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ON THE COVER (*front*) Three bighorn rams cross a snowy field in Glacier National Park in John Fery's painting *On Belly River*. Born in the Austrian Empire in 1859, Fery specialized in painting large-format outdoor scenes, especially in the American West. With the Great Northern Railway as his largest patron, Fery's scenes graced train stations to promote travel to the national parks. John Fery, artist, ca. 1910. *On Belly River*, oil on canvas, 53" x 80" framed, MTHS Museum Collection

(*back*) Founded in 1865 and based in Helena, the Kessler Brewing Company was one of Montana's earliest breweries. This keg from around 1900 enabled the brewery to store and distribute its beer across the region to quench thirsty palates. Kessler operated until 1958, with a break during national Prohibition from 1919 to 1933, when the alcohol industry moved underground. Kessler Brewing Company, ca. 1900. Wood and iron, 24 1/2" x 19", MTHS Museum Collection

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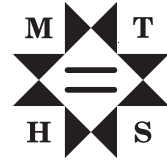
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When Did People Arrive in Montana?

An Excerpt from *Land of Beginnings: The Archaeology of Montana's First Peoples*

By Douglas H. MacDonald

Researchers from Montana State University, some of whom can be seen in this Seiss Wagner photograph from the site, first excavated the Lindsay Mammoth site in 1967, revealing a single Columbian mammoth that likely died from natural causes. Many archaeologists question the evidence supporting a human presence at the site. Courtesy of Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman.



Thousands of hours of archaeological research have been conducted in Montana and the surrounding region to try to explain how and when humans first arrived there. Similar investigations have taken place throughout the western hemisphere. Indeed, more research exists on Native American origins than any other topic in American archaeology. Since the nineteenth century, and particularly after archaeologists excavated Clovis projectile points—unique implements produced by the hunter-gatherer culture of the same name—from the ribs of mammoths in New Mexico in the early twentieth century, historians and archaeologists have sought to understand how people came to the Americas.

Among the key archaeological sites that have advanced our understanding of the peopling of North America, the Anzick site in Montana stands out. In the 1960s, a local resident uncovered the ancient skeleton of a young boy near Wilsall, Montana. Archaeologists soon discovered that the human remains at the Anzick site, which date to eleven thousand years ago, were the oldest ever found in Montana. The discovery of Clovis points at the site established that this boy had belonged to the Clovis culture. And crucially, these remains provided evidence of a genetic link between the Indigenous peoples of North America and their ancestors in northeast Asia and Siberia.

While most archaeologists still accept Anzick as Montana's oldest site, some argue that a different site is even older. In 1966, Montana State University archaeologists excavated a mammoth near Lindsay, located in eastern Montana between Glendive and Circle, that yielded radiocarbon dates of around twelve thousand years ago, well before any Clovis people were known to inhabit North America. The question of whether humans killed this mammoth, however, remains controversial, and many experts disagree about whether the Lindsay Mammoth site qualifies as an archaeological site or a paleontological site. The debate revolves around one question: Did people kill and/or butcher the mammoth at the site twelve thousand years ago, or did the animal die of natural causes with no human predation?

Evidence from comparable sites in the region, namely the Wally's Beach site, just across the Montana border in Alberta, offers valuable insights that may help to answer this question. So too does a comparison of the archaeological results from Lindsay Mammoth with the Schaefer and Hebior sites near Kenosha, Wisconsin, which are of a similar age and show human butchery of male Columbian mammoths. All told, a careful look at the archaeological data from a variety of sites can help determine whether pre-Clovis people resided in Montana.

Though precisely when the first humans arrived in Montana remains contested, archaeologists know where these people came from: Beringia. While it no longer exists, Beringia once was a vast land covered by tundra, steppe, and forest that encompassed thousands of square miles and connected present-day Russia and the United States. While both nations still have vestiges of the former great continent, today it is bisected by the Bering Strait, with Siberia to the west and Alaska to the east. Beringia was long thought to be a snow-and-ice-covered landscape incapable of supporting humans. After decades of scientific research, however, we now know that Beringia was much more like an African savannah than an Arctic wasteland. Beringia contained more than thirty species of now-extinct mammals, including musk oxen, horses, bison, camels, woolly rhinoceros, and mammoths. Since those animals require a huge amount of grass to sur-



The Lindsay Mammoth and Wally's Beach sites—in Montana and Alberta, respectively—are among the earliest possible archaeological sites in North America. This map shows them in relation to similar findings across North America, including the Schaefer and Hebior sites in Wisconsin. Monte White

vive, it makes sense that Beringia was a vast and abundant grassland.

Predators abounded in Beringia as well, including giant bears, sabretooth cats, dire wolves, and humans. Indeed, humans were the major and most-feared predator in this landscape. In pursuit of their prey, people followed the megafauna across the Russian steppe, through Beringia, and into Alaska. Until about fourteen or fifteen thousand years ago, an interior route through Alaska, into Canada, and down to the continental United States was impossible. Two large ice sheets prevented interior travel; the Cordilleran Ice Sheet covered the Pacific Coast, while the Laurentide Ice Sheet covered most of Canada and Alaska.

The two ice sheets created a several-thousand-year bottleneck in eastern Beringia that slowed the progress of migrating animals and people into the Americas. While archaeological evidence of coastal migration is lacking due to rising ocean levels since

the Late Pleistocene, some of these early migrants likely made their way out of Beringia by following the shoreline of the Pacific Ocean. They may have used kayaks and umiaks to move along the Pacific Coast and hunt seals, whales, and fish.

Archaeological data is abundant, however, for the ancient hunter-gatherers of the interior areas of Beringia. Interior hunter-gatherers lived along the major rivers of Beringia and hunted mammoth, rhinoceros, sloth, camel, and horse. The genetic data indicate that these migrating human populations lived in the wilds of Beringia for a few thousand years or more before proceeding southward into the Americas. For generations, these people saw nothing but ice when they looked east and south. A few intrepid explorers pushed across the ice, returning with stories of more ice. They likely advised staying in Beringia rather than risking their lives on the barren ice sheets. Around thirteen thousand years ago, however, a passage formed

between the Cordilleran and Laurentide Ice Sheets. Archaeologists call this inland route between Beringia and North America the Ice-Free Corridor.

The earliest archaeological sites that have been discovered in eastern Beringia—including Swan Point, Broken Mammoth, Bluefish Caves—are located near the northern entrance of the Ice-Free Corridor, and date to around the time of its opening. Sites within the corridor date to about 11,000 years ago or just after. Wally's Beach, just south of the corridor's southern opening, is the earliest of the group at 11,400 years old. Based on the archaeological data, it appears that Beringians may have started to push south through the corridor as new territory to hunt and gather opened. This makes perfect sense for a population of hunter-gatherers making their living off of the land. Certainly, the Ice-Free Corridor would have been a foreign land; but, at the same time, it would have looked like these peoples' homelands, with the same flora and fauna eventually spreading into the corridor. It is conceivable that the first hunter-gatherers in the Ice-Free Corridor may not have known they were colonizing previously uninhabited areas. They were simply living their lives; in so doing, they may have gradually made their way to Montana.



During his travels in Alaska, Edward S. Curtis photographed these Indigenous fishermen in kayaks in 1929. Native peoples living in present-day Alaska and the Canadian coast have long made use of kayaks and umiaks for sea travel, and Beringians traversing the Pacific coast likely used similar vessels over 11,500 years ago. Library of Congress

The Wally's Beach and Lindsay Mammoth sites are similar in one important aspect: Archaeologists are not sure who or what killed the animals at these very early sites in the northwestern Great Plains. The Wally's Beach site is also relevant because it is located just north of Montana's border with Canada, roughly thirty-five miles from the town of Babb on the Black-foot Indian Reservation.

