, purchases special equipment for the hospital, furnishes memorial rooms, buys equipment for the nursing school and home, supports missionaries and helps enforce educational and ethical standards among nurses.

The Association became a member of the American Nurses Association in 1927 and has taken an active interest in promoting legislation to improve nursing standards and service. In 1936 the alumnae group was instrumental in bringing about the appointment of Miss Anna Pearl Sherrick to the State Board of Examiners for Nurses.

In 1937 the Consolidated Deaconess School of Nursing was organized. In the new organization, all Deaconess Schools of Nursing in Montana became affiliated with Montana State College at Bozeman. The Great Falls alumnae group pledged and paid $1,000 to help finance the beginning of this program.

Alumnae also are pledging money toward construction of a new Montana Deaconess Hospital.
The business interests of White Sulphur Springs are represented by: Two general stores, Spencer, Mayn & Heitman and Anderson Bros; one clothier, the Bogy Clothing Company; two banks, First National Bank of White Sulphur Springs and the bank of Stevins, Son & Co.; a boot and shoe store, Patterson & Giltinan; three notion, confectionary and fruit stores R. T. Riddlesberger & Co., John Rumsey, and Jacob Town; saddlery, Wm. Wellman; agricultural implement dealer, John O'Marr; furniture store and planing mills, J.J. Blessing; two meat markets, Pyle, Reed and Co. and John O'Marr; tree livery and feed stables, James S. Brewer, Sherman & O'Marr and W. J. Higgins; three hotels, the "Hig ins House," by J.E. Saxton, "White Sulphur Springs Hotel," by Max Sklower, and "Grand Central," by Geo. Brown; wagon shop Alex. Givson; three blacksmith shops, Smith & Nanno, Thomas Downey and John Rees; two newspapers, the Rocky Mountain Husbandman and the Meagher County News; two barber shops, Geo. Bing and C.C. Bonham; bakery, a Metz; two real estate offices, J.J. Hennessy and Co. and Wm. R. Baker & Co.; two doctors, J.M. Kumpe and Dr. McH. McKay; attorneys, N.B. Smith, Max Waterman, Fletcher Maddox, N.C. Bierman, Howard Thompson, and Walter Black; saloons three, "Bank Exchange," "Board of Trade," and "Montarch"; three church edifices and four church organizations, M.E. Church, Rev E.A. Stickelman, pastor, Presbyterian, Rev. Young, Catholic supplied brem Bozeman, monthly, and Episcopal supplied from Helena; also two Sunday schools and a graded school with five departments, with 160 children in attendance. The town is incorporated, and has a population of 700 within its corporate limits. A franchise has been granted for supplying the town with a water system, a telephone service, and also an electric light plant. Two surveys have been made to the place by the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, one from Livingston and one from Townsend; besides, it is on the line of the transcontinental survey of the Burlington and Missouri Railroad Company.

LEADING MEN AND INTERESTS.

In every town and community there are those who take the lead in building up the country by exerting every nerve to prosper not only their own affairs but every matter pertaining to the general welfare of the whole community. Of those of White Sulphur Springs who have always been in the harness pulling for the best interests of the town, the following firms and individuals are the most prominent: Spencer, Mayn & Heitman pose as a leading business firm. All three partners are whole-souled, energetic gentlemen, and Messrs. Mayn & Heitman are life-long merchants and understand the business in every detail, as their wonderful success attests. Mr Spencer has also a large experience, and is deservedly popular. All three have elegant homes and are enjoying life. The firm does an immense trade in the general mercantile line. They handle groceries, staple and fancy, hardware, clothing and furnishing goods, dry goods, agricultural implements, and in fact everything needed in the economy of a ranch farm or village home, and also all manner of mining supplies. They employ eight or nine salesmen and saleswomen and book-keepers and are busy themselves continually from early morning until late at night. They see the modest sum of one hundred and forty thousand dollars in their business and handle over two million pounds of merchandise annually. They are careful buyers, liberal dealers,
enjoy the confidence of the trade and have a standing in the business world that is second to no other house in Montana or the great Northwest region. They are also among the largest mine owners in this country, being heavily interested in Castle, Neihart and adjoining camps.

Anderson Bros. stand shoulder to shoulder with the above firm for popularity and business sagacity. They are both genial gentlemen, have a sterling reputation as business men, and, being straightforward dealers, have carved out a wonderful success in the seven or eight years they have been in business at this place. These gentlemen are also general merchants and carry a large stock of staple and fancy groceries, hardware, agricultural machinery, clothing, and all kinds of mining and ranch supplies. They employ five or six salswomen and book keepers, and are themselves also constantly employed either in the sale or counting rooms. They do a large trade in their several lines, employing fully one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in their mercantile and mining pursuits, and handle a million and a half pounds of merchandise and farm produce annually. They stand at the top in the mercantile circles of the State, and as mine owners and operators have few superiors.

