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OPEN RANGE RANCHING IN NORTH DAKOTA
1870S-1910S

CONTEXT STUDY

Barbara Beving Long

1996

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ABSTRACT

Open Range Ranching in North Dakota, 1870s-1910s, is a context study of an important aspect of agriculture in North Dakota. The study covers the circumstances behind the establishment, growth and evolution over time of ranching operations in western North Dakota. The principal features of open range ranching are limited care of livestock, the availability of an extensive free and open range providing water, nourishment and shelter, and the absence of governmental infrastructures to impose order and establish systems leading to land ownership and other legal institutions. Decreases in buffalo herds as well as the Native American population facilitated the development of open range ranching. The construction of transcontinental railroad systems directly fostered the industry, for it provided the means for livestock to reach growing markets in Europe and eastern America.

Three types of open range ranching operations occurred. The first were the pre-railroad ranchers who supplied special markets, including mining camps in the Black Hills, Indian agencies, and military outposts. Developing in earnest between 1881 and 1886, bonanza ranching was ranching on a large scale, many participants brought stock in from Texas. Still other open range ranchers shipped in blooded stock, mostly Shorthorn and Hereford, from the Midwest and the west coast. Significant numbers of ranchers came to North Dakota from Texas, the East and Midwest, with less representation from foreign countries, including France, Canada, and Scotland. While sheep and horses were raised, sometimes on a large scale, the emphasis was primarily on cattle ranching.

The harsh and long winter of 1886-87 was disastrous, and thousands of cattle perished. The winter marked a shift on the open range. Factors in the change included increasing awareness of the qualities of the semiarid Great Plains environment, the onset of land surveys which encouraged the arrival of many more homesteaders, and falling prices. The free range policy had encouraged overstocking of the range, for an international speculative fever contributed to a fleeting cattle boom. Large numbers of cattle continued to be brought into western North Dakota after the winter of 1886-87, but in diminishing numbers. The definition of a "big rancher" changed over time, from running between 10,000 and 25,000 in the 1880s to between 50 and 1000 head by 1904. By the 1910s, the open range ranching period had passed.

The context for this study was related to actual examples through the development of property types. Livestock Management Networks are properties associated with moving livestock into, within or out of the open range. Open Range Ranch Headquarters were constructed to accommodate personnel and livestock, such as saddle horses, at ranch headquarters. Research identified 138 ranches established some time between the late 1870s and the late 1890s in 19 counties. Significant concentrations were located in Billings, Dunn, McHenry, and Oliver counties. The context study was prepared following National Register Bulletins 15, 16A and 16B, 24, 30, and 32, and state guidelines. All work was conducted in a manner consistent with the standards and guidelines published by the U.S. Secretary of the Interior and the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| Manuscript Data Record Form | i |
| Abstract | ii |
| Table of Contents | iii |
| | |
| 1 INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Research Design | 1 |
| Qualifications of Project Participant | 2 |
| | |
| 2 SETTING THE STAGE | 3 |
| American Attitudes Toward Land Use | 3 |
| Western North Dakota | 4 |
| Political Conditions | 5 |
| | |
| 3 BEGINNINGS, 1870S-1886 | 7 |
| Development of the Open Range Ranching Industry | 7 |
| Definition of Open Range Ranching | 7 |
| International Influences | 8 |
| Types of Open Range Ranching | 9 |
| Pre-Railroad Specialized Suppliers | 9 |
| Bonanza Ranching | 10 |
| Blooded Stock | 11 |
| | |
| 4 MONEY MATTERS | 13 |
| | |
| 5 THE CATTLE BOOM | 16 |
| Just How Many Cattle Were There? | 18 |
| Ranches and Ranchers | 19 |
| Bloom off the Boom | 22 |
| | |
| 6 DEMISE OF THE OPEN RANGE, 1886-c 1910 | 24 |
| The Winter | 24 |
| Demise of the Free Range | 26 |
| | |
| 7 OPEN RANGE RANCH OPERATIONS | 30 |
| Trailing | 30 |
| Range Limits | 30 |
| Stockmen's Associations | 31 |
| Spring Round-up | 31 |
| Fall Round-up | 32 |
| Ranch Headquarters | 33 |
| Auxiliary Camps | 33 |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| 8 PROPERTY TYPES | 34 |
| Site Selection Factors | 34 |
| Sheep Ranches | 34 |
| Property Types | 34 |
| Description | 36 |
| Livestock Management Networks | 37 |
| Open Range Ranch Headquarters | 39 |
| Fee Simple Ranch Facilities | 43 |
| 9 EVALUATION CRITERIA | 44 |
| Criteria | 44 |
| Criterion A | 44 |
| Criterion B | 45 |
| Criterion C | 45 |
| Criterion D | 46 |
| Integrity | 47 |
| Period of Significance, 1870s-1910s | 47 |
| Landscape Issues | 48 |
| 10 DATA GAPS | 49 |
| Information Sources | 49 |
| Specific Ranches and Their Locations | 49 |
| Statistical Data | 49 |
| History of Grazing Files | 50 |
| SHPO Studies | 50 |
| Published Accounts | 51 |
| Property Types | 51 |
| Landscape Issues | 51 |
| Research Questions | 52 |
| 11 PRESERVATION STRATEGIES | 54 |
| END NOTES | 56 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 67 |

TABLES

| | | |
|---------|--|----|
| Table 1 | Initial Arrival of Texas Longhorns to the Plains | 9 |
| Table 2 | Price of Best Steers Per Hundredweight, Chicago Market | 23 |

FIGURES

| | | |
|----|---|----|
| 1 | The Great Plains Region, with Some Characteristics of its Eastern Limits | 72 |
| 2 | Map Showing Topography of North Dakota | 73 |
| 3 | Map with Ten Largest Open Range Ranch Operations in Region | 74 |
| 4 | Map Showing Small-Large Scale Open Range Cattle Ranches, late 1870s-late 1890s | 75 |
| 5 | Ranches in Vicinity Little Missouri River | 79 |
| 6 | Map of the Origins and Spread of the Texas System of Cattle Ranching Including Major Trails | 80 |
| 7 | The Outlying Camp | 81 |
| 8 | Elk Horn Ranch Buildings, Billings County | 82 |
| 9 | Sketch of Bellows Ranch in the 1890s | 83 |
| 10 | Photograph of Unidentified Ranch, probably Slope County | 84 |
| 11 | Photograph of HT Ranch, Slope County | 85 |
| 12 | Coutts Marjoribanks' Horse-Shoe Ranch in Mouse River Region | 86 |
| 13 | The Old-Time Cow Ranch | 87 |
| 14 | Floor Plan, Pierre Wibaux W-Bar Ranch, Montana | 88 |
| 15 | Photograph of Little Missouri Horse Company Headquarters, Slope County, 1892 | 89 |

APPENDICES

| | |
|------------|--|
| Appendix A | List of 145 North Dakota Ranches, 1870s-1890s |
| Appendix B | North Dakota Ranches, by County, 1870s-1890s |
| Appendix C | Examples Drawn from the Literature of the Open Range Property Type |

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The Archeology and Historic Preservation Division of the State Historical Society of North Dakota solicited proposals to develop a context pertaining to open range ranching in western North Dakota. The project consisted of performing historical and architectural research leading to preparation of a context statement.

A considerable body of writings has developed on the topic of open range ranching in the Great Plains, which of course includes western North Dakota. In order to assess the applicability of the overall Great Plains experience to western North Dakota, it was necessary to consult a wide variety of valuable, though at times conflicting resources.

It was presumed that the experience of developing the open range ranching context could be applied to other agricultural studies in the state. Survey was not included in this project, and this was an appropriate decision. Relatively few extant examples are currently known--the National Register nomination for the Birdhead Ranch House placed the number at six. Now that the beginnings of a fully developed context and related property types are underway, it is possible to better define what resources are likely to be found and their location.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of this planning project was to conduct sufficient research to prepare a fully developed historic context, including a written project report. The context development was prepared following Bulletins 15, 16A and 16B, 24, 30, and 32 and state guidelines. The contexts are tied to actual examples through the development of property types. All work was conducted in a manner consistent with the standards and guidelines published by the U S Secretary of the Interior and the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

Research moved in pyramidal fashion from the general to the specific. Works regarding American responses to the land, including the exploitation of natural resources, were reviewed and applied to the study. Sources relating to the topic were consulted as needed to provide a regional perspective. These included National Register nominations for ranch houses, the WPA History of Grazing Files in the State Archives, and the historical society's photographic collection.

The experiences of Theodore Roosevelt and the Marquis de Mores in western North Dakota are well known. We sought to go beyond these colorful accounts to explore more ordinary experiences and thereby gain a fuller understanding of the complex processes at work.

The context statement is intended to address how, when, and why open range ranching developed, who participated, and what occurred over time. The context statement or historical overview addresses the circumstances behind the establishment, growth and evolution over time.

of ranching operations in western North Dakota. Factors (political, economic, social), important participants, and the defining associative and physical characteristics of the open range ranching property type were identified and assessed. Comparisons with ranching in other Great Plains states was another component of the research.

The construction of railroads, such as the Northern Pacific, the disastrous winter of 1886-87 which decimated herds across the Northern Plains, and the arrival of more traditional settlers affected the future of open range ranching practices. The impact of these and other factors was considered. Comparisons were made with fee simple ranching practices, although a complete fee simple context was not developed. Ecozones 21, 22, and 23 constituted the minimum study area.

QUALIFICATIONS OF PROJECT PARTICIPANT

Barbara Beving Long, historian for Rivercrest Associates, Inc. was responsible for all aspects of the project. She meets the federal professional qualifications standards to conduct both architectural and historical projects. Over the past fifteen years she has accumulated extensive experience conducting context development projects, intensive level architectural and historical surveys, and writing National Register nominations, including a number of projects in North Dakota.

Long's experience ranges through all levels of the National Register process from initial surveys to completed and listed nominations in the Midwest and Plains states. National Register experience includes writing nominations for thirty-seven individual properties and five historic districts, evaluating more than 7,000 properties in Waterloo, Iowa for National Register eligibility, and serving as the public liaison on the Iowa State National Register Review Committee. She has prepared six multiple property nominations, which required context and property type statements. Long has also researched, written, or edited numerous cultural resource management reports.

SETTING THE STAGE

AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD LAND USE

In the late 19th century, natural resources, whether gold, prairie chickens, or land, were viewed as items of consumption. They existed to be used, to be exploited for rapid economic gain. Scant thought was given to conservation of natural resources. Rather, areas not yet occupied by Euro-Americans were looked upon as wild frontiers which must be subdued, their riches extracted for economic advancement.¹

Railroad construction, federal policies, and Euro-American attitudes toward natural resources played roles in changing the land uses in the Plains. The change began in western Dakota Territory in the early 1870s and, in general, extended into the early 1880s, depending on the area. By the early 1870s, the US military had established four forts along the Missouri River in present western North Dakota (Rice, Abraham Lincoln, Stevenson, and Buford). By then, many Plains Indians lived on reservations or were attached to Indian agencies across Dakota Territory. Native American populations were severely reduced from disease contracted from Euro-Americans.²

The Plains Indians and the bison occupied the same environmental niche that Euro-American ranchers and their livestock sought to use. While it is possible that bison and livestock could have comfortably shared the space, water, and grasses of the open range, the diminution of bison herds probably made it easier for Euro-American ranchers to occupy the space. Disease, human settlement (including railroad construction that separated herds), hunting for sport, and a market for hides and bones contributed to the decrease in the number of bison.³

New tanning technology provided a commercial market for bison hides in America and abroad. The hides were used for belts in industrial machinery, for padding and covering furniture, and for the tops of carriages, sleighs, and hearses. Once the railroads were in place, it was economically feasible to ship the hides as well as bison bones, the latter being processed into charcoal, fertilizer, and boneblack or "char" for use as carbon in sugar refining.⁴

Frazier Brothers were among those who sought to provide hides to the expanding market. In 1878-79, the company reportedly slaughtered some 5,000 bison in Montana. Usher Burdick, who worked for Frazier Brothers, estimated that in one season, 1879-80, 150,000 head were killed along the Yellowstone River from the Big Horn Mountains to the site of present Sidney, Montana. Burdick cast out on his own with John Herbert in 1880. In the winter season of 1880-81, their company alone killed 1,300 bison, but in 1881-82 the number was only 900. And in 1882-83 they found but 37 bison in Montana. By the fall of 1883, the bison herds that had epitomized an important biological adaptation to the Great Plains were all but gone. The last big hunt in North Dakota reportedly occurred in 1882.⁵

Large scale bison hunting provided an unintentional by-product sportsmen from the East and from Europe visited the Great Plains While in pursuit of "good sport," they became aware of the unique qualities of the Plains Notable examples, including Howard Eaton of Pittsburgh, A C Huidekoper of Pennsylvania, Theodore Roosevelt of New York, Gregor Lang of Scotland, and the Marquis de Mores of France, returned to establish ranches in present North Dakota ⁶

WESTERN NORTH DAKOTA

The Great Plains extend from Mexico to Canada and east-west between approximately the 98th and 100th meridians and the Rocky Mountains The vast region (1,300 miles long by 200 to 700 miles wide) sprawls across one-fifth of the land area of the United States The Great Plains include parts of ten states North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana Some scholars offer the more westerly 100th meridian as the eastern boundary A detailed study by Howard Ottoson and others of the soils and land use potential of the transition area between the 100th and 98th meridians offers convincing evidence for extending the boundary to the 98th meridian The 100th meridian was generally the boundary between tall grass and short grass (Figure 1, page 72) Cattle ranching did occur in this transitional zone during the open range period ⁷

Western North Dakota is part of the northern extent of the American Great Plains The dividing line is the Missouri Escarpment, a 300-400 foot high boundary which arcs from the Canadian border in the northwest part of the state down to South Dakota (Figure 2, page 73) The Missouri Escarpment is a boundary for differences in soil, vegetation, and climate ⁸ North Dakota historian Elwyn Robinson admirably describes the plateau west of the Missouri River known as the Missouri Slope or the Slope

The landscape of the Slope contrasts with that east of the Missouri East of the river the Missouri Plateau has a youthful, rolling topography formed by glacial drift, but the Slope was carved by running water working on the soft, poorly cemented sands and clays of the exposed rocks The Slope's scanty vegetation has done little to check this erosive work, whose most spectacular results are seen in the Badlands along the Little Missouri River There streams have cut the land into innumerable canyons, gorges, and ravines and have produced an incredible waste of bluffs and pinnacles, often colored in shades of red from masses of scoria, the clinker of clays fused by burning lignite beds ⁹

In contrast with subhumid and humid areas to the east, the climate of the Great Plains is semiarid Further west, the climate is arid In western North Dakota, this translates to "cold winters and hot summers, warm days and cool nights, light rainfall, low humidity, and much sunshine " Although few would contend that the climate of western North Dakota is for the faint of heart, it does enjoy lighter snowfall and a mean temperature that is approximately one degree higher than that of the eastern counties Chinook winds temper the harshness of winter weather ¹⁰

In response to the semiarid climate, the northern mixed-grass prairie is typically a mixture of mid-height grasses, shortgrasses, and forb and browse forages. The plants are well adapted to the environment—drought resistant, produce seed early, achieve dormancy during summer and fall drought, and winter hardy. The grasses are nutritious and, it is amazing to note, cure on the stem. The grasses thus made for excellent feeding the year around. A semiarid climate was a necessity for proper shortgrass prairie, for heavy rainfall produces rank and watery grass and conditions whereby the grasses can neither dry sufficiently nor attain a high protein content.¹¹

The semiarid portions of North Dakota offered qualities uniquely suited to open range cattle raising—prairie grasses that cured on the stem, relatively mild winters, sheltering valleys, and sparse population. Boosters, journalists, and government agents from the period touted these characteristics. W. P. Jenney, government geologist, wrote of the Black Hills in 1875. Noting that large areas "will afford fine grazing," he concluded that the stock-raising possibilities "constitute the real future wealth of this region and its value can hardly be over estimated." An oft-repeated quote from the same period by Dakota guide California Joe was more colorful: "There's gold from the grass roots down, but there's more gold from the grass roots up."¹²

Ranchers and investors in cattle ranching had no access to a study of tree rings published in 1943 which might have given them pause. By tracing the annual growth-rings of trees in western Nebraska, a scientist was able to show the cycle of five-year droughts between 1539 and 1939. During this 154-year period, there were 13 instances of at least five-year droughts. The average duration of the drought period was 12.85 years, with examples ranging from five to 26 years. Between 1565 and 1930, the periods between droughts averaged 20.58 years. Extended drought was inevitable if its timing was not entirely predictable.¹³

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The vast openness of the Great Plains offered an arena for open range ranching, and the political setting further contributed to the viability of these large scale ranching enterprises. After the first of a series of forced Indian land cessions beginning in 1858, Congress established Dakota Territory in 1861. The organization followed on the heels of statehood for adjacent Iowa (1846) and Minnesota (1858) and was part of a pattern of westward agricultural settlement. In Dakota Territory, new arrivals streamed into the area of present South Dakota around Yankton, eventually occupying the fertile region of the Red River valley in present North Dakota. In the Great Plains portions of Dakota, however, settlement was minimal, save the Black Hills region after the discovery of gold in 1874. Awareness of the very different environment of the Great Plains was a factor in the paucity of settlement west of the 98th meridian.¹⁴

The wheels were in motion to populate Dakota Territory with agriculturalists. Federal land policies designed to foster settlement included the land ordinance of 1785, the Preemption Act of 1841 (repealed 1891), the Homestead Act of 1862 (1880, applied to unsurveyed land too), the Timber Culture Act of 1873 (repealed 1882 after cattlemen abuses), and the Desert Land Act of 1887 (amended 1890), and, later, the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909, the Stock Raising Act of 1914, and the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934. The relationship between federal land policies and

open range ranching may be characterized in general as a negative one, for the policies encouraged small-scale (160 acre parcels) settlement on formerly open range

Depending on the time and place within Dakota Territory or North Dakota, federal legislation had varying impacts on settlement activities. Until its repeal in 1891, the Preemption Act of 1841 allowed "squatters" who settled in advance of government surveys to buy up to 160 acres of their illegal holdings at \$1.25 an acre after the land was surveyed. The Homestead Act of 1862 granted 160 acres to any adult US citizen (or had applied for citizenship) who lived on the land and improved it over a five year period. In 1880 the Homestead Act was expanded to include unsurveyed land, such as portions of Dakota Territory. The Timber Culture Act of 1873 enabled a settler to obtain another 160 acres if he planted forty acres of timber and cared for it for ten years. The timber acreage was reduced to ten acres in 1878, and the entire act was repealed in 1882. The Desert Land Act of 1887, the final land legislation of the 19th century, provided for the purchase of 640 acres in the arid and semi-arid states, provided the land was irrigated within three years of filing.¹⁵

The Timber Culture Act and Desert Land Act inspired considerable abuse among ranchers and speculators. Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado ranchers persuaded their employees to file timber culture claims, especially along water sources to ensure their continued access to them. One company in Dakota Territory reportedly made claim to 26 section entries, all along streams. According to a federal agent with jurisdiction over the Dakotas, some 90 percent of Timber Culture Act entries were entirely speculative in nature. The spirit of the Desert Land Act was similarly compromised. Since the law did not specify the nature of suitable irrigation, it was possible to plow shallow furrows and anoint them an irrigation ditch.¹⁶

BEGINNINGS, 1870S-1886

DEVELOPMENT OF THE OPEN RANGE RANCHING INDUSTRY

Definition of Open Range Ranching

The key components that characterize open range ranching are the following

- ▶ Limited care of livestock
- ▶ Availability of free and open range providing water, nourishment, and shelter
- ▶ Absence of local governmental infrastructure

Open range ranching as practiced in the Great Plains involved limited care of the livestock. Ranchers did not typically provide special shelter, supplementary feed, or water. No fencing of pastures was necessary, and the livestock ranged freely over the land. Sheltering valleys replaced the barn as the source of winter shelter. Grasses which cured on the stem provided the winter food source out on the open range. Livestock drank from natural water sources, creeks and rivers. Open range ranching included the raising of smaller numbers of sheep and horses, but is most strongly associated with cattle. The approach derived from subtropical locales, especially the Carolina Gulf Coast, where it was not necessary to consider the effects of harsh winters¹⁷

Open range ranching spread westward from the Carolinas but reached its apotheosis in Texas where it spawned a cattle culture, livestock management refinements, and large scale ranching. Although the Texas model personifies open ranch ranching in contemporary thinking, the term should be defined more narrowly to understand its application in North Dakota. Open range ranching refers to how the cattle were run--not their point of origin, their breed, or their number. In other words, not all cattle put on the open ranges of the Great Plains were from Texas or were longhorns. Midwestern stockmen transported blooded stock, mostly Shorthorns and Herefords, from Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, and also from west coast areas, including Washington and Oregon. Dakota cattlemen who came from the Midwest, the East, and Europe also imported European stock.

Contemporary accounts suggest an expectation that open range ranching was a temporary phenomenon on the landscape. The accounts refer to the inevitability of small scale agricultural settlement supplanting the open range life. Aware of the importance of free land and water to their operations, the large scale Texas outfits seemed to regard their stay in the Dakotas as very temporary¹⁸. The completion of land surveys was often mentioned as a division point signaling the end of the free range era, for homesteaders moved into areas which were surveyed.

Perhaps the feeling of inevitability contributed to relatively benign relations between ranchers and homesteaders in North Dakota. Ranchers reportedly behaved as though they knew the time of the open range was temporary and limited. They seemed to feel that it was legal, inevitable, even proper, that permanent homesteaders would replace the open range approach to ranching.

