RECEIVED 2280
OMB No. 1024-0018

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Grant-Kohrs Ranch

Other Name/Site Number: Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site (GRKO); Grant Trading Post; Grant Ranch; Kohrs & Bielenberg Home Ranch; CK Ranch; Warren Hereford Ranch.

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Cattle Drive (no number), Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS Not for publication: n/a

City/Town: Deer Lodge Vicinity: n/a

State: Montana Code: MT County: Powell Code: 077 Zip Code: 59722

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:	X	Building(s):	
Public-Local:	X	District:	X
Public-State:		Site:	
Public-Federal:	X	Structure:	
		Object:	

Number of Resources within Property:

Contributing	Noncontributing
18	18 buildings
2	0 sites
3	26 structures
0	1 object
23	45 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 0
Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: n/a

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this _X__ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
_✓_ Other—NHL Boundary study approved:

Carol D. Shull 1-4-02

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: Agriculture/Animal Facility; Agriculture/ Agricultural Outbuildings

Secondary: Domestic/Single Dwelling; Domestic/Secondary Structures

Current: Recreation and Culture/Museum Sub: Landscape/Park; National Historic Site

7. DESCRIPTION

Architectural Classification: Greek Revival; Victorian; Other: No style.

Materials:

Foundation: Stone
Walls: Wood
Roof: Wood, Metal
Other: Metal

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Narrative Description:

The Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark (NHL) – which represents one of the last remaining great cattle ranches associated with the days of the open range – encompasses approximately 1,600 acres of prairie grazing land and riparian zone along the Clark Fork River, adjacent to the town of Deer Lodge, Montana. The National Historic Landmark, situated on the prairies of the Deer Lodge Valley, includes 23 contributing and 45 noncontributing resources, and is an excellent representation of a historic cattle ranch in its location, setting, and landscape, as well as its style of architecture, method of construction, size and significant features. Included within the boundary is the "Home Ranch" building cluster, which was primarily constructed by John Grant and Conrad Kohrs within the NHL period of significance of 1862-1919. The Home Ranch's residence, bunkhouse, buggy shed, ice house, granary, horse barns, cow sheds, and corrals present an enduring model of the day-to-day workings of a large-scale cattle ranch. Also within the NHL is a rural vernacular landscape that includes an extensive complex of agricultural buildings, fencing, corrals, pastures, fields, and railroad beds.

The Grant-Kohrs Home Ranch was designated a National Historic Landmark on December 19, 1960, because of its association with John Grant, one of the pioneers in the open-range cattle industry, and with Conrad Kohrs, perhaps the greatest single figure in the cattle industry in Montana. In 1972, Congress designated the ranch a national historic site for its association with the open-range cattle industry. This NHL nomination defines the boundary and resource count for the NHL historic district. The NHL boundary is identical to that of the Grant-Kohrs National Historic Site except at the site's southeastern boundary, at which point approximately 15 acres of the national historic site are excluded from the NHL district. The excluded portions include the Warren Hereford Ranch, which was constructed c. 1930s-1980s by Conrad Warren, the grandson of Conrad Kohrs. Also excluded is the

portion that contains the park's visitor contact station, comfort station, and parking area, which were established on this location following the designation of the national historic site in 1972.

The National Historic Landmark includes 68 resources. As noted above, this count encompasses 23 contributing resources and 45 noncontributing resources. Of the 23 contributing resources, 18 are buildings, 3 are structures, and 2 are sites. Of the 45 noncontributing resources, 18 are buildings, 26 are structures, and 1 (a livestock scale) is an object. Most of the NHL's resources are within the Home Ranch building cluster. At least two of the Home Ranch buildings were constructed during John Grant's short tenure at the site, between 1862-1866. The second phase of building construction at the Home Ranch, which involved approximately 20 buildings and structures, occurred between 1866-1919, undertaken by Conrad Kohrs and his half brother and business partner John Bielenberg. The final phase of building construction, which encompasses over 30 resources at the Home Ranch, was undertaken during the Warren era of the ranch's history, 1929-1982.

Summary List of Contributing Resources, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHL District

HS #	Resource Name	Date Built	Status
HS 1	Main House	1862-1890	Contributing Building
HS 2	Bunkhouse Row	1862-1907	Contributing Building
HS 4	Coal Shed	1915	Contributing Building
HS 5	Ice House	1880	Contributing Building
HS 7	Draft Horse Barn	1870	Contributing Building
HS 10	Oxen Barn	1870	Contributing Building
HS 11	Bielenberg Barn	1880	Contributing Building
HS 12	Machine Shed	1890	Contributing Building
HS 13	Cow Shed	1908	Contributing Building
HS 14	Stallion Barn	1870s	Contributing Building
HS 15	Thoroughbred Barn	1883	Contributing Building
HS 16	Stallion Barn	1870	Contributing Building
HS 17	Buggy Shed	1883	Contributing Building
HS 18	Granary	1890	Contributing Building
HS 19	Stallion Barn	1870	Contributing Building
HS 20	Privy	1890	Contributing Building
HS 23	Metal Granary	1910	Contributing Building
HS 30	Stallion Barn	1870	Contributing Building
HS 56	Milwaukee railroad alignment (inactive)	1908	Contributing Structure
HS 57	Siphon	c. 1908	Contributing Structure
	Northern Pacific railroad alignment (active)	1879	Contributing Structure
	Natural environment and vegetation patterns		Contributing Site
	Main House Yard	1862-1900	Contributing Site

Summary List of Noncontributing Resources, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHL District

HS #	Resource Name	Date Built	Status
HS 3	Blacksmith Shop/Garage	1935	Noncontributing Building
HS 6	Granary/Roller Mill	1935	Noncontributing Building
HS 8	Privy	1934	Noncontributing Building
HS 9	Dairy Barn	1932	Noncontributing Building
HS 21	Brooder House	1935	Noncontributing Building

HS #	Resource Name	Date Built	Status
HS 22	Chicken House	1935	Noncontributing Building
HS 24	West Corrals – stock shelter	1933	Noncontributing Building
HS 25	West Corrals – stock shelter	2000	Noncontributing Building
HS 26	West Corrals –storage area	2000	Noncontributing Building
HS 27	West Corrals – stock shelter	1933	Noncontributing Building
HS 28	Feed Storage House	1933	Noncontributing Building
HS 29	West Corrals – stock shelter	1933	Noncontributing Building
HS 31	Feed Storage House	1932	Noncontributing Building
HS 32	West Feedlots – stock shelter	1934	Noncontributing Building
HS 33	West Feedlots – stock shelter	1932	Noncontributing Building
HS 34	West Feedlots – storage shed	1930	Noncontributing Building
HS 35	Livestock Scale	1935	Noncontributing Object
HS 36	Feed Rack	1984	Noncontributing Structure
HS 37	Feed Rack	1984	Noncontributing Structure
HS 38	Feed Rack (large)	1984	Noncontributing Structure
HS 39	Manure Pit	1932	Noncontributing Structure
HS 40	Beef Hoist	1982	Noncontributing Structure
HS 41	Squeeze Chute	1984	Noncontributing Structure
HS 42	Feed Rack	1998	Noncontributing Structure
HS 43	West Corrals – feed rack	1982-83	Noncontributing Structure
HS 44	West Corrals – feed rack	1982-83	Noncontributing Structure
HS 45	West Corrals – feed bunk	1991	Noncontributing Structure
HS 46	West Corrals – feed bunk	1991	Noncontributing Structure
HS 47	West Corrals – squeeze chute	1984	Noncontributing Structure
HS 48	Feed Bunk	1987	Noncontributing Structure
HS 49	Feed Bunk	1987	Noncontributing Structure
HS 50	Active Flume	1974	Noncontributing Structure
HS 52	West Feedlots - feed bunk	1987	Noncontributing Structure
HS 53	West Feedlots – squeeze chute	1984	Noncontributing Structure
HS 55	Ditch Bridge	1982	Noncontributing Structure
HS 86	Pump House	1960	Noncontributing Building
HS 87	Pump House	1960	Noncontributing Building
HS 89	Clark Fork Bridge	1930	Noncontributing Structure
HS 90	Slough Bridge	1930	Noncontributing Structure
	Cattle Car	c. 1940s-1950s	Noncontributing Structure
	Cattle Car	c. 1940s-1950s	Noncontributing Structure
	Sewage Disposal Ponds	1958-1960	Noncontributing Structure
	Westside Ditch System		Noncontributing Structure
	Kohrs-Manning Ditch System		Noncontributing Structure
	Warren Ditch System		Noncontributing Structure

The Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark is in Montana's Deer Lodge Valley, formed by mountains of the Continental Divide to the east and the Flint Creek Range to the west. Mountains, cresting as high as 10,000 feet, provide a dramatic backdrop to the long, broad semi-arid Deer Lodge Valley. Coniferous forest dominates the landscape down to about 5,000 feet, at which point the Ponderosa pine and Douglas fir become interlaced with the upland native grasses and forbs that carpet

the hills. Descending to the bottomlands, riparian meadows border dense stretches of irrigated hay meadows. Mountain streams emanating from the Deer Lodge, Flint, and Granite ranges supply the much-coveted water supply for hay production. Eventually these major tributaries flow into the meandering Clark Fork River. Lined with cottonwoods and a lush understory of shrubs, the Clark Fork provides key elements – shade, shelter, water, and grass – for raising livestock.

During its history, the ranch has experienced expansion and dispersal of land throughout the Deer Lodge Valley. Although the Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHL boundary encompasses approximately 1,600 acres, the National Historic Landmark includes only a fraction of what was once a much larger ranch. In its heyday in the 1890s, the operational base of the ranch extended over 27,000 acres, with fee, water, and grazing rights over one million acres of public land in four states and Canada.[1]. The Home Ranch – a term that historically defined the Home Ranch building complex and its adjacent lands – extended beyond the current site boundary to the east approximately 1.75 miles and west from one to five miles to reach grazing leases on State lands and the Deer Lodge National Forest. Other holdings in the valley included Dog Creek Pasture (9,129 acres) and Humber Ranch (1,160 acres) to the northeast, and the Upper Ranch (also known as the Nick Bielenberg place, 4,800 acres) to the southeast. During the Warren years (1929-1982[2]) additional lands were purchased or leased to expand the Upper Ranch and to form a chain of lands through T7N R9W and R8W that connected to his Anderson Creek allotment in the Deer Lodge National Forest to the east. Although not within the NHL boundary, the Dog Creek Pasture and Humber Ranch provide a backdrop visible from locations on the Home Ranch. The Upper Ranch also remains in agricultural use, yet is not as readily visible from the Home Ranch.

The Home Ranch building complex is bound on its eastern edge by the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul (1908) and Utah Northern/Northern Pacific (now Montana Western) (1879/1883) railroads and their visually prominent raised track beds. Only the Northern Pacific is actively used. However, the other line maintains its historical integrity through its physical features, location, and feel. The Home Ranch building complex and the Warren Hereford building complex (outside the NHL boundary) are physically linked by railroad crossings east of the main house (HS-1), accessed by two parallel ranch roads. One of these ranch roads, which is within the boundary of the NHL district, was put in by Kohrs. The other ranch road, which is outside the NHL boundary, was built by Warren and extended later by the National Park Service. Close-in pastures and feedlots that give way to outlying hay fields and rangeland surround the building clusters.

The ranch has a close physical and social relationship with the town of Deer Lodge. The expansion and growth of Deer Lodge has had a strong visual impact on the ranch with modern residential development occurring on the eastern and southern boundaries. With the growth of Deer Lodge has come the development of sewage treatment ponds, which were constructed 1958-1960 by the City of Deer in the northeastern corner of the ranch; the widening and improvement of Main Street (Montana

[1] National Park Service, "General Management Plan," 1992, on file at National Park Service, Intermountain Support Office-Denver, p. 53-54, and Conrad K. Warren to Mons L. Tiegen, Secretary, Montana Stockgrowers Association, Helena, MT, 8 February 1973, p. 6-7, oral history on file at Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS. The 27,000 acres are found in Township/Range T8N R10W, T8N R9W, T8N R8W, T7N R8W, and T7N R9W.

[2] Although Warren's final land sale to the National Park Service was not closed until 1988, he sold all of his ranching equipment in 1982 (retaining only his horse Whiskey). This equipment sale marked the end of his active ranching career.

State Highway 10); and the former operation of the gravel quarry in the southeastern corner of the ranch (no longer in use).

The following description describes Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark first as a vernacular landscape, and then in terms of the Home Ranch complex.

I. The Vernacular Landscape

As defined in the National Register Bulletin, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*, a rural historic landscape is "a geographical area that historically has been used by people, or shaped and modified by human activity, occupancy, or intervention, and that possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of areas of land use, vegetation, buildings and structures, roads and waterways, and natural features."[3] The Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark reflects two broad types of cultural landscapes: rural and residential. The nationally significant rural landscape includes the original ranch house building cluster and an extensive complex of agricultural buildings, fencing, corrals, pastures, fields, and railroad beds. Also contributing to the NHL district is the residential landscape of the Grant-Kohrs (Home Ranch) residence.

A. Natural Environment and Vegetation Patterns. NHL Contributing Site (1)

The "open space" or physical landscape of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark, which contributes to the national significance of the district, is counted as one contributing site. Both natural and cultural forces have shaped the physical landscape of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch. The Clark Fork River, which supports a natural riparian corridor of associated wetlands and dense vegetation, forms a dark meandering swath down the middle of the valley and ranch. The Clark Fork River also serves as a physical barrier separating the sloping western lands, which are primarily used for hay fields and range, from the relatively flat eastern portion that contains the Home Ranch building complex, close-in ranch operations (such as feed lots, corrals, and pastures), and additional hay fields. Because of the sloping topography of the river benches, broad gulches, and visually open nature of the typically treeless bench lands and hay/pasture lands, the eastern and western halves of the ranch appear as a contiguous unit.

John Grant, Canadian fur trapper and cattle trader, built his house and trading post (HS-1) on a "peninsular bench" surrounded by gently sloping lands. The house is near readily available water sources from Johnson Creek and nearby springs, yet out of reach of the floodwaters of the Clark Fork River. Kohrs and Warren later supplemented these water sources with more reliable wells for domestic use. Soil types helped determine crop and land use. Hay fields were developed on the river benches that typically contain deep loam. The best soil is on the eastern lands near the Home Ranch complex. These lands were mainly used for pasture during the Grant, Kohrs and Bielenberg years. During the Kohrs and Warren eras, ditch irrigation allowed hay propagation. Later ditches were developed and improved allowing use of secondary ditches. Most of the bottomland soils and lower elevation lands west of the river are poorly drained and used for pasturelands or left as riparian habitat. Upland soils within the National Historic Landmark are shallow with capabilities limited to grazing.

[3] Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* (Washington, D. C., 1989; Revised 1999), 1-2.

Records indicate that Conrad Warren was active in range and pasture improvements within the NHL boundary, promoted by the Agricultural Conservation Programs of the 1940s and 1950s. Major hay species on the site include smooth brome, common timothy, redtop bentgrass, and white clover. The dry uplands in the western portion of the ranch contain a variety of native shortgrass prairie species and the 35-acre inholding (owned by Montana Rail Link) north of the Warren complex but within the NHL boundary, is dominated by native prairie grasses and forbs such as bluebunch wheatgrass, needle-and-thread, Indian ricegrass, moss phlox, upland larkspur and woolypod milk-vetch.[4] A baseline plant inventory reported that these "prairie relics constitute a valuable, living historical resource."[5]

An equally strong vegetation pattern is the natural demarcation of the Clark Fork River and other drainages and creeks by the native riparian vegetation. The Clark Fork River runs approximately two miles through the entire length of the ranch from south to north. Thickets of willow and other deciduous shrubs also appear where there is a year-round water source. These include a mix of species such as black cottonwood, Bebb willow, Drummond willow, slender willow, river birch, red-osier dogwood, common cattails, horsetails and rushes. These vegetation patterns typically occur where agricultural cultivation was neither viable nor economical due to steep banks or floodwaters. However, abandoned irrigation ditches can also quickly support native willow thickets and weeds once the traditional practice of burning the ditches stops.

Within the riparian zone of the river, the effects of upstream mining and smelter wastes in the towns of Anaconda and Butte, Montana, visibly alter the natural vegetative patterns. Pollutants came from the now defunct Anaconda smelter operation in upper Deer Lodge Valley and from flood plain deposition of mine tailings carried by the Clark Fork River. In some areas, mining waste deposits called "slickens" prevent the growth of any vegetation. While this problem has affected water usage in the park, federal officials are currently working on these issues. The impact of deposition minimally affects the visual esthetics of the site.

B. Circulation Systems, pre-1862 – circa 1983. NHL Contributing Structures (2)

As described below, two circulation systems within the NHL boundary – the Northern Pacific Railroad alignment and the Milwaukee Railroad alignment – contribute to the NHL district. Excluded from the resource count are a number of circulation elements that contribute to our understanding of land use and site development, but are of too small a scale to be included.

Deer Lodge has been served by a comparatively good transportation network from its earliest development. John Grant established his trading post along the trade route used by various tribes and fur traders. By 1862, a rough road network connected Deer Lodge with the southern mining communities of Bannock and Virginia City and with Fort Benton on the Missouri River. In its vicinity, cattle trails led first to immigrant trails then to major western cattle centers. The Clark Fork River and irrigation ditches traverse nearby grazing lands and pastures. Farm roads connect principal areas on

[4] Ray, "Baseline Plant Inventory," 4.

[5] Most of the grasses at the site are exotic species of introduced pasture grasses and weedy species such as spotted knapweed, leafy spurge, and thistle. The "Baseline Plant Inventory of the Grant Kohrs Ranch" and supplemental studies have identified over 160 species of vaseular plants in the park. Ninety-seven of these species, about sixty percent of the vaseular flora, are native to the region. However many of the remaining exotic species are now widely distributed throughout the North American continent.

the ranch, as well as nearby Montana State Highway 10. Later, railroads pushing westward linked the ranch to the greater world. Thus, the Grant-Kohrs Ranch circulation system connected the ranch and its available resources (cattle and horses) to the local, regional, and national community.

Circa 1879, the Utah Northern Railroad (acquired by the Northern Pacific Railroad Company in 1888) established a line through Deer Lodge. With the 1883 completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad alignment through Garrison Junction (ten miles northwest of Deer Lodge) regional transportation improved considerably. Today, the Montana Western Railroad still uses the track in the easternmost right-of way with two trains, on average, passing through each day.

In 1908 the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad Company constructed its main line parallel to the Northern Pacific line. A "Kohrs" siding for cattle loading was established four miles north of the Home Ranch, and a passenger and freight station was located on Railroad Street in Deer Lodge less than one mile south. The local economy was dependent upon reliable transportation to the larger regional markets. The Milwaukee Railroad alignment or right-of-way is now owned by the National Park Service, which has maintained track and electric poles from Deer Lodge to just north of the Home Ranch building complex. Located on the tracks, in the vicinity of the Bielenberg Barn (HS-11), the park has two c. 1940s-1950s cattle cars, which it uses for interpretive purposes. Throughout the ranch, most of the track bed is raised and divides circulation west and east of the tracks. The only place the track is at grade is in front of the main house (HS-1), where two ranch access roads provide east/west-connecting routes.

Atypical of the majority of communities in the West that were settled after the passage of government surveyors, the historic roads in Deer Lodge Valley do not strictly follow section lines. Based on the 1868 government surveys, Main Street (State Highway 10), which forms part of the NHL's eastern boundary, was formerly the Deer Lodge-Garrison Road and was established on the most direct route along the Clark Fork River between the two towns. A second county road once connected the western end of Milwaukee Avenue and passed through the Home Ranch lands to the "Kohrs" siding, four miles north. (This road was abandoned by the county and has been modified by existing ranch roads – in some locations stumps of electric poles are all that remain of its former alignment.) The Deer Lodge and Helena Road that once headed diagonally northeast across the valley to join with the current Highway 12 east of Avon was abandoned when Interstate 90 and the Deer Lodge interchange were developed. Only the extension of Milwaukee Avenue is located along the section line (this road on the southern historic-site boundary was called the Deer Lodge Pioneer Road and connected to Gold Creek).

Historically, access to the ranch was provided from the east off of Main Street (formerly Deer Lodge - Garrison Road). This historic access road, which is included within the NHL boundary, was generally centered on the main house (HS-1) and reinforced with plantings of cottonwoods on each side. After 1934, this historic alignment also provided access to the Warren residence, and is still used by park staff. Circa 1950, Warren added a second road (which is not within the NHL boundary) parallel to the historic drive to provide access to his new barn complex and the north end of the Home Ranch complex between two feed racks (HS-36 and 37). A separate modern access road, unrelated to the historic use of the ranch, is also provided to the sewage treatment plant at the north end of the ranch.

