



“It is encouraging to see this much progress”

Malmstrom Air Force Base and
Civil Rights Activism in Great Falls,
Montana, 1947–1984

By Troy Hallsell

..... This unidentified African American airman
..... played the trumpet in a 1952 talent
..... contest on Great Falls television station
..... KXLK. Following World War II, hundreds
..... of Black servicemen like this man came
..... to Malmstrom AFB, though they often
..... received an icy reception from members
..... of the broader community.

..... Lot 034 B4F05.07, MTHS Photo Archives

In the summer of 2020, Colonel Jennifer K. Reeves, the 341st Missile Wing commander on Malmstrom Air Force Base (AFB), Montana, started a Diversity and Inclusion Tiger Team that explored “various race/ethnicity/demographic issues, with a focus on African Americans.”

During a meeting with wing leadership, Major Chris Boney, the Tiger Team chief, reported that “many of our minority Airmen and their families have described interactions with the local community that have left them feeling unwelcomed and at times threatened.” These “stories ranged from our members being followed around in stores, called racial slurs, children being teased, and other more aggressive actions.” These interactions “weigh our Airmen down and over time it takes a toll on the mental and spiritual health of them and their families,” he concluded.¹

In response, the Tiger Team brainstormed ideas and came up with possible ways to further racial equality on and off base. As part of these efforts, the Tiger Team met with Greg Doyon, the Great Falls city manager. Based on this and subsequent meetings, Doyon announced several policy changes for the Great Falls Police Department and provided information that

would connect airmen with resources to lodge formal discrimination complaints with the city and state of Montana. At first glance, this approach appeared to address an immediate concern—discrimination in the surrounding area—but it also fit into a long-standing history of civil rights activism in Great Falls, with Malmstrom AFB at the center.²

After President Harry S. Truman desegregated the military in 1948, Malmstrom witnessed an increase of Black airmen, a change that Great Falls’ white residents soon noticed. At nearly every turn, business-owners denied Black airmen access to their establishments, and many found it nearly impossible to rent a home. In response, the Dunbar Study and Art Club, the local chapter of the Montana Federation of Colored Women’s Clubs, successfully lobbied state legislators to pass an anti-discrimination ordinance in 1955. However, the law did not change white residents’ attitudes. When Geraldine Travis, an Air

Force spouse, arrived in 1967, she witnessed similar acts across the city. As a result, she became a charter member of a revived local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and became the state’s first Black legislator in 1975. She represented Malmstrom AFB and not only

By 1910, the state’s African American population had grown to almost two thousand, with most forming communities in Butte, Helena, and Great Falls.

fought to deliver much needed reforms for its civilian workforce but also introduced legislation that could address civil rights and women’s concerns. Despite Great Falls’ historically small Black community, it has a long record of civil rights activism, much of it centered on efforts to aid the Black airmen stationed at Malmstrom.³



Malmstrom Air Force Base, an expansive facility located at the far eastern edge of Great Falls, Montana, has brought hundreds of Black airmen and their families to the Electric City since its establishment during World War II. The scope of the base is evident in this 1980s photograph: the lower half shows the flight line, administrative buildings, and on-base housing units, with the city to the west and north.

Courtesy of the 341st Missile Wing History Office



Black migration into Montana came on the heels of the Civil War and the end of Reconstruction in the South. Many came in search of economic opportunities. For example, Ed Simms worked as a steamboat hand on the Missouri River before disembarking at Fort Benton in 1883 and settling in Great Falls shortly thereafter. By 1887, several of his friends and family had also settled in Great Falls after the Northern Pacific Railroad connected the city to places back east. Others came as members of the United States Army. Beginning in 1888, the Montana Territory received soldiers from Black units that included the Tenth Cavalry Regiment and Twenty-Fourth and Twenty-Fifth Infantry Regiments stationed at Forts Assinniboine, Custer, Harrison, Keogh, Missoula, and Shaw. While in Montana, they put down labor unrest in Idaho, tested the bicycle as a military technology, and policed Native Americans on reservations and along the United States-Canada border. American involvement in the Spanish-American War (1898) and Philippine Insurrection (1899–1902) paused Black troop rotations in Montana, as the Tenth Cavalry and Twenty-Fourth Infantry deployed to Cuba and the Philippines. Upon redeployment, many Black soldiers left the army, and a sizable number of those men chose to make Montana their home. By 1910, the state's African American population had grown to almost two thousand, with most forming communities in Butte, Helena, and Great Falls.⁴

Great Falls' Black community settled in a densely populated and ethnically diverse working-class neighborhood on the lower south side. It stretched from First to Tenth Avenue South and from Second through Twelfth Street South. Many Black residents worked for the Great Northern and Milwaukee railroads or in skilled trades as barbers, shoemakers, or seamstresses, yet most labored in service-industry jobs downtown. They lived in homes that fit their needs or economic station. New arrivals often resided in hotels, while railroad employees took up residence in railroad porters' quarters. Others, like John A. A. Taylor and David and Katie Knott, owned homes on the 700 block of Eighth Avenue South. At 42 percent, Great Falls had the highest rate of African American homeownership in the state.⁵

As Great Falls' Black residents planted roots, they also created community institutions to serve their needs. In 1890, the Union Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church organized and began holding services in the city's fire station on Second Avenue South. The following year, the Great Falls Water Power and Townsite Company sold a plot of land at what would become 916 Fifth Avenue South to the church's trustees, which included Ed Simms. The church, once built, became the center of Black Great Falls' religious, cultural, political, and social worlds. Decades later, entrepreneur Leo LaMar opened the

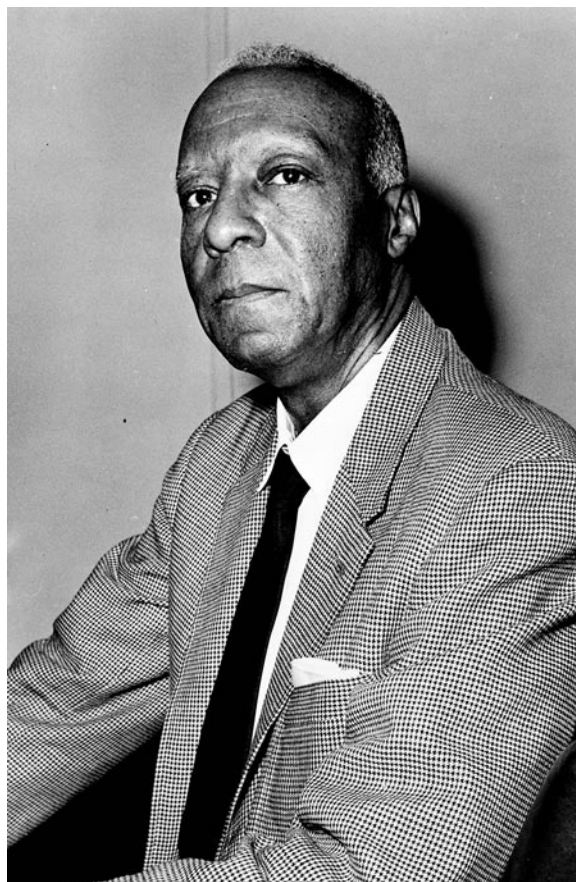


Founded in 1890, Great Falls' Union Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church became a core institution for the Black community in the city. A year later, the church began construction on a building on Fifth Avenue South that still stands today. Members of the congregation posed outside the church in this photograph from the mid-1920s.

PAC 2001-46. MM1, MTHS Photo archives

Ozark Club, initially a “‘colored’ members-only club,” in the heart of Black Great Falls. The club served many functions: it was a bar where patrons could get a drink during their down time; it was a concert venue where jazz musicians played music up to six days a week; and it provided illicit activities in the back room, like shooting craps. While the Black population throughout Montana declined by the end of World War I, Great Falls’ community grew to 208 people in 1930. Institutions like Union Bethel and the Ozark Club helped make this stability possible.⁶

African Americans may have left the South to escape economic, political, and social oppression, but Great Falls’ Black community still suffered from “Jim Crow Out West.” Since its inception, Montana’s governing bodies enacted numerous laws that constrained Black residents’ options. For example, in 1872 the legislature segregated its public schools and



A. Philip Randolph rose to prominence after organizing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925, helping achieve major gains for Black railroad workers. He later became a leading voice for equal treatment for Black soldiers and a key figure in the civil rights movement.

LC-USZ62-119495, Library of Congress

would only create a school for Black students “upon the written application of the parents or guardians of at least ten such children to any board of trustees.” Despite the territory’s small Black population, white parents removed their children from Fort Benton’s schools in 1881 following an attempt to register a few Black children in class. The state legislature repealed the law in 1895, but the U.S. Supreme Court delivered its *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, creating the “separate but equal” doctrine the following year.⁷

White Montanans also enforced segregation by custom. For example, in 1881 an African American servant for the U.S. Marshal in Butte entered a restaurant for a meal. He sat at a table with a “man of Southern views” and the owner asked him to leave. While not enforced by law, the proprietor treated his restaurant as a “whites only” establishment. As late as the 1940s, unions effectively locked out Black workers at mines, smelters, and refineries. Those that could gain employment in these industries did so without union support in the worst jobs and with the lowest pay.⁸

During World War II, African Americans around the country protested the treatment of Black soldiers in the military. Dubbed the “war’s greatest scandal,” civil rights activist A. Philip Randolph criticized the War Department for its segregationist practices. The U.S. Army Air Forces and Marine Corps did not recruit Black personnel. Instead, the War Department assigned African Americans to service positions like mess cook or placed them in segregated units such as the Tuskegee Airmen. Additionally, when Black soldiers arrived in Great Falls during World War II, they encountered a community riven by the same segregationist practices witnessed elsewhere in the country. For example, the segregated U.S.O. center at 1106 Central Avenue and the Ozark Club were the only social spaces available for African American soldiers during the war. Conditions like these led

Black newspapers like the *Pittsburgh Courier* to develop and champion the Double Victory campaign for democracy at home and abroad. Black soldiers’ experiences in Great Falls during World War II, combined with the Double V campaign nationwide, contributed significantly to the rise of civil rights activism in Montana after the war ended.⁹

Following the end of World War II, with the onset of the Cold War with the Soviet Union and amid growing social pressure, President Harry S. Truman issued Executive Order 9981 on July 26, 1948, which began the process of desegregating the U.S. military. Truman believed that civil rights advances at the federal level were necessary. In 1946, he had created the President’s Committee on Civil Rights. In its report the following year, the committee called for sweeping changes within the armed forces. Specifically, it condemned “the injustice of calling men to fight for freedom

Black soldiers’ experiences in Great Falls during World War II, combined with the Double V campaign nationwide, contributed significantly to the rise of civil rights activism in Montana after the war ended.

while subjecting them to humiliating discrimination within the fighting forces. . . . Furthermore, by preventing entire groups from making their maximum contribution to the national defense, we weaken our defense to that extent and impose heavier burdens on the remainder of the population.” Electoral politics also played a big role in Truman’s decision, as his advisors believed integrating the armed forces could bring Black, Catholic, and Jewish voters into the Democratic Party’s coalition in time for the presidential election of 1948. Given the military’s past practices, the emergent Cold War, and the burgeoning civil rights

(Opposite) This NAACP poster offers a vivid look at the Double V movement’s goals, which sought “victory abroad and victory at home.” This slogan was inaugurated by the *Pittsburgh Courier*, an African American newspaper, following the United States’ entrance into World War II. This Elton C. Fax illustration draws parallels between defeating Nazi Germany and the Japanese Empire in tandem with throttling racist Jim Crow practices in the United States.