The ranchers seemed to expect to either move on or pare down their herds and engage in smaller scale ranching or combined ranching and crop raising. No violent range wars have been recorded in North Dakota.¹⁹

International Influences

Open range ranching, also known as the Anglo-Texan ranching system, evolved from several cultural sources. The mixing of Carolina southern coastal prairies and Mexican coastal herding traditions occurred along the southwest coast of Louisiana and adjacent southeastern Texas in the period beginning 1780 and continuing to around 1820.²⁰

A basic contribution to open range ranching in Texas, longhorn cattle, came from Spain, by way of Mexico. The breed was well adapted to foraging in unattended herds in hot, dry climates. In addition, such "Old West" terms and practices as the emphasis on roping and equestrian skills, the horned saddle, and the words *lariat* and *corral*, derived from Mexico. The concept of "accustomed range," whereby unbranded stock was awarded to the user of the land where they were found, was also Mexican.²¹

Carolina-derived cattle raisers who expanded into Louisiana adopted some Mexican herding practices, but also retained many traits from their own cattle culture. Vocabulary can be an important indicator of cultural influences. Carolinian (and Jamaican) influences provided the words *dogie* and *cowboy*. Herding practices from this culture included holding only two round-ups (spring and fall), "riding line" around the edge of one's defined range, the use of whips, and the British brand approach combining block letters and numerals. (Mexican brands were curvilinear and displayed a much more decorative appearance.) The involvement of wealthy absentee owners was another Carolina or British trait, as was the emphasis on beef production rather than only hides and tallow, the trend in Mexico. The casual approach to livestock care also derived from coastal Carolina customs, perhaps the salient quality of open range ranching in America. In Texas and later the Great Plains, this translated to no special effort to manage or provide special livestock pasturing, even during the winter.²²

In the early 1800s, the coastal method of ranching spread from Louisiana and southeastern Texas westward along the Gulf Coast. After around 1860, that area was saturated, even over-stocked, and the focus of ranching again shifted. Geographic barriers, existing ranching in Mexico, and inappropriate adjacent territory caused a shift or jump in concentration to the north central part of Texas. This area contained rolling topography, tallgrass prairie, and oak and cedar coves. Coastal-derived Texas ranchers seem not to have moved to north central Texas, although their customs did migrate north, probably along the market trails and with the numerous itinerant cowboys seeking work. Many of the north central cattlemen were of upland, not coastal, southern stock, who had ventured to the area from points east.²³

Cattle ranching thrived in north central Texas during the 1860s. By 1863, three counties each contained more than 25,000 head of cattle. By the early 1870s, however, the over-grazed pastureland was depleted, and cattlemen again sought new ranges. No great herds were to be

found in north central Texas by 1874, by which time the region served as the staging ground for the "spectacular diffusion through the Great Plains"²⁴

Table 1. Initial Arrival of Texas Longhorns to the Plains.
 Source Jordan, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers*

| <i>Year of Arrival</i> | <i>Location</i> | <i>Local Market/Impetus</i> |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 1859 | Colorado | mining towns |
| 1866 | E Montana Idaho New Mexico | mining towns mining towns Indian agencies |
| 1867 | Kansas Dakota | railhead Indian agencies |
| 1868 | E Wyoming | Indian treaties |
| 1869 | Nebraska Ft Rice, Dakota Terr | railhead military |
| 1877 | Dakota (Black Hills) | mining towns |
| 1878 | Montana | ranching |
| late 1870s | Alberta & Saskatchewan | ranching |
| early 1880s | Nevada | ranching? |
| 1881 | W North Dakota | ranching |

Types of Open Range Ranching

There were three basic types of open range ranching operations in North Dakota

- ▶ Specialized relatively small scale ventures established early on to supply beef to Dakota consumers once the supply of buffalo was depleted (mining towns, military posts, railroad construction camps, Indian agencies)
- ▶ Large herds of longhorns (mostly steers) trailed in from north central Texas to fatten and sell to eastern markets
- ▶ Small to large herds of blooded stock to breed and also to sell to eastern markets

Pre-Railroad Specialized Suppliers

Beginning in earnest in the early 1870s, cattle raisers in Iowa, Minnesota, and Texas received government contracts to supply forts and Indian agencies in Dakota Territory. In 1874 alone, Yankton newspapers reported on separate herds of 2,000, 3,000, and 4,000 head of Texas cattle bound, via Nebraska, for Indian reservations in Dakota²⁵

As early as 1869, one contractor drove cattle from Sioux City, Iowa to Fort Rice on the Missouri River south of present Bismarck. In the late 1870s, Dan Manning and Hans Christensen came to Dakota Territory to furnish hay and butter to military outposts, Forts Lincoln and Rice²⁶

Manning and Christensen remained, as did others, to operate ranches during the open range ranching period. For example, in 1870 Robert C. Matthews accompanied a beef herd driven from St. Paul to Fort Buford, with deliveries at Fort Abercrombie, Fort Wadsworth, Fort Totten, and Fort Stevenson. He remained at Fort Buford, found work with government contractors, and established a ranch (including grain production) on the Little Muddy sometime before 1880²⁷

North Dakota ranching was an extension of cattle ranching in the Black Hills region of present South Dakota which arose due to extensive gold mining. The discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1874 and related Indian treaties translated to the arrival of Euro-Americans in the Dakotas intent upon exploiting the area's abundant natural resources. While miners sought to strike it rich, Texas and other southern cattlemen brought beef on the hoof. These southerners employed the southern coastal tradition of allowing cattle and horses to range freely, even during the winter months²⁸

Armed with government contracts and aware of the miners' demand for beef, suppliers drove in herds to meet the needs of Dakota Territory occupants. The late 1870s and early 1880s constituted the boom period in southwestern Dakota. In 1876-77, Dan and Erasmus Deffebach brought in cattle, then butchered them all to supply Black Hills mining camps. Bolstered by the experience, the following year they established perhaps the earliest ranch in the Black Hills. By the end of 1877, Black Hills newspapers were reporting that 100,000 head of cattle occupied the Black Hills, many of them driven up from Texas. Open range ranching developed rapidly in the Black Hills, so much so that ranchers felt the need to organize to control operations on the range. Established in 1880, the Black Hills Livestock Association had 52 members in 1881 and 60 ranchers or cattle companies with more than 264,000 head of cattle in 1882, a number that mushroomed to between 700,000 and 800,000 head in 1884²⁹

Bonanza Ranching

Large scale open range ranching on the Great Plains arrived from north central Texas. The process was as incredibly rapid as it was fleeting. In the 15-year period following the Civil War, the Texas system of open range ranching could be found across the Great Plains, arcing from New Mexico up to Montana and into Canada. In the 18-year period between 1866 and 1884, it has been estimated that more than five million Texas cattle were driven north, the "largest short-term geographical shift of domestic herd animals in the history of the world"³⁰

Texas cattle companies and their European investors were the driving force behind this mobilization. Still, European investors and ranchers often favored the introduction of imported blooded stock to improve the quality of exported beef. In the Mouse (Souris) River region of North Dakota, Couitts Marjoribanks, son of a Scottish baron, and E. H. Thursey, English nephew of a baronet, emphasized the importance of thoroughbred stock³¹

Much has been written about the rigors of the trail drive. A typical herd, 3,000 head of cattle, took months to trail north. In the early 1880s, a large cattle company hired Wils Richards to trail 4,000 head from the Texas Panhandle to the Plains. With a crew of a dozen cowboys and perhaps 50 saddle horses, they set out in mid-May, bound for the Black Hills. Upon their arrival in mid-August, they heeded the advice of a trapper and instead continued another 150 miles north to the Killdeer Mountains. There, Richards established the Diamond C Ranch, turning the herd loose for the winter. The exercise was repeated countless times.³²

Aware of the time required and the toll on cattle from the trail drive, Texas cattlemen opted to use the railroads when possible. As soon as railroads were constructed into the West, cattle were shipped part way by rail, then trailed to their open range destination. In fact, the relative proximity to railroad shipping points was a key factor in determining the pace and timing of extension of the range. Faced with an over-stocked north central Texas range, cattlemen sought new shipping points on the advancing line of railroad construction. Ogallala, Nebraska, for example, became an important shipping point as the ranching frontier pushed northward. When the Union Pacific Railroad was constructed through central Nebraska and into southern Wyoming in 1868-69, these areas saw a notable influx of Texas cattle.³³

Farther north, preliminary surveying on the Northern Pacific line across present North Dakota began in 1871, and the line reached Bismarck two years later. The nationwide financial panic of 1873 stilled construction for a time, and it was not until 1880 that westward construction resumed. That same year, the military established Cantonment Bad Lands on the Little Missouri River near present Medora to protect railroad construction workers.³⁴

In 1880, "not a hoof of ranch cattle" was to be found between Bismarck and Bozeman, Montana, a more than 600 mile expanse. Although rail facilities were in place at Bismarck, large scale ranching did not develop in northwestern Dakota until after 1880-81 when Indian tribes were removed to reservations. The stage was set for an expansion that was as enormous as it was fleeting in the northern expanse of the Great Plains, Wyoming, Montana, and Dakota.³⁵

Resourceful cattlemen seized upon a variety of rail shipping points to bring in cattle from points south. In 1883, the large cattle outfits began using Dickinson over former favorites, Valentine, Nebraska and Pierre, South Dakota. In 1888, some North Dakota cattlemen used Orrin Junction, Wyoming as their shipping point, for the cattle only had a 400 mile walk to reach present North Dakota. In 1890 the 777 Ranch shipped 3,500 head to Lima, South Dakota, then drove them to North Dakota. In 1892 the operator of the Knife River Ranch obtained a mostly longhorn herd of 2,300 cattle in New Mexico, shipped them to Denver, then had them trailed to the ranch north of Dickinson.³⁶

Blooded Stock from the East and the West

The magnitude and lore of the Texas invasion of longhorns obscures the other avenues of ingress from the East and the West. Railroads carried out of the Dakotas livestock bound for slaughter in St. Paul and Chicago but also imported hundreds of thousands of head of cattle. According to

an account reprinted from a St Paul newspaper, the Northern Pacific Railroad shipped 100,000 yearlings and two-year-olds from points east into Montana and western Dakota in 1884 ³⁷

The scale of operations was grand and railroad-dependent. A hundred carloads with 2,000 head of eastern stock for the open ranges passed through Little Missouri in just two days in April of 1884. The following month, it was reported that incoming livestock shipments over the Northern Pacific for the past two weeks were greater than any time ever. Between 1882 and 1884, it has been estimated that as many cattle were shipped west as were sent to eastern stockyards ³⁸

Recollections compiled in the 1930s mention a number of ranches proudly stocked in the early 1880s with other than the fabled Texas longhorn. In 1881, the Maltese Cross Ranch was established at the mouth of the Little Cannonball River. Reportedly the first ranch in present North Dakota, it was stocked with cattle from Minnesota. In 1882, Farrell Reilly maintained a herd of 250-400 Herefords in present Stark County ³⁹. For the 1884 season, Howard Eaton was to receive a number of registered Holstein cattle which A C Huidekoper had purchased in Holland. The arrivals were considered the "most valuable lot of cattle ever brought into the country." Dave Clark imported 250 bulls from Iowa or Minnesota that same season. Also in 1884, H B Wadsworth & Company brought in 1,333 yearling and two-year-old heifers from Minnesota. The new arrivals apparently joined 1,500 head already in place ⁴⁰

In June of 1884, four Pennsylvania investors including Julius Le Moyne visited the cowtown of Little Missouri, intent upon establishing a ranch on Tepee (or Tipi) Bottom. Le Moyne was described as a "prominent Shorthorn breeder and president of the Washington County [Pennsylvania] Thoroughbred Stock Association." Despite his interest in Shorthorns, the Dakota ranch was to be stocked with 600 graded cattle, which included Polled Herefords. It was the general consensus that Polled cattle were hardier than Shorthorns ⁴¹

Not even the large, Texas-derived ranches were exclusively devoted to longhorns. The OX Ranch near Marmarth primarily raised Herefords driven from Colorado to Dakota Territory by way of Montana. The largest ranch of all in the region, the British-backed Swan Brothers planned to add 10,000 head of Oregon (presumably not Longhorn) cattle for the 1886 season ⁴²

Another early, large-scale Dakota Territory cattle raiser was Dorr Clark. In 1884 he became an "enthusiastic convert" to the thoroughbred bull question. With the arrival of 200 shorthorn bulls, he would have around 500 on two ranches. Clark also planned to drive up around 5,000 steers to fatten in the Badlands, so he represented both bonanza ranching and the use of blooded stock. The conversion may have been as pragmatic as anything. "There was an unwritten law that only purebred bulls could be turned loose on the range, and scrub bulls would soon disappear if they were turned loose" ⁴³

MONEY MATTERS

The lure of potentially lucrative speculative opportunities fueled the cattle boom in the West. In common with many speculative ventures, profits were there to be made, but primarily to those who got in early during the initial windfall period. And, like other booms, activities included "exaggeration, gullibility, inadequate communications, dishonesty, and incompetence." British investors, many from Scotland, as well as eastern American capitalists participated in the early boom period and reaped reward. But others became involved too late, were ignorant of proper ranching and accounting standards, and lost money.⁴⁴

British investors became aware of investment opportunities in the West through published reports and also from visits while on hunting expeditions. Positive reports from the Royal Commission on Agriculture published in 1878 were a prominent factor in eliciting the cattle boom. Britishers had ample additional capital and actively sought investment opportunities in the last quarter of the 19th century. What more exciting prospect than to own an immense cattle ranch in the American West? A prominent example in Texas was John Adair, an Irishman who entered into partnership in 1877 with his hunting guide, Charles Goodnight, to form the successful JA Ranch. Published accounts portrayed life on the cattle ranch as a pleasant undertaking where the "ordinary work consists of riding through plains, parks, and valleys."⁴⁵

Profits were said to be substantial. According to an 1878 account, Texas cattle ranching readily yielded more than a 25 per cent annual return. An 1880 report stated that a £10,000 investment would bring £8,800 in profits within a three year period. Another 1880 British account was more conservative: only a 20 per cent profit should be expected, and that from a "well-managed station."⁴⁶

These claims aside, in the end, there were few profits to be had and virtually none after 1884. A writer in 1887, John Baumann, stated that "for the first year or two big dividends are paid by the evergreen device of emptying one pocket in order to fill the other, which means in cattle enterprise by including in the original purchase a disproportionate number of steers to be re-sold for dividend purposes." While the claim was exaggerated, some experts state that, overall, English investors lost through temporary depreciation around \$10,000,000 and those from Scotland between \$7,000,000 and \$8,000,000. It is important to note, however, that many investors eventually regained all their investment capital when herds and land were eventually sold. However, the exchange rate may have been far less favorable when these later transactions occurred in the 20th century.⁴⁷

The seven leading British-Texan cattle companies showed profits in 1883 of between zero to £13,000 to a splendid £59,000. In sharp contrast, all but one (which showed no loss) had losses in 1887 of between £13,000 and £114,450. The per cent of dividends declared was similarly dismal. While a handful of the large companies which were studied continued dividends of between 1.667 per cent and three per cent between 1887 and 1893, most did not. The returns of between five and 17.625 per cent from 1882 to 1885 were but a fond memory.⁴⁸

These figures represented the larger operations in Texas, but there were smaller British ranches as well. One such venture had ranches in both Texas and present North Dakota. In 1883, Sir Dudley Coutts Marjoribanks, first Baron of Tweedmouth, became the principal owner of the Rocking Chair Ranche Company. Lord Tweedmouth bred Aberdeen Polled Angus in Scotland and was therefore not unnaturally attracted to investment opportunities in the West. In addition, the two ranches provided a pastime for his sons, Coutts and Archie. Archie Marjoribanks acted as assistant manager in Texas. The company paid him no salary, and his father provided him an annual allowance of £400.⁴⁹

The Texas operation was extensive, occupying nearly 200,000 acres and reportedly capitalized at a million dollars. The Horse Shoe Ranch in the Mouse River region of Dakota was much smaller and was purchased for £6000. Brother Coutts was its manager but had the help of an expert foreman. Like his brother, Coutts received a £400 yearly stipend. Around 1890, Coutts left North Dakota and moved to a farm his father bought for him in Canada.⁵⁰

American boosters of the West were no less bullish (and unrealistic) on investment returns than their British counterparts. In an 1883 booklet promoting settlement along the Northern Pacific Railroad, Henry Winsler stated, "Taking into account the loss of interest on capital invested before returns are received, besides all expenses and ordinary losses, the average profit of stock raising in Montana during the last few years has been at least thirty per cent per annum. Some well informed cattle men estimate it at 40 or 45 percent." An 1883 account stated that a \$20,000 investment in a ranch stocked with 600 heifers could yield an annual income of \$10,000, which in ten years would result in holdings worth some \$300,000.⁵¹

Dakota newspapers echoed this enthusiasm. In 1884, it was averred that "eastern capitalists are beginning to realize that there is no more profitable business than cattle raising and are investing largely." The following month, it was reported that incoming livestock shipments over the Northern Pacific for the past two weeks were greater than any time ever. During the peak period, the 1880s, hundreds of domestic cattle companies were established.⁵²

British and American individuals and companies sometimes invested together or sold one another ranches. Some, like John Adair mentioned above, joined with their "camp-fire companions" from hunting trips to establish ranches. Others, like Lord Tweedmouth, purchased ranch holdings from corporations. The rapidity of change underscored the speculative nature of these investments. The Rocking Chair Ranche Company was established some time before 1881. In that year, the Kansas City firm of Conkle and Lytle bought the herd and brand from the original owners. Two years later, Conkle and Lytle bought the land from the New York and Texas Land Company. Three months after the land purchase, they sold both land and herd to London promoters, Earl W. Spencer and John Drew. Lord Tweedmouth, in turn, obtained the herd from them the next month, and in July of 1883 the land.⁵³

The speculative and volatile nature of open range ranching may be illustrated by tracing changes in ownership of another ranch in northern Dakota Territory, which had four owners in 10 years. In 1881 Columbus, Ohio residents Col. W. B. McClung and his sons established a ranch at White

Earth (about 75 miles west of Minot) They sold it to the Mellon brothers of Pittsburgh who, in turn, conveyed it to Eustis & Johnson The Mellons were likely part of the wealthy Pittsburgh iron industry, and the purchase was probably an investment Eustis was the son of a senator from Louisiana who was, in 1897, minister to France Thus, it is possible that the Eustis & Johnson purchase was also a speculative investment In 1891, after the bloom was off the speculative rose, Major J S Murphy bought the ranch Murphy knew of the place because he was Indian Agent at Fort Berthold By 1897 Murphy had 600 horses, including six registered imported stallions and 20 registered mares, and about 500 head of cattle His range extended nearly 400 square miles, of which 36 square miles were fenced ⁵⁴

Major English or Scottish ranch operations did not have their headquarters in present North Dakota, but there were some large scale concerns involved in North Dakota open range ranching William Follis, employee of the Berry-Boice Cattle Company for at least 14 years (1884-1898), offered insight into the profitability of large scale open range ranching in North Dakota In 1883, Mr Boice invested \$8,000 in the 777 Ranch Fifteen years later, in 1898, he sold his interest in the company for \$80,000 ⁵⁵

In 1885 the Swan Brothers reportedly operated the largest ranch in the nation, with more than 600,000 acres in Wyoming and Dakota Territories According to a contemporary news account, this ranch, with its herd of 150,000, returned company dividends of 9 and 10 per cent This return represents only half of the annual herd increase, and only half of the annual herd increase was sold off ⁵⁶

Irrespective of who made or lost how much money, the value of livestock in Dakota increased dramatically in the 1880s In 1880, livestock was reportedly valued at \$ 6,463,274 In 1888 the figure was placed at \$43,000,000

THE CATTLE BOOM

A series of factors extended open range ranching into the Dakotas

- ▶ Growing urban markets for beef in America and Europe
- ▶ Overstocking led to depleted ranges to the south
- ▶ Railroad construction allowed beef to be shipped profitably
- ▶ Free land, grass and water in the Dakotas
- ▶ Diminished competition for resources and land by Native Americans and bison

Open range ranching in North Dakota initially developed in earnest around 1883 in the area west of the Missouri River. Large cattle companies occupied the range quickly, with herds of from 10,000 to 25,000 head of cattle. Within the next three years, numerous smaller outfits with 300 to 1,000 head of stock joined them ⁵⁷

The largest to operate entirely or in large part in present North Dakota were the following

- ▶ Pierre Wibaux, W Bar Ranch
- ▶ Reynolds Brothers, Long X Ranch
- ▶ Berry-Boice Cattle Company, 777 Ranch
- ▶ Tower & Gudgell, OX Ranch
- ▶ A C Huidekoper, HT Ranch
- ▶ Theodore Roosevelt, Maltese Cross and Elk Horn Ranches
- ▶ Thomas & Arnett, AHA Ranch
- ▶ Crosby Cattle Company, Diamond C Ranch
- ▶ J E Phelan, 75 Ranch
- ▶ Hughes & Simpson, Hashknife Ranch⁵⁸

Texans/southwesterners, Europeans, and easterners were represented in the elite ten. Reynolds Brothers, Berry-Boice, Tower & Gudgell, Hughes & Simpson, and Crosby were from Texas or New Mexico. Wibaux was French. Huidekoper and Roosevelt were wealthy easterners. J E Phelan was an anomaly, his background has also not been determined. Despite the size of his operation, he maintained no ranch headquarters himself. Instead, he paid others to care for his cattle on their ranches whereas all the other large scale ranchers had typical ranch headquarters and were responsible for managing their own cattle.

The development of ranching naturally required a suitable market demand for beef. With that in place, the ability to serve the market depended upon a reliable mode of transportation, the railroad. On September 14, 1883, the first shipment of cattle from present North Dakota left from the railhead of Dickinson. The race was on. For the 1884 spring season, at least four ranches--the Custer Trail Company, W N Thompson & Company, Wadsworth & Company, and Niemela Cattle Company--announced intentions to increase their herds by at least 1,000 head. Several new outfits were reported to be coming in with large herds as well ⁵⁹

The shipping season began in August and extended into autumn. During just one week in the fall of 1884, 261 carloads of livestock (5,220 head of cattle) were shipped out of Dickinson alone. At the onset of the fall 1884 shipping season, 350 cattle cars capable of transporting 7,000 head were ordered for just two weeks worth of shipments out of Dakota and Montana to the market.⁶⁰

Shipments by rail out of the northern cattle country for the fall of 1884 were staggering. According to the Northern Pacific agent at Dickinson, the following carloads were sent from shipping points in Montana and North Dakota: 11 cars at Gallatin, 48 at Springdale, 426 from Billings, 30 from Livingston, 98 from Huntley, 49 from Custer, 263 from Miles City, 11 from Fallon, 891 from Mingsville (present Wibaux), and 1,001 from Dickinson.⁶¹ Allowing 20 head of cattle for each car, the 2,828 carloads amounted to 56,560 head of cattle. Small wonder that in 1885 contemporary local estimates placed nearly 400,000 head of cattle in Dakota Territory and another 800,000 head in Montana. The Reynolds Brothers alone, one of the larger Texas outfits, reportedly moved 9,000 head of cattle onto the Dakota ranges the summer of 1886.⁶²

The livestock shipments continued apace during the 1886 shipping season. In the four months between August and November, the Northern Pacific moved 3,743 carloads of cattle (approximately 75,000 head), 127 carloads of horses (2,300), and 391 double-decker carloads of sheep (approximately 10,000). Local boosters seemed to delight in compiling different ways of counting the movement of cattle to eastern markets. In just 27 hours, between 5:00 p.m. September 24 and 10:00 a.m. September 25, 1886, 150 carloads of cattle passed through Bismarck. Observers estimated that 10,000 more head of cattle were shipped east in 1886 than in 1885, despite the general dryness of the season. Supremely confident, stockmen were "making preparations already for going into the business more largely the coming year."⁶³

By 1886 another region, the Mouse River country in north central Dakota near the Canadian border, was touted as cattle country. The Great Northern Railroad arrived that year, while the Soo line was completed in 1893. By 1886 there were reportedly "several thousand" head of cattle in Mouse River country. "The lowlands on either side of the river, for many miles, north and south of the railroad track, are extremely rich in grasses of the best quality, while the extensive groves along the river and the picturesque sandhills, which are thick with trees and underbrush, must furnish the very best of winter's shelter."⁶⁴

The magnitude and number of cattle operations served to obscure the raising and movement of other livestock in North Dakota. Some ranchers combined cattle and sheep ranching. Although the practice was not widespread, it may have contributed to the congenial relations between cattle and sheep ranchers. Indeed, a Little Missouri newspaper contended that "good hardy sheep of the long-wooled variety will do as well here as cattle." The only criticism was that some failed sheep ranchers had chosen the wrong breed. Howard Eaton, one of the earlier and more highly respected ranchers, drove 2,200 sheep and 300 cattle from Minnesota in the fall of 1883, passing through Dickinson on October 6. Donald Stevenson started out with both cattle and sheep in Burleigh County. By 1885 he had nearly a thousand head of cattle as well as a number of sheep and hogs. Stevenson was also among the apparently few early ranchers to put

up hay, including 600 tons in the drought year of 1886. Perhaps his early pre-railroad arrival as a supplier to forts placed him outside the umbrella of traditional open range ranching.⁶⁵

The rapid increase in the number of sheep in North Dakota paralleled that of cattle. According to state assessor returns, there were 43,644 sheep in the state in 1889. In just two years, the number had increased to 231,355 (although assessment numbers were reportedly highly inaccurate for the west part of the state).⁶⁶

JUST HOW MANY CATTLE WERE THERE?

Sources vary widely regarding the number of cattle in North Dakota during the early years, the 1880s. According to William Follis, an early ranch foreman who remained in North Dakota into the 1930s, all the really large outfits ran between 10,000 and 25,000 head of cattle during the 1880s. Other western North Dakota residents stated that the Wibaux ranch, an eastern Montana outfit that used North Dakota ranges, had as many as 35,000 head. The Berry-Boice Company's 777 Ranch, which was established in 1883, ran 30-35,000 head, and the OX had 20,000 head of cattle. The Reynolds Brothers' Long X Ranch reportedly ranged between 15,000 and 20,000 cattle and horses between the Big and Little Missouri Rivers. And the Diamond C had around 15,000 head of cattle.⁶⁷

"Official" numbers vary. The first annual report of the US Bureau of Animal Husbandry, dated 1884, gave the number as 344,720 cattle on the entire Dakota range. The Territorial Census of 1885 placed the number of cattle in the western third of present South Dakota at 233,000. Based on annual assessment returns, there were 250,000 head on the entire Dakota range in 1885. The US Department of Agriculture placed the number at 350,937 in 1885, but the cattle count was made before the onset of the season's new arrivals. It was difficult to locate and count all the livestock out on the open range, especially since it was not in the rancher's best economic interest to help with tax assessments on his holdings. One source, Hermann Hagedorn writing in 1921, told of the practice of moving herds to Montana when the Dakota assessment counts were made and reversing the procedure when Montana assessors arrived.⁶⁸

According to an account published in *Harper's Magazine* in 1888, farmers and stock growers in Dakota together owned 710,934 head of cattle, a figure which did not include milch cows. The piece noted that the livestock fed on native grasses. "They cover every acre of prairie, of couteau, of valley land, a generous gift."⁶⁹

North and South Dakota emerged as separate states in 1889 after having existed as Dakota Territory since 1861. Early records, including federal census reports, thus make little or no distinction between the north and south parts of Dakota Territory until 1890. An indication of the difficulty in grappling with an accurate cattle count: the 1885 census reportedly shows that the Berry-Boice Cattle Company owned 5,000 cows and 9,700 calves. Since cows typically had but one calf a season, the numbers are problematical.⁷⁰

RANCHES AND RANCHERS

Accurate information on the number, type, and location of ranches and ranchers was as elusive as reliable cattle counts. By employing a variety of sources--of varying quality--it is possible to piece together a more or less plausible picture of land use and the types of individuals who participated in open range ranching.