In the middle sections of the ranch (east of the river), a series of ranch roads and stock trails connect the fields and pastures north and south of the Home Ranch complex. The roads are primarily located

on the eastern and higher sides of the fields as the western portions are subject to flooding. Due to the width of the river, the steep bank, and the flow of water during peak season, there is only one crossing point over the Clark Fork River, bridge HS-89. The bridge alignment dates to the 1930s when Conrad Warren acquired and began to cultivate the fields on the "West Side." Prior to that date, stock crossed on a bridge (non-extant) further south, en route to rangeland west of the river. A second bridge (HS-55) crosses one of the ditch systems. It is a pony-truss bridge with concrete headwall supports. Since the stretchers are the only original fabric, the bridge does not contribute to the NHL district.

No documentation was located regarding the existing roads within the western portions of the ranch prior to the earliest available aerial photograph dated 1945. However, most extant roads appear in the same general location as they did on the 1945 aerial photographs. The presence of the bridge across the Clark Fork and the pattern of irrigation ditches, culverts, and distribution gates leave few alternative locations for permanent ranch roads. Many of the existing roads have been improved by the National Park Service with a distinctive light-colored fill, designed to raise their grade in relation to surrounding fields. (As of 1998, this fill was eroding rapidly.) Ranch roads provide access to irrigation distribution gates and to the various pumps, fields, and dumps. A remnant of the road that connected the Kading homestead to the Deer Lodge Pioneer Road is also visible and marked with a windrow of cottonwoods on the west side of the road. A vehicular access also exists from Milwaukee Street at the southern boundary adjacent to the Kohrs Ditch. This gate would have provided easy access to the Kohrs pump (located south of the Milwaukee Street bridge on the west bank of the river) that operated until the 1960s. (The pump house was removed at some point between November 1995 and May 1996.)

Outside of the NHL boundary, the National Park Service has constructed modern vehicular and pedestrian circulation facilities in the southeastern portion of the national historic site to accommodate visitors. From this visitor contact area, an asphalt pedestrian path provides visitor access to the Home Ranch, passing under the Burlington Northern/Montana Western Railroad and the park-owned Milwaukee Railroad tracks. The tracks mark the boundary of the NHL district in this area. Within the NHL district, all pedestrian circulation routes share existing ranch roads and lanes within the building complexes.

C. **Irrigation Systems.** NHL Noncontributing Structures (3)

The overall character of the ranch landscape is a by-product of three irrigation ditches that lace the ranch: Westside, Kohrs-Manning, and Warren Ditches. However, although they may be found to contribute to the National Register of Historic Places at a local or state level of significance, these three ditch systems have been substantially altered and do not contribute to the National Historic Landmark. Although much of the irrigation system was developed during the Kohrs and Bielenberg era, a majority of the system has been reconstructed and currently represents modern twentieth-century irrigation practices, rather than those in use during the 1862-1919 period of significance.

Construction dates and modifications for the primary ditches within the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site have not been established. The Westside, Kohrs-Manning, and Warren Ditches – associated with water rights to the Clark Fork River, Cottonwood Creek, Lost Creek, Little Modesty Creek, and Taylor Creek – include head gates or pumps, an earthen main ditch, and appropriation gates. Metal and wooden field distribution gates of various configurations and a series of canvas dams controlled the distribution of water to various fields and are still utilized. Field cultivation patterns as

defined by the irrigation laterals are distinctive in all of the fields and follow the contour ditch patterns introduced by Warren in the 1930s. These patterns reflect those visible in the 1947 aerial photos, though the precise location of laterals may have changed since that time, as they are traditionally repaired or rebuilt after a number of harvests.

D. Home Ranch Building Cluster. Although a component of the vernacular landscape, the Home Ranch building cluster per se is not included in the resource count. For information on the contributing and noncontributing buildings, structures, and object within this cluster, see the tables listed above and Section II below.

As noted above, the National Historic Landmark includes 68 extant resources, most of which are located in the Home Ranch complex. Most of these resources are directly related to domestic groupings, as well as to animal buildings and structures used in the development of the cattle industry. There are various barns, chutes, corrals, sheds, and a scale house for horses and cattle. Supporting these livestock resources are the garage/blacksmith shop, granaries, barns, and bunkhouse.

The resources represent the majority of the known buildings and structures that have ever existed on the ranch. To date, archival, and field investigation has revealed 16 non-extant resources within the Home Ranch complex. These include: two machine sheds, two cow sheds, a cow stable, a cow barn, a smoke house, buggy house, a chicken coop, four feed racks, a watering trough, funnel-shaped concrete foundation of a cattle chute (veterinary and grooming), and a log retaining wall. The extant structures represent a range of vernacular architecture typical of the region's agricultural building style.

At the time of construction, the log-framed-with-bevel-siding two-story house with green louvered blinds built in 1862 for John Grant was remarkable in size, quality of materials, and architectural detail. It, however, appears modest in light of the brick veneer addition and other improvements by the Kohrs family. While the large Victorian house is uncommon for a Montana ranch, it is typical of late nineteenth-century urban residences (including those in Deer Lodge) and indicative of the Kohrs' and Bielenberg's success as cattle ranchers.

Agricultural buildings reflect their period of construction and use. Log construction, later post-and- pole, were used for the bunkhouse, ice shed, early barns, and sheds. Frame construction was used for less substantial granaries and privies. The later, 1930s-era, noncontributing buildings are generally of frame construction, with metal pipe being introduced in feed racks. In general, the agricultural buildings are simple forms – their size, scale, and openings reflecting their use in vernacular architectural style typical of the region.

The domestic buildings (including main house, bunkhouse, coal shed, and icehouse) are clustered together and separated from work areas in traditional utilitarian groups. Work areas include barns, granaries, chicken coops, etc., developed using simple traditional building forms not attributable to a particular builder. Although physically separate, the domestic and work areas are adjacent to each other and surrounded by a perimeter fence that roughly defines the residential unit from the larger scale pastures and hay fields.

During the Grant and early Kohrs and Bielenberg years (pre-1880) relatively few shelters, compared to the Warren years, were built for stock or feed storage. By the time a 1907 map was drawn of the

ranch, the framework of an interlocking complex of barns and shelters reflected the need to winter feed. (By the 1930s, Warren had refined the types of structures needed for handling, feeding, and sheltering large numbers of cattle. This activity reached its zenith with the feed lots of the adjacent Warren Hereford Ranch that included electric-heated water troughs, sheltered loafing sheds, and feed houses.)

E. Small-Scale Features. Not included in resource count.

The landscape is rich with small-scale features that relate the history of the cattle ranch industry, the majority of them associated with the final period of intensive ranching under the Warren era and which speak to the evolution of the ranch and the cattle industry. Exceptions include those Kohrs and Bielenberg elements reconstructed by the National Park Service, including walkways, ornamental plantings, and jack-leg fences in the immediate vicinity of the Home Ranch complex. All of these elements, while not counted, serve an important function in the overall feeling and setting of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch.

Most of the elements serve a functional purpose and are often overlooked resources in the large-scale landscape picture. These elements include irrigation gates, bridges over irrigation ditches, electric/telephone poles, pump houses, ornamental fences and gates, and ornamental or fruit bearing trees. Other small-scale features typical of the region are wide farmyard gateways, often with tall head frames at major entries. Fence and gate types throughout the ranch are primarily utilitarian and constructed of easily procured materials: metal post and wire defining the fields (few examples of wood post and wire were located), wood and rail for stock corrals, wood pole gates, metal gates, and wire gates.

In some cases, gates and fences were replaced according to preservation standards. The traditional jack-leg fencing that appears clearly in the 1865 sketch of the house are also visible near the building complex, although much of this appears to be replacement fencing with modern poles based on previous fence locations. In *A Place Called Jackson Hole*, the historic resource study for Grand Teton National Park, historian John Daugherty states that the jack-leg fence was the dominant fencing in the first years of settlement in the region and came to symbolize the homesteader's frontier.[6] Lodgepole pine logs rest on crossed logs or bucks at each end of a panel of logs. This style of fencing has also been referred to as buck-and-pole, buck-and-rail, and four-pole leaning fence. After 1900, barbed wire became the dominant type of fence. John Grant's homestead was typical of many with a jackleg fence surrounding its residence. Conrad Kohrs retained the jack-leg fence, but also added a white, ornamental picket fence around the immediate environs of the house. Kohrs closed off most of his ranch with barbed wire. After 1920, steel fence posts made their appearance on western ranches and the Kohrs ranch was no different.[7]

Some of the equipment and objects that were a part of the agrarian landscape remain on the site. A Jenkins hay stacker from the Warren years (circa 1935) and unidentified abandoned equipment can be found at the edges of the fields and bench lands west of the Clark Fork River. The landscape is not rich in pure ornament, but many of these small-scale features depict craftsmanship and proportion that

[6] John Daugherty, *A Place Called Jackson Hole: The Historic Resource Study of Grand Teton National Park* (Moose, Wyoming: Grand Teton National Park, 1999), 127.

[7] Daugherty, *A Place Called Jackson Hole*, 127.

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make them more than purely functional. These elements reflect the lives of those who made this ranch their home. Historic correspondence indicates that many of these small-scale features, such as the irrigation pump, served critical roles often disguised by their small size and were carefully purchased after a number of discussions with bankers, engineers, and equipment suppliers. Other small-scale elements, such as the railroad and Grant-Kohrs Ranch electrical power poles, are indicative of progressive changes that affected the entire nation.

II. The Home Ranch

Primarily constructed by John Grant (1862-1866) and Conrad Kohrs and John Bielenberg (1866-1919)

There is little documentation of the original buildings developed by John Grant. A drawing by Granville Stuart dated August 6, 1865, shows the original house (HS-1) on the raised bench land and a series of low log buildings where the bunkhouse building now stands. Presumably some or all of those log structures form the central part of the bunkhouse (HS-2). The foreground of the drawing shows a traditional Montana jack-leg fence that zigzags along the east edge, as well as a standard post-and-pole fence southwest of the house. The Grant house and adjacent stock buildings served as the nucleus of the cluster of buildings and structures constructed during the Kohrs and Bielenberg years.

The detail of a drawing entitled "1883 Bird's Eye View of Deer Lodge City County Seat of Deer Lodge County, Montana" shows the changes to the Home Ranch by Kohrs and Bielenberg. By 1883 the front and sides of the yard of the main house had been defined by what appears to be poplars or black cottonwoods. The bunkhouse appears in the same position as the log buildings drawn by Stuart but has a new gabled roof. East of the bunkhouse, but in line with it, is a new taller structure with a sloped roof and five large doors that appears to be the buggy shed (now the easternmost part of HS-2 that includes both structures and the infill connecting them). North of these two structures, but generally parallel, a large barn appears to have a hayloft door on the upper level of the east facade (this may be either draft-horse barn HS-7 or non-extant Structure E, a dairy). Between these two rows of buildings is shown a corral in the approximate location where the corral appears today. Farther north, three long tall sheds, generally parallel the railroad tracks in north-south orientation appear in the sketch and can be easily identified on later maps. The middle building is non-extant Structure D (cow stable) with an open sided stock shelter to its east and what is currently the horse barn (HS-11) to its west. Although not shown in the 1883 drawing, stallion barns HS-14, HS-16, HS-19, and HS-30, located in the "lower yard" southwest of the main house, are also believed to date to the 1870s.

In 1907, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad sent a surveyor to Deer Lodge as they prepared to lay tracks east of the ranch house. The surveyor's drawing shows not only a detailed layout of the buildings, pastures, corrals, and lanes around the main house, but also the expansion of development into the lower lying lands to the southwest of the main house. The 12 buildings and 10 clearly defined corrals, pastures, or lanes form three sub-areas. These three areas include the main house and surrounding gardens, the cattle and horse breeding complex, and the Thoroughbred-horse complex. The interlocking development of parallel and perpendicular agricultural buildings to the north included ranch workers' quarters, barns and corrals, and connecting pastures to the north and west (used for the breeding of cattle and horses). The ranch at various times bred Shorthorn and Hereford cattle, as well as Thoroughbred, Clydesdale, Shire, Percheron-Norman and coach horses. A Thoroughbred barn (HS-15), proximate to stallion barns HS-14, HS-16, HS-19, and HS-30, that connected to pastures to the south and west of the main house, created a distinct Thoroughbred-horse complex. A lane divides the first two sub-areas and provides direct access to the main house, bunkhouse, and icehouse, and

continues to the east over the railroad right-of-way.

Seven other structures expanded the complex to the north and east. The structures included a coal shed (HS-4) built in 1915, an ice house (HS-5) built in 1879 (lean-to on south added in 1912), a cow shed (HS-13) built circa 1908-09, a granary (HS-23) built in 1910, and feed racks built in 1907. Feed racks HS-37 and 38 were reconstructed in October 1984. The partial removal of the buggy shed (HS-17) from bunkhouse (HS-2), to accommodate laying of the tracks, also more clearly defined the lower yard/pasture area west of the main house. Other buildings present during this era are no longer standing, removed during the construction of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad track [Milwaukee Road] or by changes during the Warren era.

The following descriptions are arranged by era of construction (as identified by historic maps and photographs), by location or cluster, and therein by function. Those nineteenth-century buildings relocated during construction of the Milwaukee Road are described in their current rather than their original position in the Main Yard. The following descriptions concentrate on the National Historic Landmark's contributing resources. However, noncontributing resources are also described, particularly in terms of their construction dates, function, and impact on the integrity of the National Historic Landmark. All of the noncontributing resources were constructed later than the 1862-1919 period of significance by either Conrad Warren or the National Park Service.

Grant-Kohrs Home Ranch, Domestic Complex 1862-1919

A. Main House (HS-1), 1862-1890. NHL Contributing Building (1)

In 1865, *The Montana Post* praised Johnny Grant's new residence as "by long odds, the finest in Montana. . . . large and two-storied. . . [It appears] as if it had been lifted by the chimneys from the bank of the Saint Lawrence and dropped down in Deer Lodge Valley. It has twenty-eight windows, with green painted shutters, and looks very pretty." Grant reported that the lumber for the large (64' long, 30' wide) hewn-log home was hauled from the Flathead Indian Reservation, 150 miles to the north. Builders included "McLeod, the hewer" and carpenter Alexander Pambrun. The building is of *poteaux en coulisse* construction, a French phrase for a system of log construction that includes other terms such as "Red River Frame", *piece-sur-piece*, or mortise-and-tennon log construction. (It is also sometimes known as "Hudson's Bay Frame" construction) There are several versions of *poteaux en coulisse*. In the case of the Grant residence, the uprights were set on a sill plate and infilled with horizontal logs mortise and tennoned into the uprights; the wall was then capped with a header or top plate. All furniture within the Grant residence was "homemade," with the exception of two parlor chairs and four "other" chairs that Grant purchased from Captain Labarge.[8] Conrad Kohrs purchased the Grant "farmhouse" and its furnishings in 1866. Between then and 1890, Kohrs would add a formal entry, four vestibules, and a two-story brick addition with a full basement, creating a T-shaped footprint. Augusta Kohrs's conservatory was added to the south elevation by 1907.

The main house (HS-1) appears today much as it did in December of 1890 when Kohrs reported the

[8] Grant, quoted in Lyndel Meikle, editor, *Very Close to Trouble: The Johnny Grant Memoir* (Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 1996), 87-88.

interior and exterior reconstruction complete. Only the conservatory, open porches, and vestibules intrude upon the simple T-shaped footprint. The Grant residence remains as the front elevation, virtually hiding the addition save for the east gable end that projects slightly above the side-gable roof of the original house. Viewed from the south, north, or east, the 1890 addition is an imposing: two stories, extending by virtue of its full basement construction to three stories on the west elevation, where basement access is located. As with the Grant structure, fenestration and massing are simple, visually linking the two components, while the Queen Anne-detailed open porch near the southwest corner testifies to the addition's construction during the Victorian era.

The Grant structure has a rubblestone foundation; the Kohrs addition is on a roughly cut and coursed stone foundation. The roughly dressed stones are of random size to build up the walls using a mortar infill.[9] Today, as during the Grant era, shingles cover the shallow-pitched saltbox roof of the Grant structure. The Kohrs' addition was roofed with terne plate in 1890, and in cedar shingle in 1974 by the National Park Service. The National Park Service restored the roof in 1999 to its original design using zinc-coated stainless steel. The wide boxed eaves that return in the gable ends are similar in style, providing a visual link between the two components. (The Grant eaves have beveled moldings; the eaves on the Kohrs additions are molded with crown.) At its eastern edge, the two-story addition extends above the one-story west gable slope of the Grant structure; this exposed gable end is sided with clapboard siding to match that on the Grant structure. Chimneys are numerous and of similar design. Two straddle the ridge of the Grant structure; three are located at the south eave of the addition; a sixth is located at the extreme west end of the ridge; and two more (one dating to the Grant era, yet extended in height to serve the 1890 addition) are located at the north eave.

The Grant portion of the ranch house is largely defined by the symmetrical placement of fenestration and roof features. Two chimneys are offset to either end of the ridge. Six six-over-three double-hung windows line the second-story level of the front elevation, suggesting a window frieze. On the main level, the primary entry door (paired with a wood-frame screen, topped by a six-light transom, and bordered by four-light sidelights), is centered within the elevation where it is flanked to either side by a six-over-six double-hung window. An open porch, constructed by Kohrs prior to 1884, encompasses this window/door grouping. Square wood columns support the flat porch roof, which features a decorative balustrade in a Roman grate detail suited to the vernacular Greek Revival characteristics of the house. Two six-over-six double-hung windows are located to either side of the entry (centered beneath the corresponding upper-level windows), creating a five-bay facade. All windows (on this and subsequently described elevations of the Grant structure) are paired with functioning dark green-painted louvered blinds.

The conservatory, which wraps around the southwest comer, is visible at the south end of the west elevation of the Grant structure. Cedar shingles cover the half-hip conservatory roof. Groups of two-over-two windows with storm windows, running from eave to foundation, dominate the west, south, and east elevations of the conservatory.

Viewed from the south, the Grant component retreats, engulfed by the bulk of the brick addition. The south elevation of the addition is the most elaborately detailed. Features include the conservatory (see above), the large bay that defines the dining room, and a substantial open porch, topped with an elaborate wood balustrade. A half-hip roof covers the semi-octagonal dining room bay projection.

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[9] Cyril Harris, ed., *Dictionary of Architecture and Construction* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1975), 133.

Each side of the bay contains a one-over-one double hung window, while the south contains two windows. As with all windows on the addition, the windows have bull-nosed trim and are paired with painted wood lintels and sills.

The open porch was fully enclosed during the 1940s and restored to its original Victorian design between 1982 and 1983, with elaborate turned columns, spindlework detailing under the eaves, and a turned balustrade with top and bottom rail. A short and shallow mansard-type roof, covered with decorative fishscale shingles, terminates in an upper deck where the design of the main-deck balustrade is repeated. A picket railing at the end of the porch protects users from misstep. Stairs lead from the porch to the garden. Features within the protective confines of the porch include the glazed and paneled kitchen entry and a one-over-one double-hung window. The overhanging painted eaves provide much of the decorative detail on the second story of the addition's south elevation. Additional features are limited to five one-over-one double-hung windows.

The three-story west elevation, facing the coal shed, pasture, and agricultural outbuildings, is exceedingly plain. Only the cut-and-coursed stone of the basement level, and a one-over-one window offset to the north at the first-floor level, break the expanse of brick, as do the gable returns at the eaves. At the basement level, two stone vestibules lead to a root cellar (beneath the southwest porch) and the primary basement space.

Features within the north elevation of the addition are limited to three one-over-one double-hung windows symmetrically placed across the upper level, and four double-hung windows and two vestibules along the lower level. The matching vestibules are wood frame, clad with clapboard siding that matches those found on the Grant component. Each is topped with a half-hip roof and is constructed on a brick foundation. Simple three-step wood-plank stoops provide access to the four-panel doors located in the west elevation of each vestibule. The north elevations each contain a centered two-over-two double-hung window.

Within the Grant component, north elevation fenestration matches that of the south elevation. Between 1866 and 1883, a vestibule for access to the domestic water source, providing access to the original Grant kitchen was constructed at the western edge of the north elevation. The addition is roofed in cedar shingles, and the walls are faced with clapboard siding. Features are limited to a small window centered under the eave in the east elevation and a four-panel door centered within the west elevation. Breaks in the siding suggest that the window is smaller than the original and that features have been removed from the north elevation.

The interior of the Grant component of the ranch house displays vernacular craftsmanship utilizing local materials in a manner recalling stylish details. The original central hall plan contains an entry hall and stairway, music room, formal parlor, Conrad Kohrs's office, Conrad and Augusta Kohrs's bedroom, a second bedroom, a bathroom, John Bielenberg's bedroom, and a vestibule. The sitting room links the Grant component with the 1890 addition. The second story of the Grant component contains four bedrooms and a trunk room. The trunk room and bedroom #206, once accessed directly from the stair landing, were partitioned after 1871. A passageway, running north-south along the west wall, provides access to the bedrooms. South and north storage garrets are set under the east slope.

