

Winter 2024

MONTANA

The Magazine of Western History



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

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

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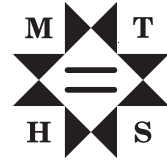
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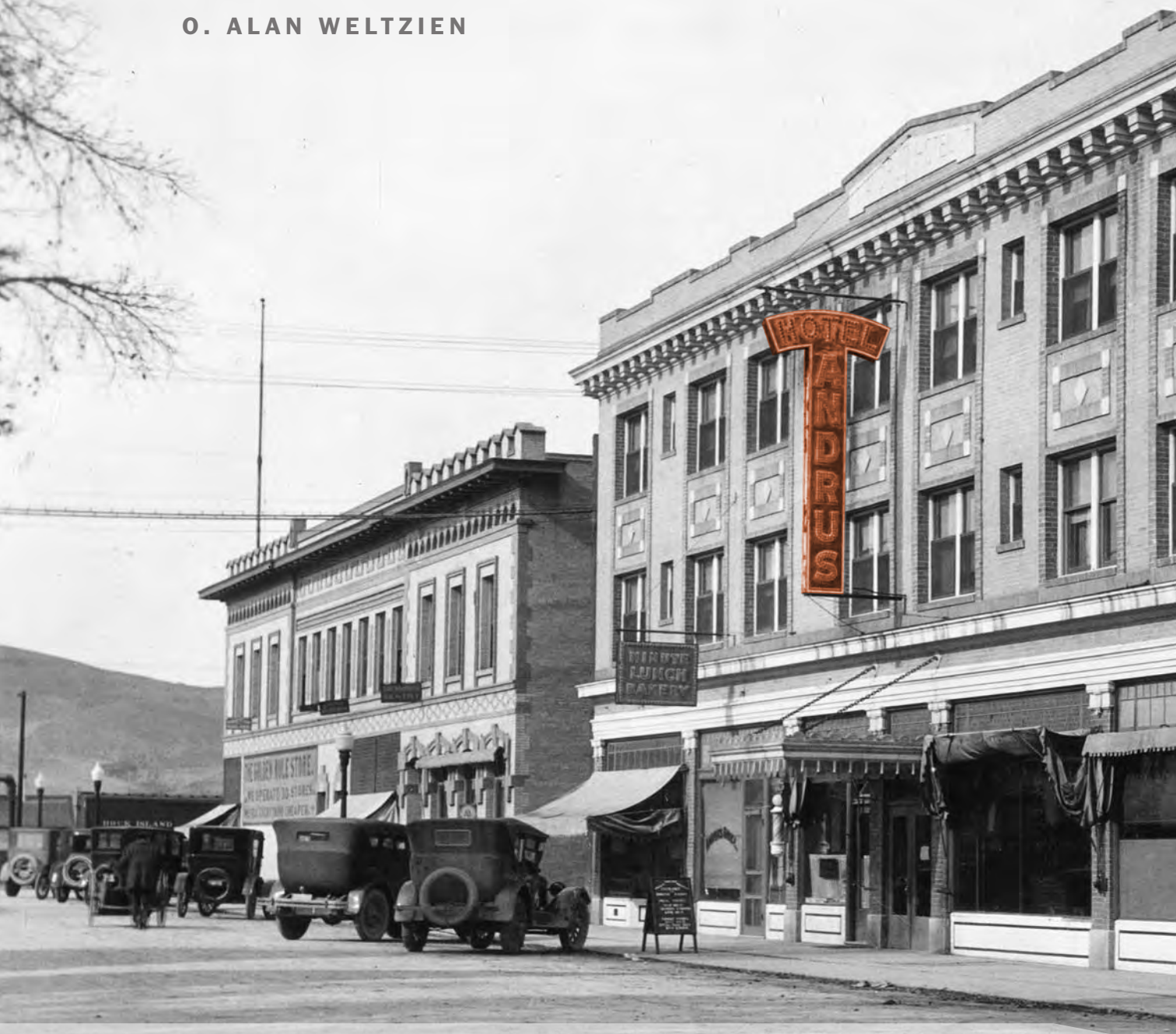
We acknowledge that the offices of *Montana The Magazine of Western History* at the Montana Historical Society are on the ancestral lands of the Niitsítapi and Séliš peoples. We acknowledge the displacement of these and other tribes from their spiritual and cultural homelands through settler-colonialism and offer our respect to the many diverse Indigenous peoples connected to this region.

Montana The Magazine of Western History (ISSN 0026-9891) is published quarterly by the Montana Historical Society. Subscriptions are \$35 per year or \$65 for two years. Foreign orders add \$15 per year for postage in U.S. funds. Direct subscription and advertising questions to Business Manager and editorial correspondence to Editor, Publications, Montana Historical Society, 225 N. Roberts St., P.O. Box 201201, Helena, MT 59620-1201. Authors are responsible for the interpretation in their articles. Articles are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life*, Santa Barbara, CA; *Web of Science: Arts & Humanities Citation Index*, Clarivate, Philadelphia. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. Periodicals postage paid at Helena, MT, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Montana Historical Society, P.O. Box 201201, Helena, MT 59601. © 2024 Montana Historical Society. USPS 594 320 • Volume 74 Number 4 • Winter 2024

A HOTEL AND ITS NOVELIST:

Thomas Savage and Dillon's Andrus Hotel

O. ALAN WELTZIEN



The distinctive Andrus Hotel sign hangs above its entrance in this 1920s photograph. The Andrus, which opened in 1917, quickly became a local favorite, and its key place in Dillon's social world featured in several novels by Thomas Savage.

946-762, MTHS Photograph Archives





Dillon's Andrus Hotel and novelist Thomas "Tom" Savage grew up together. Harry E. Andrus built Dillon's preeminent downtown hotel in 1917, and the family operated it for fifty-two years.

In 1979, Doug Harvey, the new owner, remodeled the hotel as a furniture store—the Dilmart, which remained in business until 2015—and called it “Andrus Plaza.” Dr. John Micha extensively remodeled and reopened the hotel in 2020. Tom Savage, who was born in 1915 and moved to Beaverhead County five years later, left Montana in 1937 and only returned for occasional visits. But, possessed of a photographic memory, he never imaginatively left his hometown because he kept rewriting it. Of all the locations in Dillon, he favored the Andrus, which features in six of his thirteen novels.¹

Savage kept inviting his readers through the Andrus's doors because he regarded the hotel as the town's cynosure, the gravitational center for its townspeople, especially so-called high society. The novelist

evoked its lobby, dining room, and upstairs rooms in detail for purposes of social satire. With Savage, it is hard to separate thick description from mockery. Savage referred to Dillon's high society, in later novels, as “Society” and “Old Families.” The novelist delighted in skewering their pretensions in one scene after another. Savage's steady satire cast a cold, hard eye on the local social scene. Through the Andrus, Savage anatomized Dillon, offering a sustained lesson in social hierarchies and pretension. He thought mockery served as a crucial counterbalance.

Yet Savage's frequent references to the Andrus attested to his love of the hotel. In some respects, he identified with it as a site of luxury and aspiration. He sustained this double perspective through his fiction.



