

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES REGISTRATION FORM

1. Name of Property

Historic name: Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch

Other name/site number: Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site, Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark, Grant Trading Post, John Grant Ranch, Kohrs & Bielenberg Home Ranch, Conrad Kohrs Company Ranch, CK Ranch, Warren Hereford Ranch

2. Location

Street & number: Cattle Drive (no number), Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS

not for publication: n/a

City/town: Deer Lodge

vicinity: n/a

state: Montana

code: MT

county: Powell

code: 077

zip code: 59722

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant nationally statewide locally. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title

Date

State or Federal agency or bureau National Park Service

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

Signature of commenting or other official

Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby certify that this property is:

entered in the National Register
 see continuation sheet

determined eligible for the National Register
 see continuation sheet

determined not eligible for the National Register
 see continuation sheet

removed from the National Register
 see continuation sheet

other (explain)

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

[Signature]

7/11/03

Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Name of Property

Powell County, Montana
County and State

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply)

- private
- public-local
- public-State
- public-Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

| Contributing | Noncontributing |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| See Continuation Sheet | buildings |
| | sites |
| | structures |
| | objects |
| | Total |

Name of related multiple property listing
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

See Continuation Sheet

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions:

- AGRICULTURE: animal facility
- AGRICULTURE: agricultural outbuildings
- DOMESTIC: single dwelling
- DOMESTIC: secondary structure

Current Function:

RECREATION AND CULTURE: Museum

7. Description

Architectural Classification:

Greek Revival; Victorian; Other: Rustic Utilitarian

Materials:

- Foundation:** stone
- Walls:** wood
- roof:** wood
- Other:** metal

Narrative Description:

See continuation pages.

Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria: A, C
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): n/a
Significant Person(s): n/a

Cultural Affiliation: n/a

Areas of Significance: Agriculture; Architecture
Period(s) of Significance: 1929-1958
Significant Dates: 1929, 1958
Architect/Builder: Conrad Warren; Conrad Kohrs; John Grant; National Park Service

Narrative Statement of Significance

See continuation pages.

9. Major Bibliographic References

See continuation pages.

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
 previously listed in the National Register
 previously determined eligible by the National Register
 designated a National Historic Landmark
 recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
 recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary Location of Additional Data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
 Other State agency
 Federal agency
 Local government
 University
 Other – Specify Repository: GRKO Library and Archives

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10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property: 1,600 (approximate). The Grant-Kohrs National Historic Site encompasses 1,618.278 acres. All but approximately 18 acres of the National Historic Site are included within the National Register district boundary.

| UTM References: | Zone | Easting | Northing |
|-----------------|------|---------|----------|
| A | 12 | 366402 | 5144489 |
| B | 12 | 367158 | 5143241 |
| C | 12 | 366700 | 5140560 |
| D | 12 | 366500 | 5140210 |
| E | 12 | 365476 | 5139666 |
| F | 12 | 364195 | 5139691 |
| G | 12 | 364295 | 5141295 |
| H | 12 | 365251 | 5141280 |

Verbal Boundary Description

(Describe the boundary of the property on a continuation sheet.)

See continuation pages.

Boundary Justification

(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

See continuation pages.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Ann Hubber, Historian, Historical Research Associates, Inc. (HRA); Dawn Bunyak, Historian, National Park Service; and Christine Whitacre, Historian, National Park Service

organization: National Park Service

date: January 4, 2002

street & number: PO Box 25287

telephone: (303) 969-2885 (Christine Whitacre)

city or town: Denver

state: CO

zip code: 80225-0287

Additional Documentation

See continuation pages, photographs, and maps.

Property Owners

See continuation pages.

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Classification

Number of Resources within Property

The Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district encompasses 72 contributing resources and 26 noncontributing resources, for a total of 98 resources. This count is comprised of 57 contributing buildings, 12 contributing structures, 2 contributing sites, one contributing object, 6 noncontributing buildings, and 20 noncontributing structures.

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register

Some Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch resources were previously listed in the National Register. In terms of National Register listing, the administrative history of the historic district is as follows: The Grant-Kohrs Ranch was designated as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 1960. The NHL designation included no details on the boundary of the district or the number of resources. In 1972, Grant-Kohrs Ranch became a National Historic Site and was administratively listed on the National Register. There was, again, minimal documentation. However, the National Register database states that there were 34 contributing buildings and 20 contributing structures, but gave no indication as to which resources were counted as buildings or structures. On January 4, 2002, a boundary study of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHL was approved. The NHL boundary study encompassed 68 resources, 23 of which were contributing and 45 of which were noncontributing. Of the 23 nationally significant contributing resources, 18 are buildings, 3 are structures, and 2 are sites. Of the 45 noncontributing resources, 18 are buildings, 26 are structures, and 1 (a livestock scale) is an object. All 68 of these resources are included within the boundary of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch National Register district, and most of the resources contribute to the district at a state level of significance.

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Narrative Description:

Summary

The Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch – which presents an enduring model of the day-to-day workings of a large-scale cattle ranch that was established in the 1860s but which was transformed into a “modern” agricultural operation in the mid twentieth century – encompasses approximately 1,600 acres of grazing land and riparian zone along the Clark Fork River, adjacent to the city of Deer Lodge, Montana. The district, which is within the boundary of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site, includes 72 contributing and 26 noncontributing resources, and is an excellent representation of a historic cattle ranch in its location, setting, and landscape, as well as its style of architecture, method of construction, size, and significant features. The contributing resources include two residential complexes, as well as barns, sheds, corrals, and feedlots. Also contributing to the historic district is a rural vernacular landscape that includes an extensive complex of fencing, irrigation systems, fields, roads, and railroad lines.

The period of significance for the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district is 1929-1958, a period that begins with Conrad Warren’s move onto the ranch in 1929 and ends with the dispersion of most of his herd in 1958. (Warren continued to live on the ranch until his death in 1993.) Of the 72 contributing resources within the district, 49 were constructed during the Warren era. The remaining 23 contributing resources are part of the “Grant-Kohrs Ranch,” which was primarily built by John Grant and Conrad Kohrs (Conrad Warren’s grandfather) between 1862 and 1919. These 23 resources, which were used by Conrad Warren and were an integral part of his ranching operations, are also within the boundary of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark (NHL), designated in 1960. It should be noted that the original documentation for the NHL designation did not include information on the boundaries and resource count. A boundary study of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHL, approved on January 4, 2002, defined those boundaries as well as the contributing and noncontributing resources.

In 1972, Congress designated the Grant-Kohrs Ranch as a National Historic Site for its association with the open-range cattle industry. As a result of that designation, and in accordance with 36CFR Part 60.1 (b) and (2), Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site was administratively listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register listing, dated August 25, 1972, identified 34 contributing buildings and 20 contributing structures. However, the documentation did not describe nor include a listing of those resources. This nomination form – which was prepared in conjunction with the boundary study for the Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHL – amends and defines the boundary and resource count for the National Register district. Titled the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch, this nomination focuses on the resources of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site that have a state (rather than national) level of significance, specifically those resources associated with Conrad Warren’s management of the ranch. However, as noted above, the NRHP district encompasses all of the nationally significant resources within the Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHL district, as well as all of the Warren-built resources, most of which were added to the National Historic Site as a result of a 1988 park boundary

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expansion. It should be noted that the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district is larger than the Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHL district. However, neither the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch district, nor the Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHL district, is as large as the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site. The Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district is comprised of 57 contributing buildings, 12 contributing structures, 2 contributing sites, one contributing object, 6 noncontributing buildings, and 20 noncontributing structures, as outlined in the following tables:

List of Contributing Resources in the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch Historic District

| HS # | Resource Name | Date Built | National Register Status | Level of Significance ¹ |
|-------|------------------------------|------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| HS-1 | Main House | 1862-1890 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-2 | Bunkhouse Row | 1862-1907 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-3 | Blacksmith Shop/Garage | 1935 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-4 | Coal Shed | 1915 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-5 | Ice House | 1880 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-6 | Granary/Roller Mill | 1935 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-7 | Draft Horse Barn | 1870 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-8 | Privy | 1934 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-9 | Dairy Barn | 1932 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-10 | Oxen Barn | c. 1870 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-11 | Bielenberg Barn | 1880 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-12 | Machine Shed | 1890 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-13 | Cow Shed | 1908 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-14 | Stallion Barn | 1870s | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-15 | Thoroughbred Barn | 1883 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-16 | Stallion Barn | 1870s | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-17 | Buggy Shed | c. 1883 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-18 | Granary | c. 1890 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-19 | Stallion Barn | 1870s | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-20 | Privy | c. 1890 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-21 | Brooder House | 1935 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-22 | Chicken House | 1935 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-23 | Metal Granary | c. 1910 | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-24 | West Corrals – stock shelter | 1933 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-27 | West Corrals – stock shelter | 1933 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-28 | Feed Storage House | 1933 | Contributing Building | State |

¹ The national level of significance is determined by the resource's inclusion in the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark (NHL), designated in 1960. A boundary study of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHL, approved in January 2002, defines the boundary and contributing and noncontributing resources of the NHL district.

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| HS # | Resource Name | Date Built | National Register Status | Level of Significance ¹ |
|-------|---|------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| HS-29 | West Corrals – stock shelter | 1933 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-30 | Stallion Barn | 1870s | Contributing Building | State and National |
| HS-31 | Feed Storage House | 1932 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-32 | West Feedlots – stock shelter | 1934 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-33 | West Feedlots – stock shelter | 1932 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-34 | West Feedlots – storage shed | c. 1930 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-35 | Cattle Scale | 1935 | Contributing Object | State |
| HS-39 | Manure Pit | 1932 | Contributing Structure | State |
| HS-56 | Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad alignment (inactive) | 1908 | Contributing Structure | State and National |
| HS-57 | Siphon | 1908 | Contributing Structure | State and National |
| HS-58 | Warren Residence | 1934 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-59 | Chicken Coop | 1940 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-60 | Boat House | c. 1950s | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-61 | Garage | c. 1934 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-62 | Bull Barn | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-63 | Bull Barn | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-64 | Warren Barn | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-65 | Sales Barn | 1954 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-66 | Scale House | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-69 | Loading Chute | 1952 | Contributing Structure | State |
| HS-70 | Cow Shed | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-71 | Cow Shed | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-72 | Cow Shed | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-73 | Cow Shed | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-74 | Cow Shed | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-75 | Cow Shed | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-76 | Cow Shed | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-77 | Cow Shed | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-78 | Feed House | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-79 | Feed House | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-80 | Feed House | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-81 | Feed House | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-82 | Feed House | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-83 | Feed House | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-84 | Feed House | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-88 | Warren Residence Pump House | 1952 | Contributing Building | State |
| HS-89 | Clark Fork Bridge | 1930 | Contributing Structure | State |
| HS-90 | Slough Bridge | 1930 | Contributing Structure | State |

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| HS # | Resource Name | Date Built | National Register Status | Level of Significance ¹ |
|----------|--|------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | Northern Pacific railroad alignment (active) | 1879 | Contributing Structure | State and National |
| | Natural/Cultural Landscape | | Contributing Site | State and National |
| | Main House Yard | 1862-1900 | Contributing Site | State and National |
| | Westside Ditch System | | Contributing Structure | State |
| | Kohrs-Manning Ditch System | | Contributing Structure | State |
| | Warren Ditch System | | Contributing Structure | State |
| GRKO-970 | Cattle Car | c. 1923 | Contributing Structure | State |
| GRKO-862 | Cattle Car | 1929 | Contributing Structure | State |

List of Noncontributing Resources in the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch Historic District

| HS # | Resource Name | Date Built | NR Status |
|--------------|-------------------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| HS-25 | West Corrals – stock shelter | 2000 | Noncontributing Building |
| HS-26 | West Corrals –storage area | 2000 | Noncontributing Building |
| HS-36 | Feed Rack | 1984 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-37 | Feed Rack | 1984 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-38 | Feed Rack (large) | 1984 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-40 | Beef Hoist | 1982 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-41 | Squeeze Chute | 1984 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-42 | Feed Rack | 1998 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-43 | West Corrals – feed rack | 1982-83 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-44 | West Corrals – feed rack | 1982-83 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-45 | West Corrals – feed bunk | 1991 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-46 | West Corrals – feed bunk | 1991 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-47 | West Corrals – squeeze chute | 1984 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-48 | Feed Bunk | 1987 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-49 | Feed Bunk | 1987 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-50 | Irrigation Flume | 1974 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-52 | West Feedlots – feed bunk | 1987 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-53 | West Feedlots – squeeze chute | 1984 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-55 | Ditch Bridge | 1982 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-67 | Squeeze Chute | 1990s | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-68 | Feed Rack | 1998 | Noncontributing Structure |
| HS-85 | Pump House | 1950s | Noncontributing Building |
| HS-86 | Pump House | 1960 | Noncontributing Building |
| HS-87 | Pump House | 1960 | Noncontributing Building |
| Building 003 | Resource Building | 2000 | Noncontributing Building |
| | Sewage Disposal Ponds | 1958-1960 | Noncontributing Structure |

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Introduction

The Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district – which is entirely within the boundaries of Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site – is in Montana’s Deer Lodge Valley, formed by the Deer Lodge mountains to the east and the Flint Creek Range to the west. Mountains cresting as high as 10,000 feet provide a dramatic backdrop to the long, broad, semi-arid Deer Lodge Valley. Coniferous forest dominates the landscape down to about 5,000 feet, at which point the Ponderosa pine and Douglas fir become interlaced with the upland native grasses and forbs that carpet the hills. Descending to the bottomlands, riparian meadows border dense stretches of irrigated hay meadows. Mountain streams from the Deer Lodge and Flint ranges supply the much-coveted water supply for hay production. Eventually these tributaries flow into the meandering Clark Fork River. Lined with cottonwoods and a lush understory of shrubs, the Clark Fork provides key elements – shade, shelter, water, and grass – for raising livestock.

During its history, the ranch has experienced expansion and dispersal of land throughout the Deer Lodge Valley. Although the boundary of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district encompasses approximately 1,600 acres, it includes only a fraction of what was once a much larger ranch. During the 1890s, the operational base of what was then Conrad Warren’s grandfather’s ranch extended over 27,000 acres, with fee, water, and grazing rights over one million acres of public land in four states and Canada.² The Home Ranch – a term that historically defined the Grant-Kohrs Home Ranch building complex and its adjacent lands – extended beyond the current site boundary to the east approximately 1.75 miles and west from one to five miles to reach grazing leases on state lands and the Deer Lodge National Forest. Other holdings in the valley included Dog Creek Pasture (9,129 acres) and Humber Ranch (1,160 acres) to the northeast, and the Upper Ranch (also known as the Nick Bielenberg place, 4,800 acres) to the southeast. By the time that Warren moved to the ranch in 1929, the ranch was less than 1,000 acres. However, during the Warren years³, Warren purchased and/or leased additional lands to expand the Upper Ranch and to form a chain of lands through T7N R9W and R8W that connected to his Anderson Creek allotment in the Deer Lodge National Forest to the east. Although not within the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch National Register district boundary, the Dog Creek Pasture and Humber Ranch provide a backdrop visible from locations on the ranch. The Upper Ranch also remains in agricultural use, yet is not as readily visible from the ranch.

² National Park Service. “General Management Plan,” 1992, on file at National Park Service, Intermountain Support Office-Denver, pp. 53-54, and Conrad K. Warren to Mons L. Tiegen, Secretary, Montana Stockgrowers Association, Helena, MT, February 8, 1973, pp. 6-7, oral history on file at Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS. The 27,000 acres are found in Township/Range T8N R10W, T8N R9W, T8N R8W, T7N R8W, and T7N R9W.

³ Warren moved to the ranch in 1929 and lived there until his death in 1993. In terms of the National Register of Historic Places, the period of significance is defined as 1929-1958. The 1958 date marks the dispersion of much of Warren’s herd, and the end of the most productive period of the ranch. However, Warren continued to operate the ranch, although on a much smaller scale, until 1982, at which time he sold all of his ranching equipment, retaining only his horse Whiskey.

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The Home Ranch building complex and Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch building complex – both of which are in the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district – are separated by the linear Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul (1908) and Utah Northern/Northern Pacific (1879/1883 [now Montana Western]) railroads and their visually prominent raised track beds. (The dividing line created by the railroad lines is deceptive in that it masks the degree to which Conrad Warren actively used and managed the Home Ranch compound during his tenure at the ranch.) Only the Northern Pacific is actively used. However, the other line maintains its historic integrity through its physical features, location, and feel. The two building complexes are physically linked by crossings east of the main house (HS-1), accessed by two parallel ranch roads. One of these ranch roads was put in by Conrad Kohrs; the other ranch road was built by Conrad Warren and extended later by the National Park Service. The Home Ranch and Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch building clusters form the nucleus of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district, and are surrounded by close-in pastures and feedlots that give way to outlying hay fields and rangelands.

The ranch has a close physical and social relationship with the city of Deer Lodge. The expansion and growth of Deer Lodge has had a strong visual impact on the ranch with modern residential development occurring on the eastern and southern boundaries. With the growth of Deer Lodge has come the development of sewage treatment ponds (constructed between 1958 and 1960 by the City of Deer Lodge in the northeastern corner of the ranch); the widening and improvement of Main Street (Montana State Highway 10); and the operation of the gravel quarry in the southwestern corner of the ranch (no longer in use).

The following description describes the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district first as a vernacular landscape, then in terms of the nationally significant Home Ranch – which was primarily constructed by John Grant and Conrad Kohrs, but was later expanded and used by Conrad Warren. Finally, the following description describes the Warren building complex, which includes Conrad Warren's residence and many of the structures that he built after he moved to the ranch in 1929. However, as noted earlier, the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district encompasses the Home Ranch complex and thereby includes 23 resources that also contribute to the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Landmark district. As such, the following descriptions indicate in the resource headings which ones contribute to the National Register district and also to the National Historic Landmark district.

I. The Vernacular Landscape

As defined in the National Register Bulletin, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*, a rural historic landscape is “a geographical area that historically has been used by people, or shaped and modified by human activity, occupancy, or intervention, and that possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of areas of land use, vegetation, buildings and structures, roads and

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waterways, and natural features.”⁴ The Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch district reflects two broad types of cultural landscapes: rural and residential. The rural landscape includes the original Home Ranch building cluster, the Warren residence building cluster, the Warren feedlot complex, and an extensive complex of agricultural buildings, fencing, corrals, pastures, fields, irrigation ditches, and railroad beds. Also contributing to the district is the residential landscape of the Grant-Kohrs (Home Ranch) residence.