While the floor plan of the Grant component generally reflects the original design, some room functions and most decorative finishes date to (or postdate) the Kohrs' 1890 reconstruction. Partition walls are

constructed of thin beaded board, covered with cotton muslin, and then wallpapered. Doors are four-panel, without panel molding, and are grained. Simple window trim with backband molding and plain baseboard contrast to later picture moldings set at ceiling height. Patterned carpeting covers the floors. Runners of dark, durable carpet mark tourist pathways. Upstairs floors are of painted wood, some covered with carpeting. Walls in the hallway are painted, while the walls of the bedrooms are papered.

The interior of the 1890 addition contrasts markedly with earlier spaces. The floor plan (which NPS architectural historian Rodd Wheaton reports bears similarities to a floor plan presented in 1887 in the Deer Lodge newspaper *New Northwest*[10]) consists of a connecting "china pantry" between the dining room and kitchen; folding doors separating the dining room from the sitting room, the center of family activity at the ranch house; an easy flight of stairs to the basement; and several second-floor bedrooms, each with a closet, interconnected en suite.[11] Additional rooms included the long back hallway and stairway, accessed from vestibule #111 and opening to the sitting room, dining room, and kitchen. A vestibule provides the most direct access to the kitchen and is strategically located by the woodpile and coalhouse. The basement provided room for the furnace, as well as a root cellar, 1940s walk-in cooler, commissary, and storeroom. The dividing wall between the commissary and storeroom has been removed in the modern period, creating one large room to accommodate HVAC system added between 1983 and 1984. Door and window trim is generally symmetrical in profile, set with a molded roundel within the corner blocks that extend beyond the headpiece with a section of molding. Multi-panel doors are hung below glazed transoms. The trim is painted in two tones and is grained to match paneled oak wainscoting.

The sitting room, linking the Grant component and the Kohrs addition, was restored in the 1980s to its historic appearance. Original paper walls were repainted in original colors. A highly ornamental, cavetto comice-frieze papered in reproduction wallpaper curves from an original gold/copper metallic picture molding on the wall to a wood bead molding on the ceiling. The ceiling has also been re-papered in a reproduction designed to match the original. The carpet is a reproduction, matching the 1890 original.

The elaborate dining room wainscoting is in the Colonial Revival Style – multi-panel, capped with a cushion frieze, matching the door and window openings with fluted jamb facings, and a cushion frieze. A matching built-in Queen Anne style corner sideboard containing doors, cupboards, and semicircular glazed display cabinets dominates the northwest corner of the dining room. Wallpaper, painted to match the original, extends from the wainscoting to a gilded picture molding set below a reproduced cornice-frieze, as in the sitting room. The ceiling paper is a reproduction, designed to suggest the original. The dining room floor is varnished oak flooring. Octagonal tiles cover the floor of the bay projection centered in the south wall. The room contains a Creative-Renaissance Revival chandelier, centered above the dining room table. Brass arms support etched globes for gaslights and tulip-shaped globes for electric lights above gas lamps with a dome shade.

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[10] Louis H. Gibson, "Helping the Housewife, How Architects Should Plan the People's Homes," *New Northwest*, Deer Lodge, Montana, as quoted by Rodd Wheaton, "Furnishing the Ranch House," in John Albright, *Historic Resource Study and Historic Structure Report for the Kohrs and Bielenberg Home Ranch, Grant-Kohrs National Historic Site, Montana*, [Hereafter referred to as Historic Resource Study], (Denver Service Center: National Park Service, 1979), Appendix 17, p. 349.

[11] In 1950, Conrad Warren converted the west end of the second story addition to an apartment with living room (#213), dining room (#214), kitchen (#215), and bath (#216).

Oak is also the primary wood of the turned and paneled octagonal newel post, the molded railing, and the turned balusters of the stairway of the back hallway. Here the plaster walls and ceiling is combed with circle motifs. Above the picture mold and within frieze space, the combing reflects stylized flowers and foliage.

The kitchen is finished with cherry-stained pine wainscoting, less elaborate than that in the dining room. A circa 1912 elaborate pressed metal ceiling extends downward to a heavy crown molding. A wood-and-coal-burning 1915 stove with nickel detailing, topped by an immense metal hood from the 1890s, is a dominant feature of the room. Cherry wood cupboards are built in and enhance the beauty of the room.

The conservatory is appropriately dominated by the groups of windows that line the west, south, and east elevations. The floor is painted wood and painted bead board covers the dropped ceiling.

The upstairs has not been restored. Like the upper-level rooms in the Grant component, floors are wood and walls are painted and papered. Conrad Warren converted three of the original (1890) rooms to an apartment with kitchen, bath, dining room, and living room in 1950 for his head herdsman and family. This apartment was also used for a time by the National Park Service.

Furnishings in the lower-level public rooms are mostly original to the house; their placement documented to the extent possible through historic photographs and oral history interviews. Although some furnishings are from the Kohrs' Helena home, the appearance approximates that of the period 1880s-1920, with some pieces dating to the Grant period of the mid 1860s. The furnishings and finishes were accumulated over the course of decades, and reflect numerous trips abroad, to Chicago, and to New York.

B. Main House Yard, 1862-1900. NHL Contributing Site (1)

The house and its associative garden, which was the subject of a NPS Level 1 Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI), are evaluated as a contributing site. In the main house yard, cottonwoods appear in historic photos as a double or triple row along the front of the main house and along the entry drive. Now only a few aged cottonwoods mark the alignment of this historic road, although the park is currently undertaking a project to plant new cottonwoods along the alignment. (Many of the extant cottonwood trees are over mature and have begun to break up in storms.) By 1883, the main house yard was enclosed on the east and south sides with a picket fence to provide an inner sanctuary for the family. Inside this private yard, Augusta Kohrs planted a front lawn and garden on two levels with ornamental plants, flowers and vegetables. An open trough system following the fence irrigated the front yard and is still extant beneath eight inches of fill soil.

C. Bunkhouse Row (HS-2), circa 1862-circa 1907. NHL Contributing Building (1)

Bunkhouse Row is a composite of log, post-and-beam, and frame structures. The log part of the building is a circa 1862 "dogtrot" cabin, two cabins connected by a breezeway. John Grant occupied it during construction of the main house. The open dogtrot was enclosed by 1884 and the enlarged structure used as a bunkhouse for Kohrs and Bielenberg crews. Between 1884 and 1890, a board-and-batten buggy shed was built slightly east of the building. By 1907, horse barns had been built

between the buggy shed and the building, joining the two structures. Also at that time, a frame woodshed and washroom was constructed adjacent to the kitchen on the west side of the building. In 1907, when the Milwaukee Railroad tracks were laid, half of the buggy shed was moved into the yard west of the ranch house, behind the present coal shed. Historian John Albright reports that:

> The 1907 map shows the uses of the various sections of the long and narrow building. The western two thirds is labeled "Bunkhouse," the next section "Shop," and the easternmost "Buggy Ho." J. H. Gehrmann's recollections generally support this, but add greater detail on the uses of rooms in the bunkhouse. Gehrmann's descriptions of the rooms, again from west to east, are "Store Room," "Cowboy's Bunkhouse" (sleeping room), and "Home Stable" (buggy house).[12]

The east third of the original log cabin was remodeled for Conrad Warren's ranch office after 1935, while the enclosed central portion was used as a bunkroom for ranch hands. Circa 1935, the remainder of the bunkhouse was divided into a sitting room (the west third of the original log component), dining room (where there was a cot for the cook), and kitchen. Warren had windows enlarged, a new floor laid, the interior walls plastered, and a shower room added to the west end of the building. In addition, it was wired for electricity and plumbing added to the kitchen.

Bunkhouse Row is oriented east-west. Presently, from east to west, the bunkhouse components include the buggy shed, chore-boy room, stable, ranch office, bunkroom, sitting room, dining room, kitchen, shower/washroom, and woodshed. Throughout the building, corrugated galvanized metal panels cover the 16", 12" or 6" sheathing of the roof. A shed roof covers the buggy shed component of the building, which is located on the east side. Immediately west of the buggy shed is the gabled, one and one-half story stable. The rest of the building is one story and has a gabled roof. The building is constructed on a stone and mortar foundation. Built between 1862 and 1865, the original dogtrot style cabin is easily identifiable by its daubed, half-dovetail log exterior walls. Additional components have wood frame or post-and-beam structural systems covered with 12" vertical boards with 3" battens, 6" dropped cove horizontal siding, and 12" vertical boards. Eventually, the "Row" was wired for electricity and for water in both the kitchen and washroom.

The interior of the buggy shed contains three and one-half storage bays, defined by the exposed post-and-pole structural system. Within each of the three full bays, two 12" wide planks, placed four to six inches apart on the dirt floor, served as wheel lanes for the buggies.

The first floor of the stable is divided into three bays: a large stall and warming room on the east side; a central storage area, with a large built-in closet on its east interior wall; and the west bay, which is divided into four stalls. Ghost marks show this is a historic remodeling of original stall placement. The stalls' half-walls are wood planks, and built-in mangers are located on the west side of each stall. The walls of the first story of the stable are finished with horizontal wood planks. The log components of the bunkhouse, containing the ranch office, bunk room, sitting room, and dining room, are finished with 1" x 6" tongue-and-groove flooring, and plaster over wood lathe on the walls and ceilings. Wood trims of various sizes surround the windows and doors. Four-panel interior doors provide access between the bunkroom, sitting room, dining room, and kitchen. In the kitchen, tempered hardwood covers the walls and ceiling, and the floor is linoleum. There are built-in cabinets and a sink on the south side of the west wall. Milled lumber trims the window and door openings. The exterior doors within the north and

[12] Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 198.

south elevations of the washroom/shower provide the only access to the room. Wood planks of various widths cover the floor and walls of the room, and the ceiling is open to the roof structure. Horizontal plank siding covers the interior walls of the wood shed. The stone foundation is visible above the dirt floor, and the ceiling is open to the roof structural system. A large wooden pigeon cove, supported by a pole and knee braces, fills the gable end of the west wall.

D. Ice House (HS-5), circa 1880. NHL Contributing Building (1)

The 1883 Stoner illustration and 1884 Leeson drawing do not show the icehouse because of the angle of view. However, the building is believed to date to circa 1880. Conrad Warren recalled that "most winters they [Kohrs and Bielenberg] ponded Johnson Creek, let it freeze over and then cut blocks of ice weighing 200-300 lbs., which they put up in the ice house with sawdust for insulation. Once the creek froze again, they cut more ice. 1933 was such an open winter that they had to go to Rock Creek Lake to cut ice."[13] Following the circa 1935 installation of a walk-in cooler in the basement of the main house, Warren converted the historic icehouse to a tack shed.

The icehouse is a one-story, square, log building with frame additions on the west and south elevations. The original portion is constructed on a stone full-basement foundation. Walls are constructed with V-notched, whitewashed logs and lime-mortar daubing. The gable roof runs east west and is covered with wood shingles over tongue-and-groove sheathing. The east elevation of the log component contains two nine-light hopper-sash windows that flank a centered, wooden, two-panel door with a stile and rail frame.

The whitewashed south shed addition, which provided housing for the Chinese ranch cook, is sided with vertical board-and-batten siding and roofed with wood-shingle roofing. The east elevation of the south addition has a board-and-batten door. There is one four-light fixed-sash window centered on its south elevation. The west elevation of the basement is above ground and has an attached addition covered with horizontal beveled siding. The shed roof slopes to the west, is covered with wood shingles, and has exposed rafter ends on its west side. The west addition has one six-light fixed-sash window centered on both the west and south elevations, and a six-panel wood door centered on the north elevation. The windows are covered with bars, added by Warren to keep train hobos from stealing meat.

The main floor of the original log building consists of one room finished with 1" x 5" wall and ceiling boards. The floor is reinforced wood boards covered with tin and supported by heavy (2" x 10") floor joists. Both the tin covering and the heavy floor joist evidence the historic ice-storage function. Blocks of ice weighing 200 to 300 pounds were stored in this main-floor room, insulated with sawdust.[14] A nine-panel door provides access to the basement, where, historically, meat and dairy products were stored. The basement has a brick and mortar floor and stone walls. Between the west basement wall and the west addition are two wood-sash four-light fixed windows. The west addition is finished with

[13] Warren to McKennan, September 3, 1931, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS Archives, Deer Lodge, Montana.

[14] Con Warren interviewed by unidentified Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS employee, May 4, 1978, Record Group 5: Informal Interviews [RG 5], Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS Archives, Deer Lodge, Montana.

five-inch wall and ceiling boards and five-inch floorboards. Five-inch boards also cover the walls, ceiling, and floor of the south addition.

E. Coal Shed (HS-4), circa 1915. NHL Contributing Building (1)

The coal shed dates to circa 1915, when it was constructed in association with installation of a coal-burning furnace in the ranch house. Historic photographs reveal a large building once in this location. In 1931, when Warren lived in the ranch house, the 1915 shed was stocked with 36 ½ tons of coal, a fuel supply supplemented with seven cords of wood and a woodshed "half full" from the previous year.[15]

The coal shed, site of the ranch's modern electrical panels, is a one-story, rectangular, wood-frame building constructed on a concrete pad. Wood shingles cover the shed roof and white-painted, five-inch horizontal, lapped wood siding covers the exterior walls. Door and window trim and corner boards are painted red. Features on the east elevation include a door opening with milled lumber trim to the south and an access hatch for coal delivery on the north side.

The only noncontributing resource in the domestic complex is the white, frame, one-story Blacksmith Shop/Garage (HS-3), constructed by Conrad Warren in 1935.

The Main Yard Building Cluster

This agricultural building cluster was first developed in the Kohrs and Bielenberg era. Located directly behind Bunkhouse Row at the northeast corner of the building complex, it currently includes a draft horse barn (HS-7), an oxen barn (HS-10), and a Bielenberg horse barn (HS-11). Noncontributing buildings include the Granary/Roller Mill (HS-6) and the Dairy Barn (HS-9). These two white-painted frame buildings were constructed by Conrad Warren in the 1930s, replacing earlier non-extant buildings. The one-story Granary/Roller Mill (HS-6) has horizontal wood siding and an offset pitched gable roof; the interior grain handling system is intact. The Dairy Barn (HS-9) is a one- and one-half-story building with horizontal wood siding and a gabled roof. The small scale Warren-era feed racks (HS-36 to 38) and beef hoist (HS-40) were reconstructed by the National Park Service in 1984. Non-extant buildings include a machine shed, open cowshed and barn, and stable, some of which were removed to make room for the Milwaukee railroad. A chicken coop was removed because of insect infestation. A machine shed (HS-12), a cow shed (HS-13), and cattle feed racks constructed during the Kohrs-Bielenberg era (all contributing) are located approximately 800 feet to the north along the railroad tracks. This complex also includes a noncontributing squeeze chute (HS-41) reconstructed in the 1980s.

F. Draft Horse Barn (HS-7), circa 1870. NHL Contributing Building (1)

The draft horse barn originates from the 1870s. Constructed of log and frame materials, it is a typical example of the utilitarian design of the ranch service buildings. Virtually unaltered, the two-story barn is a rectangular building with a gabled roof and a shed addition on the north elevation. Constructed on a stone foundation, the walls of the main building are "V"-notched logs, with vertical wood planks filling

[15] Warren to McKennan, September 3, 1931.

the gable ends. The addition is also constructed on a random-laid stone foundation; however, board-and-batten siding covers its exterior walls. The east and west walls each have a board-and-batten double-leaf door. There are four six-light windows: two on the first floor south side, one at the loft level of the west side, and one at the loft level of the east side of the addition. Both the shed addition and the main gable roofs are covered with corrugated metal.

The interior walls and ceiling of the draft horse barn are unfinished, with sawn timbers and vertical boards. The barn contains eight stalls in the original section and four stalls in the addition. Each stall has a feed trough that rests on grade. A wood ladder provides access to the upper-level hay storage.

G. Oxen Barn (HS-10), circa 1870. NHL Contributing Building (1)

This 1870s log barn is located just north of the draft horse barn. It is a one- and one-half-story rectangular log building with a gabled roof oriented north to south, which was substantially reconstructed in 1981. The oxen barn was originally constructed on a stone foundation with log sills; the current concrete-pier foundation, infilled with stone, was added as part of the 1981 restoration effort. The logs are joined with V-notching and are daubed with a lime-based mortar. Ten-inch vertical wood siding fills the gable ends. West elevation features include one centered double-leaf door and one, six-light fixed-frame wood-sash window. On the east elevation, there is a half-door, for access to the loft, constructed with twelve-inch wide boards attached with two metal "T" hinges. There are no openings on the north or south elevation. The roof is covered with random width sheathing and wood shingles.

H. Bielenberg Barn (HS-11), circa 1880. NHL Contributing Building (1)

Historian John Albright reports that the Bielenberg Bam (reminiscent of racetrack "shedrows" and thought to have housed John Bielenberg's racehorses) was constructed circa 1880. This date coincides with large-scale horse raising on the Home Ranch. The one-story, rectangular bam has a west-sloping shed roof and pole structural system. The frame walls are sided with whitewashed, vertical board-and-batten siding, and red-painted skirtboard; this siding dates to the Conrad Warren era, circa 1933. The original siding is intact under the siding added in the Warren era. On the east elevation there are eight vertical board-and-batten stall doors. Prior to 1938, a roof over the entrances into the corral area existed. It is not known when the roof was removed. A fixed six-light wood-sash window is located above each stall door. One additional window is located at the northeast end, for a total of nine windows on the east elevation. The north elevation contains one fixed six-light wood-sash window off-center to the east. The south elevation contains one fixed four-light wood-sash window off center to the east. The west elevation has no features. The interior walls and ceiling are unfinished, revealing the back sides of the exterior board-and-batten siding. On the north side of the building, the stall walls are open and framed with poles. South side stalls are of pole construction, with horizontal-plank half-walls, and built-in feed troughs.

I. Machine Shed (HS-12), circa 1890. NHL Contributing Building (1)

In 1907, this building, labeled a machine shop on a 1907 map, stood directly in the path of the

proposed Milwaukee Railroad. Previously at the north end of the Main Yard stock complex, the shed was moved directly west in 1907 or 1908. It remains on the bluff area overlooking the lower river bottomland. The ranch hands used the shed to store farm equipment and supplies. The one-story, pole-frame rectangular machine shed has a gabled roof covered with corrugated metal. Vertical board-and-batten siding stained with a red lead stain (sometimes referred to as "Navajo" red) covers the exterior walls. Five large, side-hinged, board-and-batten doors dominate the east elevation. There are no other features on the building.

J. Cow Shed (HS-13), circa 1908. NHL Contributing Building (1)

This L-shaped cowshed was constructed after the 1907-1908 dislocations brought about by the construction of the Milwaukee Railroad. Kohrs, Bielenberg, and Warren used the shed to store feed, equipment, and protect cattle. To the south and west, the building faces into a corral containing a wood-frame squeeze chute (HS-41) that dates to the Warren era.

The exterior walls of this pole-frame, L-shaped shed are finished with vertical board-and-batten siding, stained red. Corrugated metal covers the intersecting gable roof. The south side of the west elevation and the west side of the south elevation are open. At the south end, there is an enclosed calving room. Wooden poles define the bays on those elevations, with nine on the west elevation and eight on the south. Pole gates secure the bays at the extreme ends of those elevations. A pair of swinging board-and-batten doors is located on the east end of the north elevation. Two four-light, fixed-frame wood-sash windows are also found on the north elevation, one centered on the east side, the other off-center to the east. The north side of the west elevation has no features. Five four-light, fixed-sash windows are evenly spaced along the north half of the east elevation.

K. Siphon (HS-57), circa 1908. NHL Contributing Structure (1)

The siphon was constructed c. 1908 by the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad, as part of the construction of the railroad track. The siphon, which is no longer in use, consists of two poured-in-place wells joined by a subterranean concrete tunnel that channels water under the railroad grade. The Kohrs family used the siphon for landscape irrigation.

Lower Yard Complex

Although not shown in the 1883 Bird's Eye View of the ranch, the developed area immediately west and southwest of the main house (Conrad Warren called it "the flat below the house") dates to the 1870s and 1880s, when John Bielenberg developed the ranch's Thoroughbred horse operation. The contributing resources in this area, which include HS-14 through HS-20, and HS-23 and 30, date to the nationally significant Kohrs-Bielenberg period.