The First National Bank of White Sulphur Springs was established August 20, 1885, and has been well managed. Its present officers, John Potter, president, and James T. Wood, cashier, have been with it almost from the beginning. Its resources October 2, 1890; Total $487,517.33 and its liabilities; total $487,517.33.

The Rocky Mountain Husbandsman stands next in importance. It is owned and edited by W.H. Sutherlin and R.N. Sutherlin under the firm name of Sutherlin Bros., and the marked editorial ability displayed, and the thorough knowledge these gentlemen have of the country, acquired by a quarter of a century's residence therein, enables them to write intelligently of its agricultural and mineral resources, and thereby make their paper very desirable. It is fifteen years old, is the pioneer agricultural and live stock journal of Montana, and enjoys the most general and largest circulation of any weekly in the State. Every line of type in it is set up in the home office. It is printed on a good quality of book paper, and contains a large amount of original matter of a useful and instructive nature. It is in fact one of the leading printing establishments in the Rocky Mountain Northwest. Its presses are all run by steam and its job department is exceptionally fine and turns out good work. Everything about the plant is first class, and its building, furniture, presses, etc., show thrifit and enterprise, and it is one of the few printing houses in that region that is on a firm financial basis.

J.J. Hennessy & Co., real estate dealers, take the lead in this line. The firm is composed of a couple of exceedingly energetic and very enterprising business men—J.J. Hennessy and Ben D. Gardner—the last named, in addition to his real estate business, holding the responsible position of county assessor. A large share of the mining stock transactions and real estate sales that have been made in the town during the past twelve months, amounting in the aggregate to thousands, have been made through this firm. They enjoy splendid reputation in business circles wherever known and are fully deserving of the high esteem in which they are held. The Murray Hill Addition to the town of White Sulphur Springs—a forty acre plat of
land that is very sightly, and is fast becoming the leading
residence portion - is handled by this firm. The lots in this addition
are selling very rapidly, and next season some of the finest
residences of the town will put in an appearance in this addition.

The leading lumber interest of the town is represented by
J. O. Hussey, who besides doing an extensive business in lumbering
is a leading wool grower and has a magnificent ranch on Birch Creek,
eleven miles west of town. This is a fine stock farm, yields
hundreds of tons of hay, is surrounded by a fine range, and being
situated just at the base of Mount Edith is very picturesque, the
view from his door yard being one of the finest in all the vast
Rocky Mountain region. With Mr. Hussey’s permission the Northwest
Magazine’s special artist made a sketch of his ranch which we present
among the White Sulphur Springs illustrations as a model ranch scene.
Whoever has the good fortune to be a guest at Mr. Hussey’s hospitable
ranch home will find its people and surroundings quite the opposite
of what Easterners ordinarily look for and insist Western people
should have to be in keeping with their cheap literature ideas of
Montana ranch life. He will find a model home adorned with pictures
carefully and tastefully selected from the galleries of both the
old and the new worlds, and a library containing, besides the works
of standard authors, the best modern literature published-in a
word, just what would be looked for in the home of a college bred
gentleman, be that home located among the picturesque mountains of
Montana or one of the fashionable thoroughfares of a metropolitan
city. And best of all he will find it presided over by charming
and accomplished people whose thorough education has been broadened
by travel and who have surrounded this home, more than forty miles
from a railroad, with such comforts and luxuries as one would expect to
find in our best city homes.

John O’Harr is a very prosperous farmer and has a beautiful
home only a mile from town. His farm stretches away over the beautiful
valley; is well set in meadow besides considerable grain and runs
a model market garden. This tract of land is so situated that it
cannot fail in the near future to become a very desirable residence
portion of the town of White Sulphur Springs.

J. J. Blessing, who is the sole furniture dealer of the town,
also runs a planing mill and is a lumber dealer and large contractor,
having erected some of the principal houses of the place. He is
a progressive business man and is prospering.

J. E. Saxton, proprietor of the "Higgins House," is the popular
landlord of the place; is a prince of good fellows, is always cheery
and imparts a cheerful feeling to his guests. He is public spirited,
has the welfare of the community at heart and is universally popular.

