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THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT TO PRESERVE THE  
AMERICAN BUFFALO IN THE UNITED STATES AND  
CANADA BETWEEN 1880 AND 1920.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1975  
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THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT TO PRESERVE THE AMERICAN  
BUFFALO IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
BETWEEN 1880 AND 1920

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate  
School of The Ohio State University

By

George D. Coder, B.S., M.A.

\* \* \* \* \*

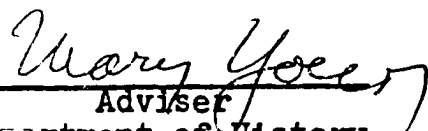
The Ohio State University

1975

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## ABSTRACT

### THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT TO PRESERVE THE AMERICAN BUFFALO IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA BETWEEN 1880 AND 1920

by

George D. Coder

The Ohio State University, 1975

Professor Mary E. Young, Adviser

Before the end of the buffalo slaughter six men in different parts of North America captured young calves and established nucleus herds from which the specie was regenerated. The efforts of these men are discussed in the first chapter and a census of buffalo taken in 1888 is examined which reveals that the specie was not in as much danger as was popularly thought.

The second chapter examines the only public herd at that time which was in Yellowstone National Park. A poaching problem here was due to an absence of legal authority on the part of Park officials. They were only empowered to confiscate the equipment of a poacher and expel him from the Park. An extravagant case of a poacher caught with eleven dead buffalo is discussed.



This case focused national attention on the Park's problem and resulted in a law strengthening the hand of Park authorities. The formation of another small public herd at the National Zoological Park in Washington, D.C. is also examined in this chapter.

By the first years of the twentieth century the private herds were becoming too large and too much of an expense for their owners. The third chapter discusses the formation of the American Bison Society, a group of concerned people who came together to lobby for a transfer of this responsibility from private to public hands. In the very act of being born this Society was indirectly responsible for the establishment of a buffalo herd in the Wichita Mountains of Oklahoma, and the formation of this herd is also discussed.

At this time the Canadian Government was also interested in the fate of the buffalo. Unbeknown to American authorities the Canadians went into Montana and bought the largest private herd in existence. The fourth chapter discusses this purchase and devotes considerable attention to the round-up and shipment of these animals to their new home.

Back in the East the Canadian coup seemed to make the U. S. Government more receptive to the overtures of the American Bison Society. The Society offered the Gov-

ernment free nucleus herds if the Government would provide the land and the fencing. Following this formula four more national herds were established in the United States. This fifth chapter discusses the founding of these herds and makes the point that at this time in the first decade of the twentieth century the buffalo's survival was already assured.

By the 1920's the buffalo became a surplus problem, expanding beyond the carrying capacity of the preserves. The Government auctioned off these excess animals. As a result of this policy private owners increased in number and eventually formed themselves into the National Buffalo Association which today produces meat and hides on a commercial basis. The final chapter very briefly brings this story up to the present. The paper closes with a discussion of the buffalo movement in the context of the conservation crusade of the early twentieth century and offers the conclusion that the buffalo was not as near to extinction as was previously thought.

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## CHAPTER I

### ESTABLISHMENT OF PRIVATE HERDS

Much has been written about the slaughter of the huge herds of buffalo that roamed throughout large areas of this country in the 19th century.<sup>1</sup> From an estimated 60,000,000 the species was reduced to something less than 1,000 head.<sup>2</sup> As the mighty herd began to melt away before the advance of settlement, concerned individuals raised a cry of alarm. Until the 1870's, however, those who urged caution and restraint elicited little attention. Congress looked into the matter, and after a couple of futile attempts finally succeeded in passing legislation intended to curb the wastefulness of the slaughter. President Grant failed to give even this mild measure his signature, and the buffalo remained at the mercy of the hunter.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time government action was proving futile, private individuals in several parts of North America began to take a hand in the matter.<sup>4</sup> They captured buffalo calves from the shrinking herds of remaining animals and gave these captives the care and protection they needed to survive. The buffalo probably had more benefactors in this respect than history will record, but almost every animal in our public herds today can

trace his origin to the activities of James McKay, Charles Alloway, Charles Goodnight, Walking Coyote, Frederick Dupree, and Charles J. Jones.<sup>5</sup>

#### McKAY-ALLOWAY HERD

Over the long flat prairie in a creaking Red River cart, James McKay slowly followed the dusty trail through the uninviting land between St. Paul and Edmonton. Born near Edmonton in the year 1828 of a Scottish Highland father and a Metis woman from Quebec, McKay not only knew English, French, Cree and several Indian dialects, but also possessed an expert knowledge of the northern prairie country and was a master outdoorsman. His 340 pound frame was nimble enough to spring over the back of his horse, much to the amazement of the British explorers who eagerly sought his services as a guide. Long association with exploring parties in his younger days greatly improved his speech and manners, and this experience served him well after he had acquired a modest fortune in the freightening business and was elected chairman of the first Legislative Council after Manitoba entered Confederation in 1870. In a harsh frontier land the Honorable James McKay was a successful and respected leader among his contemporaries, both Indian and white.<sup>6</sup>

In 1870, when Colonel Garnet Wolseley was ordered into the Red River Valley to put down the Riel Rebellion, Charles and William Alloway were among the 700 men compris-

ing the expedition. The two brothers decided to settle in Fort Garry, now Winnipeg. William Alloway had some experience as a veterinarian and McKay, with a stable of racing horses valued at \$100,000, was pleased to secure his services and invited the brothers to live at Deer Lodge, his estate at Headingly on the Assiniboine River 28 miles west of Fort Garry. When their military responsibilities were terminated the two brothers went into the freighting business with McKay. In the days before the railroad reached Winnipeg their business employed 5-000 - 6,000 carts between St. Paul and Edmonton.<sup>7</sup>

Charles Alloway was more of a sportsman than his business-like brother and frequently accompanied McKay on his various expeditions over the prairie.<sup>8</sup> Prominent among these excursions were the annual Red River buffalo hunts involving thousands of Metis and hundreds of their Red River carts. These hunts had long been a tradition as well as a necessity to the Metis way of life, but as more and more of their carts returned through the years heavily laden with meat and hides, the buffalo receded farther to the west and their numbers became noticeably fewer.<sup>9</sup>

"Even then we didn't pay any particular attention to this," stated Alloway. "We took our buffaloes and buffalo skins and pemmican as we now take our rain and crops . . . as a matter of course, something that always had been and, presumably, always would be."<sup>10</sup>

During the hunt of 1872, however, they travelled west "many days before we caught up with the buffalo and they were by no means many. On the way back, we talked it over, and through that winter we concluded that the buffalo could not last much longer."<sup>11</sup>

Little is known about this discussion in the winter of 1872, except that by spring McKay and Alloway had decided to save a few buffalo if possible.

. . . James McKay and myself decided in 1873 to send Feladoux Ducharme, a French half-breed hunter, to get us a domestic cow at Prince Albert. We were linked up with a brigade of half-breeds killing for pemmican. Pierre LaVeille was in charge. We joined his brigade with an oxcart and went with them.

We wanted the domestic cow to sustain the buffalo calves which would be left when the half-breeds killed their mothers. We came upon the buffaloes southwest of Battle ford on the Battle River.<sup>12</sup>

When they were ready for the return trip, they caught "two little heifer buffalo calves and a husky little bull."<sup>13</sup> These calves, Alloway explained, "hung around our camp fires in a pitiful manner after their mothers had been killed. We either ran them down or lassoed them."<sup>14</sup> They milked the cows and fed the calves all the way back to Deer Lodge where they were placed in an especially prepared buffalo enclosure.<sup>15</sup> Alloway explained, ". . . they really did well, once they got used to our domestic cow. The cow raised the three of them."<sup>16</sup>

McKay and Alloway were not satisfied with this meager beginning, however, and decided to enlarge their herd.

The following spring, that of 1874, in April, we struck west again with a large brigade of hunters. These brigades were really migratory tribes of Indians or half-breeds, having 80 to 100 hunters, their wives and families, ox-carts and horses, in all perhaps 2,000 human souls. We did not come up with the buffaloes until some time in May and then they were west of the Milk River, half-way between Regina and Moose Jaw and near the international border. This time we also got three calves, one bull and two heifers, all our cow could raise. But in spite of all we could do, one of the three, the bull, sickened and died. . . .

Thus the foundation of our buffalo herd was laid.<sup>17</sup>

By the spring of 1879 Alloway reported that "our little herd had grown from five calves to thirteen animals pure bred and three cross-bred to domestic cattle. We kept them at Deer Lodge in the summer and Baie St. Paul in winter. We fed them hay and tended them in shelters much the same as domestic cattle."<sup>18</sup>

The year 1879 was a difficult one for the McKay family. In February Mrs. McKay passed away and James followed her in December.<sup>19</sup> On January 20, 1880, an auction was held at Deer Lodge. The exact disposition made of the small buffalo herd, however, is not known with any degree of certainty.<sup>20</sup> Colonel Samuel L. Bedson, Warden of the penitentiary at Stony Mountain, Manitoba, purchased eight of the buffalo and pastured them on the prison grounds.<sup>21</sup> After the purchase he captured three additional calves on the plains and added them to his herd.<sup>22</sup> Whether or not Bedson secured the three cross-bred animals in his purchase is not known. A few years later he became interested in



cross-breeding and conducted experiments of his own.<sup>23</sup>

In order to make his buffalo purchase, Bedson is reported to have borrowed \$1,000 from Donald A. Smith, later Lord Strathcona.<sup>24</sup> Smith is reported to have had a buffalo herd on his estate at Silver Heights near Winnipeg.<sup>25</sup> The Silver Heights estate was immediately adjacent to the McKay home at Deer Lodge and it seems very likely that Donald Smith began his herd by purchasing the remainder of the McKay-Alloway herd.<sup>26</sup> Smith was a Canadian businessman of the highest rank who showed no interest in cross-breeding and it seems unlikely that he would have been interested in the three cross-bred animals that were sold.<sup>27</sup>

In 1898, Lord Strathcona presented his animals to the Dominion Government. H. A. Chadwick, a citizen of Winnipeg, spoke to Mayor Alfred J. Andrews and proposed that the city apply for a number of these animals. Andrews apparently got in touch with the Honorable Clifford Sifton, a prominent Winnipeg politician, who was at that time a member of the Laurier Government. Sifton obtained permission for Winnipeg to take five animals. Mr. Chadwick was allowed to choose the animals for the city.<sup>28</sup> These animals were placed in Assiniboine Park in the city, but the herd did not continue to prosper and eventually died out.<sup>29</sup>

The 13 animals given to the Dominion of Canada were placed in Rocky Mountain Park at Banff, Alberta, as

an attraction for tourists. These animals joined three buffalo already at the Banff Park. In 1897, Mr. T. G. Blackstock of Toronto bought two 2-year old females and one 3-year old bull from the Goodnight herd in Texas, which will be discussed below, and presented them to the Dominion Government.<sup>30</sup>

The Eedson herd was sold to Charles J. Jones of Garden City, Kansas in 1889 and will be discussed when his herd is considered below. As the 19th century drew to a close, the small herd in Banff was the only breeding population of buffalo in Canada.<sup>31</sup>

#### THE GOODNIGHT HERD

Pioneer is the word that best characterizes Charles Goodnight. Born on the Illinois frontier in 1836, he spent his first years in the seclusion of the woods and early acquired an aversion to urban domesticity. In the country at large, "Texas Fever" was the throbbing pulse in pioneer blood and the year 1845 saw the Goodnights join the migratory stream. As a 9-year old boy, Charles Goodnight rode bare-back all the way to Texas. The natural world was his favorite classroom, and this trip was a living encyclopedia to the eager questioning young boy.<sup>32</sup>

Animals were a central part of his world and the best of his teachers. Once in Texas he broke and raised a mustang colt. He observed in later years that that experience had made him a rider. Other animals also con-

tributed to his education. West of Waco he watched the alligators pile up great nests of leaves and saw their eggs hatched by the heat of the decaying foliage. He was amazed at the return of the mother alligators to their exact nest on the very day of hatching. He noticed similar displays of this homing instinct among the turtles and wild pigs and concluded that nearly all animals, but the fewest of men, had an acute sense of direction on the broad prairies.<sup>33</sup> Observing the ways of animals would be a manifest necessity in the profession he would follow. Charles Goodnight developed this ability at an early age and never lost it. Goodnight, an animal lover living in Texas, was almost destined to go into the cattle business. In the decade of the 1840's herds of longhorns were being driven north, west and east in increasing numbers and much needed money was flowing back to Texas. Many would-be farmers left the plow and followed the cattle trails. Goodnight was first introduced to the cattle business on the Keechi Range in north central Texas, but in the days before the Civil War he helped Oliver Loving drive a herd over a new trail toward Denver to feed the burgeoning mining camps.<sup>34</sup>

He gave the idea of a cattle drive careful thought during the war and with the cessation of hostilities he began making preparations. He knew that the Southern states needed cattle, but they had no money. He also knew that most Texas cattlemen would head north along

well beaten trails. Goodnight decided to go west because the mining regions would have money, and they also had grass. If he could not sell, he could hold.<sup>35</sup>

In making preparations for his first drive in 1866, Goodnight exhibited his true pioneer resourcefulness. He made improvements on the chuck wagon, built the first chuck-box on the rear of the wagon, and hinged the lid to let it down and form a work table for the cook. Inside the chuck-box was probably the first sour-dough jar that went up the trail.<sup>36</sup>

The choice of route also revealed his inventive imagination. He knew that the direct route to Denver went through Comanche and Kiowa territory. Goodnight elected to swing down the old Butterfield Trail to the southwest, turn up the Pecos to the Rockies, and follow them northward to Denver. Thus he and his partner blazed the Goodnight-Loving Trail.<sup>37</sup>

Another idea was coming to life in Goodnight's fertile mind as he made plans for his cattle drive in the spring of 1866. Winter was slow in leaving and the grass and buffalo migration correspondingly late. Goodnight decided he had time to start a domestic buffalo herd on his Elm Creek Ranch. He knew that if he chased the cows at a steady clip the young calves would fall behind as they grew tired. If he cut in between the calf and its fleeing mother, checked his horse until the calf came up and then turned off the trail, the calf would

follow his horse.<sup>38</sup> He had observed this phenomenon many times.

The first time I went out to get Buffalo calves, I moved them up a little until three calves fell behind. I cut them off and they followed me home into the corrals. When night came I roped them and put them to their foster mothers, Texas cows. Later I went and cut out two more in the same way. I wanted six, so I went out again and found one about twenty-four hours old. I scared the cow off some distance, (and) put the calf on my horse. The cow returned and attacked me so viciously that I had to kill her to save my horse. I felt badly over it then and the older I get (he wrote 62 years later), the worse I feel about having to kill that cow.

I moved six calves and their foster mothers down to Parker County (and) turned them over to a friend who agreed to care for them on shares for half (but he) got tired of the business and sold out, and never even gave me my part of the money.<sup>39</sup>

Several years would pass before Goodnight was again in a position to assemble a buffalo herd. His first cattle drive proved immensely successful and others followed in succeeding years. During the winter of 1869 Goodnight acquired a ranch on virgin range north of Pueblo, Colorado, on the Arkansas River. This Rock Canon Ranch became the swing station on the trail between Texas and Denver where the horses were wintered, cattle recruited, and his steady men held over.<sup>40</sup> On July 26, 1870, he married Mary Ann Dyer of Hickman, Kentucky, and began making the ranch his permanent home. He ditched the ranch for irrigation, imported apple trees and started the first orchard in southern Colorado. Grain prices were high and

he turned to farming and realized tremendous profits until the railroad arrived in 1872.<sup>41</sup>

Goodnight also turned his attention to the prospering little town of Pueblo, Colorado. He invested heavily in real estate. The panic of 1873, together with the loss of his grain profits the year before, "wiped me off the face of the earth," he once said. Perhaps even more serious than the financial collapse was the loss of prime range land in southern Colorado. The overstocked ranges were slow to recuperate and grass was the very foundation of the cattle business. Goodnight began again to search for prime virgin range and once again he looked towards the plains of Texas.<sup>42</sup>

While serving as a scout during the Civil War, Goodnight had explored the "dreaded Llano Estacado." Still unsettled and unclaimed even by pioneer stockmen this land was described as "the only uninhabitable portion of Texas." But Goodnight had seen it for himself and knew differently. He knew the rich grama grasses that ran for miles were a favorite haunt of the buffalo. Here, he decided, was the necessary foundation for a thriving cattle business.<sup>43</sup>

By 1876 he had chosen a prime location in the Palo Duro Canyon where he found water and grass sufficient for many thousands of cattle. It had cedar, hackberry, wild china, and cottonwood for fuel and shade. The canyon was

unexcelled winter range and the high bluffs were more effective fencing than post and wire.<sup>44</sup>

Here, over 100 miles from the nearest settlement, Goodnight found plenty of favored land and settled down to spend the rest of his days. He ran from 25,000 to over 100,000 head of cattle annually for the next 60 years. He became recognized as a meticulously well-organized range manager. A reporter visiting the famous J A Ranch gave some small indication of the huge operation Goodnight governed.

He has built . . . nearly fifty houses, . . . hundreds of miles of roads, . . . thirty large water tanks and as many corrals. The ranch had hundreds of miles of wire fence, . . . a fine hay farm, inclosures separate for beeves, for bulls, for horses, for poor cows to be fed, for calves weaned . . . The main house is a commodious two-story . . . structure . . . The mess house is large . . . Near this house is a dairy . . . A short distance is the poultry yard . . . where . . . the largest and finest breeds of fowl . . . supply eggs by the gross . . . blacksmith shop . . . tin shop . . .<sup>45</sup>

The tremendous size of the ranching operation did not prevent Goodnight from giving his attention to the smallest detail. On rainy days he routed the boys out of the bunkhouse and sent them down to the shop to extract nails from scrap lumber and hammer them straight. His hands would purposely scatter nails along the paths at the ranch to see him pick them up and save them. He was that way with scraps of buckskin, tallow and buffalo hair. He said, "It's a sin to waste." This scrupulous

attention to detail no doubt explains his success in large undertakings.<sup>46</sup>

His flourishing ranching operations enabled Goodnight to turn his attention to the buffalo. This time the immediate reason for capturing buffalo was the urging of his wife, Mary Ann Goodnight. Goodnight himself gives her the credit.

The herd was started at the suggestion of Mrs. Goodnight who noted the slaughter of the animals on the plains and desired to perpetuate the race. The slaughter had been so great in the preceding three years that the animal was already nearly extinct, being only a few scattering ones left. By the end of 1878 there were none to be found except a small herd in the Upper Palo Duro country that were killed out in the next three years.<sup>47</sup>

Mrs. Goodnight was born September 12, 1839, in Madison County, Tennessee, the only daughter of a prominent lawyer, Joel Henry Dyer. Her family included southern statesmen and military men on both sides. She had come to Texas in 1854 with her father and five brothers and was said to have been the chief stabilizing force in the family. After marrying Goodnight she developed a reputation as a pioneer woman in her own right and in time became known as "the mother of the Panhandle."<sup>48</sup>

Sometime in 1878 Goodnight was out on a round-up in the vicinity of Wagon Creek when he ran into a small bunch of buffaloes. Mindful of his wife's suggestion, he roped a heifer calf, flanked it and tied it down. He then remounted and chased the others out of Wagon Creek



Canon to the mesa where he roped a bull calf. This little fellow ran right under his horse, causing the horse to pitch all over the place. Goodnight dismounted and hazed the calf back into the canon where he tied it down and then rejoined the round-up. When the round-up was in he sent the cook with the wagon to haul the calves to the ranch. There they were raised by Texas cows.<sup>49</sup>

Later he secured two more buffalo calves, a yearling and a 2-year old, from Colonel B. B. Groom's ranch on the Canadian River. Goodnight sent Lem Brandon, Sam Carter, Mitch Bell and Old Blue to handle the delivery.<sup>50</sup> Goodnight had pioneered the idea of lead steers to provide leadership for the herd on trail drives. Most famous among these lead steers was Old Blue, a wise but temperamental bovine.<sup>51</sup> Mitch Bell recalled that they roped the buffalo calves and secured them close to the sides of Old Blue, who resented the young restrictions to his accustomed freedom.

We turned Old Blue loose, and he was the maddest steer I ever saw. He jerked the little one down, drug him a long way, and I thought was going to kill him, sure. But finally he got up, on the same side with the other buffalo, and he stayed there all the way back to the ranch. Blue hardly slowed up with them until he struck the Canadian, two or three miles from where we turned him loose. We had made three camps on the way up, and everytime he came to one of these spots where we had camped, several days before, he never failed to pick the place and stop.<sup>52</sup>

The Goodnight nucleus herd was completed when the T. Anchors Ranch gave him a captive and when Mrs. Good-

night's brothers, Leigh R. and Walter W. Dyer, roped two more calves and presented them to her.<sup>53</sup> Of these original seven calves one was killed and one, found to be crippled, was given to the Kiowa Indians to make medicine for their war dance.<sup>54</sup> Thus the Goodnight herd began with five specimens from the original wild herd.

#### WALKING COYOTE

Whist-a-Sinchilape was a middle-aged Pend d'Oreille Indian of the warrior class.<sup>55</sup> His name meant Walking Coyote but to the whites he was known as Samuel Weld, or Wells.<sup>56</sup> In the fall of 1877, Sam, his wife Mary Sabine and her son Joseph, joined a hunting party from his tribe and travelled eastward from their home in the Flathead Valley to the Blackfoot country on the other side of the mountains. The Nez Perce War had recently ended and the tribes of the Montana-Idaho region found themselves in sympathy with one another. In this peaceful atmosphere the Pend d'Oreille hunting party journeyed north and east to the lush well-watered grasslands between the Milk and Marias Rivers near the international border in Northern Montana. Here there was plenty of grass for their horses, and timber along the river bottoms for fuel and shelter. Here, too, was the northern range of the buffalo.<sup>57</sup>

Sam, like many members of the Pend d'Oreille and Flathead tribes, had been exposed to the Christian teach-

ings of the Catholic fathers at the St. Ignatius Mission in the Flathead Valley. He had been married in the Church, but like many of his fellow Indians he could not completely assimilate the entire Christian doctrine in a few short years. Such restrictions as monogamy seemed unrealistic to these Indians, because tribal warfare almost always produced a shortage of men to provide the necessities of life to a superior number of women. The Indians could simply not give up an old tradition as easily as the white man scratches out a phrase of written law.<sup>58</sup>

Polygamy was not so prevalent among the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles, however, as it was among the Blackfeet, where Sam found himself in the cold winter months of 1878. The Blackfeet were buffalo hunters, and the more successful hunters needed several good women to skin, clean, dry, and tan the hides of all the buffalo he could shoot. Thus the practice of having more than one wife was more firmly established among this plains dwelling tribe than among the mountain Indians of the Flathead Valley.<sup>59</sup> In this environment Sam found the charms of a Blackfoot maiden impossible to resist. He offered her kinfolk a number of his horses and she became his second wife.<sup>60</sup>

The Chinese symbol for trouble is originally supposed to have depicted two women under one roof. During the winter of 1878 Sam became intimately familiar with

the wisdom of ancient China. By spring the Blackfoot girl found life in Sam's lodge unbearable and when her people broke camp she went with them. Soon thereafter the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles also returned to their homeland. Sam, however, remained behind, fearful of the punishment that awaited him upon his return.<sup>61</sup>

Sam had not only broken the laws of the Church, he had violated tribal custom by marrying a woman not of his tribe. The Indian Agent on the Flathead Reservation had formed a tribal police force to assist him in carrying out his duties. This force was under the supervision of Andre, the second chief of the Pend d'Oreilles, and had their headquarters at the Mission where a jail had been erected.<sup>62</sup> Peter Ronan, the Indian Agent, described the workings of this force in his annual report for 1877.