An unknown photographer captured this view of Bannack in the late nineteenth century. A gold strike drew fortune seekers to the area in 1862, and it briefly served as Montana's territorial capital before that distinction—and most of the gold miners—moved east to Virginia City. Bannack went through a series of booms and busts for the next several decades, and by the turn of the twentieth century nearby Dillon had supplanted it as the area's leading town.

940-694, MTHS Photograph Archives

By the turn of the twentieth century, Bannack, Montana's first territorial capitol, had faded as a mining town, and many of its residents—even the prostitutes—had moved to Dillon, a rapidly growing service center to the east, over Badger Pass, in the larger Beaverhead Valley.² Founded in 1881 (nineteen years after Bannack), Dillon was named after Sidney Dillon, then president of the Union Pacific Railroad. The Corinne Hotel, the town's first such establishment, lasted but a handful of years; its canvas walls burned in 1891. Six years later, its owner, Joseph C. Metlen, rebuilt an imposing stone hotel in Second Empire style with prominent mansard lines on the same site, naming it after himself. For twenty years it was the reigning hotel in the growing town.³


Several notable buildings appeared in Dillon between the town's founding and the construction of the Andrus. Workers finished the Beaverhead County Courthouse in 1888; the same year, locals built Dillon's first brick (and third overall) school. The main hall of what was then known as Montana State Normal College (now the University of Montana Western), which features elements of Collegiate Gothic style, was built between 1895 and 1897. The location of the teacher education college in Dillon added great distinction to this young county seat. The county high school opened in 1901. Six years later, builders added the clock tower to the courthouse. The first train depot, along the west side of the tracks, soon proved too small; railroad workers built a new depot east of the tracks in 1908, by which time local interests had rechanneled Blacktail Creek.⁴

Dillon supported agricultural interests in the Beaverhead, Grasshopper, and Big Hole Valleys and outlying towns such as Armstead, Polaris, Jackson, Wisdom, Wise River, and Glen. During World War I, Harry E. Andrus, a sheep rancher on Meadow Creek, west of Dell, Montana, decided to enter the hotel business, building a luxury hotel east of the train tracks and near the original depot that would rival if not usurp the Metlen. The business district developed east of the tracks. He picked the northwest corner of

the intersection of East Glendale and South Idaho Streets, across the street from Dillon's Romanesque Revival Carnegie Library, as a central location. According to his son, Harry J. Andrus Jr., this proved to be the right location: "In the 1800s, Dillon residents came to the corner to fill their buckets from the city water pump. It was then the site of the town's first business, a tin shop operated by 'Jimmy the Tink.'" This intersection remains the center of town.⁵

Architect Jesse M. Warren designed and built the Andrus Hotel at a cost of over \$150,000, and its gala opening occurred on Valentine's Day 1918, about nine months before the armistice and twenty years and three days after the Metlen's opening. Warren, who lived and worked in Butte from 1916 to 1919, soon returned to Seattle, his previous home base, and shifted careers to real estate. Butte's Bank Hotel, also designed by Warren, collapsed while still under construction in 1917. A brief profile of Warren in the *Butte Miner* mentioned the Andrus.⁶

Dillon's two newspapers elaborately covered the grand opening of the Andrus, taking the reader on a virtual tour and luxuriating in its fancy appointments. The *Dillon Examiner* surveyed the thirty-room hotel in loving detail: "On the first floor is the spacious lobby, 50 × 100 feet, a well-lighted spacious room with tile floor and elegantly furnished with comfortable upholstered chairs, davenports, and writing tables." The hotel also featured "a bank ('Security State Bank'), a stationary store, drug store, and millinery establishment" and a barber shop, coffee room (meaning a "counter with fourteen stools and six tables"), stenographer's office, "large plate glass" cigar counter, dining room, restaurant, and bar. After ascending "a wide marble stairway lead[ing] to the second floor," the reporter noted that the second and third floors, each with different color schemes, contained "thirty sleeping rooms, fifteen bath rooms, four shower baths," and sample rooms and parlors. The rooms displayed mahogany furniture and brass beds; the hallways were "carpeted with Wilton velvet in Brussels red." The article also noted



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Dillon, founded in 1881, quickly became a hub for the burgeoning agricultural interests in the Beaverhead, Grasshopper, and Big Hole Valleys. Named after Union Pacific president Sidney Dillon, it had also become an important stop on that line. This 1884 photograph shows the significant wagon traffic in town, as goods moved from local farms and ranches out to the rest of the state and nation. 946-750, MTHS Photograph Archives

the hotel's novel design, with an interior skylight along which an inner rectangle of rooms abuts: "There is not a single inside room in the building." The handsome brick facade, a combination of mustard yellow and brown trim, features Renaissance Revival details. At the top center of the facade facing East Glendale Street, the west parapet exhibits a cast stone nameplate that reads "19 ANDRUS HOTEL 17."⁷

The Andrus featured a lobby, bar ("lounge"), and cafe. Local historian Steve Morehouse called it "one of the four leading hotels in Montana when it was completed." It also boasted an unusual bellboy: King Pharaoh, a 160-pound Great Dane that "would carry suitcases in his mouth." When he was not working as bellboy/dog, "he would sit in one of the lobby chairs with his behind on the chair and his front feet on the floor."⁸

The Andrus, as this author has previously argued, "symbolizes a whole category of hotels in many Northern Rockies or Great Plains towns, wherein civic pride manifested itself in one respectable, even fancy, hotel that served as a community center and place to dress up." Many Montanans like to dress up occasionally; perhaps more like to show off, more than occasionally. Lyle Dechant, former executive director of the Beaverhead County Museum Association, deemed the Andrus "arguably the single most ambitious, grandest, classiest building project in the 125-year history of the town" in a newspaper retrospective. Dechant added that the hotel was a "fitting monument to Dillon's Golden Age" and "a center of trade and commerce for the whole region." The Andrus remained geographically and economically cen-



tral to Dillon for generations. More business deals took place in the Andrus bar than any other spot in Beaverhead and Madison Counties.⁹

The Andrus, with thirty guest rooms on the upper two floors, was built to last, according to architect and builder Kreg Jones, Andrus's great-grandson, and current owner Dr. John Micha. The hotel's concrete framing, brick facade, marble details, and exquisite woodwork exemplify the builder's commitment to the structure. Its elevator is reputedly one of the oldest hotel elevators in the state.

Between 1920 and 1950, Dillon's population increased 17 percent while the county's population decreased 9 percent. Dillon's leading hotel, a source of great local pride, symbolized that shift in town growth. These same decades were Thomas Savage's preferred

time setting in his historical novels. Until his final novel, he kept returning to the interwar period, which covered his childhood and young adulthood.¹⁰

Born in Salt Lake City in 1915, Savage—known by his adopted father's name, Brenner, until his late twenties—grew up on two ranches straddling the Continental Divide in Montana's southwestern corner and in Dillon. He boarded in town during most of his high school years, graduating as valedictorian from Beaverhead County High School in 1932. A loner, he had few friends among his classmates. Savage, who already knew he wanted to be a writer, wrote a satiric column, "Balloni," for the high school newspaper. He often walked through town at night, eyes and ears always open, and likely frequented the Andrus. Savage possessed a photographic memory for buildings and faces



King Pharaoh, the legendary canine porter of the Andrus Hotel, during the 1920s, photographed when he was one year old and 160 pounds. King Pharaoh awaited guests at the train depot and escorted them the short half block to the hotel.