N. B. Smith stands at the head of the legal profession. He occupies
the important position of county attorney, is a safe and careful
conseilor, and a perfect gentleman withal, being entirely trustworthy.
He applies himself with zeal to the law and will reach a high rank.

James S. Brewer, the pioneer and prince of the "Mules in Montana," and sends out
from his barn the fastest teams and most stylish turnouts to be found
in any town or city in the State.

C. P. Abbott is one of the town’s greatest benefactors. He is
the proprietor of the brick yard, and manufactured hundreds of
thousands of brick annually that are reared in substantial structures. The quality of the brick turned out by him is very superior, as the substantial nature of the brick dwellings and brick blocks of the town attest. It is a great source of comfort to the residents of the town to see so many brick buildings putting in a appearance, and the stranger is at once struck by the substantial appearance of the place. To Mr. Abbott is due a large share of the praise for furnishing such a good quality of material at prices within the reach of all.

C.E. Wight, the popular County Clerk, should also be reckoned among the benefactors of the town; he is one of the most obliging of county officials and is always ready to accommodate those having matters of record, etc., to attend to, and is ever on the alert to prosper the best interests of the town and county.

P.H. Maloney is another one of those genial, public spirited men, who is a host in supporting charities and is taking an active part in all public enterprises. Being one of the pioneers he has always been in the whirl where substantial aid was needed, and few are the citizens of the Springs who are more completely interwoven in its history.

Geo. Healy is also a capital, good man for the town in supplementing public enterprises charities, etc. He always stands ready with willing hands to do deeds of kindness to the needy and prosper the business interests of the town.

White Sulphur Springs is only forty miles from the Northern Pacific Railroad at Townsend, and an N. P. survey reached the town last October. Once connection is made with the business world by rail the town will take giant strides, as its many resources will rapidly unfold and develop.

Notes taken from "The Northwest Magazine" January, 1891
Dear Edith—

I’ve finally had a chance to look over the Butte material you sent me, and thanks immensely for going to all the trouble of gathering it. It is useful background, possibly for the novel I'm doing right now or maybe for one I intend next, about the era of the homesteaders. Butte of course is a rather exotic place for those of us who grew up in rural Montana, and I'm trying to get at that view, in one of these books.

Mr. Densmore's name is a help, too. I'm going to try to make it to Butte during this summer's research trip to Montana.

Anyway, I simply wanted to say a proper "thanks," and to tell you I'll be back in touch if questions come up as I work along on these books. I hope you've wintered well. Spring is fully sprung here in Seattle.

best wishes
3-1-1983

Dear Ivan,

Here is an address of a man in Butte, Montana, who said he'd be glad to answer any letters and give you any information he can about the Butte strike. He's the one who is in his '80's but was too young to work in 1914.

Ernest Densmore
1831 Adams
Butte, Montana 59701

Hope he can help you.

Your friend,

Edith Calhoun
Mr. Ivan Doig
17021 Tenth Avenue N.W.
Seattle, Washington 98177
Ivan, I couldn't get the copy machine to reprint the picture because the book it is in is so big and thick. Better luck some other time.
Dear Ivan,

I've been trying to do a little research, etc. about Butte and the mining situation there in 1914 ever since I got your note last November. Thank you for the letter.

First the holidays came along so I didn't do much about writing to people during that time and then I guess it takes time to look up information.

I am sending what little I have garnished but hope to have more. I hope it will be helpful to you.

The one page is taken as I have written from "Butte's Memory Book" by Don James. I have that book. My son and daughter-in-law bought it for me. It is a magnificent, huge picture book of the history of Butte. But the only thing it has to say concerning what you need is what I am sending. There is a picture that I am going to try to have Xeroxed this afternoon so you can see it. It is the miner's hall after it was dynamited during this period.

I am also sending some more material copied for you by my friend, Rosemary Baker McAuliffe, who resides in Butte. The smaller article was told to her by an old-timer who is her neighbor. She is going to send me his name and address and I will send it to you. He may have some human interest stories. It is kind of hard to get them. This gentleman is in his 80's and he was too young to work in the mines in 1914.

The longer article Rosemary copied from the library files. As it says it was taken from the book "Copper Camp". Have you read it? You probably have. It was a W. P. A. Writers of Montana compiled during the depression. My son has a copy. We kind of pass it back and forth. He told me this morning when I was talking to him that he is ordering a copy for me.

I hear you visited with a couple of Montanans named Mast. Their daughter is my daughter-in-law's bosom buddy.

Everybody...me, Ann, Pat (son and wife) and friend Rosemary are much excited about your writing to me and my sending this info. to you. It adds something special to our lives.