A. Natural/Cultural Landscape. NHL and NR Contributing Site (1)

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

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

Records indicate that Conrad Warren was active in range and pasture improvements on the ranch, promoted by the Agricultural Conservation Programs of the 1940s and 1950s. Major hay species on the site include smooth brome, common timothy, redtop bentgrass, and white clover. The dry uplands in the western portion of the ranch contain a variety of native shortgrass prairie species and the 35-acre inholding (owned by Montana Rail Link) north of the Warren complex is dominated by native prairie grasses and forbs such as bluebunch

⁴ Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* (Washington, D. C., 1989; Revised 1999), pp. 1-2.

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wheatgrass, needle-and-thread, Indian ricegrass, moss phlox, upland larkspur and woolypod milk-vetch.⁵ A baseline plant inventory reported that these “prairie relics constitute a valuable, living historical resource.”⁶

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

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

B. Circulation Systems (Northern Pacific Railroad Alignment and the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Alignment), 1879 and 1908 respectively. NHL and NR Contributing Structures (2)

As described below, two circulation systems – the Northern Pacific Railroad alignment and the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad alignment (HS-56) – contribute to the district. Excluded from the resource count are a number of circulation elements that contribute to our understanding of land use and site development, but are of too small a scale to be included.

Deer Lodge has been served by a comparatively good transportation network from its earliest development. John Grant established his trading post along the trade route used by various tribes and fur traders. By 1862, a rough road network connected Deer Lodge with the southern mining communities of Bannock and Virginia City and with Fort Benton on the Missouri River. In its vicinity, cattle trails led first to immigrant trails then to

⁵ Ray, “Baseline Plant Inventory,” p. 4.

⁶ Most of the grasses at the site are exotic species of introduced pasture grasses and weedy species such as spotted knapweed, leafy spurge, and thistle. The “Baseline Plant Inventory of the Grant Kohrs Ranch” and supplemental studies have identified over 160 species of vascular plants in the park. Ninety-seven of these species, about sixty percent of the vascular flora, are native to the region. However many of the remaining exotic species are now widely distributed throughout the North American continent.

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major western cattle centers. The Clark Fork River and irrigation ditches traverse nearby grazing lands and pastures. Farm roads connect principal areas on the ranch, as well as nearby Montana State Highway 10. Later, railroads pushing westward linked the ranch to the greater world. Thus, the Grant-Kohrs Ranch circulation system connected the ranch and its resources (cattle and horses) to the local, regional, and national community.

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

In 1908 the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Company constructed its main line parallel to the Northern Pacific line. A "Kohrs" siding for cattle loading was established four miles north of the Home Ranch, and a passenger and freight station was located on Railroad Street in Deer Lodge less than one mile south. The local economy was dependent upon reliable transportation to the larger regional markets. The Milwaukee Railroad alignment or right-of-way is now owned by the National Park Service, which has maintained track and electric poles from Deer Lodge to just north of the Home Ranch building complex. Located on the tracks, in the vicinity of the Bielenberg Barn (HS-11), the park has two 1920s-era cattle cars, which it uses for interpretive purposes. Throughout the ranch, most of the track bed is raised and divides circulation west and east of the tracks. The only place the track is at grade is in front of the main house (HS-1), where two ranch access roads provide east/west-connecting routes.

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

Historically, access to the ranch was provided from the east off of Main Street (Montana Highway 10). This historic access road, which is within the historic district boundary, was generally centered on the main house (HS-1) and reinforced with plantings of cottonwoods on each side. After 1934, this historic alignment also provided access to the Warren residence, and is still used by park staff. Circa 1950, Conrad Warren added a

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second road parallel to the historic drive to provide access to his new barn complex and the north end of the Home Ranch complex between two feed racks (HS-36 and 37). A separate modern access road, unrelated to the historic use of the ranch, is also provided to the sewage treatment plant at the north end of the ranch.

In the middle sections of the ranch (east of the river), a series of ranch roads and stock trails connect the fields and pastures north and south of the Home Ranch complex. The roads are primarily located on the eastern and higher sides of the fields as the western portions are subject to flooding. Due to the width of the river, the steep bank, and the flow of water during peak season, there is only one crossing point over the Clark Fork River, the Clark Fork Bridge (HS-89), which contributes to the historic district and is described in Section I-F below. The Slough Bridge (HS-90), which also contributes to the district, spans the wet area between the Clark Fork River and Johnson Creek. Bridge HS-55 crosses the Kohrs-Manning Ditch. However, bridge HS-55 was rebuilt by the National Park Service and does not contribute to the district, due to a loss of historic integrity.

No documentation was located regarding the existing roads within the western portions of the ranch prior to the earliest available aerial photograph dated 1945. However, most extant roads appear in the same general location as they did on the 1945 aerial photographs. The presence of the bridge across the Clark Fork and the pattern of irrigation ditches, culverts, and distribution gates leave few alternative locations for permanent ranch roads. Many of the existing roads have been improved by the National Park Service with a distinctive light-colored fill, designed to raise their grade in relation to surrounding fields. (As of 1998, this fill was eroding rapidly.) Ranch roads provide access to irrigation distribution gates and to the various pumps, fields, and dumps. A remnant of the road that connected the Kading homestead to the Deer Lodge Pioneer Road is also visible and marked with a windrow of cottonwoods on the west side of the road. Vehicular access also exists from Kentucky Street at the southern boundary adjacent to the Kohrs Ditch. This gate would have provided easy access to a Warren-installed pump that operated until the 1960s and which was removed in the 1990s.

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

C. Cattle Cars (GRKO-970 and GRKO-862), c. 1923 and 1929 respectively. NR
Contributing Structures (2)

Located on the Milwaukee Railroad alignment, in the vicinity of the Bielenberg Barn (HS-11), the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site maintains two 1920s-era cattle cars that are used for interpretive purposes. The cars, which are representative of the types of cars that were used during the Conrad Warren era of the ranch, contribute to the historic district. One car, number BN 950632 (accession number GRKO-970), was built ca.

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1923 and was donated to the park by the Northern Pacific Railroad Company in 1986. The other car was built in 1929 by the Standard Steel Car Company, and was donated to the park by King Wilson, president of the White Sulphur Springs and Yellowstone Railroad in 1985. Both of these railroad cars were used as cattle cars, and are typical of the kinds of cattle cars that were in use during the Conrad Warren era of ranch management.

D. Bridges: Clark Fork Bridge (HS-89) and Slough Bridge (HS-90), 1930. NR
Contributing Structures (2)

Two bridges, both of which were built in 1930, contribute to the historic district: Clark Fork Bridge (HS-89) and Slough Bridge (HS-90). Clark Fork Bridge (HS-89) is a pony truss bridge with 10 timber piles and concrete retaining walls. Log and timber joists support the 3" x 12" planking of the deck. The bridge is on the east edge of the west side pastures, and spans the Clark Fork River. The bridge is an extension of the two-track access road that leads from the Kohrs-Manning Ditch Bridge (HS-55) and Slough Bridge (HS-90). Clark Fork Bridge dates to the time when Conrad Warren acquired and began to cultivate the fields on the "West Side." Prior to that date, stock crossed on a bridge (non-extant) further south, en route to rangeland west of the river.

Slough Bridge (HS-90) has wood abutments. Eight large posts support the deck, which is constructed of 3" x 12" planks. There are no side rails. The bridge, which is an extension of the two-track access road that leads from the Kohrs-Manning Ditch Bridge (HS-55), is on the western edge of the south pasture and spans the wet area between the Clark Fork River and Johnson Creek.

E. Irrigation Ditches (Westside, Kohrs-Manning, and Warren Ditches), c. 1929-1982.
NR Concontributing Structures (3)

The overall character of the ranch landscape is a by-product of three irrigation ditches that lace the ranch: the Westside, Kohrs-Manning, and Warren Ditches. Although much of the irrigation system was developed during the Kohrs and Bielenberg era, a majority of the system was reconstructed and represents modern twentieth-century irrigation practices from the Warren era of ranch management, rather than those in use during the 1862-1919 period of national significance.

Each of these ditches (associated with water rights to the Clark Fork River, Cottonwood Creek, Spring Gulch Creek, Lost Creek, Little Modesty Creek, and Taylor Creek) includes head gates or pumps, earthen main ditches, appropriation gates, and laterals. Metal and wooden field distribution gates, which are of various configurations, and a series of canvas dams that control the distribution of water to various fields are still utilized. Field cultivation patterns as defined by the irrigation laterals are distinctive in all of the fields and follow the contour ditch patterns introduced by Warren in the 1930s. These patterns reflect those visible in 1947 aerial photos, though the precise location of laterals may have changed since that time, as the land is traditionally plowed, seeded, and then ditches redug.

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- F. Building Clusters.** Although a component of the vernacular landscape, the building clusters per se are not included in the resource count. For information on the contributing and noncontributing buildings, structures, and object within the Home Ranch and Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch building clusters, see the tables listed above and Sections II and III below.

The Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district encompasses 98 extant resources, and the vast majority of these are located in two primary building clusters: the Grant-Kohrs Home Ranch building cluster and the more modern Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch building cluster. Most of the resources are directly related to livestock operations at the ranch. There are various barns, connecting corrals, sheds, and a scale house for horses and cattle. Supporting these livestock structures are the garage/blacksmith shop, granaries, dairy barn, sales barn, feed lot complexes and bunkhouse. Also included are two residences and their associated structures. The two building clusters are interconnected by two access roads that connect to Main Street and merge at the Home Ranch. The complexes form tightly connecting units visible from most of the outlying fields on the ranch.

The resources within the historic district represent the majority of the known historic buildings and structures on the ranch. To date, archival and field investigation has revealed 16 non-extant resources, all of which were within the Home Ranch complex. These include two machine sheds, two cow sheds, a cow stable, a cow barn, a buggy house, a chicken house, four feed racks, a watering trough, a concrete foundation, a log retaining wall, and what may have been a box siphon on the Kohrs-Manning Ditch. The extant structures represent a range of vernacular architecture typical of the region's agricultural buildings. At the time of construction, the log-framed-with-bevel-siding two-story house with green louvered blinds (also often referred to as shutters) built in 1862 for John Grant was remarkable in size, quality of materials, and architectural detail. It, however, appears modest in light of the brick veneer addition and other improvements by the Kohrs family. While the large Victorian house is uncommon for a Montana ranch, it is typical of late nineteenth-century urban residences (including those in Deer Lodge) and indicative of Kohrs's and Bielenberg's success as cattle ranchers.

Agricultural buildings reflect their period of construction and use: log construction and post-and-pole were used for the bunkhouse, ice shed, early barns and sheds. Frame construction was used for less substantial granaries and privies. All the Warren-era buildings and structures are of frame construction, with metal pipe being introduced in feed racks. (The metal pipes were from steel air brake lines from old railroad cars that Conrad Warren had salvaged; Warren cut the brake lines to size for use in the feed racks.) In general, the agricultural buildings are simple forms – their size, scale and openings reflecting their use in a vernacular architectural style typical of the region.

The extant domestic buildings (including main houses, bunkhouse, coal shed, and icehouse) are clustered together and separated from work areas in traditional utilitarian groups. Work areas include barns, granaries, chicken coops, etc., developed using simple traditional building forms not attributable to a particular builder.

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Although physically separate, both the domestic and work areas are located adjacent to and surrounded by a perimeter fence that roughly defines the residential units from the larger scale pastures and hay fields.

During the Grant and early Kohrs and Bielenberg years (pre-1880) relatively few shelters, compared to the Warren years, were built for stock or feed storage. By the time a 1907 map of the ranch was created, the framework of an interlocking complex of barns and shelters reflected the need to winter feed. By the 1930s, the structures built by Warren had refined the types of structures needed for handling, feeding, and sheltering large numbers of cattle. This activity reached its zenith in the 1950s with the feed lots of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch with their electric water troughs and sheltering loafing sheds.

South of the Warren domestic complex – and outside the boundary of the National Register district – the National Park Service has developed a small visitor contact station, comfort station, and parking lot. The National Park Service moved two buildings into this area from the Upper Ranch, where they had been used as a granary and settlers' cabin (later converted to a pig barn). These buildings were converted into a visitor contact station and restroom. In 2000, the National Park Service also began construction of an approximate 8,000-square-foot curatorial storage building in this area, scheduled for completion in 2002. From the visitor contact area, visitors have a distorted view of the ranch complexes – only the rear of the Warren residential unit is visible, while the Home Ranch is obstructed by the raised railroad beds.

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

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

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

In some cases, gates and fences were replaced according to preservation standards. The traditional jack-leg fences that appears clearly in the 1865 sketch of the house are also visible near the building complex, although much of this appears to be replacement fencing with modern poles based on previous fence locations. In A

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Place Called Jackson Hole, the historic resource study for Grand Teton National Park, NPS historian John Daugherty states that the jack-leg fence was the dominant fencing in the first years of settlement in the region and came to symbolize the homesteader's frontier.⁷ Lodgepole pine logs rest on crossed logs or bucks at each end of a panel of logs. This style of fencing has also been referred to as buck-and-pole, buck-and-rail, and four-pole leaning fence. After 1900, barbed wire became the dominant type of fence. John Grant's homestead was typical of many with a jack-leg fence surrounding its residence. Conrad Kohrs retained the jack-leg fence, but also added a white, ornamental, picket fence around the immediate environs of the house. Kohrs closed off most of his ranch with barbed wire. After 1920, steel fence posts made their appearance on western ranches and the Kohrs ranch was no different.⁸

Some of the equipment and objects that were a part of the agrarian landscape remain on the site. A Jenkins hay stacker from the Warren years (circa 1935) and unidentified abandoned equipment can be found at the edges of the fields and bench lands west of the Clark Fork River. The landscape is not rich in pure ornament, but many of these small-scale features depict craftsmanship and proportion that make them more than purely functional. These elements reflect the lives of those who made this ranch their home. Historic correspondence indicates that many of these small-scale features, such as the irrigation pump, served critical roles often disguised by their small size and were carefully purchased after a number of discussions with bankers, engineers, and equipment suppliers. Other small-scale elements, such as the electrical power poles, are indicative of progressive changes that affected the entire nation.

II. The Home Ranch

Primarily constructed by John Grant, Conrad Kohrs, and John Bielenberg but later used and expanded by Conrad Warren

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

The detail of a drawing entitled "1883 Bird's Eye View of Deer Lodge City County Seat of Deer Lodge County, Montana" shows the changes to the Home Ranch by Kohrs and Bielenberg. By 1883 the front and sides of the yard of the main house had been defined by what appears to be poplars or black cottonwoods. The bunkhouse

⁷ John Daugherty, *A Place Called Jackson Hole: The Historic Resource Study of Grand Teton National Park* (Moose, Wyoming: Grand Teton National Park, 1999), p. 127.

⁸ Daugherty, *A Place Called Jackson Hole*, p. 127.

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

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

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

The following descriptions are arranged by era of construction (as identified by historic maps and photographs), by location or cluster, and therein by function. Those nineteenth-century buildings relocated during construction of the Milwaukee Railroad line are described in their current, rather than their original, position in the Main Yard.

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Grant-Kohrs Home Ranch, Domestic Complex

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

In 1865, *The Montana Post* praised Johnny Grant's new residence as "by long odds, the finest in Montana . . . large and two-storied . . . [It appears] as if it had been lifted by the chimneys from the bank of the Saint Lawrence and dropped down in Deer Lodge Valley. It has twenty-eight windows, with green painted shutters, and looks very pretty." Grant reported that the lumber for the large (64' long, 30' wide) hewn-log home was hauled from the Flathead Indian Reservation, 150 miles to the north. Builders included "McLeod, the hewer" and carpenter Alexander Pambrun. The building is of poteaux en coulisse construction, a French phrase for a system of log construction that includes other terms such as "Red River Frame", piece-sur-piece, or mortise-and-tennon log construction. (It is also sometimes known as "Hudson's Bay Frame" construction) There are several versions of poteaux en coulisse. In the case of the Grant residence, the uprights were set on a sill plate and infilled with horizontal logs mortise and tenoned into the uprights; the wall was then capped with a header or top plate. All furniture within the Grant residence was "homemade," with the exception of two parlor chairs and four "other" chairs that Grant purchased from Captain Labarge.⁹ Conrad Kohrs purchased the Grant "farmhouse" and its furnishings in 1866. Between then and 1890, Kohrs would add a formal entry, four vestibules, and a two-story brick addition with a full basement, creating a T-shaped footprint. Augusta Kohrs's conservatory was added to the south elevation by 1907.

The main house (HS-1) appears today much as it did in December 1890 when Kohrs reported the interior and exterior reconstruction complete. Only the conservatory, open porches, and vestibules intrude upon the simple T-shaped footprint. The Grant residence remains as the front elevation, virtually hiding the addition save for the east gable end that projects slightly above the side-gable roof of the original house. Viewed from the south, north, or east, the 1890 addition is an imposing: two stories, extending by virtue of its full basement construction to three stories on the west elevation, where basement access is located. As with the Grant structure, fenestration and massing are simple, visually linking the two components, while the Queen Anne-detailed open porch near the southwest corner testifies to the addition's construction during the Victorian era.

The Grant structure has a rubblestone foundation; the Kohrs addition is on a roughly cut and coursed stone foundation. The roughly dressed stones are of random size to build up the walls using a mortar infill.¹⁰ Today, as during the Grant era, shingles cover the shallow-pitched saltbox roof of the Grant structure. The Kohrs' addition was roofed with terne plate in 1890, and in cedar shingle in 1974 by the National Park Service. The National Park Service restored the roof in 1999 to its original design using zinc-coated stainless steel. The wide boxed eaves that return in the gable ends are similar in style, providing a visual link between the two

⁹ Grant, quoted in Lyndel Meikle, editor, *Very Close to Trouble: The Johnny Grant Memoir* (Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 1996), pp. 87-88.

¹⁰ Cyril Harris, ed., *Dictionary of Architecture and Construction* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1975), p. 133.

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components. (The Grant eaves have beveled moldings; the eaves on the Kohrs additions are molded with crown.) At its eastern edge, the two-story addition extends above the one-story west gable slope of the Grant structure; this exposed gable end is sided with clapboard siding to match that on the Grant structure. Chimneys are numerous and of similar design. Two straddle the ridge of the Grant structure; three are located at the south eave of the addition; a sixth is located at the extreme west end of the ridge; and two more (one dating to the Grant era, yet extended in height to serve the 1890 addition) are located at the north eave.

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

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

Viewed from the south, the Grant component retreats, engulfed by the bulk of the brick addition. The south elevation of the addition is the most elaborately detailed. Features include the conservatory (see above), the large bay that defines the dining room, and a substantial open porch, topped with an elaborate wood balustrade. A half-hip roof covers the semi-hexagonal dining room bay projection. Each side of the bay contains a one-over-one double hung window, while the south contains two windows. As with all windows on the addition, the windows have bull-nosed trim and are paired with painted wood lintels and sills.