Courtesy of O. Alan Weltzien

A bartender slings drinks behind the Andrus Hotel's famous bar (known as "the lounge") at the time of the hotel's opening. For over two generations, more business was transacted here than anywhere else in Beaverhead County. Courtesy of O. Alan Weltzien



and voices; sometimes he used real names when evoking Dillon. He knew members of the Andrus family well and wrote them into his novel *Midnight Line*.

It is unclear when Savage realized he was gay. When he married Elizabeth “Betty” Fitzgerald in 1939, he told her he was gay, according to their daughter, and masked his homosexuality through heterosexual marriage, as did many gay men. A devoted family man, Savage became more open about his sexuality in his forties. Just as he was both insider and outsider to the conventional post–World War II family, so he lived as insider and outsider on the streets of his hometown. That double perspective defined his fiction, particularly those novels set around Dillon. And it fueled his harsh judgments of local “society,” as seen in the Andrus.

Across Savage’s career—his first novel was published in 1944 and his last in 1988—he kept animating the Andrus as it was in the 1920s and 1930s. Savage, following the example of novelist Willa Cather, most frequently wrote about Dillon and Beaverhead County during his formative years. Cather believed the years bridging childhood and adolescence, from ages eight to sixteen, stamp one’s personality as does no other period. Savage absolutely subscribed to that credo, citing Cather more than once and obsessively returning to the 1918–1939 period.¹¹

He called Dillon “Sentinel” in his second novel, *Lona Hanson* (1948), and the Andrus figures as the “Sentinel Hotel.” *Lona Hanson*, set between 1928 and 1933, shows how a big ranch could destroy families, and not just financially. The Andrus was in its heyday. In the novel, its cafe and an adjacent one had usurped the popularity of the dining room, presumably because of belt-tightening. Only local service clubs and the Ranchers’ Association still met there:

During the week the darkened windows made almost invisible the two long tables and the stiffly placed chairs. The walls were of dark red calcimine, and the bracket lamps here and there on the wall were entwined with artificial grape vines, the leaves dusty and stiff and edged with gilt.

By 1942, when Lee Russell took this photograph, Dillon was prospering. The town drew much of its population from the surrounding valleys between 1920 and 1950, when smaller farmers and ranchers struggled.

LC-DIG-fsa-8d22382, Library of Congress



Tom and Betty Savage, husband and wife novelists, pose on the beach near their home on southeast Georgetown Island, Maine, sometime in the late 1950s. Courtesy of O. Alan Weltzien

On one wall was the head of a thin elk, the glass eyes glazed and frightened, left from a day when the Elks had met at the Sentinel. The manager was rather proud of the head. The prongs on each antler were tipped with tiny red bulbs which lighted when a cord was plugged in.

Here the ranchers came once a month to talk about range and prices and land banks, stiff, earnest, good men, confused and afraid to show



their fear. Their land was slipping away. Their cattle were worth nothing. And they knew only the land.¹²

A dozen years after its opening, amid the nosedive of the Depression, fewer could afford hotel elegance. The mockery about the Elks' gift of the lit elk—those "glass eyes"—gives way to Savage's sympathy for hard-hit ranchers. At the hotel's opening, Harry Andrus reached out "to the livestock men, ranchers and farmers" because he intended the hotel as a gathering place for the agricultural interests in the valleys: "I want to make my hotel their headquarters at all times whether they are here for five minutes or five days." Because the Andrus family intended their hotel as a gathering place, it is no surprise that worry lines appear on the faces of hotel diners. Savage knew firsthand of many big ranch houses where only one or two rooms were cordoned off and heated.¹³

By the time he wrote *The Power of the Dog* (1967) most of two decades later, the Andrus was about to pass out of Andrus family ownership, its prime years

past. In *Power*, Savage calls Dillon "Herndon," a near-name borrowed from local couple Roy and Edith Decker Herndon. Edith's family built the Inn at Armstead, a place familiar to Savage and a model for the Gordons' boarding house in *Power*. Edith had served as postmistress in Dell, Montana; Roy Herndon had worked as an assessor in Lemhi County, Idaho, and was thus well-known to Savage's mother's family, who ranched there. After moving to Dillon in 1924, the year in which *Power* is set, Edith found work at the normal school while Roy worked as deputy clerk of court. Savage knew both Herndons and, above all, viewed "Herndon" as a phonetic stand-in for Dillon. The Andrus figures prominently as "Herndon House." It represents, in both novels, the town's lead hotel.¹⁴

Early in *Power of the Dog*, John Gordon—a country doctor with a serious drinking problem who eventually hangs himself after being humiliated by rancher Phil Burbank, who also slanders his son, Peter—realizes that "the big ranchers and their wives" avoid his family's boarding house/café in "Beech." They prefer

Workers on the Peterson Ranch in Beaverhead County pose next to a massive stack of hay in 1911.

Clarence Peterson photograph. PAC 83-69.04, MTHS Photograph Archives



the county seat: “They liked to sit in the big green leather chairs in the hotel lobby and greet friends, gaze out the big plate-glass windows at the townspeople on God knows what errands, and at their own motor-cars nudging the curb out front.” After making some rounds, they then head “back to the Herndon House where they took a room with a bath, indulged in all that luxury, and smiled, anticipating the moving picture show later in the evening.” That lobby, along with the dining room, becomes the most frequently featured location in *Power* and subsequent novels.¹⁵

In a later scene, the lobby has become the place for retired ranchers with worn-out bodies who have been displaced by their sons. They sit and grouse with one another: “They were often angry—angry with the government, with the times, with prices, and with their children and grandchildren, whom they loved.” Savage describes the lobby like a documentary filmmaker:

In the Herndon House in an alcove off the entrance to the dining room, the public stenographer tapped

out her briefs and her wills. The door of the men’s room opened and closed, the brass mechanical elbow hissing and sighing, opened and closed, offering the briefest glimpse of the same white tile that covered the floor of the lobby. There were smiles and greetings, and the people who were not used to the excitement of town smiled in an embarrassed way.

Today the Herndon House was even more charged than usual; the lobby buzzed and children deserted their parents and ran and stiffened their legs and slid across the tiles; time and again the clerk at the desk rushed out to stop them but he couldn’t so he huffed and glared.¹⁶

According to Harry J. Andrus Jr., a public stenographer, Myrle Erwin, “moved into the lobby a year [1918] after the hotel was built and from that time to the early 1950s she was called on to type bills of sale and other legal documents—often from business transacted in the bar.”¹⁷

The striking scenery of the Beaverhead Valley is on display in this 1942 John Vachon photograph of a local sheep ranch. Savage’s novels offer unique insight into how area ranchers worked and socialized in the interwar years.

