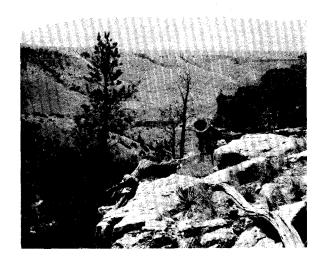
BIGHORN CANYON NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

MONTANA-WYOMING

HISTORY BASIC DATA

by
EDWIN C. BEARSS
VOLUME 2



OFFICE OF HISTORY AND HISTORIC ARCHITECTURE EASTERN SERVICE CENTER

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Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area Wyoming-Montana

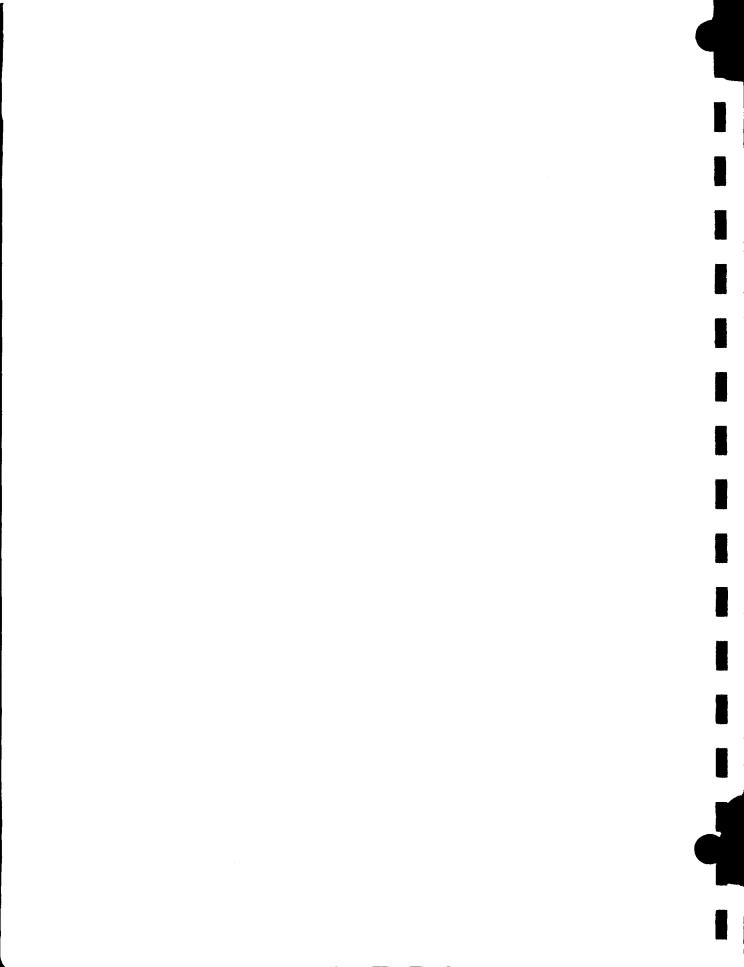
B A S I C D A T A S T U D Y BIGHORN CANYON NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

by

Edwin C. Bearss

In Two Volumes

VOLUME 2



A. Superintendent Sully Establishes the Agency

The United States by the Treaty of May 7, 1868, with the Crow, had agreed to establish an agency for their benefit. This would be difficult because the tribe, as it had been for a number of years, was divided into two bands—the Mountain and River Crow. As the agent for the Crow, Capt. E. M. Camp, had not reached Montana Territory, the responsibility for locating the agency fell to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Montana, Brig. Gen. Alfred Sully. In expectation of securing the cooperation of the Mountain Crow in selecting the site for the agency, General Sully asked them to meet him on the upper Yellowstone on September 10, 1869. The Indians were on their autumn hunt, so only a few were present when Sully pinpointed the future agency on the west bank of Mission Creek, where it discharges into the Yellowstone.

The site chosen, according to Sully, possessed a number of advantages: (a) it was on a "fine mountain stream"; (b) there was plenty of timber, with cottonwoods in the nearby Yellowstone bottom and pines in the mountains; and (c) there was about 1,000 acres of the "best Meadow land, and any quantity of excellent farming land." A crew of artisans, hired by Sully, was turned to building a steam sawmill, putting up hay, plowing, and erecting buildings. I

B. Captain Camp Arrives at the Agency

Captain Camp, who had been named agent for the Crow Tribe on June 10, 1869, did not reach the agency until November 20. He had laid over in Chicago to purchase mill machinery and other supplies before traveling to Sioux City, Iowa, to catch a steamboat for Fort Benton. There he received instructions to take charge of the annuity goods and presents for the Missouri River tribes, and to oversee their distribution. He left Sioux City on July 14 aboard Fanny Baker. Delayed by low water and time lost in distributing the annuities, Camp did not reach the agency until late in the year. ²

^{1.} Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Secretary of the Interior, December 23, 1869, found in *House Executive Documents*, 41st Congress, 2d Session, Series 1414, pp. 732-733. The new agency was about 8 miles east of present day Livingston.

^{2.} Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Secretary of the Interior, October 31, 1870, found in *House Executive Documents*, 41st Congress, 2d Session, Series 1414, p. 741.

Most of the Mountain Crow had now returned from the hunt and were camped nearby. Camp found them "quiet and peaceable," and was satisfied they "merited the high reputation they have always borne as being friendly disposed toward the whites." When he distributed the annuity goods, the Indians expressed themselves as grateful to their "Great Father" for his kindness, but they did not "fully appreciate" the gifts of clothing. Trousers and socks suggested to them an "idea of awkwardness and personal restraint" to which they were unaccustomed. Their leaders told Captain Camp that they preferred blankets, firearms, and ammunition instead.³

Camp's efforts to encourage the Mountain Crow to become farmers were rebuffed. Land was plowed, fenced, and harrowed. In the spring of 1870, "a few square yards" of wheat, barley, oats, and corn were planted. The wheat, barley, and oats did "moderately well," but an August frost killed the corn, along with the beans, tomatoes, melons, and squash. Worse, the Mountain Crow showed scant interest in the undertaking. Of the 1,950 in the band, only one--Wolf Bow--, with his three squaws and eight children, expressed a desire to take up residence at the agency and farm. To encourage Wolf Bow, Camp ordered a house erected for him and his family. 4

C. The River Crow Continue to Live Apart

In November 1869, at the time of Captain Camp's arrival at the agency, the 2,000 River Crow were living near the Gros Ventres agency, on the Big Bend of Milk River. The low water which delayed the arrival of the annuity goods caused the River Crow and Gros Ventres to grumble and threaten to join the Arapaho and Sioux in a war against the whites. The River Crow told H. S. Reed, who was in charge of the agency, that the Sioux had laughed at them and chided, "Look at us! We are rich and ride fat horses, and have plenty, while you are friends to the whites and are poor and have no horses!"

^{3.} Ibid. By the summer of 1870, the agency consisted of: a ware-house; schoolhouse; office; and quarters for the engineer, blacksmith, carpenter, farmer, and miller. Quartered in the office were the agency guard—a sergeant and 12 privates of Company A, 7th Infantry.

^{4.} Ibid.

^{5.} Reed to Sully, Aug. 12, 1869, found in House Executive Documents, 41st Congress, 2d Session, Series 1414, p. 741.

A smallpox epidemic in September 1869 ravaged the Gros Ventres. Claiming 741 lives, the plague caused the tribe to forget their bold statements. The River Crow at this time were camped 25 miles away. To save them from the epidemic, Agent Reed had them moved across the Missouri to Judith Basin, where they were rationed. Here they were contacted by Agent Camp, who urged them to come to the agency and join their brothers -- the Mountain Crow. Nothing was accomplished until May 1870, when a River Crow squaw visited the Gros Ventres, was exposed to smallpox, and returning to her village, infected her people. This caused the River Crow to scatter, 60 lodges coming to the agency and joining the Mountain Crow for their summer hunt to the Bighorn Country. Another 22 lodges fled to the Gros Ventres agency, where they were inoculated by Agent Reed. The remainder stayed in Judith Basin. Agent Reed by his prompt action was able to arrest the dread malady and only about 30 deaths were reported. 6

D. The Sioux Drive the Crow from the Bighorn Country

While on their summer hunt into the Bighorn Country, the Crow clashed with the Sioux. In mid-July many of their ponies were stolen. The Crow struck back, recovering most of their stock, but lost 13 warriors in the fighting. Outnumbered, the Crow retired from the Bighorn Country, some heading for the agency and the majority for the Musselshell. Two thousand Sioux hounded the party that had retreated up the Yellowstone to within 50 miles of the agency.

When Agent Camp reminded the Crow chiefs that the Musselshell was off their reservation, and they must stay south of the Yellowstone, they replied:

Father, the Crow are not cowards; we hold this country yet; our grandfathers, and great grandfathers lived on it, and the Crow are not all dead yet. Look at our country, and look at our enemies; they are all around it; the Sioux, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Flathead, all want our country, and kill us when they can. We have no friends among the Indians, but the Bannacks, and they are all among us now. When we fought the Sioux this last time, we found them loaded with flour that our Great Father had given them, and what was worse for us, plenty of good guns and ammunition, and lots of good horses that the white people had let them steal.

^{6.} Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Secretary of the Interior, Oct. 31, 1870, found in *House Executive Documents*, 41st Congress, 3d Session, Series 1449, p. 664.

If the "Great Father" would give them "good guns" and "plenty of ammunition," Captain Camp would then see if they could fight. If the "Great Father" could not keep their enemies "away from our country, let him give us the means to kill them when they come here," they asked. 7

Agent Camp recommended that the Crow be provided firearms to defend their homes. General Sully agreed, and asked the Commissioner of Indian Affairs "to provide a few arms for their protection, until the Sioux can be induced to make peace with them."

The bureaucrats in the Office of Indian Affairs pigeonholed the request for firearms, and the powerful Sioux nation continued to war against both the Crow and whites. In September 1871, a Sioux and Arapaho war party penetrated deep into the Crow Reservation. Raiding near the agency, the hostiles ran off stock, and killed Dr. Frost and three Crow--two women and a child. Returning on September 3, of the following year, the raiders were intercepted as they sought to make off with the public livestock. A fight ensued in which two employees, Charles Noyes and Joseph Hosea, were slain, but the Sioux were repulsed. 9

Once again, the agent pled with the Indian Bureau to provide the Crow with 100 breech-loading rifles for defense. If the Crow had been properly armed, he wrote, they might have been able to repel the 1871 raid into the Gallatin Valley. But with persons steeped in nonviolence in control of policy, he was unable to secure the means to enable the Crow to hold their own against the aggressors. 10

E. The Crow Get a New Agent: F. D. Pease

Captain Camp was relieved on November 14, 1870, as agent to the Crow, by F. D. Pease. 11 At the time of his arrival on Mission Creek, only about seven acres had been cleared for cultivation. Agent Pease, during the ensuing year, encouraged the agriculture program. More than 100 acres were put under cultivation, several miles of fencing erected, and 800 rods of irrigation ditch constructed. Once more, the elements were hostile, and in 1871 the Yellowstone flooded the

^{7.} **Ibid.**, p. 663.

^{8.} Ibid., 664.

^{9.} Pease to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 28, 1873, found in House Executive Documents, 43d Congress, 1st Session, Series 1601, p. 616. F. D. Pease had replaced Camp as Crow agent on November 14, 1870.

^{10.} Ibid.

^{11.} Pease to J. A. Viall, Aug. 31, 1871, found in House Executive Documents, 42d Congress, 2d Session, Series 1505, p. 833. Viall had

field where the wheat had been sown, and an invasion of grasshoppers cut the yield of small grain, potatoes, and turnips. 12

A number of improvements were made to the agency, which had been designated Fort Parker to honor I. N. Parker, an agency teacher who had died on January 6, 1871. A number of Crow had expressed a desire to have houses built, so they could join Wolf Bow in his farming activities. Contracts were made in the spring for 25 double-houses, 24 by 16 feet. To shelter agency activities, a large stable, with quarters for a hostler; a cattle corral; and a building to house the mill were erected. 13

One of Pease's first tasks was to receive and distribute the annuity goods to the Crow, as well as a mixed group of Bannack, Shoshoni, and Snake residing in the area. The Indians were delighted that their "Great Father" had taken cognizance of their complaints and had sent them red and blue flannel in lieu of white men's clothing. In the future, they voiced a desire to receive small blankets (one and two points) suitable to be worn by their children. Not long afterwards, the Bannack, Shoshoni, and Snake fell out with the Crow because of horse-stealing, and they were ordered off the reservation by the agent. 14

Complaints were voiced by the Crow about the failure of the United-States to evict white trespassers from their reservation, as stipulated in the Treaty of Fort Laramie. During the past year, hundreds of additional whites had poured into the area, slaughtering the game and bringing in cattle and horses which destroyed their best grazing land. The discovery of gold on the headwaters of the Clarks Fork had resulted in a wild stampede to that rugged region. Especially troublesome were the miners on Emigrant and Bear Gulches, whose claims dated to the years before the establishment of the reservation. Agent Pease, to solve this problem, suggested to several of the Crow chiefs that they sell to the United States the portions of the reservation where gold strikes had been made. 15

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replaced General Sully as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Montana on Oct. 18, 1870. Ibid., p. 830.

^{12.} Ibid.

^{13.} Ibid., pp. 837-834. The one-story buildings erected during Camp's tenure were described by Pease as of little account, as they were of sawed cottonwood logs, with cottonwood shingles.

^{14.} Ibid., pp. 830, 834. The Crow would also prefer iron kettles in place of beaver traps and tin kettles.

^{15.} Ibid., pp. 834-835.

F. Two Difficult Years at Fort Parker: 1872-1873

The 25 double-houses were promptly occupied by Crow desirous of becoming farmers, and on January 9, 1872, Agent Pease forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs a roster of Indians who had been in residence for at least 60 days, and recommended that they each be supplied with a pair of work-oxen and a milk cow as specified by the Treaty of Fort Laramie. At the same time, he applied for a supply of seeds and farm implements, as the lack of a thrashing machine made it impracticable to prepare seed for planting at the agency.

Another 30 acres were broken for cultivation in 1872, but once again a spring flood on the Yellowstone drowned some of the fields. They were reseeded, but the crops were delayed and in August an invasion of grasshoppers took its toll. As most of the farming was done by mixed-bloods, it was questionable whether the Crow were ready to settle down. 16

In 1873 the crops again failed. For nearly two months, during the spring, the farm was flooded. Grasshoppers again destroyed the late maturing creal crops, before they were ripe enough to harvest. 17

On October 30, 1872, at 2 a.m., a fire was discovered by the night watchman in the bastion and laborers' quarters of Fort Parker. He sounded the alarm. Although all the agency employees turned out on the double, a strong wind spread the fire to other buildings in the compound. Morning found all the structures inside the stockade destroyed, along with most of their contents. Many of the Crow had abandoned the houses erected for them by the government. To shelter the agency employees during the winter, a number of them were razed, the materials salvaged, and temporary quarters erected. 18

G. The Council of 1873

On June 11, 1872, Agent Pease had been directed by Superintendent Viall to ascertain the thinking of the Crow in regard to abandoning

^{16.} Pease to Viall, Sept. 1, 1872, found in House Executive Documents, 42d Congress, 3d Session, Series 1560, pp. 662-663. The winter of 1871-1872 was harsh, and the fencing was burned as fuel, necessitating the construction of new fences in the spring.

^{17.} Pease to Smith, Sept. 28, 1873, found in *House Executive Documents*, 43d Congress, 1st Session, Series 1601,pp. 616. Edward P. Smith was the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The position of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Montana had been abolished in 1872.

^{18.} Ibid.

the Fort Parker Agency and ceding to the United States a portion of their reservation. When he met with the Crow chiefs in council, they expressed themselves as eager "to make a change in the location of their agency." Although the Treaty of Fort Laramie had been in effect only four years, the whites had failed to keep faith on several provisions. Among those which caused the loudest complaints were failures: (a) to evict ranchers and miners; (b) to provide agricultural implements, work-oxen, and cows to those Crow willing to become farmers; (c) to provide them with the wherewithal to protect themselves from the Sioux; and (d) the rumors that the Northern Pacific planned to build a railroad through the Yellowstone Valley. 19

Congress acted on Agent Pease's recommendation, and on March 3, 1873, legislation was enacted authorizing negotiations with the Crow for altering the boundaries of the reservation. The United States Commissioners named to parley with the Crow would see that the land remaining in possession of the tribe met certain prerequisites. It was to be compact in form and in "good locality for farming purposes." As the northern boundary of the reservation included much of the proposed route of the Northern Pacific, it was desirable for the Crow to relinquish to the United States that portion of their land. Territory where there were mining claims dating to before the Fort Laramie Treaty, as well as recently discovered diggings on the Clarks Fork, should be ceded to the United States. Finally, as experience had shown that Fort Parker was a poor site for an agency, thought should be given to its relocation. 20

The Commissioners, Felix R. Brunot, James Wright, and R. Whittlesey, met in Bozeman on July 29, 1873, and on the 31st drove to the agency. There they found that the principal village had not arrived. About 30 chiefs, representing both the Mountain and River Crow, had ridden ahead to meet the commissioners. Their spokesman, Blackfoot, explained that it would be August 10 before the village arrived. The delay he attributed to a series of fights his people had had with a large Sioux and Cheyenne war party in the country between Pryor Creek and the Bighorn.

¹⁹ Pease to Viall, Sept. 1, 1872, House Executive Documents, 42d Congress, 3d Session, Series 1560, p. 662.

^{20.} Smith to Brunot, May 31, 1873, found in House Executive Documents, 43d Congress, 1st Session, Series 1601, pp. 482-483. Felix R. Brunot was chairman of the Special Commission charged with negotiating with the Crow. Besides having its farm land subject to periodic flooding, the present agency was too far from timber and it was on a flat swept by high winds.

It was August 8 before the Mountain Crow reached the agency. When they did, it was found that many, including Blackfoot and Iron Bull, were suffering from erysipelas. Many had died. Long Horse, the third chief and most famous warrior, was in mourning for a brother killed in a recent clash with the Sioux. On the 10th, provisions were issued to the Crow by Agent Pease, and the next day the council commenced. All the principal chiefs of the Mountain Crow were in attendance, but the River Crow were not well represented, because they had been delayed by traders desirous of keeping them on the Missouri. 21

The council lasted four days, and on August 16 an agreement was signed by the three commissioners and 76 Crow chiefs and headmen. The Crow agreed to cede to the United States their 10,000,000-acre reservation south of the Yellowstone in exchange for Judith Basin. While this would reduce their reservation by two-thirds, it would: (a) remove them from their proximity to the Sioux and to the proposed right-of-way of the Northern Pacific; and (b) prevent disputes with the prospectors holding claims on Emigrant Gulch and the Clarks Fork. The United States would erect on the new reservation an agency and prevent squatters from intruding on Crow land. One million dollars were to be appropriated by the United States to be held in trust for the benefit of the Crow tribe, "the principal to be held in perpetuity, and the interest thereof to be expended, or re-invested at the discretion" of the President. 22

Taking cognizance of a desire expressed by the chiefs, in council, the Commissioners authorized Agent Pease to proceed on to Washington with eight of the chiefs. The Commissioners believed that as no member of the tribe had been east, it would be wise to let the Crow sample the white man's "power and civilization." 23

The Montana frontier was in flux, and before the Congress could ratify the Fort Parker agreement, conditions had made Judith Basin unfit as a reservation. A wagon road had been opened across that region, and trading houses and grog shops opened. In successfully urging the tabling of the agreement, the Indian Bureau reversed itself and pointed out that construction of the Northern Pacific up

^{21. &}quot;Report of the Commission to Negotiate with the Crow Tribe of Indians," found in *House Executive Documents*, 43d Congress, 1st Session, Series 1601, pp. 483-484.

^{22.} Ibid., pp. 486-488.

^{23.} Ibid., p. 485. The Crow, in wanting to visit Washington, were influenced by the wonderful stories they had heard from the Sioux, following Red Cloud's visit to the nation's capital.

the south side of the Yellowstone would benefit the Crow, as it would increase the value of land and encourage them to abandon the chase and take up farming.²⁴

H. Dr. Wright Becomes Agent

Dr. James Wright, who replaced Pease as agent in September 1873, was disappointed with the measures taken by his predecessor to provide emergency quarters for the agency employees. The buildings were unfit for winter at this latitude. Although he supported plans to remove the agency, the comfort and health of the employees required that the temporary structures be repaired and several new ones erected. Dr. Wright was a minister. Understandably he was more interested in his charges' morals than their economic well-being, because in urging the removal of the agency to a point 40 to 60 miles to the east, he complained that its present location, on the Yellowstone near the Gallatin Valley settlements, made it easy for "unprincipled white men to carry on an illicit trade with the Indians." Whiskey was easy to smuggle onto the reservation. In addition, Fort Parker was a long way from the favorite Crow hunting grounds between Pryor Creek and the Bighorn. 26

Agent Wright also opposed the annuity system, because it promoted idleness. Instead of placing the Crow on a dole, the government should encourage them to take up farming by buying their produce at fixed rates. They should be encouraged to become stockmen, which would be easy, because they loved horses. Blooded stallions should be provided by the government to enable them to improve their stock, while beef cattle should be introduced. The government should, however, provide social security for the aged, infirm, and orphans. 27

In 1873, 20 additional lodges of River Crow joined the Mountain Crow, and the remainder notified Agent Pease that in the near future they would come to Fort Parker. ²⁸ But because of their close ties with the Gros Ventres and the Missouri River traders, a number of years were still to pass before all the River Crow moved onto their reservation.

Agent Wright in 1874 made a careful estimate of the number of Crow. He came up with a figure of 3,000 for the Mountain Crow--

^{24.} Wright to Smith, Sept. 21, 1874, found in House Executive Documents, 43d Congress, 2d Session, Series 1639, p. 569.

^{25.} Ibid. 26. Ibid. 27. Ibid.

^{28.} Pease to Smith, Sept. 28, 1873, found in House Executive Docu-

1,400 males and 1,600 females, and 1,200 River Crow. The tribe was not increasing, and Wright blamed this on two factors--"criminal abortion and venereal diseases." While they were "well disposed toward the white man," the Crow seemed to have a deep-rooted prejudice against adopting his culture and becoming farmers. Only when the buffalo were gone, Dr. Wright forecast, would the tribe abandon the chase and take up farming, though a few promised to settle down when the agency was removed from Fort Parker. 29

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ments, 43d Congress, 1st Session, Series 1601, p. 616. Agent Pease placed the number of River Crow at 1,200.

^{29.} Wright to Smith, Sept. 21, 1874, found in House Executive Documents, 43d Congress, 2d Session, Series 1639, p. 569.

A. The Agency Is Moved to the Rosebud

Dr. Wright's tenure as Crow agent was brief, lasting only 14 months. On December 7, 1874, he was replaced by Dexter E. Clapp. After a thorough reconnaissance, Agent Clapp, having secured necessary authority from Commissioner Smith, selected a site for the new agency on Rosebud Creek, two miles above its confluence with the Stillwater.

Ground was broken by the construction party on June 2, 1875, and work continued rapidly until early July, when the Sioux undertook what had become their annual invasion of the reservation. After forcing the Crow to retire toward the Musselshell, the Sioux struck at the agency. The timber party was driven in, with the loss of one mule. Later in the day, José Trojio--a herder--was ambushed and killed, and the beef cattle stampeded. Before daybreak on the 5th, prowlers let down the bars of the corral and made off with the public horses and mules and 22 animals belonging to Nelson Story, who had contracted to move the supplies from abandoned Fort Parker to the Rosebud. Sioux warriors at daylight appeared on the bluffs and sent the employees scurrying to cover, as they opened fire. On the same day, a raiding party appeared near Fort Parker and killed one of Story's teamsters, and wounded his companion. Several days later, three men carrying dispatches from Fort Pease, near the mouth of the Bighorn, were attacked when within 20 miles of the agency, and one of them slain.1

These attacks discouraged Clapp and his employees and work on the new agency was slowed. Men spent most of their time looking over their shoulders to see if Sioux were slipping up on them. The raids now ceased; the men's confidence returned; and good progress on the construction program was made. But on August 1, the Sioux returned. They charged the herd of work-oxen. The herder escaped into the brush, but although the scene of the attack was only two miles from the agency, the relief party arrived too late to prevent the hostiles from running off 48 oxen. Before the day passed, the Sioux swept down on a supply train en route to the agency but were repulsed. As soon as the wagons arrived, Agent Clapp organized and sent a party in pursuit of the Indians. The Sioux, however, had too

^{1.} Fort Pease had been built in the spring of 1875 by a party from Bozeman, who had descended the Yellowstone in boats and established themselves there in the expectation that steamboating would soon become important on the Yellowstone. The fort was named in honor of F.D. Pease, the leader of the expedition. Times were not propitious for the venture's success. The Sioux war commenced; no steamers navigated the Yellowstone. In March 1876 the post was abandoned.

big a headstart, and the men returned, having recovered nine oxen, all of whom had been injured by bullets or arrows. A week later, the Sioux bushwhacked the night herders at the lime kiln, killing one. After this attack, the Sioux yanished from the vicinity.²

By this time, the Office of Indian Affairs had determined to arm the Crow. In the last week of May, as Clapp and his men were preparing to move to the Rosebud, the steamer Josephine had ascended the Yellowstone with three companies of the 6th Infantry commanded by Lt. Col. J. W. Forsyth. On June 7, about eight miles above the mouth of Pryor Creek, the soldiers sighted on the north side of the river a large number of Indians on their way to Big Porcupine to hunt. There were 270 lodges of Mountain Crow under Iron Bull, Blackfoot, Crazy Head, Long Horse, and Bear Wolf; 50 lodges of Nez Percé under Looking Glass; 20 lodges of River Crow under Black Bull and Forked Tail; 10 lodges of Gros Ventres of the Prairie under Brass Bracelet; and one lodge of Bannack. The Indians were traveling with their families and a large herd of ponies.

They told Colonel Forsyth that they had 15,000 rounds of carbine ammunition, supplied to them by their agent, and boasted that if they could only get a chance at Sitting Bull and his people, they would "not leave one of them to tell the tale of the meeting." The Bighorn Country, they continued, belonged to them, and they intended to have it, even if they "had to kill all the Sioux Nation." Most of the Indians were armed with Sharp's carbines.³

By late summer of 1875, 11 buildings--log, frame, or adobe--had been erected, with ten more nearly completed or well under way. The adobe structures had stone foundations, were laid in lime burnt by agency employees, and were shingled. All items used in the construction program, except window sash, doors, nails, and locks, had been made at the agency. To supply water for irrigation and to power the saw- and adobe-mills, a ditch, one and one-half miles in length, with several feeders had been dug. 4

^{2.} Clapp to Smith, Sept. 10, 1875, found in House Executive Documents, 44th Congress, 1st Session, Series 1680, pp. 804-805.

^{3.} Report of an Expedition up the Yellowstone River, Made in 1875. (Washington, 1875).

^{4.} Clapp to Smith, Sept. 1875, found in House Executive Documents, 44th Congress, 1st Session, Series 1680, p. 804. Finished were one log building, 20' x 60'; one adobe warehouse and issuing room; one frame carpenter shop; one adobe blacksmith and wagon shop; and seven adobe quarters for employees. Under construction were: an adobe stable; a house for the interpreter; a row adobe building to serve as council room, office, and additional quarters; a two-story adobe building; and six adobe quarters for Indians.

Fire, as it had been at Fort Parker, was also an enemy on the Rosebud. In the summer of 1877, soon after Agent Frost took charge from Dexter Clapp, the steam sawmill burned, and the agency was left without enough lumber to build "a coffin without tearing down outbuildings." Repairs to all the structures were urgently needed. After the machinery was put back in operation, 50,000 feet of lumber was sawed. The stable walls were repaired and roofs reshingled. Hundreds of wheelbarrow loads of filth were removed from the barnyards, and burned or thrown into Rosebud Creek. Employing Indian labor, Agent Frost had the grounds policed weekly. ⁶

B. Farming Operations at the New Agency

1. Under Agent Clapp

The primary goal of the Indian Bureau was to get the Crow to abandon the chase and take up farming. But until the buffalo herds were exterminated this would be impossible. In 1875, because of the transfer of the agency, only six Crow families farmed, and those cultivated a few acres in Paradise Valley on the Yellowstone. Agent Clapp was either an optomist or exceedingly naive, because he forecast in his annual report for the year that as soon as the army could put a stop to Sioux raids, "it will not be difficult to induce considerable numbers to undertake agriculture and stock-raising."

In 1876 a large garden was grown on the irrigated land at the agency. The vegetables thrived, along with a patch of oats planted as an experiment. This caused Agent Clapp to become overly

^{5.} Clapp to Commissioner, Aug. 12, 1878, House Executive Documents, 45th Congress, 3d Session, Series 1850, p. 582; Keller to Commissioner, July 29, 1879, found in House Executive Documents, 46th Congress, 2d Session, Series 1910, p. 199.

^{6.} Frost to Commissioner, Aug. 12, 1878, found in House Executive Documents, 45th Congress, 3d Session, Series 1850, p. 582. In 1879, a patented turbine waterwheel with a 22-foot fall was received, logs cut, and a new mill erected. Keller to Commissioner, July 29, 1879, House Executive Documents, 46th Congress, 2d Session, Series 1910, p. 199.

^{7.} Clapp to Smith, Sept. 10, 1875, found in House Executive Docu-

enthusiastic. The next year he predicted, all the potatoes and oats needed by the Crow and agency can be grown on the bench. He believed all the wheat necessary to furnish flour for his Indians could be raised, "at an annual saving to the Government of from \$15,000 to \$20,000."

2. Under Agent Frost

The area where the agency was now located was blessed with a series of good farming years. Dexter Clapp, having served as agent for 30 months, was replaced by George W. Frost on July 13, 1877. Frost had heard about the short, hot summers, the grasshopper invasions, and the hailstorms, so he was prepared to find fault. Frost was unimpressed with the agency on which so much hard work and blood had been expended. Although he had been on duty only five weeks, he complained, on August 17, that all things considered, the Rosebud Agency "could scarcely . . . have been located in a more unfavorable position." He believed that many sections of the reservation were more fertile, while in the winter snow lay much deeper on the Rosebud and Stillwater than in other areas of the reservation. Communications between the agency and the Gallatin Valley were difficult during the spring run-off, as the Yellowstone either had to be twice crossed or the Stillwater and Boulder forded. Besides being dangerous, this made transportation expensive.

In 1877 there were about 80 acres under fence, equally divided between pasture and cultivated ground. If the grasshoppers could be controled and the fields seeded by mid-May, bumper crops of wheat and oats could be raised. Vegetables of great size had been grown in the agency garden. Agent Frost, like his predecessor, was impressed with the area's agricultural potential. If water were brought in from the Rosebud at the foot of the bluff, two miles above the agency, 400 to 500 additional acres could be brought under irrigation and farmed. The subject area should be divided into lots of five and ten acres and assigned to members of the Crow tribe to cultivate under the supervision of the agency farmer. A few good crops, he reasoned, would "induce the older Indians and their squaws to cultivate the soil instead of going on the summer hunt."

ments, 44th Congress, 1st Session, Series 1680, p. 806. Paradise Valley was about six miles above present day Livingston.

^{8.} Clapp to Commissioner, Sept. 1, 1876, found in House Executive Documents, 44th Congress, 2d Session, Series 1749, p. 492. Just as the oats had headed, they were damaged by a hailstorm, and Agent Clapp had them cut for fodder. A second crop was then seeded and harvested.

^{9.} Frost to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 13, 1877, found

In 1878, 35 acres were planted and sown and the yield was astounding--120,000 pounds of potatoes, 4,000 pounds of corn, 2,500 pounds of wheat, 5,000 pounds of peas, and 3,500 pounds of turnips, in addition to thousands of pounds of melons, squashes, ampumpkins. Prophets of doom, who had forecast disaster for the agricultural program, were compelled to admit that "no finer crops have been raised in the Territory." 10

Before the potatoes were seeded, Frost was cautioned that the Indians could not be kept from digging them up as soon as planted, and if they survived this period of danger, they would be stolen before they matured. He was also warned that at Fort Parker, the Crow, during the winter, had burned the fences for fires. Agent Frost successfully met these threats to his program by making the community responsible for the acts of individuals. He notified the tribe that if the crops were damaged or the fences burned, he would cut off their rations. This was language the Crow understood, and the only raids on the garden were made by soldiers posted nearby.

Forty Crow were turned out to harvest the corn, which they considered a "great luxury." This reminded them, they said, of the period in tribal history "when they had no horses and raised corn."

3. Under Agent Keller

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A. R. Keller assumed responsibility for the Rosebud Agency from George W. Frost in 1878. Unlike Frost, he believed Clapp had selected the best possible site. Experience since 1875 had shown that snowfall at the agency was less than on the Yellowstone. The area was healthy, with grand scenery, and on a good wagon road. In 1879, 27 acres of oats, potatoes, peas, corn, and garden vegetables were grown. Late in the summer another ten acres of virgin prairie were broken and seeded in turnips. Such Crow as could be induced to do so were allowed to plant, and instructed "in the manner of preparing the ground, planting and tilling the crops." 12

in House Executive Documents, 45th Congress, 2d Session, Series 1800, pp. 528-529.

^{10.} Frost to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 12, 1878, found in House Executive Documents, 45th Congress, 3d Session, Ser. 1850, p. 582.

^{11.} Ibid. Over 5,000 poles had been cut and hauled and would be used to construct additional fences, as soon as the haying season was over.

^{12.} Keller to Commissioner, July 29, 1879, found in House Executive

Agents Frost and Keller, while they had been able to detail Indians to help with the planting and harvesting, had been unable to get any full-bloods to settle down and take up farming, as several had done at Fort Parker. Finally, a breakthrough was made in 1881, and 20 families renounced the chase and their lodges and moved into houses erected by the agent. They broke and planted to vegetables about 30 acres. Five hundred rods of fencing were built, and they told Agent Keller that they were "anxious to have more land inclosed and in cultivation" next year. Especially encouraging was knowledge that among the most active farmers were several chiefs. These leaders

thought it no disgrace to . . . disregard all the hereditary traditions of the tribe, with the superstitions and prejudices of centuries, handed down from time immemorial, and blister their hands at manual labor and exhibit them with pride as marks of distinction.

Agent Keller believed that if he had had the wherewithal, he could have settled another 100 families on the land. 13

4. Under Agent Armstrong

The agency farm, which was long and narrow, was divided into 24 "lands," extending entirely across the field. These "lands" were assigned to the Crow in the order in which they volunteered to become farmers. Some of these "lands" were cultivated by the individual to whom it was assigned, but most were worked by three or four persons, so that in 1882 there were 96 Indians employed on the 24 "lands" and the four small fields separated from the agency farm. That year saw a bumper crop of potatoes. Indications were that many more planned to abandon the chase and take up farming. A number had approached Agent Henry J. Armstrong (who had replaced Keller on January 1, 1882), before leaving on the autumn hunt, and had asked him "to put their names down" in his book, and save them a piece of ground in the agency field for next season. He hoped, given the funds, to place every Indian who had a "land" assigned to him in the field on his own tenacre ranch. 14

Documents, 46th Congress, 2d Session, Series 1910, p. 199.

¹³ Keller to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 25, 1881, found in House Executive Documents, 47th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2018, p. 172.

^{14.} Armstrong to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 2, 1882, found in House Executive Documents, 47th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2100, p. 161. The failure of the contractor to fulfil his contract to break land threatened to dislocate the agent's plans to increase the acreage under cultivation.

A shortage of personnel, especially at harvest time, plagued Armstrong. There were in 1884, 56 patches of wheat, nearly all ripening at the same time, and only one man to oversee this task, as the rest of the employees were taking care of the herd of cattle, making hay, and moving government property from the Rosebud to the new agency on the Little Bighorn. This was the first time the Crow had raised wheat, and they knew nothing about thrashing and harvesting. Much of the crop was accordingly lost. This was bad for morale, because it gave the Indians the idea that their agent was not interested in their welfare. Armstrong urged that his staff be increased during the planting season to insure better instruction and supervision. 15

C. Stock-Raising on the Reservation

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Agent Clapp in 1876 had urged the Indian Bureau to consider the possibility of establishing a herd of beef cattle on the splendid range near the agency. If this were done, sufficient cattle would soon be raised to enable the government to abandon its beef contracts for subsisting the Crow, which currently cost the taxpayers \$30,000 a year. 16

The Indian Bureau failed to see the wisdom in their agent's suggestion, and nothing was done at this time to implement the proposal. Four years later, in 1880, Agent Keller again broached the subject, but in a form more likely to benefit the Crow. Reporting to the Commissioner, Keller pointed out that the Crow owned from 12,000 to 14,000 ponies. Hopeful of prevailing on some of his charges to become stockmen, he had suggested they get rid of some of their ponies and enter the cattle business. If they would do so, they might become independent of the government. To encourage them, Keller requested authority to issue several heifers to each Crow willing to start a herd, provided they would first "locate themselves upon ranches." As the Crow knew nothing about building houses, it was suggested that the Indian Bureau authorize the expenditure of part of the current appropriation in building the Crow ranchers "cheap but comfortable houses." 17

^{15.} Armstrong to Commissioner, Aug. 31, 1884, found in House Executive Documents, 48th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2287, p. 154.

^{16.} Clapp to Commissioner, Sept. 1, 1876, found in House Executive Documents, 44th Congress, 2d Session, Series 1749, p. 492.

^{17.} Keller to Commissioner, July 29, 1879, found in House Executive Documents, 46th Congress, 2d Session, Series 1910, p. 199.

The government was not ready to act, but the seed from which the Crow cattle industry was to grow had been planted. Without direct aid from Washington, the Crow, stimulated by Agent Keller's encouragement, had by 1880 acquired an estimated 600 cattle. Most of these, however, were owned by mixed-bloods and squawmen. 18

D. The Crow Support the Whites in the Wars of 1876-1877

1. The War Against the Sioux and Their Allies

In the spring of 1876, the United States Army undertook a campaign to compel the Sioux and Cheyenne to return to their reservations. The Sioux and their allies, on June 25, 1876, destroyed five companies of the 7th U. S. Cavalry led by Lt. Col. George A. Custer on the Little Bighorn. This disaster galvanized support in Congress and throughout much of the nation to vindicate the dead. In the campaign which ensued, the Sioux and Cheyenne were hounded by army columns until they either returned to their reservations or fled to Canada.

The Crow, during this conflict, were active allies of the United States. Many of the warriors served as scouts for the army.columns marching against the Sioux and Cheyenne. Many officers, who participated in the spring and summer campaign, commended their service. Large numbers of Crow were accordingly recruited and participated in the winter campaign that broke the power of the Sioux and Cheyenne. 19

As a reward for their assistance, the Crow chiefs requested that "the Great Father" fulfill his obligations to them granted at Fort Laramie. Especially obnoxious to them was the invasion of the reservation by white hunters and wolfers. These people were in the habit of trespassing, where game was found in abundance, and poisoning the carcasses of buffalo and deer to kill wolves in large numbers. Besides destroying wolves and coyotes, whose fur brought in money to the tribe, it drove other game into hiding. To control the hunters, the army agreed to employ a squad of cavalry from Fort Ellis, until a post could be located on the Crow Reservation.²⁰

^{18.} Keller to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 12, 1880, House Executive Documents, 46th Congress, 3d Session, Series 1959, p. 222; Keller to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 25, 1881, House Executive Documents, 47th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2018, p. 171.

^{19.} Clapp to Commissioner, Sept. 1, 1876, found in House Executive Documents, 44th Congress, 2d Session, Series 1740, p. 491.

^{20.} Tbid., pp. 491-492. The chiefs also had complained about the

2. The Nez Percé War of 1877

The Nez Percé on their epic, but futile, retreat toward Canada in 1877 passed to the east of the agency. A number of the Crow were again employed by the army as scouts. Although they had long been on good terms with the Nez Percé, the Crow told Agent Frost, "We are the friends of the white man and of the Nez Percés but we fight all of the white man's enemies; and if the Nez Percés fight the white man, then they are no longer our friends, and we will fight them." 21

E. The Establishment of Fort Custer: 1877

1. Colonel Buell Selects a Site

The army to keep the peace that followed the defeat of the Sioux and their allies in the campaign of 1876-1877 moved to establish a fort, on the Crow Reservation, near the confluence of the Little Bighorn with the Bighorn. This task was assigned to a battalion of the 11th Infantry commanded by Lt. Col. George P. The soldiers would be assisted in their work by 204 artisans and laborers recruited and brought west by 1st Lt. George Ruhlen, the post quartermaster. Ruhlen and his craftsmen reported to Buell at Fort Abraham Lincoln, Dakota Territory, on May 16, The advance guard (Companies C and F and 100 mechanics) left Bismarck the next day for the Bighorn aboard the steamer Florence Meyer. The run up the Missouri and Yellowstone was tedious, and ended on June 13, 40 miles below the mouth of the Bighorn, when one of the vessel's engines burst a cylinderhead. She was unloaded, and on the 15th, the construction people and a detachment of Buell's infantry started overland for their destination. Such of the equipment as could be taken along, was loaded on an ox train of 35 wagons, en route from Tongue River Barracks to the site of the new post. As the Yellowstone was running bank full, the command had to be ferried across in two small boats--a hazardous and time-consuming operation. 22

opening of grog shops on the north bank of the Yellowstone, opposite the mouth of the Stillwater. These shops were only 14 miles from the agency, and although the Mountain Crow as a rule shunned whiskey, several young men had yielded to temptation and had become drunks. As these saloons were off the reservation, there was little the government could do toward closing them.

^{21.} Frost to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 17, 1877, House Executive Documents, 45th Congress, 2d Session, Series 1800, pp. 529-530.

^{22.} Buell to Adjt. Gen., Dept. of the Dakota, July 5, 1877, NA, RG 393,

On June 23 the column arrived at a point on the Bighorn, opposite the mouth of the Little Bighorn. In accordance with his instructions from headquarters, Department of the Dakota, Buell spent two days reconnoitering the west bank of the Bighorn for a considerable distance, looking for a site for the new post. None being found, Buell on the 25th began ferrying his troops and artisans across the river to occupy the site selected on the bench on the east side, south of the confluence of the Little Bighorn with the Bighorn.

2. A Post Is Constructed

Buell and Ruhlen drove their men hard, and by the evening of June 30 they had crossed a deep, treacherous river, established a fortified camp, and had erected two warehouses at the landing. Scouts had been sent out and sources of timber and limestone pinpointed. A logging camp had been established from which the logs for the temporary storehouses were obtained. The nearest source of limestone was at abandoned Fort C. F. Smith, so Colonel Buell reserved an area two miles square at that point. 23

On July 7 the steamer *Fletcher*, the first vessel to ascend the Bighorn in 1877, arrived at the landing with Company G and machinery for a sawmill. It was another week before the second contingent of Ruhlen's artisans arrived. Machinery for a second sawmill was unloaded from the steamer *Big Horn* on July 23. 25

Ltrs. Sent, Fort Custer; Ruhlen to Post Adjt., Fort Custer, Oct. 24, 1877, NA, RG 98. The Yellowstone was crossed three miles above the mouth of the Bighorn, the army employing a small rowboat and a Mackinaw with a six-ton capacity. Tongue River Barracks were designated Fort Keogh on November 8, 1878.

^{23.} Buell to Adjt. Dept. of the Dakota, July 5, 1877, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Fort Custer. The fortified camp was at the landing. A road was opened from the landing up onto the bench, where the permanent post was to be built. President Grover Cleveland on December 7, 1886, issued an executive order establishing the Limestone Reservation at Fort C. F. Smith. NA, RG 49, Records of the General Land Office, Abandoned Military Reservations, Fort Custer.

^{24.} Buell's battalion at this time was scattered: Company G, part of Company F, and 100 mechanics were on the Bighorn; Company C at the mouth of Porcupine Creek guarding freight unloaded from Florence Meyer; and Company B, with another 100 mechanics, was aboard the steamer Dugan, which had broken down at the mouth of Tongue River. Buell to Adjt., Dept. of the Dakota, Oct. 24, 1877, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Fort Custer.

^{25.} Ruhlen to Post Adjt., Oct. 24, 1877, NA, RG 94. It was August 16 before the second sawmill was put into operation.

A cloudburst drenched the valley of the Little Bighorn in late July, and the floodwaters washed out the boom the army had thrown across the river to trap logs the loggers were floating downriver to the sawmill. Many logs were lost, and a new boom had to be built. The Little Bighorn now fell, and by late August the water was so low that the logs stranded as they were sent downstream. Men had to be employed to build dams to get the logs over shoals. 26

Meanwhile, Lieutenant Ruhlen had had two kilns of bricks made and fired. These bricks would be used for foundation walls, walls in the commissary cellar, and for chimneys. Lime for masonry and plastering was obtained and burned at old Fort C. F. Smith. The workmen engaged in this task were guarded by a detachment from the 11th Infantry.²⁷

By November 1, 1877, a number of buildings had been completed, and the troops were assured of spending the winter in permanent quarters. Because of their late arrival on the Bighorn, and the flood, not as much work had been done as initially programmed. It would accordingly be necessary to get out 50,000 to 100,000 feet of pine timber during the winter. In relaying this information to department headquarters, Colonel Buell, on October 24, wrote:

Like the Southern Confederacy, if let alone, I believe I can have a finished post by next May, without calling for an additional appropriation. My command will all be comfortably located in Barracks & Quarters before December 1.²⁸

^{26.} Buell to Adjt. Gen., Dept. of the Dakota, Sept. 14 and Oct. 24, 1877, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Fort Custer.

^{27.} Buell to Adjt. Gen., Dept. of the Dakota, Oct. 24, 1877, NA, RG 94. Buell at this time had most of his battalion on detail. In addition to those at the C. F. Smith site, there were 20 men building dams on the Little Bighorn and driving logs; a detachment guarding supply trains for Brig. Gen. Oliver O. Howard; one company at Terry's Landing, guarding and loading public property; and a large force on extra duty at the post.

^{28.} Buell to Adjt. Gen., Dept. of the Dakota, Oct. 24, 1877, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Fort Custer. One hundred and ten thousand dollars had been appropriated for construction of the post. Buildings built or under construction included: one granary, one quarter-master storehouse, one commissary sergeant's quarters, ll officers' quarters, eight laundresses' quarters, barracks for four companies of infantry and a similar force of cavalry, three stables, the adjutant's office, and post hospital.

3. The Garrison Is Reinforced

A battalion of cavalry was ordered to the post in August. On September 6, 1877, Lt. Col. Albert C. Brackett with six companies of the 2d Cavalry left Medicine Bow, Wyoming. Marching by way of Forts Fetterman and McKinney, the battalion had reached Tongue River on the 24th, where three companies were detached and sent to Tongue River Barracks. With the remainder of his battalion, Brackett rode on to the Bighorn, where he arrived on the 30th.²⁹

Two weeks later, Capt. John Mix arrived with Companies C and M, 2d Cavalry, and the battalion's baggage. Mix's column had left Camp Brown on Little Wind River, and marching to the west of the Bighorns, had passed through Pryor Gap. Turning into the Bozeman Trail, Mix proposed to cross the Bighorn near the Fort C. F. Smith ruins. By October 12 his battalion had reached Beauvais Creek. He was out of forage, so a courier galloped down the Bighorn to ask Colonel Buell for assistance. On receipt of this dispatch, Colonel Buell ordered out four six-mule teams with forage and rations. The sergeant, in charge of the guard, was directed to rendezvous with Mix at C. F. Smith.

Mix and his horsesoldiers were glad to receive the rations and forage, and reached the post without further difficulty. 30

On October 29 Lieutenant Ruhlen paid off 100 of his mechanics, and they left the Bighorn with a train that had brought up the 2d Cavalry's baggage. The train would return to Medicine Bow by way of Forts McKinney and Fetterman. Once on the Union Pacific, the artisans returned to St. Paul by rail, where they were paid off.31

4. The Crow Scouts at Fort Custer

The post on the Bighorn was designated Fort Custer on November 8, 1877, and during the next 22 years it was to play an important role in Crow affairs. Its initial value to the Crow was Besides serving as a deterrent to the Sioux, the garrison in 1877 employed 17 Crow as scouts. The scouts were en-

^{29.} Brackett to Tiffany, Oct. 6, 1877, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Dakota. Lt. Harry Tiffany was post adjutant.

^{30.} Tiffany to Mix, Oct. 13, 1877, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Fort Custer.

^{31.} Buell to Adjt. Gen., Dept. of the Dakota, Nov. 2, 1877, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Fort Custer.

F. The Destruction of the Crow Economy

1. The Last of the River Crow Move onto the Reservation

In April 1875 about one-third of the River Crow visited Fort Parker, and in August the entire village, for the first time, visited the new agency on the Rosebud. Agent Clapp considered this a good omen and expressed hope that he could soon wean them from their contacts with the Missouri River traders. 33

Four years were to pass before the agent's hopes were fully realized. The River Crow, although they seldom strayed from the reservation, continued to live apart from the Mountain Crow. In making the census, the agent listed the River Crow and Mountain Crow separately.

2. The Number of Crow Declines

During the same period, the number of Crow steadily diminished, so the number of deaths exceeded the births. The number of Crow On July 29, 1879, steadily diminished in the next four years. Agent Keller placed the number of Mountain Crow at 2,150 and the River Crow at 1,150. Together they could field about 900 war-Keller, who was a close observer, found that neither the Mountain nor River Crow had an acknowledged leader: there were a number of chiefs, and to achieve this position two qualifications were required--"force of character and ability to dispense hospitality around the wigwam fire." Consequently, the tribe was fragmented into bands of from ten to 30 lodges. Little authority was exercised by a chief over his followers. Both branches of the Crow were nomadic and moved their villages frequently. During the previous winter, while encamped at the agency, they changed camp three times. 34

^{32.} Buell to Frost, Sept. 4, 1877, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Fort Custer.

^{33.} Clapp to Smith, Sept. 10, 1875, found in Executive Documents, 44th Congress, 1st Session, Series 1680, pp. 803-804.

^{34.} Keller to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 29, 1879, found in House Executive Documents, 46th Congress, 2d Session, Series 1910, pp. 197-198.

The white man's diseases continued to extract a heavy toll. In the spring of 1880 a scarlet fever epidemic swept the reservation. There were 43 deaths, and the mortality would have been greater but for the skill of Dr. J. E. Willard, the agency physician. 35

3. The Summer and Autumn Hunts

As soon as the grass began to green in the spring, the Crow struck their tipis, and, leaving the reservation, started on their summer hunt to the Bighorn Country. With the power of the Sioux and Cheyenne shattered by the army in the campaign of 1876-1877 and the establishment of Fort Custer, the Crow now had little to fear. In mid-summer, they returned to the agency to dress their hides for tribal use. Here they stayed until autumn, when the bison would be sleek and their hides in prime condition. It was now time for the fall hunt, and the Crow would again take the field. When they returned in early January, their travois were loaded with robes and pemmican. The annuities were drawn, the robes tanned, and they enjoyed "themselves singing and dancing, with a hilarity unknown to any other people on the continent." 36

Besides meat, the hunts provided the Crow with money. In 1879, for example, they took and traded from 6,000 to 7,000 buffalo robes, on which they averaged about four dollars each. In addition, they marketed perhaps 30,000 peltries, averaging $20 \, \varepsilon$ per pound. 37

The government provided enough rations to subsist the tribe for about four months at the agency, so hunting, until such time as they determined to become farmers and ranchers, was a necessity. They were encouraged to continue the chase by white traders manning the posts north of the Yellowstone. These men, speaking the Crow tongue, frequented their camps when on the Bighorn, "doing all in their power, even to bribing chiefs to resist all restraint, move at will, and trade with them." Most of these rascals were suspected of vending whiskey, and Agent Keller had secured evidence against two of them. 38

^{35.} Keller to Commissioner, Aug. 12, 1880, found in House Executive Documents, 46th Congress, 3d Session, Series 1959, p. 230.

^{36.} Keller to Commissioner, July 29, 1879, found in House Executive Documents, 46th Congress, 2d Session, 1910 Series, p. 198.

^{37.} Keller to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 12, 1880, found in House Executive Documents, 46th Congress, 3d Session, Series 1959, p. 229.

^{38.} Ibid.

Another problem for the agent were the white traders, who frequented the agency when the annuities were issued. Unscrupulous individuals took advantage of the Crow's ignorance of the value of clothing to cheat and rob them. To curb this practice, Agent Keller, two weeks before the 1879 issue, posted notices that any one cheating the Crow would be arrested and punished to the full extent of the law. No trading was done, and the Crow now wore the "goods furnished them." Drunk Indians, except around military posts, were now seldom seen³⁹

At the time of Agent Armstrong's arrival, on January 1, 1882, there were few Indians at the agency, as they were on their autumn hunt. As soon as the annuity goods were received at the end of January, word was sent for the Crow to come to the agency. It was the last week of April before all of them arrived and the issue made. The goods were excellent quality but not as plentiful as the previous year, and this caused complaints by the chiefs. They told Armstrong that, after they had made the division among their followers, nothing was left for them. 40

Of the 3,500 Crow, Armstrong found there were none that could "read and write understandingly," and not more than a score -none of whom were chiefs--who spoke English. The Crow were divided into two parties: one group ready to settle down and become farmers and ranchers; and the other determined to continue the chase, as long as there were any buffalo to be slaughtered. While all the Crow would "prefer to live the life" they were created to, many realized that that way of life was doomed, and they were "ready to give up their wild, roving life, and settle down permanently."

4. 1883 -- The End of the Reservation Buffalo Herds

By 1883 the vast buffalo herds formerly ranging the reservation had been destroyed, and Armstrong reported:

We shall have to have a much larger quantity of supplies than have been allowed for us for the present fiscal year,

^{39.} Keller to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 29, 1879, found in House Executive Documents, 46th Congress, 2d Session, Series 1910, p. 199.

^{40.} Armstrong to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 2, 1882, found in House Executive Documents, 47th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2100, p. 160.

^{41.} Ibid., p. 162. It is interesting to note that the agent in making the census, no longer listed the Mountain and River Crow separately.

or the Crow will starve, or else go over the line and hunt upon the adjoining territory, much to the annoyance of their white neighbors. 42

Despite Armstrong's warning, the Indian Bureau reduced the quantity of subsistence stores allotted the agency for Fiscal Year 1884. The rations of beef and flour were cut one-half. Most of the Crow, with the buffalo destroyed, would have to be subsisted for 52 weeks on 17 weeks' rations. To feed the Crow, during the winter of 1883-1884, Armstrong was compelled "to slaughter a large part of the stock cattle sent to us from the States." 43

J. The Agreement of April 11, 1882

1. Montana Stockmen Become Interested in the Reservation

Cattle ranching, on the open range, had become a major industry in Montana by the late 1870s. In 1880 one-half the best grazing land of eastern Montana was included in Indian reservations. It was natural for the cattlemen to look upon this land with covetous eyes. In 1880 Granville Stuart on Sunday, April 11, left Helena on a trip to the Bighorn Country to search out cattle range for the cattle company he owned in partnership with Samuel A. Hauser, and A. J. and Erwin Davis. Traveling by way of Bozeman and Coulson, Stuart reached Fort Custer at sunrise on the 16th. The trip down the Bighorn to Terry's Landing on the Yellowstone took all day. As he rode along, Stuart saw that west of the river the valley was from three to five miles wide, "well grassed and with grassy bluffs back but no water at all except in the river."

^{42.} Armstrong to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1883, found in House Executive Documents, 48th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2191, p. 156.

^{43.} Armstrong to Commissioner, Aug. 31, 1884, found in House Executive Documents, 48th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2287, pp. 152-153. In providing for the subsistence of the Crow, the government had done the reverse of what it should have. Prior to 1880 the appropriation for their subsistence had been liberal, while their reservation afforded an abundance of meat from buffalo. In Armstrong's opinion, the thousands of dollars appropriated for rationing the Crow between 1868 and 1880 had been largely wasted. Now, however, with the buffalo exterminated, the situation was different, and the government had reduced its expenditures for rations.

^{44.} Robert S. Fletcher, "The End of the Open Range in Eastern Montana," The Montana Past: An Anthology, edited by Michael P. Malone and Robert B. Roeder (Missoula, 1969), p. 140.

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Stuart then pushed on to Miles City, where he bought two saddle horses. Leaving Miles City on April 22, Stuart and his traveling companions rode up the Yellowstone, and ascended the Rosebud to the Indian trail crossing over to Tongue River. The Tongue was followed as far as the stage station on the mail route from the Union Pacific at Rock Creek to Fort Custer. Here on May 3 Stuart saw three men plowing the bottom with two horses and two mules, hitched abreast. In reply to Stuart's question about snowfall, the self-appointed spokesman said that falls of as much as 12 inches were common. During the winter, they had lost nine cattle out of a herd of 130. On the opposite side of the Tongue, which was bridged at this point, Stuart counted several cabins, a woman with five small children, and a number of hogs and chickens.

He then rode toward the mountains to examine the Bozeman Trail, but before reaching it he found his way barred by a creek with "very muddy water and utterly impassable steep banks." To get across he had to ride downstream two miles to an abandoned ranch, where someone had cut down the banks to make a crossing. Stuart, observing the steep banks, wrote in his journal that they would be bad for cattle. 46

Turning into the Bozeman Trail, Stuart rode ahead to the south-eastern most tributary of the Little Bighorn. Here he found a settlement consisting of eight or ten cabins and halted for lunch. The afternoon's ride led Stuart and Tom Irvine over "a nice grassy country and only a few little snow drifts." Camp was pitched on Pass Creek. Stuart found the

grass much more forward in this valley. There are many wild plum thickets along the streams and in the coulees but they seem to be dying out and the bear break them down and many are destroyed by the prairie fires, as are also the cherry bushes which are very numerous. Plenty of box elder and a little ash timber on these two creeks and they have rocky bottoms and stock can drink from them and cross them almost anywhere without danger of miring. It is a fine stock country. 47

^{45.} Granville Stuart, Forty Years on the Frontier, As Seen in the Journals and Reminiscences of Granville Stuart..., edited by Paul C. Phillips, 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1925), 1, pp. 102-103. Coulson was on the site of today's Billings.

^{46.} Ibid., pp. 115-116. This was probably Columbus Creek.

^{47.} Ibid., p. 117. The southeasternmost tributary of the Little Big-

Camp was broken at 7:30 on May 4. A four-mile ride over rolling grassy hills brought them to the Little Bighorn, a swift-flowing stream with gravel bed and low banks. The bottom was heavily timbered with ash, box elder, cottonwood, and willow. Stockman Stuart observed that cattle could "get in and out anywhere and there is a beautiful low bench on the west side of the creek about one mile wide and eight miles long." Pushing on eight miles, across a high grassy ridge with water in all the ravines, they gained Lodge Grass Creek. Like the Little Bighorn, it was a "clear stream with low banks and rocky bottom." While the valley was not as wide as that of the little Bighorn, there were "beautiful low grassy hills on either side." "48"

Traveling to the northwest over the Bozeman Trail by way of Spring Creek and Rotten Grass, they forded Soap Creek and camped. Stuart was pleased with this country and wrote in his journal:

Finest grass all over a rather hilly country which has all been burned out last fall clear to the Big Horn river. A constant succession of plum thickets on this stream [Soap]. They are plum bushes in every sag and ravine and they are just beginning to blossom. The air is filled with their sweet fragrance. The timber along here is box elder and large willows. Deer and antelope in sight all the time and a great number of prairie chickens everywhere. 49

Stuart was back in the saddle at 7:40 on May 5. Crossing Big Hill, a high grassy ridge, they descended War Man Creek. After visiting the ruins of Fort C. F. Smith, the cemetery, and the site of his brother's fight with the Sioux in 1863, they rode down the Bighorn ten miles to the mouth of Rotten Grass. Here they halted for the night. Throughout the ride, they saw an abundance of "fine hay land . . . and fine grass on hills and benches." A furious wind which came up raised clouds of sand from the bars in the river, and made it difficult to pitch the tent. 50

On May 6, after riding down the Bighorn another ten miles, they crossed the divide and returned to the valley of the Little Bighorn. That afternoon and the following morning were spent re-

horn is East Twin Creek.

^{48.} Ibid., pp. 117-118.

^{49.} Ibid. Spring Creek is a tributary of Lodge Grass.

^{50.} Ibid., p. 119.

connoitering the Little Bighorn battlefield. The afternoon of the 7th found the weary travelers at Fort Custer. They had their horses reshod and then ferried the river. Camp was made on the west bank.

As it was snowing on the morning of May 8, and the bluffs on either side of the Bighorn were white, Stuart determined to wait for the weather to clear. By noon it had stopped snowing, and they headed down the Bighorn, stopping for the night at 18-Mile Ranch. The ranch occupied a beautiful site

where the bluffs run down close to the river and are more or less timbered with nice yellow pine trees and rock castles in places. They [the Pine Ridge] run back ten or twelve miles and are beautiful in form and have lots of game in them. The Big Horn River is heavily timbered with good cottonwood and some ash. The bluffs on the west side of the river are distant six or eight miles from where they begin, which is a little above Fort Custer and gradually narrow in until they reach the river . . [here]. They are quire high and level on top (to the west) and are well-timbered and form a beautiful back ground to the view. The land is all good. There is but little water but it can be brought from the river. This would be an ideal cattle range but it is on the Crow Indian reservation consequently out of the question. 51

On Sunday, May 9, they rode 12 miles and camped at the confluence of the Bighorn and Yellowstone. Here Stuart examined the cliffs, looking for his brother's name, carved 17 years before. Many portions of the cliffs had fallen, and he was unable to pinpoint James' name. He did find some of his traveling companions' names--"D. Underwood", "W. Roach", and "G. Ives." Between the last two, a redman had "scratched a crude picture of an Indian with a war bonnet on and a coup stick in his hand seated on a horse." 52

From the cliffs, they rode two miles up the Yellowstone to Terry's Landing, where they were ferried to the north bank. Here they found a telegraph and postoffice, and from a gambler, B. F. Williams, Stuart borrowed \$250. From the Yellowstone, they cut over to the Musselshell, and traveling by way of Flat Willow, McDonald, and Fort creeks reached Judith Basin. After reconnoitering the basin, they rode to White Sulphur Springs, from where they took a stage to Helena.

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^{52.} Ibid., p. 122.

After reaching Helena on May 26, Stuart, having discussed the subject with his partners, determined to locate on the Little Bighorn, provided they could lease grazing land from the Crow. If unsuccessfull, they would locate somewhere in the Flat Willow Country. Learning that a Crow delegation and their agent were en route back to Montana from Washington, Stuart determined to intercept them at Bozeman. 53

2. The Crow Chiefs Go to Washington

In March 1880 Agent Keller had been directed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to bring a delegation of six of the principal Crow chiefs to Washington to negotiate an agreement to cede the portion of the reservation in which there were mining claims to the United States. 54 Although the Crow loved these beautiful acres, they agreed in May to sell from the western mountainous portion of their reservation nearly 2,000,000 acres. this land they were to be paid \$750,000 in 25 annual installments of \$30,000 each. In addition, it was provided that each head of family was to receive an allotment of 320 acres, one-half to be farm land and the rest suitable for grazing. The rest of the Crow were to be allotted 160 acres in the same proportion. allotments were to be inalienable. Yielding to pressure from Montana stockmen, government negotiators inserted a clause in the agreement, granting to the Crow the right to permit cattle to to be driven across or grazed on the reservation. It was provided that the rate should be fixed by the Secretary of the Interior and the receipts used for the benefit of the Indians. 55 This agreement by the United States with the Crow was not ratified by Congress until April 11, 1882.

Granville Stuart met Agent Keller, Interpreters Tom Stewart and A. M. Iurvey, and five Crow chiefs (Two Belly, Plenty Cow, Long Elk, Old Crow, and Medicine Crow) at Gallatin and accompanied them to Bozeman.

Agent Keller disappointed Stuart by asking him not to mention the question of the lease, because the Crow might refuse to ratify the cession of the upper end of their reservation to

^{53.} Ibid., pp. 138-139.

^{54.} Keller to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 12, 1880, found in *House Executive Documents*, 46th Congress, 3d Session, Series 1959, p. 230. Mining had been carried on at Emigrant Gulch since 1864, while other strikes had been made at Bear and Crevice Gulches, the headwaters of Clarks Fork, and on the Boulder.

^{55. 22} Stats., 42-43, C 74; Fletcher, "End of the Open Range in Eastern Montana," The Montana Past, pp. 140-141.

the United States. Whereupon Stuart returned to his home, and forgot the Little Bighorn project. 56

On August 22, 1881, the Crow signed an agreement, granting a right-of-way for the construction of the Northern Pacific Rail-road across their reservation. ⁵⁷ Four years later, in February 1885, the Agreement of 1882 was modified. As \$25,000 per year was insufficient to subsist the Crow, to underwrite capital improvements (construction of irrigation ditches, houses, roads and bridges), and for the purchase of livestock and farm machinery, Agent Armstrong, with the approval of the Commissioner, got the chiefs to consent to a new formula. The tribe henceforth was to receive \$90,000 annually, "or so much thereof as may be necessary" for these purposes until the \$750,000 was expended. ⁵⁸

H. Education on the Reservation

The agency school was continued at the Rosebud Agency, under the supervision of the Rev. Matthew Bird, as was "the small but prosperous church organization," established by the Rev. T. C. Ilaff of the Bozeman Methodist Episcopal Church. ⁵⁹

Registration in the school by 1877 had climbed to over 100, with about one-third in regular attendance. The orphanage continued to accommodate 15 to 20 children, but better quarters were needed. The matron in charge saw that the girls were taught the domestic arts, while the boys watched the herd, cut wood, and worked in the fields. Two of them had been apprenticed, one to the blacksmith and the other to the carpenter. 60 When the scarlet fever epidemic erupted in the

^{56.} Stuart, Forty Years on the Frontier, 1, 138-139.

^{57.} Keller to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 25, 1881, found in House Executive Documents, 47th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2018, p. 172. This agreement was ratified by Congress on July 10, 1882. For this grant the Crow were to be paid \$25,000 to be deposited in the U. S. Treasury, and to be employed by the Secretary of the Interior for their benefit.

^{58.} Armstrong to Commissioner, Sept. 20, 1885, found in House Executive Documents, 49th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2379, p. 345.

^{59.} Clapp to Commissioner, Sept. 10, 1875, found in House Executive Documents, 44th Congress, 1st Session, Series 1680, p. 805; Wright to Smith, Sept. 21, 1874, found in House Executive Documents, 43d Congress, 2d Session, Series 1639, p. 570. The church had been organized in 1873.

^{60.} Frost to Commissioner, Aug. 12, 1878, found in House Executive Documents, 45th Congress, 3d Session, Series 1850, p. 582.

spring of 1880, school was suspended for several months. Nevertheless, Agent Keller reported that the pupils had made good progress. In two disciplines, penmanship and drawing, the children excelled white pupils of the same age. ⁶¹

Agent Armstrong, however, found the Crow more backwards in learning English and sending their children to the boarding school, than the warlike tribes. It had taken a great amount of persuasion to get the few scholars he had. At this time there were 15 pupils in school, and three boys had been sent east to the recently opened boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. 62

I. The Agency is Moved a Third Time

Agent Armstrong's discussions with persons familiar with the reservation satisfied him that the climate and condition of the soil in the Bighorn and Little Bighorn valleys would be more conducive for agriculture than at the Rosebud Agency. On the Rosebud and Stillwater there were insufficient arable lands to allot to even the heads of families. More over, the rugged Beartooth Mountains to the south and west shut off southerly winds and shortened, by several weeks, the growing season. When he relayed this information, in 1882, to the Commissioner, Armstrong recommended that the agency be removed to "the valley of the Little or Big Horn River." ⁶³

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs approved Armstrong's proposal, and in the autumn of 1883 work was started on the new agency on the Little Bighorn. In the first week of April 1884, Armstrong began moving some of the Crow from the Rosebud to the Little Bighorn. It would be impossible to subsist the entire tribe at the new location for some time, so Armstrong took with him "every Indian who had ever tried to farm or who had ever worked for the agency in any way for wages." This included about one-third of the tribe. The rest would stay on the Rosebud with C. H. Barstow, clerk and acting agent. Barstow would endeavor to get his charges to farm the fields. Although

^{61.} Keller to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 12, 1880, found in House Executive Documents, 46th Congress, 3d Session, Series 1959, p. 230.

^{62.} Armstrong to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1883, found in House Executive Documents, 48th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2191, p. 157.

^{63.} Armstrong to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 2, 1882, found in *House Executive Documents*, 47th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2100, p. 161. Armstrong was better prepared for the position than any of his predecessors, as he was steeped in Indian lore. Born on the Choctaw Reservation, he had been raised among the redmen. Ibid., p. 160.

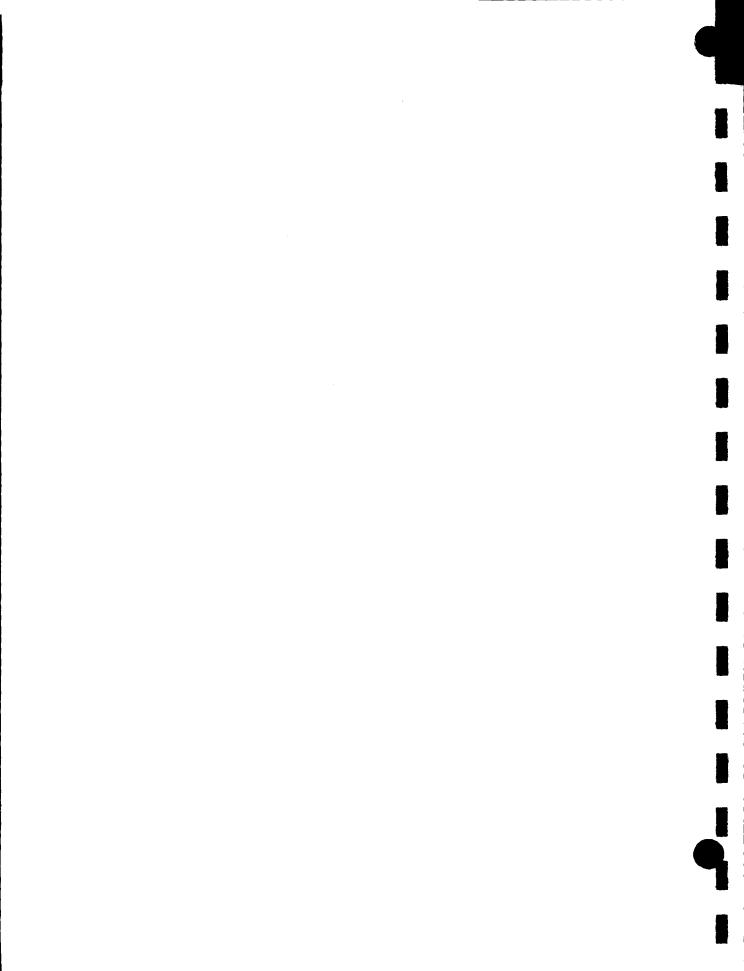
most of these Indians had never farmed, he was able to get about $100 \text{ to turn to.}^{64}$

Armstrong and his Indians reached the site of Crow Agency on April 14 and erected a temporary warehouse. Some of the Indians were assigned to cabins erected the previous summer, and the rest given homesteads. They were instructed in how to build cabins. Implements and seed were issued. By August 100 homesteads had been taken up, but only 60 were under cultivation, because it had been impossible to get the sod broken until after planting season had passed. The 60 farms being cultivated were supposed to have five acres each, but a shortage of seed was a limiting factor. 65

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^{64.} Armstrong to Commissioner, Aug. 31, 1884, found in House Executive Documents, 48th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2287, p. 153.

^{65.} Armstrong to Commissioner, Aug. 31, 1884, found in House Executive Documents, 48th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2287, p. 153. Fifty-two cabins were built by Special Agent Milburn. Because of a delay in shipment of the seed, the wheat, which should have been the earliest crop seeded, was the last. In addition to wheat, potatoes, corn, and garden vegetables were planted.



A. The Allotment System in Action

On arriving on the Little Bighorn in April 1884, Agent Armstrong gave the highest priority to implementing the provision of the Agreement of April 11, 1882, providing for the allotment of land to the Crow in severalty. One hundred and sixty-one homesteads were selected by a number of the Crow. A lack of supervisory personnel slowed the erection of cabins. Logs for more than 125 had been cut and hauled by the Crow to sites where they wished to live, but the agent had been unable to help them raise these dwellings, because of a shortage of lumber and shingles. There was a new sawmill working at Crow Agency, but the only lumber sawed was some cottonwood. reason was easy to explain: there was very little pine timber in the immediate vicinity. The nearest it could be found in quantities to pay for relocating the mill was in the Wolf Mountains, 25 miles to A road would have to be opened, and this would require men Indian labor was plentiful, but he needed authority to and money. employ white foremen. These requisites were not forthcoming until 1886, when the mill was moved and the road opened.

With the Crow now willing to take up farming and ranching, the agent would need, for the next several years, at least 20 men, in addition to his regular employees, for out-of-door work, from April until November. If this were allowed by the Bureau, every Crow family could be placed on a homestead and made nearly self-supporting. To strengthen his argument, Agent Armstrong pointed out that at nearby Fort Custer there were 600 to 700 soldiers, "whose principle occupation is to make themselves comfortable, while we, who have a great and perplexing work to do, are allowed only five men for out-of-door work."

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs was able to allot the agency a few more positions, but vetoed the number requested as excessive. Armstrong likewise received scant encouragement from his superiors in his efforts to secure patents for the Crow to their homesteads. His successor, Henry E. Williamson (Williamson replaced Armstrong as agent on December 5, 1885), was more successful in this respect. After much delay, measures were commenced in 1886 to allot land to the Crow in severalty. John C. Walker and James R. Howard reached the agency in August and began work. The disappearance of most of

^{1.} Armstrong to Commissioner, Sept. 20, 1885, found in *House Executive Documents*, 49th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2379, pp. 345-346.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 346.

the stakes used by the surveyors in their survey of the area added to their labor.³ The task was tedious and continued into 1887. Because of the late arrival of the engineers at the agency, no allotments were made in the Pryor Creek District, where Chief Plenty-Coups and his followers lived. As Plenty-Coups was a "very progressive, self-reliant Indian," Agent Williamson was anxious that allotments be made to him and his people.⁴

In 1890 additional allotments were surveyed. The Crow looked upon this work favorably, but in the past there had been difficulty with the markers--stakes and holes. After four years many of them had disappeared, the stakes had rotted and the holes filled in. This time piles of stones were used to delineate the allotment corners. ⁵

Agent E. P. Briscoe, in 1888, concluded that most of the Crow would never be able to farm a 160-acre allotment. He believed a 40-acre allotment would meet their farming needs and abilities. If given this quantity of land, they could be required to enclose it. With not more than 50 families assigned to each of his farmers, he argued, the tribe would soon be self-supporting. 6

Briscoe's suggestion to reduce the allotment of farm land would have to be negotiated with the Crow and then subjected to ratification by Congress. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs accordingly rejected his agent's proposal.

By August 1889 there were 423 families living on their allotments. The majority had comfortable cabins, built either by themselves or the government; with gardens fenced with barbed wire; stables for work animals; shelters for wagons and implements; and cellars, frost-proof, for storage of vegetables. Many had fenced hay fields.⁷

^{3.} Williamson to Commissioner, Sept. 15, 1886, found in House Executive Documents, 49th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2467, p. 394.

^{4.} Williamson to Commissioner, Aug. 31, 1887, found in *House Executive Documents*, 50th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2542, p. 215. The engineers had suspended the project and returned to their homes in the east on the approach of winter.

^{5.} Wyman to Commissioner, Sept. 4, 1890, found in House Executive Documents, 51st Congress, 2d Session, Series 2841, p. 116.

^{6.} Briscoe to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1888, found in House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2637, p. 153. Briscoe had replaced Williamson as agent on May 10, 1888.

^{7.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 30, 1889, found in House Executive

Prior to the agreement of March 3, 1891, a majority of the Crow had taken up allotments. Most of this acreage, however, was not on land irrigated by ditches built as a result of this agreement. To facilitate instructions in learning the art of irrigating crops, much of the land brought under water was farmed in common. White farmers closely supervised their activities. By July 1, 1902, the Crow had acquired the necessary skills, and, with knowledge that the Bighorn Ditch would be completed by 1904, the government resumed its allotment program.⁸

Agent S. G. Reynolds in 1905 and 1906 bent much of his energy toward influencing the Crow into improving the appearance of their homesteads. The Indians were visited individually at their homes, and he "endeavored, as far as possible, to have them beautify their places" by setting out fruit and shade trees, planting gardens, erecting better dwellings, and building pig pens and chicken yards. They were encouraged "to surround themselves with the simple things that go to make a man's home attractive and cause him to be contented and interested in the care of the same." 9

B. Farming on the Reservation: 1885-1906

1. Droughts, Hailstorms, and Implement Shortages

By the spring of 1885 all the Indians had been brought to Crow Agency and the old Rosebud Agency abandoned. One hundred and sixty-five separate parcels of land, averaging almost five acres each, had been broken to plow. For the first time, the Crow had broken land. These homesteads were located in the Big and Little Bighorn valleys, on Pryor Creek, and along the Yellowstone. The growing season opened unfavorably with a drought in May. No rain fell until the final week of the month. Many seed potatoes burned up in the hot sandy soil, before the rains came. Fears were voiced that fewer would be dug than planted.

Documents, 51st Congress, 1st Session, Series 2725, p. 223. The hay-field, generally, consisted of a sizeable portion of the allotments.

^{8.} Reynolds to Commissioner, House Executive Documents, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4645, p. 190. John Rankin, who was in charge of this program, made over 1,000 allotments in Fiscal Year 1903.

g. Reynolds to Commissioner, Sept. 2, 1905, House Executive Documents, 59th Congress, 1st Session, Series 4959, p. 238. Reynolds, in his visits, avoided wherever possible meeting with Indians in council, as he considered these "powwows" a waste of time. Reynolds to Commissioner, Aug. 27, 1906, House Executive Documents, 59th Congress, 2d Session, Series 5118, p. 252.

The weather now became favorable for crops, and there were many excellent gardens. Some Indians who had done well in 1884 failed in 1885, while others did better. 10

While the ground was covered with snow in 1886, Agent Williamson sent his boss farmers into the seven farming districts he had established. They were to determine the Indians' most imperative needs; to see that the ground was properly prepared and fences repaired; and that implements were fairly apportioned. They would also locate on separate allotments all Indians expressing a desire to cultivate land for themselves. It was expected that about 250 new homesteads would be taken up, but by the time the planting commenced, the "boss farmers" reported 509 separate farms occupied by Crow, who were getting out logs for cabins and posts for fencing.

Each boss farmer was given control by the agent of the Indians in his district, and held responsible for their conduct. All seeds, implements, lumber, etc., were issued on his requisition. He was to instruct his charges in all "matters pertaining to their work, as building cabins, fences, stables, root-cellars, planting and harvesting crops, saving of seed, repair of harness, implements, etc." Comfortable houses were erected in each of the seven districts for the boss farmers.

A severe drought in 1886 cut yields, while the Indians were plagued by a "paucity of implements." One hoe, shovel, or rake frequently served several families, while but one wagon could be allowed to a score. There were fewer harrows. 11 By 1889 the implement situation had been greatly improved. The Crow now had 350 wagons, 600 sets of harness, 50 mowing machines and sulky rakes, seven reapers, 300 harrows, and hundreds of smaller implements—hoes, spades, shovels, rakes, forks, axes, etc. 12

By 1887 the Crow had progressed to the point where it was no longer necessary to let contracts to break the sod. Rainfall was above normal in 1887 and the crops yielded a fair return. 13

^{10.} Armstrong to Commissioner, Sept. 30, 1885, House Executive Documents, 49th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2379, pp. 348-349. There were 400 Indians in the Pryor Creek settlement.

^{11.} Williamson to Commissioner, Sept. 15, 1886, House Executive Documents, 49th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2467, pp. 391-392.

^{12.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 30, 1889, House Executive Documents, 51st Congress, 1st Session, Series 2725, p. 224.

^{13.} Williamson to Commissioner, Aug. 31, 1887, House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2542, p. 215.

In 1888 savage hailstorms swept the area, and some of the most progressive farmers saw their gardens destroyed--potato vines, corn, melons, wheat, and oats were beaten into the ground. Some Crow, however, had good crops, but in 1889 a drought and hailstorm took its toll. Many families would have nothing for their season's toil. 14

For the third successive year the crops in 1890 failed. At first, rainfall was normal, and there was promise of a bumper crop. Then weeks passed with no moisture, while hot, dry winds parched the ground. Exhibiting a Stoicism unknown to white farmers, the Indians bore their latest misfortune with fortitude. The watertable fell, and all the wells at Crow Agency ran dry. Water for drinking and bathing had to be hauled from the Little Bighorn. To provide water for fighting fires a dike was built across the river south of the agency, and ditches dug. Water carried in these ditches was utilized for irrigation. In 1891 and 1892 large numbers of shade and fruit trees were set out, and within several years the agency gave the appearance of an oasis. 16

2. Irrigation Proves a Salvation

1891 was a good year for agriculture, and the fields and gardens "produced abundant yields of grain and vegetables of every description." After three years of failure this caused spirits to soar. Thousands of bushels of potatoes, wheat, and oats had been grown on the several-hundred-acre-field irrigated by the Reno Ditch. Plans were made to enlarge this field, and to employ several more boss farmers during the planting and harvesting season. The Indians would pay for these extra overseers from tribal funds, and the surplus grain raised would enable them to supply the post quartermaster's needs at Fort Custer. 17

^{14.} Briscoe to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1888, House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2637, p. 153; Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 30, 1881, House Executive Documents, 51st Congress, 1st Session, Series 2725, p. 224. The number of farming districts had been reduced from seven to five by 1889.