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

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

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

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

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

While the floor plan of the Grant component generally reflects the original design, some room functions and most decorative finishes date to (or postdate) the Kohrs' 1890 reconstruction. Partition walls are constructed of thin beaded board, covered with cotton muslin, and then wallpapered. Doors are four-panel, without panel molding, and are grained. Simple window trim with backband molding and plain baseboard contrast to later picture moldings set at ceiling height. Patterned carpeting covers the floors. Runners of dark, durable carpet mark tourist pathways. Upstairs floors are of painted wood, some covered with carpeting. Walls in the hallway are painted, while the walls of the bedrooms are papered.

The interior of the 1890 addition contrasts markedly with earlier spaces. The floor plan (which NPS architectural historian Rodd Wheaton reports bears similarities to a floor plan presented in 1887 in the Deer

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Lodge newspaper *New Northwest*¹¹) consists of a connecting “china pantry” between the dining room and kitchen; folding doors separating the dining room from the sitting room, the center of family activity at the ranch house; an easy flight of stairs to the basement; and several second-floor bedrooms, each with a closet, interconnected en suite.¹² Additional rooms included the long back hallway and stairway, accessed from vestibule #111 and opening to the sitting room, dining room, and kitchen. A vestibule provides the most direct access to the kitchen and is strategically located by the woodpile and coal shed. The basement provided room for the furnace, as well as a root cellar, 1940s walk-in cooler, commissary, and storeroom. The dividing wall between the commissary and storeroom has been removed in the modern period, creating one large room to accommodate HVAC system added between 1983 and 1984. Door and window trim is generally symmetrical in profile, set with a molded roundel within the corner blocks that extend beyond the headpiece with a section of molding. Multi-panel doors are hung below glazed transoms. The trim is painted in two tones and is grained to match paneled oak wainscoting.

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

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

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

¹¹ Louis H. Gibson, “Helping the Housewife, How Architects Should Plan the People’s Homes,” *New Northwest*, Deer Lodge, Montana, as quoted by Rodd Wheaton, “Furnishing the Ranch House,” in John Albright, *Historic Resource Study and Historic Structure Report for the Kohrs and Bielenberg Home Ranch, Grant-Kohrs National Historic Site, Montana*, [hereafter referred to as *Historic Resource Study*], (Denver Service Center: National Park Service, 1979), Appendix 17, p. 349.

¹² In 1950, Conrad Warren converted the west end of the second story addition to an apartment with living room (#213), dining room (#214), kitchen (#215), and bath (#216).

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

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

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

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

Conrad Warren stayed in the Main House while visiting his grandparents as a child. After permanently moving to the ranch in 1929, Warren lived in Main House HS-1. In 1934, Warren and his wife Nell moved into their newly constructed residence (HS-58), located on the other side of the railroad beds. (However, for a time in the 1940s, the Warrens again moved into Main House HS-1, but found it too expensive to heat. Instead, a caretaker lived in a second floor apartment of the building.)

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

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

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

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Bunkhouse Row is a composite of log, post-and-beam, and frame structures. The log part of the building is a circa 1862 "dogtrot" cabin, two cabins connected by a breezeway. John Grant occupied it during construction of the main house. The open dogtrot was enclosed by 1884 and the enlarged structure used as a bunkhouse for Kohrs and Bielenberg crews. Between 1884 and 1890, a board-and-batten buggy shed was built slightly east of the building. By 1907, horse barns had been built between the buggy shed and the building, joining the two structures. Also at that time, a frame woodshed and washroom was constructed adjacent to the kitchen on the west side of the building. In 1907, when the Milwaukee Railroad tracks were laid, half of the buggy shed was moved into the yard west of the ranch house, behind the present coal shed. Historian John Albright reports that:

The 1907 map shows the uses of the various sections of the long and narrow building. The western two thirds is labeled "Bunkhouse," the next section "Shop," and the easternmost "Buggy Ho." J. H. Gehrmann's recollections generally support this, but add greater detail on the uses of rooms in the bunkhouse. Gehrmann's descriptions of the rooms, again from west to east, are "Store Room," "Cowboy's Bunkhouse" (sleeping room), and "Home Stable" (buggy house).¹³

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

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

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

¹³ Albright, "Historic Resource Study," p. 198.

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and warming room on the east side; a central storage area, with a large built-in closet on its east interior wall; and the west bay, which is divided into four stalls. Ghost marks show this is a historic remodeling of original stall placement. The stalls' half-walls are wood planks, and built-in mangers are located on the west side of each stall. The walls of the first story of the stable are finished with horizontal wood planks. The log components of the bunkhouse, containing the ranch office, bunk room, sitting room, and dining room, are finished with 1" x 6" tongue-and-groove flooring, and plaster over wood lathe on the walls and ceilings. Wood trims of various sizes surround the windows and doors. Four-panel interior doors provide access between the bunkroom, sitting room, dining room, and kitchen. In the kitchen, tempered hardwood covers the walls and ceiling, and the floor is linoleum. Built-in cabinets and a sink are on the south side of the west wall. Milled lumber trims the window and door openings. Exterior doors on the north and south walls of the washroom/shower provide the only access to the room. Wood planks of various widths cover the floor and walls of the room, and the ceiling is open to the roof structure. Horizontal plank siding covers the interior walls of the wood shed. The stone foundation is visible above the dirt floor, and the ceiling is open to the roof structural system. A large wooden pigeon cove, supported by a pole and knee braces, fills the gable end of the west wall.

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

The 1883 Stoner illustration and 1884 Leeson drawing do not show the icehouse because of the angle of view. However, the building is believed to date to circa 1880. Conrad Warren recalled that "most winters they [Kohrs and Bielenberg] ponded Johnson Creek, let it freeze over and then cut blocks of ice weighing 200-300 lbs., which they put up in the ice house with sawdust for insulation. Once the creek froze again, they cut more ice. 1933 was such an open winter that they had to go to Rock Creek Lake to cut ice."¹⁴ Following the circa 1935 installation of a walk-in cooler in the basement of the main house, Warren converted the historic icehouse to a tack shed.

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

The whitewashed south shed addition, which provided housing for the Chinese ranch cook, is sided with vertical board-and-batten siding and roofed with wood-shingle roofing. The east elevation of the south addition has a board-and-batten door. There is one four-light fixed-sash window centered on its south elevation. The west elevation of the basement is above ground and has an attached addition covered with horizontal beveled

¹⁴ Warren to McKennan, September 3, 1931, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS Archives, Deer Lodge, Montana.

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siding. The shed roof slopes to the west, is covered with wood shingles, and has exposed rafter ends on its west side. The west addition has one six-light fixed-sash window centered on both the west and south elevations, and a six-panel wood door centered on the north elevation. The windows are covered with bars, added by Warren to keep train hobos from stealing meat.

The main floor of the original log building consists of one room finished with 1" x 5" wall and ceiling boards. The floor is reinforced wood boards covered with tin and supported by heavy (2" x 10") floor joists. Both the tin covering and the heavy floor joist evidence the historic ice-storage function. Blocks of ice weighing 200 to 300 pounds were stored in this main-floor room, insulated with sawdust.¹⁵ A nine-panel door provides access to the basement, where, historically, meat and dairy products were stored. The basement has a brick and mortar floor and stone walls. Between the west basement wall and the west addition are two wood-sash four-light fixed windows. The west addition is finished with five-inch wall and ceiling boards and five-inch floorboards. Five-inch boards also cover the walls, ceiling, and floor of the south addition.

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

The coal shed dates to circa 1915, when it was constructed in association with installation of a coal-burning furnace in the ranch house. Historic photographs reveal a large building once in this location. In 1931, when Warren lived in the main house, the 1915 shed was stocked with 36 ½ tons of coal, a fuel supply supplemented with seven cords of wood and a woodshed "half full" from the previous year.¹⁶ The coal shed is a one-story, rectangular, wood-frame building constructed on a concrete pad. Wood shingles cover the shed roof and white-painted, five-inch horizontal, lapped wood siding covers the exterior walls. Door and window trim and corner boards are painted red. Features on the east elevation include a door opening with milled lumber trim to the south and an access hatch for coal delivery on the north side.

The Main Yard Building Cluster

This agricultural building cluster was first developed in the Kohrs and Bielenberg era. Located directly behind Bunkhouse Row at the northeast corner of the building complex, it currently includes a draft horse barn (HS-7), an oxen barn (HS-10), and a Bielenberg horse barn (HS-11). Non-extant buildings include a machine shed, open cowshed and barn, and stable, some of which were removed to make room for the Milwaukee Railroad. A chicken coop was removed because of insect infestation. A machine shed (HS-12), cow shed (HS-13), and cattle feed racks constructed during the Kohrs-Bielenberg era are approximately 800 feet to the north along the railroad tracks.

¹⁵ Con Warren interviewed by unidentified Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS employee, May 4, 1978, Record Group 5: Informal Interviews [RG 5], Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS Archives, Deer Lodge, Montana.

¹⁶ Warren to McKennan, September 3, 1931.

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

The draft horse barn originates from the 1870s. Constructed of log and frame materials, it is a typical example of the utilitarian design of the ranch service buildings. Virtually unaltered, the two-story barn is a rectangular building with a gabled roof and a shed addition on the north elevation. Constructed on a stone foundation, the walls of the main building are "V"-notched logs, with vertical wood planks filling the gable ends. The addition is also constructed on a random-laid stone foundation; however, board-and-batten siding covers its exterior walls. The east and west walls each have a board-and-batten double-leaf door. There are four six-light windows: two on the first floor south side, one at the loft level of the west side, and one at the loft level of the east side of the addition. Both the shed addition and the main gable roofs are covered with corrugated metal.

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

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

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

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

Historian John Albright reports that the Bielenberg Barn (reminiscent of racetrack "shedrows" and thought to have housed John Bielenberg's racehorses) was constructed circa 1880. This date coincides with large-scale horse raising on the Home Ranch. The one-story, rectangular barn has a west-sloping shed roof and pole structural system. The frame walls are sided with whitewashed, vertical board-and-batten siding, and red-painted skirtboard; this siding dates to the Conrad Warren era, circa 1933. On the east elevation there are eight vertical board-and-batten stall doors. Prior to 1938, a roof over the entrances into the corral area existed. It is not known when the roof was removed. A fixed six-light wood-sash window is located above each stall door.

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One additional window is located at the northeast end, for a total of nine windows on the east elevation. The north elevation contains one fixed six-light wood-sash window off-center to the east. The south elevation contains one fixed four-light wood-sash window off center to the east. The west elevation has no features. The interior walls and ceiling are unfinished, revealing the back sides of the exterior board-and-batten siding. On the north side of the building, the stall walls are open and framed with poles. South side stalls are of pole construction, with horizontal-plank half-walls, and built-in feed troughs.

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

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

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

This L-shaped cowshed was constructed after the 1907-1908 dislocations brought about by the construction of the Milwaukee Railroad. Kohrs, Bielenberg, and Warren used the shed to store feed, equipment, and protect cattle. To the south and west, the building faces into a corral containing a wood-frame squeeze chute (HS-41). The exterior walls of this pole-frame, L-shaped shed are finished with vertical board-and-batten siding, stained red. Corrugated metal covers the intersecting gable roof. The south side of the west elevation and the west side of the south elevation are open. At the south end, there is an enclosed calving room. Wooden poles define the bays on those elevations, with nine on the west elevation and eight on the south. Pole gates secure the bays at the extreme ends of those elevations. A pair of swinging board-and-batten doors is located on the east end of the north elevation. Two four-light, fixed-frame wood-sash windows are also found on the north elevation, one centered on the east side, the other off-center to the east. The north side of the west elevation has no features. Five four-light, fixed-sash windows are evenly spaced along the north half of the east elevation.

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

The siphon was constructed c. 1908 by the Chicago, Milwaukee, & St. Paul Railroad, as part of the construction of the railroad track. The siphon, which is no longer in use, consists of two poured-in-place wells joined by a subterranean concrete tunnel that channels water under the railroad grade. The Kohrs family used the siphon for landscape irrigation. The siphon also was used to provide stock water to Stallion Barn HS-16.

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Lower Yard Complex

Although not shown in the 1883 bird's eye view of the ranch, the developed area immediately west and southwest of the main house – Conrad Warren called it “the flat below the house” – dates to the 1870s and 1880s, when John Bielenberg developed the ranch's Thoroughbred horse operation.

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

Of the Kohrs and Bielenberg stallion barns, Conrad Warren remembered: “There were four or five stallions in the little barns scattered around the flat below the house . . . Each barn had a hayloft and a feed box of oats in a little feed room with a ladder going up to the loft. [Ranch hands] didn't have to go in with the stallions to feed and water, a safety precaution.”¹⁷ During the early years of the Warren era, Warren used HS-14 to house his registered shorthorn bull and HS-16 to house a Belgian stallion. Stallion barn HS-19, constructed in the 1870s to house two stallions, was converted in the 1920s to a garage/blacksmith shop. The building was presumably abandoned (or returned to use as an animal shelter) early in the Warren era, following the 1935 construction of garage/blacksmith shop (HS-3). Warren's use of HS-30, the barn farthest from the Main Yard, has not been documented, although the building presumably was used in association with the west-corral developed area.¹⁸

Stallion Barn #14 and Stallion Barn #16 are each one-and-one-half-story, rectangular, log buildings. The logs are joined with V-notching and daubed with a lime-based mortar. Wood shingles cover the gabled roofs. Stallion Barn HS-14 has new sill logs on a concrete foundation with stone veneer. Stallion Barn HS-16 also has new sill logs, but sits on a loose stone foundation. Vertical planks fill the gable ends. Features include vertical plank doors, multiple-light fixed wood-sash windows, and hay doors accessing the loft spaces. HS-14 and HS-16 housed stallions.

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

¹⁷ Conrad Warren, “This I Remember,” n.d., Conrad K. Warren Personal Papers, Grant-Kohrs National Historic Site Archives, Deer Lodge, Montana, p. 21.

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

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sash wood-frame windows. In 1979, the National Park Service replaced the original stone foundations with log sills with new concrete foundations topped with stone. In addition, they removed the barn loft.

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

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

Historian John Albright reports that the Thoroughbred barn was constructed circa 1883, a period of large-scale horse-raising activities on the ranch. Initially, the building housed a large number of Thoroughbred horses. One of the stalls was used for foaling mares. An adjacent bricked-in sleeping room with an interior window provides a view to the foaling area, so that ranch hands could keep an eye on foaling mares. For a time Warren used this as an office. Warren also remembered that this was “where the chore boy slept, to keep the tramps out.”¹⁹ Later, from 1934 until circa 1941, Conrad Warren housed his prized Belgian mares in the barn and the mares used the field at the south end of HS-15.²⁰ In the 1940s and early 1950s, Warren used HS-15 as a show barn for his Hereford cattle: “tent sales pavilions were erected on the north side of the building, and animals were taken out there one by one for show.”²¹ Later Warren constructed a show barn (HS-65) and “Big Red Barn” (HS-64) to the east of the railroad tracks.

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

¹⁹ Conrad Warren to John Douglas, November 11-12, 1970.

²⁰ Conrad Warren, conversation with J. “Bow O’Barr,” April 4, 1985, RG 5, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS Archives, Deer Lodge, Montana.

²¹ Albright, “Historic Resource Study,” p. 201.

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lower kept closed. A four-light fixed window is located on either side of the doors and eight, four-light, fixed wood-sash windows line the east elevation.

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

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

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

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

This granary, designed to be moveable to the appropriate feed lot, was reportedly constructed circa 1890. In 1931, Conrad Warren reported: "I have had the granary repaired at a minimum cost . . . It should last a couple of more years and maybe more."²² Soon thereafter, Warren constructed a new granary/roller mill (HS-6) and HS-18 was presumably relegated to auxiliary storage.

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

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

²² Warren to McKennan, August 20, 1931, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

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

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

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

III. Conrad Warren Era

In the 1930s, shortly after he permanently moved to the ranch, Conrad Warren began building within the main yard (north of bunkhouse row), at the west extreme of the lower yard (known as the west corrals), and in a new domestic complex on the east side of the railroad tracks, at a site removed from his grandparents' residence.

Warren Components in the Main Yard

A. Dairy (HS-9), 1932. NR Contributing Building (1)

Conrad Warren began construction of the dairy barn in the early 1930s, a decade during which he sold milk to the Deer Lodge Creamery. This building served as the processing center. The interior was modified in 1975 for use as a park maintenance building.

The dairy is a one and one-half-story, rectangular, wood-frame building with gable roof. The building is on a concrete foundation, with an interior concrete pad, and is sided with 5" horizontal dropped siding. Red hexagonal asphalt shingles cover the roof. On the south side there are two doors, one constructed with vertical boards and exterior x-bracing, and the other a sliding door constructed with vertical board-and-batten and mounted on an overhead metal track. A four-light, wood-sash, hopper window is centered in the gable end. Another, slightly smaller, four-light hopper is located slightly off-center to the east, between the door openings of the first-story

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level. The east elevation has eight evenly spaced four-light wood-sash hopper-frame windows. On the north elevation there is a wood double-leaf door, constructed with vertical siding, and three four-light wood sash, hopper-framed windows. The west elevation contains a wood double-leaf door. There are two four-light wood-sash hopper frame windows on the west elevation and one gable dormer with white horizontal siding and red asphalt shingles. On the interior, one-by-nine-inch wood boards cover the interior walls. One-by-seven-inch boards cover the floor on the west side of the building, and a concrete slab forms the east side floor. A concrete trough that held estachions for dairy cattle runs down the center of the building.

B. Blacksmith Shop/Garage (HS-3), 1935. NR Contributing Building (1)

Historian John Albright reports that Conrad Warren constructed the garage/blacksmith shop in 1935, when he began introducing mechanized equipment at the ranch. The building remained unmodified until 1975, when the National Park Service insulated and heated the west garage stall (for fire truck storage) and 1981 when men's and women's restrooms were constructed in the east garage stall.

The wood-frame building is on a concrete pad and concrete foundation wall. Five-inch dropped siding covers the exterior walls. Red, hexagonal, asphalt shingles cover the gable roof. Two brick chimneys are on the east slope. Three wooden, multi-panel, multi-light, overhead rolling doors are on the north elevation of the building. The west elevation contains a pair of wooden sliding doors, mounted on an overhead horizontal iron track. One nine-light wood-sash hopper window is also on the west elevation. There are three, nine-light wood-sash hopper windows along the south elevation. Currently the building contains three separate sections: the shop office, the janitor room, and exhibit space. As noted above, there are also two restrooms in the building.

C. Granary/Roller Mill (HS-6), 1935. NR Contributing Building (1)

The granary/roller mill, one of three granaries at the ranch, is located where the Kohrs and Bielenberg-era chicken house (non-extant building G) stood on the 1907 map. Described by Warren as a "major innovation when it was built," the granary replaced HS-18, constructed by Kohrs and Bielenberg in the 1890s. As late as 1989, feed recipes remained on the walls, above the feed bins. The granary/roller mill is a one-story, rectangular, wood-frame building with an offset gable roof. Built on a poured-concrete foundation, the building is sided with horizontal lapped siding. The west elevation contains an open, shed-roofed loading dock with two pole support columns and wood plank flooring. The loading dock is cantilevered with no corner supports. Red, hexagonal, asphalt shingles cover all roof surfaces, and the rafter ends are exposed.

