G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

The Wyoming Department of Environmental Quality, using federal financial assistance, contracted with the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office to conduct an intensive cultural resource inventory of the Bozeman Trail in Wyoming. This historic resource received priority because it passes through the Powder River Basin, an area heavily impacted by energy development. The study area for the inventory included the corridor paralleling and containing the trail as well as historic sites associated with the route. The object was to identify and inventory the trail's cultural resources and evaluate those resources for their eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The survey and inventory work will also assist in planning future mining and energy exploration in Converse, Campbell, Johnson and Sheridan Counties and for review and compliance activities of the Wyoming SHPO.

[X] See continuation sheet

H. Major Bibliographical References

BOOKS

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Baker, Lillian H. The History of St. Lukes Episcopal Church of Buffalo, Wyoming. Buffalo, Wyoming: privately printed, 1950.

Bourke, John G. On the Border With Crook. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981.

Bradley, James F. March of the Montana Column. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981.

[X] See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional documentation:

- [X] State historic preservation office
- [ ] Other State agency
- [ ] Federal agency
- [ ] Local government
- [ ] University
- [ ] Other

Specify repository: _____

I. Form Prepared By

name/title See Continuation Sheet
organization Wyoming SHPO date February 9, 1989
street & number 2301 Central, Barrett Building telephone (307) 777-6311
city or town Cheyenne state Wyoming zip code 82002

F. Associated Property Types

I. Name of Property Type _____

II. Description

III. Significance

IV. Registration Requirements

[X] See continuation sheet

[X] See continuation sheet for additional property types

The Powder River Basin surface geology is of Tertiary age and contains extensive coal beds, oil and uranium deposits. Red "clinker" capped buttes and ridges, formed by the natural burning of coal beds, dot the landscape. Most prominent are four buttes (Dome Butte, North, Middle and South Pumpkin Buttes), situated along the drainage divide between the Belle Fourche River which flows eastward and west flowing Pumpkin Creek and Dry Fork of the Powder River.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

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In my opinion, the following segments of the Historic Resources Trail in Wyoming that are administered by the Bureau of Land Management meet the National Register criteria: 1) the Holdup Hollow Segment, 2) the Stinking Water Gulch Segment, 3) the Spring Draw Segment, and 4) the TRabing Station:Crazy Woman Crossing.

John G. Douglas
Preservation Officer
Bureau of Land Management

what was to become Cantonment Reno and the first Fort McKinney Military Reservation, on the west bank of the Powder. The Fort Connor/Fort Reno site is located three miles downstream from this crossing, also on the west bank. From the Dry Fork crossing, the trail moved up Soldier Creek, ascending the divide above Crazy Woman Creek and fording that creek about one mile below the present county bridge. Continuing in a northwesterly direction, the Bozeman Trail traversed the same ground as present day Trabing Road and forded Clear Fork about one-half mile below Buffalo.

From there, the trail descended into Rock Creek Valley along the western side of Lake DeSmet and moved on to Shell and Piney Creeks, and the site of Fort Phil Kearney. The Big Piney crossing is located approximately one quarter mile upstream from the present steel and concrete bridge. The Bozeman road then climbed Prairie Dog Divide through the same gap as U.S. Highway 87, running northward over the summit of Massacre Hill and down the natural hogback to Prairie Dog Creek. After crossing Prairie Dog, it passed over Beaver Creek Divide and forded Kruse, Little Goose, Big Goose, and Wolf Creeks and the Tongue River, skirting the Big Horn Mountains from Buffalo to the Wyoming/Montana border.

In Montana, the Bozeman Trail passed through the Crow Indian Reservation to the Big Horn River, making fords at the Little Horn, Lodge Grass, Rotten Grass and Soap Creeks enroute. Fort C.F. Smith site is located at the Big Horn crossing. Eventually, trending westward, the trail crossed the Yellowstone River, traversed Bozeman Pass into the Gallatin Valley and terminated at Bozeman, Montana.

The primary theme associated with the formation of the Bozeman Trail is that of transportation. This theme, outlined in the Wyoming SHPO's draft "Transportation Historic Context" (Mss. on file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office) is one of the most significant themes in Wyoming's history. Transportation through Wyoming and into the gold fields of Montana was the principal reason the Bozeman Trail was created. Gold seekers and settlers traveled this perilous route to tap the unexploited land and mineral resources available in Montana's mountains and highland valleys. The Bozeman Trail was an important adjunct to

the mid-nineteenth century western Plains trail system that crossed North America and formed critical roadways through the American frontier. In later years, particularly after the removal of the area's Native American population in the late 1870s, the Bozeman Trail became an important stage route which aided in the settlement of the region by stock raisers.

A second significant theme in Powder River Basin history directly associated with the Bozeman Trail is the Native American occupance of the area from the protohistoric era, circa 1600 through the 1870s. The unobscured landscape associated with the Bozeman Trail's main corridor is the representational artifact of the high, untrammeled grasslands which provided the Native Americans sustenance and was the region from which they evolved a cultural life recognizable worldwide: the celebrated horse culture of the Plains Indians. Our historic perception of this culture springs from any of the events associated with the Bozeman Trail's history.

A third major theme associated with the Bozeman Trail is the extension of an American military presence into the Powder River Basin beginning in the late 1850s. This theme, outlined in the Wyoming SHPO's draft "Military Historic Context" (Mss. on file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office) is second only to transportation in importance in Wyoming's early Anglo-American history. Forts, battlefields and military transport routes coincide and flank the historic trail's transverse through the Powder River Basin. The Bozeman Trail was the scene of dramatic Native American and United States military confrontations; a series of conflicts that culminated in the destruction of the Native Americans' unrestricted use of the High Plains in the Powder River Basin soon after the Custer Battle in nearby Montana in 1876.

A fourth important theme associated with the formation and maintenance of the Bozeman Trail is that of early stock raising settlement in the Powder River Basin. This theme, in part outlined in the Wyoming SHPO's draft "Stock Raising Historic Context" (Mss. on file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office) is an important theme in Wyoming's history. Stock raising and early settlement are intricately related in Wyoming's

early years. The Bozeman Trail provided an important transportation viaduct through the Powder River Basin. Access into the Powder River Basin for stock raisers was blocked by the resident Native Americans until 1876. Stock raisers then flocked into the region to use the unexploited rangelands made available. The Bozeman Trail was the principle transportation route for this settlement.

1. HISTORIC NATIVE AMERICAN OCCUPANCE IN THE POWDER RIVER BASIN, CIRCA 1600 - 1878

The earliest inhabitants of the Powder River region were the Native Americans. These native inhabitants had, by historic times, peopled the High Plains of North America through the adoption of the horse and its associated material culture. Their impact on the history of the region was dramatic. The history of these people was intricately linked to the historic events founding and maintaining the Bozeman Trail.

A Wyoming historian once described the Santa Fe Trail as the road of the merchant, the Oregon Trail as the path of the home seeker, and the Bozeman Trail of Wyoming and Montana as the road of the gold seeker. Before John Bozeman guided miners and emigrants to the Montana gold fields, however, the general route of the Bozeman Trail was used for centuries by Indians and their ancestors following game trails. It was not, then, an uninhabited country before white men arrived. In fact, during the heyday of the fur trade in the 1820s and 1830s mountain men called the Powder River "Ab-sa-ro-ka-," the land of the Crows. By the 1850s Sioux and Cheyenne had eclipsed the Crows dominance of the area. It was these three Indian groups, their migration patterns and their intertribal relations, that played a major role in the drama of the "Bloody Bozeman."

Between A.D. 1450 and 1870 various Native American groups moved toward the Powder River Basin from various directions. While some of these people were being pushed, they also moved onto the plains because the land offered a secure hunting economy. As they moved, these Indian people abandoned agricultural economies and became hunters and gatherers, their lives directly tied to the Powder River Basin's buffalo.

The Crow gradually diverged linguistically from various Hidatsa groups of the Missouri Valley at least five hundred years ago. This linguistic severance was accompanied by an equally gradual movement to the Northwestern Plains, probably accomplished in band-by-band fashion rather than as one precipitous migration. The Crow's final separation from the Hidatsa dates from the mid-1700s. Some Crow reached the Powder River Basin between A.D. 1400 and 1600, and found the Uto-Aztecan speaking Shoshoni and Comanche groups, Plains Apache groups and possibly some Kiowa already there. By 1600-1700 the Crow expanded across most of the Basin and between 1700-1800 they gained firm control of the northern Basin along the Big Horn Mountains and down the Powder, Tongue and Yellowstone Rivers. Thus, when Edwin T. Denig operated as a fur trader on the Upper Missouri between 1833 and 1858, he found the Crow:

> through the Rocky Mountains, along the heads of Powder River, Wind River, and Big Horn on the south side of the Yellowstone, as far as Laramie's Fork on the River Platte. They were frequently found on the west and north side of the river as far as the head of the Muscleshell River, and as low down as the mouth of the Yellowstone.

Denig claimed the Blackfeet on the west and the Sioux on the east were the Crow's "natural and eternal enemies...from time-immemorial without being varied by even a transient peace." The Crow controlled the western half of the Powder River Basin south to Fort Laramie between 1800 and 1850, although their control was declining as Sioux and Cheyenne extended across the Basin.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapahoe steadily encroached on Crow territory, a situation that intensified during the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s as the Sioux and others were, in turn, pushed westward by migrating white settlers. The Dakotas or Sioux, who often called themselves "Otchenti Chakowin" or Seven Council Fires, originally came from the south and established themselves on the headwaters of the Mississippi during the sixteenth century. From 1700 to 1750 the Oglalas and Brules, two Sioux groups, were slowly drifting westward and probably took part in periodic expeditions which more westerly Sioux made against Missouri River tribes.

They continued to drift westward through the middle of the eighteenth century, more often as poor people begging at Arikara towns than as conquerors. In 1775 and 1776 an Oglala war party traveled far enough west to discover the Black Hills, and by approximately 1785 the Oglalas drove the Crow out of the territory north of the Black Hills, forcing them to move west of the Powder River.

From the Black Hills, the Oglalas migrated to the vicinity of Fort Laramie between 1834-1841, induced by white traders to move to the Platte. During the winter of 1841-1842, the Oglalas split into two factions. About half the tribe, known as Bull Bear's faction, moved southeast, occupying lands in Kansas and Nebraska between the Platte and the Smokey Hill Fork. The other half, Smoke's faction, went north occupying the headwaters of the Powder River in northern Wyoming. This faction, under the leadership of Red Cloud and others, played a critical role in the ensuing history of the Bozeman Trail.

The Cheyenne, of the Algonquian family and made up of two related tribes, Tsis-tsis-tas and Suh-tai, also forced the Crow westward toward the mountains, as they migrated across the plains. Some Cheyenne reached the Missouri around 1676 where they engaged in agriculture. Before this they lived along the Cheyenne River running from the west into the Red River. Gradually, they moved out over the prairie, gave up agriculture, and followed the buffalo. The Cheyenne claimed that when they secured possession of the Black Hills country, including the Little Missouri and Cheyenne Rivers and land toward the Powder, the Yellowstone and the North Platte, they encountered no Sioux. According to Cheyenne tradition, the Sioux migrated later and came with their meager possessions strapped on dog travois. The Cheyenne and Sioux maintained amicable relations, however, the former never seriously quarreling with the intruder. Cheyenne enemies among the Plains tribes, moreover, coincided with the Sioux's; the Kiowa, Comanche and the Crow, with whom the Cheyenne battled for at least seventy years. Friendly relations between Oglalas and Cheyenne, their constant westering movements, and their mutual animosity toward the Crow proved critical to their allied efforts to block white traffic on the Bozeman road in the 1860s.

2. HISTORIC TRANSPORTATION IN THE POWDER RIVER BASIN, 1863-1890

A. Overland Emigration, 1863-1868

The year 1841 was a turning point for Plains Indians as that was when the first Oregon-bound emigrant train traveled up the North Platte. It was a harbinger of things to come, of swarms of emigrants moving across the Plains. Until then the Indians saw only an occasional fur trader. The Cheyenne and Sioux were alarmed by this development because emigrants depleted scanty wood and grass supplies along the road and from the countryside and frightened buffalo herds, critical to Indian survival.

Over the next several decades, emigrants followed the North Platte road to California, Oregon, Utah, Idaho and Montana, their numbers increasing annually. Joining the "Forty-niners," John Bozeman's father left his wife and five children to try his luck in California's gold mines. He was never heard from again and the family presumed he died during the overland trip. In 1860, at age 24, John Bozeman followed his father's example, leaving a wife and three daughters in his native Georgia to prospect in Colorado. By the time he arrived in the Rocky Mountain area, however, the best claims were taken. Undaunted, he moved on to Idaho Territory. Potential gold mines in Idaho and Montana were drawing miners in droves.

While wintering at Bannock, Idaho Territory, in January, 1863, Bozeman heard rumors of an old traders' trail along the Big Horn Mountains that could serve as a shortcut to the Montana gold fields. Bozeman and John Jacobs, who had knocked around the Rocky Mountains for a number of years, were intrigued by the possibility of exploring this route and guiding emigrants and miners to Montana for profit.

Up to that point Montana-bound emigrants had two travel options. One route followed the heavily traveled wagon road up the North Platte, along the Sweetwater River, over South Pass to Fort Hall, Idaho and the western Montana mines. This was a long, tiresome trip. The other alternative involved traveling up the Missouri River via steamship to Fort Benton. Although this option was slow, expensive and only a seasonal alternative, it drew many

emigrants. "When faced with the high cost of wagon transportation, the length of time the journey consumed, and the Indian problem," wrote one historian, "a majority of travelers from the east chose to go to Montana by way of the Missouri." Major Howell recorded that in 1867, some 10,000 miners went to and from the Montana mines, on Missouri River steamers.

Recognizing the disadvantages of these two alternatives, Bozeman, Jacobs, and Jacobs' half-blood daughter left Bannock in spring, 1863, to search for a shorter, less expensive and more convenient route to Montana from the south. On May 13th, the three met a party of Crow on the east bank of the Big Horn River near Rotten Grass Creek. Although some of the Indians wanted to kill the intruders, they instead stripped them of their possessions, beat the girl for associating with white men and sent them on their way. Upon the Crows' approach, Bozeman had stashed his rifle and a handful of bullets in some sage brush, so the small party was not totally defenseless. They proceeded two hundred and fifty miles out to the North Platte emigrant road, arriving destitute and famished. Bozeman and Jacobs recuperated at Deer Creek Station, and not dismayed by their encounter with the Crow, began organizing a wagon trail to travel their "new" route.

On July 6, 1863, forty-six wagons, eighty-nine men and an unspecified number of women and children crossed the North Platte at Deer Creek and became the first wagon train to try the new cut off. Led by John Bozeman, John Jacobs, and Rafael Gallegos, a Mexican familiar with the old traders' trail, the emigrants were attracted to the route because it promised to shorten the trip to Bannock from 800 miles via the Oregon Trail to about 450 miles via the Bozeman Trail.

Several diaries and reminiscences from this first Bozeman Trail wagon train survive and provide clues to Bozeman's physical appearance and personality. "Bozeman," according to James Kirkpatrick, "not as valuable 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 way of a manly man." And W. Irwin, II, later reminisced that "He was six feet two inches high, weighing 200 pounds, supple, active, tireless and of handsome stalwart presence. He was genial, kindly and as innocent as a child in the ways of the world."

All went smoothly for the first Bozeman wagon train until it reached a branch of Clear Creek near present Buffalo. At that point, about one hundred and fifty Sioux and Cheyenne interrupted the train, protesting its movement further north and threatening to attack if it did not return to the Platte road. Uncertain about proceeding, but dreading the prospect of backtracking to the Oregon Trail, the emigrants discussed their options. A small group raced down the Bozeman to seek a military escort, while the rest of the wagons retreated at a more leisurely pace. Unable to secure military aid, the train returned to Deer Creek under Jacob's leadership.

About ten men, however,including Bozeman, chose to continue through Indian country. This group crossed the Big Horn Mountains at the headwaters of the Powder River, turning north upon reaching the Wind River Country. They eventually reached the Yellowstone River and the Gallatin Valley without encountering any more Indians.

The following season (1864), three wagon trains chose to follow the Bozeman Trail to Montana. The first was guided by Bozeman himself and left from the Lower Platte Bridge around July 18, 1864. The wagon train took forty-two days to reach the Gallatin Valley and encountered no Indians who resisted their movements.

The same luck did not hold for the next train, often called the Townsend Train. Several different groups of emigrants decided to take the Bozeman cut off over a five day period, consolidating about thirty-four miles out on the trail by July 3rd. The train was a large one of 150 wagons, 369 men, 36 women, 56 children, 636 oxen, 79 horses, 10 mules and 194 cows. Further, it had the capacity to fire 1,641 shots without reloading.

Near the Powder River, the train was attacked by Cheyenne. The emigrants corralled the wagons and held off the Indians for several hours. Four emigrants died, one inside the corral and the others outside of it. The next day the Townsend Train proceeded up the trail and eventually reached it destination.

Following the Townsend Train by several weeks was a sixty-seven wagon group of prospectors led by Major Cyrus C. Coffinbury. The Coffinbury train started on the Bozeman July 16th and reached its

destination September 8th, taking a total of fifty-nine days. Although this group was not challenged by Indians, they did encounter the graves from the Townsend Train fight and were well aware of the Trail's dangers.

