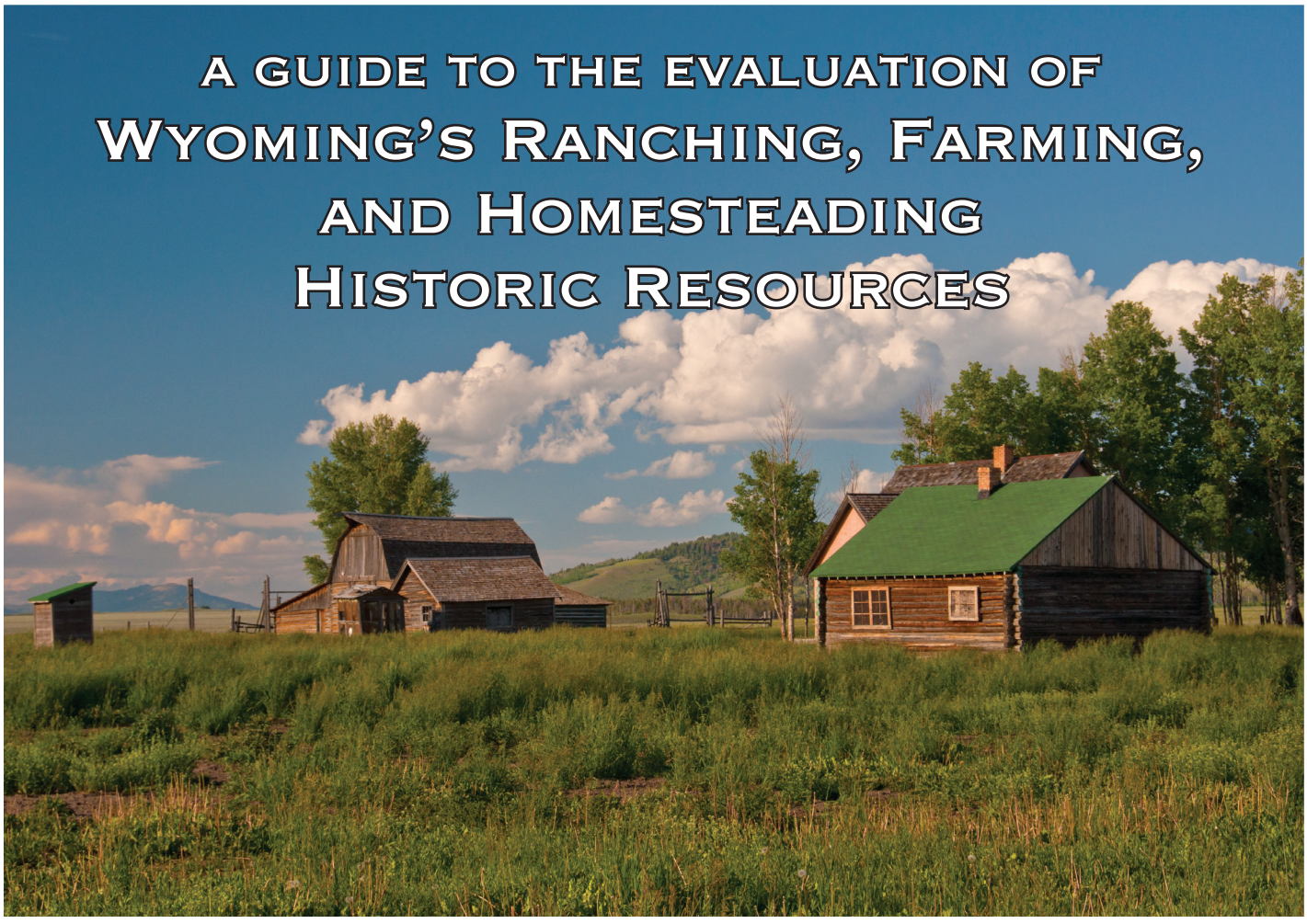
A Guide to the Evaluation of Wyoming's Ranching, Farming, and Homesteading Historic Resources



Michael Cassity

ARTS. PARKS. HISTORY.

Wyoming State Parks & Cultural Resources

Planning and Historic Context Development Program
Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office
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Loading pens and chute, Johnson County. Photo: Michael Cassity, 2006.

On the front cover: John and Bartha Moulton Homestead, Mormon Row, Grand Teton National Park.
Photo: Michael Cassity, 2009

On previous page (left to right):
Granary near Fairview in Star Valley, 2009.
Barn near Laramie River, Albany County, 2009.
Sheepherder Monument, Campbell County, 1981.
Geraldine Lucas Cabin, Grand Teton National Park, 2010.
Loading chute, White Creek Ranch, Converse County, 2010.
All photos by Michael Cassity.

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Foreword

The historic resources from Wyoming's farming, ranching, and homesteading past are all around us. In an effort to understand those resources better and to manage them appropriately, the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, with the support of the Governor and State Legislature, sponsored the preparation of a Historic Context Study to articulate the contours and issues of agriculture in Wyoming in the century from 1860 to 1960. That study, *Wyoming Will Be Your New Home: Ranching, Farming, and Homesteading in Wyoming 1860-1960*, is published separately from the guide you hold in your hands. This guide, which seeks to provide direction for the management and evaluation of historic properties on the ground in the state, is not a replacement or substitute for the Historic Context Study. It is, instead, a supplement to it, a way to apply the themes and issues explored in that study to the actual historical resources that we encounter in the field. In fact, both are important tools and neither should be neglected in the consideration of the historic associations and values associated with Wyoming's built environment in the countryside.

There is yet another component that is vital. The third element, and the most critical part of the evaluation project, is the cultural resource professional who undertakes an examination of the buildings, structures, and other parts of Wyoming's ranching, farming, and legacy. That historian, archaeologist, architectural historian, or landscape architect must exercise careful judgment and professional understanding. The answers he or she reaches will often be nuanced and complex and the path to those answers will sometimes not be self evident. That person will engage in a thoughtful dialogue, mediating between, on the one hand, the patterns and themes important in recorded history and, on the other hand, the material remains on the ground, trying to understand exactly how the buildings and structures on the ground fit into the larger historic patterns and how they do not. Ultimately this will probably mean coming to a better understanding of the historic resources but it will also likely mean a deeper understanding of the larger history of which they are a part, even to the point of revising the commonly understood version of that history. That dialogue, that questioning, that probing is an important process, an exciting process, and one from which we all can gain. It is also the process that both the Historic Context Study and this guide are designed to encourage and inform.

PART ONE

History, Historic Resources, and the National Register Framework

The history of homesteading, farming, and ranching in Wyoming generally can be found in two broad repositories: (1) the written record found in libraries, archives, official documents, newspapers, family records, photographs, land records, and the oral traditions and accounts passed on by family members and others; and (2) the built environment that these people created in the state. Both parts of the historical record are essential to a more accurate and deeper understanding of this part of Wyoming history and it is imperative that managers link these two groups of resources. Putting those two sets of resources together provides a rich opportunity for understanding both the physical remnants we see on the ground and the historical patterns of which they are a part. It is perilous to try to separate the two sets of resources and the idea behind the historic context study examining Wyoming ranching, farming, and homesteading is to help provide a picture of the larger contours, the larger picture, of which the pieces on the horizon, in the field, by the river are a part. The historic context study provides a picture of the complete, or nearly complete, puzzle so that we have a better idea of where the pieces that we find on the ground fit.

The physical remnants of Wyoming's homesteading and ranching legacy are spread across the landscape from one corner of the state to another. They vary greatly in age, size, use, and physical condition. They may be intact farmsteads (a farm or ranch headquarters complex of buildings and structures), they may be districts or landscapes that consist of multiple resources in a single location or a group of farms and ranches, or they may even be individual, isolated elements, like a line shack, remote from any other feature. Each element, however, requires investigation and identification before it can be determined eligible for the National Register, if it is an individual property, or before the property can be determined to be contributing or noncontributing to a larger district of historic properties. That determination is a critical element in the management of Wyoming's historic resources

The evaluation of historic resources related to Wyoming's ranching, farming, and homesteading past requires thoughtful judgment, professional research, and consistent standards. One of the key aspects of professional historical research that distinguishes it from other kinds of examination and review is the attention to change over time, the ability to trace the evolution of a property through the years of its existence rather than freezing time at specific or general moments in the past. As with the lives of the people and communities associated with these properties, time did not stop at a single grand, defining historic moment, or even multiple such moments, and the historic resources reflect the world of which they were a part continuously over a period of years. Understanding those resources involves more than describing them, more than putting them into pigeonholes and categories where they can be sorted, and more than filling in blanks on a form. That understanding, instead, derives

from a careful consideration of the property and the history with which it is associated. In that way, the resources that are historically significant can be managed differently from those that are not.

The historic context study, *Wyoming Will Be Your New Home: Ranching, Farming, and Homesteading in Wyoming 1860-1960*, charts the contours of this part of life in Wyoming to assist the researcher in understanding the larger patterns which the individual farms, ranches, and homesteads both shaped and reflected. Ultimately, the individual operations and the broad patterns have meaning and significance only as they relate to each other, and it is the task of the site evaluator to make that connection. By considering historic context, the researcher can establish not just that a ranching or homesteading feature was old and was in some general or vague way associated with ranching, homesteading, and farming, but can demonstrate the historical significance (or lack of significance) of specific features in precise ways.

I. History and Historic Resources

To expect to understand single features, or clusters of features, related to homesteading, stock raising, or farming / ranching, exclusively on the basis of simply looking at their physical remains may not be an impossible task, but it comes close. And limiting the inquiry to physical remains, uninformed by research in the historical record, omits critical sources and information, arguably doing an injustice to the resource in the process. Indeed, the effort to identify the historic significance of a property is one that requires constantly relating a specific feature to others elsewhere. Unless it is a feature of obvious architectural or engineering significance (Criterion C), its potential eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places can only be determined by careful research, both on site and in the records. If there is one fundamental point of the related historic context study, it is that historical significance derives from our effort to connect any given feature to a larger system, both conceptually and physically. To be old is not enough. To exist is not enough. The historical significance must be precise and demonstrable.

The companion historic context study has articulated a conceptual framework and it includes the emergence of ranching and farming within (and also outside) the land laws of the nation, the evolution of the various practices associated with farming and ranching (including several forms of livestock raising), the forces at work reshaping the organization of society and economy relating to rural life, the role of technology in agriculture, the patterns of ethnicity and gender associated with agriculture, the architecture associated with this activity, and the winners and losers in agricultural life at different times. In each instance, it has attempted to address the marks on the land left in this evolution. The conceptual framework, of course, is large, is complex, is often subtle, and is incapable of being reduced to a static set of categories or pigeonholes into which resources can be reduced and by which their significance can be mechanically defined. It is essential that the site evaluator ask of any resource: What larger patterns and processes are this feature associated with? What does it reveal about the patterns of change and continuity in ranching, in homesteading, in farming? How does this pattern change over the period of significance?

The starting point for this inquiry into the significance of individual sites is with several admonitions that are familiar enough to historians but bear repeating for anyone who undertakes the assessment of historic properties:

1. Everyone is someone.
2. Every place is someplace.
3. Every place has a story.

It may seem either meaningless or an empty cliché to state that everybody is somebody,

but it has only been within the last four decades that historians have systematically directed attention to the men and women who have made up history with sensitivity to their genders and to their different cultures, ethnicities, and social classes. Indeed, older studies of Wyoming ranching and homesteading sometimes conveyed the impression that the area was entirely and exclusively a white man's domain. As this study has shown, sometimes the dominant ranchers in the state (and territory) explicitly suggested that this was the case and even narrowed the hegemony to include only their own select number in the 1880s. But the population was never so monolithic and the women, the farmers, the Hispanics, and others also lived a life there, as one of them memorably remarked, that is worthy of living, and that is now worthy of contemplation and documentation. Understanding the relationship between those in power and those out of power ultimately better illuminates both populations.

Contrary to historians of generations ago and some outside the profession who believe that history is just the record of the literate classes, the history of what is sometimes called "the inarticulate" has flourished so that these people are no longer in any sense either anonymous or voiceless. They paid taxes, they were listed in the census, sometimes they owned or leased land, they often joined churches and clubs, they attended and participated in specific forms of recreation, their activities were mentioned in newspapers, and they were sometimes involved in court proceedings. The historical record is far broader than was previously conceived, and even the most conventional sources can reveal far more than their creators intended. Everybody is somebody, and it is possible to find out who the person was who was associated with a specific property.

Likewise, every place is someplace. Any place where there was a structure built for a specific use, or any place that has otherwise shown the marks of use, as in a trail that has worn into the soil, or even a place where the human footprint has been light, but still served human purposes, as in a natural landmark, that place has entered into human history. It then becomes incumbent upon the researcher to identify the role that structures or sites played in the lives of earlier generations of people who used that place. It is, thus, not only the palatial houses and barns which remain that convey information about the past, but also the remnants of dugouts, of ranch roads, of watering troughs, of windmills, of dams, and even of fences that need to be examined and assessed.

And every place has a story. Every one of these stories has a beginning, a middle, and an end. What is the origin of that structure? Was it built at a time when people were moving into the county and into Wyoming in a noticeable trend? How did its use change over time? Why did people quit using it, quit living in it? What is the end of that story? Was it abandoned? Why? What were the circumstances that caused its occupants to move away? Were they foreclosed? Did they acquire other properties and use this set of structures in a different way? And how did it get from its origin to its end? The building or structure has a life, an evolution. It is not frozen in time. It is not timeless. It changed over time. Those changes are the reflection of history. The task of the site evaluator is to understand that story so as better to understand the resources left on the ground. And understanding is different from categorizing or pigeonholing something. Each resource needs to be explored. In this way, the resource can even shed light on the larger historical context and cause it to be modified.

Archaeologists Donald L. Hardesty and Barbara J. Little have helped approach these questions in site assessment by using the concept of "feature system." As they write, "The concept of feature system emphasizes the need to understand the whole system in order to understand smaller pieces of it that may seem insignificant."[1] This is also what Margaret Purs-

er has pointed to when she has noted that the remnants of western ranches sometimes can be identified only by considering a much broader geographic focus in which dispersed artifacts and structures need to be connected to each other.

> The key to the system is in its grand spatial scale, and the key to archaeological analysis is to keep looking ever farther away from the initial test pit: the ranch's water may come from four miles away through a series of ditches, and the house sited where it is because that location was optimum for the gravity flow. The property around a given ranch house may be relatively small, but the "ranch," as a productive unit, included summer grazing lands miles away in the mountains, and hay lands for winter feed leased on the other side of the valley, where the water was better. Linking all these elements was a crazy-quilt of property relations, from squatting to tenancy to leasing to homesteading, and ultimately to large-scale corporate industrial cattle and sheep ranching, financed by speculation out of places like New York and London.[2]

By approaching the site as something more than a building or structure that some unknown person happened to have built at some point in the past and thereby relegating it to historical anonymity and obscurity, it is possible to determine the significance of the specific feature, or to determine that it lacks necessary significance. By contemplating the story behind that site—its beginning and end—and how it changed over time, how it was used and by whom, and by relating the house, the barn, the corral, the campsite, the related auxiliary structures, to the historical context that has been developed in these pages, the significance of the site can be determined. This will involve careful site analysis, broad conceptual thinking, and basic historical research in land records, water well records, census documents, local archives, and newspapers—the kinds of things that historians do every day, and the result can be a more meaningful understanding of the material remains on the ground.

The process for putting the archival research, the site analysis, and the historic context together is not complicated, but it does require a logical approach that attempts to relate the individual site to larger patterns of history. This process is not a lock-step approach and it is likely that the evaluator will need to return to a previous step just because something examined earlier will take on new meanings in the light of subsequent discovery.

1. First of all, it is important to recognize that historic resources located on a specific property fit together in a functional arrangement. This again gets to Margaret Purser's and Donald Hardesty's point about identifying feature systems by looking at total relationships.

2. Ask the questions: How do these parts fit together on the ground? How do they fit together over time? Is there any indication of evolution, or at least change, over time? What kind of a feature system, exactly, is this?

3. Once the feature system is identified, the relevant property types in this historic context study can also be determined. (See the section below on property types.)

4. Then the historical research regarding this property can be conducted to determine its associations with the various themes and issues discussed in homesteading, stock raising, and farming and ranching. What significance does this resource have?

5. Consult the property type information in this context to determine the eligibility requirements. What are the historical associations that must be clear? Under which criteria will this property be eligible? Does the property meet the integrity requirements?

This process can most readily be seen if there is an intact ranch complex or other cluster of resources that constitutes a complete, or nearly complete, whole. It is more challenging

with isolated features sufficiently far from other resources and unable to be clearly and easily associated with them. When the researcher encounters such an isolated feature, say, a line shack, the first question to ask is, "Whose was this?" An examination of the land records at the courthouse will establish a chain of title for the land on which the feature rests, and will often also indicate leases of the land, something common in ranching. Those documents, in turn, will give clues that can be followed in other sources. Genealogists and local history librarians will be able in some instances to provide information about ranchers who owned or used that land. Does the line shack have a well nearby? Sometimes they do, and an online research of well drilling activity in the office of the state engineer may—or may not—provide a name for the owner of the well and a date at which it was drilled or dug. A phone call to a current or past owner will often generate information to be found nowhere else. If the property was filed on as part of a claim under one of the federal land laws, that information in the General Land Office records frequently indicate the extent of the built features the person developed on the land, often enumerating them with considerable specificity. The census manuscripts readily available in archives and genealogical centers throughout the nation will be able to provide more information about the families and individuals already identified and associated with the property and often a second visit with the custodians of the local history collections in the county library system will be even more rewarding than the first. It is important to remember that each site, each feature, each property is different and will generate its own set of questions. It is never a matter of just pigeon-holing a property into a category because of its external appearances. Historical significance is far more than that and requires research to establish.

Bit by bit, step by step, a picture starts to come together. A story begins to emerge. The relationships between the component parts become visible. The pieces on the ground start to fit into the larger context. The significance of the feature becomes precise, and it is a documented significance with which others who follow the same procedure would concur.

II. The National Register of Historic Places and Site Evaluation Strategies

In addition, the researcher needs to place the material remains in the field into the framework of the National Register of Historic Places. Evaluating properties for eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places involves a series of specific professional judgments based on the National Register requirements, the resources on the ground, and the historical information related to those resources. The researcher needs to identify what it is that the property represents (theme, place, and time) and then determine how that theme (in this case one of the themes associated with the historic context of ranching, farming, and homesteading in Wyoming listed below) is important within a given time period—an identified period of significance—in a particular part of Wyoming. At that point, it is possible to use the National Register criteria to determine if the property represents the historic context through specific important associations under Criteria A and B, through the values evident under Criterion C, or through the information they can potentially yield under Criterion D. The period of significance can then be determined and the property types of the evaluated resources can be identified. The property types, and the criteria under which they are evaluated, will determine what aspects of integrity are necessary to convey the significance of the properties; then the resources can be evaluated for their integrity. The final step is to establish boundaries for the resources.

In this evaluation process, several cautions must be kept in mind. The first is simply that not all properties associated with homestead-

ing, ranching, and farming, or with agriculture more broadly, in the state are eligible for listing on the National Register either individually or as a contributing feature of a complex of features. Some will not qualify for listing because they lack demonstrable significance and others will not be eligible because they lack necessary integrity. Second, the evaluator must also recognize that some ranches / farms / homesteads will have fewer historic features, not because they are less significant, but because they just were historically smaller operations. Size, scale, and expectations combined to help define and distinguish different kinds of operations with self-sufficiency prevailing in the smaller units and market practices in the larger. In fact, one important pattern identified in this study is that often properties were abandoned or taken over or were otherwise altered in their ownership and usage simply *because* they were small. They have been vulnerable to the forces of modernization for more than a century and a third at this point, and it is vital that they not become further vulnerable in the eyes of the evaluator because of the very conditions that have given them, and continue to give them, historical significance. Finally, it needs to be remembered, partly because it can be so easily taken for granted, that the properties must be evaluated within a historic context—in this case, ranching, farming, and homesteading in Wyoming between the 1860s and 1960. There are other properties in the state, even in the rural sectors of the state, that are not related to this context that may still qualify for listing on the National Register, but not as part of this context. They could be schoolhouses, energy-related structures, or other non-farm, non-ranch, or non-homestead features. Ranching, farming, and homesteading covers a lot of territory, both geographic and historical, in Wyoming, but it does not cover everything.

Identification of Appropriate Historic Context

This historic context study explores the historical forces, patterns, and events important to understanding Wyoming's homesteading, farming, and ranching history, but many, even most, properties that are related to homesteading, farming, and ranching will be evaluated for their local significance and, at the local level, for their relationship to specific patterns of agriculture and settlement. For example, properties may be evaluated within the contexts of cattle ranching in the Green River valley in the 1880s and 1890s, sugar beet farming in the Big Horn Basin from 1900 to 1960, dry farming in the Powder River Basin from 1909 to World War II, wool growing in southwest Wyoming from 1890 to 1960, or women homesteaders in southeast Wyoming between 1880 and 1940. For that matter, they could be considered within the context of something like the shift from general farming operations to specialized economic activities in a particular part of the state. In all those cases it will be essential for the evaluator to identify, using this document and additional local research materials (without actually preparing another context document), how that particular context developed within that section of Wyoming in that time period and what the major developmental thresholds were (in the broadest sense of development to include not just the growth and flourishing of farms, ranches, and homesteads, but also the destructive and corrosive forces that led to their demise or transformation).

Moreover, it is essential that the evaluator demonstrate the importance of the theme explored (see the list below) to the particular geographic area in which the resources are located. In practice, the formulations of the theme, the geographic area, and the time period converge to define the parameters of the historic context that will provide the framework for evaluation. Once the appropriate theme, geographic area, and time period are articulated,

the evaluator can carefully and professionally place the property into a meaningful historical context and evaluate its significance.

Significance of the Property and Historic Themes

Establishing significance of a property is a critical, perhaps even the most important, step in determining whether a property qualifies for listing on the National Register. A property is eligible, or is considered a contributing feature to eligible properties, not just because it is old, or even, in this context, because it can be generally demonstrated to have been associated with a ranch, farm, or homestead operation. The narrative of this document explores specific themes—historic patterns, events, and cultural values associated with ranching, farming, and homesteading in Wyoming—that can serve as tools for establishing the more precise significance of a property—even when properties are exceptions to the prevailing patterns. For example, it may be that a specific property demonstrates the shift in technologies of ranching and farming (or the reluctance to accept emerging technologies), or the development of greater specialization of farming activities (or the persistence of traditional, general farming and ranching activities when everybody else was becoming specialized), or the impact of government agricultural programs, or the power of swings in the economy and alterations in the social structure of American ranching and farming life. Again, it also needs to be remembered that a rural property in Wyoming may be significant for associations other than with ranching and homesteading activities, but any such properties need to be pursued and evaluated outside the historic context presented in this document.

The themes identified and explored, and to which individual properties can be associated in important ways, include the following:

- Commercialization (Market System) of Agriculture
- Conservation
- Crop Production
- Dairy Farming
- Diversified Agriculture
- Dry farming
- Economic / Market Forces of Depression, War, Banking System
- Ethnicity
- Gender and Women and Homesteading, Farming, and Ranching
- Homesteading
- In-Migration
- Industrialization of Agriculture
- Irrigation
- Land Policy
- Midwest (Enclosed) System of Cattle Raising
- Migrant Labor
- Modernization of Agriculture and Rural Life (including specialization, consolidation, centralization of decision-making, and other features)
- Monoculture Agriculture
- Open Range (Texas System) Cattle Raising
- Out-Migration
- Race Relations and Homesteading (and Agriculture)
- Settlement
- Subsistence and Self-Sufficient Agriculture
- Technology
- Wool Growing

It is sometimes tempting to evaluate any and every property associated with agriculture in Wyoming as eligible. That temptation, however, needs to be avoided assiduously. National Register Bulletin 15 explains that the event or trends with which a property is associated "must clearly be important within the associated context." It also is explicit that "the property must have an important association with the event or historic trends."[3] To say that a property was associated with ranching, farming, or homesteading is, in itself, not sufficient to demonstrate its significance. It will be more helpful and persuasive to associate the resources with the themes articulated in the historic context study, to explore particular properties, for example, in their relationships to patterns of settlement (and, conversely, to patterns of depopulation), changing practices of livestock raising, technologies, gender and ethnic relations, demographic shifts, economic cycles, and other patterns of history listed above. By making a focused analysis of the property, it will be evident exactly how important the association is. And using those patterns and themes in the evaluation of a property, an informed professional judgment can be rendered on the significance of a particular feature or set of features.

Criteria for Evaluation

Eligible (and contributing) properties must be associated with one or more area(s) of significance and each area of significance needs to be identified. The areas of significance developed in this context include Agriculture, Conservation, Ethnic Heritage, Exploration / Settlement, and Social History under Criterion A and Criterion B and Architecture and Engineering under Criterion C. Under Criterion D, the area of significance would most likely be Archaeology with the Subcategory Historic-Non-Aboriginal, although the categories of Agriculture, Ethnic Heritage, Exploration / Settlement, or Social History will also be relevant.

The actual eligibility (or contributing status) of a property is ultimately established by determining how a property represents the context, and this is done by the application of criteria used in the National Register of Historic Places. Thus, the question becomes whether a property represents the context through specific important historic associations (Criteria A and B), architectural or engineering values (Criterion C), or information potential (Criterion D). The vast bulk of Wyoming ranching, farming, and homesteading context-related properties nominated to, or eligible for, the National Register will be under Criterion A and this criterion is the primary focus of this historic context study. Some properties, however, may also be eligible under another criterion.

Criterion A.

Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

The events that make up history at one time were viewed as restricted to those that were associated with the nation's leaders, with activities in the halls of power, or with other kinds of activities that exhibited singular talent, or, at least, social, political, or financial eminence, a sort of "Kings and Battles" conceptualization of the past. The study of history in the last several decades, however, has been far more inclusive of the American people in all their activities, classes, ethnicities, genders, ages, and beliefs and historians have mined their lives and cultures assiduously—and the historical profession continues to generate new perspectives, conclusions, and evidence. The social history of the nation, as a result, is a much more complex picture than it once was, and also much richer and more vibrant too, and it includes a great many more people than it once did. The "events" in the history of the American people, as a result, may include acts of Congress, Presidential decrees, treaties signed, and battles fought, but they also include those aspects

of life that reflect and shape the values, institutions, work, priorities, discipline, and goals of the broad American public and its many parts on national, state, and local levels. It is with that broader formulation in mind that the evaluator can inquire into those patterns of history relevant to ranching, farming, and homesteading in Wyoming and establish the historical significance—or lack thereof—for individual properties.