The focus of open range ranching has traditionally been considered the Badlands around the cowtown of Medora. Significant representations were thought to be found primarily in present McKenzie, Billings, and Slope counties. As far as it goes, this image is correct. And, if discussion is limited to large scale Texas style ranching, these counties do seem to be the areas of most intense concentration. However, cattle ranches in the late 1870s to late 1890s were not limited to the Badlands.

Sources listing specific examples of cattle ranches from the open range period mention approximately 138 operations in 19 present North Dakota counties (Figure 4, page 75). Four counties contained between 10 and 29 ranches. They are present Billings (29), Dunn (16), McHenry (13), and Oliver (10)⁷¹ (See Appendices for lists of the ranches.)

Areas of concentration were strongly related to the presence of a water source and railroad connections. Significant concentrations of ranches were located along the Little Missouri, Upper Missouri, and Mouse rivers. The Black Hills of present South Dakota was another locus. But it was not until the railroad arrived that these concentrations developed. Virtually no open range ranches are known in the eastern portion of the state, which displays markedly different climate, vegetation, and topography.

A map by Hermann Hagedorn around 1920 (Figure 5, page 79) shows that ranch headquarters, at least along the Little Missouri, were located by a stream or creek. Numerous ranches are strewn along the Little Missouri as well as Big Beaver Creek, which extended into Montana. The many creeks, bearing such distinctive names as Mire, Skull, and Magpie, drained into the Little Missouri and created the Badlands couteau landscape which provided shelter for livestock, a distinctive feature of open range ranching.

These ranch sites depicted on the Hagedorn map generally refer to the headquarters for ranch operations, not the open range they used. Present South Dakota and Montana both contained larger ranch operations that ran more cattle than did those headquartered in North Dakota. A number of these large scale outfits, including the E6, Hashknife, and VVV ranches, ran cattle in North Dakota while maintaining centers of operation elsewhere. These non-North Dakota ranches participated in North Dakota round-ups and, in some cases, shipped their cattle from Dickinson (Figure 3, page 74).

In contrast to these large operations, other open range ranches were smaller scale family ventures. For example, the 1885 Territorial Census lists William Taylor, his wife Susan, and children Mary, Fanny, and John, as ranchers in Wallace County (now part of McKenzie). Also

in the county was "stock raiser" Heinrick Kale, his wife Francesca, and offspring Peter, Edward, and Annie. The Taylors were all born in Maine, while all the Kales were German-born.

Wives and children sometimes accompanied the ranchers to ranches they established. The 1885 Territorial Census listed 36 ranchers, cattlemen, cowmen, stock raisers, or stockmen in nine northwestern Dakota counties. Of the 36, twenty brought along their families. In addition to cowboys, some also had other hired help. The Robert H. Gray Ranch in Renville County included wife Mary, daughter Jeannette, and three Gray brothers. There were also seven herders, the cook, and three "stock raisers" who were also Gray boarders, one of whom brought his wife. The Charles V. Basye Ranch in McIntosh County consisted of Charles' wife and father, a housekeeper (probably the sister of one of the cowboys), two cowboys (one age 14), and the "dairymaid."⁷²

Other North Dakota ranchers did not have families or retinues and simply happened upon ranching in the course of other activities. Many of these men whose employment brought them to the Dakotas tarried to establish ranches. For example, Frank Roberts was a stage driver, then a trapper around the Cannonball River and Rainy Butte. Later he worked on Eaton and Huidekoper's Custer Trail Ranch before trying his hand at ranching. After enduring hardships to care for 60 cattle and 40 horses during the dry summer of 1882, he sold out and returned to work for Huidekoper, still later returning to ranching on his own.⁷³

Many cowboys who came to North Dakota in the employ of others remained to establish their own small scale operations. *Slope Saga* is replete with mention of many who worked as ranch hands before establishing a ranch of their own. John Leakey was a Texan who worked in New Mexico, then joined a trail herd bound for Montana and North Dakota. He worked for major ranches in these two states, including the OX, W Bar, and 777. In 1910 he married and by 1915 had about 5,000 head of cattle on 40,000 acres of land. One of the founder's of the North Dakota Stockman's Association, he served as its president for ten years.⁷⁴

At age 14, W. B. Galligan left his native Buffalo, New York in 1869 to seek his fortune. In the late 1860s and 1870s he hired on as a cowboy, serving on cattle drives from Texas along the Chisholm Trail. Eventually he worked on drives that brought him to North Dakota. In the late 1880s he settled on the Cannonball River 12 miles west of present New England in Slope County. Galligan ran a herd of cattle and horses, shipping his last load of cattle in 1920.⁷⁵

Considered one of the ten largest ranchers in the region, J. E. Phelan worked for a number of years as the superintendent of the Yellowstone Division of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, and his extensive cattle holdings were a sideline. Unlike the other large scale outfits, Phelan had no ranch headquarters of his own. Rather, he made contractual agreements with other ranchers, placed his cattle with them, and had them tend to the livestock. Phelan may be considered something of an anomaly, although placing cattle with others was not unprecedented. Phelan also leased portions of the Fort Berthold Reservation in Dunn County and ran an estimated 4,000 head of cattle there over the life of the lease.⁷⁶

The lure of the exotic, coupled in various measures with the prospect of great profit, drew many a would-be rancher to the West. The attraction of the American frontier beckoned to individuals and families from the Midwest, the East, Canada, and Europe.

In 1879, the military established Cantonment Bad Lands on the Little Missouri River near present Medora to protect railroad construction workers. The cantonment buildings were later sold and served as headquarters for eastern sportsmen eager to hunt wild game. In the fall of 1880, the first hunting parties arrived. Several of the hunters came to hunt but returned to establish important cattle ranches.⁷⁷

Gregor Lang and his son Lincoln A. Lang left Dublin, Ireland in 1883 bound for Dakota Territory. They were sent to establish and operate a cattle ranch for Sir John Pender, a London capitalist. The rest of the Lang household arrived the following year at the Yule Ranch. A C. Huidekoper of Meadville, Pennsylvania came to the Howard and Alden Eaton hunting camp near Medora, then decided to stay. The most well known example of the sportsmen-turned-cowboy was Theodore Roosevelt.⁷⁸

Ranchers who came to Dakota from Europe formed an intriguing subset of those attracted by the allure of the open range. The two most notable examples, Pierre Wibaux and the Marquis de Mores, happened to be Frenchmen. Wibaux's W Bar Ranch was actually in Montana, but he ran cattle in Dakota Territory and maintained satellite operations there. Wibaux first settled in Chicago to learn about the meatpacking industry. There he met fellow countryman Marquis de Mores who related his plans to establish a slaughterhouse in the Badlands. Intrigued, Wibaux began cattle raising around 1883 or 1884 and was among those to suffer heavy losses in the hard winter of 1886-87. In contrast with others who sold out, Wibaux borrowed more money and bought up herd remnants. The gamble was apparently successful, and he was able to repay the loans and make a profit for himself. When he died in 1913, his estate was valued \$539,690.⁷⁹

The Marquis de Mores did not operate a ranch in the Badlands, although he did own cattle and sheep. His efforts to establish a network of slaughtering facilities centered in Medora to compete with eastern packing houses were visionary if unsuccessful. The slaughterhouse operated only a few years, closing in 1886, and was not financially successful. The Marquis was only in Medora from April of 1883 to the spring of 1887, but in that period he generated considerable energy and enthusiasm for Badlands beef. He had the germ of an idea but did not foresee the logistical and other problems of transporting dressed beef. In addition, he involved himself in too many schemes, from salmon brokering to organizing a stagecoach line.⁸⁰

The brothers Coutts and Archie Marjoribanks were remembered as "typical young remittance men, easily taken in, open-handed when installments of their allowances arrived, active in public affairs." Archie assisted at the family's ranch in Texas while Coutts ran the Horse Shoe Ranch in Dakota. They were sons of a baron, and their Mouse River ranching neighbor, E. H. Thursby, was the nephew of a baronet. Coutts Marjoribanks was elected president of the Mouse River Live Stock Protective Association. The Europeans were among the leading proponents of pure bred stock and may have been the first to introduce them to the area. Be that as it may, within a

year or two, the Horse Shoe Ranch was losing money, just like the Texas operation. As the brothers' mother wrote, "Coutts poor boy has had ill luck with his farming. Papa very angry." ⁸¹

Most accounts concentrate on the white males who engaged in open range ranching or ranching in general. It should be noted that women, Native Americans, and at least one black man participated in ranching in North Dakota. In the 1880s Mrs. Lloyd Roberts had a small ranch in the Badlands with her husband and four daughters. After he disappeared, she continued to operate the ranch, also selling sheep, chickens, and butter in Medora. The cowboys voluntarily looked after her stock, including branding, rounding up and shipping steers, and seeing that she received a check after they were sold in Chicago. Lydia S. Fuller and Company was among the cattle ranches advertised in the Medora *Bad Lands Cowboy* for November 13, 1884. Mrs. A. Closson reportedly had a sheep ranch with 700 sheep in 1882 and used the range at Alkali Creek. ⁸²

In 1886 Annie, Laura (known as Cash), and their brother Wallace Petrie took out homestead and tree claims near present Linton in Emmons County. The sisters supplemented their ranching with teaching and Wallace operated a small store. At one time the sisters reportedly operated more than 3,000 acres and had more than 200 head of cattle as well as a large horse herd. Annie Petrie imported the first purebred Shorthorn cattle into the county. In 1917 she had the distinction of having cattle which she had bred sell for a world record in the Chicago market. ⁸³

An example of a cowboy (cook) turned homesteader, John Tyler was a black man who came to the Badlands in 1881 at the age of 15. He worked for such well known ranchers as A. C. Huidekoper, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Marquis de Mores, generally as a cook. Around 1900 Tyler married and filed a homestead claim at Pretty Bottom on the Little Missouri. The property was his home until his death in 1928. ⁸⁴

Members of the Hidatsa nation not only ran cattle, they also worked as cowboys for other ranchers. Beginning in 1891, the federal government issued them livestock which were branded and released on the reservation. In winter, barns were provided. Hidatsa cowboys also worked summers for others, camping out and watching over livestock. ⁸⁵

Bloom off the Boom

While open range livestock ranching continued for some time in northwestern Dakota, some experts contend that the venture, at least as a large scale, profit making business, had peaked by 1885 and that the boom had for all intents and purposes passed. Certainly the price of cattle had, for the time being, peaked from its early 1880s highs and fallen.

Table 2. Price of Best Steers Per Hundredweight, Chicago Market. Source Briggs, "Open Range Ranching," p 530

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Price</i> |
|-------------|--------------|
| May 1882 | \$9 35 |
| April 1883 | \$4 25 |
| Autumn 1886 | \$1 00 |

DEMISE OF THE OPEN RANGE, 1886-c. 1910

Factors which led to demise

- ▶ Ignorance of harsh Great Plains environment
- ▶ Free range policy encouraged over-stocking
- ▶ Speculation fueled a cattle boom, then bottom fell out of market
- ▶ Arrival of permanent settlers, farmers, small scale ranchers
- ▶ Severe winter of 1886-87 decimated herds in the Great Plains

THE WINTER

The Texas system of cattle raising was based on the Carolina coastal tradition where the warm, wet conditions provided lush grasses and comfortable conditions. Texas ranching practices were erroneously thought to be able to cope with the periodic extreme cold and drought of the semiarid environment of the Great Plains. The prudent might have heeded the lesson of the severe winter of 1871-72 which struck their first expansion of open range ranching beyond Texas. In that winter, 40-50 percent (and in some cases more) of the longhorns died in the river valleys of Kansas and Nebraska.⁸⁶

The spectacular haste with which Texas ranching spread into the Great Plains also meant that the time to learn about the longer term conditions of a new environment was absent. Ranchers and their investors intent upon earning as much return on their investment as quickly as possible did not allow for a more prudent response.⁸⁷

Much has been written about the horrific winter of 1886-87 in North Dakota, where it is often portrayed as an avenging Mother Nature who struck savagely and without warning. However, certain events could have served as a warning. Prairie fires from the summer and fall of 1885 decimated the supply of grass on the range. Then the drought of 1886 meant that cattle were entering the winter without an adequate food supply. Severe winters and drought periods in other Great Plains states could have served to alert. Difficult winters occurred in Kansas and Nebraska in 1871-2, in eastern Colorado and Utah in 1879-80, in Colorado and Nebraska in 1880-81, and all across the Great Plains in 1884-85. Texan ranchers with extensive operations would have been in a position to know of these climatic problems.⁸⁸

Writing in the fall of 1886, Theodore Roosevelt was among the handful who felt "it is merely a question of time as to when a winter will come that will understock the ranges by the summary process of killing off about half of all the cattle throughout the North-west." Fear of overstocking, acute awareness of the dangerous climatic conditions, and a realization that cattle were bringing ever lower prices prompted Roosevelt to close out his Elkhorn Ranch just before the winter of 1886-87 and send his foremen back to Maine.⁸⁹

Cattlemen compounded an already difficult situation. Faced with extremely droughty conditions farther south, ranchers drove more herds into the Dakota ranges, themselves suffering the effects

of drought The Continental Cattle Company reportedly brought in an additional 32,000 head of steers The Worthsham Cattle Company, previously not involved in Dakota ranching, drove around 5,000 head to ranges in present North Dakota and turned them loose to forage on their own over the winter ⁹⁰

Historian Lewis Crawford summarized the situation

It seemed that in the winter of '86 and '87, there was a conjunction of all the factors that make for a big loss--overstocked range, thin young cattle, snow crust, extremely cold days and a long period of sub-normal temperature, no protection in the way of sheds, and above all no hay to tide the weaker cattle over ⁹¹

The winter was not only harsh it was four months long, beginning six weeks earlier than normal On November 4, 1886, the first snow storm hit, bringing low temperatures and blizzard winds Blizzard upon blizzard followed, with temperatures falling as low as 40 degrees below zero Livestock could not reach the grass as an icy crust developed on the snow For years after the winter, dead willows along creek beds stood as mute testimony, their bark stripped by starving cattle ⁹²

A contemporary account from Bismarck characterizes living conditions in February 1887

There is serious apprehension that there will be an appalling loss of human lives in Montana and western Dakota Snow began falling early in November and there is more on the ground than for [the last] ten years Most of the stage roads are entirely closed up and trains are running at irregular intervals, some being four or five days apart and the supply of fuel is becoming almost exhausted The cold has been intense Reports are coming in from the Dakota ranges of the large losses of cattle owing to the scarcity of feed and insufficient protection from the severe winter weather Losses already reach eight to 20 percent and it is not over doing the matter to say that in the event of the snow lying on the ground for four weeks longer the loss will reach from 50 to 75 percent ⁹³

Having enjoyed an extended period of good weather in past seasons, cattlemen could not comprehend the magnitude of their losses Thinking the cattle might have drifted into the Standing Rock Reservation, the Stockmen's Association sent 65-70 cowboys and four wagons to search The first day they found three steers belonging to the Hashknife Ranch But after two weeks of searching, they found no others, according to Bill Follis Another, even larger attempted round-up involved several large cattle companies and employed eight wagons and 400-500 men They found but a dozen live steers among the thousands of carcasses ⁹⁴

Accurate figures on the losses are difficult to obtain, but even if the claims were exaggerated, the loss was notable The OX Ranch was said to have lost 7,000 head The Hashknife Ranch may have lost 20,000 head in Texas, Colorado, and Dakota The Eaton Brothers, Pierre Wibaux, and

the Custer Trail Cattle Company each lost between 1,000 and 2,000 head of cattle. The experience was such that A C Huidekoper switched from cattle ranching to horse raising ⁹⁵

The winter of 1886-87 solved the obvious over-stocking of the Badlands in a dramatic and unfortunate manner. Some large cattle companies withdrew, ruined financially, but others persisted and re-stocked the area. Between 1888 and 1896, at least 10 cattle drives from Texas brought in new stock. It appears that the average herd was 3,000, translating to 30,000 longhorns added over eight years. Reynolds Brothers, the Converse Company, and the H A Ranch were among those sponsoring these drives ⁹⁶

After the winter of 1886-87 when herds were diminished, cautious ranchers realized the folly of relying completely on grass on the open range. Those who intended to remain for a time purchased hay lands and ranch sites at water sources. The cost of purchase, taxes, and added fencing increased the cost of doing business, which may have been another factor in the departure of the big outfits ⁹⁷

After 1886, herds became on the average much smaller and more manageable. The dozen ranchers located in present Dunn County around 1895 maintained from but 50 to only 500 head and averaged around 300 head of cattle and 150 horses. After 1900, the average herd in western North Dakota was from 300-600 head, with an occasional 1000-1200 head herd ⁹⁸

DEMISE OF THE FREE RANGE

Under the 1904 headline, "Passing of the Cowboy," a writer from Medora discussed the reasons for the passing of the old range

- ▶ Gradual arrival of "little stock men and settlers"
- ▶ Their occupation of the best water holes
- ▶ Decreasing area of good open grazing land
- ▶ Anticipated land surveys which would then place land on the market⁹⁹

The writer noted that as late as 1896 the big cattlemen, with their thousands of cattle, were "still here in force and effect," but that the last of the "big range men" left Billings County about 1900. Decrying the change, he concluded that "the romantic features have all disappeared." By 1904, the "big rancher" was one who ran from 500 to 1000 head--a far cry from the early days--and there were many "little ranchers" with but 50 head of cattle.

The end of 1897, the Bismarck Tribune concluded that the "big cattle outfits in the western part of the state will soon pull up stakes." The brief article is of interest for what it reveals of attitudes, expectations, and the events of 1897.

The bonanza cattle outfits that have held sway in the western part of the state for many years are destined to become things of the past, according to reports from the cattle ranges. In the past year hundreds of new settlers have taken land in the

western part of the state, and the records of the local land office show many new filings in the cattle country. These settlers settle about the springs and watering places, fence in the land, build their shanties, and go into the business of cattle raising on a small scale. The pre-emption of the watering places is the worst disadvantage to the large holders of cattle who allow their enormous herds to run on the range and shift for themselves, for they are thus driven from place to place until there is nowhere left for them to go. Then the cutting of hay on the range decreased the supply of winter feed and affords a bad prospect for the large herds of cattle which must find their own sustenance on the ranges during the winter. It is reported that some of the large cattle companies have placed but few animals on the range the past season and that next season will see still fewer importations by the big outfits ¹⁰⁰

The coming of the settler was remarked upon even in the early 1880s. A guidebook published in 1883 promoting the Northern Pacific Railroad discussed the colonies of farmers established at Glen Ullen and Gladstone. Dickinson "promises to become a great shipping point for cattle and grain" (emphasis added). The writer placed concentrations of cattle production in the Badlands in North Dakota and in Montana ¹⁰¹

The US Bureau of Animal Industry also commented on the arrival of settlers in its report for 1886. Noting that open range livestock raising was at its peak in 1884, by 1886 large scale efforts in some areas of the Great Plains were being "greatly curtailed by the inroads of farming settlers." The number of arrivals was not necessarily high compared to the amount of available land, but settlers were highly dispersed, "located here and there upon the streams, in the valleys, and wherever choice irrigable lands can be obtained." This pattern greatly limited the open range available for large scale ranching. Some ranchers responded by becoming settlers themselves while also curtailing their holdings ¹⁰²

Large scale ranch operators despaired of the coming of homesteaders. In many cases, once they realized the era of free grass, land and water was ending, they sold out and moved on. In present Slope County, the years of 1907-08 and 1909 saw notably increasing numbers of homesteaders. Feeling the handwriting was on the wall, for example, Wallis Huidekoper moved his operations to Montana ¹⁰³. Others remained, buying alternate sections of previously free land. They would then fence all the land, including the alternate sections they did not own.

As the large Texas companies disappeared from North Dakota, their casual ways of managing cattle also receded. Smaller scale herds increasingly occupied the range. Perhaps because each head of livestock represented a larger investment to them, smaller scale ranchers and farmers took better care of them. They put up hay, provided winter shelter (sheds), and installed wells and windmills to insure a constant water supply ¹⁰⁴. Midwestern ranching practices supplanted the Texan model.

Ranching also ceased to be an attractive investment for capitalists. The industry was no longer subsidized by free and unfettered use of the open range and its resources, especially water ¹⁰⁵

By 1896-97, the huge cattle companies appear to have been all but gone. According to a newspaper account, the extensive Minot land district contained 22 "noteworthy" cattle, sheep or horse operations north of the Missouri River, few of them familiar names, "and many having small herds." South of the Missouri River but still in the Minot land district in 1896-97 were the Reynolds Brothers, W S Richard, Chase & Frye, Hans Christianson, Dan Manning (15,000 sheep), and others ¹⁰⁶

County organization, federal land surveys, and other examples of governmental infrastructure also appeared in western North Dakota. With county organization came the election of civil and law enforcement officers and the establishment of courts of justice and school districts. Many ranchers actively opposed the organization of counties, feeling that it would be expensive for them and would hinder their continued use of the open range. Those with families were more likely to favor organization, especially for the opportunity to educate their children ¹⁰⁷

Federal regulation in the guise of the modest dipping tank on the formerly open range symbolized the transition. In the early 20th century, a federal program was established to ensure healthy cattle. Federal officials supervised all dipping, recorded data on all the animals, and issued receipts intended to prove livestock health upon sale in the fall. "Thus the man who holds a federal receipt for the dipping of cattle will have unrestricted shipping privileges--something that every owner must have to avoid trouble with Uncle Sam." In the summer of 1904, more than 64,000 cattle were dipped in a large dipping tank constructed in Section 20 of Slope County alone ¹⁰⁸. What a change from the unfettered, self-regulated period of the open range.

The effect of the reduction of the open range changed over time. During the 1880s, there was little change or restriction even though homestead claims were filed in open range ranching areas. The filers were ranchers who wanted the range to remain open. In the 1890s, the number of homesteader farmers and small scale ranchers increased greatly. While the overall percentage of open range still available was relatively high, fencing--particularly of water sources--cut up the range and impeded free and efficient use of it. There was not considerably less range land available, but it was more restricted after the 1880s ¹⁰⁹

The completion of land surveys contributed to the demise of open range practices. Around 1895, a dozen ranchers still used the free open range in Dunn County. After the land was surveyed around 1899, the ranchers (and arriving farmers) filed on quarter sections containing a spring or creek ¹¹⁰. While settlers could have settled on unsurveyed land and later obtained title to it, the absence of land surveys typically curbed notable settlement in a region. Once the area was surveyed, advertising, speculative ventures, and published accounts served to propel homesteaders into areas recently surveyed. The presence of land surveys facilitated land sales, for the land was more readily described legally and located on maps.