LC-DIG-ppmsca-24948, Library of Congress

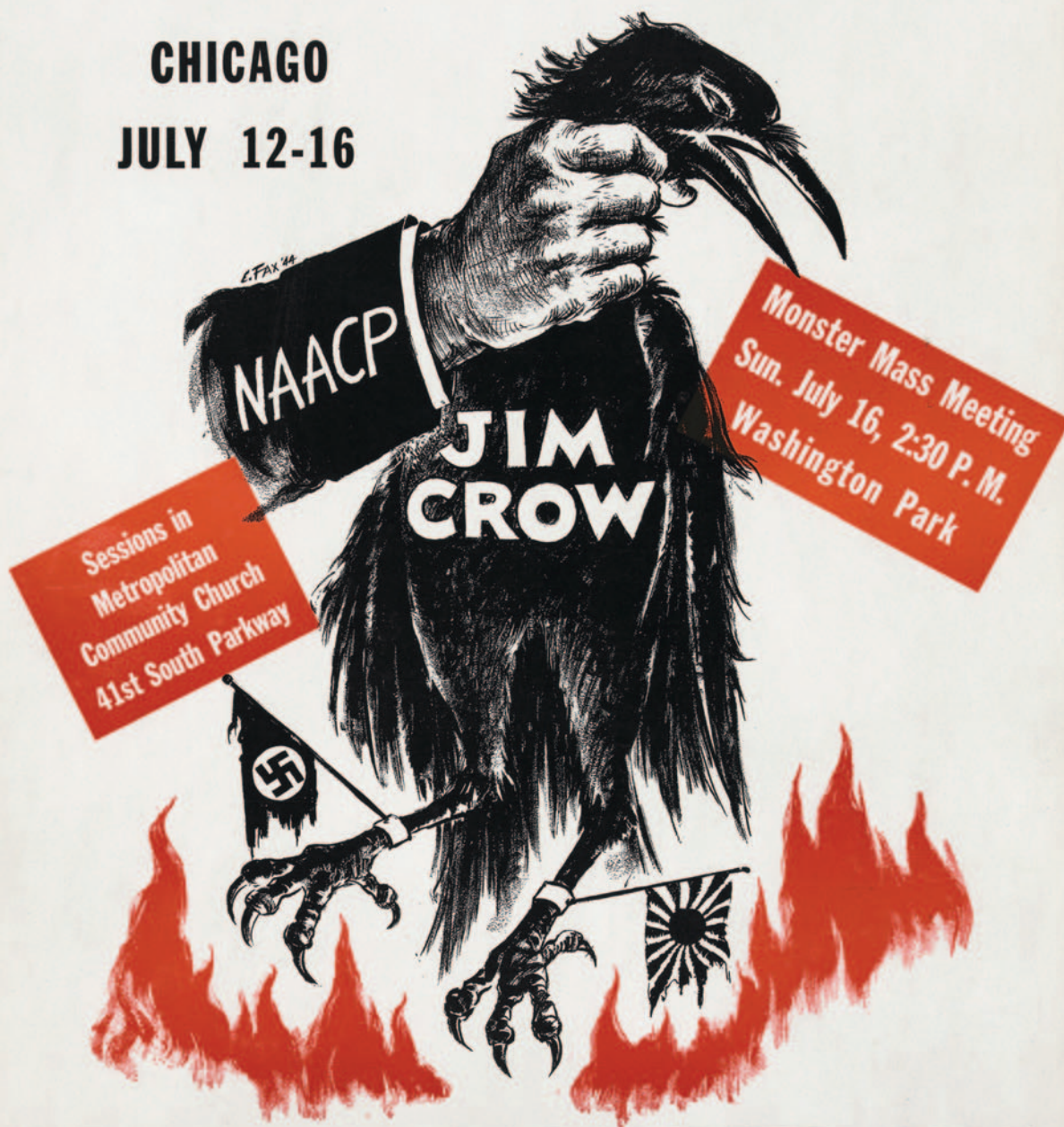
"Come, let us take counsel together!"

Attend NAACP

WARTIME CONFERENCE FOR TOTAL PEACE

CHICAGO

JULY 12-16



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for THE ADVANCEMENT of COLORED PEOPLE
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- OR -

National Office:
69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

movement, Truman understood integration as both a military and political necessity. It was now up to the individual branches to implement this order.¹⁰

The towns near U.S. Air Force bases did not immediately embrace this change. While visiting Malmstrom AFB in the early 1950s, reporter Collins C. George noted that many Black airmen were “completely satisfied” with how they were treated on base. However, once they ventured into town, they encountered discrimination like the kind airmen stationed in the South experienced. For example, many local restaurants refused to serve African Americans. In fact, the only dining establishment that accepted them was the Ozark Club. Landlords also discriminated against Black airmen and their families. Luckily, there was enough room for them to live on base. They also had a difficult time meeting eligible women. While the base had approximately three hundred Black airmen, the city’s African American community numbered around one hundred residents, of which only a handful were of age. According to historian James Gropman, by 1951 anti-Black sentiment grew to such an intensity that Montana Chamber of Commerce director James L. Flaherty requested that the Air Force ban Black servicemen from Great Falls. In contrast to this attitude, when these African American service members traveled to Canadian cities such as Lethbridge and Calgary, they reportedly received “all the courtesies and respect that one would normally expect United States military

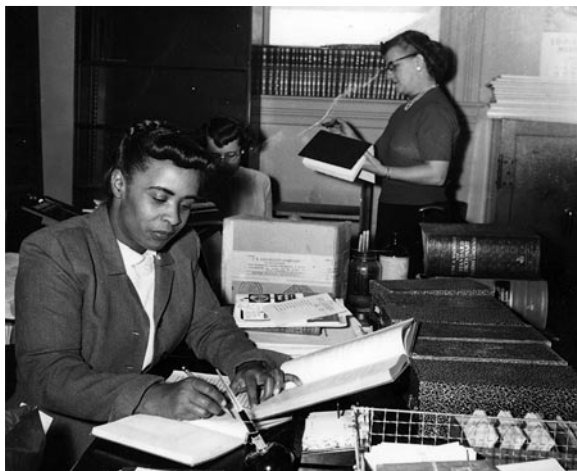
men would receive in their own country.”¹¹

Leadership at Malmstrom tried to assuage white residents’ concerns about the presence of Black airmen. During the winter and summer of 1950, Lieutenant Colonel Gordon Hazeltine and Lieutenant Colonel E. R. Cooper visited area civic organizations—such as the Cascade County Civil Rights Committee, Welcome Wagon Newcomers Club, and United Commercial Travelers Association—to discuss

By 1951 anti-Black sentiment grew to such an intensity that Montana Chamber of Commerce director James L. Flaherty requested that the Air Force ban Black servicemen from Great Falls.

“the air force’s integration policy concerning airmen and off-base discrimination problems.” These events appeared to earn a positive reception and likely educated many residents about the hardships Black airmen faced in Great Falls.¹²

Additionally, Lieutenant Colonel Hazeltine and two air force chaplains were members of the Inter-Racial Committee of the Cascade County Community Council. This committee, formed to study racial discrimination in Great Falls, aimed to launch a “campaign of education against discriminatory practices based on race, creed, or color” and recommended asking all restaurant, hotel, and bar owners to extend privileges to all customers. When this approach did not work, repeated complaints by air force leaders convinced some businesses to remove signage that barred Black patrons. Others, however, still refused to serve Black customers.



Born in Lewistown in 1916, Alma Smith Jacobs spent most of her youth in Great Falls. After obtaining a degree in library science from Columbia University, she returned to Montana to serve as the head librarian at the Great Falls Public Library. Jacobs became an active participant in the civil rights movement in the Electric City, most notably through her involvement in the Montana Federation of Colored Women’s Clubs. 2007.017.0146, The History Museum, Great Falls



It became increasingly clear that discrimination required a legislative fix.¹³

Attempts to bar discrimination in Great Falls emerged from the Montana Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (MFCWC). The MFCWC was founded in Butte in 1921 as a civic improvement organization for the state's 1,658 Black residents. Its chapters included the Dunbar Art and Study Club, which formed in Great Falls in the mid-1920s. Following World War II, Alma S. Jacobs led many of the group's efforts. As a Black woman living in Great Falls, Jacobs experienced segregation firsthand. For example, one afternoon in the mid-1950s, Jacobs's friend Arlyene Reichert invited her to lunch at Schell's Townhouse in downtown Great Falls. Jacobs responded, "I'd love to join you, but I don't think they'll let me in." Jacobs's own experience and activism mirrored that of other Black women's organizations in the West and led her to fight to improve Black airmen's experiences in Great Falls.¹⁴

Throughout the early 1950s, club members pointed to the problems facing Black airmen stationed at Malmstrom AFB to underscore the need for a state-

The Ozark Club began as an African American bar in the early twentieth century. By midcentury, it became a vibrant part of the Great Falls nightlife, known for high-quality live music and racially mixed crowds. In this 1950s photograph, a Black airman and a white woman share a dance as a band performs onstage.

Courtesy of the LaMar Family

wide anti-discrimination statute. As the United States emerged as a superpower after World War II and sought to shape the world in its image, examples of racial segregation hurt the nation's image. The MFCWC fully understood this dynamic. The group pointed out the irony that many "places of public accommodation display signs that 'Welcome Canadians,' while these same places deny service to [Black airmen]—citizens in the service of their country." Collectively, these conditions were a drag on Black airmen's morale. Without an opportunity to blow off steam or enjoy themselves when off duty, MFCWC suggested that the racism Black airmen experienced in Great Falls placed national security at risk.¹⁵

Beginning with the 1951 legislative session in Helena, Montana, members of the Dunbar Study and Art Club lobbied state legislators to pass equal rights



In 1971, the women of the Dunbar Art and Study Club, the Great Falls branch of the Montana Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, celebrated the organization's fiftieth anniversary. Alma Smith Jacobs, who led many of the group's efforts beginning in the mid-1950s, can be seen standing at the far right in this photograph credited to the DeMier Studio. PAC 96-25.28, MTHS archives

legislation. These efforts were part of a nationwide movement to enact anti-discrimination statutes at the state and local level. In response, Cascade County representatives Ralph Cook and Myron Tripp sponsored a pair of bills that sought to curb discrimination throughout Montana. House Bill 58 was a general anti-discrimination statute that prohibited "racial or ethnic discrimination in employment and labor organizations, and to create a fair employment practices commission for enforcement." House Bill 391 guaranteed "the full and equal enjoyment of all places of public accommodation." While neither piece of legislation became law, the MFCWC believed it was "encouraging to see this much progress."¹⁶

Club members continued to lobby skeptical legislators. During a senate committee hearing during the 1953 legislative session, Senator Donald Nutter suggested removing fines for non-compliance. Recognizing the difficulty of enforcing this legislation, Nutter stated, "it's [*sic*] difficult to force a man to cut

another man's hair . . . if he doesn't want to." Senator B. R. Taylor took a different tack. He complained that he would resent "someone telling him to service a person if he didn't want to." Despite these naysayers, by 1955, the legislature passed Montana's first piece of equal rights legislation. Unfortunately for Black airmen and residents in Great Falls, the new law did not have an enforcement mechanism. While largely symbolic, it was the state of Montana's first effort at reigning in discrimination.¹⁷

Even with the Dunbar Study and Art Club's successful lobbying, Black airmen in Great Falls faced persistent discrimination in the decade that followed. In a letter to Great Falls' Human Relations Commission in the summer of 1965, a Black Air Force captain on temporary duty from the Phoenix area complained that when he visited a "local place of public accommodation," he was the only member of his air defense evaluation team that was denied service. When Colonel William O. Dickerson heard of this complaint, he vis-



An integrated crowd watches as a girl strolls down the aisle as part of a Tom Thumb wedding ceremony (where children act out performative marriages, often for fundraisers) at the Great Falls AME Church in 1955. The church was one of the few spaces in the city that allowed Black residents to interact freely with their white counterparts.

