



# Montana Ghost Town Quarterly

VOLUME 41

FALL 2012

MORE REFLECTIONS OF BANNACK.....

## **THE HENDRICKS MILL, FROM THE PARKING LOT.**



Photo courtesy of DARIAN HALDEN  
Letterhead: 'Panning for gold in Grasshopper Creek, 2012' TERRY HALDEN

## Montana Ghost Town Quarterly

The **Montana Ghost Town Quarterly** is published four times a year by the Montana Ghost Town Preservation Society, P.O. Box 1861, Bozeman, Montana 59771. e-mail: mtghosttown@yahoo.com www.mtghosttown.org Copyright © 2012, all rights reserved.

Founded in 1969, the Montana Ghost Town Preservation Society is a 501c3 non-profit organization dedicated to educating the public to the benefits of preserving the historic buildings, sites, and artifacts that make up the living history of Montana.

Opinions expressed in the bylined articles are the authors' and do not necessarily represent the views of the M. G. T. P. S.

### Fall 2012

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**Vice President:** Mike Byrnes  
**Secretary:** Sally Griffin  
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**Membership:** Darian Halden  
**Newsletter Editor:** Terry Halden  
**2012 Convention:** Tom Lowe & Terry Halden  
**Immediate Past President:** John Ellingsen  
**Directors:** Rosemary Lee, Jan O'Brien, Marie O'Brien, and Gordon Tracy.

# The Prez Sez

TERRY HALDEN

The reports I'm getting are that the convention in Dillon was one of the best – ever. From Vern Pomeroy's talk about the Bryant Mining District, at registration, through the 'living history' portrayals in Bannack, the hilarious guest speaker, Tom Satterly, at the banquet, to the visits at Glendale and Canyon Creek on the Sunday; it was one roller coaster of historical entertainment after another. Cap this off with superb food at the banquet (one lady stated she had received poorer food at a top restaurant – and paid top dollar for it) and great packed lunches on Saturday and Sunday, and you have the makings of a convention to remember. **Tom Lowe** is the guy you need to thank for putting it together, together with **Don and Darla Black** for all the 'Goodie Bags' that were given out at registration, along with all the prizes that were dispensed at the banquet. Other members of your board of directors also pitched in and helped behind the scenes, and must be thanked.

Normally in this Fall issue, I include numerous photos illustrating the fun we had at convention, but because the convention was a week later this year, we are running up against press time, together with the fact that two of our four photographers haven't had an opportunity to get their photos to me, so, other than a couple of photos, the main collage will have to wait. What I plan to do is to add a special color photo edition of the newsletter to our website ([www.mtghosttown.org](http://www.mtghosttown.org)) and Darian will add color photos to our Facebook page as soon as they become available. Start checking our sites in October!

As you can read in our minutes, your board of directors has agreed to make our year end for membership dues a calendar year end rather than the June 30<sup>th</sup> year end that is now in effect. We have found that it is too confusing for a lot of members, many of whom pay their renewal dues in late September and assume it is for the following whole year. To allow us to do this change, all members that pay their renewals will get 18 months membership – six months 'on us'. So, please, get your renewals paid now, if you haven't already done so, to take advantage of the free six months.

Finally in this issue I am featuring two articles about the first and second Crow Agencies. Newcomer (to our membership ranks) Crystal Alegria, assisted by Marsha Fulton, writes about the connections between the first Crow Agency and the early business history of Bozeman, and long-time member Linda Dutcher writes a history of the second Crow Agency. I think you will agree the two articles complement each other and we have covered the Crow Agencies pretty well. Thanks Ladies.

Until the Winter Newsletter,

**Terry**

### New Members

Membership Chairperson Darian, reports the following **New Members** have joined our Association since the last newsletter. Please make them welcome.

Phyllis Mueller, Belgrade, MT

Dave & Johnelle Sedlock, Helena, MT

Richard Cline, St. Regis, MT

Crystal Alegria, Bozeman, MT

Lee Silliman, Missoula, MT

Terry & Patricia Beaver, Helena, MT

Larry Bowser, Lewistown, MT

M.G.T.P.S.

Minutes of the Board Meeting, September 14, 2012

The meeting, held at the Beaverhead County Museum in Dillon, MT, was called to order at 8:30 PM by President Terry Halden.

Those present in addition were Board Members Loretta Chapman, Sally Griffin, Darian Halden, Don Black, Dick and Rosemary Lee, Tom Lowe, Mike Byrnes, John Ellingsen, Margie Kankrik, and Gordon Tracy. Also attending were some of the members who were here for the convention.

The minutes from the June 2, 2012, as published in the Montana Ghost Town Quarterly Newsletter, were approved as published.

Loretta Chapman gave her Treasurer's report which was moved, seconded and accepted.

Secretary Sally Griffin read a letter of thanks from John Russell, Executive Director of the Gallatin Historical Society & Pioneer Museum, for our \$1,000 donation for their building improvements.

Membership Chairman Darian Halden reported that renewals are still keep coming in, so her report is incomplete.

Recruitment Chairman Don Black encourages us to give him names of anyone who might be interested in joining. He will contact them personally.

Facebook Chairman Meg McWhinney has submitted a letter of resignation from the Board as she is moving to New Mexico. Darian Halden will be taking over from her as local administrator.

Webmaster Dick Lee reported that he is keeping our website up to date as changes occur. He would like to have our registration form for next year's convention available online.