The question must be asked, Why is a property significant under Criterion A? Probably the best way to answer that question is with a more focused inquiry: What does the property reveal about ranching, homesteading, and farming in Wyoming? Do the resources reflect in a tangible way the important historical associations? How was the property used historically? What were the forces that shaped its evolution over time? For it is not enough that the property be *associated* with ranching, homesteading, and farming; that association must be *important* within the specified level of significance. Generally, that importance can be demonstrated by indicating explicitly how the property is a product of its time functionally and illustrates aspects of farming, ranching, and homesteading history in Wyoming that may be unique, representative, or pivotal.

Criterion B.

Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

Criterion B is, by almost all accounts, a demanding criterion to apply in the evaluation of properties for their eligibility to the National Register because it includes two major tests that the property must pass. The first is the significance of the individual. Usually that significance can be measured in some form of recognition that the person attained, either during or after his or her life, for accomplishments during the period of historic significance. Broadly considered beyond the confines of the historic context of Wyoming ranching, farming, and homesteading, that person's achievement can be intellectual, economic, artistic, political, social, or otherwise. Often it has to do with leadership in some form or another, but it can also be more subtle. A schoolteacher, for example, may have left an enduring mark on a neighborhood over a period of years, or a rancher or farmer may have taken a stand that was symbolic against large forces of change that earned the person some acclaim and respect from people in the community. There is no clear and automatic qualification as a significant individual; it is the duty of the evaluator to demonstrate that significance, but it is important to note that within this specific historic context the individual's significance must be related to the varied aspects of ranching, farming, and homesteading. Other individuals (for example the teacher or business person) may well be significant in other contexts, but they may not be appropriately identified under Criterion B in properties eligible or contributing within this context. The significance of the individual, in other words, must be approached with great caution.

The second test, once the significance of the individual within this context has been established and documented, is that the property being evaluated, when compared to other properties associated with the individual, is the most appropriate one for demonstrating that person's contribution. Being born at a place usually does not suffice. A place where that person, however, formulated a strategy or prepared a plan or worked with others on a project linked to the person's significance will confirm this important linkage.

For a property associated with an individual person, it is necessary to demonstrate that the specific property directly reflected or shaped her or his influence—that it was not peripheral or tangential to the activities for which the person became significant. This was the place that was important in making him or her significant. Several considerations are relevant: (1) size of the property alone does not make a ranch or

homestead or farm significant nor does it make the person who developed it significant; (2) the specific property and the specific features must be related in specific ways to the significance of the person in history; (3) an individual auxiliary building or structure is unlikely to qualify under Criterion B, but the complex of buildings of which it is a part might.

Criterion C.

Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

The distinctive architectural features of a building, the eminence of the person who designed it, or the engineering features involved in a specific piece of construction such as a windmill, dipping vat, or shearing arrangement may make a resource eligible for the National Register under Criterion C. It is essential to note, however, that the National Register requires the feature's association with the construction type, method, or design be *important* and that the design or construction features be *important* to make the property important. Documenting the property's eligibility (or contributing status) generally requires attention to the features that are distinctive including the type, period, and method of construction. As National Register Bulletin 15 notes, "A structure is eligible as a specimen of its type or period of construction if it is an important example (within its context) of building practices of a particular time in history."[4] Thus a particular method of construction that once was common, but has largely faded from use, as, for example, piece-sur-piece log construction, would be a type of construction that could qualify a barn or a house or other building under Criterion C. Or, some of the grand showcase ranches that emerged early in the twentieth century were sometimes designed by leading architects and their buildings serve as enduring legacies of their craft. The existence of a wind generator for the production of electricity would similarly fall under Criterion C as an example of engineering put to use on the isolated farms and ranches. Because the structure, building, or object is important for its own architectural or engineering features, integrity of materials, workmanship, and design will be much more critical than they would, say, under Criterion A. And because the workmanship that goes into an architectural or engineering property is sometimes what gives the resource its significance, the period of significance for Criterion C properties will generally be confined to the year, or period, in which it was built. Of course, many of these properties may be eligible under both Criterion A and Criterion C. Finally, it should also be noted that historic rural landscapes may also be significant under Criterion C.

Criterion D.

Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

The ability of a property's physical resources to yield important information represents an invitation for archaeological investigation. As always, the value of any investigation depends on the questions asked, and a focused, clearly articulated research design must identify the potential significance of the findings anticipated. It is not sufficient to issue a blanket statement that any and all properties will yield important information; what kind of information and how this site may reasonably be expected to yield that information are essential to establishing the property as eligible under Criterion D.

In the historic context of Wyoming ranching, farming, and homesteading, archaeological investigation is best seen as complementing the historical research rather than duplicating or replacing it, for the two fields draw upon different source materials with different potentials

although they often address the same historical questions and issues. If archaeologists approach the issues of this context with an eye to addressing the questions of historical significance, the fruits can be profound. Many of those questions have to do with the forces of modernization that reshaped the countryside of Wyoming in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In that regard two particular archaeological perspectives are relevant to the task of determining the eligibility of properties under Criterion D. One is the position articulated by Margaret Purser regarding archaeology on western ranches. As noted above, Purser suggests that in locations like those found across Wyoming, the sheer geographic scale can be daunting, but also informative. While elsewhere a system of production may be enclosed in a small area, in the West the economic unit may literally cover an expanse of miles and miles, beyond the horizons even, its different components widely scattered, physically nowhere near the functionally adjacent unit. But that is only part of her insight. Even more fundamental is her observation that the activity over that vast expanse is, in fact, a *system*, not just an assortment of different activities. It would be an oversimplification to suggest that this is just a matter of not seeing the forest for the trees or vice versa, but Purser encourages the evaluator to put the individual artifact or site into the context of the larger operation which may not be immediately visible. And the aggregate of those sites will lead to a closer appreciation of the system itself. Moreover, she notes:

> Visibility in western ranching sites is also an archaeological visibility: preservation here is dramatic, and it pushes excavators to radically expand what counts as material data. For instance, you can see the entire valley settlement system because, in the arid environment, the presence of trees means the presence of people, at least at some point in the past. So the cottonwoods and imported Italian poplars that ring old homestead sites are artifacts, as are the relic fence posts, the trampled bare ground of abandoned corrals, the rutted scars of old wagon roads, and the myriad ditches, gates, dams, and flumes that channeled the western rancher's most prized possession: water. Trash from a camp tossed into the brush over a hundred years ago looks like it could have come from last week's meal. Even in the fire-prone areas, standing structures of a wide variety of functions can still be present, at least as scattered spars of lumber, crumbling stone walls, or dusty mounds of old adobe melting slowly into the sagebrush. So although the archaeological record of ranching can often be sparse, it is equally often marked by radically wide ranges of artifact types, and equally broad spatial scales.[5]

This, of course, goes directly, once again, to the notion of a "feature system" discussed above. Donald L. Hardesty and Barbara J. Little have focused explicitly on "feature systems" as ways of looking at resources and they emphasize the way in which artifacts and structures fit together to make a sense that is greater than the individual components are capable of suggesting separately.[6] This is not a difficult concept, is one that social historians often use, and is one familiar in other areas of inquiry where it often takes the simple, but holistic, form of "the whole is greater than the sum of the parts." System is key. Relationships between component parts say as much as the parts themselves.

For the purpose of this study, with its focus on the process of historical change in a rural environment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, another study offers assistance from a slightly different angle. Drawing upon the same broad pattern of modernization that this context statement employs, Melanie A. Cabak, Mark D. Groover, and Mary M. Inkrot have shed light on rural life in the twentieth century in the American South. Examining dwelling types, midden size and contents, and other aspects of the farmsteads of the Aiken Plateau of South Carolina, these archaeologists have concluded that "20th-century resources,

contrary to popular attitudes, possess archaeologically useful information" and that, in particular, "rural modernization occurred differently among southern households."[7] Of special attention in that study were areas of inquiry where conventional historical documentation provides scant information. Thus consumption patterns reveal the extent of subsistence agriculture for home use as opposed to commercial purchasing of foods and supplies, while the prevalence of indoor plumbing and electricity and their impact on the location of family activities shed light on other aspects of life. Most suggestively, that study demonstrated that "households were gradually transformed from producers to consumers," and that "at the same time that households were becoming acclimated to consumerism, traditional material elements in the built environment, particularly domestic architecture and household level technology, remained relatively static in rural settings."[8] The study's reference to "consumerism" unsatisfactorily blurs a host of issues relating to twentieth-century consumer awareness and political action, gender roles, and commercial marketing, but at its most fundamental level the analysis does connect consumption patterns with the integration of previously isolated farm families into a larger market structure, not just for the goods they produce but for the goods they consumePerhaps of greater importance than the particular conclusions of that single study, however, are the questions asked, and those questions directly parallel those that this context study of farming and ranching and homesteading attempts to raise. Instead of listing specific questions that are pertinent to today's research and that will be revised in the light of tomorrow's findings, this study hopes that the issues presented in the narrative will guide historians and archaeologists alike in their future investigations. Those issues range across a wide horizon of inquiry, from the development of poultry and dairy farming and their impact on gender relations, to levels of subsistence agriculture practiced in different areas, by different classes of people, and differences between those agriculturists who adopted monoculture, extensive farming practices, compared with those who retained traditional diversified, intensive practices, and the technologies used—and the impact of those technologies—on different sizes and kinds of operations. It is the object of this study to raise these questions and hopefully the investigators will use them to frame their own research designs.

This points once again to the necessity in archaeological investigation of a well-considered research design. Just because information is available in a potential site is not sufficient to make it significant. Instead, the questions that the information can answer are just as or more important. Plus, not all archaeological sites will provide information in understanding history or patterns of history; they may yield information in other areas, but in this context that information must illuminate the historical issues and patterns relevant to homesteading, ranching, and farming in Wyoming. That further means that not all ranches that have archaeological deposits should be considered eligible. In every instance research design is the determining factor.

Period of Significance

The period of significance for properties significant for their association with farming, cattle and sheep ranching, and homesteading is not an open-ended time framework; instead, it is a discrete period with a defined and meaningful beginning and end. The period of significance generally will begin at the date at which activity of historic significance is begun and to which the existing resources are associated. This may be the date when a house or a barn was built, when a well was dug or drilled, when a fence was constructed, or other such constructive activity was undertaken; if, however, the date at which that barn, well, or fence

achieved historical significance is later than the date of construction, the later date must be used. The point is that the beginning date is the date at which the activities began that mark the existing resources' historical significance. The end of the period of significance must be approached just as carefully. If the beginning marks the start of the historic significance of a resource, the end must mark the date at which that significance concluded, at which the association with the historic events or patterns can no longer be demonstrated. If the property was abandoned or put to another use, that would often mark the end of the property's period of significance. The property could have, and often did have, a series of owners, but the property's significance will continue just so long as the important association with the historic patterns of ranching, farming, and homesteading discussed in the context statement that gave it significance can be demonstrated. The significance thus ends not with a change in property ownership but when the property no longer, in the words of the National Register Bulletin, "made the contributions or achieved the character on which significance is based."[9] This means that many properties will retain their historic significance up to (or beyond) the fifty-year threshold used by the National Register of Historic Places. Some, in fact, may continue beyond the 1960 concluding date of this study. The period of significance will depend on the period during which each property was associated with specific patterns of homesteading, ranching, or farming and the beginning and end will need to be justified.

General Integrity Requirements

The issue of integrity is both complex and important. National Register bulletins variously define this as "the ability of a property to convey its significance"[10] and "authenticity of a property's historic identity, evidenced by the survival of physical characteristics that existed during the property's historic or prehistoric period."[11]

The integrity requirements for these ranching, farming, and homesteading resources emphasize primarily their historic function and appearance—the ability of an individual building or structure to convey a sense of past time and place by providing evidence of the specific function or role it served during the period of historic significance (not its ability to perform that function today) and the relationship of that function to the larger homestead / ranch / farm operation. In this, the evaluator must be careful in two broad areas that sometimes perplex the person who examines historic resources. *One is the need to avoid confusing condition with integrity.* Integrity refers to the authenticity of a property and depends especially on evidence of, again, the "physical characteristics that existed during the property's historic or prehistoric period." Since a property with historic integrity permits it to illustrate significant aspects of the past, the essential characteristics of that property must be authentic. The property may have deteriorated over the years, it may be in need of repair, and its condition may be such as to render it unlivable or otherwise unusable for its historic purpose, but it can still possess integrity.

The property needs to be examined for the standard seven qualities of integrity indicated in National Register guidelines.[12] Those aspects of historic integrity include:

Location: The building or other object must be in the location it occupied during the period of historic significance, although it may have been moved prior to or during the period of historic significance. It was not uncommon, for example, for all but the largest of buildings to be moved around as needs changed on a ranch or farm. If that relocation took place during the period of historic significance the integrity would not be compromised and the move may even be an indication of the larger evolution of the property, thereby suggesting additional

historic significance. Relocations of buildings or structures since the end of the period of significance would need to be evaluated according to the extent and purpose of the relocation. Moving a small structure a small distance to permit it to perform its (or a related building's) function more efficiently would not be a problem; moving the same building a greater distance or to a location where it could not perform its intended function and using relocation to allow the operation of a non-contributing feature in its original location, however, would compromise the integrity of location.

Design: The organization of a property and its subordinate components (whether it is a single unit or a cluster of related resources) constitutes, in the words of the National Register, "the form, plan, space, structure, and style" of a property. The important factor here is not whether the design is especially artistic or even attractive, but whether it is authentic. In dealing with the modest abodes and utility structures of small ranches and homesteads, it is important not to hold the design of a structure up to an outside standard, but to compare it to the building's own historic design. And it is important to recognize that those buildings often evolved over time, in which case it becomes important to identify which changes came during, and which changes came after, the end of the period of historic significance.

Setting: Setting is a subtle aspect and has as much to do with the environment surrounding a property as with the property itself. Farm or ranch properties that are surrounded by developments inconsistent with the historic character of the property will probably have been compromised if they are significant under Criterion A. On the other hand, the integrity of setting for a property significant under Criterion C for its design or construction qualities would not be so vulnerable to changes in surrounding development.

Materials: The historic materials from which a resource was constructed will be a fundamental aspect of integrity. A windmill with plastic vanes, for example, would raise serious questions of integrity. Of course, changes in materials during the period of significance, as with other elements of integrity, will continue to have integrity.

Workmanship: Workmanship may or may not be of exceptional quality in the construction of a particular resource, but it must be authentic. To take a common, but inverted, example, a log building constructed in a crude, but effective and time-situated manner, would retain integrity of workmanship if the evidence of that construction survives; if, on the other hand, that crude workmanship had been improved and refined after the period of significance, the workmanship would have been compromised.

Feeling: Feeling is an intangible aspect of a property that is all but impossible to define, and all but impossible to miss if in the presence of the property. If that property conveys the feelings of the past period of time and its associations, it retains integrity of feeling.

Association: Does the property carry a direct and important link to the person, theme, or event that makes it significant? Again, that association can be established by drawing upon the various themes and issues developed in the historic context study of Wyoming ranching, farming, and homesteading.

As the guidelines explicitly state, "All seven qualities do not need to be present for eligibility as long as the overall sense of past time and place is evident." And very, very few properties will possess one hundred percent integrity. This places a critical burden on the evaluator to exercise careful and considered professional historical judgment in the evaluation. Two steps are involved in this evaluation of integrity and both should be accomplished explicitly. First,

the evaluator should determine what features must be present for a property to represent its significance, and which aspects of integrity are especially vital in conveying that significance. A ranch house evaluated under Criterion C, for example, will require greater integrity of workmanship and design than a ranch house evaluated under Criterion A. Next, the evaluator should address the seven elements of integrity, one at a time, indicating where possible weaknesses or outright compromises in integrity exist and what general circumstances cause those compromises to disqualify a property as eligible for the National Register, or, conversely, to be insufficient to disqualify the property. Does the property retain sufficient integrity to convey its historic significance? Either it does or it does not.

Boundary Issues

Ranches, homesteads, and farmsteads—which are really quite similar and overlapping—are complex physical and historical resources that require careful analysis and evaluation as properties of potential historic significance. At first blush, one often thinks of ranches, farms, and homesteads as conceptually separate entities and that the physical separation of one property from another is as easy as looking at a fenceline. The reality is different. If anything, that perspective distorts the past by forcing it into a pattern of specialization of production associated with modern, not historic, ranches, farms, and homesteads.

Ranches, farms, and homesteads are not as conceptually separate and discrete as they sometimes are made out to be and many of the state's ranches and farms today can trace their origins to claims made under the various homesteading laws of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At what point a homestead became a ranch or a farm is a matter that cannot, and need not, be resolved in any technical way; they were ranches and farms from the very beginning as a requirement for proving up and they remained homesteads in the eyes of those who operated them for generations beyond their initial filing. Moreover, people who purchased a property from others who had made the original claims, or who themselves may have purchased it from the government, often referred to their properties as homesteads. There is no clear boundary separating a homestead from other kinds of farm and ranch properties.

And many ranches routinely produced crops for themselves and their livestock after the early efforts of the 1880s demonstrated the perils of doing otherwise, to the extent that they actively cultivated not just gardens but extensive fields of forage feeds, and even grains, rotating the fields and crops just as their neighboring farmers did. And likewise the farmers kept their own livestock, sometimes to the extent that ranchers complained that farmers' herds mingled with their own. While the U.S. Census has on occasion arbitrarily drawn a line separating farmers from ranchers, so that the ranch that had one head less was technically a farm and the farm that had one head more was technically a ranch, the overarching and consistent categorization of the Bureau of the Census has been simply to call any agricultural operation that produces a minimal amount of food or fiber a farm. Some farms raise crops. Some farms raise livestock. Many farms do both. There is enormous common sense in this approach when it comes to examining these operations historically and that broad view is strongly encouraged.

If the conceptual boundaries of agricultural operations are sometimes problematic, the physical bounds are equally so. Ranches and farms vary in size, from a very small acreage to a 160 acre homestead to a 640 acre homestead to a giant operation covering hundreds of square miles that could be fingered on a globe by an owner on another continent. In the nineteenth century the boundaries of these mammoth ranches were as vague as the tally of the

cattle grazing them and it was expected that the cattle of the different ranches would share the giant commons and would be sorted out only at roundup. For that matter, a good many cattle ranchers, and some sheep growers too, did not own land beyond the barest parcel where they might have their headquarters, and sometimes did not even own that. Carefully defined boundaries were not one of the finer points of the livestock operations.

Even when modern property boundaries have been developed and marked with the assistance of legal counsel and surveyors, the historical boundaries often remain more than a little foggy. The properties reviewed for the National Register of Historic Places, however, require carefully defined boundaries. In turn, those boundaries depend on whether the subject property is a building, object, site, structure, district, or cultural landscape. The boundaries of these properties must conform to National Register guidelines. Bulletin 16A, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, offers helpful guidelines in drawing the boundaries of properties and explicitly spells out the steps, and these steps are further amplified in another bulletin, *Defining Boundaries for National Register Properties*. That bulletin states:

- Select boundaries to encompass but not exceed the extent of the significant resources and land areas comprising the property.
- Include all historic features of the property, but do not include buffer zones or acreage not directly contributing to the significance of the property.
- Exclude peripheral areas that no longer retain integrity due to alterations in physical conditions or setting caused by human forces, such as development, or natural forces, such as erosion.
- Include small areas that are disturbed or lack significance when they are completely surrounded by eligible resources. "Donut holes" are not allowed.
- *Define a discontiguous property when large areas lacking eligible resources separate portions of the eligible resource.*[13]

District and landscape designations require the same careful attention as small areas and the boundaries always must be justified, and that justification has to do with historic usage, historic property lines, and natural features alike. The features contained in these larger properties likewise need justification and explanation so that they are not just the "buffer zones" that the National Register proscribes. Moreover, the fact that cattle or sheep once grazed on land distant from the ranch or homestead headquarters is not sufficient to warrant inclusion of those distant pastures. In Wyoming, at one time or another, cattle and sheep grazed virtually every foot of land; the Swan Ranch grazed its cattle over most of the southeastern part of Wyoming territory and some ranches could claim, with varying degrees of legitimacy, major portions of entire counties. Yet that land is not significant because their cattle roamed and grazed there; there must be something particular and something demonstrable about the use and role of that land historically that makes it a contributing feature.

The fundamental consideration is that the boundaries include everything that is significant and no more. In many instances it will be sufficient simply to define the resource as the cluster of buildings and structures comprising the ranch headquarters and the adjacent areas where the rancher or farmer (and families) worked and otherwise engaged in activities associated with the property. Often there will be some kind of boundary associated with that cluster—perhaps an adjacent road or fence or line of trees—that will visibly (and often functionally) set it apart from adjacent property and that will serve as an important limiting reference for the property. As problematic as fences are when remote from other resources, they can serve a valuable purpose for the evaluator if they tie other resources together and define the flow of work and traffic. A nearby proper-

ty line—either current or historic—may also serve to establish a boundary. Other natural features such as streams, wooded edges of clearings, and sudden changes in elevations also can be useful determinants of boundaries. The boundaries may be a combination of legal, natural, cultural features, but that combination will draw the line between what is of historic significance and what is not.

Some resources are especially challenging because they are remote from any other resources with which they might be associated. This raises questions of significance as well as of boundaries. Remote features may be associated with other features and may, in fact, have a historic significance that derives from that association. It also needs to be emphasized, however, that just because a remote feature can be associated with a ranch headquarters complex, for example, that does not mean that the landscape between them is also a contributing feature. Often these isolated features, if in fact they can be demonstrated to be associated with other features, are parts of a discontiguous historic district; in that case the features are related by significance but separated by geography. The distance between them remains separate and outside the eligible / contributing property. This does not apply to resources that are separated or isolated because of demolition or new construction.

Categories of Properties

Generally, five different categories of historic resources can be identified in the National Register framework and historic farming, ranching, and homesteading properties need to be recorded according to those types:

Building. Buildings are primarily constructed to shelter any form of human activity. This would include not only houses but also barns, sheds, and stables.

Site. The National Register is succinct on what constitutes a site: "the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archaeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure."

Structure. Structures are those functional resources that were constructed and used for purposes other than human shelter. This would include silos, windmills, cairns, vats, stock tanks, corrals, and similar practical constructions.

Object. Objects consist of constructions that are not buildings or structures, and this generally means that they are either artistic in nature or are small and simple. While they may be (or may have been) movable to some degree, "an object is associated with a specific setting or environment." This could include, for example, an official survey marker; or, it could be a large, immobile threshing machine permanently situated in a field where it was once used or stored.

District. A historic district "possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects united historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development."[14]

Historic Districts

Farm, ranch, and homestead properties may be considered as historic districts and sometimes also as a historic landscape. Historic districts and historic landscapes are important tools in the kit of the cultural resource professional, and the National Register recognizes this. As with any other element of the National Register evaluation process, careful judgment and analysis is important to make sure that district is appropriate for the group of resources. National Register Bulletin 16, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, offers useful guidance: "District applies to proper-

ties having: [1] a number of resources that are relatively equal in importance such as a *neighborhood*, or [2] large acreage with a variety of resources, such as a *large farm*, *estate*, or *parkway*."[15] Districts are appropriate when there is a mix of resources or just when there are multiple buildings and structures. Districts may be small or large and they can consist of a single farm or of multiple farms. They can be small and well-contained or they can be expansive. In all events, however, the boundaries need to be carefully defined. While the boundaries need not follow modern legal boundaries because the patterns of historic usage may not conform to current boundaries, those usages need to be established and documented and current landowners and land managers will often be able to provide important information and guidance and should be consulted. Some historic districts may be discontiguous and this kind of district will likely be of value when considering elements of a farm or ranch beyond the immediate farmstead (farm or ranch headquarters complex) since it allows the association of those elements but does not include the intervening space between the main cluster and the remote element.

Rural Historic Landscapes

Cultural landscapes are a more recent tool and their potential and limits are still being explored, especially in regard to the different treatments appropriate for designed, vernacular, and ethnographic landscapes. A rural historic landscape consists of features other than scenery, buffer zones, and the broad expanses surrounding areas where historic activity took place. The National Register defines a rural historic landscape as "a geographical area that historically has been used by people, or shaped or 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."[16] That definition, however, remains broad, and the approach to evaluating historic landscapes is not easily structured into a step-by-step process that applies to the many different kinds of landscapes. But the National Register uses a framework for analyzing the natural and cultural forces shaping a rural landscape that includes both the *processes* that shape the land and the *physical components* on the land. The processes include: (1) land uses and activities; (2) patterns of spatial organization; (3) responses to the natural environment; and (4) cultural traditions. Generally, these processes show the way humans on the land have used, responded to, adapted to, and / or shaped its features, or have otherwise made an imprint on the land. In the context of ranching, farming, and homesteading, these processes will often include changing, or competing, patterns of land use. The physical components on the land are those features of the landscape that allow it to be examined in relation to human activities. These components include: (1) circulation networks, such as trails or roads; (2) boundary demarcations that define the limits of land uses, including interior separations or protections; (3) vegetation related to land use—a category which includes natural as well as cultivated types and the patterns in which they appear; (4) buildings, structures, and objects; (5) clusters, a classification that includes groupings of features that reflect historical activities; (6) archaeological sites; and (7) small-scale elements, such as a foot bridge or road sign, abandoned machinery or even scattered fenceposts that mark the location of historic activity.

The analysis of the landscape is not a casual matter. Again, the National Register Bulletin covering rural historic landscapes is explicit: "An in-depth study is necessary to identify the significant historic properties of a rural area or to determine if the area as a whole is a historic district." It also requires significant expertise: "Examination of a rural area frequent-

ly requires the combined efforts of historians, landscape historians, architectural historians, architects, landscape architects, archeologists, and anthropologists. Depending on the area, the specialized knowledge of cultural geographers, plant ecologists, folklorists, and specialists in the history of agriculture, forestry, mining, transportation, and other types of land use may also be of assistance."[17]

Finally, as Susan Calafate Boyle, who has studied the issue closely, observes, "The complexity and fluidity of the processes that influence the nature of landscapes are likely to preclude the development of rigid easily applied guidelines. Continuous dialogue with land management agencies can assist in making decisions that take into consideration costs, political reality, and the nature of the resources in need of protection."[18]

An example of a historic landscape is the nomination of the JO Ranch, northeast of Baggs.[19] This property, taking in a total of 353 acres, reflects the evolution of sheep ranching and the impact of that form of husbandry on the landscape itself, something that nomination of the individual buildings probably would not demonstrate. This is also an excellent example of demonstrating the historic interaction between the stock-raising activity and the landscape, not just assuming that the open spaces should be included because they were grazed by animals. That nomination was also prepared with the full cooperation of the managing agency, in this case the Bureau of Land Management.