Upon information being lodged with Andre that any outrage against whites or infraction of Indian law had been committed, the culprit is arrested and punished . . . according to the nature of the crime.<sup>63</sup>

This force of Indian police appears to have been very effective in maintaining law and order on the reservation. Ronan said that during the Nez Perce uprising when there was fear,

that the reservation Indians would join the hostiles, the Mission police placed themselves at the Agent's service and received orders from their chiefs to immediately arrest and incarcerate . . . any disaffected reservation Indian who might attempt to join the hostiles. This prompt action had a salutary effect . . . and we had no occasion to arrest any one.<sup>64</sup>

Sam greatly feared the punishment at the hands of these Indian police. On the Marias River an Indian trader by the name of Charles Aubrey ran a trading post. Aubrey had befriended Sam in the past and the Indian now turned again to his white friend for help. Aubrey suggested that he capture some buffalo calves and drive them over the mountains as a peace offering. He explained that there were no buffalo in the Flathead Valley and that the gift would be appreciated, perhaps it would even lighten the punishment. Aubrey said Sam could hobble the calves and keep them with his milk cows until they became gentle enough to handle easily.<sup>65</sup>

Sam was lonesome and wanted to rejoin his people. He agreed to try Aubrey's plan. With his Pend d'Oreille wife and stepson, Sam went hunting the buffalo calves. There is no record of the method of capture he employed, but once caught he picketed the calf where he caught it by tying a rope around one of its legs and securing the other end to a stake he drove deep into the ground. At the outer limit of the picket line he pegged down a blanket. The blanket was supposed to attract the buffalo's attention and accustom it to the smell of man. In this way the buffalo calf would also be less alarmed at Sam's approach when he returned to claim his catch.<sup>66</sup>

In this manner Sam caught seven calves -- 3 bulls and 4 heifers -- on two hunting trips. The buffalo were

hobbled and driven into a pen with Aubrey's milk cows. The cows did not take kindly to the buffalo at first, but the calves persisted in being friendly and after a while the cows accepted them.<sup>67</sup>

For about one week the calves remained with their new mothers while Sam and his family prepared for their trip across the mountains. When the time came to leave, the calves were head and foot hobbled and the small family began the journey over the mountains with their new captives. They travelled south across the plains near the foot of the mountains. They crossed the Teton River and then the Sun River, and before turning west and following the Dearborn River up to the Cadotte Pass, they stopped at the ranch of Jake Schmidt near the foot of Haystack Butte.<sup>68</sup> Evidence is completely lacking for the remainder of the journey. However, there is some reason to believe that Sam left two or three of his calves at the Schmidt Ranch before continuing the journey.<sup>69</sup>

From the plains up to the Cadotte Pass there is a climb of only 1,310 feet that is covered in a distance of approximately five miles.<sup>70</sup> Once through this pass the easiest route of travel would be along the Blackfoot River to the present site of Missoula, Montana. From here they would have followed the route that Highway 93 follows today. The climb from Missoula to Sam's cabin at the confluence of Mission Creek and the Pend d'Oreille

River is less than 4,000 feet and is made in a distance of well over 50 miles.<sup>71</sup> In short, the route of travel Sam chose eliminated any excessive climbing and permitted him to cover the distance in approximately 15 days.<sup>72</sup>

Evidence resumes on the western side of the mountains and indicates that Sam arrived with four buffalo calves -- 2 heifers and 2 bulls.<sup>73</sup> Whether they prevented Sam's prospective punishment or whether they were ever used as a peace offering is not known.<sup>74</sup> What is known is that Sam kept the buffalo for himself and pastured them near his cabin.<sup>75</sup> The Indians of the valley seemed pleased to have buffalo once again in their midst and with the passage of time the small herd increased in numbers.<sup>76</sup>

Several miles north of Sam's cabin two wealthy half-breed cattlemen maintained ranches on Mud Creek. Michel Pablo, one of the cattlemen, was born near Fort Benton, Montana, in 1844 or 1845,<sup>77</sup> the son of a Mexican horse wrangler who had drifted north to work with wagon train outfits.<sup>78</sup> His mother was a full blood Blackfoot woman.<sup>79</sup> Both of his parents died while he was young, but Pablo attracted the attention of Angus McLeod, the Hudson Bay Company trader, who took a fatherly interest in the boy in his formative years.<sup>80</sup> For three years Pablo worked as an interpreter for Major Charles Hutchins at the Flathead Indian Agency.<sup>81</sup> While still on this job

he married Agette Finley and she was given the job of agency cook.<sup>82</sup> The two saved their money and went into the cattle business.<sup>83</sup> Success in the business gave Pablo the means to branch out and in the 1870's he became a successful packer and freighter between Missoula, Deer Lodge and Butte. Much of his butchering and freighting business served the Northern Pacific Railroad, which was laying track across the reservation at this time. Although he never learned to read or write, or speak English, Pablo became a wealthy man for his day.<sup>84</sup>

Charles Allard, Sr., was Pablo's neighbor on Mud Creek. Allard was born in Salem, Oregon, in 1853.<sup>85</sup> His mother died shortly after his birth, and father and son moved to Montana in 1865. Here the father worked in the mines while young Charles gained experience as a range rider on the ranches near their home in Beartown, Montana.<sup>86</sup> His father was killed by an Indian when Charles was 16. He was a very likable and industrious boy and was more than welcome among the families in the Pend d'Oreille band.<sup>87</sup> He married a daughter of Louis Brown, the founder of Frenchtown, Montana.<sup>88</sup> Allard is said to have been an aggressive businessman who rode through the cattle country on both sides of the Continental Divide buying and selling stock. He also is reputed to have handled large shipments of cattle to eastern markets.<sup>89</sup>



In his rides through the cattle country to buy stock, Allard had noticed the growing herd of buffalo around Sam's cabin. He wanted to buy them. His son, Joseph Allard, told how Pablo was brought in on the deal.

Pablo was asked by C. Allard, Sr., to be his interpreter, as Chas. could not speak Selish and Pablo could. On the way down to the Samuel Ranch Pablo asked to be in on the deal . . . the answer was sure.<sup>90</sup>

There has been much confusion in the literature over the number of buffalo actually purchased, but Pablo himself said it was 12 head and that figure is the only one provided by a participant in the event and thus is assumed to be the most accurate.<sup>91</sup> Similarly Pablo described the year of the purchase as "the year the N. P. Railroad went through Ravalli," which was 1883.<sup>92</sup> Pablo did not provide the price of the purchase but it seems to have been in the neighborhood of \$2,000.<sup>93</sup> This good fortune proved the undoing of Sam, however, for shortly thereafter his body was found washed ashore under the Higgins Avenue bridge in Missoula.<sup>94</sup> His death is attributed to the results of a drinking spree.<sup>95</sup>

Pablo and Allard pastured their new herd in the Round Butte area near their ranches.<sup>96</sup> This was free land on an Indian Reservation and it was land surrounded by natural protective barriers. On the east were the majestic Mission Mountains, on the north was Flathead Lake, on the west were the Bitter Root Mountains, and to the south lay the Jocko Valley. There was plenty

of cold, fresh water from the Pend d'Oreille River. On the valley floor east of the river the buffalo found good summer grazing. When the snow of winter began to pile up on the valley floor, however, they would swim the river to graze upon the bald wind-swept Bitter Root hills.<sup>97</sup> On this lush, protected expanse of free land the Pablo-Allard herd increased its numbers over the years with little care from its owners.<sup>98</sup>

#### FREDERICK DUPREE

Frederick Dupree<sup>99</sup> was from a distinguished French-Canadian family of Longueuil, Quebec, but came to the Cheyenne River country of South Dakota from Kaskaskia, Illinois, where he had many relatives.<sup>100</sup> He arrived in 1838 and for over 20 years worked as an express runner for Pierre Chouteau, Jr. & Co.<sup>101</sup> In 1860 he began trading on his own account, but when the fur trade started to languish he turned to ranching and cattle raising.<sup>102</sup> He became moderately wealthy, married a Sioux woman and reared a large family.<sup>103</sup> In time Frederick Dupree came to be viewed as one of South Dakota's leading pioneers and today has a town named in his honor.<sup>104</sup>

By the early 1880's Dupree had noticed the disappearance of the buffalo herds and came to believe that in a short while the buffalo would be gone entirely.<sup>105</sup> To prevent this eventuality, Dupree, one of his sons,

and an experienced trapper named Basil Clement, went into Montana on a buffalo hunt in 1882 along the Yellowstone River.<sup>106</sup> Clement described this hunt to Circuit Judge John F. Hughes of Ft. Pierre, who recalled the description as follows:

. . . they would gather as close to the herd as they could, and on the windy side, so the buffalo wouldn't know they were there. The buffalo cows would graze away, leaving the calves awhile . . . the calves were asleep when the cows left them; they would creep up and capture them and . . . carry them back to . . . their camp.<sup>107</sup>

Judge Hughes thought they spent six to nine months capturing nine calves, although he was not at all sure of the number. He also thought that the calves had been raised on the Moreau River.<sup>108</sup>

Captain Joseph B. Binder, a mayor of Pierre, also said that he had been present with Judge Hughes when Basil Clement told this story. Binder did not challenge the Hughes report and stated further that he was at the Dupree ranch in 1883 and saw four or five buffalo calves that had been captured the previous spring. He was sure of the year because that was the year Chief Red Cloud came to address the Indians at Cheyenne Indian Agency and urged the formation of a Sioux Indian League. He remembered this because he had made a trip into the region in that year for the express purpose of listening to Red Cloud's speech. While on this trip he visited the Dupree ranch and saw the buffalo.<sup>109</sup>

Most accounts of the Dupree capture agree that two or three of the calves died shortly after they reached the Dupree ranch.<sup>110</sup> They were pastured with domestic cattle and in 1888 the herd was reported to have grown to five cows, four bulls, and seven hybrids.<sup>111</sup> The herd continued to grow and cross with the domestic animals until Dupree's death in 1898.<sup>112</sup>

The ranch of James "Scotty" Philip was located east of the Dupree ranch, on the Missouri River north of Pierre, South Dakota.<sup>113</sup> Philip was born in Dallas, Scotland, in 1858. In the spring of 1874 James Philip and two of his older brothers journeyed to western Kansas and joined another brother who had settled there with the George Grant colony. Philip spent almost two years there, but a desire "to go places and do things" led to a decision to move on. He went to Cheyenne, Wyoming, where new found friends gave him the name of "Scotty" and invited him to go with them into the Black Hills in search of gold.<sup>114</sup>

"Scotty" Philip never found gold, but he prospered as a freighter between Red Cloud and Sidney. When Indian trouble broke out he worked as a scout for General Crook in Montana and the Dakotas. After the Indian troubles had subsided he went into ranching on White Woman Creek until 1882 when he moved to his last location near Fort Pierre. "Scotty" Philip married Sarah Larabee in 1879 and raised a large family.<sup>115</sup>

There is some evidence to show that "Scotty" Philip tried unsuccessfully to capture buffalo for the purpose of preserving the species some time before he turned his attention to the Dupree herd.<sup>116</sup> "Scotty" is reported to have begun by

. . . fencing in a pasture about three miles square . . . The fence was ordinary four barbed wire fence with cotton wood posts. It didn't pretend to be a fence that would confine buffalo or even wild cattle; it was just sort of a reminder to keep cattle away. Phillips (sic) rounded up about 500 head of buffalo cows, calves and bulls and held them on Grand River all summer of 1877.<sup>117</sup>

This same report says that "Scotty" sent cowboys in regularly to ride among the buffalo to gentle them, but that later in the same summer the buffalo broke down the fence and escaped. No attempt was made to rebuild the fence or to capture the buffalo.<sup>118</sup>

When the Dupree herd was placed on the market, "Scotty" saw another opportunity to help preserve the species. He enclosed a pasture "with extraordinarily strong woven wire, barbed wire and large posts."<sup>119</sup> He bought the entire Dupree herd and in the late summer of 1901, 57 full-blooded buffalo were driven from the Dupree ranch on the Cheyenne River to this new buffalo pasture by six riders, one of whom was a nephew of "Scotty" Philip.<sup>120</sup> In the summer of 1902, 29 more head were placed in this pasture making a herd of 85 head, some small percentage of which were hybrids.<sup>121</sup> Thus another

herd was established to provide an additional hedge against extermination of the species.

"BUFFALO" JONES

In the winter of 1856, 12-year old Charles Jones was sent into the woods along Money Creek in central Illinois to cut timber with the hired man.<sup>122</sup> His father, Noah, was expected late that afternoon with the sled to haul the logs to a small mill about a mile away. But to a boy, the virgin forest offered much more of interest than a saw or logs. His eye caught sight of a fox-squirrel swinging on a limb high in a tree. He dropped the saw, climbed the tree, and gave chase to the squirrel. When the frightened animal jumped to another tree, the young lad descended to the ground and continued the chase up the tree holding his prey. The greater part of the day thus passed in the pleasures of the hunt until at last the tree-dwelling rodent sought refuge in the hole of a large burr-oak. Young Charley thrust in his left hand and long, sharp teeth nearly severed the end of his finger, but he maintained a firm grip until he reached the ground and pinned the squirrel in his pocket with some honey-locust thorns.<sup>123</sup>

At home that evening the new owner of a pet squirrel received a good thrashing, but when feelings and fingers were healed he set about getting better acquainted with his new friend. The small animal, named Dick, soon

lost his fear, became quite tame and would perch on Charley's shoulder to the amusement of his family. Dick was thus prominently displayed by his master one market day in Bloomington and attracted the attention of a man who had a crippled son. He offered Charley two dollars for his pet. Charley had never had a quarter of his own and the offer astounded him. The woods were full of squirrels. He took the money.<sup>124</sup> Years later a brawny ex-buffalo hunter reflected upon this adventure.

The capture of that little animal . . . moulded the destiny of my whole life. It is the little things which govern the lives of people . . . the first money made by a child is never forgotten; he is sure to try the same method again and again.<sup>125</sup>

Later still at age 70, Charles "Buffalo" Jones climbed a tree in French Africa and climaxed his career by roping an eight foot gorilla.<sup>126</sup>

The significant point about Charles J. Jones is that he began and ended his career capturing animals alive, demonstrating a compassion that ran counter to the current of his times. Yet he typified his times in viewing the animals in terms of utility and return on investment.

This tension between the man and his times is where the story of buffalo preservation begins with "Buffalo" Jones. Speaking as a profitable hunter, he said:

Often while hunting these animals as a business, I fully realized the cruelty of slaying these poor creatures. Many times did I 'swear off,'

and fully determined I would break my gun over a wagon-wheel when I arrived at camp; yet always hesitated to do so after several hours had elapsed. The next morning I would hear the guns of other hunters booming in all directions, and would make up my mind that even if I did not kill more, the buffalo would be slain just the same. Again I would shoulder my rifle, to repeat the previous day's experience. I am positive it was the wickedness committed in killing so many, that impelled me to take measures for perpetuating the race which I had helped to almost destroy.<sup>127</sup>

Jones began his career as a buffalo hunter shortly after he married and claimed a 160 acre homestead in what was to become Osborne County, Kansas, in the center of the buffalo range.<sup>128</sup> His first attempt at buffalo hunting had been painful and embarrassing for a young man with family responsibilities in a rough frontier land. With a veteran plainsman named Schultz, Jones hid in the grass and watched a small herd of bulls come so close he could hear them grinding the grass between their teeth. His impulse was to lay quiet and hope they would pass. He never even fired his gun.<sup>129</sup> Later he learned to kill for use, meat for his family and hides for leather and blankets. Then as the demand for buffalo products shot up he found himself unable to resist the \$80 a day temptation to hunt for profit.<sup>130</sup>

Throughout the days of bloody profit, however, Jones could not suppress a desire to turn a profit from the buffalo without the necessity of killing him. He seems to have been one of the few hunters, for example, to gather bones and sell them in carload lots to be hauled east and



used for fertilizer. And even in the early days of the slaughter he caught the curly-red calves, gentled them and found a buyer. He took them to county fairs where they proved a hard target for a good man with a rope, Jones winning many a bet.<sup>131</sup> But perhaps the most convincing evidence of his concern for the species was the name given to him by his contemporaries, "Buffalo" Jones. They were, of course, differentiating him from hunters like Dirty-face Jones and Wrong-wheel Jones, but they could have done that by using his first name. Like their Indian neighbors they chose instead to identify him by reference to an idiosyncrasy that fit him uniquely.<sup>132</sup>

With the close of profitable hunting on the southern plains, "Buffalo" Jones, J. A. Stevens, J. R. Fulton, and W. D. Fulton rode west along the proposed path of the Sante Fe Railroad, 51 miles from Dodge City to a buffalo crossing on the Arkansas River between two low bluffs covered with knee-deep grass. Here they established the town of Garden City, Kansas, in what was to become Finney County. Jones persuaded the railroad to build a station there on private land and they brought the land office to Garden City. With the coming of the railroad and settlement he was in a position to make a fortune. With his money he built the Buffalo Block, gave the city a courthouse, laid out streets, and planted trees. In return the citizenry elected him mayor and twice sent him to the state legislature. Not everyone liked him, of course.

He was proud, imperious, strong-willed, and wealthy.<sup>133</sup>

The timely acquisition of a modest fortune placed Jones in a position to indulge his feeling toward the buffalo. All that was needed now was a spark to bring him to the point of action. Strangely enough, a catastrophe provided the necessary initiative.

While hunting antelope in the winter of 1886, Jones was enveloped in a blizzard that came upon him in minutes and lasted for several days. He abandoned his horse and game and spent two nights and a day in a claim shanty waiting out the storm before he could return to town. The winter of 1886, one of the worst the west has ever known, left many thousands of cattle frozen to death. Jones saw the carcasses while driving over the prairie the following March. He wisely noted that everyone of them had died with its tail to the blizzard after drifting as much as a hundred miles before the storm. On the buffalo range, however, not a carcass was to be found. Miraculously, the few hundred remaining animals had survived unsheltered this worst of all winters.<sup>134</sup>

Jones, the entrepreneur of the living animal, immediately grasped the possibilities:

I commended to ponder upon the contrast between the quality of the white man's domestic cattle. I thought to myself why not domesticate this wonderful beast which can endure such a blizzard, defying a storm so destructive to our domesticate species? Why not infuse this hardy blood into our native cattle, and have a perfect animal . . . ?<sup>135</sup>

Jones went into action on April 24, 1886, when he, Charley Rude and Newton Adams left Garden City for an area bounded by the Cimarron River on the north, the Llano Estacado on the south, the Palo Duro Canyon on the east and the Mescalero Escarpment on the west. In this dry and forbidding land the last remaining remnants of the southern herd were to be found.<sup>136</sup> Days passed, however, before buffalo were finally sighted. Jones then cautiously took his horse by the reins, tightened the cinch, and gave Rude orders to keep up with the wagon and gather any calves that might be caught. Then, laying flat upon his fastest horse to avoid detection as long as possible, he galloped directly toward the herd. When he was within two hundred yards, the buffalo began to rise and move slowly away. Four calves were now clearly visible. As Jones closed in the buffalo began to pick up speed. Approaching within roping range he let fly his lasso which settled neatly around the neck of a calf that could not keep up with the now rapidly departing herd. Instantly his horse came to a sudden stop and Jones hit the ground, grabbed the calf in a flash, threw him down, and in three quick movements applied the hobbles. Then he was off after the herd again.<sup>137</sup>

When Mr. Rude approached the calf with the wagon, he found that the hobble consisted of several strands of untwisted rope. At the middle it was tied in a loop which was slipped over the calf's head. The two loose ends were

slip-noosed and were just the right length to be fastened around each hind leg where they became tighter with each jerk as the calf struggled to free himself. Thus hobbled the calf was unable to go very far and yet could not choke or injure itself.<sup>138</sup>

Using this technique of fast riding, roping, and hobbling, Jones and his companions were able to capture 14 calves in six weeks. They were kept alive on condensed milk, but only 10 survived to become the nucleus of his herd at Garden City.<sup>139</sup>

On May 10, 1887, Jones launched another expedition into the Texas Panhandle country.<sup>140</sup> This time, in addition to another expert roper, John H. Carter, he took a herd of dairy cows to provide milk for the calves. The excursion cost him over \$1,000, but only seven calves survived out of the 14 captured.<sup>141</sup>

Jones was persistent, however, and elected to try again in the spring. On April 20, 1888, he left Garden City again for the buffalo range. On May 3rd, he and his party, including lasso expert John E. Biggs, met Lee Howard near the western boundary of Texas.<sup>142</sup> Howard also was catching buffalo calves and already had secured two of them. Jones knew Howard to be an excellent man with a rope. He also knew that there might not be more than 50 calves left to capture, and feared the prospect of competing with Howard for those that remained. He

therefore hired Howard on the spot for \$250 a month.<sup>143</sup> This move went a long way to assure the success of the expedition. Three excellent hunters equipped with a dairy herd and all the gear that money would provide were now in the buffalo range earlier in the year than before.

Two days after Howard was hired, 11 calves had been caught.<sup>144</sup> Jones was elated and was always busy with his increasing herd. Taking a long rope, he stretched it along the ground, fastening the ends to two tent pins that had been driven to the head into the ground. On this line he strung his calves, like fish on a stringer, each one tied about the neck. They were free to walk around and graze, yet could not escape.<sup>145</sup>

At feeding times Jones roped a milk cow and hobbled her fore and aft, almost completely preventing movement. Then a calf was introduced, often fighting viciously. The cow also unmistakably registered her objections, sometimes breaking the hobbles.<sup>146</sup> As Jones explained,

It was strange, but after a few moments this cow and buffalo calf seemed to 'take to' each other. The best of relations were established between them, and within an hour the curly little rascal was lying down by the side of his new mother chuck full of milk and 'happy as a clam.' This calf was never wild after that, but could be approached easily, and was perfectly docile. In the morning we let it loose near the cow, and it followed her about, kicking up its heels and bawling out of very exuberance of spirits. The next day after, the cows were hobbled and the calves' lariats were allowed to drag loose; yet they never made any attempt to escape.

. . . <sup>147</sup>

The phenomenal success of this hunt continued and Jones found himself with more calves than cows to feed them. To remedy this dilemma, Jones drove east to the ranches in the Palo Duro Canyon and bought 12 more cows at a highly inflated price.<sup>148</sup> The cows returned to camp and the hunt was continued until the last calf of the season had been secured. There were 37 in all and on July 6, 1888, 32 of them survived to reach Garden City.<sup>149</sup>

Still Jones would not quit. On May 2, 1889, he and Howard joined with Wm. Terrill, H. M. DeCordova and Dick Williams and returned to the buffalo range.<sup>150</sup> This was truly the last hunt and, therefore, aroused much interest. The Chicago Times provided Jones with carrier pigeons to relay his reports to Garden City, where they were repeated by wire to Chicago.<sup>151</sup> But the tremendous success of the previous season was not to be repeated even though more roping talent was on hand.

Finding a scarcity of cows, the three top cowboys -- Jones, Howard, and DeCordova -- decided to try for an adult buffalo. All mounted their fastest horses -- Howard on "Charlie," DeCordova on "Cannon Ball" and Jones on "Kentuck."<sup>152</sup> They selected a young cow and cautiously approached to within 150 yards, then they dug spurs and the race was on. Howard got in close -- almost too close -- and let go his rope, catching the cow around the right fore-leg according to plan and sending her rolling over and over. At precisely the right moment

DeCordova raced by and dropped his rope over her hind leg before she could regain her equilibrium. Each horse pulled back and the struggling cow was held as if in a vise.<sup>153</sup>

Jones now dismounted and approached with the hobbles made of log chains two feet long with heavy straps at the end having strong buckles.

She struck at me with her horns until her ribs rattled as her head pounded her sides in her fruitless efforts to reach me; then she used her loose front foot, kicking and striking until she was actually exhausted. I finally buckled the hobble on her loose front leg, but could not manage to get it on the hind one; so I took my lasso, threw it around the hind leg, ran the rope through the ring of the chain next to the fore leg, drew the two near together, and fastened them in that position. I then had no difficulty in adjusting the hobbles firmly. Now everything was ready to turn her loose.<sup>154</sup>

Jones remounted "Kentuck" and gave the order to release the ropes. She was on her feet in a moment and bristled with rage.

She made all sorts of attempts to charge upon us, but would only tumble for her pains; and when she tried to run, the only effect was to shake the ropes off her feet . . . only the boys had to . . . pick them off the ground without dismounting.<sup>155</sup>

This was difficult and dangerous work and before resorting to this method of capture, Jones decided to drive the remaining herd -- consisting of 22 buffalo -- from their range to his ranch in Garden City. When the herd was located Jones wrote out the orders. Mr. Howard was to be in command. They were to drive the buffalo and

never to lose sight of the herd day or night. If they made an escape during the night bloodhounds were to be put on their trail, but this was clearly to be a method of last resort. Those in camp were always to keep a watch for the herd and when the herd was sighted they should go immediately with fresh men and horses and relieve those on the drive. In this leap-frog fashion the buffalo were to be driven all the way to Garden City.<sup>156</sup> Truly, this was the last round-up.

Mr. Howard reported on this drive:

We started the buffaloes, and followed them continually day and night for forty-two days, changing horses about twenty times. The buffalo became very thin and footsore, and seemed so lame they could scarcely walk, yet would not allow us to approach nearer than two hundred feet, when they would start off and run with as much alacrity as though nothing was the matter with them. Often we could trail them for miles by the blood left in their tracks.<sup>157</sup>

Meanwhile Jones returned to Garden City, organized another expedition, separated 25 buffalo from the herd on his ranch, and drove them 200 miles to meet the herd coming in from Texas. The two herds were introduced to one another and the drive toward Garden City continued. All went according to plan until the wild buffalo reached the limit of their restricted range, they then sniffed the air, turned tail and ran. The cowboys could not turn them or stop them.<sup>158</sup>

The failure of this drive was a crushing blow, but Jones would not give up. He now returned to the method



of lassoing and hobbling adult buffalo previous described. They went after all of the buffalo in the escaped herd and captured all but four. Half of these died within 24 hours.

They usually took fits, stiffened themselves, then dropped dead, apparently preferring death to captivity. It appeared to me they had the power to abstain from breathing.

We worried along the remainder, but they eventually died before arriving at my ranch in Kansas. We were fortunate enough to bring seven calves in, . . . 159

When "Buffalo" Jones and his men thus ended their last hunt their score card looked something like the following:

1886	. . . . .	10	calves
1887	. . . . .	7	"
1888	. . . . .	32	"
1889	. . . . .	7	"
	Total	56	"

Jones had captured more buffalo than anyone else at this point, but still he was not satisfied. In some way he heard that the pure-blood and cross-bred animals of the Bedson herd were for sale. He journeyed to Stony Mountain, Manitoba, and bid on the herd. When it became clear that the buffalo would be removed from Canadian soil there was an attempt made by local interests in Winnipeg to form a company and buy the herd. Jones very graciously allowed these "local gentlemen" time to raise the money and indicated he would be happy to see them take half of the herd. The deal fell through, however, and Jones bought the entire herd. 160

The buffalo were shipped by train from Stony Mountain to the Jones ranch near Garden City, Kansas.<sup>161</sup> Little was known at this time about shipping buffalo by train and consequently losses were quite high. Jones is reported to have lost almost 25 per cent of the herd in transit.<sup>162</sup> At Kansas City some of the buffalo escaped from the train and caused a little excitement before they were rounded up and placed back in the railroad cars.<sup>163</sup> This is believed to have been the first time such a large number of buffalo were shipped by train and it proved instructive indeed. In the future even larger shipments would be made, but more precautions would be taken with the result that losses would be drastically reduced.

