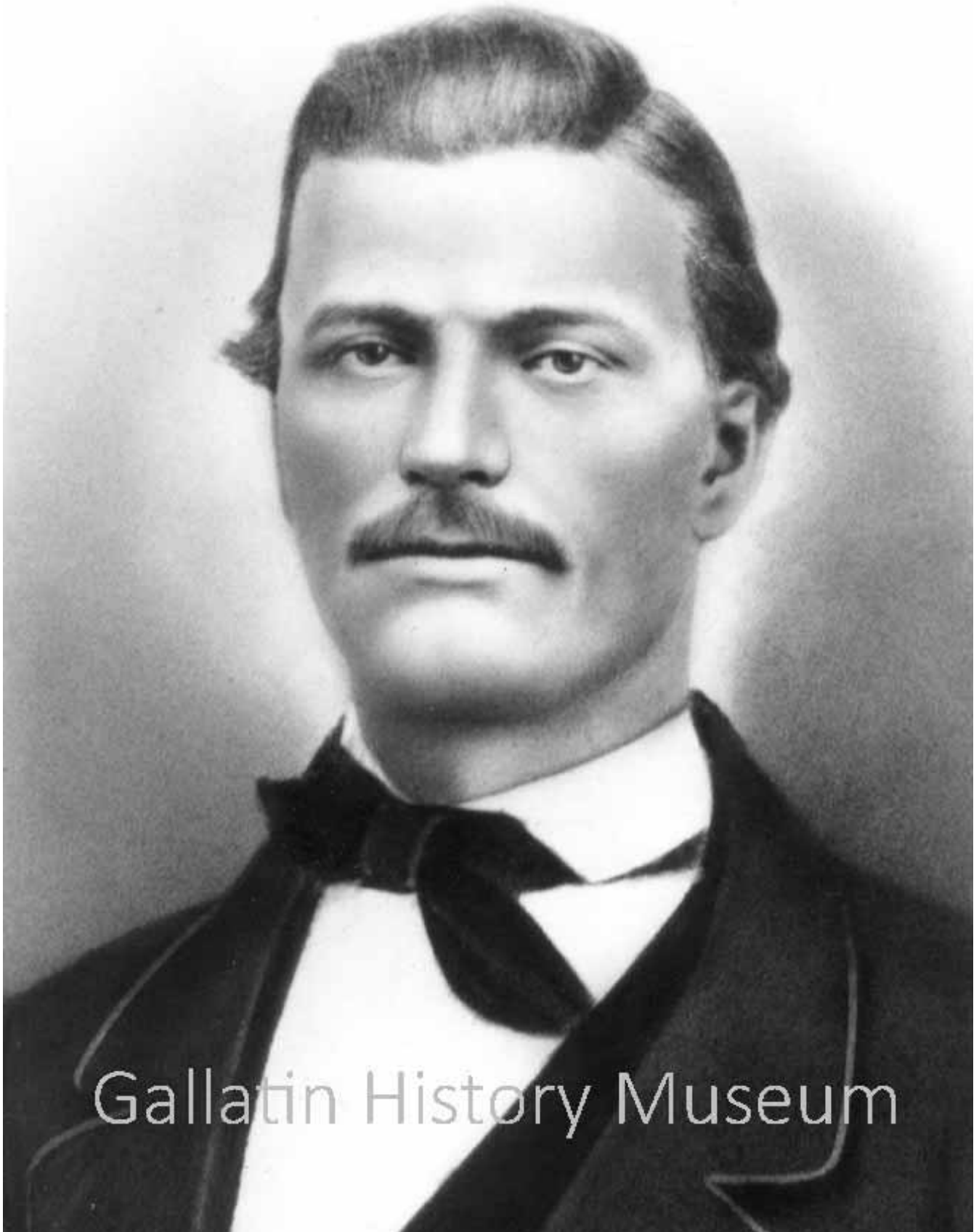


John Bozeman



Gallatin History Museum

Bozeman  
Aug. 18, 1864

# John Bozeman Got Re

## City Was Officially Named At August 9 Town Meeting

By M. J. BURLINGAME

On August 9, 1864, a small group of men assembled for the purpose of setting up an organization to safeguard their land claims in the community which was rapidly growing up on the "west prong of the East Gallatin River." The minutes of the meeting showed that John M. Bozeman was elected chairman, and W. W. Alderson served as secretary. The first order of business was the naming of the new community, and on motion of Alderson, the town was called Bozeman.

The boundaries of the town were then established. In order to keep the land claims among the residents, a third motion affirmed that anyone staking out a claim must become a resident within ten days in order to hold the claim. John Bozeman was then elected recorder of claims at the rate of \$1 per claim, and the meeting adjourned. The following day Bozeman recorded seven claims, and continued to make an informal record during the autumn.

John Bozeman, the man for whom the town was named, was getting recognition quickly for he had been a resident only a few days. He had guided a wagon train from the North Platte River to Virginia City, and had then returned to the Gallatin Valley to complete the town organization which he had been planning for several months. Bozeman had come to Montana in 1862 with a mining party, but he felt that the future of the region would depend more upon agriculture than upon mining camps. He found kindred spirits in Daniel E. Rouse and William J. Beall who were ranching near Gallatin City, located between the present towns of Trident and Three Forks.

### Suggests Townsite

Bozeman suggested in the spring of 1864 that Beall and Rouse lay out a townsite near the mountains here where the immigrant trains would come through the passes, and town

lots could be sold to them. Bozeman had a hand in numerous enterprises in the course of his short five years in Montana, but he felt that the choice of the location of Bozeman was one of his best decisions. Nine days after the town had been established there is a record of Bozeman and Rouse visiting a wagon train, speaking "eloquently of its many advantages, its water privileges, and its standing right in the gate of the mountains, ready to swallow up all the tenderfeet that would reach the territory from the east, with their golden fleeces to be taken care of." The man being solicited remarked, "All that and the promise of numerous corner lots prevailed with me and I moved camp to the great city of Bozeman."

John Bozeman had been born in Georgia in January, 1837, and thus was only 27 years of age at the time he helped establish the town. Bozeman's father had left a wife and five small children in Georgia in 1849 to join in the gold rush to California. He had never been heard from. In 1860 John Bozeman left his wife and three small children to take part in the rush to Colorado. The most profitable mining claims had been taken up, and Bozeman joined a party organized by Thomas Stuart, following receipt of letters from his brothers, James and Granville, who wrote of good diggings in the Deer Lodge Valley in Montana.

### No Mining for Bozeman

Bozeman did not care for the confining work of placer mining with its uncertain results. He liked people, and he had a flair for organizing. He sensed that this new country would grow by leaps and bounds, and young though he was he was soon involved in important aspects of its development. In the spring of 1863, Bozeman teamed up with John M. Jacobs, whose experience in managing wagon trains led the two men into making plans for guiding emigrant trains to the new Montana mines. The men

traveled to the Oregon Trail in Nebraska, and there and on the North Platte River in Wyoming, they organized a wagon train. They left the North Platte, near the present town of Glenrock, on July 3. On July 6, near the present Buffalo, Wyo., a large number of Indians appeared in fighting gear. Bozeman urged that the train proceed, but he was overruled, and the train retracted its steps to the Platte and followed the Wind River-Big Horn route.

The same trait of foresight and

judgment which had caused Bozeman to cast his lot with the Gallatin rather than with the Virginia City mining gulches, caused him to insist that the route of empire was on the east side of the Big Horn mountains. Here he maintained there was enough grass for the hundreds of wagon trains which would inevitably come. There was sufficient water and wood, and the route was smoother and faster than the Bighorn River route west of the mountains. Bozeman had little fear of Indians and he felt that the size of the wagon trains which would soon be coming could easily defend themselves against the native bands. Together with nine companions, Bozeman left the main train, and set out to explore more thoroughly the alternative routes to the mines.

This small group of men travel-



JOHN M. BOZEMAN

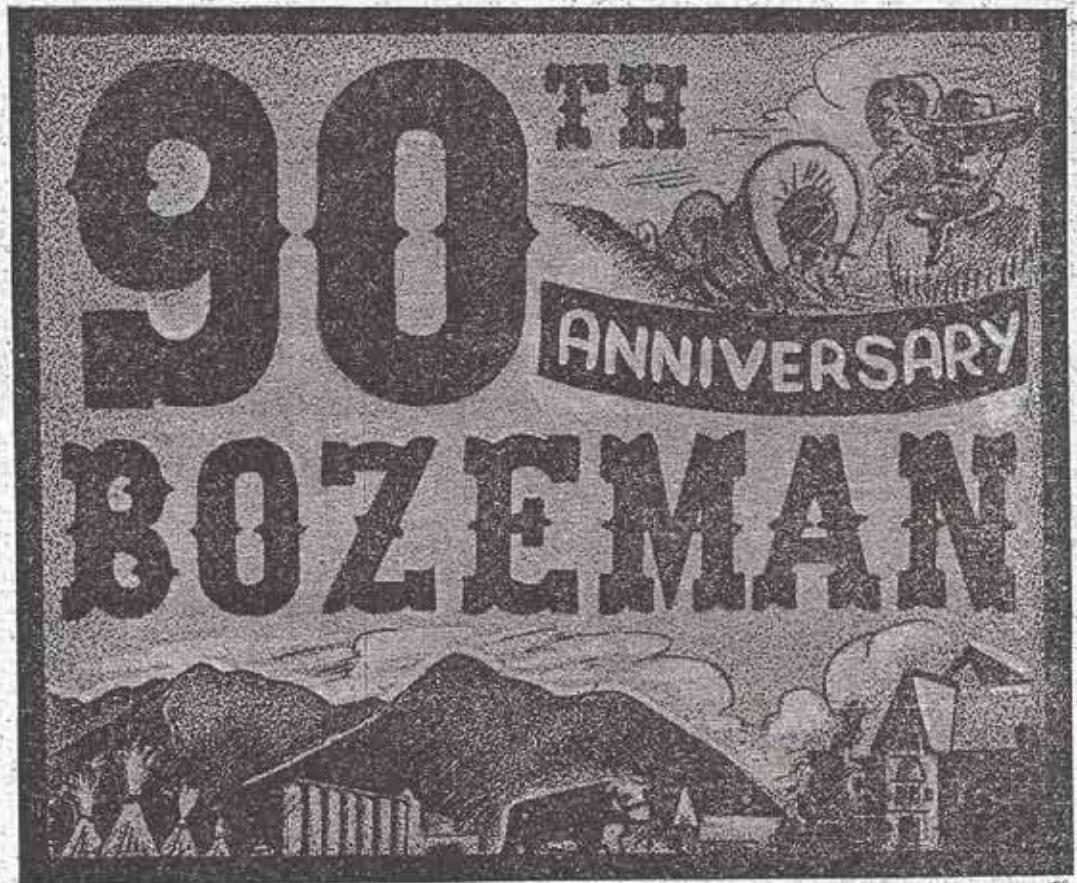
# Cognition Fast in State

largely by night, and the second t out the one pack horse they taken, carrying all of the supplies and equipment for the entire trip, fell into a deep gorge and of the supplies were lost. According to George W. Irwin II, a member of the party and later a prominent citizen of Butte, Bozeman was the guiding spirit of the arduous journey. Irwin recalled he asked Bozeman how he was to so accurately chart their course by night. Bozeman replied, "I do you see that there star there? They call it the North Star; I keep her on the right and the Big Horn Mountains on the left, I average in between them." When the party reached the summit of the divide between the Yellowstone and the Gallatin, they had the feeling that they were free from further danger on the trip. During a few moments of celebration, Irwin proposed that the pass be named Bozeman Pass.

## 1864 Was Big Year

The year 1864 was a big one for overland immigrant trains, and many of the guides were on duty. Members of companies were also needed to provide toll roads, bridges and ferries to take advantage of the expected immigration. "Theouri River and Rocky Mountain Wagon Road and Telegraph Company" was formed early in the year by a number of prominent Montana men, and N. P. Langford, member of the toll road company, wrote another member, Sam Ser, who was then in St. Louis: "I have interested Bozeman, and he sent him and Bridger down to Jaramie to bring through the wagon road by our route and have an assessment for building ferries and boats."

In Bridger and Bozeman's for-partner, John Jacobs, brought up the Bighorn River Valley. Bozeman brought his train up the plains route east of the Horn mountains. Both trails were together on the upper Pryor river, and continued to the mouth of the Shields River. Here Bozeman continued westward over the mountains which had been named for the previous year. For many years a legend persisted that Bozeman and Bridger staged a race in which they brought their trains in neck and neck finish across



the Gallatin to Virginia City. The Bridger and Jacobs trains reached their destination about a month ahead of Bozeman, and there may have been friendly competition among the men concerning the fastest and easiest route. The fact that the road established by Bozeman became one of the major overland routes to the northwest is the major test of his success.

Bozeman gave up his recorder's duties in January, 1865, with the idea of guiding another train that year, but activities in the new town interfered. In March he sold one-half of his town lot holdings for \$500, and took up a homestead and apparently engaged in ranching. In the 1865 election he was chosen probate judge and served in that capacity one term.