By contrast, noncontributing resources constructed during the Warren era dominate the westernmost portion of the Lower Yard complex, generally referred to as the "west corrals." The buildings and structures in this area include HS 21 and 22, HS-24 through 29, HS-31 through 34, HS-43 through 49, and HS-52 and 53. In the 1930s, Conrad Warren extended the Lower Yard's west corrals (first developed by his grandfather and great uncle) with construction of a system of stock shelters, corrals, and feed-storage facilities. The complex, where different types of cattle could be fed and controlled,

was part of Warren's commercial cattle operations. The complex's resources (a few of which were reconstructed by the National Park Service) include a collapsed hay barn (HS-26); a series of one-story, shed-roof, pole-frame stock shelters, closed on three sides to provide winter shelter (HS-24, HS-25, HS-27, HS-29); freestanding wood-frame feed racks (HS 43 and 44); flat table-like feed bunks (HS 45 and 46); and a wood-frame squeeze chute (HS-47). At the eastern edge of the west corrals is a chicken house and brooder house, which were also constructed by Warren. The chicken house (HS-22) is a one-story building with white-painted wood siding. The brooder house (HS-21), a one-story building with a gabled roof and white-painted wood siding, was historically used to electrically incubate eggs for hatching. Although some of the utilitarian noncontributing buildings and structures in the west corral area are large, they are all low in scale and compatible with the overall agricultural character of the ranch.

L. Stallion Barns (HS-14, HS-16, HS-19, HS-30), circa 1870s. NHL Contributing Buildings (4)

Of the Kohrs and Bielenberg stallion barns, Conrad Warren remembered: "There were four or five stallions in the little barns scattered around the flat below the house . . . . Each barn had a hayloft and a feed box of oats in a little feed room with a ladder going up to the loft. [Ranch hands] didn't have to go in with the stallions to feed and water, a safety precaution."[16] During the early years of the Warren era, Warren used HS-14 to house his registered shorthorn bull and HS-16 to house a Belgian stallion. Stallion barn HS-19, constructed in the 1870s to house two stallions, was converted in the 1920s to a garage/blacksmith shop. The building was presumably abandoned (or returned to use as an animal shelter) early in the Warren era, following the 1935 construction of garage/blacksmith shop (HS-3). Warren's use of HS-30, the barn farthest removed from the Main Yard, has not been documented, although the building presumably was used in association with the west-corral developed area.[17]

Stallion Barn #14 and Stallion Barn #16 are each one and one-half story, rectangular, log buildings. The logs are joined with V-notching and daubed with a lime-based mortar. Wood shingles cover the gabled roofs. In 1979, the National Park Service replaced the original stone foundations with log sills with new mill logs and new concrete foundations with stone veneer. Vertical planks fill the gable ends. Features include vertical plank doors, multiple-light fixed wood-sash windows, and hay doors accessing the loft spaces. HS-14 and 16 housed stallions.

Like HS-14 and HS-16, Stallion Barn #19 is a one and one-half story, rectangular, log building. The logs are joined with square notching, daubed with a lime-based mortar, and chinked with split quarter-round poles. Wood shingles cover the gabled roof. Vertical planks fill the gable ends. In 1920, the building was converted to a garage and blacksmith shop. The interior partition wall and a shed-roof lean-to addition date to this modification, as do two large, four-panel double doors centered beneath the east gable. Additional features include a four-panel pedestrian door within the addition, hay doors, and multiple-light fixed-sash and sliding-sash wood-frame windows. In 1979, the National Park Service replaced the original stone foundations with log sills with new concrete foundations topped with stone. In addition, they removed the barn loft.

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[16] Conrad Warren, "This I Remember," n.d., Conrad K. Warren Personal Papers, Grant-Kohrs National Historic Site Archives, Deer Lodge, Montana, p. 21.

[17] Conrad Warren to John Douglas, November 11-12, 1970.

Unlike the other barns, Stallion Barn #30 is a two-story rectangular, shed-roofed building of post-and-beam frame construction. Red-painted vertical board-and-batten siding covers the exterior walls. The building is on a replacement concrete and stone foundation. Corrugated metal covers the roof. Features include two mirror-image side-hinged, Z-braced, board-and-batten doors and fixed-sash, four-light, wood-frame windows. The interior is divided into two stalls, each with a door and a vertical wood grill over the windows. Unfinished horizontal wood planks cover the exterior and four-foot partition walls. The floor is dirt.

M. Thoroughbred Barn (HS-15; referred to as the Cow Barn during the Warren era), circa 1883; modified 1941. NHL Contributing Building (1)

Historian John Albright reports that the Thoroughbred barn was constructed circa 1883, a period of large-scale horse-raising activities on the ranch. Initially, the building housed a large number of Thoroughbred horses. One of the stalls was used for foaling mares. An adjacent bricked-in sleeping room with an interior window provides a view to the foaling area, so that ranch hands could keep an eye on foaling mares. For a time Warren used this as an office. Warren also remembered that this was "where the chore boy slept, to keep the tramps out."[18] Later, from 1934 until circa 1941, Conrad Warren housed his prized Belgian mares in the barn and the mares used the field at the south end of HS-15.[19] In the 1940s and early 1950s, Warren used HS-15 as a show barn for his Hereford cattle: "tent sales pavilions were erected on the north side of the building, and animals were taken out there one by one for show."[20] Later Warren constructed a show barn (HS-65) and "Big Red Barn" (HS-64) to the east of the railroad tracks.

The Thoroughbred barn, which was restored by the National Park Service in 1981, is a large one-story, rectangular post-and-beam/wood-stud building constructed on a modern (1981) concrete foundation faced with stones salvaged from the original stone wall foundation. In 1957, Warren had a cupola added to house the granary mixer and floor scale, but it was later removed by the National Park Service. Red-painted board-and-batten siding covers the exterior walls and the gabled roof. A small apron leads to large, centered, wooden double doors on the north elevation; a man door is cut into the west leaf. Features on the west elevation include a man door and nine, evenly spaced, four-light fixed wood-sash windows. Large wooden double doors are centered on the south elevation. The right door is a Dutch split door so that the top portion can be opened and lower kept closed. A four-light fixed window is located on either side of the doors and eight, four-light, fixed wood-sash windows line the east elevation.

On the interior, horizontal boards finish all walls and stall walls of the Thoroughbred barn's main room. Log railings cross each stall as exhibit barriers. Wood boards run the length of the building in the central bay and cross wise in the side bays to form the floor. There is a dirt floor in the two bays adjacent to the northeast corner laboratory. The building's original stalls were removed in 1957.

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[18] Conrad Warren to John Douglas, November 11-12, 1970.

[19] Conrad Warren, conversation with J. "Bow O'Barr," April 4, 1985, RG 5, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS Archives, Deer Lodge, Montana.

[20] Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 201.

N. Buggy Shed (HS-17), circa 1883; relocated to lower yard circa 1908. NHL Contributing Building (1)

Buggy shed HS-17 represents the eastern two-thirds of the buggy shed constructed circa 1883 adjacent to the historic bunkhouse. The building (located in the path of the proposed Milwaukee Railroad) was moved to its current site in 1907 or 1908, where it continued to be used as a buggy shed. The buggy shed is a one-story, rectangular, post-and-beam building with a shed roof. The building has no foundation; the poles are set directly into the ground. Whitewashed board-and-batten siding covers the walls. Sheets of corrugated metal cover the roof and fascia boards cover the rafter ends on all sides. Five sets of Z-braced, board-and-batten double doors dominate the south elevation. The east, west, and north elevations have no features. Single horizontal boards divide each stall.

O. Granary (HS-18), circa 1890. NHL Contributing Building (1)

This granary, designed to be moveable to the appropriate feed lot, was reportedly constructed circa 1890. In 1931, Conrad Warren reported "I have had the granary repaired at a minimum cost . . . . It should last a couple of more years and maybe more."[21] Soon thereafter, Warren constructed a new granary/roller mill (HS-6) and HS-18 was presumably relegated to auxiliary storage.

The granary is a one-story, rectangular, wood-frame and tie-rod building with a gable roof. External studs and smooth interior walls, a typical granary design, provide greater efficiency in grain storage. Designed to be movable, six hewn sill logs stabilize the base of the building. Exposed exterior studs (studs-out) are featured on each elevation. Single, centered, 4'-wide plank doors offer access from the east and west elevations. The roof is covered with unpainted cedar shingles and the rafter ends are exposed on all sides. Vertical board-and-batten fills the gable ends. The granary interior, broken into five separate areas, features horizontally battened boards on the interior walls. The ceiling is open to the rafters and sheathing. Wooden planks form the floor.

P. Privy (HS-20), circa 1890. NHL Contributing Building (1)

Historian John Albright writes: "This moveable frame privy formerly stood at the west end of the ranch house but was moved next to the stallion barn (HS-19) early in the twentieth century. The date of construction is traditionally given as about 1900 or possibly earlier." The three-hole outhouse contains a child's seat and a built-in shelf for toiletries. The small, square privy is a one-story, wood-frame building with a cedar-shingled gabled roof. The building has a creosote railroad tie foundation covered with vertical half-logs. Horizontal wood dropped cove siding covers the exterior walls. The east elevation contains a four-panel wood door off-center to the south. A small wood-frame window opening, boarded up from the interior, is found high and off-center on the west elevation. The north and south elevations have no features. Cedar shingles cover the roof.

[21] Warren to McKennan, August 20, 1931, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

Q. Metal Granary (HS-23), circa 1910. NHL Contributing Building (1)

Originally believed to date from the mid-1930s, granary (HS-23) actually is much older. Kohrs purchased and installed it circa 1910. It is the only metal building dating from the Kohrs and Bielenberg period. This pre-manufactured building was designed to be assembled on site. The round, galvanized, metal grain bin features a small door and grain hatch on the west side. The conical roof is made of metal sheets that narrow towards the top. A roof vent at the peak provides ventilation. The building is constructed of curved metal panels with two metal reinforcement ribs on each panel. The metal floor is constructed on a wood-deck foundation. The exterior walls are gray, and the roof is red.

III. Integrity

Rural historic landscapes are distinguished by spatial organization. Grant-Kohrs Ranch is a concentration of historic characteristics and historic periods of development in and on a cattle ranch that includes the natural environment, as well as human use of the land. The landscape reflects day-to-day occupational activities of people engaged in traditional work on a cattle ranch: domestic units, corrals and buildings related to the breeding, care, and sale of cows and horses, and pasturelands. Organization of road systems, field patterns, water resources, even the orientation of buildings are in response to the natural environment and cultural traditions of ranch inhabitants.

The landscape shows a continuum of additions and changes from the Grant era, through the height of the Kohrs and Bielenberg era, to the Warren era and, finally, NPS management. The landscape has developed and evolved in response to nature, economic market, developments in technology and agriculture, and familial generations of ownership. The ranch possesses a significant concentration and continuity of land use and occupation with regards to buildings, structures, roads, and natural features.

Changing land uses resulting from transfer in ownership, improved technology, exhausted fields, climatic changes, and economic conditions may have altered the landscape; however, the overall historic pattern remains the same. As noted earlier, archival and field investigations reveal 16 buildings and structures within the Home Ranch complex have been removed. An old county road no longer exists either. Despite these relatively minor losses, the buildings and structures within the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark represent the majority of the known historic resources of the ranch. Under NPS management, the extant buildings and structures have been maintained, restored, or reconstructed to Secretary of the Interior standards. They retain remarkable physical integrity and continue to represent a range of vernacular architecture typical of the region's agricultural buildings and illustrative of ranch function and use.

As defined, the period of significance for the National Historic Landmark ends in 1919, prior to Conrad Warren's ownership. Noncontributing resources within the main yard primarily include Warren-era construction such as the roller mill/granary, the dairy, and a series of feed racks (a crib-like pole structure with a wood-frame base). Similarly, the west-corral complex visually extends the built environment, suggesting a degree of development that does not accord with ranch use during the Kohrs and Bielenberg era. However, due to the agricultural nature of the Warren improvements, these added structures do not significantly detract from the design, setting, workmanship, feeling and association to the cattle ranch theme.

Although currently reflective of the Warren era (changes in fence lines, fence type, and ditch contours), the land base immediately visible from the main and lower yards remains open and in agricultural use. This land base is consistent with the historic scene. Moreover, the treeless bench lands to the west – outside NPS ownership and the boundaries of the historic district – remain a dominant physical feature in the middle-ground views throughout the ranch. Their importance to integrity of setting, association, and feeling has been recognized in several park documents that recommend a scenic easement be established to ensure these lands appear for future generations much as they did when they were actually a part of the Home Ranch.

By contrast, although developed during the Kohrs and Bielenberg era, the irrigation system has been reconstructed and currently represents modem twentieth-century irrigation practices. Warren reorganized the irrigation system after May 1963 when a new appropriation of water rights allowed him to develop the concrete pump house and lift water from this location through a 285 feet pipe to the Kohrs ditch. Due to their loss of integrity, the ditch systems have not been included as contributing to the National Historic Landmark.

According to National Register Bulletin 30, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*, a comparison of the changes experienced by a group of related properties helps define the historic characteristics and qualities of integrity that qualify a rural property for listing. The bulletin explains that spatial organization, concentration of historic characteristics, and evidence of the historic period of development distinguishes a rural historic landscape from its immediate surroundings. Grant-Kohrs Ranch reflects the 11 characteristics described as processes and components as outlined in NR Bulletin 30 defining a rural landscape. The site reveals significant integrity through its association and location to cattle ranching and rangeland, the design and architectural materials of its building cluster, and its feeling and setting as an open-range operation related to historical cattle ranches in the American West. The ranch displays an excellent degree of integrity in its intact field patterns, boundary demarcations, roadways, cluster of vernacular structures and buildings, and continuing traditional activities.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: __ Locally: __

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A X B __ C __ D __
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A __ B __ C __ D __ E __ F __ G __
NHL Criteria:	1
NHL Theme(s):	Developing the American Economy, Agriculture
Areas of Significance:	Agriculture, Exploration/Settlement
Period(s) of Significance:	1862-1919
Significant Dates:	1863, 1883, 1886-1887, 1907, 1915, 1919
Significant Person(s):	
Cultural Affiliation:	
Architect/Builder:	
Historic Contexts:	Westward Expansion: The Cattlemen's Empire (Ranches)

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Introduction

Grant-Kohrs Ranch, established by John Grant in 1862 and operated by "cattle king" Conrad Kohrs from 1866-1919, is an outstanding representation of the days of the open range cattle industry in the American West during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Grant's and Kohrs's dominance of the regional beef market demonstrated the possibilities available to entrepreneurs on the developing frontier, and the ability to run cattle over a virtual empire of open and free grassland. Altogether, the Grant-Kohrs acreage and adjacent range served as the "Home Ranch" of an open-range operation that spanned across Montana, parts of Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado and the Canadian province of Alberta.

Grant-Kohrs Ranch was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1960. The ranch, then owned by Conrad Warren, the grandson of Conrad Kohrs, was one of five sites identified in a 1959 NHL theme study as being outstanding representations of "Westward Expansion: The Cattlemen's Empire." The other four sites identified as having "exceptional significance" were the JA (Goodnight) Ranch (Texas), the town of Lincoln (New Mexico), the Tom Sun Ranch (Wyoming), and the Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park (North Dakota). As described in the "Cattlemen's Empire" theme study, the removal of the Plains Indians and the slaughter of the buffalo during the years immediately following the Civil War coincided with the arrival of cowboys and herds of longhorn cattle, as they extended northward from Texas onto the Great Plains. During this era, cattlemen could run thousands of cattle based on "range rights" – but own little or no land. Cattle drives, pushing into rail centers such as Abilene and Dodge, moved cattle ever eastward into the market centers, realizing great profits for regional "cattle kings," particularly as the development of the refrigerator car simplified the delivery of cattle to eastern markets. But the days of the open range cattle industry were relatively short-lived, lasting just a few decades. The railroads that moved beef soon crisscrossed the West, bringing people and development. An advance of farmers, prompted by the Homestead Act, moved onto the plains and each homestead restricted the availability of free grass. Overgrazing, financial difficulties, livestock diseases, the development and spread of barbed wire fencing and, particularly for the northern plains, the "Hard Winter" of 1886-1887, also helped bring to a close the days of the open range.[22]

On August 25, 1972, Congress established the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site (Public Law 92-406, 86 Stat. 632) in order "to provide an understanding of the frontier cattle era of the Nation's history, to preserve the Grant-Kohrs Ranch, and to interpret the nationally significant values thereof for the benefit and inspiration of the present and future generations." This NHL nomination provides detailed contextual information relative to the ranch's areas and period of significance, identifies the limits to the significant and intact land base (boundary), and identifies the National Historic Landmark's contributing and noncontributing resources.

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[22] Department of the Interior, National Park Service, The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings: Theme XV, Westward Expansion and the Extension of the National Boundaries to the Pacific, 1830-1898, "The Cattlemen's Empire" (GPO, 1959), 1-4

Significant dates include Grant's initial 1862 settlement and the legendary "Hard Winter" of 1886-1887. Additional nationally significant dates include Kohrs's 1866 purchase of the Grant Ranch, the 1883 purchase of the famous DHS ranch, and the years 1907, 1915, 1919 reflecting significant land sales associated with dissolution of the Home Ranch. The period of significance, 1862-1919, extends from the initial development of Johnny Grant's ranch to the dissolution of the greater Kohrs Ranch.

To a remarkable degree, in terms of success and failure, the ranch has been both representative and a harbinger of sweeping changes in the Great Plains cattle industry (NHL Criterion 1). Through the 1850s and 1860s, first owner John Grant traded in the cattle of the emigrant trails, fattening the wom animals on virgin bunchgrass and selling beef-on-the-hoof to the booming Montana mining communities. Although Grant's financial success was atypical, his entry into the cattle trade was not. Conrad Kohrs, with his half brother and business partner John Bielenberg, purchased cattle and expanded the Deer Lodge operation to the eastern Montana plains, taking advantage of the open range and realizing enormous profit. By the end of the nineteenth century, traditional open-range cattle ranching underwent significant change as cattlemen exhausted available bunchgrass, contagious diseases decimated the "pooled" herds of the open range, and homesteaders laid claim to western land and water. Successful and far-sighted open-range cattlemen turned to "pasture ranching," purchasing and leasing large blocks of contiguous land that would support both summer hay crops and a wintering herd and intensifying their breeding program to include registered herd bulls and calves. Kohrs and Bielenberg diversified as early as 1870, when they began cultivating winter feed for breeding stock at the Home Ranch. By the mid-1920s, this transition from open-range grazing to pasture ranching was complete across the Great Plains.

The Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark demonstrates through its history, landscape, and existing built environment, those important changes in one of the region's dominant economic enterprises. The materials and design of the ranch buildings are important elements of the site's historical significance. Grant-Kohrs Ranch embodies the distinctive characteristics of a nineteenth- and early twentieth-century cattle ranch. As is true of all agrarian vernacular construction, the form of the utilitarian outbuildings follows function. Exemplifying well-maintained resources in good physical condition, and often retaining original site furnishings and equipment, these buildings contribute to our understanding of the workings of the ranch. The main ranch house (HS-1), as constructed in the vernacular Greek Revival style by Grant and as modified and furnished in the Victorian style by Kohrs, stands in contrast to the functional components of the site and provides important architectural counterpoint to and evidence of the financial success of the operation. This apposition contributes greatly to our understanding of site development and the importance of the ranch within the larger regional ranching context. (It is important to note that the ranch buildings have not been evaluated as "exceptionally" [nationally] significant for the study of vernacular architecture or the Greek Revival and Victorian styles, and are not being nominated under NHL Criterion 4.)

The boundary for the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark encompasses all the extant resources historically associated with the ranch's period of national significance (1862-1919), while excluding two portions of the ranch that were developed at a later time. The two excluded portions – the Warren Hereford Ranch and the Grant-Kohrs National Historic Site visitor contact area – were primarily developed c. 1930s-1980s and do not reflect the national period of significance. The Warren Hereford Ranch was built by Conrad Warren, Conrad Kohrs's grandson, and reflects the

continuum of ranching into the modern era. However, in the absence of a NHL theme study of twentieth-century ranching, the Warren Hereford Ranch complex has been excluded from the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark. (The National Park Service is currently planning to nominate the Warren Hereford Ranch to the National Register of Historic Places.) Also within the boundary of the National Historic Site – but excluded from the boundary of the National Historic Landmark – is the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site visitor contact area, which has been significantly altered through the addition of a visitor contact building, comfort station, parking area, and pedestrian walkway, and which no longer reflects the site's period of national significance. Both the Warren Hereford Ranch and the visitor contact area are in the southeastern corner of the National Historic Site, outside the boundary of the National Historic Landmark.

The following historical narrative, arranged chronologically, includes a brief overview of the introduction of cattle ranching to Montana's southwestern valleys; John Grant's establishment of the ranch, Conrad Kohrs's transition from butcher assistant to cattle baron; an assessment of Kohrs's ranching practices immediately prior to the "Hard Winter of 1886-1887"; Kohrs's recovery and growth in the period between 1887 and 1900; and the dissolution of the eastern and Home Ranch holdings between 1900-1919. The narrative also includes a brief discussion of the "hiatus years", 1920-1931, and the Warren years, which range from 1929-1982.