In addition to this purchase Jones is reported to have bought approximately 10 mature animals from individual owners in Kansas and Nebraska.<sup>164</sup> There is no evidence on the source of these animals. By 1893, however, Jones was beginning to feel a financial crunch like the rest of the country, and in that year he sold 26 pure-bred buffalo and 18 hybrids to Michel Pablo and Charles Allard.<sup>165</sup> These buffalo were shipped by train from another Jones ranch near Omaha to Butte, Montana. Allard and his sons took delivery of this herd in Omaha and accompanied it to Butte, while Pablo drove some buffalo overland with which to meet the new additions to their herd. This combined herd was the feature attraction in a rodeo at the Butte

fairgrounds before they were driven to their home in the Flathead Valley.<sup>166</sup>

The hybrid animals were never allowed to mix with the pure-bred buffalo. They were sequestered on Wild Horse Island in Flathead Lake.<sup>167</sup>

As previously stated, the vast majority of the buffalo alive today can trace their ancestry to the 76 - 84 animals whose capture was described above. These five herds played a central role in the preservation of the species; therefore, their formation merited extended discussion. The point must now be stressed, however, that these animals did not represent all the animals then in existence or even in captivity. Little more is known about the remaining minor herds than the names of their owners and the number of head they contained. This paper will now turn to a discussion of these minor herds and of the scattered animals still then surviving in the wild state.<sup>168</sup>

The following discussion is possible because of an important piece of work conducted by William T. Hornaday, Chief Taxidermist at the U. S. National Museum. This work in itself is an important milestone in the story of the buffalo's preservation because it meant that to some degree the entire buffalo picture was being monitored. The number of animals in the wild state, in captivity, their location, rough estimates on the number of bulls, cows, and cross-

bred animals, were known quantities at the point when the species reached its lowest ebb. Hornaday obtained most of his information by writing directly to the herd owners. He admitted that his survey was not exhaustive.<sup>169</sup> He took his census about December, 1888, and listed the following:

# BUFFALO IN CAPTIVITY

1888

<u>Owner</u>		<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
"Buffalo Bill" Wild West Show		-	-	18
Philadelphia Zoological Society	Philadelphia, Penna.	4	6	10
Atchison, Topeka and Sante Fe RR	Bismarck Grove, Kan.	3	7	10
Lincoln Park Zoo	Chicago, Ill.	2	5	7
Dr. V. T. McGillicuddy	Rapid City, S.D.	2	2	4
Central Park Menagerie	New York City	-	-	4
U. S. National Museum	Washington, D.C.	1	1	2
John H. Starin	Glen Island, N.Y.	-	-	4
B. C. Winston	Hamline, Minn.	1	1	2
Jesse Huston	Miles City, Mont.	1	-	1 <sup>a</sup>
L. F. Gardner	Bellwood, Ore.	1	-	1 <sup>a</sup>
Riverside Ranch Co.	Mandan, Dak. Ter.	1	1	2
Unknown Private Parties	Dakota Ter.	-	-	4
James R. Hitch	Optima, Indian Ter.	1	1	2
Joseph A. Hudson	Estell, Nebr.	1	-	1 <sup>a</sup>
London Zoological Gardens	London, England	-	-	1 <sup>a</sup>
Liverpool, England	Liverpool, Eng.	-	-	1 <sup>b</sup>
Dresden Zoological Gardens	Dresden, Germany	-	-	2
Calcutta Zoological Gardens	Calcutta, India	-	-	1 <sup>a</sup>
Total				77

FIVE FOUNDATION HERDS

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
Col. Samuel L. Bedson	Stony Mountain, Man.	23	35	70 <sup>c</sup>
Charles Goodnight	Goodnight, Tex.	6	7	13
Michel Pablo and Charles Allard	Ronan, Mont.	-	-	35
Frederick Dupree	Stanley Co., S.D.	4	5	9
Charles J. Jones	Garden City, Kan.	24	33	<u>57</u>
			Total	184
		Grand Total		261

<sup>a</sup> Not considered to be in breeding situation.

<sup>b</sup> This was a lone animal but in the year the census was taken it was purchased by the "Buffalo Bill" Wild West Show and Hornaday evidently included it with the animals in a breeding situation.

<sup>c</sup> This figure includes 12 calves of unknown sex.

Tallying these figures for the buffalo in captivity, Hornaday recorded 216 full-blood buffalo kept for breeding purposes and 40 used for exhibition, making a total of 256 full-blooded buffalo in captivity. There were a total of 261 buffalo recorded in his list, but where only one buffalo existed, he did not consider the animal to be in a breeding situation and deleted it from his tally. Exactly which 40 of these animals he considered to be kept for exhibition purposes only, he did not say.<sup>170</sup>

Hornaday was a very energetic man who carried much enthusiasm to his work. His census, based on written correspondence with the owners, is probably as accurate as could be expected. When he turned to tally the wild buffalo, however, he relied heavily on the fact that there were so few of these animals and that hunters had them carefully "marked down" because there was keen competition among these men to kill the last buffalo. His census of wild buffalo was therefore based on these hunters reports and "sightings" and little if any effort was expended to validate the reports or to find out if the animals in question still remained alive at the time he recorded them.<sup>171</sup> Accordingly this census must be regarded as very liberal.

#### WILD BUFFALO

1888

<u>Location</u>	<u>Number</u>
Montana	8 (sighted)
Dakota Territory	8 (sighted)
Wyoming	26 (sighted)
Colorado	20 (estimated)
Texas	15-25 (estimated)

Tallying all these reports, Hornaday concluded that not more than 85 buffalo remained alive in the wild state.<sup>172</sup> His report made clear that it would be reasonable to expect that these animals would not long survive.

They had achieved some limited protection by retreating to forbidding and almost inaccessible areas, but in the long run the hunting pressure against them would be greater than their ability to replenish their numbers. Survival of the species, therefore, rested with the animals in captivity.

When the decline of a species is traced from 60,000,000 to a few hundred individuals it seems obvious to conclude that the species is coming near to extinction. However, an examination of the number of survivors is not the entire story. There are some hopeful signs in this otherwise dark picture that have not been emphasized before and they also deserve consideration. First, the buffalo were known to be highly prolific animals even in captivity. Hornaday pointed out that the animals in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show bred successfully, and these were animals who rarely saw open ground. This characteristic of the buffalo indicated that if small breeding populations could be guaranteed protection and range the species might take care of its own survival. Secondly, there were a handful of individuals and organizations who were already well on their way to providing the range and protection the buffalo required. In many instances these experiments were already proving successful because the Hornaday census shows calves and yearling animals in many of these nucleus herds. Third, these protected groups of

survivors were widely separated and hence the species was offered some degree of protection from the dangers of disease and epidemic. Finally, through Hornaday's work the buffalo's situation was a known quantity, at least among wildlife people, and any drastic changes in these nucleus herds would have provided a signal to them that further efforts might be necessary in the buffalo's behalf.

The problem that was looming on the horizon and which the wildlife people did not see at this time was that the buffalo's high rate of productivity would push these private herds beyond their owners ability to sustain them. Furthermore, they would do this more quickly than expected. In this situation the buffalo's continued survival would revolve around the question of whether or not this burden of sustaining the growing buffalo population could be switched from private to public hands. The first move in this direction came just five years after the Hornaday census was published, and concerned the protection of the Government's own herd in Yellowstone National Park.



## FOOTNOTES

1. There are four works devoted almost entirely to the slaughter. The first of these was written in 1886 by Dr. Wm. T. Hornaday, Superintendent of the National Zoological Park, and published in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1886-87, pp. 367-548. See Hornaday, "The Extermination of the American Bison, with a Sketch of Its Discovery and Life History." In 1929 E. Douglas Branch wrote the next work entitled, The Hunting of the Buffalo (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1962). By far the most exhaustive book on the slaughter is The North American Buffalo by Frank G. Roe, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1951. The most recent effort has been that of Wayne Gard, The Great Buffalo Hunt (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1959).

2. Estimates of the original herd size vary widely from a low of 30,000,000 to a high of over 100,000,000. Most authorities, however, regard the estimate of Ernest Thompson Seton as the most accurate. See his Lives of Game Animals, Vol. III, Part II, Doubleday, Doran & Co., New York, 1929, pp. 641-703. See also Scribner's Magazine, Oct., 1906, p. 402. Ernest Seton Thompson gives the following estimates:

Estimate of buffalo in primitive days	55,000,000
Estimate in 1800	40,000,000
Estimate in 1850	20,000,000

See also Hornaday, "The Extermination of the American Bison," in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1886-87, pp. 387-93.

3. The debates in Congress can be followed in the Congressional Record beginning with the 42nd Congress, First Session, to the 44th Congress, First Session, but they are very well summarized in Hornaday, pp. 513-521. President Grant left no record providing reasons for his veto, however, being a military man he may have thought along the lines of General Phil Sheridan when he spoke to the Texas Legislature and urged them not to make it unlawful to shoot buffalo. Speaking of the buffalo hunters he said:  
 These men have done in the last two years, and will do in the next year, more to settle the vexed Indian question than the entire regular Army has done in the last thirty years. They are destroying the Indians' commissary; and it

is a well known fact that an army losing its base of supplies is placed at a great disadvantage. Send them powder and lead, if you will; but, for sake of lasting peace, let them kill, skin, and sell until the buffaloes are exterminated.

See John R. Cook, The Border and the Buffalo, Topeka, 1907, pp. 113-4. This sentiment was also that of Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior. James A. Garfield told the Committee on Appropriations that he had heard the Secretary say:

The best thing which could happen for the betterment of our Indian question -- the very best thing which could occur for the solution of the difficulties of that question -- would be that the last remaining buffalo should perish.

See H. R. 921, Congressional Record, 43rd Congress, First Session, II, Part 3, p. 2107.

4. These private individuals for the most part were unaware of the actions in Congress and took a hand in the matter on their own initiative.
5. By far the vast majority of the buffalo alive today can trace their ancestry to the animals captured by James McKay-Charles Alloway, Charles Goodnight, Walking Coyote, Frederick Dupree, and Charles J. Jones. There are references in the literature to other owners of buffalo the source of which is simply not known. The point to be emphasized, however, is that the herds formed by the above men became the nucleus of the vast majority of all the animals alive today. Therefore, even though history cannot record with any certainty the capture of every animal, there is some comfort in knowing that those individuals omitted from this account played a small and peripheral role in the preservation of the species. See J. Evetts Haley, Charles Goodnight: Cowman & Plainsman, Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1936, p. 438.
6. Mary McCarthy Ferguson, The Honorable James McKay of Deer Lodge, Winnipeg, published by the author, 1972.
7. Ibid., p. 49. See also "Saving the Buffalo," The Beaver, June, 1948, p. 10.

8. Edith Patterson, "It Happened Here," Winnipeg Free Press, Nov. 8 & 15, 1969; see also Biography Scrapbook, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, p. B7.
9. For a short yet very good description of the Red River hunts see H. M. Robinson, "A Great Buffalo 'Pot Hunt'" in Appleton's Journal, Vol. I, 1876, pp. 215-223.
10. Winnipeg Tribune, June 24, 1925.
11. Interview with Charles V. Alloway by T. W. Leslie found in "Buffalo Preservation" file in the Hudson Bay Library, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
12. Winnipeg Tribune, June 24, 1925.
13. T. W. Leslie interview.
14. Winnipeg Tribune, June 24, 1925.
15. T. W. Leslie interview.
16. Winnipeg Tribune, June 24, 1925.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ferguson, pp. 57-59.
20. This problem is clouded by conflicting claims and the absence of good primary source material to resolve the issue. Ferguson said the auction was held on Jan. 20, 1880 and that 9 buffalo were listed as sold. A search of the Manitoba newspapers for the month of January, 1880, failed to reveal any report of an auction at the McKay estate. The will left by James McKay makes no mention of the buffalo herd. This absence raises the question of whether the herd was considered to be jointly owned by McKay and Alloway or whether Alloway was considered the owner and they were just pastured on the McKay estate. Alloway says in both the Leslie interview and the Winnipeg Tribune article that he sold all 16 animals for \$1,000. On the other side of this coin Ferguson

claims at least 9 of them to be listed as the property of the McKay estate and Bedson said he bought 8 head from the McKay estate. See "Second Report of the Select Committee of the Senate on the Existing Natural Food Products of the North-West Territories and the Best Means of Conserving and Increasing the Same." 1887 in Provincial Archives of Manitoba. In Beaver, June, 1948, p. 11, it is learned that Alloway had an auction in February, 1878, and that Bedson bought all the buffalo in two separate purchases. There is no contemporary report of the Alloway auction and if it were held in 1878 it would have been before McKay's death.

21. The best evidence in this confused picture seems to be Bedson's own statement that he bought 8 animals. This statement was made only 8 years after the event as opposed to the Alloway statements which came more than 40 years after the event. The Bedson statement is in the "Second Report of the Select Committee" mentioned above.
22. Ibid., "Second Report of the Select Committee."
23. Ibid.
24. Winnipeg Tribune, June 24, 1925. There is another contradiction in the literature here which cannot be resolved because of a lack of evidence. The total price of the 16 animals is reported in this same source to have been \$1,000 and yet Ferguson says that Donald Smith bought the remainder for his herd at Silver Heights. The greater probability seems to be that Bedson bought 8 head as he said he did and that Smith began his herd with this purchase.
25. Ferguson, p. 48. For a statement on Strathcona's interest in preserving the species see Lord Strathcona: The Story of His Life by Beckles Willson, pp. 218-221.
26. The Manitoba Free Press for Oct. 17, 1914, says "Lord Strathcona's Herd was established in 1887 . . ."
27. There is no mention in the literature of cross-bred animals in the Strathcona herd.

28. Manitoba Free Press, Winnipeg, Oct. 14, 1914. Bedson's son, K. C. Bedson, was interviewed by the Winnipeg Tribune, Nov. 12, 1928, and said Strathcona gave only 4 to the city of Winnipeg after a vigorous protest from Ottawa. The records show that Winnipeg received 5 buffalo rather than 4. See Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG84, Vol. 108, B 209, No. 3, Oct., 1910 - Feb., 1928, memorandum from Mr. Nagle to Mr. Lloyd, March 12, 1926.
  
29. For a while this herd increased its numbers, but then went into a decline. The City of Winnipeg also had another small herd at River Park. These buffalo had been purchased by the Winnipeg Street Railway Company from Howard Eaton who in turn had bought them from the Pablo-Allard herd which will be discussed below. See Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Vertical File on Buffaloes.
  
30. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG84, Vol. 108, B 209, No. 3, Oct. 1910 - Feb. 1928, memorandum from Mr. Nagle to Mr. Lloyd, March 12, 1926. Charles Alloway said in the Winnipeg Tribune, June 24, 1925, that after giving away buffalo to the City of Winnipeg and the Dominion of Canada he retained 7 head for himself which were later turned over to the Dominion Government. There is no record of this gift among the official papers in Ottawa. See also the New Era, Sidney, Manitoba, July 25, 1902, which gives an account of an incident concerning buffalo at Silver Heights after the gift was made to the Dominion.
  
31. There was a herd of wild Wood Buffalo in the region around Great Slave Lake that was estimated to range from 200 to 550 head. Mammologists, however, considered these animals to be a distinct sub-species and they will, therefore, not be reviewed in this narrative. For estimates on the size of this herd see "The Extermination of the American Bison," by Dr. Wm. T. Hornaday in the Annual Report of the U. S. Museum, 1886-87, pp. 367-548, and the Boston Evening Transcript of Oct. 10, 1900, p. 13 and Sept. 14, 1904, p. 16. For a statement on the taxonomic classification of these animals see Ernest Seton Thompson, Lives of Game Animals, Vol. III, Part II, Doubleday, Doran and Co., New York, 1929, pp. 641-703.

32. J. Evetts Haley, Charles Goodnight: Cowman & Plainsman, Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1936, p. 5. This biography of Goodnight is the only one in existence and is heavily relied upon for the information in this section of the paper. The Goodnight Papers at the University of Texas at Austin contain little more on the subject of buffalo than Goodnight's correspondence with the American Bison Society which the author had already seen in the Conservation Library at Denver. Similarly the material in the Panhandle-Plains Historical Society at Canyon, Texas, was found to provide little additional information to that found in Haley's work. The principle sources for the Haley biography were extensive interviews he made with Goodnight over a long period of time and also interviews with a multitude of other "old-timers."
33. Ibid., p. 10.
34. Ibid., pp. 18-21.
35. Ibid., p. 121.
36. Ibid., pp. 121-122.
37. Ibid., pp. 126-127.
38. Ibid., p. 438.
39. Ibid., p. 438.
40. Ibid., pp. 260-261.
41. Ibid., p. 266.
42. Ibid., p. 277.
43. Ibid., p. 277.
44. Ibid., p. 283.
45. Ibid., p. 328, as quoted from the Galveston News, Jan. 10, 1880.
46. Ibid., p. 455.

47. University of Texas, Archives, Austin, Van Dale Collection, notes made by Haley while interviewing Goodnight.
48. Panhandle-Plains Historical Society, Canyon, Texas, "Mary Ann Goodnight," unpublished manuscript by Phebe K. Warner of Claude, Texas.
49. Haley, p. 439.
50. Ibid., p. 439.
51. Ibid., pp. 433-36.
52. Ibid., p. 440.
53. Ibid., p. 439.
54. University of Texas, Archives, Austin, Van Dale Collection, notes made by Haley while interviewing Goodnight.
55. Charles Aubrey, "The Edmonton Buffalo Herd," Forest and Stream, Vol. 59, July 5, 1902, p. 6. This article is the very first one ever published on the origin of the Pablo-Allard buffalo herd. Since Aubrey was telling the story 24 years after the event the author spent much time gathering material that would either confirm or deny the story Aubrey told. In this process the Aubrey article was first compared with other stories of bringing buffalo over the mountain. See D. J. Benham, "The Round-up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo." Edmonton Bulletin, Nov. 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10 & 11, Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, published by Curtis in 1911, Vol. 7, p. 70, Frederick B. Edwards, "Wainwright Buffalo Herd Offspring of Bison Given to Montana Piegan Indian," Northwest Tribune, March 21, 1924, p. 6, Raymond Richards, "Ancient Indian Love Affair Gave Denver 40 Fine Buffalo," Denver Post, March 1, 1925, Ellen Nye, "Walking Coyote, Flathead Indian, Started Foundation Herd of Buffalo, Which Later Became Nationally Known as the Pablo Herd; Finally Sold to Canadian Government," Montana News Association Inserts, January, 1933, W. A. Bartlett, "The Story of the Buffalo," unpublished Montana writers W.P.A. project on buffalo in Special Collections, Montana State University,

Bozeman, Montana, Mabel Olson, "Dynamite on Hoofs," True West, March-April, 1958, Sister Elizabeth Lent, "Michel Pablo, Buffalo King," The Apostle, July, 1944, Vol. 22, No. 7, pp. 221-222, 251, John Kidder, "Montana Miracle: It Saved the Buffalo," Montana: The Magazine of Western History, 15 (2): 52-67, Spring, 1965. From this comparison and with some additional evidence discovered by the author it became clear that Walking Coyote did indeed bring buffalo over the mountains and sell them to Pablo. See letter from Malcolm McLeod to Martin S. Garretson, May 12, 1926 in the unpublished correspondence of the American Bison Society, Conservation Library Center, Denver, Colorado and U. S. National Archives, RG 75, Central Files, 1907-1939, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 92843 - 1910-170 - Flathead, letters from F. H. Abbott, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Messrs. Marshall, Stiff & Roberts, Attorneys-at-Law, Jan. 9, 1911, letter from F. H. Abbott to Fred C. Morgan, Flathead Indian Agent, Jan. 9, 1911, letter from Fred C. Morgan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 21, 1910, letter from Pablo to Fred C. Morgan, Dec. 16, 1910. The next step was to examine the internal evidence in the article itself and determine its accuracy. The geographical evidence contained in the article was reviewed at the Map Division of the Library of Congress in Alexandria, Virginia and found to be correct. The Indian evidence in the article was checked from a variety of sources, and, although not all information could be run down, the information Aubrey provides is quite accurate. See Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, Vol. 7, Harry Stanford, The Whoop-Up Trail, 1929, James McLellan Hamilton, From Wilderness to Statehood: A History of Montana, 1805-1900, Binfords & Mort, Portland, Oregon, 1957, Merrill G. Burlingame, The Montana Frontier, State Publishing Company, Helena, 1942, Olga W. Johnson, Flathead and Kootenay: The Rivers, the Tribes, and the Region's Traders, The Arthur H. Clarke Company, Glendale, California, 1969, Rev. Wm. L. Davis, A History of the St. Ignatius Mission, George Bird Grinnell, Black Foot Lodge Tales, Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1962, Clark Wissler, "Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. V, Part I, New York, 1910, Frank B. Linderman, Out of the North: A Brief Historical Sketch of the Blackfeet Indian Tribe, Great Northern Railway, 1941 and author's correspondence with Prof. John C. Ewers, March 19, 1973, with Dr. Robert Bigart of the Smithsonian Institution, March 17, 1973, with Prof. Merrill G. Burlingame, Feb. 26,



1973, and with Ramon Gonyea, Acting Curator of the Museum of the Plains Indian and Craft Center, Browning, Montana, July 10, 1974, and with Mrs. Dorothy Floerchinger, Conrad Public Library, Conrad, Montana, April 24, 1974. Only one writer challenges the Aubrey article. See Larry Barsness, "Superbeast and the Supernatural: The Buffalo in American Folklore," in The American West, IX, 4 (July 1972), 12.

Barsness says,

. . . an examination of Ronan's (Flathead Indian Agent) reports reveals that in 1878 he suggested to the Indians that they drive some buffalo over the mountains.

An examination of Ronan's reports reveals that in 1888 he said he had encouraged the Indians to drive buffalo over the mountains in 1878. He did not report this encouragement in his report of 1878. Even so, the Barsness interpretation does not rule out the Aubrey article. Based on the above work the author made the determination that the Aubrey article was highly accurate and was a proper source of information on the origin of the Pablo-Allard buffalo herd.

56. W. A. Bartlett, "The Story of the Buffalo," unpublished Montana writers W.P.A. project on buffalo, entry number 300.094 or 910.039, "Indians have Several Names."
57. Aubrey, "The Edmonton Buffalo Herd," Forest & Stream, Vol. 59, July 5, 1902, p. 6.
58. Ibid., see also Olga W. Johnson, Flathead and Kootenay.
59. Clark Wissler, "Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. V, Part I.
60. Aubrey, "The Edmonton Buffalo Herd."
61. Ibid.
62. Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1877, p. 531.

63. Ibid.
64. Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1877, p. 531.
65. Aubrey.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., see also communication of Ory J. Armstrong to the Montana Historical Society.
69. W. A. Bartlett, "The Story of the Buffalo."
70. Topographical Maps in the Library of Congress, Map Division, Alexandria, Virginia.
71. Ibid. For information on the Walking Coyote Cabin site see Ellen Nye, Montana News Association Inserts, Jan. 1933.
72. Aubrey.
73. W. A. Bartlett, "The Story of the Buffalo."
74. Ibid. See also Aubrey.
75. W. A. Bartlett. See also D. J. Benham.
76. W. A. Bartlett.
77. Flathead Courier, Oct. 26, 1967.
78. Kidder, "Montana Miracle: It Saved the Buffalo."
79. N.A.R.S., RG 75, letter from Pablo to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nov. 10, 1903.
80. D. J. Benham. See also letter from John M. Gordon to Michael Kennedy, July 4, 1959, Montana Historical Society.

81. Bureau of Indian Affairs Roster of Agency Employees, Vol. II.
82. N.A.R.S., RG 75, letter from Pablo to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nov. 10, 1903.
83. Ibid.
84. Historic and Scenic Missoula and Ravalli Counties, Montana, pp. 70-71.
85. D. J. Benham. See also Kidder.
86. Kidder.
87. Ellen Nye.
88. Ibid.
89. W. A. Bartlett.
90. Letter of Joseph Allard written in summer of 1969 and found in Manuscript File 744 at Montana State University at Bozeman.
91. N.A.R.S., RG 75, letter from Pablo to F. C. Morgan, Dec. 16, 1910.
92. Ibid.
93. Various writers provide different figures and also differ on the number of animals bought. See W. A. Bartlett, D. J. Benham, Kidder, Nye, Lent.
94. Ellen Nye.
95. Nye. See also Elizabeth Lent.
96. Forest and Stream, Vol. 59, July 12, 1902, p. 24.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.

99. The name is most commonly spelled Dupree and that is the spelling used by the town named in his honor. However, some writers spell it DuPre or Dupris. See Charles E. Deland, "Basil Clement (Claymore): The Mountain Trapper," in South Dakota Historical Collections, Vol. II, p. 384, 1922. All writers agree that Frederick Dupree should be credited with the actual capture of the calves. However, Dan Powell, a 91 year old resident of South Dakota who has lived around many of the Dupree family members for years said he had "always heard that two of Fred's boys found 2 buffalo calves and kept them." See letter from Faye Longbrake to Dayton W. Canady, Director of the South Dakota Historical Society, July 20, 1974. See also Martin S. Garretson, The American Bison, New York Zoological Society, New York, 1938, p. 218. There are differing accounts about how these calves were actually captured. The current writer has placed the Deland account in the narrative because he is the only writer to actively seek out the origin of the story and because he handles the material in a more scholarly manner than the other writers. Most of the other writers simply say that Dupree captured the calves and give little or no attention to the method of capture. The varying accounts will, however, be mentioned in the footnotes where appropriate. See undated newspaper clipping in Gillette, News-Record (Gillette, Wyoming) found in scrapbook of Gary Marquis of Gillette, Wyoming. This clipping states that Dupree rescued the buffalo from a quicksand mire in 1882.
  
100. Charles E. Deland, "Ft. Tecumseh and Ft. Pierre Journal and Letter Book," South Dakota Historical Collections, Vol. IX, p. 224, 1918. See also Yellowstone Bison Clipping Book, Vol. 43, pp. 1-13, 1924-25.
  
101. Lt. Col. John Pattee, "Dakota Campaigns," South Dakota Historical Collections, Vol. V, p. 285, 1910.
  
102. Charles P. Barbier, "Recollections of Ft. LaFramboise in 1862 and the rescue of Lake Chetah Captives," South Dakota Historical Collections, Vol. II, p. 240, 1922.
  
103. "Story of Fred Dupree," The Monthly Dakotan, Vol. 5, Jan.-March, 1903, Nos. 9-11, pp. 309-10.