As I said when I receive replies to my feelers I'll send them.

My best wishes to you,

Edith Calhoun
28 Feb. '83

Dear Edith—

A very brief and overdue note of thanks for all the material; I'm deep into the Montana novel and emerge to matters such as mail only every couple of weeks. I much appreciate the effort you went to; will be back in touch with you when I have a chance to digest the material and some other research I have on hand. Hope you've wintered well.

very best
AND ONCE THEY BLEW UP THE MINERS' HALL

In the first week of June, 1914, miners in the American Federation of Labor withdrew from the Union in protest against heavy assessments for benefits to striking miners in Michigan. They organized an independent Mine Workers' Union with about 4,000 members. A miner from the Speculator mine, Mucky McDonald, eventually was elected president of the new union.

On June 12 miners attacked several Miners' Union representatives at the gate of the "Spec". The next day disgruntled miners attacked and disrupted a Miners' Union Day parade. After the melee they stormed the Union Hall on North Main and demolished furniture and fixtures. In the evening they took a safe containing Miners' Union money and records, loaded it on a van, took it south of town and dynamited it open.

On June 20, Charles Moyer, Western Federation of Miners president arrived in Butte. A few days later on June 23, about 100 of Moyer's men opened rifle fire from the union hall upon thousands of miners gathered around the building. The miners returned the fire and Moyer fled with his men. The attacking miners took cases of dynamite from nearby mines and blew up the hall.

Before peace was restored Mayor J. Duncan shot and killed a frenzied knife-wielding miner in self-defense. The ACM rustling card office at the Parrot mine was blown up. Martial law was declared in Butte by Governor Sam V. Stewart. Mucky McDonald fled. Open shop was imposed on all Butte mines. The sheriff and mayor were deposed from office. Finally on November 5, martial law was ended and the camp settled down to the mildest, warmest winter in its history.

Some said it was a high time.

This is all that was in that book that I wrote about in the letter. There's a picture of the demolished Miner's Hall in the book that I'll try to have Xeroxed just so you can see it.
Butte Miners Union #1 were dissatisfied with the way union officials ran the union. For one thing, they made assessments every month in addition to the regular dues, supposedly to send to unions in other areas who were on strike. If a miner was 'in' the officials, they paid little or nothing, but other members were assessed double or triple their dues, especially foreigners. And of course most of the money stayed in the officials' pockets.

Also, the main officials were influenced by the Co., who were probably paying for the influence, and the miners didn't like the rules they were coming up with.

On June 13 (Miner's Union Day), 1914, the union was having a closed meeting with only a few miners allowed to attend. Many were outside waiting, having been refused entrance. An older miner tried to enter and was turned back. When he became insistent, the doorman shot and killed him. This set off the riot. The miners stormed the hall. One official was thrown out the window and broke his leg. Others decided to blow up the place and got powder out of the magazine at the Stewart mine. They blew up the union building that night. The rioting lasted about 3 days and there were more blasts during that time. He doesn't recall that the National Guard was called in that time. His father wouldn't let him go up town and what he remembers was what he heard his father talk about. The Guard was called in in 1917 when there was more trouble, between 2 separate unions.

He said the union charter was kept alive until 1934 by a few old miners, led by Mike deLeury (sp?) by holding meetings through the years.
This report was taken almost word for word from the book "Copper Camp", put out by the Writers' Project of Montana and published by Hastings House of New York.

June, 1914 - 1st week - Trouble brewed in the Miners' Union over heavy assessments on members for benefits to striking miners in Michigan. Many miners refusing to pay, withdrew from the Butte Miners' Union and organized an Independent Mine Workers Union, 4000 strong.

June 12, 1914 - More than 1000 miners attached 6 Miners' Union representatives at the gate of the Speculator Mine.

June 13 - A Miners' Union Day parade was attacked and broken up by a mob of disgruntled miners. Later the same day, thousands of embittered miners attacked the Union Hall on North Main, tearing out fixtures and furniture and throwing them out the window. Later that evening, a heavy safe containing Miners' Union funds and records was loaded on a moving van and taken south of the city where it was dynamited.

6/20 - Charles Moyer, president of Western Federation of Miners arrived in Butte.

6/23 - Moyer's men, about 100, fired with rifles from Union Hall upon a mob of thousands of miners gathered in front of the building. The mob fired back. Moyer and his men escaped but miners obtained cases of dynamite from mines and blew up the hall.

7/3/14 - Mayor Lewis J. Duncan shot and killed Erich Lantilla, a Finnish miner after first being attacked and wounded by a knife carried by Lantilla.