^{15.} Wyman to Commissioner, Sept. 4, 1890, House Executive Documents, 51st Congress, 2d Session, Series 2841, p. 115.

^{16.} Ibid., p. 116; Wyman to Commissioner, Oct. 22, 1891, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 1st Session, Series 2934, p. 270.

^{17.} Wyman to Commissioner, Oct. 22, 1891, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 1st Session, Series 2934, p. 268. In 1891 the Crow raised 2,000 bushels of wheat, 12,800 bushels of oats, 780 bushels of corn, 12,000 bushels of potatoes, 3,000 bushels of turnips, 90 bushels of oni-

The year's success prompted Agent M. P. Wyman to oppose the Commissioner's suggestion that he concentrate on developing a pastoral economy for the Crow. He argued, successfully, that the tribe be encouraged to develop both an agricultural and a pastoral economy, providing that the additional irrigation projects--provided for in the Agreement of March 3, 1891, were given top priority. He held that farming, under favorable conditions, would advance the redmen on the road to civilization "with more certainty and far greater rapidity than a pastoral life." 18

Although there was cold weather into early May, 1892 was almost as profitable a year for farmers. A drought in 1893 ruined all crops and gardens except those on irrigated land. Fortunately, with the construction program made possible by the agreement of 1891, more acres were now irrigated. On the land of land of

The year 1894 was a good year for crops. In addition, the digging of new irrigation ditches had enabled the Crow to triple the acreage under cultivation from 400 to 1,270 acres. ²¹ In breaking the sagebrush-covered flats, the Crow had employed four-horse plows. Heavy yields of oats, wheat, corn, potatoes, melons, pumpkins, beans, and peas were reported. ²²

3. The Agricultural Economy Expands

Agriculture continued to progress in 1895, while stock-raising declined. Whereas in 1894 the Crow had provided all the hay purchased by the Fort Custer Quartermaster and about 300,000 pounds of oats, they now contracted to furnish all the hay and grain for Fort Custer, all the hay and more than one-half the grain for Fort Keogh, and all the grain for Camp Merritt. They likewise sold the

ons, 20 bushels of beans, 920 bushels of other vegetables, and thousands of melons and pumpkins.

^{18.} Ibid. Wyman had replaced Briscoe as agent on July 1, 1889.

^{19.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 22, 1892, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3038, pp. 284-286.

^{20.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1893, House Executive Documents, 53d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3210, p. 177.

^{21.} Watson to Commissioner, Aug. 25, 1894, House Executive Documents, 53d Congress, 3d Session, Series 3306, p. 166. Of the new acreage under cultivation, 367 acres were on the Little Bighorn between the agency and Fort Custer, 50 acres on the Little Bighorn above the mouth of Lodge Grass Creek, 75 acres on Lodge Grass, and 278 acres on Pryor Creek.

^{22.} Ibid.

Fort Custer commissary all the potatoes he would buy. As soon as the agency's flour- and cornmill, then under construction, was completed and in production, the Crow planned to sell flour and cornmeal to their white neighbors. This would be significant, because the region for a radius of 150 miles was supplied with flour from Bozeman and the Dakotas and with cornmeal from Nebraska. 23

The Crow, in just 12 years following the extermination of the buffalo on their reservation, had made the transition from hunters to successful farmers. From a nation of "beggers depending on the Government," they had become an "independent community, supporting itself and supplying its white neighbors from its surplus products." Agent M. J. Watson in 1895 recommended discontinuance of the entire ration to the able bodied except beef, by July 1, 1896. 24 This was done with the approval of the commissioner. Some hardship cases were reported at first, but the Crow weathered the storm. 25

With 3,025 acres under cultivation, 1896 was a good year for the Indian farmers. Over 2,000,000 pounds of wheat, oats, barley, rye, corn, potatoes, and other vegetables were raised. Oats, which thrived in the region, accounted for half this total. In 1896, as they had in the previous year, the Crow exhibited produce they had raised at the Yellowstone County Fair in Billings. Besides earning praise from the whites, the Crow were awarded several blue ribbons. 26

The steam-powered gristmill was now in operation, and its success justified expectations. Fifty barrels of high-grade flour were ground daily.²⁷

With several thousand acres under irrigation, the Crow were no longer dependent on rainfall to make a crop. In 1898, they raised 25,000 bushels of wheat and 30,000 bushels of oats, along

^{23.} Watson to Commissioner, Sept. 18, 1895, House Executive Documents, 54th Congress, 1st Session, Series 3382, p. 184.

^{24.} Ibid. Watson had replaced Wyman as agent on March 1, 1894.

^{25.} Watson to Commissioner, Nov. 2, 1897, House Executive Documents, 55th Congress, 2d Session, Series 3641, p. 164.

^{26.} Watson to Commissioner, Sept. 16, 1896, House Executive Documents, 55th Congress, 1st Session, Series 3489, p. 182.

^{27.} Ibid., p. 181.

with smaller yields of corn, barley, rye, potatoes, and garden vegetables. Most of these were grown on large tracts, under the supervision of white, boss farmers. These fields were to be broken up, as soon as practicable, and each family located on allotments in severalty. This, however, would not be possible until completion of the Bighorn Ditch added the necessary irrigated acreage. 28

4. Fort Custer Contract Lost: Crows Readjust

The abandonment by the army of Fort Custer in 1898 was a serious blow to Crow economy, because they had been in the habit of supplying the post with hay, oats, and potatoes. In Fiscal Year 1898 they had sold the post quartermaster 1,000,000 pounds of oats and 1,200 tons of hay.²⁹

The involvement of the Crow in the economic life of the post dated to 1887, when hay and wood contractors began employing Indians. ³⁰ By 1889 the tribe was selling hay to the Fort Custer contractors, stockmen grazing cattle and sheep on the reservation, and in towns springing up along the Northern Pacific. ³¹ In 1891, which weatherwise was a good year, the Indians cut and sold 2,000 tons of hay at ten dollars a ton delivered. Most of the hay, 1,500 tons, was sold to the Fort Custer quartermaster. ³² The hay crop in 1892 totaled 3,450 tons, of which two-thirds was contracted to the army. Indians, having teams working on the irrigation ditches, were compelled to retain sufficient hay to feed their stock through the winter. ³³

^{28.} Becker to Commissioner, Aug. 25, 1898, House Executive Documents, 55th Congress, 3d Session, Series 3757, p. 188.

^{29.} Ibid.

^{30.} Briscoe to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1888, House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2637, p. 154. Some of the stockmen, running cattle on the reservation, also employed Indians as cowboys.

^{31.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 30, 1889, House Executive Documents, 51st Congress, 1st Session, Series 2725, p. 223.

^{32.} Wyman to Commissioner, Oct. 22, 1891, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 1st Session, Series 2934, p. 268. The sale of hay yielded more than \$30,000 in 1891.

^{33.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 22, 1892, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3038, p. 285.

Until the abandonment of Fort Custer, hay continued to be the Indians' money crop. ³⁴ Now, however, the tribe was compelled to devote more acreage to wheat. It was hoped that sale of flour from the mill would bring in sufficient income to compensate for the loss of the Fort Custer contracts. From wheat grown on their irrigated land and processed at their mill, they sold the Northern Cheyenne, in 1900, 240,000 pounds of flour; the agency and its school 210,000 pounds; besides supplying themselves and their traders. Wheat sold off the reservation brought an average price of \$1.35 per hundredweight. ³⁵ Good yields of oats and hay were also recorded.

5. Irrigation District Allotments and Self-Support

By 1902 the Crow had learned how to irrigate, and with the Bighorn Ditch scheduled for completion within two years, the allotment program was resumed. This understandably caused problems, as the Indians, having been given land in severalty, abandoned the community farms by the hundreds. The number of acres under cultivation was cut drastically. Although most of these new allotments were in irrigation districts, the ground had to be broken, and yields per acre were accordingly small in 1902-Moreover, the community farms had had their fertility sapped by intensive cultivation and poor farming practices. Many fields were choked with Russian thistles, sunflowers, and wild oats. The Bighorn and Pryor Districts, in late July of 1903, were swept by a savage hailstorm as the grain was ripening. Onehalf the crop was destroyed in minutes. The same year farmers in the Black Lodge, Reno, and Lodge Grass Districts suffered an invasion by grasshoppers, and reported a loss of three-fourths of their crops. 36 The following year saw grasshoppers and a drought reducing the per-acre yield of grain and hay. 37

^{34.} Watson to Commissioner, Aug. 25, 1894, House Executive Documents, 53d Congress, 3d Session, Series 3306, p. 166. In the opinion of some of the cavalry officers, the native blue-joint was the best hay grown in the United States.

^{35.} Edwards to Commissioner, Aug. 27, 1900, House Executive Documents, 56th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4101, p. 267.

^{36.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Sept. 3, 1902, and Oct. 7, 1903, House Executive Documents, 57th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4458, p. 229, and 58th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4645, p. 190.

^{37.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Sept. 6, 1904, House Executive Documents, 58th Congress, 3d Session, Series 4798, p. 226.

There was a long Indian summer in 1905 and no snow until December, which enabled the Indians to plow and prepare for seeding thousands of acres. The spring was favorable, and a large acreage of grain was grown and harvested. When Agent Reynolds abstracted the totals, he saw that the 1906 crop was the largest yet raised on the reservation. Several thousand tons of hay were made, and a new cash market discovered. It was sold to sheepmen who had secured a number of leases on the reservation. 38

By July 1, 1902, the economic standard of the Crow had again reached the point where the government determined to suspend the issuance of rations, this time to include beef. As of that date, 1,000 Indians were dropped from the ration roll; on July 1, 1903, another 500 were pared from the rolls; and by July 1, 1905, no rations were issued to able-bodied Crow. The Indians, in general, supported this policy, and each put forth his "best efforts to make a living." 39

A number of Crow now began to show signs of "prosperity." No rations were again issued by the agent in Fiscal Year 1906, and he forecast, "with any exertion whatever on the part of the Indians, they can make a splendid living on the allotments. 40

To encourage agriculture and friendly competition in farming, gardening, and stock-raising between individuals and districts, the Crow Industrial Fair was organized in the autumn of 1905 by Agent Reynolds. One of his predecessors had started a fair, but because of its "wild-west features" it had failed. The Industrial Fair was as much a success as the first was a failure, and the Indians, as well as the employees, worked hard. The exhibits of agricultural products and livestock were superior to those usually seen in western county fairs. Bronk-busting, racing, and calf-roping were restricted.⁴¹

^{38.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Aug. 27, 1906, found in House Executive Documents, 59th Congress, 2d Session, Series 5118, p. 252.

³⁹ Reynolds to Commissioner, Oct. 7, 1903, and Sept. 6, 1904, House Executive Documents, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4645, p. 190, and 58th Congress, 3d Session, Series 4798, p. 226.

^{40.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Aug. 27, 1906, House Executive Documents, 59th Congress, 2d Session, Series 5118, p. 252.

^{41.} Ibid., p. 253.

1. The Construction of the Reno Ditch

Experience gained at the first two agencies had demonstrated that without irrigation it would be impossible to turn the Crow into successful farmers. Lack of moisture and hot, dry summers, except in years of exceptional rainfall, doomed dryland farming in the fertile river valleys of southeastern Montana.

Although 1884 was unseasonably wet, the top soil, which was light and sandy, parched rapidly. It was apparent to Agent Armstrong that high priority would have to be given to digging of irrigation ditches, if the Crow were to become self-sufficient. When he brought this subject to the attention of his superiors, they authorized him "to employ an engineer" to locate irrigation ditches and "make estimates of cost of same." Construction costs would be funded from tribal money, and Armstrong felt certain, "the Indians will be very glad to have their moneys expended in this way." 42

The engineer arrived, located several ditches, and prepared his estimates. Sufficient funds were available to underwrite only one project, and a number of Indians were put to work under his supervision on the Reno Ditch, several miles above Crow Agency. The ditch, drawing water from the Little Bighorn, was eight miles long, eight feet wide at the bottom, and capable of watering 4,500 acres. This was more land than the Crow could cultivate in the immediate future. Moreover, the Reno Ditch would irrigate few farms currently under cultivation, because the Crow had been encouraged by their agent to scatter and occupy the entire valleys of the Big and Little Bighorn. There were only 25 homesteads on land watered by lateral canals from the ditch, and Agent Armstrong proposed to reserve most of the remaining acreage for hayfields, as the army at Fort Custer required large quantities of hay, and the Indians could realize large sums from this source.

Other irrigation ditches were needed. Surveys and estimates had been prepared for two more ditches--one of 14 miles in the Bighorn Valley south of Fort Custer, and an eight-mile ditch on the Little Bighorn, 20 miles above the Crow Agency. The cost of these two ditches was placed at \$50,000. Although many Crow desired to work on these ditches for wages, the Commissioner of

^{42.} Armstrong to Commissioner, Aug. 31, 1884, 48th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2287, pp. 153-154.

Indian Affairs refused to sanction these projects. He held that there was not enough money available to fund them. 43

Agent Wyman, in 1889, again broached the subject. Irrigation ditches, he pointed out, were vital, as it was a useless "expenditure of energy, time, and money . . . to continue agricultural labors in this section without" them. If an expenditure for more ditches was authorized, the contractors would employ Indian labor to do most of the work, thus pumping money into the Crow economy. Many of the Crow were anything but indifferent to the value of money. Many were shrewd in this respect, as they demanded and received a fair equivalent for whatever they sold.

2. The Construction of the Bighorn Ditch*

Taking cognizance of the arguments advanced by his agents, the Commissioner suggested to the commission appointed to negotiate with the Crow for a cession of part of their reservation, that in any agreement concluded "provision should be made for the application of a portion of the funds to be paid the Crows to the furnishing of irrigation appliances for the lands retained by them." Accordingly, the commission incorporated an article into the agreement ratified by Congress on March 3, 1891, allotting \$200,000

to be expended in the building of dams, canals, ditches, and laterals for the purpose of irrigation in the valleys of the Big Horn and Little Big Horn rivers, on Pryor Creek, and such other streams as the Secretary of the Interior might deem proper, the expenditure for any one year to be limited to \$50,000.45

No time was wasted by the Office of Indian Affairs in implementing this section of the March 3, 1891, Agreement. William H. Graves of Denver and two assistants were employed in June to prepare plans and estimates for several irrigation districts. The next summer construction was commenced on the Agency Ditch, which bounded the Little Bighorn on the west between Crow Agency and Fort Custer. In August, 50 Indians with teams were hard at work,

* see National Register forms p. 631

^{43.} Armstrong to Commissioner, Sept. 20, 1885, found in House Executive Documents, 49th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2379, pp. 223-224.

^{44.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 30, 1889, House Executive Documents, 51st Congress, 1st Session, Series 2725, pp. 223-224.

^{45.} Commissioner to Secretary of the Interior, Sept. 1891, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 1st Session, Series 2934, p. 50.

and Superintendent Graves reported, "they do as good work as white men and take pride in the doing of it." This ditch, when completed, would bring water to a number of allotments, all on meadow land, and insure the owners "a magnificent" crop of hay. 46

By the summer of 1893 the Agency Ditch had been completed, as well as two ditches, Nos. 1 and 2, on Pryor Creek. These ditches and their laterals brought another 12,300 acres of the reservation under irrigation. Much of the cost, \$47,500, had been in wages paid Crow construction hands, thereby pumping dollars into the Indians' economy.

One article of the Agreement of 1891 had provided that \$75,000 be set aside to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior for management and maintenance of the irrigation districts. Agent Wyman accordingly recommended that this account be drawn on to hire several men to teach the Crow "how to manage their water supply, and to keep the laterals leading from the main ditches in such shape that their farms may be watered to the best advantage." Money from this account was also needed to repair the Reno Ditch--the reservation's pioneer irrigation project. The Secretary approved these requests.

Superintendent Graves and his Indians found plenty to keep them busy in 1894. The Reno Ditch was improved and the Pryor ditches tidied up. While a large force continued to work on the Bighorn Ditch, as it had since 1893, a smaller crew opened a seven and one-half mile ditch, designed to tap Soap Creek and water 1,814 acres east of the Bighorn and south of Rotten Grass. Though Soap, during droughts, did not carry sufficient water to irrigate the area, this project was designed as a temporary measure, pending completion of the Bighorn Ditch. 48

By 1897 all the proposed ditches, except the Bighorn, had been completed. Not until this ambitious project had been completed would it be possible to settle every family on an irrigated allotment. The Bighorn Ditch would open to irrigation

⁴⁶ Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 22, 1892, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3038, p. 285.

^{47.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1893, House Executive Documents, 53d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3210, p. 178.

⁴⁸ Watson to Commissioner, Aug. 25, 1894, House Executive Documents, 53d Congress, 3d Session, Series 3306, p. 168; W. S. Hanna, "Indian Bureau Considers Crow Project Among Major Irrigation Works," Billings Gazette, Aug. 29, 1937.

35,000 acres of arable land, and several hundred families would be allotted acreage in that district.⁴⁹

The Bighorn Ditch was finally completed in the autumn of 1904, 12 years after the first ground had been broken. To divert 720 cubic feet of water per second into the ditch, a concrete diversion dam, 416 feet in length, had been built across the Bighorn at the mouth of the canyon. Besides bringing life-giving water to thousands of arid acres, work on the project had pumped thousands of dollars into the Crow economy; taught them how to do construction work; and had induced them to breed a better class of horses as work animals. Experts on irrigation, from all over the western United States, had visited the project and were impressed with what they saw. They reported that the dam, ditch, and headgate were *

one of the best and most substantial pieces of irrigation work in the United States and reflects credit on the Department for ordering the work, the engineers who planned and superintended the same, and the Crow Indians who did the work.

The cost per acre of land irrigated would compare favorably with similar ditches built for and by whites in Montana and Wyoming. 50

3. A Money Shortage Slows Development

By an agreement ratified by Congress on April 27, 1904, the Crow ceded additional acreage to the United States. Proceeds from the sale of this land by the General Land Office were to be credited by the Secretary of the Interior to the tribe, or expended on the reservation irrigation system and other projects calculated to improve their economy. With funds available and a trained labor force, the Crow chiefs and the agent could look toward the improvement of the reservation's other irrigation districts. While the Pryor District was well supplied with ditches, * see National Register form, p. 635.

^{49.} Watson to Commissioner, Nov. 2, 1897, House Executive Documents, 55th Congress, 2d Session, Series 3641, p. 163. When completed the Bighorn Ditch would be 35 miles in length.

^{50.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Oct. 7, 1903, and Sept. 6, 1904, House Executive Documents, 57th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4458, p. 191, and 58th Congress, 3d Session, Series 4798, p. 226; Hanna, "Indian Bureau Considers," Billings Gazette, Aug. 29, 1937. Walter B. Hill served as project engineer during the final years of construction. In 1903 the Congress, learning that tribal funds allotted for the project had been exhausted, appropriated \$35,000 to complete the Bighorn Ditch.

Pryor Creek, during a drought, lacked sufficient flow to supply them. The Black Lodge Ditch, which ended at the south boundary of the abandoned Fort Custer Military Reservation, should be extended two miles to irrigate recently allotted land. The Reno Ditch was "low-line," and by changing it to a high-line, several thousand additional acres could be brought under irrigation. To irrigate the many allotments taken out in the upper valleys of the Little Bighorn and Lodge Grass, laterals had to be dug. 51

No money was budgeted by the Secretary of the Interior for the projects recommended by Agent Reynolds. The little money available was used to construct laterals, division boxes, and bridges to support the Bighorn Ditch. In 1905 about 3,000 acres of grain and a large acreage of bluestem hay were raised on land watered by the ditch. A sizeable allotment was needed, however, to complete the system of laterals and checks required to raise the water sufficiently to irrigate the entire project. Some money was available in Fiscal Year 1906, but not enough to bring several important tracts allotted to able-bodied Crow under irrigation. 52

Many Crow employed the skills learned in the construction of the Bighorn Ditch to secure work with white contractors off the reservation. Fifty to sixty Indians with teams from the Black Lodge District were employed in 1903 and 1904 on an irrigation project in Rosebud County. For this work they received 40 cents an hour and put in a ten-hour day. In 1906 the contractor on the Huntley Project employed a number of Crow, and reported that he was satisfied with their work. 53

^{51.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Oct. 7, 1903, House Executive Documents, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4645, p. 191. There were two ditches in the Lodge Grass District, one drawing water from Lodge Grass and the other from the Little Bighorn. Both were satisfactory and no improvements were proposed.

^{52.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Sept. 2, 1905, and Aug. 27, 1906, House Executive Documents, 59th Congress, 1st Session, Series 4959, p. 238, and House Executive Documents, 59th Congress, 2d Session, Series 5118, p. 254. Before work on the Bighorn Ditch District was completed, 92.8 miles of laterals were dug, 28, 174 acres placed under water, and 1091 supporting structures built. Hanna, "Indian Bureau Considers," Billings Gazette, Aug. 29, 1937.

^{53.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Oct. 7, 1903, and Aug. 27, 1906, House Executive Documents, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4645, p. 191, and 59th Congress, 2d Session, Series 5118, p. 253.

D. Stock Raising on the Reservation

1. Many Crow Become Cattlemen

On November 8, 1884, there were issued 746 cattle, by Agent Armstrong, to the 70 Crow families that had taken up homesteads. Of these, 41 were bulls and the remainder cows and heifers. The cattle range selected was bounded by Rotten Grass Creek, the Bighorn River, and the Bighorn Mountains. As time for the spring round-up approached, Armstrong issued two weeks' rations to these families and ordered them to make camp at the "herder's cabin" at the mouth of Rotten Grass. The Crow took great interest in the round-up, and were quick to recognize their brands. Besides detailing many young men to ride the range, they provided the "herders" with fresh ponies every morning.

The number of brands made the work harder than it would have been had all the cattle belonged to several persons. Two hundred and twenty-six calves were branded with two brands--the Indian's and the government's "I. D." The small calf crop was blamed on several factors: (a) the cattle were "pilgrim stock" (animals that had never wintered on the range); (b) one-half were heifers; and (c) there were not enough bulls. 54

In the autumn of 1885, there were 777 cattle received from Minnesota and issued to the Crow in severalty. This, with the natural increase, gave them a herd by September 1886 of 1,900 head. Over 1,000 cattle were delivered to the agent in the summer of 1887, and were issued "to deserving Indians at the rate of 5 to each head of family." This herd would be held on the agency range for the time being. At the July round-up, Agent Williamson made the Indians to whom cattle had been issued in 1885 and 1886 responsible for their care. The owners, 183 heads of families, were pleased to receive their cattle. As the census showed a total of 630 families, there remained 235 to be provided with cattle.

Despite the terrible winter of 1886-1887, the Crow herd produced 450 calves, a better ratio than reported by many of their white neighbors. 56

^{54.} Armstrong to Commissioner, Sept. 30, 1885, House Executive Documents, 49th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2379, pp. 346-347.

^{55.} Williamson To Commissioner, Sept. 15, 1886, House Executive Documents, 49th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2467, pp. 392-393.

⁵⁶ Williamson to Commissioner, Aug. 31, 1887, House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2542, p. 217.

In June 1888 the cattle were rounded up, the calves branded, and each Indian given physical possession of his stock. The only cattle now left on the reservation range belonged to the agency. To discourage the slaughter of cattle to "curb the pangs of hunger," Agent Briscoe in that year directed his Indian police to report all cases of cattle killing, so he could promptly punish offenders. 57

No stock was issued to the Crow between 1887 and 1889 and this was serious, because they wished to become ranchers. Agent Wyman urged that this practice be resumed, and that in each of the next two years 1,000 cows and heifers and 50 bulls be allotted to the tribe. This would enable each family to have a herd. Within five years of the last issue, he forecast, the natural increase would provide the Crow with sufficient beef, and the annual contract for supplying them with 112,000 pounds could be dropped. ⁵⁸

The Commissioner adopted Wyman's recommendations, and in 1890 a thousand heifers and 50 bulls were received for "issue to such Indians as are most deserving, and who have their farms in such condition as to properly care for the stock." Agent Wyman, however, had had second thoughts on the number of cattle needed to carry out his program. He now argued that three more issues of beef cattle would give, in his opinion, each family from five to 12 cows, and within two years furnish all the beef required for the reservation. The cattle, after being branded, were driven to the range to become acclimated, before being sent to their owners' farms. ⁵⁹

The Agreement of March 3, 1891, provided for the purchase of a herd of cattle to be held in common by the tribe. Agent Wyman trusted that this would not militate against the continued issue of cattle to individuals or heads of families. If this practice were continued through 1893, he predicted that by 1896, with the natural increase, the Crow would be self supporting. Already, the 400 families to whom cattle had been issued owned from 10 to 40 head, each. 60

^{57.} Briscoe to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1888, House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2637, p. 154.

^{58.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 30, 1889, House Executive Documents, 51st Congress, 1st Session, Series 2725, p. 225. In 1889 one-half the families living on homesteads owned from five to 35 cattle.

^{59.} Wyman to Commissioner, Sept. 4, 1890, House Executive Documents, 51st Congress, 2d Session, Series 2841, p. 118.

^{60.} Wyman to Commissioner, Oct. 22, 1891, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 1st Session, Series 2934, pp. 268-269.

Wyman carried his point, and on July 1, 1892, 1,000 head of cattle were allotted to "the most deserving Indians who had none issued to them during former issues." In addition, the year was a good one for livestock, and there was a large natural increase. The tribe now owned 6,000 head, individually, and 3,500 in common. Several of the Crow had herds numbering 200. Impressed with the tribes' progress as stockmen, the Commissioner now ruled that they could sell their "marketable steers and dry, barren cows" to the beef contractor. This stimulated the desire of many to become ranchers and to look to the increase of their herds, rather than to butcher and eat the calves. 61

A shortage of government horses in the remuda plagued the agent at the spring and fall round-ups. When these were undertaken, one white employee was placed in charge of each Indian party to see that the calves were properly branded, tallied, and given to the rightful owner. There were in 1891 and 1892 only 14 horses available to the seven employees detailed to this task. The vast area to be covered on the Crow Range soon exhausted the animals. Ranchers, with less cattle and territory, habitually allowed their cowboys seven to ten mounts. 62 Several years were to pass before this situation was corrected.

When the cattle were rounded up and branded in June 1893, it was ascertained, as had been feared, that the "calf crop" was very short. This was attributed by the cowboys to the unseasonably cold spring and the large number of wolves and coyotes on the range. Even so, the cowboys and Indians branded and tallied 3,700 calves, of which 1,750 belonged to the common herd. 63

By the spring round-up of 1893 the number of cattle belonging to the Crow had increased to 13,000 head. Nevertheless the new agent, J. W. Watson, was dissatisfied with the condition of the industry, because the Crow did not take "care" of their stock. ⁶⁴

^{61.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 22, 1892, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3038, pp. 285-286.

^{62.} Wyman to Commissioner, Oct. 22, 1891, and Aug. 15, 1893, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 1st Session, Series 2934, p. 269, and 53d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3210, pp. 178-179.

^{63.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1893, House Executive Documents, 53d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3210, pp. 178-179. During Fiscal Year 1893, the Crow had sold to the beef contractor \$4,000 worth of steers and barren cows.

^{64.} Watson had replaced Wyman as agent on March 1, 1894.

Writing the Commissioner, he lamented, "We do not know how many they have, where they are, or anything about them; some have not seen their cattle in five years."

This situation was not the fault of the Crow but of the system. According to the rules, the Indians could only dispose of steers and barren cows, and these had to be sold to unprincipled beef contractors. As these men were determined to make a profit, they paid the Crow \$25 for a steer, which the Indians bought back "as beef for \$35 or more." Consequently, the Indians did not appreciate the value of their cattle and had no incentive to take care of them. Large numbers of cattle had disappeared, many of which had gone to swell the herds of some of their white neighbors. To correct this situation and provide an economic stimulus, Agent Watson urged that he be allowed to encourage the Crow to sell their steers and dry cows to theihighest bidder, whenever they reached their maximum weight and value. No relief, however, was forthcoming until 1898.

By 1895 the Crow had 15,000 cattle on their range. The area was rugged, and rustlers continued to use the lariet and running iron. Two cattle thieves were apprehended by the Indian police and prosecuted. 66

Grey wolves were an increasingly serious menace to the calf crop. Unless their ravages could be controlled, the Crow would have to abandon running their cattle on the open range between Rotten Grass and the mountains. Several wolf hunters were employed in 1899 and this threat was curbed.

The winter of 1898-1899 was bitterly cold with deep snow, and the cattle interests suffered accordingly. With the supply sharply reduced, there was good demand for steers that autumn, and cattle fattened on the Crow range commanded premium prices. 69

^{65.} Watson to Commissioner, Aug. 25, 1894, House Executive Documents, 53d Congress, 3d Session, Series 3306, p. 167.

^{66.} Watson to Commissioner, Sept. 18, 1895, House Executive Documents, 54th Congress, 1st Session, Series 3382, p. 185.

^{67.} Becker to Commissioner, Aug. 24, 1898, House Executive Documents, 55th Congress, 3d Session, Series 3757, p. 189.

^{68.} Edwards to Commissioner, Sept. 23, 1899, House Executive Documents, 56th Congress, 1st Session, Series 3915, p. 218.

^{69.} Edwards to Commissioner, Aug. 27, 1900, House Executive Documents, 56th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4101, p. 267.

Prices were lower in 1900, but the tribe still realized \$33,000 from the sale of beef. To In Fiscal Year 1902 a large number of steers were shipped to Chicago and brought premium prices. The arrest and imprisonment of Samuel Garvin and Robert Lee had sapped the ardor of the rustlers, and in 1902 more calves were tallied than in any of the previous five years. The

In the fall of 1903 the common herd was rounded up and divided. Each Indian took possession of those allotted to him or her and henceforth would pasture them on their own land. Earlier in the year, the Crow, using money made from the sale of wild ponies, had bought 500 cattle as individuals. This practice was continued in succeeding years. While many Crow by 1906 had become successful ranchers, the "indolent and shiftless" still killed and ate their cattle as quickly as possible. Efforts of the agent to prevent this were fruitless. The same of the same of the agent to prevent this were fruitless.

2. Ponies Become a Problem

The Crow had always cherished their horses. Prior to the extermination of the reservation buffalo herds in 1883, the ponies had been the tribe's most prized possession. In 1887 glanders swept the pony herds. Because of their love for their horses, the agent found the Crow reluctant to destroy animals stricken with the disease. 74

Within a few years the herds, through natural increase, were as numerous as before. In the late 1890s there was an explosion in the reservation horse population. By 1898 there were an estimated 36,000 ponies, of all ages and sizes, and in the opinion of the agent, all but 5,000 worthless. He held that they ate up the grass, "and as such consumed that which should properly go for a better class of stock." Plans were made to round up a number for shipment to midwestern canners. In July 1898, 1,000 ponies were

^{70.} Edwards to Commissioner, Sept. 2, 1901, House Executive Documents, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Series 4290, pp. 258-259.

^{71.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Sept. 3, 1902, House Executive Documents, 57th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4458, p. 229.

^{72.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Oct. 7, 1903, House Executive Documents, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4645, p. 191.

^{73.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Aug. 27, 1906, House Executive Documents, 59th Congress, 2d Session, Series 5118, p. 254.

^{74.} Williamson to Commissioner, Aug. 31, 1887, House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2542, p. 216. Glanders is a destructive disease of horses and mules, caused by bacteria.

loaded aboard stock cars and started for the east.⁷⁵ The wild pony population continued to soar. By 1900 it had reached 40,000, although during the previous year the agent had sold about 15,000 for between three and ten dollars a head.⁷⁶ Another 14,000 were rounded up and shipped the following year with prices received ranging from five to twelve dollars per head.⁷⁷ The money accrued from these sales was used by the tribe to purchase cattle.

3. Grazing and Leasing Permits

The Agreement of 1882, as ratified by Congress, included a provision granting to the Crow the right to permit cattle to be driven across or grazed on the reservation. Pressure by stockmen, especially those operating in the Bighorn Basin to the south, and railroad interests to the north had been instrumental in wringing this concession from the tribe. The Secretary of the Interior was to establish the fees to be paid by parties desiring to take advantage of this provision. All money derived from this source was to be paid the Crow under "such rules and regulations" as the Secretary might prescribe. 78

Under this agreement, the Crow, in council, granted temporary grazing privileges to a few neighboring cattlemen in 1884. Care was taken not to grant any long-term leases, and the recipients of such privileges were refused authority to make improvements of any type on Indian lands. In the same year, however, the Blake and Wilson Cattle Company of Topeka, Kansas, pressed for the lease of 1,500,000 acres of grazing land on the reserve. Agent Armstrong allowed the company to make an agreement with the Crow, whereby they promised to pay \$30,000 per year "for the right to graze cattle, to build fences and to make other improvements on a prescribed area of this extent within the reservation." Reports that such a huge lease was under serious discussion caused a storm of protest

^{75.} Becker to Commissioner, Aug. 24, 1898, House Executive Documents, 55th Congress, 3d Session, Series 3757, p. 189; Edwards to Commissioner, Sept. 23, 1899, House Executive Documents, 56th Congress, 1st Session, Series 3915, p. 218.

^{76.} Edwards to Commissioner, Aug. 27, 1900, House Executive Documents, 56th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4101, p. 267.

^{77.} Edwards to Commissioner, Sept. 2, 1901, House Executive Documents, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Series 4298, pp. 258-259.

^{78.} Fletcher, "The End of the Open Range in Eastern Montana," The Montana Past, pp. 140-141; Rept. of Secretary of the Interior, Sept. 1891, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 1st Session, Series 2934, p. 101.

by Montana and Wyoming ranchers. They feared such a lease would retard the opening of the reservation to settlement, and the lessees were outsiders. President Chester A. Arthur and Congress were bombarded with resolutions and petitions denouncing the scheme. The lease was accordingly disapproved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In 1885 his decision was reinforced by the opinion of the Attorney General that Indian tribes could not make valid leases of their reservation lands unless specially authorized by Congress. 79

Despite the opinion of the Attorney General, the practice of permitting the Indians in council to grant grazing permits was continued. This solution, however, dissatisfied both parties. Stockmen holding permits complained bitterly that other cattle and sheepmen were trespassing on districts occupied by them. These protests became louder and more insistent in 1890, as a serious drought dried up water holes and withered the bluestem. Agent Wyman took cognizance of these complaints, and on September 15, the Indian police began removing cattle and sheep belonging to people not holding permits from the reservation. 80

Both the Commissioner and the agents had struggled to improve the system by standardizing the permits. But friction continued, while the Indians reminded them of the valuable offer made by Blake & Wilson for the lease of their surplus lands. As early as 1886 Agent Williamson, vexed by the problem of grazing permits, of tolls, and right-of-ways, suggested the sale of the western portion of the reservation. Such action would probably yield to the government more than \$1,000,000 to hold in trust for the Crow. But if it were deemed inexpedient to sell this land, grazing permits should be auctioned. Such action would yield an estimated \$20,000 to \$25,000 per year to be credited to the tribe. 81

Such action required legislation, and several years passed before Congress was ready to act. When the Agreement of March 3,

^{79.} Fletcher, "The End of the Open Range in Eastern Montana," The Montana Past, p. 141; Rept., Secretary of the Interior to Senate, Sept. 1891, House Executive Documents, 48th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2934, pp. 4-45.

^{80.} Wyman to Commissioner, Sept. 4, 1890, House Executive Documents, 51st Congress, 2d Session, Series 2841, p. 118. Fees paid by those holding grazing permits provided the tribe with many thousands of dollars per year.

^{81.} Williamson to Commissioner, Sept. 15, 1886, House Executive Documents, 49th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2467, p. 395.

1891, was ratified, it included an article providing for the lease of both allotted and unallotted Crow lands. Since this action had been anticipated for some time, the Office of Indian Affairs was able to formulate a policy and submit it to the Secretary on March 16. The policy, which was approved, called for dividing the reservation into five grazing districts, which were to be advertised and leased to the highest bidder.

Agent Wyman executed agreements for the five districts to be in force from July 1, 1891, to June 30, 1894. These agreements were approved by the Secretary on June 12. District No. 1, containing 188,000 acres, was leased to Samuel H. Hardin of Bingham, Wyoming. His fee for running a maximum of 8,500 head of cattle was to be "3 cents per acre per annum, or \$16,920 for three years." 82 District No. 2 of 191,000 acres was secured by the Columbia Land & Cattle Co. of Chicago, "at the rate of 3.95 cents per acre per annum, or \$22,633.50 for three years." Portus B. Weare of Chicago was high bidder for District No. 3, estimated to contain 199,000 acres. He was to pay 3.51 cents per acre per year, or \$20,954.70 for three years. District No. 4 of 179,000 acres was leased at 3.57 cents an acre to Thomas Paton of New The permit covering District No. 5 of 89,000 acres was bid in by Matthew H. Murphy of Miles City at 3.62 cents per annum, or \$9,665.40 for three years. The maximum number of cattle Murphy would be permitted to run was set at 5,000.83

It was provided in these agreements that no horses, sheep, or hogs were to be "introduced upon these lands, and that herds and private holdings of the Indians shall be kept free from interference by the stock of the parties holding permits." Complaints were soon received from several of the lessees that other stock, horses and cattle, were grazing in their districts. The Columbia Land & Cattle Co. claimed that beef shipped from District No. 2, on which many horses were trespassing, brought nearly one dollar per hundredweight less than beef shipped from other districts or adjacent ranges. The agent ordered the districts cleared by

^{82.} Rept. of Secretary of the Interior, Sept. 1891, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 1st Session, Series 2934, p. 101. District No. 1 included the Wolf Mountains and an area between the Little Bighorn and Tongue River. The Hysham Brothers purchased Hardin's 04 ranch about the turn of the century. Matt Tschirgi, "Tschirgi Gives Historical Highlights of Early Day Stock Business," Billings Gazette, Aug. 29, 1937.

^{83.} Rept. of Secretary of the Interior, Sept. 1891, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 1st Session, Series 2934, pp. 101-102.

^{84.} Ibid., p. 102.

his Indian police of the trespassers' stock. As a permanent solution, he proposed that the grazing districts be fenced.⁸⁵

All told, however, the new system reduced the causes for friction. In the first year the Crow, despite the reduction of their reservation by 1,800,000 acres, received \$29,781.50 from the leasses, whereas under the old system fees in Fiscal Year 1891 were \$24,079.65. In 1894 the leases were renewed for one year and in 1895 for five years.⁸⁶

In the early 1900s much of the reservation continued to be leased as grazing districts to white stockmen. The Crow at this time retained about 500,000 acres between the Bighorn and Little Bighorn on which they pastured their horses and cattle. This section was well-watered and had good grass, except in years like 1903 when there was a grasshopper plague. 87

E. Law Enforcement and Rustlers

1. The Squawman Problem is Solved

Squawmen by the late 1880s were becoming a serious problem, and Agent Briscoe in 1888 recommended that all of them except Interpreter Steward be ordered off the reservation. "With their superior advantage of civilization and education," they had selected the best land, and without consent of the agent had had their wives' allotment platted, "putting the whole amount allowed to each head of family [160 acres] and each child [80 acres] . . in the most fertile agricultural valleys." They had protested loudly against any Indian settling nearby. One of the squawmen claimed the right, by virtue of the interest of his wife and children, to run 20,000 sheep on the reservation. 88

While the Commissioner vetoed Briscoe's suggestion regarding the expulsion of the squawmen, legislation was enacted by Congress

^{85.} Wyman to Commissioner, Oct. 22, 1891, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 1st Session, Series 2934, p. 269.

^{86.} Fletcher, "The End of the Open Range in Eastern Montana," The Montana Past, p. 142; Rept. of Secretary of the Interior, Sept. 1891, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 1st Session, Series 2934, p. 102.

^{87.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Oct. 7, 1903, House Executive Documents, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4645, p. 191.

^{88.} Briscoe to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1888, House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2637, p. 154.

"in Relation to Marriage between White Men and Indian Women."
It was provided that hereafter men of non-Indian blood marrying squaws could not "acquire any right to any tribal property, privilege, or interest whatever to which any member of such [the squaw's] tribe is entitled." This legislation helped curb this form of exploitation of the Crow by unscrupulous whites, who had been in the habit of securing grazing rights by marrying squaws.

The Crow Reservation, like many others, was frequented by "criminals and worthless characters" banished from nearby towns on the Northern Pacific, or fugitives from the law. Its borders were infested with rustlers. Many disreputable whites haunted construction camps along the Bighorn Ditch, where there were large payrolls, and made a vicious living through gambling and other vices. Agent Watson in 1895 and 1896 employed the Indian police in a relentless fight against crime, and many worthless characters were banished from the reserve. 90

2. Garvin and Lee Go to Prison

In 1893 Samuel Garvin located in an inaccessible section of the reservation bounded on the west by Bighorn Canyon, on the south by Devils Canyon, and on the north and east by Big Bull Elk Ridge. Subsequently, this region became known as Garvin Basin. Although large numbers of Crow cattle had vanished from the range, there was no evidence that Garvin was using the running iron and lariat. So isolated was his range that it was 1900 before Agent J. E. Edwards cornered him and collected \$200 for lease of the basin. Garvin promised that henceforth he would pay his grazing fee in April.

Shortly thereafter, a steer belonging to Carl Leider of Soap Creek wandered up to his cabin with an altered brand. Leider, who worked for the Crow as a cowboy, contacted Frank Heinrich, and told him of the incident and of the mysterious disappearance of several hundred head of Indian cattle. Heinrich, who was destined before his death in 1928 to become the most important stockman in Montana, concluded that rustlers had been preying on the

^{89.} Fletcher, "The End of the Open Range in Eastern Montana," The Montana Past, p. 140.

^{90.} Watson to Commissioner, Sept. 18, House Executive Documents, 54th Congress, 1st Session, Series 3382, p. 185; and Watson to Commissioner, Sept. 16, 1895, House Executive Documents, 55th Congress, 1st Session, Series 3489, p. 182. The Indian police, the agent's strong arm in his fight against crime and vice, had been organized in the mid-1880s and consisted of two officers and 14 privates.

Crow herd. Having heard rumors associating Garvin with rustlers, Heinrich, although it was late in the season and snow had already fallen, started for the basin. He entered the basin from the Wyoming side by way of Deer Creek Canyon, and worked his way cautiously down into the hideout. Rounding a bend in the canyon, he sighted a pole corral in which a number of newly branded cattle were penned. Heinrich quickly fathomed the rustlers' method of operation—they used the corral to hold the cattle before driving them down the canyon and into the basin.

He returned to his horse, being careful to guard his movements, and headed back to his ranch. Law enforcement officers were told about what had been observed, but the snow was now too deep to take action before February 1901. Meanwhile, Agent Edwards' attention had been called to two freshly branded steers. When he investigated, he found that they were Crow cattle with their brands altered, and other brands burned into their hides. The new brand was the Ω . 91

Edwards made a search to identify the owner of the \$\frac{P}\$ brand, and soon found that this brand was registered to Samuel Garvin of Billlings. An outfit, accompanied by the Indian police and law enforcement officers from Yellowstone County headed for the basin, while Edwards traveled to Billings. In reply to Edwards' searching questions, Garvin protested ignorance of any wrong doing, and stated that his foreman, Robert Lee, owned the \$\frac{O}{T}\$ brand. \$\frac{92}{T}\$

By the time Edwards was back at Crow Agency, the law enforcement people, led by Stock Inspector W. D. Smith, had descended Chain Canyon, crossed the frozen Bighorn, and climbed into the basin. This was the only entrance to the hideout not blocked in February by snowdrifts. ⁹³ Smith and his people rounded up 757 head of Crow cattle, easily identified by the altered Mashed Pumpkin brand and the ? Lee, when questioned by Smith, exhibited a bill of sale for more than 600 head witnessed by Garvin. While

^{91.} Mary Neatherly, "Basin's Bad Boys," Billings Gazette, Jan. 8, 1967; Edwards to Commissioner, March 12, 1901, NA, RG 75. A running iron had been employed to alter the ID Co. brand into the Mashed Pumpkin brand, CHD.

^{92.} Edwards to Commissioner, March 12, 1901, NA, RG 75.

^{93.} Neatherly, "Basin's Bad Boys," Billings Gazette, Jan. 8, 1967. To close off Chain Canyon, Garvin and Lee had cemented two 15-foot chains to opposite sides of the canyon wall. The tag end of the chains were locked together. Remains of the cement and chain still protrude from the walls of Chain Canyon.

Lee admitted that brands had been changed, he swore that this had been done by the men from whom he purchased the stock. 94

On checking deeper into the subject, Agent Edwards found that 600 head of MY cattle owned by Garvin and mortgaged to the 1st National Bank of Billings numbered only 35. This information caused the bank to become interested in the case. 95 Although Garvin and Lee had employed the best criminal lawyers in the state to defend them, Edwards believed he could get a conviction But as he thought about the situation, he grew less self-assured, because he knew that the U. S. Attorney, Carl Rasch, would be "out-classed" by any one of Garvin's lawyers. This especially troubled him, when Garvin filed a civil suit to recover the 140 unbranded yearlings found with the 576 branded cattle. Edwards, holding that the yearlings belonged to the branded Indian cows, had had them branded and turned loose. As the 1st National Bank was anxious to recover part of their loan, it was backing Garvin's suit. 96

At a preliminary hearing held in Billings in the last week of March, Lee was charged with stealing Indian cattle and bound over to appear before the United States Grand Jury in June. His bond, which he made, was set at \$4,000. Initially, Edwards had hoped to get the case docked to the state court, where the maximum penalty for cattle theft was 14 years in the penitentiary. But as this had proved impossible, it would be prosecuted in the Federal Court, where the maximum penalty was one year's imprisonment and a \$1,000 fine. He would therefore seek to have Garvin and Lee indicted on six separate counts; "one for the CO cattle," and then selecting five of the individual brands stolen and recovered, "making an action of each instance." 97

In June the Grand Jury met in Billings. In the weeks immediately preceding, Garvin and Lee did their best to intimidate witnesses against them. Several were offered money to leave the state or to withhold testimony. When Edwards reached Billings, he encountered Lee at the depot. Lee was accompanied by one of his

^{94.} Ibid.; Edwards to Commissioner, March 12, 1901, NA, RG 75.

^{95.} Ibid.

^{96.} Edwards to Commissioner, March 21, 1901, NA, RG 75. Edwards had issued orders forbidding Garvin to return to the reservation. Four Indians had been detailed to remain with the cattle until the snow had melted, and they could be returned to the range.

^{97.} Edwards to Commissioner, March 29, 1901, NA, RG 75.

cowboys, armed with a Winchester. While Edwards and Lee argued, the hand cocked his piece. Edwards refused to be bluffed, and Lee lost his nerve. 98

At the hearing before the Grand Jury, U. S. Attorney O. F. Goddard asked Garvin about the statement he had made to Stock Inspector Smith, "Lee has got me into trouble and the best thing I can do is kill the _____ " Lee's reaction was predictable. "I suppose you think I did all of this myself."

With the two defendents quarreling, the Grand Jury had little trouble indicting them on six counts. 99

The trial opened in the United States District Court in Helena on December 13, 1901. An important witness for the prosecution was E. McKelvey, who had been employed in the basin by the 1st National Bank to look after the MY cattle. Garvin had told him that "some blotched branded cattle had been purchased" by Anderson and Smith. But, McKelvey testified, he had seen them in the holding corrals and branding chutes. Moreover, Lee had threatened, "If you go on the witness stand and tell that the cattle with blotched brands were Indian cattle I will spill blood before I get off."

Frank Heinrich told his story on December 17. Lee, in turn, swore that he had bought the Mashed Pumpkin cattle with \$10,000 his sister had sent him. Despite damaging testimony by other witnesses, Lee and his wife clung to this story. 100

The case went to the jury on December 24, and the jurors were not only denied Christmas Eve at home, but their deliberation room was so cold they were unable to sleep--"some one had failed to keep the fires going." At 5 p.m., on the 25th, the jury filed into the courtroom and announced its verdict--guilty. Judge Knowles then sentenced Garvin and Lee to one year in the penitentiary and fined each \$1,000, the maximum sentence permitted for stealing cattle from Indians. As these were the first men prosecuted and convicted of rustling from the Crow, Edwards was partially satisfied. He, however, felt that such a light sentence for stealing from \$30,000 to \$35,000 worth of cattle was ridiculous, and would not serve as a deterrent to most rustlers.

^{98.} Edwards to Commissioner, June 28, 1901, NA, RG 75.

^{99.} Ibid.; Neatherly, "Basin's Bad Boys," *Billings Gazette*, Jan. 8, 1867. The prime witness for the government, having been threatened with death, was for his protection brought to the agency and given employment.

^{100.} Neatherly, "Basin's Bad Boys," Billings Gazette, Jan. 8, 1967.

In Garvin's case, since he was "a man of influence," the one-year term could be beneficial in casting him in his "true color." 101

In the same year, 1901, the Indian police smashed a gang of Wyoming-based horse thieves. Two men were arrested and convicted, 100 ponies recovered, and the rest of the gang fled the area. 102

The arrest and conviction of Garvin and Lee, as Edwards had forecast, provided the Crow with only a temporary respite from rustlers. By mid-summer 1902 several well-organized gangs were again stealing Crow horses and cattle. 103 The Indian police were able to arrest two men, one of whom confessed and implicated several of their confederates. With this information, the authorities obtained warrents for a number of others, and these men only escaped arrest by fleeing. The rustlers, however, were undaunted, and during the next two years the Indian police spent much of their time and energy riding the range. In the fall of 1903 their vigilance paid off, and they captured a five-man gang on the western boundary of the reservation with Indian ponies in their possession. These individuals were turned over by the agent to state authorities for prosecution. They were tried, convicted, and sentenced to the Montana State Penitentiary at Deer Lodge for terms of five to six years. 104

On the south side of the reservation, three cattle thieves were apprehanded. One turned state's evidence; one was sentenced to Deer Lodge for one year; and one set fire to the house of the Wyoming deputy sheriff, who had aided the Indian police in making the arrest. Convicted of arson, he was sent to the Wyoming penitentiary for 15 years. 105

^{101.} Edwards to Commissioner, March 12, 1901, Jan. 13 & 16, 1902, NA, RG 75. It was estimated by Edwards that the Crow had had about \$250,000 in cattle stolen from them in the period 1884-1901.

^{102.} Edwards to Commissioner, Sept. 2, 1901, House Executive Documents, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Series 4290, pp. 258-259.

^{103.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Sept. 3, 1902, House Executive Documents, 57th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4458, p. 229.

^{104.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Sept. 6, 1904, House Executive Documents, 58th Congress, 3d Session, Series 4798, p. 226.

^{105.} Ibid.; Reynolds to Commissioner, June 9, 1903, NA, RG 75; Montana Daily Record (Helena), June 4 & 5, 1903. The man sentenced to Deer Lodge was Osa Forrce, while his partner, Benson, was convicted of arson. David Towns had turned state's evidence. Frank Heinrich was again a valuable witness for the prosecution.

F. The Sword Bearer Uprising

In 1886 the Crow lost many ponies in raids by the Piegan and Sioux. Much of Agent Williamson's time and energy were absorbed in counseling moderation and urging the Crow not to retaliate. By 1887 a number of young warriors, who yearned for the old days, determined to strike back at the Piegan. In late September, 22 of the young bloods arrived back at Crow Agency, following a successful raid deep into the Blackfoot Reservation. Agent Williamson determined to have his Indian police arrest them. Learning of this, the raiders, accompanied by a number of other young warriors, rode to Crow Agency on September 30. They exhibited a defiant mood, and when the Agent ordered their arrest, they threatened him and the employees and fired into several buildings.

Agent Williamson saw that his police could not control the situation and telegraphed the commanding officer at Fort Custer, Col. N. A. M. Dudley, for assistance. Marching orders were issued by the veteran campaigner, to Troops B and E, 1st Cavalry. They rode into Crow Agency at 10 p.m. The next day they were reinforced by Troops G and K. On their arrival the cavalrymen found the situation more critical than reported to Colonel Dudley. The rioters had been joined by "a considerable number of other Crows, all of whom evinced a determination to fight rather than submit to arrest." By October 2 "the turbulence at the agency [had] somewhat abated," and Colonel Dudley recalled three of the troops, leaving one at the agency to protect the employees and government property. 106

The soldiers posted at Crow Agency were under orders not to arrest any Indians, pending further instructions. After extensive consultations in Washington between officials of the War Department and the Secretary of the Interior and his advisors, it was determined "to cause the arrest of the turbulent and defiant Indians of the Crow tribe, and for their confinement at Fort Custer." Brig. Gen.

Thomas H. Ruger, as commander of the Department of Dakota, would have the responsibility for carrying out these instructions, which reached his St. Paul headquarters on October 21. Boarding the next westbound Northern Pacific, Ruger started for Fort Custer. Although the reports received from Colonel Dudley gave the impression that the Crow, as a tribe, would not rise in support of the young firebrands, Ruger could not be certain. While he considered the garrison at Fort Custer strong enough to subdue the Crow, he deemed it

¹⁰⁶ Ruger to Adjt. Gen. Division of the Missouri, Sept. 15, 1888, House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2628, pp. 146, 151. Brig. Gen. Thomas H. Ruger commanded the Department of Dakota. Troop K, which had remained at Crow Agency on the recall of Troops B, E, and G, was relieved by Company E, 3d Infantry on October 3.

best to concentrate a massive force "to overawe the tribe, deter any who might be inclined to resist the troops, and better provide, in case of need, for protection of the extended settlements adjacent to the reservation." This course of action had been previously approved by the commander of the United States Army--Gen. Philip H. Sheridan. 107

While the train rolled westward, General Ruger made several stops and telegraphed subordinates at Forts Keogh, Missoula, and Maginnis to forward reinforcements to Fort Custer. 108 Information having been received that the disaffected Crow were in contact with the Cheyenne of the Tongue River Agency, General Ruger ordered a company of infantry and a troop of cavalry from Fort Keogh to that point. At Ruger's request, the commander of the Department of the Platte deployed two troops of cavalry and a company of infantry from Fort McKinney to establish and man a line of checkpoints along the Montana-Wyoming boundary, south of the reservation. 109

Upon reaching Fort Custer and while awaiting arrival of the reinforcements, General Ruger discussed the situation with Colonel Dudley, Agent Williamson, and Indian Inspector Armstrong. They assured him that there was no reason to fear an immediate outbreak. Orders were issued for the reinformcements, on their arrival, to report to Colonel Dudley. To bolster the company currently posted at the agency, Ruger reinforced it with a three-company battalion of the 3d Infantry on October 29.110

Soon after the September 29 riot, about three-fourths of the tribe, many of them settled on allotments, had banded together on the Bighorn near the mouth of Rotten Grass. Plenty-Coups and his followers, except for a few hotheads, remained on Pryor Creek. The leader of the disaffected faction was a young medicine man, called The Sword Bearer. Known originally as Wraps-up-his-Tail, the young warrior had found a cavalry saber on the Bighorn bluffs and had changed his name to The Sword Bearer. He told the Crow that his sword was powerful medicine, and to build up a following among the young warriors, who dreamed of the romance and ad-

^{107.} Ibid., p. 146-147.

^{108.} Thid., pp.147, 152. From Fort Keogh came Companies D, G, and I, 5th Infantry; from Fort Missoula Companies B and F, 3d Infantry; and from Fort Maginnis Troop A, 1st Cavalry. The two infantry battalions traveled by rail to Custer Junction and then marched to Fort Custer, while the horsesoldiers rode the 153 miles.

^{109.} Ibid., p. 147, 152.

^{110.} Ibid., p. 147. Armstrong, whom Williamson had replaced as agent, had been promoted to Indian Inspector.

venture of the old days, he had led raids against the Piegan. This, he believed, would add to his prestige, and enable him, instead of Plenty-Coups, to become chief of the Crow when Chief Pretty Eagle" crossed the slippery log to Shadow Land." 11

General Ruger determined that to secure the arrest of the Sword Bearer and his principal confederates, it would be best for the agent to assemble the tribe at the agency. If he sought to arrest individuals, it was feared that some would escape, and placing themselves at the head of small bands, commence partisan warfare. Armstrong and Williamson agreed with Ruger. Orders were issued by Williamson for all the Crow to assemble at Crow Agency by November 4, 1887. By that date all the tribe, except a few stragglers and Plenty-Coups' band, had arrived and camped on the Little Bighorn, near the agency.

By this time, the reinforcements ordered to Fort Custer had arrived, and General Ruger concentrated nine troops of cavalry, six companies of infantry, and two artillery detachments armed with four Hotchkiss guns nearby. On the 5th, General Ruger sent for the chiefs and headmen, and told them that he "had received orders to arrest those guilty of making the disturbance at the agency." They were advised to arrest and bring in the offenders, or the army would be compelled to act. They were given a deadline of 90 minutes in which to deliver the prisoners.

While Ruger was issuing his ultimatum, his soldiers took position, ready to enforce the demand. Six troops of the 1st Cavalry, under Colonel Dudley, were advanced and deployed opposite the Indians principal encampment, which was scattered along the west bank of the Little Bighorn, north of the agency and extending for about one mile. Pretty Eagle and his followers were camped a mile north of the recalcitrants. This had been done with the blessing of Agent Williamson, because Pretty Eagle was known to be opposed to The Sword Bearer and his fire-eaters. The battalion of the 5th Infantry, supported by other units, was posted to cover the agency and be prepared, should trouble develop, to support Dudley's horse-soldiers. 113

^{111.} Ibid., p. 148; Personal Interview, Medicine Crow with Bearss, July 25, 1969.

^{112.} Units concentrated near the agency were: Troops A, B, D, E,G, and K, 1st U. S. Cavalry; Troop A, 7th U. S. Cavalry; Troops D and H, 9th U. S. Cavalry; Companies B, D, E, G, and I, 5th U. S. Infantry; Company C, 7th U. S. Infantry; and one gun detachment from Fort Custer and a second from Fort Keogh. Ruger to Adjt. Gen., Div. of the Mo., Sept. 15, 1888, House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2628, pp. 148, 152-153.

^{113 ·} Ibid., pp. 148-149.

A number of Indians, as the deadline approached, assembled in that part of the main camp farthest from the agency. The Sword Bearer and a submedicine man rode out from the village, closely followed by from 100 to 150 warriors. It looked to Ruger as if their purpose was to escape up onto the bench, between the Big and Little Bighorn. called for prompt action. Calling to Colonel Dudley, Ruger told him "to cut off the Indians in motion." Dudley intercepted them with two troops. The Indians resisted, but after a brisk skirmish were driven back and across the Little Bighorn. Some escaped into the hills, where 11 years before the Sioux and their allies had smashed the 7th Cavalry, while others sought refuge in the village. passed within easy range of two companies of infantry, posted between the agency and the camp. These soldiers, seeing that resistance had ceased, held their fire. Two troops of cavalry were sent in pursuit of the Crow who had fled to the southeast, while a similar number rode up the Little Bighorn to search the country about the camps occupied before the trouble by Crazy Head's and Deaf Bull's bands. Ruger feared that the war party might rally on these vallages duirng the night. 114

The Sword Bearer was slightly wounded in the clash with the army and fled to the hills east of the Little Bighorn. His father, shamed by this exhibition of cowardice, compelled his son to return to the agency. When they reached the river, The Sword Bearer dismounted to get a drink. Fire Bear, a member of the Indian police, rode up and after swearing at The Sword Bearer for his stupidity which could have led to a massacre of his people, shot him in the back of the head. 115

Besides The Sword Bearer, seven of his followers were killed and a number wounded in the fight. General Ruger reported one dead and two wounded cavalrymen. The Indians not killed, whose arrests had been ordered, either surrendered or were brought in by fellow tribesmen. Two important chiefs were among those arrested. They were: Crazy Head, who was known to be an advisor to The Sword Bearer, and had counseled resistance, and Deaf Bull who had visited the Cheyenne and had urged them to ally with the Crow. On November 13 Crazy Head, Deaf Bull, and six other ring leaders were sent under guard to Fort Snelling, Minnesota, where they were to be confined.

^{114.} Ibid., p. 149.

¹¹⁵ Personal Interview, Medicine Crow with Bearss, July 25, 1969.

¹¹⁶ Ruger to Adjt. Gen., Div. of the Mo., Sept. 15, 1888, House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2628, pp. 150, 153. One of the prisoners was left at Fort Custer for medical treatment of a self-inflicted wound. Deaf Bull was released from confinement and returned to his people on August 20, 1889.

General Ruger had demonstrated skill and restraint in coping with what could have been a nasty situation. He kept his head and no move to arrest recalcitrants was made until he could deploy an overwhelming force. When fighting erupted and The Sword Bearer and his followers had been routed, the officers kept a tight rein on their men and they immediately ceased fire. Although the situation was similar to that at Wounded Knee, good discipline was maintained and there was no massacre of innocent Indians.

Satisfied that the Crow leaders who counseled moderation were again in control, General Ruger began withdrawing his troops from Crow Agency on November 6, and by the 13th all units were gone. 117

G. St. Xavier and the Reservation Schools

In 1887 two schools were established by religious denominations. The Unitarian Association of Boston located the Montana Industrial School on the Bighorn River, seven miles from Custer, under supervision of the Rev. H. F. Bond. Besides "nice, comfortable school buildings," they provided a corps of teachers and assistants. The Jesuit priests, Fathers Paul Prando and Urban Grassi, who had been working among the Crow since 1885, erected St. Xavier Mission, near the mouth of Rotten Grass, to be staffed by Ursuline sisters. 18

When it opened on October 1, 1887, St. Xavier consisted of a school, a chapel, and a residence for the fathers in charge. Other buildings erected during the next three years included: a wash house, bakehouse, storehouse, church for the Indians, quarters for workmen, coalhouse, and roothouses. In 1892 the Catholic Mission Board built a brick structure with capacity for 150 students, thus providing accommodations at St. Xavier for 225 scholars.

By 1889 St. Xavier had accommodations for 150 pupils; the Montana Industrial 50; and the agency boarding school 50--a total of 250.

^{117.} Ibid., p. 53.

^{118.} Williamson to Commissioner, Aug. 31, 1887, House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2542, p. 218. It was reported by Agent Brisco in 1888 that while the Unitarians were "doing some good work," Superintendent Bond did not "have the knack of getting along with the Indians."

^{119.} Wyman to Commissioner, Sept. 4, 1890, House Executive Documents, 51st Congress, 2d Session, Series 2841, p. 122.

^{120.} Wyman to Commissioner, July 11, 1892, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3038, p. 287. The first schoolhouse was a 60 x 40 feet, two-story wood building. The chapel and priest's house are still standing. Mrs. Bridgett C. Keogh, "St. Xavier Once Boomed with Oil Strike," Hardin Tribune Herald, May 16, 1959.

Attendance, however, was never over 160, as many parents still refused to part with their children. 121

In 1897 the Unitarians suspended their operations on the reservation. The Montana Industrial School closed, and its students were transferred to the Crow Boarding School. That same year, the agent began exerting force to get the Indians to insure that their schoolage children received a white man's education. He was bitterly opposed by many of the parents, and Indian police were employed to bring in to the boarding schools unwilling students. 122

H. Agreements with the Whites: 1891-1904

In the period 1891-1904 the Crow signed three important agreements with the whites. Two of these, with the United States, reduced the acreage of the reservation in return for which the Indians received money to underwrite needed capital improvements. The other was with the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad to permit construction of tracks across the reservation.

1. The Agreement of March 3, 1891

On March 3, 1891, Congress ratified an agreement with the Crow for the sale of 1,800,000 acres off the western end of the reservation. Por this land, the Indians were to receive \$946,000 for capital improvements, for an irrigation fund, and to provide an annuity of \$12 in cash for each member of the tribe. Indians holding allotments on the ceded land would be permitted to remain and have their allotments confirmed. Of the money received by the tribe and to be held in trust by the Secretary of the Interior, \$200,000 was to be budgeted for construction of irrigation ditches, with not more than \$50,000 to be spent annually; \$75,000 was for maintenance of the irrigation districts; \$25,000 for construction of three gristmills; \$45,000 for the purchase of cattle; \$20,000 for the establishment of two sub-depots of issue; \$5,000 for school-houses; and \$10,000 for home improvements.

^{121.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 30, 1889, House Executive Documents, 51st Congress, 1st Session, Series 2725, p. 225.

^{122.} Watson to Commissioner, Nov. 2, 1897, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3641, p. 164.

^{123.} The east boundary of the land ceded was to begin at mid-channel of the Yellowstone, at the NW corner of Sec. 36, T2 N, R27 E; then running to the SW along the divide separating Pryor Creek from the Yellowstone and Clarks Fork to the foot of Pryor Mountains; then due south and up the north slope of the Pryors to a point 15 miles due north of the Montana-Wyoming border; then due east to the mid-channel of Bighorn River; then up the mid-channel of that river to the State boundary. 26 Stats., 1039-1043, C543.

A misunderstanding developed almost immediately concerning the residual rights of individual Indians in the area ceded to the United States. A number of Crow, prior to the cut-off date, May 3, had located allotments on the ceded ground for speculative purposes. Whites interested in securing choice land crowded the line anxiously awaiting the rush. Indian police were detailed by the agent to prevent land grabs. Even so, trouble from claim jumpers trespassing on land held by Indians, was anticipated once the ceded strip was declared open. 125

On October 15, 1892, President Benjamin Harrison, in accordance with a request from the Crow, issued a proclamation declaring the land ceded by the agreement of March 3, 1891, and not reserved to the Indians open to settlement. As the area had not been surveyed, becomers swarmed in and took up Indian as well as government land. There were serious disputes, and tempers soared. A Crow residing on his allotment was shot to death by a boomer. When the white was tried, he was freed by a jury of his peers, although the evidence demonstrated that he was the aggressor and the Indian was merely defending his property.

To bring harmony to the area, the ceded region was surveyed by the government, the Indian allotments identified, and the agent's jurisdiction determined. 126

Although the most beneficial articles in the Agreement of March 3, 1891, from the Crow viewpoint dealt with irrigation, the purchase of beef cattle, and the erection of a gristmill, they also found other provisions useful. In 1894 sub-issue stations were erected at St. Xavier and Pryor Creek. At each, there were built "substantial residences" for the boss farmer, a storehouse, and a slaughterhouse. 127 The agency sawmill was employed to saw lumber for home improvements. The Crow were pleased with the results and assisted in getting out logs and hauling lumber. 128

^{125.} Wyman to Commissioner, Oct. 22, 1891, House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 1st Session, Series 2934, p. 270.

^{126.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1893, House Executive Documents, 53d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3210, p. 179. The commissioner had requested that the agreement of March 3, 1891, be modified to allow the ceded portion of the reserve to be opened to settlement at the "earliest practicable moment."

^{127.} Watson to Commissioner, Nov. 2, 1897, House Executive Documents, 55th Congress, 2d Session, Series 3641, p. 165.

^{128.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1893, House Executive Documents, 53d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3210, p. 179.

Although not directly related to the Agreement of March 3, 1891, a windfall for further home improvements was received by the Crow in 1903. In that year the buildings at abandoned Fort Custer, having been declared surplus, were turned over by the War Department to the Secretary of the Interior. Orders were issued for the agent to have them torn down, the material salvaged, and issued to the Crow. Agent S. G. Reynolds was selective in carrying out this program. In 1903 only substandard structures were razed, and the lumber used by the Indians to build sheds and barns. The Crow, however, preferred log houses, and during the year many of them went to the mountains and got out logs to build comfortable dwellings on their new allotments.

A much larger number of buildings were taken down in 1904, and the demolition of the post nearly completed. The Crow were provided with "a well assorted collection of building materials." 129

2. The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Comes to the Reservation

On August 2, 1890, in accordance with instructions from the Commissioner, Agent Wyman called a council for the purpose of granting permission for the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad to run a preliminary survey across the reservation. The Crow objected to the survey, as "they did not want any more stakes set in their ground." With the Northern Pacific and Great Northern in operation and the Milwaukee being surveyed, the Crow did not look with favor on more railroads. 130

Three years later, the Crow, having been prodded by the government, again met with representatives of the CB & Q and agreed to permit the railroad to build on reservation land. Damages for crossing tribal land were adjusted by the council. The Crow, however, insisted that the right-of-way be fenced, and that the railroaders settle directly with owners of allotted land. After the railroad had secured a right-of-way, construction crews moved in. The valley of the Little Bighorn and the rolling hills between the Bighorn crossing and the mouth of Pryor Creek afforded few engineering problems. Work proceeded according to schedule, and by August 1894 the track was in operation to Crow Agency, and

^{129.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Oct. 7, 1903, and Sept. 6, 1904, House Executive Documents, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4458, p. 191; and 58th Congress, 3d Session, Series 4798, p. 226.

^{130.} Wyman to Commissioner, Sept. 4, 1890, House Executive Documents, 51st Congress, 2d Session, Series 2841, p. 118.

^{131.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1893, House Executive Documents, 53d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3210, p. 180.

before the end of the year the railroad was open to its northern terminus on the Northern Pacific. 132

The completion of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy across the reservation was a terrible blow to the large number of Crow engaged in freighting. As early as 1880 the Crow had entered this trade, and by 1886 they were so well established that they hauled all government stores from Custer City on the Northern Pacific to the agency, as well as a large percentage of those ordered by the post traders. If they had possessed the necessary wagons and draft horses, Agent Williamson had written, he could start 200 teams on short notice. What was more important, they took great pride in their work, and there were those who maintained that they delivered goods in better condition than white freighters.

Money earned by the Crow in the freighting trade, along with that paid to those working for hay and wood contractors and as cowboys, enabled many of the tribe to progress economically. With the coming of the railroad most of the freighters took their teams and went to work on the Bighorn Ditch.

3. The Agreement of April 27, 1904

In 1900 the tribal council entered into an agreement with the United States Commission for the sale to the government of about 1,150,000 acres off the northern end of the reservation. The Crow, in making this decision, were told that this part of the reserve was surplus to their needs, as the 2,270,000 acres remaining would provide 1,500 acres for each man, woman and child. They were assured that money received by the tribe for this land would be put to good use.

The agreement was not ratified by Congress until April 27, 1904. It provided that proceeds from the sale of the ceded land were to be credited to the Crow to be expended on the irrigation districts, for the purchase of cattle, sheep, and fencing, and for the erection of schools, hospitals, etc. One hundred thousand dollars were to

^{132.} Watson to Commissioner, Aug. 25, 1894, House Executive Documents, 53d Congress, 3d Session, Series 3306, p. 167.

^{133.} Williamson to Commissioner, Sept. 15, 1886, House Executive Documents, 49th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2467, p. 392.

¹³⁴ Watson to Commissioner, Aug. 25, 1894, House Executive Documents, 53d Congress, 3d Session, Series 3306, p. 167.

^{135.} Edwards to Commissioner, Aug. 27, 1900, House Executive Documents, 56th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4101, p. 268.

be placed to the credit of the Crow at four percent interest, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior for maintenance of the irrigation system for 15 years, after which the principle and interest could be disposed of as the Indians wished, provided they first secured the approval of the Secretary. Members of the tribe holding allotments on the ceded land could remain and secure patents, or they could sell their real estate and remove to the reduced reservation. 136

The opening of the ceded land to settlement by whites again caused problems in law enforcement. Whiskey shops sprang up near the new line, and were patronized by a number of Crow. The Indian police, whose strength was increased on January 1, 1906, were able to exercise increased vigilance and a number of arrests of individuals attempting to smuggle liquor onto the reservation curbed this illicit traffic. 137

I. The Crow Turn the Corner

An accurate census was finally made of the Crow in June 1887 by M. L. Blake and T. Stewart. Their count listed 2,456 Indians, a considerable reduction from the figures previously submitted. In the future there would be little trouble keeping an accurate record, as the reservation was now divided into agricultural districts, each in the charge of a boss farmer, who was instructed to keep a tally of births and deaths. This census would serve as a guide in making allotments to the Crow in severalty, thus removing all difficulty in obtaining the name of each Indian and the English interpretation of the same.

By 1888 the Crow population, because of a high death rate, had fallen to 2,300. Agent Briscoe blamed this on hereditary diseases

^{136. 33} Stats., pp. 352-362, C 1674. The boundary of the land ceded began at the northeast corner of the reservation; then south to a point due east of the northeast corner of the abandoned Fort Custer Military Reservation; then due west to the northwest corner of the abandoned military reservation; then due west to the intersection of the line between Sections 10 and 11, Township 2 South, Range 28 East; then due north to the intersection of the Montana base line; then due west to the intersection of the western boundary of the Crow Reservation; and then northeast to the point of beginning.

^{137.} Reynolds to Commissioner, Aug. 27, 1906, House Executive Documents, 59th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2542, p. 215.

^{138.} Williamson to Commissioner, Aug. 31, 1887, House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 1st Session Series 2542, p. 215.

and the abrupt change from a nomadic life and an all-meat diet to living in cabins and "an almost vegetable diet." 139

The number of Crow had declined to 2,202 by 1892, 140 and to 2,126 in 1894. In 1897 the census showed 2,139 Crow, an increase of four over the previous year. The population had now shown an increase in three successive years, whereas formerly there had always been a decrease. To the agent this demonstrated that his charges had "become used to and had adapted to the conditions of civilized life, and that they were settling down to the kind of life which must have been extremely trying to them in a savage condition." 141

In March 1900 there was a smallpox scare. The Indians obeyed the instructions of the resident physician and the dread disease was controlled, but only after 19 Indians and five whites were stricken. The Crow population continued to increase very slowly in the years between 1900 and 1907.

J. Comments and Recommendations

The years from 1868 to 1907 were critical in Crow history. From the Treaty of Fort Laramie until the defeat of the Sioux and Cheyenne in 1876-1877, the outnumbered Crow were hard-pressed by their hereditary enemies. On several occasions they were compelled to withdraw north of the Yellowstone into the valley of the Musselshell to escape the onslaughts of the well-armed Sioux. To add to the Crow problems, they were divided into two bands--the Mountain and the River Crow.

Within seven years of the defeat of the Sioux by the United States Army, the Crow were confronted by a worse crisis, as the vast reservation buffalo herds were hounded toward extinction. By 1883 the herds had been destroyed, and the Crow, if they were to survive, had to abandon their life as hunters and become farmers and stockmen. Since the establishment of the Fort Parker Agency, the Office of Indian Affairs had endeavored, without much success, to interest the nomadic Crow into settling down and becoming cultivators of the land.

^{139.} Briscoe to Commissioner, Aug. 15, 1888, found in House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2637, p. 153.

^{140.} Wyman to Commissioner, Aug. 22, 1892, found in House Executive Documents, 52d Congress, 2d Session, Series 3038, p. 284.

^{141.} Watson to Commissioner, Nov. 2, 1897, found in House Executive Documents, 55th Congress, 2d Session, Series 3641, p. 163.

^{142.} Edwards to Commissioner, Aug. 27, 1900, found in House Executive Documents, 56th Congress, 2d Session, Series 4101, p. 268.

Without irrigation, farming in eastern Montana is a risky undertaking, because of the short growing season, lack of rainfall, the savage late summer hailstorms, and the periodic invasions by grasshoppers and mormon crickets. Thus the attempts by the agents and their employees to develop successful farms at Fort Parker and the Rosebud Agency were doomed to failure, even if the Crow had been willing to abandon the chase before the extermination of the bison.

After the removal of the agency to the Little Bighorn in 1884, and in the years following the ratification of the Agreement of March 3, 1891, which budgeted large sums for irrigation projects, many Crow acquired skills that were to make them successful farmers. Other Crow during the 1890s became ranchers and skilled construction hands. The allotment system permitted them to acquire land in severalty. By 1906 the Crow had become self-sufficient. No longer were they on the dole, and dependent on the government for rations. In one generation the tribe had leaped from the 18th into the 20th century. Such a transition was not easy, and on one occasion passions flared and fighting erupted. The dynamic story of this vital and important phase of Crow history will thrill the visitor, and should be interpreted both on-site and in the Visitor Center.

On-site interpretation should be undertaken at the Head Gate and along the Bighorn Ditch, at Chain Canyon, on the Pryor Mountain Wild Horse Range, on the Crow Cattle Range, and near St. Xavier. Themes and events to be interpreted at each of these sites are:

1. Head Gate and the Bighorn Ditch

At the Head Gate, which will be entered on the list of Classified Structures, will be interpreted the story of the introduction and development of irrigated farming on the Crow Reservation. The Bighorn Ditch, at the time of its construction, was a major undertaking, and was intimately associated with the Crow. Except for the project engineer and several of his assistants, the labor force was Indian. Many human interest stories, certain to appeal to the visitor, can be associated with the construction of the Bighorn Ditch. A Historic Structures Report will be required for the Head Gate and the Bighorn Ditch.

2. Chain Canyon

Here at one of the few entrances to Garvin Basin will be interpreted the story of rustling on the reservation. Most visitors will find the story of the Garvin-Lee hideout and rustling activities of great human interest.

3. Pryor Mountain Wild Horse Range

Horses were the key to the way of life of the Crow and other plains Indians from the mid-18th century until the virtual extermination of the buffalo. At the end of the 19th century, there were an estimated 40,000 wild horses on the Crow reservation. By the 1960s only a few survived as a physical reminder to the American people of a vanished way of life. On September 12, 1968, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, taking cognizance of a drive spearheaded by the Lovell, Wyoming, Chamber of Commerce which had aroused national interest, set aside 31,000 acres of land on the Montana-Wyoming border as a Wild Horse and Wildlife Refuge. Steps should be taken by the Service to interpret to the Visitor on the Wild Horse Range the story of the Crow Indian, his pony, and his environment.

4. Crow Cattle Range

At a point between St. Xavier and Fort C. F. Smith, the Service should interpret the story of the Crow as cattlemen. It was in the area bounded on the west by the Bighorn River, on the east by Rotten Grass, and on the south by the mountains, that the Crow had their cattle range.

5. St. Xavier as a Mission School and Sub-depot of Issue

At St. Xavier in 1887 the Jesuits established a mission school. The school is still in operation, and two of the original buildings are extant. Ten years later, a sub-depot of issue was established, and the two-story storehouse still stands. While these structures are not within the boundary of the National Recreation Area, the Service should, through use of roadside markers, call attention to the mission school's significance for over 75 years in the education of the Crow children.

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A. The Bighorn Basin and the Cattle Industry

1. The First Cattlemen

By 1879-1880 the cattle industry on the High Plains was about ready to boom. Ten years before the first herd of cattle entered the Bighorn Basin of Wyoming the grazing possibilities of western Wyoming had aroused the attention of a few citizens. "The advance of civilization is bringing the countries of the great West into notice, as the spread of population will soon bring them into use," wrote L. E. Hathaway in the Cheyenne Daily Leader in 1869:

Among the least known of all the beautiful and rich lands waiting for our people to enter and possess . . ., is the rich and charming valley of the Big Horn. Those that have been there speak of it as the garden spot of all the country west of Missouri river. The valley is well watered. For a grazing country for either cattle or sheep, the Big Horn Valley and Mountains cannot be excelled in the world. All the sheep flocks in the world could graze winter and summer on the slopes of these mountains. 1

But in the 1870s there were better ranges in Wyoming than the Bighorn Basin. Its evident advantages for cattle grazing were offset by adverse conditions that delayed its preemption for ten years after other sections of the territory had begun to receive herds. One of the most obvious reasons for the delay in taking cattle into the Basin was its distance from the Union Pacific Railroad. A drive of 200 miles or more, after crossing the southern rim, was a long one for a steer on its way to slaughter. The high mountains all but enclosing the Basin, though not insurmountable obstacles, were a barrier to its entrance with cattle. Thus its geographic position—hemmed in by mountains and removed from railroad connections with markets—was one of isolation. The Basin had to await the stocking of the ranges to the south and east before it could share in the cattle boom.²

Ranching came to the Basin between 1879 and 1884. One of the interesting aspects of this development was the speed with which remote regions were stocked, once the first herd had entered. In 1878 not a single herd of cattle could be found in the entire Big-

^{1.} L. E. Hathaway, Cheyenne Daily Leader, Dec. 28, 1869. The northern part of the Bighorn Basin is located in the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area.