104. Charles E. Deland, "Ft. Tecumseh and Ft. Pierre Journal and Letter Book," South Dakota Historical Collections, Vol. IX, p. 224, 1918.
105. Charles E. Deland, "Basil Clement (Claymore): The Mountain Trapper," South Dakota Historical Collections, Vol. II, p. 385, 1922.
106. Ibid. Judge Hughes was not sure of the date but was sure it was between 1880 and 1884. See also Letter from Philip and Waggoner, Attorneys to William P. Wharton, Secretary of the American Bison Society, Feb. 14, 1912, in the unpublished correspondence of American Bison Society, Conservation Library Center, Denver.
107. Charles E. Deland, "Basil Clement (Claymore): The Mountain Trapper," South Dakota Historical Collections, Vol. II, pp. 384-385, 1922.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
110. Letter from Philip and Waggoner, Attorneys to William P. Wharton, Secretary of the American Bison Society, Feb. 14, 1912 in the unpublished correspondence of the American Bison Society, Conservation Library Center, Denver.
111. C. Stanley Stevenson, "Buffalo East of the Missouri in South Dakota," in South Dakota Historical Collections, Vol. VI, p. 392, 1912.
112. Ibid.
113. George Philip, "James (Scotty) Philip," South Dakota Historical Review, Vol. I, No. 1, Oct., 1935.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid. See also Joe Koller, "Scotty Philip," Golden West, Nov. 1968, pp. 12-15.
116. W. A. Bartlett, "The Story of the Buffalo," No. 300. 349, interview with Allis B. Stuart.

117. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. George Philip, "James (Scotty) Philip," South Dakota Historical Review, Vol. I, No. 1, Oct., 1935.
120. Ibid. There is some disagreement among some of the writers about who actually sold the buffalo to James Philip. George Philip is alone in maintaining that Dupree's son Peter came into the ownership of the herd and sold them through Senator D. F. Carlin acting as the executor of the "Pete Dupree Estate." Garretson said Peter Dupree acted as the executor of his father's estate and sold the herd. Senator D. F. (Dug) Carlin of the South Dakota Legislature had married a daughter of Frederick Dupree and The Monthly Dakotan claims he acted as the executor of the estate and sold the buffalo. See "Stories of Fred Dupree," The Monthly Dakotan, Vol. 5, Jan.-March, 1903, Nos. 9-11, p. 309. The last account is contemporary with the event.
121. George Philip, p. 37. See also The Monthly Dakotan, Vol. 5, Jan.-March, 1903, Nos. 9-11, p. 309.
122. Colonel Henry Inman, Buffalo Jones' Forty Years of Adventure, Crane and Company, Topeka, Kansas, 1899, pp. 21-23. This work is compiled by Inman but much of the book is told by Jones himself in the first person singular. This story he credits with the beginning of his career as a hunter of live wild-life specimens.
123. Ibid., pp. 21-22.
124. Ibid., p. 23.
125. Ibid., p. 23. For more information on this subject see Chapter II in Inman.
126. Robert Easton and Mackenzie Brown, Lord of Beasts: The Saga of Buffalo Jones, University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1961, p. 220.
127. Inman, Buffalo Jones' Forty Years of Adventure, p. 235.

128. Easton & Brown, Lord of Beasts, p. 15.
129. Ibid., p. 16.
130. Ibid., p. 17.
131. Ibid., pp. 17 and 27.
132. Ibid., p. 27.
133. Ibid., pp. 29-31, 38.
134. Inman, pp. 47-9.
135. Ibid., p. 48.
136. Ibid., pp. 50 and 56-61. When the Union Pacific Railroad was completed in 1869 it divided the buffalo into a northern and southern herd occupying territory north or south of the right-of-way respectively. See Hornaday, "The Extermination of the American Bison," p. 492.
137. Inman, pp. 61-62.
138. Ibid., p. 134.
139. Ibid., p. 80.
140. Emerson Hough, "A Buffalo Hunt Indeed," as related in Inman. Hough and the artist J. A. Ricker accompanied Jones on this hunt and wrote the account of it which occurs in the Inman book, p. 116.
141. Ibid., p. 164.
142. Inman, p. 182.
143. Ibid., pp. 183-4.
144. Ibid., p. 186.
145. Ibid., p. 145.

146. Ibid., pp. 142-3.
147. Ibid., pp. 142-3.
148. Ibid., p. 192.
149. Ibid., p. 183.
150. Ibid., p. 203.
151. Ibid., pp. 202-3.
152. Ibid., p. 214.
153. Ibid., p. 215.
154. Ibid., p. 216.
155. Ibid., pp. 216-217.
156. Ibid., p. 220.
157. Ibid., p. 222.
158. Ibid., pp. 221-222.
159. Ibid., pp. 222-223.
160. Winnipeg Free Press, Nov. 6, 1889. The details of this transaction are unclear. The Free Press says there were 100 animals and Jones bid \$60 per head. Alloway mentions a selling price of \$35,000 but this seems much too high. Still another writer puts the figure at \$40 per head. See Winnipeg Tribune, June 24, 1925. See also Edward R. Mills, The Story of Stony Mountain and District, Winnipeg, DeMontfort Press, 1960, p. 66, and unpublished manuscript by Mills in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba. Bedson's son said the herd never exceeded 93 head although several writers say the herd went to 127 head and Bedson gave 27 head to Lord Strathcona to pay off the original \$1,000 purchase loan. The 127 figure seems too high. See Winnipeg Tribune, Nov. 12, 1928 and June 24, 1925.



161. Mills, The Story of Stony Mountain and District, p. 67.
162. D. J. Benham, Edmonton Bulletin, Nov. 8, 1907.
163. Mills, p. 167.
164. Garretson, pp. 218-9.
165. D. J. Benham, Edmonton Bulletin, Nov. 8, 1907.
166. Letter from Joseph Allard, summer of 1969, Manuscript File 744, Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana. See also Forest and Stream, Vol. 59, July 12, 1902, p. 24.
167. D. J. Benham, Edmonton Bulletin, Nov. 8, 1907.
168. This paper is concerned with the species *Bison bison* and will not discuss the wood or mountain buffalo which was and is recognized by mammologists as a distant sub-species. This sub-species existed in its pure state in the Yellowstone Park and in Great Slave Lake Region of Canada. In both areas they were mixed with the plains dwelling species and their survival in the pure state remains a matter of serious question to this day.
169. William T. Hornaday, "The Extirpation of the American Bison," in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1886-87, pp. 458-464.
170. Ibid., p. 464.
171. Ibid., pp. 521-525.
172. Ibid., p. 525.

## CHAPTER II

### THE BEGINNINGS OF PUBLIC PROTECTION

In the Act establishing Yellowstone National Park on March 1, 1872, Congress instructed the Secretary of the Interior "to provide against the wanton destruction of the fish and game found within said park and against their capture or destruction for the purposes of merchandise or profit."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most noticeable features of these instructions are the lack of an outright prohibition on the killing of game and the absence of any penalties harsh enough to deter would-be offenders. Game was still plentiful in this remote area and people were scarce. Besides, anyone who did venture into such a remote area would have to depend upon the game as a source of food. If excessive destruction of game should occur the regulations established by the Secretary of the Interior were assumed to be adequate to handle the matter.<sup>2</sup>

This line of reasoning, however, was wishful thinking. By the time the Park was established, civilization was already making inroads in the area, and the hunters were carrying their war of attrition to the wildlife. In 1873, a Yellowstone Park settler wrote,

Hunters were shooting elk, deer, antelope, etc., for the pleasure of seeing them fall, others were killing them for hides.<sup>3</sup>

As game became more scarce, the prices paid by taxidermists with eastern buyers went up, and hence it seems fair to state that almost as soon as the Park was established, the instructions issued to the Secretary of the Interior by Congress were being violated.<sup>4</sup> The problem at the time, and for some years to come, was an inability to perceive the true nature of the situation and to formulate a series of measures based on this reality that would effectively protect the wildlife in the Park.

In retrospect it can now be seen, for example, that one of the first efforts that should have been made when the Park was established was to determine the summer and winter ranges of the game and to draw the boundaries to conform to the greatest expanse of these ranges. At the time almost no one approached the boundary question from the buffalo's or the elk's point of view and it seems doubtful that the boundaries would have taken a different course if this position had been considered. By the time the seasonal ranges of the game became known and appreciated settlement had moved close enough to the Park to make expansion difficult. Organized mining and ranching interests were firmly established on the Park's borders. Unlimited hunting just outside the boundaries led to a steady decimation of the Park's wildlife treasures. Various Secretaries of the Interior and Park Superintendents

called for an extension of the Park's northern boundary, but without effect. Not until 1905 did Wyoming and Montana establish game reserves outside the southern and northern borders of the Park.<sup>5</sup> The only punishment the Superintendent could impose was to confiscate the poacher's equipment and expel him from the Park.<sup>6</sup> The necessary hunting gear, however, could be assembled for less than \$30 and buffalo heads were selling for \$300 to \$500. The poaching business was, therefore, a low risk, high return type of enterprise and experienced outdoorsmen were more than willing to match their skills against the meager and infrequent Park patrols.

The inadequacies of law were not the only source of trouble for the Park's wildlife, however. Most of the early Superintendents during the Park's first years proved to be ineffectual or even damaging to the wildlife they were supposed to protect. James Kasten's review of the wildlife policy of the first five Superintendents reveals a deplorable picture: absentee Superintendents, a dearth of dollars to run and maintain the Park, fruitless petitions and reports to Washington imploring that something be done to remedy a degenerating situation, and even one Superintendent who fed his crews on buffalo meat secured in the Park itself.<sup>7</sup>

In true Pearl Harbor fashion Washington waited until the eleventh hour before acting. In 1886 Congress,

in effect, acted by making no appropriation for the Park at all. This move may have been a protest against the succession of poor administrators or an attempt to force an end to the Park. Evidence seems to suggest, however, that Congress was trying to force control of the Park into the hands of the military in order to provide more efficient protection and operation.<sup>8</sup> During the years between the Civil War and the Spanish-American War the Army served in many civilian capacities, from maintaining meteorological stations to carrying out surveys. The Army was especially active in the tremendous railroad expansion that followed the Civil War. The Sundry Civil Act of March 3, 1883, had given the Secretary of the Interior power to call upon the Secretary of War to provide troops for the policing of the Park. When Congress failed to appropriate money, therefore, Secretary of the Interior Lamar called on William C. Endicott, Secretary of War, for a force of men to police the Park.<sup>9</sup>

On August 17, 1886, Captain Moses Harris arrived at the Park headquarters with 50 enlisted men and 3 commissioned officers. Harris was a frontier cavalryman with a deep appreciation for the out-of-doors and a special interest in his new duty. Within hours of his arrival his troops were on the back trails flushing out hunters, woodcutters and souvenir collectors. Harris brought much energy to his job but he labored under severe legal restrictions and vague orders. All he could do was confis-

cate Park property which was being removed and, by a show of force, try to prevent further destruction of the Park's resources.<sup>10</sup>

The military administration initiated several new procedures designed to protect the Park and its wildlife. They began a program of predator control by assigning soldiers the duty of hunting wolves, coyotes and mountain lions. They sealed rifles whenever they were brought in to the Park and checked them again when they were taken out. They set up a system of outposts and patrols over the most heavily used roads and game ranges. They even hired civilian scouts to assist the soldiers on patrol duty.<sup>11</sup>

This system proved more effective than the policy pursued under the civilian administrations. More hunters were contacted and asked to leave the Park, poachers were caught in the act of slaughtering game, their equipment was confiscated and they were expelled from the Park. Also visitors more frequently came into contact with representatives of Park authority.<sup>12</sup>

While military administration of the Park was definitely a step in the right direction, the point to be emphasized here is that the wildlife was now somewhat better protected due to the vigilance and energy with which the military chose to carry out their orders rather than through any positive action by the authorities in

Washington. It could be argued that the Army was protecting the wildlife in spite of Washington. The legal authority provided by the government was so weak as to invite poachers into the Park. This authority read,

"Hunting, capturing, injuring, or killing any bird or animal within the park is prohibited. The outfits of persons found hunting or in possession of game killed in the park will be subject to seizure and confiscation."<sup>13</sup>

The poachers knew the authorities could not level an effective punishment, and poaching actually increased.<sup>14</sup> In 1887 and 1888 two men were caught poaching and expelled from the Park in separate incidents only to return to be caught and expelled a second time.<sup>14</sup> Stronger legal safeguards were evidently needed.

Another problem that was just as destructive to the Park and its wildlife as the impotent statutes was the lack of concern on the part of people in the communities surrounding the Park. Here the poachers found supplies, protection and a market for the products of their bloody trade. The Park's neighbors went beyond these mild supportive measures, however, and actually took gun in hand to help the poacher. As the heavy winter snows in the higher elevations drove the big game toward the lower altitudes and across the Park boundaries, citizens from Gardiner and Cooke City met them with their rifles ready. This "firing line" had the effect of concentrating game in the Park, which suited the poacher perfectly.<sup>16</sup>

There was a bright note, however, in this otherwise gloomy picture. At 689 Madison Avenue in New York City, 29 year old Theodore Roosevelt gave a dinner party in December, 1887. The year before he had lost \$52,500 in cattle to one of the West's worst winters, completed his monumental history of the West, and lost in a race for Mayor of New York City. Temporarily inactive in politics and with the West on his mind he suggested to his distinguished guests that they form themselves into the nucleus of a new organization comprised only of "American hunting riflemen." The purpose of this organization was to provide a clearinghouse for trips to undeveloped portions of the country. This information would be useful to museums and scientific organizations, but even more important with "a carefully screened membership" Roosevelt thought this group "could exert considerable influence in shaping the future course of legislation designed to check the slaughter of big game and the ravishment of the remaining wild areas of the nation."<sup>17</sup>

Roosevelt's "strenuous life" philosophy has been chronicled by several biographers. The men to whom he spoke that evening were of a similar stripe. Comfortable means and inquiring minds led them to seek adventure and learning in areas infrequently visited and difficult to reach. Their credentials as hunters and outdoorsmen were well established and they agreed with Roosevelt on the



need for such an organization as he proposed. There were many state conservation groups and game societies which were largely interested in stopping the market hunting for birds. No society was attempting to do the same thing for the larger mammals. Roosevelt's guests felt this newly proposed organization could act as an "elite guard in the conservation field" and attract the leaders of existing societies to its membership. The club would thus provide a forum around which the leaders in the conservation field could meet and map strategy. Roosevelt made it clear that this was not to be a social organization that would do little more than pass resolutions. He wanted "an action group of dynamic individuals." The Boone and Crockett Club, as the new group was called, was composed of people who could speak authoritatively from personal experience in the field of big game and who had reputations and public standing that commanded respect. Almost as soon as the Club was born it became a powerful force for mobilizing public opinion and steering legislation into proper channels.<sup>18</sup>

At one of its first meetings it passed a resolution and appointed a committee "to promote useful and proper legislation toward the enlargement and better management of the Yellowstone National Park."

The Club took two very successful steps to acquaint the public at large with the problems of Yellowstone. In

1893 they set up an exhibit at the Chicago World's Fair. They were assigned a wooded island on South Pond in Jackson Park close to the administration building. In a grove of trees on this tract of land Elwood "Billy" Hofer, a Yellowstone guide, built a typical western hunter's cabin and furnished it with authentic paraphernalia. Hofer was a former market hunter from the Yellowstone country who became impressed with the need for establishing refuge for big game animals. He laid down his gun and became a pioneer in wildlife photography. For seven months he delighted and informed the crowds about the Boone and Crockett Club and about Yellowstone.<sup>20</sup>

Prominent among the members of the Club was Dr. George Bird Grinnell, controlling owner of the Forest and Stream Publishing Company, and editor of Forest and Stream Weekly. Working closely with Grinnell and Roosevelt the Club published its first book, American Big-Game Hunting, in October, 1893. The book differed from its contemporaries in the outdoor field by stressing sportsmanship and game preservation, as well as hunting experiences. In spite of the severe depression in 1893, the book was an immediate success. Two full chapters were on the buffalo and made a plea for its preservation. There was also an authoritative article on "The Yellowstone Park as a Game Preserve." In short, through the auspices of the Boone and Crockett Club, Yellowstone

National Park was acquiring some important friends in the right places. The Club was an organized group of important men who could bring public opinion to bear on the legislation needed in the Park. This was exactly the kind of help the military men required if the Park was to be run properly and the wildlife protected.<sup>21</sup>

When Captain Moses Harris was recalled to Washington in 1889 and replaced by Captain F. A. Boutelle, Harris joined the Club. For many years thereafter it became customary for the Superintendent of the Park to be elected to Club membership. In 1891 Boutelle was succeeded by Captain George S. Anderson and both these men added to the Club's roster. Even Anderson's assistant, Captain Frank Edwards, became a member. With this assemblage of authoritative figures the Club stepped up its campaign to strengthen the hands of the men who ran the Park. Among the members of the Club were prominent leaders in Congress like Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. Editors of the leading outdoor journals as well as men of high position in the U. S. Army also graced its membership. In 1892 the Club passed a resolution endorsing Captain Anderson's request for a doubling of the manpower in the Park. So great was the influence of the Club that less than two months later the request was granted.<sup>22</sup>

As has already been shown, however, the big need of the Park was not for more manpower, but effective

legislation that would protect the wildlife. Serious efforts to provide this needed protection had begun in 1883 with Senator George C. Vest of Missouri, a Boone and Crockett Club member. His bill would have made the Park an inviolate refuge. Six times between 1883 and 1890 he pushed his bill through the Senate only to have it buried in House Committees. Opposition to the Vest bills stemmed mainly from a powerful lobby of mining interests and real estate speculators from the Cooke City-Livingston, Montana area who wanted to build a railroad through the Park. The chief argument of this well-financed group was that regulation of the Park should be left to state and local control. They pictured the Park as a playground for the rich that was robbing honest miners and hunters of a livelihood. Every time one of the Vest bills passed the Senate it emerged with a crippling rider granting the controversial railroad right of way.<sup>23</sup>

To supporters of the Park the idea of a railroad was anathema. Aside from the destruction of natural features its construction would cause, it was feared a precedent would be established which would make the exclusion of other lines an impossibility. In 1892, after being blocked in their attempt to push a railroad through the Park, the railroad lobby introduced a bill that would have restored 622 square miles of the Park to the public domain. This area was the northern portion that included

some of the finest big-game range in the Park. The Boone and Crockett Club fought this bill tooth and nail. Club members testified at all hearings on the bill and Grinnell distributed to all the major newspapers in the country a detailed brochure about the Park and the problems it faced. In spite of all the efforts of the Club this bill passed the Senate and was only narrowly defeated in the House.<sup>24</sup>

From this point on events in the Park itself were to play the determining role in the halls of Congress. In 1891 and 1892, two poachers were caught and while both men were found with irrefutable evidence of their bloody trade both were released for want of a law under which they could be prosecuted. The Boone and Crockett Club made the most of each of these cases. Grinnell gave news of these cases prominent and continuous coverage in the pages of Forest and Stream and circulated reprints to all the major newspapers. Club members repeatedly cited these cases in the hearings on the bills of Senator Vest. However, their real cause celebre came with the capture of a notorious poacher in 1894.<sup>25</sup>

In October, 1893, Superintendent Anderson found signs of a buffalo concentration near Pelican Creek while on an inspection tour of the eastern boundary of the Park. He knew that the poachers would read these signs too and would be drawn to this area of the Park. Therefore, he

assigned his best scout, Felix Burgess, to keep an eye on that section of the Park.<sup>26</sup> Scattered throughout the Park at this time were five remote substations and from these primitive posts a sergeant and two privates usually patrolled a given section of the Park. Telephones connected the four hotels in the Park with the main post at Mammoth Hot Springs, and if the patrol teams wanted to get in touch with the main post they had to trek into the nearest hotel on skis or snowshoes and use the phone.<sup>27</sup>

In that year Grinnell sent a team of reporters into the Park to report on the experience of a Yellowstone winter and on the situation of the game in the Park. The team included Grinnell's ace reporter, Emerson Hough, the guide, Billy Hofer, and F. Jay Haynes, the Park's first photographic concessionaire and an excellent photographer in his own right. They were at the Park's main post at Mammoth Hot Springs on Monday evening, March 12th, when the telephone rang about 9:30. Scout Felix Burgess was calling from the Lake Hotel and he reported the capture of a well known poacher by the name of Ed Howell.<sup>28</sup> Captain Anderson was jubilant with this news and after he calmed down he told Hough of the plans leading to the capture.

I knew that Howell had been in the Park and had an idea that he was over on Pelican Valley somewhere. I sent Burgess after sign once before this winter, but Burgess broke his axe and had to come back. I told Burgess this time that I wanted a whole axe and a whole prisoner, if

possible. I knew that Howell had come out of the Park for supplies, not long ago. He came out from Cooke City where he hails from. He brought back his toboggan, and took back a load of supplies with him. I knew he must leave a broad trail, and knew that if Burgess could strike his trail and follow it into the Park, not out of it, he could catch him sure.<sup>29</sup>

The Forest and Stream party left the main post early the next morning to meet Burgess and his prisoner at Norris Station on the way in from the Lake Hotel. Hough and his party reached this destination first and eagerly watched the trail over which Burgess and Howell were expected. When they came into sight it was noticed that Burgess was limping. Inside by the fire he pulled off his boot and sock and revealed a foot and leg badly swollen. The big toe was swollen four times its natural size and the next two toes were missing entirely. Hough asked what had happened.

He told me, quietly, that the Crow Indians did that for him. They made him put his foot on a log, and amused themselves by cutting off his toes, taking two off clean and nearly cutting off the great toe.<sup>30</sup>

Later the great toe had to be amputated as well. Yet that evening Burgess passed the evening quietly playing whist and giving Hough the story of the capture.

I got out early and hit the trail not long after daybreak. After I had found the cache of heads and the tepee, over on Astringent Creek, in the Pelican Valley, I heard the shooting, six shots. The six shots killed five buffalo. Howell made his killing out in a little valley, and when I saw him he was about 400 yds. away from the cover of the timber. I knew I had to cross that

open space before I could get him sure. I had no rifle, but only an army revolver, .38 cal., the new model. You know a revolver isn't lawfully able to hold the drop on a man as far as a rifle. I wouldn't have needed to get so close with a rifle before ordering him to throw up his hands. Howell's rifle was leaning against a dead buffalo, about 15 ft. away from him. His hat was sort of flapped down over his eyes, and his head toward me. He was leaning over, skinning on the head of one of the buffalo. His dog, though I didn't know it at first, was curled up under the hind leg of the dead buffalo. The wind was so the dog didn't smell me, or that would have settled it. . . . I thought I could maybe get across without Howell seeing or hearing me, for the wind was blowing very hard. So I started over from cover, going as fast as I could travel. Right square across the way I found a ditch about 10 ft. wide, and you know how hard it is to make a jump with snowshoes on level ground. I had to try it anyhow, and some way I got over. I ran up within 15 ft. of Howell, between him and his gun, before I called to him to throw up his hands, and that was the first he knew of anyone but him being anywhere in that country. He kind of stopped and stood stupid like, and I told him to drop his knife. He did that and then I called Troike (Private Troike was with Burgess), and we got ready to come to the hotel.<sup>31</sup>

Burgess further told Hough he had found six buffalo heads hoisted up in a tree with a block and tackle near Howell's tepee. Howell had been in camp some little while and was obviously well equipped and ready for business. Forest and Stream's ace reporter had clearly uncovered a good story. He next turned his pen to a description of Howell himself.

Howell was . . . a most picturesquely ragged, dirty and unkempt looking citizen. His beard had been scissored off. His hair hung low on his neck, curling up like a drake's tail. His eye was blue, his complexion florid. In height he seemed about 5 ft. 10 in. His shoulders were broad, but sloping. His neck



stooped forward. His carriage was slouchy, loose-jointed and stooping, but he seemed a powerful fellow. Thick, protruding lips and large teeth completed the unfavorable cast of an exterior by no means prepossessing. He was dressed in outer covering of dirty, greasy overalls and jumper. He had no shoes, and he had only a thin and worthless pair of socks. He wrapped his feet and legs in gunnysacking, and put his feet when snowshoeing into a pair of meal sacks he had nailed on to the middle of his snowshoes.<sup>32</sup>

The next morning Howell ate 24 pancakes for breakfast and seemed to be enjoying his captivity. Hough reported him "very chipper and gay, and willing to talk to the officers . . . , on about any subject that came up . . . "

He was apparently little concerned about his capture, saying, . . . that he stood to make \$2,000, and could only lose \$26.75. He knew he could not be punished, and was only anxious lest he should be detained until after the spring sheep shearing in Arizona. He is an expert sheep shearer, sometimes making \$10 - \$15 a day. He has money always, and was not driven to poaching by want or hunger.<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps the most condemning portion of this article was Howell's reply to Hough's questions.

Yes, I'm going to take a little walk up to the Post, but I don't think I'll be there long. About my plans? Well, I haven't arranged any plans yet for the future. I may go back into the Park again, later on, and I may not. No, I will not say who it was contracted to buy the heads of me. I had been camped over on Pelican since September. It was pretty rough, of course. If you don't think it's a hard trail from Cooke City to Pelican Valley, you just try pulling a toboggan over Speciman Ridge.<sup>34</sup>

Captain Anderson sent out a party of men to bring in the heads and hides of the slaughtered buffalo. Hough and the photographer Haynes went with this party and provided Forest and Stream with pictures of the slain animals in the deep snow.<sup>35</sup> Before sending in this story Hough interviewed every taxidermist in the vicinity of the Park. Everyone of them said they knew other taxidermists who were buying heads from Howell, but denied any such activities on their part.<sup>36</sup> Hough was a good journalist and told his story accurately and without sensation.