A team of archaeologists from the University of Calgary—including Brian Kooyman—analyzed the Wally's Beach site during the 2000s and 2010s. Kooyman, along with colleagues Michael Waters of Texas

Radiocarbon Dating

The ability to place a date on artifacts and sites that we find during an expedition is a vital tool for modern archaeologists. Archaeologists have two ways of establishing chronologies for artifacts, sites, and cultures. The first is by radiocarbon dating, in which ten-thousand-year-old organic materials found at archaeological sites can be precisely dated within thirty to fifty years of the day from which a person used them. The age of an organic artifact can be dated by measuring the amount of the isotope carbon-14 present. Carbon-14 has a known half-life and a known rate of decay, and by measuring the amount of it in an organic material, archaeologists can determine when an organism died, revealing the age of the artifact. The most common type of organic material found at sites is charcoal or burned wood. Hunter-gatherers had to build fires to cook food and stay warm, especially in cold places like Montana. I always look for evidence of fires at archaeological sites so that I can find charcoal, which will allow my team to place an age on the site. Other types of commonly dated organic artifacts at sites include bone, antler, wood, ivory, plants, and even hair.

There are two types of dates associated with radiocarbon dating: first, the radiocarbon dates; and second, their calibrations. While I choose to use the actual radiocarbon dates in years before present (BP) in this article, many archaeologists have switched to the use of calibrated dates. The latter form renders the radiocarbon dates more-or-less equivalent to our modern calendar years. For the Late Pleistocene epoch, the calibrations typically are about two thousand years older than the actual radiocarbon dates. The calibrations are always changing as well, as they are refined in comparison to tree ring chronologies and the like. For example, the radiocarbon age for the Anzick site, Montana's most important (and oldest) archaeological site, is 11,000 years BP. The calibration date, in contrast, is about 12,800 calendar years ago.



Radiocarbon dating is now most commonly done with an accelerator mass spectrometer. U.S. Dept. of Energy

A&M University and Thomas Stafford of Aarhus University in Denmark, published their findings from Wally's Beach in the *Proceeding of the National Academy of Sciences* in 2015. The resulting paper describes Wally's Beach as containing the "only certain evidence for prehistoric human hunting of horse and camel in North America." Since its publication, Anzick has also yielded evidence of camel hunting.

Wally's Beach is located on a high terrace roughly one hundred feet above the nearby St. Mary River. In the early 2000s, University of Calgary archaeologists identified Clovis points and evidence that those points were used to hunt muskox, caribou, camel, and bison. Further, the original radiocarbon dates at the site—about eleven thousand years ago—supported Clovis occupation, much like the Anzick site.

Since those early discoveries, additional research in the 2010s revealed a bone bed comprised of seven butchered horses and one camel. Researchers found these animals with about thirty associated flaked stone tools that humans used to process the animals. Unfortunately, archaeologists have not yet determined

which styles of projectile points people used at the site. While researchers found Clovis points that contained horse protein several hundred yards away from the bone bed, this evidence doesn't show beyond reasonable doubt that those Clovis points were used to kill the specific animals in the bone bed, just that the Clovis points had also been used to kill or butcher horses at some point. Hopefully, technological advancements will allow us to determine whether Clovis or pre-Clovis hunters killed the horses and the camel. For now, it appears just as likely that people using non-Clovis technology killed the animals.

Waters, Stafford, and Kooyman conducted radiocarbon dating—including twenty-seven separate dates—of the horses and camels and showed that they were all killed about 11,400 years ago. These dates would make Wally's Beach among the earliest Clovis sites. Another elephant kill site in the Sonoran Desert of northern Mexico—El Fin del Mundo, excavated by Guadalupe Sanchez and her colleagues from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México in Hermosillo, Sonora—yielded radiocarbon dates of about 11,500



At the Wally's Beach site in Alberta, archaeologists uncovered 11,400-year-old horse and camel remains, including the horse vertebrae pictured here. These animals were found with about thirty associated flaked stone tools that hunters used to process the animals. Brian Kooyman photograph



The Anzick boy was buried with more than one hundred artifacts, including these beautiful examples of Clovis bifaces and other stone tools. Stocky White photograph

years ago, making it slightly earlier than the horse and camel kill site at Wally's Beach. Further, at El Fin del Mundo, Native Americans clearly used seven Clovis projectile points to kill two gomphotheres, a type of elephant, with a smaller body than mammoths and mastodons, that roamed Mexico in the Late Pleistocene.

In the conclusion of their important article about the findings at Wally's Beach, Kooyman, Waters, and their co-authors make a valuable distinction about the earliest archaeological sites on the northwestern Great Plains of Montana and Alberta: "We must realize that kill sites of this age will likely have very few artifacts in total. These few artifacts may be nondiagnostic and nonlithic; we should not necessarily expect to find a diagnostic artifact form." This is a crucial point to make about the evidence, or lack thereof, that the first people to inhabit North America left behind. It is likely that the region's first people did not know where to find reliable sources of stone. As David Meltzer of Texas A&M University notes in his book *First People in a New World*, these earliest Native American hunter-gatherers needed to learn their landscape. It may have taken a few generations of living in the region for them

to know the locations of stone they could use to make Clovis and other early projectile points.

So, what would these people have used to hunt and butcher their animals in the meantime? At the Manis Mastodon site in Washington, for instance, it appears that the first Americans likely used bone, antler, and ivory to produce their hunting and butchery tools until they learned about stone sources. Eventually, they learned where they could find stone and made the switch to stone projectile points produced from those lithic sources. At least three of the earliest sites in the region, all determined to be of pre-Clovis age—Wally's Beach, Manis Mastodon, and Paisley Caves in Oregon—did not yield abundant evidence of stone tool use.

The Schaefer and Hebior Mammoth sites in Wisconsin, like Lindsay Mammoth, are early mammoth kill sites in North America that lack significant stone tool assemblage. Both sites are widely accepted as legitimate pre-Clovis sites that are about the same age as Lindsay Mammoth.

Dan Joyce of the Kenosha Public Museum excavated the Schaefer Mammoth in the early 1990s. The



Columbian mammoths, such as the one found at the Lindsay Mammoth site in Montana, were massive animals, as this display at the University of Nebraska State Museum makes clear. This 1933 photograph shows the mammoth specimen on display at the museum—the tallest Columbian mammoth on display in the United States, at fourteen feet—in contrast with two Indian elephant skeletons and the men who assembled the fossils, Henry Reider and Frank Bell.

320101-01086, Erwin H. Barbour Papers, Museum Photograph Series, Archives & Special Collections, University of Nebraska-Lincoln Libraries

adult male mammoth remains were found on the edge of a pond in what had been a spruce forest during the Late Pleistocene. As with Lindsay, Schaefer was within several miles of the Laurentide Ice Sheet. Using bone and wood found at the site, archaeologists dated the mammoth to 12,500 years ago, well before Clovis. Archaeologists widely accept this site as valid due to the excessive evidence of human butchery, including the presence of stone tools used to process the animal.

Marquette University excavated the nearby Hebior Mammoth kill site later in the 1990s. This site also contains the remains of a male Columbian mammoth that dates to between 12,400 and 12,600 years old. As with Schaefer, this site yielded a very small number of stone tools, including a few stone flakes used to process the animal.

Neither Hebior nor Schaefer revealed evidence of the elephants' cause of death, so it is not clear whether human predation or natural causes led to their demise. However, based on the assemblage of stone tools at

the sites and the butchery marks found on the mammoths, archaeologists are certain that people at the very least butchered the animals. So, archaeologists consider these two sites to be among the earliest evidence that people left behind in North America.

That brings us to the Lindsay Mammoth site in Montana. The site was first identified in a farm field near the small town of Lindsay in 1966. The following year, the landowners invited a team of archaeologists from Montana State University—led by George Arthur, a professor, and Leslie Davis, a University of Calgary graduate student—to excavate the site. Leslie Davis was well-known in Montana archaeological circles, having grown up in the Clark Fork River valley west of Missoula, where he spent his time looking for Native American artifacts in farm fields and river terraces. He went on to be one of the most important archaeologists ever to work in the state of Montana. Starting with his work at Lindsay, Davis conducted excavations at many of the most important Paleoindian archaeological sites in Montana.