Enterprises Encouraged  
Bozeman contributed to the growth of the city by en-

couraging numerous enterprises. In the autumn of 1864 he encouraged Thomas Coyer and P. W. McAdow to begin work on a flour mill just at the edge of the village, and gave great assistance in contacts and in establishing the plant. In the spring of 1866, the G. W. A. Frazier family came to Bozeman from Virginia City. Mrs. Frazier's maiden name had been Bozeman, and she felt he might help them get established. The town was then without a hotel, and Bozeman assisted in securing trade for the "City Hotel" which the Fraziers built. Bozeman made frequent trips to Virginia City, usually collecting the outgoing mail, which at a charge of 50¢ per piece made the trip profitable as well as pleasant. He was often interviewed by the Montana Post of the Gallatin Valley, the outlook editor concerning the development for peace with the Indians, the

need for military protection, and other matters. This led to occasional letters to the editor such as the following dated Bozeman City, January 20, 1866:

"For the information of your readers I write to let you know that the settlers are making great preparations for farming the ensuing season. The prospects of an early spring are very good. There is scarcely any snow in the Valley, even now. Quartz mining is being prosecuted. I saw an Englishman a few days since, who had some very fine quartz out of a lode that he had discovered on what is called Middle Creek. Squire Fitz of Chicago, has also found a lode that looks well, only two miles below this place. Gold seekers are passing through here every day, and from all accounts there are rich dig-

(Continued on Page 2)

# Beall, Rouse Stake Out Original Town

## • John Bozeman

(Continued from page 1)

dings discovered in the direction of Big Horn River. The Indian excitement is about over in this part of the country. Every body is engaged in opening or improving farms and I think the Gallatin will undoubtedly ere long be the Garden of Montana. We are all comfortably situated; have Divine Worship on the Sabbath, the schools are in operation through the week. Society is now pretty well organized, and occasionally we have the pleasure of attending a nice social party. On the whole we of the Gallatin have little reason to complain, and much to be thankful for."

Social affairs which Bozeman mentions were also touched on in letters to his family. Bozeman's education was limited, and his letters to the papers always required editing, but he had few peers in the realm of human relations. In a five year period, between the ages of 25 and 30, he came to be held in high regard by governors, newspaper editors and businessmen for his judgment and his geniality. He was highly convivial and frank and gambled with the best, but there is little evidence of the excesses which often engulfed the men of the frontier without his family. Many of Bozeman's activities were touched with civic consciousness. A hotel and a flour mill were essentials for a community, for instance, as well as providing an additional outlet for his business enterprise. His name appears on the subscription list as one of the larger contributors to be fund for the new Methodist Church. He had petitioned for membership in Masonic Lodge No. 6, just before his death.

Late in 1866, Bozeman entered into a contract with W. J. Davies, who was building flatboats on the Yellowstone above the present site of Livingston. Bozeman guaranteed to fill the boats with freight and passengers from his acquaintance in the mining camps. His frequent trips to the Yellowstone in this connection may have led to his increased interest in the area in 1867.

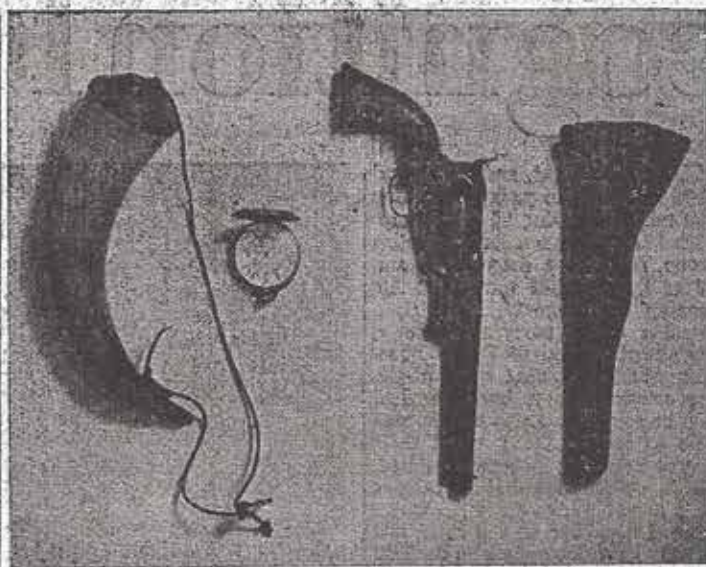
### Bozeman's Last Trip

On April 17, 1867, Bozeman and Tom Cover set out for the Yellowstone on what was to be Bozeman's last trip. Cover wanted to secure flour contacts at Fort C. F. Smith and at Fort Phil Kearny. An additional motive for journey is to be found in the action of the Gallatin County Commissioners on April 1, 1867, in granting to "Thomas Cover, J. M. Bozeman & Company," rights to construct a toll ferry or toll bridge across the Yellowstone River at the mouth of the Boulder River. The men were to have a five year lease, and the bridge or ferry was to be in operation by July 4, 1867.

There had been a great deal of Indian trouble during the winter in which Bozeman had taken considerable interest. He had supported the urgent requests which acting governor Thomas F. Meagher had made for military protection for the territory. In March of 1867 he had signed a letter to the acting governor which had been framed in the community asking for protection for the Gallatin Valley.

The two men camped the first night out at the Story cow camp near the present site of Livingston. The following day they stopped for a noon meal at the mouth of Mission Creek, some ten miles below Livingston. Here a small band of Indians approached, and Bozeman, thinking that he knew them, allowed them to come into camp. He discovered too late that he did not know them, and according to Cover's report, they were a marauding band of Piegans on a horse stealing expedition. Cover went to saddle the horses a short distance away. The Indians took advantage of his absence, and shot Bozeman, killing him before he could return fire. Cover reported the incident in the Story Camp and in Bozeman, and friends went to Mission Creek and buried Bozeman.

In 1870 Nelson Story had the body brought to the Bozeman cemetery for burial and erected a monument. Cover reported that he killed one of the Indians in the party, but was criticized for not killing all of them with his superior weapons. He wrote a letter for publication a few days later describing the tragedy which also contained conflicting incidents.



**BOZEMAN'S POSSESSIONS**—John Bozeman's revolver, holster, powder horn and watch. With the exception of the watch, Bozeman had these articles with him when he was killed by Indians.

### Descriptions of Bozeman

A number of descriptions remain of Bozeman from those who knew him well. One is as follows: "He was several inches over six feet tall, I should think, and would probably weigh two hundred and twenty-five pounds. He carried no extra flesh; all was bone and muscle. He had a medium long face, a long aquiline nose, and was the strongest man I ever knew. I saw him with a load on his shoulders that would have broken down a mule. There were quite a number of good men there at the time, but I doubt if any two in the crowd could have lifted the log that Bozeman carried across the street. . . . He never posed as a saint, but it would have been a very dangerous experiment to call him a liar. . . . He was quite a favorite with women, and yet he was not what you would call a handsome man; or a dude in dress." George Irwin described him as: "supple, active, tireless, and of handsome, stalwart presence. He was genial, kindly and as innocent as a child in the ways of the world." A visiting journalist writing in Atlantic Monthly in 1868, recalled passing "a half-dozen huts, dignified with the name of 'Bozeman City'. The group talked of Bozeman who was among emi-

grants much as Chief Justice Marshall is among lawyers."

Bozeman was able to place a permanent influence upon the development of the West in a very short time because of his ability to sense the huge migration which would become a great national thoroughfare; because of his confidence in agriculture and commerce as being more enduring than mining gulches; and because of his organizational and hustling qualities which caused him to assist in initiating a town, and the numerous enterprises which make up a permanent settlement. He had taken a prominent part in the movement to secure additional protection for the frontier communities, and his dramatic death was a strong influence in securing the establishment of Fort Ellis for the Gallatin Valley, and increased defence forces for the entire territory. This protection gave additional guarantee that the growth which Bozeman had helped institute would continue unabated.

### GOING UNDERGROUND

WOODSTOCK, Va. (AP) — Federal agents, digging into a new underground movement, have warned farm residents of this area to be careful. Under investigation are ground hogs which are causing much crop damage. The Fish and Wildlife Service and the Department of Agriculture are cooperating with the farmers.

# First Church Service June 4, 1865

EDITOR'S NOTE — Information used in this historical feature was furnished by Frella Bull, who prepared the documented facts for presentation at the church's 75th anniversary several years ago.

W. Alderson, publisher of the first Courier in the early days, the 1800's civic leader and man whom Alderson street was named, conducted the first religious service, Methodist Episcopal, Gallatin county Sunday, June 4, at the M. W. Penwell cabin, north of Bizeman.

A licensed preacher in Illinois later in Montana, Alderson started the Methodist Episcopal services held at intervals in other parts of the valley, often in the building which stood on the southwest corner of Bozeman avenue and Main street—called the Masonic building.

It was in this log building August 1866 that the First Methodist Episcopal church of Bozeman was organized.

Alderson's diary tells how on the wing day he set out to obtain subscriptions for a church building. The list of subscribers are: James John M. Bozeman, W. Beall, Rouse, Mendenhall, W. Tracy, Nelson Story and Will-

November insertion in Alderson's diary reveals the hauling by the members "two loads of un-dressed lumber for the new church, at a cost \$80 per thousand."

In the same year, the first Sabbath school in Bozeman was organized in a small log house on Main street.

The church, built on the land used by the Gallatin Trust Saving Bank at Main and Olive, was not completed until due to the "high cost and scarcity of materials."

Alderson writes that "lumber from \$80 to \$100 a thousand common nails cost 50c a pound and glass \$35 to \$50 per

square for the church was donated by a man by the name of McPherson. Following an official survey was thrown into the W. H.

Tracy claim and later into the Nelson Story claim.

The early church, the first frame building in Bozeman, was built by Beall, pioneer architect and by April of 1868 the inside was plastered and a fair and festival netting \$400 helped to furnish the church.

Total cost of the church has been estimated at \$2,500. It was used at various times by the judicial court, school building and other denominational services.

With the assistance of the Rev. Mathew Bird, Alderson and the handful of church people kept the church going until a regular minister could be appointed.

The brick church, which now forms the main auditorium of the building on the corner of Willson (then Central Avenue) and Olive, was completed in 1873. The corner stone was laid in September of that year.

Mrs. Mary Doane, wife of the Capt. Gustaves C. Doane, was present at the occasion and contributed some details of the ceremony which included the placing of a Bible, church membership list, copies of church papers, territorial papers and coins in a cavity in the center of the stone.

In 1905, the church was remodeled and included the construction of the Sunday school room, north basement and bell tower. At that time, the original auditorium was again refinished with pews donated by Mr. and Mrs. E. W. King. The Rev. Jacob Mills assisted financially and was an "inspiration" throughout the project.

Within more recent years, the present kitchen was added, the pipe organ purchased and last May present improvements were completed.

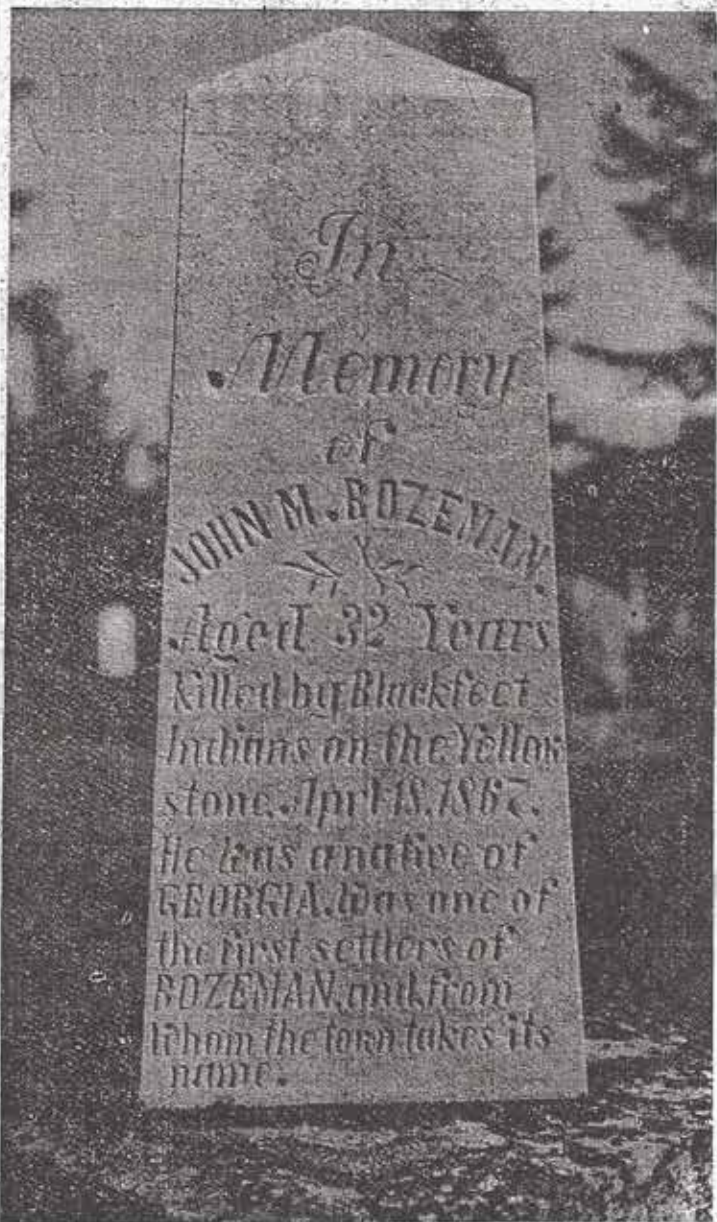
## Zoo Slum Closed

JACKSON, Mich. (AP) — The city's worst slum — the Sharp Park Zoo — will be torn down. Only six residents — three bears and three deer — will remain. The zoo's board says it is impossible to care for the animals inside the dilapidated structures.

The buffalo family, was taken to a buffalo farm. The fox family and a raccoon were turned loose to find homes in the forest. And two badgers, some ducks, and a skunk were given to the Michigan Conservation Department which found them another home.

But Jackson wants to raise \$25,000 for another zoo.

# Founder's Marker



JOHN BOZEMAN'S GRAVE — The stone marker (above) marks the site of John Bozeman's resting place in the Bozeman cemetery. The 32-year-old pioneer was shot by Blackfeet Indians while he was enroute to Fort C. F. Smith. Friends who set out to get his body and return it to Bozeman were unable to get through because of impassable roads, so they buried him where he was killed along Mission Creek. Three years later, Bozeman's body was returned here and buried in the local cemetery in a coffin made by W. J. Beall and A. D. McPherson. The monument was erected later on by Nelson Story. (Chronicle staff photo)



# THE REAL JOHN BOZEMAN

by Kent Goodman

The history books paint John Bozeman as a rugged mountain man who fought bravely to tame the West, only to be killed by Indians at the age of 32. It's fitting and deserving that our fine town was named after him. However, as is so often the case with historical figures, a little digging shows a different side.