^{2.} Lindsey, The Bighorn Basin, pp. 97-98.

horn Basin. The ranges lying along the upper waters in the western reaches of the Basin were the first to catch the eye of the cattlemen, and the first here came from Oregon.³

While Charles Carter, Capt. Henry Belknap, Otto Franc, Angus J. McDonald, George W. Baxter, Col. W. D. Pickett, Joseph M. Carey, and others were stocking the western part of the Basin, still other cattlemen were placing herds on the ranges in the eastern part. The process was simultaneous. There was a rush for choice grazing land. In 1880 Henry C. Lovell, a native of Michigan, placed two large herds on the west side of the Bighorn River, establishing a ranch a few miles above the mouth of Nowood Creek. came Lovell's Home Ranch. Two years later, he trailed in three more herds, aggregating 12,000 head, from Oregon. He was reported to have had 25,000 head of cattle on the range in 1883. The previous year he had established a second ranch on Shell Creek, at the mouth of Trapper Creek. In 1883 he selected a third ranch site at Five Springs, on the Bighorn, opposite the site of Kane. This soon became the center of his cattle operations, and was known by his brand as the ML spread. The ML was the largest cattle ranch in the eastern part of the Basin.4

2. The Acquisition of Land

While Lovell was native-born, the number of foreigners investing in cattle in the Bighorn Basin was conspicuous. The British headed the list. Five of the larger outfits represented British capital, and frequently the owners, after a short period, returned to the British Isles. Two Frenchmen ran cattle in the Basin, while Otto Franc was a German. ⁵

Alien ownership of cattle ranges did not pass unchallenged. It was reported to the 48th Congress that by the summer of 1884, 32 alien firms and individuals, most British, had acquired title to or otherwise held 20,941,666 acres of land in the High Plains. Representative William C. Oates of Alabama invited the attention of Congress to this situation and introduced "A bill to prohibit aliens and foreigners from acquiring title or owning lands within the United States of America." This legislation did not pass, but was an indication of the temper of the times. 6

^{3.} Ibid., p. 98.

^{4.} Bighorn County Rustler, Dec. 16, 1910; Northern Wyoming Herald, Sept. 21, 1921; Willard T. Lovell, "Henry Clay Lovell," unpublished MS, files Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area.

^{5.} Lindsey, The Big Horn Basin, p. 105.

^{6.} House Executive Documents, 48th Congress, 3d Session, Series 2304, p. 46.

Most of the cattlemen, both citizens and aliens, knew how to take advantage of the United States Land Laws. The Public Land Commissioner reported in 1880 that it was possible under the various settlement laws for an individual to acquire title to 1,120 acres of land, "though" the theory of the settlement laws is that a unit of 160 acres of land is sufficient for one person. The first report from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, after the passage of the Desert Land Act in 1877, pointed out that it was absurd to require the irrigation of all of a tract of 640 acres, and that a "strict interpretation of this law would defeat its operation."8 The practice, initiated by the Commissioner in 1877, of condemning the land laws and advocating amendments to them was continued year after year. He complained in 1882 that entire regions had been monopolized by persons who caused entries to be made fraudulently by their agents and employees. 9 The repeal of the Preemption and Timber-Culture laws was urged in 1884, as a means of reducing fraud. Nothing was accomplished, and when William A. J. Sparks assumed office in 1885 he found the public land situation in a deplorable state. 10 "In many sections of the country," he complained, "notably throughout the regions dominated by cattle-raising interests--the vast area lying west of the ninety-ninth meridian--examinations, wherever made, had developed . . . that entries were chiefly fictitious."11

Entries under the Desert Land Act were frequently made on lands that were not desert in character; title under the law had been secured to lands that could never be reclaimed. A cattleman, who wished to increase his range, but who had utilized all his land rights, could have his agents secure title to large tracts, and then secure their rights. Squads of cowboys would frequently appear at one of the land offices to make final proof on land which they openly avowed was for their employer. One man took a homestead, induced eight others to act as his agents,

^{7.} House Executive Documents, 46th Congress, 2d Session, Series 1923, p. 9.

^{8.} Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1877, p. 34; B. H. Hibbard, History of Public Land Policies (New York, 1924).

^{9.} Ibid., 1882, p. 12.

^{10.} Ibid., 1884, pp. 5-7. Under the land laws of the United States, an actual settler could secure title to 160 acres free by the Homestead Act, and, before their repeal in 1891, another 160 acres at \$1.25 an acre under the Preemption Law, and a third quarter section under the Tree Culture Act of 1878 by making the necessary tree plantings. Fletcher, "The End of the Open Range in Eastern Montana," The Montana Past, p. 148.

^{11.} Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office,

each securing title to a desert claim, secured two tracts with soldiers' script, and finally made a personal desert entry. When all transactions were completed he had 5,000 acres of land in his own name. It was reported that the greater portion of fraudulent entries in Wyoming had been made "under the desert land act in the interest of cattlemen or ditch companies." 12

Commissioner Sparks caused a storm of protest, when in April 1885, he suspended final action on all entries to investigate frauds. This action, though criticised by one of his successors as an attempted nullification of the land laws," resulted in reducing frauds in the Bighorn Basin and elsewhere. ¹³ The receiver at the Buffalo Land Office reported in 1888 that attempts to acquire land titles fraudulently were being curbed. The Cheyenne office listed similar results for the fiscal year. Commissioner Sparks' campaign to scrutinize entries resulted in 350,000 acres of Wyoming land, taken up under the Desert Land Act, being restored to the United States. ¹⁴

During the same years that the General Land Office was reporting to the Secretary of the Interior, "much fraud under the shield of pre-emption, homestead, and timber acts," 15 Governor William Hale of Wyoming Territory was writing the same official:

The greatest source of encouragement to men of moderate means desiring to engage in cattle-raising in Wyoming arises from that feature of the policy of the United States Government by which it encourages its citizens to acquire title to public lands. In Wyoming by fulfilling the requirements of the land laws, a male citizen may take up the following number of acres:

	acres
Under the homestead act	160
Under the pre-emption act	160
Under the timber-culture act	160
Under the desert act	640
Total	1,120

^{1885,} p. 49.

^{12.} Ibid., 1886, pp. 69, 87; Fletcher, "The End of the Open Range in Eastern Montana," The Montana Past, p. 148.

^{13.} Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1886, p. 49; Ibid., 1889, p. 4.

^{14.} Ibid., 1888, p. 79.

^{15.} Ibid., 1882, p. 12.

A difference of opinion as to the purpose and policy of the Federal Government, between the General Land Office and the territorial governor, is apparent. There was little question as to which side the Bighorn Basin stockgrower was on. 16

The large cattle outfits that pioneered ranching on the High Plains, however, did not desire to own great quantities of land. Their mode of operation was to acquire in fee limited acreage at key positions—the ranch headquarters, waterholes, fords, and passes; and then run their stock on the public domain or land leased from the Indians. It was seldom that sod was broken, and grain, vegetables, and even dairy products for use at the ranch had to be purchased and hauled considerable distances. The limited acreage put under fence and cultivated was used to raise hay for the horses.

3. Regulating the Industry

The problem of acquiring land was only one of many faced by cattlemen, and this the United States Government, by its laxed laws, helped to solve. But as the range industry expanded, methods of operations underwent a change, and other difficulties arose, the solution of which the cattlemen had to find. By the time the Bighorn Basin was stocked, Texas and Oregon had ceased to be regarded as the exclusive breeding grounds, and there were thousands of cows. Profits from the range industry now came from the natural increase and were more important than those that came from maturing and fattening Texas steers. 17

Expansion of the range cattle industry increased difficulties. Never before on the northern plains had property representing so much invested capital been turned out to graze at large. The boast that a steer could take care of himself was soon found to be an exaggeration. The practice of breeding on the open ranges opened new vistas for foot-loose cowboys to appropriate the increase and start herds of their own. Rustling in Wyoming had been known almost from the first, and it was next to impossible to secure arrests and convictions. It was this situation that brought about the organization in 1873 of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association.

The Association fixed the general policy of the open range industry in Wyoming. It formulated rules which were made into laws

^{16. &}quot;Rept. of the Governor of Wyoming Made to the Secretary of the Interior," 1883, p. 27.

^{17.} John Nimmo, Jr., "Range and Ranch Cattle Traffic of Western, South-western and Northwestern States and Territories," found in House Execu-

by the legislature, apprehended and prosecuted rustlers, policed round-ups, and scrutinized and regulated all phases of range life. For the benevolent protection of its members' property, valued in 1887 at \$100,000,000, it budgeted \$50,000 in a single year. 18

During the early history of the open range industry in Wyoming diligent efforts were made to solve the problem of cattle theft. In the fall of 1875 the governor recommended that the legislature pass a law requiring a bill of sale to accompany all stock sales. 19 In complying with this recommendation, the legislature began the formulation of a legal system, regulating the range cattle industry, that was to become extremely complex. It was made unlawful either to sell or buy stock without giving or receiving a bill of sale. 20 People engaged in slaughtering were required to keep a record of all animals killed and of individuals from whom they were purchased. 21 Every person having livestock was required to have a brand recorded by the county clerk, 22 and it was made unlawful to use it on neat cattle, between February 15 and the beginning of the spring round-ups.²³ Heavy penalties were attached to altering brands, 4 and large rewards offered for the apprehension of rustlers.²⁵ Butchers were required to display hides for inspection for a period of seven days;26 occasionally they had to keep hides in sight for 20 days. 27 Laws were passed providing for the disposition of mavericks, defined as "neat cattle, regardless of age, found wandering at large in this territory without a mother, and upon which there is no brand . . . regardless of any ear mark or wattle which may be upon them."28 The mavericks were to be sold by the round-up foreman, singly or in lots to the highest bidder, the transaction to be recorded, and the proceeds to be forwarded to the secretary of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. The foreman was to receive ten percent of the proceeds of the sales for conducting them, and to post a bond of \$3,000. He was to brand the maverick with the brand of the purchaser, at the same time placing the Association brand, M, on the left side of the neck. 29

tive Documents, 48th Congress, 2d Session, Series 2304, p. 26.

^{18.} Members and By-Laws of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, 1887 (small booklet).

^{19.} Governor's Message to the Fourth Territorial Legislature, p. 9.

^{20.} Revised Statutes of Wyoming, 1887, Sec. 4125.

^{21.} Ibid., Sec. 4126. 22. Ibid., Sec. 4094. 23 Ibid., Sec. 4096.

^{24.} Ibid., Sec. 907. 25. Ibid., Sec. 1081. 26. Ibid., Sec. 4127.

^{27.} Ibid., Sec. 4129. 28. Ibid., Sec. 4107. 29. Ibid., Sec. 4111-2

4. Round-Ups and Shipping

Round-up practices in the Bighorn Basin followed the guidelines laid down in the rules of the Association. While the principal herds of one brand were usually found in an accustomed locality, small bunches were always wandering off, to mix with herds of another brand on another range. As the number of livestock increased, this problem became acute. On one range might be found a dozen or more brands. If each owner rounded-up his cattle and branded his calves at a different time, it meant that the stock would have little chance to rest and graze. It also afforded early branders a chance to pick up mavericks. A general round-up, conducted in accordance with well-defined rules, was the policy in the Bighorn Basin.

May 10 was the date set by the Association for beginning the spring round-up. The first round-up conducted in the Basin under Association rules was in 1881. The larger outfits ran anywhere from two to six round-up wagons, each taking a different section of the range. To illustrate the operation, the Pitchfork (Otto Franc's spread) sent the wagon on his lower range across the Shoshone (Stinking Water) to brand cattle as far north and east as Pryor Gap before it completed its circuit. Ranges in that area were claimed by William A. Morris, a small cattleman with a range on Sage Creek. Strange as it seems there never developed any range controversy between Morris and Franc. In the course of such a circuit, a wagon of one of the larger spreads might travel as many as 500 miles in a season, branding cattle on several ranges. 30

To add to the effectiveness of the general round-ups, and to their greater significance, a system of brand representation was evolved. Each owner would designate one or more of his representatives to ride with the round-up outfits of every other spread, upon whose range his cattle might reasonably be expected to appear. The "Reps," as they were called, were to protect the interests of their employers whenever they were threatened. 31

Prior to the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad to Coulson, all cattle that found their way from the Bighorn Basin to eastern markets were trailed south to the Union Pacific. This worked a hardship on the stockmen, especially those whose ranges were in the northern and western parts of the Basin. With the completion of the Northern Pacific in 1883, a shipping point was located to the north. The first shipment from the Basin over the

^{30.} Lindsey, Big Horn Basin, pp. 119-120. 31. Ibid., pp. 120-121.

Northern Pacific was made by Henry C. Loyell that autumn. He rounded up 3,200 head of two- and three-year old steers and trailed them across the Crow Reservation to Custer Junction. There they were allowed to graze for a time and add flesh. The last of September a thousand of the fattest were cut out, loaded on the cars, and shipped east. The next month another thousand were shipped, and by November the rest were loaded into cattle-cars. Lovell is reported to have received \$45 a head on the cars for his steers. 32

Custer Junction, Huntley, and Billings after 1883 were the shipping points for all cattle moving out of the northern portion of the Basin. D. Leubrie of Chicago built stockyards in Billings soon after the completion of the railroad, and herds from the western Basin were loaded there. 33 It was not uncommon to place a herd from the Basin within an easy drive of the Northern Pacific at some time prior to the date of shipment. It was a long trail to the railroad from any range south of the Pryor and Bighorn Mountains, and the opportunity of letting a herd put on flesh before loading was taken advantage of whenever possible. Some owners secured range rights in Montana and grazed their steers on the range near the railroad for several months before a shipment was made. Otto Franc leased range on the Crow Reservation and placed his yearlings, spayed heifers, and old cows there, using this herd as the source of his shipping stock. 34

As soon as cattle shipments began to move out of the territory, the Association took the situation in hand, and they were inspected both at shipping points and at destinations. In 1888 a law was passed creating the Wyoming Livestock Commission, to undertake the work of inspection. It secured its operating funds principally from the sale of mavericks.

Detective work on the range, another phase of the Association's activity, was closely allied to that of inspection. Detectives were employed and placed in every corner of the range.

5. The Winter of 1886-1887

The complacency with which the Bighorn Basin ranchers operated their businesses on the open range received a terrible blow in the winter of 1886-1887. The early months of the winter of 1884-85 had brought low temperatures and blizzards, but as the New Year approached, rumors of losses on the northern ranges were

^{32.} Shell(Wyoming)Forest Ranger Station File, EM, Altas (X).

^{33.} Coulson was renamed Billings in 1883 to honor Frederick Billings.

^{34.} Billings Weekly Gazette, Nov. 29, 1888; Lindsey, Big Horn Basin,

denied.³⁵ The experiences of the following winter failed to dampen the optimism of the Basin operator, and the fall round-ups of 1886 were concluded without difficulty. A blizzard now roared in with such force that winter range riding had to be abandoned. Wagons that normally were on the range until Christmas never left the ranches. Temperatures remained below zero for days. Cattle accustomed to cut-banks and cottonwood breaks for protection found insufficient winter shelter and forage. Toward spring the weather appeared to moderate, but another blizzard swept the region.

The disastrous winter of 1886-1887 was a body blow to the range industry. Granville Stuart reported that in January, "the thermometer dropped to 22 degrees below zero, then 27 degrees, then 30 degrees, and on the night of January 15 it stood at 46 degrees below zero... It was as though the Arctic regions had pushed down and enveloped us." Some Montana ranchers reported their losses reached 90 and 95 percent, while the spring crop of calves in certain counties was said to be only one-third of what it had been in 1885. 37

The winter losses in the Bighorn Basin were unprecedented. Lovell estimated that one-half his herd died of exposure and starvation. Another outfit whose identity is not disclosed shrunk in valuation in two years from \$250,000 to \$75,000. 38 A band of Crow Indians, who were camped on Shell Creek, had few ponies left by spring when they returned to the reservation.

But one winter with reverses such as were experienced in 1886-1887 could not in itself dispose of the cattle barons. Indeed, the herds in the Basin, with but few exceptions, rehabilitated themselves. The early 1890s saw more cattle there than the 1880s. There was a tendency, too, to improve the quality of the herd. Lovell, for example, purchased a few choice Hereford bulls. He was willing to pay as much as \$450 apiece for them. He also bought some fine Hereford heifers at \$300 each. These were the first high-grade cattle to appear on the Basin range. 39

pp. 123-124.

^{35.} Cheyenne Daily Leader, Jan. 2, 1885.

^{36.} Stuart, Forty Years, 2, 234.

^{37.} The Mineral Argus (Lewiston), Jan. 28, 1886.

^{38.} Shell, Wyoming, Ranger Station Files, EM, Atlas (X).

^{39.} Ibid.

6. The Decline of the Open Range Cattle Industry

But even as the Basin operators were improving their stock and putting more acres into hay against the next "bad winter," other factors were at work, which in the end were destined to drive them out of business, or to completely change their mode of operations. These were the Granger farmers, the sheepmen, and declining prices. As early as 1868 a small agricultural community had settled on the tributaries of the upper Wind River. This agricultural community was in itself insignificant but it was an ominous sign. To the east of the Bighorn Mountains, along the old Bozeman Trail, was land the agricultural possibilities of which could not be long ignored. By the late 1870s settlements had been made in Johnson and Sheridan Counties, east of the Bighorns.

Lands along the smaller streams west of the Bighorns were just as attractive. A man with little capital could construct irrigation ditches adequate to their reclaiming. By 1883 a few settlers with "small herds" of cattle had taken up land along the upper Greybull and Wood rivers. This was just the vanguard. By 1893 it was apparent that a clash between the newcomers and the cattle barons was unavoidable. The cattlemen saw fences lining the creeks. He saw his accustomed range invaded by small bands of cattle, for the Granger farmers in the Basin were also cattle owners. 40

In the midst of a crowded range, and in the face of mounting pressure from the farmers, the cattlemen were confronted by an invasion of sheep. The Basin was a range in many ways better adapted to sheep than cattle. Wide areas were covered with the salt sage that sheep could forage on throughout the winter and remain in good flesh. Cattle avoided the salt sage unless faced with starvation. "Ours used to be a great cattle country," Otto Franc remarked in 1900, "but it is mostly sheep now, and they are driving the cattle out. I used to run 20,000 cattle on my range; now I keep 1,200."41

Charlie Worland was the first sheepman in the Bighorn Basin, but few of his band survived the rigors of the winter of 1886-1887. The next year T. N. Howell came in from California. He selected a site for his sheep ranch on the Shoshone, and in 1888 trailed in sheep from Oregon. In the early years, Howell took

^{40.} Lindsey, Big Horn Basin, pp. 134-137.

^{41.} Wyoming Industrial Journal (monthly), Nov. 1900.

his sheep into Montana to lamb and shear, to avoid freighting the wool. He was followed by other sheepmen. 42

The invasion of the sheepmen resulted in bad relations between them and the cattlemen. Little blood, however, was shed before 1900, and by that year the cattle barons had passed from the scene. The new cattleman was the Granger farmer, who had curtailed his agricultural ambitions to expand into the cattle business. 43

As if coping with an onslaught from Grangers and sheepmen were not problems enough, the cattle barons were now confronted by a pronounced slump in the market price of their product. Following the winter of 1886-1887 large numbers of cattle glutted the market, and the price of beef dropped to a ruinously low price. A partial recovery by the market in 1888 proved temporary, and in the 1890s the price paid for beef inched steadily downward.

In the 1890s, the Basin cattle herds increased in numbers but decreased in size. Owners depended more and more upon winter feeding, and less and less upon the open range. In the decade 1886 to 1896, the number of cattle in Wyoming decreased from 900,000 to 300,000 and the valuation shrunk from \$14,651, 125 to \$3,732, 558. 44 By 1897 there were more sheep in the Bighorn Basin than there were cattle. Two years later, as indicated by figures announced by the Union Pacific Railroad, there were only 21,810 cattle in the Basin, while the number of sheep had reached 387, 014. 45

7. Range Wars

While the cattleman was conscious of the ruinous market condition, he seemed to be unaware of the cause. The Grangers complained bitterly that the country was controlled by the cattle barons, and that the big herds magically absorbed his own small bands; that the round-up outfits put their employers' brands on his few calves, and finally that he was discouraged and intimidated when he took up land.

^{42.} Lindsey, Big Horn Basin, pp. 137-138.

^{43.} Ibid., p. 139.

^{44.} Message of Governor to the 4th Wyoming Legislature, Jan. 12, 1897.

^{45.} Union Pacific Railroad, Wyoming: A Complete and Comprehensive Description (1903), pp. 46-47.

^{46. &}quot;The Nimmo Report," House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 1st Session, Series 2541.

This ill-feeling led to the Johnson County War in 1892. In the fall of that year, while arrangements were being made to prosecute the cattlemen accused of the murder of the two alleged rustlers which had precipitated the range war east of the Bighorns, there was trouble in the Basin. During the influx of settlers into the Shell and Nowood country, two young men, Dab Burch and Jack Bedford, entered on a small place east of the Bighorn. When not engaged on their own ranches, they worked for the cattle companies. Many of the settlers followed this practice, and they soon acquired a small herd of cattle. Their names were soon associated with gangs of rustlers said to be operating in the eastern basin. By the fall of 1892 the cattlemen claimed that Burch and Bedford were the ring leaders.

There were mysterious meetings between Lovell and Franc and other cattlemen. When the fall round-up was under way, warrants were served on Burch and Bedford, and they were taken to Bonanza for a hearing. There it was decided to take the two accused rustlers to Buffalo for trial. They were strapped on their horses and placed in charge of John T. Wickham and Joe Rogers, the latter having, through a profession of friendship and a promise of safe conduct, secured Bedford's pistols when the arrests were made.

The two prisoners and their guards started across the Bighorns to Buffalo. A few hours later Wickham and Rogers returned with the startling word that they had been surprised and the prisoners taken from them. A search party rode out and found the bullettorn bodies of Burch and Bedford in the underbrush, a little distance off the trail. 47

At the time of these murders, Lovell and Franc were with their round-up outfits near Pryor Gap. John W. Deane, who was with Franc's outfit, subsequently told that there was extreme nervousness in camp, as though an attack were expected. Franc was said to have had 5,000 rounds of ammunition in the bed of the chuck wagon. Charges were preferred against Wickham and Rogers but no convictions were secured. 48

B. The ML Spread *

1. General Background

Located within the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area is the Five Springs site, where in 1883 Henry Clay Lovell established the ranch destined to become the headquarters of the ML spread,

__ * see National Register forms, p. 561.

^{47.} Lindsey, Bighorn Basin, pp. 154-155.

^{48.} Ibid., pp. 155-156.

probably the largest cattle ranch in the eastern Bighorn Basin. Lovell was born near Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1838, and when about 14 years old he left home and worked his way to the southwest. His son, Willard, recalled:

The first of his activities of which I know, was his engagement as the "Conductor" of a Government Mail Train, which actually operated wagons from Fort Dodge, Kansas, to the City of Mexico. It was a self-sustaining outfit, and was subject to attack by Indians and outlaws, and my father carried three bullet wounds and one knife wound which he told me he had acquired during this work.

He entered the cattle business in north Texas, the Indian Territory, and Kansas. There he met Anthony L. Mason of Kansas City, Missouri. Mason had the money and Lovell the know-how, so they formed a partnership to trail cattle into Wyoming and Montana. In 1880 Lovell entered the Basin with two large herds of cattle from southern Kansas, and located on the west side of the Bighorn River, about three miles above the mouth of Nowood Creek. Two years later, Lovell trailed in from Oregon 12,000 head. He and his partner now were running almost 25,000 cattle. They now established a second ranch on Shell Creek, at the mouth of Trapper Creek. Lovell and Mason, in 1883, took up land at Five Springs, and the next year removed the home ranch above Nowood Creek to this site. This brought them nearer to Billings, the point from where supplies had to be freighted. The Trapper Creek ranch was retained for wintering saddle stock. 49

The ML Ranch, during the heyday of the open range, ran 25,000 cattle, which ranged from Thermopolis northward onto the Crow Reservation. Mason died in 1892, and the "Big Outfit" was broken up. The cattle and horses were sold, with most of the proceeds going to the Mason heirs. Lovell retained the deeded land and a small number of horses. To restock the range, in 1894 or 1895 he trailed in from eastern Washington several thousand head of cattle. With him he brought Riley Kane and Mike Rohan. The town of Kane was named for the former. Mary Brosius, who came to the Basin after the dissolution of the partnership, recalled one of the ML round-ups, although

the salt sage then grew a foot high \cdot . . the cattle stayed fat in the 30 miles area of the ML. The 10 or 12 cowboys with twice as many horses, the Negro cook and the camp tender with his team and wagon started out at the break of

^{49.} Willard T. Lovell, "Henry Clay Lovell," unpublished MS, files of Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area; Big Horn County Rustler, Dec. 16, 1910; Bill Scott, Pioneers of the Big Horn (Denver, 1966), p. 14.

dawn. The Negro cook had a stove in his covered wagon. The camp tender made the camp and built the fire. He would have to see that there were red coals. An open fire wasn't used, but Dutch ovens were imbedded in the coals. After the boys had made camp and had dinner, they had to get out and surround the cattle. A number of the boys, especially the night herders who worked in two shifts, had to sleep with their boots on. They all slept in the open. The round-up would last probably 3 weeks. Branding wasn't done in the fall. The cattle would be wintered in the timber along the Big Horn. 50

Lovell, before his death at Portland, Oregon, on March 3, 1902, was instrumental in getting a postoffice established in the area. When a town was laid out, it was named Lovell to honor the pioneer cattlemen. 51

2. Comments and Recommendations

The story of open range cattle ranching on the High Plains is one that will intrigue the visitor. As the ML Ranch was typical of the great spreads of the 1870s and 1880s, the Service possesses an outstanding historical resource. These spreads had a small tract of deeded land, on which there was good water for a head-quarters, while the cattle were permitted to graze the open range. From the ranch headquarters, cowboys rode out on round-ups, lasting for many weeks.

At the headquarters of the ML Ranch, there are four structures, in addition to the corrals, dating to the 1880s and 1890s. One of these structures has deteriorated to the point where it is beyond salvage, but if prompt action is taken, the other structures (the large bunkhouse, and two log cabins) can be saved to be interpreted to the visitor, as examples of a part of our heritage that is no more. In July 1969, it was estimated that about \$55,000 would be required to stabilize these structures, which will be entered on the National Register.

Before the stabilization of these ranch buildings is undertaken, Historic Structures Reports will be programmed.

^{50.} Interview with Mary Brosius, March 1961, files of Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area.

^{51.} Lovell, "Henry Clay Lovell," unpublished Ms, files Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area. After Lovell's death, the ML Ranch was purchased by the Yagen Brothers of Billings.

C. Ranching on the Crow Reservation

1. The Frank Heinrich Spread

On the Crow Reservation, during the first half of the 20th Century, a great livestock empire was created. At its height, it controlled more than 500,000 acres. This empire was started by George Tschirgi. Born in Dubuque, Iowa, in 1861, to parents of Swiss extraction, George, at the age of 21, bought a ticket on the Northern Pacific "to the end of the line," which was Miles City. His first job in the Territory was with a railroad construction crew, near to today's Forsyth. There he met T. R. Dana, who operated a ranch on Dana Coulee, just east of Fort Custer. Dana had driven a herd of cattle to the railhead.

Dana liked Tschirgi, whom he hired. Tschirgi worked for Dana for about five months in 1882. He then quit to go trapping with Al Gay on the headwaters of the Little Bighorn. While in that area, he found a tract on Pass Creek, near where Parkman, Wyoming, now stands, and homesteaded. In 1885 Tschirgi returned to Iowa and married Maria Theresa Heinrich of Dubuque. When he returned to his homestead, he brought with him his 16-year-old brother-in-law, Frank Heinrich. 52

Tschirgi now became a rancher and secured leases from the Crow to run cattle on the reservation. He called his spread the Antler Ranch. About 1890 Tschirgi sold the Antler spread to Frank Heinrich. Tschirgi then moved to Dayton, Wyoming, where he operated a store in conjunction with his ranching and farming interests. 53

Frank Heinrich by 1912 had become one of the three biggest cattlemen in Big Horn Country. In that year he ran 25,000 head on land he had leased from the Crow. His headquarters were on Rotten Grass Creek. In 1927 the Ray-Bell Film Company sent a crew to photograph Heinrich's round-up. Heinrich died the next year. 54

^{52.} Matt Tschirgi, "Tschirgi Gives Historical Highlights of Early Day Stock Business," *Billings Gazette*, Aug. 29, 1937; "George Tschirgi, Pioneer Rancher Dies at Wyola," *Billings Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1936.

^{53.} Tschirgi, "Tschirgi Gives Historical Highlights," *Billings Gazette*, Aug. 29, 1937. George Tschirgi died in January 1936 at the home of his son, Matt Tschirgi.

^{54. &}quot;Beef Round-Up Will be Filmed," Billings Gazette, June 17, 1927; Tschirgi, "Tschirgi Gives Historical Highlights," Billings Gazette, Aug. 29, 1937.

2. The Rise and Fall of the Tschirgi Empire

In 1929 the "bulk of the land and Crow lease holdings," of the Heinrich estate, including 13,000 head of cattle, were sold to E. L. Dana of Parkman for \$1,150,000. This transaction made Dana, the son of T. R. Dana, the biggest stockman in the northwest. 55

Matt Tschirgi soon replaced Dana as the biggest stockman in Big Horn County. At 14, young Tschirgi had gone to work riding the range for his uncle, Frank Heinrich. Within the year Tschirgi was buying cattle for himself. When he left his uncle to start his own spread, he sold him 4,000 head.

In the meantime, Tschirgi had married Bertha Weidman in 1915. He located his home ranch on the Little Bighorn ten miles southwest of Wyola. By the 1930s the Tschirgi headquarters resembled a small village, with homes for Matt and Bertha and their two married children, Frank and Margaret Tschirgi and Robert and Clara Thomas. There were houses for permanent employees, a bunkhouse, messhall, barns, corrals, and workshops. Tschirgi also got into the sheep business, and in 1937 he reported that he owned 1,000 acres of deeded land and leased 350,000 acres from the Crow. On the leased range, he ran 2,000 cattle and 25,000 sheep. 56

The outbreak of World War II in 1939 and the involvement of the United States enabled Tschirgi to expand. Another big operator had been leasing several hundred thousand acres of reservation land, but he had earned the disfavor of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Tschirgi learned that he might be able to lease this tract. Arrangements for loans were made, and when the Bureau told Tschirgi the leases were his if he wanted them, he did not hesitate. The war years were profitable for stockmen, and by the mid-1950s Tschirgi controlled "in excess of 500,000 acres." Most of this acreage was between the Bighorn and Little Bighorn and on Dryhead. How much livestock did Tschirgi own? That question may never be answered, because as one of his associates put it, "The banks usually owned Matt's stock, until it was marketed." But as Matt owned the Little Horn State Bank of Wyola, this presented no problem. 57

^{55. &}quot;Dana Leads Northwest Cattlemen," Billings Gazette, Oct. 12, 1929. Property involved in the transaction included the Dryhead and Shively ranches of 2,250 acres; \$25,000 in wagons, harness, and round-up equipment; 13,000 head of cattle at \$80 per head; and the Heinrich leases. Not included was the home ranch, 27 miles from Hardin, near St. Xavier.

^{56.} Tschirgi, "Tschirgi Gives Historical Highlights," Billings Gazette, Aug. 29, 1937.

^{57.} Helen M. Peterson, "Empire-Montana Style," Billings Gazette, Oct. 20, 1965, Clipping File, Billings Public Library.

In September 1958 Matt Tschirgi sold part of his holdings to John R. Scott & Sons, for \$1,772,155.25. Three years later, on August 18, 1961, Tschirgi died. Records at Crow Agency show that in 1960, despite the sale to Scott & Sons, Tschirgi still controlled 250,000 acres on the reservation.

Tragedy seemed to haunt the Tschirgis, however. In October 1962, Frank's wife, Margaret, killed herself. Within five months after Matt's death, one of his granddaughters Twylla Thomas, died with a cerebral hemmorage. Matt's widow died on November 18, 1962, and less than three weeks later her Japanese gardener, Harry Mikami, died under suspicious circumstances. In March 1965 Frank Tschirgi, was found shot to death in the home formerly occupied by his parents. Within hours, his sister, Clara Thomas, was taken to a hospital in Sheridan, Wyoming, with what doctors diagnosed as an overdose of sleeping pills. She soon recovered sufficiently to make a statement to Big Horn County Sheriff Roy Riley, in which she said she shot her brother in self-defense. The powerful rifle with which Frank had been killed, had been found clutched in the deceased's hands.

As a result of this information, on June 25 Mrs. Thomas, her husband, and 25-year-old son were arrested and charged with first first-degree murder. After a lengthy trial all three Thomases were acquitted by the jury. 58

D. <u>Dude Ranching in the Area</u>

1. Dr. G. William Barry Comes to the Bighorn Country

In the last decade of the 19th century, Dr. G. William Barry, a New York physician, chanced upon the Trail Creek Valley and liked what he saw. He lost no time in entering a homestead and erecting a cabin. Material for the cabin was readily at hand, because several years before a prospector had passed this way. He had been startled by a rattlesnake, which escaped into the underbrush. The prospector set fire to the brush, in an effort to get rid of the rattler, but the blaze got out of hand and killed all the timber on one side of the canyon. Dr. Barry found these dead trees ideal for building his cabin and several others.

Dr. Barry's Virginia-born wife and her son by a previous marriage, Claude St. John, now joined him. The good doctor was a born promoter. He had observed, as others had for well over half a century, that good colors could be found along the banks of the

Bighorn. In 1907 Dr. Barry headed for the Atlantic Seaboard to raise capital to dredge for gold on his beloved river. He was a good salesman and succeeded in prevailing on two officials of United States Steel to invest \$50,000 in his scheme. The money was used to purchase a steam dredge and mechanical rocker. To reach Barry's the heavy equipment was shipped by rail to Pryor, then hauled the rest of the way in wagons. Although placer gold was recovered, it was in quantities too small to pay for the up-keep and operation of the equipment. 59

2. The Cedarvale Dude Ranch*

Dr. Barry was an eternal optimist. Undaunted by his failure to find gold in paying quantities, he turned his homestead into a dude ranch, while breeding English Hackneys. To advertise the wonders of his ranch, which he named Cedarvale, Barry circulated brochures, while his lodge was promoted in a vacation guide published by the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad.

Cedarvale was described by the railroad booklet as "a new resort noted for its cleanliness and bounteous meals." It offered guests motorboat trips in Bighorn Canyon, horseback riding, fishing, and camping at a monthly rate of \$100 per person, with half fare for children.

The Barry brochure explained that guests had their choice of housing. They could be put up in either the postoffice; in portable houses, equipped with electricity; or in tents, at varying rates. The fee included use of the Hackneys. The pleasures of camping trips into the Pryor Mountains were extolled. It was noted that both fishing and hunting were exceptional. He emphasized that all guests could expect "fine treatment," with "special care and attention" for unescorted ladies. Parents were invited to send their children to Cedarvale, where there were "no bad influences or acquaintances," and he would see that they were instructed as to the "rules of daily life, study, etc." The moral climate of the ranch was described as "high" and it would be maintained. 60

__ * see National Register forms, p. 575.

^{59.} Helen M. Peterson, "Barry's Landing-Ghosts Must Go," Hardin Tribune-Herald, Dec. 29, 1966; The Red Lodge Picket, May 17, 1907. Remains of the dredge and rocker could be seen at Barry's Landing until engulfed, in the spring of 1966, by the rising water of the Bighorn Reservoir.

^{60.} Peterson, "Barry's Landing--Ghosts Must Go," Hardin Tribune-Herald, Dec. 29, 1966; "Copy of Tourist Booklet," CB&Q Railroad, undated files of the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area.

3. Boating Trips

The boats used at the ranch were built at Barry's Landing. Lumber was hauled in by wagon, while the metal fixtures were fabricated in Cedarvale's blacksmith shop. To publicize his ranch and the boat rides, Dr. Barry organized a three-man party to include besides himself, Claude St. John and Delbert Smith. On May 28, 1913, the trio embarked in the 18-foot powerboat Edith, and started down the canyon from Horseshoe Bend. 61

Within a few minutes, they had passed the mouth of Devils Canyon. Here, Dr. Barry recorded, "the towering walls are eighteen hundred feet high, and so perpendicular, it seemed as if they would fall in on us." In many places the talus slopes were covered with bunchgrass; and there were hundreds of cedar, " in large groves and growing singly, some of them . . . eighty feet high." Soon after passing Dryhead, the adventurers took Edith through Bull Elk Rapids, the most dangerous white water on the river, and she "reeled in her path like a drunken sailor." They now approached Allen's Rock, named for Dr. Will Allen, who had led a boat expedition through the canyon at the turn of the century. Here Allen's party had seen their boat shattered, and had been compelled to finish their journey afoot. Dr. Barry passed the rock to the right. Near the mouth of Black Canyon, they encountered the Homburg Whirlpool, named for two German boys who had lost their lives in attempting to pass it. 62 Before attempting the passage, they tied-up at the mouth of Bull Elk and reconnoitered the Homburg Whirlpool. In navigating the dangerous reach. Dr. Barry held a course close to the right bank. of the run was a lark, and Edith "suddenly . . . shot forth into the sunlight of a warm, spring day," as she emerged from the gloomy canyon. Nightfall found the adventurers on the Yellowstone, and six weeks later they reached their goal--New Orleans. 63

^{61.} G. William Barry, "Through the Big Horn Canyon by Motor Boat," The Red Lodge Picket, March 10, 1916. Edith was a "compromise stern launch" with ample beam, built at Cedarvale, and powered with a two cylinder Caille motor of eight horsepower.

^{62.} Ibid. The Homburg Whirlpool was two miles below Allen's Rock, and in addition to the Homburgs had claimed a third victim. W. A. Allen, Adventures with Indians and Games (Chicago, 1903), pp. 51-54; Charles L. Harris, The Crow Reservation Homeseekers' Advisor . . . (Helena, 1905), p. 37.

^{63.} Barry, "Through Big Horn Canyon," The Red Lodge Picket, March 10, 1916. Delbert Smith left the party at Mile City and returned to his home.

The successful passage of the canyon by a motorboat sparked interest in Cedarvale, and in 1916 Dr. Barry wrote that many tourists have now made the boat trip through Bighorn Canyon without accident. Waxing enthusiastic, he wrote:

The opinion of all who have made these canyon trips is that it is as fine a trip as one can take anywhere; that ascending the river is sublime and coming down positively thrilling. 64

4. The Hillsboro Postoffice

In April 1917 the United States declared war on Germany and business at the dude ranch slumped. It revived in the 1920s, and Cedarvale flourished until Dr. Barry's death of a brain tumor in Billings in the early 1930s. With Barry's death, Claude St. John became manager of the ranch. 65

By 1915 there were enough families in the area to merit the establishment of a postoffice. On January 21, 1915, Dr. Barry was appointed postmaster of Hillsboro, Montana. Lack of revenue compelled the discontinuance of the office in February 1916. Local pressure caused the Postmaster-General to rescind this order on April 18, 1916. Dr. Barry continued as postmaster until he was replaced by his stepson, Claude St. John, on June 15, 1920. St. John was the Hillsboro postmaster until March 31, 1945, when the office was closed, because of lack of receipts. 66

5. Hillsboro Becomes a Ghost Town

Dr. Barry, before his death, had been an avid collector of first editions, paintings, and antique furniture. To house these items, the ranch house was enlarged. These were destroyed when the sprawling dwelling burned in 1946. A new frame house was

^{64.} Ibid. As late as 1951 there were three of Dr. Barry's motorboats at his landing. Billings Gazette, Sept. 9, 1951. As late as 1931, two men from Greyball, William Greene and George Cusack, unaware of Dr. Barry's activities, boasted that they were the first men to "shoot" Bighorn Canyon in a motorboat. Billings Gazette, Aug. 23, 1931.

^{65.} Peterson, "Barry's Landing--Ghosts Must Go," Hardin Tribune-Herald, Dec. 29, 1966. Barry in the 1920s had ceased raising Hackneys and had switched to cattle. To irrigate his hay meadows and gardens, he had built irrigation ditches.

^{66.} Prior to the opening of the post office at Hillsboro, Dr. Barry and his neighbors had picked up their mail at Raymond, Wyoming.

erected, and here Mrs. Barry and the St. Johns lived. Several years before her death in February 1951, Mrs. Barry's health failed and she moved to Billings. Claude St. John now developed heart trouble, and he and his wife likewise left Hillsboro for Billings, where he died in 1959. When the St. Johns departed, Eddie Hurlbut remained on the ranch as a caretaker. After Hurlbut's death, the St. Johns sold the property to Harold Ruth and L. R. Aldrich of Billings. After they took possession, the frame house and the big log barn burned. Vandals visited and ransacked the other buildings.

6. Comments and Recommendations *

Hillsboro is located within one-half mile of Barry's Landing, where the Service has constructed boat-launching facilities. A campground is planned for the area. To provide visitors with a diversified experience, the Service must take steps to protect, stabilize, and restore the buildings at Hillsboro, dating from the beginning of and through the dude ranch period. Here will be interpreted the story of Dr. Barry, the first man to exploit the recreation potential of Bighorn Canyon.

There are at Hillsboro six buildings, the postoffice, black-smith shop, root cellar, log chicken house, log cabin, and canned goods shelter, besides the corrals and irrigation ditches, which were part of the Cedarvale Dude Ranch. In July 1969, it was estimated that about \$90,000 would be required to stabilize and restore these structures and convert two of them into quarters. These structures will be entered on the National Register. Before any stabilization or restoration is undertaken at Hillsboro, Historic Structures Reports will be required.

E. The Campbell Farming Corporation

Tom Campbell, for years the world wheat king, was intimately associated with the area. From the road leading to Oke-A-Beh, the vast wheatfields of the Campbell Farming Corporation can be seen stretching for miles across the bench toward the northwest. The founder of this giant corporation was born in a Dakota "soddie" and educated at the State University of North Dakota and Cornell. From the latter, he received an advanced degree in engineering. In 1906 at Grand Forks, he married Bess Bull, whose father had introduced cream of wheat to the market.

^{*} see National Register forms, p. 575.

^{67.} Hurlbut, an orphan, had come west as a boy to live with the Barrys.

⁶⁸ Peterson, "Barry's Landing-Ghosts Must Go," Hardin Tribune-Herald, Dec. 29, 1966.

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With the entry of the United States into World War I, Campbell contacted officials in Washington and presented a plan for largescale cultivation on hitherto untilled land. Many, including Campbell, were convinced that "Food Would Win the War," and one of the most sorely needed commodities was wheat. He believed by the use of power equipment vast quantities could be grown on semi-arid land. Food Administrator Herbert Hoover was interested, and North Africa was discussed as a possible site, but was rejected because of German U-boat activities in the Mediterranean. Campbell was told to select suitable land in the United States for his experiment, and he called on Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane. The Secretary accordingly entered into a contract with Campbell, which authorized him to select large tracts of agricultural land on four western Indian reservations -- the Shoshone, Crow, Blackfoot, and Fort Peck. He was to pay the Indians ten percent of the cash value of the crop. The contract would have to be approved by the tribal councils of each tribe involved.

Campbell, the contract as a talking point, caught the next train to New York City, There he secured the financial backing of the House of Morgan. A corporation with a capital of \$2,000,000 was organized. 69

Arrangements perfected and heavy equipment ordered, Campbell in the spring of 1918 headed for Montana. An agreement having been reached with the Crow Council, land was selected on the bench west of the Bighorn and south of Beauvais Creek. An untrained crew of operators, many of them under the draft age, were recruited and put to work driving 20 huge steam-powered tractors and gang plows. Because of the "undeveloped condition of the country, the inexperience of the operators, and delays in delivery of supplies" progress was slow.

Nevertheless, 7,000 acres were broken in time to seed to winter wheat, and the equipment moved down into the irrigated districts of the Bighorn Valley to plow for spring wheat. Before many acres were plowed, snow fell on October 10. Usually, several weeks of warm weather follow the first snow in this section of Montana, but this did not happen in 1918. There was a drought in the spring of 1919, and the 7,000 acres of winter wheat yielded less than eight bushels per acre.

^{69. &}quot;Campbell Farming Corporation," Billings Gazette, Aug. 29, 1937; Joseph K. Howard, "Tom Campbell: King of Wheat Growers, "Readers Digest, June 1949, pp. 112-115. The board of directors for the corporation included: Campbell, Frederick W. Stevens, J. P. Morgan, Charles H. Sabin, Charles D. Norton, James A. Stillman, M. M. Upson, Francis H. Sissons, and J. S. Torrance.

Campbell continued to push his crew. By autumn he had 200,000 acres under lease, with the goal of having half that acreage under cultivation in 1920. Lack of rainfall again hurt the corporation, and 1920 was a poor year.

The 1921 wheat crop yielded a profit for the year's operation, and the House of Morgan, satisfied that it had fulfilled its obligation to the government, offered Campbell the opportunity of acquiring the corporation's assets. For \$150,000, Campbell got the leases and \$400,000 worth of machinery. 70

Rainfall was above normal in 1922, and fields which in 1919 and 1920 had yielded less than eight bushels of wheat per acre, produced 25. One 1000-acre field on the bench yielded 30,000 bushels, while several irrigated sections averaged 40 bushels. The corporation's total crop in 1922 was half a million bushels.

The next six years were profitable ones, and the corporation made money. Then came the depression. Several months before the crash, Campbell traveled to the Soviet Union, at the invitation of Joseph Stalin's government. There he gave advice to the managers of collective farms. On his return to the United States, Campbell expected to be appointed Secretary of Agriculture by President Herbert Hoover. He was doomed to disappointment, and switched to the Democratic Party.71

In 1932 there was a bumper crop, but this was in the days before there were acreage and price controls, and the price zoomed downward. On certain days, during the harvest, the price of wheat per bushel in Hardin was eight cents, including a six-cent hauling charge. Faced with bankruptcy, the corporation turned over most of the crop to the government to pay for its leases. 72

Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected in 1932, and with the coming of the New Deal and passage of the AAA and other landmark farm legislation, the corporation, which in 1934 was nearly a million dollars in debt, was able to recover. The tide turned in 1935, and in the following year Campbell was farming 95,000 acres, divided into seven farms, one of which was irrigated. 73

^{70. &}quot;Campbell Farming Corporation," Billings Gazette, Aug. 29, 1937. When he reorganized the corporation, Campbell distributed a fair proportion of stock among his keymen.

^{71.} Ibid. 72. Ibid.

^{73.} Ibid,; Howard, "Tom Campbell: King of Wheat Growers," Readers' Digest, June, 1949, pp. 112-115.

World War II was a profitable period for the Campbell Farming Corporation. Acreage under lease from the Crow was expanded, and Campbell became a brigadier general in the United States Army. In 1947, with heavy demands for wheat by war-ravaged countries, the corporation harvested its first million-and-one-half-dollar crop. To accomplish this, Campbell employed more and bigger machines. From up on the Bighorn Mountains, the visitor could look across 28 square miles of bench, covered with sheets of ripening wheat. The harvest took two weeks, although 40,000 bushels could be cut, threshed, and delivered to the elevators daily.

In 1948 Campbell began spraying from the air his reservation lands to combat grasshoppers and to eradicate weeds. One field about to be abandoned was sprayed at a cost of \$3,000 and yielded \$40,000 worth of wheat. Of the 65,000 acres under lease on the bench, 20,000 are seeded each year, 20,000 allowed to lay fallow, and 25,000 not cultivated. Sixty-five thousand acres and 78-foot plows were a gigantic stride from the 80 acres, team of oxen, and cradle with which Campbell's father farmed. The Campbell Corporation, however, traces its inception to the small Dakota homestead, because the thought of the drudgery caused Campbell, at an early age, to determine to make machines work for him. The Campbell age, to determine to make machines work for him.

As was to be expected, Campbell, prior to his death in March, 1966, was a controversial figure. The "wheat king of the world" has been the subject of hundreds of articles. He has been damned and praised. A woman once addressed a letter to him, "Dear 95,000-Acre Hog!" The Crow, with whom he was closely associated from 1918 until his death, referred to him as Ahwagoda-Agoush," which in English means "Known all over the World." ⁷⁵

1. Comments and Recommendations

The story of Tom Campbell should be interpreted to the visitor. The best place to accomplish this would be at a pull-out on the road to Oke-A-Beh, from where the corporation's vast wheatfields on the Bighorn Bench are visible. A trail-side marker, with text, map, and illustrations, will suffice.

^{74.} Howard, "Tom Campbell, King of Wheat Growers," Readers Digest, June 1949, pp. 112-115.

^{75.} Ibid.

F. Frank Sykes*

1. The Character of the Man

Frank Sykes was a local character, who settled on Crooked Creek in the 1890s, just south of the "ceded strip." Here he built a log cabin on high ground, so as to command all approaches. He didn't want anyone sneaking up on him.

Sykes was a squawman. There are two stories of how his wife, known as Annie Forshay, died. One, the more probable, is that she died in childbirth, along with the baby. She and the child are buried in a wind-swept burial plot, a short distance from the cabin. Since they were not interred on Sykes' land, it has led to stories that she had been too friendly with Peter Yegen and several other Billings whitemen. Another tale is that the wife was killed defending her husband against an Indian. 77

Sykes' appearance was such as to arouse interest. He was short and powerfully built. He wore buckskins, a black slouch hat, and had a handlebar moustache. Seldom, if ever, was Sykes seen without a single-action Colt 44 girded to his hip. About two inches of the barrel protruded from the lower end of the holster.

Sykes tanned his own clothing. One day when a man rode up to his mail box, he saw a sign, "No Visitors Today. This is Tanning Day." When the man rode on, he found out why; it seems that when Sykes tanned, he wore no clothes. 78

Sykes ate only one course at a meal. One day Jim Kelsey of Crooked Creek stopped by as Sykes was cooking a batch of potatoes for dinner. He used a big iron skillet and cooked in bear's grease. Kelsey didn't like bear's grease even when it was fresh, and this was rancid. When they sat down, Kelsey decided that all he wanted was coffee, but Sykes shoved a plate in front of him and said, "Here, have some potatoes." Kelsey took a few, and when he had finished the helping, Sykes said, "Here, have some potatoes." * see National Register form p. 589.

^{76.} The ceded strip was that section of Montana, just north of the Wyoming line, now part of Carbon County, purchased from the Crow by the Agreement of March 3, 1891. Some of the "old timers" say that Sykes came from Canada, while others claim he was born in Michigan. All agree that he had lived among the Indians for much of his life.

^{77.} Unsigned and undated MS, files of Bighorn Canyon National Recreational Area; Scott, *Pioneers of the Big Horn*, pp. 73-74.

^{78.} Ibid.

toes." Kelsey took a few, and when he had finished the helping, Sykes said, "Here have some more spuds!"

"No!" Kelsey replied. Whereupon, Sykes pushed the skillet to-ward him with one hand and drew his Colt with the other and growled, "Go ahead and finish up these spuds because you are going to eat potatoes just like that horse of yours is eating my hay!" So while Kelsey ate potatoes until he was sick, Sykes continued to hold his gun on him. Sykes then returned his revolver to its holster, and Kelsey staggered out to his horse, mounted, and headed for home. This experience destroyed Kelsey's taste for potatoes. 79

Stories such as this concerning Sykes are numerous. In August 1921 a young friend stopped by to chat with Sykes. When no one answered his knock, he entered the cabin and found Sykes slumped on his bunk--dead. His gun belt was hanging on the bed post. Sykes friends and neighbors came and buried him near his cabin.

2. Comments and Recommendations

Frank Sykes is part of the folklore of the area, and as such, his story merits attention. Sykes' cabin is on deeded land, so unless the Services can enter into a cooperative agreement with the owners, it will be impossible to interpret the Sykes' story at the cabin. The isolated graves of his wife and child, however, are on public land, and here is the site that will have to be used to tell of a way of life as interesting as that found in the Great Smokies. Steps will also have to be taken to protect the graves from vandals.

Interpretive personnel assigned to Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area should be encouraged to continue their efforts to collect stories of long-time residents concerning Sykes and other interesting personalities.

G. <u>John Blue: Hermit</u>*

1. The Character and the Man

John Blue, like Frank Sykes, was a local character. Persons who knew him recall his sparkling blue eyes, his long beard, and many idiosyncrasies. When Blue came to the Bighorn Country, soon after World War I, he told that he had deserted from the German Army and had reached the United States by way of Cuba and Mexico. Before locating on John Blue Canyon, he had worked as a blacksmith *see National Register form p. 603.

^{79.} Scott, Pioneers of the Big Horn, pp. 74-75.

for Woodson Moss. He continued to putter, and made a door stop for The Busy Corner. It worked beautifully, R. S. Halliwell recalled, "but unfortunately it stuck out in the middle of the floor and was hazardous."

He earned a living by trapping coyotes for their pelts and tanning their hides. As he kept to himself, he raised a small garden and shot an occasional deer for meat. When his cabin burned, he built a stone dugout. Blue now became suspicious that some of his neighbors, especially the Bischoffs, planned to kill him. When he found some strychnine, which he kept for poisoning coyotes, scattered by mice and rats in his oatmeal and flour, he developed a paranoia. Before moving to Lovell, he tried to build a periscope for his dugout to enable him to see if people were sneaking up on him. Needless to say, it didn't work. 80

After Blue moved to Lovell, he was supported by county welfare. Still exercised by his belief that people were out to get him, Blue had Bob Halliwell write letters for him to members of Congress and even the President.

Finally, Blue determined to go to the nation's capital and complain to the chief executive. The first his friends in Lovell knew of his plan was when Chris Lynn received a telephone call from Worland, telling him to come and get Blue. Lynn found Blue outside of Worland a few miles. He was riding a horse, and leading a packhorse and colt. Lynn took Blue to the courthouse, where he pitched his tent on the courthouse lawn. This was too much for the county officials, and they asked Lynn to take him back to Lovell. Lynn recalled, "I'll never forget bringing him back . . ., the pack on the little grey horse and him putting out his hand to signal when we came to a corner."

Soon afterwards, John Blue was committed to the Wyoming State Insane Asylum at Evanston, where he committed suicide. 81

2. Comments and Recommendations

The John Blue dugout in John Blue Canyon is adjacent to the Park boundary. Its location is well known locally, and the Service should take steps, in cooperation with residents of the area, to protect and interpret the site. The John Blue story is part of the region's folklore.

^{80.} Statements by P. S. Halliwell, March 2, 1961, and Chris Lynn, Jan. 4, 1960, files of the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area. Blue also accused his neighbors of poisoning his horses.

^{81.} Ibid.

H. The Caroline Lockhart Ranch*

1. Reporter, Editor, and Author

Caroline Lockhart, reporter, author, and editor, was born in Illinois in 1871, and moved with her family to Kansas early in her life. She was sent by her father, a cattleman, to Bethany College in Topeka and to the Moravian Seminary in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

In Boston she started her career as a writer, working as a reporter for the Boston Post. Her first task, she recalled, was to interview a convicted murderer. She met Robert J. Ingersoll, the famed agnostic, at the Parker House. "And was he surprised to see me," she remembered, "just a brat come to interview him!" As Boston's first woman reporter, she matched the pace set by her contemporary, Nellie Bly of the New York World. While employed by the Post and searching for material for articles, she donned diver's gear and spent 30 minutes at the bottom of Boston harbor. She was one of the first to jump into a safety net. In fact, there was no task her editor, Andrew McKenzie, asked her to undertake that she declined to do. 82

One of her favorite stories concerned her assignment to write an article on the "Home for Intemperate Women." It was rumored that the inmates were being abused, that food was defficient, and that unsanitary conditions prevailed. Investigations by the authorities had resulted in a whitewash. Calling herself Carrie Henderson, Miss Lockhart, posing as a derelict, gained admission to the home.

"I've got the habit," she confessed to the woman in charge. "Can't you help me? I can't keep jobs no more."

She saw that Carrie was big and husky, so she was admitted. As the home made money by doing laundry for Boston hotels, she was assigned to a mangle and ironed napkins. Every morning "they'd line us up and dish out a spoonful of liquor cure from the bottle."

The home was a fright, she recalled, and so were the women. "Carrie Henderson was the laughing stock because she had a tooth-brush." She wanted to get out as soon as she had her story, but they would not release her. "She wasn't cured yet." Finally, her editor called, asking for Carrie Henderson's release.

^{*}see National Register forms, p. 617.

^{82.} Nell B. Kelley, "Caroline Lockhart Deserted Career in East for Western Atmosphere," *Billings Gazette*, Feb. 7, 1960; Kathryn Wright, "Caroline Lockhart, Dryhead Rancher and Author, Has Had Life as Color-

"Release!" the woman in charge shouted, "We can't! She's not cured yet." In desperation the editor revealed her identity.

"Why, I don't believe it," she stammered into the phone, "she's the toughest girl we've got here."

But Carrie did get out, and so did the truth. The Home for Intemperate Women was cleaned up. 83

Before coming to Wyoming, she also worked as a reporter for the *Philadelphia Bulletin* and *Denver Post*. Assigned to do a story on the Blackfoot, she stopped in Cody to visit her first editor, McKenzie, who had moved west for his health. She fell in love with the area and turned in her resignation. She soon bought the *Cody Enterprise*. In the early 1900s, Cody was known for its colorful characters. She renewed her acquaintance with William F. Cody, whom she had interviewed while working for the *Post*. She became president of the Cody Stampede, which she helped organize.

Here she found grist for the books she had always wanted to write. Her first novel was Me, Smith, to be followed in 1912 by The Lady Doc. The latter, she recalled, "made me infamous," because some of her friends recognized themselves in the characters. Other novels authored by Miss Lockhart were: Full of the Moon, Man from the Bitter Roots, The Dude Wrangler, The Old West and the New, and Fighting Shepherdess. The latter was made into a movie starring Anita Stewart. 84

2. Battling the Government

In 1936, after a court fight, Miss Lockhart received title to a 640-acre homestead, a part of her L-Slash-Heart Ranch on Davis Creek. She and her housekeeper, Lou T. Ketcham, on July 7, 1931, had submitted final proof to the General Land Office on their stock raising entries. A field investigation resulted in adverse proceedings being ordered against the entries by the Commissioner. The case was taken to the courts and finally decided in the ladies' favor in March 1936. At the hearings in Billings, the government pointed out that Miss Lockhart's house was on another tract to which she had gained title by purchase, and that Mrs. Ketcham was employed at the ranch.

ful as any of Her Books," undated article, clipping file, Billings Public Library.

^{83.} Wright, "Caroline Lockhart, Dryhead Rancher," Undated article, clipping file, Billings Public Library.

^{84.} Kelley, "Caroline Lockhart Deserted Career," Billings Gazette,

Mrs. Ketcham countered that she went to her cabin on the homestead, a mile from the ranch home, and spent the nights from "March or April until late in October or November."

The government had contended that there were "good improvements" on Miss Lockhart's deeded land, and that she had had a log chicken house moved onto her homestead. The chicken house was partially furnished with "a small wooden platform, a table, a stove, a built-in bunk, and two chairs." After having breakfast at her ranch, she would go to the homestead, one-half mile away, and write until afternoon. She would then return to her ranch for supper, after which she would ride over to the cabin and sleep.

The case was decided against the government, and an order was issued for the Commissioner of the General Land Office to issue certificates of title to the two ladies.⁸⁵

By the time of her death in July 1962, Miss Lockhart had acquired 7,000 acres. She divided her time between her Cody interests and her ranch on Davis Creek. In accordance with her request, her remains were cremated and the ashes scattered, some of them around her ranch. 86

3. Comments and Recommendations

Caroline Lockhart's story is one that possesses considerable human interest. Although the ranch house and outbuildings are within the Park boundary, they are on deeded land. Unless the owners of the property are agreeable to entering into a cooperative agreement with the Service, Caroline Lockhart will have to be interpreted from a roadside pull-out, near the ranch.

I. Exploring the Area, 1879-1893

1. Colonel Brackett Visits Black Canyon

Although soldiers from Fort C. F. Smith were familiar with Black Canyon, Col. A. G. Brackett in 1879 saw that it was added to the next edition of Capt. Edward Maguire's "Map of Montana Territory."

Feb. 7, 1960; Wright, "Caroline Lockhart Dryhead Rancher," undated article clipping file, Billings Public Library.

^{85. &}quot;Writer and Her Housekeeper Win in Homestead Disputes," Billings Gazette, March 29, 1936.

^{86.} Wright, "Caroline Lockhart, Forever with Mountains," Billings Gazette, Aug. 24, 1962.

Brackett, accompanied by several officers and a small escort from the 2d U.S. Cavalry, rode out of Fort Custer on May 17, 1879. His mission was to see the ruins of Fort C. F. Smith and "the great canon of the Big Horn Mountains." 87

The party rode 17 miles on the 17th and camped on the bank of the Bighorn. On the following day, they saw the site of the fort, passing en route, at the mouth of Rotten Grass, a large Crow village. The Indians had left the Rosebud Agency and were headed for the buffalo country east of the Little Bighorn. 88

On the morning of May 19, Colonel Brackett and his men ascended the Bighorns by way of the old wood road. And after traveling about five miles, they came out on what the colonel described as one of the

finest canons on this continent. The sight is one of the greatest sublimity and I have never been more impressed by any object of natural scenery on earth. The walls rise from 1000 to 1500 feet high, clothed in some places with shining green pines and spruces, and in others presenting bare walls of red sandstone. A stream some ten feet wide meanders through it, and the roar of the rapid waters can be heard far below. 89

Although they did not descend into the canyon by the trail pioneered by soldiers from C. F. Smith, they rode for miles along its north rim. Brackett saw that it entered Bighorn Canyon at a right angle. Its length was estimated to be about 30 miles, and it seemed "to split the northeast side of the range in two parts." On the far side of the canyon, they saw "several bands of elk, a few buffalo . . . some mountain sheep & white tailed deer." 90

Colonel Brackett was so impressed with the canyon that he was reluctant to leave, but was obliged to so so, as his many duties called him elsewhere. The night was spent near the ruins of Fort C. F. Smith, and the next day the patrol rode back to Fort Custer. 91

^{87.} Brackett to Chief Engineer, May 30, 1879, NA, RG 77. The two officers who accompanied Brackett were Capt. John Mix and Lt. William C. Rawolle.

^{88.} Ibid.

^{89.} Ibid. The Wood road had been opened by troops from Fort C. F. Smith in the late summer and autumn of 1866.

^{90.} Ibid. The cavalrymen fired several rounds into the canyon and the echoes resembled sharp claps of thunder.

^{91.} Ibid. Brackett forecast that within a few years the canyon would gain fame as "among the finest views in the Rocky Mountain region."

On returning to his headquarters and examining his maps, Colonel Brackett saw that none located the magnificent canyon. He therefore prepared a sketch map, indicating its position, which he forwarded to headquarters Department of the Dakota. He trusted the canyon would be placed on the next edition of the Montana Map issued by Captain Maguire of the Engineers. The name proposed by Brackett for the feature was "Absaraca Canon, after the Absaraca or Crow Indians." ⁹² Captain Maguire did as Brackett requested. Absaraca Cañon appeared on the next edition of the subject map. Subsequently, the feature's name was changed to Black Canyon.

2. Lieutenant Clark Explores the Bighorns

On his return from Black Canyon, Colonel Brackett had recommended that an expedition be fitted out by the army to explore the Bighorns. 93 Such action was taken the next year, when 1st Lt. W. P. Clark on June 21, 1880, rode out of Fort Keogh at the head of an exploring party. 94 The Fort Custer wagon road was followed as far as the Rosebud. Leaving the wagon road, the party turned up the Rosebud, and traveling by way of the Rosebud, Tongue River, Hanging Woman, and Clear creeks, Clark's command reached Fort McKinney on July 1.95

Lieutenant Clark, his command having been refitted, left that post on the 7th and headed into the Bighorns. The escarpment was ascended, near where Crazy Woman Creek breaks through the mountain wall, by an old Indian Trail that had been improved to permit the passage of wagons. Passing to the south of Cloud Peak, the party descended into the Bighorn Basin and camped on Paint Rock Creek. Clark reported that he found the southwestern slopes better for grazing and better watered than those on the opposite side of the mountains. The country between the mountains and the Bighorn River, however, was

rough and broken, a species of bad lands colored with red hematite. There is a great deal of sage brush and some of the higher hills have a stunted growth of pine and cedar. In making the descent we found game in abundance, buffalo, elk, black-tailed deer, antelope, cinnamon and grizzly bear; all fit, showing that even though snow does fall on this slope to great depth, the early spring grazing is fine. In

^{92.} Ibid.

^{94.} Clark to Adjt., Dept. of the Dakota, Oct. 7, 1880, NA, RG 98. In addition to Clark, there were two officers, 20 enlisted men of the 2d Cavalry, 11 Cheyenne scouts, and a number of packers.

^{95.} Ibid.

this stream . . . we found the first trout since leaving ${\rm Keogh.}^{\,96}$

On Nowood Creek on July 21 they were joined by 11 Arapaho. The Arapaho were to show them where gold could be found. 97 It was soon apparent to Clark that the Indians' "presumed knowledge" of the whereabouts of another golconda was based on "idle worthless" camp rumors. They claimed that a woman in enlarging a spring had found several nuggets, which they had disposed of at the trader's store at Fort Fetterman. When pressed on the point, the Arapaho stated they believed the spring was near the headwaters of the Middle Fork of Powder River. They guided the party to the area. Several of the packers, who had been prospectors, reconnoitered the vicinity but found no colors. On the 23d, the Arapaho having departed the previous day, Clark started on the return march to Fort McKinney, where he arrived on August 1.98

As soon as his men had been resupplied and the mules had been re-shod, Clark again took the field. Traveling by way of Big Piney, Prairie Dog, and Goose creeks, the party reached Tongue River, which in 1880 was the limit of settlements established by adventurous whites. The Bighorns were penetrated by an Indian Trail to the north of Tongue River Canyon. On gaining the comparatively level region on top of the Bighorns, the patrol turned into the trail followed by Lt. Gen. Philip Sheridan in 1877. En route to the base camp they established in the lake region near Cloud Peak, they followed the divide separating the headwaters of the North Fork of Tongue River and Shell Creek. Here, although it was August 11, they saw huge snow banks near the trail, and a "profusion of wild flowers, the most beautiful being a delicate

^{96.} Ibid.

^{97.} Clark had been told by Indians, in strict confidence, that they knew where gold could be found in large quantities. When the expedition left Fort Keogh, it was equipped with the necessary gear for "prosecuting a search for gold and silver."

^{98.} Ibid. Near the head of Nowood Creek, the explorers encountered several thousand head of cattle. The cowboy in charge told Clark that the owners planned to winter the stock on the southwestern slope of the Bighorns.

^{99.} Ibid. North Fork of Tongue River was crossed near the point where Lt. Frederick W. Sibley and his detachment had had a narrow escape from the Sioux in 1876. One of Sibley's men was with Clark, and he showed them the grove of pines where the horses were abandoned and killed by the hostiles. The bones of the horses were there.

fragile little forget-me-not. . .." In the same area, a number of deserted mine shafts were observed. $^{\rm 100}$

On August 15 Clark's party left the lake region, retraced its way as far as the headwaters of North Fork of Tongue River, and then turning into an old Indian Trail, descended the Dry Fork of the Little Bighorn seven miles. The explorers, finding that travel was becoming increasingly difficult, crossed Dry Fork Ridge and debouched from the Bighorns by way of West Pass Creek Canyon. Clark believed this a "much easier trail for ascent and descent than the trail near Tongue River, though it would not do for wagons without a great deal of labor." As they emerged from the canyon, they came upon six Crow lodges. The Indians "flocked out to see us, half clad dirty and hungry." Clark now led his men northwestward along a Crow trail, skirting the mountains. 101

After fording Lodge Grass Creek on the 23d, Clark led his men back into the Bighorns. The trail followed paralleled the northwest rim of Lodge Grass Canyon. Camp for the night was made near Sheep Mountain. Here, Clark wrote:

We had our best view of the country to the west and north, the valleys of the Big Horn and Stinking Water. The sky was of perfect serenity, the light transparent atmosphere allowed us to see the forms of mountains far away, a blue silken veil seemed thrown over the range which bounds the [Yellowstone] national park on the east, the gilded snow crest having a faint film of bluish purple paling to a hue of steel, at the higher peaks. The Big Horn Cañon commences just below the mouth of Stinking Water, and all streams from the east reach it through gorges and cañon. 102

^{100.} Ibid. None of the shafts were deeper than 30 feet. There was a lonely cabin "doorless and windowless, with a huge dirty bank of snow a few yards in its rear." Lieutenant Clark likened the shafts to "ready made graves, and the roughly hewn posts which marked the claims like head boards." The discoverers had exercised their imagination and "shadowed forth their hopes in giving names to their claims. The 'Silver Chief' was down in a thickly timbered glen . . . given over to game."

^{101.} Ibid. On the march from West Pass Creek to Lodge Grass Creek, the explorers continued to pass Crow camps. The women and children, at this season, were busy gathering berries, especially chokecherries which were abundant.

^{102.} Ibid. It was reported that the ascent of the mountains at this point was easy, and a wagon road could be built with little difficulty from the valley of Lodge Grass over the summit.

On the 24th the trail was reconnoitered to within a short distance of Medicine Mountain, and the next day Clark started for Fort Custer. He and his men hated to leave the Bighorns, with their "invigorating atmosphere, the resinous odor of pines, the pure cold crystal water . . ., fine hunting, and excellent fishing." The sun shone brightly as the men rode out. As it had rained during the night, "every blade of grass glistened as though studded with diamonds."

The route was retraced as far as the foot of the mountains, where they turned to the northwest and struck the Bozeman Trail at its crossing of Soap Creek. Camp was made for the night near "the bare and broken adobe walls . . . of old Fort C. F. Smith . . . a monument of a weak policy in dealing with the Sioux."

The soldiers visited the cemetery, "a few square yards, enclosed by a low stone wall--a slender, modest limestone monument, and a few rude headboards mark the graves of Lieut. Sternburg, a guide, several soldiers, and citizens all killed by Indians." 103

Leaving Fort C. F. Smith on August 28, the explorers, traveling by way of Custer battlefield, reached Fort Custer on September 3, 1880. They then returned to Fort Keogh, where on October 7, Lieutenant Clark drafted his report of a little known expedition, which had added much to the geographical knowledge of the Bighorns.

3. Gillette's Walks Through Bighorn Canyon

The first man to pass through Bighorn Canyon, when the river was frozen over, and to record what he saw was E. Gillette. On March 7, 1891, Gillette and N. S. Sharpe, a Black Hills prospector, entered Bighorn Canyon at Horseshoe Bend. They pulled a sled loaded with camp equipage and rations to last for five days. Although the river was frozen solid, they encountered open water at almost every bend.

Within a short distance of the point where they descended, the canyon had risen to a "height of 500 feet, with vertical walls. At the foot of these cliffs the talus "extended from 25 to 100 feet," being at intervals washed away, leaving the cliff perpendicular to the water's edge." The talus stood at an angle of 45 degrees, and supported a growth of cedars. The only other trees seen were a few cottonwoods at the mouths of some of the side gorges and some "scraggy pine . . . near the mouth of the canyon." 104

^{103.} Ibid.

^{104.} E. Gillette, "The First Trip Through Big Horn Canyon," Magazine of the American Society of Civil Engineers, 24, July 1891.

Near the state line, Gillette encountered a Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad crew engaged in running a preliminary survey in the canyon "to determine its practicality for a railroad route." When they climbed up to where the crew was working, Gillette found the transit set up on "the edge of a cliff with one leg of the tripod nearly parallel to the plumb line, while the transit man was barely able to maintain his position on the narrow shelving rocks." The chainmen worked their way around "almost vertical cliffs, hanging on with fingers and toes." An observation taken at this point showed that the vertical wall of the canyon was 600 feet, while a slope of 45 degrees rose beyond for another 200 feet.

At Devils Canyon, two and one-half miles farther down the canyon, the walls were 1,000 feet high. Here Gillette observed, as he did throughout his trip, that immediately below the mouth of the larger drainages there were rapids. Tracks of otters, wolves, and mountain sheep were seen in the snow.

Five miles below Devils Canyon was the Sentinal, a pillar of limestone, 100 feet in height by 20 feet in diameter, standing on a point of rocks, 300 feet above the ice-covered river. 105 Camp for the night was made at the Sentinal.

Four miles below the Sentinal, the east wall of the canyon bore away, and it opened to one-half mile. Here they found a trail crossing the river from Chain Canyon on the west into Garvin Basin to the east. Several good-sized streams, Bobcat, Twentymile, and Gyp creeks, discharged into the Bighorn above and below the crossing, at the mouths of which gold colors were found.

A short distance below Chain Canyon, the walls again closed in, and gradually increased in height as the river approached Big Bull Elk Ridge. At 1:30, on the 9th, they sighted an unusual formation. Here where Deadman Creek pierced the west wall, it left "a knifeedge" standing. This "knife-edge was broken off vertically at the end, while a little distance back a square niche has been taken out of the edge 200 feet deep and long, leaving a pinnacle on the point towering 700 feet above the river." This pinnacle Gillette named the Tower. Four miles below the Tower, they spent the night. Travel, so far, had been slow, because of two factors: (a) the depth of the snow on the ice; and (b) the numerous portages to pass the rapids, which were free of ice. 106

^{105.} Ibid. Gillette, in naming the Sentinal, imagined a sentry posted to guard "this beautiful canon from disfigurement by some advertising agent."

^{106.} Ibid.

Three miles below camp, Gillette and Sharpe on March 10 passed the mouth of Templeton Creek. A short halt was made while Sharpe panned for gold, which he found in paying quantities. Midway between where Sharpe had found the colors and Dryhead, Gillette noted a feature reminding him of the bow of an approaching steamer, and named it Steamboat Point. The depth of the canyon increased. Nightfall found them camped on a shelf of rock. As they gazed upward toward the rim of the canyon, they saw that a wind was whipping the snow about, while where they were it was dead calm. 107

They had loaded their sled and were headed down the canyon by 7 a.m., on the 11th. The mouth of Big Bull Elk was passed, and here they found a level tract of about 80 acres-the first smooth ground they had seen since leaving Horseshoe Bend. The canyon now began to widen, and rising in terraces, it reached a height of over 1,000 feet. Two miles below Little Finger Ridge, they passed Black Canyon and came to the steepest rapids on the Bighorn, (the Homburg Whirlpool), where the water was "confined to a narrow bed less than 40 feet wide, the usual width being from 200 to 300 feet." From here to the mouth of the canyon, the river was narrow with rapids at every bend. Warm springs had melted the ice, and the travelers were compelled to abandon their sled and make the remainder of the trip along the bank.

One more night was spent in the canyon, and on March 12, 1891, Gillette and Sharpe were overjoyed to come out into "the broad and fertile" valley of the Bighorn. They camped on the west side of the river, opposite the ruins of Fort C. F. Smith. As they had no desire to return via the Canyon, they took the historic trail across Bad Pass. They had no fears of missing the trail in the snow, because the Indians had marked the route with rock cairns. The trip back took three days. 108

4. The Burlington Survey Party of 1893

In 1893 the Burlington sent a second party to make additional surveys in Bighorn Canyon. This group, which was led by G. W. Pease, had been working on Shell Creek. Traveling by way of Lovell's Ferry, Pease and his people in January reached Crooked Creek. They then moved down into the canyon, establishing a camp on a sandbar on the west side of the ice-covered Bighorn. 109 In the

^{107.} Ibid. It was six river miles from the mouth of the Templeton Creek to the mouth of Dryhead.

^{108.} Ibid.

^{109.} George H. Tinker, "Big Horn Canyon," unpublished MS, files Bighorn

canyon, the surveyors would be dependent on packtrains and sleds for transportation. To get the mules and burros down into the canyon, a trail had to be opened. The wagons were left outside and would be used to bring down supplies from Billings. 110

In running the line, the surveyors ran two "continuous traverses," one on each side of the river. Topography was taken by hand level and tape from the water's edge to above the transit line. Strong winds, which occasionally swept through the canyon, caused difficulty by tearing maps. Temperatures varied greatly. The difference between mid-day and night readings was as much as 50 degrees. Whenever the wind blew with the thermometer as low as as 20 degrees below zero, the men stayed in camp. For recreation the men went ice skating, while Pease was accustomed to going ten to 12 miles down river on skates to reconnoiter. 111

Sleds were employed on February 5 to move the surveyors down the Bighorn to Camp No. 2, on the east side of the river at the crossing. Here opposite Chain Canyon, the canyon widened and there was a sagebrush flat of several acres. 112 Above the west rim of the canyon, a bench, several miles across, extended to the Pryor Mountains. Located on this bench was the trail across Bad Pass.

Camp No. 3 was on Deadman Creek. The move was made by pack train over the Bad Pass (Sioux) Trail. Although they had pared their excess baggage, two trips had to be made. The roundtrip to Billings, their source of supplies, took eight to ten days, but even so the commissary was generally well supplied. Because of lack of sunlight in the canyon, a great number of candles were used in map work. The draftsmen kept a row of coach candles burning on the far side of their tables.

At the mouth of Deadman Creek, there was an abandoned cabin and the remains of a rope ladder up the cliff, giving ready access to the bench. On this bench there lived several ranchers. "We made the acquaintance of two or three of these near-hermits," one

Canyon National Recreation Area. The first base camp on the Bighorn was about three and one-half miles below Devils Canyon.

^{110.} Ibid. Several horses, including the bell mare, fell from the trail, and one of the mules broke through the ice and drowned. After this, the man with the mules left for home with his train, leaving Pease with his own train, mostly burros.

^{111.} Ibid.

^{112.} Ibid. One of the sleds broke through the ice into about six inches

of the men recalled, and found that "they lived on game and a few yegetables they could grow." One raised a little corn which he ground in a coffee mill. 113

On March 10, 1893, camp was moved to the mouth of Dryhead. The trail was again used, but a route had to be opened down into the canyon. Several mules fell off the path and rolled into the creek. George Tinker's bedroll was on one of the mules that took a ducking. Fortunately, his tarpaulin kept his blankets from getting wet. It was after dark before they reached Camp No. 4, and no tents were pitched, the men sleeping in the open. 114 As the ice was beginning to break up, Pease traveled to Billings and returned with two boats. Cradles had been made to fit the boats and fastened to wagon running-gears. The boats were eased up to the edge of the cliff at a point where there was a high talus slope with a cedar growing out of it. A rope was anchored at the top of the cliff and to the tree. "The boats were slid down the rope, supported in slings having forked branches for trolleys, and by a similar arrangement, relayed to the bottom, a total drop of 600 feet." 115

The move from Camp No. 4 to Camp No. 5 took place on March 28. While Pease and one of the men ran the rapids in one of the boats with the stove and stationery chest, the pack train crossed on the ice above. Camp No. 5 was on the east bank of the Bighorn, a short distance above the mouth of Black Canyon. Here the canyon had widened, with "castelated rocks 2000 feet high on both sides." With the ice breaking up rapidly, the men used the boats to cross the river. Several of them went fishing in Black Canyon and caught a number of trout. The hunters killed several bighorns. 116

Their final move in the canyon was made by pack train. The trail followed was high above the river on "a steep brushy slope below the east wall of the canon." As this trail gave evidence of having been cleared years before, the surveyors speculated that it might have been opened by troops from Fort C. F. Smith. In a number of places the trail had washed, so that the footing

of water near the shore. At the north end of the flat, at the crossing, there was a white cedar, which measured 21 feet in circumference at the butt.

^{113.} Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. Here the river was open, and there were rapids below the mouth of Dryhead.

^{115.} Ibid.

^{116.} Ibid. When the ice broke up, the river rose about two feet.

was none too secure. Camp No. 6 was on a small bench, about one mile above the mouth of the canyon. The stock was pastured on the plateau above the canyon wall.

On the first Sunday in camp four of the surveyors took one of the boats downstream and visited the ruins of Fort C. F. Smith. As soon as his men had finished running their lines in Bighorn Canyon, they prepared to move to St. Xavier. The gear on May 10 was run down to the mouth of the canyon in the boats and there loaded into wagons onto the pack train. Four men then brought down the boats empty. The party remained at the mission a week, running a preline and becoming acquainted with the Catholic missionaries and their children. After completing the survey down the Bighorn to Fort Custer, where it connected with the line previously located in the valley of the Little Bighorn, Pease disbanded his crew. 117

The Burlington never followed up on Gillette's and Pease's surveys and no railroad was built through Bighorn Canyon. Instead, the Burlington in 1901 built a line from Toluca by way of Pryor Gap to Cody.

5. Comments and Recommendations

The story of the exploration and surveys of Bighorn Canyon in the late 19th century should be interpreted to the public, both on-site and in the Visitor Center. An on-site marker describing Brackett's trip to Black Canyon could be located at the Pretty Eagle overlook, while on-site markers descriptive of the Burlington surveys could be positioned at Horseshoe Bend, Devils Canyon, Barry's Landing, and Chain Canyon. Interpretive Maps prepared by the Service should identify physical features named by Gillette.

J. The Rise and Fall of Kane*

1. The Town

Kane grew up on a sagebrush-covered flat, about two miles south of the mouth of the Shoshone River. It was located on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, and named for Riley Kane, a colorful ML cowboy. When Bill Scott got off the train in March 1912, the town of Kane consisted of "four log houses, a frame section house, and a small gypsum block building that was the Kane Store. There was no depot, but there was a car body setting beside the track where freight could be stored out of the weather."

^{*} see National Register forms, p. 519.

^{117.} Ibid.

^{118.} Scott, Pioneers of the Big Horn, p. 11.

From 1910 until 1965 Kane was the trading center for ranchers and homesteaders of the Dryhead and Crooked Creek Country. Kane, during its most prosperous years, boasted a bank, hotel, two general stores, a poolhall, dancehall, postoffice, school, and depot. For many years, the only public crossing of the Bighorn between Greybull and the Canyon was the Kane Ferry. In the 1930s the Dayton-Kane Road was built across the Bighorns. A highway bridge was erected and the Kane Ferry went out of business. To take advantage of the tourist trade several service stations and a motel were opened, but Kane failed to boom. 119

In 1965, with the completion of the Yellowtail Dam, the town's end was at hand. Surveys had shown that Kane, during periods when the storage capacity of the Bighorn Reservoir was at its maximum, would be partially inundated. The Bureau of Reclamation accordingly bought the land, and those owners who wished, moved their buildings to new locations. Unlike many towns destroyed by construction of dams, no effort was made to re-establish Kane at a new site.