At the Lindsay Mammoth site, Davis and his team excavated the remains of a single large mammoth, originally interpreted to be an imperial mammoth (*Mammuthus imperator*). Since its original discovery, however, it has been reclassified as a Columbian mammoth (*Mammuthus columbi*), the same species found at the Schaefer and Hebior sites in Wisconsin. Columbian mammoths were the most common type of elephant found in Montana and vicinity during the Late Pleistocene. The team spent July and August of 1967 excavating the animal's remains. Based on wear patterns on its molars, researchers determined the animal to be about forty-five years old at the time of its death.

Located approximately seven miles northeast of the city of Glendive, Montana, the Lindsay Mammoth site would have sat only a few miles south of the Laurentide glacier during the Late Pleistocene, more than twelve thousand years ago. Early Native Americans in the region likely used the edges of the glacial margin as a geographic landmark and may not have ventured too far from it until they learned their way around the landscape. Several species of now-extinct megafauna—horses, camels, muskox, bison, and mammoths—lived along the glacial front in this part of present-day Montana during the Late Pleistocene. Christopher Hill from Boise State University has dated mammoth remains near Glendive and other areas of the lower Yellowstone River basin to more than twenty thousand years ago. So, when the first people arrived—perhaps as early as twelve thousand years ago—they found familiar animals, including the megafauna they hunted in the Ice-Free Corridor, along the Pacific coast, and farther north in Beringia.

The first radiocarbon dates from the Lindsay Mammoth site, published in the 1980s, dated it to about 11,900 years ago, if not a bit earlier. In 1998, Leslie Davis and Christopher Hill, then Davis's colleague at Montana State, conducted additional radiocarbon dating that indicated an age of about 11,500 for the mammoth. In the early 2000s and 2010s, Hill and Davis conducted another round of radiocarbon dating from a mammoth rib that indicated an even earlier date of about 12,300 years ago. In a paper published in 2021, Thibaut Deviese from the radiocarbon lab at the University of Oxford in England, as well as

a group of colleagues that included Thomas Stafford and Michael Waters, published a paper supporting this earlier date for the Lindsay Mammoth.

Paleontologists were unable to determine the mammoth's cause of death and found no evidence of human predation during the excavations. Davis, however, suggested that the stacking of parts of the mammoth's remains might indicate evidence of human butchering. He also identified the possible crushing of long bones for marrow extraction. Even if human hunters could not be proven to have killed the mammoth, could the animal have died a natural death but still have been scavenged by people? If so, the site would be similar to the Schaefer and Hebior sites in Wisconsin, which also showed that humans had butchered mammoths that died of natural causes more than twelve thousand years ago.

In his publications on the site, Davis contends that human butchery of the animal caused several bone fractures. He also reiterates that Native Americans stacked bone from the mammoth, placing two mammoth femurs on top of a pile of ribs. He says this could only have been done by people, not by natural causes. Davis also suggests hunters broke the mandible of the mammoth using a large sandstone block found at the site during excavations. They did so to get the fatty marrow in the center of the animal's bones.

However, Davis and his team from Montana State University did not find any additional evidence of the



Archaeologists found the complete remains of a Columbian mammoth at the Lindsay site, including the massive leg bone shown in this Leslie B. Davis photograph.

Courtesy of Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman



Kathryn Krasinski examined the bones of the mammoth uncovered in Lindsay and found these marks, which may have resulted from human butchering. These findings support the idea that humans scavenged the mammoth after it died of natural causes.

Courtesy of Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman.

animal's cause of death. No stone tools were found among the bones either. For that reason, the association of humans with Lindsay Mammoth has long been the subject of debate.

Professor Kathryn Krasinski of Adelphi University in New York conducted one of the most important scientific analyses of the Lindsay Mammoth site for her doctoral dissertation research at the University of Nevada, Reno, in 2010. During her dissertation research, Krasinski analyzed animal bone from eight Clovis and pre-Clovis archaeological sites in North America, including Lindsay Mammoth. Her goal was to determine if the animal remains from those sites show evidence of a human presence; all of them had been received with skepticism due to a lack of stone tools or other obvious signs of people.

To determine if people killed and/or butchered the animals, Krasinski conducted bone modification experiments intended to show the distinct differences between human-produced butchery and cut marks and those produced naturally or by animals during predation. She then compared the results of her experiments to the faunal remains from these eight early sites.

Krasinski examined 276 individual bones from 74 elements (bone parts) of the mammoth that now form part of the collections of the Museum of the Rockies in Bozeman. As with animal remains at all eight sites in her study, she noted the significant natural weathering of the animal bones, which is not surprising given their great age. At Lindsay, as well as the other sites, she also noted that animals had gnawed and trampled the bones. This should be expected, since any large, deceased animal left out in the open plains

of Montana twelve thousand years ago likely would have experienced some degree of animal predation. Wolves, bears, and cats, along with many other small predators, were all present in Montana and likely would have taken advantage of the dead animal—whether humans were present or not—as an easy meal.

However, Krasinski determined that the breakage patterns on a few of the larger bones may indicate the presence of humans. As she explains, “Lindsay material may have been modified by carnivores [but] potentially [also] by human free-throwing of boulders for marrow access.” She notes that the presence of large sandstone blocks near the location of the marrow extraction supports this interpretation. So, while people may not have killed the mammoth, hunter-gatherers may have encountered the dead animal and used large sandstone blocks to break open some of the larger bones to extract the marrow, a fatty and protein-rich food important for hunter-gatherers across the world. Similar bone-marrow processing has been observed in some form at the Colby mammoth kill in Wyoming, Wally’s Beach, and the Schaefer and Hebior sites.

In addition to the bone breakage patterns, which indicate possible marrow extraction, Krasinski observed other marks on the bones that she believed supported human butchery at Lindsay. She noted the presence of 346 total marks on the mammoth remains. She then examined these marks to determine the role of humans in killing or butchering the animal. Of the 346 marks, she found that 333 of them were due to natural causes, such as animal gnawing, soil movement, or plant root etching, while human butchery likely caused 13 of the marks. Human-caused marks included parallel lines that showed the animals had been cut with a sharp tool or that humans had stripped meat from the bones. She also noted the presence of cutmarks on footbones (calcaneus), which might indicate the feet had been removed. Finally, she noted that a single slice mark on a rib may have resulted from a person stripping the animal’s meat.

Based on these results, Krasinski states that Lindsay was one of two sites among the eight examined in her study that “demonstrated clear evidence of [human] mammoth utilization in the form of cutmarks and fracture patterns.” Interestingly, her study showed no evidence of human-caused butchery marks on the bones found at Bluefish Caves in Alaska, which many



The Bluefish Caves site in the Yukon contains tantalizing evidence of early people in eastern Beringia. Jacques Cinq-Mars, seen here, excavated the site in the late 1970s, but it has since been the subject of controversy over its antiquity.

Courtesy of Ruth Gotthardt

archaeologists believed to be a pre-Clovis site. Krasinski further states that it is possible that humans used the sandstone blocks found in association with the Lindsay Mammoth to break open the animal's large leg bones for marrow extraction. As with more recent Native American cultures, perhaps the earliest people in Montana collected bone marrow and mixed it with meat and berries to make pemmican, a dried, preserved meat product similar to jerky that many Native Americans in Montana still consider a staple.

If we accept Krasinski's analysis, Lindsay Mammoth—dated to more than twelve thousand years ago—would be the oldest archaeological site in Montana by more than one thousand years. Because of her findings, several archaeologists have included the site as one of the important pre-Clovis sites in North America. For example, Michael Waters and Thomas Stafford, two of the preeminent archaeologists that study early people in North America, include Lindsay in their list of potentially legitimate pre-Clovis sites. They summarize Krasinski's bone analysis data and suggest that the site has yielded

legitimate evidence of people. However, they don't state that the evidence is unequivocal, just that we should consider it as one of the new kinds of sites that may not contain stone tools that provide evidence of early occupation. Another important study by Lorena Becerra-Valdiva and Thomas Higham in the journal *Nature* cites Lindsay as one of a handful of sites that proves that people were in North America just after the end of the Last Glacial Maximum.