Bozeman was born in January 1835, in Pickens County, Georgia. Everything was uneventful until 1849, when his father left the family to fend for themselves as he took off to make his fortune in the California gold rush. They never heard from him again.

In time, Bozeman was married and had three children. Now, you would think that his father's mistake would have been a lesson to him, but in 1860, Bozeman left his own wife and kids to follow the scent of gold in Colorado. He left it a little late, though, and all the good pickings were taken by the time he arrived, so he went to pan gold in Montana, near Deer Lodge.

He tried it and he didn't like it. Panning for gold is not as easy as it looks, and it didn't take Bozeman long to discover that standing around in cold water all day long was not his cup of tea. He was a Southern gentleman, after all, and they didn't like to get down and dirty.

for gold is not as easy as it looks, and it didn't take Bozeman long to discover that standing around in cold water all day long was not his cup of tea. He was a Southern gentleman, after all, and they didn't like to get down and dirty.

By early 1863 he found himself in the Gallatin Valley for the first time. At the three forks of the Missouri a little town had sprung up, and he staked a 160-acre claim. He realized about this time that he wasn't the only one with gold fever. Soon, thousands of prospectors and their families would be moving west.

There were only two routes to the Northwest - one up the Missouri and then by horseback to the mines (painfully slow) or over the Oregon Trail (through miles of dry country and Indian territory). If Bozeman could find a quicker route, the immigrants would take that one, and pay him to guide them through. As it happens, he met a very ornery guy named John Jacobs who was already in the business of guiding wagon trains through the area, and the two set off to blaze a new and quicker trail.

After a number of attempts that were thwarted by bad luck and Indians, Bozeman managed to bring wagon trains up from the Yellowstone River and over Bozeman pass. In order to drum up business, he would dress himself in buckskins and do the whole Wild West thing, although ordinarily he was a bit of a dandy

and wore striped pants and a cotton coat with an in-fashion slouch hat.

By 1864 the Bozeman Trail was well established, and the little town of Bozeman, about six shacks big, was officially born. Bozeman himself tried his hand at farming his stake and also ran mail to and from Virginia City. In addition, he began a business with Thomas Cover to build a bridge and run ferryboats across the river east of present-day Livingston.

Bozeman was a tall man, about six foot two, very strong and quite a ladies man as well. However, his morals weren't always the best, according to contemporary W.J. Davies, who said that "to beat a man out of his wages or to neglect paying a bill or jumping a man's claim were matters of little moment with him." He had little use for money, either, except for gambling.

Davies, who said that "to beat a man out of his wages or to neglect paying a bill or jumping a man's claim were matters of little moment with him." He had little use for money, either, except for gambling in a saloon, apparently one of his favorite pastimes.

Gambling can be risky, and so, too, could Bozeman's other apparent pastime of visiting with the ladies in town. In 1866, there were still only about a dozen women around, and he awakened one of them in the middle of the night, pleading with her to come to his cabin. There, a woman was giving birth to a baby. She helped and everything was fine, and a few months down the woman or baby again.

About this same time, Bozeman had been making frequent trips to the Cover's cabin, making plans with Thomas concerning their business ventures. And to put the moves on Cover's wife, Mary, it seems. At least that's what Cover thought, according to T.B. Story, Nelson Story's son. Cover bided his time, and a few months down the road, in April 1867, Cover suggested that he and Bozeman go on a trip to the military forts stationed near the town. Bozeman had no choice but to agree, and certainly wasn't happy about it.

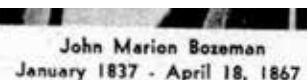
By all accounts, he was despondent in the weeks before the trip, and even gave Mrs. Frazier, whom he was boarding with,

instructions to send his gold watch to his mother, if he didn't come back. His womanizing ways in a small town may have caught up with him. In fact, on the morning of April 17, 1867, Billie Frazier, the young son of the couple managing the boarding house, looked out the window to see Cover and Bozeman, mounted and ready to take to the road. He heard his mother say to his father, "Isn't Bozeman a handsome man?" to which his father shot back "Yes, and take a good look at the son-of-a-bitch as this is the last you are going to see of him!"



John Marion Bozeman  
January 1837 - April 18, 1867

The two men stayed that evening at the cow ranch of Story's, by Livingston. Bozeman bunked with his best friend



John Marion Bozeman  
January 1837 - April 18, 1867

cow ranch of Story's, by Livingston. Bozeman bunked with his best friend, William McKinzie and was uncharacteristically nervous. He even offered his friend his horse, saddle and outfit to take his place. However, McKinzie was dirty after spending weeks among the Indians without a change of clothes, and wanted to get cleaned up. Nothing more was heard from the men until after midnight on the next evening, when Cover staggered into the camp with a bullet wound in his shoulder, stating that Indians had attacked them the day before and killed Bozeman.

Story, hearing the news early the next morning, was concerned if Indians were preparing to attack his ranch and run off his cattle, and rode to the ranch to hear the story from Cover personally. Cover's story was that after they had stopped for their noon meal beside the Yellowstone, five Indians approached them, one with a gun, leading a pony. Cover was all for shooting them, but Bozeman thought they were friendly Crow Indians, not Sioux or Blackfoot.

When they asked for food, Bozeman muttered to Cover that they were Blackfoot after all, and Cover rushed to the horses to get his gun, leaving his Henry gun near Bozeman. Before he could do anything, the

armed Indian shot him in the right and left breast and he died immediately. They also shot a Cover, who shot back and killed one of the Indians, and then ran off while they took the horses and their dead comrade. Later, he came back and took Bozeman's watch, covered him with a blanket and walked back to the ranch.

After listening to the account, Story sent his best tracker, Spanish Joe, to the murder site, for a report. A few hours later, the tracker returned, and told his employer that he had checked the area carefully. There were no Indian tracks anywhere. There was no blood, either, except where Bozeman was killed. By the river, he saw Cover's boot prints and places where stones had been thrown at the horses to drive them away. Bozeman's prize gun was still there, and he hadn't been scalped. Story told his tracker to keep quiet about it, and so did Story himself.

T.B. Story, in the Fifties, said that his father told him that Cover had shot Bozeman twice in the back, and had then shot himself in the shoulder to make it look like they had been attacked. If they had really been attacked, the Indians would surely have taken the prize gun, as well as Bozeman's scalp. But since both Bozeman and Cover were armed, they could have easily defended themselves.

like they had been attacked. If they had really been attacked, the Indians would surely have taken the prize gun, as well as Bozeman's scalp. But since both Bozeman and Cover were armed, they could have easily defended themselves.

Although most of the men in town suspected what really happened, they couldn't have afforded an inquest - it would have bankrupted the small settlement (and many of the husbands weren't too sad to see him out of the way).

Years later, a small group of Blackfoot admitted that they were the ones who had killed Bozeman. However, according to Story, the Indians killed many white settlers and had no concept of time. If they heard that a white man had been killed by the Yellowstone, and they had killed one there at some point, they would assume they were responsible.

A final ironic twist to the tale is that Cover moved to California and made a lot of money. However, he was found dead by mysterious circumstances in the Borego desert. It was assumed at the time that relatives of a man hung by Cover while a Vigilante had come to extract vengeance.

Nelson Story erected a monument to Bozeman at Sunset Hills Cemetery, where it can still be seen next to the Story plot.

Name of Compiler Eleanor Buzby **FOUR GENERATION ANCESTOR CHART**

Address 302 S. Wilbur

Person No. 1 on this chart is the same person as No. \_\_\_\_\_ on chart No. \_\_\_\_\_.

Chart No. \_\_\_\_\_

City, State Bzeman Mt.

Date Aug. 8, 1954

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b. Date of Birth  
p.b. Place of Birth  
m. Date of Marriage  
p.m. Place of Marriage  
d. Date of Death  
p.d. Place of Death

4 Amos Bzeman (Father of No. 2)  
b.  
p.b.  
m.  
p.m.  
d.  
p.d.

8  
b. (Father of No. 4. Cont. on chart No. \_\_\_\_\_)  
p.b.  
m.  
p.m.  
d.  
p.d.

9  
b. (Mother of No. 4. Cont. on chart No. \_\_\_\_\_)  
p.b.  
d.  
p.d.

2 William Bzeman (Father of No. 1)  
b. 12 March 1819  
p.b.  
m.  
p.m. 1849  
d.  
p.d.

10  
b. (Father of No. 5. Cont. on chart No. \_\_\_\_\_)  
p.b.  
m.  
p.m.  
d.  
p.d.

5 Nancy Jarbutow (Mother of No. 2)  
b.  
p.b.  
d.  
p.d.

11  
b. (Mother of No. 5. Cont. on chart No. \_\_\_\_\_)  
p.b.  
d.  
p.d.

1 John Merin Bzeman  
b. Jan. 1835  
p.b. Gibbens Co. Snyca.  
m. Jun 9 1856  
p.m.  
d. April 18, 1867 or 20  
p.d. on yellowstone. buried Summit St. S.

12  
b. (Father of No. 6. Cont. on chart No. \_\_\_\_\_)  
p.b.  
m.  
p.m.  
d.  
p.d.

6 (Father of No. 3)  
b.  
p.b.  
m.  
p.m.  
d.  
p.d.

13  
b. (Mother of No. 6. Cont. on chart No. \_\_\_\_\_)  
p.b.  
d.  
p.d.

3 Delila Sims (Mother of No. 1)  
b.  
p.b.  
d.  
p.d.

14  
b. (Father of No. 7. Cont. on chart No. \_\_\_\_\_)  
p.b.  
m.  
p.m.  
d.  
p.d.

Prinda Catherine Ingersham  
b. Catherine Spouse of No. 1.  
p.b.  
d.  
p.d.

7 (Mother of No. 3)  
b.  
p.b.  
d.  
p.d.

15  
b. (Mother of No. 7. Cont. on chart No. \_\_\_\_\_)  
p.b.  
d.  
p.d.

# Family Group Sheet

Husband's Full Name *John M. Bzeman*

Chart No.

<small>Husband's Data</small>	Day Month Year	City, Town or Place	County or Province, etc.	State or Country	Add. Info. on Husband
Birth	<i>Jan 1836</i>				
Chr'nd					
Marr.	<i>9 June 1858</i>				
Death	<i>20 April 1867</i>				
Burial					

Places of Residence \_\_\_\_\_ Church Affiliation \_\_\_\_\_ Military Rec. \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
Other wives, if any, No. (1) (2) etc. Make separate sheet for each man.  
 His Father *Hullham* Mother's Maiden Name *Lizella Lewis*

Wife's Full Maiden Name *Lorinda Catherine Bzeman*

<small>Wife's Data</small>	Day Month Year	City, Town or Place	County or Province, etc.	State or Country	Add. Info. on Wife
Birth					
Chr'nd					
Death					
Burial					

Places of Residence \_\_\_\_\_ Church Affiliation \_\_\_\_\_ Military Rec. \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
Other husbands, if any, No. (1) (2) etc. Make separate sheet for each man.  
 Her Father \_\_\_\_\_ Mother's Maiden Name \_\_\_\_\_

Sex	Children's Names in Full (arrange in order of birth)	Children's Date	Day Month Year	City, Town or Place	County or Province, etc.	State or Country	Add. Info. on Children
	<i>Melinda Jane</i>	Birth	<i>16 Nov. 1858</i>				
	Full Name of Spouse <i>Hulliam Thomas Kirk</i>	Marr.					
		Death					
		Burial					
	<i>Martha</i>	Birth					
	Full Name of Spouse <i>John Neal</i>	Marr.					
		Death					
		Burial					
	<i>3 Lila</i>	Birth					
	Full Name of Spouse <i>Horea Jenn Senia</i>	Marr.					
		Death	<i>ca 26 Oct. 1932</i>				
		Burial					
	<i>4</i>	Birth					
	Full Name of Spouse	Marr.					
		Death					
		Burial					
	<i>5</i>	Birth					
	Full Name of Spouse	Marr.					
		Death					
		Burial					
	<i>6</i>	Birth					
	Full Name of Spouse	Marr.					
		Death					
		Burial					
	<i>7</i>	Birth					
	Full Name of Spouse	Marr.					
		Death					
		Burial					
	<i>8</i>	Birth					
	Full Name of Spouse	Marr.					
		Death					
		Burial					

Compiler \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 City, State, Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

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Husband's Full Name



1.  
East Gallatin Montana Ter. Aug. 9. 1864

At a meeting held by the Settlers of Upper East Gallatin at "Jacobs Crossing" on Tuesday Aug. 9. 1864. D. M. Bozeman was elected Chairman and W. H. Alderson Secretary.

The Chairman stated the object of the meeting to be to form a claim Association for the purpose making Laws &c in relation to farming claims and for mutual protection.

On motion <sup>of W. H. Alderson</sup> it was Resolved that the Town and District be called Bozeman.

and that the Boundary of the district shall be as follows. Commencing at the North East corner of Kimball's claim thence East to the base of the mountains thence in a southerly direction around the base of the mountains to Gallatin River thence down said River to a point due west of said Kimball's claim. thence East to the place of beginning

Minutes of first meeting cont<sup>d</sup>

Res - 3<sup>rd</sup> that after any settler stakes out and Records a claim. he must be an actual settler ~~in the~~ <sup>in the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> within ten days thereafter in order to hold said claim.

On motion J. M. Bryeman was Elected Recorder. and the sum of One Dollar the fee for Recording a claim.