Emigrant diaries, notes and letters have added much to our appreciation of the emigrant experience. They also let us gain insight into the impact the landscape made on pioneer emigrants. To assure qualities of location, setting, feeling and association have been retained, requires that we address the qualities of the trail as a visual experience as articulated by emigrants.

One Bozeman Trail emigrant was Ellen Fletcher. Her legacy was a series of diary notes and letters which describes her experiences along the Bozeman Trail in the summer of 1866. One day on Ellen's trek a small set of isolated mountains came into view to the northeast. These isolated buttes stand along on the table-like plains to the north, west and south. The Pumpkin Buttes attracted Ellen's attention, "they slope evenly each way up to the top where it is perfectly level for quite a distance". Camp is made in the early afternoon this day. Ellen views the snow capped peaks of the Big Horn Mountains to the west. "It is a grand sight, the lofty mountains covered with snow."

Ellen's fascination with the contrast of mountain and plains is echoed in Margaret Carrington's description of her first view of the Big Horn Mountains in the same year:

> [The Big Horns were first viewed]... at a distance of 80 miles, and it was indeed magnificent...The sun so shone as to fall with full blaze upon the southern...sides as they rose toward Cloud Peak... the whole range so closely blended with the sky as to leave it in doubt whether all was not a mass of bright cloud;...many, even with the aid of a glass, insisted that they were immense gleaming sand hills, with no snow at all.

Ellen Fletcher's descriptions add further detail to the landscape tapestry; one campsite is described as being:

> ...a beautiful spot near the stream [Crazy Woman Creek] in a large grove of trees. The men built large campfires all around the wagons. It was a pretty sight, the circular correll of white topped wagons and tents scattered here and there, the blazing fires shining through the trees, the busy men and women hurrying to and fro, and the quiet moon looking down over it all. A large tree, bent over like an arch, crowns our wagon. I couldn't help wishing that you could overlook the scene...I presume it would have reminded you of a camp of wandering gypsies.

Such richly detailed descriptions of the environment were common, only a few of the diaries presented material alluding to the theory that the plains represented little more than a great desert expanse incapable of supporting settlement (Myres 28). The landscape was constantly referred to in oceanographic metaphors, "undulating like the waves of the sea" (Myres 29). The sublimity of the towering mountain passes did not escape notice and were described as "magnificent: and "divinely-beautiful" (Myres 29-30). Religious allusions were often made in reference to the landscape; God played an important part in revealing his presence in nature; Mary Blake felt compelled to call upon "O' heavenly heights, fair mountains of snow! will we never look upon anything so wonderful until we cross the borderland to the blessed country..." (Myres 31). Margaret Carrington noted the diversity of plant life paralleling the Bozeman Trail and collected floral arrangements for "future care and admiration".

Word of the Bozeman route's hazards reached westering emigrants and very few chose to follow it during 1864. Civilian traffic along the Bozeman became infrequent. Between 1864-1868 it has been estimated fewer than a thousand of Montana's population came to the gold fields via the Bozeman. The vast majority took either the Oregon Trail or the Bridger Trail, another shortcut that traversed the Big Horn Basin on the west side of the Big Horn Mountains. Bridger's Trail crossed more arid land, was a bit slower, but was safer than Bozeman's. In 1864, the year of the heaviest emigration from this direction to the Montana mines, nine trains used Bridger's route compared to three on Bozeman's. In ten and one-half days Ellen Fletcher transcribed one of the most vivid descriptions of the pre-settlement Wyoming landscape.

B. Bozeman Trail Stagecoach Route. 1876 - 1890

The United States Army, after a dozen years of conflict, controlled the Powder River Basin and rendered the Bozeman Road safe to northern Wyoming and Montana. The military remained, operating from Fort Fetterman, the southernmost post on the Bozeman Trail, and from Cantonment Reno, the supply base built by Captain Edwin Pollock of the Ninth Infantry during the 1876 Sioux campaign. In 1877 Pollock requested the name be changed to Cantonment McKinney distinguishing it from the earlier Fort Reno located three miles downstream on the Powder and another Fort Reno in Indian Territory. August 30, 1877 the camp became Fort McKinney and in 1878 the post was moved to Clear Creek, two miles west of present day Buffalo.

One of the first post-Sioux War projects (a telling symbol of American plans for this country) was a telegraph line built between November, 1877 and January, 1878, from fort Fetterman to a small camp on Antelope Springs. The line, which paralleled the Bozeman Road, was then extended to the first Fort McKinney on the Powder River by January, 1878 and on to the new Fort McKinney on Clear Creek by March, 1879. This 140 miles of telegraph line was frequently out of order, and during the winter of 1886 did not operate at all. Nonetheless it linked these frontier outposts with military headquarters and served as a symbol of civilization to potential settlers.

With the end of the Indian threat and the continued military presence in this territory, white settlers began trickling into the Powder River county. Between 1876 and 1878, however, there was no mail service (another important symbol of American civilization to potential settlers), except for an occasional private carrier or military courier. Late in 1878 the United States Post Office remedied this by contracting with George L. McDonough to provide mail service three days a week between Rock Creek Station on the Union Pacific Railroad and Etchetah, Montana. McDonough subcontracted to a Mr. Fisher who in turn subcontracted with O.P. Hanna and Charles Ferguson to carry the mail between Fort McKinney and Fort Custer, Montana. Presumably, they traveled the general Bozeman route. Hanna, who participated in various Yellowstone expeditions during the 1870s, squatted in 1878 and signed a contract with Fort McKinney's commanding officer to furnish wild meat to the garrison. In addition, he

assumed the job of mail courier, carrying four or five letters a week. Hanna claimed, however, that "Fisher took the contract too cheap and went broke, so Ferguson and I never got anything for our work." Moreover, Hanna wrote, "Ferguson was held up several times by road agents. They would examine the letters and if there was nothing of any value they would threaten to 'shoot his light out.'"

Not satisfied with the McDonough/Fisher service, the Post Office cancelled that agreement and contracted with J.M. Thorn of Etchetah for a short time. In March 1879, the Post Office re-contracted for mail service with George E. Kirk and William H. Gleason of Washington, D.C. who subcontracted to M.T. Patrick and A.H. Brown. In this way, the "Rock Creek Stage Line" was launched and the Bozeman Trail corridor entered another era in its long history as a thoroughfare. A good portion of the stage route followed the Bozeman route, with minor variations, until it reached Sheridan County where it passed east of the trail corridor in order to serve the fledgling town of Sheridan.

Beginning with tri-weekly service in April, 1879, the Patrick Brothers line, as it was also known (Algernon S. Patrick managed the line for his brother, Colonel Mathewson Patrick), expanded to four trips a week in July, 1879, and daily service by mid-1880s. The Cheyenne Daily Leader announced in its April 15, 1879, issue that "Col. Matt Patrick and his brother, Al S. Patrick have established a stage line from Rock Creek Station to Fort Custer, via Forts McKinney, Fetterman and Kearney. The line went into operation yesterday. Al Patrick will manage the concern." And in August, the newspaper noted that Col. Patrick recently returned from a trip on his stage line and reported it passed through "the finest cattle region in the world." O.P. Hanna later griped that "the Patrick Brothers secured the contract for the mail and increased it to a daily, put on buckboards and went flying through the country, although all the mail could have been carried in a man's pocket. They got about $90,000 a year. However, he added, somewhat begrudgingly, "it was a good thing for the country as it helped to develop it."

The company's principal stage stations that fell within the Bozeman corridor were Fort Fetterman (replaced in 1886 by Douglas), Sage Creek, Brown Springs, Antelope Creek, Seventeen Mile Ranch, Powder River Station, Trabing Station at Crazy Woman

Creek, Buffalo, Big Horn, Dayton, Ohlman and others in Montana. There was also a stop in Sheridan. The Patrick Brothers stage line employed about 48 men and used 162 horses.

Passengers included ranchers and people connected with the military posts such as discharged soldiers, new recruits, officers and their wives. It was not an especially comfortable means of travel for there were no night layovers during the three day trip between Rock Creek and Etchentah and there were only brief stopovers for meals and team or driver changes. Major Wise, an Englishman who rode the stage line in 1880 while on a Powder River country hunting trip, noted the trip's discomforts in his diary. After stopping briefly at Fort Fetterman, the stage headed northwest and

> I rolled myself up in my 'possum rug and tried to sleep, a feat by no means easy to accomplish in a jolting coach with one's legs cramped up... but I slept every now and then, when the jolting was least. About 6 I unwound myself. We were jogging alone over the 'boundless prairie.' As far as the eye could see in every direction were grass rollers like the big rolling billows of the ocean...

Beyond its physical discomforts, the stage trip could also be dangerous, as O.P. Hanna noted above. Although documentation of holdups is sketchy, some sources claim they were frequent in the early days of the stage line, particularly in one area of the trail north of Fort Fetterman, known as "Holdup Hollow." One documented holdup, of sorts, occurred at the Antelope Creek Stage Station in 1887. Army Paymaster Major Daniel N. Bash, on his way to Fort McKinney with the troops' pay stopped at the station for lunch and carelessly left the satchels containing $7,000 in soldiers' pay on the stage. Charles "Charley" Parker, a Texas cowboy lounging around the station that day, grabbed the valises and fled on horseback. Bash, no doubt sheepishly, returned to Douglas to report the event. Forces from Fort McKinney searched for Parker, including post guides Frank Grouard, Baptiste 'Little Bat" Garnier and Private John D. Conroy, but were unable to track the Texas cowboy. Parker, in the meantime, moved on to Nebraska where he assumed an alias, bought a horse herd and planned to open a store. He was discovered, however, found guilty of stealing $7,282.78 and sentenced to five years in the Wyoming

Penitentiary. "The people of Wyoming were rather disappointed at his apprehension," according to Minnie Rietz, "as he was generally well liked and Major Bash was not so they were not adverse to seeing him receive a bit of punishment."

Besides the paymaster, passenger and mail trade, freight for military posts and settlements was also hauled over the road used by stagecoaches. Freight was first shipped via Cheyenne to Rock Creek on the main line of the Union Pacific Railroad and then up the Bozeman Trail corridor. Freighters initially drove oxen, usually a team of six or eight that pulled three wagons strung together. Mule teams succeeded oxen because they were faster and required less food. Their drivers, called "Mule Skinners," were often recruited from the ranks of ox team drivers or "Bull Whackers." Among the most famous were the "Monkers and Mathers " mule teams (of George A. Monkers and Eugene Mather's firm) consisting of four six-mule teams, each team drawing two wagons. Later they used two ten-mule teams with each team drawing three wagons. The first Monkers and Mathers teams arrived in Buffalo in 1882, delivering supplies to Robert Foote's store from the Baker and Johnston wholesale store in Cheyenne. This particular trip took almost a month from Rock Creek to Buffalo as the roads were bad. "It required unlimited endurance and patience on the part of both men and teams," wrote one historian, "to make these trips through snow and sleet over roads that had developed from Indian trails and were not repaired except in case of washouts and these were usually detoured soon making another curve in an already winding road. Then the blazing sun of summer with no shade to break the monotony, tried both courage and physical energy to the breaking point.

3. THE MILITARY FRONTIER - POWDER RIVER BASIN 1859-1890

A. Military Exploration, 1859-1860

The United States government indicated official interest in the Powder River area, when it funded the 1859-60 Yellowstone Expedition led by Captain William F. Raynolds. The expedition's purpose was to determine climate, resources and Indian populations of the upper Yellowstone and the Powder River country and to explore possible wagon routes between the Oregon Trail and the

Yellowstone-Missouri Basin. Accompanying the expeditions were topographers, meteorologists, artists, naturalists and surgeons. Beyond academic or scientific purposes, the expedition also had military designs. Government orders indicate the War Department planned a network of thoroughfares that would intersect the Northern Plains and eventually help open Sioux and Blackfoot country to white settlement.

On September 9, 1859, Raynolds departed from what would later become the site of Fort C.F. Smith on the Big Horn River, traveling south. Ten days later the expedition reached Lake DeSmet, having crossed Tongue River and Clear Fork of the Powder. They took one side trip into the Big Horn Mountains and another to the ruins of Montero's Portuguese Houses. Their route from the Big Horn River to the Platte, for the most part, approximated the future Bozeman Trail course.

Raynold's expedition did not find a definite route through Powder River country, but the Captain prophetically reported, "At the eastern base of the Big Horn Mountains there is a belt of country some 20 miles in width that is peculiarly suitable for a wagon road, and which I doubt not will become the great line of travel into the valley of the Three Forks." Within the decade, that belt of country was traversed by wagon trains on the Bozeman Trail and contained several Army posts. Moreover, Raynold's maps were the most detailed to date of the Powder River area and his report indicated ways of penetrating Sioux territory. In fact, when the Army resumed hostilities with the Sioux and Cheyenne after the Civil War, military personnel referred to Raynolds' report and maps.

B. Powder River and Sawyer Expeditions, 1865

The Indian Wars raged south of the Platte during 1864-1865. When Colonel John Chivington's volunteer militia attacked Black Kettle's Cheyenne village on Sand Creek, Colorado Territory, fugitives from that fight, Southern Cheyenne, some Oglala and Northern Arapahoe warriors, traveled north to the headwaters of the Powder River to tell Oglalas, Minneconjous, and Sans Arcs Sioux and the Northern Cheyenne living there, of the white soldiers' outrages. They urged the Sioux, Cheyenne and Northern Arapahoe to declare war and participate in massive raids against stage stations, wagon trains, ranches and settlements.

On January 7, 1865, Indians attacked the stage station, store and warehouse at Julesburg, Colorado. Raiding parties operated all along the south Platte Valley and Indians of the Powder River country "warmly" received Bozeman Trail travelers, as noted above. Northern Sioux, led by the Hunkpapas, and living from the Missouri River west to the Lower Powder, continued their war with Americans, which was begun during the 1856 expedition of General William Harney.

In response, westerners clamored for military aid and protection. In March 1865, Generals John Pope and Grenville M. Dodge formulated plans to smash the Plains Indians by a three pronged attack. One south of the Arkansas, led by General James Ford, one across Dakota north of the Black Hills, led by General Alfred Sully and one against the Powder River camps, led by General Patrick Connor. These plans were postponed, though, by a Congressionally-mandated peace offensive, brought about in part by eastern revulsion toward the Sand Creek affair.

This pacifistic mood changed, however, after the Powder River groups combined forces and attacked a company of the 11th Kansas Cavalry which guarded the Oregon Trail crossing of the North Platte at the Platte Bridge Station, about 130 miles west of Fort Laramie. By the time these Indians returned to their camps and villages, General Patrick E. Connor's Powder River Expedition was underway. The expedition consisted of three columns, a right, middle and left, that were to join around September 1st on Rosebud Creek. The right column of 1400 men under Colonel Nelson Cole's command was to march up Loup Fork of the Platte, strike Indians at Bear Butte and skirt the northern edge of the Black Hills until they reached the vaguely defined rendezvous point. The middle column of 600 men, under Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Walker, was to march from Fort Laramie northeast to the western base of the Big Horns, on to the headwaters of the Little Missouri and then northwest to the Rosebud. The left column, led by Connor, and consisting of about 500 soldiers and 94 Pawnee and Omaha scouts, left Fort Laramie on July 30th. On August 2nd a contingent crossed the Platte at LaBonte Creek, marched up river to the future site of Fort Fetterman and then turned north up the Bozeman Trail, while a smaller column made a wide sweep to the west. It was one of the most comprehensive expeditions against the Plains Indians.

On August 11, 1865, Connor's column reached the Powder River and several days later began constructing a post and stockade named Fort Connor. On August 22, some of the troops continued their march, sometimes paralleling, sometimes intersecting the Bozeman Trail. Six days later Pawnee scouts reported the presence of an Indian Village on the Tongue River near present-day Ranchester, Wyoming, and in the early morning hours of August 29th, Connor with 125 cavalrymen and 90 Indian scouts, attacked Black Bear's Arapahoe village containing between two and three hundred lodges. Though outnumbered, Connor's forces had surprise and howitzers on their side. While Connor inflicted serious damage on the Arapahoes, he also withdrew from the battle under fire - hardly a clear-cut victory for the Army.

Meanwhile, the Cole and Walker columns struggled through country that lacked sufficient water and grass. Scurvy struck Cole's command and rations were low. On August 18, 1865, the two columns joined and on the 20th reached the Powder River. Hunkpapa Sioux attacked Cole's animal herd on September 1st and on September 4th a large group of Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapahoe harassed the columns, though the Army's artillery kept them at bay. Pawnee scouts from Connor's command found the two columns and informed them that Fort Connor was down river 80 miles. On September 20, they struggled into camp in the shadow of Connor's fortification. Several days later Connor arrived, reuniting the Powder River Expedition.

Although he planned to combine forces and strike at the Powder River tribes again, Connor received orders to disband the expedition and proceed to Salt Lake City to serve as District of Utah Commander. This development, in part, reflected postwar Army reorganization. But it also reflected Pope's disenchantment with Connor's instructions to his command to kill all male Indians over the age of twelve. "These instructions are-atrocious" Pope wrote to Dodge. "If any such orders as General Connor's are carried out, it will be disgraceful to the government, and will cost him his commission, if not worse. Have it rectified without delay." Connor, keenly disappointed with his new orders, never completed a report on the expedition and eventually left the Army altogether.

The Powder River Expedition was an intricate, large-scale plan probably destined to fail. Cole and Walker lost almost one thousand horses and mules, and great quantities of supplies.