2. Comments and Recommendations

The Kane Cemetery* has survived the town. As it is located within the Park boundary, the Service should erect a trailside marker, near the entrance to the cemetery, to give the visitor a brief history of Kane and to identify the site.

K. Reclamation, Recreation, and the Yellowtail Dam

Soon after the ratification of the Agreement of April 27, 1904, and the cession to the United States of 1,800,000 acres between the old Fort Custer Reservation and the Yellowstone, there was a push by the whites to bring thousands of acres in the lower Bighorn Valley under irrigation. This led to the construction of the Two Leggin Irrigation Canal by a corporation making use of both local and eastern capital. Ground was broken in July 1908, and on May 8, 1909, the ditch was dedicated. It was a big day for the town of Hardin, which was less than two years old. Among the great crowd in attendance was Governor Edwin L. Norris, who turned the valve and let the first water into the canal at the Two Leggin headgate, eight miles south of Hardin.

The canal led northward down the Bighorn Valley for 30 miles, and would water over 20,000 non-reservation acres. Initial construction costs were \$150,000. At the same time, the ditch would bring water to 5,600 acres of Indian land. Laterals to irrigate the Indian acreage were built with government funds. 120

^{*} see National Register forms, p. 519.

^{119.} Ibid., pp. 6, 101-104.

^{120.} Hanna, "Indian Bureau Considers Crow Project Among Major Irriga-

Superintendent Graves, the engineer in charge of reclamation on the Crow Reservation in the 1890s, was the father of the idea to construct a dam at the mouth of Bighorn Canyon. The construction of such a dam, he pointed out to his superiors, would enable the Bureau of Indian Affairs to bring under irrigation land on both sides of the Bighorn. Although the merit of his proposal was recognized, funds were lacking to underwrite it.

In 1904 the Reclamation Service took up the idea with the goal of promoting such a dam to irrigate not only the bench lands, but to carry water across the Toluca Divide to irrigate the Huntley Project. After preliminary surveys were completed, it was determined to take water to irrigate the Huntley Project from the Yellowstone River, and that portion of the project on the Bighorn side of the Toluca Divide was abandoned for lack of funds. 121

In the 1930s the proposal to build a dam in Bighorn Canyon was revived, and buttons reading "Dam the Bighorn!" appeared in Hardin and other cities and towns of the Midland Empire. The dam would be multipurpose, and efforts to promote its construction were spearheaded by Hardin attorney William Bunston, and the Big Horn Canyon Power & Irrigation Company.

The Federal government finally became seriously interested in the project, and under provisions of the Federal Flood Control Act of 1944, a dam was authorized for construction by the Secretary of the Interior for power production, irrigation, flood control, and conservation. At this time the project became known as the Yellowtail Dam, to honor Robert Yellowtail, a distinguished Crow and long-time superintendent of the Crow Reservation.

Two and one-half million dollars were expended by the United States in preparation of preliminary plans and designs for the Yellowtail Dam. It was not until 1961, however, that ground was broken for the dam. Seven years later, on October 31, 1968, the massive 525-foot high dam was dedicated by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, before a large crowd. Among the distinguished guests in attendance were United States Senators Mike Mansfield and Lee Metcalf.

tion Works," Billings Gazette, Aug. 29, 1937. Since their construction, the Two Leggin headgates have been reinforced with concrete.

^{121.} Billings Gazette & Evening Journal, "Anniversary Edition," clipping file, Billings Public Library.

As a multi-purpose dam, the huge powerhouse had a capacity of 250,000 kilowatts, and within one year it had become "a vital link in regional and nationwide power interconnections and exchanges." In Fiscal Year 1968 the powerhouse produced 1,247 million_kilowatthours of energy. 122

When the project was authorized, the Bureau of Reclamation had not foreseen that there would be much use for water for industrial purposes. Computation had shown that the Bighorn River could produce 775,000 acre-feet of water annually for industrial uses, with no adverse effect on the other multiple uses planned for the Yellowtail and Boysen Dams. By the autumn of 1968 several "major energy companies" were making substantial investments in coal leases and taking options on water from the impoundment reservoirs. At Boysen Reservoir, applications had been accepted for 40,000 acre-feet in excess of the 135,000 acre-feet available. At Yellowtail, option contracts had been completed for 168,000 acre-feet per year. 123

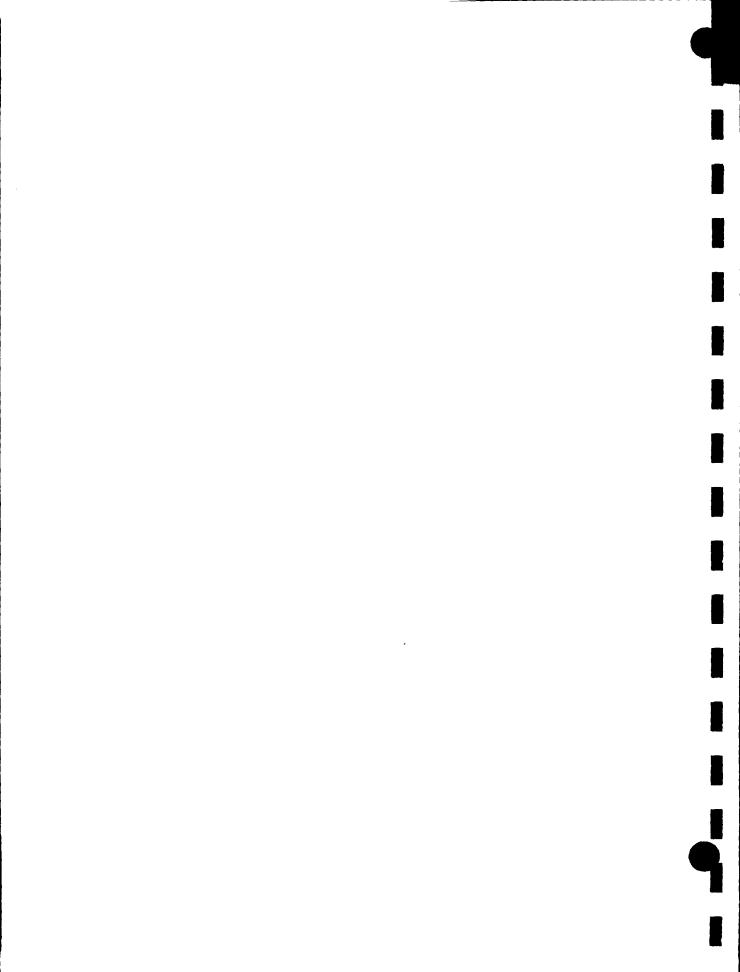
Whenever a decision is made to proceed with the establishment of additional irrigation districts, water from the Bighorn Reservoir will bring life-giving water to a 43,500-acre unit.

In addition to the Bighorn Reservoir, there is the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area, which was opened to the public on April 1, 1967. Included within the Recreation Area are 63,000 acres, of which 56,000 belonged to the Crow Indian Reservation. The National Park Service manages the Recreation Area, with the Crow having the right to operate all concessions on the shoreline adjacent to the Reservation. 124

The Recreation Area will provide diversion for hundreds of thousands of visitors. Besides the magnificent scenery, there is fishing, hunting, boating, and camping. Many thousands of visitors, with the increasing awareness and appreciation of our history and culture, will find the area's historical and archeological resources of paramount interest. In drafting and implementing the Interpretive Prospectus, Park Planners are urged to take cognizance of the many historical resources possessing both national and local significance.

^{122.} Department of the Interior News Release, Nov. 1, 1968.

^{123.} Ibid. 124. Ibid.



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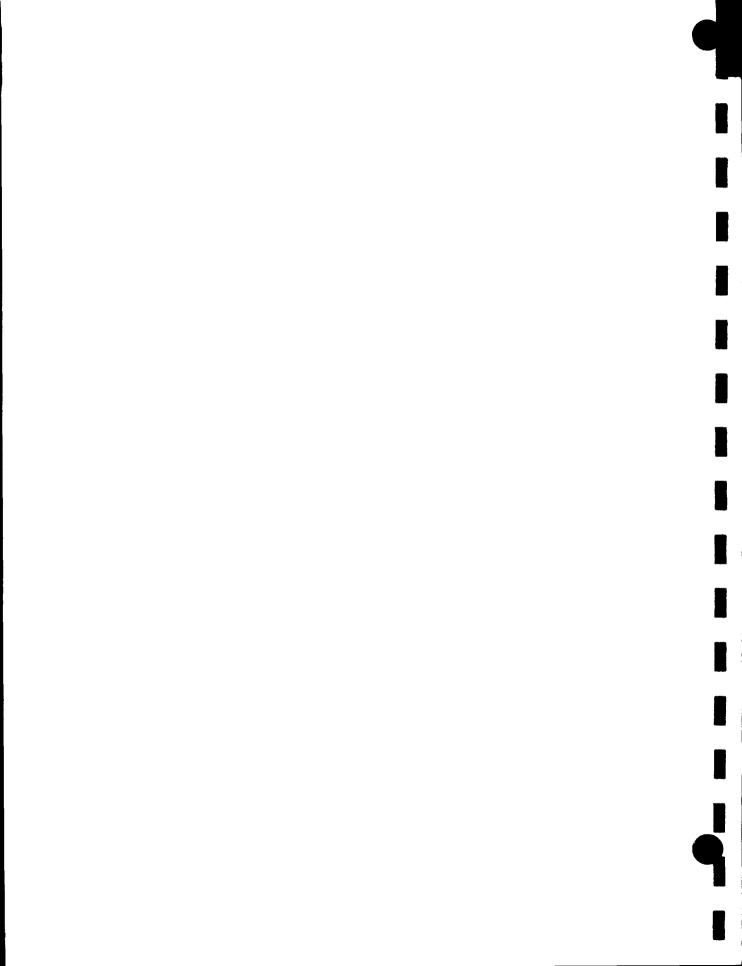
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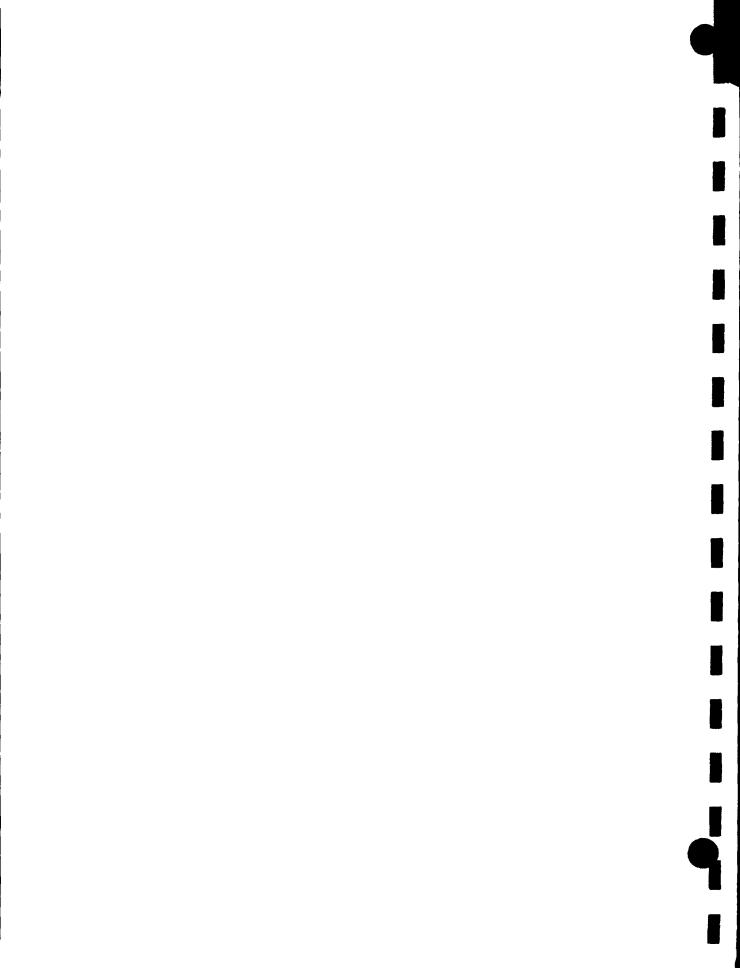
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CONDITION		(Check Or	1e)		(Ch	eck One)	
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DESCRIBE THE P	RESENT AND ORI	GINAL (if kno	own) PHYSICA	L APPEARANCE			

[see pp. 4,5, this study]

"A reconnaissance of the area and an examination of the remains—a low rock wall, tipi rings, logs laid end to end along the military crest of the mesa, and thousands of stone chips and cores left from lithic manufacture—tells an interesting story. Medicine Crow and I speculated that perhaps scouts from a village hunting buffalo on Dryhead sighted a large hostile war party. The villagers moved onto the mesa and erected fortifications—a rock wall and log barricades. An attack was made and repulsed. The village then braced for a siege. Tipis were put up and food stockpiled. Under the cover of darkness, daring warriors slipped across the barricades and down into Dryhead to bring back buffalo stomachs filled with water. Unfortunately, the outcome of the siege must remain a mystery.

"In 1964, the site was vandalized by pot-hunters employing mechanized dquipment. It is probable the vandals were employed in erecting the power transmission line, one-fourth mile north of the site."

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RIOD (Check One or More as	Appropriate)		
Pre-Columbian	16th Century	🔀 18th Century	20th Century
15th Century	17th Century	19th Century	
CIFIC DATE(S) (If Applical	ole and Known)		
AS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Ch	eck One or More as Appropri	ate)	
Abor iginal	Education	Political	Urban Planning
Prehistoric	☐ Engineering	Religion/Phi-	Other (Specify)
Historic	☐ Industry	losophy	
Agriculture	☐ Invention	Science	
Architecture	☐ Landscape	☐ Sculpture	
☐ Art	Architecture	Social/Human-	
Commerce	Literature	itarian	
Communications	Military	Theorer	
Conservation	Music	Transportation	
		U rightsportation	

"2. Indian Siege Site on Dryhead

On the north rim of Dryhead Canyon and west of Pitchfork Creek in the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area there is a mesa where Indian fought Indian. As Joe Medicine Crow knows no Crow tradition telling of a fight at this site, , this engagement must have taken place many years ago, before the coming of the white man."

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	1. Me	edicine Crow	, Joe	e, Personal	Inter	tv	lew wit	h Edwi	n C. B	earss,	July 2	29, 1960
	2. Cc	onner, Stuart	W.,	, Archaeolog	gical	Si	ite Rep	ort 24	вн408,	Sept.	18, 19	964.
	3. Be	earss, E. C.	, ''Ba	asic Data St	tudy,	B1	ighorn	Canyon	Nation	nal Re	creatio	on Area
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ļ	As the	e designated State . Historic Preserva	tion A	on Officer for the	ic Law	∦	I hereby	certify t	hat this p	property is	s include	d in the
į	80-66 11001	5), I hereby nomin	ate th	is property for in	clusion		Nationa	1 Registe	r.			
	in the	National Registe	rand	certify that it has	s been							
	evalu	ated according to	the cr	iteria and proced	ures set							
		by the National P			nmended		Chief,	Office of	Archeolo	gy and Hi	storic Pr	eservation
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Form 10-301 (July 1969)

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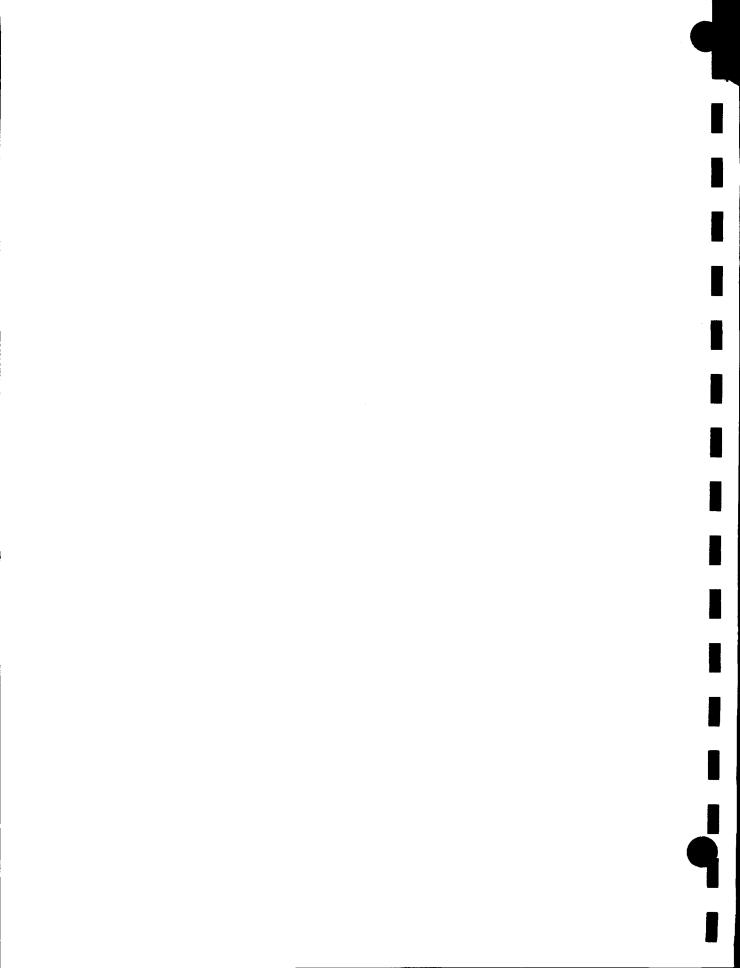
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

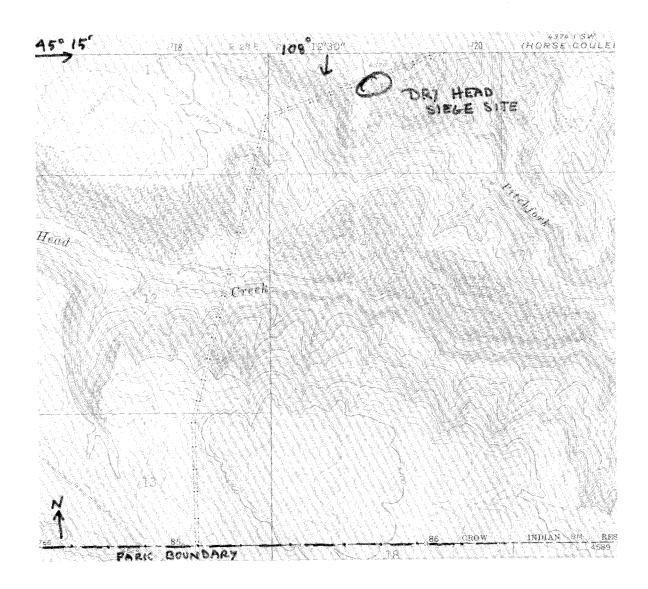
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COUNTY	
Big Horn	_
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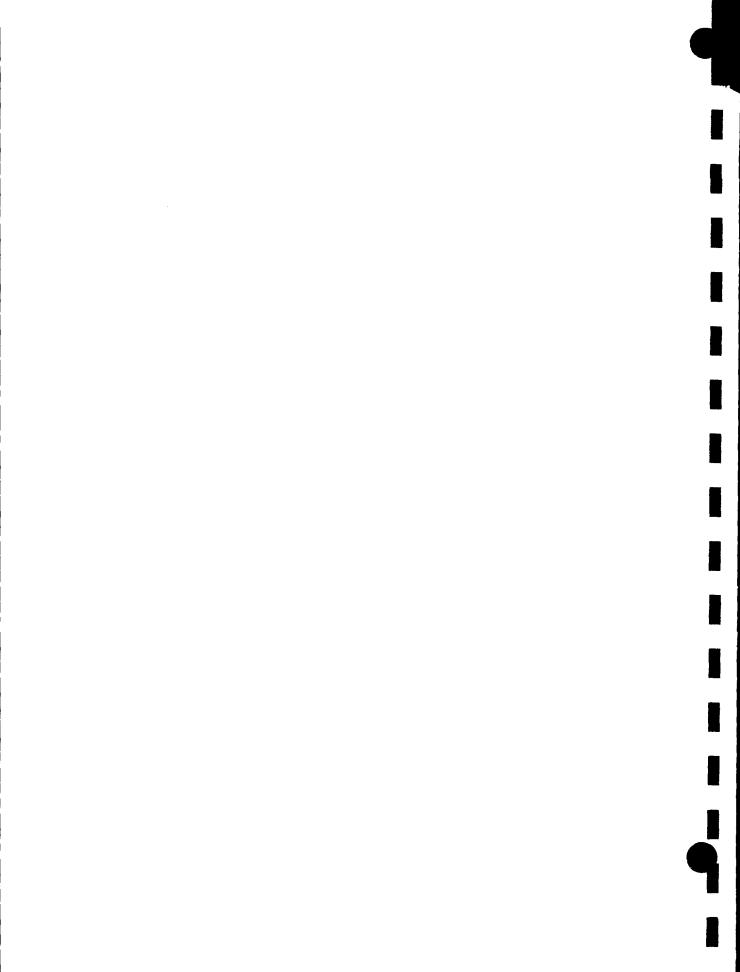
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES	Big Horn			
PROPERTY MAP FORM	FOR NPS USE ONLY			
(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with map)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE		
NAME		l -		
COMMON: Dryhead Canyon Siege Site				
LOCATION				
STREET AND NUMBER:				
In Section 6, Township 7 South, Range 29 East	, south of Power	line.		
CITY OR TOWN:				
STATE: CODE COUNTY:		CODE		
MONTANA Bis	g Horn			
MAP REFERENCE				
SOURCE:	•			
U.S.G.S Dead Indian Hill Quadrangle				
SCALE: 1: 24,000				
DATE: 1964				
DATE: 1964 REQUIREMENTS TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS				
DATE: 1964 REQUIREMENTS TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS 1. Property broundaries where required.				
DATE: 1964 REQUIREMENTS TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS				

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE		
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES	COUNTY	
PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM	FOR NPS USE ONL	Υ.
(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)	ENTRY NUMBER	DA
NAME		l
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AND/ONHISTORIC:		
2. LOCATION		
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CITY OR TOWN:		
STATE: CODE COUNTY:		co
3. PHOTO REFERENCE		
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DRYHEAD CANYON SIEGE SITE



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Eastern Service Center

3. Stone & log breastworks.

2. Looking southwest across fortified knoll.

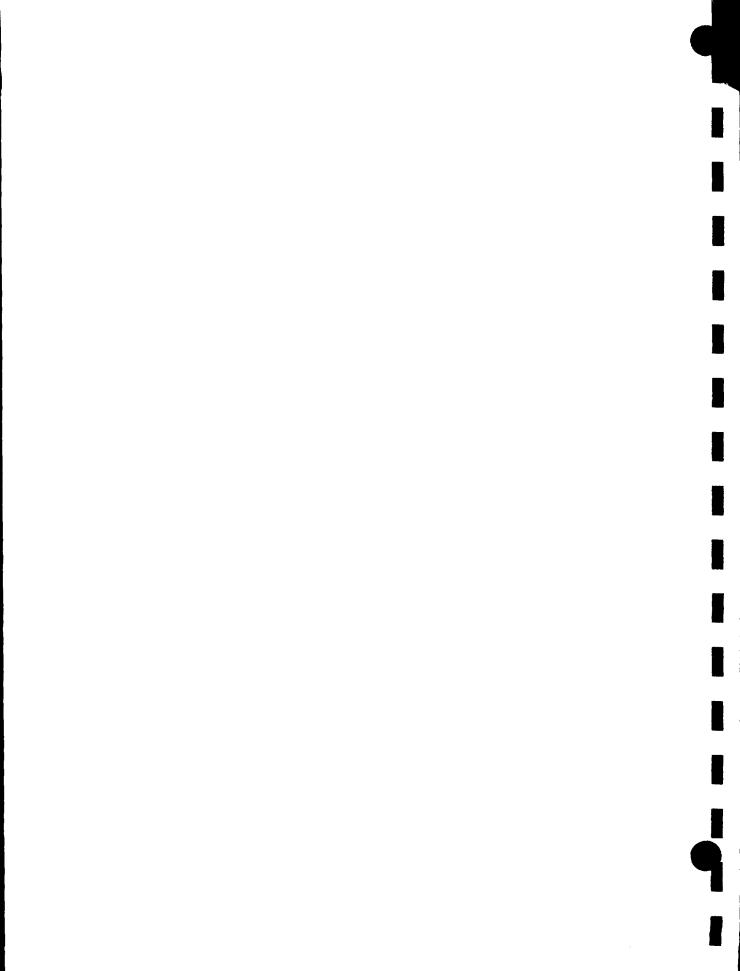
4. Joe Medicine Crow pointing to log barricade.

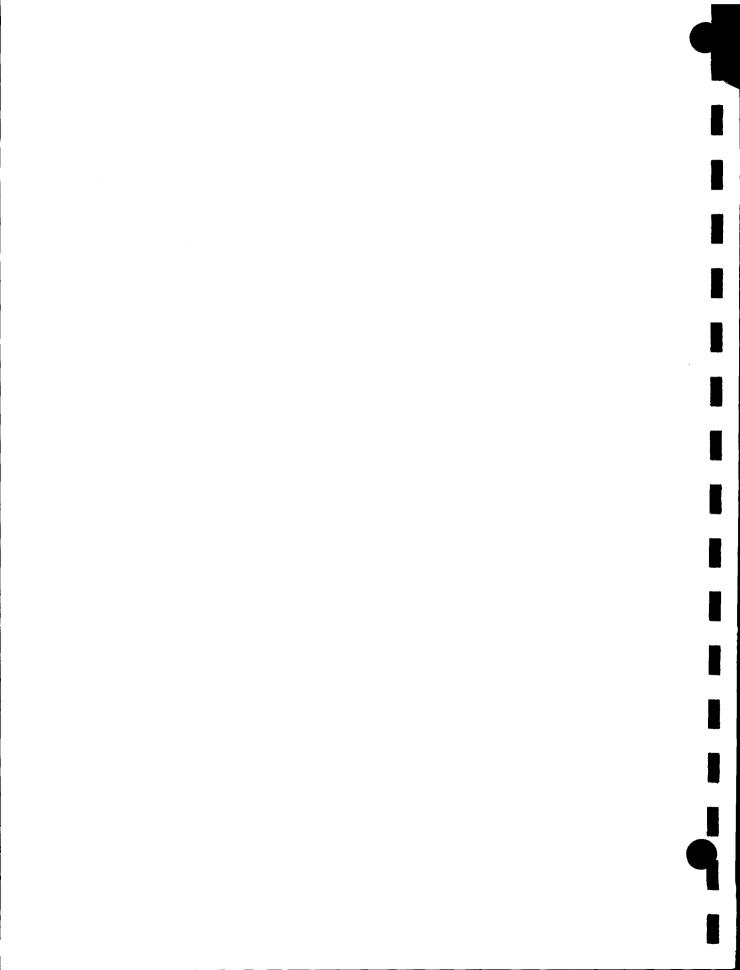
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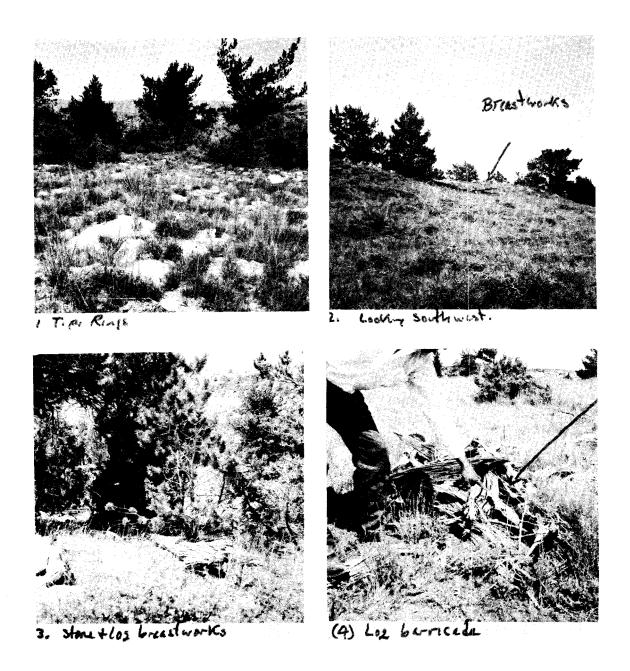
4. IDENTIFICATION

DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.

1. Tipi Rings

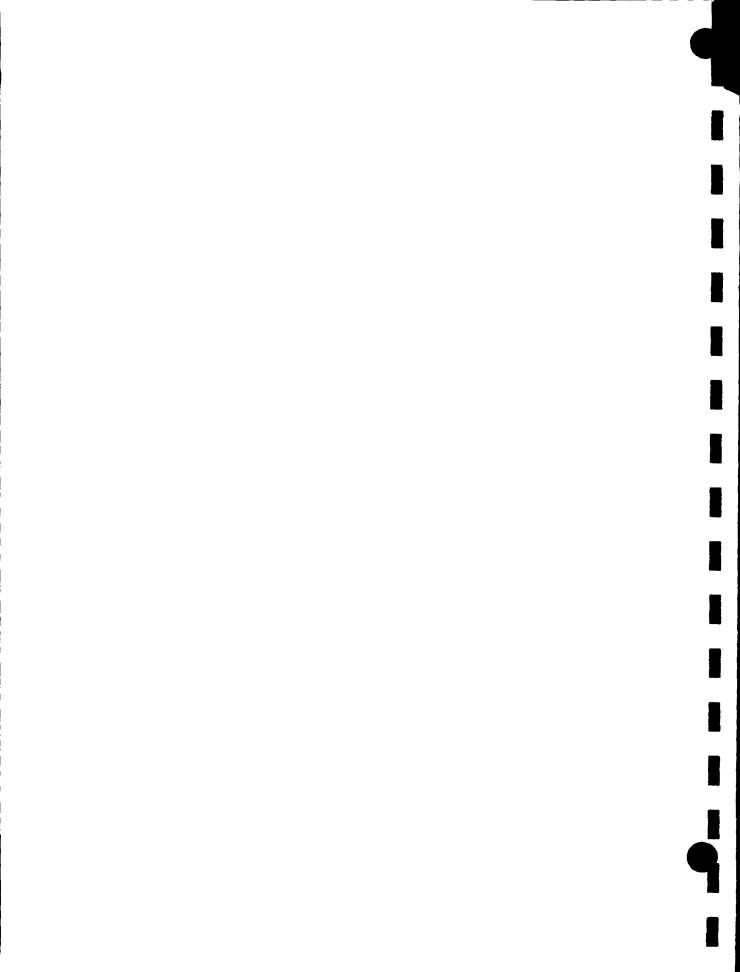






DRYHEAD BUFFALO JUMP

NOMINATION MAP



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL RECISTED OF HISTORIC DI ACES

STATE:	
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COUNTY:	
Big Horn-Carbon Co	ounties
FOR NPS USE ON	LY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
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	RY - NOMINAT	ION FORM	Big Horn-Carbon FOR NPS US	
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	s – complete app	olicable sections)		
NAME COMMON:				
Dryhead Buffalo Jum	1 m			
AND/OR HISTORIC:	ъ			
		•		
LOCATION				
STREET AND NUMBER:				
On Tribal Land at J	unction of D	ryhead and Hoodoo (anyons.	
CITT OR POWN.				
STATE		CODE COUNTY:		
MONTANA			Combon County	CODE
CLASSIFICATION		This soli	-Carbon Countie	s I
CATEGORY		OWNERSHIP	STATUS	ACCESSIBLE
(Check One)		OWILKSINI'	STATUS	TO THE PUBLIC
District Building	Public	Public Acquisition:	☐ Occupied	Yes:
Site Structure	Private	☐ In Process	▼ Unoccupied	* Restricted
☐ Object	Both	☐ Being Considered	Preservation work	☐ Unrestricted ☐ No
	x Tribal		in progress	
PRESENT USE (Check One or M				
	overnment [_	Transportation [Comments
	dustrial [** litary		Other (Specify)	
☐ Entertainment ☐ Mi	_	Religious		
WNER OF PROPERTY				
OWNER'S NAME:				
Crow Tribal Council				
STREET AND NUMBER:				MONTANA
		_		NA
CITY OR TOWN:		STATE:		CODE
Crow Agency	RIBUIE:	MONTA	NA	
OCATION OF LEGAL DESC				
Big Horn County Cour	thouse			carbo
TREET AND NUMBER:				
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CITY OR TOWN:		STATE		CODE
TIT OR TOWN:				
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15th Century	☐ 17th Ce	ntury 19th Cent	tury
SPECIFIC DATE(S) (If Applicat	ie and Known)		
REAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Ch	eck One or More as	Appropriate)	
Abor iginal	Education	Political	Urban Planning
☐ Prehistoric	Engineering	Religion/Phi-	Other (Specify)
Historic	☐ Industry	losophy	
☐ Agriculture	Invention	Science	
☐ Architecture	Landscape	☐ Sculpture	
☐ Art	Architectu		
Commerce	Literature	itarian	
Communications	Militory	Theater	
Conservation	Music	Transportation	

"Within and adjacent to the National Recreation Area are a number of buffalo jumps. Several of these are located on Grapevine Creek, which the Crow called, 'The Place Where Men Get Their Meat.' There was an important buffalo jump at the junction of Dryhead and Hoodoo Canyons. Dryhead received its name from the huge number of buffalo skulls piled up by the Crow. As the pile grew, the area became known as the place of Dry Skulls or Dry Heads. Unlike the buffalo jumps on Grapevine, the one on Dryhead did not have the V-shaped line of barrier rocks. The buffalo were stampeded over the cliff by mounted warriors. Medicine Crow's aunt, on his maternal side, has participated in buffalo hunts in which the jumps were used."

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9. MAJO	R BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES	

- 1. Medicine Crow, Joe, Personal Interview with Edwin C. Bearss, July 25 & 29, 1969.

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forth level	by the National of significance	Park Ser of this r	rvice. The nomination	recon	nmended		Chief, (Office of	Archeolog	gy and Hi	storic Pre	eservation
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Form 10-301 (July 1969)

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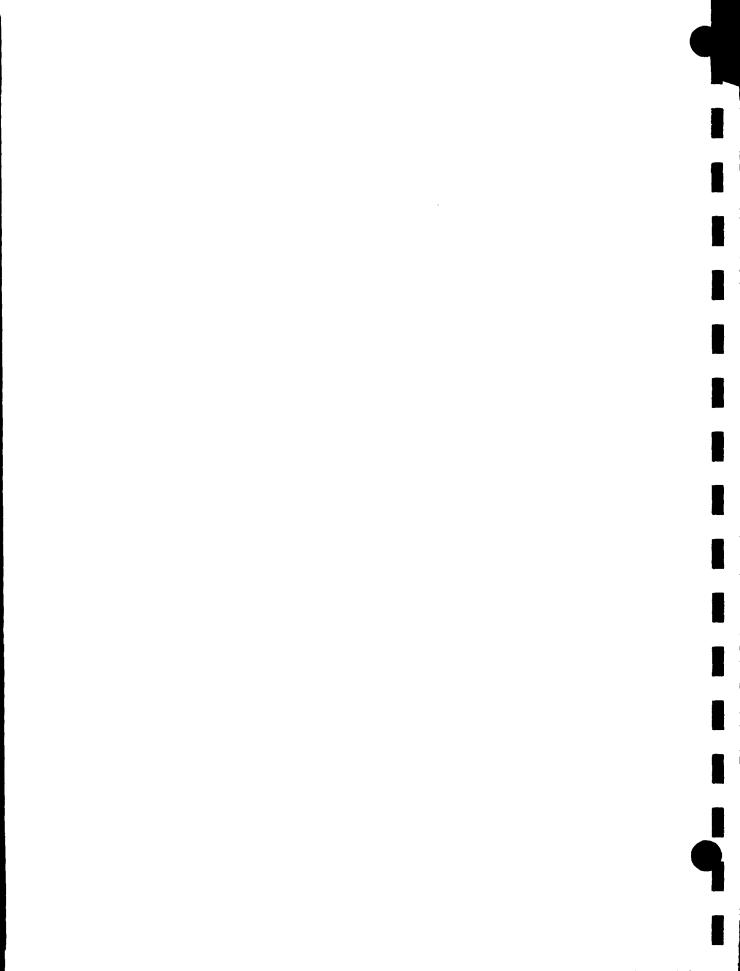
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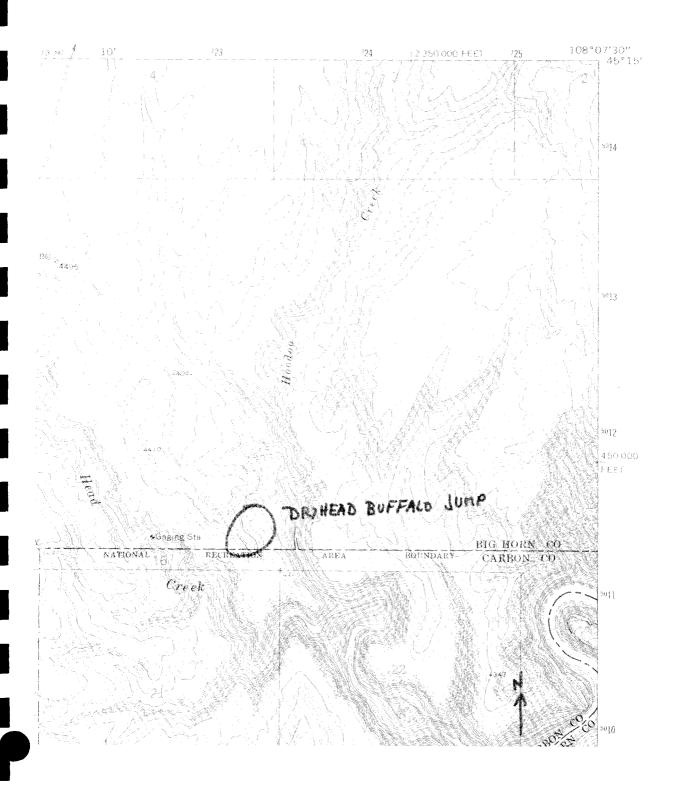
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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Big Horn-Carbon Cou	nties
FOR NPS USE ONL	Y
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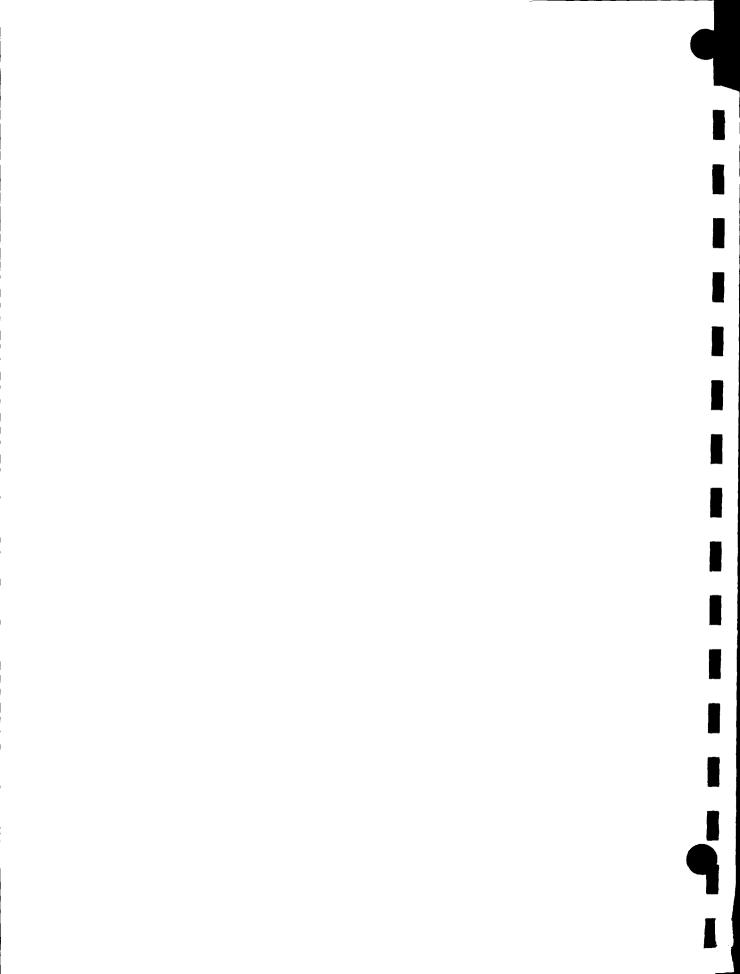
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PROPERTY MAP FORM	FOR NPS USE ONLY	
(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with ma	p) ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
1. NAME		
D 1 1 D 644 -		
COMMON: Dryhead Buffalo Jump		
2. LOCATION		
STREET AND NUMBER:	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
On Tribal Land at the junction of Dr	yhead and Hoodoo Canyons.	
CITY OR YOWN:		
STATE: CODE CO	DUNTY:	CODE
MONTANA	ig Horn-Carbon Counties	
3. MAP REFERENCE	AL MURIA VERRICUM SUMMIRAMIA	*
SOURCE:		
U.S.G.S Dead Indian Hill Ouadrang	16	
SCALE: 1:24.000		
DATE: 1964		
4. REQUIREMENTS		
TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS		
. 1. Property broundaries where required.		
2. North arrow.		
3. Latitude and longitude reference.		
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE	MONTHANA	

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE	MONTANA	
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES	COUNTY	
PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM	Big Horn-Carbon Con	
PROPERIT PHOTOGRAPH PURM	FOR NPS USE ON	
(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
NAME		
COMMON: Dryhead Buffalo Jump		
AND/OR HISTORIC:		
LOCATION		
STREET AND NUMBER:		
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On Tribal Land at the junction of Dryhead	and Hoodoo Canyons.	
or rows.		
STATE: CODE COUNTY:		
		CODE
MONTANA Big Ho	n-Carbon Counties	
PHOTO REFERENCE		
PHOTO CREDIT:		
DATE OF PHOTO:		
NEGATIVE FILED AT:		
IDENTIFICATION		
DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.		
NO PHOTOGRAPHS AVAILABLE.		





DRYHEAD BUFFALO JUMP

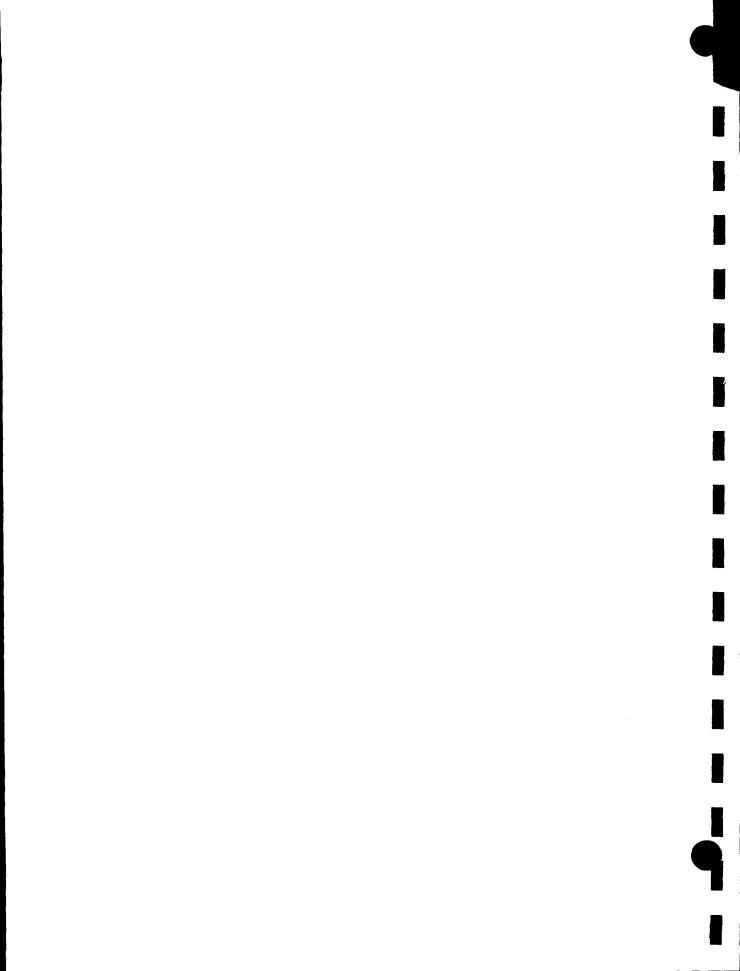


GRAPEVINE BUFFALO JUMPS

NOMINATION

MAP

PHOTOGRAPHS



Form	10-300
(July	1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

	455
STATE:	
MONTANA	
COUNTY:	
Big Horn	

a ·	RY – NOMINA	TION FORM	Big Horn FOR NPS USE ONLY		
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	s — complete ap	oplicable sections)		1.	
COMMON: C					
Grapevine I	Buffalo Jump	S			
AND/OR HISTORIC: "Place	Where Men G	et Their Meat."			
LOCATION					
STREET AND NUMBER: On	Grapevine W	atershed in Sections	6 & 7. Townshi	b 6 South	
		1 & 12, Township 6			
CITY OR TOWN:		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			
STATE		CODE COUNTY:			
		10052	g Horn	COL	DE
CLASSIFICATION		B1	g norn		
CATEGORY	T			ACCESSIBLE	
(Check One)	}	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	TO THE PUBL	
X District Building	☐ Public	Public Acquisition:	Occupied	Yes:	
Site Structure	☑ Prívate	☐ In Process	M Unoccupied	🙀 Restricted	
Object	☐ Both	 Being Considered 	Preservation work	▼ Unrestricte	d
			in progress	☐ No	
PRESENT USE (Check One or !	More as Appropriate	·			
🗷 Agricultural 🗌 G	overnment	X Park	Transportation	Comments	
Commercial Ir	ndustrial	Private Residence	Other (Specify)	_	
Educational M	ilitary	Religious			_
Entertainment M	useum	Scientific			
OWNER OF PROPERTY					
OWNER'S NAME:					T
	ent and Ind	ian Allotments.			
STREET AND NUMBER:					OM
CITY OR TOWN:		10-1-0		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	TNOM
CITY OR TOWN:		STATE:		CODE	AN
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COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF					-
Big Hor	n County Co	urthouse.			Вi
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"Basic Data Study,		√ Federal State			- I
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456						
DESCRIPTION						
				(Check One)		
CONDITION	☐ Excellent	🔣 Good	Fair	Deteriorated	Ruins	☐ Unexposed
		(Check On	re)		(Che	ck One)
	☐ Altere	e d	▼ Unaltered		☐ Moved	Original Site
	DESENT AND ORK	212141 (16 lmg	mm) DUVELCA	ARREARANCE		

[see p. 20, this study]

"In accordance with Old Man Coyote's instructions, the Crow searched out sites where there were box canyons and sandstone cliffs, near good pasture. The Indians then piled up lines of rock or brush, extending from a cliff toward the grazing ground. This line of brush and stone might be almost a mile in length. There, depending on the terrain, might be two lines of stone and brush converging on the jump."

Lines of stones, known as medicine stones, can still be seen converging on the jump.

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ERIOD (Check One or More as			[20.1 C .
Pre-Columbian	☐ 16th Century	🖈 18th Century	20th Century
15th Century	☐ 17th Century	19th Century	
PECIFIC DATE(S) (Il Applicab	le and Known)		
REAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Che	eck One or More as Appropri	ate)	
Abor iginal	☐ Education	Political	Urban Planning
Prehistoric	☐ Engineering	Religion/Phi-	Other (Specify)
K Historic	☐ Industry	losophy	
☐ Agriculture	Invention	Science	
Architecture	Landscape	Sculpture	
☐ Art	Architecture	Social/Human-	
Commerce	Literature	itarian	
☐ Communications	☐ Military	☐ Theater	
☐ Conservation	Music	☐ Transportation	

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"There are a number of Buffalo Jumps in and adjacent to the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area. Joe Medicine Crow, tribal historian and anthropolo-Tribal tradition has Old Man Coyote gist, has made a study of Buffalo Jumps. creator of the world and teacher of the people, 'imparting to the Crow know+ ledge of how to hunt buffalo. This was before they left Devils Lake. cordance with Old Man Coyote's instructions, the Crow searched out sites where there were box canyons and sandstone cliffs, near good pasture. The Indians then piled up lines of rock or brush, extending from a cliff toward the grazing ground. This line of brush and stone might be almost a mile in length. There might be two lines of stone and brush converging on the jump, depending on the terrain.

"When all was ready, the medicine men took their stations at key points along the barricade, while scouts attired in animal hides and horns attached to their heads, eased the herd from the grazing ground toward the Jump. After the buffalo had entered the rock-lined lanes, the hunters, who were crouching behind the barricade, leaped to their feet, shouting and waving buffalo robes. The herd was stampeded over the cliff, and the animals either killed, or so seriously crippled that they could be easily finished off.

"Moving in, the women and children killed the animals and cut them up.. Some of the meat was eaten fresh, but most was preserved as pemmican. The hides were tanned and used for clothing, for the covering of the tipi, shields for warfare, thongs, etc. The bones of the buffalo were used as farming implements; the sinews as thread and bowstrings; the horns as ladles and cups; and the stomachs as bags for transporting water.

'According to Medicine Crow, who speaks with authority on the subject, there were more buffalo jumps in Montana than in the rest of the states combined. He attributes this to the number of box canyons; the prevalence of sandstone cliffs; the huge herds of buffalo; and the natural appetite of the Crow.

'Within and adjacent to the National Recreation area are a number of buffald jumps. Several of these are located on Grapevine Creek, which the Crow called The Place Where Men Get Their Meat.' There was an important buffalo jump at the junction of Dryhead and Hoodoo Canyons. Dryhead received its name from the huge number of buffalo skulls piled up by the Crow. As the pile grew, the area became known as the place of Dry Skulls or Dry Heads. Unlike the buffalo jumps on Grapevine, the one on Dryhead did not have the V-shaped line of barrier rocks. The buffalo were stampeded over the cliff by mounted warriors. Medicine Crow's aunt, on his maternal side, has participated in buffalo hunts in which the jumps were used."

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- 1. Medicine Crow, Joe, personal interview with Edwin C. Bearss, July 25 & 29 1969.
- 2. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area Washington, 1970.

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evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service. The recommended level of significance of this nomination is: National State Local							
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Title				-		National Register	-
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[|]Form 10-301 (July 1969)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

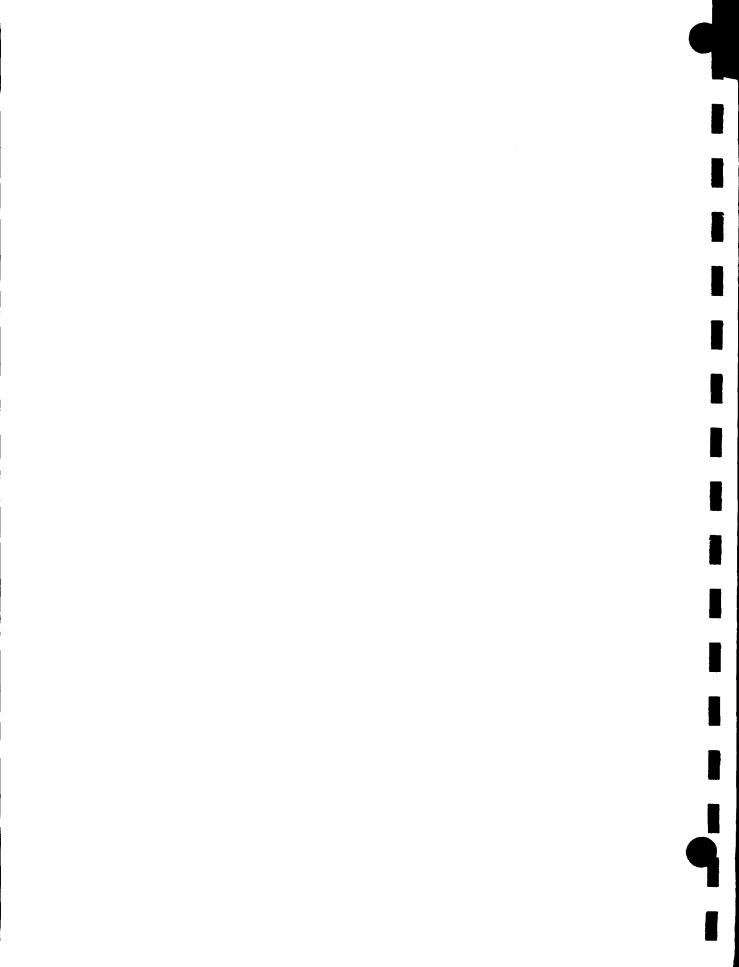
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

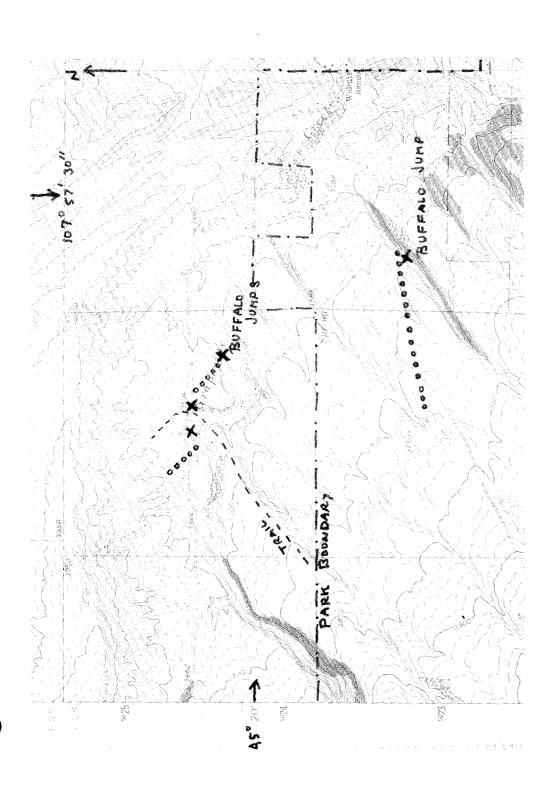
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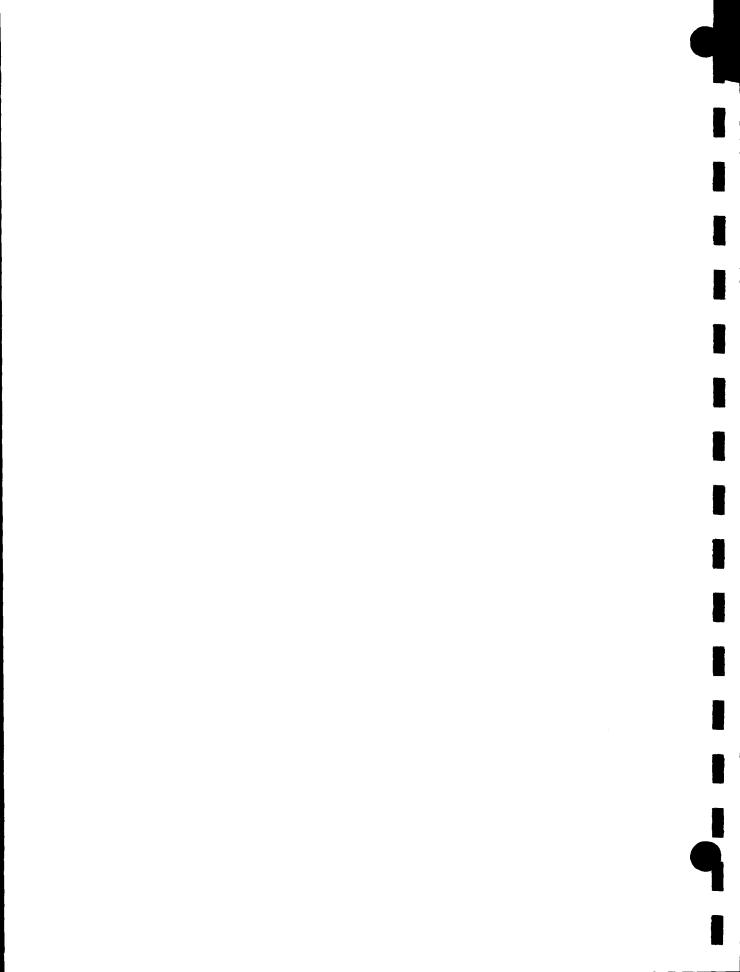
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COMMON: Grapevine Buffalo Jumps			
AND/OR HISTORIC: "Place Where Men Get T	heir Meat		
LOCATION			
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Range 31 East; and Sections 1 & 12	. Township 6	South, Range 30 East.	
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

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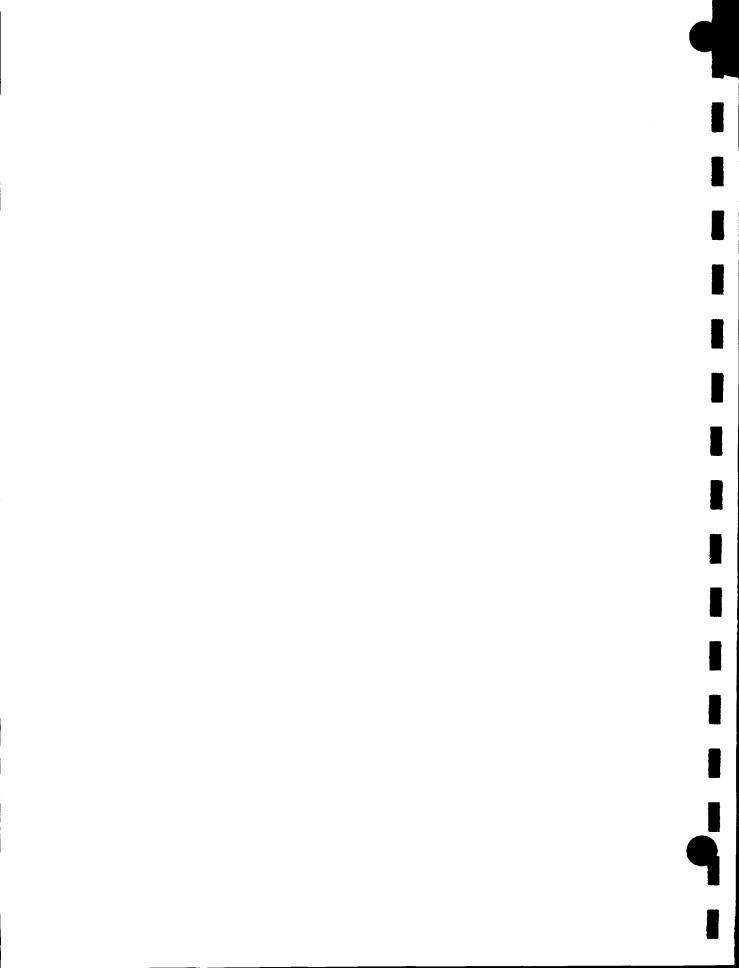
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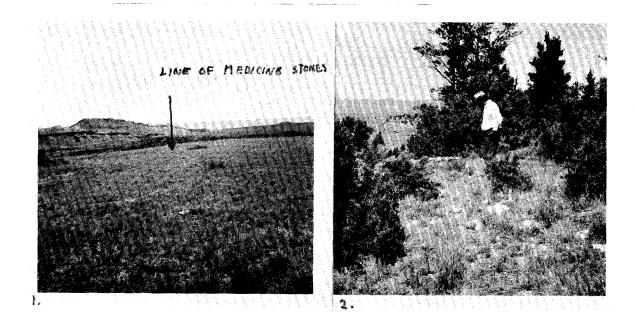
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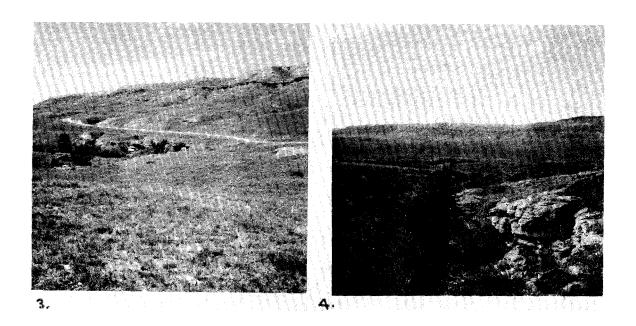
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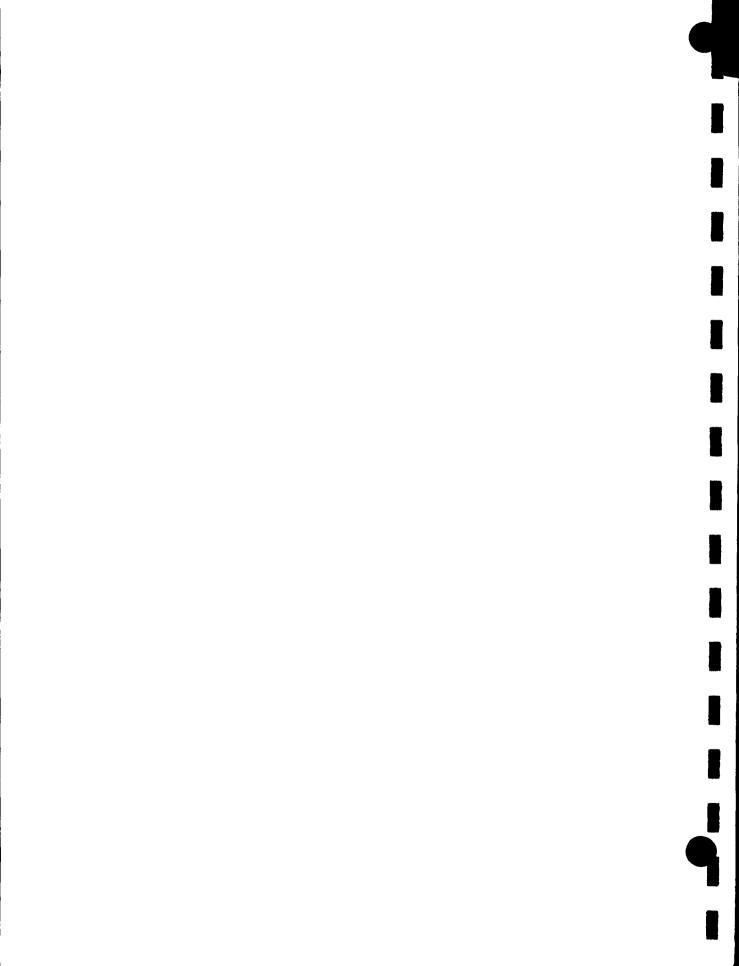
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DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.			
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3. Buffalo Jump North side of Grapevine. 4. Grapevine Buffalo Jump.





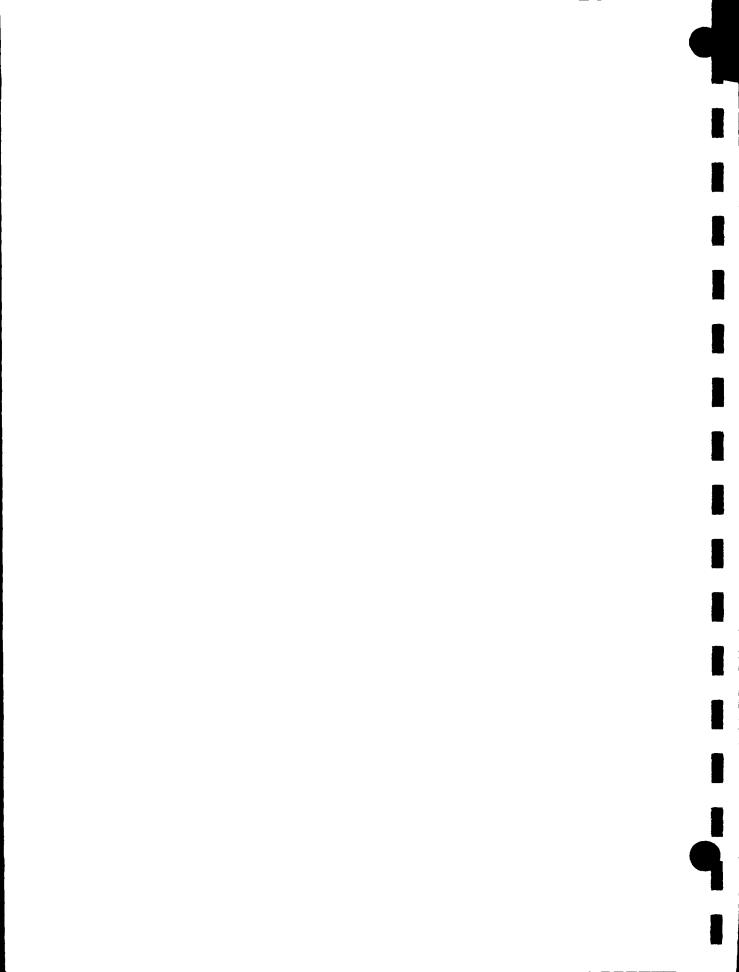




PICTOGRAPH CAVE ON FROZEN LEG CREEK

NOMINATION

MAP



Form 10-300 (July 1969)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

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"Within the boundary of the National Recreation Area, but on deeded land, is a cave with pictographs that may date back 1,000 years. There are five picture panels. The largest containing many figures in yellow-ochre and reddish black is 25 feet long by six feet high. What the figures, some human, some animal, and some a composite, are meant to represent is debatable. Many have horned headdresses; some have three-fingered hands; others have what one observer calls feathers and the next insists are elongated floppy ears. There are handprints and smears."

[see p. 21, this study]

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Architecture	Landscape	Sculpture	
Art Art	Architecture	Social/Human-	
☐ Commerce	Literature	itarian	
Communications	Military	Theater	
Conservation	Music	Transportation	

"Dr. Carling I. Malouf, anthropologist at the University of Montana, has visited the cave. He found points of resemblance with designs made by the Flathead of northwestern Montana. But there were some drawings similar to the Frémont culture. Malouf was unable positively to date the pictographs. Some, he said, may be of recent origin, perhaps 200 years, while others could be as much as 1000."

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9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- 1. Peterson, Helen M., "Discovery High Within a Rocky Wall," The Billings Gazette Sunday Magazine, Oct. 3, 1965.
- 2. Stanton, Harold, Personal Interview with Edwin C. Bearss, July 24, 1969.
- 3. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area"

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with map)

Pictograph Cave on Frozen-Leg Canyon

Leg Canyon, Section 22, Township 6 South, Range 30 East.

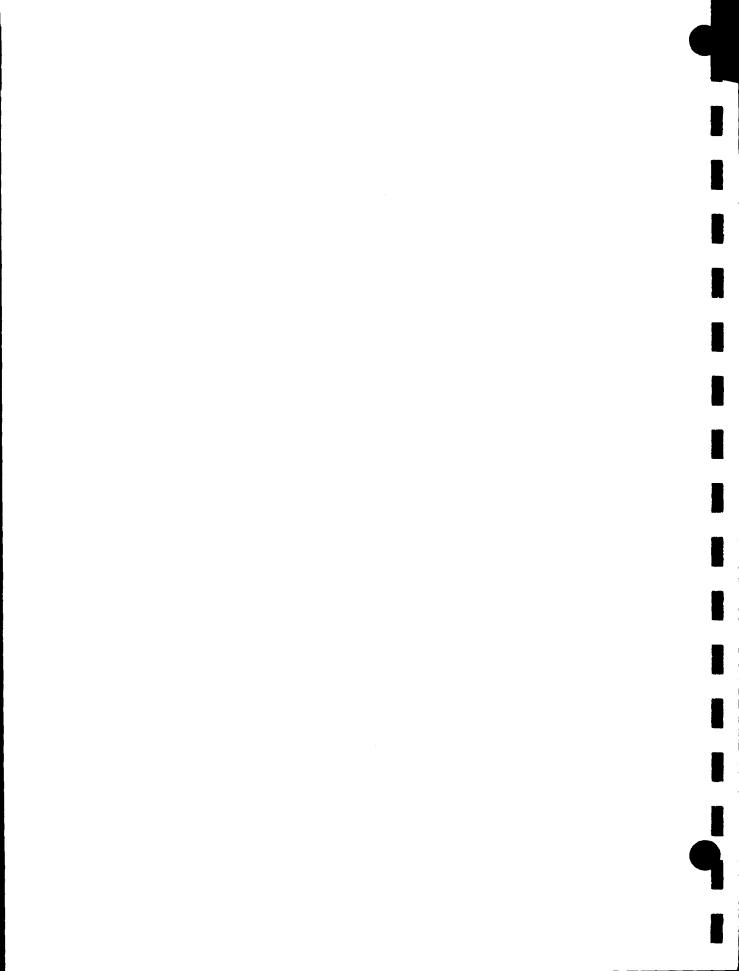
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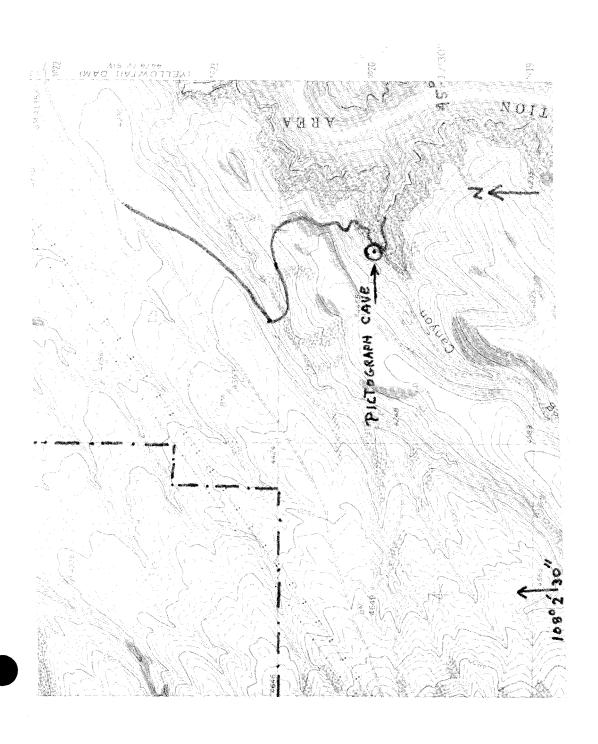
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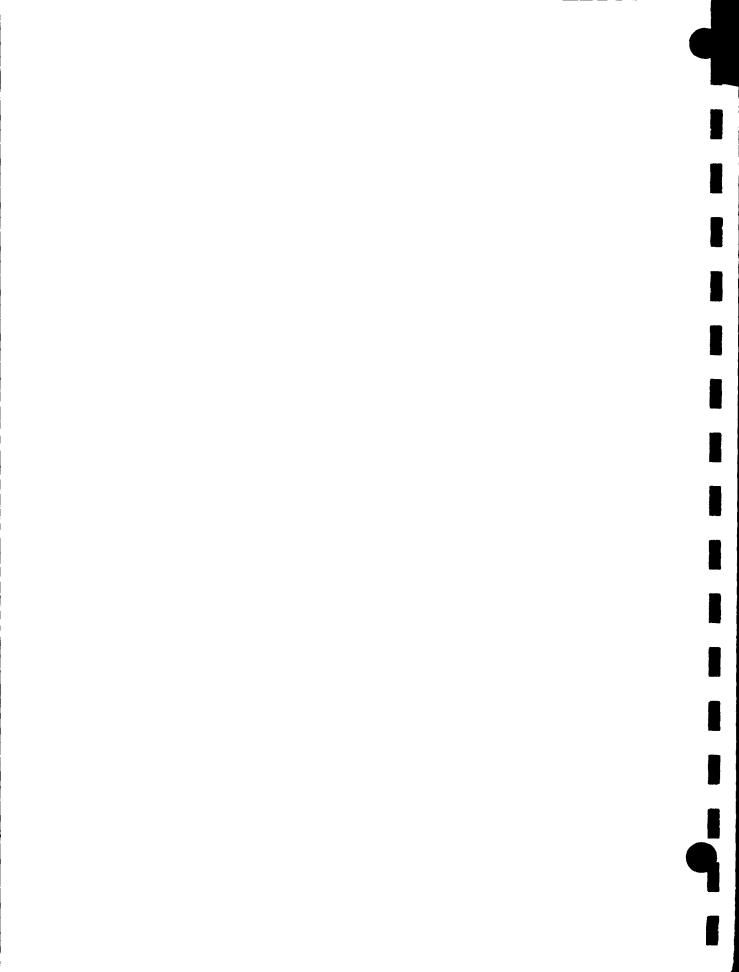
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Off unimproved road to Frozen-Leg launching ramp, in Frozen-

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Form 10-301

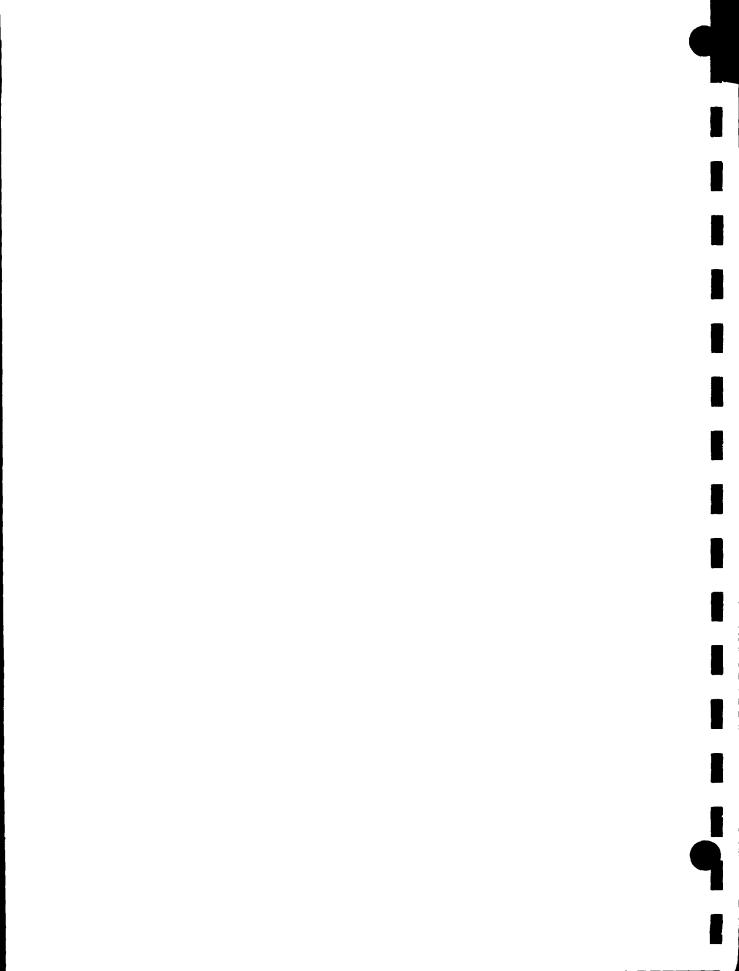
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

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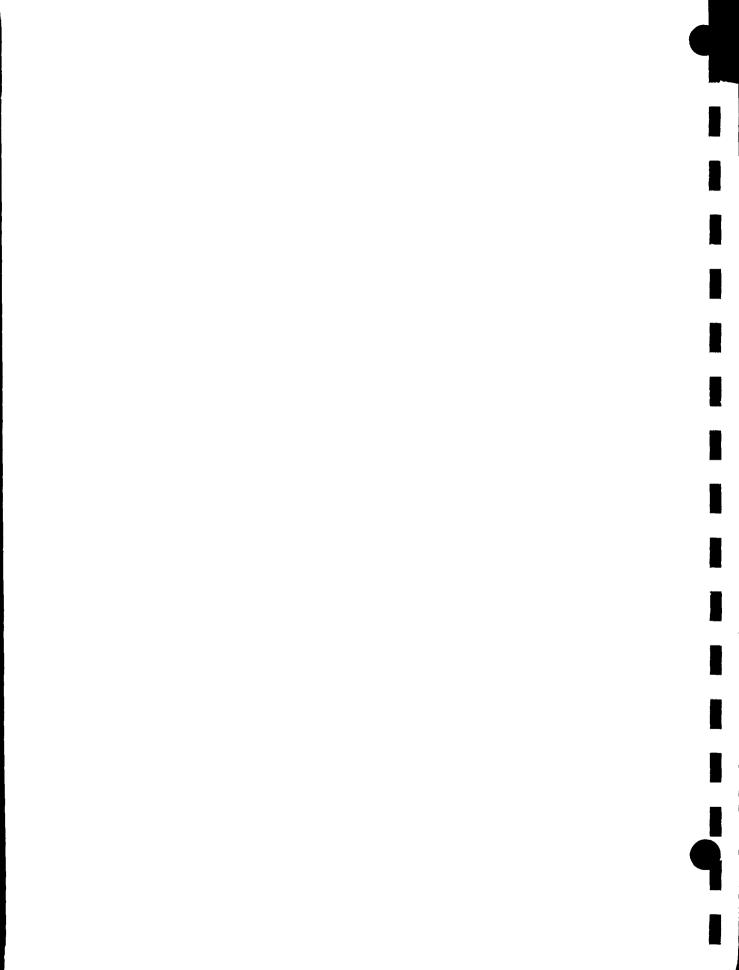
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STATE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE MONTANA COUNTY NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES Big Horn FOR NPS USE ONLY PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM ENTRY NUMBER DATE (Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph) I. NAME COMMON: Pictograph Cave on Frozen-Leg Canyon AND/OR HISTORICE 2. LOCATION STREET AND NUMBER: Off unimproved road to Frozen-Leg launching ramp, in Frozen-CITY OR TOWN: Leg Canyon, Section 22, Township 6, South, Range 30 East. STATE: CODE COUNTY: CODE MONTANA Big Horn 3. PHOTO REFERENCE PHOTO CREDIT: DATE OF PHOTO: NEGATIVE FILED AT: 4. IDENTIFICATION DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC. NO PHOTOGRAPHS



PICTOGRAPH ON HOODOO CREEK

NOMINATION MAP



Form 10-300

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

	481
STATE:	
MONTANA	
COUNTY:	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ON	ILY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(July 1965	y) NA'	TIONAL PARK SERVI	CE			_	MONTANA]
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(Check One) ☐ Good ☐ Fair Deteriorated Ruins ☐ Unexposed CONDITION (Check One) (Check One) Altered 🖫 Unaltered ☐ Moved Original Site DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (If known) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE The Hoodoo Creek Pictograph is a face painted on a rock overlooking Hoodoo Creek.

ERIOD (Check One or More as	Appropriate)		
Pre-Columbian	☐ 16th Century	18th Century	20th Century
15th Century	X 17th Century	19th Century	
PECIFIC DATE(S) (If Applicat	le and Known)		
REAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Ch	eck One or More as Approp	rtate)	
Abor iginal	☐ Education	Political	Urban Planning
Prehistoric	Engineering	Religion/Phi.	Other (Specify)
Historic	Industry	losophy	
Agriculture	Invention	Science	
Architecture	Landscape	Sculpture	
Art .	Architecture	Social/Human-	
Commerce	Literature	itarian	
Communications	Military	Theater	
Conservation	Music	☐ Transportation	

[see p. 22, this study]

"Hoodoo Creek is named for a pictograph of a face painted on a rock overlooking the stream. The Crow believe that it is unwise to look at this pictograph. If a person looks at the face and sees a frown, his medicine will be bad and ill-fortune will dog him.

'Joe Medicine Crow recalled that several years ago, he and a white companion were traveling through the area, and he told his friend about the Hoodoo Pictograph. His friend said that he would like to see it. Medicine Crow sought to dissuade him. The white man discounted the story as an Indian superstition. Medicine Crow remonstrated, but finally yielded and accompanied his friend, to the site. The face frowned, and they departed. Motoring on, they started for Camp 4. While en route, their vehicle struck a rock and knocked the bottom out of the oil pan. Stranded, they returned to Tschargi's line camp and spent the night."

9.	MA	JOF	81	BLIO	GRAF	HICA	LREF	EREN	ICES
								Per 4.2 mm 4.3	

- 1. Medicine Crow, Joe, Personal Interview with Edwin C. Bearss, July 29, 1969.
- 2. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area," Washington, 1970.