A Word on Professional Responsibility

The evaluation of properties for their eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places is not a mechanical operation, is not a matter of filling in the blanks on a form, and is not a process whereby resources are simply inventoried, categorized, and filed away. It is an active process, even an intellectual process, where questions are asked and answers are sought. It draws upon the body of historical knowledge which is more than the narratives contained in general textbooks or local chronologies. It is also an exciting and challenging effort and one that carries profound responsibilities—to the past, to the present, and to the future.

Ultimately the determination is one of yes or no: does this property qualify for listing on the National Register either individually or as part of a larger group? Not every property will be eligible for the National Register, some because they lack historic significance and some because they lack integrity. Some will present special challenges, such as those lonely, isolated, and even mysterious remnants that someone put on the ground at an unknown time. Despite careful investigation into the ways they may have been connected with the larger course of social, economic, and agricultural processes, there are features that will ultimately stand as isolated in history as they are on the plains. That such features may not be eligible, however, should be a determination that comes *after* investigation, not as a matter of convenience, not as a way to avoid historical research. There are also those instances in which specific properties (such as stock tanks and dams constructed after 1930) that have been excluded from requirements for formal documentation in a programmatic agreement between the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office and the Bureau of Land Management. Even in those cases, however, a professional may conclude that specific examples of those property types are appropriately considered as resources and should develop an argument to that effect. Moreover, it is important to note, if those features possess architectural or engineering significance or are associated with an eligible site or district, "they should be recorded on a Wyoming Cultural Properties Form. Professional judgment and common sense should be applied."[20]

The evaluation of historic resources related to ranching, farming, and homesteading in Wyoming relies at each step on professional historical analysis and judgment. The evaluation of a property will invariably combine careful examination of the resources in the field and research in the historical record to understand the significance of those extant resources. Ultimately, the evaluator of a property, using an open mind, carefully drawn boundaries, professional historical judgment, critical thought processes, and the National Register framework, will be able to determine the historic significance of that property in a way that is consistent with historical knowledge, with National Register standards and criteria, and with their historic values. In that way, the ranching, farming, and homesteading historic resources of Wyoming will be managed appropriately, responsibly, and consistently.

Notes

1. Donald L. Hardesty and Barbara J. Little, *Assessing Site Significance: A Guide for Archaeologists and Historians* (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2000): 119.

2. Margaret Purser, "Archaeology on Western Ranches," on World Wide Web, "Unlocking the Past: Celebrating Historical Archaeology in North America," located at http://www.cr.nps.gov/seac/unlocking-web/sidebars/sidebar9 .htm.

3. National Register Bulletin: *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (n.p.: 1990, 1997), Section VI, "How to Identify the Significance of a Property," 12.

4. National Register Bulletin: *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,* 18.

5. Margaret Purser, "Archaeology on Western Ranches," on World Wide Web, "Unlocking the Past: Celebrating Historical Archaeology in North America," located on the World Wide Web at http://www.cr.nps.gov/seac/unlocking-web/archofwork/index.htm.

6. Donald L. Hardesty and Barbara J. Little, *Assessing Site Significance: A Guide for Archaeologists and Historians* (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2000), 119.

7. Melanie A. Cabak, Mark D. Groover, and Mary M. Inkrot, "Rural Modernization during the Recent Past: Farmstead Archaeology in the Aiken Plateau," *Historical Archaeology*, 33 (1999): 38.

8. Cabak, Groover, and Inkrot, "Rural Modernization during the Recent Past: Farmstead Archaeology in the Aiken Plateau," 39.

9. National Register Bulletin: *Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms, Part A: How to Complete the National Register Form* (1997 Revision), 42.

10. National Register Bulletin: *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, Section VIII, "How to Evaluate the Integrity of a Property," 44.

11. National Register Bulletin: *Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms,* Appendix IV, Glossary, Integrity, p. 2.

12. Again, refer to National Register Bulletin: *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, Section VIII, "How to Evaluate the Integrity of a Property."

13. Donna J. Seifert and Barbara J. Little, Beth L. Savage, and John H. Sprinkle, Jr., *National Register Bulletin: Defining Boundaries for National Register Properties* (n.p.: National Park Service, 1995, 1997), 2.

14. National Register Bulletin: *Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms, Part A: How to Complete the National Register Form*, 15.

15. National Register Bulletin: *Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms, Part A: How to Complete the National Register Form*, 15. Emphasis is in the original. In this quotation, bracketed numbers replace the bullets in the original.

16. Linda Flint McClelland and J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller, Robert Z. Melnick, *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* (n.p.: National Park Service, 1989, 1999), 1-2.

17. McClelland *et al.*, *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*, 7.

18. Susan Calafate Boyle in her "Natural and Cultural Resources: The Protection of Vernacular Landscapes," in Richard W. Longstreth, Susan Calafate Boyle, Susan Buggey, Michael Caratzas, *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 160.

19. Robert Rosenberg, "JO Ranch Rural Historic Landscape," nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, March 7, 2008.

20. State Protocol Between the Wyoming Bureau of Land Management State Director and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer, March 8, 2006, Appendix D, "Defined Non-Sites and Property Types Requiring No Formal Documentation."

PART TWO

Historic Farming, Ranching, and Homesteading Property Types in Wyoming and their Registration Requirements

The procedure for evaluating the various kinds of ranching, farming, and homesteading properties likely to be encountered in the field follows an established path with the same general steps, although the specific property types will be considered differently. The procedure bears repeating since the order in which those steps are taken makes a difference. It is necessary first to determine the theme, the geographic limits, and the chronological period represented by the property. Then the evaluator must determine how that theme is important at that place and time. Next, the significance of the property must be understood; in this step the evaluator explains how the property represents the context through specific important associations, values, or information potential, drawing upon the National Register criteria. Then, the evaluator can specify (and justify) the years defining the period of significance for the property. At that point, the different property types can be considered and with them the essential aspects of their integrity. Once this process is complete, the evaluator can establish the boundaries for the property. There is obviously some overlap in the steps of this procedure and there will likely be some revisiting of earlier questions as information is gathered, but the sequence needs to be followed and the priority of establishing significance before examining integrity remains essential.

The resources on the ground are uneven in their associational and integrity values, so some guidance is appropriate for evaluating different property types. There will be, almost literally, an infinite array of resources in the field, ranging from the obscure and incomprehensible and small to the grandest and most sophisticated architectural features. The following list is not intended to be exclusive but it should indicate the considerations when evaluating different kinds of properties and applying different criteria to them.

A Note on Programmatic Agreement. The Bureau of Land Management manages 18.4 million surface acres of public land in Wyoming and is a significant partner in the management of cultural resources in the state. In 2006 the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer and the Wyoming Bureau of Land Management State Director, along with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, developed a programmatic agreement regarding the manner in which the BLM in Wyoming will meet its responsibilities under the National Historic Preservation Act. That programmatic agreement, among other provisions, defines how some of the property types included in this listing will be addressed by cultural resource managers on BLM authorized undertakings. These provisions will be noted in the discussions of the requirements for evaluating the various property types, but it also needs to be recognized that the provisions of that agreement may be amended over time and those changes will serve as operative guidance for evaluators. In addition, while in some instances the current agreement requires no formal documentation of specific property types, it also stipulates, “If

any of these property types exhibit significant architectural or engineering features, or are associated with a National Register-eligible site or district, they should be recorded on a Wyoming Cultural Properties Form."[1]

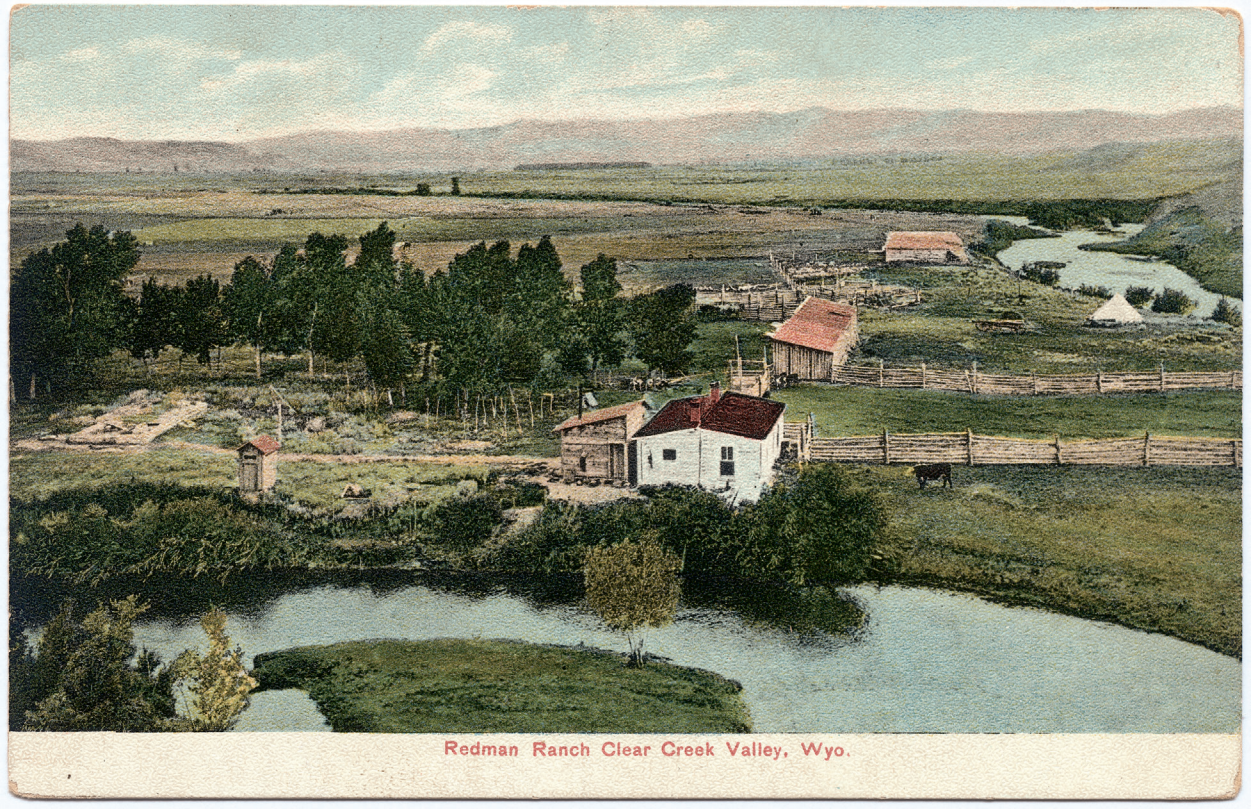
Property Types

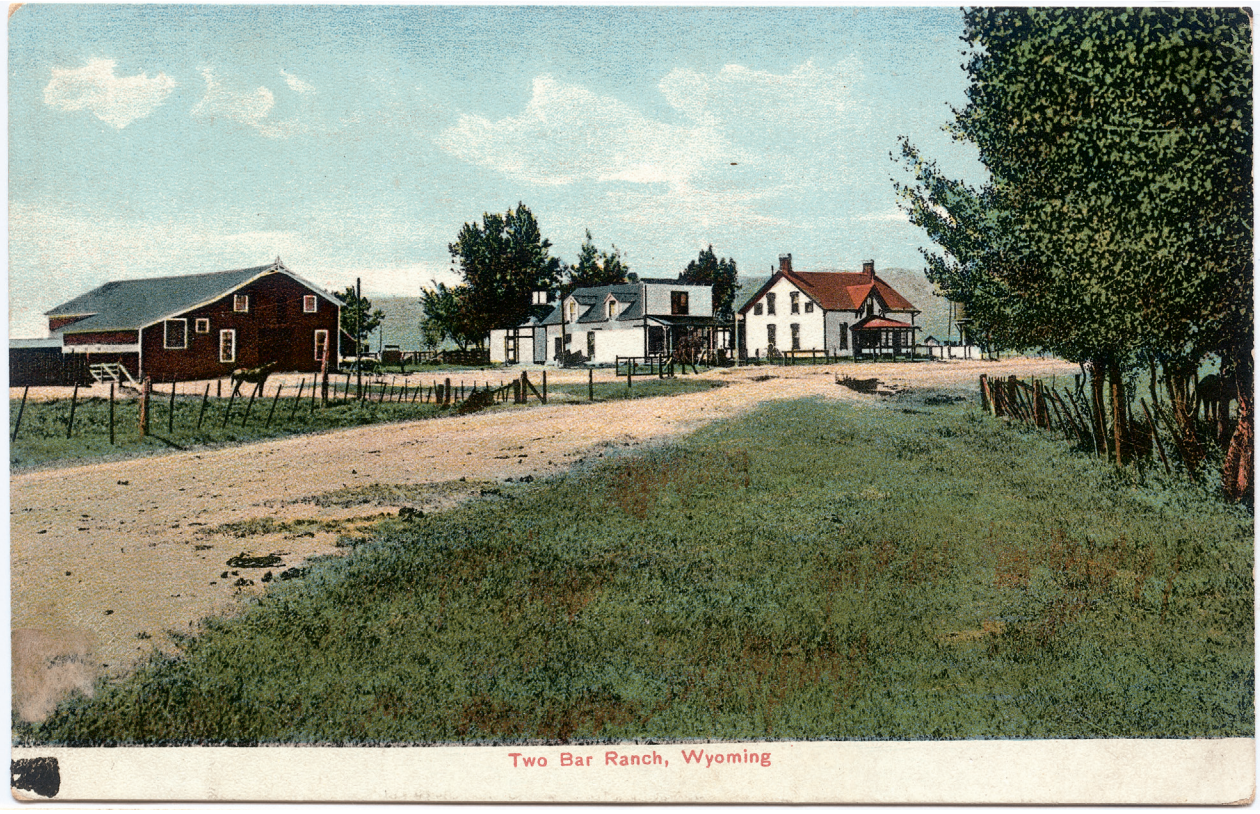
1. Ranch / Farm Houses
2. Auxiliary Ranch / Farm Buildings and Structures
3. Vegetative Features
4. Watering Facilities and Windmills
5. Fences
6. Livestock Trails and Driveways
7. Herder Camps
8. Cemeteries and Graves
9. Sheepherder Monuments
10. Privies and Dumps

Ranch / Farm Houses

Description

Ranch houses and farm houses are important elements of the Wyoming countryside, but they do not form, as a group, a readily identifiable and distinctive type of building. Houses in the country can be quite as varied as houses in the city. There are, however a few broad generalizations that can be safely considered. First, as Eileen Starr reported in her Architecture in the Cowboy State: A Guide, "economically, Wyoming's agriculture has seen a range of extremes—from the hand-to-mouth survival of homesteaders living in dugouts to the courtly lifestyle of British 'cattle barons' with many levels in between. This has created widely varied architectural resources."[2] Second, while there are exceptions, and very important exceptions at that, many of these will be vernacular buildings. Third, cattle ranching was often, but not always, different from sheep growing in that the





Successor to the Swan Land and Cattle Company, the Two Bar Ranch was itself one of the large ranches in the twentieth century, although it largely switched to running sheep instead of cattle in 1911 and ran about 112,000 head. Postcard from Michael Cassity collection.

sheep operators tended to have their residences in town. Again, there were exceptions, and the case of John Galloway Love, a sheep operator who homesteaded on Muskrat Creek and built and lived in his house there, provides an indication that in sheep ranching, as in cattle ranching and farming, there was often a class division that shaped lives and buildings both.[3]

Facing page: A conventional small farmstead arrangement can be seen in this early twentieth century example from Johnson County with the barn in the distance, a loafing shed nearby, and what is probably the original homestead shelter next to the house that was built later. Postcard from Michael Cassity collection

The ranch / farm house can consist of a single building or multiple buildings (for example in a multiple generation ranch or farm family) that provided the base of operations for the ranch or farm. The primary element is a residential building of some kind, ranging from a modest dugout or sod house to a palatial residence. This residence reflects the integration of economic activities and domestic habitation with ranching or farming as a way of life. In the sometimes complex and sprawling ranches and farms, the house served both as residence and as ranch headquarters, the center of gravity for the ranch or farm operation. It was not always the largest structure on the ranch, and was often dwarfed by barns and other functional buildings. Sometimes the other buildings even

showed greater attention to style and workmanship than the ranch house, a telling indicator of ranch and farm family priorities. Many of the ranch / farm houses are built in a vernacular style with simple lines and design; some are more elaborate and a few are even opulent. They will ordinarily be categorized as National Register historic function: DOMESTIC, single family, but there are exceptions.

Significance

These ranch / farm houses are associated primarily with the context of cattle and sheep ranching and dry farming and homestead activity in Wyoming and they must relate in a significant way to these activities. They will be considered significant under Criterion A if they have an important association with the specific patterns of stock growing and grazing, farming, and homesteading (which includes crop production as well as livestock grazing) during the period of significance. Under Criterion A, they may, according to the nature of the ranch / farm house and its associations, be eligible in the area of significance Agriculture, although other Areas of Significance to consider are Exploration / Settlement, Conservation, Social History, and Ethnic Heritage. Some properties might be considered eligible under Criterion B for their association with an individual important in the history of ranching and farming in the area, although the requirements for Criterion B eligibility can prove demanding (see above discussion of Criterion B). A ranch or farm house can also be considered significant under Criterion C because it is either an important typical and representative example of domestic architecture and design, or, conversely, because it is an exceptional instance. Finally, the ranch or farm house can be significant under Criterion D if the property has yielded or has the potential to yield important information about homesteading, cattle and sheep ranching, and farming, including construction techniques associated with these activities, provided they can be shown to yield potentially important information with the use of a specific research design.

Registration Requirements

1. Significance

The requirements for registration for ranch / farm houses vary according to the criterion under which the resource is considered. In order to be significant under Criteria A and B, the ranch / farm house must have been used as a house in homesteading, stock-growing, and farming activities within the period of significance. The significance of the property under Criterion A and B will generally be established through research in historical materials so that the important association with the contextual themes is precise and clear, and not speculative. An old house in a predominantly ranching district is not sufficient; as with any judgment, this determination of significance (or lack of significance) must be based on historical evidence.

To be eligible under Criterion C in the area of significance Architecture, the ranch / farm house must demonstrate the association with homesteading / ranching / farming in the period of significance, but must additionally retain those distinctive elements of workmanship, design, and materials that give the building stylistic integrity. The property has to possess distinctive characteristics, be a true representative of a particular type, and be an important example. It may qualify as a particular style listed in the National Register guidelines, or it may be vernacular, which most will be, but it must retain the general form, floor plan, and materials that evoke the time of construction and agricultural life of the period of significance and it must do so in important ways—not incidentally.

While Criterion D ordinarily will apply to the area of significance, Archaeology, in the assessment of livestock grazing, ranching and farming properties in Wyoming, and in the subcategory Historic: Non-Aboriginal, it can also be

applied to the other areas of significance like Agriculture, Conservation, and Architecture, especially when employed in conjunction with professional historical research to document and evaluate these ranch / farm house properties. The major requirements for Criterion D resources are, first, the general requirement that the homestead / ranch house must have been used as a house in homesteading, stock-growing, and farming activities within the period of significance and that it should retain its rural setting and evoke the agricultural life associated with Wyoming's past. In addition, it is necessary that the resource retain its location and hold the potential to yield information. The determination of eligibility of these sites under Criterion D must specifically demonstrate what kinds of data are contained in the site and explain how that information might be used to answer important research questions. The importance of the information to be gained should be established by discussing the site as it relates to the current knowledge of historic agricultural and homesteading practices and related issues. For sites consisting largely of buried deposits, demonstration of the potential to yield important information may involve subsurface testing. The necessity for, and scope of, subsurface testing must be decided on a property specific basis.

2. Integrity

The house also must retain integrity. Under Criteria A and B, it must especially convey a feeling of operation as an agricultural activity (Agriculture) and / or homesteading (Exploration / Settlement). It should retain its rural setting and evoke the rural life associated with the area of significance. The general appearance of the building needs to remain much as it was during the period of significance although it is expected that some deterioration and / or modification will often have taken place both during the period of significance and afterwards. If it is associated with other features (property types listed below) that confirm its homesteading / farming / ranching role, the building's integrity is enhanced.

In assessing the integrity of buildings under Criterion A and Criterion B, consideration needs to be given to the factor that if abandoned and deteriorated, there is the likelihood that deterioration began even while it was occupied, and that the neglect of the property passed through several stages before the final departure of the residents / operators that left the building permanently vacated, and this decline is as relevant to the association with homesteading and ranching as the building's initial construction. Farm and ranch buildings are seldom abandoned at the peak of their productive period. On the other hand, if buildings are currently in use they will often have been modified over the years, a natural part of the evolution of use and enlargement of the operation, which, again, does not automatically compromise the integrity of the properties but is a factor that needs to be addressed (for example to show how the modifications in the building reflected changes in the ranch / farm operation or agricultural market forces).

Under Criterion C, the integrity of the building's design, workmanship, and materials is especially important. Integrity of association and feeling is enhanced by the presence of related buildings and features nearby. Under Criterion D, the property, as observed by Donald L. Hardesty and Barbara J. Little, "must be a significant and focused or interpretable repository of information needed to answer one or more of the questions in the research design."[4] The specific elements of integrity necessary will depend on the research questions, but generally relatively undisturbed archaeological deposits are the first consideration.

Auxiliary Ranch / Farm Buildings and Structures

Description

A wide variety of other buildings typically emerged on a homestead / ranch / farm in Wyoming to supplement the house that served as headquarters. Depending on the size of the operation, the ranch or farm would often include buildings that were specific to the agricultural operation such as bunkhouses, sheds, granaries, barns, dairy barns, stables, mess halls, corrals, loading pens and ramps, dipping vats, scale houses, shearing sheds, silos, trench silos, poultry houses, and buildings that were related to the domestic life on those farms and ranches such as root cellars / storage cellars, icehouses, and also the more broadly social structures such as school buildings and post offices that sometimes appeared on larger ranches.

These buildings and structures provided working and living spaces for ranch families and employees and served specialized functions within the ranch / farm operation. The same caveats apply to these buildings that have been noted for the farm / ranch houses, in that they are often utilitarian in design rather than stylish or decorative in appearance. The materials used in their construction will usually be of reasonably local origin and the methods of construction will tend to the homespun. They may be in a serious state of disrepair and deteriorated condition although their integrity remains solid. In addition to their similarity to the ranch / farm houses, however, these buildings, aside from reflecting particular parts of the agricultural process, are important because they demonstrate that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts, and spatial arrangement is an important element of the complex in establishing the way the ranch or farm worked. Usually, the greater the number of specialized auxiliary buildings and structures near the ranch headquarters, the more extensive the holdings and operation of the ranch or farm. Plus, it is unlikely that all of the buildings will have been constructed at the same time, so the evolution of the ranch or farm can often be discerned in developing a timeline of construction and modification. If multiple resources are included, not all contributing resources must meet the requirements of an individual building.

The following list of property subtype descriptions is not intended to be exhaustive since there is no standard list of buildings that all operations have followed. But it should provide an indication of the most common buildings and structures and should also provide guidance in the evaluation of other buildings that are not identified. Moreover, there are additional buildings and structures that could occasionally be found on farms / homesteads / ranches that were not exclusively related to agriculture but were essential for the domestic life and social arrangement of an agricultural community, including schools and post offices, many of which were initially located on the property of a ranch / homestead owner before taking on an independent existence elsewhere. Those buildings would also be considered contributing resources if they can be documented to have been importantly associated with the homestead, ranching, and farming themes in this context and if they otherwise meet registration eligibility requirements consistent with those enumerated below.

Significance

The auxiliary ranch / farm buildings and structures, and their remnants, that can be found in Wyoming's agricultural areas are important artifacts of an earlier time that serve to chart the changing dynamics of agricultural production and rural land tenure. They are potentially significant when they provide important associations with those historical forces and circumstances. Bearing in mind that each building or structure

that emerged on the landscape served a particular need in the production and harvesting of crops and livestock, these artifacts can often be traced to the circumstances of initial settlement, enlargement and specialization of the farm or ranch, and ultimately to the transfer or abandonment of the holding. The adaptive reuse of buildings from one purpose to another also can reflect the historical evolution of the farm or ranch, as a building that once held a poultry house may be refitted to serve as a shed for shearing, storage, or other use. The movement of buildings from one part of the operation to another (within the period of historic significance) also reveals elements of the significance of the larger complex.

Registration Requirements

1. Significance

The registration requirements for auxiliary ranch / farm buildings and structures under each of the National Register criteria are generally the same as for the ranch / farm houses, with important exceptions. Those resources that are eligible for the National Register under Criterion A in the area of significance Agriculture or Exploration / Settlement must have been used in the broad pattern of homesteading, farming, and livestock ranching in Wyoming within the period of significance. Because they will seldom be significant as an individual building or structure, their significance under Criterion A will be tied to the significance of the complex of which they are a part. Yet it is vital to understand the significance of both the individual building or structure and the larger farm / ranch / homestead. The critical key question to ask in establishing significance of the components of this group of resources is: What functions did they serve and how were those functions historically significant? A combination of historical research in relevant documents and careful site analysis will establish the importance of the association and significance of the buildings and structures.

Under Criterion B, the property subtypes must meet the requirements for association with an important individual discussed under Ranch / Farm Houses. An individual auxiliary building or structure is unlikely to qualify under Criterion B, but the complex of buildings, the larger "feature system," that includes a coherent set of buildings and structures could qualify. Under Criterion C, the elements of design, workmanship, and materials will be the critical factors that determine contributing status, although additionally the spatial arrangement may be an important ingredient. In this last consideration, it is important to note that while the transfer of a building or structure from one location to another usually entails a certain loss of integrity, if that removal takes place within the period of significance and if that building continues to serve the larger ranch / farm function, it will be considered a contributing element. In Criterion D, a greater opportunity may exist for establishing significance since some of these auxiliary buildings tend to be among the most fragile, and ephemeral, of the ranch's built environment. Again, however, to be eligible under Criterion D, the research design for the data to be acquired is an essential ingredient. As in the ranch / farm house, the determination of eligibility of auxiliary buildings and structures under Criterion D must specifically demonstrate what kinds of data are contained in the site and explain how that information might be used to answer definite research questions. The importance of the information to be gained should be established by discussing the site as it relates to the current knowledge of agricultural practices, social history, and related issues.