Thirteen men were killed, five were wounded and two were missing from Indian skirmishes. Both men were inexperienced in Indian warfare and led volunteer, mutinous regiments that lacked discipline. Their supply system was slow, communications were poor, and knowledge of the enemy and Plains weather and terrain was inadequate. Finally, lack of a well-defined Indian policy in Washington, D.C. undermined military efforts to subdue militant Plains Indians. Department of the Interior officials and Army officers disagreed over methods to achieve safe passage of American citizens through Indian country, the former pressing for a "peace policy", the latter urging forceful, and presumably lasting, conquest.

Connor's column did capture some Arapahoe ponies on the Tongue, but the Indians believed themselves the victors in the Powder River Expedition battles. They fought their own way - harassment from afar, running off stock, etc. - lost few men, took many horses and counted many coup during the fights. Those Indians who encountered the Walker and Cole columns later spoke brightly of those incidents as they enriched their camps with cavalry horses, mules and carbines.

As Connor's men marched, or straggled, through Powder River country, Colonel James A. Sawyer led a wagon train into the same territory. In March 1865, Congress appropriated funds for the survey of a wagon road between Niobrara, Nebraska Territory, and Virginia City. Actually, the Sawyer expedition did not build a road. Rather, it pioneered and publicized a route connecting Sioux City with the Bozeman Trail and, thus, Montana.

According to one participant, the Sawyer train consisted of 15 wagons each drawn by three oxen, 18 double wagons drawn by six yoke of oxen, 5 emigrant wagons and 26 mule wagons that belonged to the military escort. The survey expedition involved fifty-three men plus a military escort commanded by Captain George W. Williford, of 168 men from the Fifth U.S. Volunteer Infantry and the First Dakota Volunteer Cavalry. Sawyer and Williford feuded, and the military escort made and broke camp when and where it wished, leaving the surveyors to provide their own guard duty.

Departing on June 13, 1865, the expedition soon began suffering from lack of water and encountered impassable country, having to

backtrack to find suitable alternative routes. For the most part, though, the Sawyer Expedition encountered no serious problems until August 15, when about 500 warriors under Dull Knife (Cheyenne) and Red Cloud (Oglala Sioux) harassed the party for four days. Under Captain Williford's strong opposition, Sawyer offered some Indians a wagon load of goods, hoping to buy safe passage through the Powder River country. Demonstrating an ambivalence that sometimes accompanied intertribal warfare, part of the Sioux and Cheyenne were willingly bought off while others continued to harass the Sawyer party.

Sawyer knew an Army expedition against Powder River Indians was underway that summer, so, he sent two scouts to locate the expedition and bring help. The scouts returned with news of a fresh wagon trail on the Dry Fork of the Powder River. The entire expedition moved south until it struck the trail and followed it to Fort Connor. Captain James H. Kidd, commanding the fort, ordered Captain Williford's troops to remain at the post and designated the U.S. 6th Michigan Cavalry as Sawyer's escort. The expedition then continued, generally following the Bozeman Trail route to Montana. It was delayed, however, at the Tongue River when Captain O.F. Cole of the 6th Michigan wandered away from his colleagues and was killed by Indians on August 31, 1865. The next day, while crossing the Tongue the train was attacked and corralled about midway between present-day Ranchester and Dayton, Wyoming. Among the hostile Indians were Black Bear's Arapahoe against whom Connor had fought several days before.

Sawyer's train remained corralled on the Tongue River for almost two weeks, waiting for couriers to bring relief from Connor. The Arapahoe camped nearby, sometimes openly hostile, sometimes professing friendship. Assuming no help was on the way, the Sawyer party finally began to retreat down the Bozeman corridor toward Fort Connor when a relief column led by Captain A.E. Brown from Connor's command met the road surveyors, took charge and escorted them to the Big Horn River. From that point on, they were considered safe from Indian attack. After almost five months and over 1,039 miles of travel, the expedition reached Virginia City on October 12, 1865.

In spite of their problems, the Sawyer and Powder River Expeditions had several long-term effects which proved detrimental to the Powder River tribes. First, it increased public awareness of

that country and the Bozeman Trail. Second, the Army expedition established Fort Connor along the Bozeman Trail at the Dry Fork Crossing. Both of these factors encouraged more emigrants to follow the Bozeman cutoff in 1866. Also, increased emigrant travel, in turn, meant increased demands for government protection. A permanent military presence was established in the region in 1865 with the construction of Fort Connor (later Fort Reno) on the Powder River. The Bozeman Trail was increasingly militarized with the construction of Forts Phil Kearney and C.F. Smith (in Montana) in 1866. Between 1865-1866 the United States Army attempted to protect wagon traffic along the road. Oglala Sioux Black Elk commented on this period:

"When I was older, I learned what the fighting was about that winter and the next summer [1866-1867]. Up on the Madison Fork [of Montana] the Wasichus [white men] had found much of the yellow metal that they worship and that makes them crazy, and they wanted to have a road up through our country to the place where yellow metal was; but my people did not want the road. It would scare the bison and make them go away, and also it would also let the other Wasichus come in like a river. They told us that they wanted only to use a little land, as much as a wagon would take between the wheels; but our people knew better. And when you look about you now, you can see what it was they wanted...And so...the soldiers came and built themselves a town of logs there on the Piney Fork of the Powder, my people knew they meant to have their road and take the country and maybe kill us all..." (Black Elk 7-10).

C. Military Uses, 1866-1868

As the Powder river Expedition wound down, Washington, D.C. officials gave Dakota Territory Governor Newton Edmunds authority to make peace treaties with the Sioux. He was able to sign treaties with a number of Missouri River bands, but none of them had participated in the recent hostilities. A copy the treaty was then sent to the commanding officer at Fort Laramie along with orders to bring in chiefs from the Powder River country and induce them to sign peace agreements.

This was not the first effort to enact a treaty with Northern Plains Indians. As early as 1850, Congress had authorized the Indian Bureau to establish formal relations between these tribes

and the United States. The following year Agent Thomas Fitzpatrick negotiated a treaty at Fort Laramie with the Teton Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapahoes, Crows, Assiniboins, Mandans, Gros Ventres and Arikaras, assigning specific boundaries for each tribe. The treaty was aimed at winning security for east-west overland trail routes by binding the Indians to peace among themselves and with Americans. It is unclear how many Indian signers understood or seriously intended to adhere to the agreements. As Bozeman Trail travelers and Connor's men learned by 1865, they did not intend to allow white traffic through the Powder River Basin.

E. B. Taylor of the United States Indian Office headed the treaty commission. Other members were Colonel Henry E. Maynadier, commanding officer of Fort Laramie, Colonel Adam McLaren and Mr. Wister of Philadelphia. Their hopes for a lasting peace were evidently based on the belief that disappearance of buffalo and other game had made the Indians destitute and thus willing to trade peace for presents and subsistence. Also, Colonel Maynadier, obviously uninformed about the Sioux's angry mood, assured Mr. Taylor that the Powder River Indians were ready for peace. He believed, incorrectly, that Spotted Tail had influence over Red Cloud and would urge him to sign the treaty. Operating on these assumptions, the commissioners pressed the Sioux to withdraw from the Powder River or Bozeman road. The chiefs flatly refused. Commissioner Taylor tried to explain the road was not "new" and that it would not harm their hunting grounds. However, when word reached them that a large body of infantry under Colonel H.B. Carrington was on its way to establish a string of Army posts along the Bozeman Trail, Red Cloud and others were enraged. The Oglala chief made a violent speech before the commissioners, accusing them of duplicity in the road matter and of deliberately withholding information about the troops and proposed forts. The Powder river tribes gathered their belongings and stormed out of Fort Laramie. Those they left behind did sign a treaty, but their signatures were meaningless as they had no stake in the Powder River country.

Carrington and the Second Battalion, 18th Infantry, marched up the Bozeman Trail planning to garrison posts along the road and protect emigrants. Demonstrating a misunderstanding of the Indians' violent mood, General William T. Sherman urged officers to bring their wives and children and Carrington claimed he planned to treat the Indians with "patience, forbearance, and common sense." Further, although Carrington had nearly 2000 men

the Army strategists miscalculated on several counts. The soldiers, mostly new recruits with no experience in fighting Indians, were stretched out along the Bozeman road at widely separated posts, too distant to form an effective fighting force. Moreover, Colonel Carrington was a forty-two year old Yale educated lawyer, well versed in military regulations, engineering, and administration, but lacking in field experience. A Civil War political appointee to the officer corps, Carrrington's position attracted animosity from subordinate officers who had more combat experience.

Carrington first fortified Fort Connor, on the Powder River, renaming it Fort Reno, before proceeding to the forks of Piney Creek where he began construction of Fort Phil Kearney. The Colonel sent another party up the Bozeman to the Big Horn River where they built Fort C.F. Smith. taking a defensive position, rather than an offensive one against the hostile Powder River Indians, Carrington threw all resources into building formidable forts. No time was spent training recruits, and officers, anxious for some offensive action, became increasingly insubordinate.

Within one week of the 18th Infantry's arrival at the Piney forks, Red Cloud struck. Oglalas, Miniconjous, Sans Arcs, Brules, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes continually harassed the fort and wagon trains traveling the Bozeman road. They did not attempt an assault on the fort, but rather ran off stock from civilian and military trains and attacked wagon and wood trains transporting logs from the pinery to the fort as well as individuals who strayed too far from train or Army post.

One attack on a small military train at Crazy Woman Creek typified the mode of Indian warfare during Red Cloud's War. Outside of the Fort Phil Kearney vicinity, the Bozeman Trail crossing of Crazy Woman Creek was one the Indians' favorite spots for attack, as its terrain was especially amenable to ambush. On July 20, 1866, a party of about thirty men and women under Lieutenant A.H. Wands left Fort Reno for Fort Phil Kearney. Lieutenants Napoleon H. Daniels and George H. Templeton rode in advance looking for a campsite on Crazy Woman Creek. Unable to locate a suitable place, they turned to rejoin their party when as Templeton wrote in his diary:

> Lieut. remarked "look there" and spurred his horse up, going way ahead. I looked over my right shoulder but could see nothing, but upon looking over my left, I saw between 50 and 60 Indians mounted and in full chase about 150 yards in the rear. I spurred up old Pegasus, punched his with my gun and did everything to increase speed, but the horse seemed to me to be moving very slowly. After Mr. Daniels had gone 200 yards he was shot with an arrow through the back and fell off his horse, the saddle turning. I could do nothing to help him and did not expect to get away myself...

Templeton, hotly pursued, reached the train which then corralled on a bluff overlooking the Creek. The battle continued for several hours, until a cavalry patrol traveling from Fort Phil Kearney on its way to Fort Reno, under Captain George Burroughs' command, relieved the beleaguered party.

Also typical of the Indian decoy-ambush tactic was the December 6, 1866, attack on a wood train near Fort Phil Kearney. Carrington and a small mounted force joined Captain William J. Fetterman with a company of mounted infantry, and Lieutenant H.S. Bingham with a company of Cavalry, who rushed to the train's defense. They relieved the wood train and then tried to pursue and cut off the Indians. Chasing the Indians over Lodge Trail Ridge, the three units reunited just before three hundred Sioux converged on them. Lieutenant Bingham and Sergeant Gideon Bowers were killed and the rest only narrowly escaped.

Carrington's basically defensive position suited the Powder River tribes. Forts Phil Kearney, C.F. Smith and Reno were not technically under siege, but the Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapahoe continuously raided their vicinities, perpetrating about one incident per day around Fort Phil Kearney. For many of the warriors, these fights had social and economic benefits which they viewed mostly in individual terms (honor in counting coup, for example). A few, however, including Crazy Horse and Red Cloud of the Oglalas and High Back Bone of the Minneconjous, understood the serious and permanent threat the military men represented and so tried to cut the forts off from one another and engage in large-scale battles, to protect tribal interests and territory.

On December 21, 1866, these leaders had their way. High Back Bone organized the operation, Crazy Horse led the decoy party, Black Leg and Black Shield (Sioux), Dull Knife, Walking Rabbit and other Cheyenne chiefs participated as well. Red Cloud was not present. In typical fashion, a party of Indians attacked the wood train. Colonel Carrington ordered Captain Fetterman to relieve the train and cautioned him not to pursue the Indians over Lodge Trail Ridge, probably recalling his own narrow escape beyond the Ridge on December 6th. Fetterman, one of those officers who chafed at Carrington's cautious defensive position, favored more offensive, aggressive action. So, Fetterman, Lieutenant George W. Grummond, three other officers, 67 soldiers and two civilians, not only relieved the wood train but, disregarding Carrington's orders, followed the Indians over Lodge Trail Ridge and rode into a deadly ambush.

Behind the fort's stockade, Carrington and others helplessly watched Fetterman's men disappear over Lodge Trail Ridge and heard sharp rifle reports, indications of fierce fighting. The commanding officer ordered Captain Ten Eyck and forty men to Fetterman's rescue, but by the time they reached the crest of the Ridge, the fight was over. All of Fetterman's command was dead. Estimates of Indian dead, difficult to ascertain, range from fifteen to fifty.

In a panic, Colonel Carrington sent two volunteer couriers, John "Portugee" Phillips and Daniel Dixon, on a four day, 190 mile ride to the Horseshoe Telegraph Station on the Oregon trail with news of the disaster and a plea for help. It is not known if they traveled together at the outset. But paralleling the Bozeman Trail while avoiding the road itself, they arrived together at Fort Reno and they were together when they reached the telegraph station at about 10:00am on Christmas Day. Carrington's dispatches were wired to the department commander at Omaha and to the commanding officer at Fort Laramie. Phillips went on to Fort Laramie with a separate message for Colonel I.N. Palmer, commanding officer, from Lieutenant Colonel Henry W. Wessels at Fort Reno. Word of the Fetterman disaster, of course, preceded Phillips' arrival at Fort Laramie and preparations for relief were already underway.

In the aftermath of the Fetterman disaster, General Phillip St. George Cooke ordered Lt. Col. Wessels to take command of Fort Phil Kearney and Carrington was ordered to Fort Casper. Two companies of the 2nd Cavalry and four of the 18th Infantry marched up the Bozeman trail to reinforce Forts Reno and Phil Kearney. Wessels, who served thirty-three years in the military including the Mexican and Civil Wars, reopened communications with Fort C.F. Smith, concentrated on training the soldiers and saw that supply trains passed along the Bozeman road. Finally, the troops were supplied with new breech-loading rifles, and innovation that proved important the following summer.

With spring, the Powder River tribes commenced their annual raiding and again succeeded in virtually closing down the Bozeman Trail to all civilian traffic. For the most part the Army posts were only protecting themselves. These raids culminated in two fights, the Wagon Box Fight outside Fort Phil Kearney and the Hayfield Fight near Fort C.F. Smith (not in the study area). Oglala, Miniconjou, Sans Arc Sioux, Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapahoe congregated on the Little Big Horn River in July for their annual sun dance. From there about 500 Indians proceeded to Fort C.F. Smith and engaged a small party of haycutters in a three hour fight. Another 1000 Indians rode to Fort Phil Kearney where they attacked thirty-two men in a wood camp. Captain James Powell ordered the men to make a corral out of their wagon bodies or boxes and at the cost of several casualties, successfully prevented Indian attempts to overrun their position. The Indians withdrew from the field when Major Benjamin Smith's relief party appeared from the nearby fort.

The Indians, however, did not view either fight as a defeat since they lost relatively few men and did run off military stock and kill several soldiers. They could not successfully storm the wagon box breastworks because its defenders had new breech-loading rifles, seriously undermining the Indian tactic of attacking while soldiers reloaded. For the soldiers, on the other hand, both fights represented at least a psychological victory. With discipline and improved weapons they successfully turned back large numbers of Indians and avoided Fetterman's fate. From the onset of "Red Cloud's War," very few trains followed the Bozeman Trail. This fact did not escape official notice. Several weeks after the Wagon Box Fight, Captain Wishart reported to a Philadelphia newspaper from Fort Kearney:

> That the road is not kept open all who have been on it lately know full well. No train can be sent along it without from two to three companies of soldiers, one of which is generally a Cavalry company, and one piece of artillery, and at the present time the safety of government trains, seven with these large escorts, is considered questionable...trains only come along the road semi-occasionally, and the consequence is that the miners take the Salt Lake Route.

Several parties did use the Bozeman route during 1866, however. General W.B. Hazen conducted an inspection of northern plains forts in 1866 and traveled the Bozeman. Among his recommendations was that blockhouses be built on one of the forks of the Cheyenne, one on Crazy Woman Creek and one on a fork of the Tongue River. Nelson Story, a Montana merchant followed Hazen up the trail several weeks later with a wagon train, a herd of Texas cattle and twenty-six cowboys. Indians harassed Story's cattle drive, bound for the Gallatin Valley market, but the cowboys fended them off.

In the wake of the Fetterman fight, however, no significant number of emigrants or miners chose the Bozeman route in 1867 or 1868. One historian estimated that between 1864 and 1868 not over one thousand emigrants took the Trail to Montana - out of the entire territorial population in 1868 of 20,000.

Policy-makers then began to wonder if a route, used almost solely by the military, justified the cost and manpower. Also, by 1868 the Union Pacific Railroad was advancing toward the Salt Lake City-Virginia City route and, in the process, rendering the Bozeman Trail obsolete for Montana traffic. The Bozeman route could not compete through the 1860s with the Missouri River steamboat traffic or with the safer South Pass City-Fort Hall route. Moreover, General W.T. Sherman committed almost all the Army troops to the unreconstructed American South and was not prepared or able to send 20,000 soldiers to engage in a fight to the finish with the Northern Plains Tribes.