PAC 2001-46, MM1, MTHS archives

ited the establishment in question and the manager “admitted he openly refused to serve Negroes.” The following year, County Attorney Gene B. Daly took up this cause and threatened to “prosecute fully” any retail liquor outlet that refused service to Black airmen. Simply put, “We won’t tolerate this sort of thing.” Staff Sergeant James P. Jones bemoaned this lack of access to bars and restaurants. “What is there to do if you

Reverend Hardy White with the Union Bethel AME Church claimed that landlords denied occupancy to one Black resident nineteen times in a month.

don’t like hunting or fishing?” Jones asked. “If a few of us get together, the cops think we’re starting something. There is nothing with which blacks can identify, so we are left to our own thing, which isolates us.”¹⁸

Housing discrimination remained an issue as well. During a luncheon at the Malmstrom Officers Club on September 22, 1967, Colonel Frank W. Klibbe, the deputy base commander, advised business leaders, heads of city departments, and the mayor’s office that “40 per cent of the owners of Great Falls multiple-unit rental property are not committed to a policy of nondiscrimination.” Local pastors, meanwhile, could cite countless examples of housing discrimination. Reverend Jacob Beck with the Great Falls Ministerial Association reported that Black personnel at Malmstrom were unable to rent or buy homes in the area. He heard stories of airmen “answering housing ads only to be told that the premises in question had been rented . . . then seeing the same ads continue to appear in the newspapers.” Reverend Hardy White with the Union Bethel AME Church claimed that landlords denied occupancy to one Black resident nineteen times in a month. Base officials hoped the meeting would garner support to reduce discrimination in town.¹⁹

Then, on June 13, 1968, three Black officers assigned to Malmstrom AFB brought discrimination accusations to the city council. Nearly a year later, Mayor John J. McLaughlin declared his administration would tackle the issue. He tasked the city public safety and welfare committee with handling the accusations, while pressing for the “formation of carefully selected committees which would visit persons and interests

THE NAACP IS PEOPLE JOIN



C. R. Ruff



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, 1790 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10019



(Opposite) The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) formed in 1909. By midcentury, the organization played a leading role in mounting legal challenges to discriminatory state and local laws. This poster, which likely dates to the late 1960s, urged new members to join. LC-USZ62-100309, Library of Congress

opposed to ending discrimination and attempt to persuade them to accept a change.” Despite these efforts, Black airmen’s isolation from the broader community soon reached a boiling point.²⁰

On September 26, 1971, mounting tension between Black and white airmen erupted into a fit of violence. Base leadership reported that a fight broke out in the barracks between Black and white airmen following an “incident” at the Airman’s Club the previous evening. During the scuffle, those involved broke five windows

and several pool cues, resulting in three minor injuries. To stop the violence from spreading, officials cleared the theater, closed the on-base dry goods store known as the Base Exchange, and ushered all retirees off base. They also posted armed guards at both gates and turned away all civilians. Later in the day, approximately seventy-five Black airmen gathered in front of the base dining facility to protest their poor treatment both on base and in Great Falls. Colonels Don Hedlund and John W. Bryan met with the protesting airmen and listened to their concerns. After about an hour the crowd dispersed peacefully. The *Tribune* reported that many base residents contacted the newspaper and claimed there had been several similar incidents on Malmstrom AFB in recent months. While little changed in the weeks that followed the protest, Black



This DeMier Studio photograph captures thirty-eight members of the Montana Federation of Colored Women’s Clubs posing in a church, likely the Union Bethel AME, in Great Falls. Club members from throughout the state converged on the Electric City in 1957 for their annual convention. PAC 96-25.16, MTHS archives

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While South Dakota senator George McGovern ultimately headed the ticket, New York congresswoman Shirley Chisholm's historic campaign for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination in 1972 inspired other African American activists and would-be politicians such as Geraldine Travis, who served in Montana's legislature from 1975 to 1977.

LC-DIG-ppmsca-42048, Library of Congress

airmen were optimistic. One officer believed that at least one positive development emerged from the incident: "Some of the higher ranking officers who had failed to listen before are listening now. . . . At least now everyone recognizes there is a problem."²¹

It had become evident that Great Falls' Black community needed a voice in city matters, and the Great Falls Ministerial Association, along with Black airmen and dependents at Malmstrom AFB, believed a local chapter of the NAACP was the answer. During the late 1960s and the 1970s, Black communities around the nation built upon the political gains of the previous decade. According to historian Steven Lawson, many budding politicians "hoped to build upon

the legal rights secured through the [civil rights movement] and use them to continue the pursuit of first-class citizenship."²²

The civil rights movement provided many aspiring Black politicians the experience necessary to run for

and hold elected office.

The feminist movement of this period influenced female officeholders. Politicians like Geraldine W. Travis, an Air Force spouse, leveraged this kind of experience to become Montana's first Black legislator. Born in 1931 in Albany, Georgia, Travis married Airman William Alexander Travis in 1949

while he was stationed at nearby Turner AFB. Travis became the mother to three sons and two daughters as her family moved to various bases around the world before they arrived at Malmstrom AFB in 1967.

Travis soon became active in local civil rights politics in Great Falls. In June 1968, a total of fifty-five persons, including fifteen white residents, rechartered the Great Falls chapter of the NAACP. Travis served as the chapter's provisional secretary-treasurer and worked with Sherry Francetich and Reverend Jacob Beck to draft the organization's bylaws. In early July the chapter installed its elected officers, with Travis serving as the first treasurer. The national organization granted the Great Falls chapter its charter on October 23, 1968.²³

Jules Jordan, the director of the NAACP's Rocky Mountain region,

*At an August 2, 1969,
recruitment event at St. Francis
Episcopal Church, forty
Black airmen from Malmstrom
AFB attended a NAACP
recruitment meeting.*



A Black airman stationed at Malmstrom AFB dons a winter coat in this 1975 photograph. The local chapter of the NAACP worked hard to recruit Black airmen, who comprised a large portion of the city's Black community.

Courtesy of the 341st Missile Wing History Office



charged its members with tackling racism in Great Falls. "Eliminate the racism and the 'penned-up' segregation in Great Falls," he commanded. "It's happening in Great Falls. We know it . . . You know it." While Jordan discussed a wide range of issues facing the city's Black residents, such as denial of employment in city hall and the lack of Black teachers in the school system, he emphasized the problems Black

servicemen faced. He said, "Black servicemen couldn't find housing to rent . . . and when they did they paid . . . for something not fit for a dog to live in." Jordan denounced the city council's move to turn the issue over to a commission. "When you want something undone, or not done, you appoint a commission," he noted. Jordan urged the chapter to speak with the base commander about this issue. If rebuffed, he



Geraldine Travis (right) arrived in Great Falls in 1967 when her husband William, an airman, was stationed at Malmstrom AFB. She soon became active in local and state politics, and in 1974 earned election to the Montana House of Representatives. Her district encompassed the base and the surrounding community. This 1975 photograph commemorates when Governor Thomas Judge (seated) signed one of Travis's bills into law. Courtesy of Geraldine Travis

Churches and the Great Falls Ministerial Association before turning its attention to Malmstrom AFB, which hosted the largest concentration of Black residents in Great Falls. At an August 2, 1969, recruitment event at St. Francis Episcopal Church, forty Black airmen from Malmstrom AFB attended a NAACP recruitment meeting. New member Lieutenant Ernest Hughes gave his pitch to those in attendance. As a Black man in central Montana, he understood the opposition Black airmen faced and believed the NAACP was the way to address local problems. He noted that the chapter had established lines of communication with city leaders but believed the organization's greatest power was informing Great Falls' white residents about civil rights issues. As the only NAACP chapter in a five-state area (Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, and North and South Dakota), this organization was in a unique position to effect positive change. The chapter's membership rolls quickly swelled to approximately one hundred members.²⁵

The NAACP sought to recruit Black airmen, but that did not mean they were comfortable participating. The local NAACP chapter warned prospective members "they could face possible repercussions from Malmstrom commanders if they join." For example, the local branch held its second annual fundraising dinner at the Holiday Inn's Glacier Room in early November 1969. Local president Reverend Jacob Beck stated the event would "afford people an opportunity to get acquainted with others who wish to promote the spirit of friendship between the races." Unfortunately, many Black airmen did not attend the event out of fear of retaliation from base leadership. The event's guest speaker, Ina Boone, a national field director for the NAACP, chastised base leadership. Exasperated, she believed "it is a disgrace that there are black enlisted men at Malmstrom Air Force Base who are financially able to attend . . . but who are afraid of reprisals." She continued, "This is not just a

suggested they speak to the Secretary of Defense and convince him to make Great Falls off limits to Malmstrom personnel.²⁴

In attempting to challenge racism and discrimination in Great Falls, the local NAACP recruited institutional and individual members as quickly as possible. Shortly after the chapter received its charter, it enlisted the support of the Montana Council of

social function but a function to develop better understanding and human relations.” While it is unknown exactly how many Black airmen attended this event, they clearly were wary of participating.²⁶

Next, NAACP members spoke to classrooms and civic organizations and sponsored youth-focused events. In the winter of 1969, a captain stationed at Malmstrom AFB spoke to Sister Providencia Tolan’s introductory sociology class at Great Falls College (now the University of Providence) about the challenges facing Great Falls’ Black residents. After the captain completed his talk, he posed a question to Sister Providencia: “Do you think that these students will be ready to be social workers in the city when they graduate?” He answered his own question by lamenting,

“I don’t think so. I’ve been in this town for three years. . . . They have no idea what’s going on out there.” This revelation encouraged Sister Providencia to educate current and future teachers to teach about Black history and culture in Montana schools. She implored teachers to host annual Black heritage workshops in Montana high schools and encouraged the adaptation of multicultural textbooks, a position the local NAACP chapter later adopted. Tolan believed an educational approach could “help our white children become more accustomed to regarding our black brothers as fellow citizens.”²⁷

Other residents sought ways to bring attention to Montana and get more involved. Geraldine Travis translated her experience with the NAACP into a trip



to the Democratic National Convention in 1972. That June, the Montana Democratic Party elected its delegates to the national convention in Miami Beach, Florida. Party guidelines required the inclusion of minority and female delegates. Of the twenty delegates selected, Travis was elected on the uncommitted slate. According to Travis, her experience with the NAACP “made me understand why people are afraid to get involved . . . I can understand how fear of retaliation and fear of personal loss can make one afraid to stand up for his principles. It makes me appreciate all the more the people with courage enough to do it.” Travis

supported New York congresswoman Shirley Chisholm for these very reasons. To her, Chisholm “has given hope to women and to people of minority races.” “At the convention,” Travis continued, “I will be voting in the interest of her principles . . . in whatever way she ultimately decides her principles can best be magnified.” In the months following the convention, it became apparent to Travis that she would need to run for office herself in order to create real change in Great Falls.²⁸

Travis parlayed her political activism into becoming the first African American elected to the Montana House of Representatives. In 1974, she ran to represent Malmstrom AFB’s 5,500 residents in House District 43. Travis believed military members and their families had a vested interest in the Montana legislature. Even though most Malmstrom residents were registered to vote at their home of record, “if a military family has a child that requires attention, no one says send it back to the state where you vote.” Travis’s political positions were commonplace for her time: she wanted to increase education funding, pass

the Equal Rights Amendment, and draft an abortion law compatible with *Roe v. Wade*. Since most military personnel maintained voting registration in their home states, Travis only had to convince a majority of the district’s 138 registered voters to support her. This, however, was no easy task since candidates were not allowed to campaign on base. She ran against William

Pena, a retired Chief Master Sergeant, in the Democratic Party primary and won eighteen to two. On November 5, Travis won the general election twenty to five and became Montana’s first, and so far only, Black legislator.²⁹

During the 1975 legislative session, Tra-

vis sought to deliver state resources to her constituents. For example, she introduced HB 598, which reversed a state law under which federal employees were not eligible for unemployment insurance if they received federal retirement pay. Similarly, Travis introduced HB 311, which made it possible for military members to become citizens of Montana for voting purposes. She also used her position as a state legislator to address civil rights and women’s issues around the state. During a September 1971 meeting of the Cascade County Social Workers she had lamented there were no beauty shops in Great Falls “equipped to dress Negro women’s hair.” Travis pointed to the fact there was no provision in Montana’s hair dressing schools for training hairdressers to style Black hair. Once in office she introduced HB 248, which required cosmetology schools in Montana to “teach courses in the practice of cosmetology upon on people of all races.” The legislature referred the bill to the Public Health, Welfare, and Safety Committee, but it failed to become law. Travis also sponsored a resolution that urged the Public Service Commission to require telephone companies to list both the husband and wife’s name in the phone book for no additional charge. As it stood, phone companies would only list a couple’s name as Mr. and Mrs. William Travis, for example. If the wife wanted her name listed as well, the customer had to pay an additional fee. In Travis’s eyes,

*Travis parlayed her political
activism into becoming the
first African American elected
to the Montana House
of Representatives.*

(Opposite) This photograph shows the ten women who served in the Montana House of Representatives in 1975. Despite her steadfast advocacy on behalf of her constituents at Malmstrom AFB, Geraldine Travis, seen seated in the back row, second from the left, only served one term in the house. She remains the only African American legislator in the history of the state. Courtesy of Geraldine Travis

this policy violated Montana's new constitution, which prohibited discrimination based on sex. Nonetheless, the Senate State Administration Committee killed the resolution on March 18, 1975.³⁰

Additionally, Travis was one of a handful of legislators who supported legislation that would decriminalize and regulate prostitution in Montana. Travis believed that given Great Falls' long-standing discriminatory practices toward Black airmen, along with the city's small Black population, these young airmen had few social and sexual opportunities with women in town. She argued that "the prostitute is the only outlet for sexual and . . . social activity . . . particularly the unmarried black Airmen at Malmstrom Air Base." In her mind, legalizing prostitution would make the practice safer for all involved and keep airmen

away from other illegal outlets such as drug use. Ultimately, the Public Health Committee rejected the bill on an eleven to four vote. The bill's sponsor, Roberto M. Federico of Billings, did not protest the defeat since he believed Montana residents needed to have this conversation. Travis, meanwhile, realized that supporting the legalization of prostitution "could be political dynamite that could blow the top off a legislator's hope for a future career."³¹

Travis filed her petition for reelection in April 1976. She faced Warren O'Keefe, broker-manager of Holiday Realty, in the general election and lost by fifty votes. Soon after, however, Travis filed allegations of misconduct against O'Keefe's campaign with John Hanson, the state commissioner of campaign finances and practices. One of Travis's complaints charged



These unidentified Black airmen worked at a Malmstrom command center during the 1980s. Over the years, the advocacy of local civil rights organizations has helped make Great Falls more hospitable to Black servicemen and their families.