Large, wooden sliding double doors provide access to the granary from the west elevation porch. The south side has a Dutch (double-leaf) door that, like the double doors, is constructed of vertical boards. The granary has three, nine-light windows, two on the west side and one on the north side. There are four evenly spaced hatch openings on the east side edge of the roof that provide truck access to the grain storage bins. The interior of the building is

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divided into two parts, the east side having four separated grain storage bins, and the west side containing a mechanical grain conveyance system.

D. Cattle Scale (HS-35), 1935. NR Contributing Object (1)

Conrad Warren installed the cattle scale in 1935. Cattle were weighed on it, passing from one corral to another behind the bunkhouse. The scale was also used as a foot-dipping vat, the cattle being passed through a solution filling the concrete pit. Cattle were doctored in the vat at times, although most such chores could best be performed in a squeeze chute.

The cattle scale is a large wood-framed structure constructed on an 8"-deep tub concrete foundation. The north and south elevations feature milled-lumber posts and spaced horizontal planks, creating fence-like walls that are bolted to the foundation. Gates form the east and west sides. Post 1952, the scale mechanism was moved to the new scale house located within the complex that Warren built for his registered Hereford herd.

E. Manure Pit (HS-39), 1932. NR Contributing Structure (1)

Conrad Warren constructed dairy barn HS-9 in the early 1930s, a decade during which he sold dairy products to the Deer Lodge creamery. The manure pit was built in conjunction with the dairy barn in order to meet sanitation standards. Manure, hauled to the pit, was flushed out with running water, which carried the effluents downhill into the pastures as fertilizer. The manure pit is a poured-in-place, 6'-deep concrete-wall pit.

F. Privy (HS-8), 1934. NR Contributing Building (1)

This privy (HS-8) is one of two outhouses at the ranch (the other, HS-20, dates to the Kohrs era). The privy was constructed in 1934 by Works Progress Administration (WPA) crews, in payment for housing provided by Warren at the ranch. Because of this association with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "New Deal" program, the building is known as the "Roosevelt Building." It is a small, one-story square building with a shed roof. Vertical boards cover the walls. Cedar shingles cover the roof. Fenestration is limited to a board-and-batten door centered on the building's east side. The privy interior is one room with a toilet. The toilet, which is rectangular and built of wood, is set on the diagonal and has a rectangular concrete base.

Warren Improvements in the Lower Yard

G. Brooder House (HS-21), 1935. NR Contributing Building (1)

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The brooder house was historically used to electrically incubate eggs for hatching. The brooding house is a one-story, rectangular, wood-frame building with a gable roof. Built on a concrete foundation, the exterior walls are covered with 5" horizontal dropped-cove siding. Red hexagonal asphalt shingles cover the roof. The west elevation contains a two-panel wood door accessed via a small concrete and wood one-step stoop. Two, nine-light wood-framed hopper windows are located within the south elevation. Centered on the east elevation is one nine-light wood-frame hopper window. A chicken hatch is at ground level on the south side of the east elevation. The interior of the brooding house is divided into two rooms.

H. Chicken House (HS-22), 1935. NR Contributing Building (1)

The chicken house is a one-story, rectangular, wood-frame building with a concrete foundation. Horizontal dropped cove siding covers the exterior walls. The peak of the saltbox roof is offset to the south. Red, hexagonal composition shingles cover the roof. A six-panel wooden door is located off-center to the south of the east elevation. An attached ramp, made of plywood and battens, provides access for the fowl. A group of six nine-light, fixed-sash, wood-framed windows, with wooden louvered vents above the lights, runs the length of the south elevation. A wood-framed chicken hatch and ramp is centered below the windows. The interior of the one-room chicken house features plywood floors, which were installed by the National Park Service in the mid 1970s (and cover the original 4" tongue-and-groove flooring). A built-in roost is along the north wall. A built-in chicken nest is on the west wall. Tongue-and-groove siding covers the walls and ceiling. Large, round, metal heat lamps hang from the ceiling. (Warren used a different type of chicken house heater, which is now in the site's museum collection.)

West Corrals Complex in the Lower Yard

The lower yard also encompasses what is referred to as the "west corrals" complex. Between 1933 and 1934, Conrad Warren extended the lower yard (first developed by his grandfather and great uncle) with construction of a system of stock shelters, corrals, and feed-storage facilities. The complex provided feeding and working facilities for the commercial cattle raised at the ranch – here the different types of cattle could be fed and controlled. All of these buildings are utilitarian and either houses or provided feeding and working facilities for the commercial cattle raised during the 1930s. Although some of the buildings and structures have been reconstructed by the National Park Service and are noncontributing (HS-25, HS-26, HS-43, HS-44, HS-45, HS-46, HS-47, HS-48, HS-49, HS-52 and HS-53), the complex still includes original historic resources.

I. West Corrals Stock Shelters (HS-24, HS-27, and HS-29), 1933-1934. NR Contributing Buildings (3)

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West corrals stock shelters HS-24, HS-27, and HS-29 are one-story, pole-frame structures with shed roofs. The structures are closed on three sides to provide winter shelter for livestock. Boards and battens cover the roof and walls. The buildings have no foundation. Rub rails are attached to the interior walls.

J. Feed Storage House (HS-28), 1933. NR Contributing Building (1)

Feed storage house HS-28, which is between feed bunks HS-48 and HS-49, is a one-and-one-half-story, rectangular, wood frame building with a gable roof. The building sits on a concrete foundation (replaced by the park in the summer of 2001). The roof is covered with cedar shingles and features a wooden hatch low on the north slope, a metal ridge cap, and exposed rafter ends. The structural system consists of 2" x 4" wood studs, 2" x 4" rafters set 2' on center, and 2" x 8" floor joists. One-by-five-inch lapped siding covers the exterior walls. Both the east and west sides feature a cross-braced split-leaf (Dutch) door, off center, and a four-light, wood-framed, fixed-sash window centered in the gable end. The north and south sides have no features. Within the building, a built-in 3' x 6' feed trough is next to the west wall.

K. Feed Storage House (HS-31), 1932. NR Contributing Building (1)

Feed stored in HS-31 could be readily transferred to feed bunks HS-45 and HS-46, which are located on either side of the structure. Due to its location along the fence line, the building also could easily receive feed grains driven in by wagon or truck. The feed storage house is a one-story wood-frame rectangular building built on a concrete wall foundation. The tongue-and-groove sheathing of the gable roof is covered with cedar shingles. Other roof features include exposed 2" x 4" rafter ends set approximately 2' apart, a ridge cap made of wood boards, and three hatches on the south slope. The exterior walls are covered with lapped siding with milled-lumber corner boards. Both the east and west sides feature a split-leaf (Dutch) door with strap and pintel hinges. The doors are finished with diagonal tongue-and-groove doors. Both the east and west sides of the building also feature a six-light, fixed-sash, wood-frame window. The feed storage house contains a single room; two grain storage bins are built into the west wall.

West Feedlots Complex in the Lower Yard

Stock shelters HS-32 and HS-33, storage shed HS-34, as well National Park Service-reconstructed feed bunk HS-52 and squeeze chute HS-53, are west of the Kohrs-Manning Ditch and comprise the westernmost portion of the ranch, an area generally referred to as the west feedlots.

L. West Feedlot Stock Shelters (HS 32 and HS-33) 1934 and 1932 respectively, and West Feedlots Storage Shed (HS-34), circa 1930. NR Contributing Buildings (3)

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Stock shelters HS-32 and HS-33 are one-story, rectangular, pole buildings with shed roofs. On each building, the structural system of poles is oriented in a five-bays-wide by two-bays-deep grid. Each building's board-and-batten roof is supported by pole rafters and pole purlins. The east side of each shelter is open. A rub railing, made of horizontal poles, is attached to the interior walls. The floors are dirt.

Storage shed HS-34 was constructed by Conrad Warren for use as a portable sheep wagon and tack room; the structure was loaded on the back of a flat-bed ranch truck. The shed is a one-story, rectangular building with a low barrel roof. The shed currently rests on treated wood skids, added in 1991. Tongue-and-groove siding covers the exterior walls, and there are aluminum angles at the corners, and as framing around the entrance. The barrel roof has 2" wood sheathing covered with galvanized metal. The interior of the shed features built-in hooks for hanging tack.

Warren Domestic Complex

Conrad and Nellie Warren's "cottage" and adjacent garage (based on a design from *Woman's Home Companion*) are east of the Main House HS-1, across the railroad tracks, on 71/100 acre of land gifted by Augusta Kohrs as a wedding present. Historically, a picket fence, similar to that constructed around HS-1, surrounded a small yard, planted with vegetable and flower gardens and containing a chicken coop. The Warren house is now surrounded by a picket fence. In 2001, the park removed the garden and plantings around the Warren house.

M. Warren Residence (HS-58), 1934. NR Contributing Building (1)

The Warren residence, constructed for \$10,000 in 1934, is a one and one-half-story building with an irregular floor plan and a cross-gable roof. The wood-frame building was built on a 12" wide poured concrete footing foundation. White stucco covers the exterior walls on the north and east elevation, and white horizontal wood siding covers the south and west elevations, dormers, and front gable end. Red and gray asphalt shingles set in a random pattern cover the roof. The north side of the house has an enclosed entrance porch. Other north elevation features include one large picture window, one 16-light wood-sash window with four fixed side lights and eight center lights in an operable casement, and one six-light wood-sash casement window.

A nine-light, one panel door is on the south side of the east elevation. Four 16-light wood-sash windows, with operable centers and fixed side lights, also are located on the east elevation; three are on the first floor and one is in the shed dormer. The south elevation interior stucco chimney is topped with terra-cotta chimney pots. On the south elevation there are three 16-light wood-frame windows with operable centers and fixed sidelights, and one nine-light wood-frame, fixed-sash window in the south main gable end. On the west elevation, there are two one-light wood-frame, fixed-sash windows, three 16-light wood-frame windows with operable center and fixed sidelights. The dormer also features two four-light wood casement windows.

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The garage (HS-61) is attached to the house by a wood-frame breezeway. The breezeway features horizontal beveled wood siding and three fixed-sash wood-frame windows, two with nine lights and one with six lights. Although constructed prior to a 1958 appraisal, the breezeway was not enclosed until ca. 1980s.

Rooms within the Warren residence are divided among a partial basement, the main floor, and a second story. The main floor contains an entryway (added in 1956), leading to the living room and the stairwell to the second story. The living room leads to a central hallway that provides access to the kitchen, dining room, den, bathroom, and bedroom. The porch, kitchen, living room, and two bedrooms and bath on the west side were part of the original construction. The dining room and den date to 1941. The upstairs, also completed in 1941, contains a central landing, bathroom, and two bedrooms; ceilings follow the roofline.

Fixed furnishings include a stone fireplace and exposed ceiling beams in the living room and built-in dining room corner cupboards. On the main floor, wall-to-wall carpeting covers the original wood flooring. The wood remains exposed on the second-story. The original inlaid linoleum in the kitchen and bathrooms has been covered with modern vinyl flooring (date unknown). The original six-panel doors, painted, remain in place. With the exception of Warren's den, which is paneled with tongue-and-groove knotty pine, walls and ceilings are plastered. Originally stained, shellacked, and waxed, much of the door and window trim has been painted.

N. Garage (HS-61), circa 1934. NR Contributing Building (1)

The garage is a one-story, rectangular, wood-frame building constructed on a concrete pad. Gray and red asphalt shingles cover the gable roof. White stucco covers the exterior walls and the gable ends are covered with horizontal beveled wood siding. A wooden, 18-panel, overhead door dominates the north elevation. A centered one-panel wood door provides access from the breezeway on the west elevation. Both the south and east elevations contain a centered, six-light, steel casement window. The one room of the garage interior contains a concrete floor and 8" horizontal wood siding on the interior walls and ceilings.

O. Chicken Coop (HS-59), 1940. NR Contributing Building (1)

The chicken coop is a one-story, rectangular, wood-frame building constructed on a concrete pad. Red rolled asphalt roofing covers the shed roof; rafter ends are exposed on the north and south elevations. Horizontal wood siding covers the exterior walls. A flush, hollow core, wood door is on the south side of the east elevation. A six-panel wood door is on the west elevation. The south elevation contains seven windows. Two rectangular vents and two chicken doors are located low on the south elevation. The chicken coop interior contains three rooms. The walls are finished with horizontal 1" x 5" wood boards. The flooring is a concrete pad. Celotex panels cover the ceiling of the east room.

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P. Boat House (HS-60), circa 1950s. NR Contributing Building (1)

The boat house, where Conrad Warren built his sailboat, is a one-story, rectangular, wood-frame building constructed on a concrete pad. Vertical board-and-batten siding covers the exterior walls. Wood shingles cover the gable roof. There is a four-panel wood door three-light wood-frame hopper window on the east elevation. The south elevation contains two three-light wood-frame hoppers. A side-hinged board-and-batten double garage door dominates the west elevation. A three-light wood-frame hopper window is centered on the north elevation.

Warren Barn Complex

Beginning with the ca. 1950 construction of two bull barns, each of which held four herd bulls, Conrad Warren relocated his breeding operation approximately 400 feet east of the railroad tracks. Additional construction, completed by 1954, included a sales barn, the Warren Barn, scale house, and feed lots. This land was well-drained and spared the constant mud that plagued the lower yard.²³ In 1976, Warren remembered:

. . . we had our show cattle here, then our range bulls in these lots back here, and then our working chute was over there. This was kind of the cattle department and those were where I kept my herd bulls.²⁴

During the fall and winter months, the Warren Barn housed "about 32" of Warren's best bull calves, nursed by Holstein milk cows. The remaining calf crop was held and fed in the lots behind the Sales Barn. This barn was placed in most active use in November, when Warren would sell "pretty much all of the range bulls at . . . the annual sale." Range bulls dominated the annual sales and were the primary goal of Warren's breeding operation:

There was maybe a few herd bull prospects. . . I had a tendency to want to breed bulls for the range cattlemen rather than for purebred breeders, you know, because the incidence of getting herd bull prospect is kind of slim, you know. You got maybe one out of 50 calves. . . so I tried to breed the kind of cattle that the commercial man wanted. And they wanted big bulls . . . that would sire big calves.

In 1956, land appraiser Henry T. Murray elaborated on the scale, scope, and expense of the improvements:

²³ Conrad Warren by James O'Barr, April 4, 1984, RG 5, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS. Warren reported that "the lower yards were always wet and muddy," conditions that not only made his work more difficult but also threatened the health of his breeding stock. This problem was compounded in 1947, when Warren spread "a couple" of dump truck loads of gravel in the lower yard preparatory to a sale. The gravel "raised the level of the yard and water ran into the thoroughbred barn after that."

²⁴ Conrad Warren by John Albright, November 11-12, 1976, Tape 3, Record Group 3: Oral History Interviews [RG 3], Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

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The property . . . has been improved to such an extent that it has become a special purpose property and it would be impossible for a commercial cattle operation to support the extensive investment in improvements . . . made to handle purebred livestock . . . It is possible to handle large numbers of livestock without confusion, but all of which adds to the amount of the capital invested in the enterprise.²⁵

Q. Bull Barns (HS-62 and HS-63), 1952. NR Contributing Buildings (2)

Identical barns HS-62 and HS-63, which housed Warren's prize Hereford bulls, are southwest of, and proximate to, barn HS-64, along the northern edge of the residential access road. Pole-and-board fencing forms a corral around the west, south, and east sides of the buildings. The corrals are divided into sections, accessed by side-hinged gates on the north sides of each section, and through the doors on the south elevation. Wooden feed troughs are in each corral. The barns are two-story, rectangular, wood-frame buildings constructed on poured concrete foundation. Corrugated metal panels cover the gable roofs. Rafter ends are exposed. Red (originally white), 5¼" horizontal, dropped, wood siding covers the exterior walls. The gable ends contain a square, side-hinged hay door with x-bracing and painted metal hardware. A four-light window is centered above each hay door. A centered, side-hinged, door, flanked by two small windows, is in the front elevation of each building. The roof is covered with corrugated metal panels and has exposed rafter ends.

On the interior, the first story of each barn has a dirt floor and a central feed bin dividing the space into two equal parts. The upper floor hay loft opens over the central feed bin. The interior walls are finished with 1" x 8" shiplap siding from the floor to a height of four feet. The upper sections of the walls and the ceiling are unfinished.

R. Warren Barn (HS-64), 1952. NR Contributing Building (1)

This imposing barn was the geographic and functional center of Warren's purebred breeding operation. The large, two and one-half story, post-and-beam, rectangular barn has a pointed arch roof, formed by large glue-laminated beams. The building is constructed on a concrete slab foundation. In 1972, the original white-painted shiplap siding was covered with anodized corrugated steel siding. Four multi-light, multi-panel overhead garage doors, added in 1972, dominate the lower level of the south elevation. At the loft level, the south elevation contains one set of centered, x-braced, wood-frame double doors. Three hopper windows surround the double doors, one on either side, and the other centered above. The north side of the west elevation has two wooden, x-braced sliding doors suspended from a metal rail. Eight three-over-three-light, wood-frame, hopper windows are spaced evenly across the west elevation, seven south of the sliding doors, and one to the north. The multi-light, multi-panel

²⁵ Henry T. Murray, "Appraisal of Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch, C.K. Warren, owner," 1956, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site Archives, p.7.

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overhead garage door on the north elevation is off-center to the east. A pair of wood-frame x-braced double doors are off-center to the east at the loft level. Three three-over-three-light, wood-frame, hopper windows surround the hay doors, one on either side, and the other centered above. There are ten three-over-three-light, wood-frame, hopper windows spaced across the east elevation. A centered, wood-framed, side-hinged, x-braced door provides access to the stall area. The roof features 1" x 10" sheathing, corrugated metal roofing, and three metal ventilators.

The first floor interior features a series of wood-frame stalls on either side of an open central bay. The exterior walls are unfinished and open to the framing. The ceiling is open to the joists and wooden planks of the loft floor structure. The stall floors are covered with wood planks, and the central bay floor is a concrete slab. The stall half-walls are supported by milled timber frames and finished with horizontal wood planks. One stall was converted to a tack room in 1972. It also features unfinished walls and the ceiling is open to the loft floor structure. The loft of the barn features a wood-plank floor; the barn's end walls and roof structure are the side walls of the loft.