8/20 - The rustling card office of the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. at the Parrot Mine was blown up.

9/1 - Martial law was declared in Butte by Gov. Sam V. Stewart. Frank Conley of Deer Lodge was appointed provost marshall for Butte. Muckey McDonald who was elected president of Butte Mine Workers' Union fled Butte on arrival of the National Guard. He and several of his followers were arrested.

9/9 - Open shop was declared in all Butte mines.

10/6 - Mayor Duncan and Sheriff Timothy Driscoll were deposed from office by Judge Roy Ayers.

11/5 - Martial law ended by order of Gov. Stewart.

Following is an eye witness report told by John Sullivan, member of old Miners' Union from the time it was organized: (also taken from Copper Camp)

In 1913, miners in Michigan went on strike. Since Butte was affiliated with them, they paid assessments to help them out.

In 1914, miners were grumbling of increasingly large assessments until in the spring they were being assessed a day's pay every month. There were many
rumors. In June, there was open rebellion at the Speculator and Black Rock Mines. At that time, according to a contract the Union had with the mining companies, a miner had to have his dues and assessments paid up every month before he could go down to work. The Union had committees to visit different mines to see that the rule was enforced.

A glib talking miner named Muckey McDonald talked those working at the Speculator and the Black Rock Mines into breaking away from the Union. Orders were given to tell the committee when they came up there to go to hell. The two mining companies, keeping to the contract, refused to let the miners go down -- sort of a lock-out.

On the night of June 12, 6 committee members were at the Speculator, expecting trouble. All had guns. There were about 1000 miners outside the mine yard in an ugly mood. The committee leaving, pulled their guns and forced their way through to the car of Sheriff Timothy Driscoll who the committee had called earlier. The miners disbanded and went down town where there was a big meeting.

On June 13, the annual Miners' Union Day parade began. Nothing happened until they came to Park and Dakota near the Symons store. Union officials and the marshall of the parade were leading the parade on fine, big, prancing horses. All of a sudden, a mob surged off Park St. and started pulling officials off the horses. The horses, scared, stampeded into the crowd and galloped off in all directions. That saved officials who got away.

The mobs joined forces and marched to Miners' Union hall. They went in and threw everything moveable - typewriters, furniture, records - out the window. Even piano keys were torn out and thrown. Acting mayor rushed to the scene and from the 2nd story window begged the crowd to leave. Somebody pushed him out of the window where he landed on a pile of carpet, breaking his arm and dislocating an ankle. The safe was taken and blown up. $1,013.00 and records were taken and given to someone for safe keeping.

The next day, Sunday, was quieter. Things started to get calm again and miners went back to work.

On June 20th, Charlie Moyer, president of Western Federation of Miners, came to town to try to patch things up. He called for old officers to resign and for members to elect a new bunch.

On June 21, about 4000 miners met at the edge of town at an old skating rink. They organized a new union and elected Muckey McDonald president. Moyer announced in the newspapers that the Western Federation of Miners would not break up and called a meeting of that Union at what was left of the Union hall for the evening of June 23rd. That was a bad mistake.

The night of the meeting came. Moyer and about 100 men of the old Union were in the hall, Moyer making a speech. A few thousand miners had gathered out in front of the hall. A miner named Bruneau went into the hall and started up the stairs with his union card held in his hand. Some one shot him in the
shoulder and he was out cold. That started the trouble. Others in the building started shooting out the windows into the crowd. One miner was killed. Miners started shooting but Moyer and his men got out the back way before the miners got there to cut off their escape.

A group of miners went to the Steward Mine about 1/2 a block away. They forced the shift boss to take them to the dynamite. They then went down to blow up the Union hall. It was well-built and took many blasts to bring it down.

That was all there was to it. Things got back to normal. The new Union was off to a good start but Muckey McDonald got a year in prison for inciting a riot. Mayor Cuncan and Sheriff Tim Driscoll were charged with not stopping the riot and lost their jobs. When everything was over, the state militia was brought in. All saloons were kept closed for a long time.

End of eye witness account.

6/18/17 Nearly 200 miners died in a fire in the Speculator and Granite Mountain mines. The National Guard was called in

8/1/ Frank Little, a member of the Executive Board of the I.W.W., was lynched. The murderers were never caught but it was thought to ordered by the company. 200 more members of the National Guard was sent in.