Cattle Ranching Comes to Montana[23]

The great herds of cattle driven north from Texas were not the first to utilize the "open" ranges of the semiarid West. At least two decades before the historic cattle drives of the 1870s and 1880s, a mass migration of people moving to Oregon Territory established a market for cattle in the Northern Rockies.[24] Cattle, horses and even some sheep accompanied the thousands of immigrants making the 2,000-mile trek from Missouri to Oregon between the 1840s and the 1870s. Most of the immigrants moving from the settled lands of the eastern United States to the West could not afford to carry extra grain for their livestock, and instead relied on the forage along the route. Within a few years, grass was at a premium. By the time the caravan of immigrants reached southern Idaho, many of the cattle and horses were footsore, gaunt, and unable to continue the journey. Since there was no time to wait for the animals to recuperate, it became common for immigrants to abandon and/or trade their livestock en route to their final destination further west.

An unfortunate situation for the immigrant created opportunity for fur trappers and traders wishing to remain out West. These mountain men were the first non-Indians to discover that the rapid flowing Rocky Mountain streams that coursed through the lush rolling benchland, lined with cottonwoods and willows, supplied all the necessary amenities – shade, shelter, and forage – for wintering livestock. After a season of feeding on the lush grasses of the Beaverhead and Deer Lodge valleys of southwestern Montana, the cattle were "fat and shiny" and ready for market. The West's nascent

[23] The discussion of the Kohrs years is derived in large part from HRA Research Historian Anna Rosenberg's "Hard Winter Endurance: Conrad Kohrs' Cattle Raising Operation, 1887-1900" (Master's Thesis, University of Montana, 1996).

[24] Robert Fletcher, "The Day of the Cattleman Dawned Early in Montana," *Montana, The Magazine of Western History* 11 (Autumn, 1961): 22-24.

stockmen drove the cattle back to the Oregon Trail where emigrants eagerly exchanged two gaunt steers for one healthy animal. Within a few years, the ex-fur trappers built up sizable herds. These "road ranches" were the first commercial stock-raising centers in Montana.[25]

The other initial source of cattle migration into the western valleys of Montana may be attributed to the presence of missions. Father Pierre Jean DeSmet, a young Jesuit priest of Belgian birth, came to the Bitterroot Valley in 1841, upon request of the Salish people who had been "remarkably persistent in their quest for Christianity."[26] Within five years after DeSmet's arrival, he and his supporters constructed the St. Mary's Mission (near present day Stevensville, Montana). They built fences, planted wheat and potatoes, and raised milk cows. The dissolution of the mission, however, was as rapid as its success. A combination of factors, the worst of which was DeSmet's efforts to introduce Catholicism to the Blackfeet, traditional foes of the Salish, resulted in the closing of the mission in 1850.[27]

Although the missionaries did not remain, the mission buildings and the exotic species introduced to the area by DeSmet and his associates were left with the second owner, Major John Owen.[28] Owen, a successful trader on the Oregon Trail, purchased the remains of the Jesuit mission and quickly began "improving" the lands surrounding the mission. He fixed the saw and gristmill, and constructed the adobe stronghold known as Fort Owen. More relevant to this story, Owen expanded the herd of cattle left by the departed fathers.[29] Within two decades of Owen's arrival, European-domesticated animals roamed western Montana's intermountain valleys.

The Jesuit mission, and later Major Owen's success in the Bitterroot Valley, as well as the traders' profitable business along the Oregon Trail, demonstrated the practicality of wintering livestock in the inter-mountain valleys of Montana. Water, vegetation, and its natural boundaries presented an ideal environment for cattle ranching. But it took the gold rush of the 1860s for the market to develop. Between 1862 and 1863, the discovery of gold at three separate sites in southwestern Montana drew people from all parts of the country. These mining camps brought with them a mixed bag of merchants, freighters, saloonkeepers, and gamblers. As one historian has written, "often the road to

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[25] Ernest Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman,* 2d ed. (Chicago: Phoenix Press, 1960; First edition, 1929), 16-17 and Robert Fletcher, *Free Grass to Fences: The Montana Cattle Range Story* (New York: University Publishers Inc., 1960), 13-17.

[26] Michael P. Malone, Richard R. Roeder and William L. Lang, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, rev. ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), 61. The Flatheads had learned about the "mysteries and powers" of Christianity from the Iroquois Indians who were brought to Montana with the Canadian fur men.

[27] Jacqueline Peterson and Laura Peers, *Sacred Encounters: Father DeSmet and the Indians of the Rocky Mountain West* (Norman. Oklahoma and London: DeSmet Project, WA, in association with the University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 24.

[28] The missionary setback was only temporary. A few years later, Father Adrian Hoeken located the St. Ignatius Mission in the Mission Valley, south of Flathead Lake. Malone, Roeder and Lang, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 62.

[29] Robert Fletcher, "The Day of the Cattlemen Dawned Early in Montana," 24.

riches was to 'mine the miners.'"[30] Others quickly deduced that there was more gold to be made selling meat to the miners than digging in the rivers. Among this latter group were John Grant and Carsten Conrad Kohrs.

John Grant, most often called Johnny, was born in 1831 at the Hudson's Bay Company post in Edmonton, Alberta, the third son and fourth child of Marie Ann de Breland and Hudson's Bay Company trader Richard Grant. De Breland died when Johnny was 18 months old and the Grant children were raised in the home of their paternal grandmother in Three Rivers, Quebec, on the banks of the Saint Lawrence River. In 1847, at the age of 16, after what he would later describe as a pampered and sheltered childhood, Johnny and his brother Richard journeyed to Fort Hall, Washington Territory (now Idaho), where their father commanded the Hudson's Bay Company post at this crossroads along the California, Oregon, and Mormon trails.[31] Of the ensuing years, Grant remembered that neither Captain Grant nor his wife Helene "believ[ed] in keeping me idle." Along the emigrant trail, Grant made lifelong contacts with the leaders of the Shoshone, Bannock, and Paiute tribes. He learned to trap, to ride, to gamble, and – more importantly – to trade in the worn stock abandoned or sold by overland immigrants: "I used to trade one fat cow for two poor ones."[32]

In 1857, after years of successful trading and the accumulation of a large herd, Grant spent his first winter in the Deer Lodge Valley, along Cottonwood Creek, near its confluence with the Little Blackfoot River. By 1859, he wintered 250 horses and over 800 cattle on the valley's abundant bunchgrass. (Montana pioneer Granville Stuart described the herd as "several hundred cattle and horses . . . fattened on the native grasses without shelter other than that afforded by the willows, alders, and tall rye grass along the streams.") In 1859, Grant hired Louis Maillet to trail cattle to California, becoming "the first to export Montana cattle to a distant market." Despite financial loss on the venture, in 1861 Grant reported his net worth at "one hundred and ten thousand dollars in horses and cattle."[33]

As immigrant travel waned, Grant sought new markets with the United States War Department, with travelers on the newly surveyed Mullan Road between Fort Benton, Montana and Walla Walla, Washington, and with Montana, Idaho, and California mining communities: "The mines were discovered the next year [Bannock, 1862; Alder Gulch, 1863] and the market I hoped for was ready for me. . . . That was the time to sell cattle and all kinds of provisions." By 1861, Grant and his Shoshone wife Quarra had moved from the mouth of the Little Blackfoot to "Cottonwood, afterwards called Deer Lodge. . . nearby where the other traders had settled." Here, Grant constructed two small

[30] Malone, Roeder and Lang, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 86.

[31] Meikle, *Very Close to Trouble,* 1-3.

[32] Meikle, *Very Close to Trouble,* 71.

[33] Meikle, *Very Close to Trouble,* 72-73, 76, 83; Stuart, quoted in Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 4.

log cabins (today incorporated into bunkhouse row [HS-2]), replaced in 1862-1863 with a substantial home (HS-1) that cost him a "pretty penny."[34]

The Montana Post praised Grant's new residence as "by long odds, the finest in Montana . . . large and two-storied . . . [It appears] as if it had been lifted by the chimneys from the bank of the Saint Lawrence and dropped down in Deer Lodge Valley. It has twenty-eight windows, with green painted shutters, and looks very pretty." Narrow white clapboard siding faced the hewn logs of this frontier structure, an uncommon and noteworthy ornamentation in that time and place and testimony to Grant, Quarra, and the builder's familiarity with and cultural attachment to fur-trade bourgeois architecture.[35] Of the house, Grant recalled:

> I hauled my lumber from the Flathead Reserve, which was one hundred and fifty miles away. The house was made of hewed logs with posts in the corner. It was sixty-four feet long, thirty feet wide, and sixteen feet high. I paid five dollars a day to McLeod, the hewer; and to carpenter, Alexander Pambrun, I paid nine dollars per day. . . . I only had homemade furniture at first, but about four or five years after, I bought Captain Labarge's freight; and among the lot there were some parlor chairs. I paid twenty dollars each for two parlor chairs, and ten dollars each for four other chairs. . .. My house was not finished until the spring of 1863, but we moved into it the year before; and Quarra, my little wife, showed a wonderful skill in taking up all the ways of white women. . . . The house was comfortable and we enjoyed life. We had a weekly dance in the winter to which I invited my friends. All winter we had only to amuse ourselves. In the spring we had to round up our stock and brand them.[36]

The Deer Lodge Valley in the 1860s was not always such an amusing place: "There were no police or no other officers of the law to protect us. Everyone had to protect himself" – from hostile native tribes, adept at stealing livestock; from cattle rustlers; and from road agents. In 1866, Grant sold his Deer Lodge holdings – including equipment, cattle, improvements, and squatters' (preemption) rights to the untitled adjacent range – to Conrad Kohrs for $19,200: "I concluded to look for a more peaceful place, for my sons were growing up, and . . . Montana was no place for them. There was bad example continually before their eyes, and bad habits are much easier to contract than to forget."[37]

The Makings of a Cattle King

Prior to his arrival in Montana, German native Carsten Conrad Kohrs had enjoyed a "kaleidoscopic career" as a cabin boy, grocery clerk, river raftsman, sausage salesman, gold miner, and butcher.

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[34] Meikle, *Very Close to Trouble*, 72, 77, 81 (fn10), 86.

[35] Quoted in Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 11.

[36] Meikle, *Very Close to Trouble*, 87-88, 112.

[37] Meikle, *Very Close to Trouble,* 92 and 134.

Early in 1862, Kohrs and two other "German boys" offered to assist a Mr. Sickler, of Ohio, in delivering some "fine horses" to California.[38] Disagreements with Sickler, followed by the gold stampede in Idaho, led Kohrs to the Deer Lodge Valley in the late spring of 1862. He was 27 years old. Recalling his first glimpse of the area, Kohrs wrote, "the valley was full of antelope and many herds of fat cattle belonging to the mountaineers who lived there."[39]

The next week, traveling from Deer Lodge to Gold Creek (about 15 miles west), Kohrs met Bannack's temporary sheriff, Henry (Hank) Crawford. Crawford had decided to supplement his sheriff duties by providing meat for the miners, and was in search of a helper who knew something about butchering. Kohrs's early experience in the packinghouse proved to be sufficient qualification. Crawford hired him at $25 a month.[40]

Shortly after Kohrs accepted the position, Crawford asked him to manage the books, "Crawford being a man who caroused a good deal and disliked attending to that kind of business."[41] Kohrs's handling of the business so impressed Crawford that he raised his salary to $100.00 per month. It was a short-lived partnership, however, as later that year Crawford found himself in trouble with the infamous Sheriff Henry Plummer, leader of the worst outlaw gang in Montana. Crawford fled for his life, taking the cash but leaving Kohrs the business.

In 1864, Kohrs formed a new partnership with Ben Peel. Together they operated a business, known as "Con & Peel," located in the booming town of Virginia City.[42] Although "beef brought good prices," in 1912 Kohrs remembered that he was generally broke and in debt during his tenure in Bannack.[43] Discoveries at Last Chance Gulch in Helena provided opportunity for Con & Peel to expand the business. Kohrs assigned himself the role of trailing cattle from different parts of the state, leaving Peel to "tend shop."[44] This worked fine until Ben Peel decided to pursue a love interest who lived in the East. Peel's sudden departure might have been a problem had Kohrs not formed separate

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[38] Conrad Kohrs, "A Veteran's Experience in the Western Cattle Trade," *Breeder's Gazette*, December 18, 1912, reproduced in Conrad Kohrs Collection, microfilm, p. 1328, reel 3.

[39] Conrad Kohrs, *Conrad Kohrs: An Autobiography* (published by Conrad Warren, 1977), 19.

[40] Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, 22.

[41] Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, 23.

[42] Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, 26. Virginia City was the site of the greatest placer rush in Montana's history. At least 10,000 people crowded into this mining town, and within the first five years of its discovery, the gulch produced an estimated 30 to 40 million dollars in gold. See Malone, Roeder and Lang, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 66-67.

[43] Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, 27 and Christine Whitacre, National Park Service, to Janene Caywood, Historical Research Associates, March 10, 1998, on file at HRA, Missoula. Montana.

[44] Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, 26.

partnerships with his younger half-brothers, all three of whom had migrated West during the busy gold rush years. The brothers, John, Nick, and Charles Bielenberg, ran butcher shops in Helena, Blackfoot and Silver Bow, respectively.

During the summer of 1864 Kohrs purchased 400 "poor work cattle" and "a few work horses," which he wintered in Deer Lodge Valley at Race Track Ranch (about eight miles south of today's Deer Lodge).[45] These cattle were used to supply his butcher shops located throughout western Montana, and formed the basis of his cattle-raising operation.[46] Two years later, Kohrs purchased the John Grant Ranch.

Kohrs purchased Grant's fine house, his unsurveyed ranch "situate on Cottonwood creek," miscellaneous corrals, outbuildings, equipment (including a threshing machine), haystacks, and a herd of an estimated 357 head of cattle. In addition to the ranch house, the purchase included "household furniture, stables, corrals, ricks of hay, all my farming implements, waggons, yokes and chains, . . . also all my cattle [approximately 350 Shorthorn], sheep, goats, and grain."[47] Within a month, Kohrs added to his holdings, and purchased an additional 160 acres near Dempsey Creek, on the west side of the Clark Fork River, known as the Louis Demers Ranch.[48] Thus, four years after Kohrs entered the Deer Lodge Valley, he owned most of the cattle in the valley, as well as the Race Track, Demers, and Grant ranches. Altogether, this titled acreage and adjacent range would serve as the Home Ranch of an open-range operation that spanned across Montana, parts of Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, and the Canadian province of Alberta. Kohrs's dominance of the regional beef market demonstrated the possibilities available to an entrepreneur on the developing frontier.

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[45] Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, 38.

[46] In his dissertation, "Men and Cattle on the Northern Plains: 1860-1887" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1971), Leland Everett Stuart gives a brief overview of Kohrs' early years in which he comes to the same conclusion: that Kohrs' interest in the raising of his own beef was the logical outcome of his beef butchering business, 71-79.

[47] In the original handwritten copy of the interview with Conrad Kohrs, 1885, Kohrs wrote that there were 3,200 head in the herd. The copy of this interview is at the Bancroft Library, Box P-I 25. Oddly, the same interview (transcribed) at the Montana Historical Society, Small Collection # 222, describes 365 head of cattle. In his autobiography, p.43, Kohrs wrote that he purchased the remainder of the Grant herd, "amounting to about 350 head." Fergus Mitchell, "History of Shorthorn and Hereford in Montana" (M.A. Thesis, Montana State College, 1923) credits John Grant as the owner of the first herd of high-grade Shorthorn animals. In his memoirs, John Grant reports "Con Kohrs told me later that when the cattle [were] rounded up, he found three hundred and fifty-seven head." Conrad Kohrs, "Conrad Kohrs Pioneer Life in Idaho and Montana," manuscript, Special Collections Box P-I 25, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, Berkeley, California; Conrad Kohrs, interview transcript, 1885, Kohrs and Bielenberg Records, 1892-1928, Small Collection 222, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena, Montana; Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, 43; Fergus Mitchell, "History of Shorthorn and Hereford in Montana," (M.A. thesis, Montana State College, 1923), 9; and Meikle, *Very Close to Trouble*, 135.

[48] Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 12.

Kohrs's half-brother John (Johny) Bielenberg joined Kohrs at the ranch in 1867.[49] Little has been written of John Bielenberg's early years. Born May 1, 1846 in Hamburg, Germany, Bielenberg immigrated to America with his family in July 1854. At age 18, he left home to join Kohrs in Montana, and at age 21 was a full partner in the Deer Lodge ranch. A dedicated animal breeder, Bielenberg is best remembered for his love of thoroughbred horses. He never married, and died at the ranch in 1922, two years after Kohrs's death at his Helena mansion. During his 55 years on the Deer Lodge land, Bielenberg would assume primary responsibility for management of the Home Ranch, including the horse and cattle breeding operations and the local cow camps, leaving Kohrs to management of the more far-flung cattle, mining, and investment empire. That Bielenberg is not more closely associated with the Home Ranch and the Kohrs's fortune is in large part an accident of nomenclature (the "*Grant-Kohrs* Ranch National Historic Site") that belies his central involvement in day-to-day operations and in business affairs. Letterpress books for the ranch are filled with Bielenberg correspondence related to the sale and promotion of ranch stock. In 1970, Conrad Warren, Kohrs's grandson and Bielenberg's great-nephew, remembered that Bielenberg "*was* the manager of the Home Ranch. . . . He was the one who stayed home and bred the purebred cattle, thoroughbred horses, and trotting horses, took care of the ranch, looked after the placer mines while grandfather was going around in the range cattle business." While the private and taciturn Bielenberg managed the ranch, Kohrs, however, left his imprint on the public record and the public imagination.[50]

On February 23, 1868, Conrad Kohrs married Augusta Kruse, who was also from Germany, in Davenport, Iowa. Augusta returned to the ranch with Conrad in June and, over the course of the next 60 years, participated fully in the domestic aspects of life at the Home Ranch, particularly (and not surprisingly) in the design and management of the main house and associated gardens. Of Augusta's first years at the ranch, historian John Albright writes, "With the ranch workers to feed, eight cows being milked, coffee to be roasted, soap and candles made, and 'altogether too much work for one woman,' the lady of the house, age nineteen, fresh from the East, and carrying the couple's first child, brought order and domesticity into the scene."[51] Despite Albright's idyllic interpretation of Augusta's role on the ranch, surviving evidence in the Kohrs Collection reveals that the mistress of the ranch quickly delineated her "domain" from the working operations of the cattle ranch and ranch hands, even adding a decorative fenced barrier. However, Augusta's role was not limited to the domestic sphere. The breakdown of a division between men and women's sphere in the West allowed Augusta to wield a powerful hand throughout her lifetime in the operations of the ranch.

Kohrs and Bielenberg began using the now-famous CK brand in 1867. Until 1869, these cattle were confined to the Deer Lodge Valley, where they ran on the Home Ranch (expanded in 1869 to include the Alexander Pemberton Ranch on Tin Cup Joe Creek) and on community range. The partners first

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[49] See "Grant-Kohrs Source Book," edited by Lyndel Meikle, Grant-Kohrs NHS Archives, Deer Lodge, Montana, 7.

[50] Conrad Warren interview by John Douglas, National Park Service, November 11-12, 1970, Record Group 3, Oral History Interviews, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS Archives, Deer Lodge, Montana.

[51] See Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 17. See Albright, passim, for a more complete discussion of Augusta Kohrs' role in ranch development.

introduced registered Shorthorn cattle into the herd, followed by registered Herefords. So well did the white-faced Hereford perform as "beef-makers on grass" and to the rigors of farm feedlots, cattlemen across the United States became proponents of the breed.[52]

As the largest cattle owner in the Deer Lodge Valley, Kohrs was one of the first to become acutely aware of the disappearing bunchgrasses. The year that Kohrs purchased the Grant Ranch, the Montana Territorial Legislature passed a law defining summer and winter grazing in the Deer Lodge Valley, with the stipulation that winter grass could not be used without proper title. Although the law was repealed the following year, its establishment verified the growing concern, at this early date, regarding overcrowding (and consequently overgrazing) in the Deer Lodge Valley.[53] In 1869, following the advice of his trusted foreman, Tom Hooban, Kohrs trailed his first herd of about 1,000 head of cattle to graze in Blackfeet country along the Sun River, east of the Continental Divide.[54] A trail blazer in many arenas, Kohrs was the first cattleman to risk the threat of Indian raids and venture onto Montana's open range. A portent of the radical changes to come, the move to the Sun River range also signified the beginning of Kohrs's utilization of the public domain for supplying cattle to markets outside of the territory.