Courtesy of the 341st Missile Wing History Office

O’Keefe with campaigning on Malmstrom AFB in direct violation of military policy. While Hanson ruled against Travis, his office found that many of her accusations had merit and she was “gratified that the commissioner found substance in my allegations.”³²

After Travis lost her house seat, her political activity slowly began to wane. She was appointed to a four-year term with the Montana Board of Crime Control in 1975, where she continued to help shape policy on the treatment of minorities in the state’s corrections system. Once her term concluded, Travis joined the Montana Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, fighting for better vocational training and sentencing reform for incarcerated women and pushing for a study on county-level jails.

Travis also ran for her previous house seat in 1980 and 1982, and for the newly apportioned House District 33 in 1984, but lost each contest. In the years that followed, Travis appeared less and less in the newspapers as a political figure, and more and more as a competitive bridge player. By 1987, she won player of the year. Two years later, Travis moved to Arizona, ending her political life in Great Falls and Montana.³³

The civil rights activism that emerged from Great Falls during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s created an environment that sustained the city’s Black population in the decades that followed. For example, both Robert E. Harris and Frank F. Ghee Jr. stayed in Great Falls after they retired from the Air Force. After a career of living across the United States and around the globe, and with no close ties to his hometown in Middlesex County, Virginia, Harris decided to make Great Falls his permanent residence in 1975. By the mid-1990s he became president of the local NAACP chapter. He then used this experience in assisting the Montana Historical Society as it worked to identify and make available African

American heritage resources throughout its collections. Harris also worked with the Alma Jacobs Foun-

The civil rights activism that emerged from Great Falls during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s created an environment that sustained the city’s Black population in the decades that followed.

dation to create an annual celebration of African American culture, history, and food at the Great Falls Public Library. Ghee, meanwhile, channeled his energy into the Union Bethel AME Church. When he arrived at Malmstrom AFB in the late 1960s, Ghee, along with Eddie Reed and others, ran Union Bethel without a pastor for almost fifteen years. It took some time, but Ghee finally convinced the AME Conference to assign Union Bethel a pastor. Over the next four years membership soared from fifteen to almost one hundred people. While once thriving Black communities like those in Helena and Butte dwindled by the 1980s, Great Falls’ population remained stable, largely because of Black airmen and their families stationed at Malmstrom. But Great Falls also maintained its Black community thanks to the activism that emanated from the base, helping everyday Black Montanans see a future and a home in the city.³⁴

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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.

"It is encouraging to see this much progress" (Hallsell)

1. Troy Hallsell, *History of the 341st Missile Wing, 1 January–30 November 2020* (Great Falls: Malmstrom AFB, 2020), 114; Major Christopher Boney, email message to Malmstrom_All_DD, Aug. 11, 2020. Since its construction during World War II, the base went by Great Falls Army Airfield, Great Falls Army Air Base, and Great Falls Air Force Base before officially becoming Malmstrom AFB on October 1, 1955. For clarity I refer to the installation as Malmstrom AFB throughout the essay. See Troy A. Hallsell, "Memorializing Colonel Einar Axel Malmstrom," *Signature Montana Magazine*, Spring 2023, 45.

2. For the long history of civil rights activism as it pertains to the military, see J. Todd Moye, *Freedom Flyers: The Tuskegee Airmen of World War II* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2010); Andrew H. Myers, *Black, White, and Olive Drab: Racial Integration at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Press, 2006); Kimberly L. Phillips, *War! What Is It Good For?: Black Freedom Struggles & the U.S. Military from World War II to Iraq* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2012); Herbert G. Ruffin, "Brothers Taking Action: African American Soldier Activism at Fort Hood, Texas, 1948–1972," in *Freedom's Racial Frontier: African Americans in the Twentieth-Century West*, ed. Hubert G. Ruffin II and Dwayne A. Mack (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 2018), 181–201. For the Department of Defense's response to desegregation and integration, see Beth Bailey, "The U.S. Army and 'the Problem of Race': Afros, Race Consciousness, and Institutional Logic," *Journal of American History* 106:3 (Dec. 2019): 639–61; Alan L. Gropman, *The Air Force Integrates, 1945–1964* (Washington, DC: Office of Air Force History, 1978); Morris J. MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces, 1940–1965* (Washington, DC: Center for Military History, 2001).

3. Much of the literature on Montana's African American history focuses on the frontier period through the 1930s. See Laura J. Arata, *Race and the Wild West: Sarah Bickford, the Montana Vigilantes, and the Tourism of Decline, 1870–1930* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 2020); Michael K. Johnson, *A Black*

Woman's West: The Life of Rose B. Gordon (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2022); John P. Langellier, "Buffalo Soldiers in Big Sky Country, 1888–1898," *Montana* 67:3 (Autumn 2017): 41–56; Anthony Wood, "After the West Was Won: How African American Buffalo Soldiers Invigorated the Helena Community in Early Twentieth-Century Montana," *Montana* 66:3 (Autumn 2016): 36–50; Anthony W. Wood, *Black Montana: Settler Colonialism and the Erosion of the Racial Frontier, 1877–1930* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2021). Two exceptions are Delia Hagen, "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Document Form: Black Montana's Heritage Places," Oct. 17, 2022, and Kenneth G. Robison, "Breaking Racial Barriers: Civil Rights Movements in Montana and Wyoming," in *Black Americans and the Civil Rights Movement in the West*, ed. Bruce A. Glasrud and Cary D. Wintz (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 2019).

4. Anthony William Wood, "The Erosion of the Racial Frontier: Settler Colonialism and the History of Black Montana, 1880–1930" (MA thesis, Montana State Univ., 2018), 31–32; Wood, "After the West Was Won"; Langellier, "Buffalo Soldiers in Big Sky Country"; Donald Smythe, "John J. Pershing at Fort Assiniboine," *Montana* 18:1 (Jan. 1968): 19–23.

5. Hagen, "Black Montana's Heritage Places," 95–99; "Great Falls: African American Census Data, 1910 and 1930," <https://mhs.mt.gov/Portals/11/shpo/AfricanAmerican/CensusData/Great%20Falls%201910-1930.xls>, accessed Apr. 15, 2021; Ken Robison, "'Everyone's Welcome' at the Ozark Club," *Montana* 62:2 (Summer 2012): 46; Anthony Wood, "Montana Historic Property Record: Taylor-Reed House," Jul. 2, 2015; Anthony Wood, "Montana Historic Property Record: David and Katie Knott Residence," Aug. 1, 2015; Wood, "Erosion of the Racial Frontier," 60. African Americans mostly settled in urban areas throughout the West. See Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528–1990* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1998), 192–221.

6. W. Thomas White, "Paris Gibson, James J. Hill & the 'New Minneapolis': The Great Falls Water Power and Townsite Company, 1882–1908," *Montana* 33:3 (Summer 1983): 60–69; Barbara Behan, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Union Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church," Jul. 28, 2003; Robison, "'Everyone's Welcome' at the Ozark Club," 48–58. Quote on page 48.

7. Glenda Rose Eruteya, "Racial Legislation in Montana, 1864–1955" (MA thesis, Univ. of Montana, 1981), 24–39. Quote on

page 30. On the South's sociopolitical conditions for African Americans, see Stephen Tuck, *We Ain't What We Ought to Be: The Black Freedom Struggle from Emancipation to Obama* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2010), 37–135.

8. J. W. Smurr, "Jim Crow Out West," in *Historical Essays on Montana and the Northwest*, ed. J. W. Smurr and K. Ross Toole (Helena: Western Press, 1957), 149–203. Quotes on pages 173–74. See also Matthew L. Basso, *Meet Joe Copper: Masculinity and Race on Montana's World War II Home Front* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2013), 159–94; Wood, "Erosion of the Racial Frontier," 72, 163–64.

9. "Negro U.S.O. Center to be Opened Here Soon," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jul. 21, 1943; Robison, "'Everyone's Welcome' at the Ozark Club," 51; Tuck, *We Ain't What We Ought to Be*, 217–23; Euell A. Nielsen, "The Double V. Campaign (1942–1945)," *BlackPast*, Jul. 1, 2020, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/events-african-american-history/the-double-v-campaign-1942-1945/>. See also Pat Washburn, "The *Pittsburgh Courier's* Double V Campaign in 1942," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education Journalism, Lansing, MI, Aug. 8–11, 1981, <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED205956.pdf>. On Great Falls' WWII missions, see Troy A. Hallsell, "B-17 Training and the 7th Ferrying Group at Great Falls Army Air Base in World War II," *Air & Space Power History* 69:1 (Spring 2022): 7–14.

10. MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, 291–314. Quotes on pages 295–96. Harry S. Truman, "Executive Order 9981—Establishing the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services," Jul. 26, 1948, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/executive-order-9981-establishing-the-presidents-committee-equality-treatment-and>.

11. Gropman, *The Air Force Integrates*, 161; Collins C. George, "Airmen in Mont. Lack Recreation," *Pittsburgh Courier*, Jul. 14, 1951. On the reluctance of towns near bases to embrace Black airmen, see Myers, *Black, White, and Olive Drab*.

12. "Negro Airmen Given Praise by Colonel," *Great Falls Tribune*, Apr. 9, 1950; "Civil Rights Group Moves for Tolerance," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jan. 9, 1950; "Newcomers Install Officers," *Great Falls Tribune*, Mar. 19, 1950; "Plans Given for Meet of Church Ladies," *Great Falls Tribune*, Mar. 28, 1950.

13. "Inter-Racial Committee Report by Cascade County Community Council," Jun. 2, 1950, Montana Federation of Colored Women's Clubs Records, MC 281, B2, F4, MTHS Research Center (hereaf-

ter MFCWC records); Gropman, *The Air Force Integrates*, 162.

14. Quoted in Robison, "Civil Rights Movements in Montana and Wyoming," 89–90. See also Barbara Behan, "Montana Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (1921–1972)," *BlackPast*, Aug. 8, 1918, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/montana-federation-colored-women-s-clubs-1921-1972/>; Elisabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as They Climb* (1933; repr., New York: G. K. Hall & Co., 1996), 351–56; Robison, "Civil Rights Movements in Montana and Wyoming," 94; Carla Garner, "Alma S. Jacobs (1916–1997)," *BlackPast*, Aug. 12, 2018, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/jacobs-alma-s-1916-1997/>. The MFCWC's activism mirrored that of other Black club women throughout the West. See Dwayne A. Mack, "Black Women in Spokane: Emerging from the Shadows of Jim and Jane Crow," in *Freedom's Racial Frontier*, 202–28.

15. Quote from "Flyer," 1955, MC 281, B2, F4, MFCWC records; "Inter-Racial Committee Report by Cascade County Community Council," Jun. 2, 1950, MC 281, B2, F4, MFCWC records; Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2011), 12.