S. Sales Barn (HS-65), 1954. NR Contributing Building (1)

Conrad Warren constructed sales barn HS-65 in 1954, as part of his general relocation of breeding/sale operations from the Kohrs & Bielenberg complex. The arena was used in connection with the adjacent yards and filled an "essential" role in both Warren's purebred (pre 1958) and commercial cattle operations.²⁶ The metal barn is a square, pre-fabricated, steel-frame building with a shallow gabled roof. The building is constructed on a concrete-pad. Corrugated steel covers the exterior walls and roof. A set of massive corrugated metal and steel-framed, sliding, double doors (suspended from an overhead rail) dominate the south elevation. The doors open to expose a four-light, multi-panel overhead garage door installed by the park service ca. 1989. A large metal vent is centered above the doors.

The east elevation contains three steel-frame, shed-roofed, enclosed additions that housed restrooms and concessions. The additions are sided and roofed with corrugated metal. The east elevation of the south addition has a metal-frame, two-light, sliding window off-center to the south. Solid, metal-frame pedestrian doors flank the central addition. The recessed area that leads to these doors is covered by an extension of north and south addition shed roofs. Wooden, x-braced, side-hinged doors are set on either side of the south elevation of the central addition. The south and north elevations of the central addition feature a four-light, wood-frame, fixed-sash window centered above the shed roof extensions.

²⁶ Henry T. Murray, "Appraisal of Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch, C.K. Warren, owner," 1956, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site Archives, p. 33.

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The interior of the metal barn has been modified to accommodate a maintenance workshop; original interior furnishings included collapsible bleachers and an auctioneer stand. Sheetrock covers the interior walls as far as the eaveline; above the eaveline and across the ceiling the interior is open to the metal framing and batt insulation. The flooring is poured concrete. A large milled-lumber staircase at the west wall leads to a wood-framed loft. The half-loft contains a central office with sheetrock walls, a wood-framed door and window opening on its south interior wall. A milled lumber railing protects the east edge of the loft. A functional, massive iron wood-stove dominates the south west corner of the barn.

T. Scale House (HS-66), 1952. NR Contributing Building (1)

The scale house is a square, wood, post-and-frame building with 2'-wide corrugated metal siding and roofing. The building poles are 6" in diameter and set 6' apart on center. Three 2" x 6" wood planks form the top plate of the scale house. Both the north and south sides of the building contain a large, sliding, corrugated metal door suspended on a wood-and-metal frame and rail. Inside the building, a concrete pit, three to five feet deep, supports the vintage wood-plank pen and metal scale mechanism. The scales, which were moved from HS-35, are registered and functional.

U. Loading Chute (HS-69), 1952. NR Contributing Structure (1)

The loading chute is a fenced, wood-frame ramp surrounded by a series of corrals and fences. The ramp is made of six 8"-diameter wood posts, 2" x 6" floor joists, and three 2" x 12" boards laid lengthwise. The ramp angle is adjustable.

V. Cow Sheds (HS-70, HS-71, HS-72, HS-73, HS-74, HS-75, HS-76, AND HS-77), 1952.
NR Contributing Buildings (8)

The cow sheds, which are identical to each other, are in the north pasture on the east side of the district. Conrad Warren constructed the cow sheds in 1952, as part of his general relocation of breeding/sale operations from the Kohrs/Bielenberg complex west of the railroad tracks to the new site east of the tracks. Each shed is a one-story, pole building with board-and-batten siding and a gabled roof. The roof is finished with corrugated metal sheets and features exposed 2" x 4" rafter ends. Each shed is open on one side, exposing a four-bay wide by two-bay deep structural system. The other sides are covered with vertical 1" x 10" siding with 1" x 4" battens. The roof structure consists of 25 2" x 4" trusses with the king posts set 2' on center. The floors are dirt.

W. Feed Houses (HS-78, HS-79, HS-80, HS-81, HS-82, HS-83, and HS-84), 1952. NR
Contributing Buildings (7)

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As in the case of the cow sheds described above, Conrad Warren constructed feed houses HS-78 through HS-84 in 1952 as part of a general relocation to breeding/sale operations to the east side of the railroad tracks. Of this system of stock handling, land appraiser H. Murray wrote: "Corrals and feed lots [associated with the cow sheds], each with its own heated water supply, are all located along an alleyway which leads from one pen to another or to the central barn or to the sales area."²⁷ The feed houses are shed-roofed, rectangular, wood-frame buildings, open on one side. The structural system consists of 2" x 4" studs with 1" x 5" lap siding and 1" x 4" corner boards. The 1" x 7" shiplap roof sheathing, installed horizontally is covered with red rolled asphalt.

X. Warren Residence Pump House (HS-88), 1952. NR Contributing Building (1)

Pump house HS-88 is west of the Warren residence (HS-58). The pump house is a rectangular, subterranean concrete building with a gabled roof. The building is exposed to a height of three feet above the ground. The walls of the building are 1"-thick poured-in-place concrete. A hatch door on the south side of the building provides access to the interior. The roof has red, rectangular, asphalt shingles and exposed 2" x 4" wood rafter ends. Five-inch dropped wood siding and 4" wood corner trim fill the gable ends and extend 15 inches below the eave line. The National Park Service installed a new pump and pressure tank in the building during the 1990s.

IV. NONCONTRIBUTING BUILDINGS

The historic district includes 26 noncontributing resources. With the exceptions of irrigation flume HS-50, pump houses HS-85, HS-86 and HS-87, and the sewage disposal ponds constructed by the City of Deer Lodge, all of the noncontributing buildings and structures within the historic district were constructed by the National Park Service following the establishment of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site. With one exception – resource building 003 – all of the National Park Service-constructed buildings are reconstructions of historic buildings.

Irrigation flume HS-50 was constructed in 1974 to replace an earlier flume (HS-51) that carried Kohrs-Manning Ditch irrigation water over Johnson Creek. The flume, which is a wood-framed, box-truss structure with a wood-plank floor and sides, was constructed under the auspices of the Kohrs-Manning Ditch Company.

Pump house HS-85 is noncontributing because of a loss of integrity. The one-story, wood-frame, gable-roofed building, which was moved from its original location over a well, is in a state of collapse.

Pump houses HS-86 and HS-87 were built in 1960, beyond the period of significance. Pump house HS-86, which is on the northern edge of the north pasture on the north bank of the Kohrs-Manning Ditch, is a rectangular, one-story building with a gabled roof, set on a concrete pad. Pump house HS-87 is on the southern edge of the

²⁷ Murray, "Appraisal of Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch, C.K. Warren, owner."

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southwest pasture, on the west bank of the Clark Fork River. The pump house is a square, one-story, cast-in-place concrete building with a flat roof, set on a poured concrete foundation.

The sewage disposal ponds, which are at the northern end of the historic district, were constructed by the City of Deer Lodge in 1958-1960. Since the ponds are not associated with the historic operations and management of the ranch, they do not contribute to the historic district.

Resource building 003, which is just north of HS-65 in the feedlot area of the Warren barn complex, was constructed by the National Park Service in 2000 to serve administrative functions. The resource building is a one-story building with corrugated metal siding and a gable roof, designed to blend in with the utilitarian agricultural buildings of the ranch.

In all other cases, the noncontributing buildings and structures are reconstructions of historic buildings and structures that were in such deteriorated condition that they could not be renovated. Most of these properties are in the lower yard/west corrals area. The reconstructed buildings and structures in this area include stock shelter HS-25, storage area HS-26, feeds racks HS-42, HS-43 and HS-44, feed bunks HS-45, HS-46, HS-48, HS-49, and HS-52, and squeeze chutes HS-47 and HS-53. In every case, these reconstructions replaced original buildings. To the greatest extent possible, and often using the deteriorated elements of the original buildings as patterns, the National Park Service reconstructed these structures to replicate the historic buildings that they replaced. Nevertheless, the buildings contain very little if any historic fabric. Also in the vicinity of the west corrals is Ditch Bridge HS-55, which crosses the Kohrs-Manning Ditch. Originally constructed by Conrad Warren in 1930, the bridge was extensively reconstructed by the National Park Service in 1982.

Reconstructed buildings and structures in the main yard building cluster include feed racks HS-36, HS-37 and HS-38, beef hoist HS-40 and, at the most northern edge of the may yard cluster, squeeze chute HS-41. Within the Warren barn complex east of the railroad tracks, reconstructed structures include squeeze chute HS-67 and feed rack HS-68.

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Narrative Statement of Significance

Summary

The Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch, the period of significance of which dates from 1929-1958, represents the modernization of cattle ranching on the Great Plains of the American West, specifically in the era that began in the early twentieth century and which marked the close of the open range. The “modern” agricultural operations of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch are that much more significant because they were an outgrowth of the historic Grant-Kohrs Ranch, which was designated as a National Historic Landmark for its associations with the open-range cattle industry. Conrad Warren, the grandson of legendary “cattle king” Conrad Kohrs, moved to his grandfather’s former ranch in 1929. Two years later, Warren assumed management of the Conrad Kohrs Company Ranch, and transformed the relatively small financial and physical remnants of his grandfather’s once vast cattle empire into a modern cattle breeding and sales complex. Warren lived on the ranch until his death in 1993. These decades witnessed the drought and depression years, when beef prices fell by over 50%. They also witnessed the 1940s, when cattlemen entered an era of unparalleled prosperity, supplying beef to the armed forces and an urban population enjoying record employment and record income. This increased demand, however, conflicted with a decreased availability of land for animal husbandry. In a trend that continues to this day, ranchers such as Warren intensified their cattle operations by breeding “comprest” cattle with fast growth rates and a higher meat/bone ratio, improving feed with forage plants and silage, and increasing crop yields with chemical fertilizers and improved irrigation techniques. Perhaps most dramatically, cattlemen streamlined the birth-to-market process, focusing on one aspect of cattle production: either raising cattle (cow-calf operations) or “finishing” cattle (feedlot operations). The Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch, through its history and built environment, represents these changes in agriculture – and, ultimately, the continuum of cattle ranching from the days of the open range into the modern era. At a state level of significance, the ranch is eligible to the National Register under Criterion A for its significant associations with the history of agriculture, and under Criterion C for its rustic utilitarian architecture. The period of significance is 1929-1958. The beginning date marks the year that Conrad Warren moved to the ranch. The ending date marks the dispersion of most of Warren’s herd, and the end of the most active period of the ranch’s history.

It is important to note that the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch is entirely within the boundary of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site. It is also important to note that the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch district encompasses the nationally significant Grant-Kohrs Ranch, which was established by John Grant in 1862 and operated by Conrad Kohrs from 1866-1919. The Grant-Kohrs Ranch was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1960, with a national period of significance of 1862-1919. All of the nationally significant resources that contribute to the Grant Kohrs Ranch also contribute to the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district, because Warren also used these resources in his ranch operations.

To a remarkable degree, in terms of success and failure, the Grant-Kohrs/Warren Ranch has been a representative and harbinger of sweeping changes in the Great Plains cattle industry. First owner John Grant traded in the cattle of the emigrant trails, fattening the worn animals on virgin bunchgrass and selling beef-on-the-hoof to the booming Montana mining communities. After purchasing the ranch in 1866, Conrad Kohrs, with his half-brother and business partner John Bielenberg, expanded the Deer Lodge operation to the eastern Montana plains, taking advantage of the open range and realizing enormous profit. By the end of the nineteenth century, traditional open-range cattle ranching underwent significant change as cattlemen exhausted available bunchgrass, contagious

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diseases decimated the “pooled” herds of the open range, and homesteaders laid claim to western land and water. Successful and far-sighted open-range cattlemen turned to “pasture ranching,” purchasing and leasing large blocks of contiguous land that would support both summer hay crops and a wintering herd and intensifying their breeding program to include registered herd bulls and calves. Kohrs and Bielenberg diversified as early as 1870, when they began cultivating winter feed for breeding stock at the Home Ranch. By the mid-1920s, this transition from open-range grazing to pasture ranching was complete across the Great Plains. Conrad Warren’s management of the ranch brought it into the modern era, with a new emphasis on livestock health, selective breeding, blended feeds, and feedlot and sales operations.

The historic district demonstrates – through its history *and* through its built environment – these dominant changes in one of the region’s dominant economic enterprises. The simple functional buildings reflect pivotal characteristics of vernacular architecture – buildings that are constructed of locally available materials and in traditional forms by builders not schooled in formal architectural traditions. The agricultural buildings at the ranch reflect their period of construction and use. Log construction and post-and-pole were used for the bunkhouse, ice shed, early barns and sheds. Frame construction was used for less substantial granaries and privies. The Warren-constructed buildings are generally of frame construction. In general, the agricultural buildings are simple forms, their size, scale, and openings reflecting their use in a vernacular architectural style typical of the region. In all of these buildings, form follows function. Intricacies of design and variations on scale directly reflect the buildings’ utilitarian purposes. The Greek Revival-style Grant residence, the elaborate brick Victorian addition commissioned by Kohrs, and the architect-designed Warren residence, constructed in 1934 and based on a standard plan published in *Woman’s Home Companion*, reflect the typical greater sophistication of ranch domestic structures. They also speak directly to the wealth of their owners, the availability of materials, and historically significant changes in the regional transportation and communication systems.

Cattle Ranching Comes to Montana²⁸

The great herds of cattle driven north from Texas were not the first to utilize the “open” ranges of the semiarid West. At least two decades before the historic cattle drives of the 1870s and 1880s, a mass migration of people moving to Oregon Territory established a market for cattle in the Northern Rockies.²⁹ Cattle, horses and even some sheep accompanied the thousands of immigrants making the 2,000-mile trek from Missouri to Oregon between the 1840s and the 1870s. Most of the immigrants moving from the settled lands of the eastern United States to the West could not afford to carry extra grain for their livestock, and instead relied on the forage along the route. Within a few years, grass was at a premium. By the time the caravan of immigrants reached southern Idaho, many of the cattle and horses were footsore, gaunt, and unable to continue the journey. Since there was no time to wait for the animals to recuperate, it became common for immigrants to abandon and/or trade their livestock en route to their final destination further west.

²⁸ For a more comprehensive discussion of the Grant-Kohrs years, see the National Historic Landmark nomination form for the Grant-Kohrs Ranch. The discussion of the Kohrs years is derived in large part from HRA Research Historian Anna Rosenberg’s “Hard Winter Endurance: Conrad Kohrs’ Cattle Raising Operation, 1887-1900” (Master’s Thesis, University of Montana, 1996).

²⁹ Robert Fletcher, “The Day of the Cattleman Dawned Early in Montana,” *Montana, The Magazine of Western History* 11 (Autumn, 1961): 22-24.

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An unfortunate situation for immigrants created an opportunity for those wishing to remain out West. Fur traders and trappers were the first non-Indians to discover that the rapid flowing Rocky Mountain streams that coursed through the lush rolling benchland, lined with cottonwoods and willows, supplied all the necessary amenities – shade, shelter, and forage – for wintering livestock. After a season of feeding on the lush grasses of the Beaverhead and Deer Lodge Valleys of southwestern Montana, the cattle were “fat and shiny” and ready for market. The West’s nascent stockmen drove the cattle back to the Oregon Trail where emigrants eagerly exchanged two gaunt steers for one healthy animal. Within a few years, cattle traders built up sizable herds. These “road ranches” were the first commercial stock-raising centers in Montana.³⁰ Between 1862 and 1863, the discovery of gold in southwestern Montana drew people from all parts of the country, and greatly increased the demand for cattle. As one historian wrote, “often the road to riches was to ‘mine the miners.’”³¹ Among those who quickly deduced that there was more gold to be made selling meat to the miners than digging for gold were John Grant and Carsten Conrad Kohrs.

The John Grant Era, 1862-1866

In 1847, at the age of 16, John Grant and his brother Richard arrived in Fort Hall, Washington Territory (now Idaho), where their father commanded the Hudson’s Bay Company post at this crossroads along the California, Oregon, and Mormon trails.³² Here, “Johnny” Grant made contacts with the leaders of the Shoshone, Bannock, and Paiute tribes. He also learned to trap, to ride, to gamble, and – more importantly – to trade in the worn stock abandoned or sold by overland immigrants.³³ In 1857, after years of successful trading and the accumulation of a large herd, Grant spent his first winter in the Deer Lodge Valley, along Cottonwood Creek, near its confluence with the Little Blackfoot River. By 1859, he wintered 250 horses and over 800 cattle on the valley’s abundant bunchgrass. (Montana pioneer Granville Stuart described the herd as “several hundred cattle and horses . . . fattened on the native grasses without shelter other than that afforded by the willows, alders, and tall rye grass along the streams.”) In 1859, Grant hired Louis Mailet to trail cattle to California, becoming “the first to export Montana cattle to a distant market.” In 1861, Grant reported his net worth at “one hundred and ten thousand dollars in horses and cattle.”³⁴

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

³⁰ Ernest Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman*, 2d ed. (Chicago: Phoenix Press, 1960; first edition, 1929), pp. 16-17; and Robert Fletcher, *Free Grass to Fences: The Montana Cattle Range Story* (New York: University Publishers Inc., 1960), pp. 13-17.

³¹ Michael P. Malone, Richard R. Roeder and William L. Lang, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, rev. ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), p. 86.

³² Meikle, *Very Close to Trouble*, pp. 1-3.

³³ Meikle, *Very Close to Trouble*, p. 71.

³⁴ Meikle, *Very Close to Trouble*, pp. 72-73, 76, and 83; Stuart, quoted in Albright, “Historic Resource Study,” p. 4.

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they constructed a home.³⁵ But Grant did not find Deer Lodge Valley an attractive location for his family: "There were no police or no other officers of the law to protect us. Everyone had to protect himself" – from hostile native tribes, adept at stealing livestock; from cattle rustlers; and from road agents. In 1866, Grant sold his Deer Lodge holdings, including equipment, cattle, improvements, and squatters' (preemption) rights to the untitled adjacent range, to Conrad Kohrs for \$19,200."³⁶

The Conrad Kohrs and John Bielenberg Era, 1866-1922

The cattle ranch that Johnny Grant founded in the Deer Lodge Valley eventually became the center of a vast cattle empire run by Conrad Kohrs. During the summer of 1864 Conrad Kohrs, a native of Germany, purchased 400 "poor work cattle" and "a few work horses," which he wintered in Deer Lodge Valley.³⁷ These cattle were used to supply Kohrs's butchering business.³⁸ Two years later, Kohrs bought John Grant's ranch, including his house, unsurveyed ranch "situate[d] on Cottonwood creek," miscellaneous corrals, outbuildings, equipment, haystacks, and a herd of an estimated 357 head of cattle. Within a month, Kohrs added to his holdings, purchasing an additional 160 acres on the west side of the Clark Fork River.³⁹ Thus, four years after Kohrs entered Deer Lodge Valley, he owned most of the cattle in the valley. Eventually, this titled acreage and adjacent range would serve as the "Home Ranch" of an open-range operation that spanned across Montana, parts of Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, and the Canadian province of Alberta.