Projects Chairman Sue Howe, who was unable to attend, gave Sally Griffin a revised statement of the Grants guidelines which were approved June 2, 2012. The wording was changed slightly to include a direct quote from the Articles of Incorporation. Sally read this for the Board.

Newsletter Editor Terry Halden reported that the next newsletter is ready to go pending receipt of these minutes.

New Business:

The 2013 Convention will be held in Helena. There was some discussion as to whether the 2014 Convention would be held in Missoula or Lewistown. The decision was tabled until the next Board meeting, which would allow time to get input from the members.

A proposal was made to change our membership year to a calendar year rather than July 1 – June 30. Darian Halden

said this would make bookkeeping much easier. People would get the extra time of July 1 - December 31 for free to aid in this conversion. After some discussion, this was approved.

The Montana Historical Convention will be held in Helena the weekend of Sept. 22 - 23, 2012. John Ellingsen will represent us there. An honorarium of \$300 was approved for John to go to the convention.

Don Black suggested that members might like to do something like one-day photo tours of various ghost towns. He suggested the Madison Valley and Red Lodge. He would like to hear from members if they would be interested. Details could be worked out if there was interest. Contact Don.

It was announced that next year on May 26 it will be the 150th anniversary of Virginia City. We could put that date on our calendars and possibly participate in some way.

The meeting was adjourned at 9:15PM.

Sally Griffin, Secretary

M.G.T.P.S.

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, Sept. 15, 2012

The meeting, which was held at the University of Montana Western, was called to order by President Terry Halden at 7:35PM.

The minutes of last year's General Meeting, as published in the fall issue of the Montana Ghost Town Quarterly Newsletter, were approved.

Treasurer Loretta Chapman gave her report which was accepted.

Terry Halden announced the resignation from the Board of Facebook Chairperson Meg McWhinney, as she is moving to New Mexico.

New Board members were introduced. They are Sally Griffin, Secretary; Loretta Chapman, Treasurer; Don Black, Membership Recruitment Chairman, and Darian Halden, Membership Chairperson.

Terry then asked if there was anyone else who would like to be considered as a member of the Board. No one responded.

Terry reported that in the last year we gave \$1,000 to the Pioneer Museum to help with their building restoration costs. He then proposed that tonight we give \$1,000 to the Bannack Association to help with their restoration costs. It was moved by John Ellingsen and seconded by Lynda Reilly that we do this. It passed unanimously.

The 2013 Convention will be held in Helena. There will be trips to Marysville and Charter Oak. Two suggestions for the 2014 Convention are Missoula and Lewistown. These suggestions will be included in the newsletter for member inputs and a vote.

People who were attending their first convention were then asked to introduce themselves and were welcomed. The meeting was adjourned at 7:55PM.

Sally Griffin, Secretary



# THE SECOND CROW AGENCY 1875-1883

By Linda Dutcher

A flurry of letters from the hand of Crow Agent "Major" Fellows David Pease to his superiors in the Bureau of Indian Affairs followed the burning of the first Crow Agency, Ft. E. S. Parker, on the morning of October 30, 1872. "I have no doubt that the fire originated from carelessness of the employees in their quarters". At 2 a.m. the fire was discovered by a watchman in the laborers lodgings. "Gale winds since nine the night before blew down a chimney and started a fire that was extinguished - this or carelessness started the fire". The Agency was forced to get through the winter by making alternative uses of the remaining stables and outbuildings. Shortly, adobe structures replaced some of the destroyed quarters. at the site along the Yellowstone River eight miles east of present day Livingston, Montana.

On July 7, 1873, Pease was replaced by Dr. James Wright, a Methodist Minister. Wright was succeeded by Dexter E. Clapp, considered "a very capable and discerning man". Clapp was a former general officer in the Confederate army who took over October 7, 1874 as the last Crow Agent to occupy the Ft. Parker site. One of his first important assignments was a scouting trip December 16-21, 1874 to find a location for a new Crow Agency. Immediately upon his return to the old agency, he reported the following to E.P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs (CIA):

Sir- I have the honor to report that, in obedience to instructions from the Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs ————— I found only two good locations for an agency, one at the mouth of Deer Creek on the Yellowstone, and one at the junctions of the Stillwater and Rosebud Creeks. There are good supplies of timber and water, and sufficient – excellent - tillable land at each of these places. The first location is thirty miles from this place, and the second is fifty-eight.

I respectfully recommend that the Agency be removed to Stillwater Creek, near the mouth of the Rosebud, for the following reasons:-

(I.) That location is 20 miles from the boundaries of the Reservation, and can consequently be much better protected from whiskey selling and other illicit trading.

(II.) There is every opportunity for farming operations, both for instruction for Indians and for raising supplies. Farming is practically impossible at the present location.

(III.) The Stillwater Valley is out of the line of the terrible Yellowstone Canon winds, and there is good reason to believe is comparatively free of certain rheumatic diseases which are very frequent here.

The first consideration I have mentioned I regard as all-important for the welfare and civilization of the Indians, and the peace of the Agency.

I earnestly recommend that a suitable appropriation be made for new buildings.

I wish especially to acknowledge the promptness with which the Commanding Officer of Fort Ellis complied with my request for an escort, and the courteous and efficient assistance I received from its Commander, Lieut. Doane.