On motion the meeting adjourned

J. M. Bryeman Chair<sup>man</sup>  
W. N. Alderson Secy.

JOHN M. BOZEMAN

Centennial Issue  
Bozeman Chronicle  
9/9/04

By Merrill G. Burlingame

"I take the responsibility of writing you a few lines for the benefit of the people of Montana," wrote John Bozeman to the Acting Governor of Montana, Thomas F. Meagher, in March, 1867. The Gallatin Valley was threatened with an Indian attack at the time, and Bozeman was chosen as the spokesman. This sentence summarized rather well the remarkably active five years which Bozeman spent in Montana, working for its people in a responsible way.

#### Chooses town site

No doubt Bozeman's chief contribution was the assistance he gave in founding Bozeman. He had come to Montana in 1862 to engage in mining, but he did not care for the confining work and uncertain returns on the placer streams. He sensed that the agricultural valleys would be more permanently profitable than the mining gulches. He liked people, he organized well, and his restless nature led him into guiding emigrant trains and promoting a frontier town.

~~By far the most important of his contributions was in the spring of 1864,~~

In the spring of 1864 he left to organize a train along the Platte River and guide it to Virginia City. Before leaving he planned a new city. He found capable partners in William J. Beall and Daniel E. Rouse who were ranching near Gallatin City, located between the present towns of Three Forks and Trident. They agreed to lay out a townsite at the foot of the mountains in the upper valley. Here the wagon trains would come through the mountain passes and town lots could be sold to emigrants. Blocks of land of homestead size were to be held for each partner. Beall and Rouse were ready for business in early July. <sup>A train</sup> ~~x trains~~ piloted by Jim Bridger and another by John Jacobs had passed through on July 8. On July 14, William W. Alderson and his brother John stopped on the site. Bozeman's train came in late July and arrived in Virginia

City on August 3.

Bozeman hurried back to the Gallatin and on August 9, 1864 the small group of settlers in the vicinity met to organize a claim association and develop the area in an orderly fashion. John Bozeman's contribution was recognized by his being named president of the meeting. W. W. Alderson was chosen secretary, and he moved that the name of the settlement be Bozeman. The boundaries of the town were then established. A third action required anyone staking out a claim to establish residence within ten days. This provision, similar to that used in mining claims, reserved the land for actual residents.

John Bozeman was elected recorder of claims, and his compensation was to be \$1 per claim. The following day he recorded seven claims, and continued to keep a neat record through the autumn months. This small record book is now on display in the Gallatin County Court House. The way in which the partners boosted their new town is reported by a member of a wagon train which was visited by Bozeman and House on August 18. "They spoke eloquently," he said, "of its many advantages, its water privileges, and its standing right in the gate of the mountains, ready to swallow up all the tenderfeet that would reach the territory from the east, with their golden fleeces to be taken care of." The reporter continued, "All that and the promise of numerous corner lots prevailed with me and I moved camp to the great city of Bozeman."

#### Bozeman a Georgian

John Bozeman had been born in Pickens County, Georgia, in January, 1837. His father had left a wife and five small children to join the California gold rush in 1849, and was not heard of afterward. John Bozeman, in turn, left his wife and three small daughters in Georgia when he joined the Pikes Peak rush in 1859. ~~There~~ The mining gulches were crowded and in 1862 he joined a small party motivated by a letter which Thomas Stuart had received from his brothers, Granville and James, who wrote that gold had been discovered in the Deer Lodge Valley, *in Montana.*

In the Deer Lodge and at Barnack, Bozeman again failed to secure profitable claims. His interest in guiding immigrant trains began in the spring of 1863, stimulated perhaps by John M. Jacobs, who had come in from California in 1862 and had been engaged in freighting. The men had an adventurous trip to the vicinity of the present Glenrock, Wyoming, and there organized a train headed for the Montana mines. By July 10 they were near the present Buffalo, Wyoming when a large band of Indians appeared and demanded that the expedition turn back. Over Bozeman's protests the members of the train voted to turn around and take a route farther west. Bozeman and nine companions chose good mounts and continued along the east side of the mountains, scouting for the best possible route over which they could bring future trains.

The large number of nearby Indians made traveling largely by night advisable. The second night out the one pack horse which was carrying all of their food and supplies, tumbled over a cliff and all of their goods went with it. Game seemed non-existent in the area. After four days Bozeman shot an eagle, but for ten men this provided little satisfaction, particularly without salt. The party came up the Yellowstone and crossed directly into the Gallatin. On the pass, George W. Irvin, II, long a resident of Butte, proposed that the pass be named for Bozeman because of the leadership he had provided. When the men encountered two prospectors at the Three Forks cooking their evening meal, they depleted their larder to such an extent that the men returned with them to Virginia City.

#### The Bozeman Road

During the winter a group of prominent citizens in Virginia City and Helena formed "The Missouri River and Rocky Mountain Wagon Road and Telegraph Company." The immediate purpose was to <sup>mark</sup> ~~map~~ out a suitable highway for migration, and to improve the road sufficiently to attract the immigrant trains. Then enough toll gates, toll bridges and toll ferries would be installed to make it a profitable venture. This company induced the leading scouts of Montana to guide trains to

the Montana mines during the summer of 1864 to test the several routes.

N. P. Langford wrote from Virginia City to another member of the Company, Samuel T. Hauser, who was in St. Louis: "We have interested Bozeman, and have sent him and Bridger down to Laramie to bring through the emigration by our route and have made an assessment for building ferry-boats."

Describing "our route" is not easy since Bridger, and Bozeman's partner of 1863, John Jacobs, took trains west to the Wind River, and came through or around the canyon and down the Big Horn. Bozeman took his train along the plains route east of the Big Horns. This was probably a test of the most satisfactory route, but there is no record of their opinion of the results.

A legend existed for a long time of a see-saw race of ~~xxxx~~ the Bozeman and Bridger trains across the Gallatin to Virginia City. This did not occur. Bridger and Jacobs left the Platte about a month ahead of Bozeman and reached the Gallatin Valley about July 8. Bozeman left the present Douglas, Wyoming site about July 1, and reached Virginia City August 3. A reason for Bridger choosing the rugged Wind River route was perhaps his pledge that he would try to keep the white man from invading the Indian's hunting grounds. Bozeman got on well with the Indians, but he foresaw that the coming migration would be so large that the ample grass of the plains route would be necessary. He had a remarkably clear-eyed view of the course of Empire, although he also recognized the problems involved.

Bozeman made plans to guide another train in 1865. He gave up his recorder's duties, and sold one-half of his town lots for \$500. He did not go East, however, but engaged in farming on an homestead he had previously filed upon. In the 1865 election he was named probate judge and served one term.

#### Building Bozeman

John Bozeman was a diligent builder of the town. In the autumn of 1864 he encouraged the McAdow Brothers, Perry W. and William B., and Thomas Cover to build a flour mill, which began operation a year later, October 1, 1865. Bozeman continued to be on the look out for markets for the flour produced by the mill.

In the summer of 1866 he cooperated with G. W. A. Frazier in the building of the first frame structure in the town, which became "The City Hotel." Mrs. Frazier's maiden name had been Bozeman and this had attracted them to the new town which lacked a hotel at the time. Bozeman frequently carried mail in trips which he made to Virginia City and other towns in the area, and he was a good huckster for the town and the hotel. He gave up any claim to the hotel in return for board and room.

Late in 1866 Bozeman also joined with W. J. Davies in an enterprise to build boats on the Yellowstone on Mill Creek and sell them to miners who were returning to the "states." Davies remarked about his partner that "Bozeman would be the very best drummer in the territory to gather in passengers; for he was known in all the mining camps, as a brave, determined man, a great mountain pathfinder and Indian fighter; a man the people would be very ready to follow almost anywhere." In civic matters Bozeman's contribution to the fund for the new Methodist Church was one of the largest on the initial list, and he had petitioned the Masonic Lodge No. 6 for membership a short time before his death.

#### Bozeman's last trip

In the early spring of 1867 considerable alarm existed in the Gallatin concerning possible Indian depredations. In March a letter went to the Governor over John Bozeman's signature urging protection for the Gallatin where the scattered farms and ranches were an easy prey for the skillful Crow horse thieves. In April Bozeman readied for a business trip down the Yellowstone where Indian unrest was still reported. Mrs. Emma Frazier Dumphy and William Frazier recalled in 1940 that their parents had often mentioned the feeling of Bozeman that he might not return from the trip. He left his watch with Mrs. Frazier with instructions to send it to his mother if he did not return. (She did not do this and it was included in the estate possessions, where it appears to have been purchased by the administrator, F. A. Meredith. In ~~1881~~ 1919 it was sent to Montana State College by his daughter, and is on display in the McGill Museum).

Bozeman had two projects at least in mind on this trip. He and Cover were going to Fort C. F. Smith, ~~and by looking~~ out from the present Hardin, to secure flour contracts. Also on April 1, the Gallatin County Commissioners had granted to "Thomas Cover, J. M. Bozeman and Company" the right to construct a toll ferry or toll bridge across the Yellowstone River at the mouth of the Boulder. The company was to have a five year lease, and the facility was to be in operation by July 4, 1867.

The men left Bozeman on April 17, and stopped the first night at the Story cow camp near the present Livingston, where Bozeman bunked with his good friend, W. S. Mackenzie. The following day they made a noon stop some ten miles east of Livingston. Here, according to the report at the time, a small band of Indians approached. Bozeman thought they were Crows whom he knew, but discovered too late that they were Piegans intent upon stealing horses. Without warning Bozeman was shot and killed and Cover was wounded. Cover made his way to the Story camp, and the report was sent rapidly to Bozeman. Friends went to the scene and buried Bozeman since the condition of the roads in the spring freshets prevented bringing him to Bozeman. In 1870 Nelson Story had the body brought to the local cemetery, and later a monument was erected ~~x~~ "In Memory of John M. Bozeman, Aged 32 years, Killed by Blackfeet Indians on the Yellowstone, April 18, 1867. He was a Native of Georgia, was one of the first settlers of Bozeman, and from whom the town takes its name." Cover wrote a letter to Acting Governor Meagher a few days ~~xxxx~~ after the murder for publication, which contained a number of conflicting statements. A number of years later Cover lost his life in the Death Valley desert in California while attempting to locate a famous lost mining claim.

#### A frontier estate

The ~~incomplete~~ record of the closing of Bozeman's estate is a commentary upon the lack of tangible financial values on the frontier. Bozeman wrote to his relatives that he was getting on well, which was true. One of his partners



remarked that "Bozeman had no use for money," but he had a real feeling for land. The potential value of this was considerable, but the actual value at his death was not great. He had sold ~~Missouri~~ a half share of his town lots for \$500 before his death, and another city lot with a house apparently constituted the other half. This was variously appraised at from \$600 to \$400. The sale price is not clear. A land claim at the edge of Bozeman which he was farming sold for \$380. 106 bushels of wheat sold at \$185.00, but charges of \$98.60 were filed for threshing and storage. 90 shares of Missouri River and Rocky Mountain Road Company stock, which may have been his compensation for guiding a train in 1864, were listed at no value.

F. A. Meredith, Public Administrator, was originally in charge of the estate. He left the Territory without making a report to the court. C. P. Blakely was then appointed administrator. He admitted his inability to obtain an accurate record of assets and claims.

He was not able to assemble a final report for the court until July 13, 1869. While no single charge was excessive, the report listed costs of \$535<sup>15</sup> for settling the estate amount<sup>ed</sup> to little more than \$2,000. At various times the administrator feared that claims would more than equal assets, but an approximate balance was apparently achieved.

#### Bozeman's Contributions

John Bozeman won a striking place for himself on the Montana frontier in a very short period of time. Many complimentary statements were made of him, even while he was still living: He was "looked up to among emigrants such as Chief Justice Marshall is among lawyers." Another described him as "supple, active, tireless, and of handsome, stalwart presence." "He was several inches over six feet tall, I should think, and would probably weigh<sup>d</sup> two hundred and twenty-five pounds. He carried no extra flesh; all was bone and muscle, and he was the strongest man I ever knew."

He sensed with accuracy that the long time development would depend more upon the stability of agriculture and commerce than the quick wealth of mining. He chose a strategic site for a city in a fertile valley, and his vigorous work in originating the plan for the town, and in promoting its growth richly merited the adoption of his name. He foresaw the huge migration which was to take place into the West, and he chose a road which was adequate to serve this movement. The dramatic qualities of his death brought an immediate surge of protective effort for the ~~exposed~~ exposed settlements, and led to military fortification. When Fort Ellis was built in August, 1867 near Bozeman, it guaranteed the safety of the town, and this together with the economic and social stimulation further guaranteed the permanent growth of the town he had done so much to create.

# John M. Bozeman, Montana Trailmaker

By

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JOHN M. BOZEMAN, MONTANA TRAILMAKER

BY MERRILL G. BURLINGAME

On the twenty-fourth of June in the year 1862, sixteen men rode across the Deer Lodge Valley in the western part of the present state of Montana. Their destination was the little gold camp of Granville and James Stuart on Gold Creek. The men had come from Colorado, where Thomas Stuart had circulated among the less fortunate a letter from his brothers telling of their faith in the northern mines. One of these adventurers was a young Georgian, John Merin Bozeman.<sup>1</sup>

John Bozeman, who had been born in January, 1837, in Pickens County, Georgia,<sup>2</sup> at the age of twelve had his attention turned to the West when his father, leaving his wife and five small children, joined the California gold rush in 1849. Since no word ever came from him, the family assumed that he had died on the overland journey.

In 1858 the Colorado gold rush attracted a large following in the eastern states and in the spring of 1860, John Bozeman followed the example of his father and joined what became known as the Green Russell crowd in Georgia Gulch, Colorado. John's action resembled his father's again in that he left a wife and three small children to shift largely for themselves, while he set out to accumulate a fortune in the mines.<sup>3</sup> When Bozeman reached Colorado the better claims had been taken and he was receptive to the invitation of the Stuart brothers in Montana.