The public knew that wild buffalo were very scarce and when Hough's article was published it gave rise to national indignation. Here was a man who openly admitted to having killed 80 buffalo in the Park and who was permitted to go free.<sup>37</sup> Grinnell's editorials on the front page of Forest and Stream demanded action and the national press joined the cry.<sup>38</sup> The Boone and Crockett Club, sensing that the time was propitious, went into action. One week after the Howell case was in print, Congressman George F. Lacey of Iowa, a Club member, introduced a bill similar to the Vest bills. The Public Lands Committee of the House of Representatives had been the stumbling block for the Vest bills, but now in the face of much public pressure the Lacey bill sailed through the House.<sup>39</sup>

Grinnell pronounced this "a step forward" but said that the \$100 or six months confinement, or both, was not

a sufficient deterrent. He thought the bill introduced by Senator Carey, another Club member, which made acts of vandalism in the Park a misdemeanor, was the better bill.<sup>40</sup> When the Lacey bill went to the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Territories. Two days later Senator Carey reported the bill in changed form. Grinnell reported that "In this form it includes the best portion of the Vest bill, the Carey bill, and the Lacey bill, and . . . it is emphatically a measure that deserves support."<sup>41</sup> This bill as reported by Carey passed the Senate on April 23, 1894. The measure then went to a conference committee of both Houses and was reported out in early May. President Cleveland signed the bill on May 7, 1894. Grinnell praised the bill in its final form and gave credit to all those who had been active in securing its passage.<sup>42</sup>

The Lacey Act made it clear that federal law prevailed in the Park and deputy marshalls and a U. S. Commissioner were appointed to administer justice. More germane to this paper, however, the law provided a maximum punishment of two years imprisonment and a \$1,000 fine for killing game or other acts of vandalism.<sup>43</sup> Howell himself told Captain Anderson, "I have done more for the good of the Park that you ever have."<sup>44</sup>

Unfortunately the new law did not end the poaching problem. The market hunters still felt the rewards

of their work far outweighed the chance of capture. Taxidermists were still paying \$300-\$500 for buffalo heads and there were only two civilian scouts in addition to the soldiers to cover 3,500 square miles of rugged country.<sup>45</sup> Poaching was still, therefore, a high return, low-risk enterprise, but the hunters now knew that if they were caught the penalty could be severe. In 1900 another Lacey Act made poaching even more difficult, but failed to stem the problem. This Act made transportation of illegally acquired game across state lines a federal offense. After this law was on the books the poacher was no longer safe with his catch outside the Park borders.<sup>46</sup> Poaching persisted, however, and the number of buffalo in the Park continued to dwindle.

While the authorities in Yellowstone National Park were acquiring the legal weapons with which to protect the game, Dr. Hornaday was busy in Washington taking another step in the interest of wild life. In 1888 while he was Chief Taxidermist at the National Museum he took the initiative in getting Congress to appropriate funds for a National Zoological Park in the nation's capital.<sup>47</sup> This Park was not conceived solely as a place to house exhibit animals but as

. . . the means of preserving the great animals  
of the country, and particularly of the North  
and West, which were in danger of extinction,  
. . .<sup>48</sup>

Before the Park opened in 1891, Hornaday set about the task of acquiring animals for it. As previously mentioned, Eugene G. Blackford of New York City had bought two buffalo from Frederick D. Nowell of North Platte, Nebraska. At Dr. Hornaday's invitation Mr. Blackford very graciously presented these animals to the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>49</sup> These animals, a 4-year old bull and a 3-year old cow, had been caught near Ogalalla, Nebraska. They arrived in Washington May 12, 1888, and were placed in a small enclosure behind the Smithsonian Institution. The next year they were joined by four more animals, a 7-year old cow and three bulls ages 7, 3 and 2, the gift of Dr. V. T. McGillicuddy of Rapid City, South Dakota.<sup>50</sup>

In 1891 this herd of two cows and four bulls was transferred to the new National Zoological Park in the Rock Creek Valley in the northwestern portion of the District of Columbia where they were placed in much larger enclosures. In 1897 a bull and two cows were received from the Pablo herd in Montana. In 1904 this herd was completed with the purchase of four cows, three of which came from the herd of Austin Corbin in New Hampshire. This new national herd never increased to large proportions, only eight calves being born in its first 15 years of existence, and despite the lofty purpose for which it was founded was essentially an exhibition herd.<sup>51</sup>

Indeed after the Park was founded, Congress gave

little consideration to the purpose of wildlife preservation for which it had been established. After 11 years of futile attempts to secure money from Congress for this purpose the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution wrote

. . . yet the principal purpose for which it was founded -- the preservation from extinction of the national animal races -- has not been considered by Congress.

During the eleven years that have elapsed . . . the writer has presented these considerations every session with the insistence it seemed to him their importance deserved, until of late years he has had to feel that the opportunity for saving this remnant, which was going more and more each year, had in some respects gone entirely.

Taught by the hopelessness of previous applications . . . The Secretary is prepared soon to abandon recommendations which have been urged for nearly ten years, not only because they have so far been made in vain, but because some term must be set in which they will have, too, evidently grown useless from the disappearance of the animal races in question.<sup>52</sup>

The Government had thus far made two moves to protect the buffalo. The law in Yellowstone Park had been strengthened and a small herd had been established at the National Zoological Park in Washington, D. C. The Yellowstone law, however, did not eliminate poaching and the herd in Washington never became anything more than an exhibition herd. Neither measure, therefore, accomplished the objective for which it had been intended. Furthermore both of the moves taken together had a negligible impact on the welfare of the buffalo, and were certainly insufficient in providing the means necessary to the animal's survival. These two measures do indicate, however,

that the government was becoming dimly aware of the problem and was willing to enact at least token measures in the buffalo's behalf. This development and a growing private interest in the animal were at least hopeful signs.

While the government was moving slowly to provide the limited protection described above the buffalo themselves were moving ahead more forcefully to assure their own preservation. In 1900 Mark Sullivan, then a student at Harvard Law School, took a surprisingly accurate census of the buffalo. He said in his autobiography

About 1900, and during some years preceding, it was widely assumed that the buffalo was about to become extinct. . . . There was no great public interest in the subject, the approaching extermination was taken for granted. To me the condition seemed terribly to be deplored. My concern was mainly of the same nature as the average man's interest in wild life only more intense.<sup>53</sup>

Sullivan began writing letters to the park directors of the Western states and to the heads of big city zoos, in an attempt to determine how many animals actually remained.

To all my letters (without exception, I think) I got replies, . . . Those who felt a concern about the fate of the buffalo were a kind of fraternity, with no organization except the letters we exchanged, but united with more zeal for a common interest than most fraternities. We thought of ourselves as the company of mourners for a great animal about to cease to be, for a romantic aspect of American life about to disappear.<sup>54</sup>

The replies to his letters brought suggestions of

more parties to whom he should write. Then he had to write back to the original parties in order to determine the number of females, males, and mixed-breeds they had. All in all it was a very good piece of work for a law student unfamiliar with the field of wild life. The results of his census were a surprise to all.

My research had a startling result. The number of living buffalo was nationally larger than had been supposed. . . . My investigation showed the number at 1024, of which a normal proportion were female.

Sullivan published the results of his study in the Boston Evening Transcript in October, 1900. A comparison of his work with the Hornaday census reveals that the low point in buffalo numbers had already been reached and that the species was starting its comeback. Hornaday had concluded that there were 541 buffalo in existence in 1888. Sullivan reported 824 or a 65 per cent increase in 12 years. Actually the situation was probably somewhat better than this because Sullivan shows no entry for the Philip herd which by 1900 would have been approaching 50 head at least.<sup>56</sup> Clearly the buffalo had reached his nadir and begun his comeback even before the turn of the century.

The Sullivan census also revealed that the buffalo in the protected herds were providing the increase. The Pablo-Allard herd showed 259 head, the Goodnight-Jones herd was recorded together at 110, and the small group



at Banff had increased to 26 head. The buffalo also had some new wealthy friends who had established herds to assure his preservation. Austin Corbin, Sr., a wealthy banker and developer of Coney Island, had 98 head on his estate in New Hampshire. W. C. Whitney of Lenox Park, Mass., had 17 head and Charles Conrad of Kalispell, Mont., had 30 head. These herds had all been started by purchase of animals from the five foundation herds described above. The owners were all well-to-do men who gave the buffalo the kind of pasture and protection he needed to increase his numbers. Besides the new and wealthy benefactors, the Sullivan study further revealed that the buffalo were divided into approximately 30 widely separated herds, and thus remained protected from the dangers of epidemic and disease.<sup>57</sup>

The point to be emphasized here is that the buffalo accomplished this turn around simply because the hunting had stopped and because a few private individuals had provided the necessary pasturage. An answer to the biological question of whether or not the buffalo could be saved was already coming in. Quite clearly if the species were not hunted, and were given the necessary grazing land they could quickly increase their numbers. Thus far this protection had been provided by private interests. The question that was not yet clearly perceived in all quarters was whether or not private interests would be able to sustain this burden as the buf-

falo went on increasing their numbers. If private individuals found this increasing burden overwhelming would public assistance be provided for the buffalo and if so in what form? Would protection be provided for large breeding populations in some semblance of their natural habitat in the national parks and forests or would the species eke out a limited survival in municipal zoos and small exhibition herds? From 1900 on, therefore, the question of the buffalo's survival was more political than biological.

Contemporaries could not see this problem clearly for a few years yet. They did not know as we now do that every succeeding census would reveal further increases in buffalo numbers.<sup>58</sup> They were concerned with the dangers of inbreeding and buffalo were exchanged from herd to herd to prevent a problem from this source.<sup>59</sup> Today we know that with buffalo inbreeding is not a problem and exchanges of animals among the various national herds appears to be unnecessary.<sup>60</sup>

Perhaps the man who should have seen the up-coming problem of public assistance before others was Dr. Hornaday. Like others concerned with the preservation of the animal Hornaday was preoccupied with what appeared to be a fatal problem. He stated

There is a law, just beginning to be believed by scientists which operates to this effect: When animals are surrounded by favorable environments, a large majority of the births are females, and the race propagates freely; when the environments are unfavorable, the ratio is reversed.<sup>61</sup>

In fairness to Dr. Hornaday it must be stated that several of the zoological collection did at that time show a preponderance of male births. Sullivan made inquiries about births in several collections where the buffalo were on ranges of 1 to 100 acres and found 35 males out of 58 births. While Sullivan agreed this was a preponderance of males he felt it was not severe enough "to endanger perpetuation."<sup>62</sup> Perhaps Hornaday's belief in such a law can be ascribed to his close association with zoo herds and a natural desire for female calves at a time when the species had such limited numbers.

Hornaday's observation of these small closely confined herds brought him another fear that may have seemed of greater concern to him than the coming question of public assistance for the buffalo. He noted in his monograph on the species

In captivity he fails to develop as finely as in the wild state, and with this loss of liberty becomes a tame looking animal. He gets fat and short-bodied, and the lack of vigorous and constant exercise prevents the development of bone and muscle which made the prairie animal what he was. From observations made upon buffaloes that have been reared in captivity, I am firmly convinced that confinement and semi-domestication are destined to effect striking changes in the form of *Bison Americanus*. While this is to be expected to a certain extent with most large species, the changes promise to be most conspicuous in the buffalo. The most striking change is in the body between the hips and the shoulders. . . . it becomes astonishingly short and rotund, and through liberal feeding and lack of exercise the muscles of the shoulders and hindquarters, especially the latter, are but feebly developed. . . . the live animals in the National Museum collection of living animals are developing the same shortness of body and lack of muscle, and

when they attain their full growth will but poorly resemble the splendid proportions of the wild specimens in the Museum mounted group,  
 . . . 63

This latter observation was no doubt more accurate than the former one and pointed out the necessity of providing extended range for the buffalo in some area like a national park or a national forest if the survival of a healthy population was to be assured. This consideration indicated a need for national action if public assistance for the buffalo was to be sought. For the time being, however, the private interests appeared to be holding their own and there was no organized effort to enlist the support of the federal government.

The first private herd owner to seek public assistance for the buffalo was Charles J. Jones. As previously noted, Jones had acquired a modest fortune as one of the founders of Garden City, Kansas, and then through capture and purchase had assembled a rather large herd of buffalo. He completed his herd in 1889 with the purchase of the Bedson herd in Manitoba and shortly thereafter Jones must have experienced financial difficulties. Little is known about his financial affairs, but in 1887 he began to make appeals to Washington in which he asked the federal government to provide assistance for his scheme to save the buffalo and to experiment with the cross-bred animals.<sup>64</sup> For this reason and because to the end of his days Jones sought outside assistance for his various plans to capture

live animals and to cross-breed the buffalo, it is probable that Jones had financial difficulties that began around 1890.<sup>65</sup> Evidence also suggests that the sale of 26 pure-blood buffalo and 18 hybrids to Pablo and Allard in 1893 was for the purpose of raising money.<sup>66</sup> Even later Jones sought employment from both the U. S. and Canadian governments, asking if his experience with buffalo and in capturing live animals could not be used to provide protection for endangered species and to secure wild specimens for purpose of domestication.<sup>67</sup>

Although Jones' motive for seeking assistance may be in doubt, it is known with certainty that in 1887 he began his campaign to interest the federal government in the preservation of the specie. In that year he went to Washington and visited the Senators and Representatives from Kansas. He asked them to enact a law which would have protected the small herd from which he was then taking his calves. He persisted in this approach for several years, but without success.<sup>68</sup> Little is known of the details of Jones' requests before 1890, but since the protection of these animals in a wild state was almost an impossibility due to the tremendous expanse of land involved, it seems very likely that Jones was seeking federal assistance for the buffalo project he had already begun.

This was indeed the case in 1890 when he actually succeeded in persuading Kansas Senator Preston B. Plumb

and Representative Samuel R. Peters, also of his home state, to introduce legislation in his behalf.<sup>69</sup> Both the Senate and the House bills called for removing from sale a portion of land in Texas known as the "Neutral Strip," and four islands in the Great Salt Lake in Utah. This land was to be removed from sale and leased to Jones for 20 years. For his part, Jones was to place his entire herd of pure-bloods and cross-bloods on this land for the purpose of propagating the American bison and experimenting with the cross-bred animals. For 10 years from passage of the Act no females were to be sold and thereafter up to one-half of the females could be sold at the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture. For necessary improvements on this land the Bill provided that Jones be allowed the sum of \$30,000.<sup>70</sup> In short Jones was asking for land and money with which to carry on his project of saving the buffalo and experimenting with the cross-breeds. In the Senate the Bill died in the Agriculture and Forestry Committee. In the House it emerged from the Public Land Committee but died on the floor.<sup>71</sup>

Jones was persistent, however, and in 1896 he called personally at the White House and explained the details of his plan to Mr. Thurber, President Cleveland's private secretary. He also visited Mr. Sims, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, and laid a copy of the proposal on his desk.<sup>72</sup> This time Jones was interested in the buffalo remaining in Yellowstone National Park. In

his proposal to the Secretary he offered to go to the Park and

If possible, I will corral them. If I should fail, I will make a report to the Department of the true status of affairs and what is needed to preserve them. Upon receipt of said report, the Department is to pay me \$500. Should I succeed in corralling the herd, or a portion of them, I will accept \$200 per month and actual expenses while engaged in capturing and preserving the herd, the Government to have all the benefits of my service; . . . 73

If this proposal was not acceptable, Jones further offered to corral the herd in return for half of the animals he captured. Mr. Sims was favorably impressed and wrote of his acceptance of the proposition. Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith, however, rejected the proposal.<sup>74</sup>

In 1897 President McKinley came into office and Jones decided to try his luck with the new administration. This time he laid his proposal before Thomas Ryan, First Assistant Secretary of the Interior.<sup>75</sup> Jones again pointed to the dwindling number of animals in Yellowstone Park

Having had many years of active experience in capturing and rearing over one hundred head of these noble animals, I am confident the only thing to do is to corral the remaining band. . . . If the Government desires the American bison rescued and perpetuated, and will give reasonable pay, I will be pleased to undertake it.<sup>76</sup>

Again no action was taken on his proposal.<sup>77</sup>

In 1900 Jones gave up on the executive branch and turned again to Congress for help in saving the buffalo.

He also gave up on the Yellowstone Park herd and returned to his request for land on which to propagate the buffalo and to conduct experiments with the cross-bred animals. This final proposal was the best proposition Jones presented to the government. He asked for 20,000 acres in New Mexico on which he would make improvements at his own expense, including fence, and pay a rental fee of one cent per acre in contrast to the cattle and sheep men who were using that land for free. The land in question was public domain and would have cost the government nothing. At that time over 600,000,000 acres of land remained in the public domain, and viewed from this perspective it was not a large request. Furthermore, Jones asked only to lease the land for 20 years and had the Bill written in such a way as to exclude land within his lease on which any legal filing had been made. On this land Jones would place his entire herd and, under some minimal restrictions cited in the Bill, be free to propagate the buffalo and conduct his cross-breeding experiments. In addition to the rental and improvements, Jones offered to give two buffalo a year to the government for use in the national parks, the sex of these animals to be determined by the Secretary of the Interior.<sup>78</sup>

Here was a Bill that would have brought the government a small income while insuring the survival of the species. The land would have had to have been removed from sale for 20 years, but in that time its value would



not have declined. Senator Baker of Kansas introduced the Bill in the Senate and John Lacey of Iowa pushed it in the House, but again it met the fate of Jones' previous proposals.<sup>79</sup> When the measure was brought up again in 1901 it met a similar fate.<sup>80</sup> In September of 1901, however, President McKinley was assassinated and conservation measures would receive a more favorable hearing in the future with Theodore Roosevelt in the White House.

On January 30, 1902, just four months after Theodore Roosevelt entered the White House, Senator Redfield Proctor of Vermont submitted the following resolution, which was approved by unanimous consent:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture be directed to transmit to the Senate any facts which they possess with reference to the preservation in the United States or the Dominion of Canada of the buffalo, or American bison, informing the Senate whether or not such animals are dying out or are on the increase; to what extent they are running wild or are being domesticated, and whether or not such as remain are of pure or mixed blood, and also informing the Senate whether or not any steps ought to be taken by the United States for the preservation from extinction of such animals.<sup>81</sup>

The Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, replied on February 18th,

The American bison (*Bison bison*) is on the verge of extinction. Scarcely a handful now remain of the millions which formerly roamed over the Plains of the West.<sup>82</sup>

He went on to say that the wild buffalo in the U.S. did not exceed 30 head and most of them were dwindling

fast even though they were in the Yellowstone Park. He then discussed some of the larger private herds and estimated the number of head they contained. He closed by informing the Senate as follows:

. . . a proposition has several times been presented to Congress regarding the reservation of certain public lands in New Mexico for their preservation. Under proper restrictions this plan might result in the perpetuation of the herd for some years. Should the Government acquire possession of a considerable number of full-blooded animals it is possible that the absolute extermination of the species might be long delayed. To avoid danger of destruction by epidemic disease and deterioration by too close inbreeding, the Government herd should be divided and kept in two widely separated localities. This would admit of interchange of blood when necessary.<sup>83</sup>

The reply of E. A. Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior was more complete and specific. He wrote to the Governor of each state as well as appropriate officers in Canada and several countries of Europe and asked them to determine the number of buffalo in their respective jurisdiction. On July 1 he replied to the Senate as follows:

Wild buffalo in U. S.	72
Pure bred buffalo in captivity	
in U. S. and Canada	940
Pure bred buffalo in Europe	114
Total	1,126 <sup>84</sup>

The Secretary then offered the following information to the Senate:

Answering specifically the questions propounded in this resolution, it may be stated that the buffalo or bison running wild in the United States are rapidly diminishing in numbers, while

those being domesticated, or in captivity, under proper climatic and other conditions appear to be increasing in numbers. The majority of the animals in captivity are owned by private persons, firms, and corporations; frequent changes in the ownership of the animals occur, some are exported from the United States and others are killed for their hides and heads, which are valuable.<sup>85</sup>

The point that must be emphasized here is that the Secretary of the Interior, through the able assistance of Dr. Frank Baker of the Smithsonian Institution, had communicated with the vast majority of buffalo owners in the country, and after monitoring the situation closely, concluded that "the buffalo . . . in captivity . . . appears to be increasing in numbers." Though he could not know it, 1902 was also to mark the low point of the wild herd in Yellowstone Park. After that date the wild animals, like those in captivity, would begin to increase their numbers. Thus, as early as 1902, the buffalo situation was improving and this situation was made known to the Senate by the Secretary of the Interior. The buffalo was continuing to increase his numbers and his fate was now a subject of interest in Washington.

After providing this intelligence the Secretary offered his advice and provided the Senate with a plan of action.

In my judgement steps should be taken by the United States for the preservation from extinction of the buffalo or American bison, and with that end in view I have submitted to Congress an estimate of \$30,000 for the purchase of buffalo and the corralling of them in the Yellowstone National Park. With these animals in a

national reservation, under governmental supervision, it is believed that a herd of pure-blooded American bison may be domesticated, which will increase in numbers, and the herd now running wild in the park may also be benefited by the introduction therein of new blood.<sup>86</sup>

The idea of building a corral in Yellowstone Park for the purpose of capturing buffalo and raising them according to game management techniques had been tried shortly after the passage of the Lacey Act of 1894. In 1895 the Smithsonian Institution at its own expense, "erected an enclosure of six or seven hundred acres in Hayden Valley in Yellowstone Park with the object of holding and 'gentling' a part or all of the buffalo then at large there . . ."<sup>87</sup> In his report for 1896, Captain Anderson said that a small herd of about eight buffalo visited this corral, but they were not retained because it was hoped more of the herd would eventually come and winter there. The buffalo, however, never returned to the corral.<sup>88</sup> By the time this plan was being reconsidered in 1902, Major Pitcher, Acting Superintendent of Yellowstone Park, reported that the structure had "fallen away in many places" and would be of little use because the buffalo had left that area of the Park and had crossed the head of Pelican Creek. He went on to suggest, though, that the structure "may be of use in the future, by rebuilding and relocating parts of the fence which run along low ground where it becomes entirely covered with snow during a hard winter." Major Pitcher felt that if

a new herd were brought into the Park this fence could at least be used to protect the hay that would have to be put up for them.<sup>89</sup>

The year 1902 was an important one in the story of the buffalo's preservation. In response to the Senate Resolution requesting information on buffalo numbers, Secretary Hitchcock wrote to Major Pitcher and asked about the number of buffalo in Yellowstone National Park.<sup>90</sup> Although contemporaries could not realize it then, his letter of reply would record the nadir of the Yellowstone herd.

Scouts Morrison and Holte have just returned from a long snowshoe trip through the southern part of the park, the object of their trip being to locate and fix the number of buffalo remaining in the park. They succeeded in finding twenty-two (22) of these animals -- the herd consisting of eight bulls, ten cows and four calves. It is possible that there may be a few more, and another trip will be made by the scouts later in the season, when the deeper snows will render it easier to find the buffalo and to fix definitely the number we have left in the Park.<sup>91</sup>

This was dreary news indeed, but in the very next sentence Pitcher related news of an occurrence that alone would have insured the survival and increase of this wild herd. He told Hitchcock

We have been remarkably free from trouble with poachers during the past season, and many citizens in the vicinity of the park boundary have shown a very friendly spirit and a desire to assist us in the protection of the game.<sup>92</sup>

Like the buffalo herds then under fence the Yellowstone herd would begin to increase its numbers from

this low point, and would do so without any help from man other than a cessation of poaching and a system of predator control in the Park. Thus, even this last wild herd was beginning a comeback before the federal government took its first effective measure to preserve the buffalo.

The Senate request for information on buffalo was like a signal to wildlife interests. The League of American Sportsmen, taking note of the poaching problem in Yellowstone, blamed Congress for its failure to act and passed the following resolution:

RESOLVED, by the League of American Sportsmen, in annual meeting assembled that we deeply deplore this neglect of duty on the part of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and we request and urge that body to appropriate hereafter at least \$20,000 each year for the employment of scouts and game keepers in the Park, in order that the few remaining buffalo and other game in the Park, may, if possible, be saved . . . 93

Even more important, however, was the renewal of hope the Senate resolution gave to the people in the Smithsonian Institution who had been urging action for a long time. S. P. Langley, Secretary of the Smithsonian, wrote to Major Pitcher and asked if the previously tried method of corralling the buffalo was still felt to be an advisable method of preserving them. If the method was still considered practicable he desired to know

. . . whether the Institution may, with your approval, erect another such inclosure in the Park. . . . I need hardly add that this inclosure, if erected, would be put up entirely at the cost of the Institution, which could probably arrange also to provide a game warden to look after these animals.

This offer was also made known to Hitchcock who asked Pitcher for more information on the old inclosure. Pitcher provided the information discussed above and closed by saying:

I shall be greatly pleased if the Smithsonian Institution will again take up this matter, and will be glad to assist them and cooperate with them in every way.<sup>95</sup>

The Senate resolution, however, had also stimulated some action on the part of the Interior Department. There were two problems to consider, raising money and securing buffalo. Hitchcock had already asked Congress for \$30,000 for the purchase of buffalo for the Park. This source had not been productive in the past though and the evidence suggests that Hitchcock immediately began to consider alternative possibilities. He asked for a decision from the Comptroller of the Treasury on whether or not money derived from leases in the Park could

. . . be used in the purchase of buffalo either in establishing a new herd in the park or in providing for the introduction of new blood into the existing herd . . . <sup>96</sup>

While they were awaiting this decision Pitcher was getting estimates from some of the private buffalo owners around the country. Plans were also being made to capture the animals in the Park. Pitcher wrote to Hitchcock about an offer he had from Richard W. Rock who lived near the Park.

. . . his offer to catch up yearlings at \$100 and calves at \$50 each is a good one, for he has all the necessary dog teams and outfit, and is thoroughly familiar with the haunts of the buffalo. He is probably the best man in this section of the country to do this work, and if it should be decided to catch up all of the young buffalo in the Park, I would recommend that his offer be accepted -- either by the Department or by the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>97</sup>

On February 26, 1902 Hitchcock received a ruling from the Comptroller of the Treasury stating that he could use money derived from the leases in the Park to establish a new buffalo herd. He was also told he could use \$15,000 now available for that purpose because of changed language in the Sundry Civil Bill that had recently passed.<sup>98</sup> Thus, in 1902, the government finally took a major step to provide direct aid for the buffalo.