LC-USF34-065554-D, Library of Congress



The hotel buzzes in the story because the governor is visiting and gives a post-dinner speech, after which he converses with George Burbank, a member of a prominent local ranch family and one of the book's main characters. Savage's camera skips the dinner and speech, then pauses: "The French doors of the dining room had already opened and beyond them waitresses whipped around rattling silver and clanging the heavy hotel china, cleaning up the Governor's leavings."¹⁸

The novelist takes his gloves off, tagging the scene as an example of satirist H. L. Mencken's booboisie, a term Mencken coined in August 1922 that equated the bourgeoisie with boobs—vacuous pretenders. Savage has taken his cue from the satiric brush of novelist Sinclair Lewis in *Main Street* (1920), in which Lewis, the first American winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature, excoriates his hometown of Sauk Center, Minnesota, recast as "Gopher Prairie." In Lewis's *Babbitt* (2022), he again targets the booboisie. In like manner, Savage castigates his hometown:

And out drifted the men, talking, making points with their good cigars; these who had been asked to represent the City of Herndon, to swell the progress, were local Society. They were not bright people; as such, they would not have settled in Herndon, but they were the best Herndon had, the storekeepers, the undertaker, the doctors, the dentists; the more ambitious of them had had at least a brush with the state university and were now hot after their first fifty or one hundred thousand dollars. At the moment—now that greatness walked among them—their purpose was clearer: Except for their money, would they have been summoned to share with the Governor his peas and creamed chicken and Neapolitan ice? They would not. Indeed, they would not!¹⁹

This indictment of local "Society" as uneducated rubes, only there because of their money and only in it for money, resonates in several of the novelist's Andrus dining room scenes. Thick description walks hand-in-hand with caricature. Savage exaggerates, of

course. A novelist's intentions differ, naturally, from those of historians. Savage's tone serves as a bracing counter to local histories or chamber of commerce literature, which are often triumphalist and uncritical. The novelist's acerbic voice, his double perspective as native yet outsider, counters the celebratory tones of boosterism.

In *The Liar* (1969), Savage's next novel, he again pans the Andrus lobby as the reader accompanies the title character, Hal Sawyer, "across the lobby, past the old men sitting in green leather chairs in black Congress gaiters, bragging and complaining, eyes and ears alert to slights and insults, past the potted fern and the row of brass spittoons, past the woman who did typing off in an alcove." Hal, handsome but inept, temporarily works out of Herndon House

as a drummer. As Harry J. Andrus Jr. noted, "Sometimes 20 to 25 salesmen would be there the same night . . . They'd rent our sample rooms, put things on display and sell hardware, clothing and groceries to merchants and townsfolk." The hotel served other constituencies than cattle barons.²⁰

Once again, the dining room becomes a satiric tableau. In the spirit of Honore Daumier, the famed nineteenth-century caricaturist and cartoonist who lampooned countless public figures of his time, Savage's

dining room becomes the scene of a wedding reception rather than a governor's visit:

After a few moments the men all drifted to the South Pacific Street side of the dining room and the women drifted over to the Rife Street Side; the men talked of the velocity of the wind, of cable and of a flare-up in Texas of hoof-and-mouth disease. The war in Europe [World War I] was not much mentioned because, frankly, no one much understood it, but it did seem good for cattle prices. Those men who had beards stroked them. The ladies didn't know what to say, whether or not to accept a cup of punch with rum in it or to pointedly stick to the fruit punch. Everybody was watching so.²¹



This indictment of local "Society" as uneducated rubes, only there because of their money and only in it for money, resonates in several of the novelist's Andrus dining room scenes.



Novelist Thomas Savage posed for this photograph at age fifty-nine in 1974, when he was at the top of his game as a writer. Savage's novels have received a long-overdue critical and popular reassessment in the twenty-first century, culminating in the adaptation of his 1967 novel *The Power of the Dog* as an Academy Award-winning film in 2021.

Courtesy of O. Alan Weltzien

In *The Liar*, the Andrus flourishes a few years before its actual opening, distorting the historical record. The gender stereotypes are predictably dismal. In old Dillon, these patterns of crushingly impoverished conversation and conformity were likely commonplace.

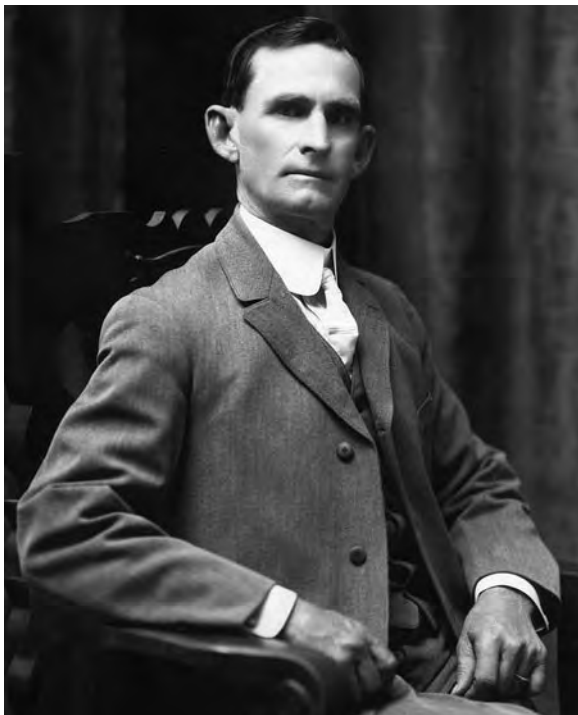
In *The Liar*, the reader mounts the hotel stairs beyond the main floor. Hal never “sticks,” and in his brief career as a Herndon/Dillon salesman, he keeps “a cheap room over the alley” at the Andrus. Savage’s lens then focuses on a “sepia print on the wall put up by God knows who of *Mozart Playing Before Haydn*. [Hal] stood a long time before it. He liked the seriousness of the boy’s face and the wondering smile of the old man, one of the old man’s hands about to touch the boy’s shoulders in love or encouragement. What a funny picture to be in that room in that town, Hal thought, but it was homey.” At the Andrus’s grand opening, the *Dillon Tribune*’s glowing review noted, “A pleasing feature is the adornment of the walls with copies in sepia of the most celebrated pictures.” Yet again, the novelist’s descriptions reflect the historical record.²²

Savage, a classical music aficionado with an extensive record collection, suggests the “homey” print of Mozart playing for Haydn—a famous moment in musical history—signifies high culture in contrast to the room’s occupant, let alone the cattle ranchers in the dining room. In several of his novels he depicts the decline of piano culture in Horse Prairie and Dillon, once again exaggerating in his satire. In fact, Dillon’s Community Concert Association routinely booked musicians with international reputations in the 1950s and 1960s. A perusal of programs from more than two generations ago reveals recitals by the likes of cellist Janos Starker.²³