16. Quote in Tucker to Graybill, Feb. 21, 1951, MC 281, B2, F4, MFCWC records. See also Fitzgibbons to Jacobs, Jan. 27, 1951; Tripp to Tucker, Mar. 2, 1951, MC 281, B2, F4, MFCWC records; Tuck, *We Ain't What We Ought to Be*, 250–52. Quotes from HB 58 and HB 391 from Eruteya, "Racial Legislation in Montana," 107, 109.

17. "Civil Rights Measure Argued Before Committee," *Great Falls Tribune*, Feb. 25, 1953; Eruteya, "Racial Legislation in Montana," 112–15.

18. "Race Discrimination Complaints Are Heard," *Great Falls Tribune*, May 6, 1965; "Bars Get Word on Discrimination," *Great Falls Tribune*, Aug. 22, 1969; "Speakers Say Falls Treating Minorities Unfairly," *Great Falls Tribune*, Sep. 24, 1971.

19. "Room to Improve Falls Bias in Rental Housing," *Great Falls Tribune*, Sep. 23, 1967; Ed Mendel, "City Acts to End Discrimination," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jun. 14, 1968; Jerry Madden, "Negro Pastor Tells of Falls Racial Bias," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jun. 14, 1968.

20. Mendel, "City Acts to End Discrimination."

21. "Racial Tension Explodes at Malmstrom," *Great Falls Tribune*, Sep. 27, 1971. From the late 1960s through the mid-1970s, Black service members at military installations around the United States protested their poor treatment on and off base. See Brigadier General Richard N. Cody, SAC Inquiry Team Chief, "Final Report of the SAC Inquiry Team's Find-

ings at Minot, N.D., 16 Jan–2 Feb 1975"; Ruffin, "Brothers Taking Action," 181–201.

22. Steven F. Lawson, *Running for Freedom: Civil Rights and Black Politics in America Since 1941* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990), 146–82. Quote on page 148.

23. Ken Robison, "Geraldine Washington Travis (1931–)," *BlackPast*, Aug. 15, 2018, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/travis-geraldine-washington-1931/>. A Great Falls NAACP chapter had existed as recently as the 1950s. See Robison, "'Everyone's Welcome' at the Ozark Club," 55; George, "Airmen in Mont. Lack Recreation"; "NAACP Unit in Falls Being Formed," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jun. 19, 1968; "NAACP Rep Installs Officers," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jul. 5, 1968.

24. "Falls NAACP Group to Get Charter," *Great Falls Tribune*, Oct. 6, 1968; "Local NAACP Asked to Help Eliminate Racism," *Great Falls Tribune*, Oct. 24, 1968.

25. "Ministerial Association Joins Chapter of NAACP," *Great Falls Tribune*, Oct. 21, 1968; "Black Civil Rights Organizations Discussed by Local NAACP Group," *Great Falls Tribune*, Aug. 3, 1969.

26. "Black Civil Rights Organizations Discussed by Local NAACP Group"; "Falls Branch of NAACP Plans Dinner," *Great Falls Tribune*, Nov. 1, 1969; "NAACP Speaker Assails Officials at Malmstrom," *Great Falls Tribune*, Nov. 5, 1969.

27. Quotes in Lois Murray, "Nun Speaks to Teachers on Students and Racism," *Great Falls Tribune*, Feb. 16, 1969. See also "NAACP Asks Multiracial Book Policy," *Great Falls Tribune*, Aug. 5, 1970. Born Denise Hortense Tolan in Anaconda, Montana, on February 24, 1909, Tolan joined the faculty of Great Falls College as a lecturer in sociology in 1948 and quickly became involved in championing the rights of off-reservation Native Americans in the area. See Joan Bishop, "From Hill 57 to Capitol Hill: 'Making the Sparks Fly,' Sister Providencia Tolan's Drive on Behalf of Montana's Off-Reservation Indians, 1950–1970," *Montana* 43:3 (Summer 1993): 16–29.

28. "Hope for Minority Groups: Delegate Sees Important Role," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jul. 4, 1972. On Shirley Chisholm, see Jackson Landers, "'Unbought and Unbossed': When a Black Woman Ran for the White House," *Smithsonian Magazine*, Apr. 25, 2016, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/unbought-and-unbossed-when-black-woman-ran-for-the-white-house-180958699/>. On Montana delegates at the convention, see Robison, "Civil Rights Movements in Montana and Wyoming," 97; "17 State Democrats Support McGovern," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jun. 18, 1972; "Billings Democrat to Lead Delegates to Miami Beach," *Great Falls Trib-*

une, Jun. 19, 1972.

29. Quote in Frank Adams, "Solon to Stress Stake of Constituents," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jan. 13, 1975. See also "Election, Politics," *Great Falls Tribune*, Dec. 22, 1974; "Seeks Office," *Great Falls Tribune*, Apr. 23, 1974; "House District 43," *Great Falls Tribune*, May 3, 1974; "District 43," *Great Falls Tribune*, May 29, 1974; "MAFB Demos Pick Travis," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jun. 5, 1974.

30. "Bill Seeks to Correct Benefits Inequity," *Great Falls Tribune*, Mar. 13, 1975; "Solons Back Armed Forces Voting Bill," *Great Falls Tribune*, Mar. 15, 1975; "Speakers Say Falls Treating Minorities Unfairly," *Great Falls Tribune*, Sep. 24, 1971; *Combined Final Status of the Senate and House of Representatives for the State of Montana, Forty-Fourth Legislature, Regular Session, January 6, 1975 to April 19, 1975* (Helena 1975), 26, 76; "His and Her Telephone Listings Asked," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jan. 30, 1975.

31. "Falls Solon Speaks for Legal Prostitution," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jan. 29, 1975; "Prostitution Proposal Spiked," *Great Falls Tribune*, Feb. 8, 1975. See also "Speakers Say Falls Treating Minorities Unfairly," *Great Falls Tribune*, Sep. 24, 1971.

32. "Travis Election Allegations Rejected by Commissioner," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jan. 22, 1977. Travis initially waited to file for reelection until she received clarification regarding voter registration and campaigning on base. In March 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in *Greer v. Spock* that installation commanders have the authority to bar political candidates from military bases as long as they deny access to all candidates. Satisfied, Travis ran for office again. See Walter Huber, "Greer v. Spock (1976)," *The First Amendment Encyclopedia*, <https://www.mtsu.edu/first-amendment/article/341/greer-v-spock>. See also "Unofficial County Vote Returns," *Great Falls Tribune*, Nov. 4, 1976; "Allegations Filed," *Great Falls Tribune*, Dec. 11, 1976.

33. "Travis Plans to Remain on Board Despite Defeat," *Great Falls Tribune*, Mar. 30, 1977; "Criminal Justice System Unfair to Minorities, Committee Says," *Great Falls Tribune*, Feb. 8, 1979; Gwinn Dyrland, "Jail Study Delayed by Review," *Great Falls Tribune*, Dec. 28, 1984; "Upsets in Legislative Primaries," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jun. 4, 1980; Peter Johnson, "Local Republicans Count Small Blessings in Wake of Election," *Great Falls Tribune*, Nov. 7, 1982; "Canvass of Votes Confirms Early Results," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jun. 14, 1984; "Tops at Bridge," *Great Falls Tribune*, Feb. 21, 1985; "Tops at Bridge," *Great Falls Tribune*, Apr. 28, 1988; "Gwendolyn Travis and David Anthony," *Great Falls Tribune*, Jan. 8, 1989; Robison, "Geraldine Washington Travis (1931–)."

34. Robert E. Harris interview with

Ken Robison, Sep. 10, 2020, OH #263; Frank F. Ghee Jr. interview with Ken Robison and Kristi Scott, Sep. 9, 2020, OH #262, Cascade County Historical Society, Great Falls; Hagen, "Black Montana's Heritage Places," 208–15.

Butte's State Savings Bank Affair (Brown)

1. "Queer Spots in and about Butte," *Anaconda Standard*, Sep. 16, 1906; Fred Willson Diary, Nov. 23, 1904, fldr 2, bx 1, Fred F. Willson Papers, 1889–1956, Merrill C. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State Univ. Library, Bozeman (hereafter Willson Papers).

2. *R. L. Polk & Co.'s Butte City Directory*, Vol. XXI (Detroit: American Directory Publishers, 1907), 218. Architectural graduates were required to serve an internship before becoming an architect.

3. Robert Rydell, Jeffrey Safford, and Pierce Mullen, *In the People's Interest: A Centennial History of Montana State University* (Bozeman: Montana State Univ. Foundation, 1992), 10; *Annual Catalogue, 1893–1894* (Bozeman: Montana State College of Agricultural and Mechanic Arts, 1893).

4. *Sixth Annual Catalogue, 1898–1899* (Bozeman: Montana State College of Agricultural and Mechanic Arts, 1898); *The Columbian* (New York: Columbia Univ., 1902), fldr 2, bx 4, Willson Papers; Fred Willson Diary, 1904–1905, multiple entries, fldr 2, bx 1, Willson Papers.

5. For Haire and Link biographies, see *A Newspaper Reference Work: Men of Affairs and Representative Institutions of the State of Montana* (Butte: Butte News-writers' Association, 1914).

6. "Will Break Ground Tomorrow Morning," *Butte Miner*, Mar. 25, 1906.

7. Fred Willson Diary, 1907–1909, multiple entries, fldrs 4–6, bx 1, Willson Papers.

8. Fred Willson Diary, May 14, 1907; Fred Willson Diary, Apr. 25, 1907, fldr 4, bx 1, Willson Papers; "Lester S. Willson," obituary, *Butte Daily Post*, Jan. 27, 1919.

9. Joseph Kinsey Howard quoted in Michael P. Malone, *The Battle for Butte: Mining and Politics on the Northern Frontier, 1864–1906* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1981), 57.

10. Mary Murphy, *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte 1914–41* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1997), 4.

11. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in 1910: Statistics for Montana* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), 568. Unofficial census numbers put Butte's population closer to one hundred thousand. On Butte's saloons, see Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 78.

12. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in 1910*, 654.

13. "Hirbour Block–Butte Historic

District–Butte, MT," Waymarking.com, https://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WMXPH7_Hirbour_Block_Butte_Anaconda_Historic_District_Butte_MT; Karrie Jacobs, "The Forgotten History of Our First Skyscrapers," *Architect*, Mar. 9, 2021.

14. Sarah McNelis, *The Biography of F. Augustus Heinze: Copper King at War* (Helena, MT: Riverbend Publishing, 2018), 15, 19.

15. Biographical Note, Patrick Largey Family Papers 1863–1865, MTHS Archives; Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, *A History of Montana* (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1913), 1133. On the Heinze and Largey purchase, see "Montana Squibs," *Columbian* (Columbia Falls), Oct. 21, 1905. Quotations relating to the Amalgamated/Heinze conflict from Michael P. Malone and Richard B. Roeder, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1976), 175.

16. Richard I. Gibson, "History of the Mining Town: Metals Bank Building a Shining Example of Cass Gilbert's Work," *Montana Standard* (Butte), Mar. 10, 2021. It is not known what banking instrument was used to secure these funds.

17. McNelis, *Biography of F. Augustus Heinze*, 117; Rufus Jarman, "America's Grand Hotel," *Saturday Evening Post*, Jan. 25, 1947, 21; Carsley to Gilbert, Jun. 28, 1906, fldr 81, bx 12, Cass Gilbert Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul (hereafter Gilbert Papers).

18. Paul Goldberger, "Cass Gilbert: Remembering the Turn-of-the-Century Urban Visionary," *Architectural Digest*, Jan. 31, 2001.

19. "Former Postmaster of Springfield," *Brattleboro (VT) Reformer*, Feb. 9, 1922; *R. L. Polk & Co.'s Butte City Directory*, 218.

20. George Carsley to Cass Gilbert, Jun. 28, 1906, fldr 81, bx 12; Carsley to Gilbert, Aug. 15, 1906, fldr 81, bx 12; Gilbert to Carsley, Aug. 13, 1906, fldr 82, bx 12, Gilbert Papers.