<sup>1</sup> Granville Stuart, *Forty Years on the Frontier* (Cleveland, 1925), I, 211. An account of the journey from the *Helena Rocky Mountain Gazette*, February 25, 1869, is quoted in H. H. Bancroft, "The History of Washington, Idaho and Montana, 1845-1889," *The Works of Hubert H. Bancroft* (San Francisco), XXXI, 1890, pp. 617-618 n.

<sup>2</sup> Numerous friends stated that he came from Coweta County, which carried the implication that he had been born there, which seems not to have been true.

<sup>3</sup> John Bozeman's parents were William Bozeman and Delila Sims Bozeman. John was married to Lucinda C. Ingram, January 9, 1856. His children were Linda who was married to William Kirk, Lila to J. H. Honea, and Martha C. to John M. Neal. Items of family history have come from William Frazier and the late Emma Frazier Dumphy of Bozeman, Montana.

Bozeman remained in the Deer Lodge Valley during the summer of 1862, but the mines gave small return and the work was confining and arduous. When the news came in January, 1863, of rich discoveries on Grasshopper Creek in the Beaverhead Valley through which he had come on the way from Colorado, Bozeman joined in the rush. Once there he apparently did not secure a favorable location in the new Bannack diggings, and he began to lose his enthusiasm for mining. His restless nature and alert imaginative mind did not take kindly to the grinding drudgery of the work. He, therefore, cast about for a more attractive occupation.

The development of the Idaho mines, and now the discoveries of gold in Montana, caused a strong stream of migration to be directed toward that region. Up to this time there had been two routes of travel to the Northwest. The water route up the Missouri River to Fort Benton and thence to the mines was slow and expensive. The southern route over the Oregon Trail to Fort Hall and north was a long route, much of it over barren plains.

Bozeman sensed the need for a more direct overland route; one which was better equipped with water, grass, and wood. In Bannack he had found a kindred spirit, one John M. Jacobs, described as "a red-bearded Italian from the valley of the Deer Lodge."<sup>4</sup> Jacobs had an Indian wife and had been in the Northwest a number of years. He had engaged in trading for cattle on the overland trails and had his headquarters in the Deer Lodge Valley. In the spring of 1862 he had been guide for a train of some forty wagons from Soda Springs to Walla Walla, hence he had some experience in the type of work for which he enlisted with Bozeman.<sup>5</sup>

In the spring of 1863 Bozeman and Jacobs, with the eight-year-old half-breed daughter of Jacobs, left Bannack, went to the Three Forks of the Missouri, crossed the Gallatin Valley, and left it through what later came to be known as the Bozeman Pass, enroute to the Middle West. On this journey the men were on the lookout for the most favorable route over which they could bring an emigrant train on the return journey. Their observations

<sup>4</sup> James Kirkpatrick, "A Reminiscence of John Bozeman," *Frontier*, IX, May, 1929, p. 354.

<sup>5</sup> Stuart, *Forty Years*, I, 126, 133, 216.

were greatly handicapped by misadventures which descended upon them with great regularity.

On the Yellowstone, near the mouth of the Bighorn, they had skirted an Indian war party. Some fifty miles up the Bighorn on May 11, 1863, James Stuart and his Yellowstone Expedition tried to stop them. Bozeman and Jacobs feared the intent of the distant and unknown group, hence set out at a rapid pace up the steepest ravines and outdistanced the men sent out to overtake them. James Stuart, who had gone out with the expectation of meeting the group coming in, was considerably mystified:

We found we could not overtake them until their horses tired out, and it would not pay to run ours down to see three fools. We found a fry-pan and a pack of cards on their trail, and brought them to camp to show that we had chased them pretty close. I think if we had chased them five miles farther we would have captured their packhorses and provisions.<sup>6</sup>

Two days after avoiding the Stuart party, Bozeman and Jacobs encountered real trouble when

they came suddenly upon a band of seventy-five or eighty mounted Indians. Knowing they would be plundered of everything, if not murdered, and considering resistance hopeless, Jacobs managed to drop his rifle and bullet-pouch into the sage-brush before the Indians got to them. His anticipations were realized, for they were at once stripped of almost everything, and many were for killing them on the spot; but finally, after a stormy discussion, they were given three miserable ponies in exchange for their horses and turned loose half-naked and without anything to eat. Moving slowly away, they waited until the Indians got out of sight, when they returned and found Jacobs's gun and bullet-pouch; but unfortunately the latter only contained five balls at the time, and as they made all possible haste to get out of that dangerous neighborhood, they did not stop to kill and dry any meat, and before they knew it they had passed out of the buffalo range, and meeting with bad luck in killing small game (which is usually the case when it is absolutely necessary to kill it), their five bullets were exhausted; and, after severe hardships, they finally got through to North Platte in a famishing condition.<sup>7</sup>

During the meeting with the Indians the little daughter of Jacobs

<sup>6</sup> Granville Stuart in "The Yellowstone Expedition of 1863" in *Contributions of the Montana Historical Society*, I, 1876, pp. 187-188, hereafter cited as *Contributions*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

was severely beaten with a ramrod as a punishment for being in company with white men.<sup>8</sup>

In the Platte River region, Bozeman and Jacobs aroused considerable interest among the immigrants who had heard much of the wealth of the Grasshopper Diggings, and were anxious to get there as quickly as possible. Consequently, July 1 found a train assembling on the Oregon Trail in central Wyoming preparing for the venture of carving out a new road to Bannack.

The development of the idea of the new road was outlined in the diary of Samuel Word, later a prominent citizen of Montana. Word and his party had left Fort Laramie on June 23. Some one hundred miles north and west of the fort on the North Platte a few miles beyond the Deer Creek Crossing with a few close friends he halted and joined the train which had been forming for two weeks with the purpose of marking out a new route to Bannack City and the Montana mines. Word commented upon the difficulties of the new route where a marked trail did not exist and Indian dangers were said to be imminent. He was impressed, however, with the promise of good grass, and particularly by the assurance that the cut-off shortened the route to Bannack from 800 by the Oregon Trail to about 450 miles. "At least a month or six weeks travel saved by going through," he observed.<sup>9</sup>

On July 3, forty-one wagons had assembled on the north side of the Platte, and on July 6, Word recorded:

Broke camp this morning at about 8 o'clock and started on the new route to the headwaters of the Missouri-Beaver Head Country. We left the Platte about 8 miles above Deer Creek and moved across the Sand Hills in a northwest direction, more north than west. We have three guides, John Jacobs, Bozeman and Rafeil, the latter is particularly our guide to the Big Horn, the others will assist him and then take us on. Jacobs is a mountaineer who came thru Bannack City especially to guide immigrants through. Bozeman is a Georgian who has been here only about four years.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Kirkpatrick, *loc. cit.*, 356.

<sup>9</sup> "Diary of Colonel Samuel Word. Trip across the Plains—Starting at St. Joe, Missouri, May 7, 1863, and arriving at Virginia City, Montana, October 3, 1863," *Contributions*, VIII, 1917, pp. 56-57.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 59. Deer Creek joins the Platte near the present town of Glenrock, Wyoming.

James Kirkpatrick, a member of the train, described Jacobs as entertaining the members of the party with lively tales of the gold diggings, Indian encounters, and other phases of life in Montana. Of Bozeman he remarked: "Bozeman, not as voluble as Jacobs, was a tall, fine looking Georgian of somewhat light complexion, a tinge of red in his cheeks. He wore a fine suit of fringed buckskin, and had the looks and ways of a manly man."<sup>11</sup>

The party made a successful march, crossing the South Fork of the Powder River, the arid region to Crazy Woman's Fork or Creek, and on July 20, had camped for the noon rest on the north prong of Lodge Pole Creek, not far from the site of the present Buffalo, Wyoming, when Indians were sighted. They proved to be representatives of the Cheyenne and Sioux nations, and when the number had been conservatively estimated at one hundred fifty, a variety of emotions was in evidence. The Indians expressed a determination that a wagon road should not be opened through their country. No harm would be done the train if it turned back, but persistence in going through would lead to destruction.

One Indian remained for the decision of the train, and a parley was held. Bozeman advised going on as the party was well armed, large enough to protect itself, and small enough to be well managed, and the animals being mostly oxen could not be easily stampeded or stolen. The captain of the train also advised going on. A large number of the men were dubious, however, and many of them badly frightened. Rafeil, the chief guide in the region, advised caution. The Indian courier was sent away with the word that the whites would take three days to make a final decision.

The following day, July 21, under the baneful eyes of the Indian scouts, the decision was made to take the back trail but only four miles were covered in an afternoon movement. The train moved back some twelve or fifteen miles almost every day for several days in the midst of much discussion. There was the constant hope of meeting a large train of seventy-five wagons or more which would have made them large enough to risk the anger of the Indians. A small detachment was sent back toward the Platte to search for such a train, or to telegraph from Deer Creek for aid from the military forces in the region.

<sup>11</sup> Kirkpatrick, *loc. cit.*, 356.



By Sunday evening, July 26, the expedition had reached the North Fork of the Powder River. On the following day Word noted an incident in which John Bozeman was a participant in an unusual role:

Nothing has transpired for the past few days that's interesting except probably a marriage that occurred a few days ago. A young lady who left her husband on the Platte and came with us was married to a young man by the name of Beaumont, by Bozeman, one of our guides. Bozeman is no preacher or officer and has no authority whatever to unite in wedlock, but the parties insisted on his doing it and he complied getting me to make out a certificate for him. The young lady is of doubtful character in camp and I think likely that they will be together temporarily only.<sup>12</sup>

The men who had been sent for relief returned in the evening of July 29. They had been unable to secure the aid of the soldiers, and the larger train was planning to follow the old trail. With considerable discussion the majority prevailed and the train turned back. There were a number, however, willing to take the chance through the Indian country, and Word's account for July 31, contained the note: "Ten boys of ours started out this morning, going thru to Bannack on horseback, packing their grub. Think it is dangerous, doubt their getting through with their horses, if they do with their scalps."

Considerable search reveals the names of only three of the men who made this trip: John Bozeman, George W. Irvin, II, later a prominent citizen of Butte, Montana, who had joined the Bozeman train with Word,<sup>13</sup> and Mike J. Knoch.<sup>14</sup> Irvin gave Bozeman much credit for the leadership of the group. The men left the train at midnight. Each person was well mounted and carried as little equipment as possible. Only one pack horse for the entire party was taken. The men traveled only at night, and the second night out the pack horse stumbled and fell into a deep

<sup>12</sup> Word, *loc. cit.*, 69.

<sup>13</sup> George W. Irvin, II, in the *Butte Miner*, January 1, 1889. For a sketch of Irvin see Charles S. Warren, "George W. Irvin II," *Contributions*, VII, 1910, pp. 175-180. A badly confused account of Irvin's experiences with Bozeman is given in an interview in the *Helena Montana Daily Record*, January 12, 1903. Both newspaper accounts are highly colored, and inaccurate in detail.

<sup>14</sup> Mike J. Knoch was engaged in cabinet making and gunsmith work in Bozeman for many years. He died in August, 1917. *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, August 5, 1914.

gorge. All the supplies were lost. The party crossed over the Big-horn Mountains from the headwaters of the Powder River into the Wind River country southwest of the present Thermopolis, Wyoming, and turned northward. In narrating one particularly discouraging period on the trip, Irvin remarked: "There was one, however, who knew no such word as fail. It was John Bozeman. He succeeded in imparting to us some of his restless energy and by inspiring us with his indomitable courage the march was again taken up."<sup>15</sup>

On the headwaters of the Clark's Fork, of the Yellowstone, Bozeman ended a four day fast of the party by shooting an eagle. It did little to satisfy the hunger of the ten men, particularly without salt. In spite of the difficulties of the night marches through unknown and forbidding country, there was no sickness nor serious personal casualty, and no Indians were encountered. The expedition eventually reached the Yellowstone River, followed it to the great bend and traveled directly westward. Irvin named the low crest of the divide between the Yellowstone and Gallatin valleys the Bozeman Pass. Irvin chronicled a high point in their journey which took place at the Three Forks of the Missouri:

At the confluence of the Gallatin, the Madison and Jefferson, forming the Missouri . . . turning at an angle of the Gallatin River, we looked upon two white men cooking their evening meal. We came upon them so suddenly and unexpectedly that had they supposed us Indians there was no escape. Our nostrils were at once greeted with the most delicate and savory odor. They were frying bacon. We sat up all that night, cooked and ate bacon, and in fifteen or twenty minutes after each meal relieved our stomachs. The food was too rich . . . During the night and morning we cleaned the gentlemen's larder and of necessity they accompanied us to Alder Gulch, where we arrived early in August 1863.<sup>16</sup>

Concerning the characteristics of John Bozeman, Irvin was enthusiastic and described him as follows:

Mr. Bozeman's restless activity and love of adventure prevented his possible contentment in any mining camp . . . [He was] six feet two inches high, weighing 200 pounds, supple, active, tireless, and of hand-

<sup>15</sup> George W. Irvin, II, in the *Butte Miner*, January 1, 1889.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

some, stalwart presence. He was genial, kindly and as innocent as a child in the ways of the world. He had no conception of fear, and no matter how sudden a call was made on him day or night, he would come up with a rifle in his hand. He never knew what fatigue was, and was a good judge of all distances and when you saw his rifle level you knew that you were not to go supperless to bed.<sup>17</sup>

Bozeman was not discouraged with the failure of the expedition in 1863. Mid-winter found him attached to a small wagon train enroute from Virginia City to Salt Lake City. Adventure was still his shadow. The possession of over \$80,000 in gold dust and treasury notes by members of the wagon and pack train was known to the Virginia City road agents, then at the height of their activity. Constant vigilance, a foiled hold-up, and a prolonged dispute over the disposition of the spoils obtained from the bandits, provided entertainment on this journey.<sup>18</sup>

During the spring of 1864, Bozeman is said to have gone as far east as Missouri in gathering a train for another attempt to open his favorite road to the mines.<sup>19</sup> The successful journey of Bozeman's train and several others over this plains route east of the Bighorn Mountains in 1864 led to high enthusiasm for it, and the subsequent fortification in 1866 when Forts Reno, Phil Kearney, and C. F. Smith were erected, caused it to become the most popular route to the Northwest. Its success, and the resentment when the forts were abandoned in 1868 because of the threats of Red Cloud and his Ogallala Sioux, gave the road continued publicity. In this time its various names of "Montana Road, the Jacobs-Bozeman Cut-off, the Bozeman Road, the Powder River Road to Montana, the Big Horn Road, the Virginia City Road, the Bonanza Trail, the Yellowstone Road, the Reno Road, the Car-rington Road,"<sup>20</sup> finally narrowed down to the Bozeman Trail which label it has since held.