Other lists of key pre-Clovis sites, however, do not include Lindsay Mammoth. For example, Ruth Gruhn omits Lindsay Mammoth from her 2020 *Nature* summary of such sites. Todd Braje and colleagues, in their 2017 article in *Science*, also omit Lindsay from their list of legitimate pre-Clovis findings.

The similarities between the Lindsay Mammoth site and the Schaefer and Hebior sites are tantalizing. Might they collectively suggest a widespread pattern of



Indigenous hunters used Clovis points, such as this one from the Colby site in Wyoming, to kill mammoths, horses, and camels more than eleven thousand years ago across North America.

Artifact courtesy of Lithics Casting Lab. Author photograph

pre-Clovis mammoth predation by the earliest hunter-gatherers along the edges of the melting Laurentide Ice Sheet between 12,300 and 12,500 years ago? Unfortunately, unlike the Wisconsin sites, the excavation of the Lindsay Mammoth failed to yield stone tools. Even just a couple of flaked stone tools used by the hunter-gatherers to butcher the animals would have been enough for most archaeologists to attest to the legitimacy of the sites. For example, in *Strangers in a New Land*, his 2016 book on early sites in the Americas, James Adovasio provides abundant information about Schaefer and Hebior but says nothing about the Lindsay site. In *Origin*, her 2022 book on the peopling of the Americas, Jennifer Raff also excludes Lindsay Mammoth from her list of early sites but includes the Schaefer and Hebior sites.

Each of the three sites lack definitive evidence of human predation and instead appear to indicate instances of scavenging. But while the evidence for human butchery is quite convincing at Schaefer and Hebior, it remains rather scant at Lindsay, other than the possible bone marrow extraction and cut marks that might show meat stripping. It might be interesting for an archaeologist to compare the human butchery marks on the elephant bones found at the two pre-Clovis sites in Wisconsin—clearly associated with humans—to those found at Lindsay site, which has a more dubious human association. Perhaps such research could show similarities or differences in the cut marks that may lead to more concrete evidence of the presence or absence of humans at Lindsay.

Until researchers can provide additional evidence of human activity at the site, Lindsay Mammoth cannot be said to offer definitive proof that Native Americans lived in Montana more than twelve thousand years ago. For now, the archaeological data in support of Lindsay appear equivocal, meaning that there is still doubt about the human presence at the site. There is, however, enough information to suggest that more work needs to be done, either through additional excavations, additional analysis of the existing collections at the Museum of the Rockies, or simply in comparison with other sites.

Indeed, archaeological evidence supporting other pre-Clovis sites in North America either contain stone tools or other convincing evidence of human predation or presence. While some archaeologists still de-

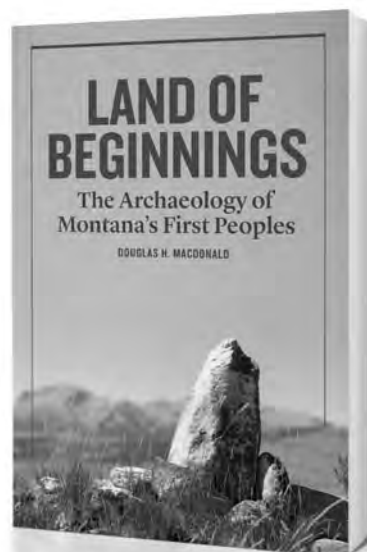
bate some of the finer details of these sites, most agree that they provide legitimate evidence that people were in North America before Clovis. The twelve-thousand-year-old Manis Mastodon, for example, was killed using a bone projectile point, but no stone tools were found at the site. Initially, the Paisley Caves site in Oregon, dating to over twelve thousand years ago, was identified as a pre-Clovis site by the presence of human coprolites (feces), but it too lacked stone tools. These examples suggest that other pre-Clovis sites in North America may not contain stone tools.

The simplest explanation is that the mammoth found at Lindsay died a natural death and was subjected to natural animal predation. While the Lindsay Mammoth site may yield evidence of the first people in the state of Montana, additional research is necessary to prove it without a doubt. Until then, the Anzick site remains the oldest Montana site in the eyes of the broader archaeological community. It is nonetheless exciting to imagine that people were in Montana one thousand years earlier than Anzick.

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Douglas H. MacDonald's book *Land of Beginnings: The Archaeology of Montana's Native Peoples* is available now through the Montana Historical Society Press.

Front cover photograph by Jeremie Hollman. Cover design by Luke Duran.



Abbreviations used in the notes include Montana Historical Society Research Center and Archives, Helena (MTHS); and *Montana The Magazine of Western History* (Montana). Unless otherwise noted, newspapers were printed in Montana.

The Party's Over (Ewert)

The author would like to thank Brian Alberts and the two anonymous peer reviewers for their comments on early drafts of the article manuscript.

*The photographs provided by Jordan Watkins of Zip Beverage are of unclear provenance. Found in a dusty desk drawer at Zip Beverage, the photographs are from the 1979 kegger. No information on the photographer or purpose is available.

1. The first two thousand students paid only eight dollars a ticket. Otherwise, general admission tickets were nine dollars apiece or twelve dollars on the day of the event. For comprehensive treatments of the Aber Day Kegger, see *Kegger*, dir. Becca Sayle and Marcus Chebul (Kegger Documentary Film Project, 2009), DVD; Aaron Parrett, *Montana Americana Music: Boot Stomping in Big Sky Country* (History Press, 2016), 55–78; and Brian

Alberts, “Kids Those Days: The Rise and Fall of the 1970s’ Biggest Kegger,” *Good Beer Hunting*, Sep. 19, 2023, www.goodbeerhunting.com/blog/2023/9/19/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-1970s-biggest-kegger.

2. Jill Thompson, “What Brand, MLAC?,” *Montana Kaimin* (Missoula), May 1, 1979.

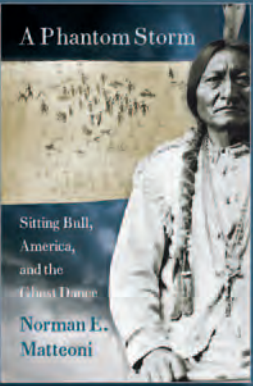
3. On the local, immediate nature of political action in the 1970s, see Michael Stewart Foley, *Front Porch Politics: The Forgotten Heyday of American Activism in the 1970s and 1980s* (Hill and Wang, 2013), 8–9. For the Coors boycott as part of a wider movement, see Allyson P. Brantley, *Brewing a Boycott: How a Grassroots Coalition Fought Coors and Remade American Consumer Activism* (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2021), 3–5.

4. On student interests and demands shaping university policy in the 1970s, see Ian F. McNeely, “Student Development Theory and the Transformation of Student Affairs in the 1970s,” *History of Education Quarterly* 64:4 (Winter 2023): 66–69. For college town culture, see Blake Gumprecht, *The American College Town* (Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 145–49; and Kate Rousmaniere, “What

Happened to Your College Town: The Changing Relationship of Higher Education and College Towns, 1940–2000,” *History of Education Quarterly* 61:3 (Aug. 2021): 320–40. For how student/administration relations changed during the 1960s, see Jonathan Zimmerman, *The Amateur Hour: A History of College Teaching in America* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2020), 159–62; and Christopher P. Loss, *Between Citizens and the State: The Politics of Higher Education in the 20th Century* (Princeton Univ. Press, 2014), 165–68. On the role of campus newspapers, see Kaylene Dial Armstrong, *How Student Journalists Report Campus Unrest* (Lexington Books, 2018), esp. x–xii.

5. While students and community members called the event by several names during the 1970s—the Library Kegger, the Benefit Kegger, or simply the Kegger—it is now commonly referred to as the Aber Day Kegger, which is the moniker I have chosen to use throughout this article. On the kegger’s origins and the campus money crunch in the early 1970s, see Mike Pane, “Landini Says Lack of Books May Be Critical,” *Montana Kaimin*, Feb. 16, 1972; Alberts, “Kids Those Days,” *Good*

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Beer Hunting, Sep. 19, 2023; and Parrett, *Montana Americana Music*, 68.