So, in April 1868, peace commissioners returned to Fort Laramie, conceding Bozeman Trail country to the Powder River tribes and abandoning Fort Reno, Phil Kearney, and C.F. Smith. Red Cloud,

who would not come in until the Army evacuated its forts, finally signed the treaty on November 6, 1868, thus ending Red Cloud's War and beginning a period of relative peace on the Northern Plains that lasted until 1876. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 was the last chance for reconciliation. Black Elk reflected:

> ...in the Moon When Ponies Shed [May] word came from the Washicus that there would be peace and they would not use the road any more and that all of the soldiers would go away. The soldiers did go away and their towns were torn down; and in the Moon of Falling Leaves [November], they made a treaty with Red Cloud that said our country would be ours as long as the grass should grow and water flow. you can see it is not the grass and water that have forgotten. (Black Elk 15)

D. Military Uses, 1876

By the terms of the 1868 peace treaty, the U.S. government declared the land north of the North Platte River and east of the Big Horn Mountains Indian Territory and stated that whites could not settle there or without Indian permission, even pass through. It also stipulated that the Bozeman Road was closed. One contemporary, living at Fort Laramie from 1867 on, claimed that absolutely no one traveled the Bozeman trail between 1868 and 1876. Perhaps an occasional, intrepid, small group of miners traveled through the Powder River Basin, but that region was effectively cut off from whites for about eight years.

In the intervening years, however, the government sponsored trespassing on Northern Plains Indians' territory, providing Northern Pacific Railroad surveyors with a military escort in 1871 and again in 1873. In 1874 General Phillip Sheridan, commander of the Division of the Missouri, ordered Colonel George A. Custer to conduct a reconnaissance of Black Hills in anticipation of establishing a post there. This expedition outraged Northern Plains tribes, but they did not attack. Several prospectors accompanied the Custer expedition and discovered gold in the Black Hills. Word of the gold find swept the region, and gold seekers began illegally filtering into the Indian territory.

The Army could not turn back the "Black Hills Invasion." Unable to stop the trespassers, the government in September 1875 sent another commission to negotiate with the Sioux for cession of the Black Hills. The Indians were incensed. The Black Hills were not for sale.

President Grant took a tougher position in November, 1875, ordering the Indians of the Powder River and Big Horn Country to come into their agencies by January 31, 1876. If they refused, military troops would drive them in. The Sioux ignored the ultimatum. In anticipation of enforcing compliance with Grant's order to the Indians, General George Crook has assembled an expedition to strike Powder River "hostiles" at Fort Fetterman by the end of February, 1876. Fort Fetterman, on the North Platte, was a post built in 1867 to provide protection for Bozeman Trail travelers. It was not, however, abandoned with the others in 1868. Once again, the Bozeman Road became a thoroughfare of the American military, now prepared for a fight to the finish with the Sioux and Cheyenne over control of the Northern Plains.

Crook's expedition of almost 900 officers, enlisted men and civilians was commanded by Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3rd Cavalry. Their primary targets were the Northern Cheyenne and the western division of Sioux (Lakota), including the Oglala, Brule, Hunkpapa and Miniconjou bands. On March 1st, the troops crossed the North Platte at Fort Fetterman and marched up the Bozeman Trail. On March 17th a portion of the column under Reynolds attacked burning a Cheyenne village and capturing the pony herd. But after a five hour fight they were turned back and the Cheyenne recovered most of their ponies. The soldiers were disgruntled that their dead comrades were left unburied on the field and when they rejoined the rest of the column, feuded over the mismanaged attack. On March 26th, the command hobbled into Fort Fetterman and Crook began court-martial proceedings against Reynolds for bungling the battle.

The Cheyenne did suffer the loss of their lodges, robes, provisions and about two hundred ponies. They were also forced, in cold winter weather, to seek sanctuary in other villages. "Most important of all," wrote one historian, "the attack convinced all that the ultimatum from Washington meant that they were marked for extermination and their lands for seizure by the relentless

and greedy white man. The dreaded day had come when they must fight for survival. In bitter desperation they began gathering into one powerful camp for self-preservation." Northern Plains tribes were enraged by the unexpected Reynolds campaign and Sioux and Cheyenne, under Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, combined to counter the military threat.

Meanwhile, Crook assembled another column of troops at Fort Fetterman which again took to the Bozeman Trail on May 29th. This was one of three offensive forces in the field, along with Colonel John Gibon's column (with Custer's doomed Seventh Cavalry) moving west through Dakota, that hoped to force the Sioux to their agencies. This time Crook assumed personal command of fifty-one officers and over 1325 soldiers and Indian allies. On June 17th they engaged some hostiles at Rosebud Creek, Montana. The battle was a tactical draw, but a strategic defeat for Crook who did not achieve his goal of smashing the opposition. The Indians, on the other hand, halted Crook's progress and saved an attack on their village. Eight days later Custer and his command met their fate on the Little Big Horn River.

The Battle of the Little Big Horn represented the combined Sioux/Cheyenne forces at their zenith. From that point on, they were less able to secure supplies and ammunition, and public sentiment to revenge the seventh Cavalry's defeat reached a fever pitch. In response, General Nelson Miles pursued Sitting Bull across Montana while General Crook assembled yet another column at Fort Fetterman during the fall of 1876. This expedition of about 2,200 men, left Fort Fetterman on November 14, 1876, and marched up the Bozeman Trail. Stopping at the trail's Powder River crossing, the troops established a supply base named Cantonment Reno, about three miles upstream from the former Fort Connor/Reno site. They resumed the march until a scout informed Crook of a Northern Cheyenne village in the upper valley of the Red Fork, on one of the Powder River headwater streams in the Big Horns. Camping on Crazy Woman Creek, Crook ordered Colonel Raynald Mackenzie and ten cavalry troops to attack the village. At daybreak on November 25, 1876, the troops and scouts charged the sleepy, unsuspecting village. After a fierce fight, that included some hand to hand combat, the Army destroyed the village. Participant Captain John Bourke later wrote:

> The full loss of the Cheyennes was not determined until their surrender at Red Cloud Agency several weeks later, when they submitted a list of forty killed, but...either on account of superstition or repugnance to dwelling on the subject, never mentioned the number wounded. From the desperate cold of the following night they suffered as much as from the fight; eleven babies froze to death in the arms of famished mothers, and ponies were killed that feeble old men and women might prolong their lives by inserting feet and legs in the warm entrails.

Black Elk of the Oglala Lakota, a Wyoming native, commented:

> Once we were happy in our own country and we were seldom hungry, for then the two-leggeds and the four-leggeds live together like relatives, and there was plenty for them and for us. But the Washicus came, and they have made little islands for us and other little islands for the fourleggeds, and always these islands are becoming smaller...

The battle represented a crushing defeat for the Cheyenne and an important victory for the United States Army. By the close of 1876 the Sioux and Cheyenne scattered into small bands, most eventually surrendering and wandering onto reservations. Depleted buffalo herds, the Army's practice of winter attacks on Indian villages and their technologically advanced weaponry all contributed to the Plains tribes' demise. The hotly contested Powder River country finally belonged to the United States and was open for white settlement.

4. EARLY STOCK RAISING SETTLEMENT, POWDER RIVER BASIN, 1876-1890

Establishment of a stage line with its mail, passenger and freight service was a crucial entering wedge for white settlement in the Powder River country and along the eastern edge of the Big Horns. Among the first American citizens to settle in the area were people who first became acquainted with it through military

service or by working as teamsters, freight contractors and laborers for the Army. One settler who first saw the Powder River country when he served under Crook in 1876 was Mike Henry. Mustered out of the Army in 1877, Henry returned first to the Dry Fork of the Cheyenne River and then moved to Brown Springs, a Bozeman Trail campsite and location of several Indian skirmishes during the 1860s. Henry built a three room cabin, the start of the "88" ranch, and in 1878 brought his wife, Catherine, and their six children to live there. The Henry ranch operated as a stage stop relay station for the Patrick Brothers Stage Line, keeping fresh horses for the coaches and making repairs on the stagecoaches and wagons at the Henry blacksmith shop. The ranch also served as a roadhouse for stage passengers, offering groceries and medicine for travelers to buy. When herds of Texas longhorns moved up the trail during the 1880s, the Henry boys earned extra cash herding cattle while the cowboys rested. Beyond serving the Bozeman Trail traffic, the Henry establishment was also a working ranch. Mike Henry raised and sold draft and saddle horses (he sold 3000 horses during the Boer War), developed the natural hay meadows along Brown Springs Creek, and raised sheep. One of Henry's daughters, Lizzie, married Frank Merrill and the couple ran the next stage stop on the line, Sand Creek station, at the Double Box Ranch.

Other stage stations along the Bozeman Trail route sustained some of the earliest settlers in the Powder River country. Although it did not have government sanction, the Antelope Creek station or Antelope Ranch operated about forty-nine miles north of Fort Fetterman. It was a rest stop for travelers, had good drinking water and a blacksmith shop. Virginia Benton, heading for northern Wyoming, passed through in 1881. Her father, a Boston educated Baptist minister, homeopathic doctor and dentist, went to the door of the ranch to make inquiries and found "eight men gambling, which so horrified him that he hurried away and drove two miles farther through sandbeds and stopped for dinner in a dry creek bed."

Another of the early communities along the Bozeman Trail cropped up in the vicinity of Cantonment Reno/Fort McKinney on the Powder River. Army posts provided work for citizen contractors and soldiers represented a potential market for various goods and services. When the Army abandoned the Powder River site, and moved the fort to Clear Creek, the Patrick Brothers Stage Line

moved one of the log cavalry stables, with government permission, to the east bank of the river and north of the Dry Fork's confluence with the Powder. The stable and several other buildings they constructed constituted the Powder River Stage Station. A small community, Powder River Crossing, developed around the station and the iron bridge which spanned the river by 1883. Amanda and Horace Brown ran the roadhouse at Powder River Crossing between 1884 and 1887. Amanda Brown reminisced:

> We made good money, but I sur worked myself down. I cooked for all the way from ten to forty people, did all my washing, cleaned the rooms, and waited on people. We kept the stage people...I always had to be ready for a stage full, and sometimes it was certainly full, and sometimes there was only the driver. There were all the different people that make up a new country traveling on the road - ranchmen, cowboys, gamblers, horse thieves and occasionally stage robbers.

Powder River Crossing which, according to Brown, never had more than four families living there, had a store, post office and saloon. It declined in importance after the Northern Pacific Railroad reached Custer Station in Montana and Fort McKinney mail and passenger traffic chose that route over the Bozeman Trail stage line.

Another thinly populated settlement developed near Crazy Woman Creek. In 1878 August Trabing established a trading post several hundred yards north of the creek. He supplied emigrants and ranchers with staples, boots, hat and liquor - goods which, in turn, attracted the attention of road agents. In part because of holdup problems, Trabing moved his store to a site on Clear Creek, now Buffalo in 1879. After he left Crazy Woman, the building became a post office for ranchers and stockmen and a stage station along the Bozeman Trail. J. Tom Hall, whose father changed horses on the Buffalo-Sussex mail route at Trabing (Sussex eventually replaced Powder River crossing as that areas post office), remembered it as a haven for ranchers and freighters where they could rendezvous and exchange news. The main building was a long, log structure paralleling the road, with three rooms. At the south end of it were two small log buildings, one a schoolhouse, the other a blacksmith shop. To the east was another large log building, the stable and several corrals.

In the early years of white settlement, two basic kinds of settlers came to the Powder River country. There were the classic pioneers, entrepreneurs and farmers drawn to places like Buffalo with the business opportunities of nearby Fort McKinney or drawn by the fertile land along the foot of the Big Horns. The other type of "settler" was the big, speculative cattle company that controlled vast holdings of public range land merely by occupying it. An example of the latter was the Powder River Livestock Company, incorporated in Colorado in 1882 for the "purpose of raising, breeding, buying, selling and pasturing of stock and especially cattle; the purchase, preemption, holding and selling of such ranches as may be suitable for said business." Although the company's headquarters was in Colorado Springs, much of its range was in the old Fort Reno and McKinney areas along the Powder River.

The Powder River Cattle Company, organized by a Briton, Morton Frewen, also grazed its cattle in this vicinity. But the British suffered financial failure and pulled out while members of the Powder River Livestock Company remained until the company dissolved in 1893. Another of the largest cattle outfits was Hackney, Hold and Williams Livestock Company, later called the Wyoming Land and Cattle Company. Headquartered about four miles south of Buffalo on Cross H Ranch, this company homesteaded all the land it could in the vicinity and ran 10,000 head of cattle or more. Some of the other huge livestock companies were Pratt & Ferris, using the U Cross brand; the Western Union Beef Company, branding EK: and the Murphy Cattle Company of the Flying E.

Small-scale ranchers, farmers and businessmen followed the Bozeman Trail to the Powder River country and settled at the foot of the Big Horns. O.P. Hanna, as noted above, staked a claim on Little Goose Creek in 1878 and in spring 1879, brought a plow, some oats and some seed from Cheyenne to begin a small farm, selling his produce to cattlemen coming into the country. That same year, W.F. Davis opened a sawmill in the vicinity and for the next several years other families began staking claims nearby. Finally in 1881, Hanna and several others surveyed and platted the town of Big Horn on the Bozeman road. Buffalo developed largely because of the market provided by Fort McKinney and about the time that post was completed in 1882, its commanding officer Colonel Verling K. Hart laid out the townsite. The

Army presence continued to be the dominant economic factor in Buffalo until it abandoned Fort McKinney in 1894. The next year the post's buildings were donated to the state and in 1903 became the Wyoming Soldiers and Sailors Home, providing care and treatment for veterans.

The two different types of settlers in the Bozeman Trail country - small ranchers, farmers and businessmen, on the one hand, and big speculative cattle companies, on the other - did not live harmoniously. The devastating winter of 1886-87 took a deadly toll on the cattle herds. The Powder River Livestock Company, for example, ran 24,000 head during the spring of 1886. The following spring, after the disastrous winter, only 8,000 head were gathered. As a result, many cowboys and other employees lost their jobs and some began searching the range for mavericks which they then branded with their own irons. Some even branded cattle known to belong to the large companies. This angered the larger cattle operations, as did the legal homesteads settlers were taking up along streams with good grass. This was land claimed, by virtue of occupation, by the big cattle outfits. Tension and violence escalated into the Johnson County War in 1892. Partly because of the turmoil generated by this conflict, Buffalo and Johnson County were bypassed by the Burlington Railroad in 1892 when it built a line across Wyoming from the South Dakota border to Montana. However, the Burlington was only thirty miles away, at Clearmont, making passenger travel and freighting via railroad more comfortable and cheaper than travel and freighting over the dusty, jolting Bozeman Trail stage line. The federal government eliminated contracting for mail service during the late 1880s and the Rock Creek Stage Line shut down as a result. But stagecoach days on the Bozeman were not over yet. For twenty more years stages operated locally including a twice-a-day Bozeman Trail route to Banner, Big Horn, and then down the Little Goose to the Sheridan Inn. Other local routes went out from Buffalo to service the Powder River area, again traveling the Bozeman.

By 1915 a railroad spur connected Buffalo with Clearmont, a line soon made obsolete by paved highways. Stagecoaches were retired, also rendered obsolete by highways and autos. The Bozeman Trail corridor, in places, adapted to the changes and continued as a transportation route. During the twentieth century parts of the

trail were improved as county roads, eventually even paved. Ranchers and others traveled segments that remained unimproved. These marked changes over time did not escape notice. In 1930, a Converse County historian wrote

> That part of the Bozeman Trail that was northwest of Douglas, which is now the Ross Road, is now a Government mail route. this road, passage over which was so hotly contested by the Indians in the days of Red Cloud, is lined on either side by mail boxes, a few cream stations and one or two small stores. Instead of the Indian wars and savage reprisals there is government with courts of justice; instead of long-horned Texas cattle there are white faced Herefords; and instead of a few syndicate ranches with their thousands of cattle and claims to the "open range" there are hundreds of farms and small ranches with a few grazing livestock and small dairy herds."

The properties considered for inclusion in this nomination stem from their association with significant events or patterns of events in relation to frontier American history. Criterion A, therefore, is the principal criteria. The Bozeman Trail acts as a thread to pull the differing elements of early Powder River Basin history together.

This multiple property listing is organized using four historic contexts (Historic Native American Occupance In The Powder River Basin, circa 1600-1890; Historic Transportation Development In The Powder River Basin 1863-1890; The Military Frontier In The Powder River Basin 1876-1890; and Early Stock raising Settlement In The Powder River Basin 1876-1890.) A wide variety of property types are relatable to these contexts. The following Bozeman Trail properties must possess integrity or authentically reflect an historic identity through the survival of physical characteristics. The vagaries of time have stripped many of the remaining sites and properties of the required quality of integrity.