Kohrs remained in the cattle business for over 50 years, surviving even the "Hard Winter" of 1886-87 and the close of the open range. Kohrs's success, as well as that of his half-brother and business partner John Bieleberg, was the result of several important decisions. The partners were among the first to introduce registered Shorthorn cattle into their herd, followed by registered Herefords. So well did the white-faced Hereford perform as "beef-makers on grass" and to the rigors of farm feedlots, cattlemen across the United States became proponents of the breed.⁴⁰ As the largest cattle owner in the Deer Lodge Valley, Kohrs also was one of the first to become acutely aware of the disappearing bunchgrasses. The year that Kohrs purchased the ranch, the Montana territorial legislature passed a law defining summer and winter grazing in the Deer Lodge Valley, with the stipulation that winter grass could not be used without proper title. Although the law was repealed the following year, its establishment verified the growing concern, at this early date, regarding overcrowding and overgrazing.⁴¹ In 1869, Kohrs trailed his first herd of about 1,000 head of cattle to graze in Blackfoot country along the Sun River, east of the Continental Divide.⁴² As such, Kohrs was the first cattleman

³⁵ Quoted in Albright, "Historic Resource Study," p. 11.

³⁶ Meikle, *Very Close to Trouble*, pp. 92 and 134.

³⁷ Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, p. 38.

³⁸ Leland Everett Stuart, "Men and Cattle on the Northern Plains: 1860-1887" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1971), pp. 71-79.

³⁹ Albright, "Historic Resource Study," p. 12.

⁴⁰ Donald R. Ornduff, *The First 49 Personalities: In the Honor Gallery of the AHA's Hereford Heritage Hall* (Kansas City, MO: Lowell Press Inc., 1981), p. xiii.

⁴¹ *Laws of Montana Territory*, 1866, Session 2, p. 35.

⁴² Kohrs, *An Autobiography*, p. 52. On July 5, 1873, by Executive Order, the president set apart a reserve for the River Crow, Gros Ventre, Blackfoot and related bands, the Piegan and Blood. This reserve encompassed the Sun River country, running from the northwest corner of Dakota Territory, south to the Missouri River, west to the Sun River as far as the point of summit with the Rocky Mountains, thence north to the boundary of Canada. Land between the Sun and the Musselshell rivers was assigned by treaty to the

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to risk the threat of Indian raids and venture onto Montana's open range. A portent of the radical changes to come, the move to the Sun River range also signified the beginning of Kohrs's utilization of the public domain for supplying cattle to markets outside of the territory.

Diversification also played a major role in Kohrs' financial success. By the end of the nineteenth century, Kohrs and Bielenberg expanded their operations to include horses, which played a significant role in the overall success of their partnership.⁴³ Initially, Kohrs and Bielenberg began breeding horses for their own use; they needed a horse big enough to rope a large Hereford-Shorthorn cross. But what began as a means of improving the roundup herds grew into a profitable business. Breeding and selling high-quality bulls also became an important ranch operation. In addition, Kohrs diversified his financial holdings to include investments in non-cattle operations such as real estate, mining and water rights, and the local electrical cooperative.

In 1899, Conrad Kohrs and his wife Augusta moved to Helena, Montana, leaving the day-to-day management of the ranching operations to Bielenberg. The first step towards the dissolution of the Kohrs cattle empire came in 1915 when part of the ranch was leased to a group of investors for growing wheat, presumably in response to government and price incentives associated with World War I.⁴⁴ In 1919, a partnership of ranchers in the Deer Lodge Valley purchased 12 sections of contiguous land east of the ranch house from Kohrs and Bielenberg for \$100,000. Later that year, the partners purchased another 12,000 acres, as well as water rights and livestock. Conrad Kohrs died in 1920, and John Bielenberg died in 1922. By 1924, the last sections of pastureland had been sold to a co-partnership known and designated as Nelson and Sons.⁴⁵ The remaining parcels of land connected to the Home Ranch stayed in a caretaker status – although young Conrad Warren, the grandson of Conrad Kohrs, worked as a ranch hand in the summers. In 1929, Warren moved to the ranch permanently.

The Conrad Warren Era, 1929-1993

Following in the dynamic tradition of his grandfather and great uncle, Conrad Warren became a leader in animal development and improvement. The "Warren Era" at the ranch also resulted in major changes to the ranch and its operations. After moving to the ranch in 1929, Warren used the extant buildings and structures, but also oversaw the construction of a dairy, various barns, feed sheds, feed lots, a blacksmith shop, and a new home, constructed in 1934. These new buildings and structures are consistent with the changes being made throughout the livestock industry. The emphasis on livestock health is reflected in Warren's collection of veterinary equipment, just as the shift towards mechanization of farming practices is represented by sprinkler irrigation, modern swathers, and a garage in which to store them. Selective breeding, scientific testing for disease and pregnancy, antibiotics, and blended feeds prepared in distant mills (supplemented with minerals and growth-inducing chemicals), are all represented in the modern Warren-era granaries, barns, and elaborate

Blackfeet in 1855. J. W. Powell, *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, 1896-1897* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), pp. 812-813, and 874-875, and map 39.

⁴³ Patricia Nell Warren, "Horses for the Big Circle C," *Persimmon Hill*, Volume 16, Number 4 (Winter 1989). Warren states that in the nineteenth century, "total annual horse sales [for the Kohrs and Bielenberg home ranch] exceeded the Shorthorn sales by far."

⁴⁴ Albright, "Historic Resource Study," p. 102.

⁴⁵ Albright. "Historic Resource Study," p. 103.

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corral/alley/feed shed networks. Yet, despite an increased reliance on technology, the basics of the cattle business – raising the fattest, fastest-growing cattle economically possible – stayed constant.

Conrad Warren spent the year after his grandfather's and his granduncle's deaths studying at the University of Virginia. Warren reported years later that he "didn't much care" for the East, or the university, wanting instead only a "scrap of land and some cows."⁴⁶ He returned to Montana following his freshman year.

His affinity for ranching had been evident since early childhood. His father, a psychiatrist and superintendent of the Warm Springs mental hospital south of Deer Lodge, died in 1907 when Warren was only eight weeks old. Conrad's mother, Katherine Kohrs Warren, later married Frank Bogart and the family lived in Helena, Montana. However, Warren visited the Grant-Kohrs Ranch often and would later describe his father's death as "the event that bent my life toward ranching and ultimately in to the cattle business. [I was] more of a Kohrs than a Warren":

It seems to me now that I lived out those days with only one thought in my mind and that was to get back to the ranch for a day, or a week, or a summer. There I found most of the things that were dear to my heart. . . . The feel of the land itself with the cattle and horses grazing, the river and creeks that watered it, its vastness that fell away into the smoky distance and the seasonal activities that made it work. . . . This was the place where I belonged, my land, where I could spend all the days of my life, working, living.⁴⁷

In 1931, at his instigation and with his family's misgivings, Warren assumed management of what remained of Conrad Kohrs's formerly vast holdings, then recognized as the Conrad Kohrs Company Ranch.⁴⁸ He "start[ed] again as my grandfather did with a small herd and a few horses and a fine memory of better times and greater men but no great future."⁴⁹ While young Kohrs took advantage of an "almost limitless" demand for beef, Warren faced the depths of the Great Depression, a deep and long-lived drought, and cattle prices below the cost of feed and care.⁵⁰

By the time Warren assumed management of the ranch, the eastern portion of the ranch had been sold and the extensive grazing rights relinquished. Warren owned just 993 acres of the former 26,787 acres at the Home Ranch.⁵¹ Only the remnants of Kohrs' and Bielenberg's Helena herd, a Durham bull and milk string of Durham cows, and the aging remnants of John Bielenberg's draft horse herd endured.⁵² More importantly, however, as

⁴⁶ Conrad Warren, quoted in "The Consummate Cowboy, Con Warren, the Former Owner of Historic Deer Lodge Ranch, in Cowboy Hall of Fame," *The Montana Standard*, Sunday March 19, 1989, File 5, Box 3, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁴⁷ Warren, "This I Remember," n.d., on file Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS Library, Deer Lodge, Montana, pp. 7-8, and 15.

⁴⁸ Warren began working at the ranch in 1929. Correspondence from these first years suggests that he took an active role in ranch management, although this role did not become official until 1931.

⁴⁹ Conrad K. Warren to John P. Hale, April 1, 1936, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁵⁰ Albright, "Historic Resource Study," pp. 107-108; and John T. Schlebecker, *Cattle Raising on the Plains, 1900-1961* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), pp. 119, 121, 124, and 216.

⁵¹ This total appears to have included leased lands. In 1908, the Home Ranch consisted of 22,307 deeded acres. Albright estimates that lease lands brought this total to approximately 26,787 acres (Albright, "Historic Resource Study," p. 99).

⁵² Warren to McKennan, June 18, 1931; McKennan to Warren, July 9, 1931, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

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his grandmother Augusta Kohrs and others reminded him, Warren inherited the “knowledge . . . absorbed” from John Bielenberg, the “[archival and anecdotal] record . . . of his Grandfather’s business,” and the Conrad Kohrs Company’s financial resources and active involvement in day-to-day and long-term ranch management decisions. Indeed, the Conrad Kohrs Company still was very much a family business, largely controlled by Augusta Kohrs and her daughters. Through the 1930s and 1940s, Samuel McKennan, described by historian John Albright as “an old Kohrs partner and friend,” served as executive director of the Conrad Kohrs Company, and as Warren’s direct contact on all matters of ranch operation and maintenance. Augusta Kohrs was company president and principal stockholder. Following Augusta’s death, her daughter Anna Kohrs Boardman assumed the title of company president. Katherine Kohrs Warren Bogart and Frank Bogart, Warren’s stepfather, also owned stock in the company. Frank Bogart served as company secretary, largely responsible for fund distribution and approval of operating and expansion loans.⁵³

On January 1, 1941, the Conrad Kohrs Company arranged a lease/purchase option agreement with Warren. Warren borrowed \$100,000 to acquire land, lease rights, equipment and cattle. The package included real estate valued at \$57,069 (“together with the improvements thereon, and the appurtenances, including all water rights, ditches, and flumes”), approximately 568 head of cattle valued at \$39,196, equipment valued at \$5,755, and lease rights to the Archie McDonald lease of 3.5 sections near Avon, Montana. In honor of his new investment, Warren renamed the property the Warren Hereford Ranch, thus breaking the titular ties to Conrad Kohrs for the first time in 79 years.⁵⁴

Warren eventually achieved a measure of his grandfather’s fame, though only a small measure of his grandfather’s wealth. By the late 1930s, using Conrad Kohrs Company funds and his own initiative, Warren had established “a modern livestock establishment, from a standpoint of equipment as well as management – one “visited by livestock breeders and growers from all parts of the West.”⁵⁵ Warren served as first vice-president elect (1946-1949) and president of the Montana Stockgrowers Association (1950-1952), a position Kohrs had held almost 60 years earlier,⁵⁶ and from 1939 until 1951 served on the Montana Livestock Commission. As a member of the Montana Livestock Sanitary Board, and an unofficial veterinarian to the local ranching community, Warren played a significant role in the statewide campaign against brucellosis, also known as contagious abortion or Bang’s disease. He also was actively involved in the Livestock Commission’s successful efforts to establish brand inspectors, to license livestock sales yards, and to return over \$700,000 in

⁵³ Herb Jillson, “My Ranch Situated on Cottonwood Creek,” *Western Livestock Reporter*, Number 7, October 6, 1948, n.p.; and Samuel J. Scott [contemporary of Conrad Kohrs; letter on Montana Live Stock Commission stationery] to Conrad Warren, June 3, 1938.

⁵⁴ Lease and Options, Conrad Kohrs Company to Conrad K. Warren, January 1, 1941, Ranch Files, Box A, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS; Unsigned [Frank Bogart] to M.S. Gunn, Attorney, March 14, 1941; and Albright, “Historic Resource Study,” pp. 114-115.

⁵⁵ Wilson, “6,000 Acres and a Microscope,” p. 46.

⁵⁶ As president of the association, Warren argued that “. . . close cooperation among stockmen in our association is the only method of approach for safeguarding our industry, not only for now but for the future” (Conrad Warren, President, Montana Stockgrowers Association, Guest Editorial, Warren Papers). This effort at cooperation proved particularly important from the early 1930s until ca. 1957, as Montana livestock growers strove to eradicate brucellosis through a program of rigorous, and often expensive, destruction of infected cattle and vaccination of new-born calves (Schlebecker, *Cattle Raising on the Plains*, p. 228).

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estuary fund monies to Indian cattlemen.⁵⁷ In 1989, Warren's name joined that of Kohrs in the Great Westerners Hall of Fame, an honor bestowed to those "men and women who pioneered the American West . . . [and] who made and are making outstanding contributions to our Western Heritage."⁵⁸

Under Warren's management, the ranch slowly evolved its emphasis in operations. Warren converted from a commercial to a mixed herd (purebred and commercial)/steer operation from 1931-1945, later adding Belgian draft horses between 1932 and 1939.⁵⁹ In 1945, he initiated a period of intensive breeding with premium Hereford stock that lasted until 1958. Warren also dispersed his breeding stock and introduced several new operations, including a commercial feedlot operation from 1958 to 1962, a yearling steer/commercial hay operation from 1963 to 1966, and a cow-calf operation from 1967 to 1982.⁶⁰

These transitions in ranch management and use induced parallel transitions in the built environment of the ranch and in ranch boundaries. Through the 1930s and 1940s, Warren initiated numerous modifications and additions to the historic compound that had originally been built during the Grant-Kohrs era. These modifications included construction of a dairy barn, a blacksmith shop, garages, poultry facilities, and an extensive pasture, corral and feed-shed network. In 1952, Warren began construction of the large feedlot/sale complex that currently defines the east half of the historic district. This compound, located just north of Warren's 1934 residence, includes a large barn, bull barns, a show barn, and an intricate network of corrals, loading chutes, and feed sheds. The visually prominent raised track beds, electric lines and poles, and wire fencing of the historic railroad lines divide the Grant-Kohrs and Warren compounds, suggesting a clean division between the two sites and masking the degree to which the Grant-Kohrs compound also reflects Warren's management.

These transitions in ranch use parallel dominant changes in the western cattle industry. Between 1900 and the post World War II era, "cattlemen applied science and technology to their business and so, year by year, produced more beef on less land."⁶¹ Between 1924 and 1950, technological advances, including the tractor, combine, power takeoff, motor truck, and automobile, decimated the draft-horse market. By increasing the need

⁵⁷ Warren with Meikle, May 1984, RG 5, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS; Hall of Fame nomination, Series 5: Subseries B; Montana Stockgrowers Association News Bulletin, November, 1989, copy in Series 15, Subseries C, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS, all cited by Gow, "Con Warren Facts," submitted to HRA January 31, 1997.

⁵⁸ National Cowboy Hall of Fame Certificate, 1989. Established in 1955 and located in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, the Great Westerners Hall of Fame is part of the Cowboy Hall of Fame. The Cowboy Hall of Fame encompasses the larger museum collection, while the Great Westerners and the Great Performers Halls recognize those westerners who have made substantial contributions to regional exploration, settlement, art, agriculture, etc. As of November 1997, 237 individuals had been inducted to the Great Westerners Hall of Fame, averaging two inductees per year. Conrad Kohrs was the first Montana inductee. As of 1998, Conrad Warren was the last.

⁵⁹ "Commercial" operations refer to those in which the raising of beef cattle, either from birth to slaughterhouse, or one discreet phase in this cycle, is the primary focus. Purebred operations include the raising of registered purebred animals, sold as breeding bulls or used to increase the quality (size/density) of the commercial steer herd.

⁶⁰ Schlebecker, *Cattle Raising on the Plains*, p. 192. On a steer ranch, cattlemen bought steers at the beginning of the grazing season and sold them at the end: "steer cattlemen usually operated under unfavorable price conditions and they profited only in occasional windfall years." Cow and Calf operations focused on intense husbandry, designed to produce a high calf crop for sale to off-site feedlots.

⁶¹ Schlebecker. *Cattle Raising on the Plains*, p. vii.

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for capital, mechanization also led “to further concentration of land in fewer hands.”⁶² By the 1940s, advances in chemical pesticides and fertilizers, irrigation techniques, and grass strains led to dramatically improved hay and grain yields. Veterinary advances included virtual eradication of tuberculosis, cholera, brucellosis, and identification of a test for the recessive “lethal” dwarf gene in Hereford Cattle. By the 1960s, throughout the nation as at the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch, the joint cow-calf/fattening operations that had characterized nineteenth-century American ranching had been replaced by increased compartmentalization, where a rancher specialized in one phase of calf-to-market maturation. In response to increased constrictions on available land and to the discovery of feed additives, ranchers increasingly “finished” their yearling cattle in feed lots, “a revolutionary method of feeding cattle, in large pens with bunks placed along the alleyways.”⁶³

The Grant-Kohrs Ranch and the Warren Ranch: Contrast and Continuity

From approximately 1869, and in stark contrast to Kohrs and Bielenberg’s open-range eastern-Montana operations, the Grant-Kohrs Home Ranch was a breeding-stock, winter-feed “pasture farming” operation. The size of the herd carried through the winter related directly to the pasturage available, the feed raised, or the funds available for auxiliary feed purchase.⁶⁴ Albeit on a smaller scale, this pattern remained equally central to Conrad Warren’s operation. It also remains clearly visible on the physical landscape, where summer range blends to winter pasture; where winter pasture bears summer crops; and where irrigation ditches, fence lines, and transportation routes link the seasonal use areas.

Despite the familiar facade, however, the land was put to different purpose. In 1979, National Park Service historian John Albright wrote:

The rejuvenated ranch had a different orientation and looked for its pastures close at hand, not in the millions of acres of open rangeland east of the mountains. The ranch remained that of Kohrs and Bielenberg, property of the Conrad Kohrs Company, but no longer served as the base of operations for a range cattle, mining, and investment empire. The lands immediately at hand would now have to serve to graze all the cattle and horses that would provide the economic base of the stock-raising venture.

Other things remained the same however. Just as throughout the Grant-Kohrs years, the Warren era was impacted by the erratic and unpredictable vagaries of weather, disease, and the national and regional economy. Between 1929 and 1932, beef prices nation-wide dropped by 53%. Bankers stopped lending, compelling the federal government to advance feed loans, with a lien on the cattle as collateral. For many ranchers, in Montana and elsewhere, these loans assured only live cattle to relinquish when the debt came due. In 1934, brucellosis infected over 11% of the nation’s beef and dairy cattle, with the ultimate cure 20 years away. Drought, extreme

⁶² Alan L. Olmstead and Paul W. Rhode, “The Agricultural Mechanization Controversy of the Interwar Years,” *Agricultural History*, Volume 68, Number 3, 1994, p. 36.

⁶³ L. S. Pope, “Animal Science in the Twentieth Century,” *Agricultural History*, Volume 54, Number 1, 1980, p. 66.