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Name					Date					
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Form 10-301 (July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

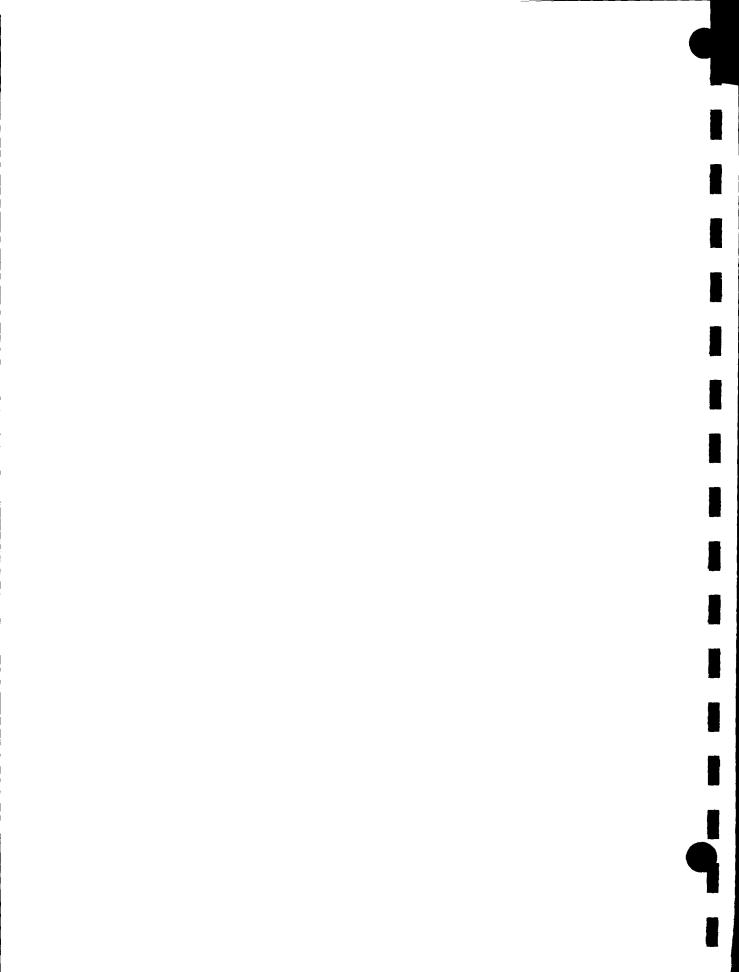
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

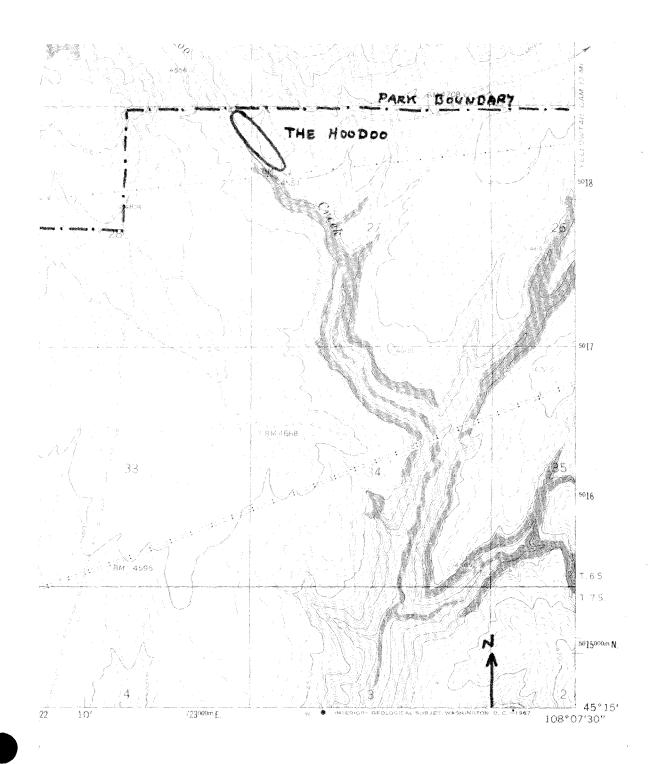
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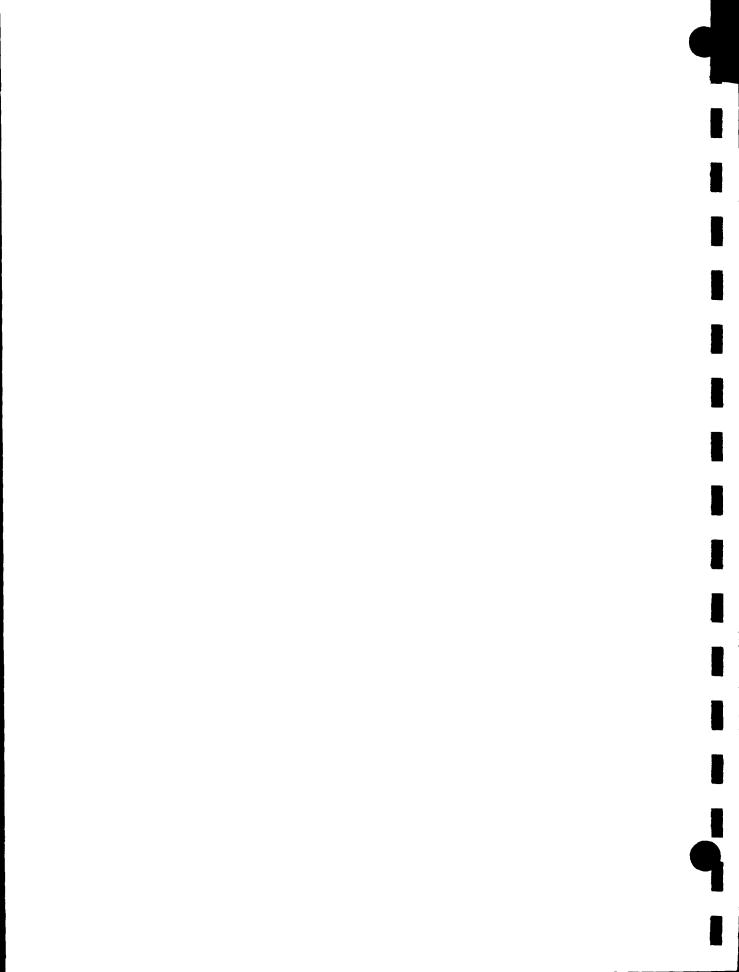
	703
STATE	
MONTANA	
COUNTY	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

NAME			
COMMON: Hoodoo Creek Pictograph AND/OR HISTORIC: The Hoodoo			
LOCATION			
dirt road to Dryhead Ranch, in Sec	odoo Cre tions 27	ek, several hundı & 28, Township (ced feet south of South, Range 29 East.
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STATE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE COUNTY NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM FOR NPS USE ONLY ENTRY NUMBER DATE (Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph) 1. NAME AND/OR HISTORIC: 2. LOCATION STREET AND NUMBER: CITY OR TOWN: STATE: CODE COUNTY: CODE 3. PHOTO REFERENCE PHOTO CREDIT: DATE OF PHOTO: NEGATIVE FILED AT: 4. IDENTIFICATION DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.

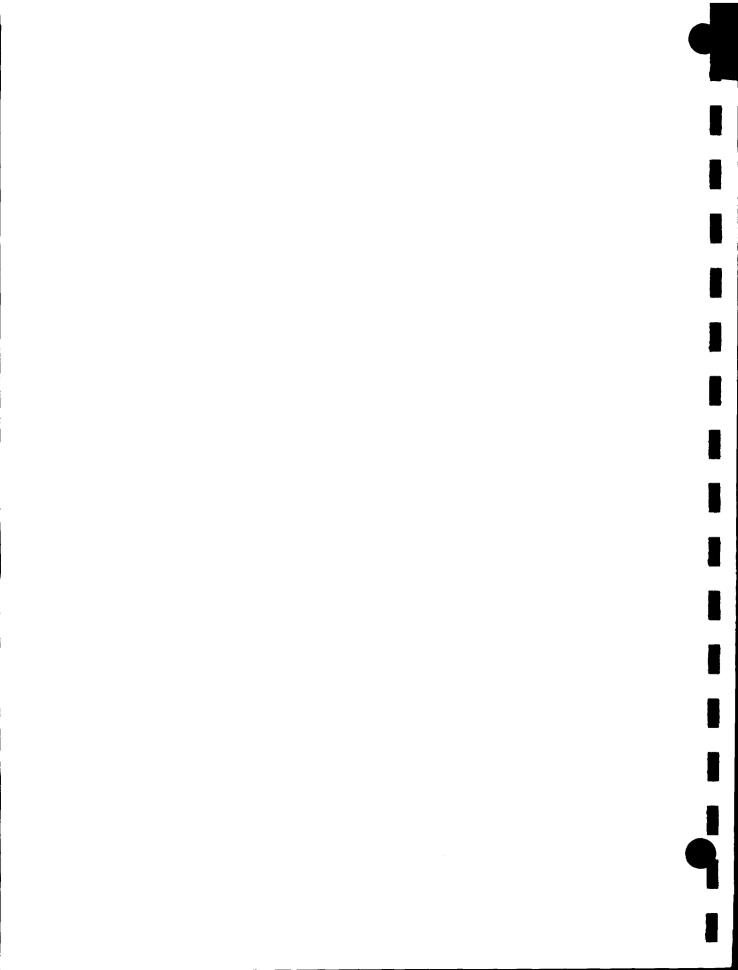






Form 10-301	UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR	STATE
(July 1969)	NATIONAL PARK SERVICE	MONTANA
1	NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES	COUNTY
	PROPERTY MAP FORM	Big Horn FOR NPS USE ONLY
	· ·	ENTRY NUMBER
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1. NAME		
AND/OR HIS	TO UC:	
2. LOCATION		
STREET AN	D NUM BER:	
CITY OR TO	WN:	
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NO PHOTOGRAPHS

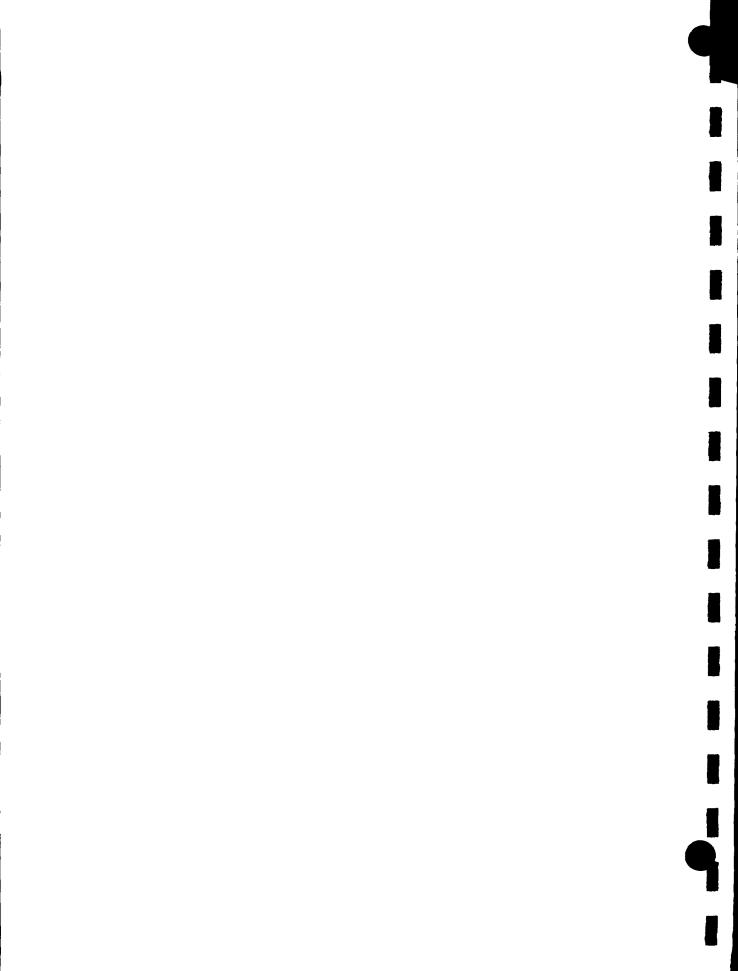


HAYFIELD FIGHT SITE

NOMINATION

MAP

PHOTOGRAPHS



Form 10-300 (July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

	493
STATE:	
MONTANA	
COUNTY;	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ON	ILY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

INVENTARY MANUATION TORK		
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM	FOR NPS USE ON	LY
(There all mate)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
(Type all entries - complete applicable sections)		
NAME		
COMMON: Hayfield Fight Site		
AND/OR HISTORIC:	,	
LOCATION		
STREET AND NUMBER: On west side of War Man Creek, se	everal hundred yards	north
of Hardin-Fort C. F. Smith road, in Section 2, To	winship o South, Kai	ige or res
		1
STATE CODE COUNTY:		CODE
MONTANA	ig Horn	
CLASSIFICATION		
CATEGORY	AC	CCESSIBLE
(Check One) OWNERSHIP		THE PUBLIC
District Building Public Public Acquisition:	Occupied	fes:
X Site Structure X Private In Process		Restricted
Object Both Being Considered	Preservation work	Unrestricted
	in progress	40
PRESENT USE (Check One or More as Appropriate)		
	☐ Transportation ☐ Co	omments
Commercial Industrial Private Residence	Other (Specify)	
☐ Educational ☐ Military ☐ Religious		
☐ Entertainment ☐ Museum ☐ Scientific		
OWNER OF PROPERTY		
OWNER'S NAME:		
Fee Patent		
STREET AND NUMBER:		3
		MONTANA
CITY OR TOWN:	:	CODE
		NA NA
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COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC:		
Big Horn Courthouse		Big
STREET AND NUMBER:		
CITY OR TOWN:		CODE
CITY OR TOWN:		CODE
Hardin	MONTANA	
EPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS		
Basic Data Study, "Bighorn Canyon Na	tional Recreation A	lrea"
DATE OF SURVEY: July 1969 Federal State DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS:	County Loca	1
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STREET AND NUMBER: 801 19th St. NW		
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DESCRIPTION							
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	!	(Check Or	(0)	(Check One)			
	☐ Alter		☐ Unaltered		☐ Moved	Original Site	
				L APPEARANCE			

The corral has disappeared along with the hayfields. The construction of the Bighorn Ditch at the turn of the century has so changed the topography of the immediate area that it is doubtful whether the exact site of the corral can be pinpointed. The construction of the ditch served to divert War Man Creek, and north of the ditch it no longer follows the course it did in 1867.

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Pre-Calumbian	☐ 16th Century ☐ 17th Century	☐ 18th Century ☐3: 19th Century	20th Century
PECIFIC DATE(S) (II Applicab			
REAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Chi Aboriginal	Education	Political	Urban Planning
☐ Prehistoric	☐ Engineering	Religion/Phi-	Other (Specity)
☐ Historic	☐ Industry	losophy	
☐ Agriculture	Invention	Science	
☐ Architecture	☐ Landscape	Sculpture	
☐ Art	Architecture	Social/Human-	
☐ Commerce	Literature	itarian	
Communications	Military	Theater	
Conservation	Music	Transportation	

Here on August 1, 1867, a small detachment of soldiers and armed civilians repulsed an attack by an overwhelming force of Sioux and their allies.

[see p. 226, this study]

"The Hayfield Fight, like the Wagon Box Fight near Fort Phil Kearny the next day, was a victory for the army. In both engagements, the Sioux and their allies sought to isolate and destroy small details from the forts. After mopping up these detachments, they would move against the forts themselves. In each instance the whites, armed with new breach-loaders, fought from behind barricades and inflicted such heavy losses on the redmen as to discourage attacks on the forts.

"Captain Burrowes, in commenting on the Hayfield Fight, reported:

The new breech-loading musket gave the men an opportunity to fire much more rapidly when the occasion demanded and with less exposure of the person than the Springfield rifle, whilst the superiority of the sight gives more accuracy to the aim. The confidence which it gives the men from the rapidity with which it can be fired and the telling effect of the shot tends to keep them calm, composed and confident under fire.

MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PRINCES

- 1. Lockhart, James D., Life and Adventures of a Drummer Boy, Albany, 1893.
- 2. David, Robert B., Finn Burnett, Frontiersman, Glendale, 1937.
- 3. Appleman, Roy E., "Action on the Bozeman Trail, 1866-67," Great Western
- Indian Fights, New York, 1960.

 4. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area, Washington, 1970.

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STATE:			CODE	COUN	ITY:				CODE
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				1					
	PREPARED BY								***********
ORGANIZ	ATION	Bearss, Hi History a		oric	Architect	ure -E	SC Jul	y 26,	1970
STREET	and number: 4228 Wisc	onsin Ave.	, NW						
CITY OR	Town: Washington	n		STAT	D.C	•			CODE
. STATE	LIAISON OFFICER C	ERTIFICATIO	NC		NATIONA	L REGIST	ER VERIF	CATIO	٧
	designated State Liai								
tional 89-665	Historic Preservation i), I hereby nominate the National Register and	is property for	inclusion	- 11	ereby certify tional Regist		operty is in	ncluded	in the
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¹Form 10-301 (July 1969)

I. NAME

AND/OR HISTORIC:

COMMON: Havfield Fight Site

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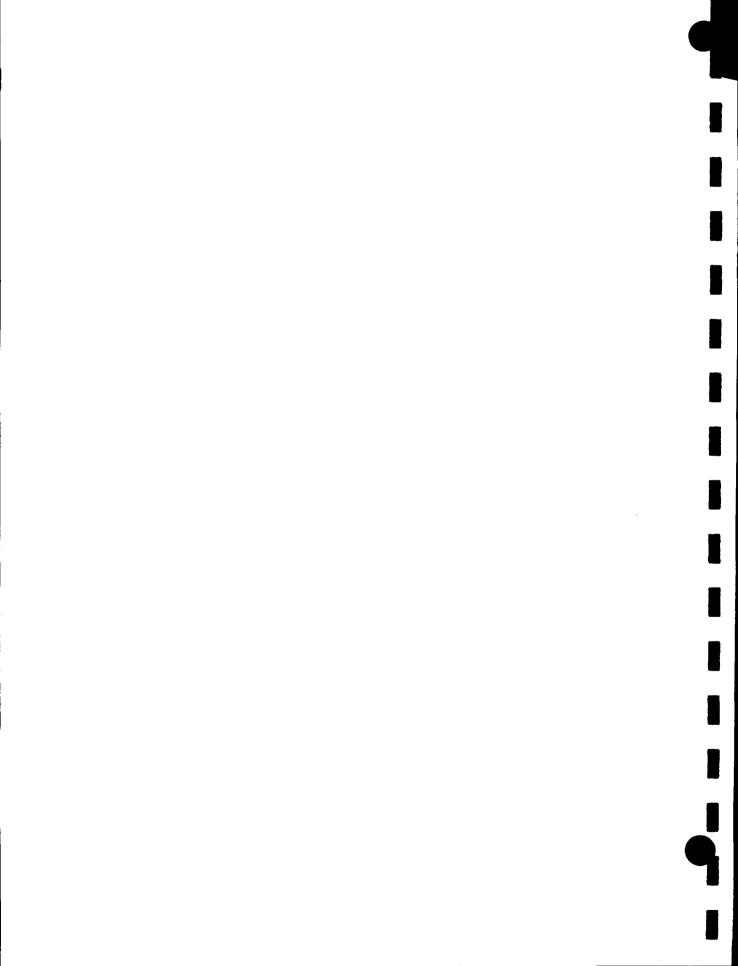
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

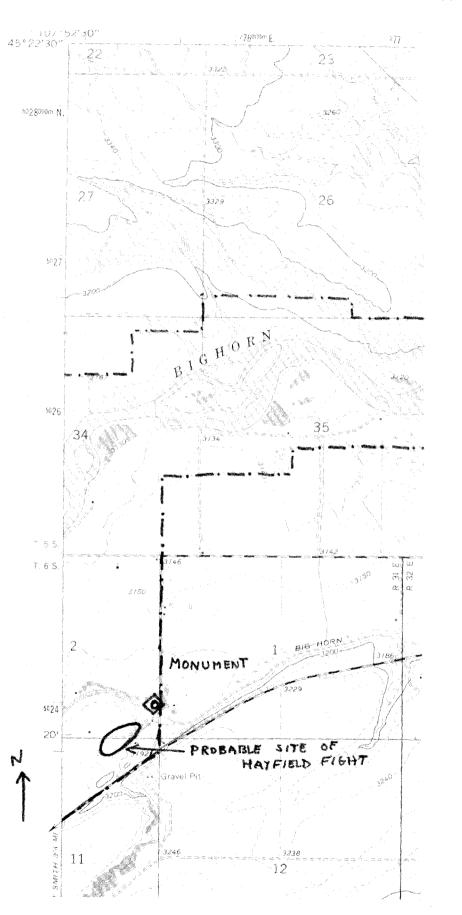
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with map)

ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
Big Horn	
COUNTY	
MONTANA	
*181E	

	TY OR TOWN:	Township 6 South.	East.
1	,		East.
ST	ATE: CODE COUNTY	' :	
. }	MONTANA	ig' Horn	
3. MA	PREFERENCE		
	URCE:		
L	U.S.G.SMountain Pocket Creek Quadrangle		
sc.	ALE: 1: 24,000		
DA	TE: 1964		
4. RE	UIREMENTS		
тс	BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS		
	1. Property broundaries where required.		
- 1	2. North arrow.		
	3. Latitude and longitude reference.		
	•		
			
		TSTATE	
	UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR	31015	
	NATIONAL DADY SERVICE		
	NATIONAL PARK SERVICE	COUNTY	
	NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES	COUNTY	
	NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES	COUNTY FOR NPS USE	ONLY
	NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM	FOR NPS USE	ONLY
	NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES	FOR NPS USE	
I. NA	NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM (Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)	FOR NPS USE	
	NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM (Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)	FOR NPS USE	
co	NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM (Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)	FOR NPS USE	
C C	NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM (Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph) ME IMMON: ID/OR HISTORIC:	FOR NPS USE	
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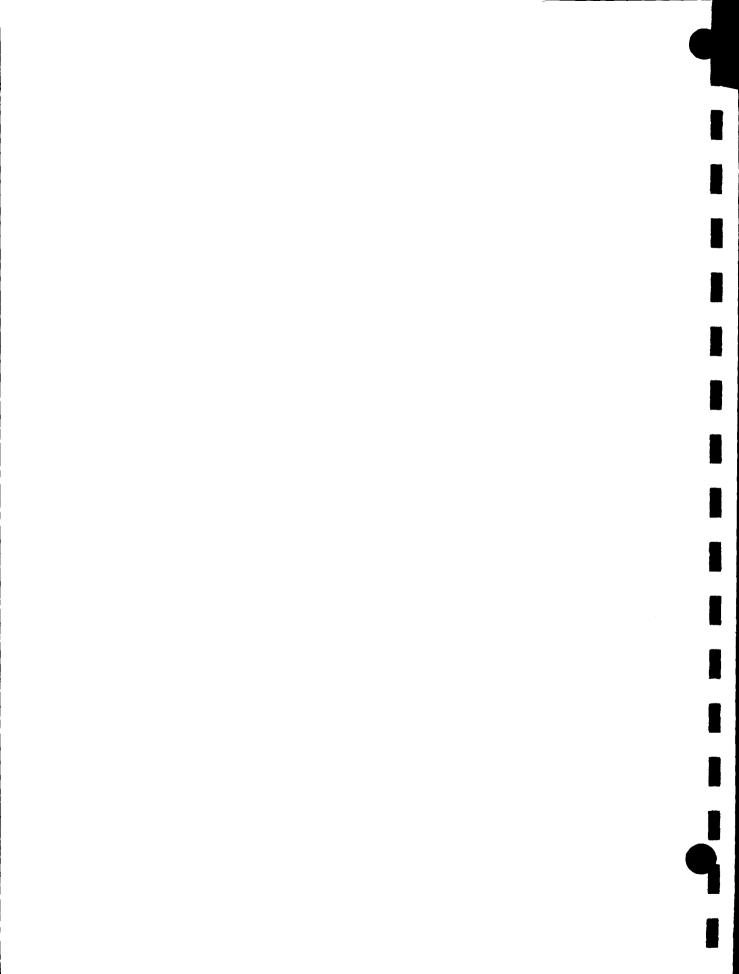




HAY-FIELD

FIGHT

SITE



 Form July	10-301 1969)
'Form	10-301
(July	1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

	501 1
TATE	
COUNTY	
FOR NPS USE ON	LY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

PROPERTY MAP FORM		FOR NPS USE ONLY		
(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with map)		ENTRY NUMBER	DATE	
CODE	COUNTY:		CODE	

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	or enclose with m	or enclose with map)	or enclose with map)	

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM

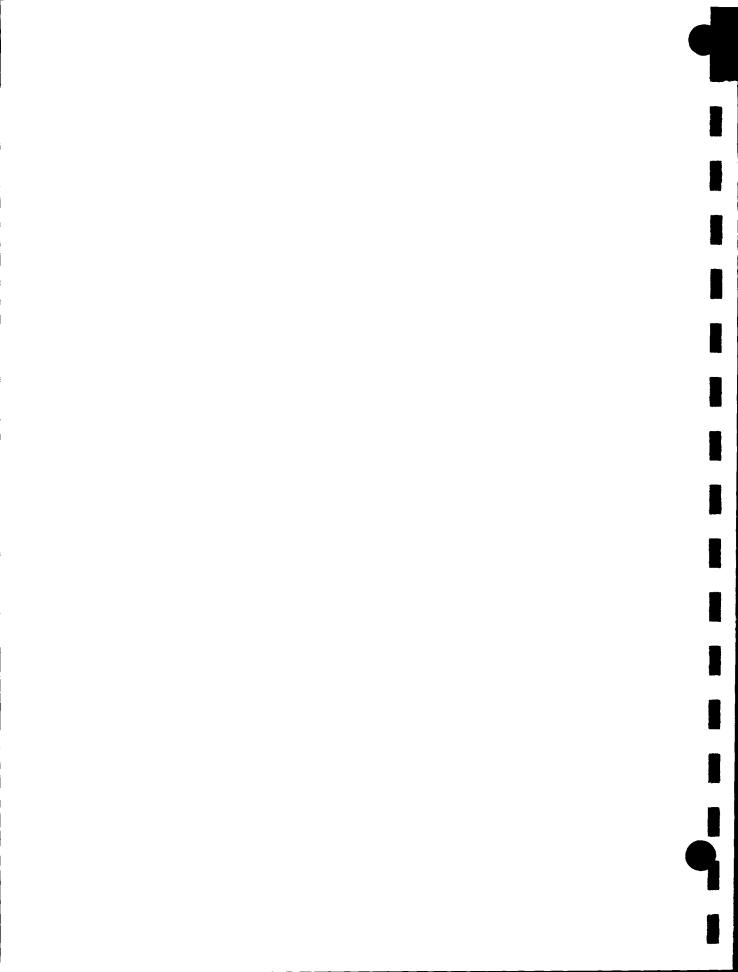
(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)

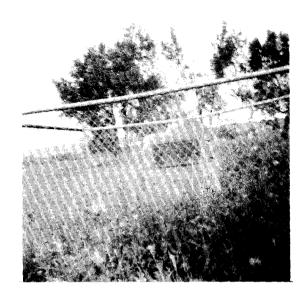
STATE	
MONTANA	
COUNTY	·····
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ON	LY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
	

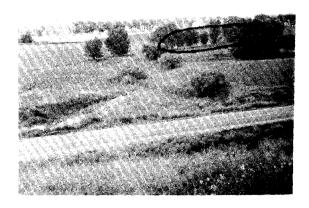
1. NAME	I	1
COMMON: Havfield Fight		
AND/OR HISTORIC:		
2. LOCATION		
of Hardin-Fort C. F. Smith road, in		
CITY OR TOWN:		ast.
STATE:	CODE COUNTY:	CODE
MONTANA	Big Horn	
3. PHOTO REFERENCE		
рното скеріт: Bearss, E. C.		
DATE OF PHOTO: July 1939		
NEGATIVE FILED AT:		
• Eastern Service Cent	er	

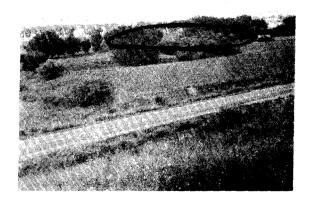
4. IDENTIFICATION DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.

- 1. View of Monument at Hayfield Fight Site erected by Dr. Hebard.
- 2. View of corral site from bluff, looking northeast, site of corral encircled.
- View of corral site from bluff, looking northeast, site of corral encircled.

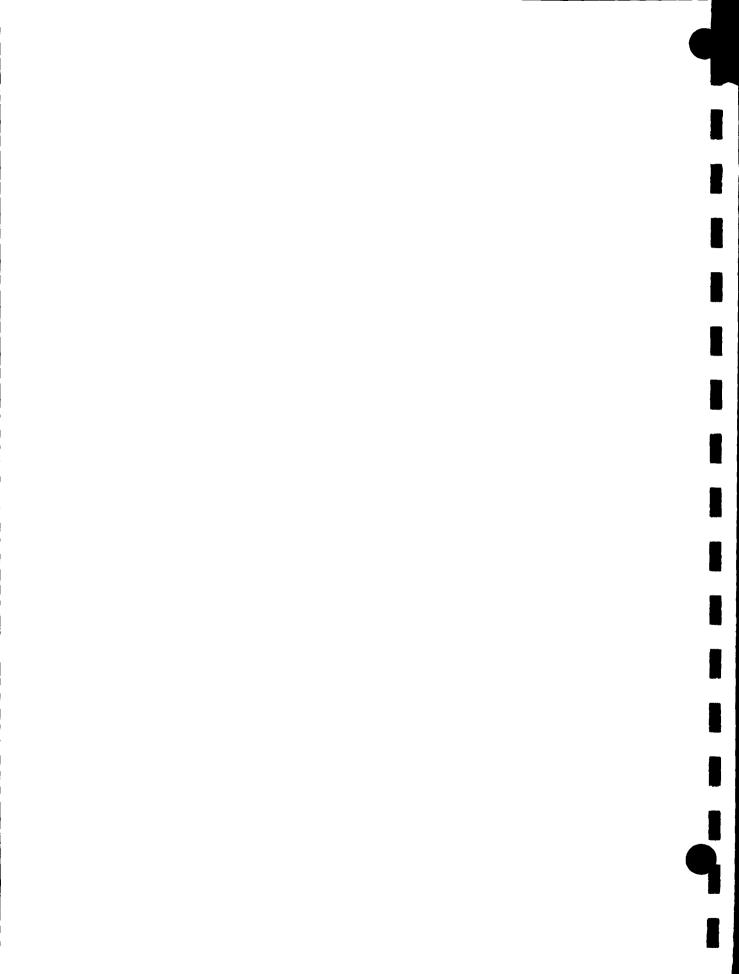








HAYFIELD FIGHT SITE

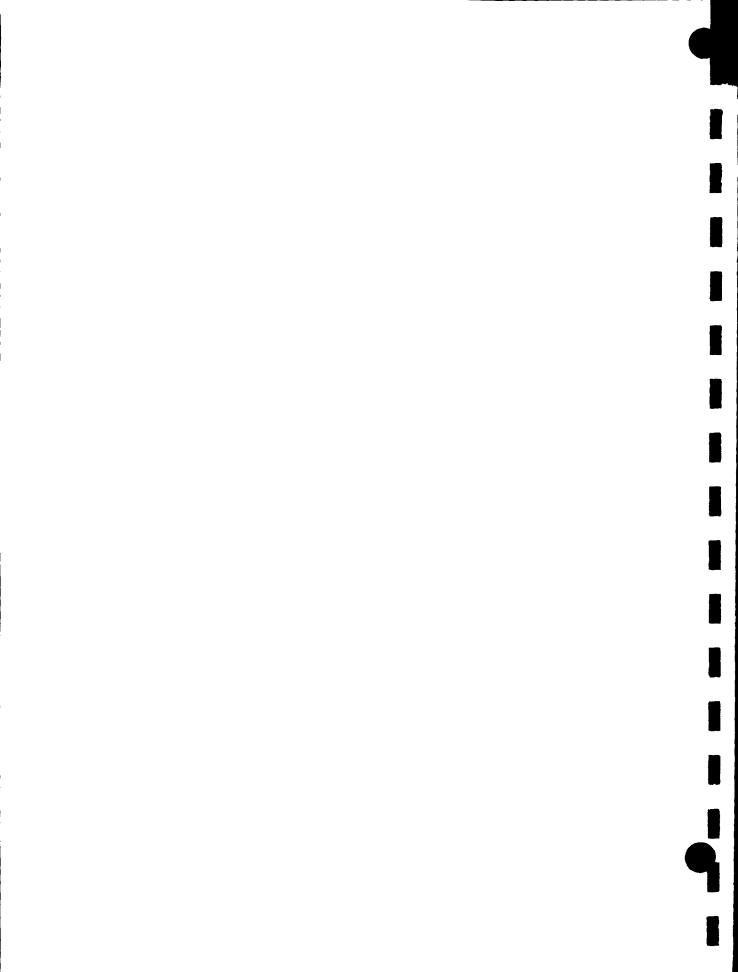


FORT C. F. SMITH

NOMINATION

MAP

PHOTOGRAPHS



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

LY
DATE

INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM	<u> </u>	FOR NPS	USE ONLY	
/T 11 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	-	ENTRY NUMBE		DATE
(Type all entries — complete applicable sections	s)			
AME COMMON:				
Fort C. F. Smith				
AND/OR HISTORIC:				
OCATION				
STREET AND NUMBER: 1,500 feet north of Hardin-	Fort C.F.	Smith road	on lin	o bo-
tween sections is a id, lownship o South. R	ange 31	East.	, OH TIM	e be-
CITY OR TOWN:				
STATE				
	OUNTY:		I	CODE
MONTANA CLASSIFICATION	Big	g Horn		***************************************
CATEGORY		Τ		
(Check One) OWNERSHIP		STATUS	TO THE	
District Building Public Public Acquisition			Yes:	PUBLIC
Site		☐ Occupied ☐K Unoccupied	Restri	icted
☐ Object	nsidered	Preservation wo		fricted
x Tribal		in progress	□ No	
PRESENT USE (Check One or More as Appropriate)				
🔀 Agricultural 🔲 Government 🔲 Park		Transportation		
Commercial Industrial Private Residence		Other (Specify)	Commen	175
☐ Educational ☐ Military ☐ Religious		(opecily)		
☐ Entertainment ☐ Museum ☐ Scientific				
WNER OF PROPERTY				
OWNER'S NAME:				$-\tau$
Crow Tribal Council and Deeded.				
FIREE AND NUMBER:				3
ITY OR TOWN:	STATE:	·		MONTANA
Crow Agency		ONTANA	CO	PE B
OCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION				
OURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC:				
Big Horn County Courthouse				В
TREET AND NUMBER:				00
ITY OR TOWN:				Horn
	STATE		COL	DE D
Hardin	M	ONTANA	1	_
PRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS				
ITLE OF SURVEY:				
Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Re	creation	Area"		
			7 Local	
ATE OF SURVEY: Federal	State	County		
ATE OF SURVEY: Federal EPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS:	State	County		
ATE OF SURVEY: Federal EPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: OAHP	☐ State	County		
ATE OF SURVEY: EPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: OAHP TREET AND NUMBER:	State	County		
ATE OF SURVEY: EPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: OAHP TREET AND NUMBER: 801 19th St., NW		County		
ATE OF SURVEY: EPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: OAHP TREET AND NUMBER:	STATE:	County [COD	E

DESCRIPTION	1			(Check One)		
	☐ Excellent	☐ Good	☐ Fair	Deteriorated	Ruins	☐ Unexposed
CONDITION		(Check Or	? o)		(Che	ck One)
•	☐ Alter	red	(Unaltered		☐ Moved	Original Site

Originally Fort C. F. Smith was a log and adobe fort, 330 feet square. It was enclosed, with bastions at the northwest and southwest angles. A number of outbuildings were located outside the stockade.

The only surface remains of the fort are mounds of earth indicating the location of the adobe structures, and depressions pin-pointing sites of other features. While Yellowtail Dam was under construction, the area was extensively pot-hunted.

ERIOD (Check One or Mor	e as Appropriate)		
Pre-Columbia	16th Century	☐ 18th Century	20th Century
☐ 15th Century	☐ 17th Century	19th Century	
PECIFIC DATES) (If App	icable and Known)		
REAS OF SIGNIFICANCE	(Check One or More as Appropr	inte)	
Abor iginal	Education	☐ Political	Urban Planning
Prehistoric	☐ Engineering	Religion/Phi-	Other (Specify)
Historic	☐ Industry	losophy	
Agriculture	Invention	Science	
Architecture	Landscape	☐ Sculpture	
□ Art	Architecture	Social/Human-	·
Commerce	Literature	itarian	
Communications	Militory	☐ Theater	
Conservation	Music	☐ Transportation	
ATEMENT OF SIGNIFICA Fort C. F. Smil	th was one of three	forts established	by the United Stat he most isolated o

"The war fought by the United States Army against the Sioux and their allies in 1866-1868 for control of the Bozeman Trail, was important in the western expansion of our country. Precipitated by the construction of forts to protect the trail and emigrants en route to western Montana, the war was terminated by a temporary retreat by the United States. At Fort Laramie in April 1868, the United States, for the first time, failed to force its will on the Indians and make them accept its terms. The final settlement with the Sioux and their allies would be postponed until 1876-1877, after the government had been compelled to acknowledge the failure of its peace policy. That the United States failed to prevail in the Red Cloud War is forgotten by most of today's historians and journalists in writing of our troubles in Korea and Vietnam."

TNSTRUCTIONS

510 9. Major Bibliographical Reperences

- 1. Lockhart, James D., Life and Adventures of a Drummer Boy, Albany, 1893.
- 2. David, Robert B., Finn Burnett, Frontiersman, Glendale, 1937.

3. Ma	ttes, 1 Burt d	Merrill J on the Fr	., Indian	ns, Denv	Infan er. 1	iti .91	e, and 60.	Infant	ry: And	lrew a	ınd Eliz	abeth
4. Be	arss, I	E. C., "B	asic Data		-			Canyon	Nation	al Re	ecr e atio	n Area
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	PREPAR	ED BY						•				
NAME AI	ID IIIE	Edwin C.	Bearss.	His	toria	ın						
ORGANI Z	ZATION									DAT	r E	<u>,,</u>
		Office o	f History	y & :	Histo	ri	ic Arch	itectu	re, ESC	;	July 2	7, 1970
STREET	AND NUME											
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		Washingt	on					D. C				
STATE	LIAISON	OFFICER C		ION			h			ER VE	RIFICATIO	N
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		ed State Liai Preservation					I hereby	y certify	that this p	roperty	is included	l in the
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		Register and				H						
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		ional Park Se										
		ance of this			inc naca		Chief,	Office of	Archeolog	y and H	listoric Pre	eservation
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N	lational		<u> </u>	0021	LI	Ì						
						ľ	Date					
Name						_	ATTES	т.				
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Title						-		Keep	er of The		l Register	
											_	
Date							Date					

Form 10-301 (July 1969)

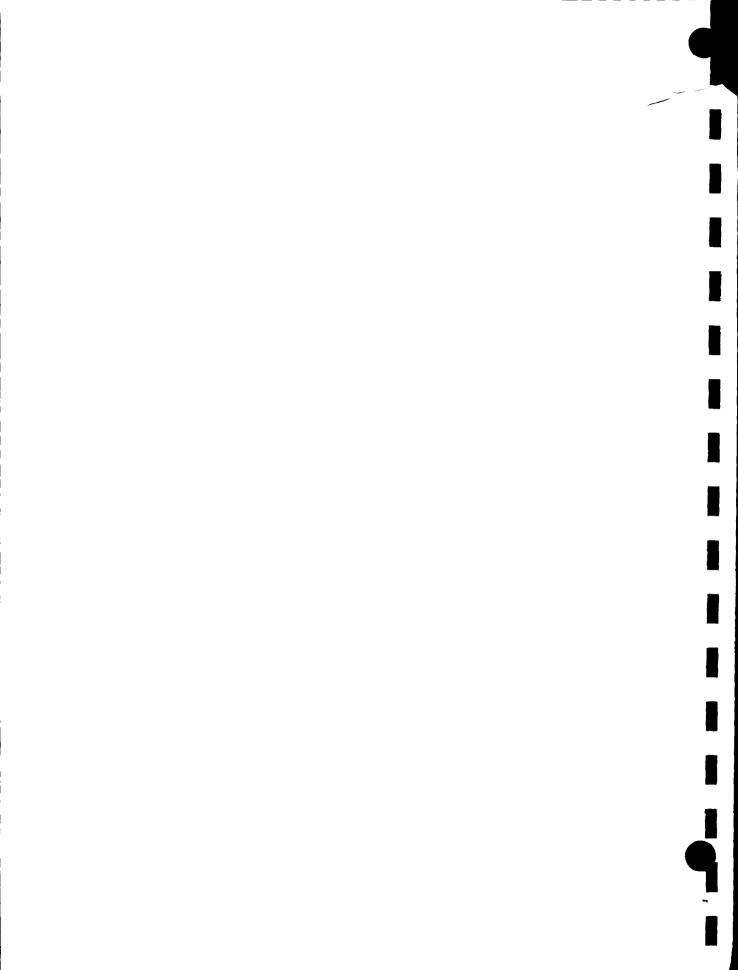
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

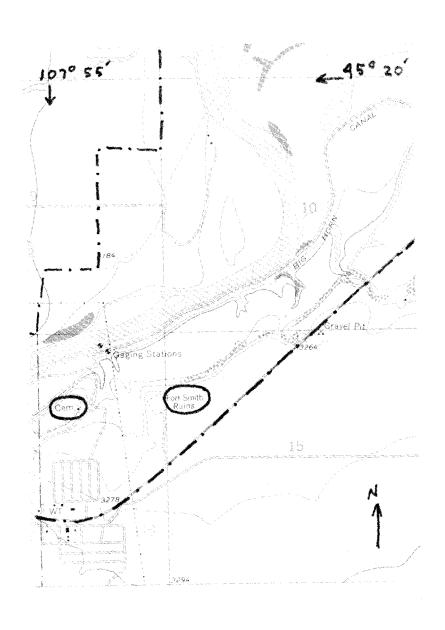
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

STATE	
MONTANA	
COUNTY	·····
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ON	LY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Type all entries - attach to	or enclose with map)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
NAME	• ′		
COMMON: Fort C. F. Smith			
AND/OR HISTORIC:			
LOCATION			
STREET AND NUMBER: 1,500 feet nor	th of Hardin-Fort C.	F. Smith road, on	the line
between Sections 15 and 16, T	ownship 6 South, Rang	ge 31 East.	·
STATE:	CODE COUNTY:		CODE
MONTANA	The state of the s	ig Horn	CODE
MAP REFERENCE		<u> </u>	
SOURCE:	Out dwar 1 a		
U.S.G.SYellowtail Dam	, Quadrangie.		
SCALE: 1:24,000	AMERICAN PROPERTY OF THE PROPE		
DATE: 1964			
REQUIREMENTS			
TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS			
1. Property broundaries where required.			
2. North arrow.			

	UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE			
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HI	STORIC PL	ACES	COUNTY	
PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPI	H FORM		FOR NPS USE ON	LY
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NAME				
соммой.				·
AND/OR HISTORIC:	·			
LOCATION				
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CITY OR TOWN:		and the control of th		
STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:		CODE
PHOTO REFERENCE				
PHOTO CREDIT:				
DATE OF PHOTO:				
NEGATIVE FILED AT:			,	
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DENTIFICATION				





FORT C. F. SMITH

	
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•	Form (July	10-30 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

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STATE	
MONTANA	
COUNTY	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ONL	Υ.
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

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(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with map)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
. NAME		
COMMON:		
AND/OR HISTORIC:		
2. LOCATION		
STREET AND NUMBER:		
CITY OR TOWN:		
STATE: CODE COUNTY:		CODE
3. MAP REFERENCE		
SOURCE:		
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4. REQUIREMENTS		
TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS		
1. Property broundaries where required.		ļ
2. North arrow.		į
3. Latitude and longitude reference.		

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

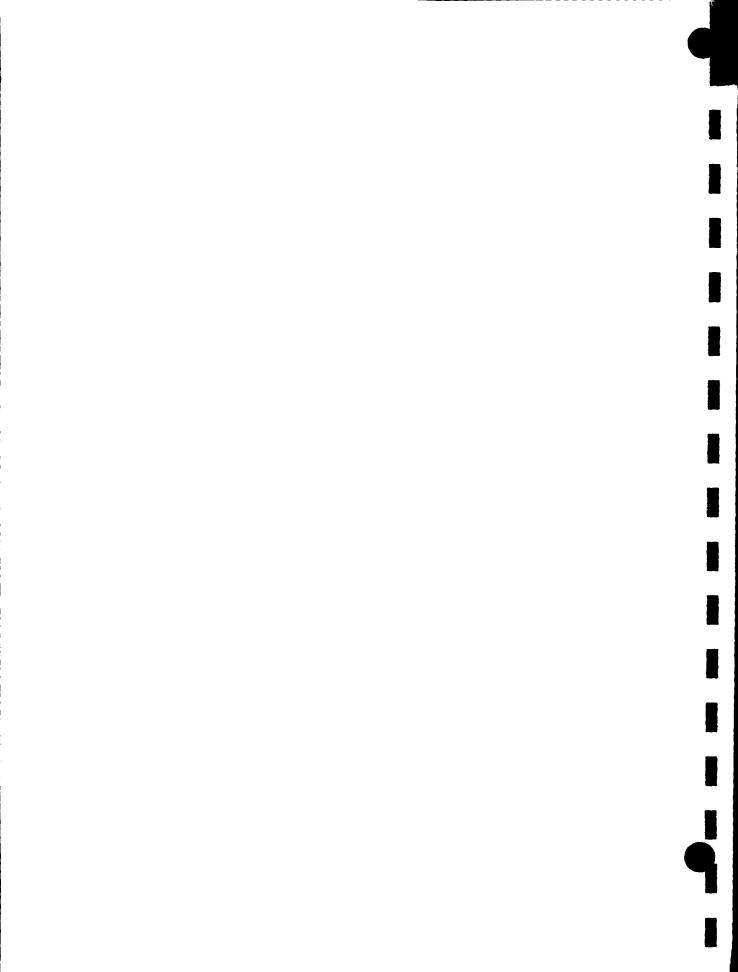
PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM

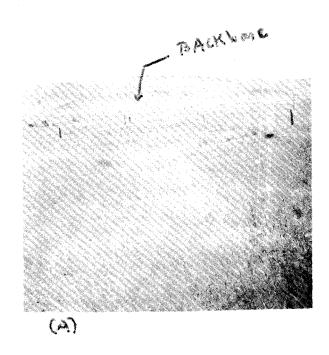
Big Hill and War Man Creek.

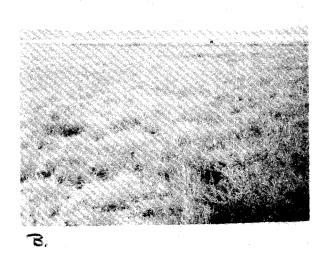
STATE	
MONTANA	
COUNTY	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ON	ILY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

	1.	CON NEG UN	161
(Type all entries - attach to or en	close with photograph)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
1. NAME			
common: Fort C. F. Smith	The second secon		
AND/OR HISTORIC:	Management (All Control of Contro		
2. LOCATION	- 1000		
STREET AND NUMBER:			
1,500 feet north of Ha	rdin-Rore C E Smit	h road on 14no h	n <i>t</i>
CITY OR TOWN: Sections 15 & 16, To	wnship 6 South, Rang	e 31 East.	21.WEEH
STATE: MONTANA	CODE COUNTYBig	Horn	CODE
3. PHOTO REFERENCE			
PHOTO CREDIT: Bearss, E. C.	Market and service and C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.		
DATE OF PHOTO: July 1969	engan magamakan mengebebah sebagai penangan seman penangan dengan penangan penangan dengan berangan berangan da		
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Feetern Swarmin	e Center		
4. IDENTIFICATION	E-MEILLER.	**************************************	
DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.			

A. Looking Southwest across remains of Fort C. F. Smith toward the Backbone, community of Fort C. F. Smith in background.
 B. Looking southeast across remains of Fort S. F. Smith toward







FORT C. F. SMITH

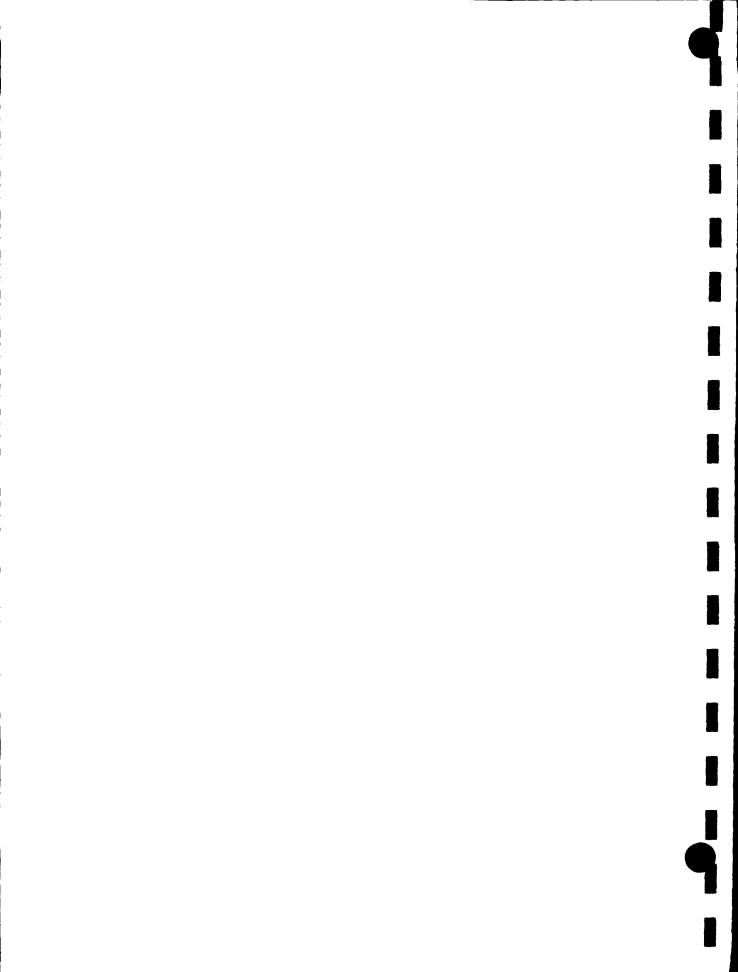
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KANE CEMETERY

NOMINATION

MAP

PHOTOGRAPHS



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

INVENTURY - NUMINATION FORM

	521
STATE:	
WYOMING	
COUNTY,	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ON	LY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Type all entries - complete applicable sections)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
NAME		
COMMON:		
Kane Cemetery		
AND/OR HISTORIC:		
LOCATION		
street AND NUMBER: On improved gravel road, at no	rtheset corner of Sec	ation 32
Township 57 North, Range 94 West.	itheast coillet of be	CLIUM JZ,
CITY OR TOWN:		
STATE CODE COUNT	ry:	CODE
WYOMING	Big Horn	
CLASSIFICATION		
CATEGORY	STATUS	ACCESSIBLE
(Check One)	31A103 T	THE PUBLIC
District Building Dublic Public Acquisition:	☐ Occupied	Yes:
Site Structure Private In Process	Unoccupied	Restricted
Object Both Being Conside	Preservation work	Unrestricted
	in progress	No
PRESENT USE (Check One or More as Appropriate)		
Agricultural Government Park	[] T	Comments
Commercial Industrial Private Residence	☐ Transportation ☐ ☐ Other (Specify)	Comments
Educational Military Religious	x Active Cemetery	7
Entertainment Museum Scientific		
OWNER OF PROPERTY		
OWNER'S NAME:		
Public Ownership		5
STREET AND NUMBER:		
		WYOMING
CITY OR TOWN:	ATE:	CODE
Basin	WYOMING	
LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION		
COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC:		В
		Big
Big Horn County Courthouse		ł
Rig Horn County Courthouse		Æ
STREET AND NUMBER:		
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The Kane Cemetery is located on a sagebrush-covered flat near the Bighorn Reservoir. It is still active and the inscriptions on the stones give an insight into the history of Kane and many of the people who lived, worked, and died there. So it will be all that is left to remind future generations that for 55 years there was a town of Kane.

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"From 1910 until 1965 Kane was the trading center for ranchers and homesteaders of the Dryhead and Crooked Creek Country. Kane, during its most prosperous years, boasted a bank, hotel, two general stores, a poolhall, dancehall, postoffice, school, and depot. For many years, the only public crossing of the Bighorn between Greybull and the Canyon was the Kane Ferry. In the 1930s the Dayton-Kane Road was built across the Bighorns. A highway bridge was erected and the Kane Ferry went out of business. To take advantage of the tourist trade several service stations

"In 1965, with the completion of the Yellowtail Dam, the town's end was at hand. Surveys had shown that Kane, during periods when the storage capacity of the Bighorn Reservoir was at its maximum, would be partially inundated. The Bureau of Reclamation accordingly bought the land, and those owners who wished moved their buildings to new locations. Unlike many towns destroyed by construction of dams, no effort was made to reestablish Kane at a new site.

"The Kane Cemetery has survived the town."

and a motel were opened, but Kane failed to boom.

9. MAIOR	BIRT IOC	PAPHICA	 COLUMN TO SERVE

- 1. Scott, Bill, Pioneers of the Big Horn, Denver, 1966.
- 2. Bearss, Edwin C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area," Washington, 1970.

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Form 10-301 (July 1969)

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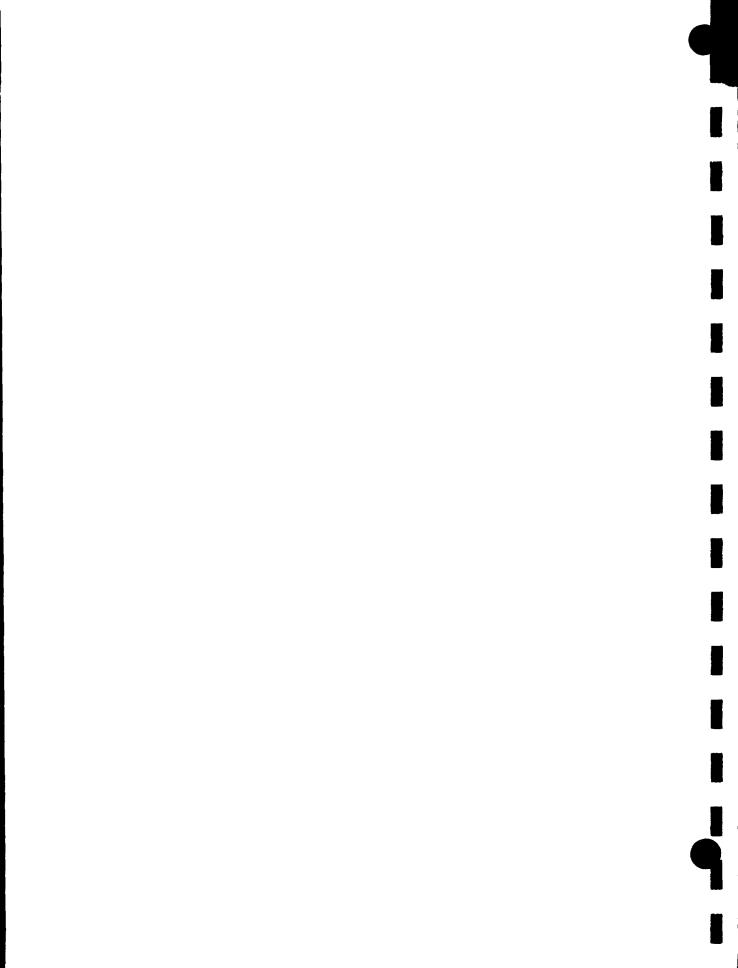
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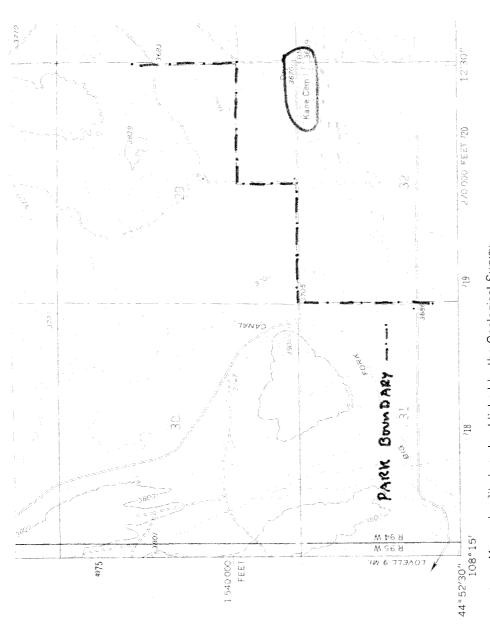
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PROPERTY MAP FORM	FOR NPS USE ONLY	
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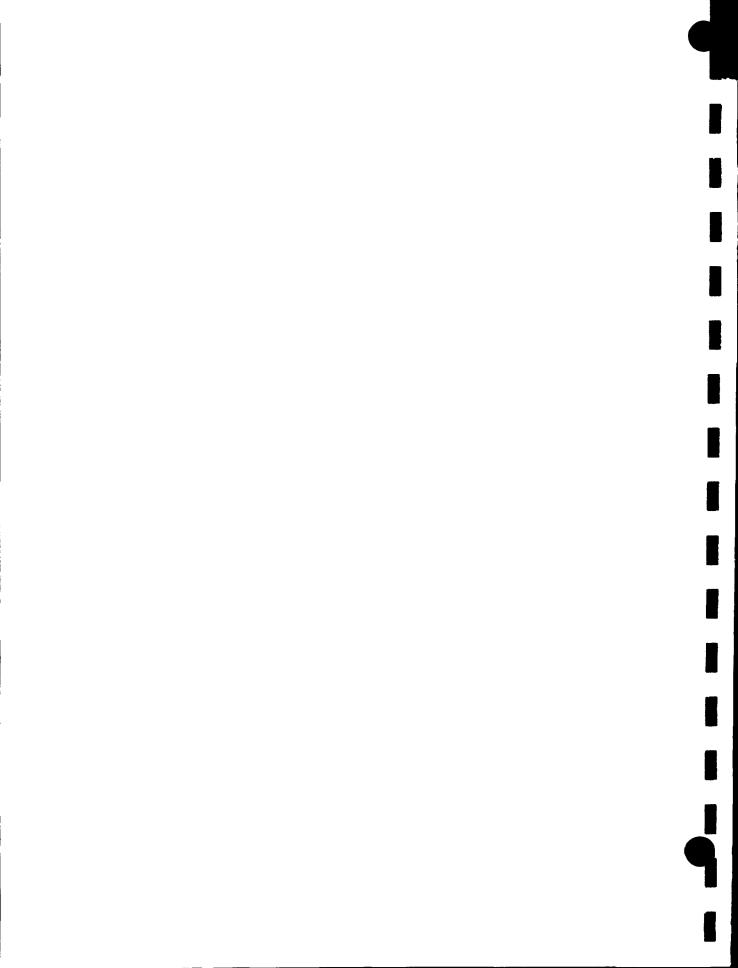
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Mapped, edited, and published by the Geological Survey as part of the Department of the Interior program for the development of the Missouri River Basin

KANE CEMETERY



Form	10-301
(July	1969)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

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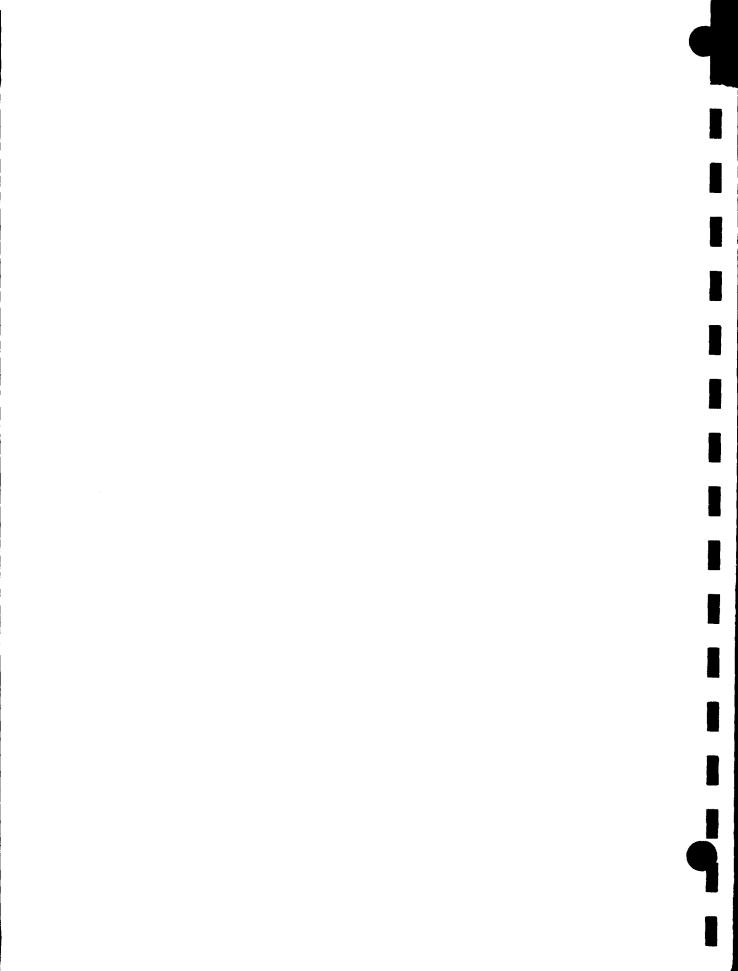
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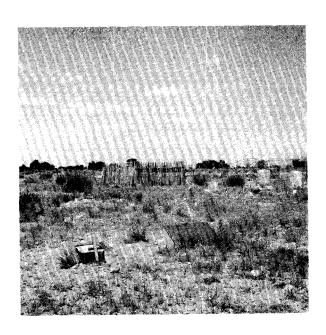
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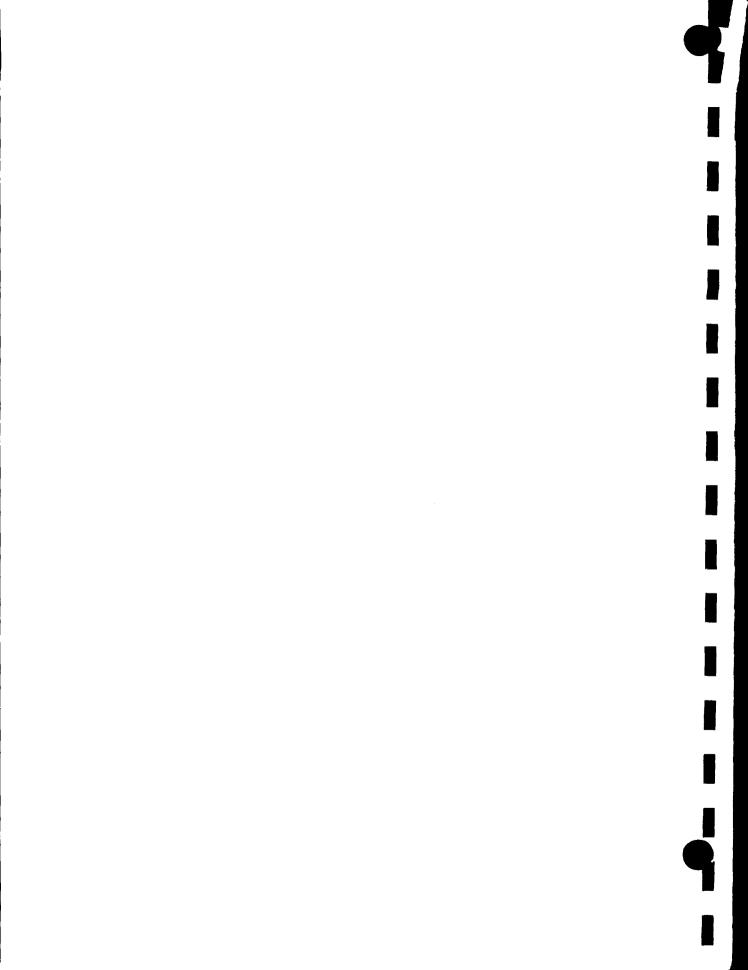
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3. PHOTO REFERENCE	
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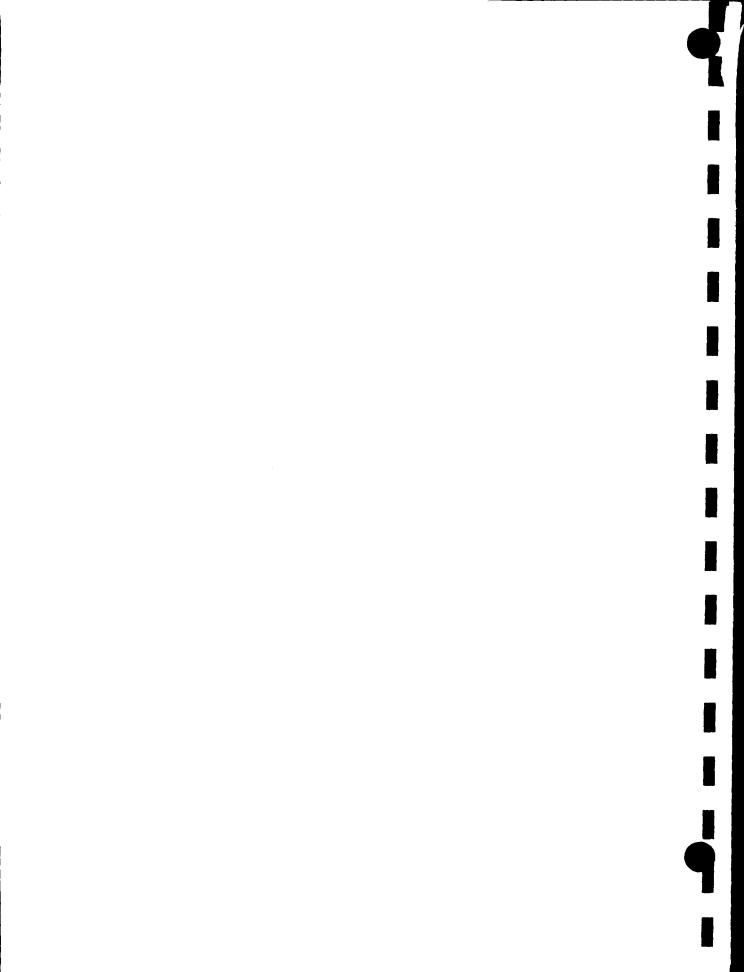
KANE CEMETERY



PRETTY EAGLE AND HOLE-IN-THE-ROCK VISION QUEST SITES

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[see p. 13, this study]

"Within the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area there are several vision quest sites. At Hole-in-the-Rock are two quest sites, about 50 feet apart. The one nearest the canyon appears to be undisturbed, while the other has been vandalized. The well-preserved one consists of an oval-shaped enclosure of rocks, piled to a height of about one foot. From these sites, one is able to look down into the canyon.

'On a point overlooking the confluence of Bighorn and Black Canvons is the quest site used by Chief Pretty Eagle. Here, inside the rock oval overlooking the wild canyons, he fasted until a pretty eagle spoke to him and gave him his medicine."

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15th Century	☐ 17th Century	19th Century	
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Prehistoric	Engineering	Religion/Phi-	Other (Specify)
☑ Historic	industry industry	losophy	
☐ Agriculture	Invention	Science	
Architecture	Landscape	Sculpture	
☐ Art	Architecture	Social/Human-	
☐ Commerce	Literature	itarian	
☐ Communications		☐ Theater	AND THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY
Conservation	Music	Transportation	
STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE			-13, this study]

"The boys of the tribe listened for hours to stories of the deeds of brave warriors. They were taught to run, swim, wrestle, hunt, and ride. They learned the secrets of nature. Finally, as they approached puberty they were taught to be warriors. But before becoming a warrior, a boy must seek a vision and find his "medicine," those spirit helpers who protected and aided the warriors of the plains.

"When the boy was ready to make his vision quest, he went alone into the mountains. Popular quest sites for the Crow were in the Bighorn, Crazy, Pryor, and Wind River Mountains. Here the boy would take a sweat-bath, select a spot overlooking a canyon or cliff, and erect an oval-shaped rock enclosure. The rocks would be piled one on another until they reached a height of one foot or more. He would then take position inside the oval, and continue his fast that had commenced on his departure from the village. He would remain inside the oval until he had a vision and found his medicine.

"According to Joe Medicine Crow, his grandfather, Medicine Crow, went on three vision quests. For his first quest he chose a peak in the Crazy Mountains. His second quest occurred in the Pryor Mountains, on 'the sacred tribal fasting grounds' overlooking the Bighorn Canyon. The site of his third quest is clouded by time. Because of his visions, which came to pass, his people revered him 'as a visionary type of medicine man.' Medicine Crow saw 'something black with round legs puffing smoke and pulling box-like objects behind it coming down the valley of the Greasy Grass (Little Bighorn).' This was 30 years before the track of the Big Horn Southern Railroad reached Crow Agency in 1895."

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- 1. Medicine Crow, Joe, personal interview with Edwin C. Bearss, July 25, 1969
- 2. Conner, Stuart W., Archaeological Site Report 24CB411.
- 3. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area," Washington, 1970.

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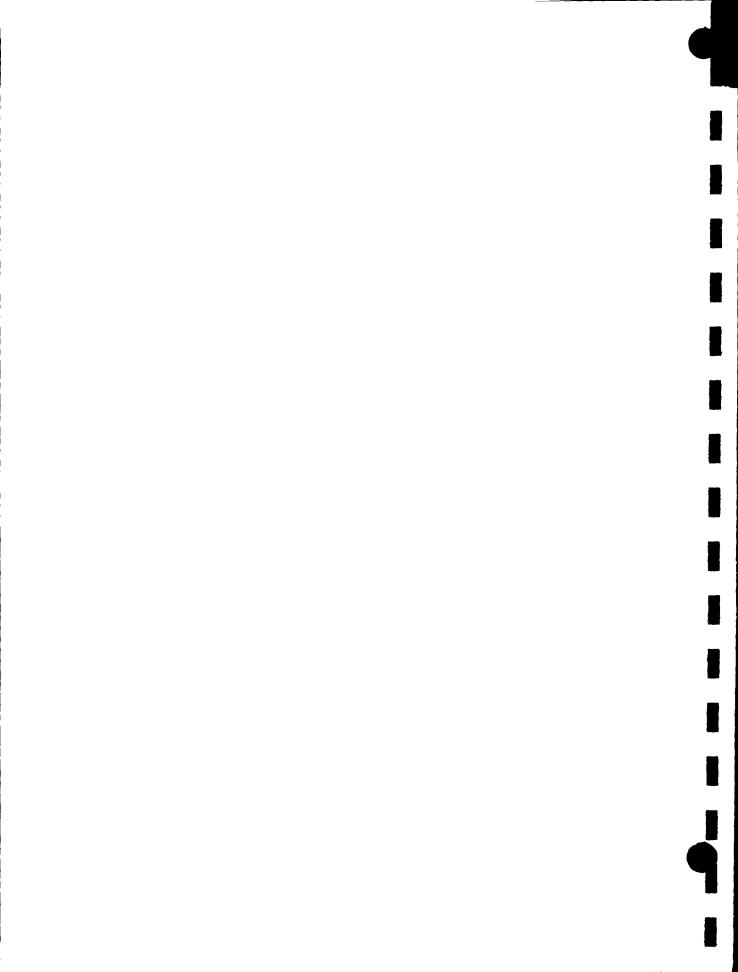
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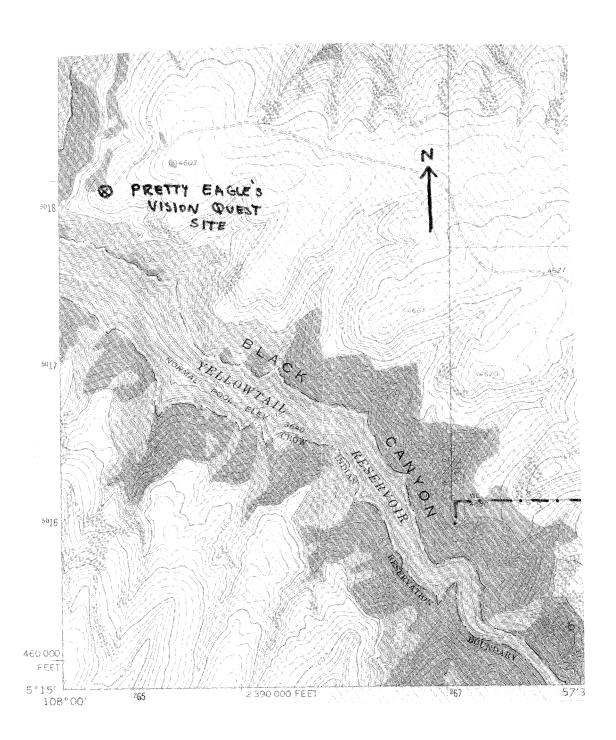
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

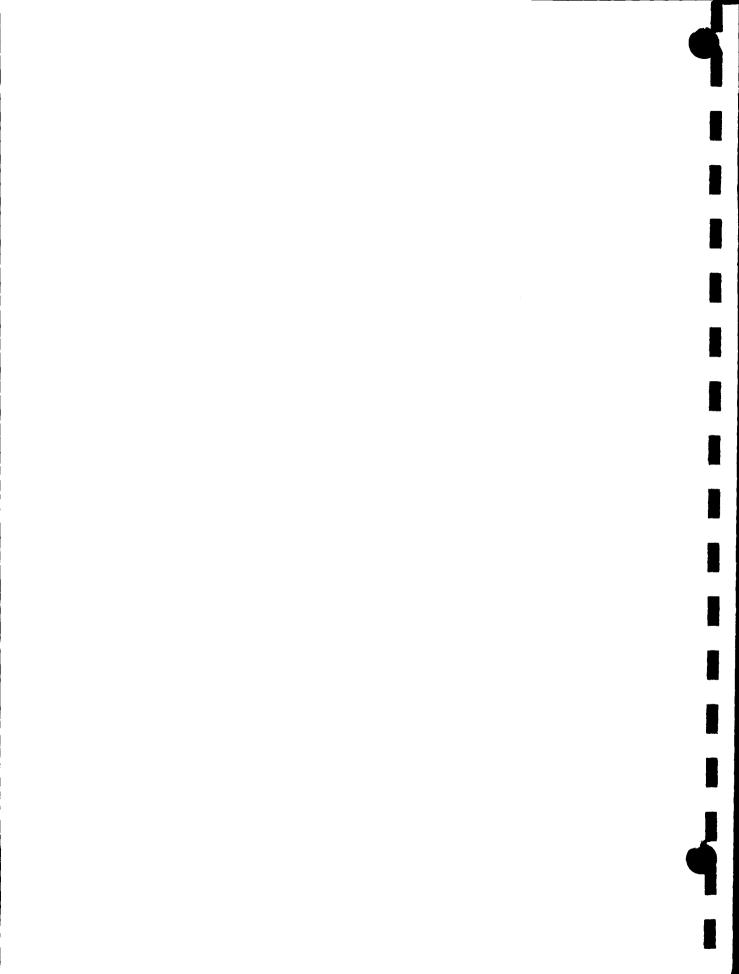
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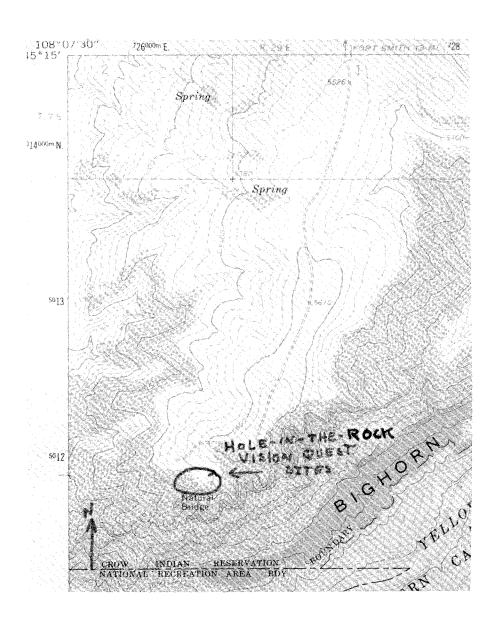
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north of Carbon County line,	overlooking Bighor	n Canyo
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PRETTY EAGLE'S VISION QUEST SITE





HOLE-IN-THE-ROCK VISION QUEST SITE

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Form 10-301 (July 1969)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES DECEDENTY MAD FORM

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM

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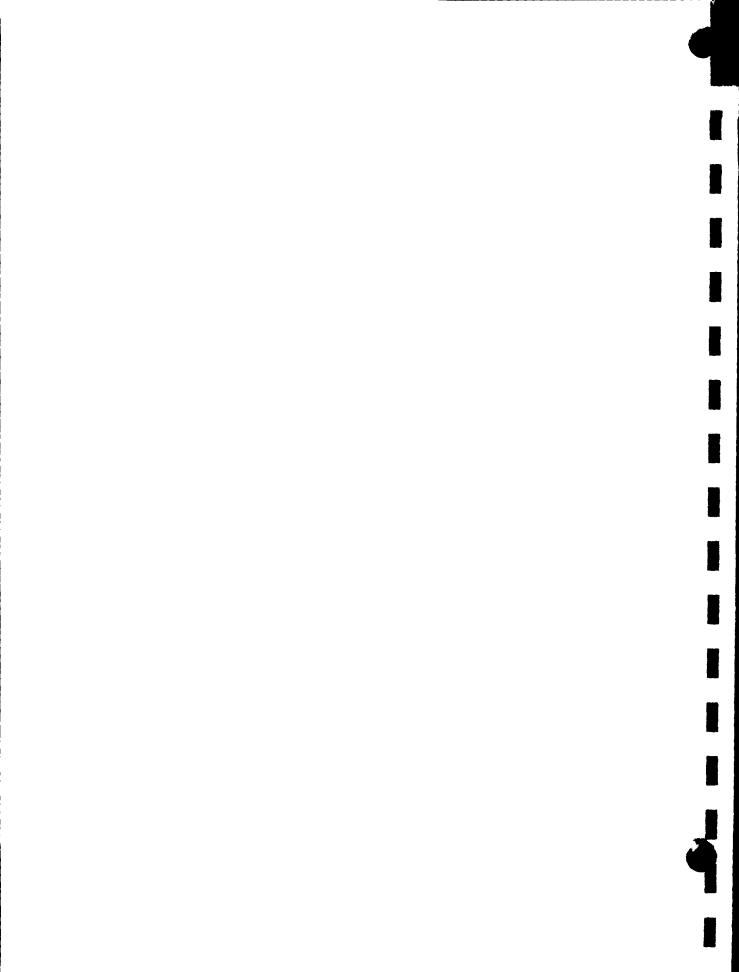
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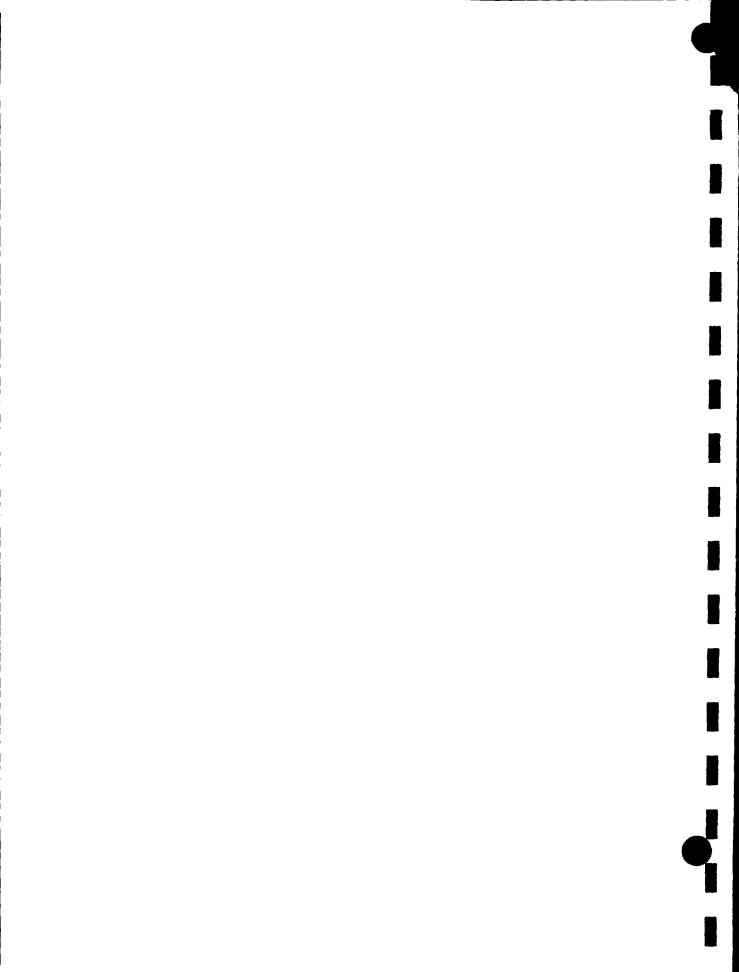


FORT C. F. SMITH MEDICINE WHEEL

NOMINATION

MAP

PHOTOGRAPHS



Form 10-300 (July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

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street and number: 2,000 feet north of bluff, on line between Sections 10 &	11, Townshi	p 6 North, Ran	ige 31 E	ast.
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MONTANA		Big Horn		
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The Fort C. F. Smith Medicine Wheel is much smaller than its better known counterpart on Medicine Mountain. It is located on the bluff line, overlooking the Bighorn Valley, and its six spokes and rim are composed of rocks placed there by Scarface.

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

ERIOD (Check One or More as		70d C- 4	20th Century
Pre-Columbian	☐ 16th Century	☐ 18th Century	
15th Century	☐ 17th Century	19th Century	
PECIFIC DATE(S) (If Applicab	le and Known)		
REAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Ch	eck One or More as Appropri	ate)	F7 Date: 81
Abor iginal	Education	☐ Political	Urban Planning
☐ Prehistoric	☐ Engineering	Religion/Phi-	Other (Specify)
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Conservation	Music	Transportation	

"The Fort Smith Medicine Wheel was built about 1850 by a Crow named Scarface: As a boy he had fallen head first into a firepit and was terribly burned. He recovered, but his face was horribly scarred. The other children called him Burnt Face or Scarface, and he fled into the Bighorns. There he lived in a cave as a recluse on Medicine Mountain, the site of the Medicine Wheel. When discovered and prevailed upon to rejoin his village, Scarface built the Fort Smith Medicine Wheel. This wheel is much smaller than the one on Medicine Mountain and has only six spokes."