I. HISTORIC TRAILS PROPERTY TYPE

Introduction

Historic trails are pathways and roads consistently used in historic time and verified by historic research and field investigation. An historic trail in this usage is a well-defined route, combining a variety of uses, by different means of conveyance, for different purposes through historic time. Basically, the term "trail" as used here refers to roads limited to unmotorized traffic including foot travel, mule drawn and horse drawn transport. Within the generic class of trails there are different categories of purposeful use springing out of the trail's history. These categories are as follows: 1) Historic Native American Trail, 2) Historic Emigrant Trail, 3) Historic Military Road, and 4) Historic Stagecoach Route. The principal physical characteristic of an historic trail itself is generally limited to rutted trail segments preserved over time or sites of routes that are well documented by historic evidence. For this reason, the analysis of the historic trail as a property type devolves primarily from the retention of integrity along extant trail segments. In a limited respect, whether a trail was used as military road or emigrant trail its basic physical characteristics remain the same. Therefore, the integrity and registration requirements of the resource's principal manifestation,

rutted segments, can be addressed in a summary section. Native American trails, although sometimes linked to later trail systems by parallel patterns of travel, form a unique set of resources and are addressed as a separate cultural class of trails. Their integrity and registration requirements do, however, conflate with other historic trail attributes and are included in this property type summary. Therefore, the tack followed here begins by defining the property type and then within each, briefly describing its significance. These sections are then followed by the comprehensive summation on Registration Requirements for historic trails as a property type. The other property types associated with Section F follow this treatment and conform to the standard format of Section F for the NRHP Multiple Property Documentation Form.

I. A. Historic Native American Trails

II. Description

The first pathways crossing the Wyoming landscape were those created by migrating herds of large game animals. Early white travelers often marveled at the large numbers of antelope, elk, mountain sheep and bison found on the Plains in the early historic eras. Closely attuned to the migrational patterns of these animals were the subsistence patterns of the region's Native Americans who monitored and exploited the game available along these seasonally used pathways. Man-made pathways came into existence parallel to the game trails. Other native trails were in relation to favored camp locals and war grounds. The trails generally followed the path of least resistance and were aligned along natural passes and corridors. Only the most sketchy documentation of the Native American pattern of trails exists. These trails are commonly alluded to by early literate travelers or are mentioned in oral traditions. One such trail crossed over the divide between the Cache la Poudre River of Colorado into the Laramie Plains of southern Wyoming. A similar trail was documented by John C. Fremont in his 1843 expedition and lead around Elk Mountain. This trail closely paralleled the later Overland Trail stage route. Numerous examples, again traceable only by allusion, exist in the historic record.

Tangible remains of such trails are as problematic as a property type. Evidence of use of an historic Native American trail must

incorporate information from documents, oral traditions and material remains. Physical evidence of trails may include hunting blinds and caches, small stone circles, lithic artifacts, Euro-American trade goods (e.g. metal artifacts), associated hearths in close proximity to natural features like passes, rivers and stream terraces and game trails.

III. Significance

Historic Native American occupance of the high Plains of Wyoming is one of the state's most important historic contexts. Historic tribes identified with Wyoming include the Arapahoe, Cheyenne, Crow, Shoshone and Lakota (Sioux). Other tribes who periodically inhabited the state at different times included the Bannock, Comanche, Piegan (Blackfeet), and Ute.

Native Americans have inhabited the Wyoming landscape for better than 10,000 years. Widely dispersed bands of Native Americans lived by hunting and gathering subsistence from the environment. Agriculture was not used. With the advent of the horse the eastern portions of Wyoming were the scene of large migrations from the eastern Plains. The tribes settled into a pattern of subsistence that depended, primarily on bison hunting and a continuance of long established game and plant food procurement. The horse, diffusing into the west circa 1700 via Spanish colonies in the southwest, enabled the florescence of the well known equestrian culture on the Plains. The Crow were firmly established in the northern Powder River Basin in the late 1700s. They were increasingly pressed by the migrating Lakota by the 1800s. The Cheyenne and the Arapahoe, longer term residents in Wyoming than the Lakota, also pressed the Crow. Amicable relations between the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe tribes were the rule. The Crow and Shoshone, who were long the dominant tribe in the state's western half, were continually assailed by those eastern migrants. The result was continual warfare but not on levels coming close to the annihilation of any one tribe. Pressure on the peripheries of the tribes' territories was marked however.

The incursions of, first, trappers and traders and, later, emigrants and the American military, increased intertribal conflict and armed encounters between Americans and the indigenous population. This period of conflict culminated in the

assorted wars between the Anglo-Americans and Native Americans in the second half of the nineteenth century. The focal point of these conflicts was the wagon and stage routes bisecting the Native Americans prime hunting grounds in eastern Wyoming. As the Native American lands became more and more subject to encroachment the warfare increased. Finally, the Native Americans were defeated in a prolonged war of attrition undertaken by the United States Army and relegated to reservations by the late 1870s.

The establishment of the Wind River Reservation in 1868 for, first the Shoshone and later the Arapahoe tribes forms the last vestige of historic Native American occupance in Wyoming. These tribes continue to live on a sharply reduced grant of land from that given in 1868. They constitute one of the state's few definitive ethnic enclaves and continue to keep many of their tribe's cultural traditions alive in the face of pressures to adopt to the dominant culture.

I. B. Emigrant Trails

II. Description

Historic trails are comprised of documented wagon roads or roads with national, state or local significance. They are evidenced by: 1) well defined ruts or sites formed by historic wagon traffic and the services required for such traffic and 2) environmental settings that may not feature easily discernible ruts or trail remains but are a) well documented routes (i.e. on maps or primary historic documents) retaining the physical and associative characteristics of the period of historic significance and/or b) feature artifacts and sites datable to the period of the trail's historic significance in direct proximity to the trail corridor.

Physical evidence of trails may include ruts, swales, vegetational changes, artifacts, associated hearths, structures and foundations, and inscriptions. One historic account of travel along the Bozeman Trail (Ellen Fletcher's diary of 1866) shows travelers took approximately 11 days to traverse the distance on the Bozeman Trail between the North Platte River and the modern Montana state line. The average pace for this trip was a little

under 2.5 miles per hour. Along this traverse camps were established along the major stream courses cutting across the wagon road. Three factors were the primary determinants in historic emigrant trail campsite location: defensibility, water availability, and forage for livestock. Included in these locals were the trail's intersection of the Powder River, Crazy Woman Creek, Clear Creek and Piney Creek. By calculation other camp spots used on this particular 1866 emigrant train were Frank Draw of the Spring Creek drainage, Spring Draw, an undefined spot, the future site of Cooke's 17 Mile Stage Station, and Twin Creek.

Within such camps the wagons were typically corralled for protection and stock enclosed within the circle if conditions warranted. If the emigrants were confident enough, stock was grazed outside the protective enclosure and watches maintained on them through the night. Fires for cooking were set in close proximity to the wagons and, correspondingly, the potential for trail camp hearths does exist. Artifacts from debris scatters would also be associated with campsite use. Glass, ceramic, wood and leather artifacts could conceivably be found within these contexts.

The location of emigrant camps was commonly on the broad flat terraces above drainages throughout the course of the trail. Here the wagons could be arranged in a defensive shield and stock fed on the terrace in close proximity of wagons. Outposts for observers could be found on the tops of surrounding hills. Camp spots, such as that on the south bank of Crazy Woman Creek, provided a wide open aspect, well-watered stream course and ample forage for stock. As with most camp spots along the Bozeman Trail there were dangers involved in using such campsites. Indian attacks did occur as the wagon traffic heightened. By late 1866 wagon traffic slowed to a trickle. The three year life span of the Bozeman as a Montana emigrant trail was essentially over.

III. Significance

The significance of historic trails to Wyoming and Western American history is pronounced. The trans-Mississippi West was in large measure settled through the use of such trails. The primary impetus for the great migrations commencing in the 1840s, and forming western trails, were the favorable reports of the

earliest settlers, a prolonged period of bad economic times in the Mississippi River Valley after the panic of 1837, depressed agricultural prices, and a lack of developed transportation networks for what goods were produced. A host of other reasons compelled people to move westward; Latter-Day Saints fleeing religious persecution, miners hoping to find riches in California and farmers hoping to exploit farmlands in Oregon. The Bozeman Trail was an important roadway for settlers and miners wishing to travel to Montana in the early to mid 1860s. The trail became the focal point of emigrant travel, armed resistance by the resident Native Americans, military campaigns and area settlement in the second half of the nineteenth century. These historic events make its remains a significant cultural resource embodying important associative characteristics.

I. C. Military Roads

II. Description

Historic military roads are documented wagon trails or roads with national state or local significance. They are evidenced by 1) well defined ruts or sites formed by historic military traffic and services required for such traffic and 2) environmental settings that may not feature easily discernable ruts or trail remains but are a) well documented routes (i.e. on maps or primary historic documents) retaining the physical and associative characteristics of the period of historic significance and/or b) feature artifacts and sites datable to the period of the trail's historic significance in direct proximity to the trail corridor and can be definitively associated with military activity.

Physical evidence of military roads may include ruts, swales, vegetational changes, artifacts, associated hearths, and military structures including minor fortifications.

The U.S. Army was the principal road builder in the early trans-Mississippi Western frontier. The dispersal of army posts throughout the West in the nineteenth century necessitated road networks be established for security reasons.

Communication and the distribution of supplies to the Army's far flung posts were the main reasons for the road construction. In

time the emigrant traffic of the great migrations of the 1840s-1860s bolstered the need for the improved roads the Army was capable of building and maintaining. The advent of the railroad enabled the supplying of Army posts to be set on a firmer footing than had been possible before. The roads blazed and maintained by the military formed an important network for troop movement as well as aiding in the settlement of the region.

The Army roads followed natural pathways through obstacles like mountains or across deep river fords. This meant there was usually a close congruence between long established Native American and fur trapper trails and the Army's earliest roads. Most of the early "roads" were surveyed only as natural pathways for wagon traffic. As military activities on the frontier grew a more comprehensive pattern of strategic roads was put in place. The interrelationship between topographic exploration, wagon road reconnaissance and military activities in the West firmly established the Army as the initiator of the continent-wide road system. Later in time the Department of the Interior came to play an important a role in road building activities but much of the earliest road surveying was conducted solely under the auspices of national security.

III. Significance

The establishment of the regular United States Army in 1789 had significant ramifications for the newly formed American Republic, particularly on the frontier. The first military presence in Wyoming were the 1842 and 1843 explorations of the Corp of Topographic Engineer's officer John C. Fremont. Early explorations like these lead to the military's establishment of road networks through the west. Probably the most significant aspect of the military's presence in the west was the development and implementation of policy towards the American Indians. The combination of road construction and implementing Indian policy were the most important aspects of the military's presence in the west up to the turn of the century.

These developments were significant because of their effect on indigenous populations and because they reshaped the Wyoming landscape. The quickening growth of frontier settlement did not immediately affect Wyoming but the great migrations associated with pioneering in the nineteenth century necessitated the Army's

presence to protect emigrants and upgrade trails for use. Forts, previously operated as fur and trade posts, were taken over by the army in the late 1840s. Surveys, like that undertaken by Captain William Reynold's through the Powder River Basin in 1858, sought new routes for the ever increasing wagon traffic through the West's northern Plains. Inevitably the pressures on their way of life became unbearable and the Native Americans attacked intrusions on their diminishing homelands and the Army retaliated. These struggles culminated in the campaign of 1876 which saw the Army, after some initial setbacks, defeat the tribes of the Plains and force them on reservations. By 1890 the role of the Army in the West had diminished. The return of the Armed Forces in a role of prominence in the West did not occur until the United States entered world affairs in a more dramatic fashion, particularly after World War II.

The military has played a significant role in Wyoming, both in the frontier era and modern times. Cultural resources associated with either epoch are significant in reflecting important local, regional and, especially, national affairs. Of particular importance are resources associated with the implementation of American Indian policies and modern strategic weaponry based in Wyoming.

I. D. Stagecoach and Freighter Trails

II. Description

Historic stagecoach or freighter trails are documented transportation routes with national, state or local significance. They are evidenced by well defined ruts or sites formed by historic stage or freight wagon traffic and the service structures required for maintenance of such traffic. These trails are often well documented on maps or other primary historic documents. They retain the physical and associative characteristics of the trail's period of significance and feature artifacts and sites datable to the period of significance in direct proximity to the trail corridor. Physical evidence of stage or freighter trails may include ruts, swales, and vegetational changes. Properties associated with stage and freighter trail networks are campsites, relay stations, road houses or road ranches, stage stations, stables, way stations, and developed water wells.

III. Significance

The significance of historic stagecoach and freighter trails to Wyoming's and western history is pronounced. Early commerce in the trans-Mississippi West was in large measure initiated through the use of such trails. The primary impetus behind the formation of these routes was to facilitate communication and the transfer of commerce across the Plains. The first transcontinental stage routes passed through Wyoming and provided connections to the Salt Lake Valley and the west coast. Russell, Majors and Waddell began service between Missouri and Salt Lake City in 1859, buying out the main contract of the J.M. Hockaday Company. The firm soon became the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express and worked in correspondence with a subsidiary freighting operation distributing goods throughout the west. By 1862 Ben Holliday had bought the firm and was operating the line along, first, the North Platte River Road and, later, the Overland Trail in southern Wyoming. Freighter and stage lines commonly followed the path of least resistance and favored established trails for their routes. The proliferation of these routes throughout the west from 1860s onward was dependant on the development of mining, stock raising and associated town founding. After the advent of the railroads, dating to the late 1860s in Wyoming, these routes continued to be important interregional corridors of commerce, though more localized in significance. Correspondingly the stage and freighter lines became less extensive and more specialized, serving only specific areas and communities. They did, nonetheless, represent a critical component in the settlement dispersal throughout the state's hinterlands.

IV. Registration Requirements - Historic Trails

Trail segments exhibiting the least impairment of physical condition are considered eligible or contributing segments to a nomination. Trail segments are evaluated in relation to existing segments found along the entire course of the trail in Wyoming. Trail portions already listed as eligible to the National Register in the state's inventory of cultural resources figure prominently in this assessment of integrity. National Register eligible trail segments should display both physical and environmental integrity. Physical characteristics are the actual trail remains. Environmental characteristics are elements of the natural environment surrounding the trail; the trail's landscape

context. The integrity of an historic trail's physical and environmental characteristics is not always clear, however, and there are cases where flexibility is required. For instance, only one of the two characteristics may display integrity; the trail ruts may have been impacted while the elements of the historic landscape around the trail still exist.

From an evaluative context consideration must be given to the fact that trails are normally a discontinuous series of remains spread across a wide territory. As a property type a trail is normally a discontinuous linear district where the individual segments (which form small stretches of ruts or other trail features definable as sites) combine to embody a significant series of events, namely, emigrant travel routes, campsites and forced defensive positions. As with other districts, the identity of a discontinuous district results from the grouping of features and from relationships among those features that convey a sense of the historic environment.

Integrity must be present among the segments of the trail. In relation to trails, the prime requisites include the retention of integrity in location, setting, feeling and association. The relation of trail resources and place is important. In the early years of emigrant travel pioneers were limited in how far they could travel by a host of variables, including, water, forage, topographic obstructions and other factors attributable to place. Transport technology was also a limiting factor and influenced the choice of routes along the trail. Conscious decisions in conception and planning applied to trails as with any other landscape feature. These decisions were based on needs and technologies. Therefore, design as an element of integrity is evident in the location of the trail corridor. The trail was located along the path of least resistance which varied with weather conditions and the state of hostilities along the trail. Location, therefore, is often not limited to a single path and segments of the trail might show paralleling paths over a wide area. Integrity of location might be distributed over a wide area but must be measured by which features (e.g. ruts) possess the highest visibility and potential for long term survival as historic landscape features.

The character of a place is its setting. This element of integrity combines the physical remains and their context into a

single viewpoint. The retention of setting in relation to an historic trail would establish boundaries commensurate with what could be called a landscape vision of the trail which reflects the historic environment. The trail's surroundings must preserve the combination of natural and manmade elements from the period of significance. From viewer's perspective the most favorable condition would provide a viewpoint unobstructed by modern intrusions, and possessing a recognizable identity or character.

The critical test for integrity is whether a segment retains identity from its period of historic significance. Feeling and association are the two most elusive elements of integrity to measure but play a critical role in evaluating the quality of historic trails. A recognizable historic quality providing a link to the past must be in evidence. Again, if the trail property is a site where no material culture record remains, the appropriate natural setting of the place must be intact. A lack of physical remains necessitates that documentation in relation to the site must be carefully evaluated to determine if the traditionally recognized site location is accurate. Any latitude granted in assessing the integrity of an historic trail must not outstrip the requirement that at least some physical and environmental integrity be in evidence.

ANCILLARY RESOURCES

An historic trail generally features ancillary resources associated with its historic use. Native American campsites, pioneer camps, military encampments and stage stations are among the set of resources that could conceivably be found along these historic pathways.

The critical element of integrity must be carefully evaluated in relation to these cultural resources. Artifactual debris might be the only indication that sites associated with the trail existed. Stage and freighter trail adjuncts including campsites, relay stations, road houses, road ranches, stage stations, stables, way stations and developed water wells are among the kinds of possible trail property types that might be exhibited along the route. Ethnohistorical documentation might be the only evidence of historic Native American use of an area for travel, camping, and seasonal hunting and gathering. Pioneer diaries might also provide sufficient documentation to locate a specific

site. All these sources of information must be exactingly and thoroughly assessed for credibility.

These trail features will vary in their ability to convey historic associations. A minimal level of physical integrity allowing the identification of the resource as a specific property type must exist in environmental context. Site components should exhibit site function, and, when relevant, method and materials of construction and approximate dimensions. Sites verified by historic documentation should minimally possess identifiable features including building depressions, datable artifacts, scatters as evidence of historic use. In lieu of subsurface archaeological testing, detailed surface recording of the density, distribution and extent of artifactual evidence must be made and the geomorphological context evaluated for integrity.

For registration the site must be situated within the environmental context that matches that found in historic time. Location, setting and the ability to convey feeling and association are critical elements of site integrity that must be in evidence.