⁶⁴ Albright writes “the stock-carrying capacity of the home ranch is not known exactly. . . . Con Warren suggested that the home ranch never carried more than 1,500 cows in its pastures (Albright, “Historic Resources Study,” p. 121). Kohrs, in his *Autobiography*, reports that by 1869 the Kohrs and Bielenberg herd was becoming “too large to winter in the valley without feeding” (Kohrs, quoted in Albright, “Historic Resources Study,” p. 18).

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between 1931 and 1933, heightened the misery and the rate of farm foreclosure. Locally, as in the 1880s and again in 1919, the drought of 1931-1936 taxed Montana ranchers' hay crops and graze, compelling many of Warren's peers to dispose of cattle that could not be carried through the winter. By August of Warren's second season on the ranch, Samuel McKennan of the Conrad Kohrs Company wrote:

I am pleased with the earnestness and sincerity with which you are taking hold of things at the ranch, and I am sorry at the same time that conditions are so bad this year that a fair showing cannot possibly be made. It is, I think, the worst season for the stockmen that I can remember since I came to Montana, 31 years ago [1900], and the shortage of hay throughout the state is going to force on to the market a tremendous amount of livestock which will result, of course, in extremely low prices. . . . Please put up every pound of hay you possibly can and at the same time, do everything you can to conserve your winter pasture.⁶⁵

The Department of Agriculture disagreed only slightly with McKennan's assessment, comparing 1931 with the "disastrous year of 1919" and reporting widespread crop losses and herd dispersions.⁶⁶ The crop results at the CK Cattle Ranch confirmed their fears. Warren reported that the potato crop was a complete failure, as was the wheat.⁶⁷ The oats and peas, however, were a minor success and enough hay was raised to support the herd through the winter, until the hoped-for improved spring market.⁶⁸

The cattle market did not improve until the late 1930s. Between 1929-1931 the Conrad Kohrs Company reported net losses on average of \$10,000.⁶⁹ By 1937, however, Warren reported a net gain: three percent of the gross profit of \$25,000.⁷⁰ Even this modest profit, in the face of depression and rampant foreclosures (60% to 70% in some counties) represented success. In retrospect, agricultural scientists and historians identified ten factors that allowed ranchers to survive the depression. These included moderately large units (200-250 cattle), careful buying and selling, contiguous land units, improvement of range vegetation and water supplies, flexibility in management, selective breeding, and diversification and subsistence agriculture. Many of these factors were evident at the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch, particularly as Warren acted on buying opportunities. Backed by his own and Conrad Kohrs Company capital, Warren developed the dairy herd and facilities, assuring a monthly income through sale to the local creamery. As importantly, he purchased adjacent

⁶⁵ McKennan to Warren, August 10, 1931, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁶⁶ McKennan to Warren, August 17, 1931, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁶⁷ In 1989, Warren reported that the potato field was "up at the north end, on land he sold to Olsens" (GRKO 15600, RGN 5, Conrad Warren by Randi Bry, Jan. 26, 1989).

⁶⁸ Warren to McKennan, July 6, 1931, July 15, 1931, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS. Warren averaged approximately 1.6 tons of hay per head of cattle, although long winters could drive consumption as high as 2 tons per head. Horse consumption averaged 2 ton per head (Personal Correspondence, Lyndel Meikle to Janene Caywood, January 31, 1997).

⁶⁹ McKennan to Warren, January 13, 1931; McKennan to Warren, August 10, 1931; Warren to McKennan, April 26, 1932, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁷⁰ Albright, "Historic Resource Study," pp. 112-113. Year-end totals for 1933-1936 has not been found.

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lands and breeding stock at depressed prices, posing the ranch for growth as conditions improved and assuring a measure of protection from the extreme fluctuations in the depression-era, commercial-cattle market.⁷¹

This stock included Belgian mares and stallions, purchased from three of America's most reputable breeders: Earle Brown of Minnesota (Brooklyn Farm), Ohio State University, and Thomas R. Holbert of Iowa (Holbert Horse Importing Co).⁷² At the height of Warren's draft-horse operation (ca. 1938), forty Belgian mares, two stallions, and assorted foals and yearlings filled the Home Ranch pastures, the horse corrals and stallion barn, and provided much of the labor associated with the hay harvest.⁷³ Warren reported years later that "the horse business kind of saved us during the depression," providing a source of revenue as the cattle market dropped.⁷⁴ Anna Boardman and Augusta Kohrs, however, did not share Warren's enthusiasm for the enterprise:

. . . they will be your hobby and while you need a certain number you do not want so many that another barn, more paddocks, and pasture will be required. All these would put the Company to heavy expense and increase your overhead. . . . Just go deliberately till times have improved and you can see ahead more clearly.⁷⁵

By the early 1940s, increased tractor and truck ownership decreased the need for draft animals. The U.S. Census reported 18,865 horses and mules in use on American farms in 1930. By 1945, this number had dropped to 11,629, and to 3,089 by 1960.⁷⁶ With regret, Warren sold the bulk of his herd in 1939 to the John D. Rockefeller estate and Holbart. He retained only eight bred mares and a "foal or two" to perform those tasks that tractors "could not do efficiently."⁷⁷ No Belgians were raised on the ranch after 1946.⁷⁸

Purebred Cattle

At its height in 1908, and exclusive of the eastern Montana holdings and of federal-land leases, the Home Ranch encompassed approximately 27,000 acres.⁷⁹ As noted earlier, Warren assumed management of less than a 1,000 acres, although this acreage increased six-fold by 1948.⁸⁰ Warren referred to his operation as "medium to small" – in contrast not only to his grandfather's ranch but to those of his peers in the Northwest:

⁷¹ Albright, "Historic Resource Study," pp. 112-113.

⁷² See Henry W. Vaughan, *Breeds of Live Stock in America* (Columbus, Ohio: R.G. Adams and Company, 1931), pp. 708-729, for a discussion of prominent American Belgian breeders of the 1920s.

⁷³ Conrad Warren by John Douglas, 11 November 1970, Tape 1, RG 3, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS. Warren reported that this was the largest herd of Belgian mares in America (Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS, 15599, RGN 3, Tape 6, Warren by Meyers, July 10, 1980).

⁷⁴ Warren, quoted in Albright, "Historic Resource Study," p. 115.

⁷⁵ Anna Boardman (Auntie) to Conrad Warren, February 13, 1938, Series 9, Subseries A, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁷⁶ Alan L. Olmstead and Paul W. Rhode, "The Agricultural Mechanization Controversy of the Interwar Years, *Agricultural History*, Volume 68, Number 3, 1994, p. 36.

⁷⁷ Conrad Warren to Earle Brown, August 5, 1939, Series 2, Subseries A, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS; and Gilbert C. Fite, "The Transformation of South Dakota Agriculture: the Effects of Mechanization," *South Dakota History*, 19 (3), 1989, p. 282.

⁷⁸ Conrad Warren by James O'Barr, April 4, 1984, RG 5, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁷⁹ Warren to John P. Hale, March 1, 1935, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁸⁰ Jillson, "My Ranch Situated on Cottonwood Creek," Number 7, October 6, 1948, n.p.

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. . . the number of cattle this ranch will carry is, of course, limited. . . . With an increase of about 150 cattle over my original purchase [568 cattle in 1941], I feel that the maximum has been reached. . . . This is a medium to small ranch operation with little chance to swing any large amounts of cattle due to the way the land lies.⁸¹

Warren carefully managed a herd of one dominant breed – Herefords – using the methods of modern agricultural science, new veterinary medicine, and new genetic knowledge pertaining to meat production and disease resistance. Historian John Albright reports that on the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch, as throughout the United States, “testing scientifically for disease and pregnancy replaced the practiced eye of the line rider.” Cattle feed progressed from grains grown by the rancher “to programmed feeding of blended feeds prepared in distant mills” and supplemented with minerals, growth-inducing chemicals, and antibiotics to ensure fast and sickness-free growth.⁸²

Several factors contributed to Warren’s transition to a carefully controlled breeding operation. In 1932, the United States Forest Service (USFS) set restrictions on the release of non-registered bulls on Forest Service grazing leases. In addition, changes in the regional cattle industry, as well as brucellosis, affected Conrad Kohrs Company’s herd.⁸³ By 1934, following virtual elimination of bovine tuberculosis and cholera, brucellosis stood as the most devastating and widespread cattle disease, infecting an estimated 11.5% of the nation’s cattle. Eradication of brucellosis, which is contagious, generally required destruction of all infected cows and diligent and controlled vaccination of all calves.

In 1931, Warren assumed management of three herds, totaling 88 head, including 77 Herefords.⁸⁴ Brucellosis, first reported in large numbers in the spring 1932 calving reports,⁸⁵ devastated the potential of this core herd:

Up to date we have lost twenty calves. Twelve abortions, a number [of] mature calves stillborn and the rest died with the first day and a half. Counting the cows that were not in calf last fall and our spring losses, we can only count on about fifty calves if all those that are born from now on live. This is a pretty poor crop from almost a hundred cows bred last summer. I think that we are about the end of our rope. . . . It certainly [is] discouraging. . . . What with the price of things and the abortions I’m afraid that I won’t be able to make the showing this coming year that I hoped.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Warren to Bogart, December 5, 1944, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁸² Albright, “Historic Resources Study,” p. 124.

⁸³ Frank A. Shaw to Byron Price, National Cowboy Hall of Fame (letter of nomination), May 10, 1988, Series 4, Subseries B, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁸⁴ Warren to McKennan, June 18, 1931, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁸⁵ Ranch managers Pem McComis (1930) and Warren (1931) had reported “several” cases of brucellosis in both 1930 and 1931. The infection, however, did not reach crisis proportions until 1932, see Warren to McKennan, February 1, 1931, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS. Con separated the “Bangers” in his herd, and ran them as a second herd, watching them carefully rather than destroying them (Grant-Kohrs NHS, 15600, RGN 5, Warren with Jarret, March 8, 1983).

⁸⁶ Warren to McKennan, March 3, 1932, Series 18, Subseries F, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

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This discouraged assessment reappeared in subsequent years. By 1936, at the height of the drought, Warren reported:

There has been no one in to buy the bulls. . . . They either want two year olds or registered stuff. When I tell them that I want a hundred dollars a piece for the stuff, they laugh at me, simply because they can buy two-year-old papered bulls for the same price. . . . The time when we can demand big prices for grade bulls is over I am afraid. *In view of the fact that our herd seems to have gone to pieces* I think that it would be a wise move to replace the herd with bred heifers from some good accredited herd.⁸⁷

Warren had initiated this transition three years earlier, with the purchase of 10 registered heifers and a herd bull – *Prince Blanchard 5th* – from the Willow Creek Ranch in Belt, Montana, and 11 registered heifers from Tash Ranch.⁸⁸ *Domino the Twentieth* joined the herd in the late 1930s. This genetic infusion added greatly to the value of Warren's steer operation: "A steer with a pure-blooded papa puts on weight much faster than one with more common ancestry, the difference at times amounting to a pound a day or more."⁸⁹

By February of 1938, Anna Kohrs Boardman and Augusta Kohrs celebrated that Warren's "long desired wish to have registered heifers [was] at last going into fulfillment." "Not long," Anna wrote, "and your herd can be brought up to a high standard and soon will be known in the state and can take the place it had many years ago."⁹⁰ By 1940, Warren reported "we have a big calf crop this spring and are going into the summer with about 750 head of cattle."⁹¹ The next year, following the spring sale of 15-month steers, the Warren Hereford herd contained 131 "pure bred," 68 coming yearling pure bred; 34 coming two-year-old pure bred; 15 animals 3 years old or older (including stock bulls), and 229 stock [commercial] cows.⁹²

By 1945, the *Western Livestock Reporter* reported that "one of the oldest 'cow outfits' in Montana, the C-K Ranch [Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch], sold its entire commercial Hereford herd this month and will be devoted in the future to the raising of registered Herefords only."⁹³ His commercial herd gone, Warren sold the "upper ranch," using the proceeds to pay part of the 1941 debt to the Conrad Kohrs Company and to finance the purchase of registered stock.⁹⁴

⁸⁷ Warren to McKennan, March 3, 1932; Warren to McKennan, April 26, 1932, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS, emphasis added.

⁸⁸ Frank A. Shaw to Byron Price, National Cowboy Hall of Fame (letter of nomination), May 10, 1988, Series 4, Subseries B, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁸⁹ Albright, "Historic Resources Study," p. 109; Conrad Warren by Bill Stalker, June 24, 1992, RG 5, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS; and "Bull Market," *Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 1951, File 5, Box 3, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁹⁰ Anna Boardman (Auntie) to Conrad Warren, February 13, 1938, Series 9, Subseries A, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁹¹ Con Warren to Thomas R. Holbert, June 5th, 1940, Series 4, Subseries B, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁹² "Assessor's Statement of Property Subject to Taxation in Powell County for Year 1942," Ranch Files, Box A, Warren Papers, GRKO. Additional livestock included a full-blood stallion, 5 range horses, 15 saddle horses, and 7 dairy cows.

⁹³ Photo caption, *Western Livestock Reporter*, Billings, Montana, September 18, 1945, Series 14, Subseries C, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

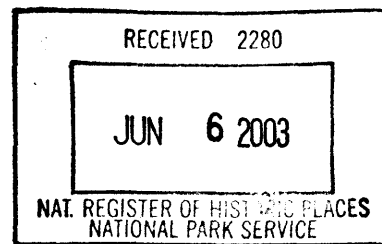
⁹⁴ Albright, "Historic Resource Study," p. 116.

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Warren's progression to registered Herefords was time honored within regional and familial traditions. Between 1881 and ca. 1885, Kohrs and Bielenberg had added Herefords to their breeding herd, expanding from the previous emphasis on Shorthorns (and initiating an emphasis on mixed breeds).⁹⁵ This practice reflected more regional trends. As reported in the *Silver State Post*:

In the late 1860's a few of these Hereford cattle were imported to the United States. Eastern cattlemen of that day were using English Shorthorns, but had found them lacking in certain respects as a beef animal . . . Following the Civil War there was at first a trickle of [Texas Longhorns] driven to markets. . . . Gradually the Shorthorn made his appearance and crossbreeding commenced. The character of the longhorn disappeared and the cattle became more of the Shorthorn type. The cattlemen had developed a better beef animal but lost the kind that could travel long distances to water, gain weight on sparse feed and survive the bitter winters. Consequently the Hereford made his appearance. . . and was very much in demand.

The Hereford of today has to adapt itself to any climate or altitude; ability not only to survive but make profitable gains on a great variety of grasses and forage even in arid and semi-arid regions. . . . The cows are excellent mothers and are long-lived, durable breeding animals. . . .

When the great drought [sic] of the 1930s hit along with a depression, cattlemen were forced to sell down to token herds of select breeding stock. Only those cattle of strong Hereford character were retained and the death knell was sung for the shorthorn cross breeds. Since that time Herefords have reached such a superiority of numbers that 95 out of every 100 cattle reaching primary markets are of Hereford blood.⁹⁶

By all public accounts, the conversion was a successful one. In 1945, Warren purchased *Proud Star*, son of the famed *Helmsman III*. In 1947 Warren set a Montana record when 60 head of Hereford heifers sold for an average price of \$722.⁹⁷ That same banner year, Warren purchased *TT Triumphant*, grand champion at Denver's National Western Stock Show, for \$35,000, raising his three-year investment in herd sires to \$56,000.⁹⁸ Six years later, with completion of the expensive, state-of-the-art "Big Red [Hereford] Barn" and associated feed lots, Warren purchased an additional 105 registered heifers and four herd bulls, increasing his herd size by an estimated 30 percent.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Albright, "Historic Resource Study," p. 122.

⁹⁶ "Cattlemen Only Independent Figure in Agriculture," *Silver State Post*, n.d. [ca. 1951], Series 14, Subseries C, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁹⁷ *Montana Standard*, June 18, 1947, File 13, Box 4, Series 15, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS; and interview of Conrad Warren by Rex Meyers, August 4, 1980, Tape 3, transcript p. 74, RG 5, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

⁹⁸ Jillson, "My Ranch Situated on Cottonwood Creek," n.p.

⁹⁹ Conrad Warren by Neysa Dickey and Randi Bry, February 13, 1991, RG 5, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS. The 30% estimate is based on the number of animals dispersed in 1958: 296 cows and 10 herd bulls. As part of the revised scope and scale of his operation, Warren relocated his facilities to a new site east of the railroad tracks. This land was near the primary road to Deer Lodge, an effective "show window" from which Warren could "advertise" his herd and sales. Corrals and feedlot, each with its own heated

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Warren maintained and improved the herd by “rigid culling of those cattle that we did not deem suitable for a top quality herd, and by bringing to the herd the best herd bulls that we could find.”¹⁰⁰ Through this process (and in company with his peers), Warren placed precedent on the industry fashion for early-maturing, low-set, short-legged, thick-muscled animals. Beginning in the 1940s, fat Hereford, Angus, and Shorthorn steers of this compressed variety dominated the winners’ circle at major shows and carcass competitions. Selection pressure toward the genetic deformity dwarfism (achondroplasi) was thus a component of normal breeding operations – with disastrous results for many breeders. By the early 1950s, dwarfism afflicted Hereford breeders on a new scale, an estimated 15% of all calves born. The recessive nature of the “lethal gene” made detection and prevention extremely difficult.¹⁰¹

Proud Star and *TT Triumphant* both introduced dwarfism to the Warren herd, dramatically reducing the quantity of saleable stock.¹⁰² Years later, Warren recalled:

And that’s where I kind of got in trouble. With that *Proud Star* bull. Because he had some lethal genes, and once in awhile we’d get a dwarf calf, you know. Instead of doing something to solve my problems, I went ahead and bought that *TT Triumphant* . . . [who] had some of the same problems that *Proud Star* had. And I sold a couple of sons of his that got a couple of dwarves and gee it spread like wildfire, you know, that kind of a bad reputation . . . I was getting my herd pretty well straightened up when the bank got after me . . . We had two or three kind of bad years in a row there, and I wasn’t doing anything on my debt. It was just getting bigger.¹⁰³

In June 1952, Warren borrowed \$5,000 from the Conrad Kohrs Company, a short-term loan due December 15, 1952. Of the loan, the company’s assistant secretary wrote:

Please do not fail me, Con, as to this loan. . . . I want to see you get as much out of debt as possible in the next few years as it costs money to be paying so much interest, as I know you realize – it leaves so little for you.¹⁰⁴

In May 1953, the Conrad Kohrs Company loaned Warren an additional \$15,652.57, sufficient for the May budget. But the loan came at a price, if not in flesh then certainly in pride:

water supply, were along a central alleyway that led from one pen to another and from the central barn and sales arena. These improvements were a “considerable investment” in state-of-the-art “modernized” improvements for handling purebred livestock.