6. Pantzer quoted in H. G. Merriam, *The University of Montana: A History* (Univ. of Montana Press, 1970), 175. See also “‘Zoo’ Image of U Limits Funding,” *Missoulian*, May 8, 1974. On MSU, see Robert Rydell, Jeffrey Sanford, and Pierce Mullen, *In the People’s Interest: A Centennial History of Montana State University* (Montana State University Foundation, 1992), 101. For regional context, see Jason E. Lane and Francis J. Kerins Sr., “Middle Border States: Higher Education in Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming,” in *Higher Education in the American West: Regional History and State Contexts*, ed. Lester F. Goodchild, Richard W. Jonsen, Patty Limerick, and David A. Longanecker (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 115. On the 1970s as a troubled time for higher education, see John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2004), 317–41; and Roger L. Geiger, *American Higher Education since World War II: A History* (Princeton Univ. Press, 2019), 217–65.

7. James M. Carter, *Rockin’ in the Ivory Tower: Rock Music on Campus in the Sixties* (Rutgers Univ. Press, 2023), 4, 14–22, 50; Gina Arnold, *Half a Million Strong: Crowds and Power from Woodstock to Coachella* (Univ. of Iowa Press, 2018), 15; John R. Thelin, *Going to College in the Sixties* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2018), 110–11.

8. Steve Owens, “Aber Day 1973,” Documents from the November 29, 1972, Meeting of the Associated Students of the University of Montana (ASUM), fldr 3, bx 7, Series V: Meeting Minutes, 1906–2007, Associated Students of the University of Montana Records, 1906–2010, RG 063 (hereafter ASUM Minutes), University of Montana Libraries. Collection online via ScholarWorks at University of Montana, <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/asum/>.

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Montana News Releases, 1928, 1956–Present, University of Montana Libraries; Office of University Relations, “Aber Day Campus Clean-Up Set for Wednesday at University; Kegger Activities also Planned,” May 17, 1977, University of Montana News Releases, 1928, 1956–Present, University of Montana Libraries. University press releases are accessible via University of Montana ScholarWorks at https://scholarworks.umt.edu/news_releases_asc/.

10. Parrett, *Montana Americana Music*, 55, 67–76. On the intersection of hippie and cowboy culture in the era, see Michael Allen, “‘I Just Want to Be a Cosmic Cowboy’: Hippies, Cowboy Code, and the Culture of a Counterculture,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 36:3 (Autumn 2005): 275–99.

11. “The Biggest, Wettest Kegger Ever,” *Montana Kaimin*, May 19, 1978; Russ Yerger, “Sneak-ins,” letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, May 25, 1978.

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Attendees at the 1979 kegger gather in front of the stage to chat, toss Frisbees, and listen to the music.

Courtesy of Jordan Watkins, Zip Beverage



Volunteers at the 1979 kegger roll out two fresh kegs using the conveyor system created for the event.

Courtesy of Jordan Watkins, Zip Beverage

ate Says Layoff Excuse Weak," *Montana Kaimin*, Feb. 9, 1978.

13. Office of University Relations, "Aber Day Activities at University to Begin Thursday, May 11; Aber Day is May 17," May 9, 1978, University of Montana News Releases, 1928, 1956–Present, ScholarWorks, University of Montana Libraries; Frank Boyett, "MLAC May Charge for Kegger Parking," *Montana Kaimin*, Mar. 9, 1978; Scott Hagel, "Relocation Possible for MLAC Kegger Location," *Montana Kaimin*, Jan. 9, 1979.

14. Janet Miller, "UM Professor Speaks Out on New Drinking Law," Dec. 8, 1978, University of Montana News Releases, 1928, 1956–Present, ScholarWorks, University of Montana Libraries; Hagel, "Relocation Possible for MLAC Kegger Location," *Montana Kaimin*, Jan. 9, 1979; "Expanded Wine Sales Approved, but 18-Year-Olds Won't Be Drinking," *Montana Kaimin*, Nov. 8, 1978; Alberts, "Kids Those Days," *Good Beer Hunting*, Sep. 19, 2023.

15. Miller, "UM Professor Speaks Out on New Drinking Law"; Ed Kemmick, "Jogging: A Nemesis in Our Society," *Montana Kaimin*, Mar. 29, 1979. On neo-

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16. Clair Johnson, "Coors Beer Gets Nod for This Year's Kegger," *Montana Kaimin*, Feb. 15, 1979; Steve Shirley, "Organized Labor May Picket UM Kegger," *Missoulian*, Feb. 24, 1979.

17. Craig Reese, "ULAC, ASUM Seek Compromise," *Montana Kaimin*, Feb. 17, 1977; ASUM, Documents from the February 16, 1977, meeting of the Associated

Students of the University of Montana, fldr 3, bx 8, ASUM Minutes; ASUM, "Documents from the September 27, 1978, meeting of the Associated Students of the University of Montana," fldr 7, bx 8, ASUM Minutes.

18. Shirley, "Organized Labor May Picket UM Kegger," *Missoulian*, Feb. 24, 1979; Johnson, "Coors Beer Gets Nod for This Year's Kegger," *Montana Kaimin*, Feb. 15, 1979; Associated Press, "Coors Boycott Urged by Democratic Leader," *Montana Kaimin*, May 4, 1977. On the strike in Golden and efforts to organize against Coors throughout the 1970s, see Brantley, *Brewing a Boycott*, esp. 102–31.

19. "Will Coors Boycott Hurt the Kegger?" *Montana Kaimin*, Feb. 21, 1979; Paul Driscoll, "The Goal of Coors and the Goals of the Students," *Montana Kaimin*, Feb. 21, 1979.

20. Ron Perrin, "Read 'Mein Kampf,'" letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, Feb. 23, 1979; Clair Johnson, "Boycott Against Coors Urged by UM Professor," *Montana Kaimin*, Feb. 27, 1979; Dan McIntyre, "The Last Kegger," *Borrowed Times*, May 1979, 12.

21. Dean Walund, "Complete Disgust," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, Feb.

28, 1979; Jane Burnham, "A Political Act," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, Feb. 28, 1979. See also David Irwin, "Face the Facts," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, Feb. 28, 1979.

22. Stephen D. Duewel, "Twisted Economics," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, Mar. 2, 1979; R. T. Day, "Belong in History," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, Mar. 6, 1979; Jack Byrne, "The Real Purpose," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 25, 1979.

23. Mark Ellsworth, "Programming Lines Up 7 Bands for Kegger, Fieldhouse Concerts," *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 12, 1979. On the decline of music festivals in the 1970s, see Tyler Clark, "Why Did American Music Festivals Almost Disappear in the '70s and '80s?," *Consequence*, Jul. 18, 2018, <https://consequence.net/2018/07/american-music-festivals-1970s-and-1980s/>.

24. MLAC even booted the Amazing Rhythm Aces, a nationally known group from Memphis, from the bill when they objected to opening for the Wood Band. Ellsworth, "Programming Lines Up 7 Bands for Kegger, Fieldhouse Concerts," *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 12, 1979; Mark Ellsworth, "Mission Mountain Wood Band Guest Stars on Network TV," *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 6, 1979; Mike McNally,

"Some Break," *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 6, 1979. For more on the Mission Mountain Wood Band's career, see Parrett, *Montana Americana Music*, 53–92.

25. Annette Taylor, "Kegger Hearing Slated," *Missoulian*, Mar. 10, 1979; Jonathan Krim, "Kegger Tossed into Feffer's Lap," *Missoulian*, Mar. 15, 1979; Annette Taylor, "Health Board Oks Aber Day Kegger," *Missoulian*, Mar. 29, 1979.