11/20/18 Martial law was ended after a 16 month reign.
March 8, 1983

Ivan Doig
17021 10th Avenue, NW
Seattle, Washington 08177

Dear Mr. Doig:

I am in receipt of your letter of December 17th, 1982, and I am embarrassed to answer it this late, however, I do want to write you before I go off to a post-graduate orthopaedic course in California.

I am going to work out something and send you some information within the next week or two. I will try and make some notes while I am on my trip and see if I can help you with your book.

Thank you very much for writing to me and your interest.

Yours very truly,

Bruce F. Claussen, M.D.

BFC:1k
Martine Béland album

line of people on a fence: rodeo use?
STANDARDS OF THE WEST 1879-1939

FOR SALE
RED RIM RANCH

Why Not Use
The Finest
Sound System
In The West
For Your
RODEO?

Contract Now for 1939
Better Service
Better Prices
Better Write Now to
Harry Roe Co.
Billings, Mont.

Yolette BucK Jones, Owner
Thompson Building
Tulsa, Oklahoma

NOTICE: This material may be protected by copyright law (Title 17, U.S. Code).

PRO RODEO HALL OF CHAMPIONS COLOMBUS SPRINGS, CO 80919

RODEO GRAND DRIVE

HOOFS AND HORNs, Vol. VIII, No. 8, February, 1939, p. 16.
Mr. Ivan Doig
17021 Tenth Avenue N.W.
Seattle, WA 98177

Dear Mr. Doig:

Quite by accident I came across the enclosed advertisement for a public-address system in the February, 1939 issue of Hoofs and Horns. I thought it would be of interest to you, especially since a Montana company promoted it.

Sincerely,

Kristine Fredriksson
Registrar of Collections and Research

Enclosure
16 Sept. '82

Dear Kristine Fredriksson--

Bless you. The 1939 rodeo sound system, with its morning glory horns pointing every which way, will be a terrific addition to my novel.

Huge thanks.
February 2, 1983

DATE: February 2, 1983

REPLY TO
ATTN OF: NNFG

SUBJECT: Reply to inquiry

TO: Ivan Doig
17021 Tenth Avenue N.W.
Seattle, WA 98177

The statements checked below are relevant to your inquiry:

☐ 1. Enclosed are the reproductions that you requested.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMOUNT DUE $</th>
<th>THIS IS YOUR BILL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

☐ 2. For a domestic order, send a check or money order (payable to NATF-NNFG) or for a foreign order, send a check in U.S. dollars drawn on a U.S. bank or international money order (payable to NATF-NNFG) to National Archives Trust Fund Board (NNFG), Washington, DC 20408. Please return copy 2 of this form with your remittance.

☐ 3. The cost of reproducing the records in which you are interested is in excess of our billing limit. Please return copy 2 of this form and your remittance in advance. The cost is $10.50 for paper copies or $XX for microfilm.

☐ 4. The price quoted is an estimate. A page count at the time of reproduction will determine the exact cost. On the basis of this count, you will receive a refund of any excess amount or a bill to cover the cost above the estimate.

☐ 5. The cost of reproducing the records was less than the amount you remitted. You will receive a refund of $X

☐ 6. We can furnish copies of all papers in the file for Helena (Montana) Homestead Final Certificate 3231 and Serial Patent File 135665 (Benson English) for the price cited above.
General Archives Division
Washington National Records Center
Washington DC 20009

I'd like to obtain photocopies of any material pertaining to
the homestead claim of Benson English, resident of Dupuyer, Toole
County, Montana. The land likely was filed on in the late
1880's, and the location likely was within Township 27 North, Range
8 West; "Ben English Coulee" is shown on modern maps as traversing
sections 25, 26, 27.

Also, I'd like to verify whether Benson English later filed a
claim under the Desert Land Act; that land likely would have been
near the present site of Dupuyer, Montana, Township 28 North, Range
7 West.

cordially

[Signature]
Bureau of Records and Statistics
Dept. of Health & Environmental Sciences
Helena MT 59601

I'd like to obtain a copy of the death record of:

Toussaint Salois, resident of Dupuyer, Pondera County, died in 1935.

Benson English, resident of Dupuyer, Pondera County, died in July, 1927.

Please let me know what the fees are for these copies, and I'll send you a check.

cordially

[Signature]

22 Jan. '83
TO  Mr. Ivan Doig

17021 Tenth Avenue N.W.

Seattle, Washington 98177

DATE  April 12, 1982

Dear Mr. Doig:

Sorry for the delay in answering your question about the naming of "Two Medicine," but there is no simply answer. I tried the few sources we have here (see enclosed listings from our place-names file), but I also recalled some controversy about the source of this name several years ago. So, I wrote to the person who ought to know: Mr. Jack Holterman, a retired historian in West Glacier who has been doing volunteer work for the Park concerning place names in/near the Park.