The following spring, 1870, Kohrs and Bielenberg drove the "fat cattle" from the Sun River herd west over the Lewis and Clark Pass to Missoula. From there, the herd was driven south, and additional cattle were added in the Bitterroot Valley, bringing the total number of head to approximately 2,000. From that point, Kohrs and Bielenberg continued further south into Idaho, and then into northeastern Utah; and from Utah, they pointed the herd east toward Cheyenne, Wyoming; and finally, south again, towards Nebraska. In North Platte, Nebraska, the herd was loaded on Union Pacific railroad cars and shipped to the Chicago market.[55] Kohrs and his outfit used this route, with some variations, to deliver cattle to railheads in Wyoming and western Nebraska until the railroad came to eastern Montana in the early 1880s. (These long drives from open range to railhead fit a prevailing pattern. Historians Michael Malone and Richard Roeder report that in order to move a large herd of 2,500

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[52] Donald R. Ornduff, *The First 49 Personalities: In the Honor Gallery of the AHA's Hereford Heritage Hall* (Kansas City, MO: Lowell Press Inc., 1981), xiii.

[53] *Laws of Montana Territory*, 1866, Session 2, p. 35.

[54] Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, 52. Tom Hooban worked for Kohrs for 20 years, during which time they developed a rare friendship, not commonly found between cattleman and cowboy. Kohrs entrusted a large share of responsibility to his foremen, something made even more apparent by the heavy losses accrued from less faithful foremen (See Letterpress Book A, 94-100, dated May 6, 1892, Conrad Kohrs Papers, M73, Reel 1, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS Archives, Deer Lodge, Montana). The loyalty of his foremen is another clue to Kohrs' unique personality, which gained him the respect of cowboys and bankers alike.

On July 5, 1873, by Executive Order, the president set apart a reserve for the River Crow, Gros Ventre, Blackfeet and related bands, the Piegan and Blood. This reserve encompassed the Sun River country, running from the northwest corner of Dakota Territory, south to the Missouri River, west to the Sun River as far as the point of summit with the Rocky Mountains, thence north to the boundary of Canada. Land between the Sun and the Musselshell rivers was assigned by treaty to the Blackfeet in 1855. J. W. Powell, *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, 1896-1897* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), 812-813, 874-875, and map 39.

[55] Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 22.

cattle, an outfit needed several wagons, at least 40 horses, and as many as 20 men. At an average of 10 miles per day, a 400- to 600-mile drive took as long as two months.)[56]

Beginning in 1871, Bielenberg trailed 1,000 head of cattle from Texas to Montana. During that same trip, Bielenberg made stops in Davenport, Iowa, and California to collect "high grade" cattle, most likely the Durham-bred cattle added to the ranch breeding stock during the 1870s.[57] Ensuring a steady supply of quality meat meant that Kohrs and Bielenberg had to maintain high quality breeding bulls. These were often kept at the Home Ranch and bred with heifers to furnish top-quality beef for the regional butcher shops.

During this time of immense growth, the typical routine consisted of trailing the younger cattle to fatten on native rangelands, while the steers were driven to the eastern railheads and shipped to Chicago. In 1883, when the railroad arrived in Deer Lodge, Kohrs's market expanded even more and brought a new market into the picture. The coming of the Canadian Pacific Railroad meant hungry construction crews, and Kohrs received the contract to supply the beef. In 1883, he sold over 1,500 head at $62.50 per head, the total sale amounting to nearly $94,000.[58]

Later that same year Kohrs purchased the Andrew and Erwin Davis interest of the famous "DHS" Ranch (an acronym of the last name initials of Andrew and Erwin Davis, Samuel Hauser, and Granville Stuart), a large open-range operation headquartered at the base of the Judith Mountains in central Montana. At the time of the sale, the transaction was reported as the "heaviest transaction in cattle that has ever taken place in the territory."[59] Kohrs paid $266,667 for a two-thirds interest in the ranch.[60] The deal also gave Kohrs his official title as "undisputed Cattle King of Montana."[61] In 1885,

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[56] Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 22 and 42-43; and Malone, Roeder and Lang, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries,* 112-113. Albright explains that in the fall of 1877, Kohrs moved the cattle trail farther east because of the "Indian scare" (referring to the flight of the Nez Perce). The new "eastern route" began on the Sun River Range and then turned southeast to Great Falls, where it crossed the Missouri River, and from there the trail went southeast along the southern edge of the Judith Basin, across the upper drainage of the Musselshell, and across the Yellowstone. At the crossing the trail turned south through the Tongue and Powder River valleys, continuing south until it encountered the North Platte. It followed this river toward Fort Laramie and western Nebraska.

[57] Stuart, "Men and Cattle on the Northern Plains," 73. Lyndel Meikle, GRKO ranger, notes that Texas cattle were most often steer calves, not breeding stock. Conrad Warren interview by Lyndel Meikle, March 20, 1977, Record Group 5.

[58] Stuart, "Men and Cattle on the Northern Plains," 76. See also Robert Fletcher, *Free Grass to Fences*, 48.

[59] Winfield Scott Downs, ed. *Encyclopedia of Northwest Biography* (New York: The American Historical Research Company, Inc., 1941), 22.

[60] Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, 76. The "DHS" Ranch is well documented in John W. Hakola's dissertation, "Samuel T. Hauser and the Economic Development of Montana: A Case Study in Nineteenth-Century Frontier Capitalism," (Ph.D. diss., University of Indiana, 1961), 255-307.

[61] *Yellowstone Journal*, Miles City, Montana, July 2, 1883.

the owners of the cattle company (Conrad Kohrs, Granville Stuart, Samuel Hauser, and H. P. Kennett), formalized the organization, and renamed it the Pioneer Cattle Company. As the largest shareholder, Kohrs was elected president of the company. Although the name changed, the brand "DHS" did not.

By the mid-1880s, Kohrs, in partnership with Bielenberg, had cattle ranging on close to one million acres. Often working in partnership with other cattlemen, Kohrs minimized his risks by investing in herds spread out over four states and Canada. A loss on one herd was easily made up by gains on another. He also had investments in mining and water interests, offering yet another source of income when cattle prices were low. Finally, Kohrs had the backing of bankers and stock commissioners who could count on Kohrs to deliver a quality product. Taken together, he had established a pattern of business that created enough stability to overcome the obstacles of both a fluctuating economy and an environment that impaired reliability. In future years, Kohrs's business acumen would help him to endure and survive what for others meant crippling financial losses.

The winter of 1886-1887 witnessed heavy snowfall followed by a thaw and then a deep freeze. Prior to this now-infamous "Hard Winter," Conrad Kohrs practiced two distinct methods of ranching. In the intermountain valleys of western Montana, he irrigated native and cultivated grasses, fenced his crops, and supplied winter feed for the more valuable registered stock that he kept close to home. On the open, arid country of the eastern plains, however, Kohrs adopted the methods of the "Texas ranching system."[62] This latter method was a poor adaptive strategy to the harsh environment of the Northern Plains, and like most large operators, Kohrs and Bielenberg suffered heavy losses, numbering in the tens of thousands, during the winter of 1886-87. Yet, unlike the boom-time cattleman of the free-wheeling open range days, Kohrs had been around to witness the rapid growth of the cattle industry in Montana. Successful cattlemen remained in business because they developed new methods of survival. Aware that adjustments needed to be made, Kohrs became an advocate for a more controlled range even before the devastating setback of the Hard Winter.[63]

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[62] This method of ranching evolved out of southwestern Louisiana and adjacent southeastern Texas, and is generally characterized by allowing cattle to care for themselves year-round on free range, without supplemental feeding or protection. The strong Hispanic influence on the Texas ranching system is most apparent in the equestrian skills, such as roping, as well as the vocabulary, such as "lariat," "corral," and "remuda," which was adopted by Northwestern cattlemen in the late nineteenth-century. See Terry Jordan, *Cattle Ranching Frontiers: Origins, Diffusion and Differentiation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1993) Chapter Seven, "The Anglo-Texan Ranching System."

[63] The name "Hard Winter" is misleading. In terms of actual weather, the legendary "Hard Winter" was not the most severe. Montana winters, before and since, have produced longer periods of sustained cold, with deeper snow and less relief from warm spells. Overstocking the ranges, not the weather, led to the "Hard Winter" of 1886-87. It is more accurate to argue, therefore, that financial speculation created the cattlemen's disaster of 1886-87. In other words, the massive "die-off" on the Northern Plains was the work of humans, not nature.

The "Dust Bowl" of the 1930s is an excellent analogy for understanding the "Hard Winter of 1886-87." While drought is a recurring fact of the southern plains, dust is not. For millennia, the native grasses of the southern plains served to keep the dirt in place, but in the teens a massive influx of settlers (a response to the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909) culminated in the destruction of these well-adapted grasses. Just as the boom in cattle ranching resulted in the destruction of the native grasses of the northern plains, the boom in dry farming (a method of deep plowing and summer fallowing) resulted in the plowing up of more than 11 million acres of native prairie grass in Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Texas. Similarly, just as too many cattle turned the bad winter of 1886 into a catastrophic disaster, the millions of plowed acres exposed to the sun exacerbated the drought conditions of the 1930s.

Prior to 1886, Kohrs experienced at least five severe winters in the Deer Lodge Valley.[64] Recalling the first one, Kohrs wrote:

> On January 1st [1866] extremely cold weather set in and it continued cold, the thermometer often getting down below forty degrees [below zero], when quicksilver freezes. On January 27th the wind commenced blowing from the Southwest, a regular Chinook, and thawed heavily. The next day the wind sprung round to the northwest, leaving the snow with a heavy crust and cold weather continued. In March a great many of our cattle commenced dying. We killed the poorest, boiled the meat and mixed chopped hay with it, making a broth, and saved some cattle by feeding them this slop. I paid $100.00 per ton for the hay I could get.[65]

At $100 per ton, it made sense for Kohrs to invest in his own hay lands. Between 1866 and 1885, Kohrs purchased 760 acres of prime arable land, in addition to his 160-acre homestead.[66]

Initially, "stirrup high" native grasses distributed along the bench lands and rolling hills provided excellent cattle pasture, and tall grasses, such as Great Basin wild-rye (*Elymus cinereus*), supplied an abundance of native hay.[67] Kohrs recalled, "when I first reached Montana, the Deer Lodge Valley was one of the most beautiful stretches of bunch grass country imaginable. The grass waved like a huge grain field."[68]

Like the catastrophic losses of the "Hard Winter of 1886-87," the black blizzards that swept across the plains for an entire decade, from 1931-1941, were the result of poor adaptive strategies to the plains environment. A full discussion of the "Dust Bowl" can be found in Donald Worster's *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

[64] In Kohrs', *An Autobiography,* he mentions the heavy blizzards of 1865-66, 1866-67, 1872-73, and 1874-75, see 43 and 63. See also, Kohrs, "A Veteran's Experience," in which Kohrs discusses the "spotted winter" of 1881-82. He estimated a 15% loss for the winter of '81.

[65] Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, 43.

[66] Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 29, 42, 44, 434-35. Kohrs purchased 280 acres from John Bielenberg in 1872. Eight years later, when they added property to this section of land, the transfer of lands from the previous owners was to Conrad Kohrs and John Bielenberg. Property transfers between Kohrs and Bielenberg were a constant part of the business (both ranching and mining). It is doubtful that the title transfers signified changes in the management of the operation. A more plausible explanation is that by shifting titles and consolidating, Kohrs and Bielenberg may have eased their tax burden.

[67] "Important Grasses on Montana Ranges," Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 470 (Bozeman, Montana State College, 1951). Rough fescue (*Festuca scrubella*) and bluebunch wheatgrass (*Agropyron spicatum*) rank among the better-known native grasses for pasturing cattle on the benchlands of the valley.

[68] Conrad Kohrs, "A Veteran's Experience," 1329.

The native grasses didn't remain long, however. Settlement along the bottomlands of the Deer Lodge Valley meant that more land was plowed for grain crops, and this in turn, resulted in more intense overgrazing. Some of the larger ranchers began supplementing the native hay with non-native species. William Wallace, a rancher who settled in the valley in 1863, carried a bag filled with Timothy seed (*Phleum pratense*), and as he rode over the ranch he spread it through his fields.[69]

Irrigating hay fields also began early in the intermountain valleys of western Montana. By 1870, ranchers were diverting mountain streams to flood non-native hay meadows of redtop, Timothy, clover, and bluegrass.[70] Creeks flowing into the Clark Fork River provided a natural irrigation system for the ranchers. Granville Stuart, writing for the *New Northwest* in 1872, described the irrigation system developing in the region at that time:

> . . . that which is most convenient for irrigation is taken up . . . and very much of it is under fence. The most beautiful and productive of the ranches for grain are those which lie in the recesses of the hills along up the valley where little side streams come down from the mountains, and viewed from the opposite side look like emerald gems set in the niches of the hills.[71]

In the decades to come, many of the ditches constructed for the purpose of placer mining would also be converted into irrigating ditches.[72]

As early as 1868, Kohrs was fencing the lands extending from the Clark Fork River to the Home Ranch.[73] These fences, constructed with the local timber supply, weren't built to keep the livestock in, but rather, to keep them out. The custom – and the law – at that time was to fence off the grain crops so that the cattle wouldn't destroy the crops.[74] Evidently, Kohrs used the bottom lands to raise mature hay and, as during the Grant years, the bench lands adjoining were plowed for grain.[75] Yet,

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[69] Anna Rosenberg, "Wallace Ranch: A History of Place," unpublished report for the Nature Conservancy, 1995. Timothy grass can still be found growing in the pastures.

[70] Fletcher, *Free Grass to Fences*, 129.

[71] *New Northwest*, June 1, 1872.

[72] *New Northwest*, February 7, 1890.

[73] *United States General Land Office Survey*, Township 8 North, Range 9 West, Surveyed by Walter W. Johnson, October 9, 1868. Microfilm available at the Bureau of Land Management, Billings, Montana.

[74] Kohrs, "A Veteran's Experience," 1329. In *The Wire that Fenced the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1965), Henry D. and Frances T. McCallum explain that the "ancient custom of enclosing fields to keep livestock out" was the dominant form of fencing in the West, until the spread of barbed wire in the 1880s. In fact, fencing of open range/public domain was illegal. See Malone, Roeder, and Lang, *Montana. A History of Two Centuries*, 54.

[75] *United States General Land Office Survey*, Township 8 North, Range 9 West, Surveyed by Walter W. Johnson, October 9, 1868.

when Kohrs moved beyond the boundaries of the intermountain valleys, he adopted the methods of the open range system.[76] In the more open, arid country of the eastern plains, Kohrs did not attempt to shelter, feed, or fence.

Between 1887-1900, Kohrs and Bielenberg remained at the forefront of the range cattle business linking the northern plains to the Chicago stockyards. Relying on the financial support of investors and stock commissioners, Kohrs rebuilt his herds with stock of quality and bred further to improve that quality. Concurrently, in the Deer Lodge Valley, Kohrs and Bielenberg acquired an additional 20,000 acres. These two factors, breed specialization and the consolidation of the Kohrs and Bielenberg land holdings, permitted the efficiency and reliability necessary for the production of quality beef for the nation's growing urban population.[77]

In the spring of 1888, Kohrs hired Dick Williams, a man "well acquainted all over the country," for "five dollars per day" to assist with the purchasing of steers to rebuild his herds.[78] The buying began in Boise Valley, Idaho, continued in Ontario, Oregon, and finished in Malheur, Idaho.[79] Altogether, Kohrs purchased 9,000 steers for which he paid "$10.00 for yearlings, $14.00 for twos, and $18.00 for three year olds."[80] The majority of the cattle were shipped directly to Big Sandy, just northeast of Fort Benton, near the bend of the Missouri River. These constituted the "CK" herds (Kohrs and Bielenberg). The rest of the steers were shipped to Bowdoin, southeast of Fort Benton, to restock the Pioneer Cattle Company herds.[81] Ironically, the forced liquidation of the Hard Winter had reduced overgrazing, at least temporarily, and spring rains the following year produced a thick blanket of lush range grass on the eastern ranges – extra support for cattlemen who, like Kohrs and Bielenberg, remained in the business.

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[76] Also called the "Texas ranching system," in Chapter Seven, "The Anglo-Texan Ranching System," of Terry Jordan's, *Cattle Ranching Frontiers*.

[77] "One of the bright spots of the season," Kohrs recalled of the year 1887, "was the kindness of Mr. A. J. Davis." Andrew Davis, a prominent Butte banker and partner in the Pioneer Cattle Company, offered Kohrs a $100,000.00 loan without any security "except the notes of Kohrs and Bielenberg." The confidence of such a friend, recalled Kohrs, "added to my courage and I was very happy." Friendship alone did not prompt Davis' generosity. Davis had seen Kohrs' past success, and was confident that Kohrs' knowledge of the business guaranteed future returns. A ndrew Davis was not the only faithful banker to help support Kohrs after the "Hard Winter." Learning of the disastrous collapse, Joseph Rosenbaum, the highly successful stock commissioner, called together all the Montana cattlemen and volunteered to lend them a million dollars to assist in recouping their losses. Kohrs and Bielenberg were among the borrowers that accepted the generous offer.

[78] Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, 87.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] *CK Papers, M73*, Reel 5. Pioneer Cattle Company records for 1888 list 2,348 Idaho steers "bought by Kohrs"; and for 1889, 2,476 Idaho steers "bought by Kohrs."

Kohrs also used Texas cattle to rebuild his range herds. Unlike the Southern "steermen" who brought their Texas bred steers north to fatten for a couple of years before being shipped to market, Kohrs purchased heifers and "graded up" by crossing them with his purebred bulls.[82] The benefits of this system were felt three and four years later, when Kohrs sold his high-grade calves.[83]

After two years of steadily replacing their range herds, Kohrs and Bielenberg were paying some of the highest taxes in eastern Montana's Choteau County. In 1889, the brothers paid an aggregate tax of $1,757.34 for an estimated total real property value of $112,786.[84] Since neither Kohrs nor Bielenberg had major land holdings in eastern Montana, the taxes represented total estimated value of cattle and horses. At an average price of approximately $15 per head, the figure accounted for 7,520 head of cattle on the Fort Benton ranges.[85] In comparison, the 1889 tax lists showed that the Pioneer Cattle Company paid only $189.40 tax for their range herds on the Fort Maginnis Range, in Fergus County.[86]

Reassembling the herds on the eastern range did not preclude attention to the Deer Lodge ranch. In 1890, Kohrs and Bielenberg added 7,705 acres to the Home Ranch.[87] Of the 7,705 acres, 5,630 acres were purchased directly from the Northern Pacific Railroad at approximately $1.74 per acre. Another 1,435 acres were appropriated under the Desert Lands Act (at 25 cents per acre); the remaining 640 acres came from half-brother, Charles Bielenberg, for a fee of one dollar. The Desert Land Act of 1877, one in a series of public land laws designed to settle the "vacant lands in the West," stated that any settler might purchase 640 acres of land (for 25 cents per acre) if he would irrigate it within three years after filing. The law, intended as a means of encouraging farmers to irrigate and settle the desert country, was in large part a failure. In many cases the nearest water supply was so inaccessible that it would have required at least three years just to construct the ditch to bring the water to the lands making it impossible for the honest settler to take advantage of the law. Instead, cattle kings, like Kohrs and Bielenberg, took advantage of this act to acquire pasture land at give-away prices. Technically speaking, it was impossible under the law to acquire more than 640 acres.

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[82] Conrad Kohrs, "A Veteran's Experience," 1329. There is no record of this in the Pioneer Cattle Company records, which suggests that they brought the Texas cattle to the Fort Benton ranges, with the rest of the CK herds.

[83] *New Northwest*, October 4, 1893.

[84] Choteau County Tax Lists, 1888-1900, Choteau County Courthouse, Fort Benton, Montana.

[85] Average price per head of cattle in Montana comes from the annual livestock report for the U.S. Congress, House, *Executive Documents for the First Session of the Fifty Second Congress*, Volume 38 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891-92), 313.

[86] Fergus County Tax Lists, 1887-1891, Fergus County Courthouse, Lewistown, Montana. There is the chance that the Pioneer Cattle Company had already moved most of their cattle to the northeastern ranges. Unfortunately, there is no way to confirm this using tax lists since the assessment roles for both Dawson and Valley County were literally "burned." Neither Kohrs nor the Pioneer Cattle Company appear in the Fergus County tax lists after 1891.

[87] Powell County Transcribed Deed Books, Powell County Courthouse, Deer Lodge, Montana, Book 5: 66, 73, 74, 431 and 432; Book 7: 182.