Some large outfits from the open range period held on as long as possible. In 1904, it was reported that N N Jeffries and A H Arnett were bringing 6,000 head of cattle from Texas. They were to be transported in three batches because the feeding points along the way could not

accommodate more than 2,000 cattle As late as 1905 to 1910, the J E Phelen Cattle Company leased 218,000 acres of land on the Berthold Indian Reservation and grazed perhaps 4,000 head of cattle and 800 horses ¹¹¹

These large scale activities aside, the demise of the open range was apparent in the early years of the 20th century Between 1901 and 1905, the H A and Long X ranches and other large operations closed The Eaton Brothers, leading stockmen since the early 1880s, sold their Custer Trail Ranch early in 1904 The operation combined cattle raising with a dude ranch In 1902 the Hackney-Boynton Land Company purchased "a great cattle ranch" in McKenzie County They planned to continue to raise cattle, including dairy cattle for farmers in the James and Missouri river areas to purchase They hoped that creameries would be opened, a concept as markedly in contrast with open range ranch as one can imagine ¹¹²

After 1900, Emmons County residents felt that "stock growing with its unlimited ranges has become a thing of the past " Boosters in 1903 exhorted the settler to come to Emmons County where "the blood is darker, richer, warmer, the cheek of maiden rosier, her eye brighter and her step more elastic than in the malarial cursed countries further south " ¹¹³

By 1919, the transition in the scope of cattle ranching was complete On their land north of Medora, Baker Brothers were ranching "on quite a large scale " To the author, "large scale" meant "running about 350 cattle and a few head of horses " ¹¹⁴

Whether or not open range ranching was by definition a temporary phenomenon on the landscape is debatable Certainly, as it was practiced on the Great Plains with no shelter, supplemental feed or water--and limited land ownership--its life span was limited Settlement pressures forced the cattle off of formerly free land Open range ranching was practiced as a speculative boom designed to use natural resources rapidly and with scant consideration of the effect The advancing line of settlement "engulfed the cattlemen who had been but the spray thrown far in advance of the crest of these tides " ¹¹⁵

OPEN RANGE RANCH OPERATIONS

According to one student of the West, Louis Pelzer, who was Professor of History at the University of Iowa and served as president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in the 1930s, "the varied and changing aspects of the frontiers did not mature [*sic*] many current, classic accounts " "There is no Herodotus or Thucydides for the cattlemen's frontier or for the outposts of settlement and religion "¹¹⁶ Still, contemporary portraits and subsequent accounts of cowboys and cattle kings, of life on the trail and range, do offer some insight into life on the range The following discusses the types of activities that occurred with open range ranching

TRAILING

In the early years, most cattle trailed up from Texas were two-year-old steers After some experimentation, ranchers learned that bringing in yearlings was better They could be kept for two winters on the range and shipped to market the next fall where they brought a higher price ¹¹⁷

"Trail herds" typically numbering from 2,000 to 3,000 head of "trailers" were driven (or "trailed") up from Texas The trail boss was in charge of eight cowpunchers (or cowboys), the horse wrangler, and the cook The day's drive usually extended for 10 to 15 miles, but sometimes was longer, lasting until they reached a water source for the cattle The horse wrangler cared for about 65 head of horses (the cowboys traded in weary horses for fresh mounts) Cooking from his chuck wagon, cook served up beans, corn meal, molasses, and coffee The cowboys spent hours and hours in the saddle At night, they worked in shifts, watching over the cattle ¹¹⁸

It was felt that, in order to be accustomed to a new range, cattle should arrive in the Badlands no later than August 1 That way, they would be well rested and "located on a new range," before winter ¹¹⁹

RANGE LIMITS

Each ranch claimed certain more-or-less defined limits on the open range In fact, brand registrations often mentioned the range limits For example, in 1884 both Berry Boice & Company's 777 Ranch range and Towers & Gudgell OX Ranch range were located south of the Northern Pacific Railroad on the Little Missouri River and Beaver Creek And in 1890 the Reynolds Brothers range consisted of McKenzie, Billings and Dunn counties ¹²⁰

In the early years, the area was truly an open range Writing of the time prior to 1887, Theodore Roosevelt described it as "one gigantic, unbroken pasture, where cowboys and branding-irons take the place of fences " Save some mining, "the whole region is one vast stretch of grazing country "¹²¹

With expanding herds, it sometimes became necessary to select new ranges. Where possible, a tract which included a good spring with suitable winter shelter was preferred. However, two separate tracts were often necessary, one for summer and another for winter.¹²²

Line-riders patrolled the perimeter of a cattle company's range limit. The range, of course was not fenced during the open range era.¹²³

STOCKMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS

Stockmen's associations were another Texas importation applied to the Plains. In the absence of organized government, some system was necessary to control and direct cattle raising operations. As the range became increasingly stocked, a means for separating stock ready for market, branding calves with owner's brand, and moving livestock became necessary.

On December 19, 1884, the Little Missouri Stockmen's Association was organized, and Theodore Roosevelt was elected its head. In a conscious effort to limit the power of the large companies, representation in the association was by firm, and each firm had but one vote.¹²⁴

In addition to the Little Missouri organization, two others were active in present North Dakota. Because cattle did not respect political boundaries, the Montana Stock Growers Association held round-ups in Dakota Territory. The Mouse River Live Stock Protective Association was formed prior to the winter of 1887-88, for in that year the vice president, Couitts Marjoribanks was elected president for the coming year. Among the pressing issues resolved was the decision to give members and distinguished visitors "an oyster supper at the expense of the association."¹²⁵

Membership in associations reflected the scope of ranching on the Plains. In just two years, 1883-85, the Montana Stock Growers Association grew from three members to more than 150. In 1873, the Wyoming counterpart fielded 10 members having 20,000 head of cattle, in 1885 there were 435 members with 2,000,000 head.¹²⁶

SPRING ROUND-UP

Some cattle inevitably strayed from the defined range limit during the winter, necessitating the spring round-up. The need to assemble, identify, and brand stock prompted the development of the cattlemen's associations to direct operations. Calves were branded with the same brand their mother carried. This needed to be done in the spring when the calves still remained by their mothers' sides. The associations determined when, where, and how the round-up would occur.¹²⁷

In May of 1884, the Little Missouri Stockmen's Association held its first round-up, plans for which were described in the *Bad Lands Cow Boy* on May 15.

The cattlemen are all supposed to know that the round-up for this section of the Badlands begins May 25, at the Beaver Creek crossing of the N P R R. Every stock owner will send enough cowboys to look after his interests, who will all be

under the orders of and subject to dismissal by the foreman, John Goodall Each cattle owner will provide a mess wagon or make arrangements to mess with someone else At least six good horses will be needed by every man There will be day and night herding in which each man must take part Branding will be done every day Every man who wishes his cattle taken care of must be represented on the round-up The time taken by the round-up will be from six weeks to two months, and the extent of the territory is about 100 by 50 miles In this district there are about 40,000 cattle ¹²⁸

"Cutting out" or separating the cattle by brand was a tedious process Under the direction of the foreman (a prestigious and important position), the cowboys cut out those with a certain brand Their calves were then branded in the branding corral As a particular owner's cows accumulated into a herd, the herd was cut out and left in charge of the owners The cowboys moved in a zig-zag pattern across the range, spreading out for many miles in their quest for cattle ¹²⁹

Each cattle owner who participated in the 1885 round-up--and that was the only way to have one's cattle taken care of--was told to provide the following

- ▶ A mess or chuck wagon (or make arrangements to share)
- ▶ A bedding wagon
- ▶ Minimum of six (preferably eight) good horses for every man
- ▶ Sufficient number of cowboys to adequately look after his interests¹³⁰

The hours were long, and the expertise necessary to cut out cattle was substantial Theodore Roosevelt recalled the daunting schedule spent in the saddle during the 1886 spring round-up

Yesterday I was in the saddle at 2 A M , and except for two very hearty meals, after each of which I took a fresh horse, did not stop working until 8 15 P M , and was up at half-past three this morning ¹³¹

A fresh supply of horses were kept at the chuck wagon, so that after eating the cowboys could obtain new mounts The saddle horses were kept in a rope corral affixed to the chuck wagon The ropes formed a V-shape, with cowboys waiting at the open space at the large end of the V to rope and obtain their mounts ¹³²

FALL ROUND-UP

The fall round-up was conducted to select out the fatted cattle to be shipped to market It was also called the beef round-up ¹³³

After the cattle were driven to a cowtown (railhead where cattle were brought for shipment and where cowboys and ranchers congregated) and shipped out, the cowboys celebrated "Every herd driven into the shipping-yards from one of the great ranches in the upper Little Missouri

country brought with it a dozen or more parched cowboys hungering and thirsting for excitement ¹³⁴

Many ranchers, especially the smaller outfits, sold their cattle at local markets which were located at the various shipping points along the railroad. Some ranchers, especially the larger ones, shipped their stock themselves to St. Paul and Chicago and sold them there. Still other ranchers sold their livestock at the ranch to cattle buyers. The cattle buyers then drove them to shipping points ¹³⁵

RANCH HEADQUARTERS

Most open range ranches maintained a ranch headquarters and also one or more auxiliary camps, especially a summer camp. The headquarters generally contained, at a minimum, a ranchhouse, pole corral, and outbuildings. There was often a blacksmith shop and horse barn. The headquarters were invariably located by a water source. Daily activities included barn chores associated with tending to the horses, rounding up or organizing the horses for the day's work on the range, and riding the range to see to the herd of cattle ¹³⁶

AUXILIARY CAMPS

Also located by a creek or river, the summer camp apparently was located in or near upland prairies where the cattle were brought for summer grazing. According to William Follis, who was range foreman for the 777 Ranch from the 1880s to 1898, "We always used the uplands for prairies for summer grazing and saved the Badlands along the Little Missouri, with their natural shelters, for winter range." Shelter for the cowboys in outlying camps might be a tent or a dug-out ¹³⁷

PROPERTY TYPES

SITE SELECTION FACTORS

The presence of a good river or creek was a critical factor in site selection. Geographer Harold Brown noted that, had there been water holes in the Great Plains, rather than rivers and creeks, cattle would have congregated quite differently. The definition and configuration of a particular outfit's range would have been different. A detailed map by Hermann Hagedorn around 1920 (Figure 5, page 79) illustrates this concept and the effect it had on ranch locations. The map depicts a tight grouping of ranches running along the Little Missouri as well as Big Beaver Creek, which extended into Montana. Numerous creeks, bearing such distinctive names as Mire, Skull, and Magpie, drain into the Little Missouri and created the distinctive couteau landscape of open range ranching in and around the Badlands.¹³⁸

The greater the number of water sources, the greater the number of potential ranch headquarters. Testifying before the Public Land Commission in 1879, a cattleman described the importance of water:

Wherever there is water there is a ranch. On my own ranch [320 acres] I have two miles of running water, that accounts for my ranch being where it is. The next water from me in one direction is twenty-three miles, now no man can have a ranch between these two places. I have control of the grass, the same as though I owned it. Six miles east of me, there is another ranch, for there is water at that place. Water accounts for nine-tenths of the population in the West on ranches.¹³⁹

Sheep Ranches

Three areas of the state saw concentrations of sheep raising over time. The holdings of the Marquis de Mores in Billings County were considerable from 1883 to 1886. Of more lasting imprint was sheep ranching in the vicinity of Dickinson, especially in present Hettinger County in the late 1880s and into the 1890s. Charlie Colgrove, the Dobson Brothers, Edson C. Dayton, and Charles H. Merry all had flocks of many thousands of sheep in the late 1880s. The canyons of the Heart, Cannonball, and Cedar rivers provided winter shelter, and the uplands between them afforded summer grazing. In the 1890s Brown Brothers, Redmond, and Fallin and Underhill ranged from 12,000 to 20,000 sheep in the Dickinson vicinity.¹⁴⁰

When the large cattle companies abandoned the Badlands in the late 1890s, the region around Sentinel Butte west of Medora became sheep country, the third identified concentration. Large scale sheep ranching was of brief duration--about 1895 to 1905--for it was sandwiched between cattle ranching and the onset of homesteaders. Still, there were considerable numbers of sheep for this period. Site 32GV16 (the Had to Hobbit site) is considered to be an early sheep ranch headquarters containing several deteriorating structures. In 1902 the shearing plant at Sentinel Butte sheared 65,000 sheep, and many more were sheared by hand out in the countryside. A L

Martin, J B Stoddard, Frank Stone, and Joe Burd had particularly large spreads Sheep raising was also scattered about the eight counties of northwest North Dakota ¹⁴¹

PROPERTY TYPES

CONTEXT OPEN RANGE RANCHING

Livestock Management Networks

Ground transportation

Trails and bridges

Way stations

Railroad systems

Loading facilities

Freight depot

Slaughterhouse

Cowtowns

Cowboy entertainment facilities

Saloon, brothel, gambling house, pool room

Hotel and boarding house

Round-up grounds

Round-up camp

Service wagons (chuck, bunk, farrier, blacksmith, water)

Auxiliary camp (summer, winter, line, hay camps)

Dugout shelter

Abandoned ranch house shelter

Open Range Ranch Headquarters

Ranch

Homesteader shack

Ranch house or headquarters

Privy

Spring house

Ice house

Fenced garden plot

Bunkhouse

Mess hall

Windmill and well

Livestock-related facilities

Barn

Livestock shed

Outbuilding

Blacksmith shop

Corral

Hayrick

Limited fencing
Granary (for pre-railroad specialty ranchers and transitional examples)

Description

Open range ranching was, above all, an economic pursuit based on transitory use of free and open grasslands. Physical resources were constructed largely of locally available materials--sod, logs, (rarely) stone--and were, in general, intended to provide only the most rudimentary comforts and utility. The occupants did not own the land they used and had little apparent interest in making substantial improvements to government-owned land. While railroad service would have allowed the shipment of dimensioned lumber, ranchers chose not to use it.

Many cattlemen came to North Dakota from three source areas: Texas, Europe, and the East or Midwest. Their heritage, in varying degrees, may have affected how they chose to live and how they operated their ranches.

The very nature of open range ranching all but dictated that crude, temporary facilities would be the norm. Open range ranching was involved limited care of livestock. Cattle, horses, or sheep used the free and open government land to eat native grasses, drink from streams and rivers, and find shelter in valleys among the trees and brush. In the days before land surveys, government sale of land, and occupation by more permanent settlers, ranchers were able to openly and freely exploit the natural resources of the plains. It appears that even those who apparently intended to remain (at least for a time) initially selected crude facilities constructed of locally available materials.

Spreading north from Texas in the decades after the Civil War, open range ranching practices were represented in western North Dakota from the early 1880s to about 1896, with the peak period from around 1884 to 1887.

Such a brief period, coupled with the expectation by some that land use and ranching practices would be more or less impermanent, translated to inexpensive rather than elaborate, physical manifestations. Those who did not regard their occupation as temporary were likely forced, by lack of financial resources, to construct modest buildings, with the expectation of replacing them later. It is possible that the very brevity of occupation of specific ranches might result in significant historic archeological sites capable of yielding important, otherwise unobtainable information. For example, while the highlights of daily life--round-ups, branding operations--have frequently been described, the details--including diet, leisure time pursuits, consumption practices, presence of women--are not. Accounts frequently state that a house and corrals were present. They do not commonly mention ancillary or small buildings, yet we know (from tantalizingly few references) that they were. Hagedorn mentions a "chicken-shed" when describing the Maltese Cross Ranch, but few other references to the presence of poultry at a very early ranch have come to light.

The property types for the open range ranching context can be placed into two broad categories. Livestock Management Networks are those properties which developed in association with moving livestock into, within or out of the free range. The second category, Open Range Ranch Headquarters, were constructed to accommodate personnel and livestock at ranch headquarters. Because they are instructive in revealing qualities and characteristics of open range ranching, some suggested fee simple ranching properties which contrast with open range examples are offered below. However, it was beyond the scope of this project to fully investigate this property type.

Livestock Management Networks

Trails from distant points were the original means of arrival for cattle to the open range of western North Dakota. Writing in 1886, Theodore Roosevelt described the typical established trail used by cattle as two wagon ruts with many deep paths on either side worn by cattle moving in single file. Texas cattle were moved north on a variety of trails, with the Chisolm, Western, and Goodnight-Loving trails predominating. An offshoot of the Western and Goodnight-Loving trails, which converged and diverged several times, served North and South Dakota (Figure 6, page 80). Known variously as the Dodge/Fort Griffin/Jones and Plummer Trail, this route commenced at Brownsville, Texas and entered present North Dakota near the Little Missouri River.

Way stations for the trails used by freight haulers and stage coach lines were established along routes. Established in 1876, the Fort A. Lincoln/Fort Keogh Trail linking Bismarck and Miles City, Montana had two stations in present North Dakota (Figure 5, page 79). One was Lake Station, which was about 1 1/2 miles east of Rocky Butte and another was located at Sand Creek in present Slope County. The stations were apparently of extremely modest construction. Even in 1883, "the ruins of the stage station" for the "old Fort Keogh trail" were mentioned. During this period, the Eaton brothers initially lived in an abandoned way station on the Lincoln/Keogh trail, a two-room shack of cottonwood logs and a dirt roof.¹⁴²

Scant mention was made of fording points and bridges in discussions of North Dakota open range ranches. However, it seems likely that certain fording points were identified and used repeatedly. The HT Ranch in Slope County once had two bridges connected the log ranch house with the rest of the ranch headquarters complex.¹⁴³

The construction of **railroad systems** allowed open range ranching to develop fully on the plains. Construction of the Northern Pacific, the Soo Line, and the Great Northern rail lines literally opened the areas they crossed for ranching activities. Subtypes of the railroad systems property type include **freight depots, loading facilities, and slaughterhouses**. (The de Mores packing plant site (32BI63) is probably the only example of a slaughterhouse operation related to open range ranching in North Dakota.) The presence of adequate holding pens or cattle yards was a factor in selecting a shipping point. Medora suffered from insufficient facilities "on the small bottoms near the railroad to hold herds of any size preparatory to shipping." Consequently, the big cattle companies used Mingusville (now Wibaux) in Montana.¹⁴⁴

Cowtowns were generally also railroad shipping points, and they developed because of the presence of open range ranching. Certain specialized facilities served the cowboys who brought in herds for shipment or collected livestock arriving by rail. Theodore Roosevelt described them as "flaunting saloons and gaudy hells of all kinds." Cowtowns in the region were Dickinson, Medora, Little Missouri, also Miles City and Mingusville (Wibaux), both located in Montana. Sully Springs, later only a siding was once a "flourishing frontier town with several saloons and long ricks of buffalo hides along the station platform." An 1896 map lists the following rail stops between Dickinson and the Montana line: Eland, South Heart, Belfield, Fryburg, Sully Springs, Scoria, Medora, Little Missouri, Andrews, Sentinel Butte, Chama, and Beach.¹⁴⁵

Saloons, gambling houses, brothels, and other **cowboy entertainment facilities** opened in the cowtowns to serve the male-dominated open range large-scale ranching culture. Cowboys and ranchers stayed in hotels and boarding houses when they went to town. There was no mention of rodeos or rodeo grounds in the literature researched for this project. Perhaps the cowboys endured enough real range activities and preferred only to carouse in town.

Around 1883, the town of Little Missouri "consisted of a group of primitive buildings scattered about the shack which did duty as a railroad station." Among them were the two story, 14 bed Pyramid Park Hotel, a one-story "palace of sin," a store, boarding house, a handful of shacks, and a livery stable. Located just across the border in Montana, Mingusville in 1884 contained a railroad station, section house, and a 1 1/2 story hotel/saloon with shed behind for horses.¹⁴⁶

In order to bring the cattle to market, autumn round-ups were held. Spring round-ups were held to brand calves. Since the object was to find cattle which had strayed over the ranges, the process was by definition mobile. The **round-up grounds** consisted of the free range. Cattlemen's associations divided the territory into districts, generally based on river drainages. In 1886 the Montana Stockgrowers' Association determined that the valley of the Little Missouri River was to be District 6 for their spring round-up. Work began at the mouth of Big Beaver Creek, followed that creek to its head and crossed the Lincoln/Keogh trail. Round-up activities were then to continue down the Little Beaver to its mouth and proceed over to the Northern Hashknife Camp on the Little Missouri, and go down to Medora. [Hagedorn, pp 399-400]. The **chuck or other service wagons** and the **round-up camp** were the principal physical property types mentioned in the literature. Water courses dictated movement and camp selection.

In his diary, Theodore Roosevelt recorded in some detail progress for the 1886 spring round-up:

| | |
|---------|--|
| June 18 | Rode to Medora on Sorrel Joe |
| June 19 | Out on round-up with Maltese Cross wagon |
| June 20 | Worked down to South Heart |
| June 21 | Worked up Rocky Ridge |
| June 22 | Worked to Davis Creek |
| June 23 | [Worked down to Andrews Creek] |
| June 24 | To Gardiner Creek |
| June 25 | To Bullion's Creek |

| | |
|---------|----------------------|
| June 26 | Down Bullion's Creek |
| June 27 | To Chimney Butte |
| June 28 | Rode in to Medora |

To accommodate cowboys seeing to herds, ranchers established **auxiliary camps** away from the main ranch. Winter and summer camps provided housing for cowboys tending stock located out on the range. A well-watered tract was important for summer grazing, while a winter range affording good shelter was important for the winter. Hay camps were established when hay was being cut for use at the ranch. Although sources emphasize that no special feed was provided to most cattle, other livestock as well as cattle brought to the ranch required hay. Roosevelt mentioned hayricks at his ranches.

In some cases, ranchers purchased an existing vacant ranch headquarters to use as an auxiliary camp. They also constructed crude dug-outs of logs with sod roofs (Figure 7, page 81)

Open Range Ranch Headquarters

At the minimum level, the early ranch was "simplicity itself," consisting of little more than a log cabin or sod shanty, a corral, a chuckwagon piled with cowboys' bedrolls, and a branding iron.¹⁴⁷

The main ranch provided a home base or headquarters for open range ranching operations. The ranch was invariably located along a water source to accommodate livestock (and people) at the ranch. Buildings, especially housing, were often set into a hillside. The A C Huidekoper Logging Camp Ranch was reached by descending a "steep, long hill cut through solid pink scoria." From the ranch site could be enjoyed "to the fullest a winding creek, the Little Missouri River, pine trees, and alternately level and rugged lands." The house on the Mr and Mrs Joe Mattocks Ranch was located between the forks of Hay Creek and Sand Creek and "snuggled into the bank facing north." Theodore Roosevelt described the typical ranch as sometimes "situated right out in the treeless, nearly level open [area], but much more often placed in the partly wooded bottom of a creek or river, sheltered by the usual background of somber brown hills."¹⁴⁸

Gregor Lang's early cabin was situated "in a cluster of hoary cottonwoods," 50 yards from the junction of the Little Cannonball Creek and the Little Missouri River. Built to accommodate his family in 1884, Gregor Lane's Yule Ranch "stood on an open flat, facing north, with a long butte behind it." To the front, beyond a broad curve of cottonwoods that signaled the river's presence, were low hills which stretched into the horizon.¹⁴⁹

Especially for the large-scale ranching operations, even the main ranch was intended to be rather temporary. Theodore Roosevelt described the "final camp," the ranch headquarters for outfits who had driven cattle north on a months' long journey to the Badlands.

At last, after days of excitement and danger and after months of weary, monotonous toil, the chosen ground is reached and the final camp pitched. The footsore animals are turned loose to shift for themselves, outlying camps of two

or three men each being established to hem them in. Meanwhile the primitive ranch-house, out-buildings, and corrals are built, the unhewn cottonwood logs being chinked with moss and mud, while the roofs are of branches covered with dirt. Bunks, chairs, and tables are all home-made, and as rough as the houses they are in.¹⁵⁰

According to Roosevelt, the ranch headquarters, a cluster of log buildings, also typically contained

- ▶ Separate cabin for the foreman or ranchmen
- ▶ Mess hall for cooking and eating
- ▶ Bunk house
- ▶ Stables
- ▶ Sheds
- ▶ Blacksmith shop
- ▶ Corrals, stacks of hay, patches of fenced garden, a fenced horse pasture

Writing in 1921, Hermann Hagedorn described the house Roosevelt had built at the Elkhorn Ranch as a spacious one story log building with a covered porch facing the river to the north. A hallway ran north-south and divided the house. Roosevelt's bedroom in the southeast corner opened onto a large study/living room which had a fireplace. The large fireplace was built by an itinerant Swedish mason. Corrals and stables were constructed a hundred yards or so west of the house.¹⁵¹ (Figure 8, page 82)

The main ranch house on the Bellows Ranch had a large room which was used as a bunk room (Figure 9, page 83). It supplemented the bunk house located farther down the hill which was used for the regular hands. Also on the site were a "blacksmith shop, horse barns, chicken coops, cow barns, sheds, two wells, one windmill, and about five or six corrals." Landscape elements included a "big garden yard, a saddle horse pasture, a flower garden, and all fenced in with elk horns and buffalo heads." The fencing would have been a sight to behold, since the buffalo were all gone from the area by the early 1880s, it is unclear whether bison skulls would have been available. Perhaps skulls were not included in the bones which were sent East. The ranch was described as it was in the 1890s, probably representing a transition to fee simple ranching.¹⁵²

Sod was used to construct entire houses, barns, and line camp shacks. For example, when Wallis Huidekoper purchased Frank Towel's place around 1900, it contained a small (12' x 16') sod house and sod horse barn. A prairie fire in 1906 destroyed the horse barn, sheds, and corrals on William B. Galligan's WC Ranch, leaving only the sod house standing.¹⁵³ It appears that log construction with a sod roof was the preferred building type during the open range period, and that entirely sod buildings were not the norm.

Most buildings at the typical ranch headquarters were constructed of logs. Large ridge logs supported the roof, which was usually flat or very shallowly pitched and covered with sod.