At this point Theodore Roosevelt took some interest in the case because of the activities of Howard Eaton, a famous guide and neighboring rancher of the President in North Dakota.<sup>99</sup> In 1896 Charles Allard had died and his interest in the Pablo-Allard buffalo herd passed to the heirs of his estate, his wife, two sons and two daughters.<sup>100</sup> The division of this herd which was then the largest in the world was a cause of some concern to those interested in the fate of the buffalo because if half of the herd went on the block it would reduce the number of animals then available with which to replenish the species.<sup>101</sup> Fortunately large purchases were made from the Allard estate by Charles Conrad and Judge Woodward and



many of the buffalo remained in a breeding situation.<sup>102</sup>

Howard Eaton took an option until July 1, 1902 on 60 head at \$250 each.<sup>103</sup>

When Major Pitcher was seeking estimates on buffalo for the Park he received an offer from Eaton for 60 head at his cost. He told Hitchcock:

Mr. Eaton is a personal friend of the President and is anxious to see this herd go to the Park.<sup>104</sup>

Thomas Ryan, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, telegraphed Pitcher that available Park revenues would only permit buying 30 head at that price and asked him to find out if Eaton would sell only 30 head.<sup>105</sup> Pitcher reported that Eaton could not give him a definite offer until he could find a buyer for the remaining 30 head.<sup>106</sup> In the late spring of 1902, Eaton went to Washington and probably discussed the matter with Roosevelt.<sup>107</sup> On two different occasions Roosevelt wrote to Hitchcock and asked

. . . if there is any way by which these (buffalo) can be secured by the government, so that the species can be perpetuated . . . have the proper authorities in your Department take up the matter at once.<sup>108</sup>

No purchase was executed by July 1, 1902, but the Allards remained in ownership of many of the animals and they were safe for a while longer. What is curious about this incident is that on July 8 Pitcher wrote "Buffalo" Jones a letter telling him to report to Yellowstone National Park for duty as game warden.<sup>109</sup> The incident

is curious because there is no forewarning in the correspondence and because Pitcher was known to be interested in securing the job for a man of his own choice who had been in the Park for some time.<sup>110</sup> Jones had visited Roosevelt after he became President but nothing is known of their conversation.<sup>111</sup> Jones claims that he was appointed by Roosevelt and when all the evidence is considered it appears likely that the President may have played a determining role.<sup>112</sup>

Whatever the source of his appointment, Jones' long campaign to get on the government payroll as a preserver of the buffalo had finally met with success. He reported to Major Pitcher on July 16, 1902 and shortly thereafter the two of them went on a trip throughout the Park and examined all the potential sites for the new corral. They agreed on a location originally suggested by Pitcher about one mile from Mammoth Hot Springs which provided considerable feed, water, and shelter for the buffalo and was easy of access throughout the year. All construction bids received for the corral were too high and, therefore, the materials were ordered and it was constructed with day labor. Pending completion of the corral, estimates were again sought from all the buffalo owners in the U. S. and prices secured on the cost and delivery of animals to the Park. Jones also built a small corral on Pelican Creek to be used in capturing buffalo from the wild herd in the Park.<sup>113</sup>

After all construction costs were met and \$500 set aside for contingencies there was expected to be a balance of \$10,720 left with which to purchase and transport buffalo to the Park.<sup>114</sup> Pitcher submitted an abstract of all the bids he had received and recommended that he be authorized

to purchase fifteen (15) female buffalo from Mr. Howard Eaton . . . to be delivered in the corral in Yellowstone Park at \$500 per head; and also that I be authorized to purchase three (3) male buffalo . . . from the Goodnight herd of Texas and to be delivered in the corral . . . at \$460 per head.<sup>115</sup>

Pitcher also asked that he be authorized to buy more female buffalo from Eaton if the balance of money remaining after the corral was constructed was larger than expected.<sup>116</sup>

Hitchcock authorized Pitcher to make the purchases from Eaton and Goodnight<sup>117</sup> and when the corral was completed in September, Jones went to Ravalli, Montana, to examine the cows in the Pablo-Allard herd on which Eaton had the warrant. He reported to Pitcher on October 6th

I found the buffalo in first class condition . . . I helped cut out the animals on my own responsibility, and chose two-year-old heifers whenever possible. I secured 11 two-year-olds, - heifers; 1 three-year-old cow, and 2 six-year-old cows - making fourteen in all . . .<sup>118</sup>

Jones later returned to Montana and bought four more cows from Eaton: 1 two-year-old heifer, 1 three-year-old cow, 1 five-year-old cow, and 1 six-year-old cow.<sup>119</sup> Eaton was paid a total of \$8,800 for these 18

animals, \$7,000 for the first shipment and \$1,800 for the second.<sup>120</sup>

After the first shipment of buffalo from Montana were safely in the new corral in the Park, Jones traveled to Texas and selected three bulls from the Goodnight herd. Jones' brother, N. C. Jones, held the option on these animals and while the buffalo all came from the Goodnight herd the government actually bought them from N. C. Jones.<sup>121</sup> C. J. "Buffalo" Jones reported on his journey to Texas

Mr. Goodnight consented to my selecting the bulls desired . . . I chose one four-year-old, and two three-year-olds, all fine perfect animals and answering the specifications of your circular . . . These animals are all delivered here, in first class condition, and I have branded them "US" on the horns and hides.<sup>122</sup>

N. C. Jones was paid \$1,380 for these three bulls and thus for a cost of \$10,180 a new herd of 21 head were placed in the new corral in Yellowstone National Park.<sup>123</sup>

Even before this herd was assembled, C. J. Jones had asked that his brother be hired as the buffalo keeper.<sup>124</sup> Pitcher had notified the Department of the Interior in May, 1902, that if a herd was established in the Park "at least one suitable man be employed to take charge of the herd" and went on to suggest that an assistant may be necessary for this man as well.<sup>125</sup> This proved to be the case and he advised Washington accordingly.<sup>126</sup> This advice was accepted and N. C. Jones joined the payroll

as Buffalo Keeper at a salary of \$720 per year.<sup>127</sup> This was later raised to \$900 per annum.<sup>128</sup>

C. J. Jones managed to catch only three calves from the "wild herd" in his corral on Pelican Creek and these were placed with the buffalo in the new corral which became known as the "tame herd."<sup>129</sup> During his first year in the Park, Jones devoted his time properly to the care of the buffalo and in that time the herd did very well, with an increase of 12 head.<sup>130</sup> After this first year, however, his usefulness to the buffalo began to decline. Increasingly he devoted more time to the other game in the Park. He shot a large number of mountain lions, in the predator control program,<sup>131</sup> and engaged in the curious practice of punishing unruly bears. On one occasion he wrote Pitcher

I caught three of the worst of these bears in a rope snare and hauled them up with a block and tackle. I then gave them as big a scare as possible and switched them besides. I also prodded them in a humane manner with a pole and prod, but so short as not to reach through the fur and akin. These animals now believe everybody has a snare and a prod for them and they will not stand for a person to come within fifty feet of them.<sup>132</sup>

Pitcher reported, however, that this practice only made the bears more fearless and he did not like Jones doing it for the amusement of tourists.<sup>133</sup>

Beside this questionable behavior, Jones failed to get along with the soldiers in the Park, the people outside the Park, or even his own brother. In time, N. C.

Jones grew weary of his brother's behavior and resigned after C. J. Jones had twice asked Pitcher to fire him. Throughout his tenure in the Park Jones had maintained his interest in the experiments with the cross-bred animals. He tried to interest the government in carrying on this effort in the Park, and when he failed there he began to spend more time away from the Park interesting private parties in his scheme.<sup>134</sup> In time, Pitcher decided his usefulness had ended and recommended that Jones be permitted to resign.<sup>135</sup> In late August, 1905, Jones was notified that the position of Game Warden would be abolished and shortly thereafter he tendered his resignation.<sup>136</sup>

Although it is regrettable that Jones' departure took place under unfavorable circumstances, he did play a role in initiating government interest in the preservation of the buffalo. By the time he left government service in September, 1905, some of the private herds around the country were becoming a burden their owners no longer wanted to bear, and it was well that a precedent of government assistance had been established. Jones' true service to the buffalo should be seen in the light of his capture of a large number of animals from the wild state and in his role of initiating government interest in the preservation of the species. Several of the private owners were shortly to discover how difficult it was to encourage the government to take additional steps to

protect the species.

# FOOTNOTES

1. U. S. Dept. of the Interior, Laws Relating to the National Park Service, the National Parks, and the Monuments, 1947, p. 26.
2. Jerome Kasten, "The Early Wildlife Policy of Yellowstone National Park, 1872-1918," unpublished M. A. thesis at East Texas State University, 1966, pp. 6-7.
3. "Violating the Law." Avant Courier (Bozeman, Montana), February 21, 1873, p. 3.
4. Kasten, p. 8.
5. Ibid., p. 9.
6. Ibid., p. 7.
7. Ibid., pp.9-22.
8. Ibid., p. 23.
9. Ibid., p. 23.
10. James Trefethen, Crusade for Wildlife, Stackpole Company of Harrisburg, Pa. and the Boone and Crockett Club of New York City, 1961, p. 31.
11. Kasten, pp. 25-26.
12. Ibid., p. 26.
13. U. S. Department of the Interior, Rules and Regulations of the Yellowstone National Park, Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1887, p. 154.
14. Kasten, p. 29.
15. Ibid., p. 29.
16. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
17. Trefethen, pp. 14-17.



18. Ibid., pp. 16-20. Trefethen lists the men at this meeting as Dr. George Bird Grinnell, Elliott Roosevelt, J. West Roosevelt, Archibald Rogers, E. P. Rogers, J. Coleman Drayton, Thomas Paton, Colonel James E. Jones, John J. Pierrepont, and Rutherford Stuyvesant.
19. Ibid., p. 19.
20. Ibid., pp. 22-23.
21. Ibid., pp. 24-26.
22. Ibid., pp. 32-33.
23. Ibid., pp. 34-35.
24. Ibid., pp. 35-36.
25. Ibid., pp. 37-38.
26. Ibid., p. 38.
27. Forest and Stream, Vol. 42, May 5, 1894, pp. 377-378.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Trefethen, p. 40.

37. Forest and Stream, Vol. 42, May 5, 1894, pp. 377-378.
38. Ibid., Vol. 42, March 24, 1894, p. 243 and April 14, 1894, p. 309.
39. Trefethen, p. 40.
40. Forest and Stream, Vol. 42, April 21, 1894, p. 331.
41. Ibid., April 28, 1894, p. 353.
42. Ibid., May 12, 1894, p. 397.
43. U. S. Statutes at Large, XXVIII, pp. 73-75.
44. Joseph Joffe, "John W. Meldrum, The Grand Old Man of Yellowstone National Park," Annals of Wyoming (January-April 1941), p. 123.
45. Kasten, pp. 34-35.
46. Trefethen, p. 80.
47. William T. Hornaday, Thirty Years War for Wild Life, Permanent Wild Life Protection Fund, Stamford, Conn., 1931, p. 167.
48. U. S. Congress. Senate. Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting to the Senate Facts in Relation to the Preservation of the American Bison in the United States and Canada. Senate Document No. 445, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 1902, p. 39.
49. Hornaday, Thirty Years War for Wild Life, p. 167.
50. Dr. Thomas S. Palmer, "Our National Herds of Buffalo," Tenth Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1915-1916, published by the Society in New York, 1916, p. 41.
51. Ibid.
52. U. S. Congress. Senate. Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting to the Senate Facts

in Relation to the Preservation of the American Bison in the United States and Canada. Senate Document No. 445, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 1902, pp. 40-41.

53. Mark Sullivan, "The Education of An American," Doubleday, Doran and Co. Inc., New York, N. Y., 1938, pp. 148-9.
54. Ibid., pp. 149-150.
55. Ibid., pp. 150-151. His total included an estimate of 200 for the wild wood buffalo of the Great Slave Lake region of Canada. The Hornaday estimate for these animals had been 550 in 1888.
56. "The Bison Still Lives" by Mark Sullivan, Boston Evening Transcript, Oct. 10, 1900, p. 13.
57. Ibid.
58. See Garretson, pp. 212-213.
59. Boston Evening Transcript, Oct. 10, 1900, p. 13.
60. Interview by author with Mr. Lumb in Washington, D. C., July 18, 1969.
61. Boston Evening Transcript, Oct. 10, 1900, p. 13.
62. Ibid.
63. Hornaday, "The Extermination of the American Bison," Report of the United States National Museum, 1887, pp. 394-395.
64. Henry Inman, Buffalo Jones' Forty Years of Adventure, Crane & Company, Topeka, Kansas, 1899, pp. 262-263.
65. Robert Easton and Mackenzie Brown, Lord of Beasts, the Saga of Buffalo Jones, Univ. of Arizona Press, Tucson, Arizona, Nov., 1961.
66. Letter of Joseph Allard written in summer of 1969 and found in Manuscript File 744 in Special Collec-

tions at Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana.  
See also Garretson, pp. 218-219.

67. Inman, pp. 262-265.
68. Ibid., pp. 262-263.
69. U. S. Congress. House. A Bill for the Protection of American Bison and Other Animals, and Appropriating Money to Carry Out the Same. H. R. 6068, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890. See also U. S. Congress. Senate. A Bill for the Protection of American Bison, and for Other Purposes. Senate 2472, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. Inman, p. 263.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid., p. 264.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. U. S. Congress. Senate. A Bill Creating a Preserve for the American Bison, and for Other Purposes. Senate 2221, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., 1900 and U. S. Congress. House. A Bill to Set Apart a Preserve for the American Bison and for Other Purposes. H. R. 6062, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., 1900. See also U. S. Congress. House. A Bill to Set Apart a Preserve for the American Bison, and for Other Purposes. H. R. 10590, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., 1900. See also U. S. Congress, House, Bison Preserve, H. R. Report 985 to Accompany H. R. 10590, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., 1900.
79. U. S. Congress. Senate. A Bill Creating a Preserve for the American Bison, and for Other Purposes.

Senate 2331, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., 1900 and U. S. Congress. House. A Bill to Set Apart a Preserve for the American Bison and for Other Purposes. H. R. 6062, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., 1900.

80. U. S. Congress. House. A Bill to Set Apart a Preserve for the American Bison, and for Other Purposes. H. R. 127, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 1901.
81. U. S. Congress. Senate. Senator Proctor's resolution seeking information on the preservation of the buffalo. 57th Cong., 1st Sess., January 30, 1902. Congressional Record, Part II, p. 1109.
82. U. S. Congress. Senate. Letter from the Secretary of Agriculture Transmitting to the Senate Facts in Relation to the Preservation of the American Bison in the United States and Canada. Senate Document No. 208, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 1902.
83. Ibid.
84. U. S. Congress. Senate. Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting to the Senate Facts in Relation to the Preservation of the American Bison in the United States and Canada. Senate Document No. 445, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 1902, p. 3.
85. Ibid., p. 2.
86. Ibid.
87. N.A.R.S., RG 79, Records of the National Park Service, Letters Relating to Yellowstone, Letter No. 884, 1902.
88. Ibid. Letter No. 1152, 1902.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid. Letter No. 435, 1902.
91. Ibid. Letter No. 605, 1902. There were more than 22 buffalo in the Park but the exact number is hard to determine. Less than three months later Pitcher wrote to Hitchcock as follows:

A few more buffalo -- probably four or five -- have recently been found on Bechler River in the southwest corner of the Park. Scouts are now endeavoring to fix definitely the number in this small band.

Dr. Mary Meagher, the foremost authority on the Yellowstone herd, feels that low point may have been as high as 50 head.

92. Ibid.
93. Ibid. Letter No. 930, 1902.
94. Ibid. Letter No. 884, 1902.
95. Ibid. Letter No. 1152, 1902.
96. Ibid. Letter No. 884, 1902.
97. Ibid. Letter No. 1152, 1902.
98. Ibid. Letter No. 922, 1902.
99. Ibid. Letter No. 1143, 1902.
100. D. J. Benham, "The Second Round-up of Pablo's Buffalo Herd," Edmonton Bulletin, Nov. 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10 and 11.
101. John F. Lacey Papers, Vol. 251, 1900-1901, Political, Iowa State Library and Archives, Des Moines, Letter from Lacey to George Shields, Jan. 27, 1902, letter from Hornaday to Lacey, Feb. 3, 1902, and letter from Hornaday to Lacey, Jan. 24, 1902.
102. D. J. Benham, Edmonton Bulletin, Nov. 8, 1907.
103. N.A.R.S., RG 79, Records of the National Park Service, Letters relating to Yellowstone, Letter No. 1143, 1902.
104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
109. Letter from Pitcher to Jones, July 8, 1902, as quoted in Lord of Beasts by Robert Easton and Mackenzie Brown, pp. 260-261.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid., p. 119.
112. Charles Jesse Jones Papers, Memoirs of His Life to the Year 1910, Chapter 3, p. 1, Finney County Kansas, Historical Society, Garden City, Kansas.
113. N.A.R.S., RG 79, Records of the National Park Service, Letters Relating to Yellowstone, Letter No. 3531, 1902.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid. Letter No. 4021.
118. Ibid. Letter No. 4180.
119. Ibid. Letter No. 5164.
120. N.A.R.S., RG 48, Record of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Patents and Miscellaneous Division, Letter No. 896, 1903, Letter received.
121. Ibid.

122. N.A.R.S., RG 79, Records of the National Park Service, Letters Relating to Yellowstone, Letter No. 4021, 1902.
123. N.A.R.S., RG 48, Record of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Patents and Miscellaneous Division, Letter No. 896, 1902, Letter received.
124. N.A.R.S., RG 79, Records of the National Park Service, Letters Relating to Yellowstone, Letter No. 4021, 1902.
125. Ibid. Letter No. 176, 1905.
126. Ibid. Letter No. 4362, 1902.
127. Ibid.
128. Ibid. Letter No. 3175, 1903.
129. Garretson, p. 201.
130. N.A.R.S., RG 78, Records of the National Park Service, Letters Relating to Yellowstone, Letter No. 176, 1905.
131. Ibid. Letter No. 514 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1905.
132. Ibid. Letter No. 176, 1904.
133. Ibid. Letter No. 176, 1905.
134. Ibid.
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid.



### CHAPTER III

#### FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN BISON SOCIETY

As the various private herds pressed against their owners resources, the question of what disposition would be made of this increasing number of animals demanded attention. The time was not far off when these owners would find this growing burden impossible to carry. Even more sobering was the question of the fate of these animals when the owners passed on and the herds fell into the hands of others. The biological question -- could the buffalo be saved -- was being answered in the affirmative. Very quickly a new question was arising that would demand a political answer -- would the federal government assume the responsibility for this growing number of buffalo and provide for their care? Only in this way could the permanent preservation of the species be assured.

The story of how this question was answered began in the unlikely place of Newport, New Hampshire -- 35 miles northwest of Concord. The star of the story was Austin Corbin, Sr. Corbin was born to a Newport family of moderate means, but worked his way through Harvard Law School and went into legal practice in 1849. He saved

his money and went to Davenport, Iowa, in 1851, where he made a fortune in the banking business. In the mid-1860s, he returned to New York and established the private banking firm of Austin Corbin and Company, which flourished. He helped finance recreational developments on Long Island, including Manhattan Beach and Coney Island. Later he went into railroads and became president of the Philadelphia and Reading line.<sup>1</sup>

In 1853 he married Hannah M. Wheeler of Croydon, N. H., and they had five children, three daughters and two sons. His first son lived only a few years and his youngest son, Austin Corbin, Jr., succeeded his father in his banking and business interests.<sup>2</sup>

The elder Corbin maintained a woodland estate on Long Island which was enclosed by a stout fence. In 1885 a friend presented him with a few young deer which he kept because they were of interest to his son. The deer thrived and soon other animals were added to the collection and still others placed in an enclosure at Manhattan Beach.<sup>3</sup> Corbin was described by William H. Child as a forceful, self-reliant man who devoted his whole strength to the accomplishment of worthy objects.<sup>4</sup> In 1886 Corbin returned to Newport to devote some of his time to a huge game preserve.<sup>5</sup>

In 1893 Corbin himself told the New Hampshire legislature his motive in establishing the game park.

It was built partly for my own pleasure, and partly for profit.

Four or five years ago it occurred to me that I should like very much indeed to have a place in New Hampshire where I could protect the large game of the country, which has greatly fallen away, and also some of the smaller game, in order that I and my friends might have some pleasure out of shooting and fishing.<sup>6</sup>

From the manner in which the preserve was managed, however, it is clear that Corbin saw preservation as his chief motive in establishing the park.<sup>7</sup>

Corbin selected an area centering around Croydon Mountain, a few miles north of Newport and falling within the townships of Cornish, Croydon, Grantham, and Plainfield. Corbin's agents were directed by Sidney A. Stockwell. Working quietly at first and then more openly they bought more than 350 individual parcels of land comprising more than 26,000 acres and 60 sets of buildings.<sup>8</sup> This elliptical shaped piece of land,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by 11 miles in size,<sup>9</sup> was enclosed by a woven wire fence 9 to 12 feet in height.<sup>10</sup> Pine and willows were planted around the fence to hide it and serve as a replacement for posts when necessary.<sup>11</sup> Each of the nine gates in this fence was manned by a gate keeper who had a cabin near the gate. A telephone line ran on top of the fence and kept the gate lodges, the central headquarters, and the Corbin mansion in communication with one another.<sup>12</sup> Inside the park "many miles of drives" were better maintained than when the roads had been the responsibility of the townships. Stone watering

troughs were placed every four miles around the park and "twelve or fifteen" miles of railroad track were laid to make it easier to bring in the game.<sup>13</sup> The land cost on the average of \$5.00 per acre<sup>14</sup> and the fence ran \$74,000.<sup>15</sup> While there was opposition to such an undertaking in the rural New Hampshire<sup>16</sup> area much of the land had marginal agricultural value and Corbin employed more men and paid more taxes to the townships than would otherwise have been the case.<sup>17</sup> The Park was open to the public, but during Corbin's life no hunting was permitted.<sup>18</sup>

In 1890 the Park was stocked with "30 bison, 140 deer, 135 elk, 35 moose, some European stags, a few Himalayan goats, and 14 European wild boar." Other species were added later, including 125 mule deer and 30 pronghorn antelope.<sup>19</sup> Thomas H. Ryan, later Assistant Secretary of the Interior, took charge of gathering the animals from Canada.<sup>20</sup> The buffalo were secured prior to 1890. Corbin told the legislature he got "three or four in Wyoming, and a dozen in Manitoba." In 1888 he purchased six male and six female calves from C. J. Jones, who had only recently acquired them from Warden Bedson in Winnipeg. In 1892 he paid Jones \$1,000 a piece for two bulls, and eight cows, all five-year-olds. These animals were from the one Jones had captured in the Texas Pan-handle. By 1898 the Corbin herd numbered 75 head, under the care of Billie Morrison who was hired as buffalo keeper. In 1896, the year of Mr. Corbin's death, 25 bison were loaned

to Van Cortlandt Park in New York City where they contracted fatal gastroenteritis from polluted water. The herd continued to increase, however, and in 1908 numbered about 165 head.

Among the men hired by Corbin for the Park was Ernest Harold Baynes.<sup>22</sup> Baynes, a professional writer and lecturer on nature and wildlife subjects, came from Stoneham, Massachusetts.<sup>23</sup> From his writings it is evident that Baynes had a peculiar ability to get along with animals and the talent to communicate to others the special relationship he seemed to enjoy with other species.<sup>24</sup> Corbin hired him as the Park Naturalist<sup>25</sup> and went to special pains to prepare a home for Baynes and his wife at Sunset Ridge near the Park.<sup>26</sup> Baynes drew inspiration from nature and shortly after his move to the Park in June, 1904, he began to explore the new preserve which had been named the Blue Mountain Forest.<sup>27</sup>

The very first time I went to walk in the Blue Mountain Forest, . . . I saw the buffalo herd then numbering 160 head. It galloped away like a cavalry charge, but one immense old bull refused to run. He stood squarely across my path. There was nothing of the braggart about him, no threats . . . He was quiet and dignified, but one could not help feeling that he was not to be trifled with. Perhaps I never felt so much ashamed in the presence of any animal as when, standing face to face with that magnificent creature, I thought of the wrongs his race had suffered at the hands of mine.<sup>28</sup>

Much of the Baynes' work up to this point in his career had been concerned with small animals and he was pleased and excited to bring his reading public the story

of the Corbin herd.<sup>29</sup> Shortly after his arrival at the Blue Mountain Forest he began a series of articles in the Boston Evening Transcript describing the flora and fauna of the new Park.<sup>30</sup> In August, for example, he told his readers that when buffalo first came to the Park they were not permitted to join the main herd until they had been observed for some time and found to be absolutely perfect specimens without any deformity in curvature of horn or body conformation. If the new arrival passed this test he was then permitted to enter an enclosure where he could breed with a member of the Corbin herd. Only after the arrival had demonstrated an ability to produce perfect offspring was he permitted to join the main herd. With management practices such as this in operation the Corbin herd had to be one of the finest in existence and Baynes' writings reflect a pride in this collection of magnificent specimens.<sup>31</sup>

In that same month, August, 1904, he learned that the decision had been made to sell the Corbin herd. Senator William E. Chandler of New Hampshire took a great interest in the Corbin family in business and politics. After the death of Austin Corbin he remained on intimate terms with the family and its trusted adviser as well as a director of the association that was formed to manage the Park.<sup>32</sup> On August 10, 1904, he addressed a printed letter to James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture, and

also invited naturalists around the country to read its contents. Calling Wilson's attention to the subject of preserving the buffalo Chandler said

. . . the period is approaching when, unless the government adopts careful measures for such preservation, the race of buffalo will become extinct.

. . . you . . . know that by far the majority of buffalo are not owned by the government but by private individuals.

In the cold climate of New Hampshire, with the ground covered with snow, the expenses for food, . . . are becoming too burdensome for any private family . . .

The question, therefore, comes to the family, as to the wisest policy to be pursued, and it seems most advisable without delay to call the attention of the government and of the naturalists of this country to the situation.