I. HISTORIC NATIVE AMERICAN CAMPSITES PROPERTY TYPE

II. Description

Native American campsites are documented or datable historic sites used by Native American bands or tribes of national, state or local significance. They are evidenced by: 1) well defined sites formed by historic artifact accumulations and features or 2) environmental settings that may not feature easily discernable artifactual remains but are well documented sites (i.e. on maps or primary historic documents) retaining the physical and associative characteristics of the period of historic significance.

Physical evidence of such campsites may include stone circles, ceramics, lithic artifacts, worked glass, Euro American trade goods (e.g. beads, metal, artifacts), associated hearths, structures and middens. The vast array of identifiably historic Native American material culture includes artifacts of bone, wood, animal hide, bead and quill work. Most of these artifacts

are perishable and are only preserved under special conditions, such as within rock shelters. More durable artifacts that might appear in field contexts in sufficient density to define a site local are listed above.

There were four primary factors determining historic Native American campsite location: the availability of game and supplemental plant products, water availability, forage for horses, and defensibility. Seasonal migrations were common among all Native American tribes of Wyoming. Often tribes formed camps in the shape of a circle, especially when the seasonal bounty allowed the gathering of large numbers for ceremonies. Camp size was generally related to available resources and procurement strategies. The sites can therefore be large or small depending on the location and purpose behind the camps creation. The use of almost every environmental niche available to Native Americans distributed campsites into almost every environmental context.

III. Significance

Historic Native American occupance of the high Plains of Wyoming is one of the state's most important historic contexts. The historic tribes identified with Wyoming include the Arapahoe, Cheyenne, Crow, Shoshone and Lakota (Sioux). Other tribes who periodically inhabited the state at different times included the Bannock, Comanche, Piegan (Blackfeet), and Ute.

Native Americans have inhabited the Wyoming landscape for better than 10,000 years. Widely dispersed bands of Native Americans lived by hunting and gathering subsistence from the environment. Agriculture was not used. With the advent of the horse the eastern portions of Wyoming were the scene of large migrations from the eastern Plains. The tribes settled into a pattern of subsistence that depended primarily on bison hunting and a continuance of long established game and plant food procurement. The horse, diffusing into the West circa 1700 via Spanish colonies in the southwest, enabled the florescence of the well known equestrian culture on the Plains. The Crow were firmly established in the northern Powder River Basin in the late 1700s. They were increasingly pressed by the migrating Lakota by the 1800s. The Cheyenne and the Arapahoe, longer term residents in

Wyoming than the Lakota, also pressed the Crow. Amicable relations between the Sioux, Arapahoe and Cheyenne tribes were the rule. The Crow, and Shoshone, who were long the dominant tribe in the state's western half, were continually assailed by these eastern migrants. The result was continual warfare but not on levels coming close to annihilation of any one tribe. Pressure on the peripheries of the tribe's territories was marked, however.

The incursions of,first, trappers and traders and, later, emigrants and the American military, increased inter-tribal conflict and armed encounters between Americans and the indigenous population. This period of conflict culminated in the assorted wars between the Anglo-Americans and Native Americans in the second half of the nineteenth century. The focal point of these conflicts was the wagon and stage routes bisecting the Native Americans prime hunting grounds in eastern Wyoming. As the Native Americans' lands became more and more subject to encroachment the warfare escalated. Finally, the Native Americans were defeated in a prolonged war of attrition undertaken by the U.S. Army and relegated to reservations by the late 1870s.

The establishment of the Wind River Reservation in 1868 for, first the Shoshone and later the Arapahoe tribes forms the last vestige of historic Native American occupance in Wyoming. These tribes continue to live on a sharply reduced grant of land than that given in 1868. They constitute one of the state's few definitive ethnic enclaves and continue to keep many of their tribe's cultural traditions alive in the face of pressures to adopt to the dominant culture.

IV. Registration Requirements

Historic sites relatable to the occupance of Wyoming by Native Americans form a significant set of cultural resources. Any identifiable historic Native American sites are eligible to the National Register of Historic Places due to their rare nature. The primary physical evidence necessary to establish the existence of an historic Native American camp is artifactual material or features datable to an historic context. Although absolute dates for such materials are not necessary, the artifact's existence should be relatable to a period after historic Euro-American contact had been made. It should be acknowledged that

retains integrity of setting commensurate with a significant historic period. Only those sites which can be linked to reliable, historic records and retain integrity of setting can be considered for registration under this verification procedure. The second procedure used to verify the existence of an historic camp is the actual physical remains of a camp in a setting retaining environmental integrity. In this instance historic documentation shows the location of the camp and hearths, artifacts, structural remains and inscriptions are found in conjunction to the recorded location of the camp. In both instances the integrity of the camp should be judged from a viewpoint considering the surrounding landscape. Visual integrity should reflect the period of historic significance. A feeling of time and place should be in evidence. This does not preclude camps having visual intrusions being evaluated on the physical characteristics alone, but does maintain that camps retaining both physical and environmental integrity are of preeminent importance and more significant.

I. MILITARY CONTEXT PROPERTY TYPES

I. A. Battle Sites

II. Description

In Wyoming, military battle scenes are commonly landscapes on which engagements between the U.S. military and Native Americans took place in the nineteenth century. The physical remains from battles can include cartridges, gun parts, projectile points, clothing, leather goods (saddlery and boots), wagon or caisson parts, rifle pits, gun emplacements or other fortifications. Much of this material can be found in subsurface historic archaeological contexts. The environmental contexts in which battles took place varied. Locations where large scale battles took place, such as the Fetterman Battlefield near Fort Phil Kearney were set in locals where ambushes could be set. The Fetterman detachment was ambushed on a hill slope out of the fort's observation and where the Native Americans could remain hidden until the force was surrounded. More commonly, the scale of battle was classed as a skirmish. This was because the Native Americans preferred a hit and run strategy in the face of superior armament or concentration of forces. Harassment by the Native Americans was often

a great deal more profitable materially (i.e. horses and supplies garnered) and minimized casualties. Honor was accorded those braving the soldiers fire and stealing valuable goods.

Skirmish locations and the disposition of forces in these fights are documented in military history. Scattered accounts of the Native American record of battles are also documented in oral histories. Care must be taken in asserting locations were the scene of battles. Physical remains might provide the first clues of a battlefield location but identification should be established in accordance with the documentary record. In some instances little or no physical remains will exist on the battlefield. In this case a careful examination of the surrounding landscapes prominent physical features should be in accord with physical features recorded in the documentary record.

III. Significance

The establishment of the regular United States Army in 1789 had significant ramifications for the newly formed American Republic, particularly on the frontier. The first military presence in Wyoming were the 1842 and 1843 explorations of Corps of Topographic Engineer's officer John C. Fremont. Early explorations like these lead to the military's establishment of road networks through the West. Probably the most significant aspect of the military's presence in the West was the development and implementation of policy towards the American Indians. The combination of road construction and implementing Indian policy were the most important aspects of the military's presence in the West up to the turn of the century.

These developments were significant because of their effect on indigenous populations and because they reshaped the Wyoming landscape. The quickening growth of frontier settlement did not immediately effect Wyoming but the great migrations associated with pioneering in the nineteenth century necessitated the Army's presence to protect emigrants and upgrade trails for use. Forts, previously operated as fur and trade posts, were taken over by the Army in the late 1840s. Surveys, like that undertaken by Captain William Reynold's through the Powder River Basin in 1858, sought new routes for the ever increasing wagon traffic through the West's northern Plains. Inevitably the pressures on their way

of life became unbearable and the Native Americans attacked intrusions on their diminishing homelands and the Army retaliated. These struggles culminated in the campaign of 1876 which saw the Army, after some initial setbacks, defeat the tribes of the Plains and force them on reservations. By 1890 the role of the Army in the West had diminished. The return of the Armed Forces into a role of prominence in the West did not occur until the United States entered world affairs in a more dramatic fashion, particularly after World War II.

The military has played a significant role in Wyoming, both in the frontier era and modern times. Cultural resources associated with either epoch are significant in reflecting important local, regional and, especially, national affairs. Of particular importance are resources associated with the implementation of American Indian policies and modern strategic weaponry based in Wyoming.

IV. Registration Requirements

The primary physical evidence necessary to establish the existence of an historic military battlefield is artifactual material or features datable to a specific historic battle. Although absolute dates for such materials are not necessary the artifact's existence should be relatable to a period when historic Anglo-American military activity took place. Confirmation that a battle took place in a specific locale will rest on the existence of documented historic records.

The evaluation of integrity on historic battle sites must consider both the physical and environmental characteristics of the site. Physical characteristics are the actual set battle site remains, commonly non-perishable artifacts like cartridges, gun parts, projectile points, clothing, leather goods (saddlery and boots), wagon or caisson parts, rifle pits, gun emplacements or other fortifications. Environmental characteristics are those elements of the natural environment surrounding the battlefield; the site's landscape context. The integrity of historic battlefields' physical and environmental characteristics are not always clear, however, and there are cases where flexibility in assessing eligibility is required. For instance, only one of the two characteristics may display integrity; the battlefield may

have been impacted by the collection of artifacts but the elements of the historic landscape around the site may still exist. The dividing point in evaluation rests upon the level of significance the battlefield embodies. If the site is of national significance a greater degree of latitude in evaluation is required. This latitude should not outstrip the requirement that at least some physical or environmental integrity be in evidence in association with an excellent degree of integrity in the other characteristic.

There are two means by which the character and quality of historic battlefields is verified. The first procedure uses substantial historic documentation. Using this procedure requires primary or well substantiated secondary historic sources verifying the battle's existence in a particular area. Documentary evidence should be cumulative in nature and must be relatable to a specific environmental context recorded in historic literature. Although discernable remains might be lacking in the immediate area documented there still might exist a recognizable physical setting explicitly linked to the historic battle record. The critical element in verifying sites in relation to this context is determining if the battlefield retains integrity of setting commensurate with a significant historic period. Only those battlefields which can be linked to the reliable and historic records and retain integrity of setting can be considered for registration under this verification procedure.

The second procedure used to verify the existence of historic battlefields is the actual physical remains often accompanying battlefield in a setting retaining environmental integrity. In this instance historic documentation shows the location of the battle and artifacts and/or fortifications are found in conjunction to the recorded location of the battle. In other instances the integrity of the battlefield should be judged from a viewpoint considering the surrounding landscape. Visual integrity of the area around the battlefield should reflect the period of historic significance; a feeling of time and place should be in evidence. This does not preclude battle sites having visual intrusions being evaluated on physical characteristics alone, but does maintain that battlefields retaining both physical and environmental integrity are of preeminent importance and more significant.

I. B. Military Bivouacs

II. Description

A bivouac is a temporary encampment made by soldiers in the field. Army bivouacs in the Powder River campaigns of 1864 and 1876 were associated with Army actions against resident Native American tribes inhabiting the region. They may be evidenced by physical remains including tent platforms or parts, cartridges, gun parts, clothing, leather goods (saddlery and boots), wagon or caisson parts, rifle pits, gun emplacements or other minor fortifications. A paucity of physical remains associated with this property type should not be surprising given their temporary nature.

The environmental contexts in which bivouacs were located varied. One documented bivouac along the Bozeman Trail was on Sage Creek. One day's march (15 miles) from Fort Fetterman, this camp was at least one-half mile square when Crooke's troops camped here in 1876. Soldiers often chose a forked stream course when camping to maximize access to water. Defensibility, stock forage and burnable materials for campfires were also prerequisites.

III. Significance

The establishment of the regular United States Army in 1789 had significant ramifications for the newly formed American Republic, particularly on the frontier. The first military presence in Wyoming were the 1842 and 1843 explorations of Corps of Topographic Engineer's officer John C. Fremont. Early explorations like these lead to the military's establishment of road networks through the West. Probably the most significant aspect of the military's presence in the West was the development and implementation of policy towards the American Indians. The combination of road construction and implementing Indian policy were the most important aspects of the military's presence in the West up to the turn of the century.

The significance of these developments in Wyoming lay in their effect on indigenous populations and reshaping of the Wyoming landscape. The quickening growth of frontier settlement did not immediately effect Wyoming but the great migrations associated with pioneering in the nineteenth century necessitated the Army's

presence to protect emigrants and upgrade trails for use. Forts, previously operated as fur and trade posts, were taken over by the Army in the late 1840s. Surveys, like that undertaken by Captain William Reynold's through the Powder River Basin in 1858, sought new routes for the ever increasing wagon traffic through the West's northern Plains. Inevitably the pressures on their way of life became unbearable and the Native Americans attacked intrusions on their diminishing homelands and the Army retaliated. These struggles culminated in the Campaign of 1876 which saw the Army, after some initial setbacks, defeat the tribes of the Plains and force them on reservations. By 1890 the role of the Army in the West diminished. The return of the Armed Forces into a role of prominence in the West did not occur until the United States entered world affairs in a more dramatic fashion, particularly after World War II. In both the frontier era and modern times the military has played a significant role in Wyoming. Cultural resources associated with either epoch are significant in reflecting important local, regional and, especially, national affairs. Of particular importance are resources associated with the implementation of American Indian policies and modern strategic weaponry based in Wyoming.

IV. Registration Requirements

The primary physical evidence necessary to establish the existence of an historic military bivouac is artifactual material or features datable to a specific historic military operation. Although absolute dates for such materials are not necessary, the artifact's existence should be relatable to a period when historic Euro-American military activity took place. Confirmation that a bivouac was placed in a specific locale will rest on the existence of documented historic records recording the location of the camp.

The evaluation of integrity on historic bivouac locals must consider both the physical and environmental characteristics of the site. Physical characteristics are the actual set bivouac remains, commonly nonperishable artifacts including cartridges, gun parts, leather goods (saddlery and boots), wagon or caisson parts, rifle pits, gun emplacements or other minor fortifications. Environmental characteristics are those elements of the natural environment surrounding the bivouac; the site's landscape

context. The integrity of historic bivouac's physical and environmental characteristics are not always clear. National Register eligible bivouacs should display both physical and environmental integrity. However, they are cases where flexibility in assessing eligibility is required. Only one of the two characteristics may display integrity; for instance, the bivouac may have been impacted (i.e. artifacts collected) but the elements of the historic landscape around the site may still exist. The dividing point in evaluation rests upon the level of significance the bivouac site embodies. If the site is of national significance a greater degree of latitude in evaluation is required. This latitude should not outstrip the requirement that at least some physical or environmental integrity be in evidence in association with an excellent degree of integrity in the other characteristics.

There are two means by which the character and quality of an historic bivouac is verified and registration initiated. The first procedure uses substantial historic documentation. This requires primary or well substantiated secondary historic sources verifying the bivouac's existence in a particular area. Documentary evidence should be cumulative and relate to a specific environmental context recorded in historic literature. Although discernable remains might be lacking in the immediate area documented there still might exist a recognizable physical setting explicitly linked to historic campaign records. The critical element in verifying sites in relation to this context is determining if the bivouac site retains integrity of setting commensurate with a significant historic period. Only those bivouacs which can be linked to the reliable and historic records and retain integrity of setting can be considered for registration under this verification procedure.

The second procedure used to verify the existence of an historic bivouac is the actual physical remains often accompanying bivouac in a setting retaining environmental integrity. In this instance historic documentation shows the location of the bivouac and artifacts and/or fortifications are found in conjunction to the recorded location of a military campaign. In both instances the integrity of the bivouac site should be judged considering the surrounding landscape. Visual integrity of the area around a bivouac site should reflect the period of historic significance; a feeling of time and place should be in evidence. This does not

preclude bivouac sites having visual intrusions being evaluated on physical characteristics alone, but does maintain that bivouac sites retaining both physical and environmental integrity are of preeminent importance and more significant.

I. C. Forts and Fortifications

II. Description

The military presence in the West came through small to large military establishments referred to as forts, camps, cantonments, or barracks. These structures and buildings were strategically placed along lines of communication and transportation to control territory and physically establish American sovereignty in the region. This latter aspect distinguishes military posts from the trade posts common on the Wyoming frontier. Typically established along the lines of the frontier, the posts commonly had no protective palisades; the simple act of establishing a presence of military personnel being enough to intimidate any potential foes. Such was not always the case, however, as many military posts were not directly attacked but the charged atmosphere surrounding their erection necessitated a protective wall enclose the post.

Forts and smaller fortifications ranged in composition. Some were little more than long term bivouacs or camps maintaining sentry and signal stations while others were solidly constructed permanent buildings of grout, wood or stone. Among the structures associated with forts were barracks, stables, stockades, blockhouses, magazines, hospitals and auxiliary laundries and sutler's stores. In Wyoming, the fort's functions were to provide soldiery capable of facilitating emigrant traffic, implementing the military aspects of treaty obligations, protect developing commerce and communication and transportation networks, provide protection in railroad development, quell civil disturbances beyond the control of local government, aid in protecting settlers, and confine Native Americans to reservations.

The configuration and physical structure of forts were strictly regulated. Maps of all fort features were maintained and any changes to the physical structure were overseen by the Quartermaster of the post. Inspections and repairs to the physical

aspects of the fort were also undertaken by the Quartermaster. Documentation related to these physical characteristics therefore exists and can show the evolution of fort structure.

III. Significance

The establishment of the regular United States Army in 1789 had significant ramifications for the newly formed American Republic, particularly on the frontier. The first military presence in Wyoming were the 1842 and 1843 explorations of Corps of Topographic Engineer's officer John C. Fremont. Early explorations like these lead to the military's establishment of road networks through the West. Probably the most significant aspect of the military's presence in the West was the development and implementation of policy towards the American Indians. The combination of road construction and implementing Indian policy were the most important aspects of the military's presence in the West up to the turn of the century.