2. Integrity

The integrity requirements for this group of resources (and others in this context as well) under Criterion A and Criterion B emphasize primarily their historic function and appearance—the ability of an individual building or

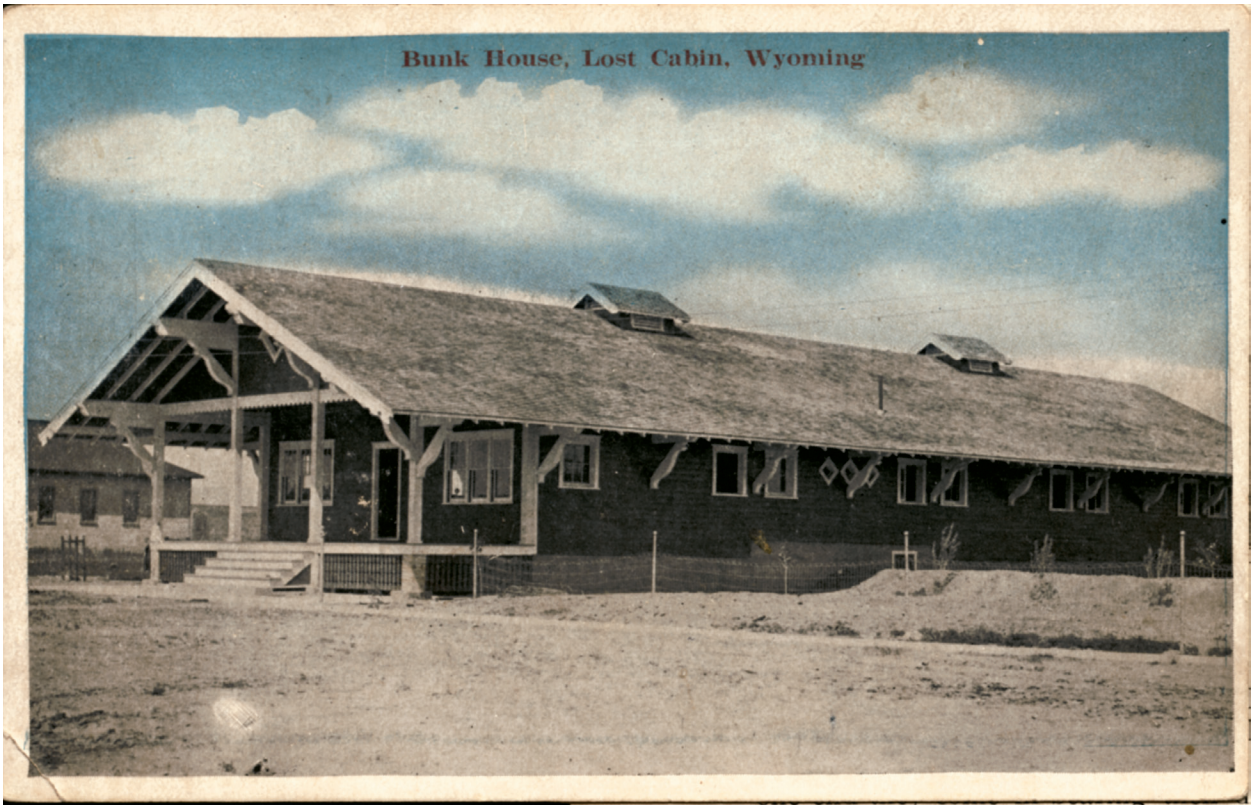
structure to convey a sense of past time and place by providing evidence of the specific function or role it served during the period of historic significance (not its ability to perform that function today) and the relationship of that function to the larger homestead / ranch operation. In this, the evaluator, it can be repeated, must be careful to avoid confusing condition with integrity and to recognize that some ranches / farms / homesteads will have fewer historic features, not because they are not significant or less significant, but because that was the kind of operation they were. Each property needs to be evaluated with regard to what existed during the period of historic significance, and the period of historic significance usually terminated when the property no longer had an active association with the historic patterns of ranching / farming / and homesteading discussed in the context statement, or fifty years before the present.

Property Subtype: Bunkhouses

Description

It is important to separate popular mythology from fact in identifying bunkhouses. Contrary to cinematic portrayals, bunkhouses were often quite small and accommodated only a few hired hands. They would, however, usually be characterized by an open, one- or two-cell interior and with an outhouse not far away. There were exceptions, of course, and some of the largest livestock operations included substantial bunkhouses.

Below: Possibly the most elaborate bunkhouse in Wyoming, J. B. Okie's bunkhouse for sheep crews and others at Lost Cabin was both large and ornate. Postcard from Michael Cassity collection.



Requirement

To meet the requirement for association with the themes of the historic context, the bunkhouse must reflect, in a tangible way, the important historical associations previously discussed and be related to a ranch / farm / homestead operation that required additional hired help for which a bunkhouse would be appropriate. The bunkhouse must retain its historic location, usually (but not always) near the center of the ranch / farm / homestead complex (but also not equal in location to the ranch house) and its use as a bunkhouse must be clearly indicated either by configuration / design (often the interior of the building being one or two open areas), or circumstances of arrangement with other buildings. In addition to association, location and design, setting and feeling also are important aspects of integrity for bunkhouses under Criterion A. Under Criterion C, design, workmanship, and materials will be more important than under A. It should be kept in mind that with the mechanization of agriculture smaller numbers of workers were employed and bunkhouses were often put to use for other purposes, uses that would not necessarily compromise the integrity of the building and could reflect the evolution of the operation.

Property Subtype: Tenant Quarters

Description

There is a fine line between bunkhouses and tenant quarters and there are doubtless instances where the two overlap both in function and in time. One difference is that the bunkhouse will customarily, but not exclusively, serve the cattle ranch or sheep operation while tenant quarters will more likely be found in a crop-raising situation. In addition, the bunkhouse will ordinarily house individuals, and groups of individuals, who work on the operation, where the tenant quarters will at least theoretically accommodate families.

Tenant quarters reflected a very much different kind of land tenure than the free-hold ranch or farm and was at a pole opposite the homestead. Tenant farming was usually associated with the rise of commercial agricultural operations oriented primarily to the market and also with single-crop systems of production. They will often also be associated with distinct patterns of ethnic occupation and migration.

Requirement

The resources must be demonstrated to be tenant quarters, and their use as tenant quarters by their configuration, by records, or by other assessment must be clear. The tenant quarters must retain their historic location, which could be either centrally grouped or broadly dispersed on individually assigned acreages. Tenant quarters may have been moved to the historic location from other places, they may have begun as homesteader cabins, and they may have been subsequently put to use for other purposes (such as bunkhouses or storage), and it will not be uncommon for those quarters to follow a pattern of evolution beyond their life as tenant quarters. Thus location is an important aspect of integrity for tenant quarters, but it must be considered within the specific context of the ranch / farm operation. In rare instances, multiples will be found but it is not a requirement that all tenant units be intact. Since tenant quarters sometimes were dispersed, in sharecropper fashion, so that they actually constituted miniature farm units, a single unit with integrity can be eligible. In addition to association and location, which are critical aspects of integrity under all criteria, setting and feeling are also important. When evaluated under Criterion C, design, workmanship, and materials will become more important than under Criterion A.

Property Subtype: Sheds

Description

Sheds—as a vernacular ranch term, and not as an architectural feature—for storage or other use were notoriously individualistic, or even idiosyncratic, in appearance and design and sometimes their dimensions and configuration actually depended on the available materials; they would, however, ordinarily have walls and a roof as opposed to being open-air shelters. Sheds are to be found virtually everywhere on farms and ranches and homesteads and they served a range of uses, frequently for storage, either general or specialized. They thereby filled an unsung but important function on the ranches and farms of Wyoming. The significance of sheds depends on their particular uses as parts of a larger complex which may have significance.

Requirement

The function of the shed needs to be clear and this will establish its association. As with other auxiliary buildings and structures, as individual buildings they will almost never have significance unto themselves and will only exhibit significance as operative elements in a larger complex. As contributing features of a larger complex, sheds will retain integrity if they remain reasonably intact and their integrity will be enhanced if the particular use (storage, blacksmithing, equipment repair, etc.) to which they were put can be suggested by the existing structure. Specifically, under Criterion A, they must retain integrity of association, feeling, and setting; design will be important in that it will help establish the function of the shed. Under Criterion C, the shed will also need to demonstrate integrity of workmanship, materials, and distinctive design. Location is a necessary element under A and C, with the qualification that small buildings were sometimes almost portable, being moved around the farmstead to meet changing needs.

Granary, Star Valley, near Fairview, Wyoming. Photo: Michael Cassity, 2009.

Property Subtype: Granaries

Description

The granary on a farm / ranch / homestead, when not contained in a barn, was a simple rectangular building without windows in which the owner / operator would store harvested grains usually for domestic consumption through the following winter. One panel or section of wall would commonly be removable to provide access to the interior supply of grain. One common identifying feature of a granary is that which is ordinarily associated with Mormon agriculture in Utah, but that also spread to Wyoming early in the twentieth century, which is an "inside-out" design of the walls. By placing the planks on the inside of the wall studs, a worker inside the building would be able to use a shovel to scoop up grain without the interference of the studs and without the additional expense of a second layer of siding.

The granary, a modest structure, emerged just about everywhere grain was grown and that included livestock operations. Its importance and significance derived from its ability to help a farm / ranch family through the winter and its indication of diversified agricultural production.

Some of the most elegant, and eminently functional, barns in the state were those designed in Jackson Hole by Fish Creek barn builder Wesley Bircher. These two on the Vandewater place are examples of his arched roofs that provide ample storage in the hay lofts for the long winters and these show the eaves tipped away from the building to divert rain and melting snow away from the foundation. Photograph: Michael Cassity, 1998.

Property Subtype: Barns

Requirement

The important historic function and association must be demonstrable—for example, the storage of wheat or oats that has been produced on the farm / ranch. While granaries were sometimes adapted for general storage use after grain was no longer produced on the homestead / farm / ranch, or once the grain became a staple of commercial production and was transported to a local elevator until it could be shipped to other markets, this modification would not disqualify the structure and could be further evidence of the historic evolution of the operation. The character defining element of granaries must be present, i.e., generally a rectangular configuration with windowless walls and with an opening that will allow access to the interior. Under all criteria, association, setting, location, materials, and feeling are necessary elements of integrity. Design is necessary, under A, to establish historic function and association, and under C, to demonstrate distinctive construction.

Description

Barns, which seldom conform to a standard design but frequently have two stories and entrances on multiple levels, a gambrel or gabled roof, and shed-roofed wings, are places for sheltering or treating livestock and / or storing equipment and hay or grain. The variety of barns in Wyoming is rich with different construction materials, different design features, and different purposes. The great majority of barns in the state, however, were multi-purpose structures that accommodated a combination of livestock sheltering and crop-related activities. The more specialized barns (dairy, horse, bull, calving) are themselves indications of historic processes of specialization in which commercial operations replaced subsistence homesteads and ranches; the specialized barns, moreover, are keys to other specialized activities on the same property. Often equal (or superior) to farm / ranch houses in importance to the operation of the ranch / farm, the design, style, and materials of the barn can be pursued with quite as much attention to architectural features as their residential counterparts nearby in evalu-

The Alsop barn west of Laramie, an impressive building for both its ranching associations and its architectural features. Photo: Richard Collier, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office.

ation and description under Criterion C. Under Criterion A, however, the larger historical context of their functional evolution is the key indicator of their significance.[5] The literature detailing barns in history is especially impressive (and sometimes even elegant) on design and description and often provides fascinating glimpses into function, although the strength of this literature is classification and architectural taxonomy rather than the social and historic processes in which barns document the evolutionary (and even revolutionary) process by which the landscape was transformed.[6]

Because of their near universal appearance in Wyoming, barns are easily taken for granted, accepted as a given, an assumed and automatic feature on the farm or ranch, and sometimes are thereby also viewed as lacking historic significance except for their design, style, workmanship, and materials. They may indeed be significant for their architectural features under Criterion C, but most in Wyoming will be significant because of their association with the farming and ranching that took place in and around them. The barn almost invariably suggests the reliance on horses for the power that operated the equipment and moved the workers on the farm and ranch. When horse-powered equipment was replaced by tractors, barns proved less a necessity, and when more goods were purchased rather than produced on the farm / ranch, the construction of new barns, already slowed by the agricultural crisis of the 1920s and 1930s, dropped even more. Not many barns

were built in Wyoming during World War II and after, and those that were tended increasingly to be of a modular un-barn-like configuration with an evolution from the Quonset hut to the Morton or Butler buildings. The barn can provide a general indicator of the significance of the farm or ranch: the larger the barn, the more extensive was the farm or ranch; the more complex the barn, the more complex the farm or ranch; the more the barn changed over time, the more the farm or ranch changed over time; the more specialized the barn, the more specialized were the activities on the farm or ranch. This is not to say that the more complex, the greater in size, the more specialized, and the more changes the barn exhibits, the more significant it was. Rather this suggests that it had different significance according to those variables, not more or less.

Requirement

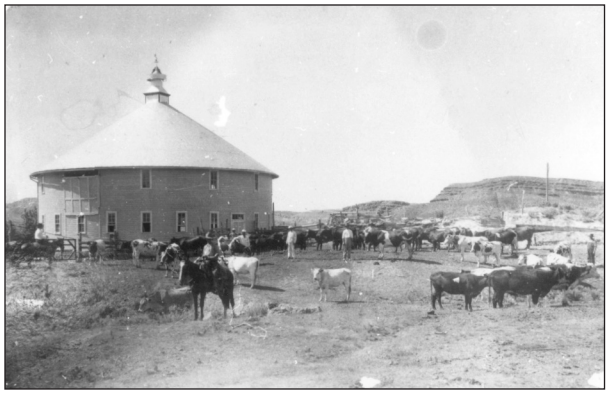
Because barns both reflect and substantially shape the significance of the farmstead or ranch complex, the barn functions (such as sheltering or treating livestock and / or storing equipment and hay or grain) that give the farm, ranch, or homestead its important association with the themes of this historic context must be clear. Barns are notorious for falling into disuse and disrepair, but those circumstances alone will not compromise their integrity. If the barn shows through integrity of association, location, setting, and design that it was used for sheltering or treating livestock and / or storing equipment and hay or grain, or for a more specialized barn function, it will retain integrity. Usually this can be demonstrated by the existence of stalls, lofts, hoists, feed bins, and equipment service bays in the interior and wagon and equipment-size entrances and livestock-appropriate fenestration and doorways on the exterior. Under Criterion C, barns must also retain original materials.

Property Subtype: Dairy Barns

Description

Dairy barns are sufficiently different from other general purpose barns that they merit separate consideration as a property subtype. Dairy barns were buildings constructed for the purpose of providing shelter for dairy cattle at night and in inclement weather, a shelter that worked as much to the convenience of the human handlers as the livestock, since this is the place where the cows would be milked. They varied in size, although even the small dairy barns were often two stories. Sometimes the dairy barn was situated on a slope so that the basement portion opened onto pasture while feed and bedding would be stored in the upper story. Although not all dairy barns were polygonal (especially octagonal) or round, most round or polygonal barns were dairy barns because of the functional efficiencies that they allowed. Commercial operations—and size was a strong indicator of production for the market—developed very large buildings.

In the instances where a family had just several milch cows, the same barn that housed other livestock and utility functions also provided a protected environment for the milking of dairy cattle. When there were more than a handful



Round barn on Gaylor Dairy Farm, Hot Springs County, about 1925. Photo: courtesy Hot Springs County Museum and Cultural Center, Thermopolis, Wyoming.

of these cows, however, a specialized building was generally constructed. There were two different kinds of dairy barns, one with stalls for the individual cow to be milked and one with an open area in which the cows were milked. Often equipped with stanchions to hold the cow during milking, the stall barn, or stanchion barn, was the common form of dairy barn. The alternative, the pen barn with an open area in which the livestock milled around, was less efficient while not saving space; in fact, generally that building was subsequently expanded with an addition known as a milk house where the milking would take place. Both types generally were two stories, or one and a half, and included a hay loft (or, in Midwestern terminology, a hay mow) on the upper level. Indeed, an almost defining element of the dairy barn was its ability to house feed, bedding, and animals in one building. The dairy barns were usually positioned at a location that was convenient for carrying the milk and dairy products to the house but not so close that odors would be a problem. The barn, for obvious reasons, had to be near pastures or paths (and corrals) leading to pastures. An equally significant consideration was the placement of the dairy barn on well-drained ground to retain a healthy environment; for that reason abundant and conspicuous ventilation also was a necessary feature of the dairy barn. When the dairy barn was used for commercial production, as opposed to household consumption, the location had to be such that wagons or trucks could be loaded easily. It was not uncommon for a few horses to share the dairy barn.

Although dairy cattle have never been as important as beef cattle in Wyoming, parts of the state have developed locally significant dairy industries and at various times in the past dairy cattle served important domestic functions on farms and ranches throughout the state. In addition, in the 1920s most communities in the state were able to draw upon at least one commercial dairy operation in the vicinity (and distance was an important aspect given the transportation and storage of the perishable milk and cream). Neither farmers nor ranchers (except for the largest commercial operations) would purchase milk for their families until, generally, the post World War II period when specialization of agricultural operations of all kinds forced to the margins all but the main commercial productive commodity.

A more subtle feature of the dairy barn that gives it added significance was its association with gender. Initial study indicates that when a family had one or a few milch cows, the milking chore was assigned to females; when the operations grew larger, with more cattle, the activity was no longer domestic, no longer gendered, and virtually every member of the family participated; when it grew still larger, with more livestock, hired help was the primary source of labor, although often the hired "milk maid" was a person permanently associated with the dairy barn.

Requirement

The dairy barn was significant—and carried that significance to the larger operation—both when it was part of a general, diversified farm or ranch system and when it was a specialized, commercial activity. In either case that significance needs to be demonstrated, not speculated. In commercial dairy operations where the primary activity of the farm is producing milk, the importance of the dairy barn increases while the role of some other features (such as sheds and blacksmith shops) may diminish.

Dairy barns must retain their historic location, positioned in a location that confirms their functional use (such as between pasture and house or bunkhouse, and not in a remote corner of the operation) and must also retain their configuration that clearly indicates use for milking and sheltering dairy cattle. Integrity is enhanced by the presence of stalls and stanchions and loft and the ability to define the use of the different parts of the building (feed storage, animal bedding, milking). Silos located adjacent to the dairy barn may even be attached and, if so, enhance the integrity of the dairy barn.

Property Subtype: Loafing Shed

Description

The loafing shed, also called a pen barn, is a simple building, usually one story in height and generally enclosed on three sides, and occasionally enclosed on the fourth elevation except for a wide entry for livestock. The object of this building is to allow shelter for livestock and thus it would ordinarily face south unless the topography made another orientation suitable. If located in a corral (as in a dairy operation where livestock might be kept near the main barn), it sometimes would also have feeding and bedding supplies, but not separate stalls. The loafing shed will generally derive its significance as a contributing feature in the larger complex of which it is a part, not as a significant feature by itself.

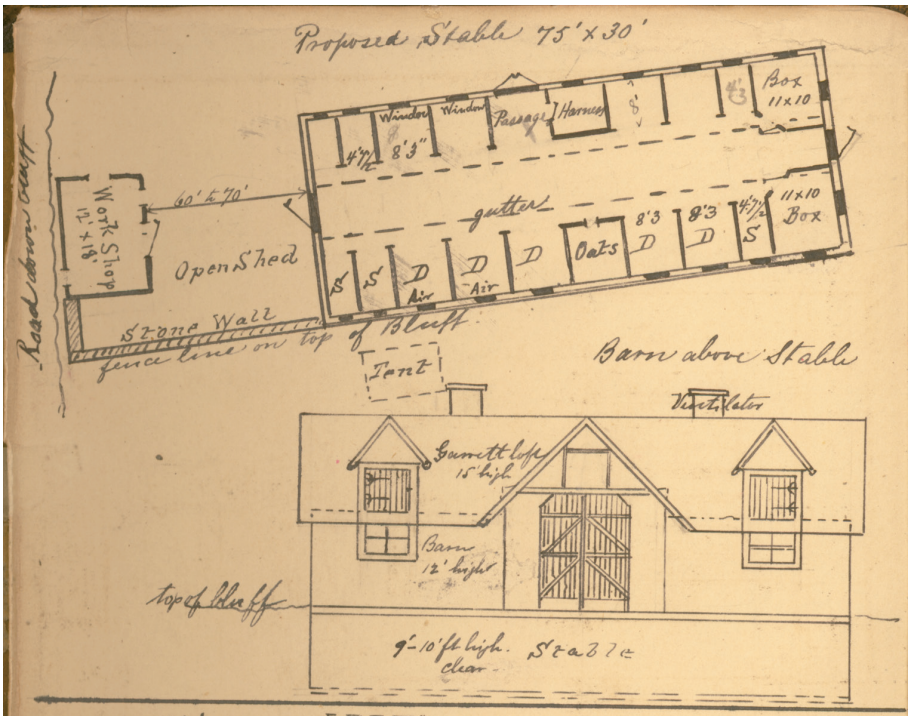
Requirement

Loafing sheds must plainly indicate their use as shelter for livestock and this will be evident from location and orientation, a wide opening, or completely open elevation on the sheltered side. Feeding and bedding arrangements, an occasional feature, need not be present.

Property Subtype: Stables

Description

Stables are structures for the purpose of providing shelter and feeding for (usually) horses but could also be used for other livestock, almost invariably with separate stalls or pens for individual animals or groups of animals. Historically, stables have tended to follow one of two configurations, one with an outdoor entrance / exit to each stall and the other with the stalls opening in the interior onto a throughway usually in the center of the structure, running lengthwise. Sometimes stables would be the most elaborate building on the ranch, with careful decoration and ornamentation presumably reflecting the quality of the horses housed there. Although not exclusively the case, often the existence of stables, rather than (or in addition to) a multiple purpose barn, reflected a substantial



Building plan for stable at Oscar Pfeiffer's Johnson County 1892 Bar OP Ranch. This is a detail of a larger drawing that includes other buildings. From Oscar Pfeiffer Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

size and a level of commercial prosperity. Some stables, of course, were located on operations that specialized in horse breeding.

The significance of these buildings derives from the importance of horses in nineteenth and early twentieth century agriculture. The horses that were housed in stables provided much of the power for transportation, for plowing, for threshing, for working other livestock, and for other forms of work. They were seldom kept for ornamentation or companion purposes and were integral to the way the farm, ranch, or homestead operated until, with exceptions, at least World War II.

Requirement

Stables must have been associated with an agricultural operation, either livestock or crop producing, in an important, not incidental, way to be historically significant. Stables must retain clear evidence of their use by livestock and also retain at least some signs of the historic organization of the interior and configuration of the stalls. The presence of storage facilities and related elements (for example, saddle racks, tack rooms, blacksmith equipment, oat bins, etc.) enhances the integrity of the stable.

Property Subtype: Machine / Equipment Shed

Description

The role of technology on the farm and ranch was powerful and the machine or equipment shed was developed to house that technology which sometimes took on a very substantial size. Moreover, the tractors and steam engines that had to be housed, or more accurately, sheltered, were associated with other equipment that they powered or pulled—or both. Thus the machine shed could house initially wagons and horse-drawn implements but later, traction engines, tractors, implements, threshing machines, and ultimately combines.

Requirement

To be significant as part of the larger complex, Machine / Equipment Sheds must have been used for sheltering the larger pieces (non-hand held) of technology. Ordinarily, there will be clear indications of their historic use for that storage. Because of their similarity to the loafing sheds, distinguishing features such as location near the main buildings of the farm or ranch, access (drive paths and roads), and configuration become important.

Property Subtype: Mess / Dining Halls

Description

At roundup (both during the period of the open range and afterwards) / shearing / harvest times, even moderate-sized ranch / farm operations found themselves with additional, temporary hired help on the premises that had to be fed. Some operations had to feed those workers on a year-round basis. A dining / mess hall was often a feature of those operations. The dining / mess hall could be put to other use, such as recreation or indoor work / repair projects. It would usually be constructed of materials and in a design consistent with other buildings, including the residence. In some instances a kitchen would be attached, and in others separate. When used for the seasonal gatherings at harvest or roundup, the dining hall often carried distinct gender associations as well because of the cooperative effort of women in the neighborhood to feed the workers.

Requirement

The use of the building for feeding crews of workers on either a temporary or permanent basis is essential for significance and will be evident by size, open interior space, proximity to a kitchen (which may or may not be attached), and sometimes proximity to a bunkhouse.

Property Subtype: Corrals

Description

Corrals are pens for the temporary enclosure of livestock and are usually arranged in a configuration that allows the transfer of stock from one enclosure to another in various processes such as calving, branding, castrating, vaccination, weighing, and shipping. Sometimes the corrals would be simple affairs, but on the large operations they would even take on a maze-like configuration. They almost never used barbed wire because of the presence of horses and humans in the corrals while working the other stock, and they generally used planks or poles.