The Liar implies that hotel rooms are meant for partying, not high culture. Tom Bart, a main character from Savage’s earlier *Lona Hanson*, likes to party, and the Andrus measures his dissolution, since he “liked to come in town and give parties in the top rooms of the Herndon House; there was a story that for a price he got a woman to undress and walk nude among his guests.” Savage later places her in the dining room, “where it was said a nude woman had once passed among the guests, an odd thing to think of.” In *Midnight Line*, Savage names this woman: “Mrs. [Helen] Chapman had danced nude on a table in the Andrews Hotel dining room after hours.” This titillating rumor, which Savage had heard in his youth, becomes the climax of his final novel, *Corner of Rife and Pacific*, published nineteen years later in 1988.²⁴

Savage imaginatively comes home with a vengeance in *Midnight Line*, published during the United States’ bicentennial year. By the time Savage published it, the Andrus, under different ownership, was in decline. Savage renamed Dillon “Grayling,” which remained its name through his final novel. Grayling was a nearby (Oregon Short Line) railroad stop, about fourteen miles south of town in the upper Beaverhead River canyon—another local name. In case local readers had not figured out the identity of “Herndon House,” the Andrus became the “Hotel Andrews.” Savage wanted no ambiguity. In *Midnight Line*, he cast his satiric eye on traveling salesmen like Hal Sawyer in *The Liar*, judging them “drifters,” “those fellows in snappy suits who operated out of the Andrews Hotel and were seen night after night in roadhouses.”²⁵

Far more important than these itinerant salesmen, the hotel itself and its builders and owners, the Andruses, become characters themselves, however



Harry Andrus, the builder and namesake of the Andrus Hotel, struck this formal pose for a photograph taken years before the construction of the hotel.

Courtesy of O. Alan Weltzien

briefly, since this novel gazes at Dillon in more detail than any other except possibly *Corner of Rife and Pacific*. The Andrews/Andrus “had replaced the old Melton Hotel [Metlen] across the Union Pacific tracks as the best hotel in town. It was, indeed, the only other hotel, but it doomed the Melton side of the tracks as the wrong side, although both hotels were in plain sight of each other.” This statement is historically and geographically accurate for the most part, since the Andrus, at Dillon’s center, represented the preeminent second-generation hotel in town.²⁶

The novelist references the Andrus family, several of whom he knew well, lending them mystery and glamour:

The two Andrews daughters were almost identical twins, Fay and Fern: they brought to mind the Gish sisters, their hair was not so much red as pink; they were at once active and fragile and partial to garments of crepe de chine and chiffon and surprising tufts of feather or fur . . . The brother clearly resembled the young Douglas Fairbanks. The Mother resembled the daughters and would appear suddenly in the lobby, smiling and breathless, and vanish up in the elevator leaving behind a whiff of perfume

and the memory of heels much too high for a woman her age.

They lived upstairs in a “suite,” perhaps in crazy elegance, for their meals were sent up on covered trays from the restaurant below; the florist delivered flowers. The mother or the daughters or possibly the son made serious music on a piano. One of the girls sang. The *Life of a Rose* comes to mind. Her voice was clear in the halls.²⁷

In fiction, Savage attributes Hollywood lavishness (“crazy elegance”) to Dillon’s lead hoteliers. This portrait of idle luxury exists far from the world of the cattle barons sitting in the lobby, bar, or dining room. The Andruses occupied a second-floor suite. After Harry Andrus’s death in 1941, his wife, Margaret, remained in part of this suite, a corner room, until her death in 1954. Harry Jr. and his wife Helen occupied a small penthouse for about a year. Harry Sr. and Margaret’s daughters, Fern (Savage doesn’t change her name) and Wilma, were two years apart. In one family photo, Fern, sporting a fur coat with a big corsage adorning its left collar, could pass for a Hollywood star.²⁸

Savage glamorizes the hoteliers to remind his readers of the fancy appointments throughout the Andrus. For Savage, the Andrus explained why Tom Westbrook, the protagonist and author surrogate, later developed an “affection for the Hotel Pierre in New York and his ‘dinners’ at the Ritz in Boston.” Both Savage and his character cultivated an expensive palate in their hometown.²⁹

Savage, as a gay man in a heterosexual marriage, always felt a part of yet apart from his homophobic hometown. He sustained that double perspective, insider and outsider. Tom Westbrook similarly wants to “get even” with his hometown. He wanted to strut among the folks in the lobby and be a part of the curbside scene beyond the doors. As Savage writes in *Midnight Line*, the Andrus—and its fictional counterpart, the Andrews—was suited for such displays: “What Harry Andrews had created and at the right time was a Peacock Alley. For the big cars, the Packards and the Lincolns, were parked out front on Fridays and Saturdays, the drivers and passengers relaxed in those big green leather chairs or walking in the lobby over a floor constructed of tiny white tiles like those in the public toilets beyond.”³⁰



The Depression years challenged Dillon-area ranchers. Yet cattle operations such as this one in the Big Hole Valley, photographed in 1942, continued to be the economic engine of southwest Montana, particularly during World War II.

Lee Russell photograph. LC-USW3-008505-D, Library of Congress

In the same scene, Savage describes the ranchers at the hotel, who “spoke of thousands of acres, thousands of head of cattle and sheep, the white-faced Hereford, the roan or red Shorthorn, the black Angus, the black-faced Hampshire sheep and the Rambouillet.” Once again, the novelist’s recall is photographic as he documents old agricultural Dillon, the dominating force and the county seat in the twentieth century. Beaverhead County shipped a lot of beef during World War II, for instance. Sharing the local history he knew from the inside, Savage named favored varieties in cattle and sheep ranching. In “Dillon at the Divide,” historian Liza Nicholas, who grew up on a local ranch, attests to that force: “The remnants of the agricultural affluence . . . are still evident in Dillon in the prominent Victorian mansions built by successful ranchers on the south end of town. Those ranchers also developed their town’s infrastructure and social institutions.”³¹

Whatever counted for local aristocracy in the interwar period was determined by acreage: “The local families grouped themselves around the richest among them. Rich meant your land was worth half a

million.” In Savage’s social anatomy, only cattle and sheep barons count: As he describes in *Midnight Line*, “The Old Families who parked their big cars in front of the Andrews hotel all had a pretty good record of marrying each other. Love as a motive for physical union was not so strong as the desire to bring together two parcels of land, or to wed two bank accounts.”³²

Though Savage came from both a sheep ranch and a cattle ranch, he remained a consummate outsider, *from* Dillon (and Horse Prairie) but not *of* Dillon, especially because of his sexual identity. When Savage last visited his hometown in April 1983, he wore lavender gloves to the Andrus bar, advertising his difference, if not feigned superiority, as a gay man in a town where sexual minorities remained hidden and, for many, unwanted. He was full of stories about the brothels, particularly those just across the alley (running roughly north-south) west of the hotel’s lavish dining room. As he told an interviewer, “Through the bar’s big plate-glass windows, ranchers could see and in turn be seen; the traffic light ‘gave the drinkers a good view of who was in town and who was driving

what make.”³³ The hotel bar was all about visibility inside and outside as well as car status. Savage had marked his apartness by driving around town in a series of luxury European cars, beginning with the used Rolls Royce he bought in 1952. He hated those Cadillacs and Lincoln Continentals parked along South Idaho and East Glendale Streets, outside of the bar. In addition to the Rolls and a Jaguar, he owned a Mercedes-Benz 300-S sedan, a Porsche speedster coupe, a Riley, and a Morgan two-seater.³⁴