Sufficient evidence is at hand to disprove the dramatic story which has been widely accepted for almost a half century, that James Bridger and John Bozeman raced their teams in 1864 to a

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Nathaniel P. Langford, *Vigilante Days and Ways, A Journey across the Plains in the Sixties* (New York, 1912), 279-284.

<sup>19</sup> Grace R. Hebard and E. A. Brininstool, *The Bozeman Trail* (Cleveland, 1922), I, 219.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 213.

neck and neck finish in the attempt of each to prove the feasibility of his route. Bridger, who had been the acknowledged authority on plains and mountain trails and travel for twenty years, had an affection for a trail which left central Wyoming at the headwaters of the Bighorn River, followed north through the Wind River Canyon, and continued down the valley between the Bighorn Mountains and the main range of the Rockies. This route, Bridger maintained, was shorter by about one hundred miles, and was more secure from Indian attack. Bozeman maintained that his route was easier to travel, and because of a possible wider spread of individual trails would sustain a much larger travel through the year than would the more limited grass facilities of the narrow Bighorn route.

Rivalry perhaps existed between Bozeman and Bridger as they were assembling wagons for their respective trains, and each was no doubt anxious to prove the merit of his route. The old story of the two men taking their trains from the Oregon Trail, "Bridger with several weeks' start,"<sup>21</sup> of Bozeman reaching the Gallatin Valley ahead of Bridger, and of the two teams racing across the intervening divides to Virginia City, thrilling as this account is, can no longer be regarded as authentic.<sup>22</sup>

The evidence for indicating the time at which Bozeman arrived at various points is scattered and not entirely satisfactory. Albert J. Dickson in his *Covered Wagon Days* provides a clue for the time of departure from the Oregon Trail. In the early days of July the Dickson party was camped near Fort Laramie, and Dickson comments:

As I was strolling along the road a little way north of camp I came upon another note from the Philipps boys. It was dated a week earlier and stated a man named Bozeman was gathering up a train for the purpose of laying out a new road to Virginia City by way of the east

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

<sup>22</sup> Important contributors to the idea of keen competition between Bozeman and Bridger have been: Peter Koch, "Historical Sketch of Bozeman, Gallatin Valley and Bozeman Pass," *Contributions*, II, 1896, p. 135; Olin D. Wheeler, *On the Trail of Lewis and Clark* (New York, 1904), II, 327; Hebard and Brininstool, *Bozeman Trail*, I, 219-220. J. Cecil Alter in his *James Bridger* (Salt Lake City, 1925) follows the tradition, "the two trains arrived at Virginia City almost together," 405. The late Dr. James M. Hamilton of Montana State College felt that Peter Koch was responsible for the beginning of the "race" idea.

side of the Big Horns, and that they were going to try to get in with them. The note was eagerly read at camp and the hope was expressed that we might be able to overtake the Bozeman party.<sup>23</sup>

Further report on the Bozeman train was found by Dickson:

The next day, July 7, about the middle of the forenoon as we were passing over the ground where Douglas now stands, we noted the deep imprint of wagon wheels turning due north at right angles to our trail. Beside the road at our left was another note on a cleft stick from the Philipps brothers, stating that they were going with Bozeman by this new route that he was laying out to Virginia City. . . . The message bore the date of July 1.<sup>24</sup>

No diary or immediately contemporary account has appeared which indicates the date of arrival of the Bozeman train in Montana. The most direct statement of date of arrival which has come to hand is that by John L. Sweeney, who when writing his record in 1898 for the Society of Montana Pioneers said: "Place of departure for Montana, Ohio; route traveled, the Bozeman Route; came with James [sic] M. Bozeman's first train and helped make the road; arrived at Virginia City, August 3rd, 1864."<sup>25</sup> One of the best accounts of the arrival of trains in the Gallatin Valley is compiled from the notes and speeches of William W. Alderson, who with his brother, John, dropped out of an overland train on the site of the future city of Bozeman on July 14, 1864. William Alderson became a leader in the little settlement, was closely associated with John Bozeman, and was a keen observer. The account from his reminiscences follows a sequence which has been little noted, but which is now well substantiated:

The old mountaineer, James Bridger, piloted a train from near the Platte River . . . and reached the Gallatin Valley by what is now known as Bridger Canyon. July 6, 1864<sup>26</sup> John Jacobs another mountaineer arrived about the same time with another emigrant train, coming by the same general route to the west side of the Yellowstone

<sup>23</sup> Albert J. Dickson, *Covered Wagon Days* (Cleveland, 1929), 90-91. This account was edited by a son, Arthur J. Dickson, from his father's notes and comments. Dickson also subscribes to the race idea, noting in connection with coming into the Gallatin from Virginia City, "The Bozeman and Bridger trains had pulled in close together about six weeks earlier," 189.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>25</sup> *Society of Montana Pioneers Register* (Helena), I, 1899, p. 212.

<sup>26</sup> The Diary of Cornelius Hedges quoted later indicates July 8.

River. . . . When leaving the Bridger route, he bore south and came into the Gallatin Valley by what was termed Jacob's Pass or Bozeman's Pass, now known by the latter name. This route had been taken by John M. Bozeman the previous year, when he passed through with a party of horsemen. . . . In 1864, however, John M. Bozeman succeeded in bringing a large emigrant train through by his formerly projected route, crossing the divide on Bozeman Pass, reaching the present site of the city about the first of August.<sup>27</sup>

Alderson often recalled his first entrance into Bozeman:

Not a fence pole, not a log house was there in sight to designate the future city of Bozeman. After looking around, however, for a few moments, we noticed a small wedge-tent constructed out of wagon covers, and after a little careful inspection we found a lonesome occupant in the person of W. J. Beall. To our "Pilgrim" inquiries he informed us that he was patiently waiting for the return of D. E. Rouse with "grub" from their ranch; that John M. Bozeman was piloting an emigrant train through from the Platte via the Powder River, Clark's Fork and the Yellowstone.<sup>28</sup>

Curiously enough this account from the Alderson papers appeared soon after Mrs. W. J. Beall, also a contemporary, wrote for another local paper. Mrs. Beall is perhaps responsible for the feeling that Bozeman arrived early in July, and hence was in immediate competition with Bridger. She wrote:

In the forepart of July, 1864<sup>29</sup> W. J. Beall and D. E. Rouse were returning from Virginia City, where they had marketed their crop of potatoes and other vegetables, receiving 40 cents a pound for same, they met John M. Bozeman, whom they had known in 1863 and who had returned east that fall. He told them he was piloting an emigrant train from the east over what is now known as the Bozeman cut-off. He advised them to come and take up land and start a town on the location now known as Bozeman. He asked them to locate a claim for him, which they did.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Written by W. W. Alderson's daughter, Mrs. E. L. Houston in the *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, August 6, 1914. Mrs. Houston had her father's papers and was an experienced writer.

<sup>28</sup> Widely quoted in early Bozeman papers. Rewritten, *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, August 6, 1914.

<sup>29</sup> July 7, according to M. A. Leeson, *History of Montana, 1739-1885* (Chicago, 1885), 618. This has also been a source of confusion of dates.

<sup>30</sup> Reminiscence by Mrs. W. J. Beall, *Bozeman Courier*, July 8, 1914. Mrs. Beall came with the Townsend Expedition. She knew Bozeman well and was a source of much of the early history of the town.

Since the "forepart of July" is very early in the season for the marketing of the "crop" of potatoes and vegetables in Montana, and with the previously cited evidence in mind the observation which Mrs. Beall made at a later time seems more accurate. Commenting that she had arrived on the site of Bozeman City, August 1, 1864, she continued: "at the time of my arrival in the future city, John M. Bozeman had gone on to Virginia City, and his train came after the date, August 1, 1864."<sup>31</sup>

The diary of Cornelius Hedges, which remained in the possession of descendants until 1936, provides an excellent account of the progress of trains piloted by Bridger and Jacobs, which Alderson mentions as arriving in the Gallatin Valley early in July, 1864.<sup>32</sup> On June 7, 1864, soon after leaving the Oregon Trail, Hedges remarked: "Bridger 6 days, Jacobs 3 days ahead." By June 17, he could record: "Met two of Bridger's men and found they were only 12 miles ahead. Reached Stinking Water."<sup>33</sup> The entry of July 2 reads, "Struck Yellowstone about 3"; that of July 4, "Waited till Jacob's train passed . . . We are up with Bridger and all." On July 8, Hedges' train which had followed that of Bridger up the Shields River, across the Brackett Creek Pass and down the Bridger Canyon, emerged into the Gallatin Valley and Hedges narrated: "Saw Jacob's Camp. He came out ahead of Bridger by going around. Our train was out of the canyon — began to rain. . . . Crossed several creeks & reached Gallatin River. Went fifteen miles." By July 10, he recorded, "Reached (Virginia) City about 2½."

Notations in the Register of the Society of Montana Pioneers, which is a directory, shows that those who came on the Bozeman Road indicate the date of their arrival in the Gallatin Valley or Virginia City as in the last few days of July or in August, while those who came over the Bridger Cut-off with Bridger or Jacobs arrived largely in July, the dates of July 8 and 11 being popular.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> In report of speech before the Gallatin County Pioneers' Society, February 22, 1923, in the *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, February 23, 1923.

<sup>32</sup> Cornelius Hedges had wide interests and acute powers of observation. He was well educated and became one of the most useful citizens of Montana. The diary is at present in the State Historical Society Library in Helena.

<sup>33</sup> The Shoshone River, a branch of the Bighorn in northwestern Wyoming.

<sup>34</sup> *Society of Montana Pioneers*, I, *passim*.

The Hedges diary reopens the question of the relation of Jacobs and Bozeman. There has been a general opinion that Jacobs has not received sufficient credit for the part he had in opening the new trails to the mines. He was an experienced guide when Bozeman met him, and no doubt was the guide again on the early spring trip in 1863 from Bannack to the Oregon Trail. On the return trip, when Bozeman joined the nine men in the horseback trip back along the same route, Jacobs remained to be the chief guide of the train over the old route to the mines. The comment of Alderson, previously noted, indicated that the pioneers knew of the train piloted by Jacobs in 1864, but little mention has been made of it, the general assumption being that he was still with Bozeman. Among the papers which Cornelius Hedges valued is a map labeled "Jacob's Map of his and Bridger's Routes to Virginia City." The map is very clear and shows the plains road east of the Bighorns as Jacobs', and the route up the Bighorn Canyon as that of Bridger.<sup>85</sup> Since Jacobs followed Bridger in 1864, it is possible that Jacobs and Bozeman were still working together, and Jacobs was testing the Bighorn route. Since Bozeman was chief drummer for his route and was the guide for an early major train along its course, his claim to it still stands.

Although Bozeman seems to come out second best in the controversy over the date of arrival of immigrant trains in 1864, there is no doubt that he played a major role in the establishment of the town of Bozeman. He had apparently been impressed with the agricultural possibilities of the Gallatin Valley in 1863 and had arranged with W. J. Beall and D. E. Rouse who were operating a ranch near the Three Forks to lay out a townsite in the Upper Gallatin Valley near the passes which lead to the Yellowstone. This the two men were in readiness to do when the Alderson brothers arrived on July 14.

By August 9, Bozeman had returned from Virginia City to the

<sup>85</sup> This map was loaned in 1936 to John G. Brown of Helena by a daughter of Cornelius Hedges, Mrs. Edna Hedges Palmer. Mrs. Palmer felt that her father valued the map highly and assumed that he felt that Jacobs had drawn it. Mr. Brown has conducted some good research on Jacobs, showing that he was widely known by older residents in Montana in widely separated locations, and presents a good case for Jacobs being given more credit for early trail making than has been true in the past. John G. Brown, "Cherished Map Offers New Slant on Old Trails," *Billings Gazette* April 11, 1937.



little settlement in the Gallatin and on that day a meeting was called to give official form to the dream of founding a town. The settlement was to be located on the "west prong of the East Gallatin River." At the meeting "a claim association was formed, by-Laws were enacted, fees for recording were fixed, and other business transacted that was thought necessary for the welfare of the new settlement." The minutes of the meeting, which were retained in the possession of W. W. Alderson, read as follows:

East Gallatin, Montana, Aug. 9, 1864

At a meeting held by the settlers of Upper East Gallatin at "Jacob's Crossing" on Tuesday, August 9, 1864, John M. Bozeman was elected chairman and W. W. Alderson, secretary. The chairman stated the object of the meeting to be to form a claim association, for the purpose of making laws, etc, in relation to farming claims, and for mutual protection. On motion of W. W. Alderson, it was *Resolved*, First: that the town and district be called Bozeman, *Resolved*, Second: that the boundary of the district shall be as follows: Commencing at the northeast corner of Kimball's claim, thence east to the base of the mountains, to the Gallatin River, thence down said river to a point due west of said Kimball's claim, thence east to the place of beginning. *Resolved*, Third: That after any settler stakes out and records a claim he must be an actual resident thereof within ten days thereafter in order to hold said claim. On motion J. M. Bozeman was elected recorder, and the sum of one dollar made the fee for recording a claim.<sup>36</sup>

The day following the meeting Bozeman began the work of recording claims to land for the settlers in the vicinity. Seven claims were recorded on this tenth day of August. The simple and rather indefinite notation in the claim book indicates the method of doing business on the frontier. The first claim recorded was as follows:

August 10th 1864

This is to certify that James E. Burtch has this day stake and Recorded Farming Claim commencing at a stake on the South West corner Runing East  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile thence  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile North thence  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile West

<sup>36</sup> Alderson's diary records the meeting. The minutes are in the possession of his heirs. Mrs. E. L. Houston, *Early History of Gallatin County* (Bozeman, 1933) gives a brief account. An article by her in the *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, August 6, 1914, gives additional detail.

thence  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile South to place of beginning claiming 160 Achors.  
J. M. Bozeman, Recorder <sup>37</sup>

An additional type of identification is indicated in another claim:

August 15th 1864

This is to certify that Joseph West has this day staked and Recorded Farming Claim situated on a small stream  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or 3 miles South of Madans claim comenceing the South East Cor at A small grove of pople or quakenasp runing West  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile thence North  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile thence East  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile thence South  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile to place of beginning.