Requirement

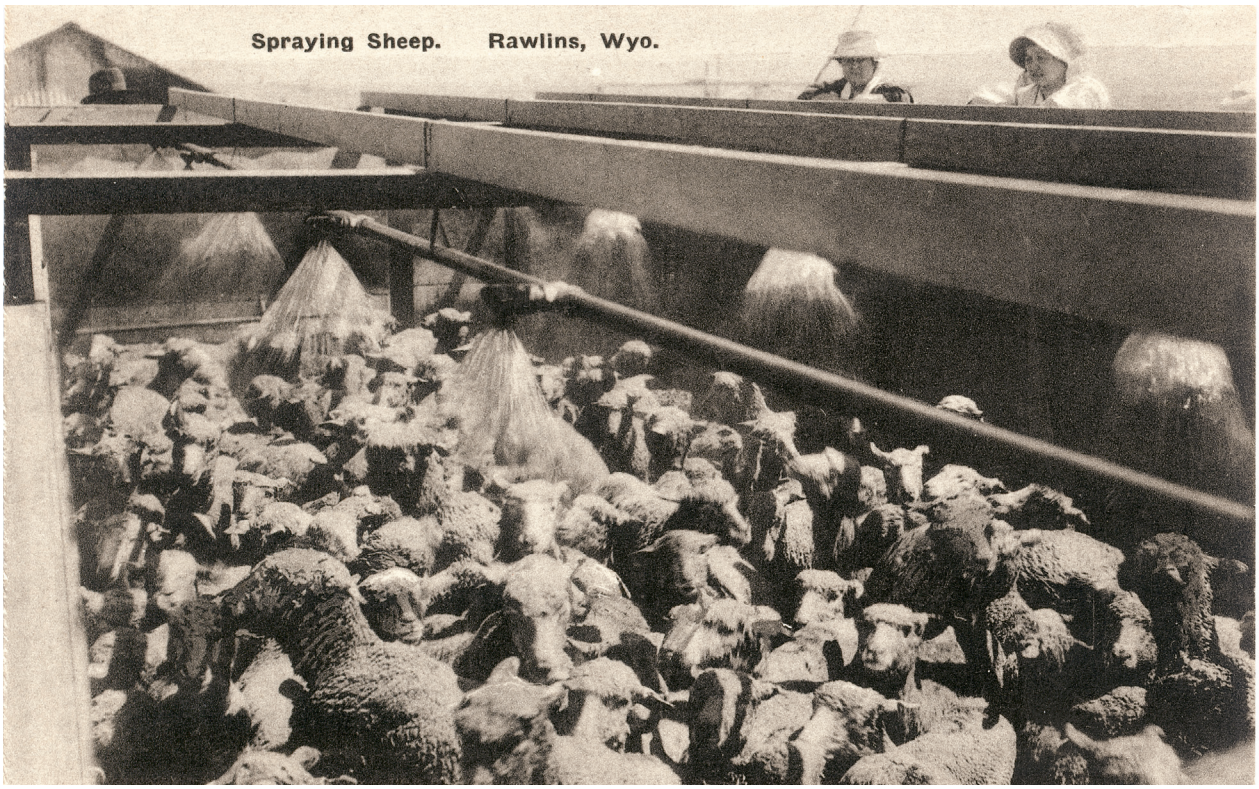
Corrals need not be complete and usable, but the perimeter, design, and materials of the corral must be consistent with its historic use. As with buildings, so especially with the less-permanently constructed corrals: when they are not used, they deteriorate quickly. The deterioration is often a reflection of their condition, not their lack of integrity, so careful examination is essential. Moreover, corrals that are part of a ranch headquarters complex have often fallen into disuse as a result of the mechanization, consolidation, and specialization of agriculture; they can sometimes provide valuable insights into the evolution (and sometimes decline) of the property. And while the arrangement of corrals may appear to be a maze or a haphazard jumble of fenced areas, it is important to remember that that particular design was used for a purpose and that purpose—the association with the themes of ranching, farming, and homesteading—is what makes corrals historically significant.

Property Subtype: Loading Pens and Chutes

Description

These loading pens and chutes (ramps) facilitated the transfer of livestock to awaiting trucks for transportation to markets, and thus were a sign of the movement of the ranch operation from the practice of herding to market on a trail or road to the use of motorized transportation. The loading ramps, which were enclosed on either side with plank or pole fences, usually were associated with corrals and chutes to control and direct a certain number of head of livestock in a systematic fashion. A key element to their historical significance is location at a place where access is available for both livestock and trucks.

Loading pens and ramp north of Dubois. Varying substantially from simple ramps and a single pen to more elaborate arrangements of corrals for sorting and holding and then loading livestock, these structures represent the system of truck shipping to market that replaced driving livestock to market. Photo: Michael Cassity, 2009.



An alternative to the dipping vat or trough, the spraying system was also used, as with this operation at Rawlins. The role of the two women in this image is not known. Postcard from collection of Michael Cassity.

Requirement

Loading pens and ramps need not be complete and serviceable, but the contour and operation of the ramps and pens must be clearly discernible.

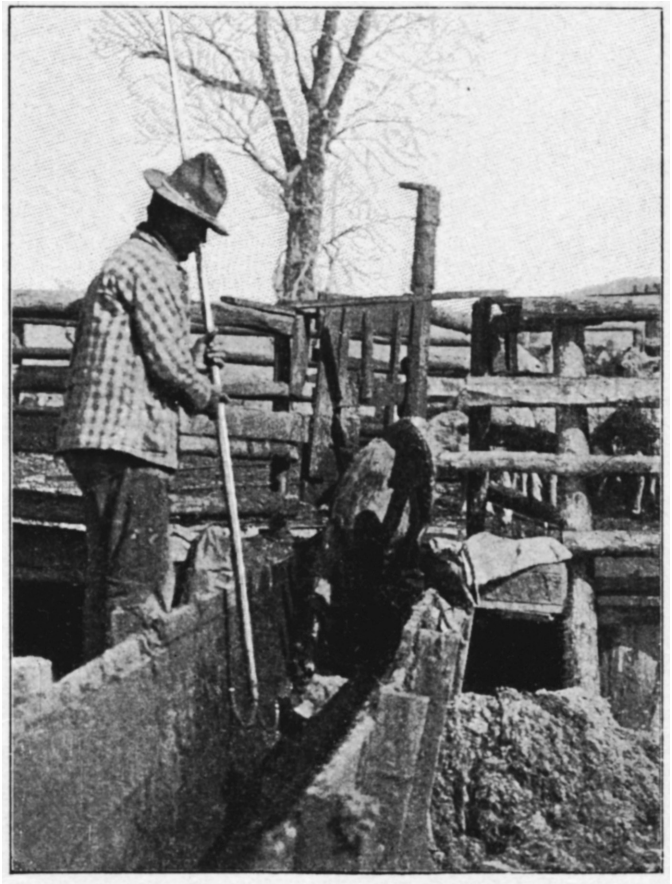
Property Subtype: Dipping Vats

Description

With the development of the livestock industry, sheep and cattle ranchers came to use various chemical formulas (mainly nicotine sulphate or lime and sulphur, and occasionally creosote) to treat their livestock and prevent disease or kill parasites. The most effective way of applying these chemicals was to mix them in a bath in which the livestock would be submerged. The vats containing the dip solution were substantial troughs, deep enough that the livestock would be completely submerged at first and then would have to swim through to leave. These vats were, like other parts of the livestock management process, associated with a configuration of corral fences and chutes to direct the flow of livestock, one at a time, into and out of the dipping vat. The vats were important, and while not on every ranch, they were located sporadically and sometimes used cooperatively by neighboring ranches. A description of a cattle dipping vat near Powder River as it looked in 1923 indicates their general configuration. Alan Seager recalled how he helped dip a herd of cattle: "At last, we had all the cattle penned in the corrals, objecting. By government order, we had to immerse each in a concrete vat full of a solution of warm water and nicotine sulphate, to kill the ticks. The vat was about thirty feet long,

eight feet deep, and the width of a cow. A chute of cottonwood logs ran up to one end of it, and a ramp led down into the fluid."[7]

On occasion the vats would be constructed in the field, especially for sheep, and at some points in time (depending on the years and the prevalence of scabbies among the sheep), sheep were required to be dipped at least once within a year before they were admitted onto national forest land or before they could be shipped out of the state. As William Thompson explained in 1968, when the practice had long since been abandoned, "that's why all these dipping vats were around the country."[8] With advances in technology, the dipping vats were not vats at all, but spray systems. Leonard Hay described one that his father, also in the sheep business, used: "it was a pen possibly 12 to 15 feet wide by 20 to 25 feet long and had sprayers on the side and overhead and coming up from the bottom with lattice floors and it was drained back into the concrete vat and would be resprayed."[9]



Sheep dipping trough or vat near Lander, 1909. The double hook is used to make sure each sheep is completely immersed and also to rescue it in case of near-drowning. Photograph from Frederic Irland, "In the Big Dry Country," *Scribner's Magazine*, XXXVI (1904), 299.

Requirement

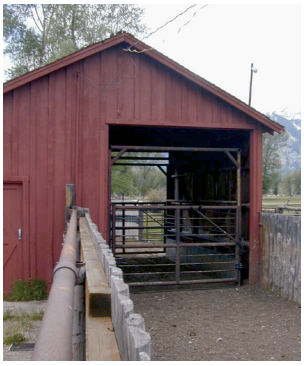
While dipping vats vary in sophistication and permanence, the entrances ordinarily employed a sharp drop-off at the entrance to the vat forcing the livestock to plunge completely into the dipping solution as they enter and, at the other end of the vat, a gradually inclined ramp for the animals to clamber out under their own power, and this, or a similar system of operation, must be discernible. The presence of entrance and exit chutes and corrals for waiting enhances the integrity of dipping vats.

Property Subtype: Scale Houses

Description

The presence of scale houses—where livestock would be weighed prior to shipping to market—represents the advent of a more "scientific" or at least more careful approach to commercial livestock production since it would enable the owner to have an accurate awareness of the live-weight shipping out. Previously, the rancher had depended on estimates and on the scales of the purchaser. Sometimes the scales would be located in or adjacent to another structure—an appendage to a barn, for example—but would usually be a small, single room (or stall) enclosure with scales between two doors. The livestock would be forced by the narrowness of the passageway to stand on the scale platform and the weight would be read and recorded by an attendant. In some instances, the scale house would not be a house at all, or any kind of enclosure, for that matter. In those in-

This photograph of the MW Ranch on Stockade Beaver Creek in Weston County shows a set of open scales at left. Photograph courtesy Wyoming Pioneer Memorial Museum, Douglas, Wyoming.



Scale house, Snake River Ranch, Teton County. Photo: Michael Cassity, 2003.

stances the scales would be open-air facilities. The difference is important since the scale house would accommodate multiple head of livestock at once for a bulk weight and would do so in a continuous flow—an arrangement appropriate for commercial sales of, generally, beef cattle. The open air scale, however, would generally be appropriate for weighing only a single, or very few, animal at a time, reflecting a more individualistic orientation to the livestock operation, appropriate for small ranches or breeding operations.

Requirement

The scales in scale houses have sometimes been removed and are not necessary for the structure to be considered intact. Since a defining characteristic of the scale house is the presence of entrances opposite each other for the livestock to be channeled completely through (and thus not turning around to leave by the same opening through which they entered), these entrances must still be visible, even if they are currently sealed. The existence of fences and chutes and nearby loading pens and ramps to facilitate the movement of the cattle into and out of the scale house enhances integrity. By contrast, the presence of scales outside a scale house may indicate a different kind of historical operation and thus those scales carry a different set of historical associations and purposes.

Property Subtype: Shearing Sheds

Description

Despite their common name, shearing sheds were often not small sheds at all. They ranged from modest outdoor operations to factory-type structures. Although in the early years shearing took place in the open, or under a canopy

for protection from the sun, by the late 1910s and 1920s the sheep industry largely moved to indoor shearing facilities to secure cleaner fleeces and also to incorporate industrial organization into the fleecing process. These were often, and quite accurately referred to as shearing plants, although still generically referred to as shearing sheds. In some instances, as at the shearing shed on the Bishop Ranch in Campbell County, these shearing sheds were elaborate facilities with multiple stories so that the fleece would drop through a chute into a bag that hung through a portal onto the lower story, where the bags would be stuffed tightly and then moved—assembly line fashion—to a waiting wagon for transport to the railroad. The classic "Australian" style shed was located near a railroad, contained an internal spatial organization such that possibly twenty shearers would work on as many sheep who were channeled through the building and whose sheared wool was subsequently processed by others. Although originally constructed to house the distinctive Australian system of shearing, those unique features were soon dropped and the buildings were the location of traditional shearing and sacking (not baling) processes. In a good many other instances, especially on small family farms and ranches with small flocks, the shearing shed was much more basic, was similar to the outdoor shearing pens of earlier years, and simply provided a protected or organized working space.

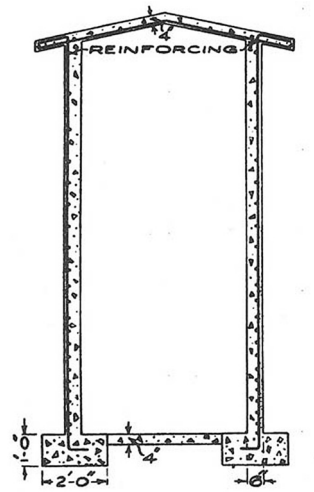
Requirement

The nature of the shearing shed will reveal much about the kind of operations that used it—how many sheep it could handle, at what time in history, and with what technology. This will indicate its historic significance. Thus the organization of the shearing process must be discernible from the building design. Ideally, in the large operations, this will consist of two building entrances and at least one holding pen and one shearing pen in the interior, but the existence of any combination of relevant exterior and interior features in such a way as to define it as a shearing shed will provide integrity of association and design under Criterion A; under Criterion C design becomes more important and must indicate the work-flow pattern of the shearing (and related) processes. In the smaller facilities, such as those where only a small number of sheep may have been sheared on a farm, tell-tale signs include the existence of a structure to hold the bag for fleece and an adjacent ladder or other climbing arrangement.

Property Subtype: Silos

Description

While not as common on the plains of Wyoming as in the Midwest where it has achieved iconic status, the silo can often be found in southeastern parts of the state as well as in those areas where dairy operations flourished. The silo would usually be a vertical, cylindrical tower-like structure for the airtight storage of silage (grains and grasses that have been stored and allowed to partially ferment to then use as fodder). It could be made of wood, concrete, or metal, or other materials such as stone. Average size is difficult to determine, but a common size was thirty-six feet high, of which four feet were below ground, and with an internal diameter of fifteen feet.



Section of Concrete Silo Showing Reinforcing.

Diagram of concrete silo provided Wyoming farmers. Source: "Silage and Concrete Silos," *Wyoming Farm Bulletin*, I (November 1911), 71.

Silo next to barn, Converse County, no date. The previous barn had burned and the new was being constructed, again, next to the silo. Photo: Collection of Michael Cassity.

Requirement

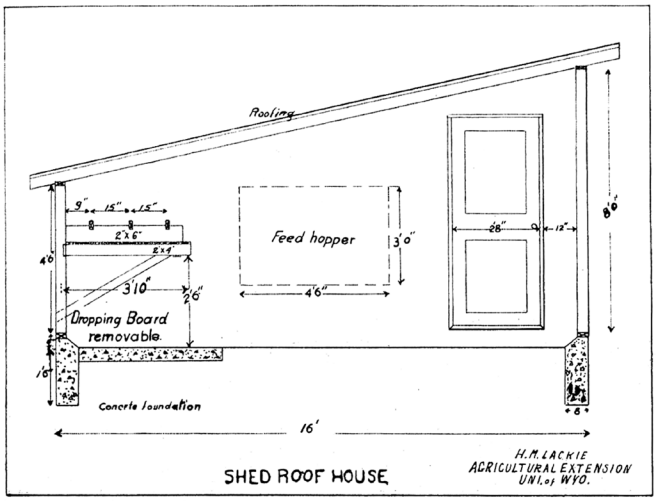
Silos made an important contribution to the ranch or farm and they marked the movement of the operation to more modern form of agricultural organization, usually with some specialization. They would commonly be associated with dairy farms since they allowed for the processing of intense feed for animals kept near the complex headquarters. Their significance will thus be connected to the larger development of the farm or ranch in that direction. Silos are notorious for their deterioration once they ceased holding the fodder that they were designed for. If a silo retains its basic design and materials, even with the loss of the domed (or other) cap, and its role / association in the historical operation of the complex is discernible, it will retain integrity under Criterion A. Under Criterion C, design, materials, and workmanship will become more important than under Criterion A.

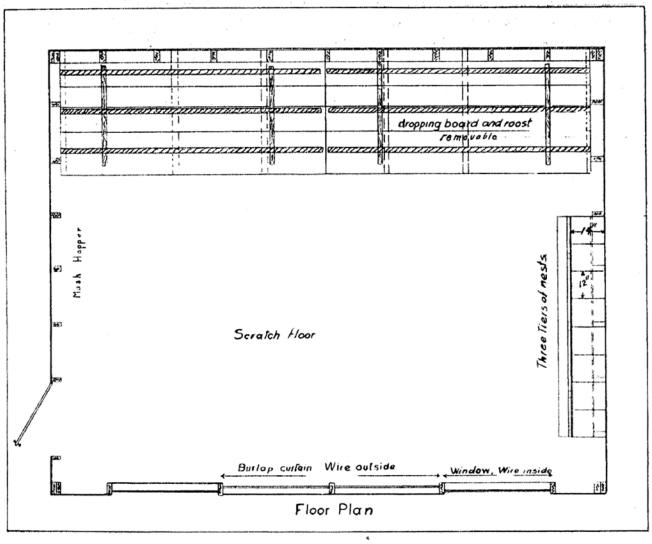
Property Subtype: Trench Silos

Description

More common in this area than tower silos, trench silos were encouraged by Wyoming agricultural extension agents who freely distributed design plans for their construction. Of course, not all farms and ranches used those designs. The common element, however, was the cre-

Plans for Poultry Shed, Source: H. M. Lackie, "A Farm Poultry House," Wyoming Extension Service, Circular No. 4 (September 1920), 6.





Working Plans for a 16x20 Shed Roof House

ation of a large trench (think of the dimensions of a silo resting on its side), and then lining it, preferably with concrete, for the storage of the fermenting fodder. It would be covered with a temporary covering (planks or sheets of various material) that could be removed for access. Ideally, these silos would be built into the side of an incline so that one end would permit drive-in / walk-in access.

Requirement

As with the conventional tower silos, trench silos performed a vital role in the specialization and modernization of ranches and farms in the twentieth century. That role shapes the contours of historical significance for both kinds of silos; as with other features, they were part of the fabric of history that needs to be established in the evaluation of the property; they were not simply one more item in a random assortment of features that some operations had and others did not. Because of their literally very low profile, the trench silos are much less familiar than their kindred above-ground, in the air, counterparts. Careful, thoughtful examination of the site will be necessary to establish the nature (and number) of the silos as well as their historic use. Trench silos that are no longer in use have sometimes been filled with dirt or other material as a safety measure. If the walls of the trench silo are evident and it is clear that the concrete is not the foundation for another kind of building or structure, it will retain integrity and may be a contributing property to the complex. Integrity will be enhanced if the full contour and depth of the trench silo is evident from one end or if the cavity remains open.

Property Subtype: Poultry Houses

Description

Rare in the twenty-first century, poultry houses were common in Wyoming until well after World War II. The buildings in which chickens and turkeys were raised, both for domestic consumption and for commercial markets, varied substantially according to the scale and aspirations of the owner / operator as well as by the breed of fowls. The poultry house interior would usually include a roosting room with

Dunlap Ranch chicken coop (house), Campbell County, constructed in 1920s or 1930s. Photo: Richard Collier, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office. Historic American Buildings Survey, WY-112.

separate levels for perches, for feeding shelves, for a dropping board, and for a brooder coop, and an additional room used as a scratching room for inclement weather. The typical poultry house would be a shed-roofed structure with an open or curtained and closable south elevation (to catch sunlight), although some instances of salt-box roof or other configurations are also to be found. The two main requirements for poultry houses were ventilation and heat, both adjustable to maintain a delicate balance. Poultry houses, like dairy barns, often demonstrated a clear association with gender roles.

Requirement

The poultry house must be plainly evident as such either because of its distinctive exterior or because of its interior which was fitted for chickens or turkeys. The presence of a ventilation system (usually with adjustable outlets under the rafters on the north elevation) and a system of heating (either passive solar or stove) enhances the integrity of the structure.

Property Subtype: Root Cellars / Storage Cellars

Description

The root cellar was once a standard feature on homesteads, ranches, and farms since it was the only way to keep foodstuffs cool in the summer and prevent them from freezing in the winter. While usually associated with domestic consumption patterns, because of the foodstuffs it contained, it also reflected the system of production for home consumption agriculture and that association is just as much a part of its significance. The root cellar was the next step after harvesting the vegetables from the garden. Ordinarily the root cellar was dug into the ground, often given a wall of bricks or stone, and covered with planks and then a thick layer

of sod. Access was usually gained by a small entrance that tended to be (but was not always) located on the east end. It was usually located near the kitchen. It could be quite modest or very large. Often the root cellar was shaded by trees. On the interior, the root cellar commonly had a sand pit where carrots and turnips and other tubers were buried and a separate bin for potatoes, often packing the potatoes in straw in the bin. Several times during the winter, someone would usually spend time sorting through the potatoes, trimming the eyes (roots) off to keep them from growing, and other vegetables would likewise be tended underground. Special observation needs to be given the root cellar since some homesteads turned their original dugout home into a root cellar once an aboveground dwelling was constructed. In those cases, the root cellar gains additional significance in the evolution of the property.

Requirement

If the root cellar has not caved in it will generally possess integrity, and if it has collapsed, it may still be deemed a contributing feature if its size and root-cellar function can be definitely determined. A depression in the ground that may or may not have been a root cellar lacks integrity, although if another root cellar location has not been identified on that complex, it should be recorded as a possibility in a survey or determination of eligibility of the ranch complex.

Property Subtype: Icehouses

Description

On larger operations that had access to a body of water where ice could be harvested in the winter, the icehouse often replaced the root cellar. The icehouse usually conformed to standard design considerations (if not standard appearance) which included alignment to prevent the broad side from catching the sun in the warmest part of the day, protection with shade trees, the use of double thicknesses of siding material, a door sill that extends up to a foot above the outside elevation (to prevent the loss of cool air when the door is opened), minimal fenestration just sufficient for release of warm air at the ridge (as through a cupola or gable vent), and frequently an entrance on the east (or shaded) elevation.

Requirement

Historically, the ice house is significant because of its association (1) with production for home consumption agriculture, (2) with pre-electrical grid systems, and (3) with operations that had families or crews large enough to undertake the demanding process of harvesting ice. By the same token, many ice houses were taken out of their intended use once the farm or ranch was connected to electrical power beyond a home generator and was thus able to acquire and use electrical refrigeration. That itself is an element of historic significance too. Thus, even on ranches that have been maintained and preserved, the ice house will in the vast number of cases have been put to other uses, but some can still be identified as icehouses. And some, subsequently cooled with electrical refrigeration, continued to serve their same function. Integrity of association and location is essential under all criteria. To retain integrity of design, necessary under Criterion C, the icehouse must possess a combination of any of these identifying features: building alignment to protect from solar heat, fenestration and entrances appropriate to an icehouse, extra thickness of walls, raised door sill, icehouse ventilation system (such as cupolas or gable vents). The presence of shade trees in the appropriate location enhances integrity.

3. Vegetative Features

Description

This property type includes several kinds of features that were not technically built or constructed, but they were nonetheless carefully planned and designed and were essential features of farmsteads. They consisted of selected trees or plants planted and cultivated in purposeful arrangement with benefits to the farm and ranch operation in mind. The garden was ubiquitous and fundamental, the orchard was a feature of enormous benefit when one could be made to grow, and the windbreak or shelterbelt a merciful feature that provided a barrier to strong winds, protecting people, crops, soil, and livestock. Originally they were conspicuous because of their clearly designed and purposeful arrangements, although they are often less obvious today.

Significance

This group of features provided literally an organic connection to the soil and to nature, and it bridged the realm of nature, with its drainages and meadows and promontories, and the built elements of the ranch or farm. From some of the most fragile and ephemeral

Facing page: Gardens were as important as any other part of the farm and ranch and produced critical foods for home consumption. Thus they would not uncommonly be more than an acre in size. This is a garden on an irrigated farm near Wheatland. Photo: J. E. Stimson, 1903, from Stimson Collection, negative 404, Wyoming State Archives.

elements, the garden, to some of the most enduring, the windbreak, these features helped define many farmsteads. That definition, however, was much deeper than physical layout, for the gardens and orchards served historically to nurture a system of production for home consumption and independence from the market; the windbreaks and shelterbelts, which were in a conceptual way extensions of the gardens and orchards, underscored the independence of the farm or ranch, almost physically separating, if not enclosing, the farmstead from the surrounding environment.

Requirements

These features are capable of demonstrating the social and economic environment in which Wyoming's farms, ranches, and homesteads operated, sometimes (gardens, orchards) doing so until they became integrated into a market system, and sometimes beyond that (shelter belts, windbreaks). They were not timeless, contextless features and their significance needs to be understood in terms of their social and economic function over time. As with built features, these features often reached a peak of development and then began a process of decline, and that decline is as much of the historical significance as the planting, plowing, tending, and expansion of the features. The integrity requirements for these vegetative features are similar in that they all require integrity of association, location, feeling, and setting. Design enhances integrity and is necessary under Criterion C. It is important also take into consideration the natural processes by which the features continue to grow, to decline and die, and sometimes to replace themselves.

Property Subtype: Gardens

The gardens generally consisted of plats of level ground, below an irrigation channel if irrigation was available, that were cleared, plowed, and planted with a variety of vegetables, ranging from the sensitive and delicate tomatoes in the more forgiving parts of Wyoming to the dependable potatoes and carrots most everywhere. Generally rectangular in shape to accommodate straight-line plowing and cultivation, these were commonly gardens that ranged from a third of an acre to several acres rather than the dainty backyard (or balcony) garden many twenty-first century citizens know. Of course, smaller gardens could also be found and sometimes these served as indications of family size, if there was a family residing on the operation.

There may have been farms and ranches without gardens, but if so, they were exceedingly rare. Their critical significance derives from the independence they provided the homesteader, farmer, and rancher; they were not conveniences or add-ons to the system of ranching and farming but integral components of a system of production for home consumption. In virtually every part of Wyoming people usually managed to grow some of their own foodstuffs. Even in the inhospitable climate of Jackson Hole, with its very short growing season, farmers and ranchers routinely maintained gardens and then canned or otherwise preserved their harvests for the long winters. As Nellie VanDerveer observed of Jackson Hole in the 1930s, "All of the hardier vegetables flourish." She then listed carrots, turnips, cabbage, rutabagas, onions, peas, beets, radishes, and lettuce.[10] Aside from their social and economic significance, and aside from their bounty of independence, survival, and health, sometimes gardens took on particular ethnic importance as

a source, and the only available source, for food items essential in particular traditions. Thus too the diminution of the garden in the lives and cultures of the farmers, ranchers and homesteaders was accompanied with the shrinkage of the gardens themselves. As rural families in the twentieth century focused on producing for the market more and as they specialized their production of cash crops or livestock more, they also began to purchase more of the goods they had previously produced. This was the other side of the market connection. The importance and the size of the garden thereby reflected lives, values, and social arrangements. In subtle ways, the garden also often reflected gender roles and its size and proximity to the house figured in those roles.