A few months after his final visit to Dillon, he published what turned out to be his penultimate novel. By 1983, the Dilmart furniture store, which had replaced the Andrus, had been open for four years. The title character in *For Mary, With Love*, Savage’s step-aunt via marriage, whose name he only slightly changed—Mary Skoning Brenner, or in the novel, “Bower”—represented, like Savage, an independent outsider. In this late novel, Savage salutes the Andrews/Andrus, where she “often spent several nights” and “the toilets were clean, and the plaster had not cracked.” His camera passes over the familiar peopled lobby scene, highlighting a new detail: Now “the

high heels clicked seductively [on the white, octagonal tiles] like tiny exclamation points.”³⁵

Savage borrowed details from Margaret Andrus’s residence to create a portrait of luxury befitting an attractive, seductive woman. At her upstairs room in the Andrus, Mary Bower “sometimes slept until ten, and then had her breakfast sent up. Having breakfast, even coffee, sent up to a room was a custom not much understood nor much appreciated in that country at that time; early rising and self-sufficiency were looked on as peculiarly western virtues and ones by which both sexes might be measured.” In Dillon’s social hierarchy, Bower bests even the land-rich locals. She bathes with Roger & Gallet sandalwood soap, not the Ivory, with its “utilitarian odor,” supplied by the hotel. In fact, Andrews dances attention on this independent woman who plays the part of the star: “Mr. Andrews, who often walked among his guests and was want to drop beside them into a green leather armchair for a chat, had been flattered that Mary had assumed he could supply room service. When she checked out, he himself was behind the front desk.”³⁶



This photograph shows the Andrus Hotel building in the 1980s, after its closure. A furniture store, known primarily as the Dilmart, occupied parts of the former hotel’s main and first floors for several decades. Courtesy of O. Alan Weltzien



The Dillon Public Library, funded by the Carnegie Fund and built in 1902, could be seen across the street from the Andrus, as Savage memorably described in *For Mary, With Love*. 946-756, MTHS Photograph Archives

Once again, the novelist's attention to detail conformed to the historical record. Savage writes that the windows on one side of Mary's corner room "looked on the Ford Garage and the Public Library and those on the other looked on a filling station—WHITE MULE GAS THE KIND WITH A KICK—that was of little moment." The Dillon Public Library, a charming Romanesque Revival Carnegie edifice, indeed rises just south of the Andrus, across East Glendale Street. And in the corner opposite Mary's room, a gas station operated for many years. Adding more detail about the Andrus, he notes, "In the years preceding the Great War, hotel woodwork was brown; the carpet was brown to mask footprints and cigarette burns . . . On the green wall was a sepia print of Millet's *Man with the Hoe*. Gazing on the tortured back and vacant eyes, an occupant of a hotel room who had never so much as lifted a hoe might thank his lucky stars." By way of Millet's famous Realist painting, Savage distances the room's occupant from the daily grind of farm and ranch work that created local "Society." Through his

young adulthood, Savage knew that work firsthand. Local "social life included almost everybody" except "the waitresses at the Sugar Bowl Cafe and the prostitutes who lived upstairs."³⁷

The Andrus bar, like Mary Bower's room, faced out to the corner of East Glendale and South Idaho Streets—the actual corner of Rife and Pacific referenced in the title of Savage's final novel. By the time Savage published *The Corner of Rife and Pacific*, when he was seventy-three, his harsh attitude toward Dillon had mellowed. The narrator plays the role of unofficial town historian chronicling the 1890–1920 period, which Lyle Dechant, in a 2006 retrospective, calls Dillon's "Golden Age." The building and opening of the Andrus, in Savage's writing, serves as the climax of this Golden Age. Savage played with the historical record by retaining the names of several individuals and businesses. The novel's climax takes place inside the Andrus's dining room. Savage plays a local geographical joke, since Dillon's Rife Street and Pacific Street run parallel rather than perpendicular: three streets and the train tracks separate them.³⁸

In *Corner*, Savage chronicles the opening and decline of the Metlen Hotel, though in this novel it gains new life during Prohibition through the able hands of Lucille Talcott, a former prostitute. Savage borrows a major aspect of Zach Metlen, one of the novel's two protagonists, from the Andrus family. Zach is an electronics guru with a special interest in radio technology. *Corner* salutes him for his role in the broadcast of Warren G. Harding's speech accepting his party's presidential nomination, "a historic broadcast made possible in part by a circuit designed and patented by Zachary Metlen." One of Harry and Margaret Andrus's grandsons, an electronics whiz named Harry Colfer, operated Dillon's first radio station, W7CYN, from a transmitting tower on the Andrus's roof for five years. He was in his late teens.³⁹

In *Corner*, Savage shifts the years of both Dillon's founding and the Andrus's opening. In so doing, the novelist appropriates town history, rebranding it to enhance his double perspective of attachment and detachment. Savage belonged to old Dillon yet saw himself living above and beyond it. In defining himself as a cultural sophisticate, he closely identified with the rich appointments of the Andrus. In the novel it becomes, naturally, the site for the evening celebration of Grayling/Dillon's thirtieth anniversary, itself the climax of this mid-June weekend of festivities. He moves the Andrus's grand opening to June 1920, twenty-eight months after its actual opening, and conflates it with the town's cele-

bration. Hotel and town are, in effect, one. As in *Power of the Dog*, the governor and his wife "grace the head table in the dining room of the Andrews Hotel." Once again, the Andrus dramatizes Dillon's social hierarchy: "The gathering in the dining room of the Andrews Hotel would make clear who counted in Grayling. There was not space for everybody, hardly room enough for the early settlers, their children and their in-laws and a couple sneaked in because they had amassed money."⁴⁰

Savage reminds readers that agriculture continued to dominate the area long after the time setting of this last novel. By 1988, the rise of the recreational West meant that the importance of ranching diminished. In his hyperbolic view, "Such aristocracy as existed in the West was based squarely on ownership of land; without land, a man had only the clothes he wore and his own two hands." In familiar pattern, the status accorded the original generation is widened to enfold newer arrivals with money.⁴¹

In the last chapter of Savage's final novel, he writes the whole dining room scene, from the seating through the menu to the wild aftermath, after the governor and his wife have departed. Although it is set during Prohibition (June 1920), diners enjoy a steady supply of "Dago red" wine ("down from Butte in bulk") supplemented, later, by bootleg liquor stored in cars. Savage's satire is familiar:

It takes little time to eat up sliced hens' breasts, pale gravy over mashed potatoes tortured by an ice-cream scoop, pale peas that had absorbed the taste of tin, and cranberry sauce. This homely, scarlet condiment—egregious in the month of June—evoked in some a recollection of disappointing holidays . . .