SEEINSTRUCTIONS

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- 1. Medicine Crow with Edwin C. Bearss, Personal Interview, July 25, 1969.
- 2. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn National Recreation Area," Washington, 1970.

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Form 10-301 (July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

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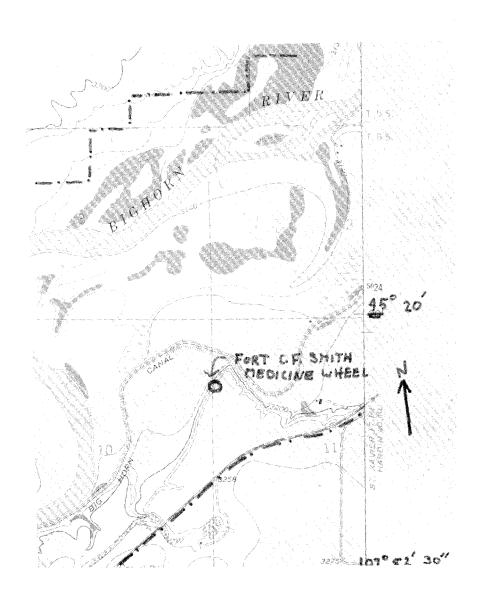
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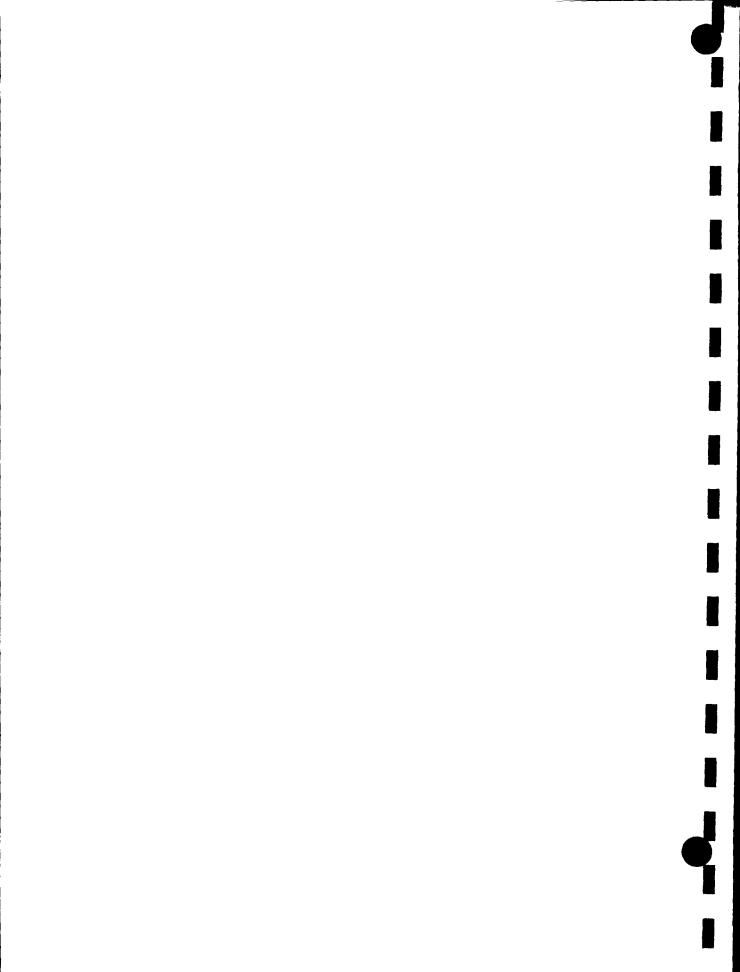
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(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with map)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
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AND/OR HISTORIC:		appropriate and an experience of the control of the
2. LOCATION		
street and Number: 2,000 feet north of Hardin-Fort of bluff, on line between Sections 10 & 11, Towns		
CITY OR TOWN:		
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MONTANA	Big Horn	
3. MAP REFERENCE		
source: U.S.G.S Yellowtail Dam Quadrangle		مبغور فستا والمتعددة المستوانات ووسوان والتواوي
SCALE: 1: 24.000		
DATE: 1964		
4. REQUIREMENTS		
TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS		
1. Property broundaries where required.		
2. North arrow.		
3. Latitude and longitude reference.		
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE	STATE	
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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE				
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES	COUNTY			
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DATE OF PHOTO:				
NEGATIVE FILED AT:				
4. IDENTIFICATION				
DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.				



FORT C. F. SMITH MEDICINE WHEEL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

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FOR NPS USE ONLY	<u> </u>
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
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(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with map)		ENTRY NOMBER	DATE	
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AND/OR METORIC:				
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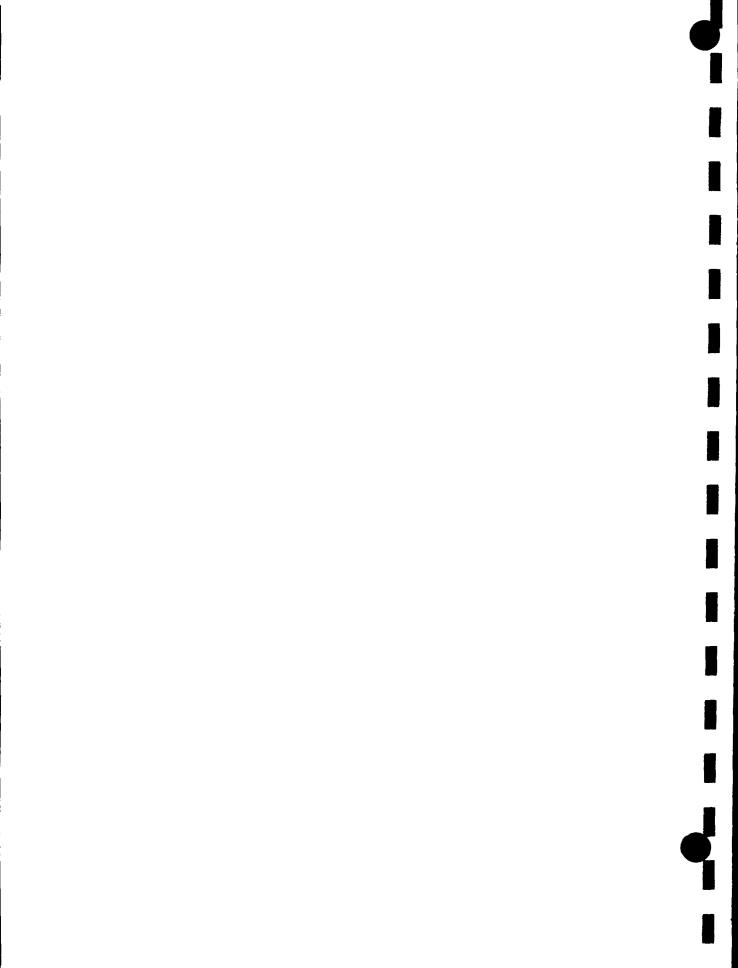
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

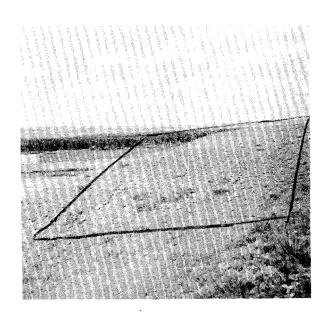
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

Bighorn River in background.

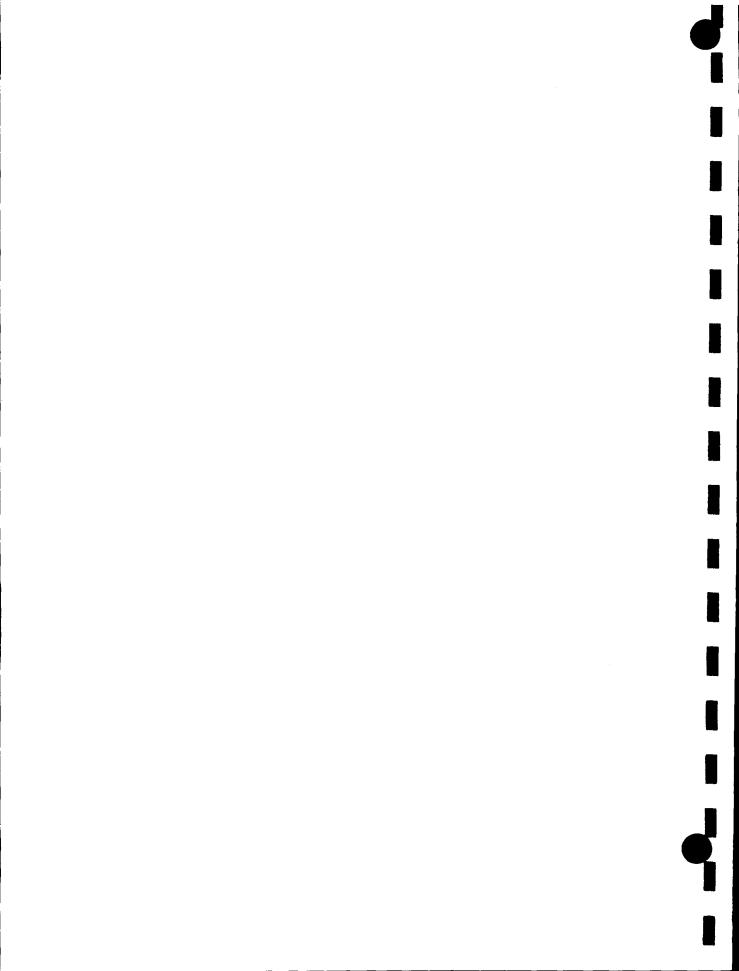
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MONTANA	
COUNTY	
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FOR NPS USE ONL	_Y
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	A

			Big Horn		
	PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM			FOR NPS USE ONLY	,
	(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)		ENTRY NUMBER	DATE	
			, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		
1.	NAME				
	COMMON: Fort C	. F. Smith Medicine Whe	el		
	AND OF HISTORICS				
2.	LOCATION				
	STREET AND NUMBE	2,000 feet north of H	lardin-Fort C.	F. Smith road on ed	lee of
	hluff, on lin	e between Sections 10 &	11 Township	6 North Pange 31 Fe	ige or
	CITY OR TOWN:		hand game to be the total to the total and t	Tradition, Name of the	31.
	STATE:		CODE COUNTY:		CODE
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3.	PHOTO REFERENC				
	PHOTO CREDIT:	Bearss, E. C.			
	A R DE FHATO	July 1969			
	NEGATIVE FILEO A				
		Eastern Service Cent	er		
4.	IDENTIFICATION				
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	Photograph o	of stones marking the w	heel, looking	toward northeast,	





FORT C. F. SMITH MEDICINE WHEEL

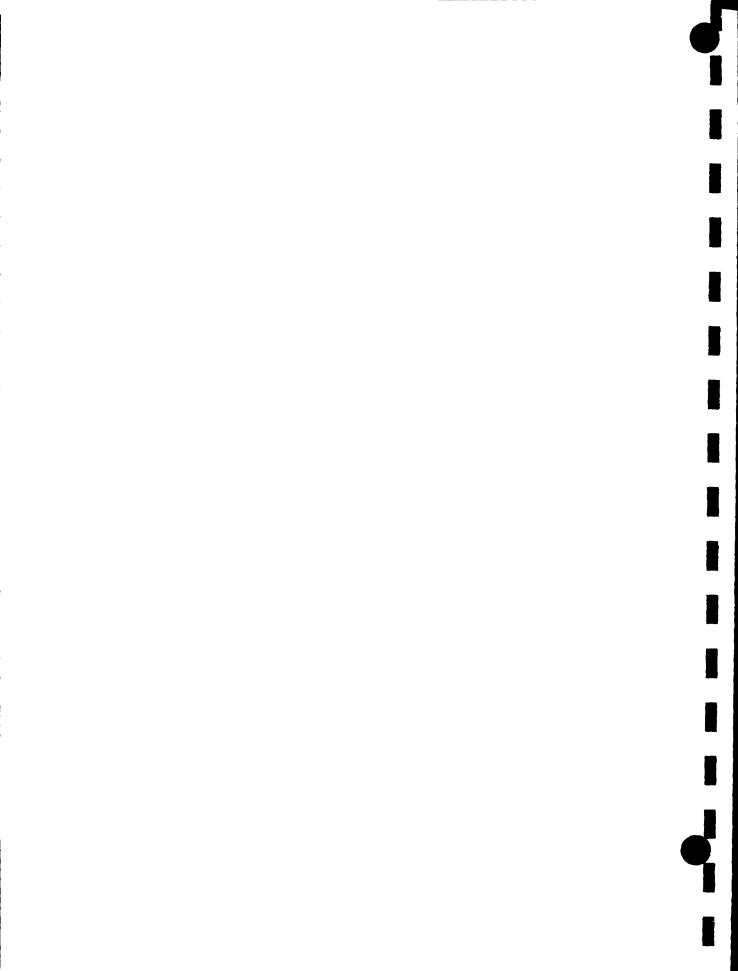


ML RANCH HEADQUARTERS

NOMINATION

MAP

PHOTOGRAPHS



Form 10-300 (July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

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STATE:	······································
WYOMING	
COUNTY:	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ON	ILY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

	- complete applic	Capie Section	10)			
NAME						
ML Ranch Head	quarters	• *				
AND/OR HISTORIC:						_
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Alternate, south of CITY OR TOWN: Reservoi						\dashv
MCSCI VOI	i. Dection is	,	_p	,		
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WYOMING]	Big Horn		
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CATEGORY (Check One)	OW	NERSHIP		STATUS	TO THE PUBLI	
	X Public P	Public Acquisit	ion:	Occupied	Yes:	
District Building S	Private	☐ In Pro		M Unoccupied	x Restricted	
Object	☐ Both	☐ Being	Considered	Preservation work	Unrestricted	, ,
·				in progress	□ No	
PRESENT USE (Check One or A	More as Appropriate)					
Agricultural G	overnment	Park		Transportation	☐ Comments	
	-	Private Reside		Other (Specify) Abandoned		-
		Religious Scientific		Abandoned	**************************************	-
	nsenw 🖂	Scientific				
OWNER OF PROPERTY TOWNER'S NAME:						
	Park Service					Ϋ́
STREET AND NUMBER:	Park Service					IIMOY
	Park Service				•	WYOMING
	Park Service		STATE:		CODE	YOMING
STREET AND NUMBER:			STATE:		CODE	YOMING
STREET AND NUMBER:	RIPTION		STATE:		CODE	
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,		Alters	(Check Or	ie) 🔽 Unaltered	.	(Ch	eck One)	
Со	NDITION	☐ Excellent	☐ Good	🔀 Feir	☐ Deteriorated	Ruins	Unexposed	
1					(Check One)			
. DES	CRIPTION							

There are extant at the headquarters of the ML Ranch four cotton-wood log structures, in addition to the corrals, dating to the 1880s and 1890s. One of these structures has deteriorated to the point where it is beyond salvage, but if prompt action is taken, the other structures (a large bunkhouse and two log cabins) can be preserved. There is considerable local interest in the preservation and interpretation of the ML Ranch Headquarters. The owner has offered to donate the structures and land to the Service, provided the structures are preserved.

 \subseteq

PERIOD (Check One or More as A	ppropriate)		
Pre-Columbian	☐ 16th Century	☐ 18th Century	20th Century
☐ 15th Century	☐ 17th Century	19th Century	
SPECIFIC DATE(S) (II Applicable	e and Known)		
AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Che	k One or More as Appropri	ete)	
Abor iginal	☐ Education	Political	Urban Planning
Prehistoric	Engineering	Religion/Phi-	Other (Specify)
Historic	☐ Industry	losophy	
Agriculture	☐ Invention	Science	
Architecture	Landscape	Sculpture	
☐ Art	Architecture	Social/Human-	
Commerce	Literature	itarian	
Communications	☐ Military	Theater	
Conservation	☐ Music	□ Transportation	
The open range can of the Bighorn Bas: the 1870s and 1880s land, on which the were permitted to a cowboys rode out or	attle industry water. The ML Ranches. These ranches was good water graze the open ra	h is typical of the consisted of a some for a headquarte ange. From the ra	ening to settlemente great spreads of mall tract of deeders, while cattle

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9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- 1. Lovell, Willard T., "Henry Clay Lovell," Ms, Files Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area.
- 2. Scott, Bill, Pioneers of the Big Horn, Denver, 1966.
- 3. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area, Washington, 1970.

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Form 10-301 (July 1969)

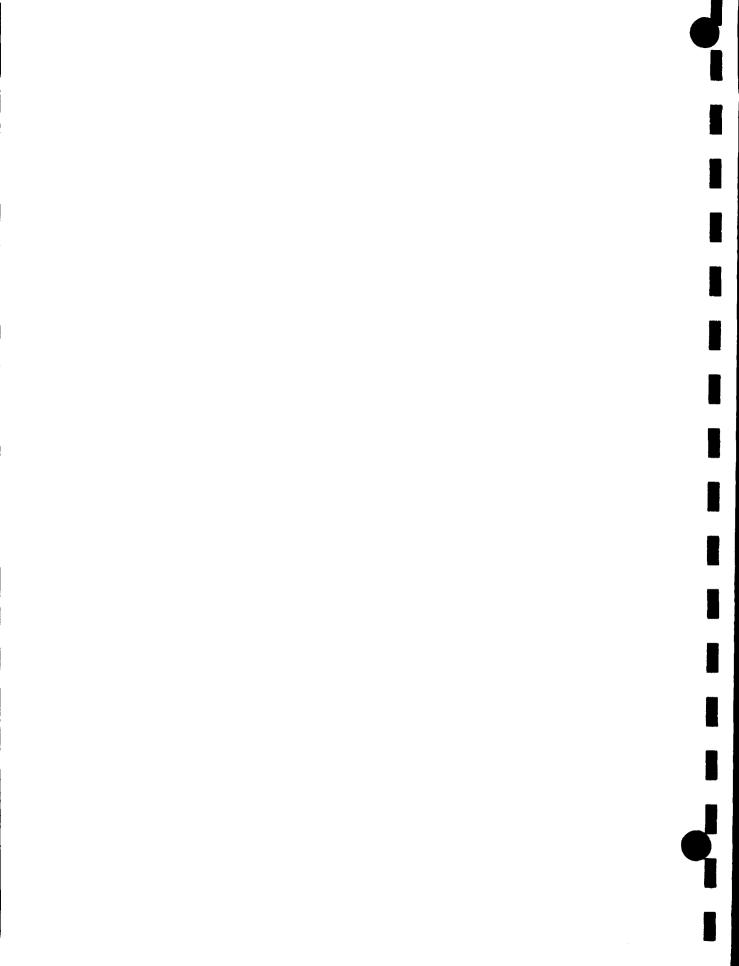
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

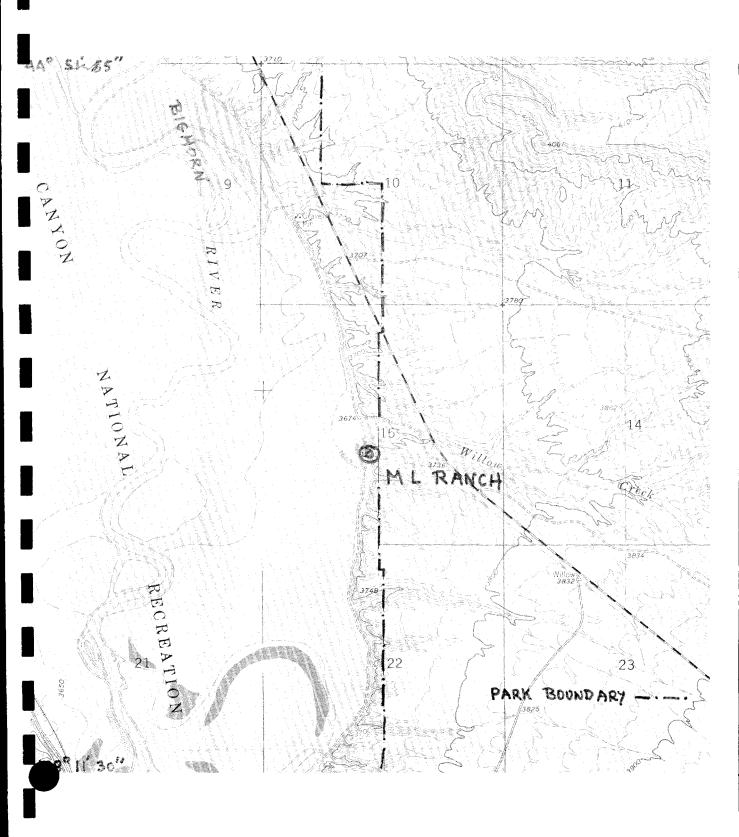
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

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STATE	
WYOMING	
COUNTY	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ON	ILY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

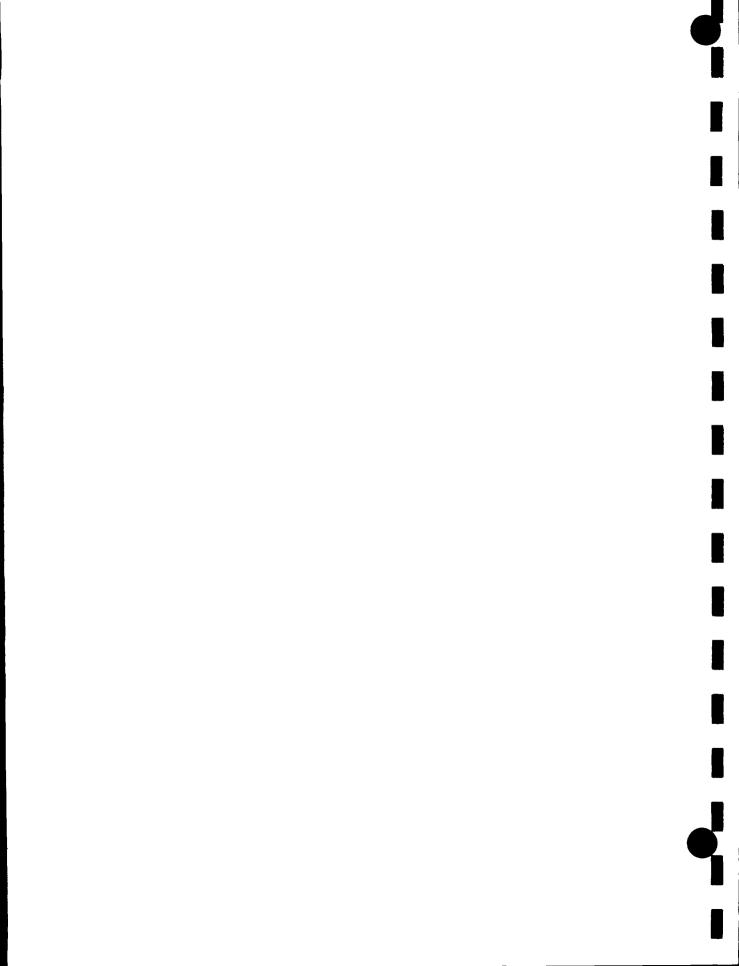
PROPERTY MAP FORM	FOR NPS USE ONLY			
(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with map)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE		
T. NAME				
common: ML Ranch Headquarters				
AND/OR HISTORIC:				
2. LOCATION				
STREET AND NUMBER: On unimproved dirt road, one-fou Alternate, south of Willow Creek, and east of th	rth mile east of U.S. e Bighorn Reservoir,	14 Section		
CITY OR TOWN: 15, Township 56 N, Range 94 West.				
STATE: CODE COUNTY:		CODE		
WYOMING	Big Horn			
3. MAP REFERENCE	/			
SOURCE:				
U.S.G.S Kane Quadrangle				
scale: 1:24.000				
DATE: 1964				
4. REQUIREMENTS				
TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS				
1. Property broundaries where required.				
2. North arrow.				
3. Latitude and longitude reference.				
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE	STATE			

COUNTY NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM FOR NPS USE ONLY ENTRY NUMBER DATE (Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph) I. NAME COMMON: AND/OR HISTORIC: 2. LOCATION STREET AND NUMBER CITY OR TOWN: COUNTY: CODE STATE: CODE 3. PHOTO REFERENCE PHOTO CREDIT: DATE OF PHOTO: NEGATIVE FILED AT: . 4. IDENTIFICATION DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.

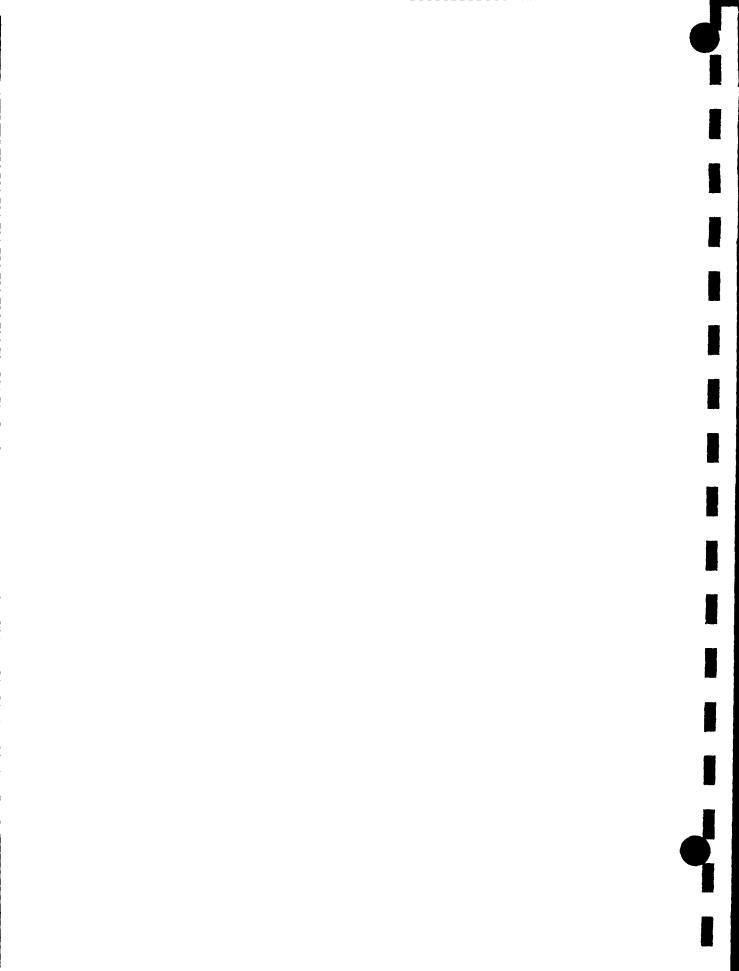


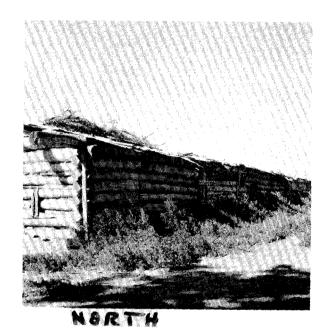


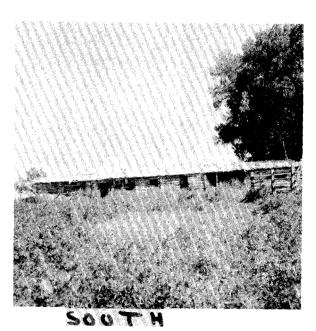
ML RANCH



				571
		n 10-301 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR y 1969) NATIONAL PARK SERVICE	STATE	
		NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES	COUNTY	
		PROPERTY MAP FORM	FOR NPS USE ONLY	
			FOR NPS USE ONLY	DATE
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	2.	AND/OR PISTORIC: LOCATION		
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<u>~</u>	ł	CITY OR TOWN:		-
-	,	STATE: CODE COUNTY	$_{Y}:$	CODE
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Z	-	MAP REFERENCE source:		
-	,			
ш		SCALE:		
ш	-	DATE: REQUIREMENTS		
S		TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS		
	1	1. Property broundaries where required.		
	1	2. North arrow.		
	ļ	3. Latitude and longitude reference.		
	•		ALL THE MEMBERS THE PROPERTY AND AN ARCHITECTURE AND THE PROPERTY AND AN ARCHITECTURE AND A	
		UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR	STATE	
		NATIONAL PARK SERVICE	WYOMING	
		NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES	Rig Horn	-
		PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM	Big Horn FOR NPS USE ONLY	Y '
2		(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
Z	18000	NAME		
>	100000000000000000000000000000000000000	Comon.		
_		AND/OR HISTORIC:		
-		LOCATION		
J	1	STREET AND NUMBER: On unimproved road, one-fourth		
)	1	south of Willow Creek, and east of Big Horn Rese	rvoir. Section 13, 10	wnship
-	1	AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AND	aan ka an aa ka ah aan aan aan aan aan ka ah aa ka ah ah ah ah ah ah ah ah ah ah ah ah ah	
,	1	STATE: CODE COUNTY		CODE
	3. F	WYOMING PHOTO REFERENCE	Big Horn	
•	سسست	PHOTO CREDIT: F. C. Bearss		
	1	DATE OF PHOTO: July 1969	To the time of the second seco	
) · 	1	NEGATIVE FILED AT:		
, ,		l <u>Rastern Service Center</u> IDENTIFICATION		
•		DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.		
	ļ	North (rear) and south (front) ele	evations of the ML	11
	,	Bunkhouse and barn.		} /





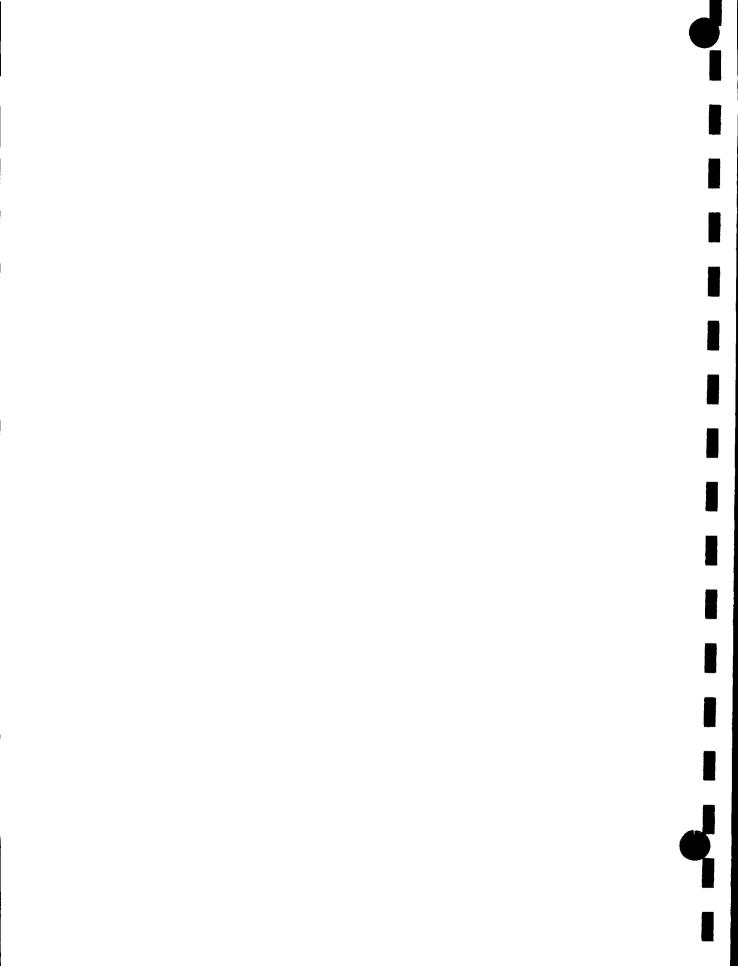


ML RANCH

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HILLSBORO

NOMINATION MAP PHOTOGRAPHS



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

į	STATE:
	MONTANA
	COUNTY,
	Carbon
	FOR NPS USE ONLY
1	

	INVENTURY - I	NUMINATION FORM	FOR NPS USE	ONLY
	(Type all entries - co	mplete applicable sections)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
	NAME	"piete applicable sections)		
	COMMON:			
	Hillsboro			
	AND/OR HISTORIC:			
	Cedarvale			
	LOCATION			
	STREET AND NUMBER: On trace	, a short distance off	road to Barry's La	nding, in
	Section 36, Township 8 S	outh, Range 28 East.		
	STATE	CODE COUNTY	**************************************	
	MONTANA		Carbon	COD
(CLASSIFICATION			
ļ	CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	ACCESSIBLE
į	(Check One)	- MENORIII	STATUS	TO THE PUBLI
	District Building De Pub		☐ Occupied	Yes:
	Site Structure S Pri		I/WE CHOCCODIED	Restricted
-	☐ Object ☐ Bot	h Being Considered		Unrestricted
1			in progress	□ No
ļ	PRESENT USE (Check One or More as A	ppropriate)		
	Agricultural Governmen	Barri	☐ Transportation ☐	Comments
	Commercial Industrial	Private Residence	Other (Specify)	
	Educational Military	Religious	<u>Unoccupied</u>	
	Entertainment Museum	☐ Scientific		
_{	OWNER OF PROPERTY OWNER'S NAME:			
j	National Park	Service		
				CODE
1	CITY OR TOWN:	STA	TE:	CODE
	OCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTIO			
ľ	COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, E	ETC:		
+	Carbon County	Courthouse	·	
1	STREET AND NUMBER:			
,	CITY OR TOWN:	STAT	r F	CODE
				CODE
	Red Lodge		Montana	
	EPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SUI	RVEYS		
1	TITLE OF SURVEY:			
	"Basic Data Study, Bigho:		ation Area"	
•	DATE OF SURVEY: 1970 DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS:	Federal Sta	ote County L	Local
. L				
. L				}
	OAHP			
	OAHP	NW		
	ОДНР	NW STAT	E:	CODE
	OAHP STREET AND NUMBER: 801 19th St.,		E: D. C.	CODE

5/8							
DESCRIPTION							
				(Check One)			
CONDITION	☐ Excellent	☐ Good	X Fair	Deteriorated	Ruins	Unexposed	
CONDITION		(Check On	10)		(Che	eck One)	
	☐ Altere	d	🖳 Unaltered	1	☐ Moved	Triginal Site	
DESCRIBE THE P	RESENT AND ORIG	IINAL (If kno	WD) PHYSICAL	LAPPEARANCE			
			[see p. 387	', this stu	ıdy]	

"There are at Hillsboro six buildings, the postoffice, black-smith shop, root cellar, log chicken house, log cabin, and canned goods shelter, besides the corrals and irrigation ditches, which were part of the Cedarvale Dude Ranch."

ERIOD (Check One or More a	Appropriate)		
Pre-Columbian	☐ 16th Century	18th Century	20th Century
☐ 15th Century	☐ 17th Century	19th Century	
SPECIFIC DATE(S) (If Applica	ble and Known)		
AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (CI	heck One or More as Appropri	late)	
Abor iginal	☐ Education	Political	Urbon Planning
Prehistoric	☐ Engineering	Religion/Phi-	2 Other (Specify)
Historic	Industry	losophy	Dude Ranching
Agriculture	Invention	Science	& Recreation
Architecture	☐ Landscope	Sculpture	
Art ·	Architecture	Social/Human-	
Commerce	☐ Literature	itarian	
☐ Communications	☐ Military	Theater	
Conservation	☐ Music	☐ Transportation	

Dr. G. William Barry came to the Bighorn Country in the last years of the 19th century. He fell in love with the area, entered a homestead, and erected a cabin on South Fork Trail Creek. He tried gold mining and when that failed, he and his family established a dude ranch, known as Cedarvale. To publicize his ranch and the beautiful scenery of Bighorn Canyon, Dr. Barry and two others became the first to navigate the length of the canyon in a power driven craft. Dr. Barry was the first man to exploit the recreation potential of Bighorn Canyon.

TAS TRUCTURES I

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- 1. Peterson, Helen M., "Barry's Landing-Ghosts Must Go," Hardin Tribune-Herald, Dec. 29, 1966.
- 2. Red Lodge Picket, May 17, 1907, and March 10, 1916.
- 3. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area," Washington, D. C.

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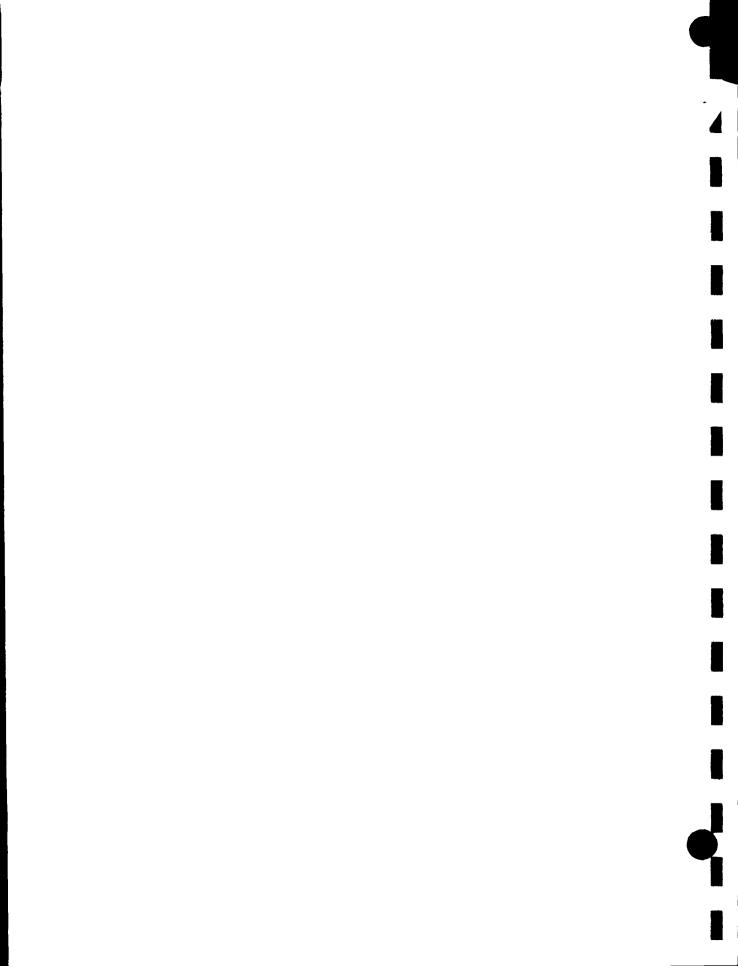
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

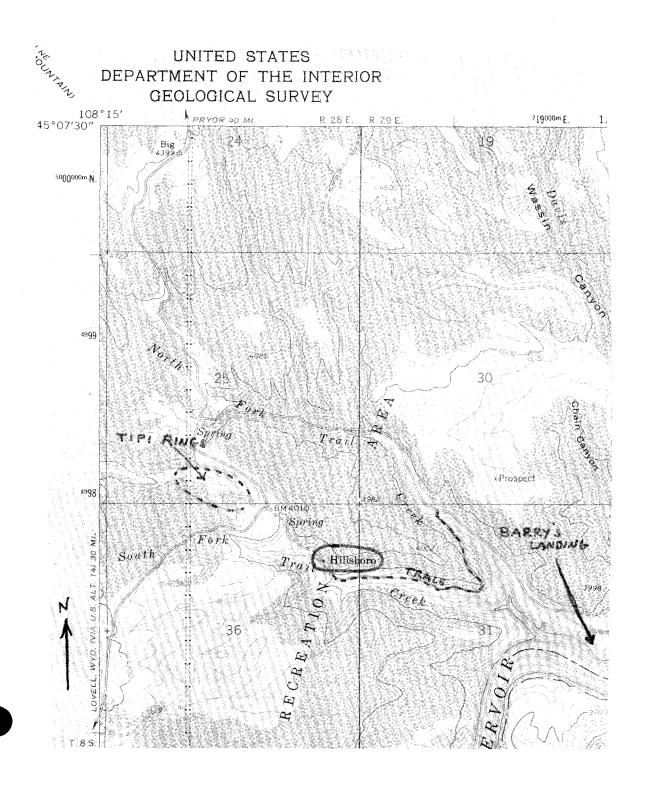
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

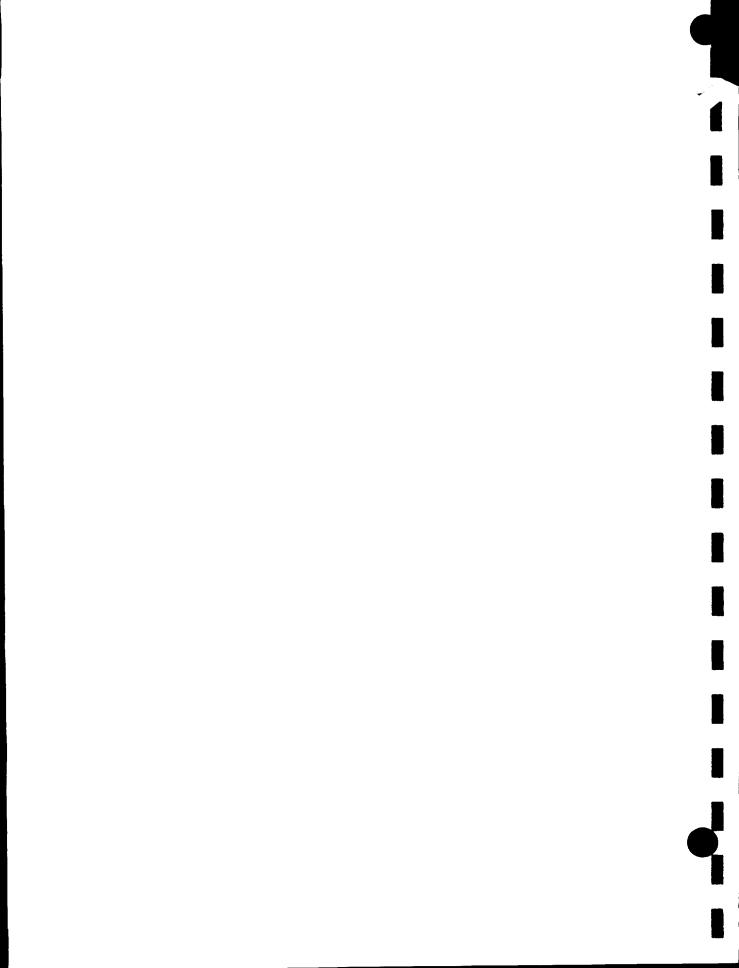
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MONTANA	
COUNTY	
Carbon	
FOR NPS USE ON	ILY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

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z	1. NAME		
0	common: Hillsboro		
_	AND/OR HISTORIC: Cedarvale		
- .	2. LOCATION		
U	STREET AND NUMBER: On trace, a short distance off ro	ed to Bower's Tarit	
	Section 36. Township 8 South, Range 28 East.	ad to barry's Landii	ng, in
\supset	CITY OR TOWN:		
œ			
⊢	STATE: CODE COUNTY:		CODE
S	MONTANA	arbon	
Z.	3. MAP REFERENCE		
_	SOURCE:		
	U.S.G.SHillsboro Quadrangle		
ш	SCALE: 1:24,000		
ш	DATE: 1964 4. REQUIREMENTS		***************************************
S	TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS		
	1. Property broundaries where required.		1
	2. North arrow.		
	3. Latitude and longitude reference.		
	and longitude folding.		
	UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR	STATE	
	NATIONAL PARK SERVICE	STATE	
		COUNTY	
	NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES		
	PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM	FOR NPS USE ONLY	,
~	(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
z			
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_	COMM N:		
_	AND/OR HI FORIC: 2. LOCATION		
	STREET AND NUMBER		
<u>ر</u>	The Market		

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PI	.ACES	COUNTY	
PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM		FOR NPS USE ON	ILY
(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with ph	otograph)	ENTRY NUMBER	DAT
NAME	-		<u> </u>
COMMUN:			
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LOCATION			
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CITY OR TOWN:			
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IDENTIFICATION		*	







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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

STATE MONTANA COUNTY Carbon FOR NPS USE ONLY ENTRY NUMBER

(1 ype all entries - attach to or encio	se with map)	
I. NAME		
COMMUNE		
AND/OR HIL TORIC:		
2. LOCATION		
STREET AND NUM BEN		
CITY OR TOWN:		
STATE:	CODE COUNTY:	CODE
3. MAP REFERENCE		
SOURCE:		
SCALE:	EQUADRICA CONTRACTO DEPARTMENT PAR EMPERATOR CONTRACTOR	
DATE:	The Control of the Co	114:41
4. REQUIREMENTS		
TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS		
 Property broundaries where required. 		
2. North arrow.		
Latitude and longitude reference.		
		·

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM

(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)

MONTANA	
COUNTY	
Carbon	
FOR NPS USE ON	LY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

1. NAME

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COMMON: Hillshoro AND/OR HISTORIC:

Cedaryale

2. LOCATION

STATE:

STREET AND NUMBER: On trace, a short distance off road to Barry's Landing, in Section 36, Township 8 South, Range 28 East. CITY OR TOWN:

MONTANA

CODE

COUNTY:

Carbon

CODE

3. PHOTO REFERENCE

PHOTO CREDIT: E. C. Bearss July 1969 DATE OF PHOTO:

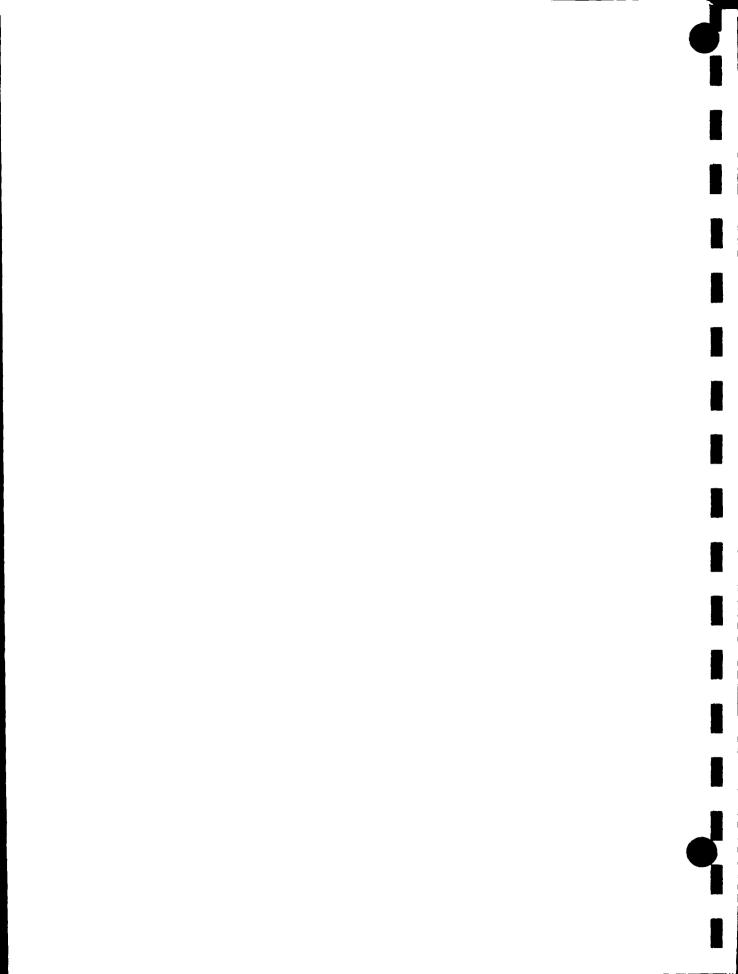
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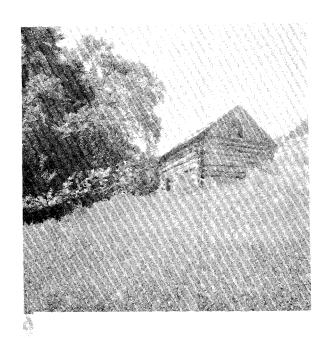
Eastern Service Center

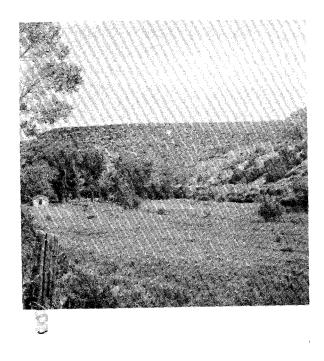
4. IDENTIFICATION

DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.

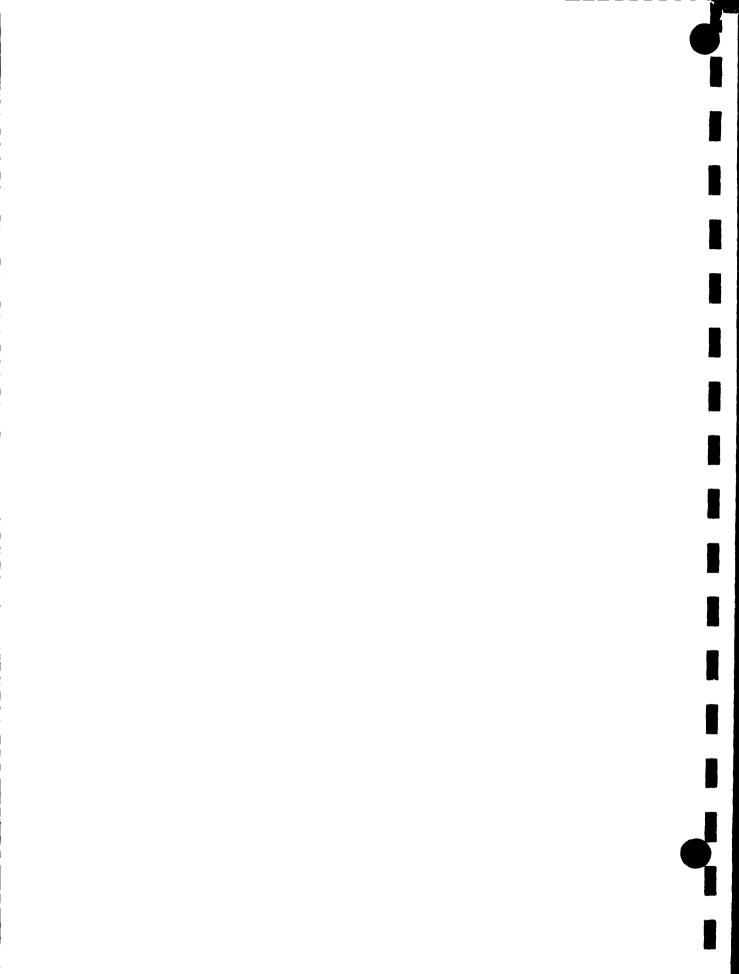
- A. Southeast elevation of Hillsboro Postoffice.
- B. View of Cedarvale, looking southeast.







HILLSBORO

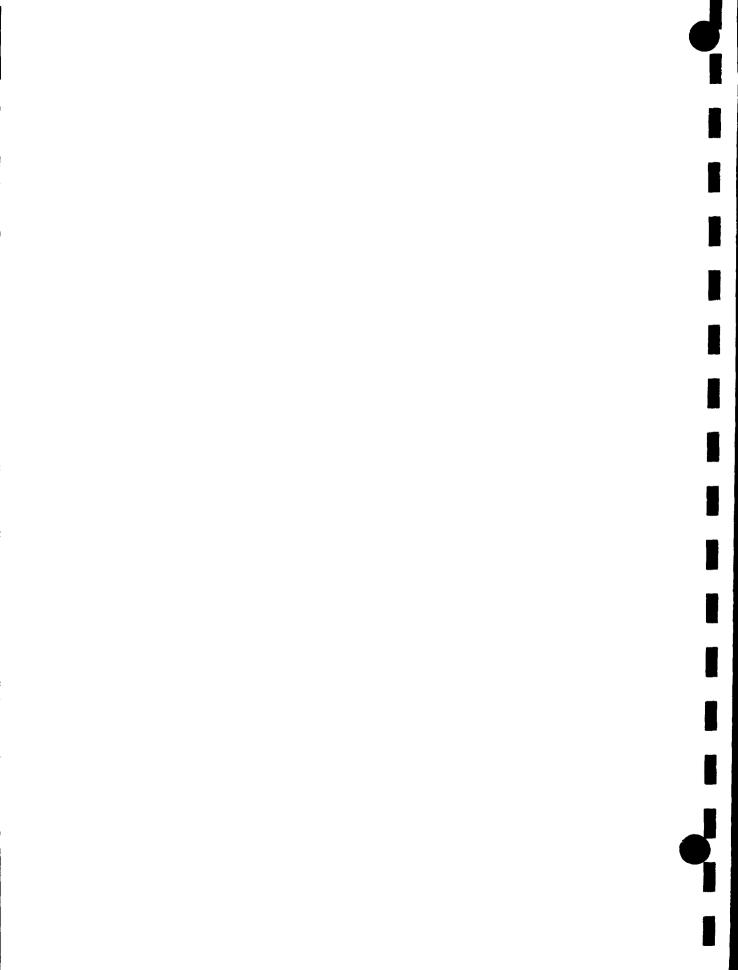


SYKES CABIN AND GRAVES

NOMINATION

MAP

PHOTOGRAPHS



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

	591]
STATE:	
WYOMING	
COUNTY:	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ON	LY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

	FOR NPS USE ONLY	
	ENTRY NUMBER DATE	-
(Type all entries - complete applicable sections)		
NAME		
C OMMON:		
Sykes Cabin and Graves		-
AND/OR HISTORIC:		
LOCATION		
The salin is in the NYPROVED road, near State	e of Wyoming Fish Hatchery	
Ine capth is in the NE Quarter of Section 26	and the graves are in the SE	
CITY OR TOWN: quarter of Section 23, Township 58	North, Range 95 West.	
1 0022	NTY: COD)E
WYOMING	Big Horn	_
CLASSIFICATION	<u> </u>	
CATEGORY OWNERSHIP	STATUS ACCESSIBLE	
(Check One)	STATUS TO THE PUBLI	IC
□ District 🔀 Building □ Public Public Acquisition:	Occupied Yes:	
☐ Structure ☐ Private ☐ In Process	☑ Unoccupied ☑ Restricted	
Object Both Being Consid		.
	in progress No	
PRESENT USE (Check One or More as Appropriate)		
Agricultural Government Park		\dashv
Commercial Industrial Private Residence	☐ Transportation ☐ Comments	
☐ Educational ☐ Military ☐ Religious	Other (Specify)	-
Entertainment Museum Scientific	Abandoned	
OWNER OF PROPERTY		
The Sykes Cabin is on Deeded land	owned by Royce & Lloyd Tillet	t.
The Sykes Graves are in the Bighor	n Canyon, NRA.	S
The Tillett Days Days!		WYOMING
The Tillett Bros. Ranch	STATE:	Ĥ
		ดี
Crooked Creek LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION	WYOMING	
COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC:		
Big Horn County Courthouse		B 1
		00
STREET AND NUMBER:		
STREET AND NUMBER:		Но
	TATE CODE	g Horn
	TATE CODE	Horn
CITY OR TOWN:		Horn
CITY OR TOWN: Basin REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS	WYOMING	Horn
Basin REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS TITLE OF SURVEY:	WYOMING	orn
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Basin REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS TITLE OF SURVEY: "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Rec DATE OF SURVEY: 1969 Federal	WYOMING	orn mark
Basin REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS TITLE OF SURVEY: "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Rec DATE OF SURVEY: 1969 Federal DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS:	WYOMING reation Area"	orn
Basin REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS TITLE OF SURVEY: "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Rec DATE OF SURVEY: DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: OAHP, NPS	WYOMING reation Area"	orn
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Basin REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS TITLE OF SURVEY: "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Rec DATE OF SURVEY: DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: OAHP, NPS STREET AND NUMBER: 801 19th St., NW	WYOMING reation Area" State County Local	orn mark
Basin REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS TITLE OF SURVEY: "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Rec DATE OF SURVEY: DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: OAHP, NPS STREET AND NUMBER: 801 19th St., NW	WYOMING reation Area"	Horn ENTRY NUMBER

	1		(Check One))	
CONDITION	☐ Excellent 🕱 🤇	ood 🗌 Fair	☐ Deteriorate	ed 🔲 Ruins	Unexposed
	1	eck One)		(Che	ck One)
	☐ Altered	□ Unaltered	· I	☐ Moved	🔀 Original Site
	RESENT AND ORIGINAL			_	
Fr	ank Sykes' cabin	is on deeded	land wit	hin the Big	horn Canvon
Nati	onal Recreation	Area. It is	in good o	condition.	The isolated
grav	es of Sykes' wif	e and child a	re on pub	lic land.	The graves
are i	marked with ston	es at the hea	d and foc	t and are e	nclosed with
a po	le fence.				
		•			

PERIOD (Check One or More as Applicable of Pre-Columbian) [☐ 16th Century ☐ 17th Century	18th Century 19th Century	20th Century
15th Century PECIFIC DATE(S) (If Applicable	☐ 17th Century	19th Century	
	end Known)		
REAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Check	One or More as Appropris	ite)	
Abor iginal	☐ Education	☐ Political	Urban Planning
Prehistoric	☐ Engineering	Religion/Phi-	Other (Specify)
☐ Historic	☐ Industry	losophy	Way of Life,
Agriculture	☐ Invention	Science	<u>characterizing</u>
Architecture	☐ Landscape	Sculpture	an era in late
☐ Art	Architecture	Social/Human-	and early 20th
Commerce	Literature	itarian	centuries.
Communications	☐ Military	☐ Theater	
☐ Conservation	Music	Transportation	

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Keeper of The National Register Date Date

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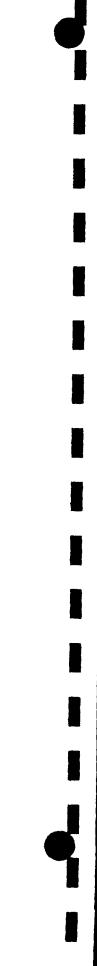
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

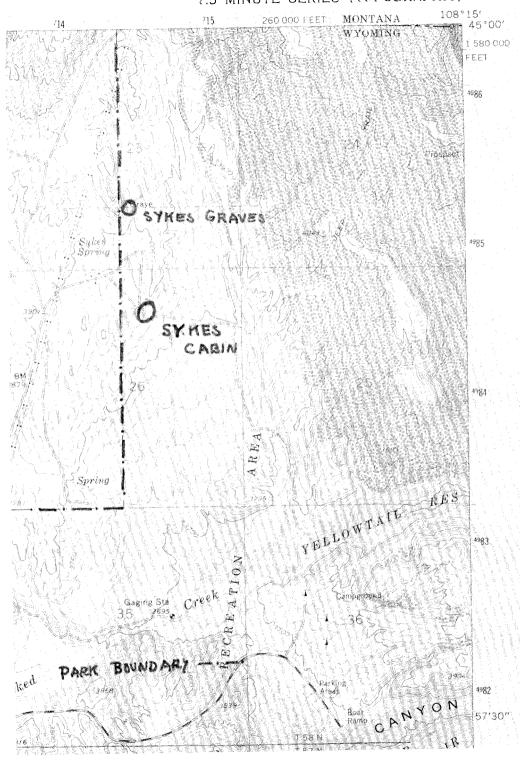
STATE	,
WYOMING	
COUNTY	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ONL	Y
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

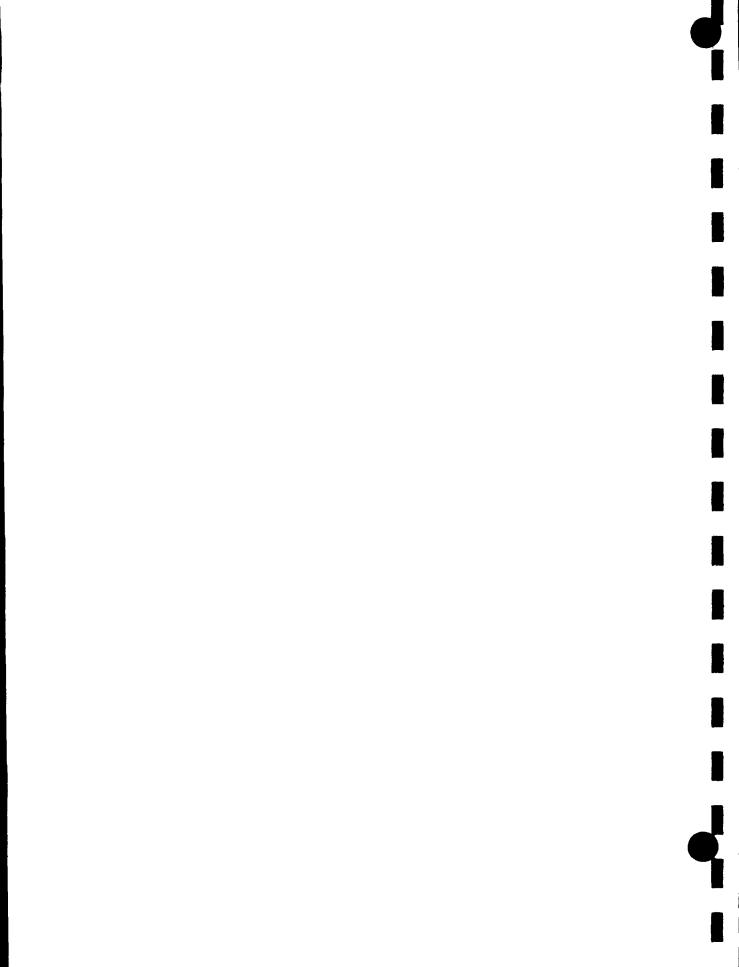
(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with map)		
NAME	L	
COMMON: Sykes Cabin and Graves		
AND/OR HISTORIC:		
LOCATION		
STREET AND NUMBER: On unimproved road, near state of The cabin is in the Northeast Quarter of Section		
CITY OR TOWN: the Southeast Quarter of Section 23, To	ownship 58 North, Rai	nge 95
STATE: CODE COUNTY:		COD
WYOMING	Big Horn	
MAP REFERENCE		
MAP REFERENCE source:		
	-	
SOURCE:		
source: U.S.G.SSykes Spring Quadrangle		
SOURCE: U.S.G.SSykes Spring Quadrangle SCALE: 1:24,000		
SOURCE: U.S.G.SSykes Spring Quadrangle SCALE: 1:24,000 DATE: 1964		
SOURCE: U.S.G.SSykes Spring Quadrangle SCALE: 1:24,000 DATE: 1964 REQUIREMENTS TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS		
source: U.S.G.SSykes Spring Quadrangle scale: 1:24,000 DATE: 1964 REQUIREMENTS		
SOURCE: U.S.G.SSykes Spring Quadrangle SCALE: 1:24,000 DATE: 1964 REQUIREMENTS TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS 1. Property broundaries where required.		

STATE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE COUNTY NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM FOR NPS USE ONLY ENTRY NUMBER DATE (Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph) I. NAME AND/OR HISTORIC: 2. LOCATION STREET AND NUMBER CITY OR TOWN: STATE: COUNTY: CODE CODE 3. PHOTO REFERENCE PHOTO CREDIT: DATE OF PHOTO: NEGATIVE FILED AT: . 4. IDENTIFICATION DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.



SYKES SPRING QUADRANGLE WYOMING-BIG HORN CO. 7.5 MINUTE SERIES (TOPOGRAPHIC)





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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

PROPERTY MAP FORM

(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with map)

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WYOMING		
COUNTY		
	,	

FOR NPS USE ONL	Y
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

NAME			
соммон			
AND/OR HIS TORIC:			
LOCATION			
STREET AND NUMBER			
CITY OR TOWN:			
STATE:		CODE COUNTY:	co
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SOURCE:			
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SCALE:		3-4-2-4-3-4-3-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-	
DATE:	` .		
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TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAP	3		
1. Property broundaries w	here required.		The state of the s
2. North arrow.	•		

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

3. Latitude and longitude reference.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM

STATE	
WYOMING	
COUNTY	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ON	LY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

CODE

(Type all entries - attach to or enclose	with photograph) -	ENTRY NUMBE	R DA
1. NAME			
COMMON:Sykes Cabin and Graves			
AND/OR HISTORIC:	<u>سيد من مسيور و در و و هم آ</u> دا افغان فار مند چند په ا ن او سيدي در هم اگذاک خطان باک در سيده ک ند و بر پو		
2. LOCATION			
STREET AND NUMBER: On umimproved road	, near State of	Wyoming Fish l	Hatcherv.
The Cabin is in the NE Quarter of S			
CITY OR TOWN: Quarter of Section 23, T	ownship 58N, Ran	ge 95 W.	
STATE:	CODE COUNTY:		C
WYOMING	Big	Horn	
A			

S. PHOTO REFERENCE рното скеріт: Edwin С. Bearss

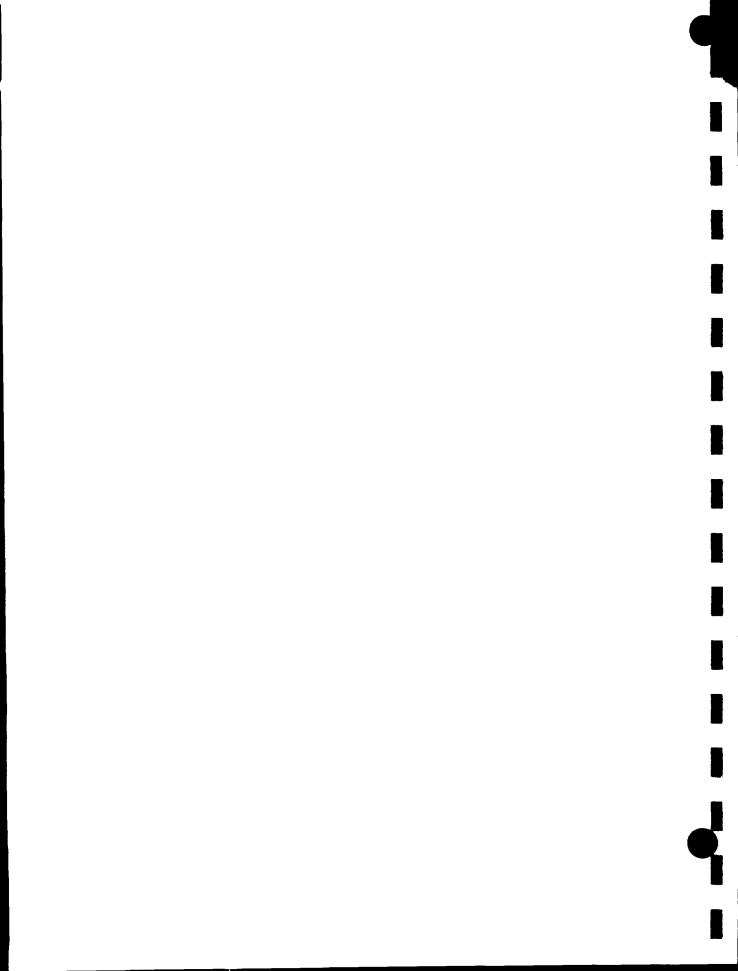
DATE OF PHOTO: July 1969 SEGATIVE FILED AT:

Eastern Service Center

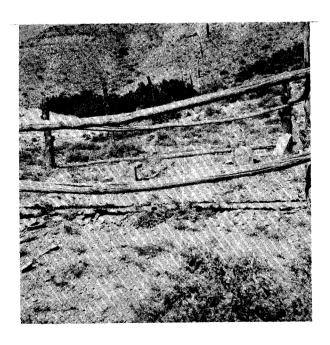
4. IDENTIFICATION DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.

Sykes Cabin, East Elevation.

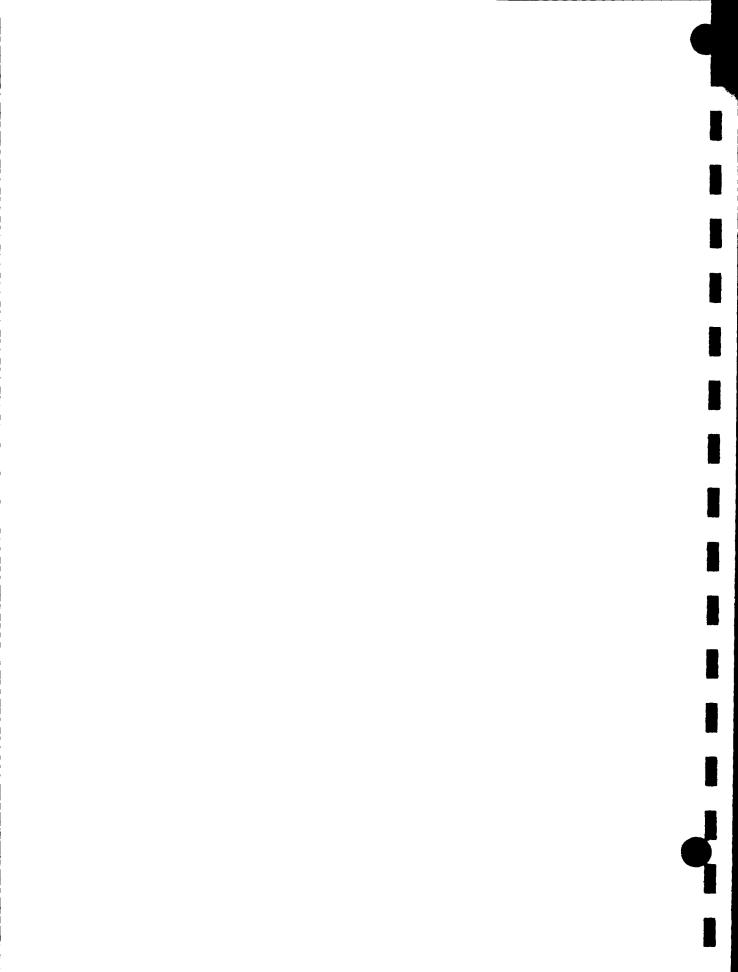
Sykes Graves.







SYKES CABIN AND GRAVES

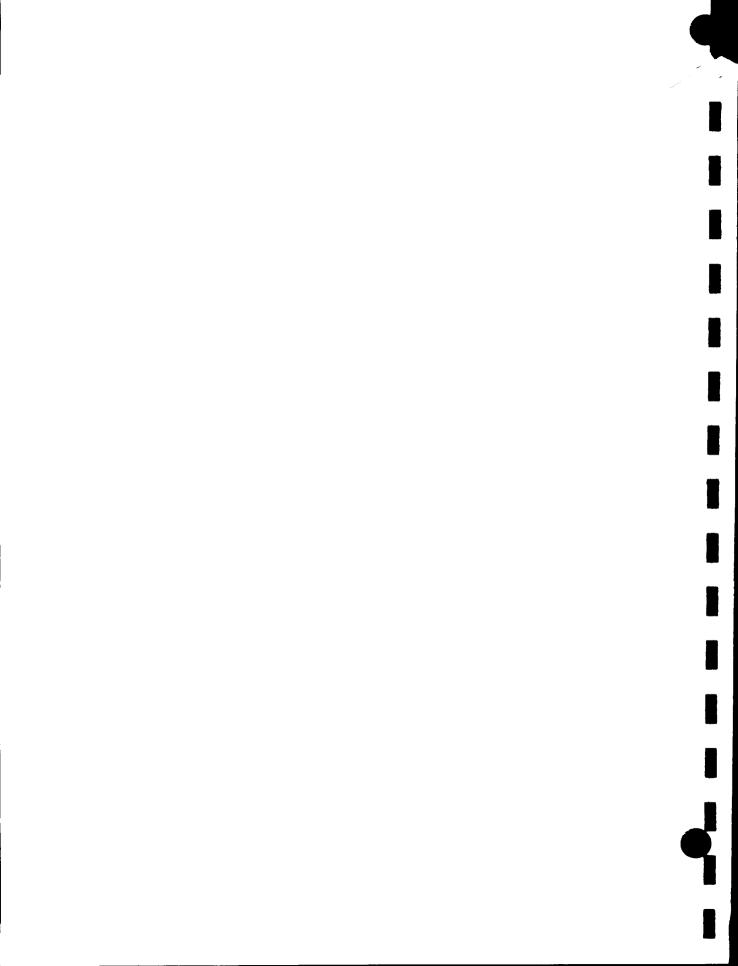


JOHN BLUE CABIN

NOMINATION

MAP

PHOTOGRAPH



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

	605
STATE:	
WYOMING	
COUNTY:	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ON	LY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

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	s – complete app	incaple sections)				1
I. NAME						1
John Blue C	ahin					ĺ
AND/OR HISTORIC:	av 111					1
2. LOCATION						1
	unimproved r	oed in John R	lue Canyon, Secti	on 23		1
	North. Range		rue Canyon, Secti	011 23,		
CITY OR TOWN:	MULLING MANAGE	27 HUSE	 			1
STATE		CODE COL	NTY:		CODE	1
Wyoming			Big Horn	ſ		1
3. CLASSIFICATION		•				
CATEGORY		OWNERCHIE	STATUS	ACCESS	IBLE	1
(Check One)		OWNERSHIP	SIAIUS	TO THE	PUBLIC	
District X Building	Public	Public Acquisition:	Occupied	Yes:]
Site Structure	Private	In Process	☑ Unoccupied	K Restri	cted	1
Object	☐ Both	Being Cons		work Unres	tricted	1
			in progre	I No		
	Mara an American	<u> </u>				-
PRESENT USE (Check One or		~ .				-
	Sovernment	~	☐ Transportation	Commer Commer	nts	
	ndustrial [Cother (Specify)			
	Military	Religious	Abandoned			
	luseum	Scientific				1
4. OWNER OF PROPERTY						1
	•				F	STATE
STREET AND NUMBER:	of Land Manag	gement			WYOMING	
STREET AND NUMBER:						
CITY OR TOWN:			STATE:		ODE O	
					DE	
Washing Washing St. LOCATION OF LEGAL DES	cheriou		D.C.			
COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF					 	
	rn County Cou	rthougo			Big	N 0 0
STREET AND NUMBER:	cir country cour	Lilouse		······································	——————————————————————————————————————	2
						.:
CITY OR TOWN:			STATE	l cc	OF I	ł
						1
Basin			WYOMING	* }	1	\top
S. REPRESENTATION IN EXIS	TING SURVEYS		WZGIIIIO			
TITLE OF SURVEY:					**********	n
"Basic Data Study	, Bighorn Cany	yon National I	Recreation Area"			TR
DATE OF SURVEY: 1969	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Federal [State County	☐ Local		ENTRY NUMBER
DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY R	ECORDS:					C Z
OAHP						38
STREET AND NUMBER:						1 1
801 191	th St. NW					-
CITY OR TOWN:			STATE:	co	DE	
Washing	ton		D.C.			A
						1 - 1

CONDITION Excellent Good Fair Deteriorated Ruins Unexposed (Check One) (Check One) Altered Mundiered Moved Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Mundiered Moved Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Mundiered Moved Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Mundiered Moved Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Mundiered Moved Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Mundiered Moved Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Mundiered Moved Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Ruins Unexposed (Check One) Altered Ruins (Check One) Altered Ruins Check One)					(Chec	k One)		
(Check One) Altered Valuation of Moved Check One) (Check One) (Check One) (Check One) (Check One) (Check One) (Check One) (Check One) (Check One) (Check One)	CONDITION	☐ Excellent	Good	Fair	☐ Dete	riorated	Ruins	☐ Unexposed
The structure is an isolated stone cabin. located on a little	,			•			(Ch	reck One)
The structure is an isolated stone cabin, located on a little		1				,	Moved	Original Site
The structure is an isolated stone cabin, located on a little traveled road in John Blue Canyon.		*						
traveled road in John Blue Canyon.	The s	tructure is	an isol	ated ston	e cabi	n. 10	cated on	a little
	traveled	road in Johr	n Blue C	anyon.		, <u></u> -		
				·				
				•				
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PERIOD (Check One or More as	Appropriato		
Pre-Columbian	☐ 16th Century	☐ 18th Century	20th Century
☐ 15th Century	☐ 17th Century	☐ 19th Century	
SPECIFIC DATE(S) (If Applicab	le and Known)		
REAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Ch		rte)	
Abor iginal	Education	☐ Political	Urban Planning
Prehistoric	☐ Engineering	Religion/Phi-	▼ Other (Specify)
Historic	☐ Industry	losophy	Way of Life
Agriculture	☐ Invention	Science	
Architecture	☐ Landscape	Sculpture	
☐ Art	Architecture	Social/Human-	
☐ Commerce	Literature	itarian	
Communications	Military	☐ Theater	
☐ Conservation	Music	☐ Transportation	
TATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE		[see p. 392	this study]
way of life tha		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	presentative of a
		, ·	

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SEE

608 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- 1. Statement, P. S. Halliwell, March 2, 1961, files Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area.
- 2. Statement, Chris Lynn, Jan. 4, 1961, files Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area.
- 3. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area," Washington, 1970.