The Association would prefer to sell the entire herd to the government, for a reasonable sum, than to have the animals disposed of at possibly large prices -- to menageries.<sup>33</sup>

Along with several printed copies of this letter, Chandler sent Wilson a handwritten note saying he was going to confer with other parties on the subject and would not expect an immediate reply from the Department of Agriculture.<sup>34</sup> When two weeks went by without a reply, George Edgell, a Corbin son-in-law and a director of the Park, wrote to the Secretary of the Interior and suggested the herd could be bought and placed in the Yellowstone Park.<sup>35</sup> Hitchcock forwarded the letter to Pitcher,<sup>36</sup> who replied that they already had plans to save the buffalo, but would be happy to see the government buy the herd.<sup>37</sup> Major Pitcher went further and noted in his

annual report that a fine offer had been made by the Corbin family and he suggested this offer was worthy of consideration if Congress was going to consider further steps for the preservation of the buffalo.<sup>38</sup> August, 1904 was very close to a presidential election which was preoccupying the respective Secretaries, and for a few months the matter was dropped.

In February, 1905, Mr. and Mrs. Edgell and Senator Chandler visited Secretary Hitchcock and discussed buffalo.<sup>39</sup> Again the government made no move. In October, Edgell wrote Hitchcock and asked the Secretary if "the matter will be taken up seriously."<sup>40</sup> Hitchcock replied that there was no money, but said that if Edgell made an offer he would consider it.<sup>41</sup> Edgell replied in November that they would sell males for \$250 and females for \$350 and that they would sell as many as 150 head. His price was for delivery on cars at Newport, New Hampshire.<sup>42</sup> Again the government made no move and the Corbin family began looking elsewhere for buyers.

Meanwhile, as the Corbin family had been trying to interest the government in their herd, Baynes was carrying on his own campaign to save the buffalo. He began to write a series of articles in which he advanced various reasons for preserving the buffalo.<sup>43</sup> Foremost among the reasons he advanced were sentiment and historical interest. For Baynes sentiment was reason enough, but he knew



more practical inducements would be needed and he set out to provide them. He gathered buffalo wool and had it tested and woven into garments and extolled its virtues to his readers. He pointed out that buffalo were worth \$300 a head and that as a meat producing animal they could be raised at less cost than domestic stock. He also suggested that much value might be gained from the cross-bred species.<sup>44</sup>

To dramatize the practical worth of the buffalo, however, Baynes trained a pair of the calves to the harness. Two young bull calves named War Whoop and Tomahawk were secured from the Corbin herd and raised by Baynes on regular cows' milk. He experienced great difficulty in introducing the buffalo to the yoke and then the harness, and finally to an especially strong wagon built for the occasion. When he was ready, Baynes announced that he had

. . . a convincing bit of evidence that the buffalo can be domesticated and added to our list of draught animals. . . . All the training (has) been for the purpose of showing farmers that buffaloes are stronger and more tireless than domestic animals in common use, . . .<sup>45</sup>

Baynes now took his curious team on tour of county fairs, sportsmen shows, agricultural exhibitions, and wherever he could find an audience. He demonstrated convincingly that the buffalo calves could easily out-pull a domestic steer of the same age and that they could drag a much heavier load. He also proved that the buffalo

were capable of greater speed than their domestic counterparts.<sup>46</sup> At Waterville, Maine, one of the calves was pitted against a domestic steer over a mile course and won handily.<sup>47</sup> At the Boston Sportsmen Show the calves permitted themselves to be petted by the milling crowd and showed no alarm when complete strangers put them in harness. Eventually even the ladies were able to drive them.<sup>48</sup> In time they got used to traffic and on occasion Baynes drove them through the streets of the small New England towns. When Baynes had proven his point and written a book on the entire experience, War Whoop and Tomahawk were permitted to rejoin the Corbin herd.<sup>49</sup>

In this publicity campaign, Baynes wrote about 40 articles setting forth his reasons for saving the buffalo and entertaining his readers with his buffalo experiences. Some of these articles were illustrated by Baynes' own photographs and published in magazines, but most of them were syndicated and published simultaneously in about 20 leading newspapers in different parts of the country. The press was sympathetic and generous, and these articles were the cause of editorials favorable to the cause.<sup>50</sup>

The buffalo needed someone to publicize his cause and Baynes did it in dramatic fashion, but this whole effort did not establish another herd or find a proper buyer for the Corbin herd. Baynes was aware of this problem and at the same time he carried on his publicity

campaign he was moving on another front.

I drew up a plan for the preservation of the buffalo. . . . that plan consisted of taking out of the hands of the private individuals who owned them as many as possible of the remaining buffalo and establishing them in small herds under United States and Canadian Government auspices, on widely separated ranges, so that if contagious disease should strike any one of these herds, not too large a proportion of the few existing animals would be wiped out at any one time.<sup>51</sup>

In August of 1904, Baynes visited Prof. Franklin W. Hooper, Director of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, at his home in Walpole, New Hampshire. They discussed the buffalo and the means of arousing interest in his preservation. Hooper suggested that the attention of prominent people had to be called to the movement and advised Baynes to write letters to as many such people as possible and ask them to interest themselves in the fate of the buffalo.<sup>52</sup>

Baynes followed through on this advice and in his letter explained his plan for saving the buffalo. The people to whom Baynes wrote are not known, but among them was Theodore Roosevelt. The President replied on September 16, 1904:

I am very much impressed with your letter, and I agree with every word you say. I remember you well. I have written Secretary Wilson, sending him your letter and requesting him to take the matter up with me, and I shall treat of it in my annual message.<sup>53</sup>

Baynes found the Presidential answer "a great encouragement."<sup>54</sup> On December 6, 1904, President Roosevelt remained true to his word and mentioned in his annual

message that the preservation of the buffalo was an objective worthy of Congressional consideration.

In connection with the work of the forest reserves I desire again to urge upon the Congress the importance of authorizing the President to set aside certain portions of these reserves or other public lands as game refuges for the preservation of the bison . . . <sup>55</sup>

Roosevelt went beyond mere mention of preserving the buffalo. He tried to garner some support for this part of his message by bringing pressure to bear upon the trustees of the extremely exclusive Seawanhaka Yacht Club. Seawanhaka resisted his overtures,<sup>56</sup> but resolutions of support came in from the Glen Cove Club, the Oyster Bay Club, the Huntington Yacht Club, and the Nassau Country Club.<sup>57</sup> This support was insufficient, however, to move Congress.

Baynes did not give up though and his next effort proved somewhat more productive. On January 18, 1905, Baynes spoke before the Boston Society of Natural History on "The American Buffalo - A Plea for His Preservation." Mr. T. Gilbert Pearson, founder of the National Audubon Society, was in the audience and reported on Baynes performance as follows:

He was not particularly effective, because he was nervous and his slides were not very good, but he was very much in earnest. After his address he attempted to form a society for the protection of the bison, but was prevented from doing so by the outspoken opposition of various members of the Natural History Society. Before leaving I told him that if he came to New York he would find support for his undertaking.<sup>58</sup>

Unfortunately the minutes of this meeting reveal nothing about this opposition, but they do record that a resolution was passed endorsing the movement "now on foot for the preservation and propagation of Buffalo . . ." <sup>59</sup> Frederick H. Kennard, a prominent landscape architect, was also at this meeting. He said that when Baynes made his appeal many people got up and left the hall. Kennard was indignant at the treatment Baynes had received and invited him to a luncheon the next day, where he introduced Baynes to Prof. William Lyman Underwood, Dr. Charles Townsend, and Mr. William A. Jeffries. These men gave Baynes the same advice Pearson had given him the night before. They urged him to go to New York and suggested that Dr. Hornaday, then Director of the New York Zoological Society, would be the best man to start the organization Baynes had in mind. <sup>60</sup>

Before Baynes had a chance to go to New York he received an invitation from Hornaday to speak on the buffalo at a dinner of The Camp Fire Club of America, of which Hornaday was then president. <sup>61</sup> He wrote to Hornaday accepting the invitation and asked questions that almost predicted what was to come.

I hope that it will be possible at that meeting to at least take the initial steps toward the organization of a society the immediate object of which will be the preservation of the Bison. After a lecture on this subject in Boston the other night I suggested such a society, and nearly all the best people in the audience left their names and addresses with me, with the understanding that they would join such a

society if it were organized. But they thought that it would be greatly to the advantage of the proposed society if it were started in New York, with some prominent men for President and Vice president. From a letter I received from President Roosevelt some time ago, I know that he is deeply interested in the Bison, and might it not be possible to induce him to become the Honorary President, with perhaps yourself and Prof. Osborn as President and Vice president? I know how busy you all are, but I shall be very willing to have the bulk of the drudgery turned over to me; . . . <sup>62</sup>

Baynes found the meeting to be the occasion of the Club's annual dinner and the speaker was seated next to Hornaday. The two men discussed the formation of a society to preserve the buffalo and Hornaday "consented to accept the presidency of the proposed society if it were offered."<sup>63</sup> Baynes' talk here was evidently well received, for this prestigious club passed a resolution noting that most of the buffalo were privately owned and called upon the "Government to immediately assume the burden . . . of . . . an effort to establish several herd of Bison, fully protected, and maintained . . ." The Club further resolved to address the President and Congress on the subject, and to "exert its influence to secure the action herein proposed."<sup>64</sup>

This seemed to be a significant victory for Baynes, but rough water lay ahead before the proposed society would actually be formed. The day after the meeting, Baynes visited Hornaday at his home and here the matter was discussed at length. Hornaday renewed his offer to accept the presidency but first he had a proposal of his

own.<sup>65</sup> Baynes described the meeting in a letter to Dr. Grover Allen, Director of the Boston Society of Natural History.

. . . it was decided that he (Hornaday) should bring the matter before The N. Y. Zoological Society, with a view to getting that organization to thoroughly back the movement. We thought if this were done, it would save the time which might be required to organize a new society. I am now awaiting a letter from Mr. Hornaday, and . . . lecturing and writing as hard as I can, . . . <sup>66</sup>

Baynes did indeed keep up his publicity campaign for the buffalo. He gave his lecture before the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, the Harvard Traveler's Club, the Boone and Crockett Club, and other leading organizations in the conservation movement of that day. Besides lectures, War Whoop and Tomahawk continued to perform in the interest of their race and Baynes' pen poured out a steady stream of verbiage as well.<sup>67</sup>

Over three weeks went by and Baynes heard nothing from Hornaday.<sup>68</sup> Probably through the efforts of Mr. Kennard and Mr. Jeffries, the Council of the Boston Society of Natural History formally expressed their sympathy with the movement to preserve the buffalo and asked to be informed from time to time on the progress of the movement. In his letter to Dr. Allen, Baynes reveals a little understandable impatience with Hornaday's delay.

. . . I beg to report that President Roosevelt has signified his willingness to be the Honorary President of a Society For the Preservation of

the Bison if I think it advisable to organize one. I do think so, and have written to Mr. Hornaday to this effect. I have not yet heard from him concerning his proposed arrangement with The New York Zoological Society, and if he has not yet taken definite steps toward this arrangement, I intend to go right ahead and organize a separate society for the preservation of the Bison . . . a national society of course.<sup>69</sup>

As Director of the New York Zoological Society, Hornaday did not have the authority to call a meeting of the Executive Committee. That power belonged to the Chairman.<sup>70</sup> The meetings of the Executive Committee were regularly scheduled. Baynes had visited Hornaday in his home on Sunday, February 5, 1905, and the first meeting of the Executive Committee after that was just four days later on Thursday, February 9, 1905.<sup>71</sup> This was no doubt insufficient time for Hornaday to bring a proposal of such magnitude before the Executive Committee. He did not, however, offer Baynes any explanation for the delay and at the next meeting of the Executive Committee on Wednesday, March 15, 1905, he did not bring up the question of the Society assuming leadership for the movement to preserve the buffalo. The minutes of the meeting reveal the following action:

The Director submitted a proposition for the establishment in Oklahoma in the Forest Reserve recently created by Congress of a special reserve for buffalo, in cooperation with the United States Government, the Zoological Society to put a certain number of its reserve in this herd, and to purchase certain other animals for about \$3,000, the Federal Government to assume the care of the herd, and the



expense to be made up by a special subscription. The whole matter was referred with power to a committee consisting of Messrs. (Madison) Grant, (Fairfield) Osborn, and Hornaday, . . . <sup>72</sup>

In Roosevelt's annual message quoted above he had called upon Congress to grant him power to set aside some of the national forest reserves as game refuges. Making game refuges out of forest reserves had long been an object of the conservation forces led by the Boone and Crockett Club and similar organizations with an interest in hunting.<sup>73</sup> The Wichita Forest Reserve in Oklahoma led the list of potential areas for which this dual status was desired. In 1901 the land in question had been the Apache-Comanche-Kiowa Indian Reservation. In that year, however, each Indian head of household was granted 160 acres of land and the remainder of the reservation was thrown open to settlement on a lottery basis. Concerned citizens, though, led by the Chamber of Commerce successfully prevailed upon Congress and had 60,000 acres in the Wichita Mountains withdrawn from homesteading. This land was set aside as a forest reserve under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior.<sup>74</sup> With both mountainous terrain and good grazing land this 60,000 acre parcel was viewed as a "mammoth Government game breeding ranch" similar to the fish hatcheries already run by the government.<sup>75</sup> For this reason it was of special interest to those who wanted to confer upon our forest reserves the additional function of a game

refuge.

The bill to make the Wichita Forest Reserve a game refuge had passed the House late in 1904 and was assured of quick passage in the Senate, where an estimated 75 per cent of the Senators were members of the National Sportsmen's League, a champion of the bill.<sup>76</sup> Less than two weeks before Baynes made his talk at the Camp Fire Club, the bill passed, and Congress authorized the President to set aside the Wichita Forest Reserve as a game refuge.<sup>77</sup> Hornaday was evidently aware of this move and in line with his belief previously expressed, that the buffalo could not be perpetuated in the confinement of zoological parks and gardens, he made the proposal quoted above.

The Hornaday plan to establish a nucleus herd on the Wichita Forest Reserve was a good one. The question naturally arises, however, why he did not discuss this change of plans with Baynes, or at least inform Baynes of the action he was contemplating. In Hornaday's published report on the Wichita Herd, he explains first how he conceived the idea and then mentions the desirability of establishing "several national herds maintained by the government" as a means of preserving the species. This was exactly the plan Baynes had drawn up in the fall of 1904, and yet, nowhere in his report does Hornaday give credit to Baynes or even mention his name.

In view of the fact that the new game reserve embraced some of the best grazing ground of . . . the southern herd . . . it occurred to

the Director of the New York Zoological Park that an opportunity had been created for the founding of a Government herd. . . . in Oklahoma . . . the . . . bison . . . would . . . maintain themselves . . . all the year round, by grazing.<sup>78</sup>

Having explained how the idea was conceived, Hornaday then continued with his report without mentioning Baynes.

Prior to 1905, it appears . . . no . . . individual nor corporation . . . ever had offered to the . . . Government a gift of . . . Bison as the nucleus of a National herd. In view of the . . . fact that no large species can be perpetuated in . . . confinement . . . it seemed reasonably certain that the only way to insure the perpetuation of the Bison . . . (was) . . . in the creation of several national herds maintained by the Government on large areas of grazing ground. . . . for the encouragement of the Government in the perpetuation of the . . . species, the scientific institutions of the country, and private individuals . . . should do more than offer advice . . . to Congress. Accordingly, a formal communication was laid before the Executive Committee of the New York Zoological Society . . . <sup>79</sup>

Shortly after Baynes' death in 1927, his wife sent some of his papers to Dr. Townsend W. Thorndike of Boston and in some cases wrote letters to answer Thorndike's questions. Several fragments of these letters survive and throw light on the relationship between Baynes and Hornaday.

Harold (Baynes) was greatly distressed when he found he could not get Hornaday to help him, and, possibly there were others who could have helped but did not. In desperation he did it alone. It was a hard fight for him. I think that I have already told you all that I know about Hornaday. I think that he wanted to do the buffalo work himself, and so get full

credit. I believe this to be the reason why he would not help Harold, nor make any move until he was forced into it. I think I mentioned . . . that after Harold had organized the society . . . without the help of Hornaday . . . the latter claimed the credit for it and left Harold completely out.<sup>80</sup>

The nature of the dispute between Hornaday and Baynes is not known, and while source must be strongly considered in examining the interpretation of Mrs. Baynes Hornaday did on another occasion, some years later, display a great reluctance to give Baynes any credit. When money was being collected for a memorial for Baynes, Hornaday wrote to Edmund Seymour, President of the American Bison Society, and recalled for him the bad reception Baynes had received at his speech before the Boston Society of Natural History.

As a matter of correct and truthful history, it was more Frederic H. Kennard and Messrs. Underwood, Townsend and Jeffries who started the American Bison Society than it was Mr. Baynes. Kennard himself told me that he was so indignant at the way Baynes' audience treated him it aroused his combativeness and made him resolve to do something about it. But for that spark of honest resentment in the breast of Mr. Kennard, the whole thing would have been forgotten in less than 24 hours, and Mr. Baynes would not have 'saved the American Bison.'<sup>81</sup>

The evidence clearly indicates that Baynes originally conceived the idea of founding a national society for the purpose of preserving the buffalo. Similarly, the record also reveals Baynes to be the one who did most of the preparatory work for the actual founding of the society. On this specific point Mrs. Baynes told

Thorndike

In answer to your question as to whether Baynzie had any associates with him on the movement in Boston . . . Outside of my own enthusiastic interest in the movement, there were no others actually helping. In fact the whole movement, from its inception to the final election of officers in New York was the result of one man's work. After that it continued to be one man's work, for the most part.<sup>82</sup>

Since Baynes was the originator and prime mover, Hornaday's statement that the credit belonged to others is not true. No doubt Baynes received some limited assistance from time to time as Hornaday pointed out, but in general Baynes alone shouldered the burden that led to the formation of the society. Hornaday's willingness to give the credit to others no doubt was a product of the dispute between the two men. This was not at all out of character for Hornaday. He was a vigorous, hard working individual of the type who would prefer to do the work himself so that it would get done right rather than allow someone else to do it. When others had an honest difference of opinion with him or chose to handle a matter in a different way from his own, he tended to react in a personal way. At times he would refer to such people in his correspondence as "our enemies."<sup>83</sup>

In the particular incident under review, Hornaday, as Director of the New York Zoological Park with buffalo at his disposal, and knowing that Oklahoma had formerly been good buffalo territory, saw the opportunity to

establish a new herd of buffalo and took direct action.<sup>84</sup> To a forceful man of action like himself this was the way to proceed, and took precedence over the establishment of a new society, the breaking of calves to harness, or any of the public relations efforts in which Baynes was engaged. He said in his report "private individuals . . . should do more than offer advice . . . to Congress."<sup>85</sup>

Before the activities of a man like Hornaday can be successful, however, public opinion has to be prepared to receive his actions favorably. This is the service Baynes provided. He was the PR man of the movement who made the speeches, wrote the articles, and showed off his trained calves wherever opportunity provided. His was the kind of work that is essential, but is difficult to measure in terms of direct results.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1905, Baynes continued to write and speak in the interest of the buffalo. He also assembled a list of approximately 200 names of people all over the country who were known to be interested in the fate of the buffalo.<sup>86</sup> On August 25, 1905, Baynes wrote to President Roosevelt and asked him to be the honorary president of the proposed society. His letter included the list of names of the people who would be invited to join and there was also an invitation for the President to attend the first meeting. Roosevelt replied on August 31, 1905.

That is a first class list of names, and I accept with pleasure the honorary presidency. I congratulate the buffalo upon having such an efficient man as you to champion him; but I can not possibly be present at your first meeting. If you can arrange to have it at Washington after the 1st of October, I will very gladly receive my fellow members at the White House.<sup>87</sup>

Baynes reported to Dr. Allen on September 16, 1905, that "the first meeting will be held in Washington in the latter part of October, probably."<sup>88</sup> The historical record has a nagging silence at this particular point, but it is at this moment that Hornaday, in the words of Mrs. Baynes, "was forced into it." Somewhere between September 16, 1905 and mid-November, 1905, when Baynes would have had to have mailed his 200 invitations, he and Hornaday had a meeting, and Hornaday not only agreed to the formation of the society and to accepting the presidency, he also allowed the first meeting to be held at the New York Zoological Park. The letter of Presidential support must have been the determining factor for Hornaday. He and Roosevelt were good friends and had just enjoyed a visit and lunch together on November 10, 1905. Hornaday was helping the President preserve his hides and game trophies.<sup>89</sup> When the 200 invitations went out they invited the distinguished guests to meet on December 8, 1905, in the Lion House at the New York Zoological Park.<sup>90</sup>

Three days before they met, Roosevelt again went before Congress and made clear his interest in preserving the buffalo.

The most characteristic animal of the Western plains was the great shaggy-maned wild ox, the bison, commonly known as the buffalo. Small fragments of herds exist in a domesticated state here and there, a few of them in the Yellowstone Park. Such a herd as that on the Flathead Reservation should not be allowed to go out of existence. Either on some reservation or on some forest reserve like the Wichita reserve and game refuge provision should be made for the preservation of such a herd. I believe that the scheme would be of economic advantage, for the robe of the buffalo is of high market value, and the same is true of the robe of the crossbred animals.<sup>91</sup>

When December 8th arrived, 14 people out of the 200 invited attended the meeting.<sup>92</sup> This small response was not due to a lack of interest, but to considerations of distance and travel. Most of those in attendance were from New York City. Those present included

A. A. Anderson	New York City
Robert C. Auld	New York City
Ernest Harold Baynes	Meriden, New Hampshire
Edward Cave	Editor of <u>Field and Stream</u> , New York City
Prof. Franklin W. Hooper	Director of Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, New York City
Dr. William T. Hornaday	Director of the New York Zoological Park, New York City
Frederic H. Kennard	Boston, Massachusetts
Francis Piper	Arlington Heights, Mass.
Mrs. Francis Piper	Arlington Heights, Mass.
Harry V. Radford	Editor of <u>Woods and Waters</u> , New York City
Martin Schenck	Chief Engineer, Dept. of Parks, Borough of the Bronx, New York City
George O. Shields	Editor of <u>Shield's Magazine</u> , New York City
C. H. Stonebridge	New York City
Dr. Charles H. Townsend	Director of the New York Aquarium, New York City <sup>93</sup>



When the meeting was called to order, Hornaday and Baynes were elected temporary chairman and temporary secretary, respectively. Hornaday then appointed a nominating committee and the following people were elected officers of the American Bison Society:

Honorary President	Theodore Roosevelt
President	Dr. William T. Hornaday
Vice President	A. A. Anderson
Vice President	Dr. Charles S. Minot
Secretary	Ernest Harold Baynes
Treasurer	Edmund Seymour <sup>94</sup>

An Advisory Board was also elected and Hornaday appointed an Executive Committee and instructed them to draft a constitution. Both of these bodies contained prominent people who were not present at this first meeting. Before the meeting closed it was decided that the Governor-General of Canada should be invited to hold an honorary office in the Society.<sup>95</sup>

The American Bison Society cannot be credited with the formation of the Wichita Herd, but since this was important, and its formation grew out of the effort to form the Bison Society, the story of the Wichita buffalo deserves to be told at this point.

The Executive Committee of the New York Zoological Society gave Hornaday's proposal for the establishment of the Wichita herd its "instant approval."<sup>96</sup> On March 25, 1905, Hornaday sent Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, a letter and offered the Government a nucleus herd of buffalo for the Wichita Reserve if the

Government would assume the obligation for care and fencing.<sup>97</sup> Wilson answered as follows:

The proposition strikes me very favorably. I will ascertain what authority we may have for making preparation and what other details it may be necessary to learn before we can give you a definite answer, but I have no doubt that if more legislation is needed we can bring about an arrangement satisfactory to all parties.<sup>98</sup>

Wilson quickly looked into this matter and reported back to Hornaday on April 5, 1905,

. . . no authority has been given by Congress for fencing any of the reserves. We shall have to go to Congress and see if we can not coax that body to give us some money with which to fence this particular reserve,  
 . . . 99

Wilson added his assurance that the President would back them in their efforts, but cautioned that it might be the following winter before they were able to take any action along this line.<sup>100</sup> Hornaday replied that he was pleased the government could accept the proposal and said the New York Zoological Society would hold itself in readiness to do whatever they could to assure passage of the necessary legislation.<sup>101</sup>

Wilson did not wait until winter before taking action, however. On May 13, 1905, he sent to the President for his signature the draft of the proclamation designating the Wichita Forest Reserve a game preserve.<sup>102</sup> Roosevelt issued the proclamation on June 2, 1905, and thus the Wichita National Forest and Game Preserve was

formally created.<sup>103</sup> Wilson also asked the Bureau of Forestry to cooperate with the New York Zoological Society in selecting a suitable range within the refuge for the buffalo.<sup>104</sup>

The press played only a mild role in this effort to form the Wichita herd, but more importantly, in July, 1905 George B. Grinnell saw that a more concerted effort on the part of his profession would be of help in future efforts to establish additional herds. He spoke in his front page editorial about government ownership of buffalo in widely separated herds and bluntly asked the question

Does the public wish to have America's largest land mammal pass wholly out of existence, or is it worthwhile for the Government to spend some money to preserve this species for future generations?<sup>105</sup>

Grinnell said that the issue was one of sentiment and admitted that Congress prided itself on being sternly practical. Nevertheless he realized that Congress would respond quickly to public sentiment. To that end he organized a committee of influential people with heavy representation from members of the press who agreed to urge Congress to preserve the buffalo through the establishment of several widely separated public herds.<sup>106</sup> Thus, even though the press was not to play a large role in the preservation of the buffalo the movement did enjoy the support of the editors of several of the lead-

ing outdoor journals of the day.