I am very respectfully, Your obedient servant,

Dexter E. Clapp, Agent

On April 12, 1875, Clapp presented his estimate of cost for the new Agency as \$15,000 explaining to the CIA that lumber and lime would be made on site and stone quarried nearby. He also made it clear that his estimate did not include any structures detached from the main complex such as houses, schools, fences, corals; or other farming and stock raising costs. The expenditure, to be made over a 5 month period, did include 7 mechanics @ \$75.00 per month; 25 laborers @ \$50.00 per month; one mule team with 4 mules; eight harness sets; 1 wagon and \$3,270 as a contingency to hire extra teams and purchase incidentals. He suggested that another \$28,300, including \$9,996 for cattle, \$2,000 for a schoolhouse; \$3,900 for Indian houses and \$4,360 for fences, corals etc. be made available by expropriating that amount from the "Beneficial Objects" fund appropriation designated for food and personal items due to the Crow.

Clapp relayed in late April that, "Work on the Agency will commence in a few days" and requested one company of troops be sent from Ft. Ellis while the Agency was being built. That request was denied. While General Switzer did provide a small guard to protect the work camp while the agent was away in mid-May, Clapp continued to be frustrated by the denials on behalf of the military authority for "earnestly" requested security details. In lieu of the military refusal to furnish any guard below the old Agency during construction, he requested an escort for late July to accompany the final move of the mostly women, children and old men left at the old Agency.

Detailed records were kept for the first 31 employees hired. Included were 25 laborers plus a farmer, an engineer, two carpenters, and two stone masons who were paid at the higher rate. They averaged 33 years of age, ranging from 23 to 48, the carpenters and masons being among the oldest. They represented 13 states, including 2 laborers from Montana Territory, and 5 foreign countries. There were four each from Ireland and Canada, the masons from Prussia and Wales, and a 25 year-old laborer from Mexico named Jose Pablo Trojio who became known locally as "Mexican Joe". Four additional laborers were put on the payroll in early June, one of those being Mitch Boyer who had been employed from May 12 to September 30, 1874 at the old Agency as a guide for the River Crow.

Everything was going well. On June 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> in letters to the CIA and Territorial Governor Potts, Clapp reported the sawmill was ready to use; a good coral had been completed, a 1-1/4 mile long ditch to irrigate several hundred acres of land was complete and a 20 X 60 log house was well on the way. Request for bids on stock cattle, horses, saddles, guns and building materials had been placed in the Bozeman Avant Courier and Herald of Helena. He also noted that laborers-turned-scouts Thomas La Forge and John Souci, sent east to find the summer camp of the Crow warriors, had found the Crow near the mouth of Pryor's Fork and in "excellent spirits". Clapp announced that during their search, they had a surprise encounter with the Steamboat Josephine on the Yellowstone just below the mouth of the Clark's Fork. The boat was carrying the expeditionary force of Lieut. Col. F. D. Grant. As guests of Captain Grant Marsh, LaForge and Souci had been invited aboard for dinner.

By late June, Clapp reported reducing employee expense from \$17,200. to \$10,000. On June 15<sup>th</sup> he had discharged eight laborers along with the detective who he had hired at \$75. per month in 1874 to investigate whiskey peddling. He also discharged the two masons and replaced them with another at a reduced rate of \$50. per month, as well as discharging scout A. M Quivey, sub-Agent Henry Keiser, and Ferryman Edward Everette.

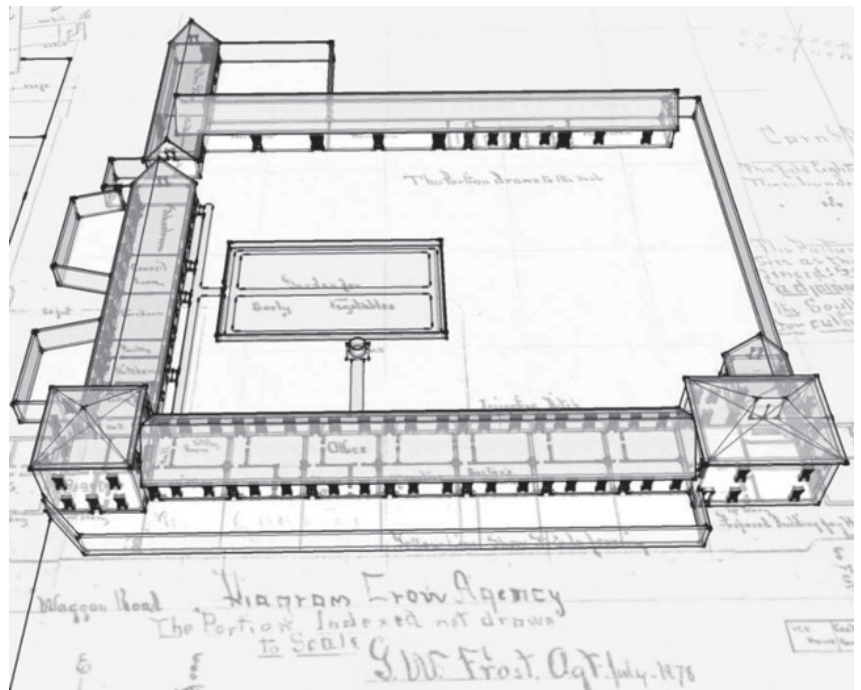
The detective likely had provided intelligence that the whiskey peddlers who had operated at Benson's Landing near the old Agency were about to follow and locate just over the Reservation boundary on the north side of the Yellowstone River. Clapp reported, "Three expeditions are about to start down the Yellowstone to locate opposite the mouth of the Stillwater. A large quantity of whiskey is to go with one of these. The other parties are from the Yellowstone Crossing [3 miles west of present-day Columbus where Henry Countryman constructed the trading post called Eagles Nest], having kept houses there during the last winter that have been rendezvous for many of the worst characters in the territory. Whiskey selling, gambling and horse thieving have been carried on to an astonishing extent. I do not believe that less than 25 horses have this spring been stolen from the Crows. I would not charge that the men who keep these shops are themselves engaged in horse stealing, but their houses do furnish Head Quarters for the thieves". Clapp therefore requested of Commissioner Smith that addition of a 25 mile wide belt of land between Big Timber Creek and the eastern meridian of the Reservation be made to the Reservation on the north side of the Yellowstone.