26. "Ticklers: The Kegger is a Sorry Affair," editorial, *Missoulian*, Mar. 25, 1979; McIntyre, "The Last Kegger," *Borrowed Times*, May 1979, 12. One exception to the general lack of discussion of the permit issue in the *Kaimin* was a letter from Evans ally Walter Koostra, in which he railed against the fact that "sufficient alcohol will be purveyed to make legally drunk every person in attendance." Walter Koostra, "Kegger is Unworthy," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 4, 1979.

27. S. S. Maclay, "Sordid Affairs Damage UM Image," letter to the editor, *Missoulian*, Jun. 26, 1978; Richard A. Solberg, "The University of Montana Has No Image Problem," letter to the editor, *Missoulian*, Jul. 3, 1978; Office of University Relations, "University Liquid Assets Corporation to Donate More Than \$6,300 from Kegger for UM Library Books," Mar. 11, 1975, University of

Montana News Releases, 1928, 1956–Present, ScholarWorks, University of Montana Libraries.

28. Brad Newman and Mike McNally, "Toole Leaves Team in Surprise Trade," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, May 2, 1979; John Watkins, "Here's to You, MSU," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 10, 1979; Jim Clowes, "Lux et WHAT?," letter to the editor, *Missoulian*, Mar. 15, 1979; Jim Clowes, "Lux et Veritas," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, Mar. 29, 1979. Clowes, originally from Glasgow, was a classic languages and liberal arts major, member of the UM wrestling team, and one of the founders of a campus Christian group. For Clowes's letters to other Montana papers, see, for instance, Jim Clowes, "Kegger," letter to the editor, *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, Apr. 8, 1979; and Jim Clowes, "UM Student Surveys Kegger Attitudes," letter to the editor, *Flathead Courier*, Apr. 5, 1979. Clowes's biographical details in Office of University Relations, "Jim Clowes: An Athlete Who Won't Be Stereotyped," Sep. 24, 1980, University of Montana News Releases, 1928, 1956–Present, ScholarWorks, University of Montana Libraries.

29. Carol Brekke Warren, "Things are Different," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, Mar. 7, 1979; Kristin Bergh,

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"Join Boycott," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 27, 1979.

30. Mike Oldham, "Kegger Boycott Gaining Support, But MLAC Sticking with Coors," *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 24, 1979. See also Byrne, "The Real Purpose"; Joe Marman, "Gluttonous Unions," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, May 2, 1979.

31. Mark Ellsworth, "Programming Administrator Resigns Position," *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 17, 1979; Mark Ellsworth, "New Riders Replace Aces," *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 25, 1979.

32. McIntyre, "The Last Kegger," *Borrowed Times*, May 1979, 12; *Kegger*, dir. Sayle and Chebul.

33. "Don't Like the Kegger? Here's Another Choice," *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 3, 1979; Mark Ellsworth, "Alternative Celebration Still Planned for Aber Day," *Montana Kaimin*, May 10, 1979.

34. A potential kegger picket could only be informational because a formal picket, where attendees would be forced to cross the line, would technically be illegal since the true target was the Coors company, not the kegger per se. It is unclear whether the city's labor council members honored their earlier offer to split the difference between the beer costs. Mark Ellsworth, "Aber Day Picket Proposed by Labor Council," *Montana Kaimin*, May 5, 1979;

Mark Ellsworth, "Coors Gets Bumped in Kegger Beer Shuffle," *Montana Kaimin*, May 8, 1979; Katherine Walden, "Picket the Beer," letter to the editor, *Missoulian*, Apr. 23, 1979.

35. Bill McDorman, "Political Actions," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, May 8, 1979; Dave Cates, "More Boycotts," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, May 9, 1979; Kurt France and Jim Kolokotronis, "Don't Like Ads," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, May 10, 1979; Dan Lusk, Jack Byrne, Craig Jourdonnais, and Tim Verdon, "Bitch Bitch Bitch," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, May 15, 1979; Rip Cathcart, "Why Fuss???", letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, May 15, 1979.

36. Robert Verdon, "A Responsible Decision," *Montana Kaimin*, May 9, 1979; John "Bo" Beaupre, "Demonstrate Interest," letter to the editor, *Montana Kaimin*, May 10, 1979.

37. McIntyre, "The Last Kegger," *Borrowed Times*, May 1979, 18; Terry Messman, "Workers Say Brewery is Rotten to the Coor," *Paper SAC*, May 1979, 5. On the broader significance of the kegger beer switch for the boycott movement, see Brantley, *Brewing a Boycott*, 138.

38. Staff writer Steve Smith deemed the kegger the "ultimate in slothfulness and depravity" in "California—Beauty and the

Beach," *Missoulian*, May 18, 1979; Evelyn King, "Patches," *Missoulian*, May 18, 1979; "Ticklers: Let It Not Be a Montana Bird," editorial, *Missoulian*, May 20, 1979. For reports on early ticket sales, see Ellsworth, "Coors Gets Bumped in Kegger Beer Shuffle," *Montana Kaimin*, May 8, 1979. For the *Kaimin*'s report from the event, see Mark Ellsworth, "Music Roared, Beer Poured and Dust Soared," *Montana Kaimin*, May 18, 1979. See also Annette Taylor, "Kegger Traffic Jam to Be Like L.A. Rush," *Missoulian*, May 15, 1979; Annette Taylor, "Miller Creek Residents Prepare for Kegger Trespass," *Missoulian*, May 16, 1979; and "Aber Day Kegger," *Kalispell Daily Inter Lake*, May 20, 1979.

39. Mark Ellsworth, "McCue Says Profits Will Be Small from MLAC's Aber Day Kegger," *Montana Kaimin*, May 22, 1979.

40. Brad Newman, "Meanwhile, Back at the Oval," *Montana Kaimin*, May 18, 1979; Mark Ellsworth, "Concerts Draw Small Crowds," *Montana Kaimin*, May 23, 1979; Nick Geranios, "Spring Thaw Revelers Told to 'Keep It Flexible,'" *MSU Exponent*, May 15, 1979; Mary Williams, "Sunshine and Good Times: Impressions of the Spring Thaw," *MSU Exponent*, May 22, 1979.

41. Geranios, "Spring Thaw Revelers Told to 'Keep It Flexible,'" *MSU Expo-*

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ment, May 15, 1979; Victor Rodriguez, "Doobies, Roadies and Groupies," *Montana Kaimin*, May 4, 1979.

42. Ed Kemmick, "Aber Day Kegger Near Extinction," *Montana Kaimin*, May 1, 1979; McIntyre, "The Last Kegger," *Borrowed Times*, May 1979, 12.

43. Steve Van Dyke, "Mission Mountain Free for Some, Producer Loses about \$20,000," *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 29, 1980; Steve Van Dyke, "New Festivities Planned for This Year's Aber Day," *Montana Kaimin*, Apr. 25, 1980. The "Rock 'n Roll Marathon" featured three bands: Frank Marino and Mahogany Rush, a post-Peter Frampton Humble Pie, and Angel, mainstream rock acts that veered from the rootsy leanings of the keggers. Advertisement, *Hellgate Lance* (Missoula), May 14, 1980.

44. Robert "Rob" Quist, interview by Anna Schale, Missoula Music History Oral History Project, OH473-014, Archives and Special Collections, Mansfield Library, University of Montana; Parrett, *Montana Americana Music*, 76-77. See also the *Kegger* documentary and Steve Hoefle, "Aber Day: The Kegger of All Keggers," *Raised in the West*, Spring 2022, 24-29. For an overview of drinking culture at UM, see Lynes, "Inebriation Nation: A History of Alcohol at UM," *Montana Kaimin*, Oct. 7, 2015.

When Did People Arrive in Montana (MacDonald)

Bibliographic information is available in *Land of Beginnings: The Archaeology of Montana's First Peoples* (Montana Historical Society Press, 2024).