These developments were significant because of their effect on indigenous populations and because they reshaped the Wyoming landscape. The quickening growth of frontier settlement did not immediately effect Wyoming but the great migrations associated with pioneering in the nineteenth century necessitated the Army's presence to protect emigrants and upgrade trails for use. Forts, previously operated as fur and trade posts, were taken over by the Army in the late 1840s. Surveys, like that undertaken by Captain William Reynold's through the Powder River Basin in 1858, sought new routes for the ever increasing wagon traffic through the West's northern Plains. Inevitably the pressures on their way of life became unbearable and the Native Americans attacked intrusions on their diminishing homelands and the Army retaliated. These struggles culminated in the campaign of 1876 which saw the Army, after some initial setbacks, defeat the tribes of the Plains and force them on reservations. By 1890 the role of the Army in the West diminished. The return of the Armed Forces into a role of prominence in the West did not occur until the United States entered world affairs in a more dramatic fashion, particularly after World War II.

The military has played a significant role in Wyoming, both in the frontier era and modern times. Cultural resources associated

with either epoch are significant in reflecting important local, regional and, especially, national affairs. Of particular importance are resources associated with the implementation of American Indian policies and modern strategic weaponry based in Wyoming.

IV. Registration Requirements

In this discussion of fort registration requirements "fort" refers to any military establishment created by the U.S. armed forces for the purpose of maintaining American sovereignty over a region. The word fort also includes all military posts established above the scale of a bivouac. These posts include cantonments, camps, blockhouses, and barracks.

The primary physical evidence necessary to establish the existence of an historic military fort is artifactual material, structural remains or architectural features datable to a specific historic military occupation. Although absolute dates for artifactual materials are not necessary, the artifact's existence should be relatable to a period when historic Euro-American military activity took place. Confirmation that a fort was placed in a specific local will rest on the existence of documented historic records recording the location of the fort.

The evaluation of integrity on historic fort locals must consider both the physical and environmental characteristics of the site. Physical characteristics are the actual set fort remains, commonly non-perishable artifacts like cartridges, gun parts, leather goods (saddlery and boots), wagon or caisson parts, rifle pits, gun emplacements and fortification buildings, foundations and structures. Environmental characteristics are elements of the natural environment surrounding the fort; the site's landscape context. The integrity of an historic fort's physical and environmental characteristics is not always clear, however, and their are cases where flexibility in assessing eligibility is required. For instance, the fort may have been impacted by the collection of artifacts, or the removal of structures, but the elements of the historic landscape around the site may still exist. The dividing point in evaluation rests upon the level of significance the fort embodies. If the site is of national significance a greater degree of latitude in evaluation is required. This latitude should not outstrip the requirement that

at least some physical or environmental integrity be in evidence in association with an excellent degree of integrity in the other characteristics.

There are two means by which the character and quality of an historic fort is verified and registration initiated. The first procedure uses substantial historic documentation. This procedure requires primary or well substantiated secondary historic sources verifying the fort's existence. Documentary evidence should be cumulative and relatable to a specific environmental context recorded in historic literature. Although discernable remains might be lacking in the immediate area documented there still might exist a recognizable physical setting explicitly linked to historic military records. The critical element in verifying sites in relation to this context is determining if the fort site retains integrity of setting commensurate with a significant historic period. Only those forts which can be linked to reliable and historic records and retain integrity of setting can be considered for registration under this verification procedure.

The second procedure used to verify the existence of an historic fort is the actual physical remains often accompanying forts in a setting retaining environmental integrity. In this instance historic documentation shows the location of the fort and artifacts and/or fortification ruins are found in conjunction to the recorded location. In both cases the integrity of the fort site should be judged considering the surrounding landscape. Visual integrity of the area around the site should reflect the period of historic significance: a feeling of time and place should be in evidence. This does not preclude fort sites having visual intrusions being evaluated on physical characteristics alone, but does maintain that fort sites retaining both physical and environmental integrity are of preeminent importance and more significant.

I. RANCH CONTEXT PROPERTY TYPE

II. Description

The ranch is a composite property type that includes a main ranch dwelling and associated outbuildings that functions as an integrated stock raising operation. The assemblage of buildings

and structures associated with a ranch explicitly display the full set of ranch functions and spacial relationships necessary for stock raising. The physical attributes of a ranch include barns, bunk houses, corrals, feedlots, fences, line shacks, stock pens or yards, stock-watering facilities, ranch houses, stock tending facilities (e.g. dip tanks), roundup sites and seasonal stock trails (as distinguished from market trails). Irrigation systems and hay or other agricultural fields are also features found in conjunction with ranches. The outlying human-created landscapes associated with livestock raising are critical rural cultural resources and should be carefully evaluated for environmental integrity and integration into the stock raising operation. A distinction between the size of ranching operations is significant. Small owner-operated or small family holdings should be distinguished from large open range operations. The latter dominated the earliest ranching in Wyoming; the former came to dominate in the post-1880 era. Ranches provide one of the greatest forums from which Wyoming's vernacular architectural trends can be evaluated. Access to main transportation corridors and local environmental conditions dictated what kinds of building materials could be used in construction. A high degree of adaptability in building fabric and form was often necessary. Local rock, wood and earthen materials were often used for modestly styled ranch homes. Elaborate eclectic or high-style homes also served as main ranch houses. A wide range of architectural modes can be evidenced among ranch properties depending on the social and financial status of the owners.

III. Significance

Stock raising is a significant theme in American history. Sheep were brought into the earliest settlements in New Mexico in the late sixteenth century. Throughout New Spain sheep were a mainstay of the Hispanic economy. Although cattle raising is generally associated with the West, stock raising was also an important aspect of eastern United States development. The first cattle introduced into eastern states came in 1611 at Jamestown, Virginia. A flourishing cattle raising industry was established by the early nineteenth century throughout the Southern States with cattle distributed onto the public domain as far west as modern Arkansas and Louisiana by 1820. Graziers combed the frontier for untrammelled grasslands to exploit. Throughout the early times of stock raising in the East the graziers were pushed

farther west to find unsettled grassy areas to feed their stock in a pattern reminiscent of Old World pastoralists. These cattle were marketed in the burgeoning urban centers of the East.

The sheep industry was shunned by many Americans though it remained important in the Hispanic West. Some Native American groups, especially the Navajo, adopted sheep raising successfully. The American sheep raisers, though few in number, did introduce the Merino sheep into the southwest in 1859 and cross-breeding between this strain and local varieties substantially improved the meat and wool production of Western sheep.

In time the two dominant traditions of North American cattle raising, the Spanish and the Anglo-American, met and mixed herds of hearty cattle were produced. The Spanish had established stock raising settlements in Texas in the 1700s. They had also distributed cattle raising among their settlements across the American southwest and California. In California the cattle industry was the primary base of the economy.

Cattle became a critical commodity in the Anglo-American expansion into the West. The establishment of Anglo-American hegemony throughout the West after the Mexican-American War of 1846 necessitated the distribution of food on the hoof for the increasing military presence on the plains. Although stayed by the widening Civil War conflict, the development of an American cattle industry in post-Civil War times was heightened by the increased demands for meat in Midwestern and Eastern cities. Cattlemen drove herds northward from central Texas to exploit the grasslands of the Plains. The long drives northward spread cattle raising throughout the West and, subsequently, towns began to dot the Plains states. Railheads pushed out into the Plains and enabled the cattlemen to transport their herds to the industrial East. Stockyards were built to funnel the cattle through the system and the heyday of the open range cattle industry was initiated. Use of the public domain and linked homesteads enabled a concentration of wealth among a few powerful men or syndicates. Until the early 1880s, when savage storms wrecked many cattlemen the open range system of cattle raising persisted. After this time smaller, more integrated stock raising patterns came into prominence. All told, the cattle raising industry, and its mythical protagonist, the cowboy, made a great impact on the American way of life and life of mind. Its

significance lay in its abetting settlement, including townscapes of theretofore unsettled regions and the development of a sustainable commerce on the plains.

In the pre-Civil War era sheep had been distributed throughout the West. The growth of mining in California and Nevada aided in this dispersal as did the establishment of Mormon settlements in the Great Basin. The post-Civil War boom development pattern associated with cattle raising was mirrored in sheep raising. Increased access to markets and the relative low cost of sheep raising made it a lucrative proposition for stockmen. Protective tariffs on wool aided the sheep men. When the tariffs were removed in 1894 the industry foundered. The reestablishment of the tariffs in 1897 aided the sheep men and fueled a switch by many cattlemen to sheep raising.

The sheep men never captured the imagination of Western popular writers or journalists the way the cowboy did. They did, however, form an important segment of the West's economy. Sheep were able to weather the vagaries of climate better, were more prolific than cattle, and the prices of wool and mutton were more stable than beef. The closing of the open range forced sheepherders to adapt to new circumstances. Smaller flocks were maintained. Shelters and regularly used stock camps were integrated into the seasonal round between summer and winter pasturage. The technological improvements like barbed wire that the cattlemen used also found use in the sheep raising industry. The tensions between sheep men and cattlemen in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century did explode into violence on occasion. The pressures of decreasing pasturage and long held prejudices provided the impetus for range wars which often left herds decimated and men dead. These conflicts should not obscure the fact that many sheep men were "converted" cattlemen. By the turn of the century sheep raisers far outstripped their cattle raiser counterparts. Into the modern era sheep raising forms an important aspect of the stock raising industry.

The transition from open range cattle raising to smaller homesteads incorporating a modicum of farming and stock raising was significant. The advent of barbed wire, windmills and other material culture items into stock raising made the business of stock raising substantially different than it was in its earliest days. The various congressional acts, including the Homestead Act of 1862, made smaller homesteads practicable. The disastrous

winters of the early 1880s on the Northern Plains underscored the need for ranch consolidation and integration. Although large stock raising concerns still existed after this date, and in some cases were successful, the dominant pattern became one of small "granger" style homesteads.

IV. Registration Requirements

The primary physical evidence necessary to establish the existence of an historic ranch is existing structures or buildings, or artifactual material and features datable to a specific historic context. Confirmation that a ranch existed in a specific locale will rest on the existence of documented historic records verifying the location of the ranch.

The evaluation of integrity on historic ranches must consider both the physical and environmental characteristics of the ranch site. Physical characteristics are the actual set of ranch remains, commonly non-perishable artifacts, and any structures or buildings associated with ranching activities including barns, bunk houses, corrals, feedlots, fences, line shacks, stock pens or yards, stock watering facilities, ranch houses, stock tending facilities (e.g. dip tanks), roundup sites and seasonal stock trails (as distinguished from market trails). Irrigation systems and hay or other agricultural fields are also likely features found in conjunction with ranches.

Environmental characteristics are those elements of the man-made and natural environment surrounding the ranch; the site's landscape context. The integrity of historic ranchs' physical and environmental characteristics are not always clear. National Register eligible ranches should display both physical and environmental integrity. However, there are cases where flexibility in assessing eligibility is required. For instance, only one of the two characteristics may display integrity; the ranch site may have been impacted by the collection of artifacts, but the elements of the historic landscape around the site may still exist. The dividing point in evaluation rests upon the level of significance the ranch site embodies. If the site is of national significance a greater degree of latitude in evaluation is required. This latitude should not outstrip the requirement that

at least some physical or environmental integrity be in evidence in association with an excellent degree of integrity in the other characteristic.

There are two means by which the character and quality of an historic ranch is verified and registration initiated. The first procedure uses substantial historic documentation. This procedure requires primary or well substantiated secondary historic sources verifying the ranch's existence in a particular area. Documentary evidence should be cumulative and relatable to a specific environmental context recorded in historic literature. Although discernable remains might be lacking in the immediate documented area, there still might exist a recognizable physical setting explicitly linked to historic campaign records. The critical element in verifying sites in relation to this context is determining if the ranch site retains integrity of setting commensurate with a significant historic period. Only those ranches which can be explicitly linked to the reliable and historic records and retain integrity of setting can be considered for registration under this verification procedure.

The second procedure used to verify the existence of an historic ranch is the actual physical remains often accompanying ranches in a setting retaining environmental integrity. In this instance historic documentation shows the location of the ranch and artifacts and/or structures are found in conjunction to the recorded location of the ranch. It is especially important that the historic archeological potential of the site be addressed in these instances. The potential for subsurface deposits should be evaluated.

In the process of verification and initiating registration, the integrity of a ranch site should be judged considering the surrounding landscape. Visual integrity of the area around the ranch site should reflect the period of historic significance. A feeling of time and place should be in evidence.

The project had four components: 1) a literature survey to review and synthesize existing cultural resource information, including both historic and prehistoric data, available for the Bozeman Trail corridor, 2) preparation of one set of 7.5 minute map overlays to depict the primary trail route as well as secondary cutoffs, 3) study of 1:32,000 color IR aerial photographic transparencies to refine the survey report and accompanying trail maps, and 4) an intensive field survey of land blocks selected on the basis of aerial photographs.

STUDY PROBLEMS, METHODOLOGY AND ASSESSMENT OF INTEGRITY

Nineteenth century emigrant roads pose a number of survey problems. First, many trails were in continual use by wagons, stages, carriages, and even automobiles well after the emigrant period. Some segments of the Bozeman Trail became county roads and were improved, sometimes paved. Ranchers, hunters and others with four wheel drive vehicles have traveled on trail segments and continue to do so. Therefore, much of the trail has been obliterated. Where evidence of the trail remains, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish nineteenth century ruts from early twentieth century ones. The Survey Historian must rely on research and judgement. Second, emigrant trails were not single two-track roads, but rather general routes or corridors of traffic. Wagons would spread out to reduce the dust for those in the rear and to find adequate water and grazing for their stock. Also, there were differrences in summer or winter courses. As a result, the segments that remain along the Bozeman Trail tend to be those where wagons converged at creek crossings and on hillsides, where ruts eroded over time.

Recognizing that trail identification is not a precise science, the Survey Historian attempted to locate the primary corridor of the Bozeman Trail and evaluate existing trail segments on the basis of extensive research in historic documents including letters, diaries and reminiscences of trail users, and on-the-ground survey. Researchers collected primary source material from a variety of western history collections including those at the Western Heritage Center, University of Wyoming; Wyoming Archives, Museums and Historical Department; Montana State Historical Society; Denver Public Library; Chicago's Newberry Library; Yale's Dienecke Library; and the U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Among the

most valuable documents were diaries written by emigrants and military personnel who traveled the road during the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s. These diaries contain descriptions of landmarks, distances, campsites, and historic events including skirmishes with Indians. Researchers also consulted historic maps (those kept by military personnel proved especially useful), secondary sources and local traditions passed down from early settlers. Based on documentary evidence, the Survey Historian drew the primary trail corridor and some secondary cutoffs on U.S.G.S. maps. She then examined Bureau of Land Management 1:32,000 color IR aerial photographic transparencies of the trail corridor to refine the trail maps. The photos were very useful in locating the historic trail since they reveal linear surface disruptions. Armed with the maps, several SHPO staff members then conducted the on-the-ground inventory, surveying most intensively those segments which appeared on the aerial photos. Visible rut segments and associated historic sites were located on the U.S.G.S. maps. The maps thus serve as a record of trail segment conditions and locations and a record of trail-related sites.

The surveyors used a variety of on-site criteria in evaluating trail rut segments including changes in vegetation color, size or growth patterns. They looked for artifacts including tin cans and other historic trash along rut segments, at stage station sites, and battlefields. Unfortunately, except for an occasional square nail or tin can, they found no artifacts and no marked grave sites. Also, the surveyors considered terrain, trying to deduce the logical place for wagon train and stage travel. Presumably, travelers avoided deep ravines, draws and steep hills whenever possible. Finally, landowners were very helpful in identifying trail ruts and stage station sites. Many of them, aware of the trail route in their ranch vicinity, gave directions or accompanied surveyors to the rut segments of associated sites on their property. In sum, the criteria they relied upon were considerable historic research and documentation, changes in vegetation, continuity, logic of terrain, artifacts, and local knowledge.

The relevant historic contexts applied in this nomination are derived from the Bozeman Trail's significance as an historic transportation corridor. A qualitative assessment was applied to segments discovered in the course of investigations, tieing the field evaluation into the National Register of Historic Places Criteria for Evaluation. The retention of location as an element

of integrity is critical to National Register eligibility. This is because location actually embodies elements of road/trail design dictated by traversable grades along the trail corridor. A range of choices faced each trail emigrant but these choices were limited by the wagon technology, weather conditions and knowledge of local forage and water availability. Setting, feeling and association as elements of integrity are also important. These elements have the ability to communicate to the modern observer a sense of the historic environment and are thus only slightly less important than location.

Concomitant with an evaluation of trail integrity was the delineation of appropriate boundaries for the various nomination properties. To protect the elements of integrity retained by the various components identified and evaluated along the trail, boundaries were formed to preserve qualities reminiscent of the historic environment.

The boundaries devised for the historic Bozeman Trail sites were the result of an intensive field survey conducted by the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office. This survey located existing portions of the main historic trail corridor as well as significant historic sites associated with this important transportation route.

The remnants of the historic Bozeman Trail that survive, to date, include trail rut segments, Army post structures and sites, Indian-Army battlegrounds, stage stations and early Powder River Basin ranches. A number of properties within this nomination are limited to trail rut segments and stage stations associated with early regional settlement.