Requirement

The significance of the garden is substantial and that significance will be clear if there are remnants of it on a farmstead since it relates both to the system of production and consumption. Few farm and ranch gardens, however, survive unless they have received continued use, and those that survive will generally have diminished in size. In some instances the footprint of the garden will be clear, but that is often speculative. To retain integrity the use of a particular piece of land as a garden must be clear and may be determined by the marks on the earth where it was (or is) and by surrounding features, especially borders, irrigation / pump facilities, and its relation to domestic buildings and windbreaks, and presence of continued related vegetation (such as berry bushes and certain garden plants) that continue to grow.

Property Subtype: Orchards

Orchards consisted of fruit or nut trees planted in rows, and generally in exacting rows from each perspective; even spacing (as close as eight feet apart for plums, for example) facilitated their planting, cultivation, pruning, thinning, and harvesting—as well as allowing room for future growth. Often they were situated on sloping land for improved drainage, but that was not a defining quality. One characteristic was that these were slow to develop, and they were often vulnerable to the elements, but once established they became immediately recognizable features because of their geometry and the repetitive grouping of the same species for cross pollination. Even apples, plums, and cherries grew in the higher elevations such as the Laramie Plains. Orchards were often associated with apiaries, though these left a light touch on the landscape. Orchards could be any size, were usually geometrical, and the larger orchards not infrequently covered ten to fifteen acres or more. An orchard in the yard could consist of several dozen trees.

Irrigated farms and ranches were especially conducive to the growing of fruits. The Big Horn Basin, the North Platte River valley, and the Wind River valley around Lander and Riverton all proved suitable for fruit orchards—under the right conditions. Indeed, there is sometimes, again, an ethnic and cultural association, and the orchards were an integral element of Mormon settlements and even Star Valley produced impressive orchards along with its dairy output. Some orchards were grown in dry farm operations too, and with surprising success.

Orchards were not as common as vegetable gardens, but they were successfully tried in more parts of the state than modern orchard agriculture might suggest and they were a desirable part of farm and ranch life because of the variety in diet they provided and because of the independence they permitted. Those Wyoming farmers and ranchers in places where fruits could not be successfully propagated often lamented that they had (1) to travel to distant commercial centers to acquire fruits, and (2) that they had to use scarce cash, in a barter economy, to purchase the fruits. The preference by far was to be able to grow one's one fruits and nuts and fortunately this took place in many

Ed Young's apple orchard near Lander, 1903. Probably most orchards were considerably smaller than this, which includes more than apples and new generations of trees. Photo by J. E. Stimson, Stimson Collection, negative 682, Wyoming State Archives.

parts of the state. They were thus significant because of the independence they provided, because of the dietary variety, and because of the cultural associations they nurtured.

Orchards could be significant on several levels for what they reveal about the people who planted them (and the expectations of those people) and what they suggest about the farming culture of Wyoming. Planting orchards was seldom the first task of the homesteader or farmer starting out. There were other duties and needs to be attended to first and the fruit, literally, of this effort would be a long term achievement. The orchards thus represent generally mature operations in well-developed and settled areas at their inception. They also reflect the diversity of productive effort since most orchards tended to be small and more for home (or neighborhood) consumption than for shipping to distant points. The demise of farm orchards, especially in the years following World War II, and the rise of large commercial operations was a national phenomenon; appearances are, however, that in Wyoming the decline of small orchards was not offset by commercial monoculture orchards. The commercial, specialized orchards tended to be located well beyond the borders of the state.

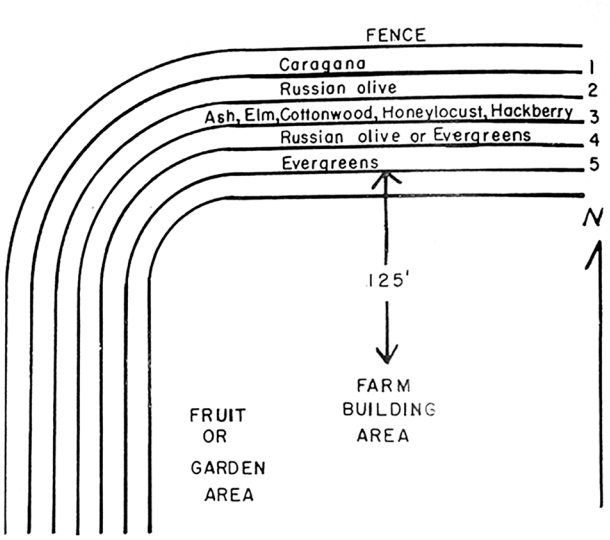
Requirement

The significance of orchards, including modest clusters of fruit trees, will, as with other farm and ranch features, be tied to the system of resources of which it is a part. As with many of those features, so too with orchards: the whole is greater than the sum of the parts, and this pertains to significance. Careful examination will help establish that significance. For example, the distances between trees may indicate sufficient room for wagons, a consideration important when the orchard was used for producing for the market. The physical appearance of the trees themselves likewise provides a clue as to the kind of orchard and its function on the farmstead. Fruit trees with tall trunks (without branches until five or six feet from the ground) generally reflect early patterns of allowing livestock to circulate in the orchard, a practice that helped fertilize the trees and conformed to a prevailing neglect of pruning; low-headed trees, with trunks that branched out eighteen or thirty-six inches from the ground, showed that livestock was kept out, usually with a fence, that pruning and cultivation was more scientific and systematic (low-heading caused the tree to bear fruit earlier as well as more plentifully), and that purposes were more commercial. When chickens were kept out, it showed the use of synthetic fertilizers.[11] Integrity is complicated since, as with other vegetative features, orchards have been subject to decay and deterioration from natural forces, especially once they were no longer part of an active farm operation. Fruit trees are notoriously susceptible to disease and decay as well as to strong winds and orchards that are no longer tended will show marked deterioration. On the other hand, these trees have a significantly longer life than vegetable gardens and their remnants will be commonly found if the orchard was able to mature. To retain integrity, the orchard must be clearly visible as indicated by the existence of some of the fruit or nut trees and by the discernible pattern of their arrangement. Location and design will enhance the integrity of the orchard if, for example, it is situated in the lee side of a windbreak and near the garden, or if a source of water from which it drew is clearly evident.

Property Subtype: Windbreaks

Windbreaks were parallel rows of trees planted on the windward side of a farmstead so that the combination of species, when mature, would provide shelter to the humans, livestock, and crops in the immediate vicinity of the farm or ranch headquarters, protecting them from strong winds. The species selected in the windbreaks were chosen to provide year-round protection, and some were chosen because they were quick growing and would provide shelter for the slower-growing trees on their lee side. Often closely-spaced shrubs would be located on the outside row to assist the young trees. The trees would be located usually sufficiently far apart to allow room for growth, and that distance would vary with the different species; unlike orchards, they would be staggered in their planting to provide a more effective barrier to the winds. They would ideally be placed at least a hundred feet away from farm buildings, and in that interval orchards and gardens would be placed, both for protection from the winds and to maximize use of the moisture collected in the accumulated snow that dropped behind this natural snow fence.

At least as early as the 1910s the Wyoming Agricultural Extension Station and the Farm Bulletin encouraged the use of windbreaks on Wyoming's farms and ranches and in 1924 the Clarke-McNary Law provided funds for the distribution of tree plantings to be used for windbreaks and shelterbelts, after which their use increased. Windbreaks were important because they provided an important measure of protection from the winds for the farmstead itself and, if properly designed, would also trap essential moisture in adjacent gardens and orchards. Often the terms windbreaks and shelterbelts were used interchangeably, even in the litera-



Windbreaks (sometimes termed shelterbelts, at left) were not just rows of trees, but were planned with maximum thought to location, to composition, and with a mind set on a long term, permanent presence on the land. Source: W. O. Edmondson, "Trees for Protection and Profit," University of Wyoming Agricultural Extension Service, Circular 116, April 1951, page 16. This circular was an adapted version of earlier publications on windbreaks and shelterbelts going back to at least 1930.

ture supplied by the bulletins, but there were differences.[12] The windbreak would protect the farm and ranch buildings and the gardens and other features located at the ranch headquarters and was often curved or cornered so that it would protect these features on two sides; the shelterbelt, on the other hand, would be longer and more strictly linear, positioned perpendicular to the prevailing winds, and would protect fields from the winds. The windbreak generally included more rows of trees than the shelterbelt. The windbreak was an important element and increasingly used when land could be spared and the investment made in trees and their care. The standard procedure was to locate the windbreak at least a hundred feet from the house and other buildings and farther, if possible, to allow for snow collection in the intervening space. Often they were directly adjacent to the orchard, and Cecilia Hennel Hendricks lamented that "To grow an orchard here you must first grow a grove that entirely protects the orchard."[13] Finally, one of the obvious elements of significance for the windbreak is often forgotten: it took twenty years or more for a windbreak to mature and during those years they required considerable attention and even watering and cultivating. But the intention was for the windbreak to be a permanent part of the homestead, farm, or ranch, and to last into future generations. That farm, ranch, or homestead with a windbreak was the embodiment of huge expectations for the future and for the future of the family that nurtured it. Sometimes the windbreak lasted longer than the family that created it.

Requirement

Meant for long endurance, windbreaks will sometimes be one of the more conspicuous surviving elements of a farmstead, having outlived the other features they were intended to protect. The significance of windbreaks is determined by establishing their connection to the elements on farmsteads, all of which together may be contributing features, and by noting their role historically—observing which elements were protected and which were not and what that meant in the evolution of the property. Often individual trees will be missing and the arrangement will be less orderly than during the period of significance because of subsequent overgrowth, self-reseeding, and the appearance of volunteers of other species. Sometimes they have been removed in part because they interfere with large equipment or even access to the

farm buildings. Standard formulas for planting windbreaks were often adapted to local and individual needs, so it is to be expected that any uniformity will be entirely local, and their composition and configuration may have evolved over time (with, for example, the replacement of cottonwoods with other trees, in whole or in part).[14] Windbreaks will be considered to retain integrity if they still exhibit their clearly discernible linear configuration (straight, curved, or cornered), including the (imperfect) rows of different species.

Property Subtype: Shelterbelts

Shelterbelts were long rows of trees, often two or three parallel rows spaced about sixteen feet apart, that were positioned along the edge of a field perpendicular to the prevailing winds; in Wyoming this often meant on the west side of the fields although they were sometimes located on the north as well. Occasionally they would be but a single row of trees. The combinations of trees used varied according to individual availability, economy, and preference. As with the windbreaks, the evergreens would be placed on the inside row, a medium sized deciduous tree next, and on the outside something more substantial, such as ash and elm and sometimes cottonwoods. Cottonwood trees were initially recommended for windbreaks and shelterbelts but their use declined because the trees, while quick growing, and thus providing shelter for other trees to grow in adjacent rows, had a limited life unless watered, and then tended to attract insects and rot.

Shelterbelts were not as common in Wyoming as in Midwestern states, but they were sometimes used and when they could be planted and grown they proved their worth by conserving soil, moisture, and crops and they provided summer shade and winter shelter for livestock. As with the windbreak, its kindred and often conflated feature, the shelterbelt was a valuable feature for the operation of the farm or ranch and it was a commitment to the long term future, not short term profits.

Requirement

The significance of shelterbelts will need to be established by reference to other features to which they are related, physically, functionally, and historically. More vulnerable to the elements and to subsequent expansion efforts than windbreaks because of their greater length and fewer rows, shelterbelts will be much less commonly found. When they do survive, in whole or in part, they will be conspicuous because of their straight-line configuration and their prominence as vertical features in an otherwise open landscape. When that function and appearance continue, even partially, they will be considered to have retained integrity.

4. Watering Facilities and Windmills

Description

This property type includes the variety of ways homesteaders, dry-farmers, and stock growers drew water from beneath the soil and preserved the moisture that came from the sky so as to obtain a steady source for their livestock and crops, and indeed for their own consumption. The users of the range developed a variety of means for acquiring and holding water and the broad, open land of Wyoming's farms and ranches is often punctuated at uneven intervals with the remnants of these structures. Wherever one exists—whether it is an improvement upon a spring, a well head, a rock cistern, a windmill and stock tank, or a dam and reservoir—the remnant is an indicator of effort on the part of an earlier inhabitant in historic times to provide water to thirsty livestock and crops in a dry land and thereby to both make their endeavor a success and to transform parts of Wyoming otherwise of limited productive potential into a significant agricultural area.

Significance

Much of Wyoming consists of an arid or semi-arid environment and access to water has historically played a determinative role in the success or failure—or even the inauguration or avoidance—of homesteading, ranching, and related activities. The ability to either control nature or adapt to it has been one of the character-defining qualities of not only agriculture, but life itself, in the area. From early convictions that plowing the land would by itself bring rainfall, to scientific and pseudo-scientific efforts to dry-farm and graze cattle and sheep in that environment, the homesteaders, farmers, and livestock raisers have developed a variety of techniques to provide water for their operations—never an easy task to accomplish. As they did so, they left multiple structures as evidence of both their success and failure to harness the precious water that fell from the sky or that lay protected beneath the surface. The earliest settlers and ranchers located near the streams and creeks where they would have a steady supply of water, but later settlers had to devise other ways of securing water. They might locate near a spring and then make improvements on the spring to make it more productive or accessible. But in many cases they had to dig a well, and that well usually was dug even before they built a home. The wells were supplemented with pumps, many of them hand-powered, but increasingly the ranchers and homesteaders turned to windmills to extract water for their operations. Of necessity, these would be scattered throughout the range to accommodate the needs of the livestock as they grazed over a wide area.

Where there was a windmill, there would often also be a water tank to collect the extracted water for livestock consumption. In the early twentieth century, and most notably and systematically, in the 1930s, ranchers developed, often with government assistance, dams and reservoirs that could hold more water than could stock tanks. The windmill or dam that may stand as a lonely sentinel on the plains usually is the tip of the iceberg of a system of water development and storage that has deeply influenced the pattern of land use in the area. Moreover, it also revealed changes above ground as well.

Requirement

Those watering facilities and windmills that are contributing features for the National Register under Criterion A in the area of significance Agriculture or Exploration / Settlement will hold significance generally as part of a larger set of features with significance, not as individually significant properties although rare circumstances may exist for individual eligibility. A combination of historical research in rel-

evant documents (for example, but not limited to, the well permit records in the office of the State Engineer and oral histories) and careful site analysis will help establish the contributing significance of the watering facilities and windmills. The historical and functional relationship of these features to the farmstead will be much easier to establish in cases where they are located adjacent to other buildings and structures.

Under Criterion A and Criterion B, the various subtypes of watering facilities and windmills are unlikely to be evaluated as either eligible or contributing features for the National Register as isolated, individual structures. Because of the potential for distinctive design and construction, however, they may be eligible independently under Criterion C. In fact, Criterion C holds an important value for assessing the eligibility of individual sites in remote locations *if* the engineering features represent a coherent system of providing water for livestock or fields. In this case, the operation of the windmill and related watering system must be clear and the mechanism and critical parts must be intact. Similarly, if there is reason to believe that the structure holds potential for yielding additional information, the structure may be eligible under Criterion D provided that the research design is clear and pointed regarding the importance of the data that may be gathered.

The integrity requirements for this group of resources, as with the auxiliary ranch / farm buildings and structures, place primary emphasis on their functionality and form—the ability of an individual watering facility or windmill to convey a sense of past time and place by providing evidence of the specific function it served during the period of historic significance. Integrity of location, setting, and feeling, as well as association are required under Criterion A; for Criterion C integrity of design, materials, and workmanship is also necessary.

The range of subtypes in this set of resources includes the following:

Property Subtype: Springs

Springs are naturally occurring points where water appears and flows onto the surface of the earth. While the natural features are not usually themselves historic resources unless associated with specific human developments or events nearby, sometimes they have been modified in a way to make them more productive in the ranching / farming operation, often with concrete or pipes or with guards to keep livestock from destroying it. The situation will be rare when a spring is an independently eligible feature (as when it becomes a prominent landmark or social center), and developed springs will more commonly be contributing features among an assortment of other properties.

Springs may be significant because they served many functions on farms and ranches, though many of those functions were ephemeral, light in touch, and indistinct. As a source of drinking water gathered with a pail or as a source of water for thirsty livestock, any point along the flow of water provided by the spring, which might ultimately become a stream if in sufficient quantity, would be useful. Likewise the storage of containers of dairy (or other) products in the cool water could take place without development beyond constructing a simple weir or arranging some rocks to form a pool. They also were significant when they provided water for livestock, thus enabling the use of range otherwise beyond reach of the grazing animals.

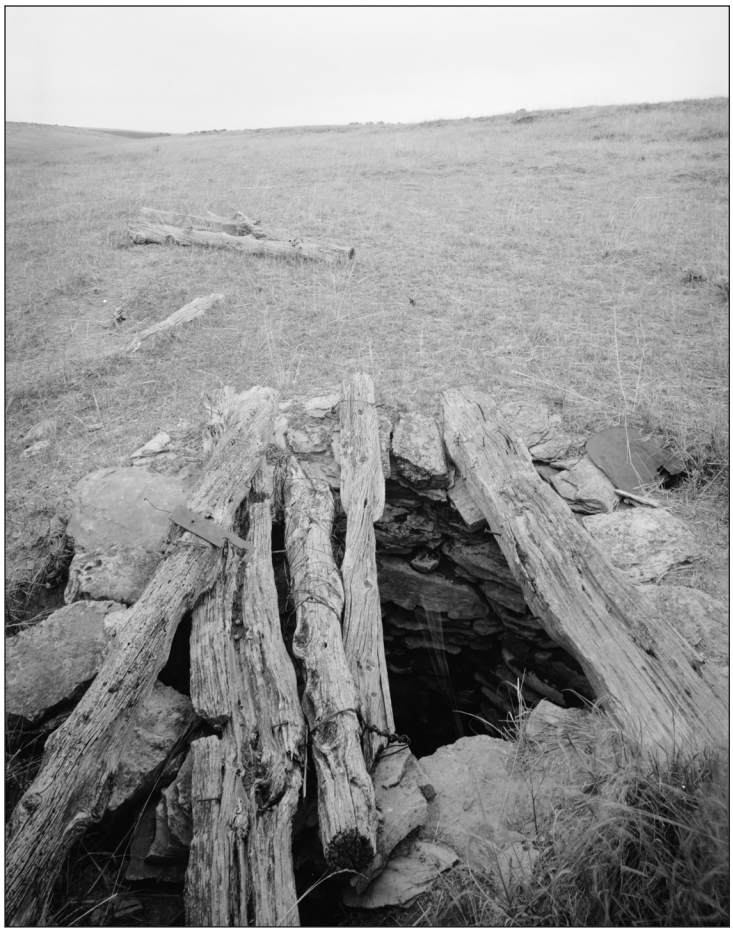
These functions, however, seldom were site specific in a sustained way and will generally not be able to provide the important association necessary to qualify a spring for the National Register. Of course, if a spring became the basis of a larger pattern of development of historically significant buildings, structures, or social institutions and activities, then it could become a contributing feature by that association. This association could come when springs were modified to provide easier access for livestock—or for storage—and that modification may qualify

as a contributing feature, but, again, would depend on the significance of the larger complex with which it is associated.

Requirement

It is necessary to demonstrate the historical significance of the spring through one of the associations indicated above and also to demonstrate that the association with the historical pattern or events is important. If it were a spring that enabled the access to a new range or settlement, that may be sufficient. If the structures associated with it were an important part of a range improvement / conservation program, that too could provide possible justification of an important association. As with other features, the fact of existence is not in itself sufficient.

The modification of the spring, to retain integrity, must clearly be historic and must retain enough of its historic appearance and design that its function is plain. The modification may simply be a rock lining that is placed around the source, or some form of concrete or pipe system that served as a conduit for the spring instead of its natural channel, or it may be a device to keep the livestock who use the spring from destroying it.



Rock lined well at Rock Well (Thornburg) Homestead, vicinity Tekla, Campbell County. Photograph: Historic American Building Survey HABS WY-109, by Richard Collier, 1989.

Property Subtype: Wells

A well is a system for conveying water stored underground to the surface so that it can be put to use for domestic and crop and livestock purposes. Wells may be deep or shallow, hand dug or drilled, but the purpose remains the same—bringing the water to the surface. Most wells were drilled, albeit many of them were drilled with a hand auger device before more sophisticated drilling machines eased the labor, but the hand-powered systems continued to form an economical system for many people after the advent of the more powerful and expensive devices. A pump at the well head—which may be powered by hand, by wind, by gasoline / diesel engine, or by electric motor—is often an integral part of the well, and sometimes will have changed from one system to another over time.

The well that supplied water for household and field use was one of the critical features of almost all homesteads, farms, and ranches. Even those situated near live water developed wells for reliable, clean, potable water. For those located farther from water the necessity was that much greater. One woman recalled the source of water in her childhood on a dry farm before they had a well:

> Water had to be hauled in cans and barrels. Ours came from a spring on Four horse Creek about 2 ½ miles from our place. Our well hadn't been dug yet, so it was either

> haul the water or use what we could catch in buckets when it rained. Because it was such a precious commodity, water was always used very sparingly. We would wash and rinse the dishes, using two pans of water. The rinse water would then be saved to wash the next batch and the wastewater would be given to the pigs.[15]

The well was, for that reason, one of the earliest parts of the homestead to be developed, often dug before the house and barn were constructed, and its location could even determine the location of the house and other buildings. Its significance under Criterion A in a farm, ranch, or homestead setting will be derived from its relationship to the other resources and their historic associations.

Requirement

The associational significance of the well should be easy to establish as a result of research in available documents (including oral histories). The well drilling permits in the office of the State Engineer may provide valuable information that goes beyond the well itself, but the absence of an official permit or record should not be accorded an inordinate importance. Drawing upon the range of resources available for understanding the historical significance of the homestead, ranch, or farm will largely establish the significance of the well. A well on a dry farm homestead could have a very much different set of historical associations from that of its counterpart on a ranch situated on the banks of a stream.

Wells have not always withstood the elements of natural decay and social development. Sometimes they have caved in or have been replaced and buried whether the farm / ranch operation continues to exist or has been abandoned. Sometimes as safety measures the wells have been filled or permanently capped. The well does not have to be functioning, but its certain existence, even if capped and sealed, can give it sufficient integrity to make it a contributing element to a complex. If the well is associated with pumps and other watering features, or with other structures and buildings, the integrity is enhanced.

Property Subtype: Well Houses

The well house is the shelter constructed to protect the well and pump. Since the well house is ordinarily used to protect a mechanical pump or other such device, its significance is generally associated with the arrival of that technology in the modernization of the farm or ranch. In the evaluation of farmsteads the well house will usually be placed at some point in the continuum representing the evolution of the operation. While it is thus not an element of great significance in the farmstead, compared with the well itself, it is a valuable feature in the quest for understanding the operation and the ranch / farm features over time.

Requirement

The historical significance of the well house, again, derives from its function on the individual farm or ranch being evaluated. Generally this can be established by indicating what need the well house met and how that need was addressed prior to its construction. The well house was often subject to rot from moisture, an ironic development in an arid or semi-arid environment, but the house, if clear in its function and reasonably intact, can retain integrity.

Property Subtype: Cisterns

Cisterns are containers often buried or partially buried in a location where rainfall or snowmelt will collect and be preserved. Cisterns are often quite simple in construction, something like a rock-lined or concrete-lined cavity, or even a manufactured container like a wood or steel barrel that has been partially buried. They usually possessed, at least originally, some kind of cover to impede loss by evaporation and some kind of an outlet at the base (if above ground) or a pump (if below ground) to

allow the water to be directed to one use or another. The cistern will often be identifiable as a rectangular concrete slab near the house, usually with a manhole cover (concrete rectangle with O-ring attached for lifting) or a pump.

In the early years of the twentieth century the concrete cistern was heralded as a much needed improvement over the old rain barrel as a device for storing soft water (as distinct from the mineral-saturated surface water in many regions) for household use.[16] Therefore a great deal of its significance comes from its association with the farm family as a social unit rather than from the farm as an economic system of production, an important feature too often neglected in the evaluation of rural properties. While the cisterns tended to be substantial in size, often about eight feet on each dimension, they were labor intensive, not money drains, in their construction (they required a lot of digging and a fair amount of concrete for the eight-inch thick sides, bottom, and top) and were thus within reach of many farms and ranches that could not afford other "modern" technologies. This was one of the few elements of physical modernization that did not carry over into larger social or economic arrangements. On the other hand, the replacement of cisterns with running water was intimately connected with the larger modernization of the social fabric of rural America and in many rural parts of the nation did not take place until after 1960.