A Hotel and Its Novelist (Weltzien)

1. M. P. Regan, "The Andrus Hotel Set to Start Hosting Guests," *Dillon Tribune*, Jul. 8, 2020. Savage's novels that feature the Andrus are *Lona Hanson* (Simon and Schuster, 1948), *The Power of the Dog* (Little, Brown and Co., 1967; rpt. 2001), *The Liar* (Little, Brown and Co., 1969), *Midnight Line* (Little, Brown and Co., 1976), *For Mary, With Love* (Little, Brown and Co., 1983), and *The Corner of Rife and Pacific* (William Morrow and Co., 1988).

2. In the hotel's early years, a set of wooden stairs linked the alley between the Andrus and Montana Street with the brothels fronting the street so that town leaders and others could patronize them without being observed from the main drag. In Savage's *Midnight Line*, for example, a local high school football player "climbed the rickety back stairs of the Crystal Rooms to 'get his ashes hauled,' as they said in Grayling" (81).

3. See Steve Morehouse, *Beaverhead County* (Arcadia, 2008), 51. See also Bea-

verhead County History Book Association, *The History of Beaverhead County, Volumes I-II* (By the Association, 1990).

4. Morehouse, *Beaverhead County*, 79, 93, 94. The University of Montana Western would be called Montana State Normal College until the mid-twentieth century.

5. Barbara Kosa, "Dillon Landmark Gets Re-christened as Andrus Plaza," *Montana Standard*, Nov. 25, 1979.

6. Aubrey Japp, director, Butte-Silver Bow Archives, email to author, Apr. 19, 2024. The *Butte Miner* feature celebrates the Andrus: "The hotel is declared to be one of the finest and most modern in the state, and will fill a long-felt want in the Beaverhead metropolis besides being the most imposing structure in the city." "Jesse Warren is a Busy Man," *Butte Miner*, Jul. 29, 1917.

7. *Dillon Examiner*, Feb. 6, 1918.

8. Morehouse writes of the Andrus: "The building of pressed brick and cement was fireproof and modern in every way, including an automatic electric elevator. The upper two floors were comprised of 65 [sic] sleeping rooms, 46 of which had private baths. The first floor consisted of five small store or business rooms, a large tile-floor lobby, the hotel office, a barbershop, bar, cafe, dining room, and kitchen. The dining room tables were covered with the finest linen, china, and



An undated photo of a horse-drawn train in front of the Andrus Hotel. This photo is part of a collection of memorabilia on display in the lobby of the hotel.

Courtesy of the Andrus Hotel

silver service, all sparkling from the light of crystal chandeliers.” Morehouse’s numbers don’t match those of contemporary accounts. Morehouse, *Beaverhead County*, 105, 106.

9. O. Alan Weltzien, “Literary Sociology in a Montana Town: Novelist Thomas Savage Rewrites Old Dillon,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 37:2 (Spring 2017): 115; Lyle Dechant, “Beaverhead County Museum News,” *Dillon Tribune Examiner*, Mar. 22, 2006.

10. In 1920, Dillon’s population (2,701) was less than half that of Beaverhead County (7,369); by 1950, the city made up about half of the county’s population (3,268 in town, 6,671 in the county). The county’s population decrease derived in part from the loss of some farms and ranches in the dry, dusty 1920s and 1930s.

11. O. Alan Weltzien, *Savage West: The Life and Fiction of Thomas Savage* (Univ. of Nevada Press, 2020), 13, 33–36, 41–42, 45–46, 54.

12. Savage, *Lona Hanson*, 198.

13. “Hotel Opening Tomorrow,” *Dillon Examiner*, Feb. 13, 1918.

14. The Inn at Armstead opened on July 16, 1909. Information about Edith Decker Herndon from Lynn Giles, former president, Beaverhead County Museum Association, several conversations with author, 2018–2020.

15. “Beech” is Savage’s name for Armstead, closely matching its location and size. The Brenners shipped their cattle from Armstead on the Union Pacific Railroad. Quotes from Savage, *Power*, 29. See also 38–48.

16. Savage, *Power*, 110–11.

17. Kosa, “Dillon Landmark Gets Rechristened as Andrus Plaza,” *Montana Standard*, Nov. 25, 1979.

18. Quote from Savage, *Power*, 114. See also 116–17. The Burbanks represent a leading ranch family, their surname listed first in Savage’s fictitious *Prominent Men of Our State*.

19. Savage, *Power*, 115.

20. Savage, *The Liar*, 84; Andrus quoted in Kosa, “Dillon Landmark Gets Rechristened as Andrus Plaza,” *Montana Standard*, Nov. 25, 1979.

21. Savage, *The Liar*, 105.

22. Savage, *The Liar*, 84; “The Andrus Hotel to Open Thursday,” *Dillon Tribune*, Feb. 8, 1918.

23. Programs from the 1950s and 1960s are held by select board members of the Dillon (Community) Concert Association.

24. Savage, *The Liar*, 76, 105; Savage, *Midnight Line*, 108.

25. Savage, *Midnight Line*, 98.

26. Savage, *Midnight Line*, 103–4.

27. Savage, *Midnight Line*, 104–5.

28. Donna Jones, conversation with author, Feb. 2018.

29. Savage, *Midnight Line*, 105.

30. Savage, *Midnight Line*, 105.

31. Liza Nicholas, “Dillon at the Divide,” *Greater Yellowstone: Inside and Out*, Summer 2005, 26.

32. Savage, *Midnight Line*, 108, 111. Historian Liza Nicholas quotes from Savage novels three times to characterize old Dillon as a hub for cattle ranching in her article “Dillon at the Divide,” 25–33.

33. Personal correspondence with Professor John Scheckter of Long Island University, who was assistant professor of English (1981–1985) at what was then called Western Montana College. Scheckter was Savage’s primary interviewer during Savage’s final visit to Dillon in April 1983. He sent me, years ago, his audiotaped interviews with Savage—the only record of Savage’s voice.

34. Savage maintained a particular taxonomy of status via cars. When he and his family drove across the country in the 1950s, he would park his Rolls Royce, and later his Jaguar, in front of the Andrus—what he derisively calls “Peacock Alley” in *Midnight Line*. He thumbed his nose at what he saw as local yokels.

35. Savage, *For Mary, With Love*, 147.

36. Savage, *For Mary, With Love*, 147, 148.

37. Savage, *For Mary, With Love*, 148–49. Jean-François Millet, *Man with a Hoe*, 1860–1862, oil on canvas, 32 1/4” x 39 1/2”, 85.PA.114, Getty Center, Los Angeles. Favorably described in Savage, *Corner of Rife and Pacific*, 162, The Sugar Bowl Cafe, another favorite Savage spot whose name he never changed, existed a couple blocks northwest of the Andrus.

38. Dechant, “Beaverhead County Museum News,” *Dillon Tribune Examiner*, Mar. 22, 2006, 7.

39. Savage, *Corner of Rife and Pacific*, 224. In the novel, Savage places the tower and antenna atop the Metlen rather than the Andrus (194–95).

40. Savage, *Corner of Rife and Pacific*, 204.

41. Savage, *Corner of Rife and Pacific*, 100.

42. Savage, *Corner of Rife and Pacific*, 213.

43. Savage, *Corner of Rife and Pacific*, 218. Anne was a Chapman before marriage, so Savage changes her first name from her passing reference (“Helen Chapman”) back in *The Liar* and *Midnight Line*.

44. Savage, *Corner of Rife and Pacific*, 219.

45. Francesca Coltrera, “Thomas Savage,” *Publishers Weekly*, Jul. 15, 1988, 45–46.

46. Savage, *Corner of Rife and Pacific*, 219, 221, 223–24.

47. Quote from M. P. Regan, “The Andrus Hotel Set to Start Hosting Guests,” *Dillon Tribune*, Jul. 8, 2020. Other details from John Micha, conversation with author, Dec. 15, 2023.

48. Regan, “The Andrus Hotel Set to Start Hosting Guests,” *Dillon Tribune*, Jul. 8, 2020.

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49. Regan, “The Andrus Hotel Set to Start Hosting Guests,” *Dillon Tribune*, Jul. 8, 2020.