21. Gilbert to Carsley, Jul. 28, 1906, fldr 81, bx 12; Cass Gilbert and E. P. Chapin contract, Aug. 26, 1906, fldr 82, bx 12, Gilbert Papers. On Chapin's position, see *R. L. Polk & Co.'s Butte City Directory*, 218.

22. Heinze to Gilbert, Aug. 7, 1906, fldr 82, bx 12, Gilbert Papers.

23. "Removal: The State Savings Bank," *Butte Miner*, Sep. 14, 1906. It is not known if Chapin appointed Link and Haire general contractors or if he retained the handling of contracts.

24. Carsley to Gilbert, Jun. 28, 1906, fldr 81, bx 12, Gilbert Papers. In a previous life, the author was a construction project manager.

25. Fred Willson Diary, Mar. 20, 1907, fldr 4, bx 1, Willson Papers.

26. Fred Willson Diary, Mar. 27, Apr. 1 and 5, 1907, fldr 4, bx 1, Willson Papers. At the time, most architecture offices in Montana did their own in-

house engineering.

27. Fred Willson Diary, Jul. 9 and 16, Aug. 1 and 2, 1907, fldr 4, bx 1, Willson Papers.

28. "Otto Heinze & Co. Forced to Suspend. F. Augustus Gives Up Presidency," *New York Tribune*, Oct. 18, 1907; Chapin to Gilbert, Nov. 8, 1907, fldr 82, bx 12, Gilbert Papers.

29. "His Mission Is Important," *Butte Miner*, Nov. 6, 1907.

30. Byrne and Cutcheon to Gilbert, Nov. 26, 1907, fldr 82, bx 12, Gilbert Papers.

31. "Directors Named for Bank State Being Reorganized," *Butte Daily Post*, Feb. 13, 1908.

32. Fred Willson Diary, Feb. 15, 1908, fldr 5, bx 1, Willson Papers.

33. Carsley to Gilbert, Jun. 28, 1906, and Gilbert to Carsley, Aug. 13, 1906, fldr 81, bx 12, Gilbert Papers; Fred Willson Diary, Mar. 12, 1908, fldr 5, bx 1, Willson Papers.

34. Carsley to Gilbert, Mar. 16, 1908, fldr 82, bx 12, Gilbert Papers.

35. Fred Willson Diary, Mar. 12 and 30, 1908, fldr 5, bx 1, Willson Papers; George Carsley, "Report on Mr. Gilbert's and Mr. Carsley's Conference with Mr. E. C. Day August 08, 1908 Regarding Butte Savings Bank, August 29, 1908," fldr 81, bx 12, Gilbert Papers.

36. Fred Willson Diary, Apr. 2, 1908, fldr 5, bx 1, Willson Papers.

37. Fred Willson Diary, Jun. 24, Aug. 13 and 31, Oct. 22, 1908, fldr 5, bx 1, Willson Papers.

38. Fred Willson Diary, Sep. 24, Dec. 22, 1908, fldr 5, bx 1, Willson Papers.

39. "Cass Gilbert Designed Works," Cass Gilbert Society, <https://www.cassgilbertsociety.org/works/>.

40. Carsley, "Report on Mr. Gilbert's and Mr. Carsley's Conference," fldr 81, bx 12; Gilbert to Carsley, Aug. 10, 1908, Day to Gilbert, Sep. 26, 1908, Gilbert to Carsley, Jun. 7, 1909, Gilbert to Day, May 24, 1909, fldr 82, bx 12, Gilbert Papers.

41. Fred Willson Diary, Nov. 2, 1909, fldr 6, bx 1, Willson Papers.

42. Fred Willson Diary, Dec. 9, 18, and 24, 1909, fldr 6, bx 1, Willson Papers. See also Thomas Stout, ed., *Montana: Its Story and Biography—A History of Aboriginal and Territorial Montana and Three Decades of Statehood* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1921), 547.

43. Fred Willson Diary, Dec. 23 and 28, 1909, fldr 6, bx 1, Willson Papers.

44. Fred Willson Diary, Jan. 10, 1910, fldr 7, bx 1, Willson Papers.

45. Gilbert and Chapin contract, Aug. 26, 1906, fldr 82, bx 12, Gilbert Papers.

46. Carsley to Gilbert, Jun. 28, 1906, fldr 81, bx 12, Gilbert Papers.

47. Gilbert to Carsley, Aug. 13, 1906, fldr 82, bx 12, Gilbert Papers.

48. Gilbert to Day, Aug. 10, 1908, fldr 82, bx 12, Gilbert Papers.

49. Goldberger, "Cass Gilbert"; "Who

Coined the Phrase 'Cathedral of Commerce' to Describe the Woolworth Building?," New-York Historical Society, <https://www.nyhistory.org/community/cathedral-of-commerce>; "Cass Gilbert," Encyclopedia.com, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/literature-and-arts/architecture-biographies/cass-gilbert>; Aiko Austin, "The Life and Work of Cass Gilbert," *Lowercase*, Oct. 9, 2017.

50. "Mr. Heinze's Return," *Butte Miner*, Nov. 8, 1909; "Heinze Welcomed by Large Crowd," *Butte Miner*, Nov. 8, 1909; McNelis, *Biography of F. Augustus Heinze*, 183.

51. R. L. Polk & Co.'s *Butte City Directory* (Detroit: American Directory Publishers, 1909), 191; "Former Postmaster of Springfield," *Brattleboro Reformer*, Feb. 9, 1922.

52. "Helena To Have Most Beautiful and Commodious Hotel," *Helena Independent*, Jan. 14, 1912; "George Hollis Carsley," Arch INFORM, accessed Jul. 2, 2023, <https://www.archinform.net/arch/202156.htm>. In Montana, a person can still design a building without being a licensed architect.

53. "Parkitecture, The NPS Rustic Style," National Park Service, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/architecture/parkitecture.htm>; "A Rustic Yellowstone Park Hostelry," *Western Architect* 5:10 (Oct. 1904): 7, quoted in Ruth Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams* (n.p.: Leslie and Ruth Quinn Publishers, 2004), 12.

Livestock Disease and State Power (Clement)

1. Granville Stuart to Fred Lawrence, Sep. 26, 1884, bx 2, p. 762, Granville Stuart Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale Univ. T. A. Clay, "A Call to Order: Law, Violence, and the Development of Montana's Early Stockmen's Organizations," *Montana* 58:3 (Autumn 2008): 55–59; Michael P. Malone, Richard B. Roeder, and William L. Lang, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, rev. ed. (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1991), 156–60; Michael D. Wise, *Producing Predators: Wolves, Work, and Conquest in the Northern Rockies* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2016), 34.

2. Veterinarians in the United States, along with their counterparts in Great Britain, were part of the general movement of professionalization, certification, and increased bureaucracy that characterized the late nineteenth century in industrialized countries.

3. Joshua Specht, *Red Meat Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2019), 300; Michael M. Miller, *XIT: A Story of Land, Cattle, and Capital in Texas and Montana* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 2023), 95.

4. There are a wide variety of mites that can cause scab or scabies in mammals, but the listed species are among some of the

more common. Claire Strom, *Making Catfish Bait Out of Government Boys: The Fight Against Cattle Ticks and the Transformation of the Yeoman South* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 2009), 21; Alan L. Olmstead and Paul Webb Rhode, *Arresting Contagion: Science, Policy, and Conflicts over Animal Disease Control* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2015), 33.

5. Railroad Company v. Husen, 95 U.S. 465 (1877); Miller, *XIT*, 84; Strom, *Making Catfish Bait*, 9–11.

6. In areas with endemic *Babesia* such as southern states, cattle acquired exposure to the pathogen and infections were less fatal. D. E. Salmon, "Texas Cattle Fever—Is It a Chimera or a Reality?" *Journal of Comparative Medicine and Surgery* 5:3 (Jul. 1884): 214. Strom, *Making Catfish Bait*, 11, 14; Specht, *Red Meat Republic*, 152; Miller, *XIT*, 84; "A Cattle Owner's Convention," *Helena Semi-Weekly Herald*, Mar. 27, 1884; "Rangemen's Resolutions," *River Press* (Fort Benton), Aug. 6, 1884.

7. Specht, *Red Meat Republic*, 147–8; "Quarantine Against Texas Cattle," *Daily Enterprise* (Livingston), Aug. 6, 1884; Miller, *XIT*, 94; "Texas Cattle Fever," *Helena Independent*, Aug. 7, 1884.

8. Malone et al., *Montana*, 160, 162; John S. Tooker, territorial secretary, *Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the Territory of Montana* (Helena: Robert E. Fisk, Public Printer and Binder, 1885), 34, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.a0005193305&seq=7>.

9. These quarantines prohibited importation or exportation of animals from designated areas or mandated inspection of cattle from restricted areas, often at the railyards or sale yards, although deputized veterinarians, stock inspectors, and sheriffs often made house calls on suspected infected animals. "Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the Territory of Montana" (1885), 31–39; "The Quarantine Question," *Stockgrowers Journal* (Miles City), May 16, 1885; "The Cattle Quarantine," *The Madisonian* (Virginia City), May 22, 1885; Samuel T. Hauser, "A Proclamation of Cattle Quarantine," *The Madisonian*, May 28, 1886.

10. Clyde A. Milner and Carol A. O'Connor, *As Big as the West: The Pioneer Life of Granville Stuart* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009), 241.

11. "Our Veterinarian," *Stockgrowers Journal*, Mar. 27, 1886; "Personal," *Helena Weekly Herald*, Apr. 21, 1887; "Holloway Nominated," *Helena Weekly Herald*, Jan. 27, 1887; "Now We'll Have Peace," *Anaconda Standard*, Mar. 8, 1895.

12. During this period, the number of licensed veterinarians in the state was lower than in contemporary times, so the state veterinarian and his deputies often directly advised stockmen or treated the animals. Herbert Holloway, *Report of the Territorial Veterinary Surgeon* (Helena:

Journal Publishing Co., 1888), 13–16.

13. John F. Timoney, "Glanders in Horses and Other Animals (Farcy)," *Merck Veterinary Manual*, <https://www.merckvetmanual.com/veterinary/generalized-conditions/glanders/glanders-in-horses-and-other-animals>.

14. Herbert Holloway, *Report of the State Veterinarian* (Helena: Journal Publishing Co., 1890), 21; "Glandered Horses," *Butte Daily Post*, Aug. 24, 1889.

15. Holloway, *Report of the Territorial Veterinary Surgeon*, 1888, 15–16; Herbert Holloway, *Report of the Territorial Veterinary Surgeon* (Helena: Journal Publishing Co., 1889), 15; Holloway, *Report of the State Veterinarian*, 1890, 21; Herbert Holloway, *Third Annual Report of the State Veterinary Surgeon of the State of Montana* (Helena: C.K. Wells Co., 1892), 17.

16. Sheepmen formed a stock organization in 1883 called the Montana Wool Growers Association that presented this law to the legislature. Addressing the negative economic effects of scab was the primary concern of the group. M. E. Knowles, "1. Sarcoptic Scabies of the Horse. 2. Psoroptic Scabies of Cattle in Montana. Read at the Thirty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the A. V. M. A., Detroit, Michigan, September 1900," *Journal of Comparative Medicine and Veterinary Archives* 21:10 (Oct. 1900): 584–85; Abigail Woods, "From Coordinated Campaigns to Watertight Compartments: Diseased Sheep and Their Investigation in Britain, c. 1880–1920," in *Animals and the Shaping of Modern Medicine* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 99–100. "Montana Wool Growers Association," *Rocky Mountain Husbandman* (Diamond City), Mar. 29, 1883; Malone et al., *Montana*, 162.

17. Susan D. Jones, *Valuing Animals: Veterinarians and Their Patients in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2003), 64; Holloway, *Third Annual Report*, 15.

18. Jones, *Valuing Animals*, 16.

19. "Hospital for Horses," *Anaconda Standard*, Feb. 6, 1893; Glenn C. Halver, "The History of Cattle Disease: A Century of Scientific Combat," in "A Century of Service to Montana's Cattle Industry," *Montana Stockgrower* 55:6 (Jun. 1984): 93; Carroll Van West, "Marcus Daly and Montana: One Man's Imprint on the Land," *Montana* 37:1 (Winter 1987): 60–62; Brenda Wahler, *Montana Horse Racing: A History* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2019), 103; Holloway, *Third Annual Report*, 18; "Marcus Daly's Blooded Colts," *Butte Weekly Miner*, Mar. 31, 1892; Ahmed Tibary, "Abortion in Horses - Reproductive System," *Merck Veterinary Manual*, <https://www.merckvetmanual.com/reproductive-system/abortion-in-large-animals/abortion-in-horses>; American Veterinary Medical Association, "Morton Edmund Knowles, In

Memoriam," *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association* 16:1 (Apr. 1923): 671.