The small talk that was talked from left to right was the kind of banter that interested Zachary Metlen. The men spoke across their wives of the lack of wind around Grayling; many country people who lived far from streams were dependent on windmills for water. Women spoke across their husbands of the High Cost of Living in spite of what they understood to be a recent depression.⁴²

As in *Power* and *The Liar*, the novelist excoriates gender stereotypes in patterns of conversation. These folks stick with their preferred topic. Apparently, there's nothing else to say.



The Savages in a sweet middle-age moment, likely in the late 1970s. Tom clutches a drink. Both he and Betty were avid smokers and drinkers. Courtesy of O. Alan Weltzien

Beautiful Anne Metlen, a main character who is one-quarter Native American and married to Zach, has asked her nemesis, rich young Harry Connard, a major banker, for a \$25,000 loan to help finance Zach's radio patents and their young son's surgery, which is available only in Paris. A drunken Harry then requires her, on a dare, to strip atop a table in a scene that ends with him being "shamed as badly as she."⁴³

As Savage tells it, Anne pockets the twenty-five crisp \$1,000 bills that Harry has retrieved from his bank and enacts a straightforward striptease: "She turned once, slowly, paused, and turned back. She looked above their heads at the far wall, at the corner where false vines clung to the plumb- ing. And then she unclasped the choker of false pearls and tossed it; it struck a chair, and clattered to the floor like bones. She stood before them naked as Aphrodite, and as indifferent." In this scene, the beautiful young woman, her skin tone a shade darker than that of her male audience, stands literally above and beyond them. She designs and controls this scene.⁴⁴

In a *Publishers Weekly* interview, Savage described his primary themes in *Corner* as "absolute beauty and utter revenge." Anne Metlen takes revenge on Dillon just as *Midnight Line's* Tom Westbrook felt the deep need to "get even" or best his hometown. Both characters express elements of Savage, who scorned yet felt some abiding affection for Dillon, who lived far away but rarely left home in his imagination. The Andrus, site of satire, also signified his roots and his longings. It formed one constituent part of his core identity.⁴⁵

As the moralizing narrator clarifies in his gloss, Anne feels no shame or remorse. Rather, shame settles upon those many eyes eager for titillation: "Some there present lived for many years; they seldom spoke of that evening. No one spoke now. In the past moments, they had observed what should not have been. One among them required what is not to be required, and like all those who have debauched themselves, they crept away into the lobby of the Andrews Hotel, and from there into the dark." The shame clings to these men like a bad odor that never dissipates. Sav-

age judges those spectators: "Perhaps each was afraid to meet the eyes of another who had remained present when he might have left, and was now marked for having witnessed what he should not have witnessed." One local wife, a voice of conventional propriety, pronounces of Anne, "She'll not show her face in town again," to which Savage sardonically comments, "It is pretty exciting to realize that there are people in the world who can never show their faces again." No one understands or accepts Anne's lifelong indifference to public opinion. She bequeaths shame to her leering audience. By the Monday morning following this lurid Saturday night, Anne drives out of town, money in hand, and is last heard from sailing to France with her son, young John Metlen.⁴⁶


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Both hotel and novelist experienced nadirs after their middle age. In the last fifteen years of his life, Savage kept writing but failed to publish another novel. John Micha, a highly successful OB-GYN and fund manager who spent most of his career in southern California, purchased the Andrus with partners in 2012. By the summer of 2015, the Dilmart furniture store had closed. The center pylons supporting the building's

wood-frame interior had sunk eighteen inches into the ground, causing the middle sections of the upper two floors to sag a foot and a half. Structural renovation required a new concrete basement and foundation blocks. Then, the interior frame was raised eighteen inches and new two-foot-wide basement support beams were placed. After this work, the owner, structural engineer, architect, and contractor could remodel the interior. In 2017, Micha's partners backed out of the project and he bought out their interests, becoming "one of the few sole owners of a grand historic hotel in the U.S." By 2018, renovation work sped up.⁴⁷

This work directly involved Andrus granddaughter Donna Jones, her daughter Janet Jones Choate as interior decorator, and her son Kreg Jones as architectural and building consultant. Choate designed the new lobby—more or less the site of the legendary bar—in a mid-twentieth-century Art Deco style. The new rooftop terrace garden was named after Donna Jones, who