ABOVE: Diagram of the Crow Agency buildings, imposed on a photo of the area by Daniel Glenn.

BELOW: A scale drawing of the buildings at the Crow Agency by G.W. Frost

Both illustrations, courtesy of the MUSEUM OF THE BEARTOOTH



This addition would force the merchants to locate at least 45 miles north of the new Agency and 25 miles from the River, making it more difficult in the shipping of whiskey.

With the first sign of the Sioux rampage of 1875-76, Clapp's fortunes at the Stillwater site suddenly changed. The hostile Sioux had attacked the Crow near the mouth of the Bighorn and near the site of old Ft. C. F. Smith. The construction, Clapp reported, "proceeded very rapidly until July 2nd when the timber camp and train were attacked near the mouth of the Stillwater where the Sioux captured one mule and drove off two oxen". They killed Mexican Joe, "whom I had sent to the camp with several oxen, and captured the Agency horse which he was riding. The poor man evidently made a brave fight for his life".



The morning of July 5<sup>th</sup> while still dark, corral bars were unfastened and all Agency horses, mules and 20 hired mules were stampeded. At daybreak a teamster hauling for the Agency, Samuel Shively, was killed and his companion, Patrick Alide, severely wounded and had his horse stolen. A few days' later 3 men carrying dispatches were attacked 15 miles east of Ft. Ellis. One, James Hughes, was killed and another wounded. On August 1st, a herder was rescued but 48 cattle were driven off. The party pursued the Indians for 25 miles; found 9 wounded steers and 8 dead animals. A week later, night herder James Hildebrand was killed at the lime kiln 16 miles south of the new Agency and John Souci wounded.

In all, 9 men were killed and 10 wounded during 17 attacks. Livestock stolen or killed numbered 86. In addition, 52 oxen were victims. Then the hostiles disappeared. In his annual report of September 10, 1875, Clapp reflected, "At this time, the men at work became very much discouraged. However, in a few days confidence was again restored, and the work went on smoothly, with the exception that it was necessary to reduce the building force, in order that the timber and lime parties might be sufficiently large to resist any probable attack, it being frequently necessary to send out from ten to twenty men where in the settled country, two or three would have sufficed".

But problems mounted for Clapp and the new Agency. The Sioux attacks had held up completion of the Agency and increased the cost. He announced on August 3<sup>rd</sup>, "I took the responsibility of hiring several more men and purchasing a Sharps Telescope Rifle with which we can drive the Sioux from a high bluff about 3/4 mile from our location". The \$15,000 was exhausted with only three sides of the quadrilateral compound finished. Clapp asked for an additional six to eight thousand dollars from the Fund for 'Beneficial Objects'. A month later he asked for \$1,400 for 7 Indian houses; \$800 for a school; \$1,000 for a barn; \$400 for the interpreter's house; \$300 for a slaughter house; and \$500 for corrals and fencing.



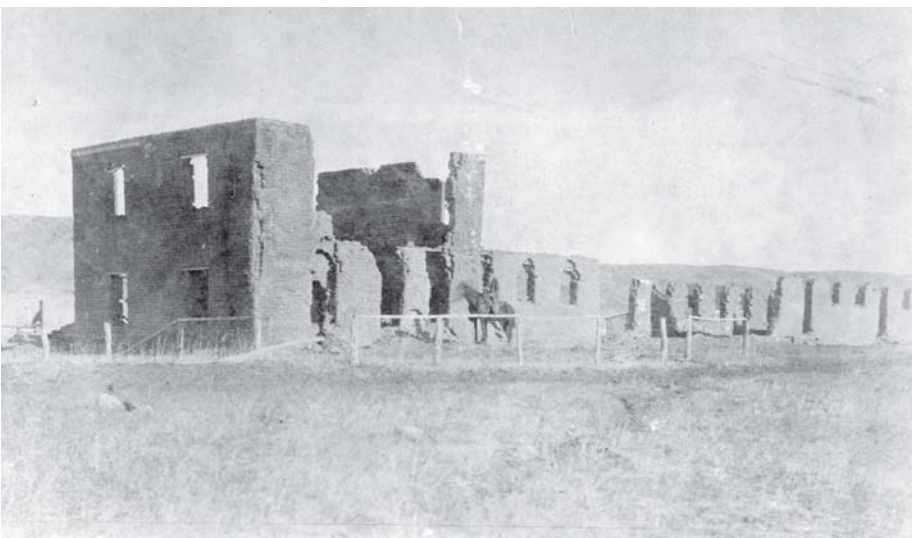
A painting of the Crow Agency buildings, done in 1875 from the ANNIN COLLECTION at the MUSEUM OF THE BEARTOOTH