The central corridor of the trail, as evidenced in the field, serves as the primary delimiter for the boundaries herein outlined. Trails like the Bozeman were, however, subject to a wide range of variability in use during their historically significant periods. Where it could be established by documentary evidence (i.e. maps, guides and journals) and field observation, routes diverging from the main corridor were included into the nomination boundaries.

The boundaries of the nomination segments have been principally designed to protect the significant sites and segments of the trail and to retain the significant visual qualities associated

with these cultural resources. The importance of the space surrounding the trail, lending a critical aesthetic quality to it, cannot be ignored. The location of the trail was significantly related to its environmental context in providing numerous well watered camp spots, a surfeit of game for hunting, plenty of grass for the feeding of livestock, traversable grades for wagon and stage traffic, and access to previously unexploited areas of the Anglo-American frontier. Equally important was the visual impression made by the trail and its surrounding landscape on the pioneers and Native inhabitants traveling through the region. For the latter, the trail was a dangerous, precedent setting, intrusion on their home landscape; the former saw it as an important thoroughfare to unsettled, and hence, unexploited regions.

In order to preserve the sense of time and place associated with the trail, retention of its visual quality necessitates a flexible approach towards nomination boundaries. The protective corridor concept (most recently outlined in the BLM's Oregon Trail Management Plan) sets historic trail corridor widths at 1/4 mile on either side of the trail or sets the corridor boundary on the visual horizon. It is therefore recognized that significant trail segments and sites should retain an unimpaired visual aspect or close approximation of this quality. Retention of a visual aspect can include both arbitrarily (i.e. 1/4 mile) or naturally (i.e. vistas) set boundaries. Preference for topographically based boundaries excluding intrusive visual elements (e.g. modern roadways, radio/microwave towers on the visual horizon) or a sufficient amount of topographic relief to exclude visual intrusions was used to set the boundaries. At least three UTM reference points are provided for each nominated trail segment or site. Latitude or longitude coordinates are substituted where UTM tick marks were not available on USGS maps.

The Bozeman Trail nomination includes historic sites within the trail corridor which are significantly associated with the historic use of the trail. These sites are stage stations which are manifested by varying amounts of surface remains or building depressions. Nomination boundaries for these cultural resources are set in accordance with the overall scheme devised for the trail. The visual integrity of the site's local is retained by including both the site and the immediate landscape. The boundaries for these sites therefore exceed the diffusion of artifacts and building depressions commonly nominated with such

properties. Again, the visual integrity of the landscape adjoining the main corridor is believed to be sufficiently important to justify this inclusion of nomination acreage. The historical archeological potential of the site is also retained by this boundary delineation.

LIMITATIONS ON IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATIVE METHODS

The intent of this preliminary round of registration is to enroll a small selection of National Register eligible properties on the Bozeman Trail in the National Register. It should not be assumed that this nomination represents an exhaustive list of National Register sites, structures, buildings or objects along the Bozeman Trail. The primary goal of this registration is to form the basis for future registration activities along the Bozeman Trail corridor. To that end several of the Historic Contexts outlined in section E. are included within this documentation, although no sites are currently being nominated in reference to them. Due to the complexity of nominating eligible properties evaluated within the context of reconnaissance level survey a large number of potentially eligible sites have been excluded from this initial round of registration. The nomination can therefore be seen as a point of departure for future Bozeman Trail registration initiatives.

Of critical importance to future registration activities is the full evaluation of sites possessing the potential to yield information (hence eligible for the National Register under criterion D). The historical archaeological potential of many of the Bozeman Trail sites has only been cursorily examined in this initial documentation. In addition, sites nominated within this nomination do not exhaust the possibility of several property types identified in the Historic Context statement and not individually registered in this documentation. Many of these property types are historic Native American camps, military bivouacs, and ranchsteads to name a few.

A number of sites originally conceived as being properties to be included in this nomination have not been included due to changes in documentary standards since their recording. These sites can, however, be viewed as having a high potential for eligibility for inclusion to the National Register of Historic Places. These sites include:

48CO167	Dry Fork of the Cheyenne River Station
48CO165	Cheyenne River Divide Segment
48JO799	Cooke's 17 Mile Stage Station
48JO134	Smith Draw Segment
48SH255	Claussen Creek Segment
48SH255	Sheely Ranch Segment
48CO185	Sand Creek Station
48CO176	Brown Springs Station

Further location information on these sites may be obtained from the Cultural Records section of the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office.

SIGNIFICANCE AND EVALUATIVE CONSIDERATIONS

The saga of westward expansion over great emigrant roads has assumed epic proportions in American culture. The Bozeman Trail is one of those roads, although its use and importance transcends the covered wagon days. Passing through prime Sioux and Cheyenne hunting grounds in the 1860s, a period when those tribes experienced tremendous pressures from migrating whites, its users traveled at risk of attack and the road became known as the "Bloody Bozeman." Because of this, a thoroughfare of regional significance required protection from the federal government and, in the process, gained national attention.

Along the course of the Bozeman Trail the federal government, United States Army, and Northern Plains tribes played out the regional chapter of the now familiar national story of dispossession of Indians' lands. Treaties were signed and then violated by white trespassers. Cheyenne, Sioux, and Arapahoe retaliated by attacking wagon trains. The Army established posts along the road and eventually conquered the Indians through force.

Perhaps the Bozeman Trail's greater significance, however, is on the state and local level. From 1878 on, the transportation corridor was critical to the white settlement and economic development of northeast Wyoming. It was the only thoroughfare to link that section of Wyoming with the railroads. As stagecoaches and mule-drawn freight wagons replaced emigrant wagons on the Bozeman, large and small scale ranchers, entrepreneurs and others flowed into communities along the base of the Big Horns.

A handful settled in the less hospitable Powder River country of Converse, Campbell and Johnson Counties at stage station/post offices along the road or on ranches.

The Bozeman Trail, then, is an historic resource of substantial regional, state and local significance that has also received a fair measure of national attention. Those remnants of the trail that survive include historic trail rut segments, Army post structures and sites, Indian/Army battlegrounds, stage station sites and early ranches. In sum, these remnants represent most aspects of the trail's history. All of these resources, however, are endangered by the development of northeast Wyoming's natural resources.

To qualify for listing in the National Register under criterion A, historic properties must be associated with one or more events evaluated as important within the area's historic context. This criterion also recognizes that properties associated with a succession of activities over a period of time, have significance. In the case of the development of the Bozeman Trail there is a succession of historic events, primarily related to transportation, western migration and regional settlement, which make the series of linked, though discontinuous, sites important historic properties worthy of registration. To reflect historic significance, the Bozeman Trail can be constructively viewed as a cultural landscape. Through time the trail has taken on historic significance relatable to several different historic themes. This multi-dimensionality or historic character enables the trail to represent a wide array of historic occurrences ranging from Native American occupance to permanent Anglo-American settlement and resource extraction. Trails represent a unique type of cultural resource in terms of having the ability to convey a number of historic associations through a minimal amount of physical remains, namely, rutted trail segments and ruins. It behooves the cultural resource manager to treat these unusual resources with reference to their unique qualities; a landscape perspective which addresses the spacial integrity of the trail is demanded.

The current management plan for the Oregon/Mormon Pioneer Trails details a well known approach. Within this document we see evidence of some thought being given to a landscape perspective in relation to historic trail preservation (Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, 1985). A protective corridor concept is outlined (16-17) which calls for protection

of visual integrity along significant trail segments. In addition, significant corridors and cutoffs, though outside of or adjuncts to the main path of the trail, will be safeguarded. This approach on the part of the BLM typifys a growing concern among preservation specialists that these resources demand an alternative perspective. Whatever the time period of significance, we need to be aware that cultural landscapes are composed of a variety of components; much in the same manner as archeological layers, but superimposed on the ground's surface. The multi-dimensionality of cultural landscape features, like historic trails, is recognized by scholar Robert Melnick:

> ...any...landscape derives it primary significance from a particular historic period, alterations or additions may have achieved a significance of their own. The fact that a landscape component has changed over time tends only to increase its significance...Recognizing that places may represent more than one historic period is vital to understanding rural landscapes, and to discussion of the significance and integrity....

Here we see an attitude that does justice to the intricacies of historical processes. The combined elements of setting and feeling can be retained from this perspective. Setting is the historically significant natural and man-made character of a place. Feeling is the quality evoking the aesthetic or historic sense of place. The perceptual qualities of trail sites are important reminders of how past travelers experienced the landscape. In attempting to unravel the meaning of these landscapes and what they say of American cultural history is of critical importance.

Discussion here of trails as landscape features emanates from J.B. Jackson's distinction of two kinds of road networks, the centrifugal and centripetal. Historic trails seem to display attributes of both kinds of road networks through time. Historic trails can best be categorized as centripetal and vernacular in some instances and centrifugal in other contexts. The Bozeman Trail, passing through north central Wyoming and ending in the gold fields of Montana, provides and excellent example of the applicability of Jackson's concepts and how the adoption of a landscape perspective in assessing the significance of these historic artifacts can be productive in retaining historic integrity.

As defined by Jackson, the centrifugal road system represents roadways formed as nationwide or consolidating networks, embodying wide ranging political motivations. The vernacular, or centripetal roads, of landscape are oriented towards the small scale movement of people and are considerably less dramatic in intent. The vernacular road serves local interests and needs, is identified with local custom, pragmatic adaptation to circumstances and unpredictable mobility. He further articulates his concepts by stating:

> ...[There is the] small, isolated centripetal system, subject to constant change, showing for so little maps and playing so insignificant a role in history...and the impressive, widespread, permanent centrifugal system of highways... strengthening and maintain[ing] ...social order ...tying together at one central place all the spaces which constitute the...state.

The differences in scale, direction and intent in these two road systems is marked. The centrifugal (directed away from the center of an axis) is grand in scale, commonly disregards topography and commonly emphasizes military and commercial use. Its purpose is to extend and consolidate hegemony. The centripetal (directed toward the center of an axis) is flexible, without overall plan, isolated, usually without maintenance, and is often the bane of efficient traffic. Centripetal roads commonly eschew integration into a greater centralized network.

The application of this dichotomy to trail study has some interesting ramifications, leading to an increased appreciation of the complexity inherent in the analysis of historic landscape features.

The genesis of any kind of landscape feature, including historically significant trails, is not without its precedents or corollaries. The appearance of trails on the Wyoming landscape was and is a continuance of cultural processes of long duration. A measure of the dynamism in the process of road formation is revealed in the trail's shifting nature from a vernacular state to a level of national significance and recession back to a vernacular state through time.

Wyoming possesses some of the Nation's best examples of intact vernacular landscape resources in its trails. It is interesting

to use Jackson's seminal analysis in relation to Wyoming's trails to see how vernacular roadways can be transferred into a more integrated network and then back to a more prosaic state. Certainly within the vision of the Lakota medicine man Black Elk we see how the Bozeman Trail first represented a centripetal network of Native American use tied to the seasonal round of hunting and gathering; later in his vision it became a symbol of Anglo-American hegemony. Within the view of emigrants like Ellen Fletcher the Bozeman Trail was a road to a new Eden and the adjoining landscape was a backdrop to an idealized domestic landscape to be gained by further travel (refer to Historic Context, Section E. Native American Occupance; Emigrant Trail). Jackson's dichotomy cannot be used to neatly encapsulate all roads, but it does provide a unique perspective on the significance of the visual qualities of these routes. Some questions in relation to Jackson's dichotomization arise, however. Is it relevant to think of trails as purely vernacular in form, flexible and highly variable, or do we view them as the precursors of our present day highway networks? We lean towards their inherent vernacular quality for the pioneer epoch. The widely divergent nature of the various trail cutoffs and detours, the need for flexibility in traversing these routes, and the use of these roads long after the massive westward migration peaked, speak to a vernacular tradition rather than a preeminently political one. Given this availability in form it is important to treat them as a segment of our vernacular heritage. The military forts and trail improvements of the 1850s-1860s brought the trails into the National realm, and, hence, they became centrifugal in orientation. But who would argue Ellen Fletcher's experience, during the height of the military's presence, was not part of a vernacular tradition? The road was certainly not a smoothed thoroughfare, nor was it fully incorporated into the American landscape. The trail, like so many roads of this era, was the product of relatively small scale emigration to unexploited range and farm land. Jackson preumably envisioned a sliding scale in his dichotomization. The waxing and waning of roadway use in traveling these roads correspondingly reflect the roads' integration into the dominant culture's world view.

How can we retain a bit of the landscape vision found by Black Elk and Ellen Fletcher? Geographer Pierce Lewis is right to point out the greatest portion of our national landscape was fashioned by people whose tastes, habits, technology, wealth, ambitions, and visions where different from our own. There is a

critical element of integrity involved in preserving these trails. We have witnessed two visions of the early Wyoming landscape which celebrate the wide open vistas found on the state's Plains-Mountain intersection. If integrity of an historic vision is to be preserved, or a vision is to be given expression in a form that can be experienced by others, we must devise a technique of preservation cognizant of how the environment was seen by its inhabitants in time.

Our awareness that this form of landscape preservation must include some amount of surrounding countryside, to preserve the trail's visual integrity, is continually growing. Whether this entails an arbitrarily set protective zone surrounding the trail remains, or greater acreage incorporating the unobstructed visual horizon we have become aware that the trail's environmental context is important. Preservation of the ruts alone does not convey the feeling of time and place associated with the trail's period of historic significance. Attention must be focused on treating these cultural remains from a wider perspective; matching the seemingly endless vistas perceived by the nineteenth century emigrant pioneers and Native Americans inhabiting the region.

These trails are a physical manifestation of their cultural context with which we can relate directly. Hopefully the present written plans devised for retention of this integrity are critically applied to testify to our attempts to retain this vital ingredient of integrity. Speaking to John Neihardt as they completed their collaborative effort Black Elk Speaks, Black Elk envisioned a world intimately linked to the Lakota landscape within their view. From this vantage we can share a vision articulated by Black Elk in his later life. Whether we will remember the land with the same generosity of spirit remains to be seen.

> We see here the strange lands of the world (the badlands), and on this side you see the greenness of the world (the plains), and down there the wideness of the world (the prairies), the colors of the earth. And you will set them in your mind. This is my land...and in this land my children will prosper...The six grandfathers set upon this world many things, all of which should be happy. Every little thing is sent for something, and in that thing should be happiness and making each other happy.

A measure of this perception of the High Plains landscape is reflected in Black Elk's empowering live vision. Black Elk describes a scene in which

> ...a voice [said]: "Behold this day, for it is yours to make. Now you shall stand upon the center of the earth to see, for there they are taking you there"...Then I was standing on the highest mountain of them all, and round about beneath me was the whole hoop [circle] of the world.

The preservation of this vernacular landscape should address, as best as possible, the world view articulated by Black Elk. The only way this might be approached, in light of current policies, is to make the attempt to preserve visual integrity. The open, untrammeled grasslands of the High Plains were the focal point of this culture's vision. What trails existed were local and vernacular in scale. Flexibility was their hallmark. The Bozeman Trail can act as a locus from which this vision of the Plains can be seen. Where segments of the old trail exist the demands of preserving integrity should retain an unobstructed aspect. Retention of the visual integrity of the open landscape best exemplifies this era.

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The Bozeman Trail project, using Office of Surface Mining funding, was begun in spring of 1980. Survey Historian, Dr. Sherry Smith, was hired by the SHPO, to begin research and survey. Dr. Smith worked for the SHPO for approximately two years during which time she conducted a majority of the necessary research, examined the aerial photographic transparencies, prepared field maps, wrote the initial survey report, conducted survey work, and prepared draft nominations for twenty-seven sites determined eligible by the SHPO staff. After Dr. Smith left the office, work on the Bozeman Trail nomination continued sporadically, because responsibility for its completion did not rest with a specific staff member, but rather was shared by several individuals with a great deal of other work to accomplish. SHPO staff members who were responsible for additional contributions to this project include, Sheila Bricher-Wade, Rick Bryant, Richard Collier, Hugh Davidson, Rick Ewig, Doug Goodman, Josie Kantner, Greg Kendrick, Dennis Madden, Tom Marceau, Carl McWilliams, Mike Massie, Rheba Massey, Bruce Noble, Robert Rosenberg, and Eileen Starr, who nurtured the project during it's most traumatic phase, 1982-1984. Mr. Davidson was hired by the SHPO in 1985, first as an intern and then as Survey Historian, in 1986. Because his primary responsibilities were to prepare Wyoming's transportation context and upgrade the nomination in accordance with the Multiple Property Documentation format, RP3 requirements, and new nominations policies, the Bozeman Trail Multiple Property Documentation Form, and nine individual site nominations have been completed.

NPS Form 10-900-a
(8-86)

OMB Approval No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number _____ Page _____

Bozeman Trail In Wyoming MPS Campbell, Converse and Johnson Counties, WY

Date Listed

COVER 7/23/89

1. Antelope Creek Crossing 7/23/89
2. Holdup Hollow Segment, Bozeman Trail 7/23/89
3. Lake Desmet Segment, Bozeman Trail 7/23/89
4. Nine Mile Segment, Bozeman Trail 7/23/89
5. Powder River Station--Powder River Crossing 7/23/89
6. Ross Flat Segment, Bozeman Trail 7/23/89
7. Sage Creek Station 7/23/89
8. Stinking Water Gulch Segment, Bozeman Trail 7/23/89
9. Trabing Station--Crazy Woman Crossing 7/23/89