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FORM PREPARED BY NAME AND TITLE: CODE COUNTY: CODE COUN							1						
FORM PREPARED BY NAME AND TITLE: Edwin C. Bearss, Historian Office of History & Historic Architecture—ESC STREET AND NUMBE \$\frac{1}{2}28\$ Wisconsin Ave., NW CITY OR TOWN: Washington STATE LIAISON OFFICER CERTIFICATION As the designated State Liaison Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service. The recommended level of significance of this nomination is: National State Local Date Name	STATE:	enteren en en en en en en en en en en en en e				CODE		COUNTY:					COD
FORM PREPARED BY NAME AND TITLE: Edwin C. Bearss, Historian Office of History & Historic Architecture—ESC STREET AND NUMBE \$\frac{1}{2}28\$ Wisconsin Ave., NW CITY OR TOWN: Washington As the designated State Liaison Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service. The recommended level of significance of this nomination is: National State Local Date Name													
Edwin C. Bearss, Historian ORGANIZATION Office of History & Historic Architecture—ESC STREET AND NUMBE \$\frac{7}{2}28\$ Wisconsin Ave., NW CITY OR TOWN: Washington As the designated State Liaison Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service. The recommended level of significance of this nomination is: National State Local Date Name Title	STATE:		سام ید را از خداست بیسته بین بینست ب			CODE		COUNTY:					COD
Edwin C. Bearss, Historian ORGANIZATION Office of History & Historic Architecture—ESC STREET AND NUMBE \$\frac{7}{2}28\$ Wisconsin Ave., NW CITY OR TOWN: Washington As the designated State Liaison Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service. The recommended level of significance of this nomination is: National State Local Date Name Title							\neg						
Edwin C. Bearss, Historian ORGANIZATION Office of History & Historic Architecture—ESC STREET AND NUMBE \$\frac{7}{228}\$ Wisconsin Ave., NW CITY OR TOWN: Washington As the designated State Liaison Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service. The recommended level of significance of this nomination is: National State Local Date Name Title	FARE	nocalnen a	V										
As the designated State Liaison Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service. The recommended level of significance of this nomination is: National State Local Date Name ATTEST:		472	228 Wis	consin	Ave	., NW		-			Llul	y 21,	1970
As the designated State Liaison Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service. The recommended level of significance of this nomination is: National State Local Date Name Title		TOWN:			Ave	., NW					LJul	y 21,	
tional Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service. The recommended level of significance of this nomination is: National Confice of Archeology and Historic Preservation Date Name Name ATTEST:	CITY OR	TOWN:	shingt	on					D. C.		L.Iul;		COD
	CITY OR	TOWN:	shingt	on			5		D. C.		L.Iul;		COD
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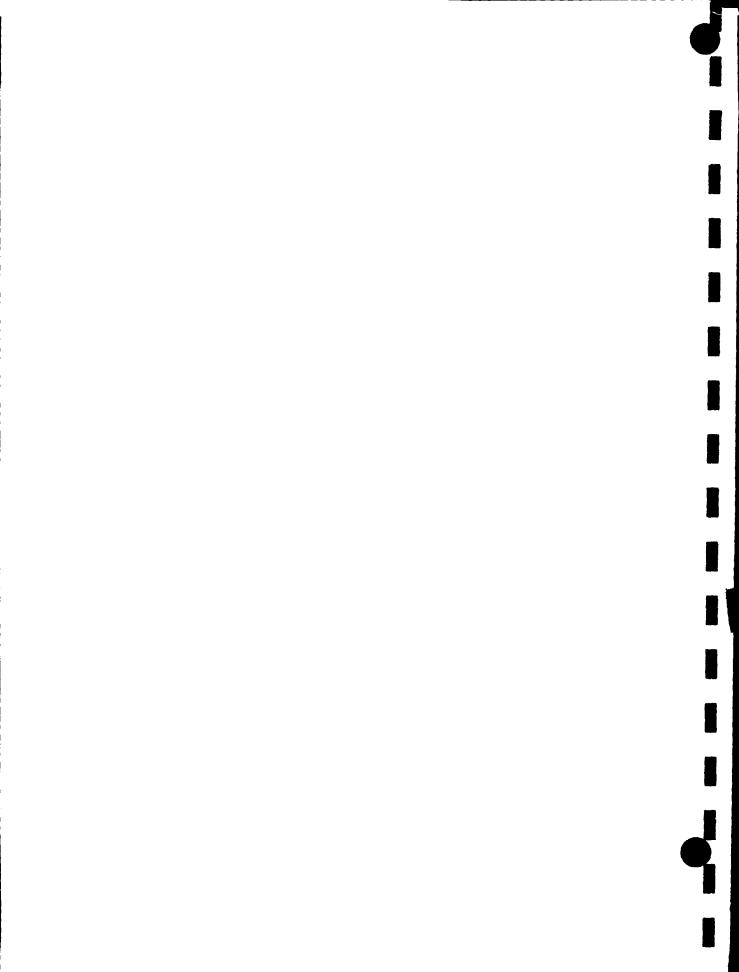
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

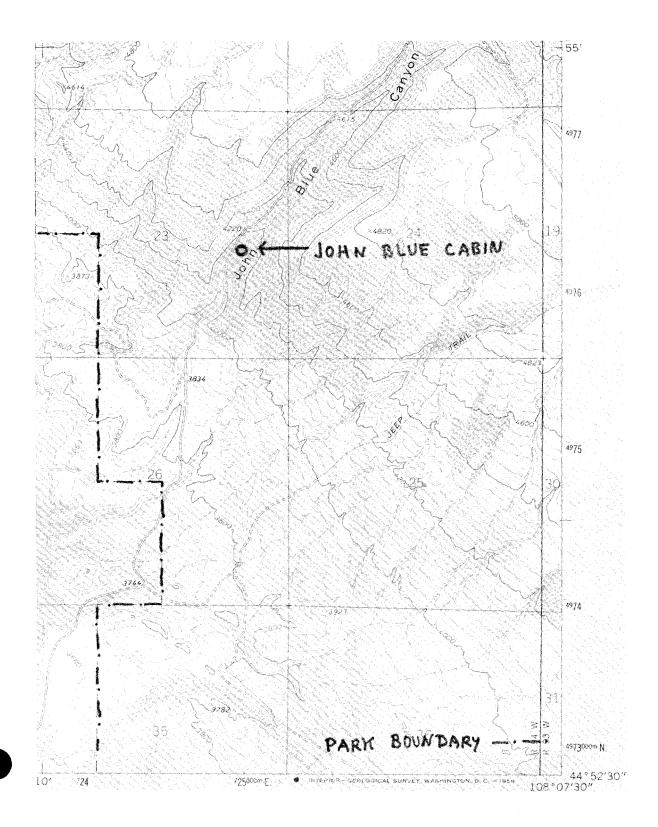
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WYOMING	
COUNTY	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ON	_Y
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

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I. NAME				-1	
COMMON: Johr	Blue Cabin				
AND/OR HISTOR	IC:				
2. LOCATION					
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CITY OR TOWN:					erk var franskrivenske, grif var franskrivensky hen gjeller y Han de mende generale generale generale generale
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MYON		<u> </u>		Big Horn	
3. MAP REFEREN	JE .				
SCALE: 1:26	G.SNatural	Trap Cave			
DATE: 196/ I. REQUIREMENTS					
TO BE INCLUDE	D ON ALL MAPS				
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2. North or	cw.				
3. Latitude	and longitude refe	rence.			
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE	RIOR	STATE			
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PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM		FOR NPS USE ONLY			
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4 IDENTIFICATION					
DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.					
			ı		





JOHN BLUE CABIN



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

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FOR NPS USE ON	LY
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

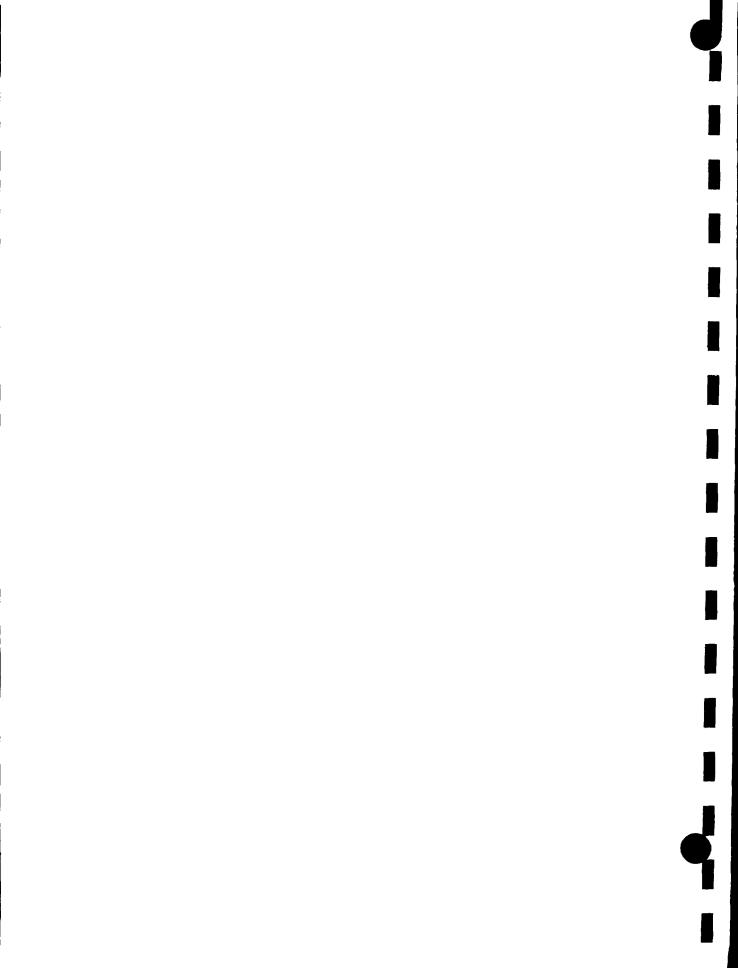
PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM

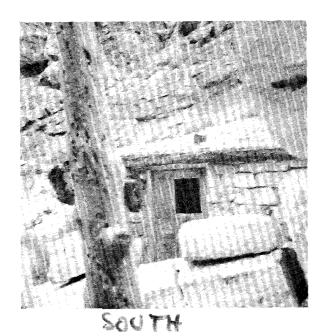
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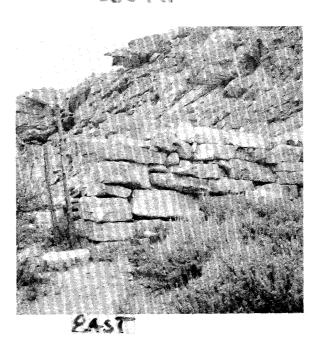
. NOI ENTITIO I CORA	Littown	TOR HES USE ON	(L)
(Type all entries - attach to or en	close with photograph)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
1. NAME			
COMMON: John Blue Cahin			
AND/OR HISTORIC:			
2. LOCATION			
STREET AND NUMBER: On unimproved r	oad up John Blue Can	von. Section 23.	
Township 57 North, Rang		, , ,	
CITY OR TOWN:			
STATE:	CODE COUNTY:		CODE
WYOMING	Bi.	g Horn	
3. PHOTO REFERENCE			
PHOTO CREDIT: Edwin C. Bearss			
DATE OF PHOTO: July 1969			
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Eastern Service (Center		
4. IDENTIFICATION			
DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.			

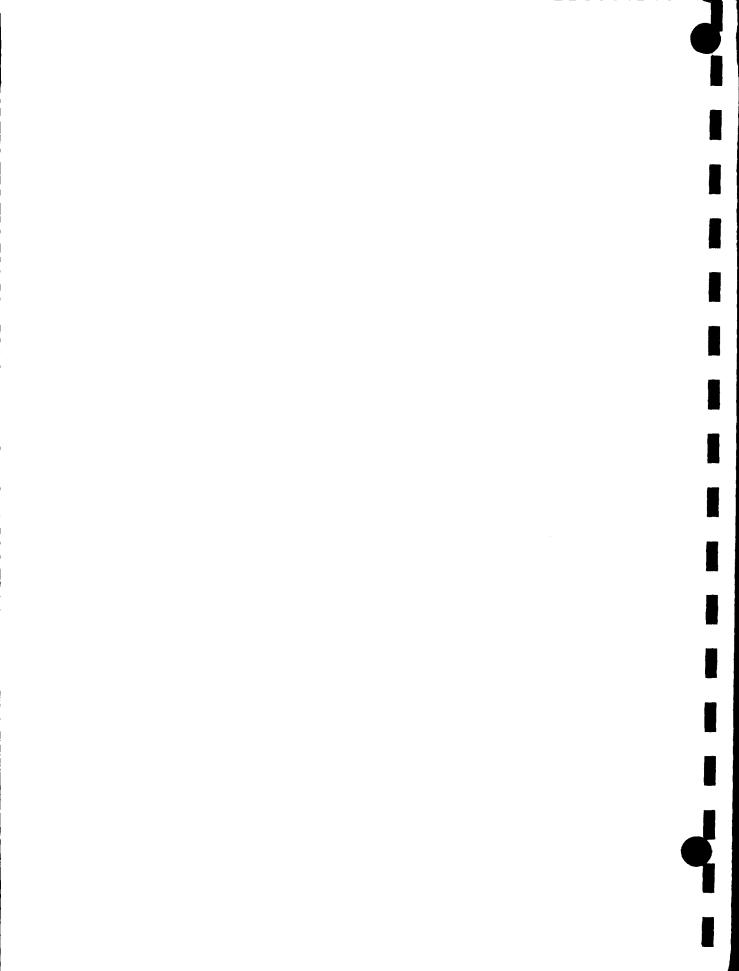
South elevation of John Blue Cabin, showing doorway.

East elevation of John Blue Cabin.







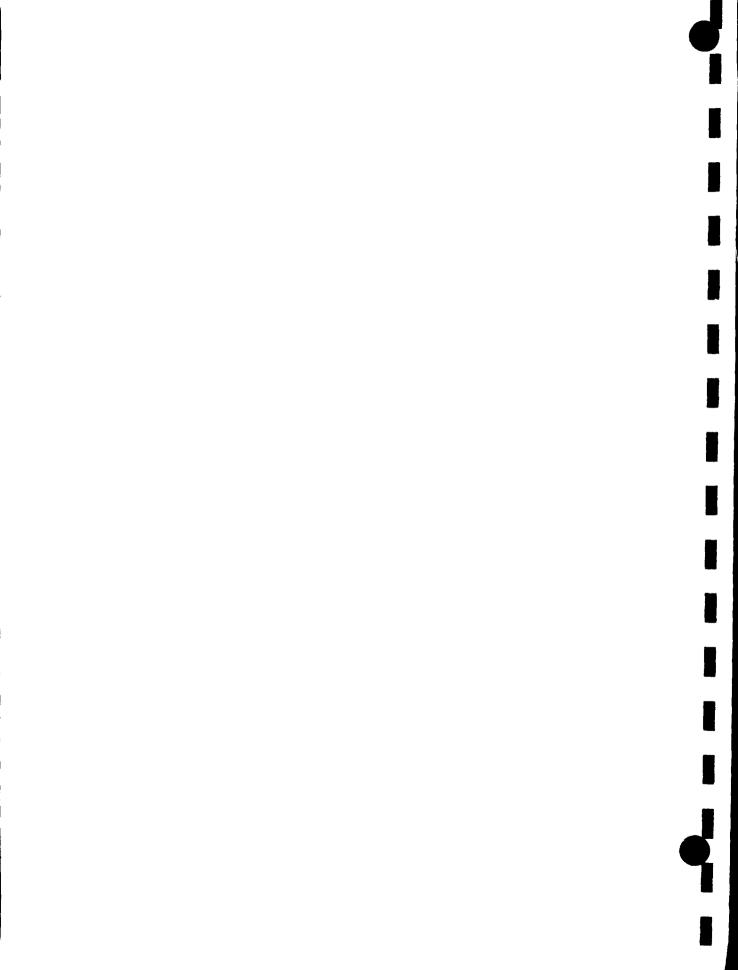


CAROLINE LOCKHART RANCH

NOMINATION

MAP

PHOTOGRAPHS



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

STATE:	
MONTANA	
COUNTY	
Carbon	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	

	- complete app	licable sections)			
MAME					
Caroline Loci	khart Ranch				
AND/OR HISTORIC:					\dashv
i , ·					
LOCATION					
STREET AND NUMBER: On 1	Davis Creek,	one-fourth mile	east of road to	Dryhead, in	n
Section 13, Townshi	p 8 South, Ř	ange 28 East.			_
CITY OR TOWN:					İ
STATE		CODE COUNTY:		COD	
MONTANA		2002	Carbon	- 505	
CLASSIFICATION				, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
CATEGORY		OWNEDGIJE	STATUS	ACCESSIBLE	
(Check One)		OWNERSHIP	STATUS	TO THE PUBL	IC
District Building	☐ · Public	Public Acquisition:	Occupied	Yes:	
Site Structure S	2 Private	☐ In Process	☑ Unoccupied	Restricted	. 1
☐ Object	☐ Both	Being Considered	Preservation work	Unrestricted	đ
			in progress	□ No	
PRESENT USE (Check One or M	lore as Appropriate)				
☐ Agricultural ☐ Go	overnment] Park	☐ Transportation	Comments	
☐ Commercial ☐ Ind	dustrial [Private Residence	Other (Specify)		
☐ Educational ☐ Mil	litary	Religious			
Entertainment Mu	useum [] Scientific			
WHER OF PROPERTY					
OWNER'S NAME:					1-2
Isaac Ti	DDELLS				<i>1</i> —
					ĮQ
STREET AND NUMBER:					ONTA
		ISTAT	E.	T CODE	MONTANA
CITY OR TOWN:		STAT	e: MONTANA	CODE	MATANA
city or town: Carbon C	County	STAT		CODE	MANATION
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DESCRIPTION						
				(Check One)		
CONDITION	X Excellent	☐ Good	☐ Fair	☐ Deteriorated	Ruins	Unexposed
33113111011		(Check On	(e)		(Che	ck One)
	- Alter		▼ Unaltered		☐ Moved	(Criginal Site
DESCRIBE THE PR	ESENT AND ORI	GINAL (<i>if k</i> no	Wn) PHYSICA	L APPEARANCE		

The Lockhart log ranch house, outbuildings, and corrals are in a good state of preservation, and appear as they did at the time of Miss Lockhart's death in 1912. Although these structures are within the National Recreation boundary, they are on deeded land.

	SIGNIFICANCE			
	PERIOD (Check One or More as A	ppropriate)		
	Pre-Columbian	☐ 16th Century	☐ 18th Century	🔀 20th Century
	☐ 15th Century	77th Century	☐ 19th Century	
	SPECIFIC DATE(S) (If Applicable	and Known)		
	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Chec		etė)	
	- Abor iginal	Education	Political	Urban Planning
	☐ Prehistoric	■ Engineering	Religion/Phi-	Other (Specify)
	☐ Historic	☐ Industry	losophy	
	Agriculture	☐ Invention	☐ Science	
	☐ Architecture	☐ Landscape	☐ Sculpture	
	☐ Art	Architecture	Social/Human-	
	Commerce	2 Literature	itarian	
	Communications	☐ Military	☐ Theater	-
	☐ Conservation	Music	☐ Transportation	
	STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE		F	
	•		[see p. 394 th	is study]
	the early 1900s, sh prise. She became	d as a reporter e moved to Cody president of the	for the <i>Boston Po</i> , Wyoming, and bou • Cody Stampede. w	ght the Cody Enter- hich she helped
	number of novels.	During a long an	he <i>Cody Enterprise</i> nd successful care interests and her	, she authored a er, Miss Lockhart ranch on Davis Creek.
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MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- 1. Kelley, Nell B., "Caroline Lockhart Deserted Career in East for Western Atmosphere," Billings Gazette, Feb. 7, 1860.
- 2. Kathryn Wright, "Caroline Lockhart, Dryhead Rancher and Author, Has Had Life as Colorful as any of Her Books," undated article, clipping file, Billings Public Library.
- 3. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area," Washington, 1970.

			ington, 19/	υ.				-			
10		RAPHICAL DATA									
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-		and the control was the control of t									
	STATE:			CODE	վ՝	COUNTY:					CODE
STATE: CODE COUNTY: CO					CODE						
-		PREPARED BY		<u></u>							
	NAME AN	Edwin C.	2								
											
	ORGANIZ	ATION Office of	History & H	distor:	ic	Archit	ecture	-ESC	DATE		:
									Jul	y 25,	1970
1	STREET	AND NUMBER:									
ļ	-		onsin Ave.,	NW							~—— <u> </u>
-	CITY OR				s	TATE					CODE
1		Washington]		1		D, C				
2.	STATE	LIAISON OFFICER C	ERTIFICATION		1	N/	TIONAL	REGIST	ER VERIF	ICATION	
											9
	As the	designated State Liais	son Officer for th	e Na-	1						
		Historic Preservation .				I hereby	certify th	at this pr	operty is i	included	in the
-), I hereby nominate th				National	Register				1
1		National Register and	-		1						ļ
1		ted according to the cr			$\ $						Į.
		y the National Park Se	-								
		of significance of this			ij	Chief, O	ffice of A	ircheology	and Hist	oric Pres	ervation
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	Title										
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NEGATIVE FILED AT:

DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.

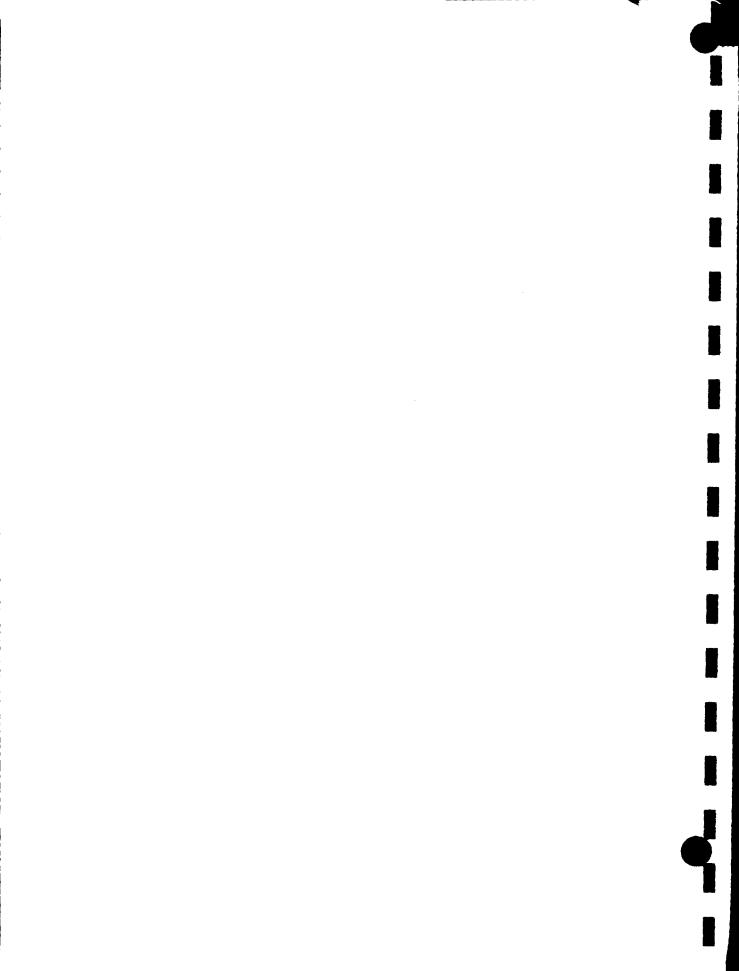
4. IDENTIFICATION

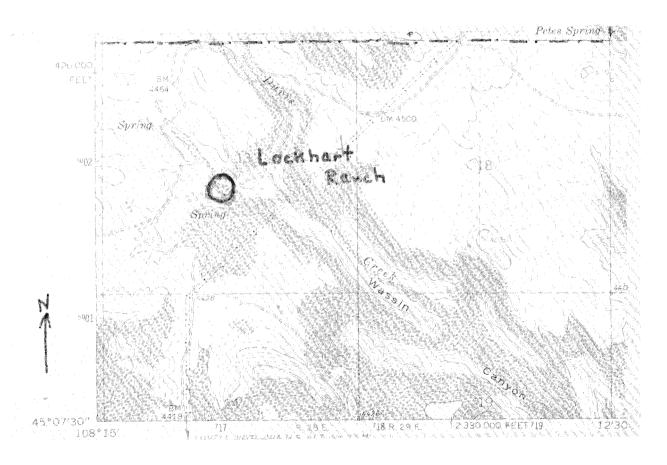
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

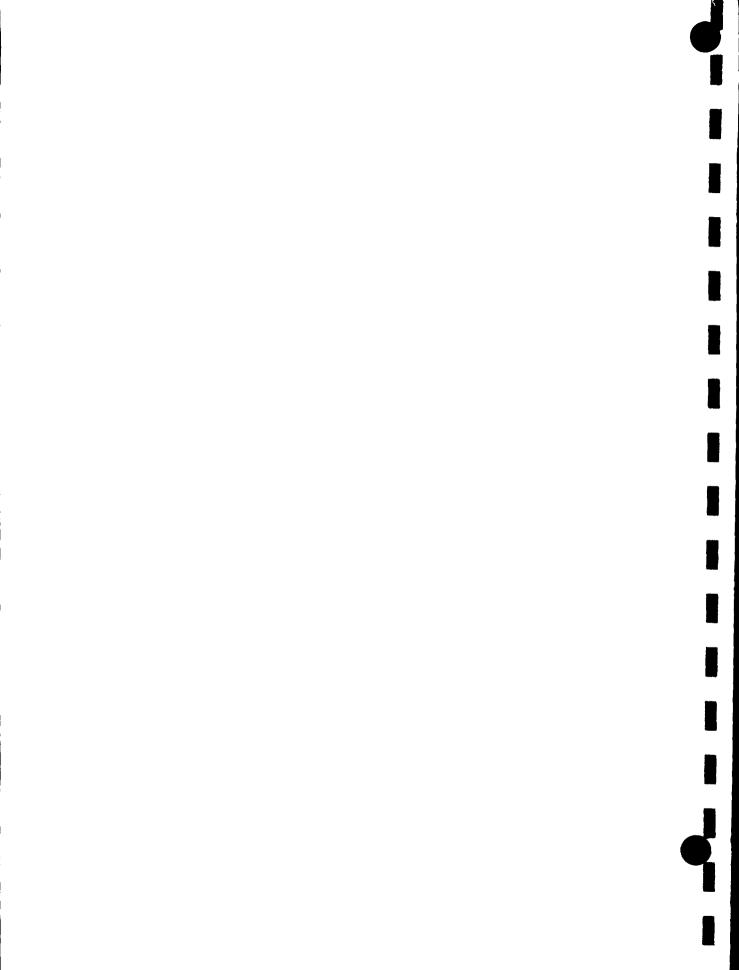
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

	623
STATE	
MONTANA	
COUNTY	
Carbon	
FOR NPS USE ON	LY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

	FUR NPS USE ON	LT
(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with map)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
NAME		
COMMON: Caroline Lockhart Ranch		
AND/OR HISTORIC:		
OCATION		
STREET AND NUMBER: On Davis Creek, one-fourth mile of	ast of road to Dryh	ead, in
Section 13, Township 8 South, Range 28 East.		-
CITY OR TOWN:		
STATE:		
CODE COUNTY:		CODE
MONTANA IAP REFERENCE	Carbon	
SOURCE:		
U.S.G.S. Dead Indian Hill Quadrangle		
scale: 1:24,000		
DATE: 1964		
EQUIREMENTS		
TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS		
1. Property broundaries where required.		
2. North arrow.		
3. Latitude and longitude reference.		
		······································
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR	STATE	
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE		
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES	COUNTY	
PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM	FOR NPS USE ONL	_Y
(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
AME		
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AND/OR HILJORIC:		
OCATION		
STREET AND NUMBER:		
CITY OR TOWN:		
STATE: CODE COUNTY:		
		CODE
HOTO REFERENCE		
PHOTO CREDIT:		
DATE OF PHOTO:		







UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

STATE		
COUNTY		
	FOR NPS USE ONLY	

(Type all entries - attach to or enclose	with map)	ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
NAME			
COMMON:			
AND/OR NISTORIC:			
. LOCATION			
STREET AND NUMBER:			
CITY OR TOWN:			
STATE:	DDE COUNTY:		CODE
			CODE
. MAP REFERENCE			
SOURCE:			
SCALE:			
DATE:			
. REQUIREMENTS			
TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS			
1. Property broundaries where required.			
2. North arrow.			Ì
3. Letitude and langitude reference.			

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM

Eastern Service Center

B. The Lockhart Corrals.

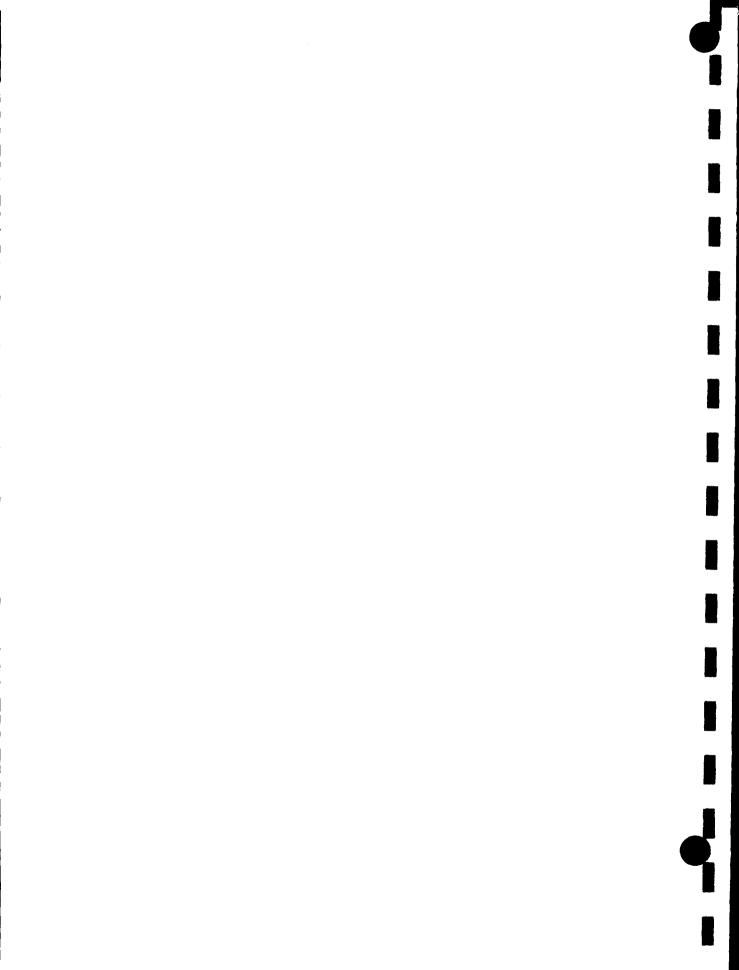
4 IDENTIFICATION

DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.

MONTANA Carbon FOR NPS USE ONLY ENTRY NUMBER DATE

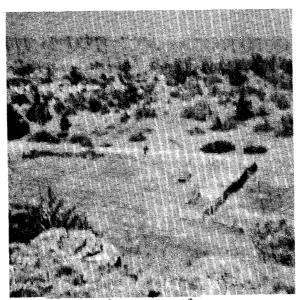
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common: Caroline	Lockhart	Ranch		-		
AND/OR HISTORIC:						
2. LOCATION						
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STATE:			CODE COUN	TY:	_	CODE
MONTANA				Carbon		
3. PHOTO REFERENCE	2					
PHOTO CREDIT: EC	lwin C. Bea	rss				***************
DATE OF PHOTO: 19	169					

A. The east and south elevations of Lockhart Ranch House.

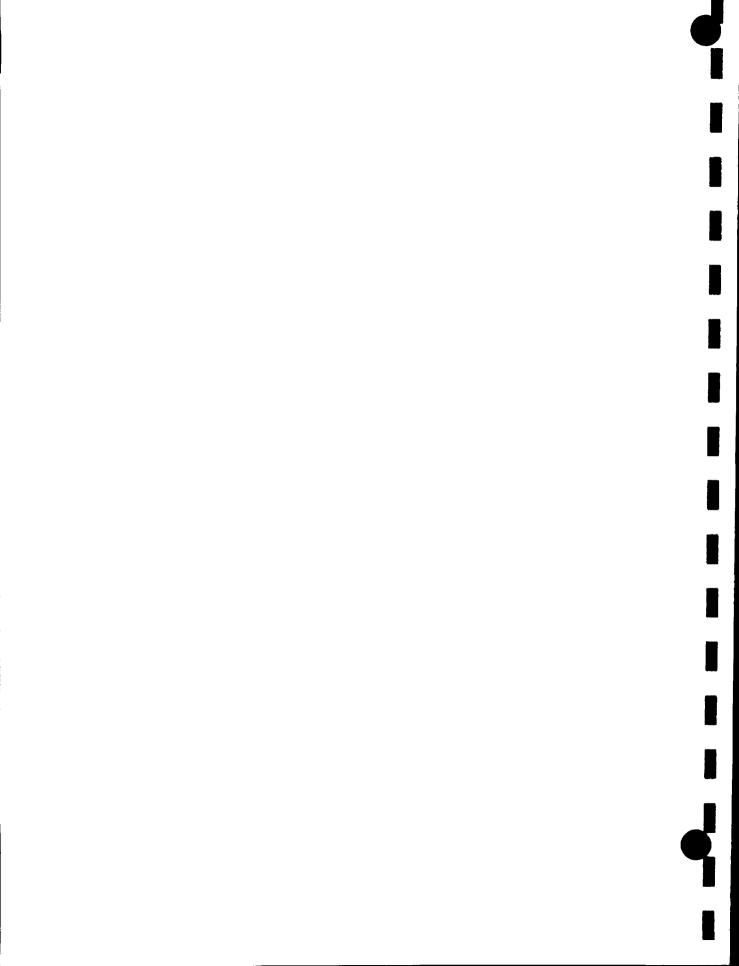




A. Lockbart Ranch House



Lockhat Corrals

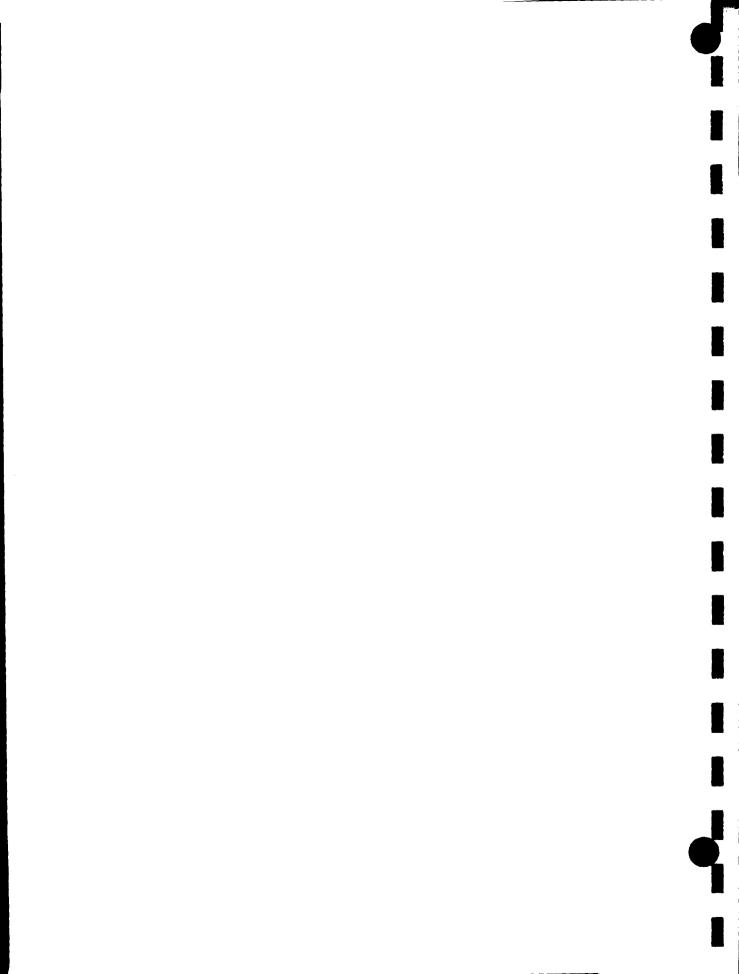


BIG HORN HEAD GATE

NOMINATION

MAP

PHOTOGRAPHS



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

STATE:	-
MONTANA	
COUNTY:	······································
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CJ Object	Both Being Considere	C . 10391 401101 WOLK	X Unrestricted □ No
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Commercial Indust	—	Transportation	Comments
☐ Educational ☐ Militar		Other (Specify)	
Entertainment Museu			
WNER OF PROPERTY			
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•	☐ Alte	red	Unaltered	1	Moved	R Original Site

This stone and mortar headgate was built by the Crow to control the flow of water into the Bighorn Ditch. It was a major work of art connected with the massive irrigation project undertaken by the Crow at the turn of the century.

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☐ 15th Century	☐ 17th Century	☐ 19th Century	
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Prehistoric	☐ Engineering	Religion/Phi-	Other (Specify)
☐ Historic	☐ Industry	losophy	
X Agriculture	☐ Invention	Science	
Architecture	Landscape	Sculpture	
☐ Art	Architecture	Social/Human-	
Commerce	Literature	itarian	
☐ Communications	Military	Theater	
Conservation	Music	Transportation	

Construction of the Bighorn Ditch started in 1893, with the Crow constituting the labor force. It was designed to open for irrigation 35,000 acres of arable land.

"The Bighorn Ditch was finally completed in the autumn of 1904, 12 years after the first ground had been broken. To divert 720 cubic feet of water per second into the ditch, a concrete diversion dam, 416 feet in length, had been built across the Bighorn at the mouth of the canyon. Besides bringing life-giving water to thousands of arid acres, work on the project had pumped thousands of dollars into the Crow economy; taught them how to do construction work; and had induced them to breed a better class of horses as work animals. Experts on irrigation, from all over the western United States, had visited the project and were impressed with what they saw. They reported that the dam, ditch, and headgate were

one of the best and most substantial pieces of irrigation work in the United States and reflects credit on the Department for ordering the work, the engineers who planned and superintended the same, and the Crow Indians who did the work.

The cost per acre of land irrigated would compare favorably with similar ditches built for and by whites in Montana and Wyoming."

The Big Horn Head Gate was an important structure on the Bighorn Ditch.

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- 1. Hanna, W. S., "Indian Bureau Considers Crow Project Among Major Irrigation Works," Billings Gazette, Aug. 29, 1937.
- 2. Reports of Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Congress for the years 1893-1905.
- 3. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area," Washington, 1970.

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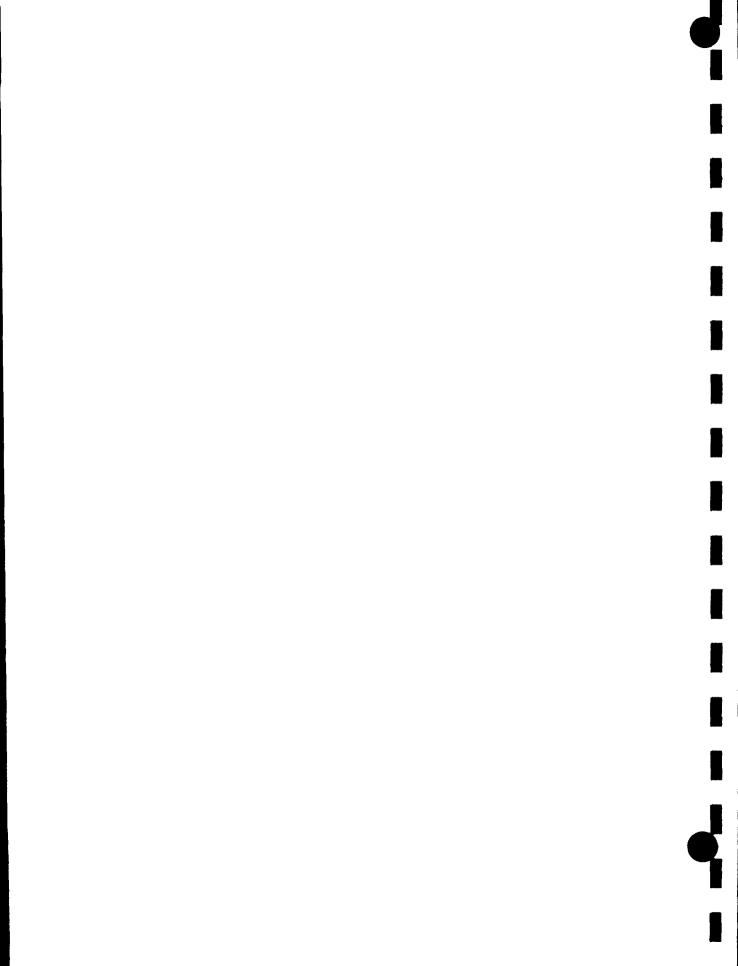
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

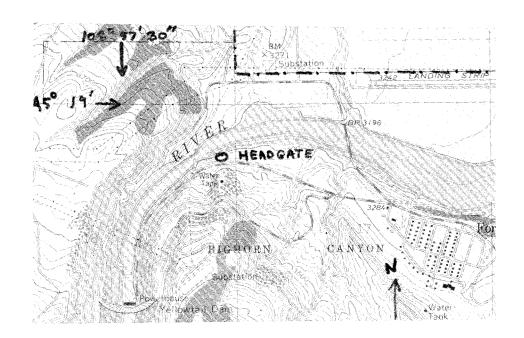
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

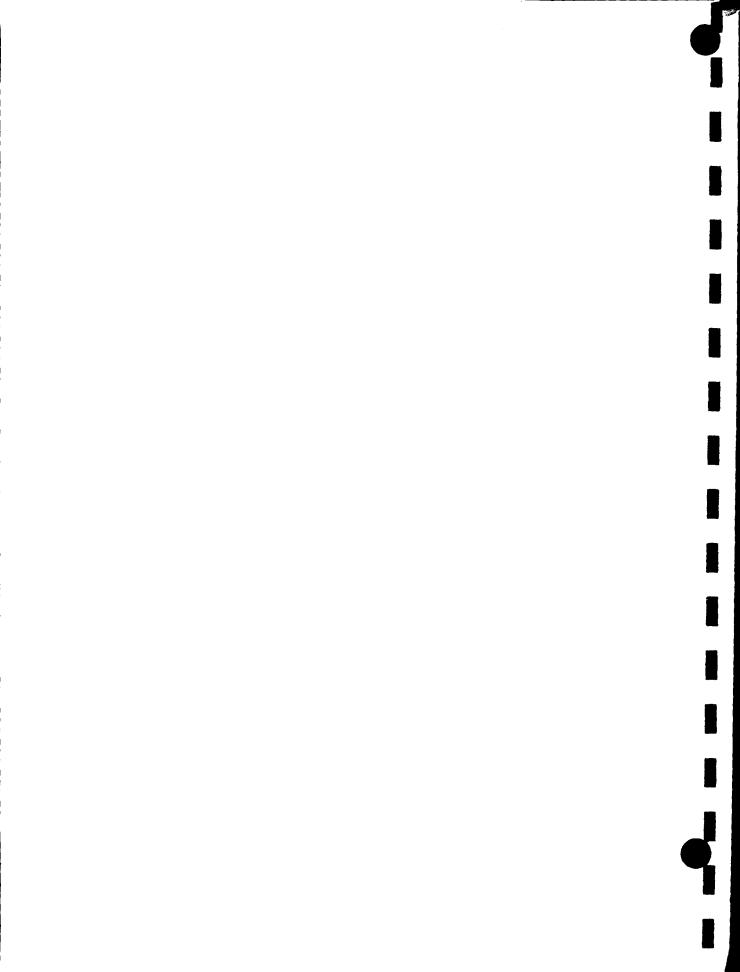
STATE	
MONTANA	
COUNTY	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	1
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

	(Type all entries - attach to or enclo	se with i	map)		ERITAT ROMBER	DATE
1	NAME					<u> </u>
2000	COMMON: The Big Horn Head Gate					
	AND/OR HISTORIC:					
2.	LOCATION					
-	STREET AND NUMBER: On the south side of Canyon, Section 18, Township 6 Sou	Bighouth, Ra	rn River	c at East	mouth of Bigho	rn
	CITY OR TOWN:					manini dalah lampa dan sakeri dalah dalah dan denak dalah estimate yan
	STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:			CODE
.	MONTANA			Big	Horn	
3.	MAP REFERENCE					
	SOURCE:					
	U.S.G.S Yellowtail Quadrangl	e				
•	SCALE: 1:24,000					
	DATE: 1964					
4	REQUIREMENTS					
	TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS					
	1. Property broundaries where required.				•	
	2. North arrow.					
	3. Latitude and longitude reference.					
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE COUNTY NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM FOR NPS USE ONLY ENTRY NUMBER DATE (Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph) 1. NAME COMMON: AND/OR HETORIC: 2. LOCATION STREET AND NUMBE CITY OR TOWN: STATE: COUNTY: CODE CODE 3. PHOTO REFERENCE PHOTO CREDIT: DATE OF PHOTO: NEGATIVE FILED AT: 4. IDENTIFICATION DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.







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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

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COUNTY	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	,
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM

(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)

MONTANA			
COUNTY	~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~		
Big Horn			
FOR NPS USE ONLY			
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE		

Canyon,

CODE

STATE

COMMON: The Big Horn Ditch		*	<u> </u>	
AND/OR HISTORIC:				
2. LOCATION				
Section 18, Township 6 South, Range 30 East.				
CITY OR TOWN:	CITY OR TOWN:			
Property of the second		COUNTY:		
STATE:	CODE	10001111		
STATE: MONTANA	CODE	Big Horn		

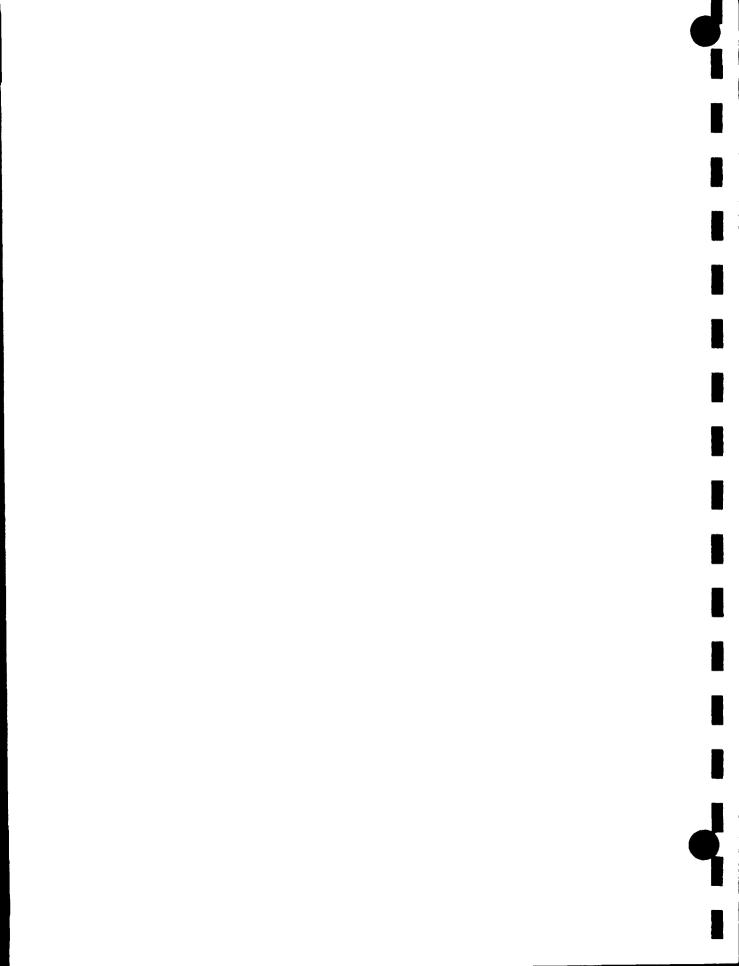
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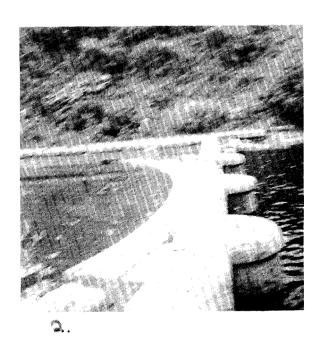
4. IDENTIFICATION

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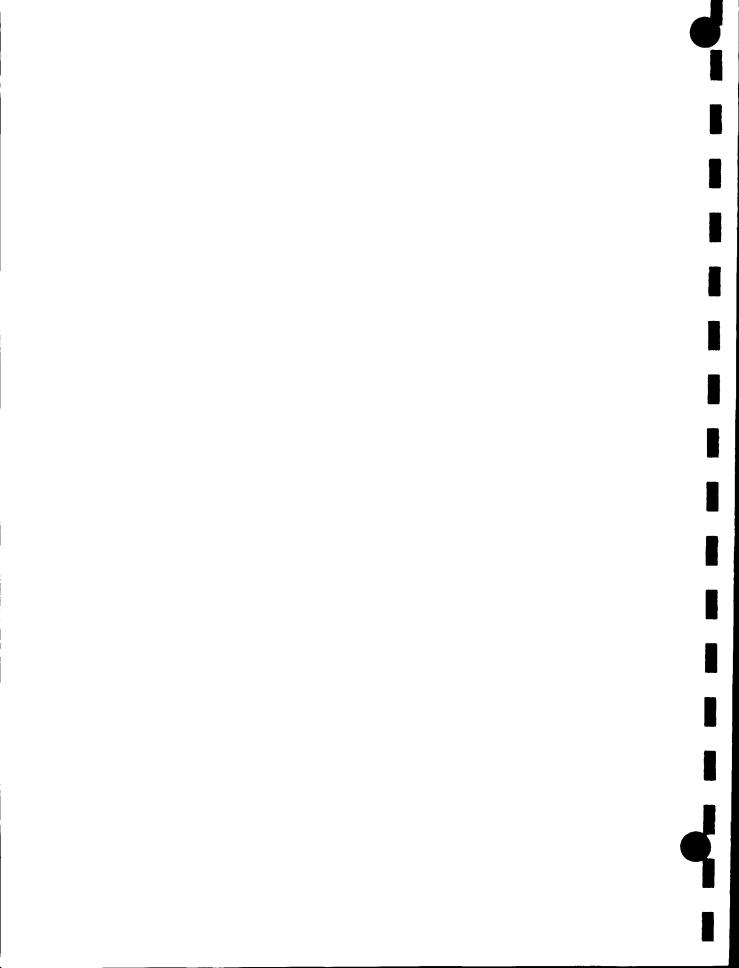
- 1. Looking down on Headgate from southeast.
- 2. View of Headgate from north elevation.







BIGHORN HEAD GATE

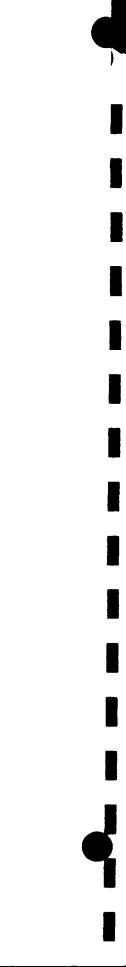


SIOUX TRAIL

NOMINATION

MAP

PHOTOGRAPHS



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

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MONTANA	
COUNTY:	
Carbon	
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INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM	500.454	
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AND/OR HISTORIC:		
Bad Pass Trail		
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Site Structure Private In Process	2 Unoccupied	Restricted
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☐ Agricultural ☐ Government ☐ Park		
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9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- 1. "The Correspondence and Journals of Captain North and J. Wyeth, 1831-36," F. G. Young, editor, Sources of History of Oregon, Eugene, 1899.
- 2. Gillette, E., "The First Trip Through Big Horn Canyon," Magazine of the American Society of Civil Engineers, 24, July 1891.
- 3. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area, Washington, 1970.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

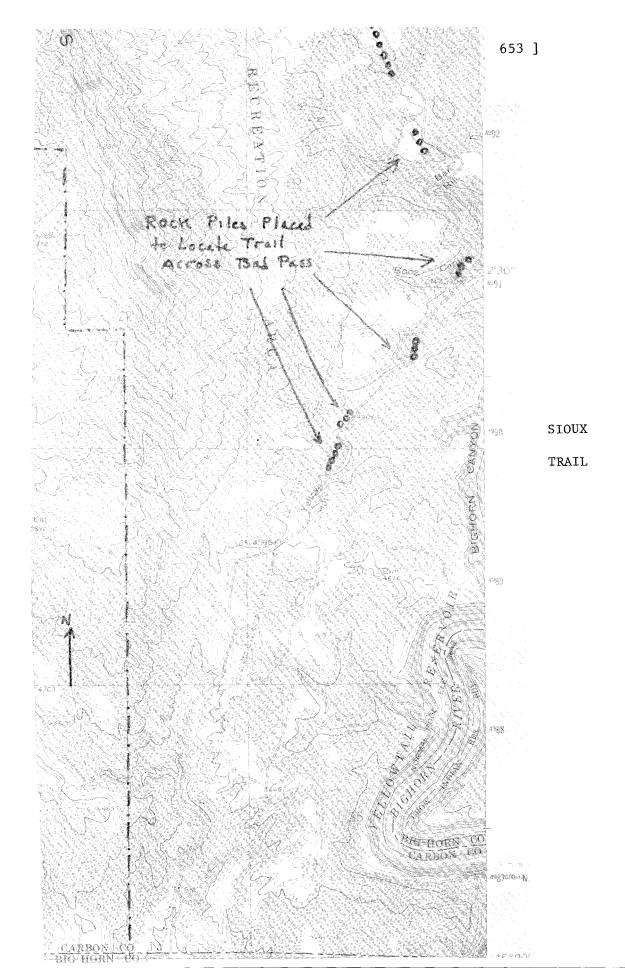
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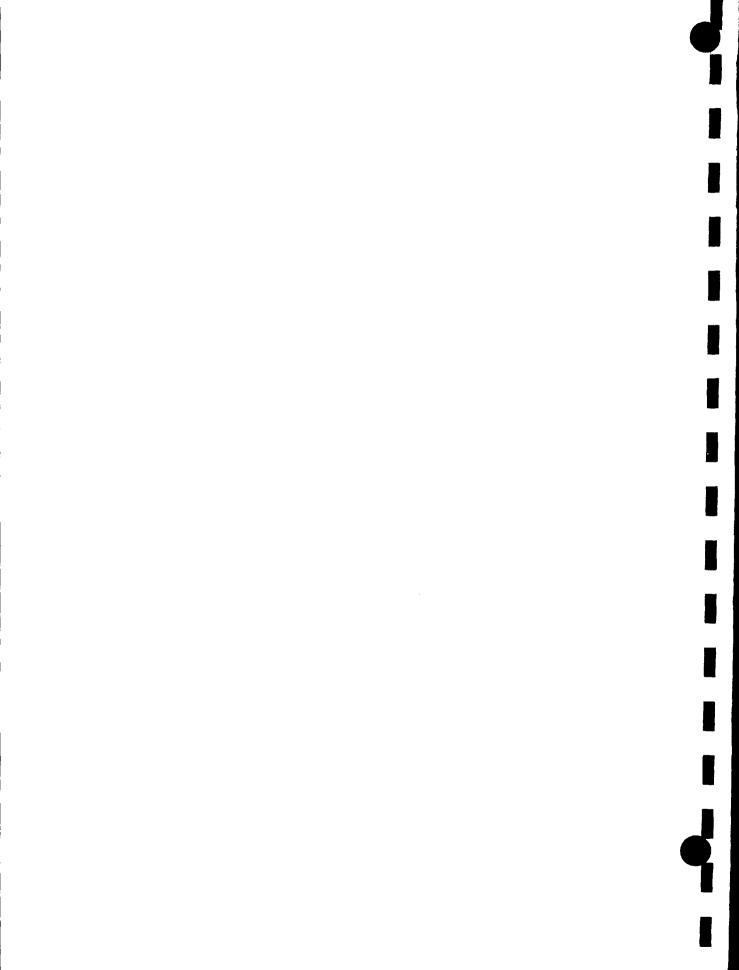
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AND/OR HISTORIC: Bad Pass Trail		The state of the s
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MONTANA	Carbon	
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DATE: 1964		
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TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS		
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2. North arrow.		C. Property Control of the Control o
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE	STATE	
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Form 10-301 (July 1969)	UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE	INTERIOR	STATE	
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	Piles of rock marking	the Bad Pass	(Sioux) Trail, near	.
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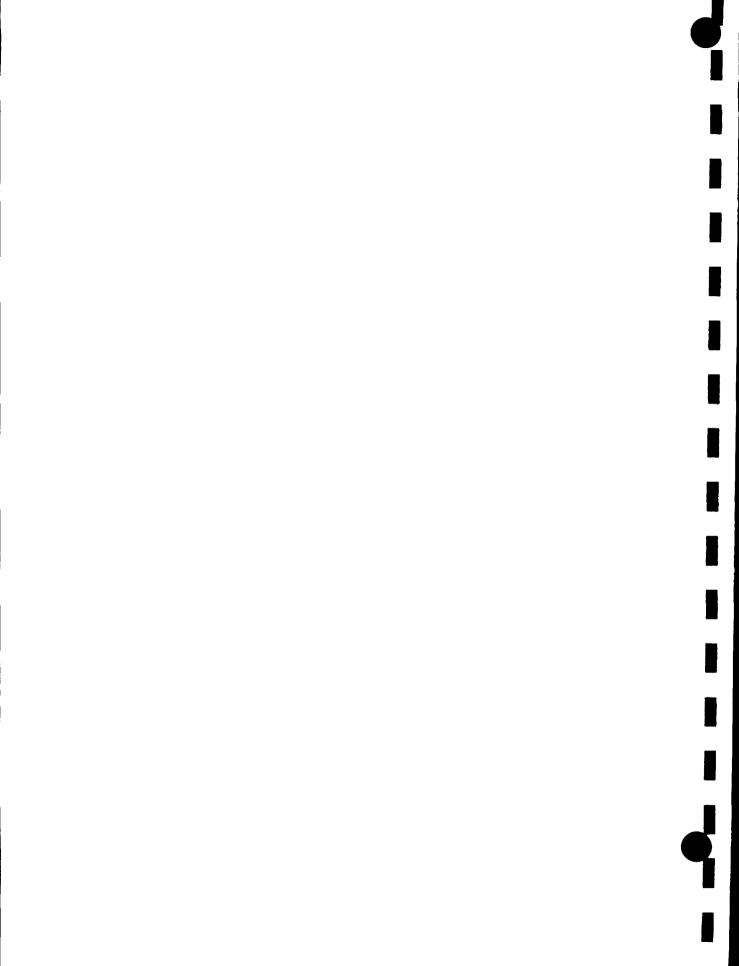






Piles of rock marking the Bad Pass (Sioux) Trail, near Booz Canyon.

SIOUX TRAIL



BOZEMAN TRAIL

NOMINATION

MAP

PHOTOGRAPHS

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

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The Bozeman Trail, in the years between 1863 and 1868, would have consisted of wagon ruts. Where the country was open and comparatively level the ruts would not be deep, because many of the wagons would have been driven abreast as they spread out to make better time. Where the country was rough and the grades steep, the wagons traveled in columns and

Today the century old ruts can be easily traced where there were steep grades and at the approaches to the Bighorn Crossing.

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Communications	Military	Theater	
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STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

[see p. 161, this study]

The route subsequently followed by much of the Bozeman Trail between the Bighorn and North Platte was reconnoitered by Captain Raynolds in 1859. Raynolds at that time reported that the area at the mouth of Bighorn Canyon will "become a thriving and important point on a road connecting the Platte with the three forks of the Missouri, and skirting in its course the Big Horn Mountains." In 1863 Bozeman and Jacobs examined the route from Bannack to the North Platte, but the hostility of the Sioux compelled the train they sought to lead over the trail, to turn back. During the next three years, 1864-1866, thousands of emigrants en route to the Montana diggings traveled the Bozeman Trail. Peter Kock, who emigrated to Montana at this time and wrote of his experiences, recorded that in the years 1864-1866 "the principal immigration into Montana was by the Bozeman road and Bozeman Pass."

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REPERENCES

- 1. Hebard, Grace Raymond and Earl A. Birminstool, The Bozeman Trail: Historical Accounts of the Overland Routes into the North West, and the Fights with Red Cloud's Warriors, 2 vols. Cleveland, 1922.
- 2. Burlingame, Merrill G., "John M. Bozeman, Montana Trailmaker," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 27, March 1941.
- 3. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area, Washington, 1970.

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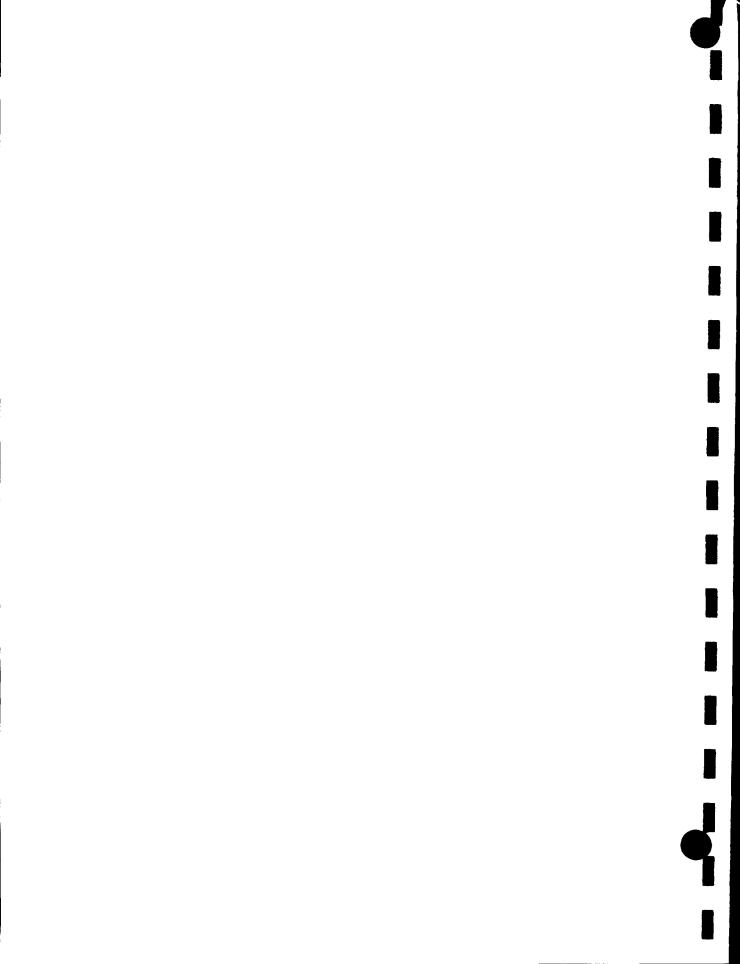
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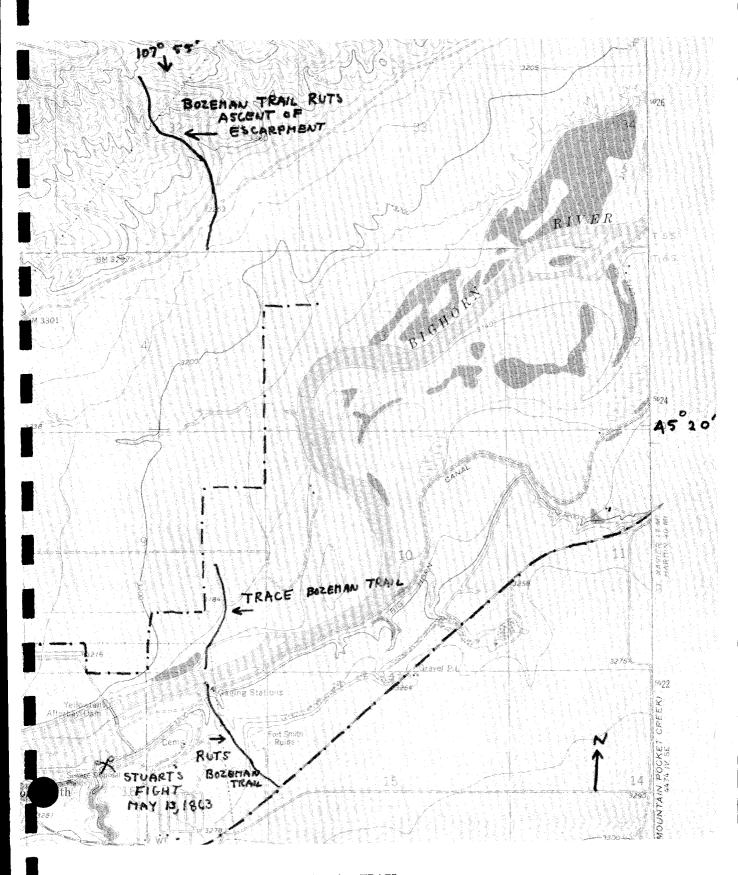
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with map)

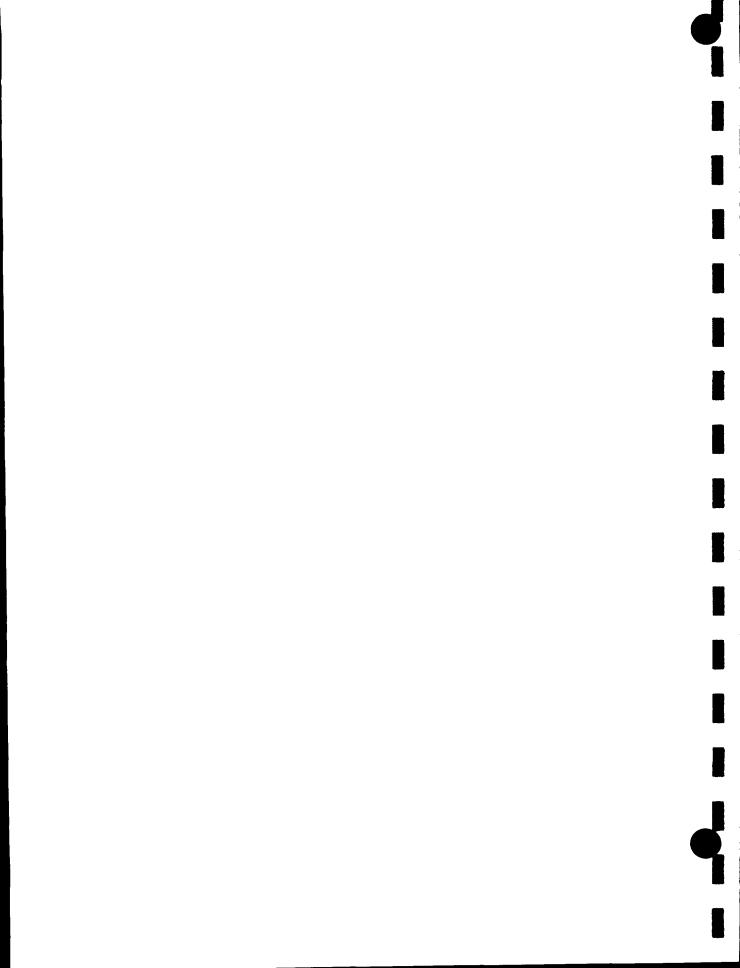
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BOZEMAN TRAIL



S Z UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM

(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)

STATE	
MONTANA	
COUNTY	
Big Horn	
FOR NPS USE ON	LY
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

CODE

1. NAME AND/OR HISTORIC: STATE:

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соммон: Bozeman Trail

LOCATION

STREET AND NUMBER: Near the Bighorn Crossing, Bozeman Trail ruts are found in Sections 9 & 16, Township 6 South, Range 31 East; and Section 32, Township 5 South, Range 31 East. South, Ran

CODE

COUNTY:

Big Horn

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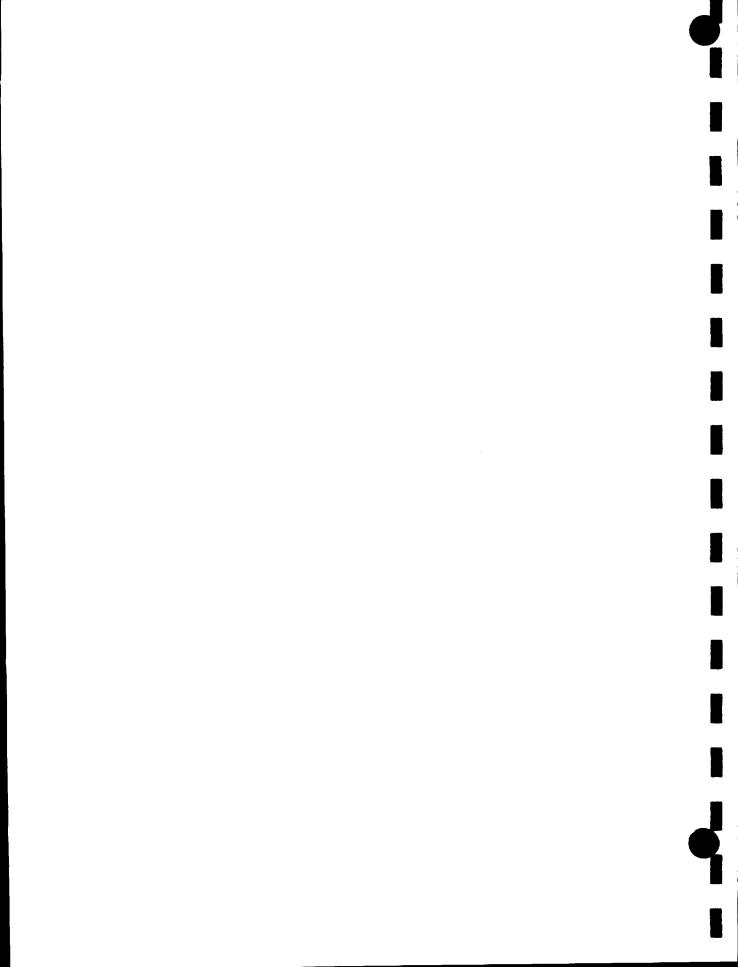
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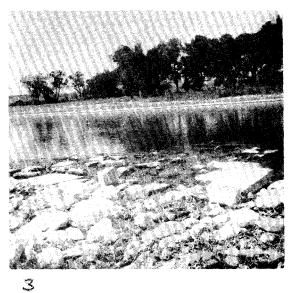
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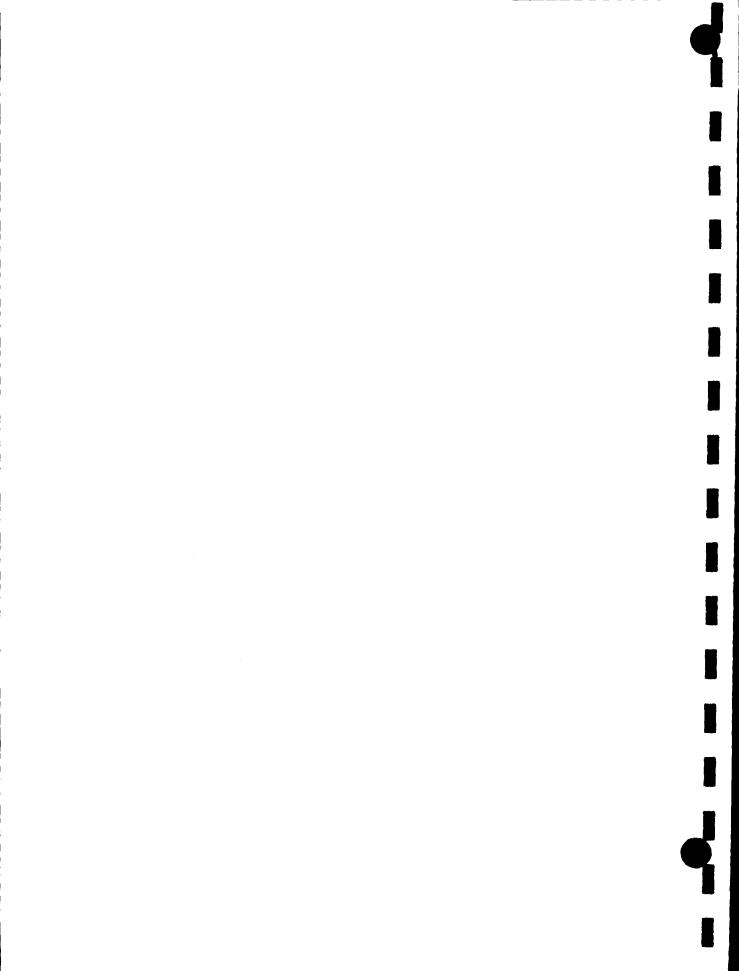
- DESCRIBE VIEW DIRECTION ETC. 1. Bozeman Trail ruts, the approach to the Bighorn Crossing, west of Fort C. F. Smith.
 - 2. Bozeman Trail ruts, the ascent of the escarpment in Section 32, Township 5 South, Range 31 East.
 - Bighorn Crossing of Bozeman Trail.









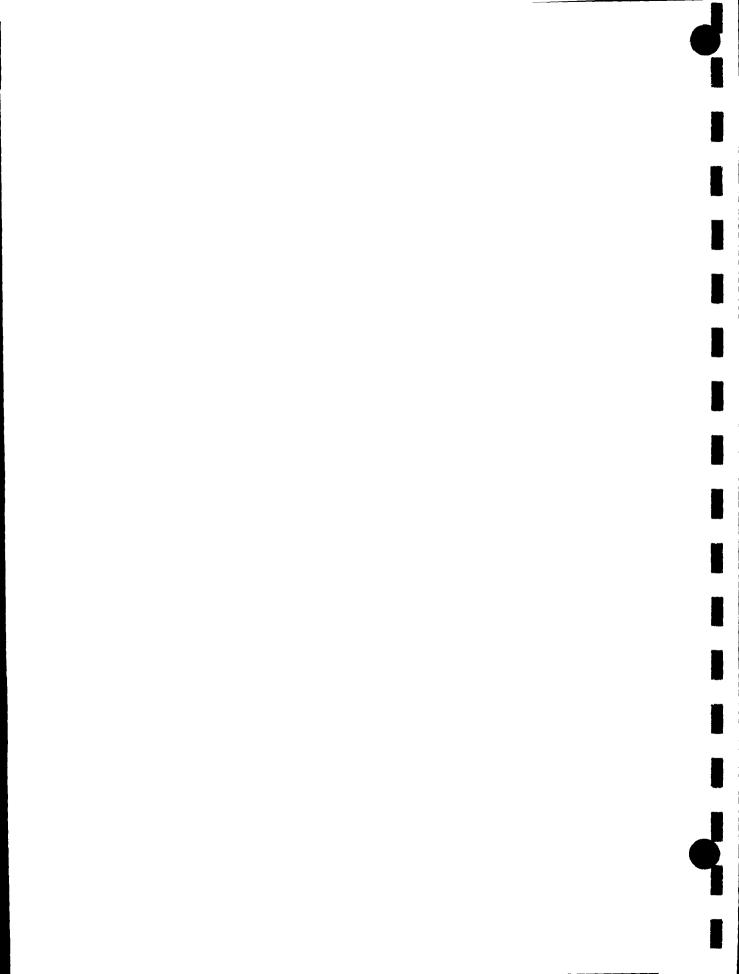


ROAD TO OKE-A-BEH

NOMINATION

MAP

PHOTOGRAPHS



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

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20 & 21, Township 6 South, Range 31 East.	- to oke-A-bell III	Jections	
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The Quarry and Wood Road are in a good state of preservation and can be easily identified by even a casual observer. The Wood Road, after passing through the Backbone, gives access to the quarry. The road then continues up the west side of Lime Kiln Creek and ascends the Bighorn Mountains.

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ERIOD (Check One or More as Pre-Columbian) 15th Century	Appropriate) 16th Century 17th Century	18th Century 19th Century	20th Contury
PECIFIC DATE(S) (If Applicat		ata)	
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Communications Conservation	Military Music	☐ Theater ☐ Transportation	

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

[see p. 290, this study]

When the army established Fort C. F. Smith in 1866, the two primary building materials needed were logs and limestone. To obtain timber a Wood Road was opened up Lime Kiln Creek to give access to nearby pinerys. Limestone used in fort construction was obtained from the the quarry on the west side of Lime Kiln Creek. In 1867 when Lt. Col. Luther P. Bradley rebuilt part of the fort in adobe, a Kiln was established near where Lime Kiln Creek passes through the Backbone.

In 1877-78 the army, when it was constructing Fort Custer, secured its limestone from this quarry. So highly was this limestone valued that a Limestone Reservation was established, in 1879, embracing this area.

- 2. Templeton, Lt. George M., Diary, Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
- 3. Bearss, E. C., "Basic Data Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area" Washington, 1970.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

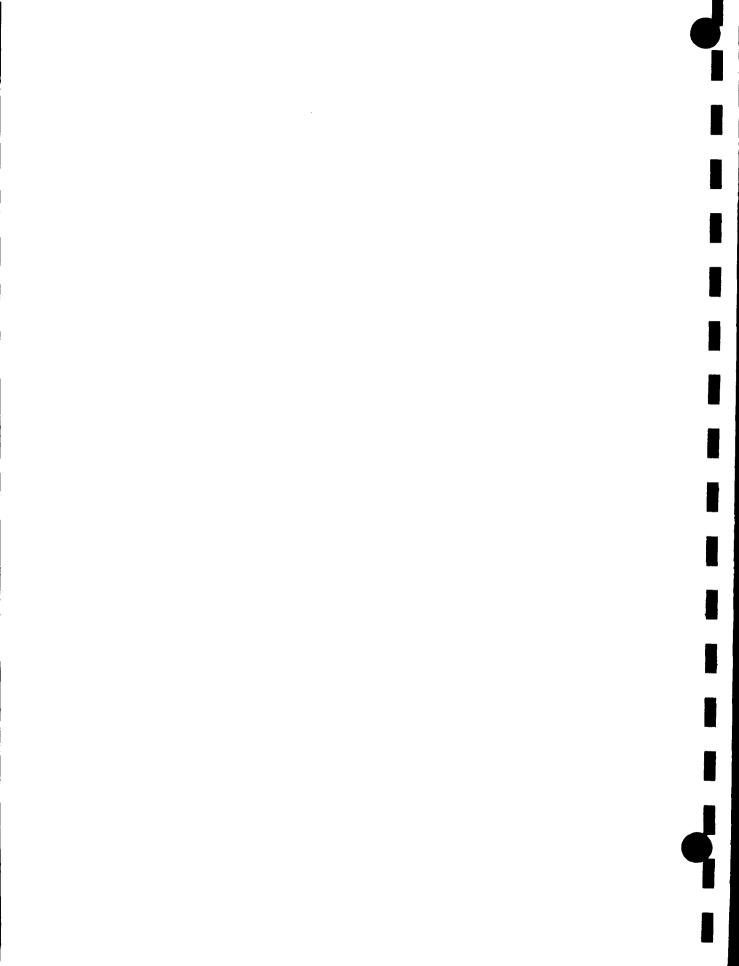
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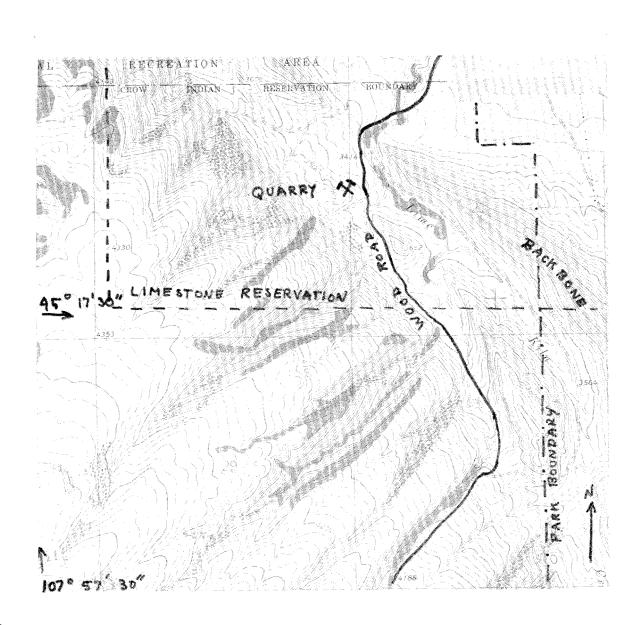
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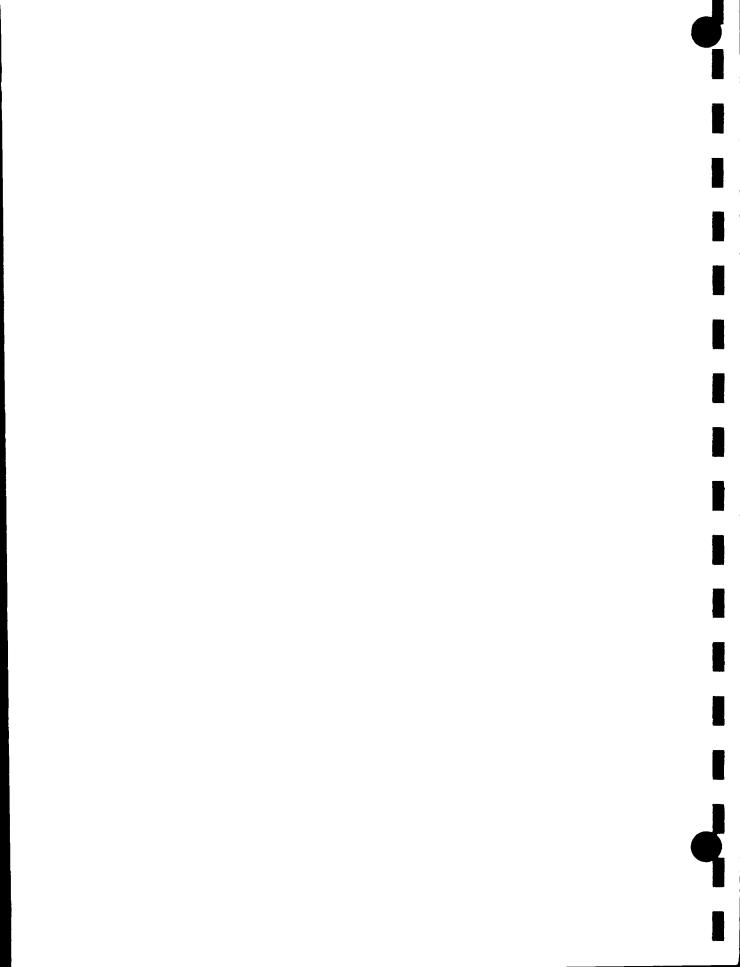
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ROAD TO OKE-A-BEH



¹Form 10-301 (July 1969)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES PROPERTY MAP FORM

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

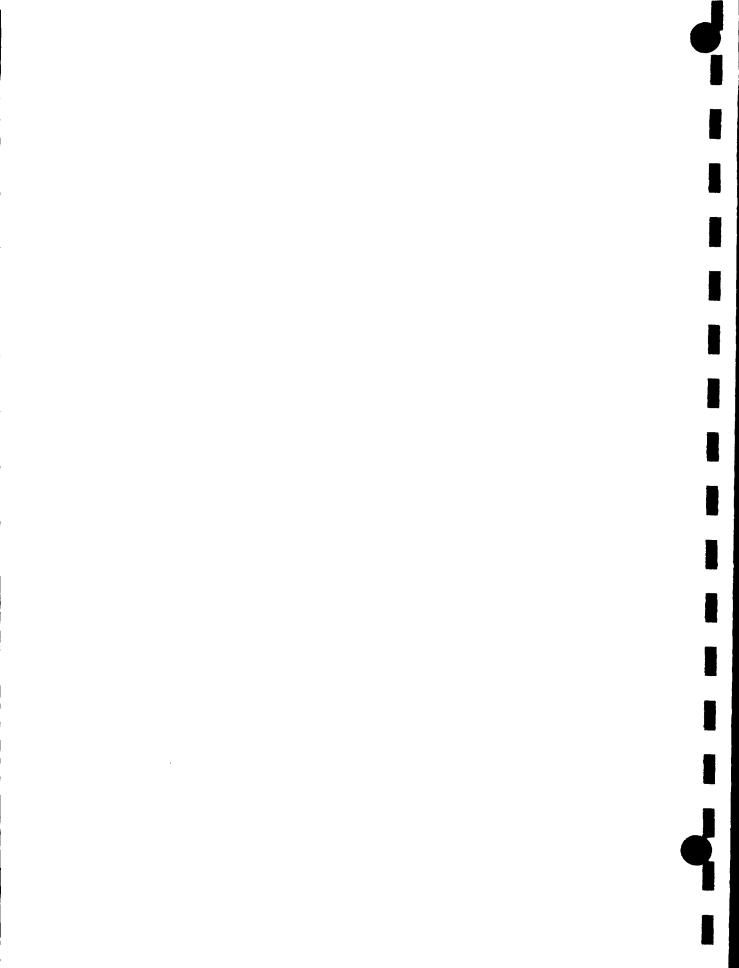
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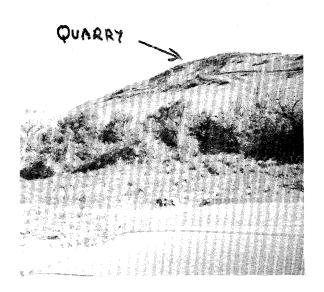
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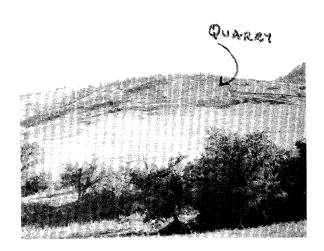
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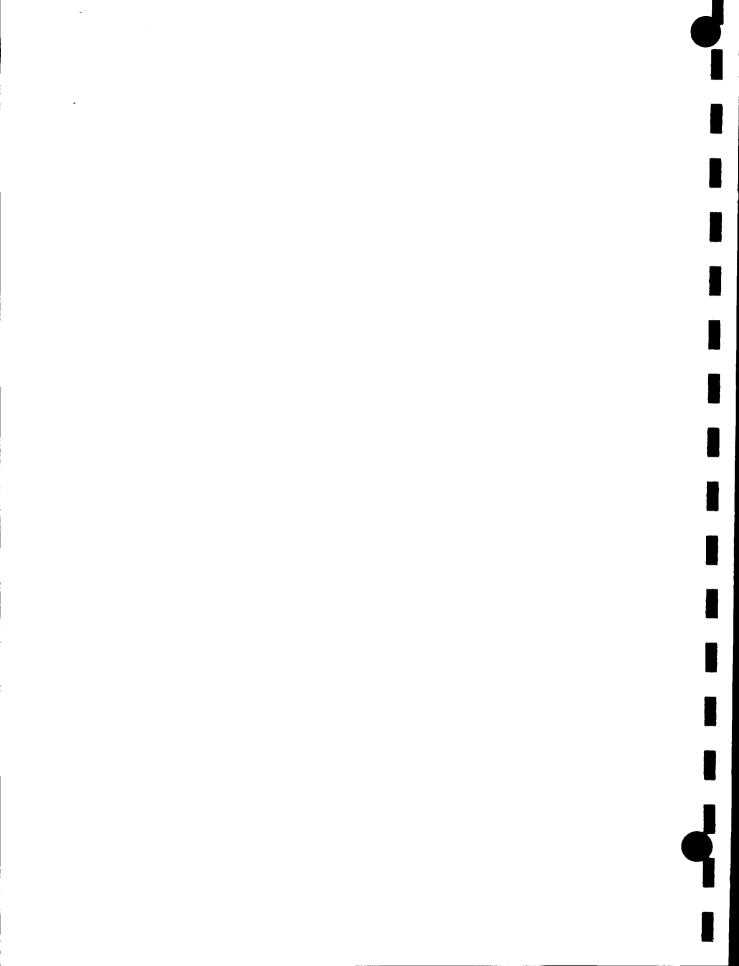
Views of Quarry, with Wood Road in foreground, taken from unimproved road up Lime Kiln Creek.