Thirteen influential Indians who had agreed to commence farming, mostly Indian women married to white men, rejected the idea due to fear of Sioux raids. Hay production around the Agency had to be postponed for another year and purchased on contract from off the Reservation. Two cents per pound had to be added to the cost of freight from Bozeman and the old Agency due to a military survey that established that it was actually 15 miles farther between the two agencies than Clapp had estimated. Costs for provisioning the new Agency with flour and beef mounted. In one situation, Clapp had to explain why William Kiskadden was paid for 116 head of cattle weighing 165,126 lbs. As the Agency scale was not set up, the butcher and herder picked out 2 cattle as representative and estimated the total weight of the herd - apparently too high to be believed. Other compensation had to be provided for claims on hired stock unreturned to the owners; and crop damage allegedly caused by the Crow.

Worst of all, accusations and recriminations surfaced over the decision to move the Agency that far east of Bozeman

and Fort Ellis, which decision had been unpopular with certain parties from the beginning. In defense of charges by Governor Potts of moving the Agency to a much more dangerous location, Clapp states in a letter to him dated September 27, 1875, "Mich [sic] Boyer, the most experienced and celebrated guide and scout of the Yellowstone and Ft. C.F. Smith has been in my employ the past summer. He has frequently told me the most dangerous portion of the route to Bozeman is the 12 miles next to this side of Ft. Ellis".

The ruins of the Crow Agency buildings in 1895. The ANNIN COLLECTION at the MUSEUM OF THE BEARTOOTH.



But Clapp saved his most caustic criticisms for the military. In his annual report he wrote, "The efforts of the military authority to protect the settlements, and the U.S. property during the summer, have simply been a worthy subject of ridicule! The Army is protecting areas where the Sioux do not travel. These facts interpreted in the light of remarks made to me in person by the commanding officer of the district force me to the belief that the exposure of this Agency and the settlements on the Upper Yellowstone and the Gallatin Rivers has been unnecessary and intentional and caused by his avowed displeasure at the removal of the Agency".

Clapp remained as the Crow Agent into 1876. His letters to Commissioner Smith reflect continued conflicts with the BIA and Montana politicians, as well as some local settlers. One such issue was his proposed change in the Reservation boundary and another concerned decisions about who was trustworthy enough to be granted licenses to trade with the Crow. Both of these related to whiskey peddlers, who "raised Clapp's anger to the boiling point". On September 5, 1876, Clapp requested a 40 day winter leave to visit his ailing father and Washington, D.C. His final communication is dated September 9, 1876 and his successor, Lewis H. Carpenter, begin October 25, 1876. Carpenter's successor, George Frost, served from August 2, 1878 to November 4, 1878 when Augustus R. Keller became the final Agent to occupy the second Crow Agency.

After 1884 when the administrative headquarters was moved to the present site at Crow Agency, Montana,

the second Agency was sold to F. D. Pease and eventually stripped of its useful building materials and then burned. An archival photo, taken in 1895, shows that some walls still existed above ground. The site, on private property 2 miles south of Absarokee, Montana in Stillwater County, is noted with an historic marker along Highway 78. This section of the road was included in a 3 mile stretch long planned for widening by the Montana Department of Transportation. Such plans require archeological surveys. Preliminary sampling led to a magnetic survey by the National Park Service in 2006 in which the anomalies lined up exactly to Frost's 1878 map of the facility. This occurrence led to a rare, full-fledged archeological excavation in 2011 which was conducted by Aaborg Cultural Resources Consulting of Billings.

The first finds were the compound's intact, but scorched foundation including the offices of the agent, clerk and doctor; and the foundation of one Crow residence, although most of those are under the highway. Artifacts uncovered include wild and domestic animal bones, a glass medicine bottle, stoneware, utensils, the arm and shoe of a doll and the cylinder of a cap-and-ball revolver. Jack Fisher of Montana State University is charged with analyzing the artifacts which will eventually find a home at the Little Bighorn College Campus at Crow Agency.

The fate of the Crow Agency II site is presently unclear. The excavation was filled in late in 2011. The removal of artifacts is unlawful, but the land in question is still subject to plowing and building. Parties interested in preserving the site are active in seeking the involvement of nonprofit organizations that buy threatened historic places.

Sources: Superintendent's Diaries and Employee Records Vols. 1-3 and Register of Letters 1872-1877; Records of the Crow Indian Agency, MT, Record Group 75.19.21, National Archives and Record Administration, Denver.  
Agency archaeology: Dig near Absarokee reveals Crow history, Susan Olp, Billings Gazette, August 2, 2011.  
Brown, Mark, 1961, Muddled men have muddied the Yellowstone's true color, Montana the Magazine of Western History, V. 11, no.1, p. 28.  
McLemore, Clyde, 1952, First Attempted Settlement in Yellowstone Valley, The Montan Magazine of History, V. 2 no. 1, p.17.



Archaeology dig at the Crow Agency, 2011.