Requirement

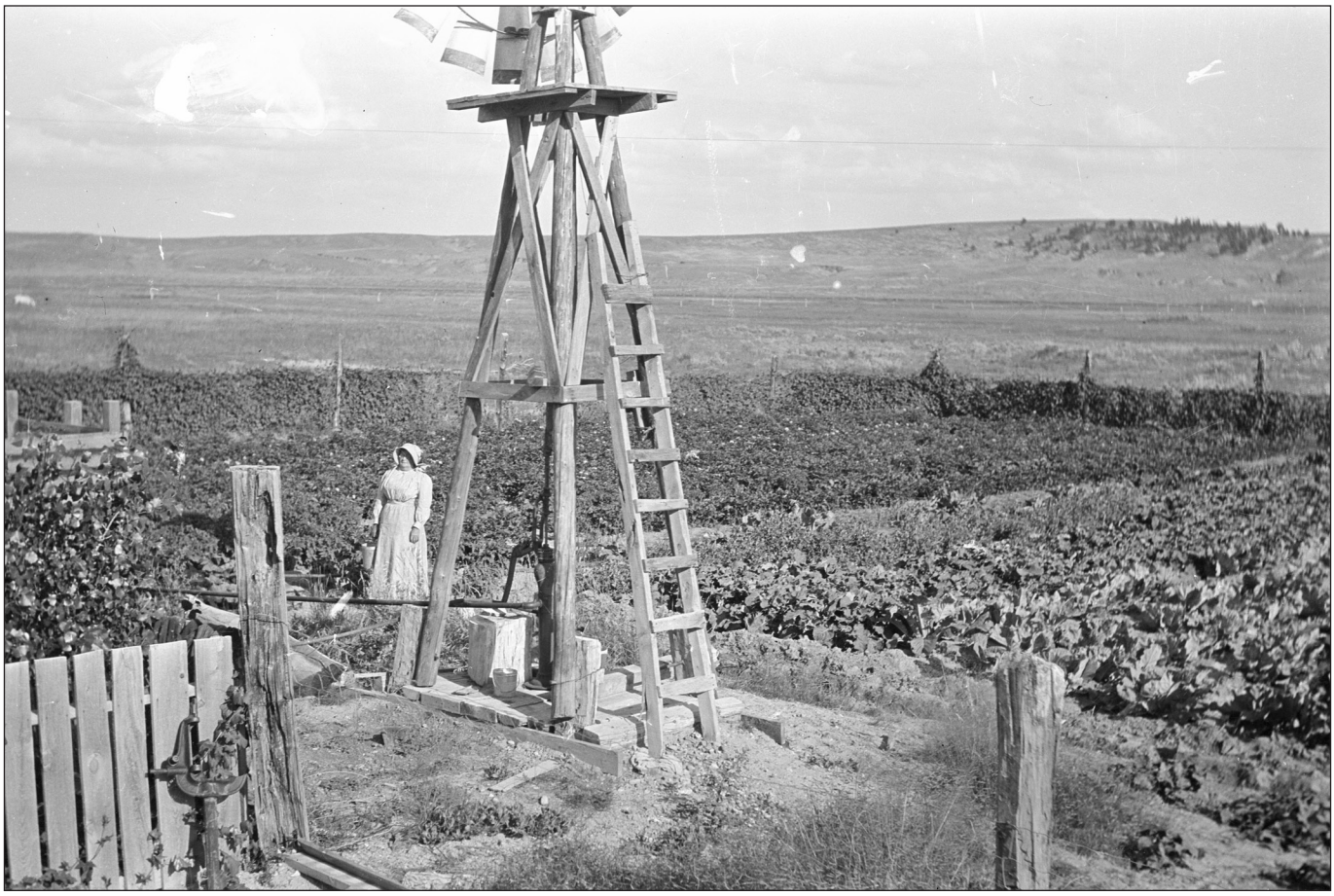
The significance of a cistern on a farm or ranch will be determined by its association with the other features and research in the historical record. A cistern that was located beneath a house obviously had a different association and significance than one that was located nearby—the one indicating the cistern as an integral element in the development of the farmstead and the other likely an add-on. The size of the cistern can indicate something of the family size. The cistern can, along with other features, provide clues to the priorities and needs of the family. If the cistern can be interpreted to provide information about these aspects of life on the farmstead, it may have the necessary historical associations, but only, again, as a contributing element in a larger complex in which the associations with the historical themes and issues can be established.

Cisterns are not always obvious and are often concealed in brush or undergrowth fed by the water they preserve. It is not uncommon to find only a concrete slab as the physical evidence of its existence. Over time they may have developed cracks and leaks to make them inoperative, but the design, materials, and configuration need to be plainly evident to retain integrity. Portable cisterns lack integrity unless they were permanently affixed to another feature or buried.

Property Subtype: Windmills

The technology of the windmill in history is a sometimes arcane study in itself and the mention of a windmill can summon images of the huge whirling vanes on a Dutch windmill as easily as it can generate images of the Halladay or Eclipse type commercially manufactured farm windmill so prominent on the American prairie. Despite the differences in appearance, and despite the initial uses of windmills for grinding grain, the operating principle is the same: the force of the wind turns the vanes which rotate a drive shaft that turns gears. In Wyoming and the Great Plains generally, the primary purpose was to pump water to the surface. The specific technology by which that principle was applied, however, varied considerably by manufacturer, by age, and by region.

Windmills are such a common feature of the rural plains that it is sometimes difficult to imagine what the prairies looked like before they appeared. That in itself gives a clue to the significance of the windmill since the ability of the windmill to bring water to the surface in remote areas also made those areas usable for



Although windmills are often associated with open prairies and ranges, they were also an integral part of many ranch and farmsteads. This undated image from the Roy Hook Ranch in Uinta County shows the operating mechanism of the windmill below the platform, including the pump (and pipe for diverting water for domestic use, irrigation, or storage), and a wooden tower. The presence of the integral ladder indicates that the windmill possibly predated the self-oiling systems. Photo: Roy Hook Ranch Photographs and Negatives, 1902-1913, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

grazing, since livestock need water as well as forage. The windmill could also provide water for small farms, usually not enough for extensive irrigation purposes but enough for gardens and domestic use.[17] In some instances, the windmill was actually a wind generator, a device by which rural people would be able to produce and store electricity to power various pieces of electrical equipment and appliances.

The technology by which windmills operated varies enormously and was seldom standardized. So long as windmills were being erected in the field, which they were generally until around World War II, the manufacturers continued their innovation; it was only once demand subsided, and other forms of water extraction surged ahead, that the technology and design became static. Even during the Depression and the war, however, the installation of a windmill possessed a distinct social significance. As T. Lindsay Baker, the preeminent authority on windmills, notes, "Strangely enough, one of the more important domestic markets that arose was that of mortgage companies, which often bought new steel mills to replace outdated or wind-damaged units on properties which they had repossessed from borrowers in order to return the farms to production with tenant laborers."[18]

Requirement

Windmills would hold different significance when located in isolated settings where livestock would graze than when situated near the house and barn and garden and that significance needs to be established. Their arrival in many parts of the state can often be associated with the penetration of railroads in those areas and their decline can often be associated with the arrival of the electrical grid.

As with most watering facilities, windmills will be considered under Criterion A mainly as part of an eligible ranch / farm / homestead or district instead of as isolated features on the landscape. To retain integrity as a contributing feature, the windmill must retain its design, even if some of its elements—such as vanes or sucker rod—are no longer present or operable. The integrity of the windmill is enhanced by being a complete structure, its proximity to a water tank, and its continued operation. Under Criterion C, the windmill must retain enough of its distinguishing engineering features to establish the important association with the technology.

Note: The State Protocol between the Wyoming SHPO and the Bureau of Land Management requires no formal documentation of "stock dams, troughs, spring boxes, and associated windmills that post date 1930" for BLM authorized undertakings.[19]

Property Subtype: Water Tanks

A water tank may be any kind of large receptacle made of wood, metal, stone, or concrete and is used for holding water that is pumped from an adjacent well. Water tanks by themselves are simply containers that hold water but, when they are associated physically with a well or windmill, they become an active element in the farm or ranch operation. They may provide evidence of the kind of ranching operation carried on by their location and size.

Requirement

Not significant unto themselves, water tanks may have significance as part of a larger set of features on a farmstead if the farmstead itself has significance. A water tank must retain its historic condition and material and its proximity to a source of water (even if the source is no longer present) to retain integrity. Note: The State Protocol between the Wyoming SHPO and the Bureau of Land Management covering BLM authorized undertakings requires no formal documentation of "stock dams, troughs, spring boxes, and associated windmills that post date 1930." That list would presumably also include water tanks.

Property Subtype: Stock Tanks

A stock tank is also a receptacle (perhaps gouged from the earth) for holding water to be used by livestock, but it is usually of substantially greater size and will get its water from a source other than a well. The stock tank is ordinarily positioned at an optimum location where it can collect tributary water from rainfall or snowmelt. As its name indicates, the stock tank provided an impoundment of drinking water for livestock. It would be a feature associated with both sheep and cattle operations and would derive significance from that function and relationship.

Requirement

As a solitary feature, the stock tank will ordinarily lack significance unless historical sources provide evidence of an important association with one of the themes in this context—for example, an important association with the Midwestern (enclosed) system of cattle production, or with land policy (the regulation of grazing and the leasing of public lands). A stock tank can easily deteriorate through the process of erosion, but it can qualify as a contributing element if it retains enough of its design to defi-

nitely identify it as a stock tank. Again, it needs to be noted, in keeping with the guidance established in a programmatic agreement between the Bureau of Land Management and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, stock tanks constructed *after* 1930 do not need to be recorded for BLM authorized undertakings.

Property Subtype: Dams / Reservoirs

The major dam and reservoir construction projects associated with the Bureau of Reclamation's expansion in the Big Horn Basin, the North Platte River valley, and the Wind River valley, are not included in this context since they represented vast public projects on major drainages and are deserving of study in their own right and in their own context. On the other hand, there were a great many smaller dams and reservoirs placed on individual farms and ranches across Wyoming that were of just as much significance, even though they lacked the engineering expertise and focused resources that the big projects involved.

The critical distinction between a dam / reservoir and a stock tank is that the dam is located on a stream, albeit often an intermittent stream, where the stock tank is not on running water. Located on the stream or creek, the dam creates a reservoir of water for livestock consumption. While dams and reservoirs (and stock tanks too, for that matter) can be found that date to early homesteading and grazing activities, it was especially in the 1930s with the increased number of tractors and with an active range conservation program by the U.S. government that stock tanks, dams, and reservoirs began to be built in very large numbers in arid parts of Wyoming.

Small dams and reservoirs emerged at an early point in the grazing country of Wyoming, although they were especially associated with the shift from open range ranching to enclosed / fenced ranges. In open range ranching ranchers were understandably reluctant to construct many permanent improvements over which they would have no claim and to which others would have equal access, so the building of a dam, if it was at all substantial, came along with fences. There were exceptions and cooperative arrangements, for example among sheep operators, were responsible for the construction of dams on public land that was leased or otherwise controlled. The dams and reservoirs were also significant for their association with range improvement programs by the government in the 1930s.

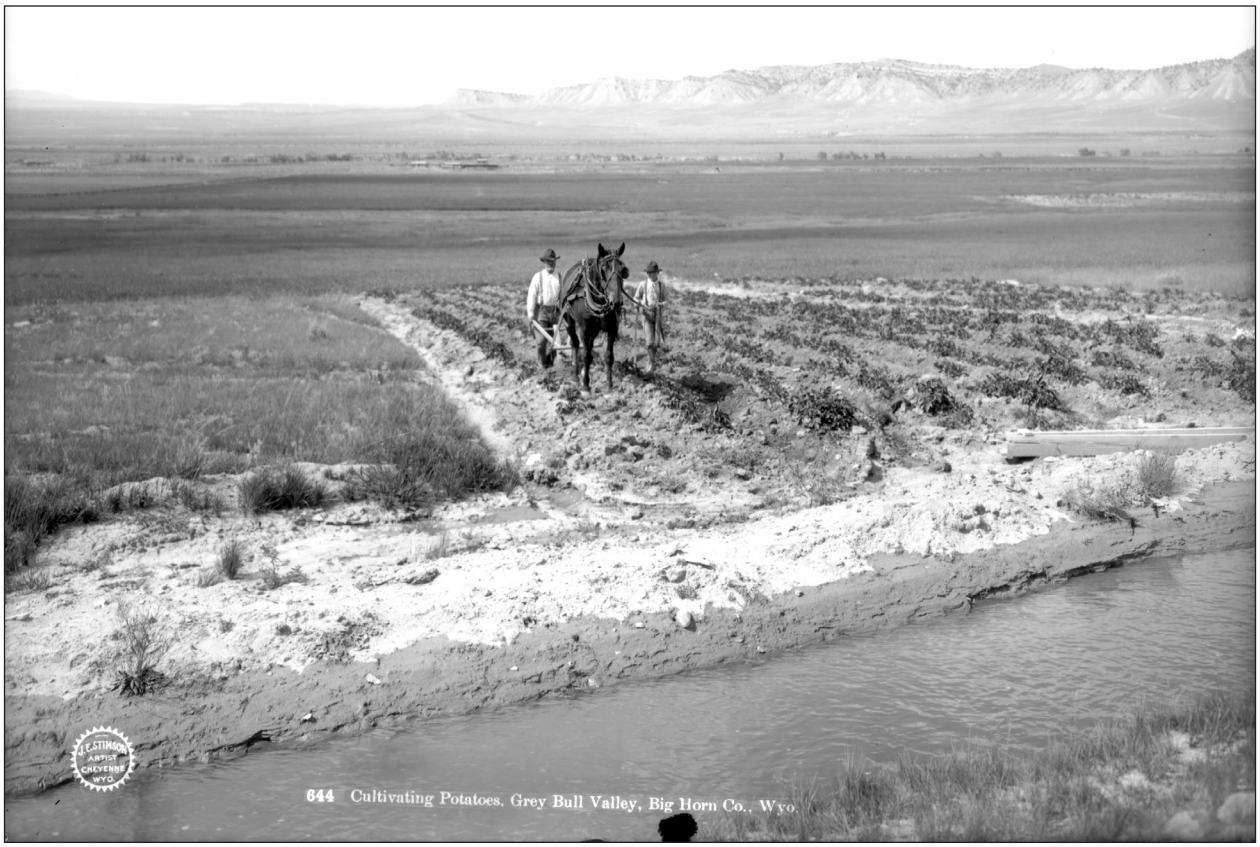
Requirement

The dam and reservoir must have an important association with one or more of the themes of this context, most commonly as part of a complex of significant features and not by itself, and that association will generally be gleaned from historical documents. Like the stock tank, the dam, which was generally an earthen structure, has been subject to erosion and deterioration if not periodically maintained, and the reservoir associated with the dam has sometimes dissipated. But the dam will retain integrity under Criterion A if it retains its essential design features, whether or not it is still capable of impounding water.

Again, it needs to be noted, in keeping with the guidance established in a programmatic agreement between the Bureau of Land Management and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, dams and reservoirs constructed *after* 1930 do not need to be recorded for BLM authorized undertakings.

Property Subtype: Canals and Irrigation Ditches

Canals are open waterways (though in some parts of the year quite dry), constructed along a course that allows a continuous, gradual fall in altitude by which water is taken from a running source, such as a river or stream, or from a reservoir to provide water for fields of grass, grain, or other crops. They will usually be asso-



Irrigation ditch next to cultivated field, Big Horn County. Photo: Wyoming State Archives, Stimson Collection, negative 644.

ciated with a headgate at their upper terminus and at the points where branches leave the main canal, and with branches and laterals as the network of channels spreads into the fields. Irrigation systems, both grand and miniscule, turned land that was otherwise not arable into productive crop land, provided the economic and physical basis for entire agricultural communities, and reflected a mix of private and government endeavors.

Requirement

The canal and irrigation ditch that made a difference in the lives of the owners / operators of the ranch / farm / homestead may be a contributing feature if the canal and ditch remain as definable features on a significant ranch, farm, or homestead. As independent, separate features, canals and irrigation ditches are problematic because of their extensive length and sometimes complex configuration. That quality, however, may enhance their significance as a critical element of a broad system of irrigation in either economic or engineering terms. Their nearly universal presence in Wyoming may make it difficult to establish the importance of the association of a particular segment with the historic themes of farming, ranching, and homesteading. A canal or system that opened up an entire area or that made possible the introduction of a particular system of agriculture (such as beet monoculture) might meet that standard under Criterion A; a section that

reflected exceptional engineering or other technical innovation might make it significant under Criterion C. The presence of headgates on canals and ditches and other canal-related features enhances the integrity of the feature as a contributing element under Criterion A but is not necessary.

Property Subtype: Pipelines

Pipelines perform the same function as canals but are enclosed and tubular in construction, thus preventing loss due to evaporation. Pipelines for water (not for gas, oil, or other minerals) could serve the same general functions as canals and ditches and with less loss to evaporation. They could also, moreover, carry water, given sufficient pumping pressure or gravity force, uphill as well as down.

Requirement

Although less common than canals and ditches, pipelines can sometimes be found. They may be regarded as contributing to a larger historic property if they remain in their historic location and retain their identifiable functions or features. Scraps of disconnected, loose piping and tubing that is not located in a network configuration will not retain integrity, but this is different from a network, or part of a network, of piping that is intact and in its historic location but is no longer connected.

5. Fences

Description

Fences may be made of a variety of materials, most commonly barbed wire, wood plank, or pole, although in some rare instances they are constructed of stone or other materials. They serve to restrict movement of humans or livestock (and wild game) into or out of defined parcels of land or simply to mark a boundary.

Significance

Fences often appear to be the bane of the historic resource evaluator since a fenceline can go for miles in an unpredictable direction, be of an indeterminate age, and occur in places understood only by bovines, sheep, or their human herders. Yet they were an essential element of the development of the range, although the way they were viewed varied, of course, according to which side of the fence the observer was on. Homesteaders and ranchers fought over them. After the end of the open range, ranchers used them to confine their livestock in one area of the ranch while preserving another area from grazing. Indeed, the rise of fencing was one of the features that defined the end of the open range. Fences were of great importance in the development of stock growing, grazing, homesteading, and farming in the Wyoming.

Requirement

Most fences will not be eligible for listing on the National Register and the programmatic agreement between the Bureau of Land Management and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office does not require the documentation of "fences and exclosures (i.e., barbed wire, chain link, buck-and-pole, or other types of pasture fence)" except for "corrals, roundup or load-out facilities" for BLM authorized undertakings .[20] That same document also continues, however, to require discussion of the features

and the justification for their exclusion. Moreover, it states, "If any of these property types exhibit significant architectural or engineering features, or are associated with a National Register eligible site or district, they should be recorded on a Wyoming Cultural Properties Form. Professional judgment and common sense should be applied."[21]

Fences that are associated with a qualifying farmstead, ranch, or district may be considered contributing features under Criterion A, but only if the important association is there, and if the location and materials remain historic. The distinctive design elements (such as a rip-gut fence which is outside the area where it may normally be found) or important examples of historic workmanship could make it significant under Criterion C. Scraps of fencing or long strands of wire that are loose on the ground are not eligible, but this is different from, for example, a buck and rail fence that has deteriorated since the latter retains the integrity of location. In remote areas where the historical context of the fence is not clear, the presence and location of the fence should be noted and its probable association recorded even though it may not be listed as a contributing feature.

6. Livestock Trails and Driveways

Description

Livestock Trails and Driveways are discernible corridors through which herds of cattle and / or flocks of sheep have been moved on foot either (1) from point of origin where they may have been purchased (or delivered by rail) to the ranch where they will be grazed, (2) from ranch or other location to shipping facilities (on a railroad, for example), or (3) in a pattern of transhumance where the stock are moved seasonally from one grazing ground to another. This would include any processing en route, such as branding or docking. These corridors may be simple or they may be substantially developed, but they will have been used regularly as a part of the conduct of a livestock operation. This will also have been more than a one-time use.

Significance

The movement of livestock has long been an essential element of livestock grazing in Wyoming, and the driving of herds of cattle and sheep has become a progressively more organized and systematic operation involving, in the twentieth century, the interaction of private ranching organizations and government agencies. At the same time, however, the nature of the animals being moved has both enabled and forced the retention of traditional methods of herding livestock so that the movement of the herds and flocks retains essentials of the cattle and sheep operations of the nineteenth century as much as, and sometimes more than, other aspects of the modern grazing outfits.

Requirement

Livestock trails and driveways must have been importantly associated with the cattle and / or sheep industry in Wyoming within the pe-

riod of significance. For those trails and driveways on public land, research in the relevant records will establish the importance of the association and generally document the use of the trails and driveways. Integrity requirements for these resources place primary emphasis on their functionality and ability to convey a sense of past time and place by providing evidence of the specific function they served during the period of historic significance. Under Criterion A these trails and driveways may be considered as independent features since they did not form part of a single, specific ranch operation but formed an independent part of the larger livestock industry in the state. These properties are unlikely to be eligible under Criterion B unless research demonstrates very specifically that the individual merits recognition within Criterion B and that a specific driveway or trail actually is the feature associated with that individual that best represents that significance. While this is unlikely, history is a broad field and research will continue long into the future. The trails and driveways will likewise probably not be eligible under Criterion C unless there are specific features in the trail (such as bridges specifically designed for conveying livestock across a stream, or an underpass specifically designed for the livestock to pass under a road or railroad) that incorporate distinctive elements of design, workmanship, and materials. Eligibility under Criterion D will be demonstrated if the resource can be shown to yield potentially important information with the use of a specific research design.

Property Subtype: Cattle Trails and Driveways

In some few instances that have generally been marked on maps and on the ground, paths remain that were taken by cattle drives in the nineteenth century from Texas to various points in and beyond Wyoming. These, however, are exceptional and are largely well-known and recorded in their main trunk routes. At some point, however, the routes would fade as fewer cattle would continue the drive, with gradually more and more of the trail-drive herds being separated to take to different ranches and ranges, so that the trails would ultimately fade into just so many different paths to different places. Even these trails, moreover, had their seasonal variants and even their alternate routes within the season as later herds had to find fresh grass and so did not follow exactly the route of earlier herds.

Much more common will be the driveways that emerged with the system of ranching in which cattle grazed enclosed pastures for the winter, when they could be fed and otherwise tended, but were grazed in the cooler mountains during the summer. Especially with the regulation of grazing on the national forests, and the settlement of lands between winter pastures and summer grazing, corridors were developed through which the cattle—and herders—would migrate to the highlands in the late spring and to the prairies in the late summer. These driveways, developed by grazing associations for the benefit of their members, are thus twentieth century travel routes, operated by the ranching organizations, with herders and others paid from assessments on the members, and follow a fixed course from a gathering point central to the ranches to the summer range where allotments are maintained. The trail itself may be quite long; the Green River Drift, for example is over seventy-five miles long, although it contains subordinate segments like the Cora Stock Driveway. The driveway will be considerably narrower, though, ranging from bottleneck points of a hundred feet wide to nearly a mile wide, as determined by topography, property boundaries, and development. The driveways may also be associated with Cattle Drive Camps, Roundup Camps, and other features.

The cattle trail or driveway is significant as an element in the cycle of activities in livestock operations. That cycle is evident on two levels—

the specific ranch operation where livestock were acquired, moved from range to range, and then finally moved to market points—and also on a larger historical level where cattle and sheep were moved into Wyoming in the nineteenth century. The significance is also evident both when the trails or driveways were replaced by truck-shipping in the 1930s and 1940s, and when they survived that replacement process.

Requirement

The importance of the historic association will need to be established in the historical record by indicating that such movement corridors were not incidental, were systematic, and were numerically significant over the period of historic significance. Physically, the cattle trail or driveway must retain a visible association with cattle ranching and the movement of cattle from one definable point to another as part of a larger system of such movement (either as part of transhumance or market-related movement). The origin (or point of embarkation) and destination must be clear in general terms or it can be associated with a major trail or one of its tributaries.

Property Subtype: Sheep Trails and Driveways

Sheep were once trailed across Wyoming from distant points to ranges in the state or beyond, and these trails often followed established routes for other traffic, and while there are records indicating the routes of some of these migrations, they did not become the established and prominent trails comparable to the Texas Trail or Western Trail among cattle herders. Moreover, these trailed flocks transformed into what became known as tramp herds, flocks of sheep that lacked any home range, that simply were taken across the country to consume as much of the grass and water as they would on the way; numbering in the hundreds of thousands, these could not follow the same route just because of the need for grass. The regulation of the national forests in the 1900s reduced some of the tramp herding, since it effectively drove them off the forest land, but it made the competition for grazing on the public domain managed by the General Land Office that much more intense. At the same time, however, the substantial sheep operators organized both to secure grazing privileges on the national forests and to lease private land (especially from the Union Pacific Railroad), and this entailed in the southwest part of the state the organized movement of sheep on a seasonal basis through their regular cycle of summer grazing in the mountains and winter grazing on the desert. At this point the grazing associations (like the Rock Springs Grazing Association) coordinated on behalf of their members not only the leasing of land but the movement of the animals as well, and they used these sheep trails. This activity increased with the regulation of the public domain under the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934. It is important to note that many of these trails were situated on national forest land or land managed by the Grazing Service / Division of Grazing / Bureau of Land Management and that the trails were regulated and maintained to some degree. Leonard Hay, in Sweetwater County, recalled that the Forest Service cut a trail to enable sheep herders to move through forest without congestion: "eventually, they moved that trail out and cut a strip half or three-quarters of a mile through timber to move us around so they just cut through the edge of the opening."[22] Sheep rancher John Niland described the trails in the mountains as "about a half-mile wide and every herd had to keep moving and make five miles a day or there was hell to pay and a mess of sheep to be sorted." Niland also noted that "the U.S. Forest Service provided corrals for sheep moving to and from the national forests. This not only allowed the forest rangers an opportunity to count livestock for management purposes, but also provided an excellent opportunity for the brand inspectors to look over

assembled animals." Lest there be any doubt about the length of these trails, again John Niland testifies to their length: "There were designated trails to and through the forest that had been laid out by the government, the Forest Service and the railroad. One particular designated trail that I recall started at Shoshoni, Wyoming, and went south to Wamsutter, Wyoming, from Wamsutter to Dad, Wyoming, and then into Colorado as far as Rabbit Ears Pass. We could walk our sheep and horses every foot of the way and never cross any private land."[23]

The system of transhumance was vital in the development of the historic sheep industry in Wyoming and these trails and driveways came to represent the dominant routes in the seasonal shifts of sheep from one kind of range to another. Over time these paths became progressively more institutionalized and even regulated.

Requirement

To possess significance, the sheep trail or driveway must possess an important association with the seasonal cycles of movement in the sheep industry and exactly how the trail fit into that cycle must be clear. Understanding that the transhumance system included not just movement from one range to another but also significant stops at shearing facilities, the role this trail, or section of a trail, performed in the larger system must be explicit. Accordingly, research in relevant records (including Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management holdings, for example) is essential to establishing the association and role of the driveway or trail. Physically, the trail or driveway will retain integrity if it is visibly identifiable as a trail or pathway for the driving of large numbers of sheep without improvements or alterations that make it appropriate for other incompatible activities (such as modern motorized travel).

7. Herder Camps

Description

Because ranchers and their herders for both cattle and sheep have worked livestock throughout the range of much of Wyoming, the camps of those herders—and the remains of those camps—are common features. While the camping locations of ranch workers who tended the sheep or cattle may appear to lack any physical features or permanence because the camps would move from time to time, those camps were anything but random, and favorite locations were used repeatedly and season after season.

Most of these camps will probably be sheepherder camps, but cowboy drive camps, camps used while working in remote parts of the ranch or grazing area, and also roundup camps during the years of the open range will also be found. Sometimes the sheep- and cattle-related camps are difficult to distinguish and the identification of specialized tools or other artifacts (like sheep shears or animal bones) in the area can help. One additional aspect is that over time, and with sustained use season after season, some of the sites that are otherwise ephemeral become relatively built up. In those cases, the site may be well known in the area and those sources of information should be tapped.