Enclosed is a copy of Mr. Holterman's reply, as well as copies of the pages he attached to his letter. It seems that somewhere in this pile of information there is some truth, but you will notice that none of the enclosures is marked!

We look forward to your working here again this summer. If you can give me a bit of warning before you arrive, I might be able to locate some materials that would make the trip worth it. Just let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Dave Walter, Reference
Dear Dave—

Thanks for the help on the Two Medicine origin. Since this book will be fiction, I can easily enough have one of my characters declare that as he’s heard it, the name derives from... and then use Jack Holtermann's most likely nominee, the consecutive years of medicine lodges.

I will indeed try alert you to my areas of quest before Carol and I get to Helena; it’ll be some weeks yet before I can get the schedule worked out. Meanwhile, best regards, and my appreciation.
7 April 1982

Dear Dave:

In regard to the naming of Two Medicine lakes/creek re-r.e.:  

Originally, I just accepted the traditional Salish account in  
Signposts of Adventure. But recently  
I was asked to research & report  
on Indian sites in the Park with  
specific sources cited. (The  
Park Service, I suspect would  
be happy to find no evidence  
to support Indian claims.)  

My report is still in prepar- 
ation & has not yet been  
turned in. I have just received  
all the evidence I can find on  
"Two Medicine" & I am enclosing  
a couple of pages of my report  
to the Park rangers. As
you see the evidence is confused
I have not found anything better
in Grenville, as he is not on my
list but I should tell you
that Grenville is named an editor
of Madison Grant (for the Bronx
Cochitte Club of N. Y.?)

Luckily for the Indian point
of view, I have much better
evidence to offer in favor of
Chief Witt, Lake McDonald
in an authentic Indian site.

Sincerely,
Jack Holtermann

Spring? What in that? I had
to go to Mexico City last week
to get a glimpse of that!
liberation. It also reminds one of the Blackfeet quotation from Eagle Calf, bidding people go into the mountains to hear the voice of the Great Spirit. (See my paper on the Vision-Quest.) However, I know of no reason to think that the name as used here designates a sacred site.

What about the name Two Medicine, certainly one of the most famous in the Park and also for the river that crosses the reservation? James Sheire seems to accept this name as indicating a sacred ceremonial site and so marks it on his map. The Blackfeet name, Nátoki-Okás(i), means something like "Two Visions." The root for "sleep" is OKÁ, and this is a nominalized form. Schultz gives a variant for the last term: okán', which refers to the "medicine lodge," and this is probably correct too. So the name really may mean "Two Vision Lodges" or "Two Medicine Lodges." Anyhow, that is Schultz's interpretation. What was the site of these two medicine lodges? In Signposts, Schultz tells us (page 43) that it was at the foot of the mountains on the river so called. The Piegons built a medicine lodge there first, and then 8 days later came the Bloods and built their okán. But in Blackfoot Tales, Schultz says (page 21) that when the Blackfeet first occupied this country, they built an okán on the river (now called Two Medicine) "just below the buffalo cliffs." Then next summer they built another okán at the same place. Now, the "buffalo cliffs" must mean the palesides near Holy Family Mission, where there was an old piskun or buffalo-jump, that is, where the Indians used to drive a herd off the cliffs to their doom (not exactly an ecological way to do things). McClintock seems to bear this out in part for he gives us two photos of these palesides but adds (pp. 438-9) that there was a double piskun. Evidently it is the double piskun, in his opinion, rather than the double okán, that is commemorated in the name. A traditional site for the okán was somewhere along Two Medicine River south of the point on the railroad that used to be named Sun Dance. Whether this referred to the site by the palisades, I do not know. Agnes Faut leads us to believe (page 33) that maybe the double was neither okán nor piskun, but two medicine or mystery men, who in her account, came together at the Two Medicine Lakes to settle some argument. Madison Grant attributes the name to the story that the medicine lodge rites were held twice
twice on the river (at a site not specified). Holtz and Bemis, however, give us quite an elaborate legend, derived from who-knows-where: The land was stricken by drought and famine. The Indians built a double oken, and so were directed to the Wind God on Chief Mountain. After terrifying everyone appropriately, the wind causes rain to relieve the drought and points the way to buffalo to relieve the famine (pp. 197-199). But then, Margaret Thompson, who, as a teacher of full-blood adults on the reservation, was in a position to know the facts, simply and briefly tells this legend; The Blackfeet came "to this valley" (apparently meaning the valley where the lakes are) to perform their medicine lodge rituals one summer. Then again they came the next summer to repeat the performance. Hence the "two" in Two Medicine (pp. 91-92). It does seem probable, at least, that the Two Medicine Lakes, along with Chief Mountain and St. Mary, are traditionally favored spots to the Blackfeet, retreats they liked to come to from the prairies for hunting mountain game, for cutting tipi poles and perhaps for seeking vision quests.