LINDA DUTCHER PHOTO



# FORT PARKER and the BOZEMAN ECONOMY

By Marsha M. Fulton and Crystal B. Alegria



Fort Parker ( The first Crow Agency) 1871

Photo courtesy AUTHORS

Fort Parker, the first Crow Agency, was established in 1869 as a place to distribute annuity goods to the Crow tribe as designated by the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. The agency was built nine miles east of present day Livingston, Montana. At that time, the closest town to Fort Parker was the fledgling community of Bozeman. The economic boon to Bozeman came from government supply contracts and employment opportunities to both Fort Parker and Fort Ellis, a military fort established outside of Bozeman. A few Bozeman businessmen found some more shady opportunities to make a buck at the expense of both the government and the Indians. But both legitimate and shady, the influx of contracts and job opportunities from Fort Parker and Fort Ellis contributed to the establishment of Bozeman and supported the growth of the community through the early years of its development, contributing to the thriving city it is today.

## Early Bozeman History

On May 26, 1853, William Fairweather and party discovered gold at Alder Gulch, Montana Territory. This event would set Montana on a course of settlement which would displace the Indigenous populations in favor of development and agriculture. This progress was felt almost immediately with the rapid growth of Bannack and Virginia City. The entrepreneurial John Bozeman, who ventured west looking for gold, diverted settlers from the Oregon Trail along an old Indian passage in order to bring them to Virginia City to mine and settle in the town. Historian Cornelius Hedges noted that the Civil War had brought to Montana “deserters from both camps, seeking a cover in the wilderness beyond the reach of the civil or military arm of the Government, where they could shoot off their mouths or guns with comparative impunity.” The gold mines of Montana Territory attracted men looking to make their fortunes, often with few scruples as to how to go about doing it.

Soon more towns sprang up along the base of the Gallatin Range to accommodate the continuous influx of fortune-seekers and homesteaders taking advantage of the cheap acreage promised under the 1862 Homestead Act. John Bozeman saw an opportunity to create a new town as a terminus to his trail. His partners in this endeavor were Elliott Rouse and William J. Beall. By the spring of 1864, Rouse and Beall were laying out plans for the new town while Bozeman directed settlers to their new home. Arriving in 1864, the Reverend William White Alderson described his first impression of what would become Bozeman, Montana. “Not a fence pole or a log hewn was then in sight to designate the future city of Bozeman. After looking around, however, for a few moments, we noticed a small wedge tent constructed out of a wagon cover and after a little careful inspection we found a lonesome occupant in person of W.J. Beall.”

In a short time the town of Bozeman saw cabins, hotels, saloons, shops and a flour and grist mill. Bozeman’s streets today bear the names of some of these early entrepreneurs: Leander M. Black, Lester Willson, John Mendenhall, Charles Hoffman, Hugo Hoppe, Nelson Story, Thomas Cover, Peter Koch and Perry McAdow. But gold is finite and soon the mine at Alder Gulch had dwindled to a trickle. New sources of revenue would be required to support the growing population and developing industry of the new town called Bozeman. Nelson Story, a shrewd businessman would know just where to look for an influx of cash.

Like Bozeman, Story came to Alder Gulch to search for his fortune. Luck had brought him \$20,000 by 1866 when he embarked on what would be his best known adventure. Seeing an opportunity to establish a firm financial foothold in the region, Story travelled to Fort Worth, Texas, purchased 1000 longhorn cattle and drove them back to Montana on a harrowing drive that is now the source of legend. He established





Nelson M. Story

Photo courtesy AUTHORS

a ranch in Paradise Valley and built a modest cabin in Bozeman. In just ten years he would build a new home in Bozeman that would rival the grand houses back East. Where did Nelson Story turn to amass such a fortune in such a short time? - in part from the United States government.

After the discoveries at Alder Gulch and the influx of settlers, there was an immediate and drastic displacement of the Native Tribes who had traditionally roamed the Great Plains, hunting buffalo. Such severe and often violent dislodgement was sure to cause a backlash. Just such reprisal was felt immediately as John Bozeman led settlers directly through the heart of Indian Territory. Some tribes stood aside, weighing their options with this rapidly changing landscape. Others reacted quickly and violently. Settlers were continuously under attack by the Lakota bands and other Sioux warriors who were not going to stand for non-Indian incursion through their homelands, protected by treaty. The Bozeman Trail would prove a bold and dangerous route.

This Indian threat, however, would be used to great advantage by the politicians and businessmen building a western empire on the plains. Newspapers in league with the powers that be, would continuously report of the Indian threat, whipping the locals into a fear frenzy. Rosa Beall, the daughter of one of Bozeman's founders, remembered being rushed to the Stafford hotel in the middle of the night for protection from a possible Indian attack. Returning men, however, hadn't seemed to find any evidence of Indians in the vicinity. Things came to a head in the summer of 1867, when John Bozeman was allegedly murdered by Blackfoot Indians and one thousand Sioux warriors set up camp outside the gates of Fort C.F. Smith, in protest of the Bozeman Trail. Then Territorial Governor, Thomas Meagher, petitioned Washington for funds to supply a militia to protect the area. Without final approval, Meagher and local businessmen rounded up a force, lavishing them with supplies expecting government reimbursement. The Sioux threat proved to be nothing as the Indians never attacked. When Meagher and the businessmen requested \$1 million in reimbursement, the government settled on \$500,000.

## Fort Ellis

The citizens of Bozeman and surrounding communities pleaded with the government to provide them with protection. John Bozeman wrote to Meagher on March 25, 1867. "We have reliable reports here that we are in imminent danger of hostile Indians, and if there is not something done to protect this valley soon, there will be but few men and no families left in the Gallatin Valley." Bozeman's motivation here was not just to protect the citizens but to protect the economic viability of the city of Bozeman. Without citizens there would be no city.