But cattlemen creatively circumvented the law by fraudulent means. In this case, Kohrs and Bielenberg filed for their 640 acres separately, even though they were operating as one ranch. Kohrs's wife, Augusta, also filed for an additional 200 acres.[88]

That same year also witnessed a major addition to the original John Grant residence at the Home Ranch: a two-story brick-veneer-on-frame building with basement, living and dining rooms, a kitchen and pantry, and a second floor containing bedrooms. Electricity, gas lighting, and indoor running water also date to the 1890 additions.[89] On the south side of the brick addition, a carbide gas generator provided light for the entire house.[90] The water came from a hydraulic ram located in the northwest pastures about 400 yards from the house. The ram, housed in a sunken wooden box about four feet by eight feet and about four feet in depth, received a steady supply of water from a spring at the site and was further supplemented by a tap off the Kohrs-Manning Ditch.[91] The water was then propelled into the house by wooden pipes sunk into the pasture. Once in the house, the water flowed to various spigots and water heaters located throughout. Kohrs wrote:

> The new addition to the house proved a great comfort. The furnace, water-work and gas plant gave us all the conveniences of the city and lightened the burdens of the housekeeper perceptibly – no carrying of wood for six or seven stoves and filling of lamps.[92]

The land purchases and the house remodel suggest that as early as 1890, Kohrs and Bielenberg had recovered financially. Witnessing the rapid development of the valley, Kohrs had the foresight to invest in the local electrical cooperative. By 1892, he was a major stockholder in the company.[93]

Although there is no firm knowledge of the motives behind the tremendous land acquisitions, the most logical explanation is that Kohrs and Bielenberg purchased the lands for pasturing their growing herds

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[88] Powell County Transcribed Deed Books, Powell County Courthouse, Deer Lodge, Montana, Book 5: 66, 73, 74, 431 and 432; Book 7: 182. For the specifics of the Desert Land Act, see Roy Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain, 1776-1936* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1962), 218-219. It is important to note that Grant also used much of this acreage. During Grant's tenure, however, the land was unsurveyed and Grant never secured title.

[89] The water was first pumped to the holding tank in the 1890s attic. What was not used in the house, went into an overflow pipe and to the basement where it was used to cool milk. Then it went into a sewer pipe and into the creek (Mike McWright, GRKO Facility Manager, to Janene Caywood, HRA, January 31, 1997).

[90] Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 194-195.

[91] Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 194-195.

[92] Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, 93-94.

[93] Although purchased at give-away rates, the total cost of the land acquisitions came to $10,000.00, a significant sum of money in the 19th-century.

of high-quality cattle and thoroughbred horses.[94] Initially, the brothers became involved in the business of breeding horses for their own use; they needed a horse big enough to rope a large Hereford-Shorthorn cross. This resulted in the crossing of imported Thoroughbreds and the native Cayuse mares. About 130 "Dutch K" (brand) geldings were used for the "CK" roundups. Each of the 15 roundup riders had eight horses in his personal string – "one quiet horse for night herding, and seven 'Circle horses' that also could rope and cut."[95] What began as a means of improving the roundup herds grew into a profitable business. In the 1890s, the ranch imported Shires, Clydesdales, Standardbreds, Thoroughbreds and Norman Coach horses.[96]

Of the two men, Bielenberg was the more expert horseman and took charge of the breeding, foaling, training and sales.[97] According to his grandnephew, Bielenberg "used haying" season to break the draft (Shire and Clydesdale) horses.[98] Horse buyers would come to the hay fields to watch the horses mow the fields. If sufficiently impressed, the horse buyers would purchase all five horses as a "hay team." The average price for a team was about $400.[99] In addition, Bielenberg raised prize racehorses that won awards in cities on the East and West coasts.[100] These sold for as high as $1,000 per horse.[101] The ranch also sold high-quality stagecoach horses. Marcus Daly, owner of the Anaconda copper mine, purchased the first pair of trotting horses for the extravagant sum of $700.[102]

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[94] Kohrs had also witnessed the rapid development of the valley with more and more ranchers, sheepgrowers, stockmen and breeders settling the public domain every year. There is the possibility, therefore, that Kohrs and Bielenberg decided to invest in land that they knew could be sold at a profit. After the turn-of-the-century, Kohrs invested heavily in real estate throughout Montana. His investments included the Higgins Block in Missoula as well as entire blocks in Helena and Butte.

[95] Patricia Nell Warren, "Horses for the Big Circle," *Persimmon Hill*, Volume 16, Number 4 (Winter 1989), 37. During the "pool roundups," which involved several cooperating outfits, as many as 600 or 700 horses were needed to gather the 15-20,000 head of cattle.

[96] Warren, "Horses for the Big Circle," 35.

[97] Ibid., Conrad Warren by Rex C. Meyers, November 1980, Tape 2, Transcript 32, Record Group 3.

[98] Conrad Warren by Rex C. Meyers, Tape 2, Transcript p. 32, Record Group 3.

[99] Conrad Warren by Rex C. Meyers, Tape 2, Transcript p. 17, Record Group 3.

[100] Conrad Warren by Rex C. Meyers, Tape 2, Transcript p. 32, Record Group 3.

[101] The racehorse, "Carmen," and the yearling, "Regent," were advertised for "no less than $2,000!" The following citations are from the Conrad Kohrs Papers, 1852-1952, Microfilm 73 (M73), Reel 1 (Missoula, Montana: University of Montana): Letterpress Book A104, May 10, 1892; Letterpress A85, April 23, 1892; Letterpress A192, June 13, 1893; Letterpress A202-203, July 19, 1893; Letterpress A316-317, October 10, 1895; Letterpress B36, May 11, 1894; Letterpress B39, February 16, 1895; Letterpress B57, June 12, 1896; Letterpress B148, June 1, 1898; Letterpress B170, February 2, 1899.

[102] Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, 96.

Thus, although overshadowed by the cattle business, the raising and selling of draft and Thoroughbred horses played a significant role in the overall success of the Kohrs and Bielenberg partnership of the late nineteenth century.[103]

Maintaining high-quality bulls at the Home Ranch was also an important asset for the Kohrs and Bielenberg operation. In addition to upgrading their range herds, the purebred Shorthorn and Hereford bulls were sold as herd-sires to stockraisers throughout the state.[104] On average the bulls sold for between $50 and $150 per head, depending on the market and the purity of the pedigree.[105] The ranch sold mostly Hereford and Shorthorn crosses, a combination that produced cattle better able to withstand the northern climate. Ironically, the cross-breeds were more accidental than intentional. In a letter to a Wyoming customer, Kohrs explained that:

> My herd has grown so large that I could not afford pasture room for each distinct and individual family and have been compelled to turn the different families of Hereford and Short horns into one general herd. The ranch has been a [mix] of the different bloods and are producing choice cross-bred animals. In many instances, the cross has not taken place and the blood of the Hereford or Short horn remains pure as ever, yet under the circumstances I am unable to give you a truthful Herd Book pedigree to the animal.[106]

Ultimately, papers mattered less to Kohrs than the performance of the animal. Kohrs focused on the important details: raising cattle that would survive the winter and producing healthy calves that would bring good prices the following season.

Breed specialization also explains Kohrs and Bielenberg's continued prosperity through the 1890s. In the early spring of 1897, Kohrs and Bielenberg began to sell Hereford calves in addition to herd bulls and fattened steers. From that time forward, records for calf sales appear sequentially in the early

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[103] In her article, "Horses for the Big Circle C," Patricia Nell Warren wrote that in the nineteenth century, "total annual horse sales [for the Kohrs and Bielenberg home ranch] exceeded the Shorthorn sales by far." This is not apparent from the financial data available in the Conrad Kohrs Papers.

[104] Conrad Kohrs Papers, M73, Letterpress A and B. The subject of much of the outgoing correspondence from the Deer Lodge Ranch involves the selling of bulls. See for example, Letterpress A 195, July 14, 1893; Letterpress A322, February 7, 1893; Letterpress A323, February 7, 1893; Letterpress B46, April 8, 1895; Letterpress B65, February 16, 1897; Letterpress B70, March 18, 1897; Letterpress B76, May 5, 1897; Letterpress B91, October 27, 1897; Letterpress B93, November 3, 1897; and Letterpress B101, December 4, 1897. Including Letterpress B115, January 27, 1898; Letterpress B 132, March 28, 1898; Letterpress B153, October 2, 1898; and Letterpress B166, January 11, 1899.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Conrad Kohrs Papers, Letterpress A50, April 4, 1892. A complete set of Hereford Registry books is in the museum collection [GRKO 358], dated entries from 1 to 185000 through the years 1899-1904. They are exhibited in the Kohrs' office.

spring of 1898, 1899, and again in 1900.[107] These notices suggest that Kohrs and Bielenberg, in company with their peers, had slowly been making the transition from an open-range steer operation to a "ranch-farming" cow-calf operation, diversifying their interests to include cattle of all ages.[108]

This focus on the cattle and horse-breeding program occurred simultaneously with the acquisition of more land in the Deer Lodge Valley. Bielenberg began the acquisitions in January 1895 when he received 160 acres under the Timber Culture Act.[109] Later that year, Kohrs and Bielenberg added a 40-acre parcel to the property with a private purchase from Mrs. Mary Hart.[110] In 1898 they purchased 3,177 acres from the Northern Pacific Railroad, to which were added another 4,401 acres in 1899, and another 3,175 acres in 1900.[111] In addition to the railroad sections, Kohrs and Bielenberg purchased another 360 acres of private land.[112] Altogether, between 1895 and 1900, the Home Ranch incorporated an additional 11,311 acres. By 1908, Kohrs and Bielenberg owned 22,307 deeded acres within the Deer Lodge region, and had grazing rights to an additional 4,400 acres.

The growth of the Home Ranch pastures meant better livestock care. Within a year after the first large land acquisitions, the Kohrs and Bielenberg correspondence records show heavy reliance on the cultivation of non-native hay crops. In March 1893, Bielenberg ordered 1,000 lbs. of Timothy seed, and in December of that same year, he ordered another 10,000 lbs. of bran and shorts. The following January, Kohrs requested that Joe Rosenbaum send 500 lbs. of "the best" red clover

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[107] Conrad Kohrs Papers, Letterpress Book B, 88, Bielenberg to William Williams, of Helmville, CA., October 16, 1897 and p. 89, Bielenberg to Joseph King, of Lewiston, Montana, October 23, 1897. Other notices appear in Letterpress Book B, pp. 106-108, 112, 117, 121-123, 125-126, 128-130, 134, 161-163, 168, and 202. It is also interesting to note that Bielenberg was writing to ranchers in California, Washington, and Oregon, demonstrating the increasing pull of markets on the West coast.

[108] *New Northwest*, December 15, 1897; and John T. Schlebecker, *Cattle Raising on the Plains, 1900-1961*, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1962), 192.

[109] Deed Book 12, p. 112, *Powell County Transcribed Deed Book,* Powell County Courthouse, Deer Lodge, Montana. The Timber Culture Act, like the Desert Lands Act, was another failed attempt by the government to dispossess the public domain. Intended to encourage the "growth of timber on the western prairies," the Act stated that any person that could maintain 40 acres of timber over a ten year period would be entitled to the quarter section (160 acres) of which the 40 acres was a part. In general, however, the act was used to exploit the already diminishing supply of valuable pine and fir lands. See Roy Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage*, 218-219.

[110] Transcribed Deed Book 12, 160-161, Powell County Courthouse, Deerlodge, Montana.

[111] Deed Book 12, pp. 501, 514-516, 595-596, and 625; and Transcribed Deed Book 10, pp. 510-11 and 591, Powell County Courthouse, Deer Lodge, Montana.

[112] Transcribed Deed Book 12, 608-9; and Transcribed Deed Book 7, 578, Powell County Courthouse, Deer Lodge, Montana.

seed.[113] In addition to providing winter feed, pasturing livestock on private land required developing better watering facilities, as well as paying closer attention to the quality of the range.[114]

Typical of the most successful Montana entrepreneurs, Conrad and his wife Augusta moved to the "mansion district" of Helena in 1899, while Johny continued to reside at the Home Ranch. By that time, the Kohrs' three children had left home. Both daughters, Anna and Katherine, were married, and their only son, William, was at college. In the spring of 1901, William died of an appendicitis attack while at college. In the years following William's death, Kohrs continued to purchase small parcels of land for the Home Ranch. In eastern Montana, operations continued as they had under the management of son-in-law John Boardman.[115]

In 1907, Kohrs and John Bielenberg consolidated to form the Rock Creek Ditch and Mining Company and the Kohrs and Bielenberg Realty Company. One year later, Conrad, John, and Augusta created the Kohrs and Bielenberg Land and Livestock Company. Although Kohrs continued to advise and consult from his home in Helena, an aging John Bielenberg was the only family member who remained at the Home Ranch. Bielenberg stayed until his death in 1922.

The first step towards the dissolution of the cattle empire came in 1915 when the "upper ranch" was leased to a group of investors for growing wheat (presumably in response to government incentives and price incentives associated with World War I).[116] In 1919, a year of widespread drought, Charles H. Williams and Peter Pauly, a partnership of ranchers in the Deer Lodge Valley, purchased 12 sections of contiguous land east of the ranch house from Kohrs and Bielenberg, for $100,000. Later that same year the partners purchased another 12,000 acres and the water rights held by the Rock Creek Ditch and Mining Company.[117] With the land went the livestock: over 1,000 cows (not including calves) and "a couple of hundred horses."[118]

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[113] Conrad Kohrs Papers, Letterpress Book B, 14, March 21, 1893, Bielenberg to Matt Peterson (Helmville) and p.31, December 20, 1893, Bielenberg to Nelson Storey (Bozeman); and Letterpress Book A, 236, January 13, 1894, Conrad Kohrs to Joe Rosenbaum (Chicago).

[114] Conrad Kohrs Papers, Letterpress Book A, 366 and 372, Kohrs and Bielenberg to A. M. Holter & Co., Helena, Montana, March 3 and 11, 1899. These letters place an order for 25,000 feet of barbed wire, and tin for roofing the cowsheds.

[115] This date is speculative. John Albright bases this date on a letter from J.H. Gehrmann, "Historic Resource Study," 97. A vivid description of the eastern ranch (including the CK roundup) can be found in the letters of Betty Wingert, John Boardman's niece, who spent the summer of 1910 at the eastern range headquarters of the CK, see Wingert Letters, Curatorial Files, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS Archives, Deer Lodge, Montana.

[116] Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 102.

[117] Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 103.

[118] Conrad K. Warren interview by Lyndel Meikle, 23 Feb 1982, Record Group 5.

The 1919 sales left only a small portion of land totaling about one section on the north-south axis and the huge 36-section patchwork of deeded and leased pasture to the east (known as the Dog Creek and Humber pastures). Despite the dissolution, Johny Bielenberg, aged 73, remained on the ranch and actively involved in its care. In contrast, Kohrs (11 years Johny's senior) resided in Helena with Augusta, from whence he chafed at his own inactivity. To Johny he wrote:

> Hoping you are well and that you will write me a long letter, giving me full particulars about the animals you have tested and how many you have left to test . . . and also the percentage so far that would not stand the test. . . . You did not write me anything at all about the ranch neither did you tell me about how many bulls you have left. . . . I wish when you sit down again, you would write me full particulars about everything at the ranch.[119]

Conrad Kohrs died in 1920 and John Bielenberg died in 1922. By 1924, the last sections of pastureland had been sold to a co-partnership known and designated as Nelson and Sons.[120] Until 1931, the remaining parcels of land connected to the Home Ranch stayed in a caretaker status. Augusta Kohrs continued to visit the ranch from Decoration (Memorial) Day through the end of the summer[121] and young Conrad Warren, son of Katherine Kohrs Warren and Robert Otey Yancey Warren, worked as a ranch hand in the summers. Although raised in Helena, Montana, Conrad Warren's desire was to live at the ranch: "It seems to me now that I lived out those days with only one thought in my mind and that was to get back to the ranch for a day, or a week, or a summer. There I found most of the things that were dear to my heart...." In 1929, Warren moved to the ranch permanently. In 1931, Warren assumed management of what remained of Kohrs's formerly vast holdings, then known as the Conrad Kohrs Company Ranch.[122]

With a new generation of Kohrs at the helm, the ranch slowly evolved from a commercial operation raising beef cattle from birth to slaughterhouse, then into a purebred operation that included raising of registered purebred animals, selling breeding bulls, and increasing the quality of the commercial steer herd. Besides his purebred operations, Warren raised Belgian draft horses, initiated an intensive breeding period with premium Hereford stock, introduced a commercial feedlot operation, and yearling steer and cow-calf operations. In 1970, after nearly 40 years of operating the ranch, Warren sold 142 acres of the property to the National Park Foundation, with the long-term intent of establishing the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site, which became a reality in 1972. Warren continued ranch operations on the site until 1982, with the final land transactions with the National

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[119] Kohrs letter March 3, 1919 to John Bielenberg, Kohrs and Bielenberg Records, Manuscript Collection 145, Folder 3, Box 2, Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana; and Kohrs to Bielenberg, May 21, 1919, Folder 3, Box 2, MC 145.

[120] Albright, "Historic Resource Study," 103.

[121] Cheryl Clemmenson, GRKO Park Ranger, to Janene Caywood, HRA, January 31, 1997.

[122] Warren, "This I Remember," 7-8 and 15. Warren began working at the ranch in 1929, after leaving the University of Virginia in his freshman year. Correspondence from these years suggests that he took an active role in ranch management, although this role did not become official until 1931.

Park Service being completed in 1988. Today, the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site encompasses 1,618.278 acres, including both the Home Ranch and the Warren Hereford Ranch.

The Grant-Kohrs Ranch represents the evolution of cattle ranching in the nineteenth into the twentieth century from open range, pasturelands and feedlot operations. In particular, Grant-Kohrs Ranch is not a site but a story – a story of continuity of ownership and western cattle operations. Perhaps Chief of Museum Operations Ralph Lewis best described the sense of Grant-Kohrs Ranch: "The cattle business becomes a matter of real people, logical techniques, and serious economics. The cowboy and other usually over-romanticized elements of the Wild West fall into perspective when viewing the site."[123]

[123] Chief of Museum Operations Ralph Lewis to Frank Hjort, Division of Park Planning, August 25, 1969, GRKO Archives as cited in U.S. Department of Interior, *Ranchers to Rangers: An Administrative History of Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site-Montana*, prepared for the National Park Service by Douglas C. McChristian (Denver, 1997), 14.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
__ Previously Listed in the National Register.
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
X Designated a National Historic Landmark.
X Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #MT-39
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

X State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
__ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
X University
X Other (Specify Repository): Grant-Kohrs Library and Archives

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 1,578 acres (approximate). The Grant-Kohrs National Historic Site encompasses 1,618.278 acres. All but approximately 40 acres of the national historic site are included within the National Historic Landmark boundary.

UTM References:

	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	12	366500	5140210
B	12	366740	5141080
C	12	367158	5143241
D	12	366402	5144489
E	12	365251	5141280
F	12	364295	5141295
G	12	364195	5139691
H	12	365476	5139666

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Verbal Boundary Description:

The map of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark is shown on the final page of the nomination form, as well as the annotated U.S.G.S. maps submitted as part of the nomination. Except at its southeastern corner, the boundary of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark is the same as the boundary of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site, as shown on a map entitled "Boundary Map, Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site," numbered 80030-B, dated January 1998. (This map is on file in the local and Washington D.C. offices of the National Park Service, Department of Interior.) At its southeastern corner, the NHL boundary excludes both the park's visitor contact area and the Warren Hereford Ranch building complex.

Generally, the boundary of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark can be described as follows: At its southeastern corner, the NHL boundary begins at that point – UTM Point A – that is the same as the northwestern corner of the boundary for the town of Deer Lodge, Montana. This point also marks the intersection of the town boundary with the Grant-Kohrs National Historic Site boundary and the Montana Rail Link railroad line. From this beginning point (UTM Point A), the NHL boundary then extends northward approximately 1,300 feet along the fenceline that marks the eastern edge of the railroad line, until it intersects with the fenceline that makes the southern boundary of the historic access road to the Grant-Kohrs Ranch (the same road that passes in front of the Warren residence). The NHL boundary then turns eastward and, for approximately 600 feet, follows the road fenceline to its intersection with the National Historic Site boundary. The NHL boundary then extends northward to cross the road, and then turns westward, along the road's northern fenceline, for approximately 600 feet to again intersect with the fenceline that marks the eastern edge of the railroad line. The NHL boundary then extends northward along this fenceline for approximately 1,500 feet, until it reaches the northern edge of the Warren Hereford Ranch feedlot. At the northern edge of the feedlot, the NHL boundary turns due east and extends, along the edge of the feedlot, approximately 600 feet until its intersection with the National Historic Site boundary – UTM Point B. From this point (UTM Point B), the NHL boundary follows the National Historic Site boundary northward, westward, southward, and eastward – around the perimeter of the national historic site – until connecting again to UTM point A.

Boundary Justification:

The boundary for the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark encompasses all the extant resources historically associated with the ranch's period of national significance (1862-1919), while excluding two portions of the ranch that were developed later than the period of significance, and which include numerous resources associated with this later period of development. The two excluded portions – the Warren Hereford Ranch and the Grant-Kohrs National Historic Site visitor contact area – have been altered to such an extent that they no longer reflect the national period of significance.