(Figures 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, pages 82, 84-87) A rock chimney, if present, might be plastered with a mud and straw mixture. Sawn lumber was reserved for doors, window frames, and floors. Photographs or sketches of the HT Ranch, Circle M Ranch, Parkin's Ranch, and Elkhorn Ranch depict houses of logs laid horizontally with sod roofs ¹⁵⁴

Some buildings were constructed of logs laid vertically, or palisade style. Wallis Huidekoper's T Cross Ranch included a stockaded building shown on a 1936 photograph. The Clarence Caudel Ranch also had a "stockade house." Ben Lamb built a vertical log barn in the 1880s on the Peaceful Valley Ranch ¹⁵⁵

Jack O'Bannon built a ranch house of hand-hewn cedar logs set stockade style. According to a 1935 newspaper article, O'Bannon was connected "with the Panhandle country in the old-time cow industry." Also from Texas, the Stroud Brothers had a house with vertical wood elements on their Birdhead Ranch in McKenzie County. These Texans' choice of vertical logs may be associated with Mexican-inspired Texas building preferences. Two types of Spanish-Mexican construction involved vertical wood pieces. The *jacal* building employed wood poles or branches which were fastened to heavier sill and plates and all was covered with adobe plaster. Another method (also sometimes called *jacal*) was similar to French *poteaux-en-terre* construction. Light upright posts are fitted into a groove in a horizontal log, which functions as the building's plate ¹⁵⁶

Sylvan Ferris and A W Merrifield built their "dingy, one-room cabin of cottonwood logs, set on end" and having a dirt floor for their Maltese Cross Ranch in the early 1880s. The team set the logs "on end, stockade-fashion, packed the chinks, threw on a mud roof, and called it 'home'." Ferris and Merrifield were Canadian and may have learned vertical log construction techniques from French Canadians. When Theodore Roosevelt assumed ownership of the Maltese Cross cattle and horses, the "old stockade shack" was converted into a stable, and a replacement dwelling was constructed of horizontal logs (32BI8) ¹⁵⁷ (Figure 8, page 82)

Vertical log construction is known elsewhere on the Great Plains. Two examples of vertical log construction were built in the central Niobrara River valley in Nebraska. In both cases, no associations with French-Canadian or Texan building traditions were identified ¹⁵⁸

There were also known examples constructed of stone, including the 16' square stone house on Wallis Huidekoper's Rock Ranch. The ranch house on the Bellows Ranch was reportedly built "of stone and mud, the walls two feet thick" ¹⁵⁹ (See Figure 9, page 83)

Two notable exceptions to the temporary, least expensive model for ranch headquarters involved Frenchmen, Pierre Wibaux and Antoine de Vallombrosa, the Marquis de Mores. Although Wibaux's ranch headquarters were located just across the line in Montana, he ran cattle in western North Dakota and maintained a supplementary ranch on Cherry Creek, a tributary of the Missouri River in North Dakota. Plans for his home at the W-Bar Ranch on Beaver Creek in Montana reveal an 80' x 36' dwelling with four bedrooms, a kitchen (with wash room and

pantry), a small "wine room," a large sitting room, two closets, a dining room, and a billiard room ¹⁶⁰ (Figure 14, page 88)

The Marquis' Chateau de Mores (32BI60) in the town he founded, Medora, was built in 1883 (and still stands, a state historic property) Using materials brought in by rail, he built a large 16-room two-story house A contemporary account likened it to a "summer boarding house by its size," and a rustic hunting lodge by its furnishings ¹⁶¹ Also extant and related to the Marquis' elaborate approach to cattle management on the plains are a brick house used by his wealthy father-in-law and a Catholic church Both buildings were constructed of locally produced brick, another atypical decision ¹⁶²

Another prominent European who ranched in present North Dakota, Coutts Marjoribanks (pronounced March-banks), the son of a wealthy Scottish nobleman, dwelt in far more modest accommodations more typical of the period A water color executed by Marjoribanks sister, Ishbel Marjoribanks, when she visited the Horse-Shoe Ranch in 1887 depicts a rather long gable-side log house (Figure 12, page 86) The centered entrance has a small gabled enclosed entry porch and two windows on either side of the doorway A gabled rear extension resulted in a T-shaped house ¹⁶³

Another residential housing type, the **homesteader shack**, may have been represented in western North Dakota during the open range era In order to maintain control of a creek or other water source, ranchers or their employees sometimes reportedly staked a homestead claim on the site, although there is no documentary evidence The shack would have been constructed to "meet the homestead requirements and no more " The shack was therefore built of the cheapest available materials Some depicted examples had very shallowly pitched gabled roofs, one entrance, and were small in size Some appear to have been covered with tar paper and were of wood frame construction It is not clear whether ranchers built homesteader shacks of these materials Designed to be impermanent, extant examples would be exceedingly rare As noted in Bulletin 214 in 1928, "a few of these abandoned shacks remain, monuments to the homestead days "

Outbuildings related to the ranch headquarters are rarely mentioned in contemporary accounts We do know of a few examples A **spring house** and a log **ice house** (with a chute down to Deep Creek) still stood in 1930 at the old HT Ranch An early photograph of the HT Ranch shows a one-unit shed-roofed **privy** by the ranch house ¹⁶⁴ (Figure 11, page 85)

The **bunk house** at a ranch headquarters provided sleeping accommodations for the cowboys, who took their meals in the **mess hall**, if one was provided Like other buildings at the ranch, they were typically one-story, of log construction, gabled, and of utilitarian design An example is the Caudle Ranch which had a "stockade house with a large shed, bunk house, and corrals " ¹⁶⁵

Perhaps the most visually notable element altering the landscape were the **corrals** constructed at the ranch Images of the Little Missouri Horse Company, the Birdhead Ranch, and the Bellows Ranch include corrals which dominate the views (Figure 9, page 83) Corrals were necessary

for managing livestock. Horse corrals were circular while those for cattle were more square or rectangular. Established in 1887 as a horse ranch, Wallis Huidekoper's T Cross Ranch had corrals consisting of cedar posts and cottonwood rails, and this mix may have been the norm. The cedar posts would have held up well, while more cottonwood rails and posts were necessary, necessitating a ready, easily obtainable supply.¹⁶⁶

Livestock-related facilities at the ranch typically included a **horse barn**, various outbuildings including a **blacksmith shop**, and corrals. As the ranch headquarters evolved, a well and windmill and additional livestock sheds might be added. Even the crudest of operations might have ancillary structures. Ferris and Merrifield's Maltese Cross Ranch had a one-room log house and also a "**chicken-shed** abutting the cabin on the west."¹⁶⁷

One source stated that on the central and northern plains, some ranchers drilled deep wells or constructed **reservoirs** to catch the rainfall in a concerted effort to increase grazing areas.¹⁶⁸ No specific mention of such facilities in North Dakota has come to light. An historic photograph (Figure 10, page 84) shows a pump by the ranch house.

Fee Simple Ranch Facilities 1897-1920

In addition to the resources associated with open range ranching, the fee simple ranch property types might be represented by the following additional properties:

- Wood frame or other more permanent ranch house
- Hay storage
- Fencing
- Community hall
- School
- Church
- Dipping tanks
- Large livestock sheds
- Shearing plant
- Sale barn

EVALUATION CRITERIA

CRITERIA

The property types and subtypes discussed above are associated with the historical development of open ranch ranching in North Dakota. Significant properties will meet one or more of the following criteria in conjunction with satisfying integrity standards. While each property must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis, relatively unaltered examples of open range ranch property types are expected to be rare, if only due to the brevity of the period when ranches were established. This project did not involve field survey, it is expected that survey efforts would result in revisions to the evaluation criteria of the property type.

A reconnaissance level survey¹⁶⁹ of Lake Sakakawea in Williams and McKenzie counties and a 1983 architectural overview of western North Dakota identified only six properties directly associated with open range ranching (See Appendix for list of other described but unsurveyed properties)

- ▶ Maltese Cross Cabin, Billings County, Theodore Roosevelt (32BI8)
- ▶ Peaceful Valley Ranch, Billings County, Ben Lamb (32BI167) (NRHP)
- ▶ Tipi Bottoms Ranch, Billings County, LeMoyné Cattle Company (said to be in ruins)
- ▶ Chateau de Mores, Medora, Billings County (32BI60) (State Historic Property)
- ▶ H-T Ranch, Slope County, A C Huidekoper (32 SL66) (NRHP)
- ▶ Birdhead Ranch, McKenzie County, Stroud Brothers (32MZ381) (NRHP)

Criterion A

- ▶ Served as a documented significant open range ranch headquarters during the period of significance

A significant property is one where something is known (or believed to be known based on oral history) of the occupants, they were in residence for more than one season (demonstrating a level of success), and the ranch headquarters retain sufficient integrity for their original uses to be identifiable. Because ranch operations outside the ranch house were of considerable importance in understanding the site, ordinarily, if the only surviving remnant were a ranch house, it would not be significant under this subcategory of Criterion A.

- ▶ Strongly representative of livestock management, economic infrastructure, or other agricultural production activities
- ▶ Represents a unique or demonstrably representative facet of open range ranching, one that can be demonstrated to have had a significant impact on the patterns of life and agricultural development in the region

- Represents an important series of aspects associated with open range ranching, such as livestock management networks, ranch headquarters operations, and aspects of the cultural landscape

Criterion B

- Directly associated with the pivotal career years of a demonstrably important open range ranching participant(s)

As noted in Bulletin 32, Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Properties Associated with Significant Persons, an example would be a "farmer whose business acumen or practical innovations in agronomy established or revived an area's agricultural economy " According to Bulletin 30, an important ranching participant would be one who "by their success, talent, or ingenuity, [a participant] contributed to the historical development or economic prosperity of [his] community "

Criterion C

- A unique or representative example of open range ranch design, including lay-out, materials, form, and design

To be significant, a property must embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction Relationships to the three primary avenues of design sources--Texas, midwestern/eastern, and non-American--would be explored under this Criterion Methods of construction, including vertical and horizontal log and sod, fall under this category and merit attention, as do patterns of land use The siting of ranches may illustrate an important pattern of land use which is significant for its representation of traditional practices unique to open range ranching

Several variables, which are also applicable to historic archeological sites, come to mind Consideration of them should enhance our understanding of land use and specific properties As mentioned above, one group of variables involves the background of the rancher The primary backgrounds are (1) Texas or the Southwest, (2) the Midwest and the East, and (3) non-American, including French, Scottish, German, Dutch, and Canadian

Another layer of variables is the presence or absence of other family members, especially wives and children Women seem to have been present, either as wives, employees, or ranchers themselves, more often than is commonly thought When Theodore Roosevelt closed out his Elkhorn Ranch in the fall of 1886, the wives of the ranch foremen, Sewell and Dow, had each just given birth Yet they receive scant mention in accounts of the Roosevelt ranches The 1885 Territorial Census offers a number of ranch households with wife and family present

Much has been made of the speculative nature of the larger ranches There may be discernable and important differences between a large scale speculative venture with absentee owners, a

smaller scale but still speculative operation, and a ranch where the owner is in residence and actively engaged in ranching

Criterion D

- ▶ A well documented open range ranch site which retains the ability to yield important, otherwise unobtainable information ¹⁷⁰

Many of the variables discussed above in Criterion C are applicable to Criterion D properties as well

Documentary evidence, when available, is useful for forming proper research questions. Examples of such evidence include diaries and letters, manuscript census data, and oral histories. Letters "back home" might portray a way of life that was far more bright and positive than what the archeological record reveals. With documentary evidence available for comparisons, it may be possible to learn more about what life was really like on the open range for that household (Household is interpreted to include ranches with non-relative cowboys and other boarders)

The archeological record is particularly important because of the apparent paucity of detailed accounts of a variety of aspects of daily life on the open range. To be sure, many former cowboys in later years penned memoirs. But they often concentrated on tall tales, "characters," and events out of the ordinary for the cowboy. Many such accounts describe the round-up in some detail. They are far less likely to describe how they passed their time on the ranch, what exactly they ate, and--above all--what life was like on the numerous small-scale often owner-operated open range ranches. There are certainly references to diet (limited), cowtowns (wild), and ranches (crude), but the kind of detail from daily journals from a number of open range ranchers or their wives is apparently lacking. (The mountain of writing on the many facets of open range ranching in the Great Plains precluded detailed study of diaries or other difficult to find primary sources) Theodore Roosevelt evidently maintained rather detailed journals, which would be applicable to the Midwest/East model.

Two broad research areas and questions apply to historic archeological sites related to open range ranching

- ▶ **Physical Manifestation of Life on the Open Range**

Beyond the ranch house and corrals which are often mentioned, what other outbuildings and land uses were present at the ranch headquarters? What aspects of material culture were located outside the headquarters? How and why were economic activities organized on the land as they were? What strategies were adopted to cope with the environment and related exploitation of resources?

- ▶ **Economic Aspects of Open Range Occupation**

What do the documentary record and the material remains reveal about the relationships between consumer behavior and gender, also ethnicity and social class? For example, in *Land of the Burnt Thigh*, Edith Eudora Kohl recounts the clear differences between the living conditions of men as opposed to men and women on the frontier. Glenda Riley, an historian who researches pioneer women's written accounts, has also remarked on the differences between housekeeping and consumer behavior regarding men and women.

Were there discernable variations in how Texas, non-American, and Midwest/East ranchers engaged in consumer behavior?

INTEGRITY

To determine the significance of identified examples, the physical features, associative characteristics, and degree of alteration must all be weighed. Significant examples will convey some (or all) of the qualities discussed in the Criteria section above.

Both a place of residence and a place of business, the ranch and its numerous buildings, if continuously occupied, will naturally evolve over the years. Examples in the literature discuss, variously, re-using logs from earlier buildings, transforming a log ranch house into the blacksmith shop or shed, and making numerous additions to dwellings. When these changes occurred outside the period of significance, they are detrimental. However, when a property is being considered as an example of both open range and fee simple ranching, such alterations may well represent the normal evolution of the property.

An archeological site retains its integrity when sufficient material culture remains for the researcher to answer questions about human behavior.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE, 1870S-1910S

Open range ranching in Dakota Territory may be said to date from the early 1870s when cattle raisers received government contracts to supply forts and Indian agencies. The discovery of gold in 1874 further contributed to the onset of cattle ranching as mining towns provided markets for beef in the Black Hills. Open range ranching began in earnest in present North Dakota, around 1881. According to many accounts, the cattle boom peaked in 1884, then suffered a severe blow after the heavy winter of 1886-87. Nonetheless, open range ranching continued in some areas and on a smaller scale until the beginning of the 20th century. According to some accounts, homesteading peaked around 1907 (at least in McKenzie County), then outmigration began. Homesteading had the effect of signaling and contributing to the end of open range ranching by around 1907. Its demise was not uniform across the landscape; the timing of land surveys and the related arrival of increasing numbers of homesteaders were important factors which varied with the county in question.

LANDSCAPE ISSUES

Setting refers to the overall physical environment a property inhabits, while *location* refers to the specific locus of the property itself. The land a ranch headquarters occupies is its location, and the surrounding valleys and other landscape features are the property's setting. For a property to be significant, its setting must retain the majority of its historic visual qualities.

Despite its value, the setting for an historic property associated with open range ranching need not be included in the boundaries of a nominated property, even though open range activities occurred there. According to Bulletin 30, the historic property is the "unit of land *actively* managed, occupied, settled or manipulated during the historic period for purposes related to significance" (emphasis added). Seasonal use of portions of the open range need not be considered active management of the land.

Seasonal land use--spring and fall round-ups, driving herds--scattered over an immense range diffuses the impact and National Register significance of these activities. These activities and related properties may be what Bulletin 30 characterizes as "small-scale elements" on the landscape. If it were possible to document a series of these elements and especially in conjunction with ranch headquarters, a large district is possible. Isolated examples of, say, an auxiliary camp, trail remnant, or round-up grounds, are unlikely to be individually eligible for the National Register.

Bulletin 30 also states that it is reasonable to evaluate properties at various geographic levels. Taken to its extreme in the case of open range ranching, relevant properties could include railroad systems, cowtowns, slaughterhouses in Chicago, and the entire open range. At another geographic level, again in theory, it would be possible to define the range limits of a particular ranch and include the range limits in the property's boundaries. In reality, the open range would likely function as the setting but not be part of a National Register nomination.

DATA GAPS

INFORMATION SOURCES

Specific Ranches and Their Locations

A valiant effort was made to map the locations, by county, of ranches mentioned in a variety of sources. One of the joys of western history is apparently to list the names of participants. However, the location, size, type, and duration of their operations is often lacking. Operations which were located in South Dakota and Montana are often lumped together with North Dakota examples, an understandable but nonetheless frustrating situation. Before statehood in 1889, Dakota was naturally considered as one. Large scale operations had no interest in or need to adhere to territorial boundaries, and many ranch headquarters were located in one state or territory while their cattle occupied ranges in another.

A herd of Great Plains historians, as well as ranchers writing reminiscences, revisited the same territory. Some accounts were actually little more than lists of ranches and ranchers. Because ranches often had a ranch name, company name, and ranch operator's or owner's name associated with them, it became confusing to unravel. For example, Hughes & Simpson were primary owners of the Continental Livestock Company, which operated the Hashknife Ranch.

As a method for organizing the considerable data, a simple data base was employed. Variables included name, ranch name, location, type of livestock, number of head of livestock, year of arrival, circumstances behind ranch establishment, and birthplace. The two last-named were seldom available, and arrival data and number of head of livestock were also not all that common. Many ranches were described as "early" arrivals. Locational information was often rudimentary.

Plat maps were of no use because the area in question had not been surveyed. Maps from the 19th century were valuable to see changes in county boundaries and county names. By combining a variety of maps, especially those showing creek names, it was possible to determine general locations of some 138 ranches.

Statistical Data

Efforts to locate meaningful figures on the number of livestock on the North Dakota open range was also challenging. Again, the lack of differentiation during the territorial period was a factor as was the fact that much of the open range ranching region contained unorganized counties which were often ignored in statistical compilations. Livestock numbers which included the unspecified "unorganized" counties were given only for 1885 and 1890. The fact that many operations ran their cattle in more than one state or territory further complicated efforts to arrive at a meaningful number.

History of Grazing Files

During the 1930s, a WPA project involved assembling data on the history of grazing in North Dakota (Other states apparently were involved in their own history of grazing projects as well) The result, which was never published, has provided a resource that is valuable, difficult to deal with, and needful of caution The Clippings File consists of typed transcriptions of newspaper articles from all over the state from the 1880s to the 1930s In some cases, the newspaper is not completely identified, although the community it was published in is In other instances, only a general date is given, such as 1896-97 The Clippings File afforded this project access to otherwise unobtainable contemporary data, for it would not have been feasible to peruse as many newspapers as the WPA researchers did

The Final Manuscript, a typed series of chapters, was clearly prepared by more than one author Each author mines (and sometimes repeats) the same data, which included previous scholarly accounts and a set of oral interviews apparently conducted in conjunction with the History of Grazing project The oral interviews contain the types of sometimes vague, inaccurate, and conflicting statements common to the genre, but they also provided very valuable insights

SHPO Studies

Properties associated with just three ranches in North Dakota are listed in the National Register Copies of these nominations were obtained and applied to the project The Wyoming SHPO has completed a multiple property documentation form on the historic resources of the Bozeman Trail in Wyoming as well as several nominations of trail remnant Despite the Context, Early Stock Raising Settlement in the Powder River Basin, 1876-1890, the document was not useful

The context document prepared by the South Dakota SHPO covered homesteading and agricultural development in that state Significant portions of the study were applicable to the development of evaluative criteria for this project, especially regarding historic archeological sites The scope of the South Dakota study--all agriculture in the state--may have hindered its ultimate success By concentrating on a single, rather narrow context, open range ranching, it may be possible to expand upon the lessons learned and to apply them to other agricultural context studies When too broad a context is attacked, the result may be too diluted for realistic application to specific examples

The lack of a reasonable number of previously surveyed properties made it difficult to set tightly defined evaluations for National Register eligibility Inconsistencies in the various published accounts could not be compared with information about the physical examples The paucity of detailed survey information on the topic of ranching in North Dakota and representative properties was a limiting factor in setting well defined criteria for significance

Published Accounts

Works by Lewis Crawford and Harold E. Briggs were very useful. Ironically, Crawford testily denounced Briggs' work, which was drawn from the Crawford's notes he had compiled.

He has misspelled names and otherwise encumbered the article ["Ranching and Stock Raising"] with obvious errors. It is simply a case of a man's writing an article on a subject without having a sufficient background to enable him to interpret the facts that others give."

Hagedorn, Huidekoper, Johnson, and Roosevelt offered valuable accounts or reminiscences. Because of its emphasis on historical geography, Terry Jordan's detailed study of the cattle ranching frontier was very helpful. Many accounts which encompass the entire Great Plains tend to give North Dakota short shrift or to lump activities with South Dakota. Thus, while the aggregate number of words on Great Plains ranching is immense and the need to seek to apply them specifically to the North Dakota story correspondingly large scale, the presence of specific facts about North Dakota (not just Dakota) were disappointingly low. Nonetheless, it was necessary to consult these references to obtain a Great Plains-wide context.

Property Types

The property types were developed through consideration of what is involved in open range ranching and through assembling as many written and illustrated sources as possible. These written and illustrated sources included reminiscences, contemporary accounts, and a limited number of recent county histories. Through repetition, we determined that, for example, log construction was a fundamental feature.

A conscious effort was made to distinguish between resources associated with open range ranching and those unique to fee simple ranching. While the two types of ranching may ultimately be grouped together in a larger study of North Dakota agriculture, it seemed important to make the distinction for this study. The line between these types of ranches may ultimately be blurred, especially when a ranch was established after around 1887 or evolved over time. For example, the Stroud ranch was described as it was in the 1890s when it had a windmill and well. Yet accounts of 1880s open range ranches suggest these elements were not typical of the original components of a ranch headquarters.

Landscape Issues

Bulletin 30, Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes, was immensely helpful in characterizing landscape issues. Discussion of the four processes and seven components of the cultural landscape helped define the property types, point out the importance of archeological sites in understanding the landscape, and state the role of "small-scale elements," and the distinction between setting and location outlined in the bulletin was applied to the open range property type.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

▶ Extant Examples

Kurt Schweigert¹⁷¹ states that six buildings (ranch headquarters) are known from the open range ranch period. Are there more extant examples of ranch headquarters? Are there extant examples of the many other types of properties associated with the context, such as ford sites, brothels, and hay camps?

▶ Texan, Midwest/East, Non-American Influences

These three areas fostered the ranchers who came to western North Dakota during the open range period. Are there physical manifestations--ranching practices, ranch headquarters layout, consumer choices, design decisions--that reflect these influences?

▶ Historic Archeology

It appears that many open range ranches were relatively briefly occupied, as cattlemen capitalized on the boom period of the 1880s. Historic archeological sites may therefore be "sealed deposits" relatively unaltered over time. These sites, if located, could yield important information about daily life, consumer choices, and variations among ranch operations. For example, a Texas style absentee owner operation could be contrasted with an owner-occupant from the Midwest. Is it possible to locate, through research, potential sites, find them on the ground, and survey them?

A potential problem in working with this property type is that they do not usually leave or contain notable diagnostic signatures, that is, historic archeological features and artifact assemblages which clearly identify them as open range ranch sites. More intensive exploration and study of the resource type may clarify the diagnostic signature for this property type.

▶ Contemporary Sources

It was beyond the scope of this project to locate each and every source associated with the context. Our mission was to establish contextual and property type parameters. However, it is important to obtain documentary evidence--diaries, letters, census data--on specific properties in order to assess their significance (National Register eligibility). What are the type, quantity, and quality of these site-specific sources? Will they provide additional insight into the day-to-day operations of small-, medium-, and large-scale ranches?

▶ Number of Open Range Ranches

Our research identified 138 small-large scale ranches believed to be in operation some time during the period 1870s-1897 and for which a general location could be found. These ranch

locations revealed a pattern of ranch locations and also identified far more than was expected
Are there still others to be found from other sources?

► **Comparison Between Open Range and Fee Simple Ranching**

The line between these two types of ranching becomes more blurred as one moves from the peak period of open range ranching, i e , after 1887 Is it useful to draw a distinction? What are the differences and how do they relate to the physical resources, land use patterns, and social structure? Are there areas where open range ranching occurred that fee simple ranching did not?

PRESERVATION STRATEGIES

SHPOs have been grappling with the agricultural context for some time, with mixed results. By commencing with a limited property type, open range ranching, the subject is at least somewhat less overwhelming. By starting "small"--although the considerable data on open range ranching in the Great Plains is by no means small--it is possible to test and refine the context and, later, apply the experience to other aspects of agriculture. If site-specific research and limited survey are undertaken on this aspect of North Dakota agriculture, we may obtain a better picture of the daunting task of identifying and evaluating significant examples of other agricultural properties, including historic archeological sites, non-ranch headquarters properties, and transitional or mixed open range/fee simple ranching resources. Below, in suggested order of proceeding, are preservation strategies for identifying, surveying, and evaluating open range ranching resources.

Limited efforts which identified some open range ranch properties appear to have been undertaken. The work that has been done apparently concentrated on properties encountered in the course of broader surveys. The emphasis was on standing structures associated with ranch headquarters, especially ranch houses. Any additional survey work should begin with site-specific research to identify additional examples and refine our knowledge regarding the potential existence of extant examples as well as historic archeological sites.

▶ Undertake Site-Specific Research

Activities may or may not be conducted simultaneously. The information should be used to refine survey areas.

Compile data on longstanding ranch operations from Crawford's and others accounts, county histories, and the North Dakota Stockmen's Association.

Investigate computer database at North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies (NDIRS) for the 1885 Territorial Census. It is a combined alphabetical index (nearly 60,000 names) and "a number of smaller counties are also included, particularly for western and north central ND," according to a NDIRS description.

Investigate the 1937-40 farm and ranch survey by the Resettlement Division of the Farm Security Administration (Series 509, North Dakota State Archives). All known ranch sites within the Roosevelt RDA were reportedly razed. Is this the case elsewhere? If so, these areas can effectively be eliminated as offering extant examples. The records may also contain useful information regarding razed properties.