The United States government responded with the establishment of Fort Ellis in 1867. Fort Ellis provided the burgeoning town of Bozeman with an influx of support in the form of money and people. Three companies of the 13<sup>th</sup> U.S. Infantry, some 150 enlisted men and officers were stationed at the post and contracts were given to Bozeman business men to build structures and provide food and supplies. Local civilians were hired as blacksmiths, laundresses, sutlers, and laborers for the post. This was a much needed shot in the arm for Bozeman's struggling economy.

One year after the establishment of Fort Ellis, the United States government negotiated a treaty with the Crow Indians trading money, goods and supplies for a large portion of Crow Territory. The goods would be warehoused and distributed at an agency which would come to be called Fort Parker after Eli S. Parker, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at the time. The government immediately turned to Bozeman to fulfill the Fort Parker contracts. Bozeman businessman, Leander M. Black was designated as the first special agent for the Crows and was contracted to build the fort and all its associated outbuildings including a school where their children could receive an "English Education." Other Bozeman businessmen were also quick to take advantage of this income opportunity that Fort Parker provided. These included:

### Nelson Story

Story had already established Government contracts to Fort Ellis and Fort C.F. Smith and saw the bonanza of contracts Fort Parker could provide. He immediately established a relationship with the agent and opened a sutler store at Fort Parker, selling goods to the Crow and to those who stopped at the Fort to trade. Story freighted beef, pork, flour, and many other supplies to the Crow Agency for distribution to the Crow.

### Leander M. Black

Leander M. Black made a fortune transporting and selling wood, hay and grain to government soldiers during the Civil War. He brought that expertise to Montana Territory, and continued to obtain contracts from the government. Black held contracts to provide flour, sugar, and coffee to the Crow. It is estimated that two-thirds of the flour produced in the Gallatin Valley between 1869 and 1872 eventually wound up in Black's warehouse at the Crow Agency. Black was a successful businessman in Bozeman, he opened the first bank, the First



*L. M. Black*

Leander M. Black.

Photo courtesy AUTHORS

National Bank of Bozeman. Black was one of the wealthiest men in all of Montana Territory, due in a large part to the many contracts he received from the Crow Agency.

### Charles Wheeler Hoffman

Charles Wheeler Hoffman secured the contract to build twenty-five adobe houses at Crow Agency. The Agent was hopeful the Crow would start farming and live in the adobe houses, this never happened. The houses were occupied by agency employees. Hoffman went on to become a Senator to the first Montana State Legislature.

### William and Perry McAdow

William and Perry McAdow were brothers who operated the first grist mill in Gallatin County. The brothers sold flour to Nelson Story, who had the flour contract with the Crow Agency. The two brothers operated the flour mill until 1883.

### John H. Aylesworth

John H. Aylesworth, like many of the men mentioned above, first came to Virginia City to find his fortune in gold. Aylesworth opened an assay office and also taught school in the gold rush town. In 1871 Aylesworth lived and taught at Fort Parker for three years. Fort Parker burned to the ground in October of 1872 and Aylesworth, particularly, felt the loss. He left behind a list of items which he lost in the fire, including school books and supplies. The list is a glimpse into the past and reveals the level and quality of education offered to the students at Fort Parker. A Webster Dictionary, algebra book, chemistry book, botany book and even a six shooter were among the items on the list. After leaving Fort Parker, Aylesworth moved to Bozeman and operated one of the first lumber mills.

## Fraud at Fort Parker

But along with the legitimate business of supplying Fort Parker came some shady dealings as well. A report filed by James Brisbin, Commander at Fort Ellis, revealed a darker side to this economic relationship. By February of 1876, Captain Edward Ball, the man charged with inspecting all of the supplies at Fort Parker to insure they met the Government contracts, had had enough. He approached the newly arrived Commander at Fort Ellis, James Brisbin, and asked to be relieved of his duties due to the excessive fraud he had found at the agency. In April, Brisbin began an investigation which uncovered fraudulent activities dating back to 1873 when the agency was under the hand of the Reverend James Wright, a minister brought in to replace Fellowes D. Pease, the previous agent. Ironically, Wright's appointment was part of a larger program in which newly elected president Ulysses S. Grant asked the churches to appoint "honorable" men as new agents due to the tide of popular opinion in the east concerning Indian fraud.



Charles Wheeler Hoffman Photo, courtesy AUTHORS

During the investigation, tales of fraudulent practices by Bozeman merchants and agency employees came to light. These activities involved everything from supplies to salaries to guns, all seemingly approved and even overseen by the Reverend Wright. It was revealed in one testimony that it was Wright's wife who had turned her honest husband to the "Indian business" in order to retire in style back east.

Defrauding of agency supplies was allegedly a common practice. Bozeman miller William McAdow testified that Nelson Story had paid him to double sack flour meant for the agency. This flour would be marked through inspection and then when the inspector was not looking, the outer bag would be removed revealing an unmarked bag. This enabled Story to deliver only half of the contracted flour while pocketing the full payment.



Story was also implicated in stealing agency cattle. William Carr, an agency employee, claimed that Story had put his own brand on agency cattle. Dr. Hunter, agency physician and proprietor of the near-by Hunter's Hot Springs, claimed that Story took agency cattle to the Missouri River to sell.