With the exception of the historic access road that runs through the Warren ranch complex, the NHL boundary has been drawn to exclude the Warren Hereford Ranch, which was constructed primarily between c. 1930s-1980s by Conrad Warren, grandson of Conrad Kohrs. Among the buildings and structures in this area are the Warren residence, garage, chicken coop, boathouse, and numerous agricultural buildings including barns, corrals, a scale house, chutes, feedlots, and electrically heated drinking troughs. It is important to note, however, that the NHL boundary was drawn to include the

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historic road that runs through the Warren Hereford Ranch; this road was the original access road to the Home Ranch and dates to the national period of significance.

The NHL boundary also excludes the most southeastern corner of the National Historic Site, where the National Park Service has developed a small temporary visitor contact station, comfort station, and parking lot. Following the establishment of the National Historic Site in 1972, the National Park Service moved the two extant buildings in this location from the Upper Ranch, and remodeled them for use as a visitor contact station. While these buildings date to the Kohrs era, the integrity of the buildings has been substantially altered and they would be noncontributing, even if located within the NHL boundary. The visitor contact area also has been altered by the construction of an access road, parking lot, and pedestrian walkway.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

Name/Title: Ann Hubber, Historian, Historical Research Associates, Inc.; Dawn Bunyak, Historian, National Park Service; and Christine Whitacre, Historian, National Park Service

Address: National Park Service, Intermountain Support Office
12795 W. Alameda Parkway
PO Box 25287
Denver, CO 80225-0287
Telephone: 303-969-2885 (Christine Whitacre)

Date: August 31, 2001

PROPERTY OWNERS

Grant-Kohrs National Historic Site
Post Office Box 790
Deer Lodge, MT 59722
406-846-2070

Montana Rail Link
Post Office Box 16390
101 International Way
Missoula, MT 59808
406-523-1500

City of Deer Lodge
City Hall
300 Main Street
Deer Lodge, MT 59722
406-846-1226

Lars Olsen
North of Deer Lodge
Deer Lodge, MT 59722
406-846-2643

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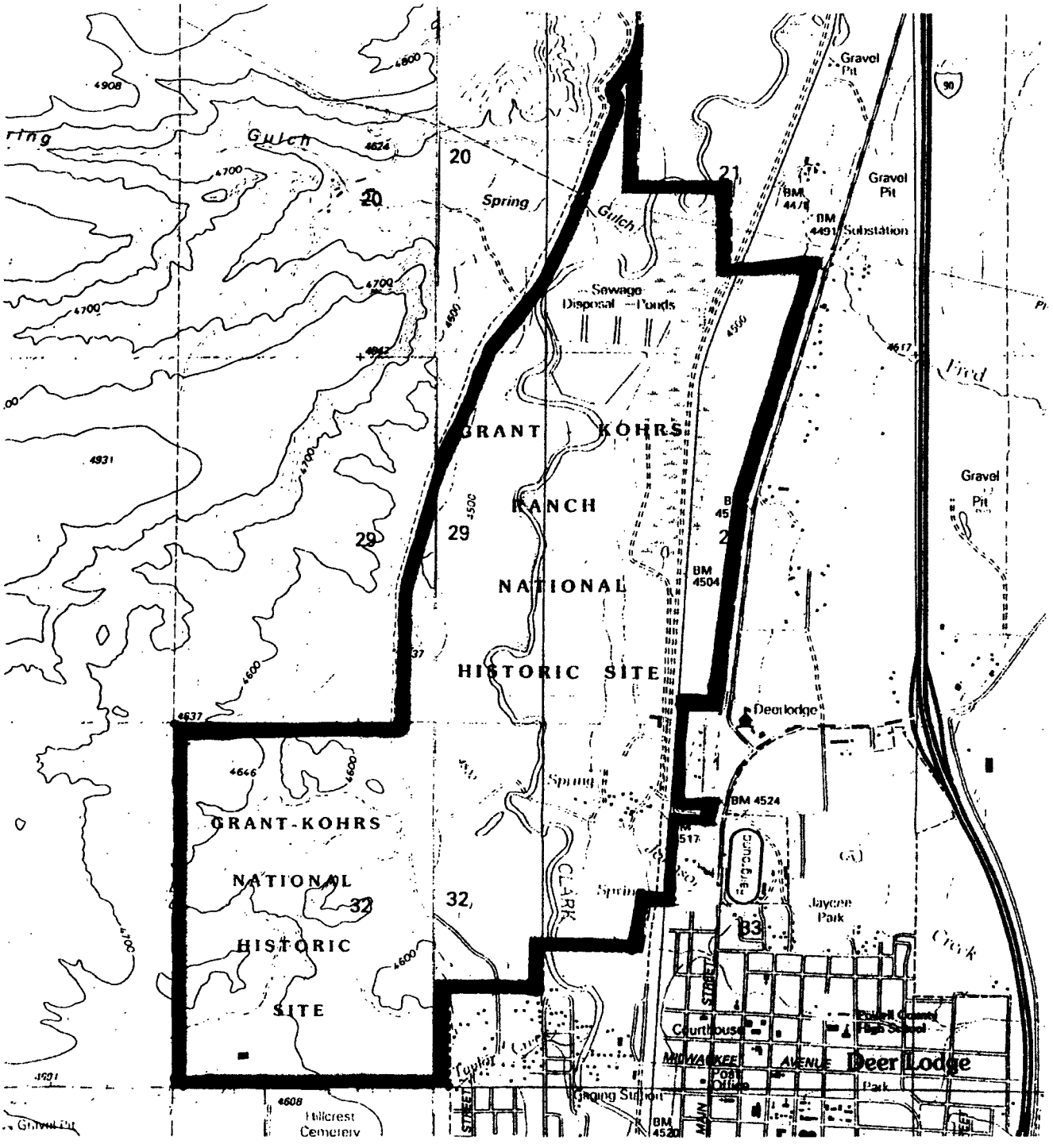
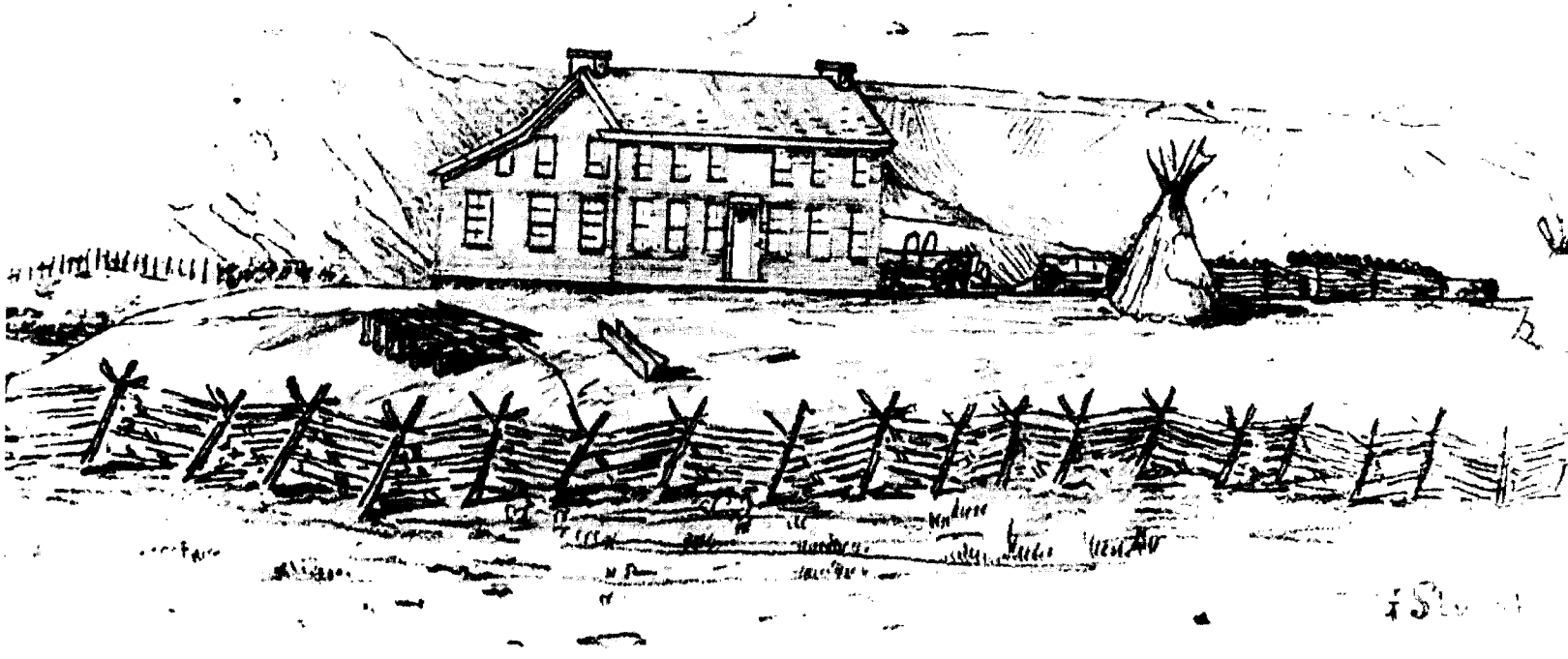
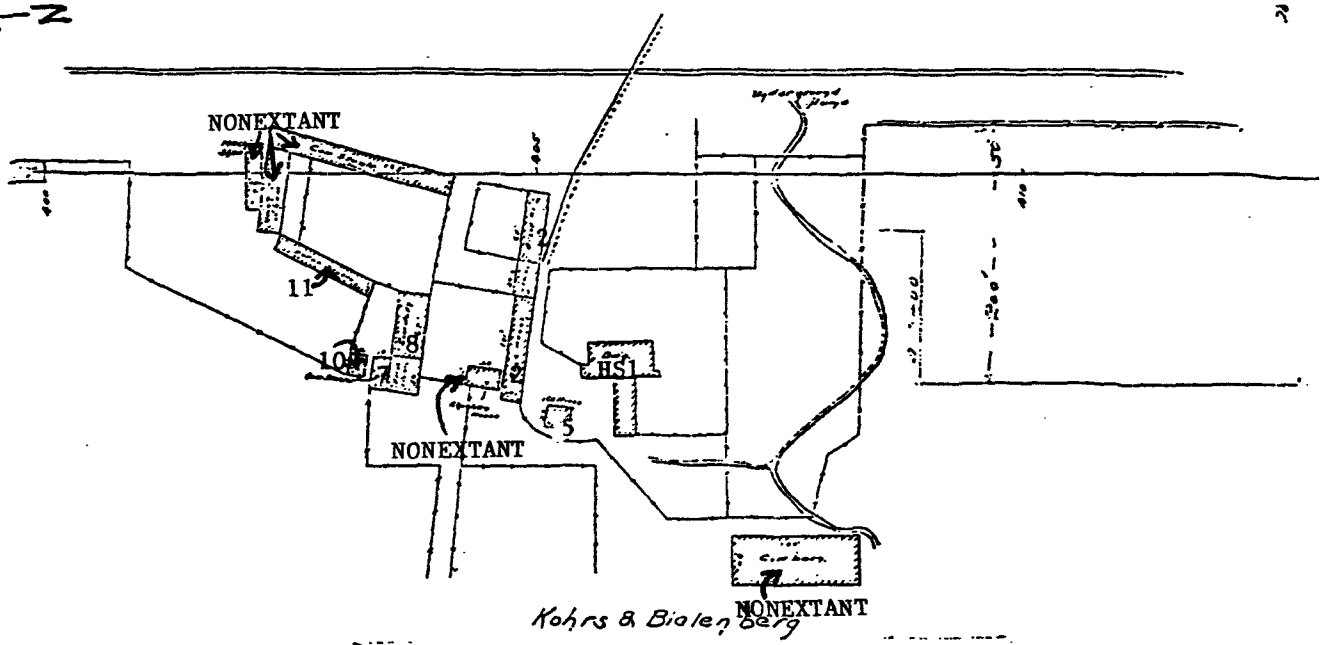
MAP OF THE GRANT-KOHRS RANCH NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK





Grant, near Deer Lodge City, M.T. August 6, 1865. Looking Northwest

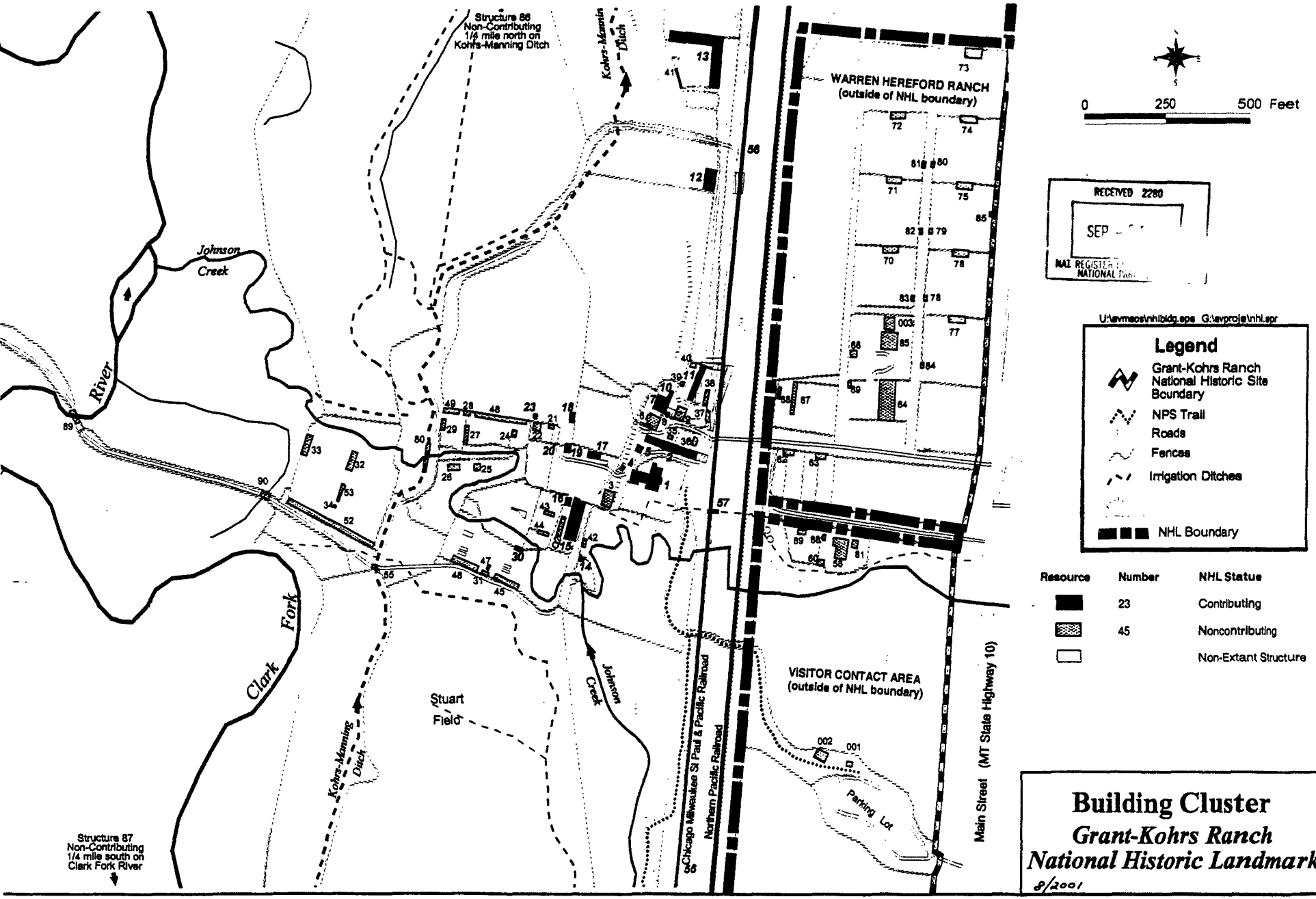


C. M. & St P. Ry of MONT.

MADE BY HAD + CTH DATE Feb 25th 07.
AT Missoula FILE No
CORRECT INDEX No
SCALE: 1" = 100'

[A PARTIAL MAP OF]
DEER LODGE TOWNSITE,
AND N. P. RY. STATION GROUNDS,
POWELL COUNTY.

Copied from N. P. Map, Office of Engr, Missoula Mont. Feb 2 - July 8, 07.


Structure 86
Non-Contributing
1/4 mile north on
Kohrs-Manning Ditch
Kohrs-Manning Ditch
WARREN HEREFORD RANCH
(outside of NHL boundary)
0 250 500 Feet
RECEIVED 2280
SEP
NAT REGISTER
NATIONAL PARK
U:\svmscs\nhlbldg.eps G:\svproje\nhl.spr
Legend
Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site Boundary
NPS Trail
Roads
Fences
Irrigation Ditches
NHL Boundary
Resource Number NHL Statue
23 Contributing
45 Noncontributing
Non-Extant Structure
Johnson Creek
Clark Fork River
Stuart Field
Johnson Creek
Kohrs-Manning Ditch
Chicago Milwaukee St Paul & Pacific Railroad
Northern Pacific Railroad
VISITOR CONTACT AREA
(outside of NHL boundary)
Parking Lot
Main Street (MT State Highway 10)
Structure 87
Non-Contributing
1/4 mile south on
Clark Fork River
Building Cluster
Grant-Kohrs Ranch
National Historic Landmark
8/2001

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Note: Although most of the photographs date to 1996, they reflect the current appearance of the property.

These items are the same for all photographs, unless otherwise noted:

1. Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark
2. Powell County, Montana
3. Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
5. Intermountain Support Office, NPS, Denver, Colorado

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3. Photographer: Mike Steen
4. June 1991
5. GRKO
6. Aerial view, to the west
7. 1

3. Photographer: Anita Harper, GRKO
4. November 2000
5. GRKO
6. Main House (HS-1) view to the east
7. 2

3. Photographer: Anita Harper, GRKO
4. November 2000
5. GRKO
6. Lower yard, view to the west
7. 3

4. May/June 1998
6. Main House (HS-1) and Lower Yard, looking east from the West Corrals
7. 4

4. May/June 1998
6. Main Yard, looking northeast from the West Corrals
7. 5

4. May/June 1998
6. Draft Horse Barn (HS-7) and Main Yard, looking northeast from the Stallion Barn (HS-19)
7. 6

4. 1996
6. Main House (HS-01), view to the west
7. 7

4. 1996
6. Main House (HS-01), view to the north
7. 8

4. 1996
6. Main House (HS-01), Kohrs addition, view to the north
7. 9

4. 1996
6. Main House (HS-01), Kohrs addition, view to the east
7. 10

4. 1996
6. Main House (HS-01), conservatory, view to the east
7. 11

4. 1996
6. Bunkhouse Row (HS-02), view to the east-northeast
7. 12

4. 1996
6. Bunkhouse Row (HS-02), view to the south-southwest
7. 13

4. 1996
6. Ice House (HS-05), view to the southwest
7. 14

4. 1996
6. Ice House (HS-05), view to the northeast
7. 15

4. 1996
6. Coal Shed (HS-04), view to the southwest
7. 16

4. 1996
6. Draft Horse Barn (HS-07), view to the southeast
7. 17

4. 1996
6. Draft Horse Barn (HS-07), view to the northwest
7. 18

4. 1996
6. Oxen Barn (HS-10), view to the southwest

7. 19

4. 1996
6. Oxen Barn (HS-10), view to the southeast
7. 20

4. 1996
6. Horse Barn (HS-11), view to the northwest
7. 21

4. 1996
6. Horse Barn (HS-11), view to the northeast
7. 22

4. 1996
6. Machine Shed (HS-12), view to the northwest
7. 23

4. 1996
6. Cow Shed (HS-13), view to the east-southeast
7. 24

4. 1996
6. Cow Shed (HS-13), view to the east-northeast
7. 25

4. 1996
6. Cow Shed (HS-13), view to the north
7. 26

4. 1996
6. Stallion Barn (HS-14), view to the northwest
7. 27

4. 1996
6. Stallion Barn (HS-16), view to the northeast
7. 28

4. 1996
6. Stallion Barn (HS-19), view to the southwest
7. 29

4. 1996
6. Horse Barn (HS-30), view to the northwest
7. 30

4. 1996

6. Thoroughbred Barn (HS-15), view to the northwest
7. 31

4. 1996
6. Buggy Shed (HS-17), view to the northwest
7. 32

4. 1996
6. Granary (HS-18), view to the southwest
7. 33

4. 1996
6. Privy (HS-20), view to the northwest
7. 34

4. 1996
6. Metal Granary (HS-23), view to the west
7. 35

4. 1996
6. Milwaukee Railroad (HS-56), view to the north
7. 36