Determine the type, number, and relevance of contemporary accounts, including diaries and letters from open range participants. Repositories outside North Dakota may hold important offerings, especially since many participants moved on or returned to home bases in the East.

GLO records of original land surveys are sometimes detailed. Homestead proofs are quite detailed, as the homesteader must describe in some detail the types of improvements made to the property. These may yield valuable information to our effort. One source (Skaggs, p. 78) states that "in North Dakota more public land passed into private hands through preemption than through final-proof homestead procedures," so the homestead proofs may be of very limited application.

- ▶ **Integrate Site-Specific Findings Into a Data Base**

A roster of open range ranch data (location, cattle company name, owners, ranch, etc.) could be developed for (and from) Section 106 and other survey application. For all rural projects in targeted (western) areas of the state, the roster would be checked and applied to the project.

- ▶ **Conduct Survey of Identified Extant Resources**
- ▶ **Conduct Field Investigations of Historic Archeological Resources, Including Excavation Where Possible**
- ▶ **Apply Open Range Research & Survey to Development of Other Agricultural Contexts**

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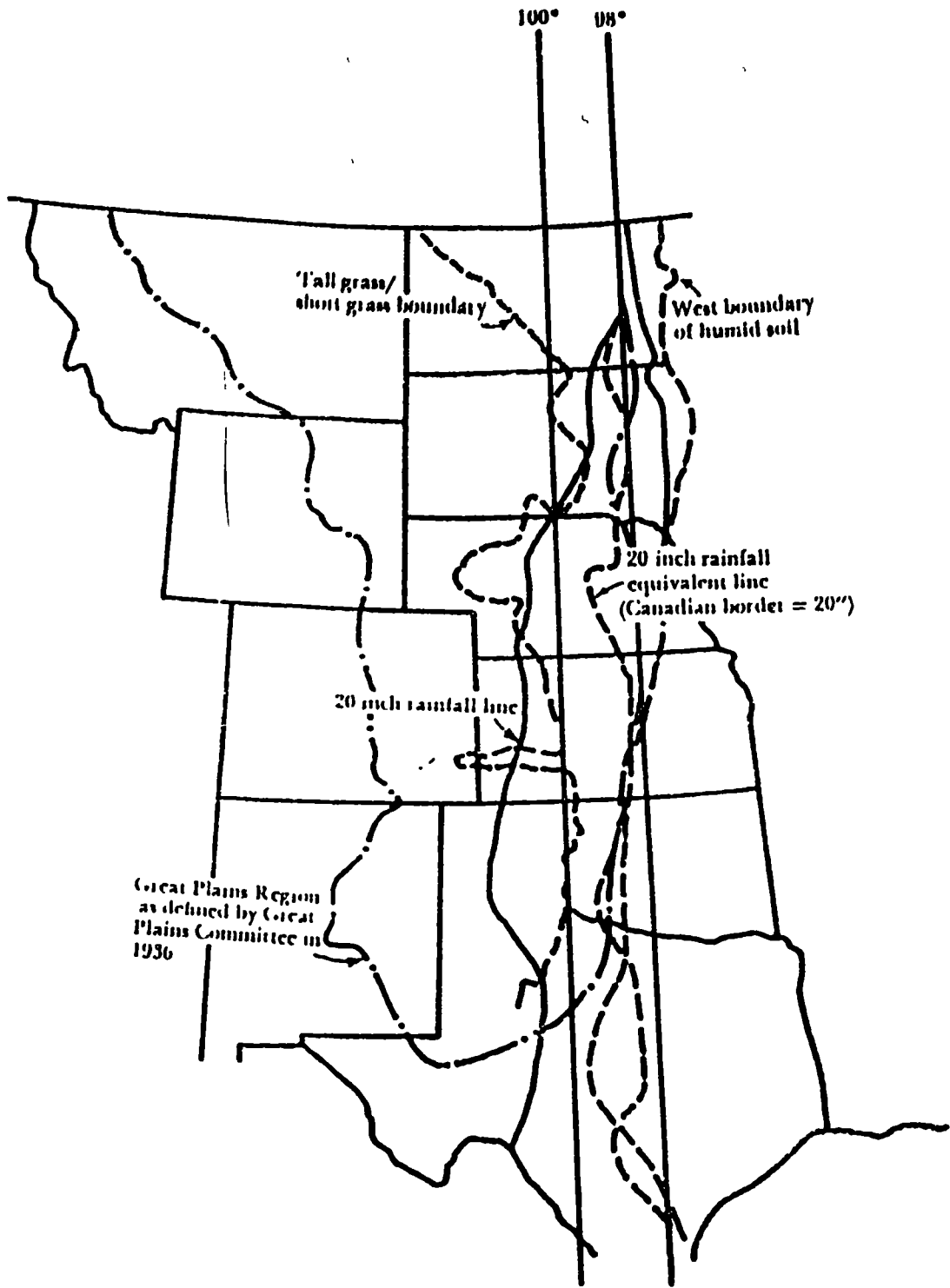
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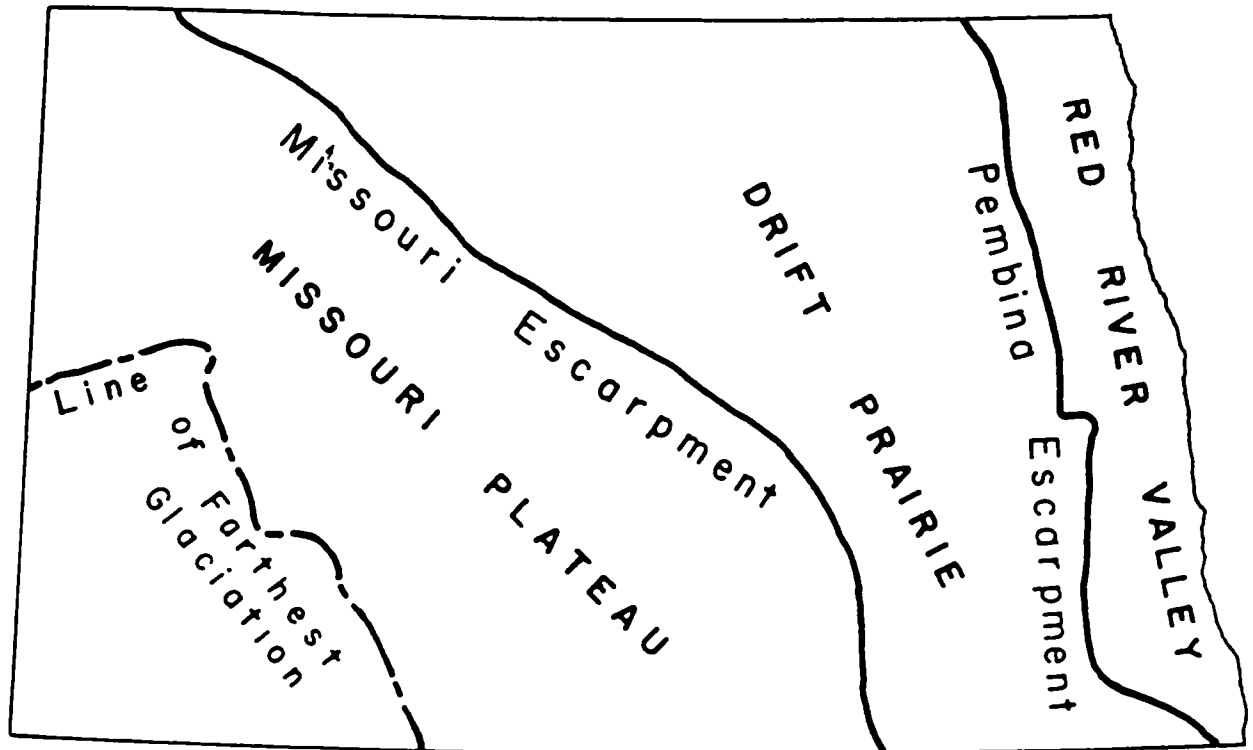
UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

Cockburn, W F Transcription of 1952 Cockburn radio broadcast Small Collections #533
North Dakota State University Institute Room

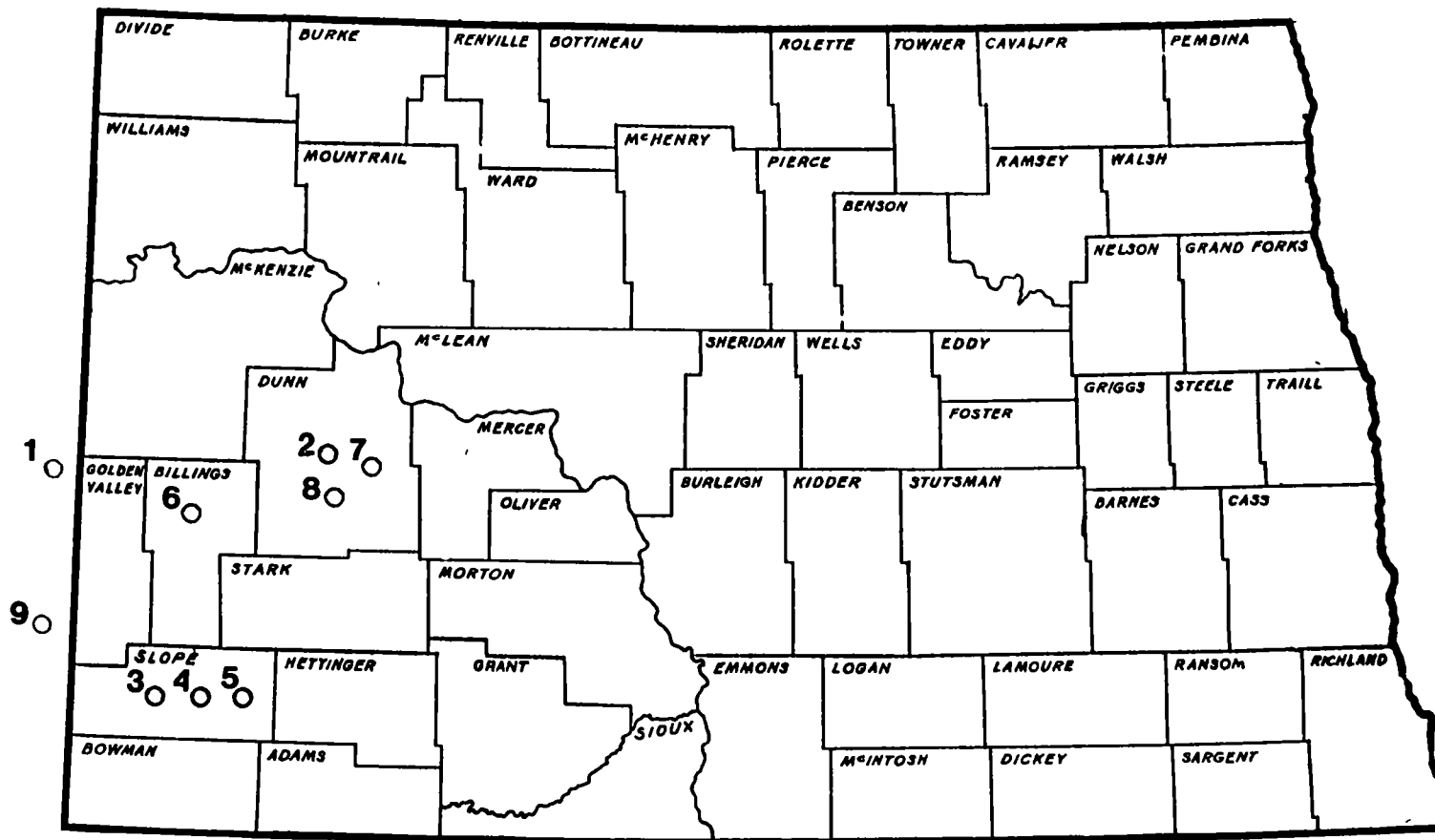
FIGURES



1 The Great Plains Region, with Some Characteristics of its Eastern Limits (Source Howard Ottoson, et al *Land and People in the North Plains Transition Area*)



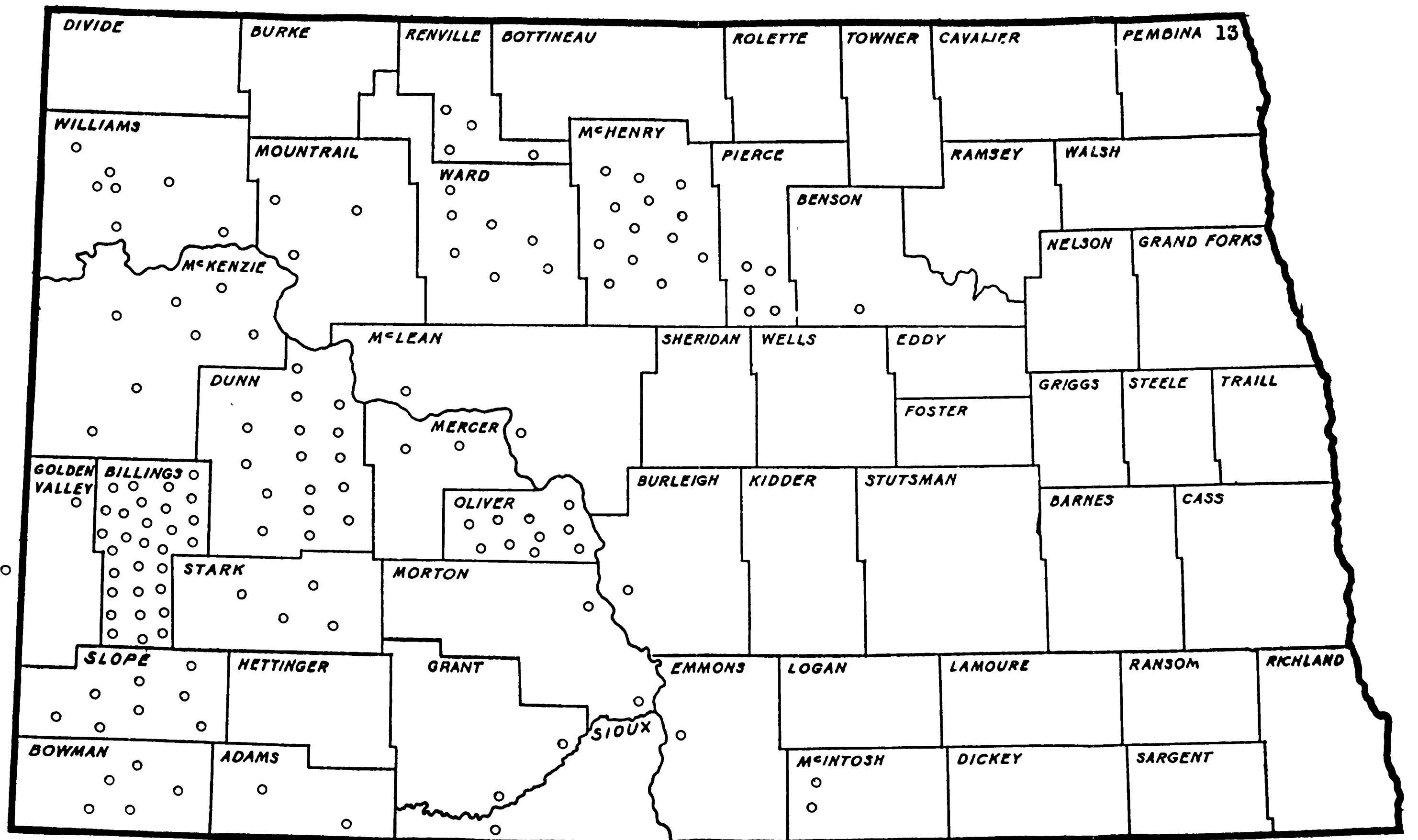
2 Map Showing Topography of North Dakota (Source Elwyn Robinson, *History of North Dakota*)



3 Map with Ten Largest Open Range Ranch Operations in Region

Ten Largest Open Range Ranch Operations in Region

- 1 Pierre Wibaux, W Bar Ranch (Montana)
- 2 Reynolds Brothers, Long X Ranch
- 3 Berry-Boice Cattle Company, 777 Ranch
- 4 Tower & Gudgell, OX Ranch
- 5 A C Huidekoper, HT Ranch
- 6 Theodore Roosevelt, Maltese Cross and Elk Horn Ranches
- 7 Thomas & Arnett, AHA Ranch
- 8 Crosby Cattle Company, Diamond C Ranch
- 9 Hughes & Simpson, Hashknife Ranch (Montana)
- 10 J E Phelan, 75 "Ranch" (not mapped, Phelan placed cattle to be run on others' ranches)



4 Map Showing Small-Large Scale Open Range Cattle Ranches, late 1870s-late 1890s

NORTH DAKOTA RANCHES, BY COUNTY

Late 1870s-Late 1890s

| Ranch/Rancher | Ranch/Rancher | County | Source |
|-------------------------|--------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|
| Beisige | A & G | Adams | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Clark & | Plumb | Adams | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Pierce, Gerald & | Rapelje, J G | Benson | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Badlands Cattle Co | Wadsworth | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Bullion Ranch | | Billings | Hagedorn, H., Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Casey & | Moore | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Casey & Co | E W | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Cummins | | Billings | Hagedorn, H, Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Dante | W T | Billings | Hagedorn, H., Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Eaton Brothers | Custer Trail Ranch | Billings | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Frasier | P | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Fuller | Lydia S | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Knott | Mike | Billings | Hagedorn, H, Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Knutson | | Billings | Hagedorn, H, Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Lang | Gregor | Billings | Hagedorn, H, Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Le Moyne Cattle Co | | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Maddox | Mrs | Billings | Hagedorn, H, Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Mikkelson | | Billings | Hagedorn, H, Roosevelt in Badlands |
| N Pac Refrig Car Co | | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Neimmela Ranch | | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Osterhout | W B | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Paddock | E G | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Pennell & | Roberts | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Roberts | Mrs | Billings | Hagedorn, H., Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Roberts Slope Bottom R. | Lloyd | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Roosevelt | T (Maltese) | Billings | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Roosevelt | R. (Elkhorn) | Billings | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Rowe | | Billings | Hagedorn, H., Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Rumsey | L.F. & Bronson | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| SOHO Cattle Co | | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Thompson & Co | N N | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Truscott | | Billings | Hagedorn, H, Roosevelt in Badlands |
| King | S D | Bowman | Terr Census, 1885 |
| McGundley | S | Bowman | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Murphy | Pat | Bowman | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Smith | Pat | Bowman | Terr. Census, 1885 |
| Wyeth | Acheman | Bowman | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Manning | Dan | Burleigh | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Connolly | Bill & Mike | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Crosby Cattle Co | Diamond C | Dunn | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| George | Layton | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Jazeler | Dave | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Jensen | Rastmus | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Kelly | Sam | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| McGregor | Alex | Dunn | Terr. Census, 1885 |
| Monroe | Robert | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Murphy | Joe & Redmond | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Oukrop | Joe | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Reynolds Brothers | | Dunn | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Richards | W | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |

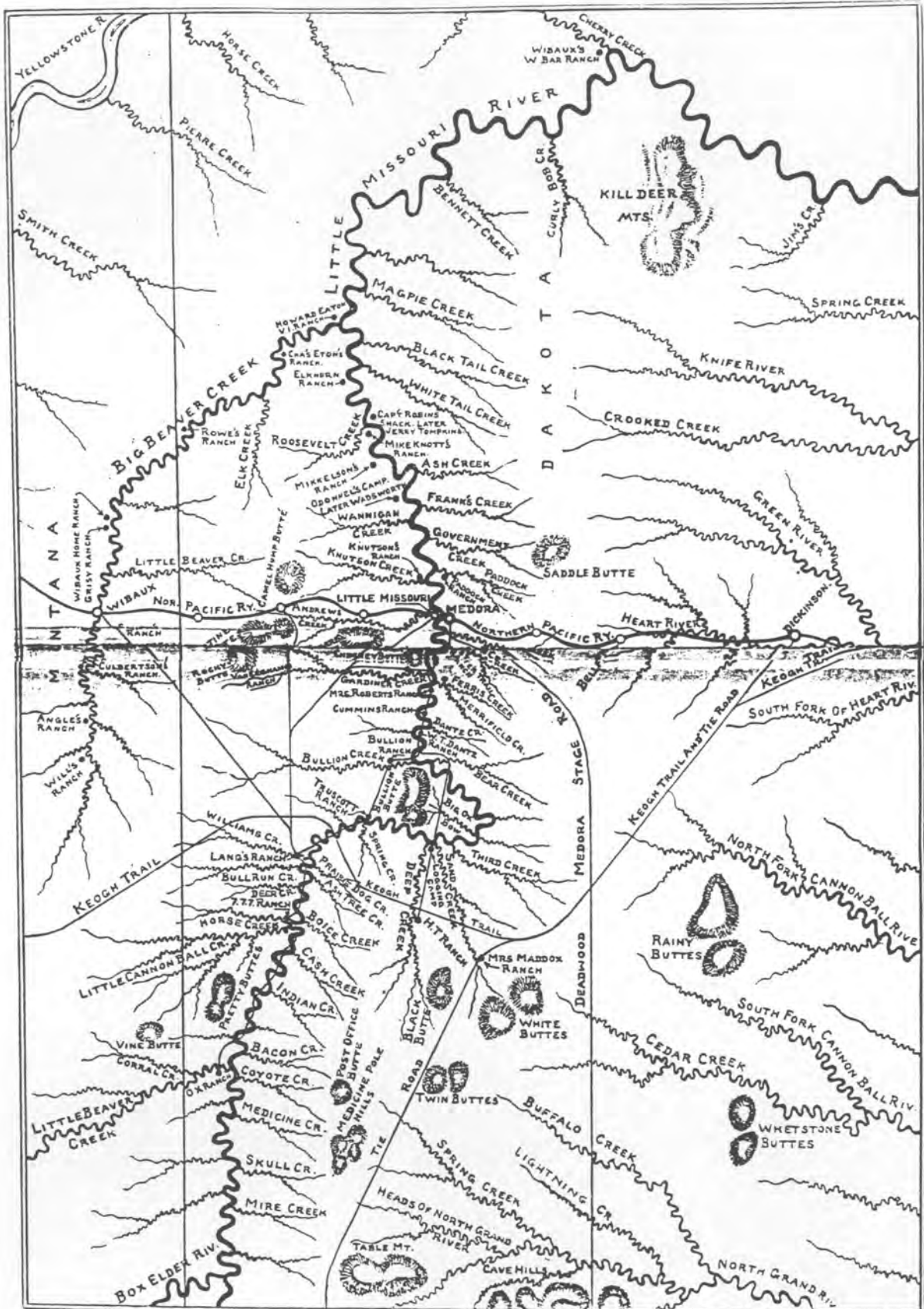
NORTH DAKOTA RANCHES, BY COUNTY

Late 1870s-Late 1890s

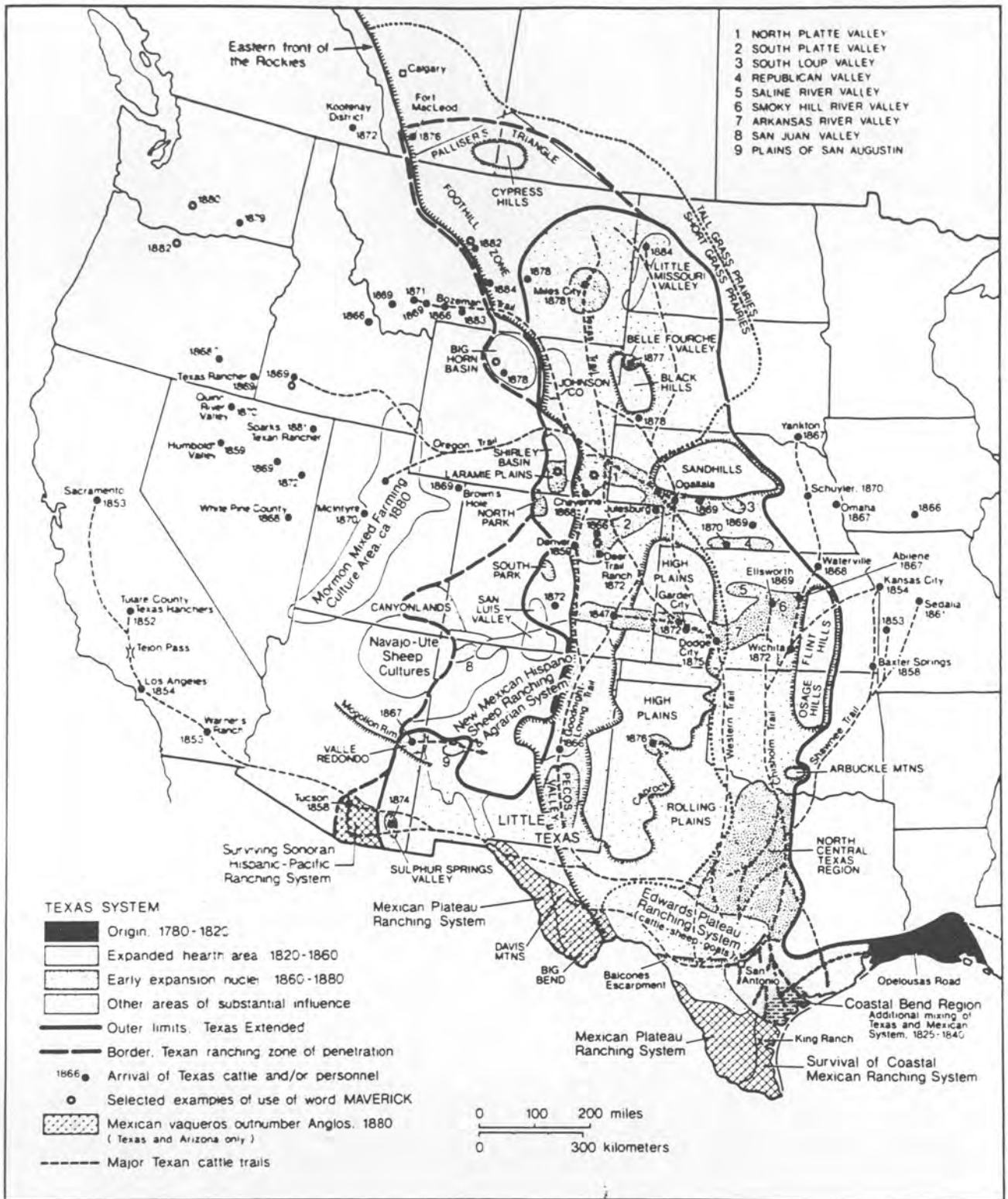
| Ranch/Rancher | Ranch/Rancher | County | Source |
|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| Taylor | | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Thomas & | Arnett (AHA) | Dunn | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Trask Knife River Ranch | | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Wilcox | Robert | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Baxter & | Lilly | Emmons | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Eaton | Charles | Golden Valley | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Stevenson | Don | Grant | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Wade | William | Grant | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Winston Coal Harbor Ctl | E T | McClellan | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Dodd | | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Ely | John | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Inkster | | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Lymburner | Oscar | McHenry | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Marjoribanks | Coutte | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| May | Julius | McHenry | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| McKay | J A | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| McKelvey | John | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Prouty | E M | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Reed | James E | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Richardson | | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Thursby | E H | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Towner | O M | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Basye | Charles | McIntosh | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Johnson | C D | McIntosh | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Badger Cattle Co | Van Brunt | McKenzie | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Chase & | Frye | McKenzie | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Christensen | Hans | McKenzie | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Conklingo | Fred | McKenzie | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Kale | Heinrick | McKenzie | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Stroud Brothers | Birdhead | McKenzie | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Taylor | William | McKenzie | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Abrams, Ed L & | Fraizer, M E | McLean | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Bobean, Joseph & | McCorkell, J | Mercer | WPA Hist Grazing & 1885 Census |
| McCorkele | John G | Mercer | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Hughes & | Simpson Hashknife | MONTANA | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Wibaux | Pierre | MONTANA | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Hollenback Ranch | | Morton | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Parkins | H S | Morton | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Eustus & | Jamison | Mountrail | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Gibbs | William | Mountrail | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Grennel | L | Mountrail | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Phelan | J E | no place | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Connolly | L | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Fort | C J | Oliver | Terr. Census, 1885 |
| Height | William | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Hendricks | J | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Knipska | J | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Manley | H A | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Misell | C J | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |

NORTH DAKOTA RANCHES, BY COUNTY
Late 1870s-Late 1890s

| Ranch/Rancher | Ranch/Rancher | County | Source |
|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| Smith | W.R. | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Williams | F | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Williams & | Thurston | Oliver | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Briggs & | Strand | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Fair | Thomas | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Hanscom | Abner | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Hanscom | George D | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Stewart | Samuel | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Gray | Robert H | Renville | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Gray Brothers | | Renville | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Toverson | Nels | Renville | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Young & | Joslin | Renville | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Lake, Tomb & | Lemmon | Sioux | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Berry, Boice Co | 777 Ranch | Slope | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Huudekoper | A C (HT) | Slope | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Mether Ranch | | Slope | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Olmstead | | Slope | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Roberts | Frank | Slope | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Russell Brothers | | Slope | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Tittle | William | Slope | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Tower & | Gudgell (OX) | Slope | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Clark | George C | Stark | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Colgrove Lime Kiln Ranch | Charlie & Bill | Stark | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Reilly | Farwell | Stark | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Dayton | Edson C | Stark & Dunn | ND Brand Book |
| Foot | L S | Ward | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Foot | R.S | Ward | Terr Census, 1885 |
| McKinney | | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Pace | William | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Pendroy Brothers | | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Powers | Fred A | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Robeson | | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Bell | Douglas | Williams | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Connolly Brothers | | Williams | ND Brand Book |
| Freeman & | Zahl | Williams | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Isaacson | H | Williams | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Leighton & | Jordan/Baldwin, C | Williams | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Matthews | Robert C | Williams | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Narveson & | Johnson | Williams | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |



5. Ranches in Vicinity Little Missouri River. (Source: H. Hagedorn, *Roosevelt in the Bad Lands*.)

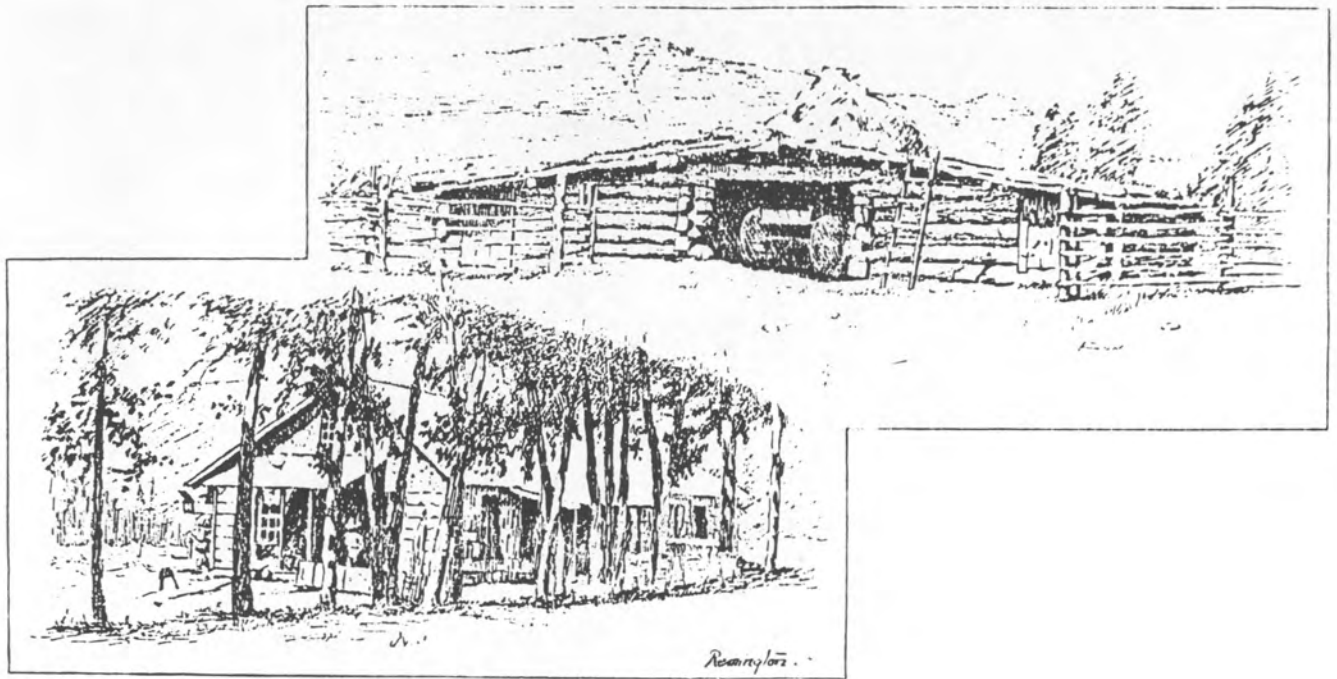


6. Map of the Origins and Spread of the Texas System of Cattle Ranching Including Major Trails. (Source: Terry Jordan, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers*.)



THE OUTLYING CAMP.

7. The Outlying Camp. (Source: Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*.)



8. Elk Horn Ranch Buildings, Billings County. (Source: Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*.)



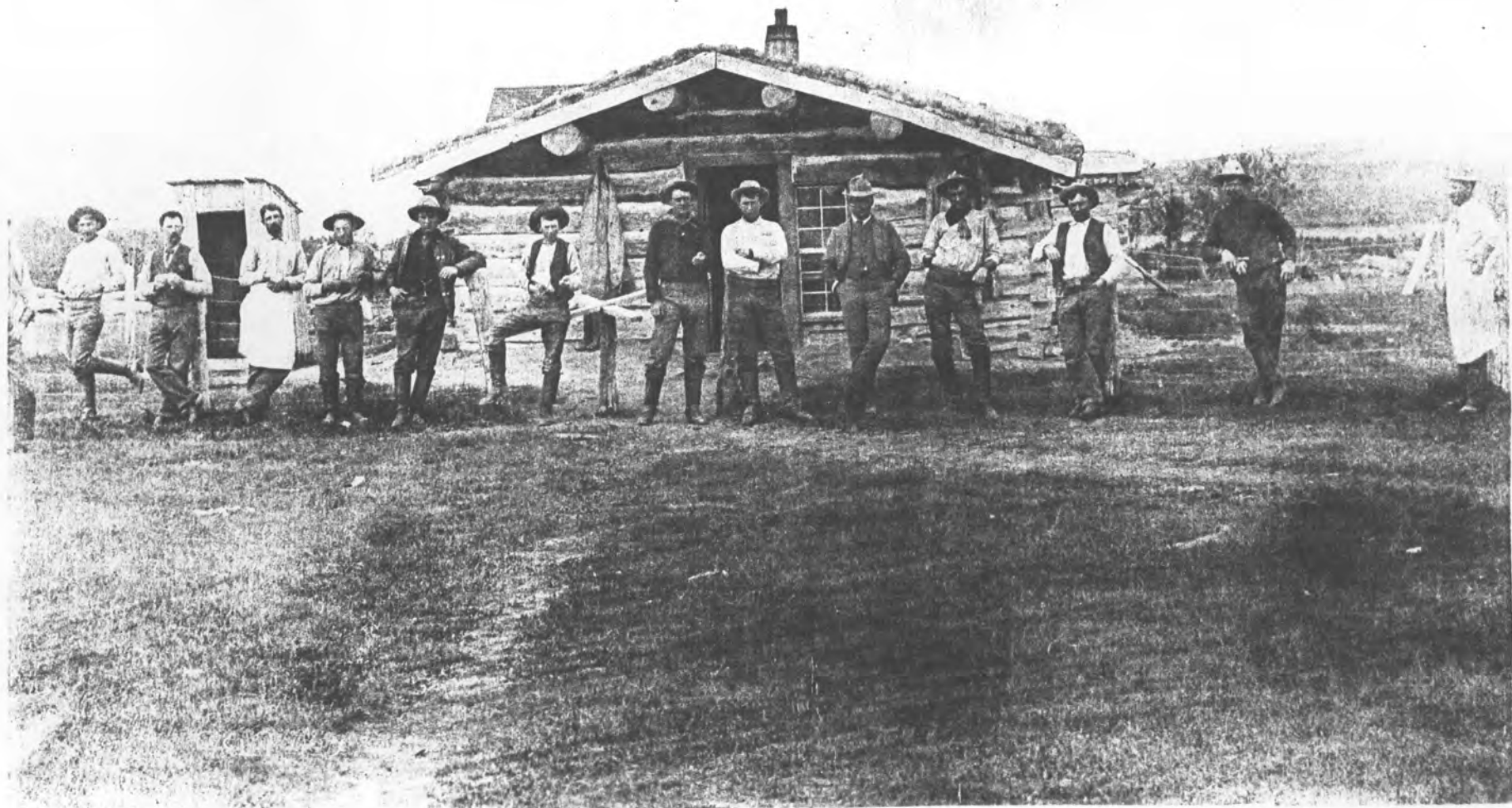
SKETCH OF OUR BELLOWS RANCH IN THE '90's, upper left the Ranch home, on the right the horse barn, lower left the blacksmith shop, and next in center the bunk house. When Wadsworth hired the "Kid" to kill the barn flunky the "Kid" leaned his rifle over the lower half on the barn door to take aim at the flunky who was cleaning the barn at the time. The "Kid's" first shot killed him.

9. Sketch of Bellows Ranch in the 1890s. (Source: Harry V. Johnston, *My Home on the Range*.)

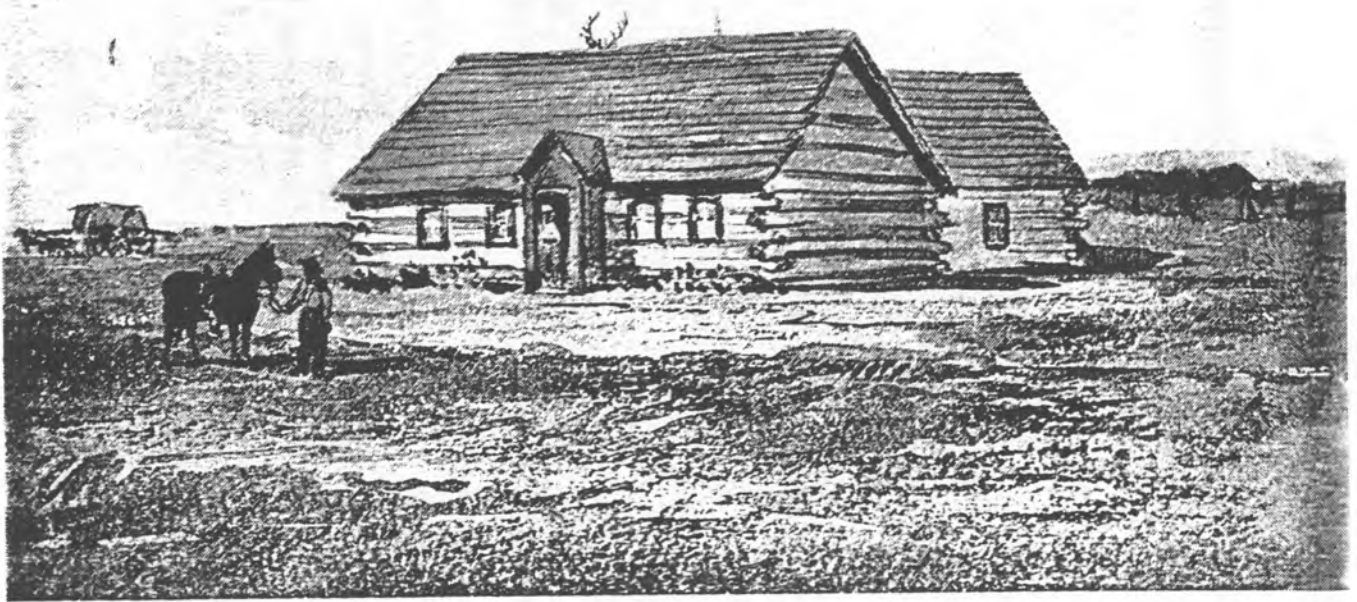


#24 Peter Roth Frank Philbrick John Vance Henry Williams unknown Mrs. George J.W. Foley
 Mrs. Meyer

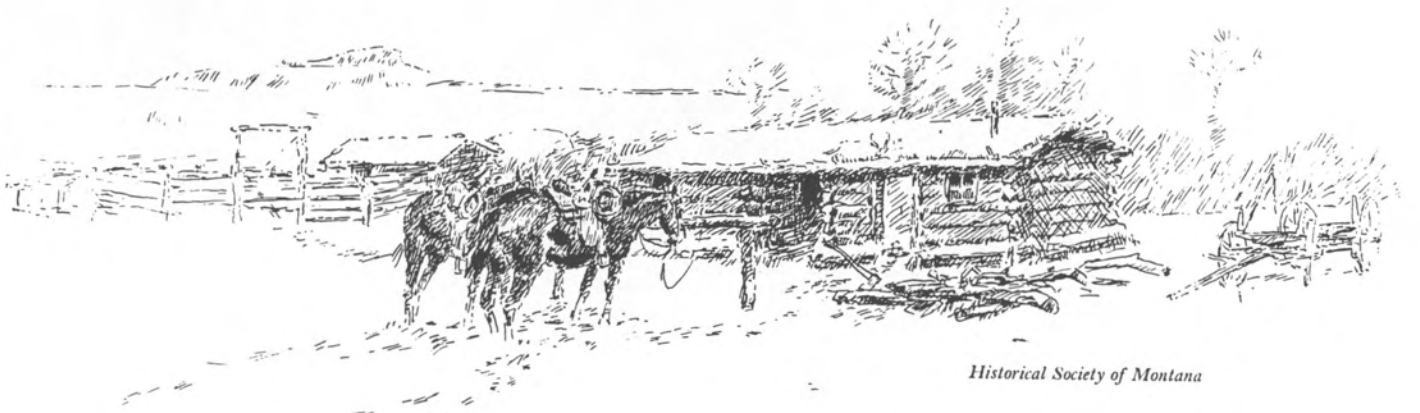
10. Photograph of Unidentified Ranch, probably Slope County. (Source: H-T Ranch Collection, #227-5, State Historical Society of North Dakota.)



11. Photograph of HT Ranch, Slope County. (Source: C841, State Historical Society of North Dakota.)



12. Coutts Marjoribanks' Horse-Shoe Ranch in Mouse River Region. (Source: Marjorie Pentland, *A Bonnie Fector*.)

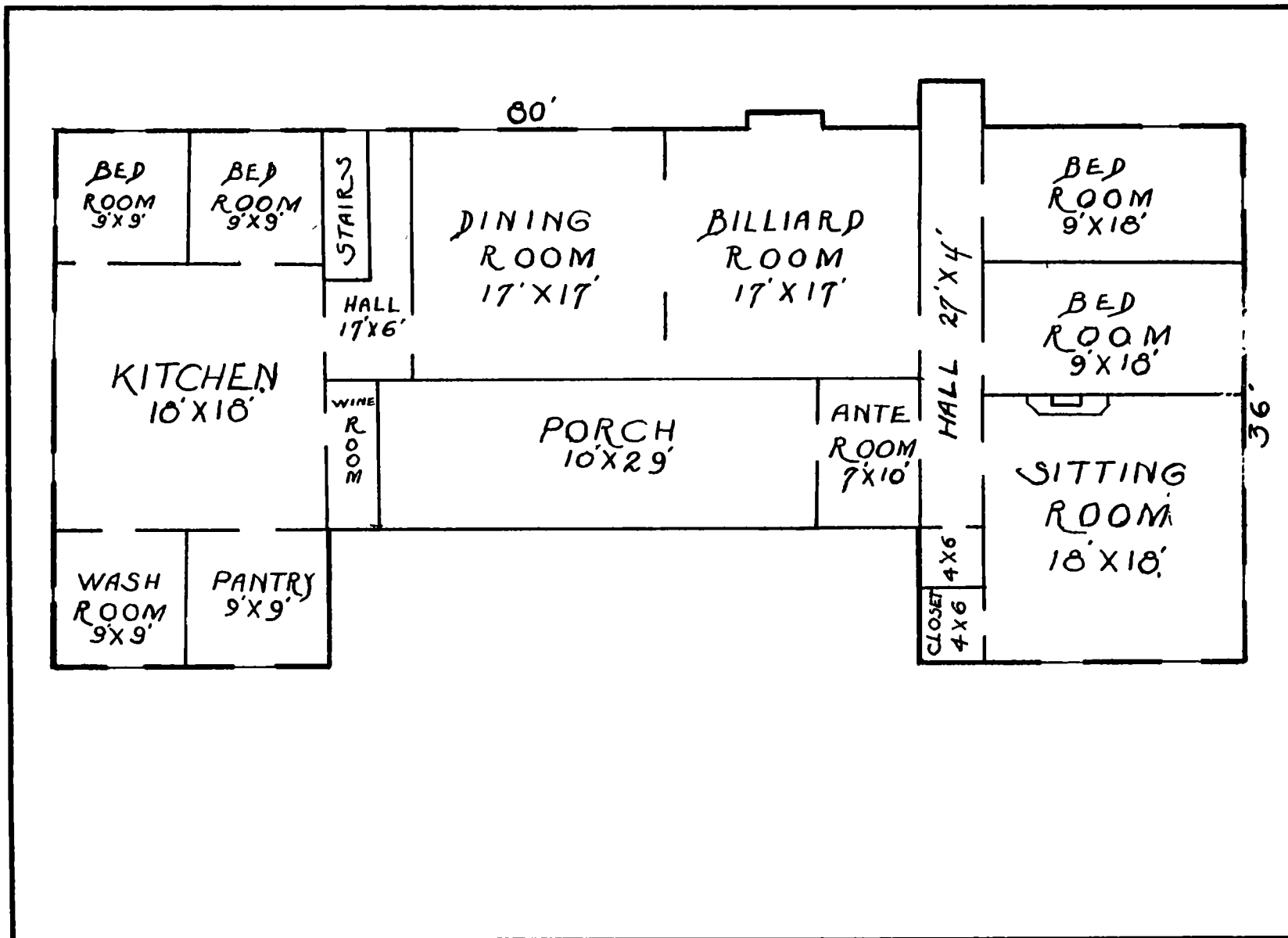


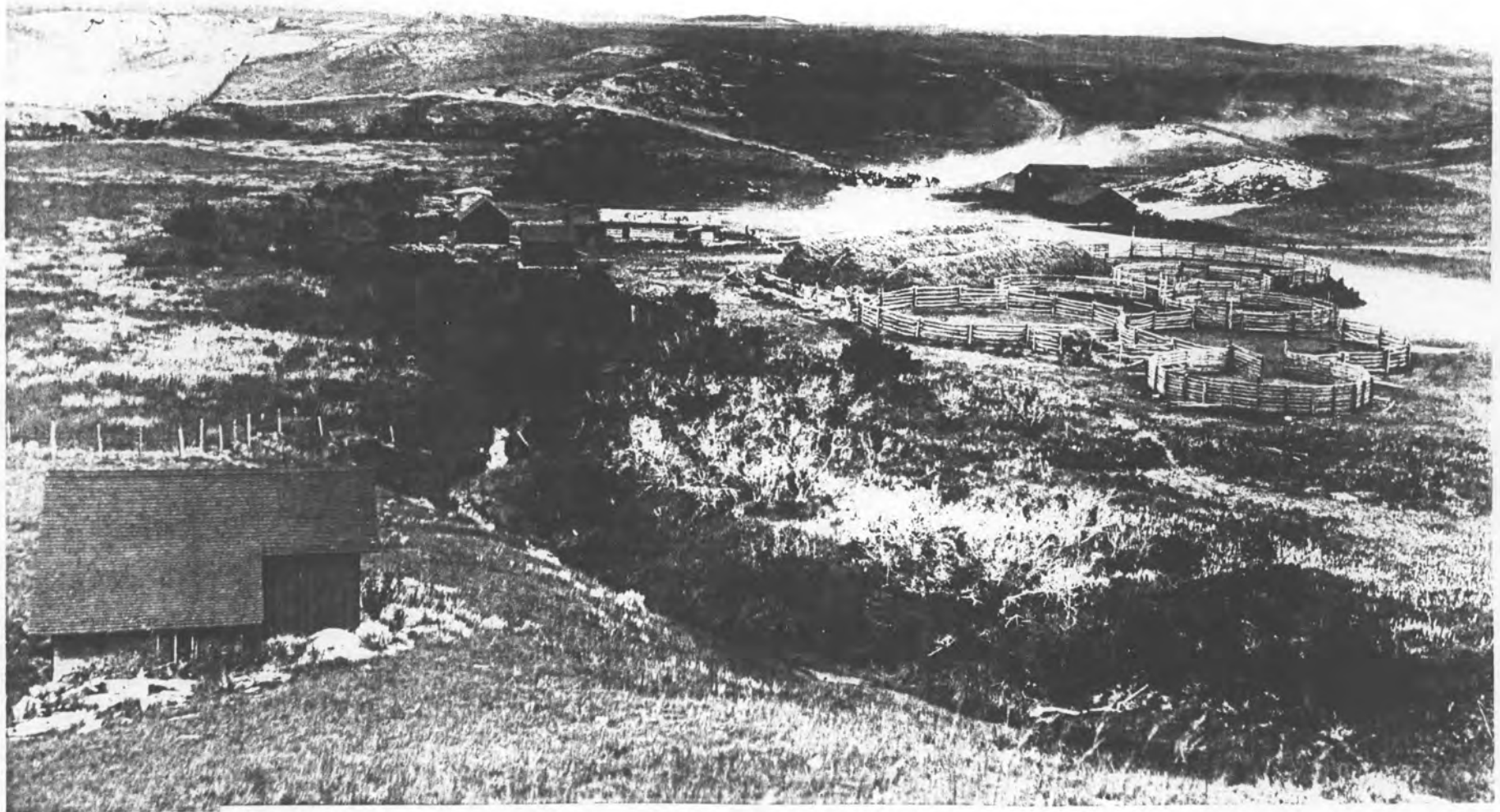
Historical Society of Montana

THE OLD-TIME COW RANCH

CHITTY

13. The Old-Time Cow Ranch. (Source: Harold McCracken, *The Charles M. Russell Book*.)





15. Photograph of Little Missouri Horse Company Headquarters, Slope County, 1892.
(Source: C1058, State Historical Society of North Dakota.)