The Reverend Illiff, a Bozeman minister who often preached at Fort Parker, claimed that several employees were on the Fort Parker payroll that did no work for the agency. Illiff also claimed that agent Clapp, Wright's successor, appropriated money from agency salaries for his own use.

With the 1874 negotiations to move the agency, Bozeman merchants feared the end of the Fort Parker gravy train. Nelson Story dispatched several of his men to open a trading post in the Judith Basin, where the agency would be relocated. Agency employees told several tales of midnight wagon loads leaving the agency warehouse filled with food and supplies meant for the Crow Indians. These supplies ended up on Story's trading post shelves along with

government-issued needle gun cartridges meant for the protection of Gallatin Valley residents. When the location of the new agency changed to Absarokee, Story sold Fort Sherman, as the Judith Basin post was called, to Major A. S. Reed and Jim Bowles who dismantled it and floated the logs two miles down Spring Creek which established Lewistown.

Thus Bozeman merchants and their families benefitted greatly from business dealings, both legitimate and shady, with Fort Parker and the United States government. The economic benefit to Bozeman was integral at this critical time, and assisted in sustaining the development of Bozeman. From the buildings downtown to houses, farms, ranches, businesses, libraries, churches, and streets, the historic core of Bozeman we recognize today was developed and built during this crucial historical period. Without Fort Ellis and Fort Parker and entrepreneurial businessmen like Nelson Story, Leander Black, the McAdow Brothers, and many more, Bozeman would have ended up as just another one of Montana's many ghost towns.

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## PIONEER MINING DISTRICT, POWELL COUNTY

by Terry Halden



In 1929 Pat Wall, a retired mining executive, purchased all the mining claims in the Pioneer Mining District in Powell County, along with the water rites, owned by Conrad Kohrs. Having secured complete control of the area, he then purchased a Yuba dredge, had it freighted up from California, on forty-two rail cars, assembled it and started dredging the small creeks in the area. Wall died, but his wife continued the operation, and in a period of ten years, cleared a profit of 1.3 million dollars (1930's dollars when gold was valued at \$32.00 an oz.). Finally, the war years and the fact that the dredge had run out of paying ground, brought the operation to a halt and the dredge was abandoned. Today it sits, slowly rusting away, in a dry creek bed in the bush, on private property.

Photo by Author



# Montana Ghost Town Quarterly

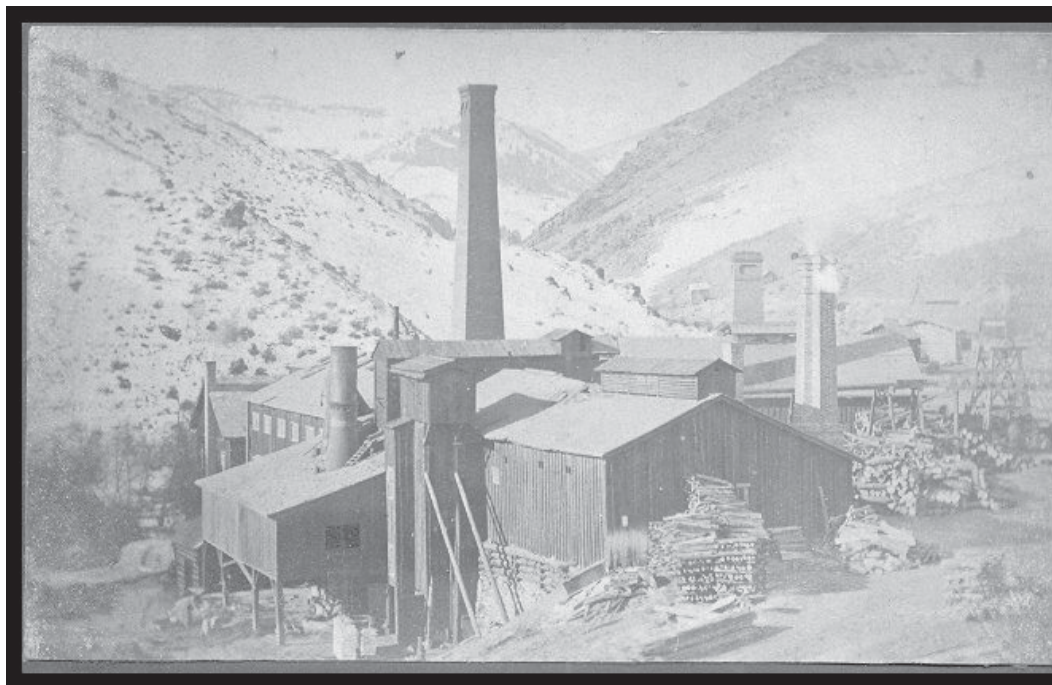
MONTANA GHOST TOWN PRESERVATION SOCIETY  
P.O. BOX 1861, BOZEMAN, MT, 59771-1861

## REVIEW:



Vern Pomeroy of [www.Glendalemt.com](http://www.Glendalemt.com) addresses our convention about the Bryant Mining District.

TERRY HALDEN photo



The Smelter at Glendale.

Courtesy [www.Glendalemt.com](http://www.Glendalemt.com)

At registration at Convention 2012, Vern Pomeroy, assisted by Ben Goody gave a talk about the Bryant Mining District. On the Sunday we were able to visit the remains of the smelter at the ghost town of Glendale. For a detailed history of the district, we would urge you to visit [www.Glendalemt.com](http://www.Glendalemt.com) which is a very informative website.