J. M. Bozeman, Recor

Bozeman recorded a claim for himself for one hundred sixty acres on October 12, but on the nineteenth he recorded a quit claim for it. On January 22, 1865, Bozeman recorded another claim for himself.

The last entries which Bozeman made in the land record book concerned his own interests and were made on January 31, 1865. One of the entries is appealing in its form and intent:

January 31, 1865

This is to certify that I J. M. Bozeman do this day start on my journey to the Platt to conduct a train of Emigrants through to this point in the spring and ask the settlers to respet my claim untill I returne in June or July 1865.

Witness S. Rice

J. M. Bozeman

Bozeman may have felt on second thought that his claims would not be so secure in spite of this plaintive entry, for on the same day he recorded:

January 31, 1865

This is to certify that I have given W. H. Tracy a quick claim Deed For one half of my intrust in Ranch Claim and viledge undevided.

J. M. Bozeman

Bozeman did not leave Montana in January. He may have had the trip still in mind, when on March 27, he sold to J. J. Parham for five hundred dollars cash one-half of his property in the town of Bozeman. For unknown reasons Bozeman did not leave the

<sup>37</sup> From original record book written by John Bozeman. In the Gallatin County Pioneers' Museum Collection, Gallatin County Court House, Bozeman, Montana.

Gallatin Valley in 1865 for the Oregon Trail. In the 1865 elections he was chosen probate judge and continued to take an active part in the development of the little town.

Bozeman had versatile interests and during his short period of residence in the Gallatin Valley he touched various activities in an important way. After the sale of his property on Main Street, he set about farming on one of the land claims which he still retained. To relieve the monotony of farm life, there is evidence of a number of trips to Virginia City, on which he carried mail to and fro. Since the customary charge for this service was fifty cents for each piece of mail, the journey could be profitable and pleasant for a man of Bozeman's characteristics.

An incident of Bozeman's activity in fostering the growth of the little town is given by a man who became prominent in Bozeman affairs. He recalled that when his immigrant party arrived in the valley on August 18, 1864, it had camped near the few houses which marked the town site. The camp was visited the next morning, according to a reminiscence by one W. J. Davies,

by Mr. Elliott Rouse and John Bozeman, who told us of wonderful townsite they had discovered; and they spoke eloquently of its many advantages, its water privileges, and its standing right in the gate of the mountains ready to swallow up all the tenderfeet that would reach the territory from the east, with their golden fleeces to be taken care of. All that and the promise of numerous corner lots prevailed with me and I moved camp to the great city of Bozeman.<sup>88</sup>

Another report in 1864 or 1865 came from an immigrant who was with a party of miners going from Virginia City to the Yellowstone in search of the always rumored mother lode:

On our road we passed a half-dozen huts, dignified with the name of Bozeman City. Here lives a Cincinnatus in retirement, one of the great pioneers of mountain civilization, named Bozeman. To him belongs the credit of having laid out the Bozeman Cut-off, on the road from Fort Laramie to Virginia, and he is looked up to among emigrants much as Chief-Justice Marshall is among lawyers. I saw the great man, with one foot moccasined and the other as Nature made

<sup>88</sup> Reminiscence of W. J. Davies, dated Bridger, Montana, March 8, 1891. Published in a newspaper, the name and date of which are unknown. Included with many clippings in a scrap book kept for many years by Mrs. W. J. Beall and Mrs. E. L. Houston.

it, giving Bunsby opinions to a crowd of miners as to the location of the mythical mines.<sup>89</sup>

Bozeman rendered high service to his town and to the Gallatin Valley when he induced Thomas Cover and P. W. McAdow to begin work on a flour mill just at the edge of the village in the fall of 1864. Bozeman took care of the interests of the milling partners during the fall of 1864, and aided them greatly in making their connections and establishing their plant.

In the spring of 1866 the G. W. A. Frazier family came to Bozeman. They had come to Virginia City in the fall of 1865, but not finding mining attractive they were drawn to the Gallatin city because Mrs. Frazier's maiden name had been Bozeman. She and John Bozeman were unable to establish a family relationship, but he took up his residence with them soon after their arrival.

Perhaps out of this association with Bozeman and his wide acquaintance, the Fraziers soon came to feel that a hotel would be a profitable venture. A small hotel had been built in 1865, but had been abandoned a month or two later when its proprietors joined a mining stampede. In the summer of 1866, therefore, Frazier and Bozeman cooperated in building the first frame building to be erected, and the first hotel to operate in the little town. In 1938 Mrs. Emma Frazier Dumphy and William Frazier recalled, although they were small children in 1866, that everyone was very proud of the first street sign in the town which read, "City Hotel, G. W. A. Frazier." The building was a story and a half high. The upstairs had two small rooms partitioned from one end, one for Bozeman, and the other for his close friend, W. S. Mackenzie. There remained one long room with two long rows of homemade bedsteads, "with the soft side of a slab for springs." The men traveling through usually brought their own bedding, hence there was no need for this. Some time after the building of the hotel, Bozeman gave his interest in it to the Fraziers in return for his board and room.

In addition to his interests in farming, city property, travel,

<sup>89</sup> Edward B. Nealley, "A Year in Montana," *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), XVIII, August, 1866, pp. 244. This account indicates that Bozeman's fame did not all come after, and as a result of his death.

flour mills, city hotels, and the general welfare of the little town, W. J. Davies told of another venture of Bozeman.<sup>40</sup> Davies had built a number of mackinaw and flat boats on the Yellowstone River which he sold to people who wanted to take the river route on their way back to the Middle West. Bozeman approached Davies during the winter of 1866-1867 with the suggestion that he purchase an interest in the boats. Bozeman had no money at the time, but volunteered to do the rustling, and guaranteed to fill the boats with passengers. After the actual cost of the boats had been met, the profits were to be divided equally. Davies commented upon the proposition:

After thinking the matter over for a few days, I came to the conclusion that the proposition was a very good one, and that Bozeman would be very best drummer in the territory to gather in passengers; for he was known in all the mining camps, as a brave, determined man, a great mountain pathfinder and Indian fighter; a man the people would be very ready and willing to follow almost anywhere. So I took him up at his offer. We then went over onto the Yellowstone to see in what condition the boats were. I found Bozeman to be a more interesting companion than I had expected. He told me a great many funny incidents of his youthful days in Georgia and Colorado. He was quite a favorite with women, and yet he was no beauty to look at, nor was he what you would call a handsome man, nor a dude in dress. He was several inches over six feet tall, I should think, and would probably weigh two hundred and twenty-five pounds. He carried no extra flesh; all was bone and muscle. He had a medium long face, a long aquiline nose, and was the strongest man I ever knew. I saw him with a load on his shoulders that would have broken down a mule. There were quite a number of good men there at the time, but I doubt whether any two in the crowd could have lifted the log that Bozeman carried across the street.

Bozeman had some very strange streaks in his character. His sense of honor in some directions was terribly sensitive, while in other directions his conscience was very elastic. He never posed as a saint, but it would have been a very dangerous experiment to call him a liar. To beat a man out of his wages or to neglect paying a bill or jumping a claim were matters of very little moment with him. He yet had some excellent qualities. His faults were produced by his education, or the lack of it rather, and the social system of the south, where labor was a

<sup>40</sup> Davies, *loc. cit.*

disgrace to a white man. Bozeman had no use for money except to bet with, and the most congenial place to him on earth was the saloon, with a few boon companions at a table, playing a game of draw.

Davies illustrated his reminiscences of Bozeman by a story of one of his escapades. In the early spring, Davies and Bozeman sold four flat boats for four hundred dollars to three men who had been in Montana for a time. Two of the men were to remain with the boats on the Yellowstone, while the third returned to the Madison for the remainder of the party and their goods. When Davies prepared to return to the Gallatin Valley, Bozeman told him he intended to remain as the two strangers wanted him to stay a day or two and play poker with them. Davies reminded Bozeman that he had no money.

"That makes no difference," said Bozeman, "They have offered to put up twenty-five dollars against my revolver and I think I'll stay and have some fun, anyway."

When Davies saw Bozeman about a week later, he inquired about the outcome of the game. Bozeman told him that he had "got a few dollars the best of it." Some little time later, a fellow townsman told Davies that the two poker enthusiasts of the Madison party had taken one of the mackinaws. They had told him that "they were not going down the river on any tub of a flat boat, that they had a good mackinaw that they had won from Bozeman in a game of cards." Bozeman was in another part of the valley at the time, so Davies mounted his horse and set out for the Yellowstone. When some three miles from Bozeman he encountered an acquaintance who told him that the men had departed with the mackinaw. Davies returned to town in deep disgust.

Two days later a report came that the boat party had been attacked by Indians. An expedition from Bozeman went to the rescue. The larger party in the flatboats needed aid badly, but with the first sign of danger the two men in the mackinaw had run their boat ashore and had not been seen since. A few days later in Bozeman, Davies strolled out into the street to see the Virginia City stage leave. He discovered the two gamblers seated on top. Davies watched the disappearing stage and walked up the street where he encountered Bozeman for the first time

since word had come of the stolen mackinaw. Davies related his story hurriedly:

A fearful look came over his face, but all he said was, "The infernal liars." There happened to be a horse hitched to a post in front of Fridley's house. Bozeman made mighty long strides until he reached the horse, which he untied and mounted and was soon traveling west like a Dakota blizzard. The stage had long been out of sight.

Davies felt that Bozeman was merely acting, and was greatly surprised when "about two hours after, Bozeman was seen riding into town with the two men walking beside him, like two whipped dogs. I was perfectly dumfounded; for I did not think that there were any three men in the place that could have gone and stopped the stage and brought back those well-armed and desperate men. But here was one man that had accomplished it without any sign of authority whatever to back him."

The men maintained that they had not intended to steal the mackinaw, but intended to send a check in payment from the nearest post office. The boat was a hundred miles down the Yellowstone, however, and Davies insisted that they pay him two hundred dollars for it. The gamblers suggested a trial, so a jury was impanelled and the trial was held. The jury returned with a written verdict in half an hour, but demanded pay before it was rendered. Neither Davies nor Bozeman had any money with them, so Davies went out and borrowed thirty dollars, five for each of the six jurors. Davies did not relate what the nature of the evidence had been, but his action indicated that he felt it was favorable. Both he and Bozeman were infuriated to discover that the verdict called for payment by the adventurers of costs and thirty-five dollars.

Nelson Story, another of the prominent business men in early Bozeman, frequently told a story of John Bozeman which illustrated a number of traits of his character. Soon after Story came to Bozeman he opened a general store which he maintained for a short time. One evening John Bozeman and his friend, W. S. Mackenzie, strolled in arm and arm. There is considerable evidence that Bozeman exercised a high degree of self-control in connection with the common practice of drinking to excess. On this occasion, however, he and Mackenzie were in the happy reck-

less stage of inebriation. A dog followed the pair into the store, and another inhabitant of the town, F. F. Fridley, seated on a nearby keg, remarked to Bozeman that it was a fine dog that he had.

"Yes," said Bozeman, "he is a fine dog, and he can lick any other dog in town, and I can lick any damned black Republican in town."

Fridley took up the cudgels for the aforesaid Republicans and they were soon engaged in a fight. A friend of Fridley's reached for some nearby scale weights and was in the act of aiding him rather effectively when Nelson Story reached for an axe and suggested that it would be better to let the fight proceed. A passerby saw what was going on and ran across the street to inform Mrs. Fridley. Although Fridley was a large, strong man, he was getting the worst of it when Mrs. Fridley arrived and stopped the fight.<sup>41</sup>

The relationship of Bozeman with his family which he had left in Georgia, as well as his attitude in the North-South controversy of the time is shown in a couple of letters which he wrote from Bozeman to his mother.

Bozeman City, Montana  
July 11, 1866

Dear Mother,

Once more I embrace an opportunity of wrighting you a phew lines to let you know that I am yet on the land and among the living. I have not had any word from there but twice since I left the States. Catherine wrote me I got the letter about 3 months ago for the first time since I left home and she spoke of you living on William Parting land and that was all she said about you. I wrote and wrote to you all time and again but never could hear from any of you. I got one letter from her father in the spring of sixty 22 day of June. I think if it had not been for the war it wold have bin different the mail was stoped for conconsiderable time.

I have made some money in this country a nough eavin to make any man a fortune but I have spent a good deal in speculating of one kind and a nother I am farming now though I have followed mining and speculating the most of my time in this country and was up and down rich and poor several times. I have a good start now again and I can

<sup>41</sup> Related by a son of Nelson Story, Byron T. Story, July, 1934.



not see what will hinder me from making all the money I want in 2 or 3 years more. I staid in Colorado till the spring of 62 then came to this country and this is the most healthy country I ever saw.