APPENDICES

NORTH DAKOTA RANCHES
Late 1870s-Late 1890s

| Ranch/Rancher | Ranch/Rancher | County | Source |
|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| Abrams, Ed L & | Fraizer, M E | McLean | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Badger Cattle Co | Van Brunt | McKenzie | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Badlands Cattle Co | Wadsworth | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Basye | Charles | McInstosh | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Baxter & | Lilly | Emmons | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Beisige | A & G | Adams | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Bell | Douglas | Williams | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Berry, Boice Co | 777 Ranch | Slope | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Bobean, Joseph & | McCorkell, J | Mercer | WPA Hist Grazing & 1885 Census |
| Briggs & | Strand | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Bullion Ranch | | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Casey & | Moore | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Casey & Co | E W | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Chase & | Frye | McKenzie | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Christensen | Hans | McKenzie | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Clark | George C | Stark | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Clark & | Plumb | Adams | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Colgrove Lime Kiln Ranch | Charlie & Bill | Stark | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Conikringo | Fred | McKenzie | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Connolly | Bill & Mike | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Connolly | L | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Connolly Brothers | | Williams | ND Brand Book |
| Crosby Cattle Co | Diamond C | Dunn | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Cummins | | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Dante | W T | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Dayton | Edson C | Stark & Dunn | ND Brand Book |
| Dodd | | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Eaton | Charles | Golden Valley | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Eaton Brothers | Custer Trail Ranch | Billings | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Ely | John | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Eustus & | Jamison | Mountrail | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Fair | Thomas | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Foot | L S | Ward | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Foot | R.S | Ward | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Fort | C J | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Frasier | P | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Freeman & | Zahl | Williams | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Fuller | Lydia S | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| George | Layton | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Gibbs | William | Mountrail | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Gray | Robert H | Renville | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Gray Brothers | | Renville | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Grennel | L | Mountrail | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Hanscom | Abner | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Hanscom | George D | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Height | William | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Hendricks | J | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Hollenback Ranch | | Morton | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Hughes & | Simpson Hashknife | MONTANA | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Hudekoper | A C (HT) | Slope | Crawford, L Ranching Days |

NORTH DAKOTA RANCHES
Late 1870s-Late 1890s

| Ranch/Rancher | Ranch/Rancher | County | Source |
|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| Inkster | | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Isaacson | H | Williams | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Jazeler | Dave | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Jensen | Rastmus | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Johnson | C D | McInstosh | Terr. Census, 1885 |
| Kale | Heinrick | McKenzie | Terr. Census, 1885 |
| Kelly | Sam | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| King | S D | Bowman | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Knipska | J | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Knott | Mike | Billings | Hagedorn, H., Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Knutson | | Billings | Hagedorn, H., Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Lake, Tomb & | Lemmon | Sioux | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Lang | Gregor | Billings | Hagedorn, H., Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Le Moyne Cattle Co | | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Leighton & | Jordan/Baldwin, C | Williams | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Lymburner | Oscar | McHenry | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Maddox | Mrs | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Manley | H A | Oliver | Terr. Census, 1885 |
| Manning | Dan | Burleigh | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Marjoribanks | Coutte | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Matthews | Robert C | Williams | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| May | Julius | McHenry | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| McCorkele | John G | Mercer | Terr Census, 1885 |
| McGregor | Alex | Dunn | Terr Census, 1885 |
| McGundley | S | Bowman | Terr Census, 1885 |
| McKay | J A | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| McKelvey | John | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| McKinney | | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Mether Ranch | | Slope | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Mikkelson | | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Misell | C J | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Monroe | Robert | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Murphy | Pat | Bowman | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Murphy | Joe & Redmond | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| N Pac Refrig Car Co | | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Narveson & | Johnson | Williams | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Neimmela Ranch | | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Olmstead | | Slope | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Osterhout | W B | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Oukrop | Joe | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Pace | William | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Paddock | E G | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Parkins | H S | Morton | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Pendroy Brothers | | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Pennell & | Roberts | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Phelan | J E | no place | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Pierce, Gerald & | Rapelje, J G | Benson | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Powers | Fred A | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Prouty | E M | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Reed | James E | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |

NORTH DAKOTA RANCHES
Late 1870s-Late 1890s

| Ranch/Rancher | Ranch/Rancher | County | Source |
|-------------------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| Reilly | Farwell | Stark | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Reynolds Brothers | | Dunn | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Richards | W. | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Richardson | | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Roberts | Mrs | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Roberts | Frank | Slope | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Roberts Slope Bottom R. | Lloyd | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Robeson | | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Roosevelt | T (Maltese) | Billings | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Roosevelt | R. (Elkhorn) | Billings | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Rowe | | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Rumsey | L F & Bronson | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Russell Brothers | | Slope | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Smith | Pat | Bowman | Terr. Census, 1885 |
| Smith | W R. | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| SOHO Cattle Co | | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Stevenson | Don | Grant | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Stewart | Samuel | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Stroud Brothers | Birdhead | McKenzie | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Taylor | | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Taylor | William | McKenzie | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Thomas & | Arnett (AHA) | Dunn | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Thompson & Co | N N | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Thursby | E H | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Tittle | William | Slope | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Toverson | Nels | Renville | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Tower & | Gudgell (OX) | Slope | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Towner | O M | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Trask Knife River Ranch | | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Truscott | | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Wade | William | Grant | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Wibaux | Pierre | MONTANA | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Wilcox | Robert | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Williams | F | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Williams & | Thurston | Oliver | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Winston Coal Harbor Ctl | E T | McClean | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Wyeth | Acheman | Bowman | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Young & | Joslin | Renville | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |

NORTH DAKOTA RANCHES, BY COUNTY

Late 1870s-Late 1890s

| Ranch/Rancher | Ranch/Rancher | County | Source |
|-------------------------|--------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|
| Beisige | A & G | Adams | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Clark & | Plumb | Adams | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Pierce, Gerald & | Rapelje, J G | Benson | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Badlands Cattle Co | Wadsworth | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Bullion Ranch | | Billings | Hagedorn, H., Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Casey & | Moore | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Casey & Co | E W | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Cummins | | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Dante | W T | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Eaton Brothers | Custer Trail Ranch | Billings | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Frasier | P | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Fuller | Lydia S | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Knott | Mike | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Knutson | | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Lang | Gregor | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Le Moyne Cattle Co | | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Maddox | Mrs | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Mikkelson | | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| N Pac Refrig Car Co | | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Neimmela Ranch | | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Osterhout | W B | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Paddock | E G | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Pennell & | Roberts | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Roberts | Mrs | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Roberts Slope Bottom R. | Lloyd | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Roosevelt | T (Maltese) | Billings | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Roosevelt | R. (Elkhorn) | Billings | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Rowe | | Billings | Hagedorn, H., Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Rumsey | L F & Bronson | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| SOHO Cattle Co | | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Thompson & Co | N N | Billings | ND Brand Book |
| Truscott | | Billings | Hagedorn, H , Roosevelt in Badlands |
| King | S D | Bowman | Terr Census, 1885 |
| McGundley | S | Bowman | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Murphy | Pat | Bowman | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Smith | Pat | Bowman | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Wyeth | Acheman | Bowman | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Manning | Dan | Burleigh | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Connolly | Bill & Mike | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Crosby Cattle Co | Diamond C | Dunn | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| George | Layton | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Jazeler | Dave | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Jensen | Rastmus | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Kelly | Sam | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| McGregor | Alex | Dunn | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Monroe | Robert | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Murphy | Joe & Redmond | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Oukrop | Joe | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Reynolds Brothers | | Dunn | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Richards | W | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |

NORTH DAKOTA RANCHES, BY COUNTY

Late 1870s-Late 1890s

| Ranch/Rancher | Ranch/Rancher | County | Source |
|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| Taylor | | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Thomas & | Arnett (AHA) | Dunn | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Trask Knife River Ranch | | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Wilcox | Robert | Dunn | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Baxter & | Lilly | Emmons | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Eaton | Charles | Golden Valley | Hagedorn, H., Roosevelt in Badlands |
| Stevenson | Don | Grant | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Wade | William | Grant | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Winston Coal Harbor Ctl | E T | McClean | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Dodd | | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Ely | John | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Inkster | | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Lymburner | Oscar | McHenry | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Marjoribanks | Coutte | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| May | Julius | McHenry | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| McKay | J.A. | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| McKelvey | John | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Prouty | E M | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Reed | James E | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Richardson | | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Thursby | E H | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Towner | O M | McHenry | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Basye | Charles | McIntosh | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Johnson | C D | McIntosh | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Badger Cattle Co | Van Brunt | McKenzie | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Chase & | Frye | McKenzie | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Christensen | Hans | McKenzie | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Conkringo | Fred | McKenzie | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Kale | Heinrick | McKenzie | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Stroud Brothers | Birdhead | McKenzie | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Taylor | William | McKenzie | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Abrams, Ed L. & | Fraizer, M E | McLean | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Bobean, Joseph & | McCorkell, J | Mercer | WPA Hist. Grazing & 1885 Census |
| McCorkele | John G | Mercer | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Hughes & | Simpson Hashknife | MONTANA | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Wibaux | Pierre | MONTANA | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Hollenback Ranch | | Morton | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Parkins | H S | Morton | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Eustus & | Jamison | Mountrail | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Gibbs | William | Mountrail | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Grennel | L | Mountrail | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Phelan | J E | no place | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Connolly | L | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Fort | C J | Oliver | Terr. Census, 1885 |
| Height | William | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Hendricks | J | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Knipska | J | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Manley | H A | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Misell | C J | Oliver | Terr. Census, 1885 |

NORTH DAKOTA RANCHES, BY COUNTY
Late 1870s-Late 1890s

| Ranch/Rancher | Ranch/Rancher | County | Source |
|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| Smith | W R. | Oliver | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Williams | F | Oliver | Terr. Census, 1885 |
| Williams & | Thurston | Oliver | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Briggs & | Strand | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Fair | Thomas | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Hanscom | Abner | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Hanscom | George D | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Stewart | Samuel | Pierce | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Gray | Robert H | Renville | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Gray Brothers | | Renville | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Toverson | Nels | Renville | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Young & | Joslin | Renville | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Lake, Tomb & | Lemmon | Sioux | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Berry, Boice Co | 777 Ranch | Slope | Crawford, L. Ranching Days |
| Huudekoper | A C (HT) | Slope | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Mether Ranch | | Slope | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Olmstead | | Slope | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Roberts | Frank | Slope | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Russell Brothers | | Slope | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Tittle | William | Slope | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Tower & | Gudgell (OX) | Slope | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Clark | George C | Stark | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Colgrove Lime Kiln Ranch | Charlie & Bill | Stark | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Reilly | Farwell | Stark | WPA History of Grazing, Series 560 |
| Dayton | Edson C | Stark & Dunn | ND Brand Book |
| Foot | L S | Ward | Terr Census, 1885 |
| Foot | R.S | Ward | Terr Census, 1885 |
| McKinney | | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Pace | William | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Pendroy Brothers | | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Powers | Fred A | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Robeson | | Ward | WPA clippings, ND series 560 |
| Bell | Douglas | Williams | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Connolly Brothers | | Williams | ND Brand Book |
| Freeman & | Zahl | Williams | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Isaacson | H | Williams | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Leighton & | Jordan/Baldwin, C | Williams | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Matthews | Robert C | Williams | Crawford, L Ranching Days |
| Narveson & | Johnson | Williams | Crawford, L Ranching Days |

APPENDIX C.

EXAMPLES Open Range Property Type

Wallis Huidekoper's Rock Ranch in Slope County on the middle fork of Deep Creek "had a rock house there about 16 feet square " Huidekoper had obtained the ranch to add to his holdings, such as the Bull Head Ranch It was purchased to function as a winter camp halfway between two of his holdings When Huidekoper bought more land, Frank Towel's place, around 1900, it contained a small sod house, 12' x 16', and a sod horse barn "The house had a pole, hay, and dirt roof on it" and was full of bed-bugs, so they burned it and built a log house Wallis' cattle ranged all over the south half of present Slope County and into Fallon and Wibaux counties in Montana The Rock Ranch was in the northeast quarter of Section 16, Cash Township (Wallis and A C Huidekoper should not be confused, A C owned the large HT horse ranch and around 50 sections of land) (*Slope Saga*, pp 1080-1, 1100, 1110)

Wallis Huidekoper's Bull Head Ranch had a log house for the main house, and there was a blacksmith shop on the ranch, perhaps constructed of stone (*Slope Saga*, pp 1099-1100)

Wallace [sic] Huidekoper's T Cross Ranch The ranch was built in 1887 to be a horse ranch Corrals had cedar posts and cottonwood rails A photograph dated 1936 shows a stockade building in the background (*Slope Saga*, pp 1112-3)

A C Huidekoper HT Ranch The main ranch was built on Deep Creek about eight miles south of another Huidekoper ranch, the Logging Camp Ranch He sold out in 1907. In addition to operating a large horse ranch, Huidekoper offered accommodations for "dudes," visiting easterners The "Dude House" and "Dude Barn" may be extant and were located on one side of Deep Creek, the ranch was on the other (*Slope Saga*, p 1100)

The HT Ranch buildings were located in Section 19 in West Sand Creek Township, Slope County The red barn was built in 1882 The buildings are all on Deep Creek, and were extant in 1930 along with the old spring house and the log ice house, which had a chute down to the creek Also extant were the (3 story log) dude house and log dude barn, the little house set high on the west hill, old corrals with a cattle chute No longer standing in 1930 were the windmill and water supply tank on the hill and the log bunk house (*History of Grazing, Clipping Files, Slope County Post*, March 27, 1930)

Or A 3-story log dwelling and a log barn were built in 1896, are extant, and listed in the NRHP Both were built in the "Red River Frame" manner--tenons on ends of the horizontal logs are fitted into grooves in the vertical corner posts (*Birdhead Ranch House National Register Nomination*, on file, ND SHPO)

The HT Ranch was located in Billings County (*History of Grazing, Clipping Files, Bismarck Tribune*, January 6, 1898)

A.C. Huidekoper Logging Camp Ranch Located 20 miles northwest of Amidon near Teepee Buttes, the Logging Camp Ranch is reached by going "down a steep, long hill cut through solid pink scoria " One can "enjoy to the fullest a view of winding creek, the Little Missouri River, pine trees, and alternately level and rugged land " The house is large, rectangular, and stuccoed with (in 1976) a glassed-in porch [unclear if house is old] East of the house is a smaller bunkhouse, a "modern combination barn, machine shed and garage lies to the south, adjoining a full set of branding and cattle loading corrals " (*Slope Saga*, pp 1101)

On both the HT and Logging Camp ranches, Huidekoper built a "model horse barn, which had a large main area with big doors in both front and back " Horse stalls for about 20 horses ran along a long wing which extended from each side of the main area The stallion's stall was extra large and had its own oats granary There was also a granary in the central portion and a hay loft on the upper story. It was painted dark red, with the large HT brand in white near the top of the building The Eatons had formerly owned it before Huidekoper (*Slope Saga*, pp 1101)

Dating from the 1880s, the first set of buildings, which were constructed of logs, were located closed by the river High hills surrounded the site on the south and east In the 1890s replacement buildings were sited in another location, off of the north slope and farther away from the river Among those constructed were the horse barn (described above), which had a long open shed on one side, chicken house, and tool shed The latter two were built using logs salvaged from the 1880s buildings A two-story house, 40'x50', was moved from a site about 12 miles east of Dickinson, a formidable 70-mile task It is believed the house was sawn in half for the move (*Slope Saga*, pp 1101)

H.T. Huidekoper/George Woodman U Bar U Ranch Reportedly established as a "line camp" for the HT Ranch, the ranch was on Deep Creek in Section 14 "The early ranchers obtained their land by purchasing water rights from the government " (?) A log house was built in 1880 using logs from the Badlands (extant in 1976) Woodman bought the property in 1885 and established the Little Missouri Horse Company In 1899 a frame house was built at the east end of the log house, with a coal bin placed in the small space between them (Later?) the log house was used as a blacksmith shop, and the frame building a cowboy bunkhouse "The Green House was the mess hall," had a large dinner bell, and later burned The ranch had a number of owners over the years, include John P Getz in the 1940s The Getz family used the original frame building for a living room, made additions, and remodeled The log building was apparently still standing in 1976 but may have been moved (*Slope Saga*, pp 1116-7)

Mr. and Mrs Joe Mattocks Ranch Located west of Amideon between the forks of Hay Creek and Sand Creek, was the Mattocks Ranch in the early 1880s According to a 1938 account, the house was "snuggled into the bank facing north " Because Mrs Mattocks insisted, the house was of lumber with a small attic, not sod or log Mattocks was a buffalo hunter, and Mrs Mattocks was a highly skilled glovemaker who made Theodore Roosevelt's buckskin clothing (*Slope Saga*, pp 1104)

Jack O'Bannon Ranch O'Bannon was numbered among those who was connected "with the

Panhandle country in the old-time cow industry," according to a 1935 newspaper article He participated in a trail drive with a large herd of Texas doggies in 1902, then remained in the area He ranch was 18 miles down the Little Missouri River from Marmarth The ranch house was constructed of hand-hewn cedar logs set vertically, or stockade style Mortar sealed the joints Also on the site were shed, barns, and wells (*Slope Saga*, pp 1105)

Clarence Caudle Ranch Located near a river bank in section 21 (apparently the Little Missouri), the ranch site included a "stockade house with a large shed, bunk house, and corrals " (*Slope Saga*, pp 1108.)

Bellows Ranch Set into the hillside, the house was "of stone and mud, the walls two feet thick " This main ranch house had a large room which was used as a bunk room It supplemented the bunk house located farther down the hill which was used for the regular hands Also on the side were a "blacksmith shop, horse barns, chicken coops, cow barns, sheds, two wells, one windmill, and about five or six corrals " Landscape elements included a "big garden year, a saddle horse pasture, a flower garden, and all fenced in with elk horns and buffalo heads " The ranch may have dated from the 1890s (Harry V. Johnson, *My Home on the Range*, p 78)

Stroud Birdhead Ranch Located in McKenzie County, the ranch house was a gabled, rectangular log structure built in 1891 Later stuccoed (as early as the 1920s), the house's plan was a "shotgun" type, with each room opening onto another There were three entry doors, which provided access to three of the five rooms in the house The roof was constructed of plain boards upon rough milled rafters, then about one foot of earth was sandwiched between lower and upper boards, and all was covered with asphalt shingle (Birdhead Ranch House National Register Nomination, on file, ND SHPO)

Theodore Roosevelt Maltese Cross Cabin Built in 1883, the cabin has saddle-notched horizontal logs, a gabled roof and board-and-batten gable ends (It as disassembled and moved to expositions, etc , a measure of its local significance, until it was returned to within 11 27 kilometers of its original location in Billings County 1959) (Birdhead Ranch House National Register Nomination, on file, ND SHPO)

Peaceful Valley Ranch Located in Billings County about 3 miles northeast of Medora in what is now the South Unit of Theodore Roosevelt National Park, extant buildings consist of

- ▶ Two room (with attic) 1 1/2 story frame gabled 58'x22' ranch house, built by Ben Lamb between 1885 and 1890, clapboard except for northernmost log kitchen addition (see p 7-6 for description of interior) An outside stairway led to the attic
- ▶ 1 story rectangular 70'x23' gabled log barn, 1905, with adjoining corral
- ▶ 1 story log 20'x37' lodge/recreation hall for dude ranch, 1920 (now considered a bunkhouse) (Peaceful Valley Ranch National Register Nomination, on file, ND SHPO)

Ben Lamb built three buildings during his tenure in the 1880s, a house, vertical log barn, and blacksmith shop (Peaceful Valley Ranch National Register Nomination, on file, ND SHPO.)

Le Moyne Cattle Company Tipi Bottoms Ranch The ranch was established in 1879 as an open range ranch. An extended (?) log dwelling, log school, and several other log buildings occupied the ranch site, but their date of construction is not known. All exhibited horizontal cribbed log construction. The site was occupied until 1959 but the buildings are said to be in poor to collapsed condition. (Birdhead Ranch House National Register Nomination, on file, ND SHPO)

Diamond C Ranch In the 1930s, the ranch consisted of a small white house, red cattle barns, and weathered grey wooden poles (corral). The ranch buildings were located "along the timbered ravine formed by Falling Spring, near which took place the [1864] Battle of Killdeer Mountains" between the Sioux and the US military. (Federal Writers' Project, *The WPA Guide to 1930s North Dakota*, 1938, reprint, 1990, Bismarck State Historical Society of North Dakota, p 321)

Fee Simple Ranches

William B. Galligan WC Ranch In 1906 a prairie fire destroyed the horse barn, sheds, and corrals, leaving only the sod house at the WC Ranch of William B. Galligan. He rebuilt, including an 18'x36' horse barn, a 100'x150' cattle shed which was open to the south, and a round corral off the creek bank. (*Slope Saga*, p 1087)

John Tyler Ranch A black man who was born in 1866 in Washington, D C, John Tyler came to the Badlands in 1881. He worked on several ranches, including as a cook. Around 1900 he married and filed a homestead claim on the Little Missouri River in the Badlands near Dog Tooth Buttes. The Tylers built a gabled log house that was long and narrow and had an entrance and four windows on the long side. There was a shed-roofed extension on the rear. Based on photographs, it is possible that the main house was constructed with door and two paired windows and that additions (each with a window) were later placed on either side of the original portion.

Frank Roberts Ranch Roberts worked as a cowboy for A C Huidekoper, then established his own ranch in the 1890s on Sand Creek on the north line of Chalky Butte Township in present Slope County. He ran horses, until the homesteaders' arrival "shut off the range". Around 1900 he and Mrs. Roberts built a stone house, and the ranch became known as the Cottonwood Grove Ranch. (History of Grazing, Clipping Files, March 27, 1930)

Little Missouri Horse Company Sale Stables Constructed in 1898, the barn was located on a large flat southeast of Gladstone and north of the Heart River. The immense complex was 700' x 50', and its sections formed a quadrangular center court. In the center of the court was a windmill and water tank and troughs for watering the stock. It was said that more than one-half million feet of lumber was required. There were more than 400 box stalls. (History of Grazing, Clipping Files, *Bismarck Tribune*, January 6, 1898)

Austin Sheep Ranch In 1930, "one of the few ranches still in operation". A very late arrival, did not come into Slope County (a little south and west of the Clark Ranch in Unique Township)

until after the homesteaders were coming "Billy" Austin an early cowboy Worked for the E-6 Ranch (History of Grazing, Clipping Files, March 13, 1930)

Community Hall (Bulletin 214, p 86)

Cattle Dipping Tank Built in 1904 at the water hole in the NW quarter of section 20, White Lake township, Slope County All cattle in the range were dipped--more than 64,000--following government order (History of Grazing, Clipping Files, *Slope County Post*, February 27, 1930)

Sheep Shed and Dipping Vat (*Slope Saga*, pp 1132)

Shearing Plant at Sentinel Butte (History of Grazing, Final Manuscript, p 218)

Winter sheds for sheep - of lumber, logs, sod, or straw (History of Grazing, Final Manuscript, p 218)

Dayton, at Cedar River Ranch, built shed of lumber 500' long - for 6000 sheep (History of Grazing, Final Manuscript, p 218)

In Minot area, Davidson had sheds built on the hillsiders (History of Grazing, Final Manuscript, p 218)

Some ranchers built sheds of baled flax straw with straw covering (History of Grazing, Final Manuscript, p 218)

In 1895 Frank Gates brought sheep to Colgrove Ranch Finding it ill-equipped, he hastily built a corral of old RR ties and poles, and a set of some ties and lumber w/ barbed wire strong across the top & covered w/ buckbrush, which he mowed for that purpose to conserve hay (History of Grazing, Final Manuscript, p 218)

Miss Annie Petrie cared for her Shorthorns in Emmons County in the winter with hay, sometimes supplemented by rye hay and corn fodder Open sheds provided shelter ("Dakota Steers Made World Record," *The Shorthorn in America*, October 1, 1917 7-8)