¹⁰⁰ “1958’s Greatest Pioneer Hereford Dispersion,” 1958, Series 3, Subseries D, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

¹⁰¹ Kenneth A. Wagnon, Reuben Albaugh, and George H. Hart, *Beef Cattle Production* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 145; and Schlebecker, *Cattle Raising on the Plains*, p. 233. In 1957, John Lasley discovered a test for adult carriers of dwarfism.

¹⁰² Conrad Warren by Rex Meyers, August 4, 1980, Tape 3, transcript pp. 74-75, RG 3, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

¹⁰³ Conrad Warren by Rex Meyers, August 4, 1980, Tape 3, transcript p. 65, RG 3, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

¹⁰⁴ Howard, assistant secretary, Conrad Kohrs Company, to Warren, June 13, 1952; and Howard to Warren, June 17, 1952, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

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May I advise that it was the sentiment at the meeting that you should use the utmost of care as to your expenditures made at the ranch and not get into anything, which is not absolutely necessary. This is not meant to hamper your operation, but you should follow the budget and live within it as you go along. . . .¹⁰⁵

Ultimately, "too many were after him for payment."¹⁰⁶ Between November 20-22, 1958, in a sale billed as the year's greatest dispersion sale, Warren sold his registered herd of 10 top-of-the-line herd bulls, 69 range bulls, 296 cows, and 166 calves.¹⁰⁷ Warren promised his "friends and fellow cattlemen" that "no animal, male or female, offered in this sale has ever produced a dwarf calf on our ranch." After paying his creditors in full from the \$286,000 sale receipts, Warren realized \$10,000.¹⁰⁸

Post-Dispersal: 1958-1982

In a trend witnessed throughout the beef industry, Warren's post-dispersal operation focused on only one aspect of the beef cycle.¹⁰⁹ For three years, utilizing the extensive infrastructure developed in support of his commercial herd and all available cropland, Warren ran a small-scale (350 cattle) feedlot operation, "finishing" steers purchased from adjacent ranchers for final sale to the stockyards.¹¹⁰

As corporate-owned and large-scale feed yards (with their commensurate "economy of scale") came to dominate the industry in the late 1960s, Warren converted first to a yearling steer operation.¹¹¹ In order to "finish" calves purchased from Butte, Montana, auction yards, they were vaccinated, branded, run in the east-

¹⁰⁵ V. C. Schuyler, Vice President Conrad Kohrs Company, to Warren, May 15, 1953, Series 18, Subseries F, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

¹⁰⁶ Interview of Conrad Warren by Lyndel Meikle and Randi Bry, July 20, 1987, RG 5, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS. In the fall of 1957, Warren, under pressure, moved his loan from the Union Bank of Helena to the Metals Bank. In addition to his property and cattle, all offered as collateral, Warren promised "Well, if we don't make some pretty good sales between now and haying and make a pretty good dent in this loan, why, I'll disperse in the fall [of 1958]." Fall sales weren't "very spectacular." Conrad Warren by Rex Meyers, August 4, 1980, Tape 3, transcript pp. 76-78, RG 3, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

¹⁰⁷ "1958's Greatest Pioneer Hereford Dispersion" (sale catalogue), Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch, 1958, Series 3, Subseries D, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

¹⁰⁸ Interview of Conrad Warren by Lyndel Meikle and Randi Bry, July 20, 1987, and Conrad Warren by Lyndel Meikle, March 1991, RG 5, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

¹⁰⁹ Pope, "Animal Science in the Twentieth Century," p. 64.

¹¹⁰ Interview of Conrad Warren by Randi Bry, April 13, 1989, RG 5, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS; and Conrad Warren, Daily Diary, May 25, 1967, and July 27-August 19, 1969, File 5, Box 1, Series 1, Warren Papers, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

¹¹¹ Conrad Warren by Rex Meyers, August 4, 1980, Tape 3, transcript pp. 78-80, RG 3, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS; and James R. Simpson and Donald E. Farris, *The World's Beef Business* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1982), pp 39 (following quote) and 43. Simpson and Farris report that, by the 1980s, "the basis of the cattle raising system is now a commercial type herd which produces feeder cattle that are grazed as stockers and that afterward enter feedlots." Feeder cattle is a term that refers to cattle suitable for fattening or an animal that is being fattened. This transition began in the 1950s, when "substantial improvements in grain sorghum, rapid increase of feedlot size, progress in disease control and management techniques, and improved refrigeration and marking methods, among other factors, caused confinement feedlot systems to virtually replace grass finishing of feeder cattle."

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bench pastures during the summer months (much as the purebred herds had been) and fattened over the course of the winter on the home ranch/bottomland pastures:

I was running yearling steers then, and I'd bring them down off the hill about the 10th or 15th of September and put them on that aftermath [second unharvested hay crop], and gee, they'd gain two pounds a day for pretty near 50 days. . . . and I had about 700 of them, you know. . . . that would be about \$350.00 a day that they gained. Over 50 days, that was pretty near \$18,000, which was worth more than a second crop of hay would have been worth. . . . About 50 days and then [to] market. I sold them as long yearlings.¹¹²

Following the conversion to a cow-calf operation, when Warren no longer "finished" cattle for market on high-grade feed, cropland formerly seeded in grains and other feed crops was seeded entirely to grass. In association with this whole-scale hay production, the irrigation system was reconstructed to follow topographic lines.

In 1970, after over 40 years of operating the ranch, Warren sold 142 acres of the property to the National Park Foundation, with the long-term intent of establishing the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site in honor of his grandparents. During their years on the ranch, Conrad and Nell Warren had carefully maintained the historic integrity of the Home Ranch, and hoped that its preservation would commemorate Conrad and Augusta Kohrs. That wish became a reality in 1972, with the official establishment of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site. Even after the creation of the National Historic Site, Warren continued ranch operations on the site until 1982, when he sold his machinery and the last of his stock, retaining only his saddle horse *Whiskey*.¹¹³ In 1988, the National Park Service bought Warren's land and holdings (including his house and barn/feedlot area), incorporating them into the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site. (The boundaries of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic were officially amended through Public Law 105-365, the "Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site Boundary Adjustment Act of 1998.") Warren, who lived at the ranch for the rest of his life, died in March 1993, at the age of 86.

Today, the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site encompasses 1,618.278 acres, including both the Grant-Kohrs Ranch and Warren Ranch components. Altogether, the site represents the evolution of cattle ranching in the nineteenth into the twentieth century. Overall, the ranch is not just a site, but a story – a story of continuity of ownership and western cattle operations. Perhaps Ralph Lewis, chief of museum operations for the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site, best described its sense of place: "The cattle business becomes a matter of real people, logical techniques, and serious economics. The cowboy and other usually over-romanticized elements of the Wild West fall into perspective when viewing the site."¹¹⁴

¹¹² Interview of Conrad Warren by Rex Meyers, August 4, 1980, Tape 3, transcript pp. 65-66, RG 3, Grant-Kohrs Ranch NHS.

¹¹³ Lyndel Meikle, telephone interview with Ann Hubber, HRA, January 6, 1997.

¹¹⁴ Chief of museum operations Ralph Lewis to Frank Hjort, Division of Park Planning, August 25, 1969, as cited in Douglas C. McChristian. *Ranchers to Rangers: An Administrative History of Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site-Montana* (Denver: National Park Service, 1997), p. 14.

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Verbal Boundary Description

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

The boundary of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district can be described as follows: At its northernmost corner, the boundary begins at UTM Point A. From this beginning point, the boundary follows the National Historic Site boundary east and south to its intersection with the north reach of Johnson Creek (UTM Point C). From this point, the boundary runs westward along the southern edge of Johnson Creek approximately 600 feet, then turns southward approximately 1000 feet along the fenceline that marks the eastern edge of the railroad line to the northwestern corner of the boundary for the town of Deer Lodge, Montana (UTM Point D). The boundary then follows the National Historic Site Boundary west, north, east, and north again to the point of the beginning (UTM Point A).

Boundary Justification

The boundary for the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district encompasses all the extant resources historically associated with the ranch's period of significance (1929-1958), while excluding the development zone portion of the ranch that has been primarily developed by the National Park Service. The excluded portion – the Grant-Kohrs National Historic Site visitor contact area – has been altered to such an extent that it no longer reflects the period of significance. The National Park Service and Conrad Warren had mutually agreed upon this development zone during the time that Warren lived at the ranch.¹¹⁵ In the vicinity of the development zone, the north reach of Johnson Creek (not shown on the Deer Lodge, MT, U.S.G.S. map) serves as the southern boundary of the historic district. The south reach of Johnson Creek (which is shown on the U.S.G.S. map) is below the visitor contact station.

The portion of the Grant-Kohrs National Historic Site that is excluded from the boundary of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch historic district is in the most southeastern corner of the National Historic Site, where the park has developed a temporary visitor contact station. Following the establishment of the National Historic Site in 1972, the National Park Service moved two cabins into this location from the Upper Ranch, and remodeled them for use as a visitor contact station and comfort station. While these buildings date to the historic period, their integrity has been altered and they no longer reflect their original use, design, workmanship, setting, and location. The visitor contact area also has been altered by the construction of an access road, parking lot, and pedestrian walkway. At the time of this nomination, the National Park Service also was constructing a curatorial storage building in this area, scheduled for completion in 2002.

¹¹⁵ Scott Eckberg and Mike McWright. Grant-Kohrs Ranch staff members, in a telephone conversation with Christine Whitacre, December 4, 2001.

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Property Owners

Intermountain Region
Regional Director
National Park Service
12795 Alameda Pkwy
Denver, CO 80225
(303) 969-2500

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

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

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LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

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

Photograph No. 1

Main House, GRKO HS-01, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW8 #29)
View to South

Photograph No. 2

Main House (brick addition), GRKO HS-01, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW8 #28)
View to South

Photograph No. 3

Bunkhouse Row, GRKO HS-02, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW2 #16)
View to North

Photograph No. 4

Blacksmith Shop/Garage, GRKO HS-03, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW1 #35)
View to Southwest

Photograph No. 5

Dairy Barn, GRKO HS-09, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

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Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW3 #20)
View to Southeast

Photograph No. 6

Stallion Barn, GRKO HS-14, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW1 #4)
View to Southeast

Photograph No. 7

Stallion Barn, GRKO HS-19, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW2 #35)
View to Southeast

Photograph No. 8

Chicken House, GRKO HS-22, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW4 #21)
View to Northwest

Photograph No. 9

West Corrals - Stock Shelter, GRKO HS-27, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW4 #31)
View to Southwest

Photograph No. 10

West Feedlots - Storage Shed, GRKO HS-34, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW5 #10)
View to Northwest

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Powell County, Montana

Photograph No. 11

Milwaukee Railroad Alignment (inactive), GRKO HS-56, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW5 #19)
View to South

Photograph No. 12

Boat House, GRKO HS-60, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW7 #21)
View to Southwest

Photograph No. 13

Warren Residence, GRKO HS-58, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW7 #23)
View to South

Photograph No. 14

Warren Residence Garage, GRKO HS-61, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW7 #29)
View to South

Photograph No. 15

Warren Residence Pump House, GRKO HS-88, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA
1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW7 #20)
View to Northwest

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Powell County, Montana

Photograph No. 16

Scale House, GRKO HS-66, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA

1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW7 #3)

View to Southwest

Photograph No. 17

Cow Shed, GRKO HS-74, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA

1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW5 #31)

View to Northeast

Photograph No. 18

Cow Shed, GRKO HS-77, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA

1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW6 #26)

View to Northwest

Photograph No. 19

Bull Barn, GRKO HS-62, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA

1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW7 #10)

View to Southwest

Photograph No. 20

Feed House, GRKO HS-84, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch
Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA

1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW6 #27)

View to Southwest

Photograph No. 21

Feed House, GRKO HS-79, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch

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Powell County, Montana

Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA

1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW6 #7)

View to Northeast

Photograph No. 22

Warren Barn (also referred to as the Red Barn), GRKO HS-64, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch

Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA

1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW6 #33)

View to South-Southeast

Photograph No. 23

Sales Barn (rear view), GRKO HS-65, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch

Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA

1996

Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW6 #37)

View to Southeast

Photograph No. 24

Slough Bridge, GRKO HS-90, Grant-Kohrs Ranch/Warren Ranch

Powell County, Montana

Photographer: Katherine Schneid, HRA

1996

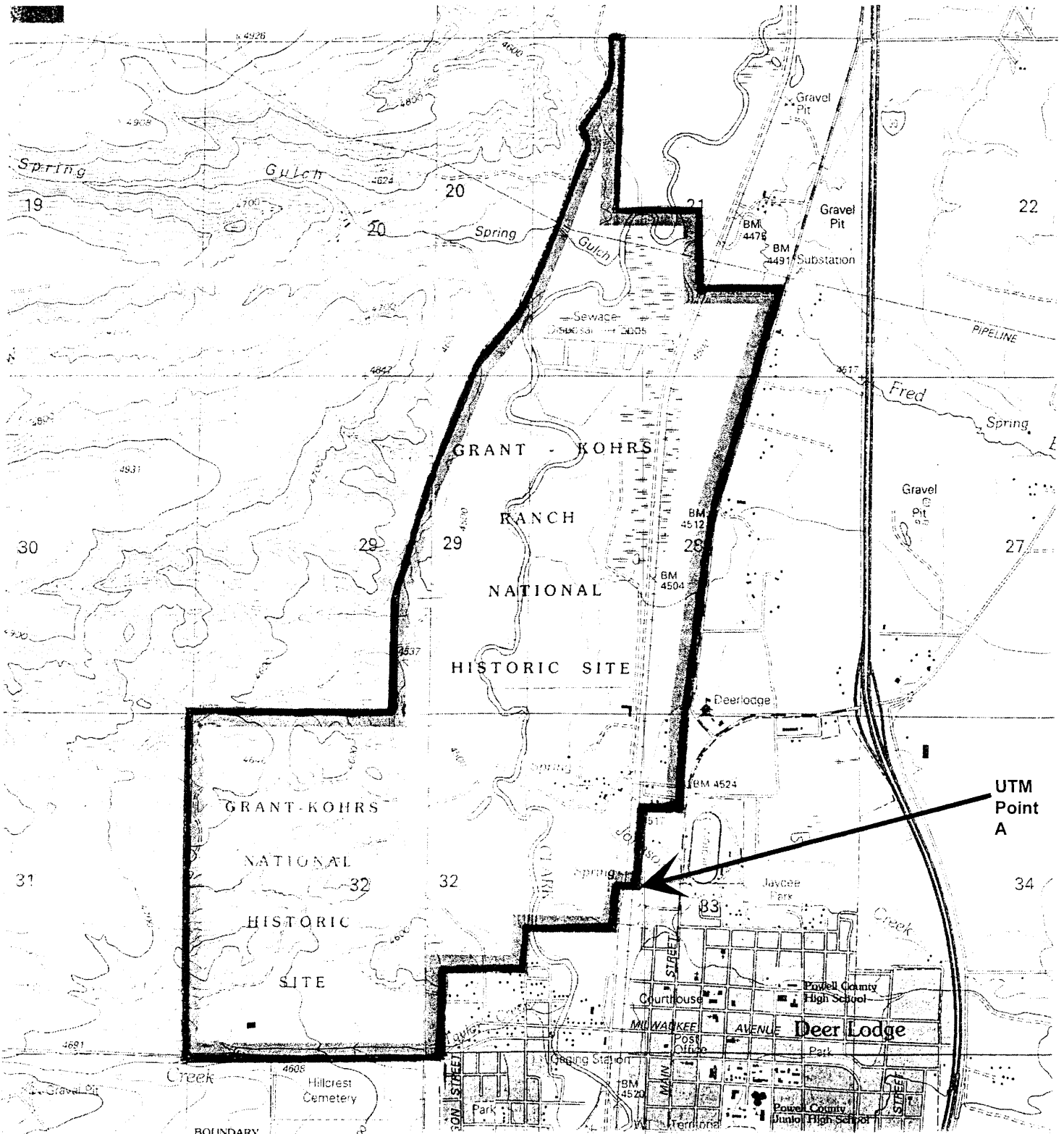
Location of Original Negative: National Park Service, Denver CO (Roll/Frame KSBW8 #18)

View to West



United States Department of the Interior
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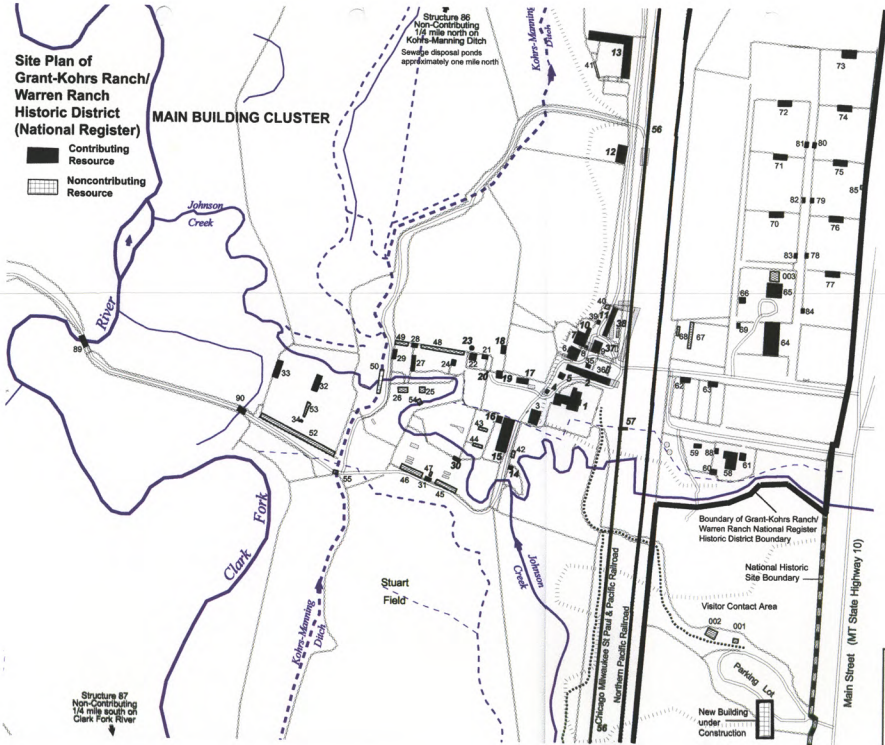
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Powell County, Montana



**Site Plan of
Grant-Kohrs Ranch/
Warren Ranch
Historic District
(National Register)**

-  Contributing Resource
-  Noncontributing Resource

MAIN BUILDING CLUSTER



Structure 86
Non-Contributing
1/4 mile north of
Kohrs-Manning Ditch
Sewage disposal ponds
approximately one mile north

Structure 57
Non-Contributing
1/4 mile south on
Clark Fork River

Main Street (MT State Highway 10)