Marcel Kornfeld has developed an important analysis of cattle and sheep grazing-related sites in the western Powder River Basin that can guide researchers of historic resources throughout the state. The important distinction that Kornfeld makes is that the strategies for the sheep and cattle operations are different because the cattle ranch activities frequently tend to the livestock as they forage freely over the range and are herded only on special occasion, but the herders (cowboys and others) are kept busy building and repairing fences, checking on cattle for depredation or disease, availability of water, and so on. On the other hand, sheep

operations direct the movement and activity of the sheep constantly. Although both cattle and sheep grazing follow transhumant patterns, the human activities related to these patterns are often different and evident in the sites that the herders have left.[24] Kornfeld has thus identified four property subtypes for cattle ranching and three property subtypes for sheep ranching. The ranch headquarters site type has already been described and the requirements stated as in the property type, Ranch / Farm Houses.

Significance

In areas where the physical dimensions of the range over which cattle and sheep would graze were vast, the livestock and ranch facilities (like wells and windmills and fences) could be maintained best by sending workers to the various parts of the ranch (and leased or otherwise accessed areas of public land) on a temporary or rotational basis (for cattle) or on a continuing basis (for sheep). Indeed, these remote activities of ranching rather than the activities that took place at the ranch headquarters often provide the enduring icons of both sheep and cattle ranching and for good reason. The livestock came to the headquarters only at select times, the majority of the time having been spent in the outlying districts of the ranch or grazing area. These camp sites thus provide a critical association with the livestock industry and a valuable point for understanding and documenting the history of that industry and individual ranches. This applies only to those long term camps and camps that provide significant information. Many camps will be short term and not of significance. Prudent and professional evaluation and judgment is necessary to make the distinction.

Requirement

This group of properties must be clearly associated with the livestock activities that they represent; thus hunting camps or cabins would not qualify unless they had their origins as cattle or sheep-related operations and retain the essential features of the historic use. They must retain integrity of association, location, setting, and feeling.

Property Subtype: Cattle Line Shacks or Camps

These camps are important in the history of cattle ranching and a newspaper discussion of Senator John Kendrick's ranch in 1926 recalled its history, noting that in the early years of Wyoming cattle ranching, "Some of the big outfits would maintain winter 'line camps' at the limits of their range, stationing two riders there to keep the cattle, driven before the storm, within their own range."[25] The line shacks or camps, according to Kornfeld, "are locations from which fences are mended, watering places and pastures are continually monitored, and other management activities take place."[26] These "camps" may have a modest built shelter and even a corral nearby that will facilitate the work with the livestock.

The line camps where cowboys would be stationed for indefinite periods to tend to cattle, to fences, and to other needs of the operation were significant because they allowed livestock management practices to reach to the far corners of sometimes quite large operations. The line camps were thus essential to big ranches and were especially important during the years when the open range became gradually enclosed. After that, the larger ranches continued to need and use line camps.

Requirement

The site or building will be significant if the cattle ranching activity of which it was a part can be demonstrated to have an important association with the themes in this historic context. The association with cattle ranching (as opposed to other activities) can be established by some combination of the structure itself and its

Example of a cow camp or line camp. The message on the back of this card reads, in part, "This is a batchelor cow-boy's home up in the Big Horn Mts. They take sheep, cattle, & horses up in the Mts. where they can get pasture." Postcard from Michael Cassity collection.

design and materials, the presence of artifacts like fencing materials, veterinary supplies, and other cattle-related activities, its location, and even its conspicuous presence in an area known as a base for remote activity and its proximity to fences, trails, dams, and other features that required maintenance. The site or building must be able to demonstrate that association to retain integrity regardless of the physical condition of the cabin or site. Under Criterion C, in addition to integrity of association, location, feeling, and setting, the cattle line shack must retain integrity of materials, design, and workmanship.

Property Subtype: Cattle Drive Camps

The drive camps are occupied for shorter terms, even nightly, since they are used while moving cattle to a different location—to and from the mountains—and their presence will generally leave a much lighter footprint on the ground than line camps or shacks which are occupied for longer periods. An identifying characteristic is their association with cattle driveways, and thus they also can be connected to a pattern of transhumance. The cattle drive camp was a feature of life and work associated with cattle drives, the movement of cattle on foot from one place to another in the annual cycle of changing ranges or moving to market.

Requirement

The cattle drive camp will be significant because of its association with a larger cattle-raising activity, not just its isolated existence and use. To demonstrate that association the site must be located on or near a known or demonstrated driveway and to be significant under Criterion A the destination of the driveway must be clear, even if in general terms (e.g., Shell Creek grazing allotment, pens on Recluse Road, etc.), or it can be associated with a known major cattle trail (such as Texas Trail) or one of its tributaries. The use of the area as a cattle drive camp will presumably exclude other uses, such as for sheep, but if a site was used by both sheep and cattle at different times, that would need to be demonstrated with reference to historical documents and / or changing land use patterns. Eligibility under Criterion D will be demonstrated if the site can be shown to yield potentially important information with the use of a specific research design. The site will retain integrity if remnants of its use are visible, if the setting and location are clearly identified, and if subsequent use and development have not compromised the ability of the site to communicate its historical significance.

Property Subtype: Cattle Roundup Camps

Roundup sites are used by cowboys, bosses, and cooks and will often use wagons or tents. Size will be dependent upon the number of cowboys and others involved in the activity, so they can be quite extensive. They can even reach for miles since the different camps had their own substantial herds of horses to graze. Location will be useful in identifying the roundup site since they will be associated with either the autumn roundup for marketing or the spring roundup for branding and castrating. The older roundup sites from the open range days will typically be distributed in a pattern as the wranglers worked their way progressively farther down the major drainages. On large ranches dating from the 1930s, or possibly earlier, roundup camps can even have built features.

For good reason is the cattle roundup an iconic event associated with the raising of livestock. During open range days it represented the major time at which cattle were actually managed, controlled, and processed. After the open range period, the roundups continued as both an economic and social element of defining importance.

Requirement

Because cattle roundup camps were very busy places, because of the multitude of activities and peoples associated with them, and because they were customarily used and re-used year after year, or season after season, identification and associational relationships should not be speculative and can be based on a combination of size, location, artifacts, and historical documents. To be significant under Criterion A, the roundup activity must be associated with the practices and people associated with cattle grazing at the time and area of the roundup camp. Attention needs to be given the specific roundup activities that occurred in that area, whether under the auspices of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association or another private management. As with other campsites, the roundup camp may be eligible under Criterion D if it can be shown to yield potentially important information in a well-articulated research design. To retain integrity, the roundup camp site will need to have integrity of location, association, setting, and feeling. Generally those aspects will be present if the site has been clearly used for this purpose and subsequent development of the vicinity has been consistent with its use (for example the building of corrals nearby, but not the building of businesses); such development should not compromise the historic character of the site. Roundup sites that were used in years after the demise of the open range will include some of the following: corral, fenc-

es, loading ramps / chutes (indicating activity after the advent of trucks on the range), trash dump, and hearth.

Property Subtype: Sheep Outfit Central Camp

The central camp is different from the residence of the ranch owner, which is often the functioning headquarters of the ranch and which is generally located in town. The sheep outfit's central camp is located on the ranch and will generally be identified by a cluster of built structures (such as the pens and chutes identified in Auxiliary Ranch / Farm Buildings and Structures) and will often serve as a site for spring shearing and docking and other activities. A key functional characteristic of the central camp is its access to outlying herder camps so that it can supply the herders and sheep with scheduled deliveries of supplies as well as provide other attention as needs arise. The central sheepherder camp may include some kind of cabin, outbuildings, storage facilities, wood and refuse piles, and shearing / docking / shipping facilities.

Much of the bookkeeping and business functions of the sheep operation took place at the owner's house and office in town, but the sheep outfit's central camp on the ranch / range was the nerve center of the operation, especially in the early years before the development of centralized business organizations and grazing associations, before the construction of huge shearing plants, and before the downturn in numbers of sheep and sheep operators in Wyoming. Sometimes the central camps evolved into exactly those large shearing plants with related facilities, but many, smaller, central camps remained and retained their historic functions and significance.

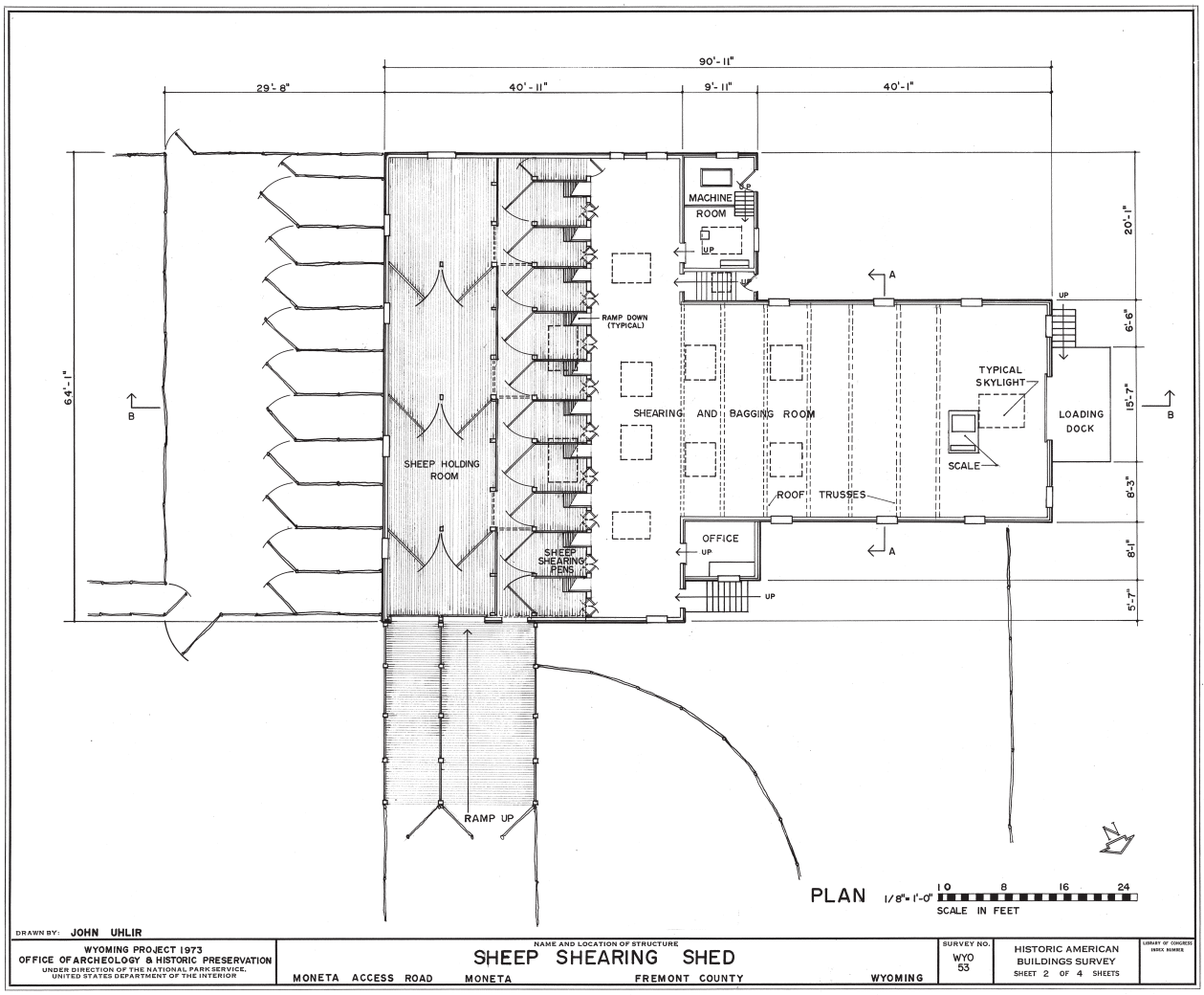
Requirement

To be significant, the central sheep camp must be importantly associated with sheep operations at a particular point in history. This is not to say that it must be associated with a large sheep operation, for the persistence of the smaller outfits depended exactly on the retention of these central sheep camps. To retain integrity, the association / function of the camp must be plainly visible by the structures it contains, such as shearing pens or even lambing pens. Integrity of association, location, feeling, and setting are necessary under Criterion A; the presence of identifiable routes to sheep herding areas from the facility will contribute to the functional identification of the site, but those routes are not necessary for integrity under Criterion A. The completeness of the facility, so that the different steps of the process can be identified, enhances the integrity of the site. Under Criterion C integrity of design, workmanship, and materials will be of greater importance than under Criterion A. Criterion D eligibility will require a clear research design to demonstrate the utility and value of the information to be gained.

Property Subtype: Shearing Facility

The shearing facility will sometimes be separate from the central camp and sometimes part of it. The older and smaller shearing facilities were often open-air arrangements while the larger and more recent facilities, also known as shearing plants, suggesting the industrial nature of the process, were enclosed and organized according to the various stages of the shearing process. One common feature, though not necessary, of open-air facilities is the presence of some sort of canopy to provide shade for the shearers and a structure for suspending the bag for fleece. Some sites may, of course, have just the shearing / docking / shipping features.

Shearing is significant for it is the process of harvesting the fleece of the sheep for market; indeed, for several decades, at least, only the wool (and not the mutton) had market value. The shearing process, however, evolved and its association with modernization, industrializa-



A world apart from the smaller operations, the industrial organization of the shearing process is evident in this line drawing of the interior of J. B. Okie's sheep shed at Moneta. For good reason this was often referred to as a "shearing plant." Historic American Buildings Survey, Sheep Shearing Shed, Moneta Access Road, Moneta, Fremont County, WY.

tion, technological innovation, and consolidation is critical to understanding the history of the Wyoming sheep operations. The shearing facilities provide key insights into that history and possess significance by virtue of those associations.

Requirement

To be significant, the shearing facility requires a demonstrable association with the themes identified in this historic context study. This will generally be established within a specific part of the state, for example, in the Big Horn Basin or in southwest Wyoming, and will establish the use of the facility chronologically in time and conceptually in historic process. The shearing facility need not be large, and it can be as simple as a one- or two-person operation, but some of the stages of shearing must be evident (i.e., the chute or pen containing the sheep to be sheared and a system by which they can be diverted into the shearing area, the

"Shearing sheep. Converse County, Wyoming." Photo: Arthur Rothstein, Resettlement Administration Photographs, Farm Security Administration – Office of War Information Photo Collection, Library of Congress. May 1936. This shearing is being done on a small operation. Note the children observing, and the single wool bag suspended, with steps for the shearer to carry the wool to the bag. The children, given their position on the roof of the shed, are probably involved in the operation by tramping the fleeces in the bag; a close look reveals a third youngster in the top of the bag.

way in which the fleeces were sacked, and then a system for loading the sacks onto a wagon or truck). In this way, integrity of association, design, location, feeling, and setting are especially critical. Not all steps in the shearing process need to be evident, although integrity is enhanced by the presence of more of the full system. Under Criterion C, integrity of materials and workmanship are also necessary.

Property Subtype: Sheepherder Camp

The individual herder camps are sometimes difficult to identify and also are abundant since the herders tend to move frequently to see that the sheep have fresh foraging areas. Marcel Kornfeld reports that "frequently, the only archeological remain is a hearth," although some camps may even contain "small one room cabins."[27] Grazing and watering will be nearby almost by definition. And the seasonal location of these camps will correspond to the transhumant pattern of the sheep strategy itself—mountainous summer pastures, basin and range winter pastures, and protected areas for spring lambing. Although the sheepherder camps and the cattle drive camps are sometimes next-to-impossible to differentiate, the location of items such as sheep shears, sheep remains, and sheepherder monuments can aid identification.[28] At the same time, it is important to note that short-term camps associated with stock grazing and recreation that provide no significant information are not required to be

recorded under the terms of the 2006 programmatic agreement between the Bureau of Land Management and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office regarding BLM authorized undertakings.

One feature incidental to herder camps, but not a separate property subtype, is the arborglyph. The aspen groves commonly found in the high country used by sheep herders provided a natural canvas for isolated herders to communicate directions, yearnings for human contact, and identity-affirming messages. By carving into the aspen bark, those messages would endure since the carvings would become scars that would in future seasons become blacker and sometimes distorted by the growth of the trees. They would, in other words, last as the long as the trees on which they were etched. Although often associated only with Basque herders, in Wyoming these carvings were also left by herders of Mexican descent and these can provide additional cultural documentation.

The life of the herder, in terms of both assigned duties and isolated way of life, is in important ways equal to the life of the cowboy as part of the economic activities with which they were associated and also in their historic traditions, legend, and social meaning as lifestyles resistant to the forces of modernization. Given the peripatetic routines of the sheep herder, the campsites are often the only physical remnants of that life and work, at least until organized processes of shearing and lambing interrupted those circumstances for a short while.

This arborglyph, signed and dated (June 24, 1925, Guillermo Garcia de Arroyo Seco), is one of many aspen carvings left by herders and recorded in the Sierra Madre Mountains west of Encampment. Photo: Richard Collier, Wyoming SHPO, 1987.

Requirement

To be significant, the sheepherder camp site must demonstrate its important association with the patterns of the sheep operation and the physical remains must be identifiable with herding, excluding other uses (unless the site is also separately significant for associations with those other uses) and the location of the site within the specific pattern of transhumance, within the precise "feature system," of which it was a part, must be explicit and demonstrable. The presence of identifiable features such as arborglyphs enhances integrity. Evidence of ethnic association can help establish both significance and integrity. Criterion D is especially appropriate for evaluating the sheepherder camp, but to be eligible under that criterion, the research design must indicate the kind and value of information anticipated.

8. Cemeteries and Graves

Description

Graves and cemeteries are resting places for the dead that may range from burial sites with simple (or deteriorated or even nonexistent) markers to elaborate markers and fenced borders.

Significance

Graves and cemeteries are not exclusively associated with homestead / ranching / farming activities, but they sometimes formed a part of life on those ranches and homesteads and can be found in complexes that are eligible for the National Register. They sometimes appear as small family plots near the ranch or even at special locations on the land owned and used by the operation.

Requirement

It is important to note that burial places are not ordinarily eligible, and the National Register Bulletin on completing nominations addresses the issues surrounding graves and cemeteries, noting the narrow circumstances under which they may be considered eligible or contributing. These circumstances are defined under Criteria Considerations C (graves and birthplaces) and D (cemeteries). Criteria Consideration C applies to those "historical figures of outstanding importance" for whom no other appropriate associated site or building exists. Criteria Consideration D (cemeteries) may, in some circumstances be relevant if the burial place derives its primary significance "from association with historic events." If a burial place is located within or near otherwise eligible features of a ranch / farm / homestead complex, the burial places can be considered a contributing feature under Criterion A. Just as with other features on the property, the significance of the family cemetery, for example, on a ranch, will depend on what it tells us about the historic patterns addressed in this context. Integrity of association, location, setting, and feeling are essential under Criterion A, but so also is integrity of materials, which is to say that a modern marker on a historic grave does not meet the standard of integrity. If a historic marker has been altered in workmanship (e.g., lettering) or in the addition of other materials (e.g., the addition of a concrete base or modern fence), that will compromise the integrity of the grave only if the modern elements outweigh the historic. Given the narrow latitude allowed by the Criteria Considerations and given the focus of the ranching, farming, and homesteading context, Criterion C will not commonly be used in the evaluation of properties within this historic context. Conceivably, they could be eligible, again within the allowable limits, under Criterion C if the grave markers or cemetery meet the requirements of distinctive workmanship, materials, and design in addition to the requirements for Criterion A.

9. Sheepherder Monuments

Description

Sheepherder monuments are cairns located at scattered and prominent points where sheep range, usually constructed by herders who stack flat rocks atop one another.

Significance

Sheepherder monuments are closely associated with livestock grazing practices but the relationship has not been conclusively documented. Increasing research suggests that they were only partially the product of idle time recreation on the part of a herder and were more significantly practical markers indicating campsites and other locations.

Requirement

Sheepherder monuments may, in unusual cases, be eligible for the National Register under Criterion D if they can be shown to yield potentially important information with the use of a specific research design.

10. Privies and Dumps

Description

Privies and dumps are grouped together because they share a function as common depositories of ranch / homestead / farm refuse. They may appear either as potentially contributing features along with other elements on a ranch or as independent, stand-alone resources when other ranch features no longer exist.

Significance:

The artifacts contained in material cast off in the period of historic significance are capable of providing information about daily life on a ranch / homestead.

Requirement

The privies and dumps will be eligible under Criterion D if they can be shown to yield potentially important information with the use of a specific research design. The site must retain its integrity of location.

Notes

1. State Protocol Between the Wyoming Bureau of Land Management State Director and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer, March 8, 2006, Appendix D, "Defined Non-Sites and Property Types Requiring No Formal Documentation." A copy of the protocol can be seen at http://wyoshpo.state.wy.us/Section106/Protocol.asp. It is important to note that this document applies only to BLM authorized undertakings

2. Eileen F. Starr, *Architecture in the Cowboy State: A Guide* (Glendo, Wyoming: High Plains Press, 1992), 65.

3. Love made a sketch of his cabin in 1909 which included an indication of the location of the adjacent lake which "should make a fine place for mosquitoes." Barbara Love and Frances Love Froidevaux, eds., *Lady's Choice: Ethel Waxham's Journals & Letters, 1905-1910* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 276.

4. Hardesty and Little, *Assessing Site Significance: A Guide for Archaeologists and Historians*, 46.

5. For a brief view of the myriad of barn types, materials, and functions, as well as the complex and personal ways that they reflected the needs and personalities of their builders, see "A Gallery of Eden Valley Barns," in Sweetwater County Historical Museum, *Eden Valley Voices: A Centennial Celebration of Stories* (Cheyenne: Pioneer Printing & Stationery, 2008), 251-266.

6. See especially Allen G. Noble, *Wood, Brick, and Stone: The North American Settlement Landscape*, vol. 2: *Barns and Farm Structures* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984); Allen G. Noble and Hubert G. H. Wilhelm, eds., *Barns of the Midwest* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1995); and Allen G. Noble and Richard K. Cleek, *The Old Barn Book: A Field Guide to North American Barns and other Farm Structures* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995).

7. Allan Seager, "Powder River in the Old Days," *The New Yorker*, August 17, 1957, 33.

8. U.S. Forest Service, interview of James Jacobs (USFS) with Leonard Hay and William D. Thompson, Rock Springs, June 1968. Transcript of interview located in Hegewald-Thompson family papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

9. U.S. Forest Service, interview of James Jacobs (USFS) with Leonard Hay and William D. Thompson, Rock Springs, June 1968. See also the discussion of a similar spraying system used on cattle in the interview of Jim Hardman by Bob Burns in 1971, Wyoming State Archives OH-90. The spray system Hardman describes was used as early as 1907.

10. Nellie H. VanDerveer, "Jackson Hole: Agriculture," in WPA Collections, subject file 1327.

11. See the discussion by Susan A. Dolan in her *Fruitful Legacy: A Historic Context of Orchards in the United States, with Technical Information for Registering Orchards in the National Register of Historic Places* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 2009), 86-93. This important study is focused especially on substantial orchards in other states, but much of the horticultural as well as National Register information can be brought to bear on Wyoming. I am grateful to Judy Wolf and Mary Hopkins for bringing it to my attention.

12. T. S. P., "Wind Breaks and Shelter Belts," *Wyoming Farm Bulletin*, 2 (May 1913): 330-32.

13. Cecilia Hennel Hendricks, September 21, 1925, in Cecilia Hendricks Wahl, compiler and editor, Cecilia Hennel Hendricks, *Letters from Honeyhill: A Woman's View of Homesteading, 1914-1931* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1986), 473.

14. See for example, the instance of a farmer who had planted a row of cottonwoods in years past and in subsequent years sought to enhance this windbreak; the agricultural expert advised the farmer to plant two rows of golden willow to the inside of the row of cottonwoods. As with other elements of farm and ranch life in Wyoming, people worked with what they had. "Queries," *Wyoming Farm Bulletin*, 1 (March 1912): 129.

15. Margaret Dillinger Bowden, *1916: Wyoming, Here We Come!* (Gillette, Wyoming: privately printed by James H. Bowden and Jessie Outka, 2002), 14.

16. See, for example, "Underground Cisterns of Con-

crete," *Wyoming Farm Bulletin*, I (July, 1911): 7-11.

17. See Allen G. Noble, "Windmills in American Agriculture," *Material Culture*, 24 (Spring 1992): 1-12, and A. Bower Sageser, "Windmill and Pump Irrigation on the Great Plains 1890-1910," *Nebraska History*, 48 (1967): 107-118

18. T. Lindsay Baker, *A Field Guide to American Windmills* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 107.

19. State Protocol Between the Wyoming Bureau of Land Management State Director and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer, March 8, 2006, Appendix D, "Defined Non-Sites and Property Types Requiring No Formal Documentation."

20. State Protocol Between the Wyoming Bureau of Land Management State Director and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer, March 8, 2006, Appendix D, "Defined Non-Sites and Property Types Requiring No Formal Documentation."

21. State Protocol Between the Wyoming Bureau of Land Management State Director and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer, March 8, 2006, Appendix D, "Defined Non-Sites and Property Types Requiring No Formal Documentation."

22. U.S. Forest Service, interview of James Jacobs (USFS) with Leonard Hay and William D. Thompson, Rock Springs, June 1968.

23. John Niland, *A History of Sheep Raising in The Great Divide Basin of Wyoming* (Cheyenne: Lagumo Corp., 1994), 40-41, 46, 108.

24. Marcel Kornfeld, "Stockraising Settlement Strategies," M.A. Thesis, University of Wyoming, 1982, 55-66; see also, Kornfeld, "A Model of High Plains and Intermountain Stockraising Settlement Systems," *North American Archaeologist* (1983): 51-62.

25. Malcolm C. Cutting, "A Cattle Magnate Sits in the Senate; Kendrick of Wyoming Applies Efficiency Methods to the Beef Raising Business and Takes the Gamble Out of It," New York *Times*, December 19, 1926.

26. Kornfeld, "Stockraising Settlement Strategies," 63.

27. Kornfeld, "Stockraising Settlement Strategies,"57.

28. Kornfeld, "Stockraising Settlement Strategies," 80-98.