Chief Mountain will be considered more in detail in my paper on the Vision Quest. However, I should add here that besides being a preferred shrine for that purpose, it is also featured in stories and legends, as the home of the Thunder Bird and the Wind God. I know of no way now to verify the authenticity of these legends. Various stories relating to Chief Mountain are told in Schultz's books, like Blackfeet Tales of Glacier National Park and Blackfeet and Buffalo.

In the same references we find a number of stories about the St. Mary region. One of them, in Blackfeet Tales tells of a tobacco garden planted at the foot of Lower St. Mary. If this is an authentic story, that would then be a sacred spot. Tobacco was always a sacramental, not a luxury or an in-door sport. The presence of Thunder Bird Island in the lower lake may have some reference to the reputation of the region as the cradle of storms. In the northwestern corner of the Reservation, it is very easy to get the impression that thunder storms originate there or perhaps just beyond there at Mt. Stimson that peaks over the edge of the Divide. I recall discussing this with Blackfeet friends during such a storm in which Stimson was regarded as the apparent point of origin where the Thunder Bird roars: Xiszikúmi-pitaw ihkomiw.
Two Medicine Lake
GLNF, Glacier co. US386:777

Abbreviation for Two Medicine Lodge Lake.
Many years ago the Blackfeet twice held the
ceremony of the Medicine Lodge on this river
[Two Medicine River]
Grant Gill
(Lower Two Medicine Lake and Upper Two
Medicine Lake = Glacier Park and co.)
Two Medicine Valley was always a favorite camping
ground of the Blackfeet, who met on the shore
of the lake each year to make medicine and
recount their exploits. Once when two factions
developed, one camp was pitched on the
upper lake and one on the lower. Some say
this is the reason for the name "Two
Medicine."

Two Medicine Pass
GLNF, Flathead and Glacier cos., across Continen-
tal Divide and county boundaries. US386:777

COPY PROVIDED BY THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF MONTANA LIBRARY
DATE 1-12-32

*Two Medicine River: stream about 70 miles long, heading in Lower
Two Medicine Lake, and flowing generally eastward to join Cut
Bank Creek to form the Marias River about 11 miles south-south-
east of Cut Bank; Glacier and Pondera Counties, Montana;
48°29'12" N., 112°13'31" W. Not: Two Medicine Creek [q.v.].

source: U.S. Bureau Geographic Names
Division I, p. 656.5
Two Medicine Creek, Falls, Pass - GLNF and Glacier co. - Pass in Flathead co. also.

Name originated long ago when two large bands of Blackfeet Indians met near these two lakes, each band intending to hold the medicine lodge ceremonies, which were of a religious nature wherein help and prosperity were asked of the sun and the gods. When

Two Medicine Creek

the two bands learned that they had come for the same purpose, they camped together and the ceremonies of the two lodges were conducted at the same time and place.

Indian name for Two Medicine is "Nahht-oh-kee-ch-bahss-o-moch-sich-i-mee."
Dear Dave--

I'm stumped on something I ought to know, and don't: the origin of the name of the Two Medicine river, up by Browning. I assume it has to do with the Blackfeet, but what? Haven't been able to come up with anything in the U. of Washington library, so thought I'd try you.

I liked the Kennerly article. I'm back at reading some Montana history now, having finished an Alaska novel and tuning up for one set in Montana in 1939, and it always astounds me how many people were ricocheting around the country there at almost any given time.

Likely will be in again this summer to nose for more research on rangers and small towns. The stuff you set up for me on the recorder last summer has been very helpful. Say hello to Bill Lang and Barbara Fifer for me.

best
SEPARATION NOTICE

The following items have been removed from Box 174, Folder 3, Collection 2602 for oversize storage elsewhere.

ItemsRemoved:

Photographs: #4382-4386 were removed from Series 10-Research, Subseries 2-Research topics. Images were relocated to Series 8-photographs, Subseries 3-photographic prints.

X Material has been placed in Box 163, Folder 12, Collection 2602

_____ Location information is available from the Special Collections Staff.