I have never bin sick a minute in this country except when I had the measles two years a go. I would like to see you all mity well but it is out of the question at present. I want you and all the inquiring friend to here from and wright to me as soon as possible then I will give you the particulars of this country. Tell Catherine I would like to pay her and the children a visit but I do not know when I can as my Business is in this country and I cannot leave it very well and I am getting pretty well weaned off from the States and any way the Emigration is heavy to this country this season and times are good as could be expected. Dear Mother Brother and Sisters I am well at present and doing well and I hope these phew lines will find you all the same. I want you all to write me and give all the news so I must close nothing more at present But I remain your affectionate Sone and Brother.

J. M. Bozeman

For fear money is scarce I will send a little greenbacks for you and Catherine equal.

Bozeman City T. R.

Dec. 4, 1866

Dear Mother & Brother & Sisters,

I received your loving letter the other day, which gave me much pleasure to here that you were all well, but it was very mortifying to me to hear that times are so hard there. I am very sorry that Armindy would place so much confidence in a abolishivness as to agree to be his wife. I want you or her to write me the name and discription of him and I may see him sometime.

I am getting along well in this country I want you to write me where you are, and how you are getting along, and also how Catherine and the children are getting along. I will be pleased to hear from all of you often and I will pay you a visit in a year or two, but do not expect to come there to live any more. I have made a great amount of money in this country but have had some bad luck and spent a good deal. I am comfortably situated yet and can make a good living. I will send some photographs for you and Catherine and the children and my brother and sisters. I will close for the present by saying I am quite well and hope these few lines will find you all in the same health, there is one thing I forgot to speak of, I am very glad that all of you are trying to get that good place, where trouble will be no more, I attend church frequently but I don't do as I ought to do, or as I would

wish to do. We are building a nice church and school house in this town, and I hope God will be more glorified in this country in the future than in the past, as society is getting pretty well organized in this country.<sup>42</sup>

I am in partnership with a man by the name of Frazier in a Hotel and some groceries, he has a family of a wife and 3 children all at home, I very much like. His wife name was Bozeman before she was married I don't know whether we are any relation or not so nothing more at present, but remain your affectionate Son until death.

J. M. Bozeman, to his loving Mother and  
inquiring friends.

P. S. I will send you a piece of chiney money as it will be a odity in that country. There is people in this country from all parts of the world.<sup>43</sup>

John Bozeman left the town of Bozeman on his last adventure on the morning of April 17, 1867. Tom Cover wished to visit Fort C. F. Smith which had been established on the Big Horn River the previous fall in order to secure flour orders for the mill which he and McAdow had built in Bozeman at the behest of John Bozeman. The Indians had been causing some trouble on the Montana plains during the winter, and Cover induced Bozeman to accompany him. His experience and daring made him the logical person to do this, and in addition he was deeply disturbed by the threat which the Indians made on the continued migration and development of the region. There is a record of a letter written March 25, 1867 by John Bozeman to the secretary and acting-governor of the territory, Thomas F. Meagher. Although the letter was obviously carefully edited, it carried the tone and deep interest which was Bozeman's:

General: — I take the responsibility of writing you a few lines for the benefit of the people of Montana. We have reliable reports here that we are in imminent danger of hostile Indians, and if there is not something done to protect this valley soon, there will be but few men and no families left in the Gallatin Valley. Men, women and children are

<sup>42</sup> A newspaper article from an unknown source in Mrs. Beall's scrapbook gives a list of subscribers for the erection of a Methodist Church. On the list dated August 9, 1866, John Bozeman gave \$25, which was one of the more generous contributions.

<sup>43</sup> These letters, apparently the only ones which survive, were furnished by Mrs. B. E. Neal of Summerville, Georgia, whose husband was a son of Martha C. Bozeman Neal, a daughter of John Bozeman.

making preparations to leave at an early day. If you can make any arrangements to protect them, they will stay: if not, the valley will doubtless be evacuated.<sup>44</sup>

The Gallatin County Commissioners Journal for the period suggests another reason for the trip. The commissioners granted on April 1, 1867, to "Thomas Cover, J. M. Bozeman & Company" the right "to establish and maintain a Ferry Boat or two [*sic*] build and construct a bridge of good and Substantial material across the Yellowstone River . . . at or near the mouth of . . . Boulder Creek." The bridge or ferry was to be "completed and in good running order on or before the 4 day of July A. D. 1867."<sup>45</sup>

Whether the purpose of the trip was to secure flour contracts or to survey their ferry site, Bozeman felt the trip would be a dangerous one. In talking with Mrs. Frazier, he asked her to send his watch to his mother if he did not return. Bozeman and Cover spent the first night out at Nelson Story's cattle camp on the Yellowstone near the present site of Livingston. W. S. Mackenzie commented concerning Bozeman's attitude: "That night Bozeman and I slept together in a house called 'Brown's double cabin'. Bozeman betrayed nervousness singular to him. He said he had a premonition that he would not come back alive if he went on and tried to get me to go with Cover in his place. This was singular, for Bozeman, ordinarily, was afraid of nothing on earth."<sup>46</sup>

Several days after the death of Bozeman, Tom Cover wrote for publication an account of the tragedy:

General T. F. Meagher, Virginia City.

Sir:— On the 16th inst., accompanied by the late J. M. Bozeman, I<sup>47</sup> started for Forts C. F. Smith and Phil Kearney. After a day or so of arduous travel, we reached the Yellowstone River and journied on it in safety until the 20th inst., when in our noon camp on the Yellowstone, about seven miles this side of Bozeman Ferry, we perceived five

<sup>44</sup> Leeson, *History of Montana*, 119.

<sup>45</sup> Gallatin County Commissioners' Journal, Vol. I, 1865-1871, March 8 and April 1, 1867. Gallatin County Courthouse, Bozeman, Montana.

<sup>46</sup> W. S. Mackenzie in the Boulder (Mont.) *Monitor*, October 25, 1919.

<sup>47</sup> For some unaccountable reason Cover was confused concerning the dates. A number of sources agree that the men left Bozeman April 17, and that the encounter with the Indians took place near noon of April 18, 1867.

Indians approaching us on foot and leading a pony. When within say two hundred and fifty yards I suggested to Mr. Bozeman that we should open fire, to which he made no reply. We stood with our rifles ready until the enemy approached to within one hundred yards, at which Bozeman remarked: "Those are Crows; I know one of them. We will let them come to us and learn where the Sioux and Blackfeet camps are, provided they know." The Indians meanwhile walked toward us with their hands up, calling, "Ap-sar-ake" (Crow). They shook hands with Mr. B. and proffered the same politeness to me, which I declined by presenting my Henry rifle at them, and at the same moment B. remarked, "I am fooled; they are Blackfeet. We may, however, get off without trouble." I then went to our horses (leaving gun with B.) and had saddled mine, when I saw the chief quickly draw the cover from his fusee, and I called to B. to shoot, the Indian fired, the ball taking effect in B's right breast, passing completely through him. B. charged on the Indians but did not fire, when another shot took effect in the left breast, and brought poor B. to the ground, a dead man. At that instant I received a bullet through the upper edge of my left shoulder. I ran to B. picked up my gun and spoke to him, asking if he was badly hurt. Poor fellow! his last words had been spoken some minutes before I reached the spot: he was "stone dead."

Finding the Indians pressing me, and my gun not working, I stepped back slowly, trying to fix it, in which I succeeded after retreating say fifty yards. I then opened fire and the first shot brought one of the gentlemen to the sod. I then charged and the other two took to their heels, joining the two that had been saddling B's animal and our pack horse, immediately after B's fall. Having an idea that when collected they might make a rush, I returned to a piece of willow brush, say four hundred yards from the scene of action, giving the Indians a shot or two as I fell back. I remained in the willows about an hour, when I saw the enemy across the river, carrying their dead comrade with them. On returning to the camp to examine B, I found but too surely that the poor fellow was out of all earthly trouble. The red men, however, had been in too much of a hurry to scalp him or even take his watch — the latter I brought in. After cutting a pound or so of meat, I started on foot on the back track, swam the Yellowstone, walked thirty miles, and came upon McKenzie and Reshaw's camp, very well satisfied to be so far on the road home and in tolerable safe quarters. The next day I arrived home with a tolerable sore shoulder and pretty well fagged out. A party started out yesterday to bring in B's remains.

From what I can glean in the way of information I am well satisfied that there is a large party of Blackfeet on the Yellowstone, whose sole object is plunder and scalps.

Yours etc. (Signed) T. W. Coover

Gallatine Mills, Bozeman, April 22, 1867.<sup>48</sup>

For a number of years the identity of the Indians responsible for John Bozeman's death was not known. On April 1, 1896, a statement was obtained from George Reed Davis, a Crow interpreter, which supported accusations which had frequently been made that Mountain Chief, his three sons, and another Indian, all of the Piegan tribe of the Blackfeet were the guilty natives.<sup>49</sup> They were renegades from their tribe at the time, and were participating with a larger body of Crows who were out on a horse stealing expedition. The party had obtained a horse from the Story cattle camp, and were enroute down the Yellowstone, when they discovered Bozeman and Cover and their three horses. For some reason the Crows refused to take part in the approach to the white men, feeling perhaps that the approach of a large number of Indians would lead to actual hostilities which the Crows usually tried to avoid, having a particular zest for clever theft rather than physical encounter. The Blackfeet, with only one pony, although Davis indicates that the entire party had some two hundred horses from their foray, left the main group and went to the attack of Bozeman and Cover.

W. S. Mackenzie, who other than Cover, was the white man closest to the events of the murder of Bozeman criticized Cover's action in the affair.

He said afterward that he had fired at the Indians with his Henry rifle. He also exhibited a flesh wound in the shoulder which he received from a bullet fired by the Indians. Whether he made it himself or not I do not know. I do not see just how, armed as he was, he could not have killed all five of the Indians.<sup>50</sup>

Cover wandered the hills all night and came to my camp the next morning. . . . Cover told us the story and we sent him on to Bozeman with the news. A party of six or eight men, John Richard, my

<sup>48</sup> Virginia City *Montana Post*, May 4, 1867.

<sup>49</sup> Hebard and Brininstool, *The Bozeman Trail*, I, 223-224.

<sup>50</sup> Mackenzie indicated that the Indians had only one gun, an old type which he described as a "Missouri yawber."

partner, among them, was made up and went out. They found Bozeman's body and buried it where it lay, but could not get the Indians.<sup>51</sup>

In 1870 the remains of John Bozeman were returned to the town he had helped to found and develop. After a public ceremony, burial was made in the Nelson Story plot. Story later erected a monument bearing the inscription: "In memory of John M. Bozeman, aged 32 years,<sup>52</sup> killed by the Blackfoot Indians on the Yellowstone, April 18, 1867. He was a native of Georgia, and was one of the first settlers of Bozeman, from whom the town takes its name." Fittingly enough, when W. S. Mackenzie died a number of years later he was buried beside Bozeman.

Around such a character as Bozeman there always arises a desire to preserve the full strength and color of his individuality. Numerous accounts used in this narrative, written many years after the incidents had occurred, are so distorted as to make it difficult to know the man they attempt to present. W. S. Mackenzie severely criticised the effort of E. S. Paxson in his painting portraying the "Death of Bozeman":

I have seen a number of pictures intended to represent the death of Bozeman, but all are inaccurate. One, a very pretty picture, too, is in a store here to-day. The figure intended to represent Bozeman is heavily bearded and is a good likeness of Liver-Eating Johnson. It is attired in a gaudy fringed buckskin suit. Bozeman never wore such a suit and did not wear a beard.<sup>53</sup> He was a tall raw-boned man, weighing perhaps 200 pounds, with piercing eyes and a small sandy mustache. At the time of his death he wore, as was his custom, a black beaver cloth suit, the coat of the frock style. His hat was a black slouch. His trousers he wore over his boots in the regular style, and not tucked in as some frontiersmen wore theirs.

This picture also represents Cover as wearing buckskin. His garb, on the contrary, was an ordinary grey suit. Another inaccuracy in the picture is that it represents the Indians being mounted. As I have said before, they were all afoot and were leading a stolen horse.<sup>54</sup>

John Bozeman was in many respects a typical representative of the leaders in the western movement in the history of the

<sup>51</sup> Hebard and Brininstool, *Bozeman Trail*, I, 223-224.

<sup>52</sup> Bozeman's age was really only thirty.

<sup>53</sup> Kirkpatrick, *loc. cit.*, 356, indicated that Bozeman wore a buckskin suit on the Oregon Trail, perhaps for publicity purposes.

<sup>54</sup> W. S. Mackenzie in the Boulder (Mont.) *Monitor*, *loc. cit.*

United States. He was possessed of a carefree, almost improvident spirit which enabled him to leave his wife and three small children with inadequate support while he wandered to the ends of the earth, ostensibly to search for riches for them. He consistently worked for the advance of the frontier rather than for the personal profit of himself and his family. This, too, has been a characteristic of most frontier leaders. While making it possible for their own and future generations to accumulate large possessions and enjoy great personal comfort, the vision of the pathfinder did not give him the inclination to seize for himself the choice portions of the country, and particularly did not leave him the time to develop them. Bozeman possessed to a high degree the qualities of leadership and personal bravery and skill in frontier living which attracted the respect and admiration of his contemporaries. He was not merely a trailmaker; he saw more clearly than most the direction of basic development. Where many of his adventurous contemporaries were staking everything on mining, he chose to risk developing an uninhabited agricultural region. His vision has been fully justified in the growth of the Gallatin Valley. Because of his wide interests and abilities, his keen perception of frontier needs, and his expertness in execution, he holds a high place among the pathfinders and frontier statesmen who won the West.