50. Savage has also received scholarly attention in the twenty-first century. I published several articles about Savage, culminating in my biography *Savage West*, which was published four months after the hotel’s reopening. A year later, it was reissued in a paperback edition.

Bliss, Drought, and Near-Death (Menzel)

1. David Grimes (friend of David LaChapelle) in discussion with author, Dec. 2021. David LaChapelle, “The Totality of a Lifetime. Dolores LaChapelle: July 4, 1926–January 21, 2007,” LaChapelle Estate, Durango, CO. The initial research into Dolores LaChapelle’s collections was conducted while the collection was still with the family; it has since been donated to the San Juan Historical Society in Silverton, Colorado.

2. Dolores LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow: 40 Years of Ecstatic Skiing, Avalanches, and Earth Wisdom* (Kivaki Press, 1993), 1; Dolores LaChapelle, *Earth Wisdom* (International College Guild of Tutors Press, 1978), 83.

3. Dolores LaChapelle, *Way of the Mountain Newsletter*, Way of the Mountain Learning Center, 1982–1998, LaChapelle Estate. Arne Naess, “The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement: A Summary,” *Inquiry: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Philosophy* 16 (1973): 95–100; Katie McShane, “Environmental Ethics: An Overview,” *Philosophy Compass* 4:3 (May 2009): 407–20. In addition to *Deep Powder Snow* and *Earth Wisdom*, LaChapelle’s major published works include *Earth Festivals* (Finn Hill Arts, 1973); *Sacred Land, Sacred Sex, Rapture of the Deep: Concerning Deep Ecology and Celebrating Life* (Kivaki Press, 1988); “Ritual—the Pattern that Connects,” *Deep Ecology for the 21st Century: Readings on the Philosophy and Practice of the New Environmentalism*, ed George Sessions (Shambhala, 1995), 57–63; *D. H. Lawrence: Future Primitive* (Univ. of North Texas Press, 1996); and *Return to Mountain: Tai Chi Between Heaven and Earth* (Hazard Publishing, 2002).

4. Heather Hansman, *Ski Bums, Ski Towns, and the Future of Chasing Snow* (Hanover Square Press, 2021), 257–60; Paddy O’Connell, “Searching for Dolores LaChapelle,” *Freeskier*, <https://freeskier.com/stories/searching-for-dolores-lachapelle>.

5. Timothy LeCain, *The Matter of History: How Things Create the Past* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2017), 67–139; Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Duke Univ. Press, 2010), 20–38.

6. Joseph E. Taylor, *Pilgrims of the Vertical: Yosemite Rock Climbers and Nature at Risk* (Harvard Univ. Press, 2010), 62–90.

7. Annie Gilbert Coleman, *Ski Style: Sport and Culture in the Rockies* (Univ. Press of Kansas, 2004); Andrew Denning, *Skiing into Modernity: A Cultural and Environmental History* (Univ. of California Press, 2015); William Philpott, *Vacationland: Tourism and Environment in the Colorado High Country* (Univ. of Washington Press, 2013); Hal Rothman, *Devil’s Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Univ. Press of Kansas, 1998), 143–286.

8. Philpott, *Vacationland*, 5; Rothman, *Devil’s Bargains*, 25.

9. LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 12; Coleman, *Ski Style*, 46; Philpott, *Vacationland*, 140; Denning, *Skiing into Modernity*, 77.

10. LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 12–14, 32.

11. LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 12.

12. Ed was a well-known glaciologist and snow scientist who made major contributions to the field in its early years. Edward R. LaChapelle, *A Field Guide to Snow Crystals* (Univ. of Washington Press, 1969); Edward R. LaChapelle, *The ABC of Avalanche Safety* (The Mountaineers, 1971); Edward R. LaChapelle, *Secrets of Snow: Visual Cues to Avalanche and Ski Conditions* (Univ. of Washington Press, 2001); Edward R. LaChapelle, “The Ascending Spiral,” *Avalanche Review* 24:1 (Oct. 2005), <https://theavalanchereview.org/ed-lachapelle/>; Dolores Greenwell to Edward LaChapelle, Sep. 27, 1949, LaChapelle Estate.

13. Dolores Greenwell to Edward LaChapelle, Oct. 3, 1949, LaChapelle Estate.

14. Dolores Greenwell to Edward LaChapelle, Oct. 13, 1949, Oct. 18, 1949, Nov. 9, 1949, Nov. 29, 1949, Oct. 24, 1949, LaChapelle Estate.

15. Dolores Greenwell to Edward LaChapelle, Jan. 15, 1950, LaChapelle Estate.

16. LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 53.

17. LaChapelle, *Earth Wisdom*, 159; LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 3, 16.

18. Diana Di Stefano, *Encounters in Avalanche Country: A History of Survival in the Mountain West, 1820–1920* (Univ. of Washington Press, 2013), 52; Alex Miller, “Building an Avalanche Community in the Mountain West: From Studies to Public Awareness, 1945–1985,” *Montana* 47:3 (Autumn 2023): 3–24; Montgomery Atwater, *The Avalanche Hunters* (Macrae Smith Company, 1968), 49.

19. David LaChapelle, “The Totality of a Lifetime.”

20. LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 49, 51.

21. LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 56; US Department of Agriculture, Forest

Service, Wasatch National Forest, *The Snowy Torrents: Avalanche Accidents in the United States 1910–1966*, ed. Dale Gallagher (Alta Avalanche Study Center, January 1967), 84; “Ed LaChapelle Caught in an Alta Avalanche Off Peruvian Ridge, 1959,” P0413n02_02_080, Alan K. Engen Photograph Collection, Ski and Snow Sports Archives, J. Willard Marriott Digital Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, <https://collections.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s61z4qmr>.

22. LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 57.

23. LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 53.

24. LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 54.

25. Atwater, *The Avalanche Hunters*, xiii, 220.

26. LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 49–52; Edward LaChapelle to Dolores Greenwell, undated, LaChapelle Estate.

27. Dolores Greenwell to Edward LaChapelle, Oct. 19, 1949, LaChapelle Estate; David LaChapelle, “The Totality of a Lifetime”; LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 44, 52.

28. LaChapelle, “When I First Began Writing,” 1963, LaChapelle Estate.

29. LaChapelle, “When I First Began Writing,” 1963, LaChapelle Estate.

30. Richard L. Armstrong and Betsy R. Armstrong, “A History of Avalanche Hazard and Avalanche Research in the San Juan Mountains, Southwestern Colorado, USA,” International Snow Science Workshop, 2006, International Snow Science Workshop Proceedings, Montana State University Library; Kristine C. Harper, *Make It Rain: State Control of the Atmosphere in Twentieth Century America* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 2018), 187–91; Jedediah S. Rogers, “Project Skywater,” 2009, Bureau of Reclamation, [https://www.usbr.gov/history/ProjectHistories/Project_Skywater_D1\[1\].pdf](https://www.usbr.gov/history/ProjectHistories/Project_Skywater_D1[1].pdf); LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 73–74.

31. LaChapelle, *Deep Powder Snow*, 6; Dolores LaChapelle, “about me staying here,” untitled black compendium, Dec. 25, 1983, LaChapelle Estate.

32. Michael Zimmerman, “From Deep Ecology to Integral Ecology: A Retrospective Study,” *The Trumpeter* 30:2 (Jan. 2014): 247–68.

33. Dolores LaChapelle, “The Blue Mountains are Constantly Walking,” *Ecophilosophy* 4 (May 1982): 22–32, annotated version, LaChapelle Estate.

34. LaChapelle, “The Blue Mountains are Constantly Walking,” 29; Dolores LaChapelle to Stephanie Leonard and Ruth Leveton, Mar. 18, 1982, LaChapelle Estate; LaChapelle, *Sacred Land, Sacred Sex*, 281.

35. Paul Sutter, “The World with Us: The State of American Environmental History,” *Journal of American History* 100:1 (Jun. 2013): 94–119.

Below: Kessler Brewing
Company keg, ca. 1900.

Front cover: *On Belly River,*
John Fery, ca. 1910.



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