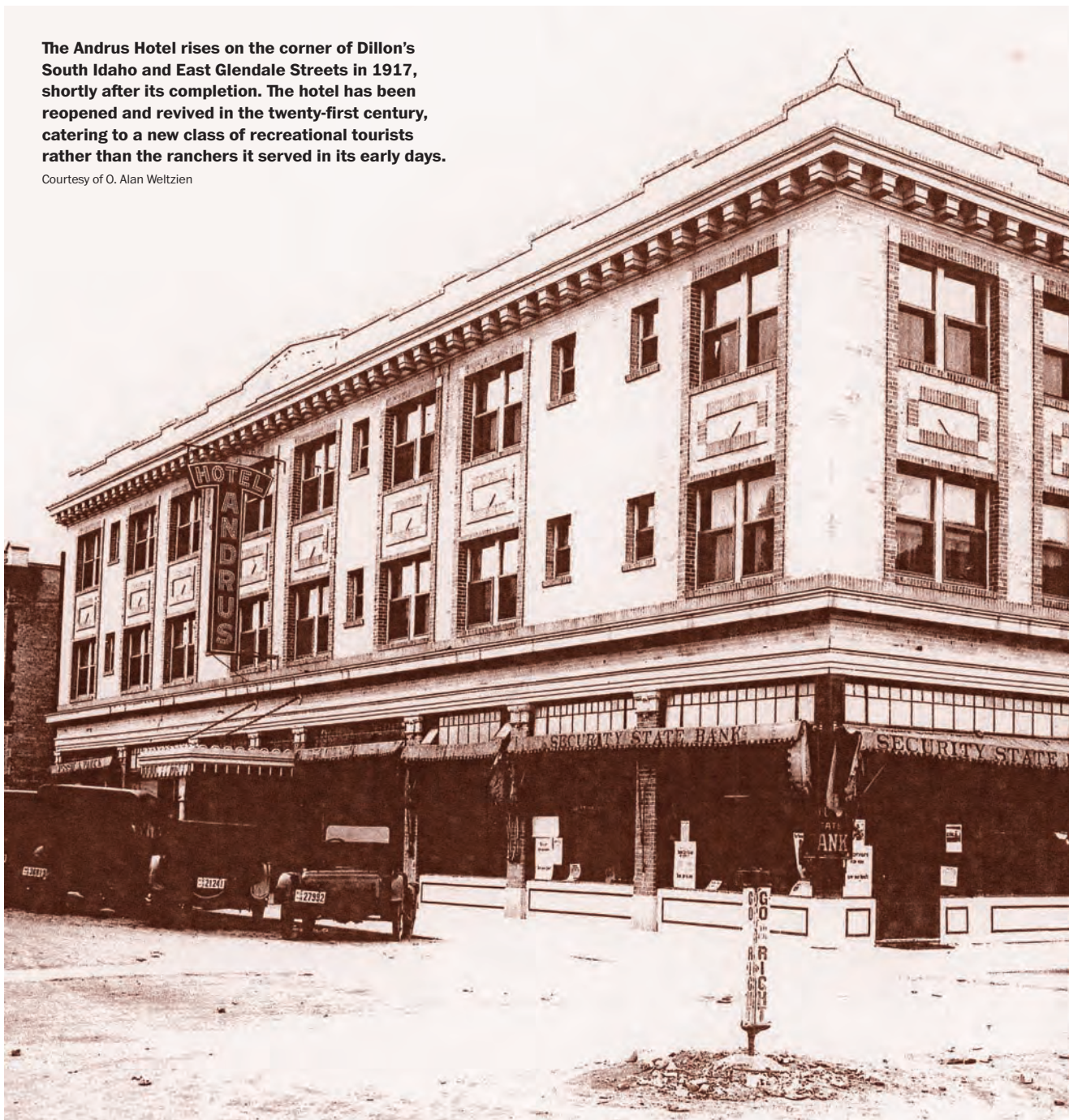




This 1960s photograph offers both a view of the hotel and the Dillon Public Library. Signs for the Andrus bar, the site of many memorable scenes in Savage's novels, can also be seen. Courtesy of O. Alan Weltzien

The Andrus Hotel rises on the corner of Dillon's South Idaho and East Glendale Streets in 1917, shortly after its completion. The hotel has been reopened and revived in the twenty-first century, catering to a new class of recreational tourists rather than the ranchers it served in its early days.

Courtesy of O. Alan Weltzien



has known this hotel intimately her whole life. In some regards, the revived Andrus remains a family affair.⁴⁸

The renovated Andrus, now the Andrus Boutique Hotel, features twelve unique suites and novel amenities such as cruiser bikes and the “Badger Archery Store and Range” in the basement. The hotel hosted a community open house on July 1, 2020, attracting a crowd of about four hundred, and opened for business eight days later. Its website boasts, “Montana’s best

hotel in 1917 and again today.” Since 2021, the hotel has been a member of the Historic Hotels of America (HHA); it is the smallest hotel in the HHA. In 2022, it was a winner of the HHA “Award of Excellence”; in 2023 it was a finalist. And in 2024 it was listed among HHA’s “Top 25 Historic Hotels of America Most Literary Hotels” because of Savage’s intimate association with it. As *Dillon Tribune* staff writer M. P. Regan described it in a July 2020 article, the Andrus had made



the transition “from a slumbering architectural giant into a lively and lovely boutique hotel.”⁴⁹

After a forty-one-year hiatus, the reborn Andrus, which was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in December 2022, flourishes. Now in its second century, when outdoor recreation has replaced agriculture as the leading economic driver in Beaverhead County, many of the spring and summer guests at the hotel have come for the fishing.

In 2001, the Tom Savage revival began when Little, Brown republished new paperback editions of his two best novels: *The Power of the Dog* and *The Sheep Queen* (originally titled *I Heard My Sister Speak My Name*). He died two years later at age eighty-eight. Of greater moment, internationally acclaimed film director Jane Campion began working on an adaptation of *The Power of the Dog* in 2018, spending a weekend with her collaborator and soulmate, producer Tanya Seghatchian, in Dillon and Horse Prairie. They wanted to see and understand Savage’s home ground. They shot dozens of photos in and out of town, including of the Andrus. After COVID-19 delayed the film’s New Zealand-based production, Campion’s *The Power of the Dog*, starring Benedict Cumberbatch and Kirsten Dunst, opened in early September of 2021. In the following months it would earn over two hundred international film awards. Because of Campion’s film, many in the United States and abroad have discovered one of Montana’s top-shelf novelists.⁵⁰

While the new Andrus might elicit a wry smile and more satire from Savage, his fiction brings the old Andrus to life. Scenes in the lobby and dining room and details about plain rooms facing the alley or luxury corner rooms provide a documentary history of the hotel. Savage returned to the Andrus as insider and outsider, and his double perspective explains his satiric bite. As an old and new site of luxury and aspiration, it proved irresistible and indispensable to this novelist who played so close to the historical record. In the still young twenty-first century, both hotel and novelist command new reputations. Let us hope both reputations continue to grow.

O. Alan Weltzien, a professor of English emeritus at the University of Montana Western, has called Dillon and the Beaverhead Valley home for the past thirty-three years. Weltzien has published four chapbooks and eleven books. These include studies or critical anthologies of writers Rick Bass, John McPhee, and Norman Maclean. Weltzien has also published a memoir, *A Father and an Island* (2008), as well as three full-length poetry collections, most recently *On the Beach: Poems 2016–2021* (2022). He has a prose chapbook, *The Taylor Triptych*, forthcoming from the Sea Letter Press, and a new poetry chapbook, *In the Khumbu*, is under consideration.

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

The Party's Over (Ewert)

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

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

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

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

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

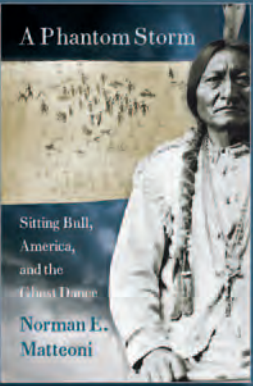
3. On the local, immediate nature of political action in the 1970s, see Michael Stewart Foley, *Front Porch Politics: The Forgotten Heyday of American Activism in the 1970s and 1980s* (Hill and Wang, 2013), 8–9. For the Coors boycott as part of a wider movement, see Allyson P. Brantley, *Brewing a Boycott: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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9. Owens, “Aber Day 1973,” Documents from the November 29, 1972, Meeting of the Associated Students of the University of Montana, ASUM Minutes; Carl Gidlund, “University of Montana’s Aber Hall is Named After a Man Whose Presence is Still Felt on the Missoula Campus,” May 25, 1967, University of

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

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

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

12. “The Biggest, Wettest Kegger Ever,” *Montana Kaimin*, May 19, 1978; “Enrollment Announced,” *Montana Kaimin*, May 23, 1978; Deb McKinney, “Staff Sen-



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

Courtesy of Jordan Watkins, Zip Beverage



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

Courtesy of Jordan Watkins, Zip Beverage

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When Did People Arrive in Montana (MacDonald)

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

A Hotel and Its Novelist (Weltzien)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Courtesy of the Andrus Hotel

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

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

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

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

12. Savage, *Lona Hanson*, 198.

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

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

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

16. Savage, *Power*, 110–11.

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

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

19. Savage, *Power*, 115.

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

21. Savage, *The Liar*, 105.

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

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

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

25. Savage, *Midnight Line*, 98.

26. Savage, *Midnight Line*, 103–4.

27. Savage, *Midnight Line*, 104–5.

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

29. Savage, *Midnight Line*, 105.

30. Savage, *Midnight Line*, 105.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bliss, Drought, and Near-Death (Menzel)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Below: Kessler Brewing
Company keg, ca. 1900.

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



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