20. It is unclear if Knowles meant spill-over tuberculosis cases in Montana or the United States as a whole. Frank M. Snowden, *Epidemics and Society: From the Black Death to the Present* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 2020), 294–301; Morton Knowles, *Annual Report of the State Veterinary Surgeon of the State of Montana for the Year 1897* (Helena: State Publishing Company Printers and Binders, 1898), 9, 24; Olmstead and Rhode, *Arresting Contagion*, 220–22.

21. M. E. Knowles, "State Veterinary Report for 1902," Oct. 1, 1902, bx 310, fldr 1, Montana Governors Records, 1889–1962, MTHS Research Center, 8, 11; Fredric L. Quivik, "The Tragic Montana Career of Dr. D. E. Salmon," *Montana* 57:1 (Spring 2007): 33–47; Donald MacMillan, *Smoke Wars: Anaconda Copper, Montana Air Pollution, and the Courts, 1890–1920* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2000), 89, 94; Timothy J. LeCain, "Copper and Longhorns: Material and Human Power in Montana's Smelter Smoke War, 1860–1910," in *Mining North America: An Environmental History Since 1522*, ed. J. R. McNeill and George Yrvis (Oakland: Univ. of California Press, 2017), 166–90.

22. Knowles, "Report, 1902," 11.

23. Olmstead and Rhode, *Arresting Contagion*, 251; "Scab Among the Sheep," *Carbon County Chronicle* (Red Lodge), May 26, 1903.

24. In 1885, the Eastern Montana Livestock Association merged with the Helena-based Montana Stock Growers Association to form the statewide organization of the Montana Stockgrowers Association. Malone et al., *Montana*, 160. "Stockmen in Session," *River Press*, Apr. 29, 1908; "Some Questions That Mr. Preuit Might Answer," *Great Falls Tribune*, Mar. 3, 1907.

25. "Depart From Old Policy: Stockmen Decide to Take Part in Politics," *Billings Gazette*, Apr. 22, 1904; "A Century of Service to Montana's Cattle Industry," *Montana Stockgrower*, 13; "Large Meeting of Cattlemen Is Held: Plans Made for Dipping Stock Next Spring," *Anaconda Standard*, Jul. 21, 1904; Malone et al., *Montana*, 255–58; "Montana Livestock Sanitary Laws and Regulations of the State Livestock Sanitary Board," Pub. L. No. House Bill 324 (1907), 3.

26. "Fever Traced to Milk at Missoula," *Hardin Tribune*, Apr. 28, 1933.

27. Morton Knowles, "Report of the State Veterinarian, 1907," Dec. 10, 1907, 1, bx 309, fldr 11, Montana Governors Records, 1889–1962, MTHS Research Center.

28. Technically, the LSB only recommended to the governor when and where to implement specific quarantines, but their requests were rarely denied, if

ever. The American scab quarantines were part of a larger global effort to eradicate scab, especially from sheep. Woods, "From Coordinated Campaigns to Water-tight Compartments," 99–100; Daniel Salmon, *Scab in Sheep* (Washington, DC: United States Department of Agriculture, 1903), 17–33; Strom, *Making Catfish Bait*, 63; Morton Knowles, "Annual Report for Livestock Sanitary Board, 1909–1910," Nov. 30, 1910, bx 310, fldr 1, Montana Governors Records, 1889–1962, MTHS Research Center, 1; "Stockmen Will Co-Operate to Eradicate Scabbies [sic]," *Sweet Grass Tribune* (Big Timber), Apr. 24, 1912.

29. It is unclear if foreign horses here meant from outside the United States or just Montana. Knowles, "Report, 1907," 9–10; Morton Knowles, "Annual Report for Livestock Sanitary Board 1908," Dec. 10, 1908, bx 309, fldr 11, Montana Governors Records, 1889–1962, MTHS Research Center, 2, 5–6; Knowles, "Annual Report, 1909–1910," 6, 12–13.

30. Knowles, "Annual Report, 1909–1910," 1–2.

31. Guillermo R. Risatti, "Classical Swine Fever," *Merck Veterinary Manual*, <https://www.merckvetmanual.com/generalized-conditions/classical-swine-fever/classical-swine-fever>; Olmstead and Rhode, *Arresting Contagion*, 138, 151.

32. Olmstead and Rhode, *Arresting Contagion*, 150; Knowles, "Annual Report, 1908," 3, 9.

33. Olmstead and Rhode, *Arresting Contagion*, 120–22; Knowles, "Annual Report, 1908," 4–5.

34. Graham Belsham, Anette Bøtner, and Louise Lohse, "Foot-and-Mouth Disease in Animals," *Merck Veterinary Manual*, <https://www.merckvetmanual.com/generalized-conditions/foot-and-mouth-disease/foot-and-mouth-disease-in-animals>; Olmstead and Rhode, *Arresting Contagion*, 116; S. Alexandersen, Z. Zhang, A. I. Donaldson, A. J. M. Garland, "The Pathogenesis and Diagnosis of Foot-and-Mouth Disease," *Journal of Comparative Pathology* 129:1 (Jul. 1, 2003): 3.

35. Olmstead and Rhode, *Arresting Contagion*, 118; "A Century of Service to Montana's Cattle Industry," *Montana Stockgrower*, 104.

36. S. E. Bennett to Dr. W. J. Butler, Nov. 5, 1914, bx 8, fldr 57, Montana Livestock Sanitary Board Records, MTHS Research Center; Olmstead and Rhodes, *Arresting Contagion*, 122–24.

37. Dr. W. J. Butler to A. E. DeRicqles, Nov. 16, 1914, bx 8, fldr 42, Montana Livestock Sanitary Board Records, MTHS Research Center.

38. "Infected Cattle Caught on Road," *Yellowstone Monitor* (Glendive), Nov. 12, 1914; Olmstead and Rhode, *Arresting Contagion*, 125.

39. W. J. Butler, "Annual Report for Livestock Sanitary Board, 1915," bx 310,

fldr 1, Montana Governors Records, 1889–1962, MTHS Research Center, 1; "Infected Cattle," *Yellowstone Monitor*, Nov. 12, 1914; William Butler, *Report of the Montana Live Stock Sanitary Board and State Veterinary Surgeon 1913–1914* (Helena: Allied Printing Trades Council, 1914), 15, 40; "Largest Killing of Cattle Ever Recorded in State," *Yellowstone Monitor*, Nov. 26, 1914.

40. Butler, *Report, 1913–1914*, 16; George W. Watson to Dr. W. J. Butler, Jan. 5, 1915, bx 8, fldr 42, Montana Livestock Sanitary Board Records, MTHS Research Center; Butler, *Report, 1913–1914*, 66.

41. Butler, *Report, 1913–1914*, 5–6; "Infected Cattle," *Yellowstone Monitor*, Nov. 12, 1914.

42. Butler inaccurately figured that the state's open ranges, colder weather, and copious sunlight would stunt the spread of the disease. Colder weather preserves FMD and sunlight does not destroy it. Butler, *Report, 1913–1914*, 38–40; S. Alexandersen et al., "Pathogenesis and Diagnosis," 13, 23.

43. "Livestock News," *Dillon Examiner*, Apr. 7, 1915; Dr. W. J. Butler to Samuel V. Stuart, bx 8, fldr 51, Montana Livestock Sanitary Board Records, MTHS Research Center. Butler reported in 1915 that the foot-and-mouth workload was so high that "we were unable to test all horses in south eastern Fallon County" for glanders. W. J. Butler, "Annual Report for Livestock Sanitary Board, 1915," bx 310, fldr 1, Montana Governors Records, 1889–1962, MTHS Research Center, 1.

44. Butler, "Annual Report, 1915," 8; "Governor Raises Embargo," *Glasgow Courier*, Jul. 23, 1915.

45. Olmstead and Rhode, *Arresting Contagion*, 124–27.

46. Olmstead and Rhode, *Arresting Contagion*, 127; William Butler, "Annual Report for Livestock Sanitary Board, 1917–1918," bx 310, fldr 1, Montana Governors Records, 1889–1962, MTHS Research Center, 6.

47. Olmstead and Rhode, *Arresting Contagion*, 127; Butler, "Annual Report, 1917–1918," 6–7.

Yellowstone and the Making of a New West Western (Wilson)

1. *Yellowstone*, season 1, episode 1, "Daybreak," directed by Taylor Sheridan, written by Taylor Sheridan and John Linson, featuring Kevin Costner, Luke Grimes, Kelly Reilly, Wes Bentley, Cole Hauser, Kelsey Asbille, et al. (hereafter Costner et al.), aired Jun. 19, 2018, on Paramount Network. Series available on Amazon: https://www.amazon.com/s?k=Yellowstone&i=instant-video&ccid=2EXCVK4OECIO&spre-fix=yellowstone%2Cinstant-video%2C134&ref=nb_sb_noss_1.

2. Stefan Rabitsch and Pawel Pyrka,

“‘This Is America. We Don’t Share Land Here’: Kevin Costner, Taylor Sheridan, and Remediating New/Post-West(ern) Scholarship in *Yellowstone*,” in *Kevin Costner, America’s Teacher*, ed. Edward Janak and Ludovic A. Sourdout (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2022), 95–127. Rabitsch and Pyrka examine this scene with Dutton and Jenkins, too, seeing it as an example of the attempt of big capital—represented by Jenkins—hoping to commodify the land and market a “western” lifestyle to consumers from outside the region. Rabitsch and Pyrka, *Kevin Costner*, 106–7.

3. Richard White, “‘Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?’: Work and Nature,” in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), 171–85, 172, 173.

4. On the relationship between the real and mythic West, see Richard White, “‘It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own’: A New History of the American West (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 613–26; Anne M. Butler and Michael J. Lansing, *The American West: A Concise History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2008), 182–215; John Findlay, *The Mobilized American West, 1940–2000* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2023), 317–44; Neil Campbell, *Post-Westerns: Cinema, Region, West* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2013); Lee Clark Mitchell, *Late Westerns: The Persistence of a Genre* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2018); Pete Falconer, *The Afterlife of the Hollywood Western* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

5. James Hibberd, “Taylor Sheridan Does Whatever He Wants: ‘I Will Tell My Stories My Way,’” *Hollywood Reporter*, Jun. 21, 2023, www.hollywoodreporter.com/tv/tv-features/taylor-sheridan-yellowstone-interview-1235519261/.

6. On TV and movie westerns from the 1950s to the 1970s, see Robert V. Hine, John Mack Faragher, and Jon T. Coleman, *The American West: A New Interpretive History*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 2017), 444–47. Two other notable TV westerns of the past decade include *Hell on Wheels* (2011–2016), about the building of the transcontinental railroad in the 1860s, and *Longmire* (2012–2017), which told the story of modern-day lawmen in rural Wyoming. Neither were nearly as popular as *Yellowstone* and its prequels, 1883 and 1923.

7. Michael Schneider, “100 Most-Watched TV Series of 2021–22: This Season’s Winners and Losers,” *Variety*, May 31, 2022, <https://variety.com/2022/tv/news/most-popular-tv-shows-highest-rated-2021-2022-season-yellowstone-1235275680/>. Sridhar Pappu, “How Taylor Sheridan Created America’s Most Popular TV Show,” *The Atlantic*, Nov. 10,

2022, www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2022/12/yellowstone-tv-series-taylor-sheridan/671897/.