ROAD TO OKE-A-BEH



ILLUSTRATIONS

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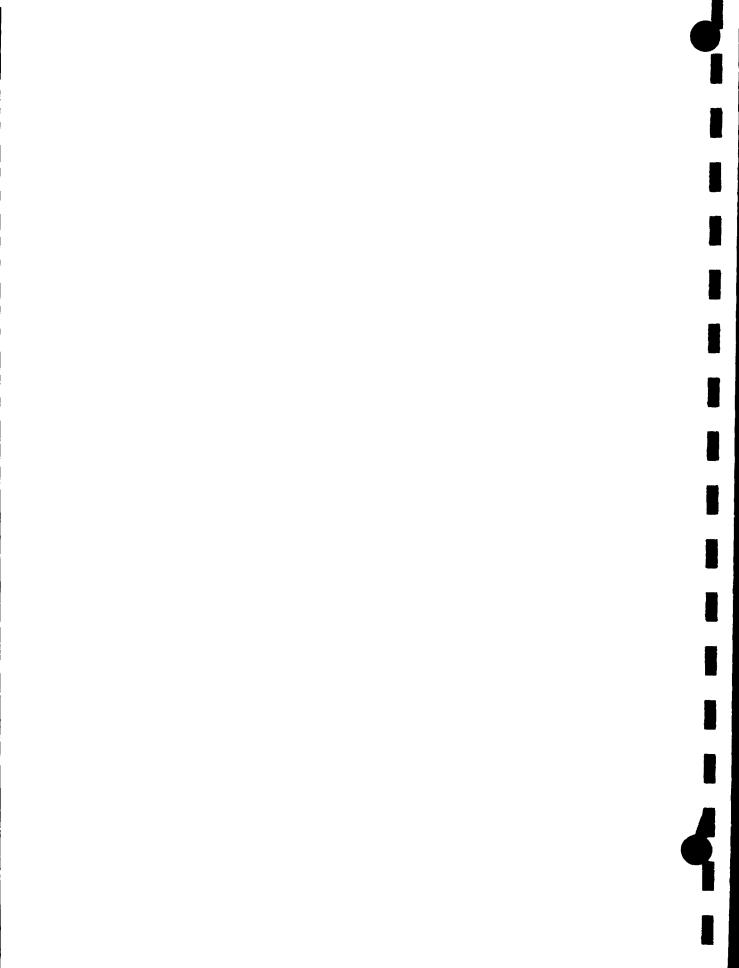


PLATE I

Historical Base Map, 1750-1905, Bighorn Canyon NRA

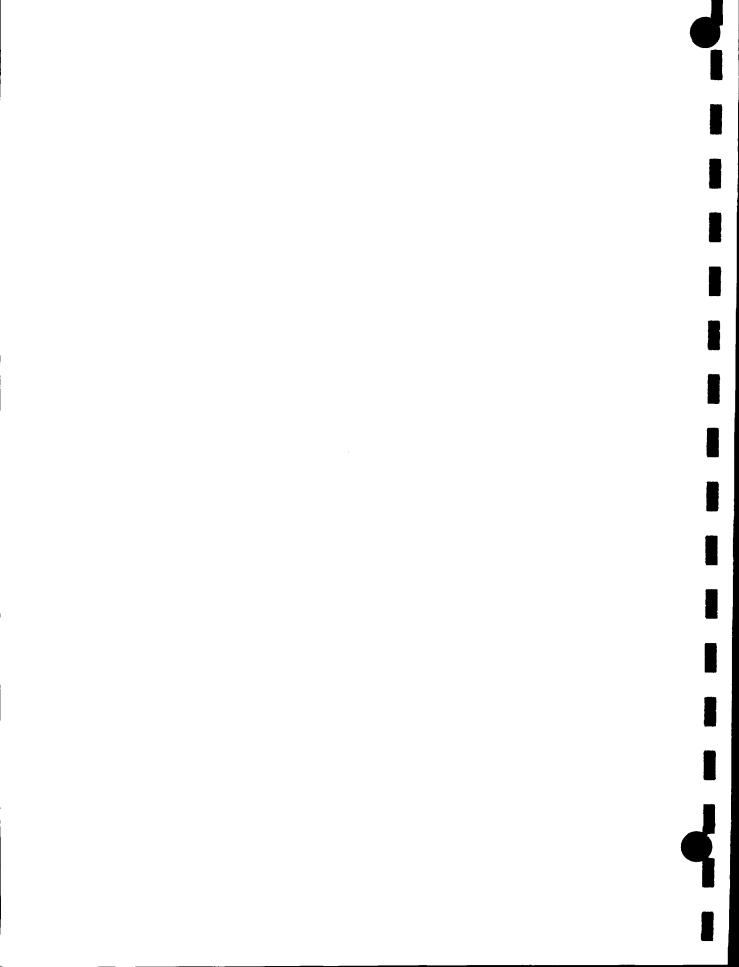
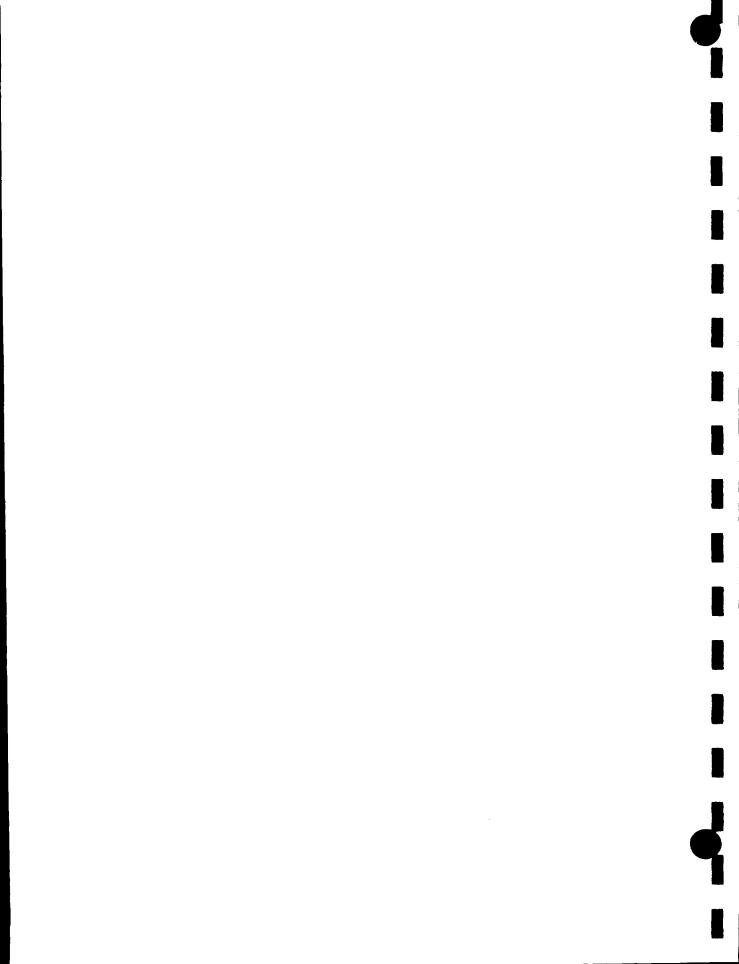
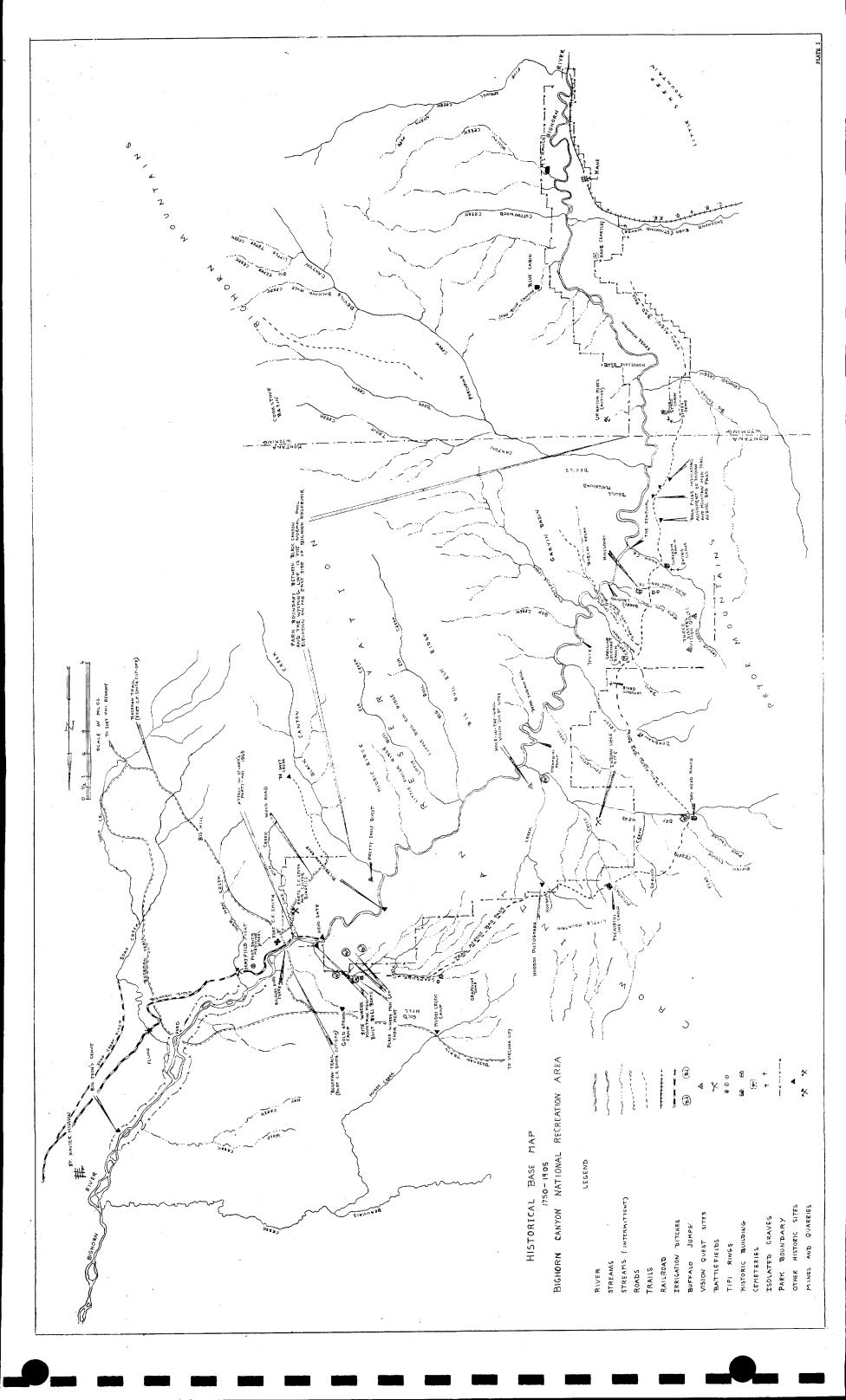


PLATE I

Historical Base Map, 1750-1905, Bighorn Canyon NRA





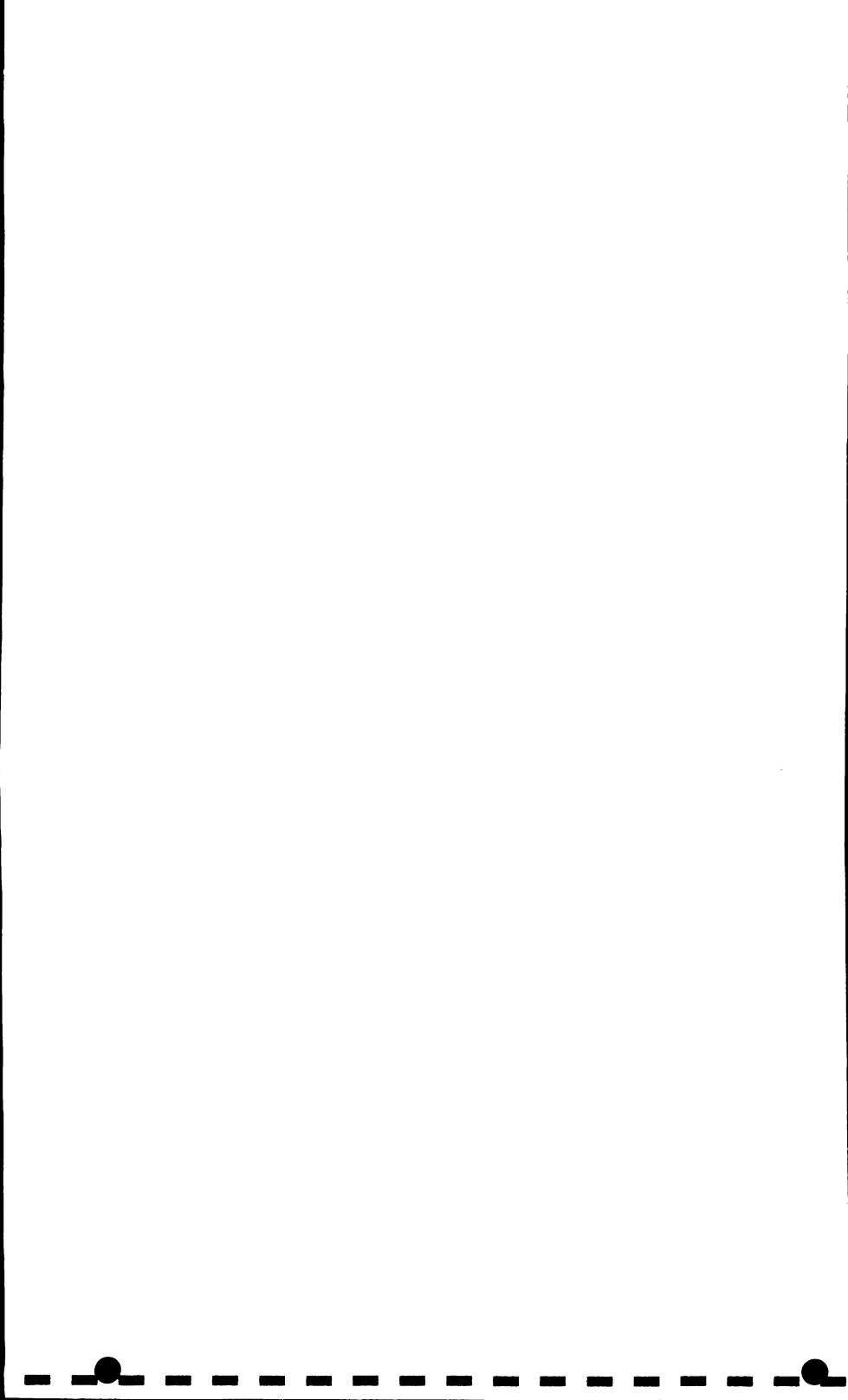


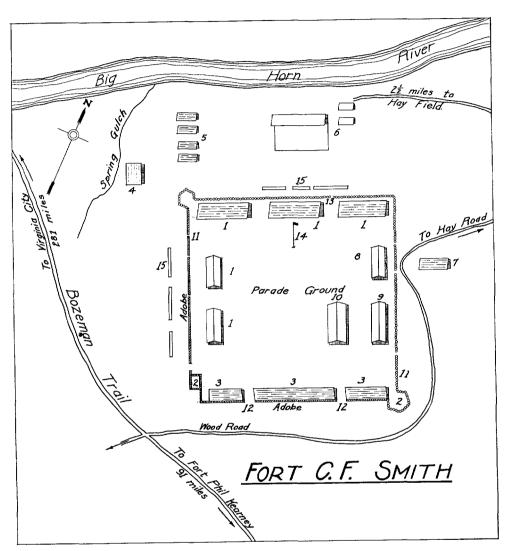
PLATE II

Historical Base Map, 1805-1868, Bighorn Canyon, NRA

(SEE INSIDE BACK COVER FOR PLATE II)

PLATE III

Diagram Prepared by Dr. Grace Hebard of Fort C. F. Smith, from Information Provided by Finn Burnett and Vie Willits, found in Hebard & Brininstool, The Bozeman Trail, 2.



FORT C. F. SMITH

Drawn from information furnished by Vie Willits Garber and F. G. Burnett.

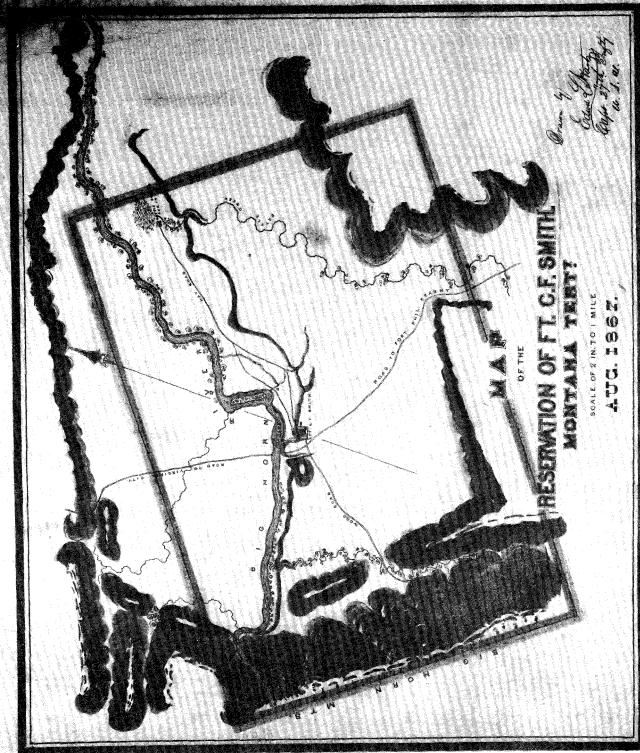
(1) Officers' quarters; (2) Block and guardhouse; diagonal corner also a blockhouse; (3) Barracks; (4) Sawmill; (5) Teamsters' and employes' log cabins; (6) Stable and corral; (7) Sutler's store; (8) Office; (9) Storehouse; (10) Quartermaster's department; (11) Port holes situated at several points in the four walls of the stockade; (12) Wagon gates; (13) Small gate; (14) Flag staff; (15) Rifle pits.

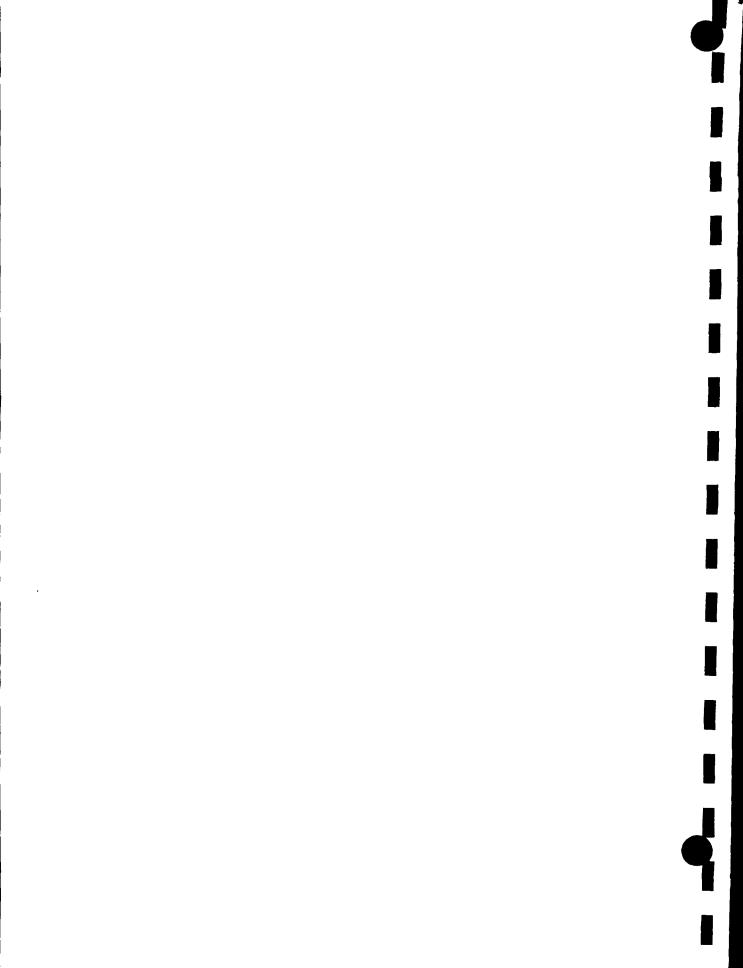
PLATE IV

Captain D'Isay's 1868 Drawing of Fort C. F. Smith, based on Pvt. Anton Schonborn's Sketch, NA, photo no. 11-sc-94317.

PLATE V

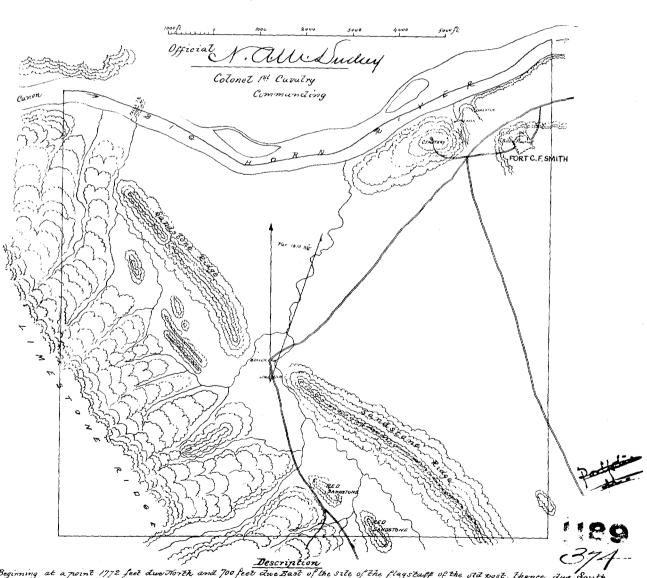
"Map of the Reservation of Ft. C. F. Smith, Montana Terty," Prepared in August 1867 by Capt. Edward L. Hartz, 27th U.S. Infantry, NA, RG 77.





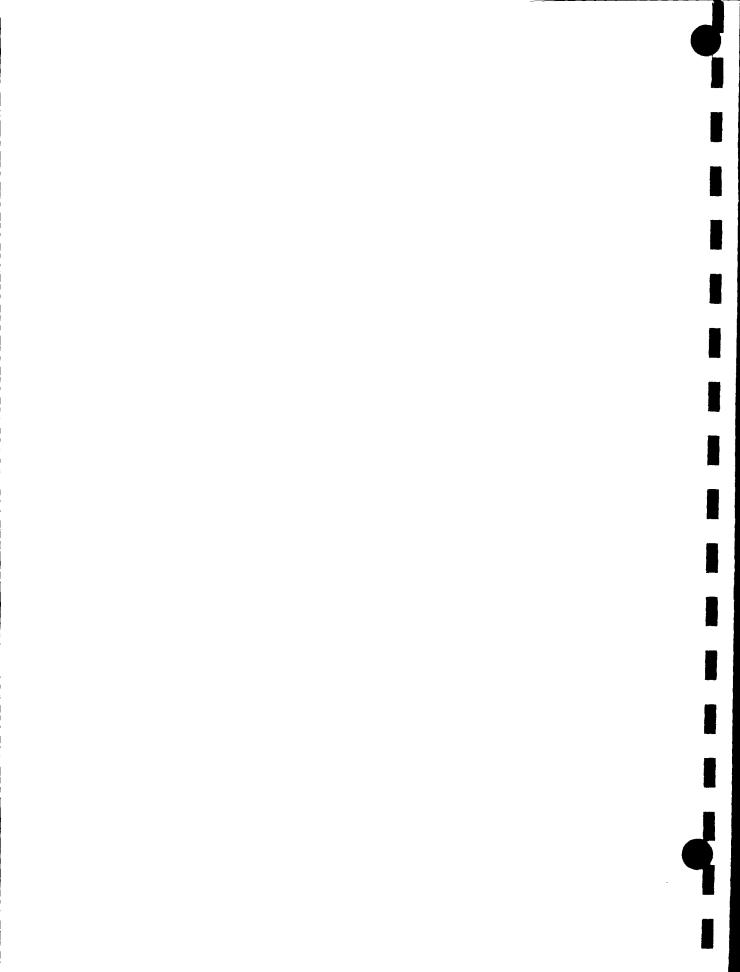
PROPOSED LIMESTONE RESERVATION OLD FORT C.F. SMITH M.T.

To accompany report of Colonel X. A. M. Dudley, 1st Carly Conray Fi Caster, M. I



Beginning at a point 1772 feet due North and 700 feet due Bast of the site of the flagstaff of the vid post, thence due South smile 3206 feet; thence due West 2 miles; thence due North, smile 4470 feet to midstream Big. Horn River; thence down said midstream to its intersection with the protongation of the eastern boundary, and thence along said protongation to the place of Deginning.

3 48 Sq miles



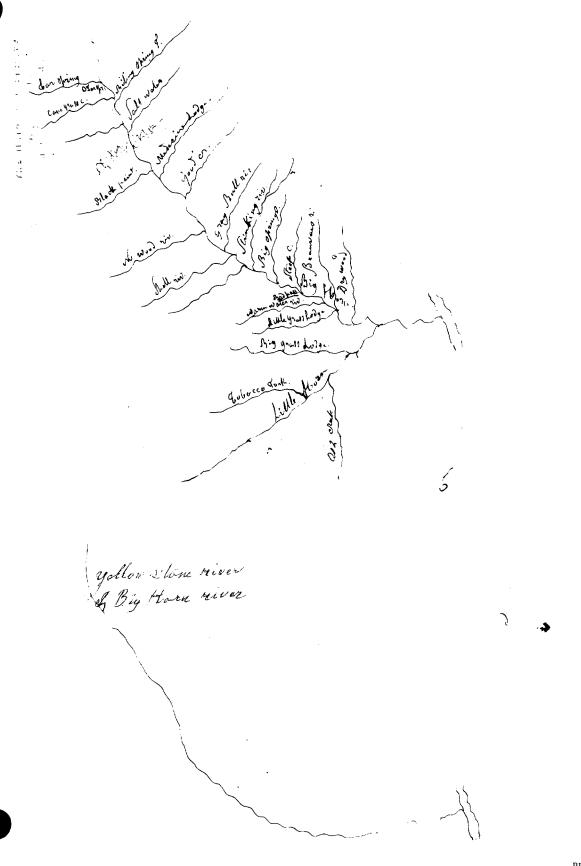
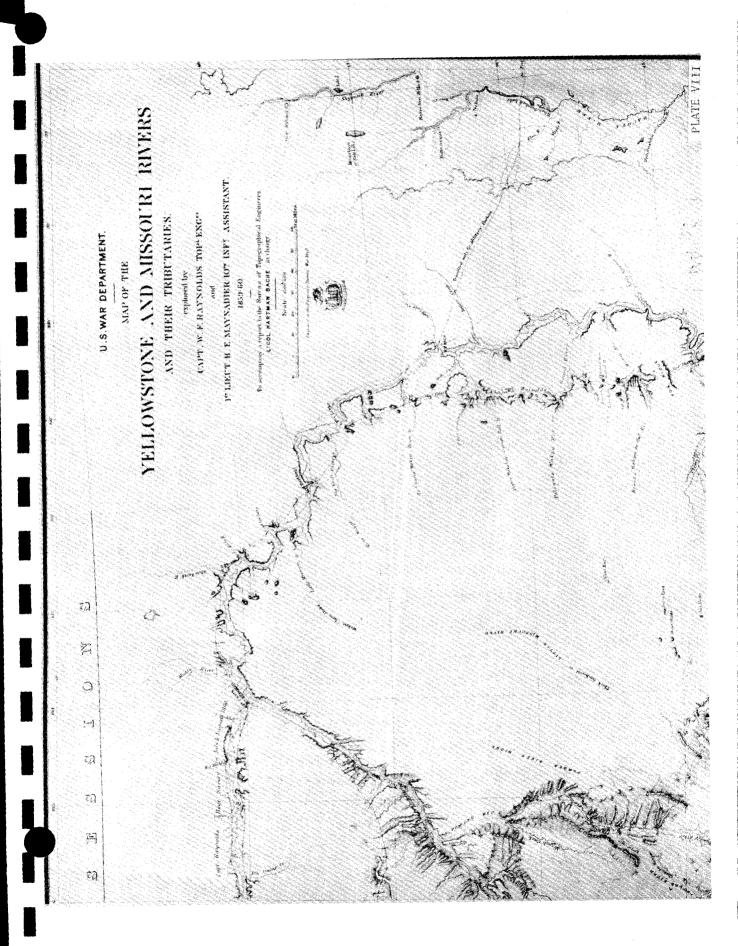


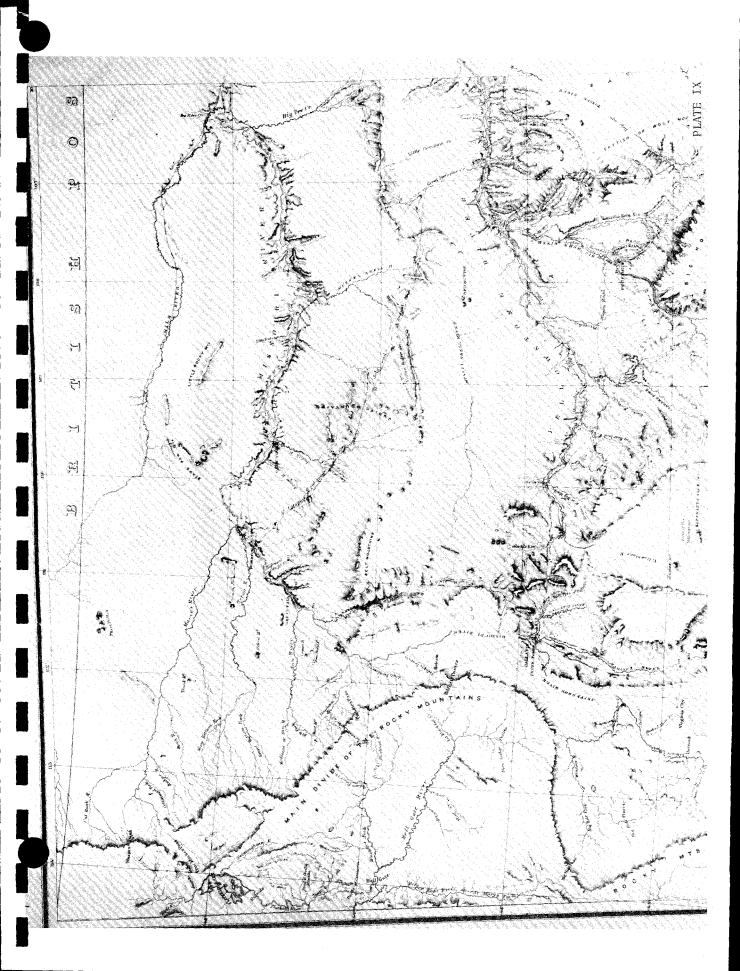
PLATE VII
"COPY OF ORIGINAL MAP OF BIG HORN RIVER
IN DE SMET COLLECTION, LIBRARY, ST. LOUIS
UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS, MO., NOV. 1939."

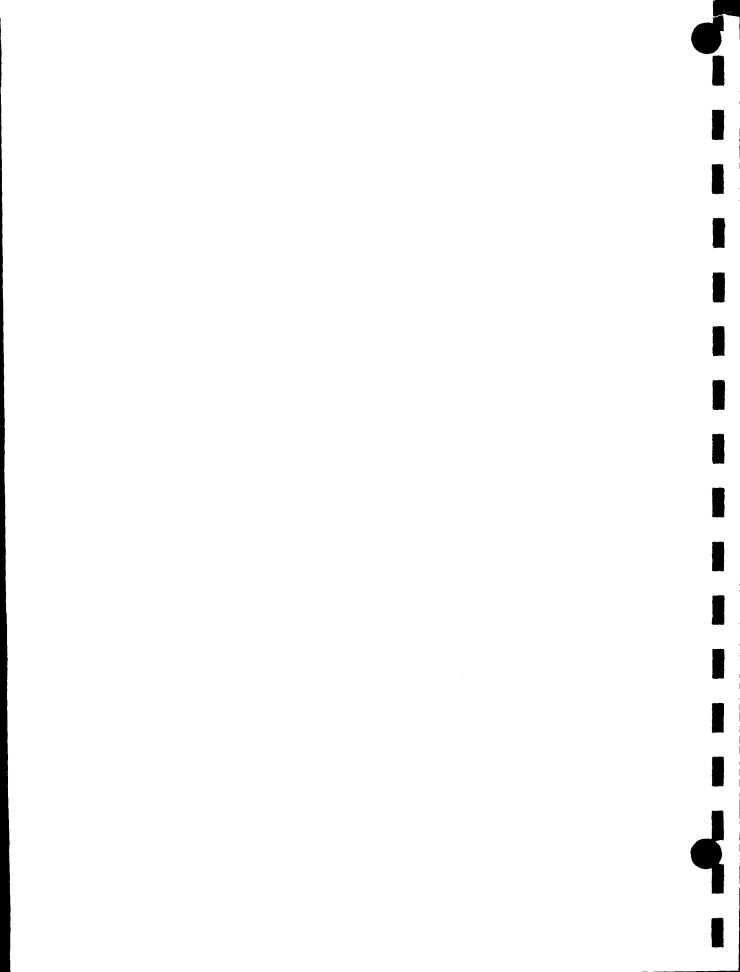
PLATES VIII-XI

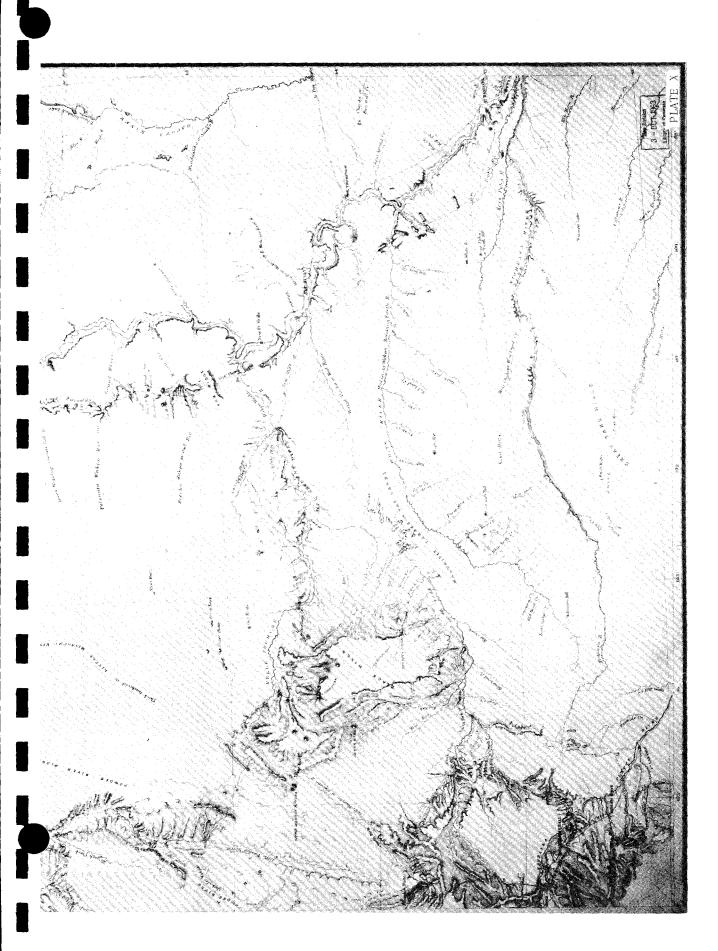
"Map of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers and Their Tributaries, explored by Capt. W. F. Raynolds, Topl. Engrs. and 1st Lieut. H. E. Maynadier, 10th Infy. Assistant, 1859-60," courtesy Library of Congress.

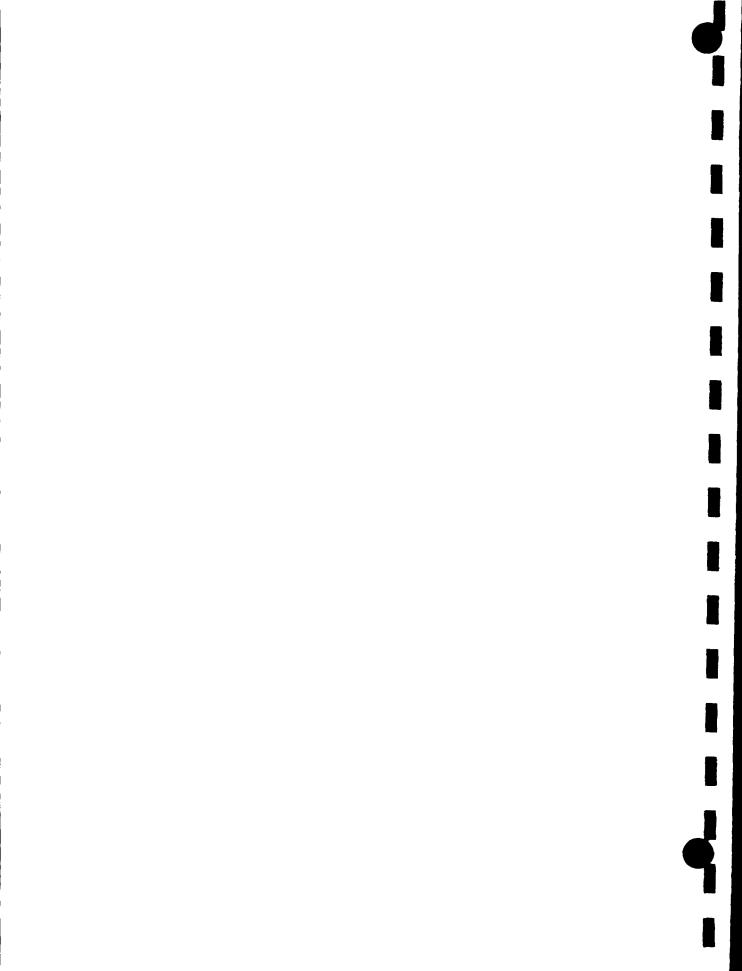


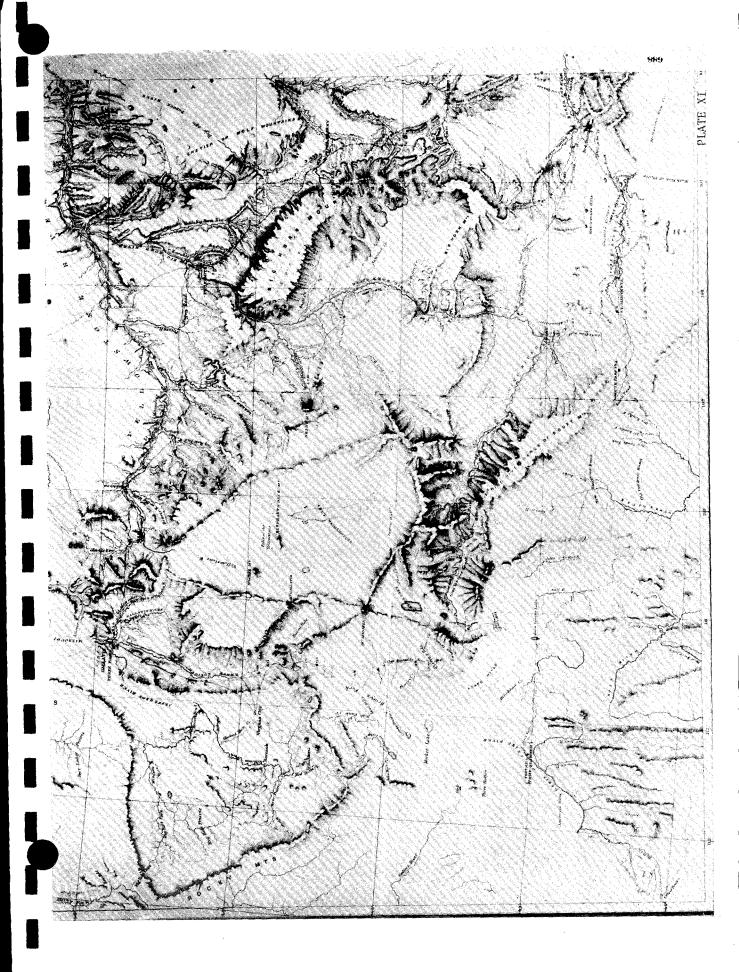
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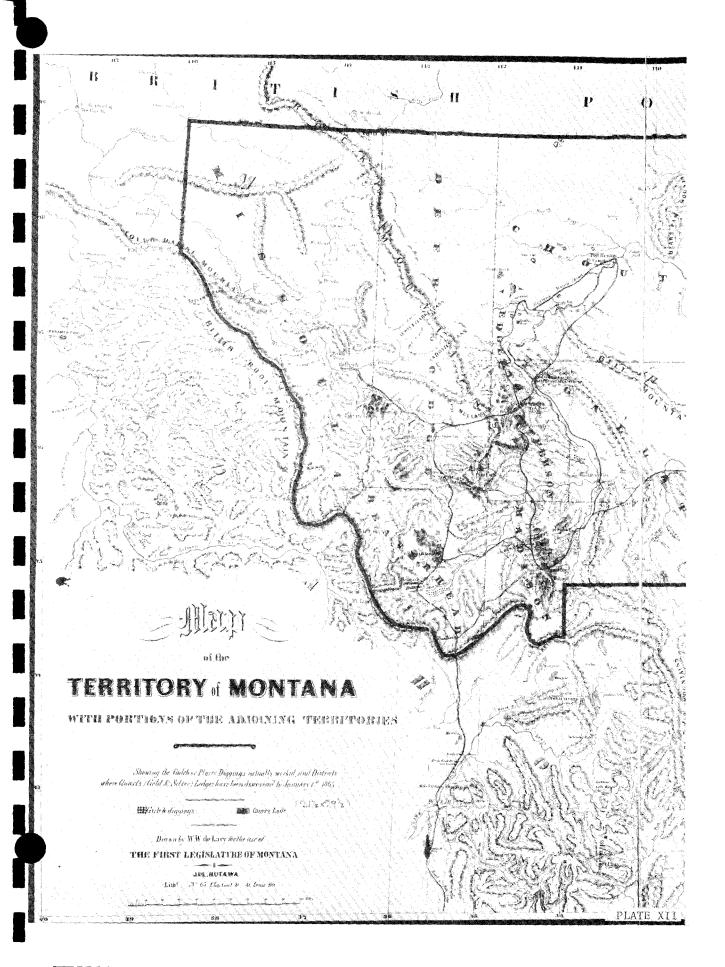


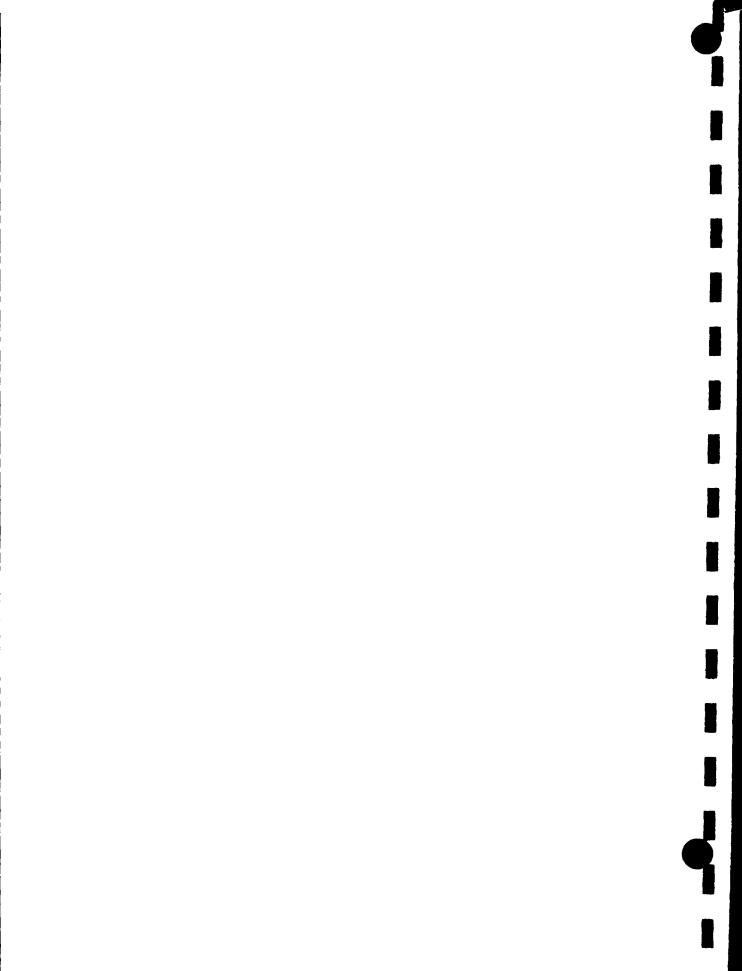




PLATES XII - XIII

"Map of the Territory of Montana, with Portions of the Adjoining Territories, Showing the Gulch or Placer Diggings actually worked, and Districts where Quartz (Gold & Silver) Lodges have been discovered to January 1st, 1865," drawn by W. W. de Lacy for the use of "The First Legislature of Montana," courtesy Library of Congress.





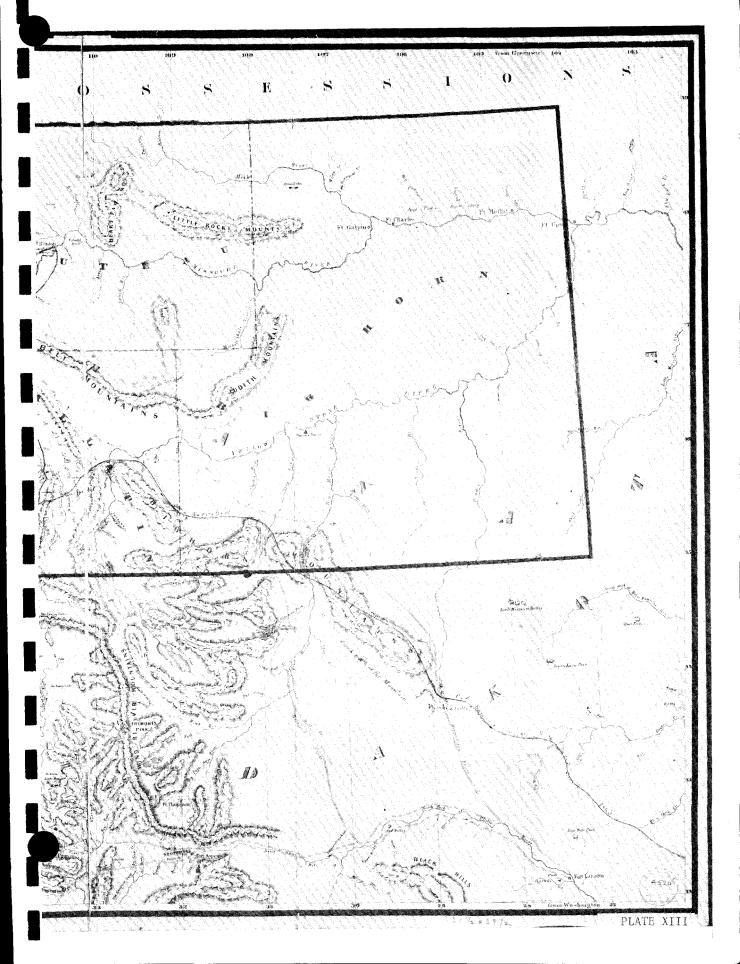


PLATE XIV

"Map of The Bozeman Trail, Made from the Original Field Notes of Vie Willits and Her Father, James Orr Willits, Big Horn, Wyo., 1908," courtesy Montana Historical Society.

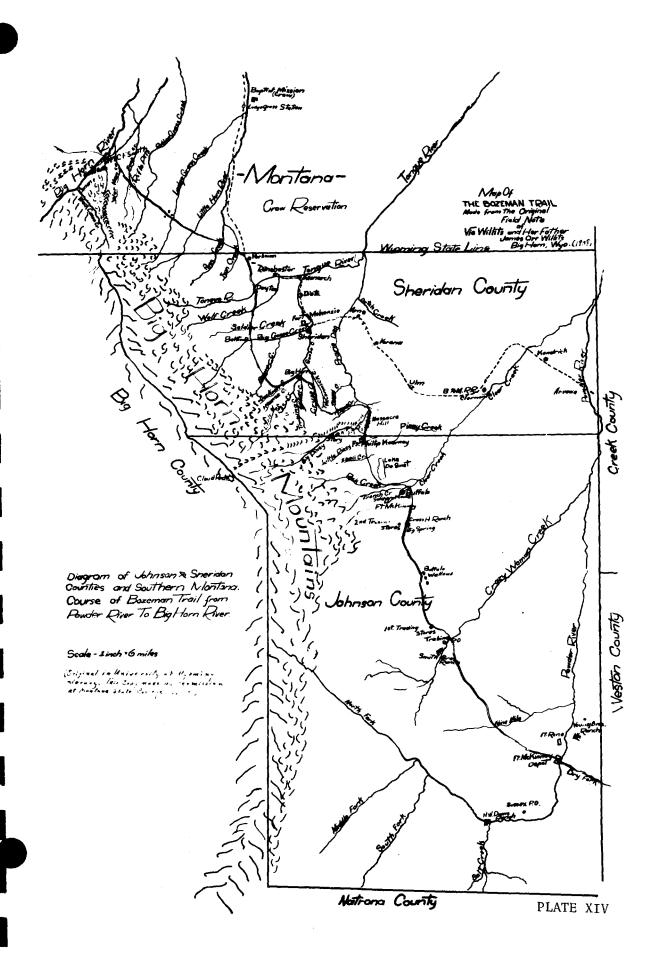


PLATE XV

"Map of Montana Territory, 5th Edition 1881 Compiled under direction of Capt. Edward Maguire, Corps of Engrs. by James E. Wilson, Topogl. Asst.," NA, RG 77. Only the section of the map depicting the Bighorn Country is included.



PLATE XVI

"Map of Route Traveled by Battalion 2d Cavalry, Captain John Mix, Commanding, September & October 1877," NA, RG 77.

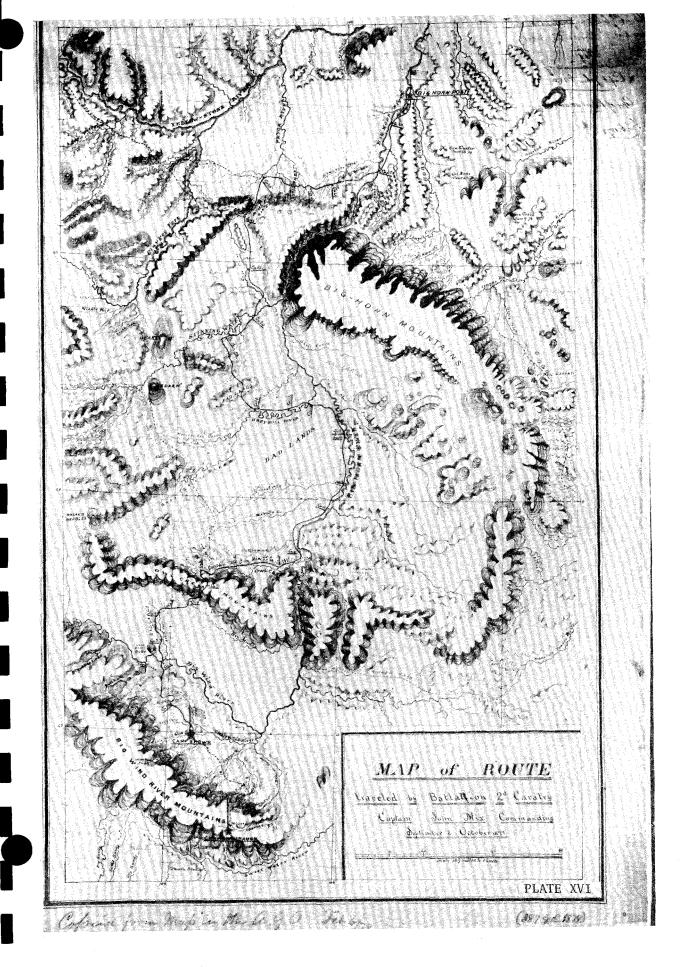
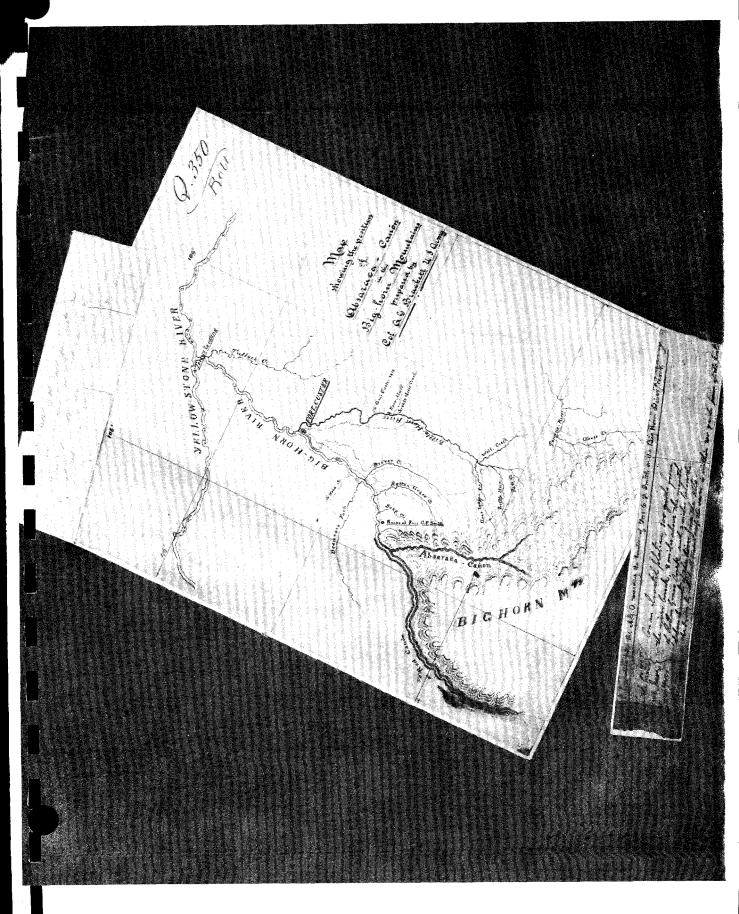


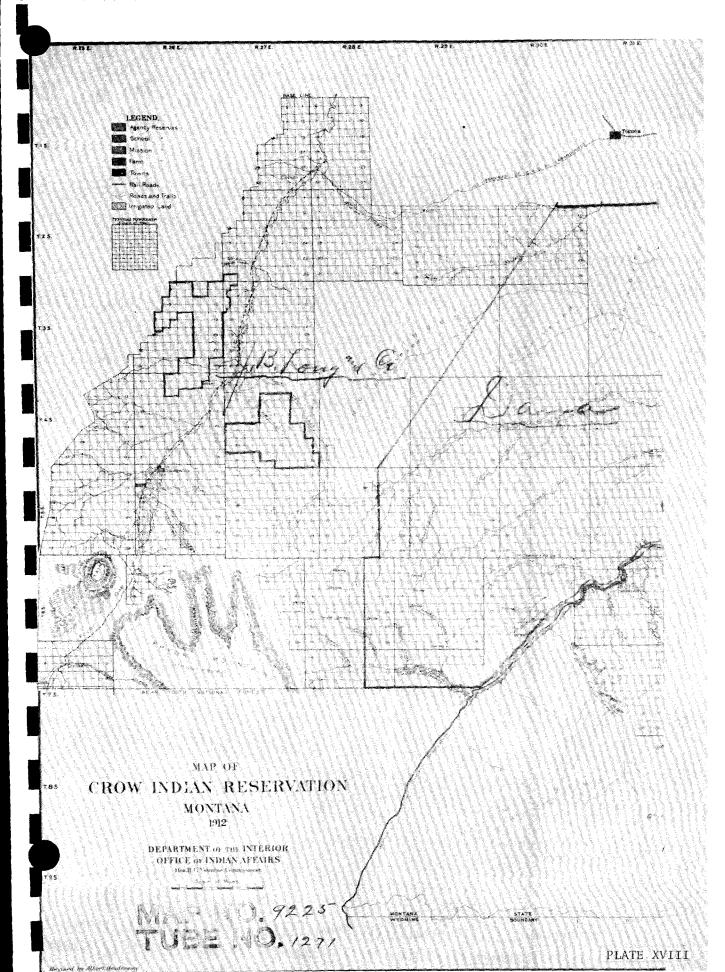
PLATE XVII

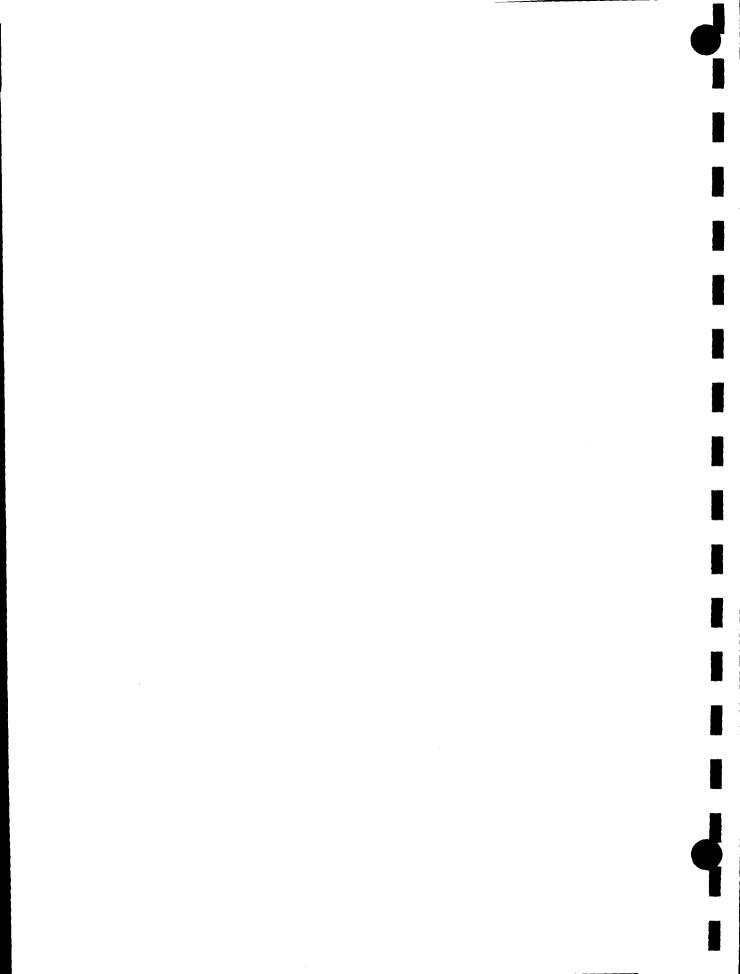
"Map Showing the Position of Absaraca Cañon in the Big-horn Mountains, prepared by Col. A. G. Brackett, U. S. Army," drawn in 1877, NA, RG 77.



PLATES XVIII - XIX

"Map of Crow Indian Reservation, Montana, 1912, Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Hon. R. G. Valentine, Commissioner," NA, RG 77.





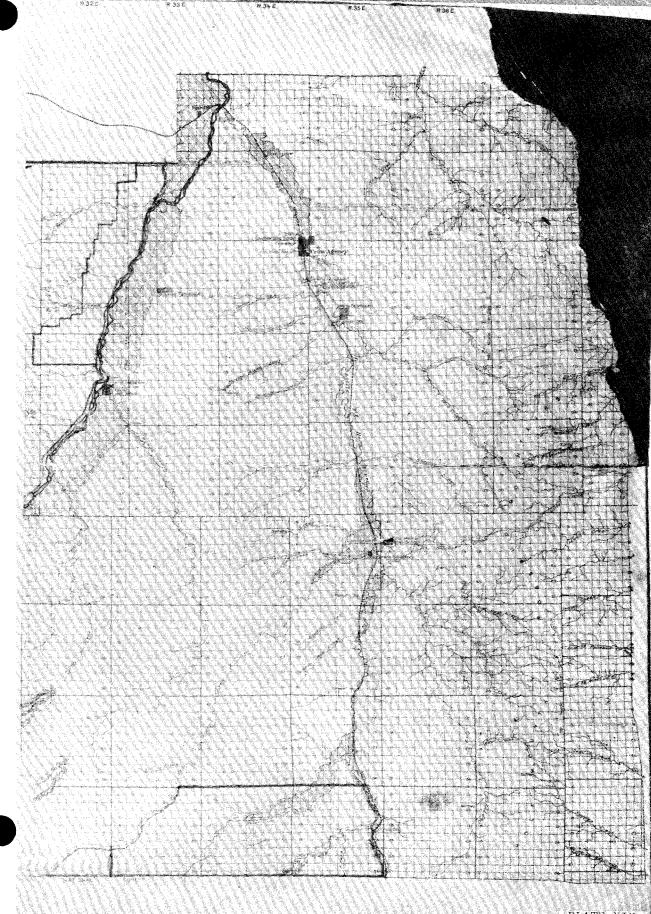


PLATE XX

June 1892, this photograph would have been taken before that date. NA, photo. no. 11-sc-92985. "Military Cemetery at Fort C. F. Smith," as the memorial and bodies were removed to Custer Battlefield National Cemetery in

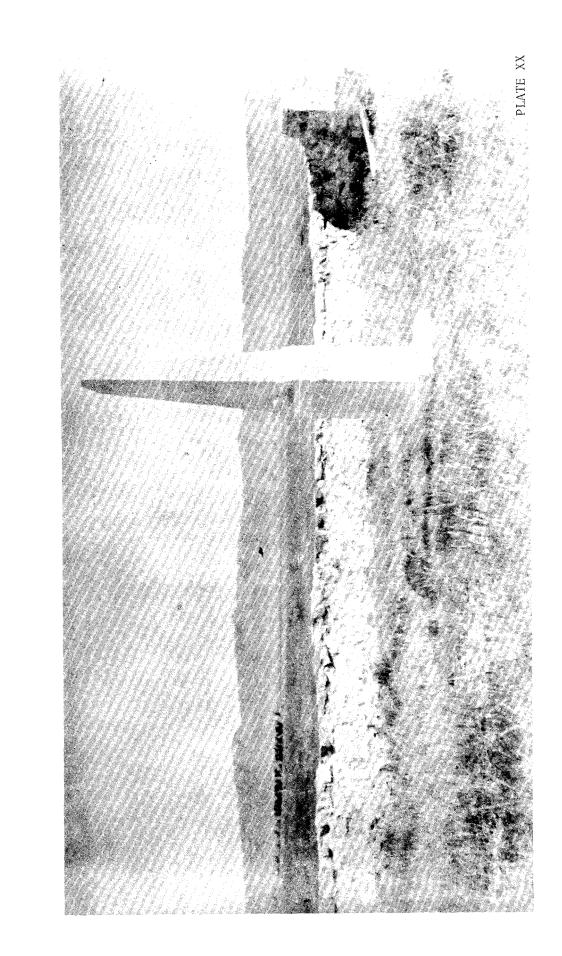


PLATE XXI

"Ruins of Old Fort C. F. Smith," circa 1900, NA, photo. no. 11-sc-82983.

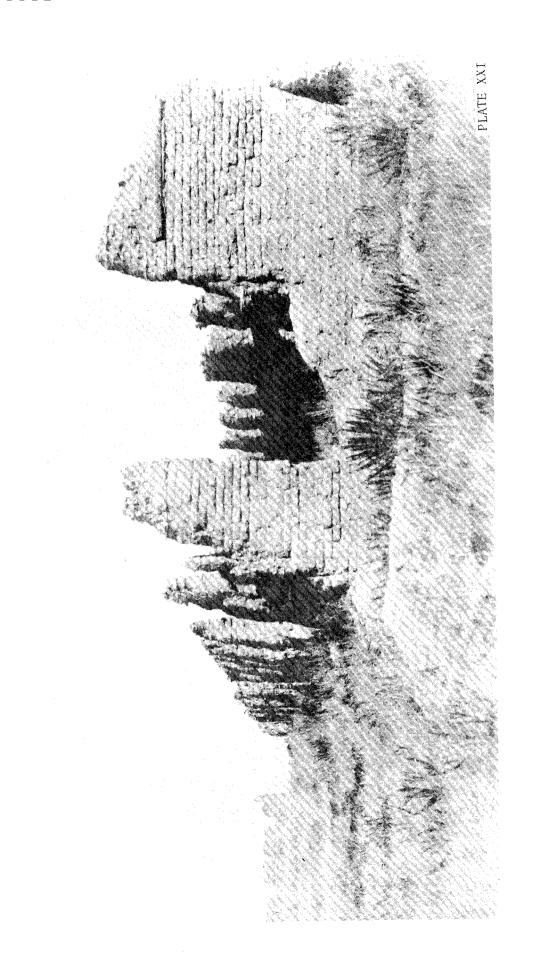


PLATE XXII

"Ruins of Fort C. F. Smith in 1920," NA, photo-sc-111-94319.

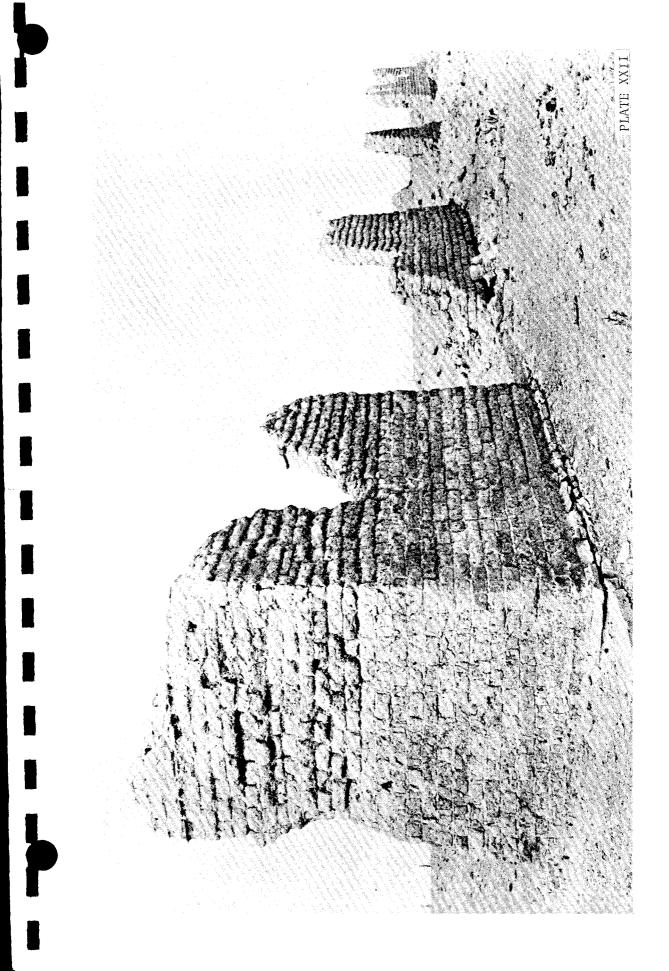


PLATE XXIII

"Chief Iron Bull, faithful ally of the U.S. Army during the Red Cloud War of 1866-1868," NA, photo. no. 111-sc-82940.



PLATE XXIV

"Crow Burial Place in the Bighorn Mountains, Tomb of Iron Bull and Four Warriors," NA, photo. no. 111-sc-82983.

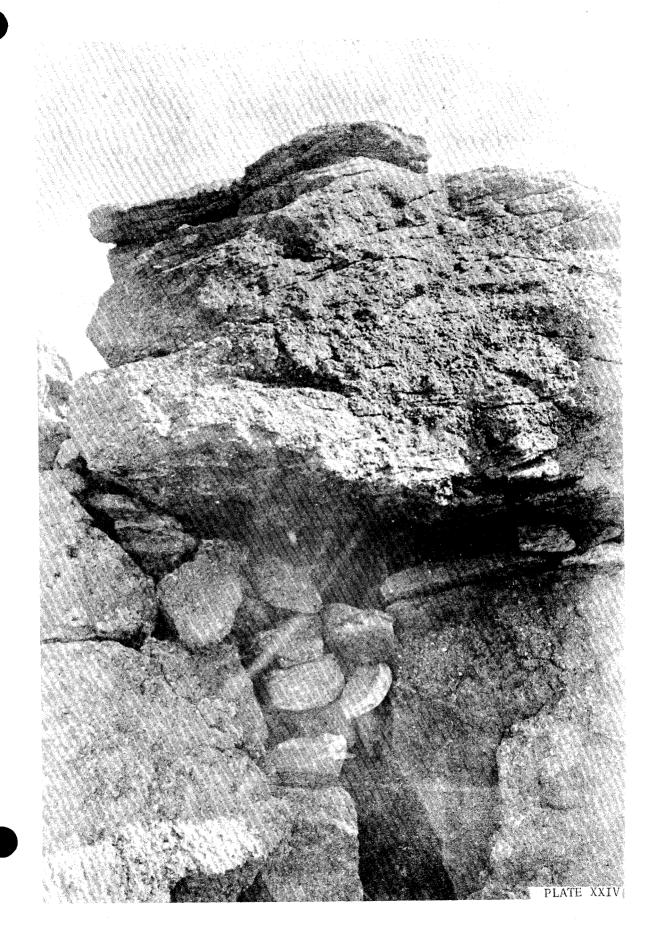


PLATE XXV

Crow Agency in 1887, the Year of the Sword Bearer Uprising, NA, photo no. 111-sc-104094.

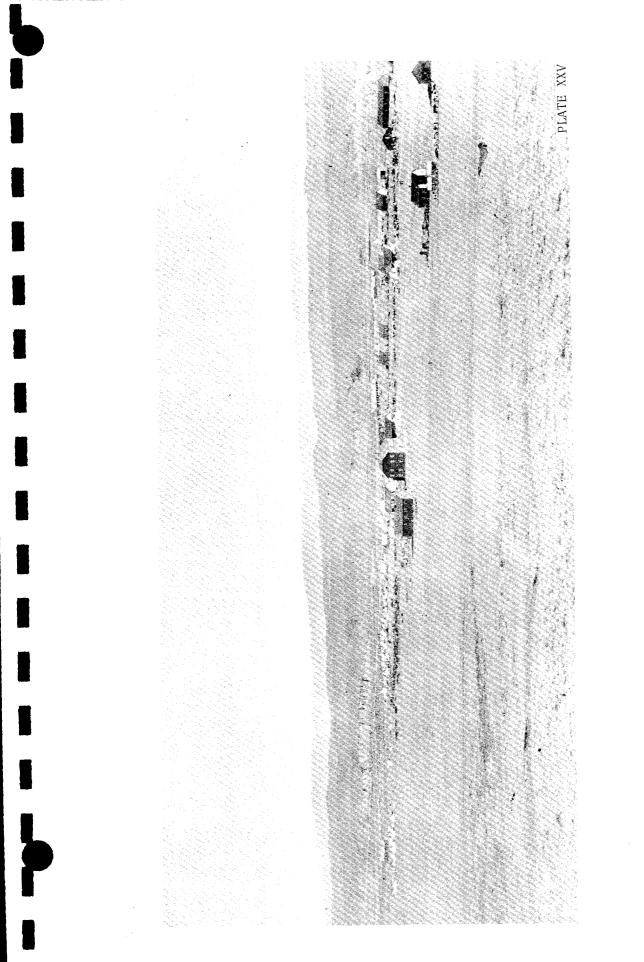


PLATE XXVI

"Crow Village, circa 1887," NA, photo. no. 111-sc-104131.

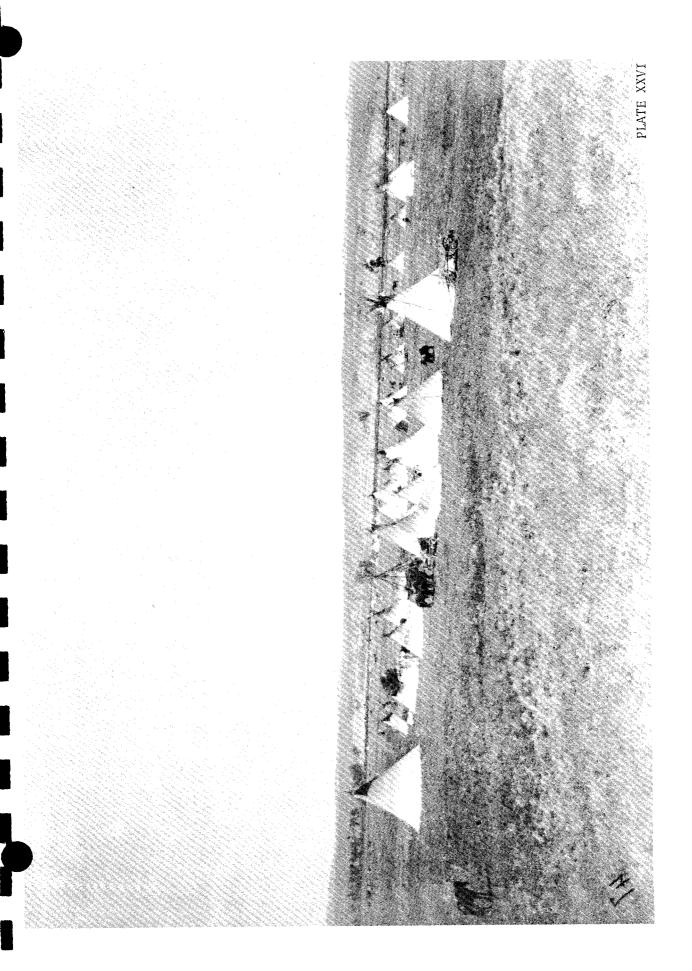


PLATE XXVII

"Issuing Annuity Goods to the Crow at Crow Agency, Nov. 10, 1887, the couple on the horses are Capt. and Mrs. A. G. Force," NA, photo. no. 111-sc-104126.



PLATE XXVIII

"Crow Prisoners Taken into Custody after the Fight on November 5, 1887," NA, photo. no. 111-sc-104130.

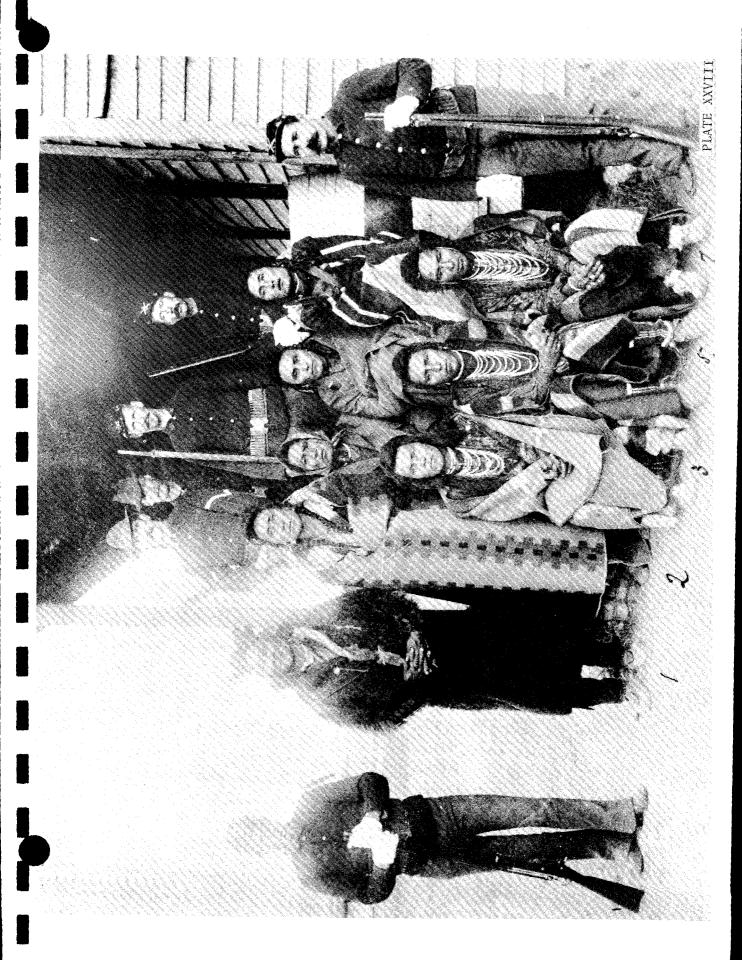
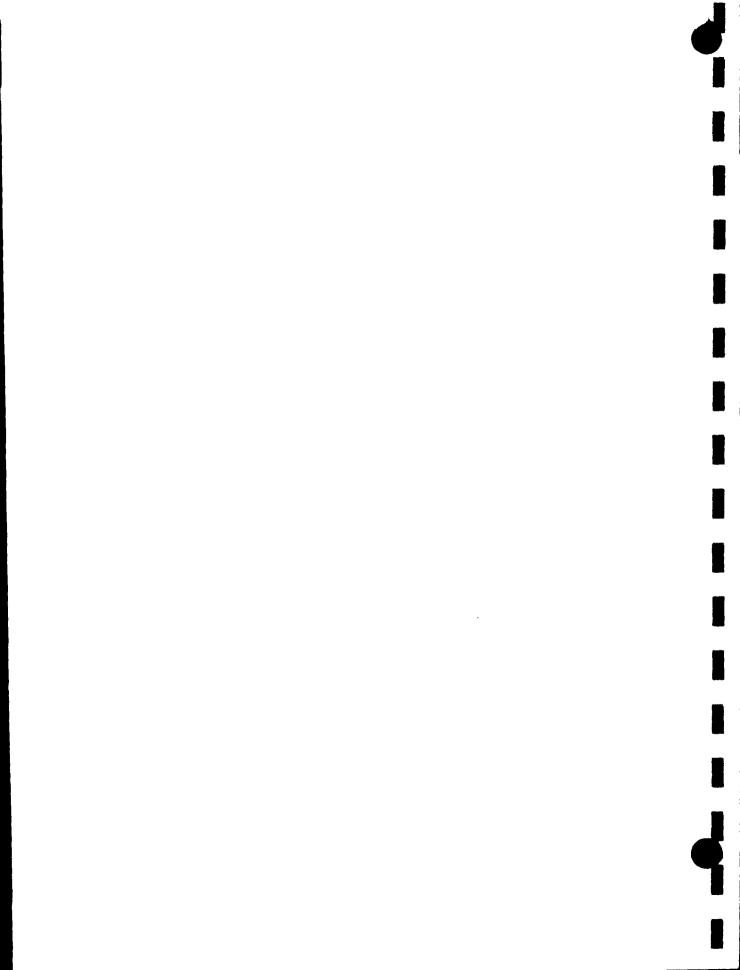


PLATE XXIX

"Principal Crow Chiefs at Crow Agency," circa 1890, NA. The chiefs are: (1) Pretty Eagle, (2) Bull Nose, (3) Spotted Horse, (4) Enemy Hunter, (5) Plenty-Coups, (6) Big Shoulder, and (7) Short Tail Bull.





*** ***** **** ***