8. Melanie McFarland, “The ‘Yellowstone’ Effect: Welcome to the New Era of TV Westerns,” *Salon*, Nov. 20, 2022, www.salon.com/2022/11/20/yellowstone-effect-tv-westerns/; David Fear, “How Do You Make a Western in the 21st Century?” *Rolling Stone*, Aug. 13, 2022, www.rollingstone.com/tv-movies/tv-movie-features/westerns-yellowstone-prey-nope-1392438/. On the New West, see Univ. of Colorado at Boulder Center of the American West, *Atlas of the New West: Portrait of a Changing Region* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997); Joseph E. Taylor III, “The Many Lives of the New West,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 35:2 (2004): 141–65; William Travis, *New Geographies of the American West: Land Use and the Changing Patterns of Place* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2007). Stefan Rabitsch also examines *Yellowstone* through the lens of the scholarly literature on the New West. See Rabitsch and Pyrka, “‘This Is America. We Don’t Share Land Here.’” and Stefan Rabitsch, “‘When You Look at a Calf, What Do You See?’: Land(Ed) Business, Necrotic Entrepreneurialism, and Competing Capitalisms in the Contemporary West of Yellowstone,” *JAAAS: Journal of the Austrian Association for American Studies* 3:2 (2022): 235–59. While Rabitsch is also concerned about the post-resource industry transformation of the West on display in *Yellowstone*, this essay focuses more on work and how conflicts in the show often center on disputes over valuing the rural West as a landscape for laboring rather than for outdoor play.

9. Jeremy Bryson and William Wyckoff, “Rural Gentrification and Nature in the Old and New Wests,” *Journal of Cultural Geography* 27:1 (2010): 55. For a recent, in-depth analysis of rural gentrification in the region, see Ryanne Pilgeram, *Pushed Out: Contested Development and Rural Gentrification in the US West* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2021). Geographer Brent Olson examines Bend, Oregon—a prototypical New West community—to chart its transformation from a timber-dependent town to one centered on tourism, outdoor recreation, and amenity development. See Brent Olson, “Recreation Capital: Natural Resources, Amenity Development and Outdoor Recreation in Bend, Oregon” (PhD diss., Syracuse Univ., 2012). Paul Robbins, Katharine Meehan, Hannah Gosnell, and Susan J. Gilbertz, “Writing the New West: A Critical Review,” *Rural Sociology* 74:3 (2009): 362. See also “Cattle Ranching” and “Chapter 8: Playgrounds” in William Wyckoff, *How to Read the American West: A Field Guide* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2014); Jeff Vance Martina, Kathleen Epstein,

Nicolas Bergmann, Adrienne C. Kroepsch, Hannah Gosnell, and Paul Robbins, “Revisiting and Revitalizing Political Ecology in the American West,” *Geoforum*, 107 (2019): 227–30; Justin Farrell, *Billionaire Wilderness: The Ultra-Wealthy and the Remaking of the American West* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2020); Kathleen Epstein, Julia H. Haggerty, and Hannah Gosnell, “With, Not for, Money: Ranch Management Trajectories of the Super-Rich in Greater Yellowstone,” *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 112:2 (2022): 432–48.

10. While John Dutton doesn’t play golf, Kevin Costner certainly does. He is an avid golfer and starred in a classic golf movie, *Tin Cup* (1996).

11. *Yellowstone*, season 4, episode 1, “Half the Money,” directed by Stephen Kay, written by Taylor Sheridan and John Linson, featuring Costner et al., aired Nov. 6, 2021, on Paramount Network; and *Yellowstone*, season 2, episode 6, “Blood the Boy,” directed by John Dahl, written by Taylor Sheridan, John Linson, and Brett Conrad, featuring Costner et al., aired Jul. 31, 2019, on Paramount Network.

12. *Yellowstone*, season 1, episode 1. Rabitsch, in his work, notes how divisions between locals and outsiders in *Yellowstone* focus on “seemingly mundane practices of consumption” such as drinking coffee and cocktails or eating local ice cream. See Rabitsch and Pyrka, “‘This Is America. We Don’t Share Land Here,’” 242.

13. Viewers learn in season three that Jamie is an adoptee. John Dutton adopted him after Jamie’s biological father killed his drug-addicted mother and then was sent to prison. *Yellowstone*, season 1, episode 1.

14. Exceptions to this are the FX shows *Reservation Dogs* (2021–2023) and the AMC series *Dark Winds* (2022–present). Although they have not garnered as many viewers as *Yellowstone*, the shows have received praise from critics and are notable for having all Native American writers, unlike *Yellowstone*, which is written entirely by Taylor Sheridan.

15. “Gil Birmingham Discusses His Role as Chairman Rainwater in *Yellowstone* and Working with Kevin Costner,” *Indian Country Today*, Jun. 3, 2021, <https://icnews.org/lifestyle/gil-birmingham-discusses-his-role-as-chairman-rainwater-in-yellowstone-and-working-with-kevin-costner/>; Chris Vognar, “Gil Birmingham Took the Road Less Traveled,” *New York Times*, Jun. 1, 2022, www.nytimes.com/2022/06/01/arts/television/gil-birmingham-yellowstone-under-the-banner-of-heaven.html; *Yellowstone*, season 1, episode 1.

16. Ned Blackhawk, *The Rediscovery of America: Native Peoples and the Unmaking of U.S. History* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 2023); Cole Harris, *A Bounded Land: Reflections on Settler Colo-*

nialism in Canada (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2021); Andrew C. Isenberg and Lawrence H. Kessler, "Settler Colonialism and the Environmental History of the North American West," *Journal of the West* 56:4 (2017): 57–67; Traci Brynne Voyles, *The Settler Sea: California's Salton Sea and the Consequences of Colonialism* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2021). Native American boarding schools are a major theme in Sheridan's *Yellowstone* prequel, 1923.

17. See Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987); and Blackhawk, *The Rediscovery of America*, 1.

18. *Yellowstone*, season 1, episode 3, "No Good Horses," directed by Taylor Sheridan, written by Taylor Sheridan and John Linson, featuring Costner et al., aired Jul. 11, 2018, on Paramount Network. Actor Gil Birmingham comments on waves of colonization in Sheridan's earlier film, *Hell or High Water*. In that movie, he plays Alberto Parker, a Native American Texas Ranger. While surveying a poor, hardscrabble West Texas town, he says, "150 years ago all this was my ancestors' land. Everything you could see, everything you saw yesterday. Until the grandparents of these folks took it. Now it's been taken from them." "Decolonization is not a metaphor" is the title of an influential article about this process: Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1:1 (2012): 1–40. See also Sarah de Leeuw and Sarah Hunt, "Unsettling Decolonizing Geographies," *Geography Compass* 12:7 (2018): 1–14; and Michelle Daigle and Margaret Marietta Ramirez, "Decolonial Geographies," in *Keywords in Radical Geography: Antipode at 50*, ed. Antipode Editorial Collective (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 2019), 78–84. For another perspective on Rainwater's plan for reacquiring Native lands, see Rabitsch, "'When You Look at a Calf, What Do You See?'" 248–50.

19. Indeed, Sheridan has said the family mafia epic, *The Godfather*, was a major inspiration for *Yellowstone* but with cowboys instead of mobsters. Hibberd, "Taylor Sheridan Does Whatever He Wants."

20. *Yellowstone*, season 5, episode 1, "One Hundred Years Is Nothing," directed by Stephen Kay, written by Taylor Sheridan and John Linson, featuring Costner et al., aired Nov. 13, 2022, on Paramount Network.

21. Some of the commentary on the politics of *Yellowstone* include Pappu, "How Taylor Sheridan Created America's Most Popular TV Show"; Tressie McMillan Cottom, "A Big TV Hit Is a Conservative Fantasy Liberals Should Watch," *New York Times*, Aug. 9, 2022, www.nytimes.com/2022/08/09/opinion/

yellowstone-conservative-prestige-television.html; Ross Douthat, "Right Wing or Woke? The Complicated Politics of Yellowstone," *New York Times*, Feb. 24, 2023, www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/opinion/yellowstone-woke.html; Sam Sanders, "Yellowstone's Brand of White Grievance Is Free-Range and Organic," *Vulture*, Aug. 19, 2022, www.vulture.com/article/yellowstone-politics-tressie-mcillan-cottom-into-it.html. *Yellowstone*, season 5, episode 4, "Horses in Heaven," directed by Christina Alexandra Voros, written by Taylor Sheridan and John Linson, featuring Costner et al., aired Nov. 27, 2022, on Paramount Network.

22. On manhood and work in nature, see White, "Are You an Environmentalist," 180. *Yellowstone*, season 2, episode 4, "Only Devils Left," directed by Stephen Kay, written by Taylor Sheridan, John Linson, and Brett Conrad, featuring Costner et al., aired Jul. 17, 2019, on Paramount Network.

23. Jane Tompkins, *West of Everything: The Inner Life of Westerns* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993), 14, 15. For an overview of masculinity in the western genre, particularly contemporary westerns, see Lydia R. Cooper, *Masculinities in Literature of the American West* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 1–22.

24. *Yellowstone*, season 4, episode 2, "Phantom Pain," directed by Stephen Kay, written by Taylor Sheridan and John Linson, featuring Costner et al., aired Nov. 7, 2021, on Paramount Network.

25. *Yellowstone*, season 4, episode 10, "Grass on the Streets and Weeds on the Rooftops," directed by Stephen Kay, written by Taylor Sheridan and John Linson, featuring Costner et al., aired Jan. 2, 2022, on Paramount Network.

26. Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2018), 157, 132.

27. On the history of American manhood, see Kimmel, *Manhood in America*; Richard V. Reeves, *Of Boys and Men: Why the Modern Male Is Struggling, Why It Matters, and What to Do About It* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2022); Christine Emba, "Men Are Lost. Here's a Map Out of the Wilderness," *Washington Post*, Jul. 10, 2023, www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2023/07/10/christine-empa-masculinity-new-model/. The phrase "deaths of despair" comes from Anne Case and Angus Deaton's *Deaths of Despair and the Future of Capitalism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2020). Such deaths include ones from suicide, substance abuse, and chronic health problems, particularly ones exacerbated by economic inequality. Josh Hawley, *Manhood: The Masculine Virtues America Needs* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2023), 7. See also "The Masculinity Issue," *Politico*, Jul. 14, 2023, www.politico.com/newsletters/

politicoweekend/2023/07/14/the-masculinity-issue-00106295.

28. Strong female leads are the protagonists in most of Taylor Sheridan's films: *Sicario*, *Wind River*, and *Those Who Wish Me Dead*. In this way, the show reflects an increasing reality in Montana and throughout the United States where women make up the majority of college students. In 2020, only 41 percent of newly enrolled college students were men. Richard V. Reeves and Ember Smith, "The Male College Crisis Is Not Just in Enrollment, but Completion," *Brookings*, 2021, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-male-college-crisis-is-not-just-in-enrollment-but-completion/>.

29. For a discussion of *Dances with Wolves*' depiction of Native Americans and whether the film is a revisionist western, see Falconer, *The Afterlife of the Hollywood Western*, 56–58; Richard White, "Review of *Dances with Wolves*," *Gateway Heritage* 11:4 (1992): 80.

30. Unlike most Hollywood screenwriters or directors making entertainment set in the region, Taylor Sheridan understands the different federal land management agencies—National Park Service, U.S. Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management, and U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service—and their responsibilities. The federal West is very much part of the series and Sheridan's movies. On the federal West and public lands, see White, "It's Your Misfortune," 399–40; Randall K. Wilson, *America's Public Lands: From Yellowstone to Smokey the Bear and Beyond* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014); "Chapter 6: Landscapes of Federal Largesse" in Wyckoff, *How to Read the American West*.

31. John Dutton is an excellent example of what historian Patrick Wyman calls the "American Gentry," *The Atlantic*, Sep. 23, 2021, www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/09/trump-american-gentry-wyman-elites/620151/.

32. On Ronald Reagan's use of frontier imagery and the mythic West, see Hine, Faragher, and Coleman, *The American West: A New Interpretive History*, 402–5. Hibberd, "Taylor Sheridan Does Whatever He Wants."

33. Meredith Depping, "University of Montana Study Finds 'Yellowstone' Series Brought in 2.1 Million Visitors, \$730 Million in Spending," *Nonstop Local-ABC Fox*, Jan. 19, 2023, www.montanarighnow.com/missoula/university-of-montana-study-finds-yellowstone-series-brought-in-2-1-million-visitors-730-million/article_3878c99c-983e-11ed-a563-e4674c8919d.html; "Cabins – Chief Joseph Ranch," www.chiefjosephranch.net/cabins; Hal Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: Univ. Press of Kansas, 1998).