In the fall of 1905, the New York Zoological Society was invited to send an agent to Oklahoma to join Mr. E. F. Morrissey, Supervisor of the Wichita Forest & Game Preserve, for the purpose of selecting and recommending a location for the proposed range.<sup>107</sup> Mr. J. Alden Loring was selected by the Zoological Society as its agent for this purpose. He left New York November 21st and arrived at Cache, Oklahoma, near the Refuge on November 24th. The next three days were spent by these two men traveling over the forest reserve in order to select the most favored site for the buffalo range.<sup>108</sup>

On February 1, 1906, Mr. Loring submitted his report to the Zoological Society.<sup>109</sup> As he described the range it was surrounded by mountains, hills and ridges which he thought would offer protection from storms. To be sure the "mountains" were not high, ranging from 100 to 600 feet, but they were to the north and west of the proposed range and those were the directions from which the worst storms could be expected. The mountains were covered with "heavy growth of black-jack oak" and the top of one of these mountains was flat and well covered with "blue-stem and mesquite grass," a favorite grazing area for the cattle of the region.<sup>110</sup>

In the valley surrounded by these mountains he found "many buffalo wallows, and mesquite grass in suf-

ficient quantities to winter such a herd of buffalo as it is proposed to place on the range." Passes led from this valley in all directions, some went into open prairie country to the northwest and southeast, while others went into other valleys and timbered draws and gulleys. The largest and most notable of the draws led to a gulley through which flowed Cache Creek where water of the finest quality would be available at all times of the year.<sup>111</sup>

Loring went to special pains to emphasize that there were adequate quantities of good mesquite grass and fresh water.

. . . on the greater portion of the range an animal can, without moving from his tracks, crop several mouthfuls of mesquite grass. Even in fall and winter, when the mesquite grass appears too dry and brittle for food value, it has fattening properties that are truly wonderful, and it is the grass that is most esteemed by cattle-raisers as well as propagators of buffalo.<sup>112</sup>

On the question of water, Loring was equally laudatory.

There is no impure water on the range. The most important announcement regarding water is that all springs and streams that supply the range head on it and flow out of it. Therefore there is no danger of contaminated water reaching the animals.<sup>113</sup>

Indeed, so desirable were the physical features of the country for big game that Loring said it would be "suitable for elk, deer, and antelope . . . without in the least interfering with the rights of the buffalo."<sup>114</sup>

The legal incumbrances on the land were minimal, but one outstanding disadvantage had to be faced. Loring reported

Texas fever is the only questionable point worthy of consideration in connection with propagating buffalo in Oklahoma. Just how serious it will prove to be can be told only after buffalo have been put on the range. There may be ways of treating buffalo so that they will be immune to the disease.<sup>115</sup>

Furthermore, cattle had been grazing on the land that was to be set aside for the buffalo. This meant that there was a very real possibility that the Texas fever tick was on the proposed range. The question that had to be answered was, "Are buffalo susceptible to Texas fever?"

Loring felt that the only way to settle this question was to talk to the men who raised buffalo in or near the range of the fever tick. Accordingly he discussed the matter with Charles Goodnight, of Goodnight, Texas, Joseph Miller, President of the 101 Ranch at Bliss, Oklahoma, and Major Gordon W. Lillie of Pawnee, Oklahoma. After these visits, Loring concluded that "buffaloes are susceptible to the Texas fever tick."<sup>116</sup>

Regarding public sentiment toward the proposed range, Loring reported that the three men mentioned above offered to do all they could to make the project a success. This was also true of "everyone I talked with," according to Loring. Especially delighted with

the project were the Indians.

Quannah Parker, Chief of the Comanches, had a fine ranch just off the Reserve. When I questioned him regarding buffaloes . . . and told him President Roosevelt was deeply interested in buffalo preservation, he replied: 'Tell the President that the buffalo is my old friend, and it would make my heart glad to see a herd once more roaming about Mount Scott' (Second highest peak on the reserve).<sup>117</sup>

Through the efforts of Madison Grant, Secretary of the New York Zoological Society, and Dr. T. S. Palmer, of the Bureau of the Biological Survey, Loring's report was next laid before the First Session of the 59th Congress.<sup>118</sup> Spearheading the drive to get an appropriation to prepare the range were Congressmen John F. Lacey of Iowa, James W. Wadsworth of New York, Chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, and James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture. These men and others inserted an item in the annual Agricultural Appropriation Bill providing for \$15,000 with which to erect a seven foot six inch fence entirely around the preserve, and also for the construction of sheds, barns, and flood gates across all streams and the purchase of hay for the first winter. In short, this appropriation would take care of all the expenses necessary to prepare the range to receive the buffalo. Hornaday reported, "Without the slightest opposition, . . . this item passed with the appropriation bill and became a law."<sup>119</sup>

At this point Secretary Wilson directed Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the Forest Service and, therefore, in

charge of the Wichita Forest and Game Preserve, to take all steps necessary to carry the law into effect "and fully meet the conditions proposed by the New York Zoological Society."<sup>120</sup> Hornaday told how this work was handled.

At the request of the Forestry Bureau, the Director of the Zoological Park prepared plans and specifications for the improvements to be made and designed a series of corrals and sheds for handling of the Bison herd when not on the range. All these plans were approved by the Forestry Bureau, and forthwith a contract for the work of erecting the fences, corrals, sheds and other buildings was advertised. The lowest bid for the work was made by Gurley & Paine, of Denton, Texas, and the Forestry Bureau immediately executed a contract with that firm.<sup>121</sup>

The work began in the late summer of 1906 and was completed according to Hornaday's satisfaction even though the work of putting fence posts in the rocky hills of the Wichita Preserve was difficult. When completed the 15 mile long fence enclosed some 6,200 acres of prime grazing land.<sup>122</sup>

Frank Rush was selected as the first caretaker for the Wichita Herd. Rush was born in Tomkinville, Ky., in 1865 and travelled to Kansas with his parents in 1871. He became a trusted friend of the Indians, a student of animal life on the plains, and an experienced ranchman. For a time he was foreman of the Edward Hewins ranch in Osage County, Oklahoma, where he had the responsibility for managing a small herd of buffalo. Oklahoma Governor Frank Frantz was in Washington when the search was



being made for a caretaker of the Wichita Herd. He was invited to suggest someone for the position and he named Frank Rush. Rush was appointed to his new post in the fall of 1907.<sup>123</sup>

The Zoological Society believed that October would be the best time of year to ship the buffalo. To ship them later in the year would have meant that the buffalo would have had to adapt to their new range in winter and they could not be shipped the following spring because the cows would be in the middle of the calving season. Summer is of course the mating season and, therefore, a summer shipment had to be ruled out.<sup>124</sup>

At the request of the New York Zoological Society, the Forestry Bureau instructed Rush to go to New York in order that he might become familiar with the herd and also accompany it to Oklahoma.<sup>125</sup> Hornaday gave the problem of shipping careful study and

. . . decided that the only way in which to prevent all accidents to the Buffaloes while in transit, was that each one should be crated at the Zoological Park and transported therein to the corrals of the new bison range. Accordingly, a series of crates were prepared, . . .<sup>126</sup>

The animals were very carefully selected by Hornaday months before they were shipped. Four distinct blood strains were represented in the nine cows and six bulls that he chose.<sup>127</sup>

The work of rounding up the buffalo, directed by the buffalo keeper at the Zoological Park, began shortly after

Rush's arrival. A chute had been built leading away from the corral in which the selected animals were held. At the end of this chute was a sliding iron gate. When an animal was run into the chute a crate designed especially for this particular animal was put in place in front of the iron gate. The gate was then opened and the buffalo driven down the chute and into the crate.<sup>128</sup>

Most of the animals were rushed down and into the crate before they could realize it. Occasionally one became obstreperous and delayed proceedings by hurdling . . ., but from eleven o'clock until five of Thursday, October 10th, thirteen were crated and loaded into cars at Fordham (Station). On Friday, the last two were disposed of, and by noon of that day the last crate was placed in position in the cars.<sup>129</sup>

The Arms Palace Horse Car Company furnished two 44-foot cars that were especially designed to transfer fancy stock. They were equipped with collapsible stalls, water tanks, and storage space for feed. Charles T. Barney, Chairman of the Zoological Society's Executive Committee persuaded Dudley Evans, President of the Wells-Fargo Express Company to transport the cars, free of charge, from St. Louis to Cache, Oklahoma. James C. Fargo, President of the American Express Company, offered to do the same if the New York Central would concur. President Newman of the New York Central agreed and thus cars and transportation were all arranged free of charge. These arrangements permitted the animals to be shipped by passenger service, which shortened their journey and

preserved their strength.<sup>130</sup>

Chief Clerk Mitchell of the Zoological Society, Rush, and Elwin R. Sanborn of the Zoological Park, accompanied the animals when train No. 37 left Fordham Station on Friday night, October 11, 1907. Ample hay and water had been provided for the buffalo and when the men saw that the animals were comfortable they tried to get some sleep while the train rolled toward Buffalo. Rush actually slept on top of one of the buffalo crates.<sup>131</sup>

Morning found most of the buffalo lying down in their roomy crates and the train still many miles from Buffalo. They arrived in Buffalo late in the afternoon of the 12th and immediately attended to the needs of the animals in the other car. The train inspector then informed them that a steam hose had been pulled off their cars and bolts in one of the brake beams had loosened. This would necessitate removing the cars from the train and jacking them up in order to make the repairs. The Lake Shore Line refused to handle the cars. Difficulties like these were old business to Mitchell, who had moved animals before. He went into action with the result that the train arrived in Cleveland exactly according to schedule.<sup>132</sup>

Here they were told the steam hose again needed repairs and this time it meant that it would be impossible to make their connections in St. Louis. Not until 3:50 Sunday morning were they able to leave Cleveland.

In Indianapolis the steam hose again needed repairs and they were delayed again until 10 o'clock Sunday night. The temperature was low and the air crisp. When they crossed Ead's Bridge into St. Louis, the structure glittered with frost.<sup>133</sup>

In the Mid-West, railroad traffic had grown visibly heavier and in St. Louis congestion seemed to reach a peak. The "'Frisco Road" informed them that there was absolutely no way they could accept both cars together. One car could go at 8:41 Monday evening and the second car could go at the same time the next night. The animals were taking the journey in good condition, but they were being held on the train longer than was expected and this was a matter of some concern to the men in charge.<sup>134</sup>

Mr. Rush accompanied the car that left St. Louis Monday night and without incident or delay he arrived at Cache, Oklahoma, on Wednesday at 3:00 in the afternoon. Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Sanborn left St. Louis on Tuesday evening, but had to sleep on the floor in the express car all night. By 7:00 in the morning they were in Monette, Missouri, and here they began to experience another problem. Many of the western papers had described the buffalo transfer, and at each town they passed through crowds of people appeared eager for a chance to get a glimpse of the buffalo. If the stops were long enough they climbed right into the cars to get a better look.

In some places the car became packed with people who only departed when the train picked up speed.<sup>135</sup>

As they proceeded south the low temperatures melted away and they travelled with the car doors open. They reached Oklahoma City at 11:30 Wednesday evening. Here and at Lawton, Oklahoma, the crowds were really large and they were obliged to seek volunteers from the crowd to help control the crowd. From Lawton it was only a brief 17 miles to Cache and they arrived there at 7:30 Thursday morning. The buffalo were on the train an entire week, but sustained the journey quite well.<sup>136</sup>

Mr. Rush and Mr. Mattoon, the Acting Forest Supervisor, met the train and while it was still early in the morning they began transferring the crates from the railroad cars to wagons that had been provided. By 10 o'clock Friday, all the crates were safely loaded on the wagons and they were ready for the slow journey to the Refuge. At 11 o'clock the procession started to move toward its final destination.<sup>137</sup>

Word had spread and it was known to almost every man, woman and child what day and what hour the train was due. Long before the arrival the little railroad platform at Cache was packed with Indians, cowboys, and ranch owners. Foremost among the Indians was Quannah Parker who had left his Star House on Quannah Mountain and come in to see his friend, the buffalo, return to the Wichita.<sup>138</sup>

With these eager spectators in attendance the colorful caravan moved for three miles over a flat, sandy road until it reached the borders of the Wichita Mountains. Here the road was more uneven and progress was made more difficult. They followed this road for six miles through a gradually thinning forest of oaks before they reached the valley surrounded by mountains, hills, and ridges, that Mr. Loring had described in his report. The eastern end of the Bison Range crossed the end of this valley. Five miles from this eastern perimeter the corrals were reached at 12 o'clock, after a journey of 13 miles. The buffalo were now ready to be unloaded.<sup>139</sup>

Mr. Rush had consulted with the Bureau of Animal Industry in Washington and a program had been worked out to protect the buffalo from the Texas fever tick. Before each of the animals was liberated from his crate, he was sprayed thoroughly with crude oil. Aside from a slight lameness the buffalo seemed to be in perfect condition when they were released from their crates. They greedily consumed their allotment of hay. The grass in the three corrals in which the buffalo were to be kept until spring had been burned off to destroy the Texas fever tick. In the spring they were turned loose into a pasture of some 200 acres. Before this was done, however, this pasture was also burned. Both the burning and the oil spray were felt to be necessary to protect

the buffalo from the disease in that first dangerous season. Once they became acclimated there would be no danger.<sup>140</sup> In spite of these precautions though, two buffalo died from the disease and one of the young animals was killed in an accident. After that the diligence of Mr. Rush, and helpful advice from the Bureau of Animal Industry, got the situation under control and the herd increased its numbers.<sup>141</sup>

As soon as hunting ceased, and habitat protection was assured through the efforts of private individuals, the buffalo immediately began to increase his numbers. In census studies in 1902 and 1903, Dr. Frank Baker of the Smithsonian Institution indicated that the size of the buffalo population was increasing.<sup>142</sup>

Thus there was little doubt before any government action was taken that the buffalo could be saved. In a biological sense this question was being answered in the affirmative.

Constantly increasing numbers of buffalo, however, meant a growing burden for the private owners even if they were wealthy men like Austin Corbin, Sr. Men like Baynes and others saw clearly that if survival of the species was to be permanently guaranteed a transmission of responsibility from private to public hands would be necessary. Senator Chandler's letter of August 10, 1904 to Secretary Wilson was the opening move in this effort to shift responsibility. Even more specifically, as

Baynes noted in his plan to preserve the species, the government would have to establish several herds at widely separated localities to assure the buffalo protection against the dangers of disease. To Baynes this total effort was more important than the founding of any one herd and required the formation of a national organization whose only objective would be the preservation of the buffalo. If this group were to be successful it would have to be composed of experienced and influential men, and public opinion would have to be receptive to their proposals. Between Baynes and Hornaday these preconditions were met. The American Bison Society included among its members men of national reputation in their respective fields, editors of some of the most important outdoor periodicals of the day, and men of legislative experience in Washington. Besides the editorial help enlisted in the cause of the buffalo, Baynes had done much on his own to prepare public opinion.

A step had even been taken beyond this point, however. Hornaday had developed a successful formula the American Bison Society could employ in seeking government action. His idea was simply to entice the government with the offer of a free nucleus herd if the government would provide for the land and fencing. This was a good idea because it fit the reality of its day. The private owners wanted to reduce their herds and the government had to be persuaded to accept this new responsibility. What could



be more natural under these circumstances than to ask the private owners for donations of animals? In establishing the Wichita Herd Hornaday had shown the utility of his idea, and he had also pointed to the desirability of preserving the species on huge game preserves rather than in small zoological collections.<sup>144</sup>

Thus as early as 1907 the stage was being prepared for a transition from private herds, many of which were in small zoological collections, to several widely separated public herds maintained on large game preserves. This was clearly a necessary step if the permanent preservation of a healthy breeding population of buffalo was to be assured. An event was now to occur in far away Montana that would shock the American Bison Society and the government into completing this transmission of responsibility from private to public hands.

#### WICHITA BUFFALO PEDIGREE

##### COWS

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1 six month old female calf | - She was born April 30, 1907 at the N. Y. Zoological Park. Her mother was from the Whitney Herd and was also among the bison sent to Wichita.                    |
| 1 1½ year old cow           | - She was born May 29, 1906. Her mother was a member of the Whitney Herd and was 7 years old in 1907. She gave birth to two heifers while in the Zoological Park. |

- 1 2½ year old cow - She was purchased from J. Wallace Page, of the Page Woven Wire Fence Co., of Adrian, Michigan. She was purchased in 1904 and arrived in the Park late in 1904. She gave birth to the following:  
Heifer - April 26, 1905  
Bull - April 15, 1907
- 1 at least 3 years old cow - She gave birth to the six-month old calf listed above and therefore had to be at least 3 years old in 1907. She was from the Whitney Herd.
- 1 4 year old cow - She was 4 years old when sent west. She was received from T.D.M. Cardeza of Germantown, Pa., in 1906.
- 1 cow 5 years old - She was born in the Zoological Park in 1902. She is the daughter of the cow from "Maine" listed immediately below. This 5 year old cow gave birth to a bull on May 29, 1906.
- 1 cow at least 5 years old - She is listed as coming from "Maine." She gave birth in the Zoological Park to the following:  
Bull - June 2, 1905  
Heifer - June 6, 1906  
Bull - July 6, 1907  
This young bull was sent to Wichita with her and is quoted in the list.
- 1 cow 6 years old - She was born in the Zoological Park in 1901. She is listed as from the "Long Island" cow. She gave birth to the following:  
Bull - Oct. 9, 1905  
Heifer - April 16, 1907
- 1 cow at least 10 years old - She was a member of the Whitney Herd. She gave birth to a heifer April 30, 1901.

Total - 9 Specimens

BULLS

- 1 six month old bull - Born July 6, 1907. His mother was the "Maine" cow. The father was "Wallace" an exceptionally fine bull sold to the Zoological Park by the Page Woven Wire Fence Co., of Adrian, Mich. The mother of this bull was at least 5 years old and she was sent west also.
- 1 2½ year old bull - Received from the Whitney Herd  
Lone Wolf or Quannah of Lenox, Mass.
- 1 2½ year old bull - Received from the Whitney Herd  
Lone Wolf or Quannah of October Mountain, Lenox, Mass.
- 1 3 year old bull - Born May 7, 1904. His mother  
Possibly the spike bull or Geronimo was the "Maine" cow from Brunswick, Maine.
- 1 3 year old bull - Born April 18, 1904. His mother  
Possibly spike bull was from the Jones Herd in the  
but more likely Texas Panhandle. The mother was  
Geronimo called "Vixen."
- 1 5 year old bull - Received from T.D.M. Cardeza in  
Comanche 1906.

Total - 6 Specimens

9 cows  
6 bulls  
15 Total

BLOOD STRAINS REPRESENTED\*Whitney Herd

"Maine" Cow

Page Woven Wire Fence Co.

T.D.M. Cardeza

Jones Herd

"Long Island" Cow

\*In the tenth Annual Report of the ABS, 1915-1916, p. 61, Dr. T. S. Palmer reports that the Whitney Herd was started from 3 bulls and 10 cows purchased from H. K. Glidder of Moosehead Ranch, Jackson, Wyoming, in 1897.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Richard H. Manville, "History of the Corbin Preserve," from the Smithsonian Report for 1963 (Publication 4581), Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1964, p. 443.
2. Ibid., p. 444.
3. Ibid.
4. William H. Child, History of Cornish, New Hampshire, pp. 216-19.
5. Manville, p. 444.
6. Second Report of the Forestry Commission of New Hampshire, January Session, 1893, p. 107.
7. Boston Evening Transcript, August 27, 1904, "The Bison and His Herds" by Ernest Harold Baynes.
8. Manville, p. 428.
9. G. T. Ferris, "Wild Animals in a New England Game-Park, The Corbin Game Preserve," in Century Magazine, Oct., 1897, p. 926.
10. Manville, p. 428. For another description of the Corbin Park, see Sam H. Edes, Tales from the History of Newport.
11. Second Report of the Forestry Commission of New Hampshire, January Session, 1893, p. 109.
12. Manville, p. 428. See also "Corbin's Wonderland" by H. C. Pearson in the Granite Monthly of August (189?) in the Ernest Harold Baynes material at the Newport, N. H., Public Library.
13. Second Report of the Forestry Commission of New Hampshire, January Session, 1893, p. 109.
14. Ibid., p. 107.

15. Manville, p. 428.
16. "To Limit Austin Corbin's Acres," New York Times, March 8, 1895, p. 15.
17. H. C. Pearson, "Corbin's Wonderland."
18. Manville, p. 430.
19. Ibid., pp. 431-2.
20. Ibid., p. 432.
21. Ibid., pp. 439-40.
22. Personal interview by author with Mrs. Raymond Holden, August 30, 1970, in Newport, New Hampshire.
23. Raymond Gorges, Ernest Harold Baynes, pp. 48-50.
24. The author and Mrs. Raymond Holden have both made an effort to do a biographical study on Baynes and both students have agreed Baynes' writings and the Gorges work reflect this characteristic in Baynes. Personal interview by author with Mrs. Raymond Holden in Newport, New Hampshire, August 30, 1970.
25. Ibid. Gorges does not mention Baynes being hired by Corbin.
26. Gorges, pp. 53-54.
27. G. T. Ferris, Century Magazine, Oct., 1897, p. 926.
28. This passage is from a speech Baynes made at the sixth annual meeting of The American Society of Mammalogists in Boston, April 18, 1924, at the Boston Society of Natural History. A copy of the speech was found among the papers of Mrs. Raymond Holden of New Port, New Hampshire.
29. Gorges, pp. 48-50.

30. Boston Evening Transcript, July 16, 1904, July 23, 1904, July 30, 1904, August 6, 1904, August 13, 1904, August 20, 1904, August 27, 1904, Sept. 10, 1904, Oct. 8, 1904, Oct. 15, 1904, Oct. 22, 1904, Oct. 29, 1904, Nov. 5, 1904, Dec. 24, 1904, April 8, 1905, April 29, 1905, Dec. 4, 1905, Dec. 26, 1905.
31. Boston Evening Transcript, August 27, 1904.
32. Leon Burr Richard, Senator William E. Chandler, Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1940, p. 548.
33. N.A.R.S. Record Group 16, Records of the Office of Secretary of Agriculture, Letters Received.
34. Ibid.
35. N.A.R.S. Record Group 79, Letters relating to Yellowstone, No. 4039.
36. Ibid. August 25, 1904.
37. Ibid. Sept. 5, 1904.
38. Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1904, p. 158.
39. N.A.R.S. Record Group 79, Letters relating to Yellowstone, No. 4039.
40. Ibid.
41. Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, Exhibit F, 1905, p. 286.
42. Ibid.
43. One of the better articles is "The Fight to Save the Buffalo" by Ernest Harold Baynes in Country Life, January, 1908, p. 295.
44. Ibid.
45. Ernest Harold Baynes, Warhoop and Tomahawk, pp. 114 and 125.

46. Ibid., p. 129.
47. Ibid., p. 152.
48. Ibid., pp. 141-142.
49. Ibid., p. 172.
50. This is from Baynes' speech before the American Society of Mammalogists found among the Baynes papers held by Mrs. Raymond Holden of Newport, New Hampshire.
51. Ibid.
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53. Baynes' speech before the American Society of Mammalogists found among papers held by Mrs. Raymond Holden of Newport, New Hampshire.
54. Ibid.
55. Forest and Stream, Vol. 63, December 17, 1904, p. 505.
56. John Parkinson, Jr., A History of the Seawanhaka Yacht Club.
57. N.A.R.S. Record Group 48, P. & M. Division, Letters Received, Letter No. 1499, 1905.
58. T. Gilbert Pearson, Adventure in Bird Protection, p. 133.
59. Minutes of the Boston Society of Natural History, January 18, 1905.
60. Unpublished papers of the American Bison Society, Conservation Library Center, Denver, Colorado, Letter from Hornaday to Edmund Seymour, April 30, 1925.
61. Baynes' speech to the American Society of Mammalogists found among papers of Mrs. Raymond Holden of Newport, New Hampshire.

62. Papers of Mrs. Raymond Holden of Newport, New Hampshire, Letter from Baynes to Hornaday, Jan. 31, 1905.
63. Papers of Mrs. Raymond Holden, Baynes speech to the American Society of Mammalogists.
64. Papers of the Camp-Fire Club of America, Resolution of Feb. 4, 1905.
65. Papers of the Boston Society of Natural History, Letter from Baynes to Dr. Grover Allen, Director of the Society.
66. Ibid.
67. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-1907, p. 2.
68. Papers of the Boston Society of Natural History, Letter from Baynes to Dr. Allen, Feb. 22, 1905.
69. Ibid.
70. Personal letter to author from William G. Conway, General Director of the New York Zoological Society, Oct. 20, 1971.
71. Ibid.
72. Minutes of the Executive Committee of the New York Zoological Society, March 15, 1905.
73. James Trefethen, Crusade for Wildlife, Chap. V.
74. John M. Hendrix, "Wichita Mountains Wildlife Refuge" in The Cattleman, Nov. 1948, p. 19.
75. Boston Evening Transcript, Dec. 30, 1904, p. 1.
76. Ibid.
77. 33 Stat. 614.
78. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-1907, pp. 55-56.



79. Ibid.
80. Papers of Mrs. Raymond Holden of Newport, New Hampshire.
81. Unpublished correspondence of the American Bison Society at Conservation Library Center, Denver, Colorado. Letter from Hornaday to Seymour, May 1, 1925.
82. Papers of Mrs. Raymond Holden of Newport, New Hampshire.
83. Unpublished correspondence of the American Bison Society, Letter from Seymour to Hornaday, July 31, 1929.
84. There is some evidence to suggest that Hornaday may have had a dual purpose in offering the gift of buffalo to the government. The New York Zoological Society herd was originally planned for 20 head, but had increased to 45 head before the shipment to Wichita and 10 calves were born that year. See Science, Vol. 26, Oct. 25, 1907, pp. 563-64. Hornaday did write in Scientific American, however.  
  
Naturally, the withdrawal of fifteen choice animals from the Zoological Park herd was a severe blow to it. Those animals would not have been sold for other purposes at any price; but it was felt that the founding of a new national herd, at an ideal spot, for the perpetuation of the species, justified the supreme sacrifice that was made.  
  
See Dr. William T. Hornaday, "A Study in Offstrping Herds," Scientific American, Vol. 125, Nov. 1921, pp. 46-47. See also Forest and Stream, Vol. 67, July 14, 1906, p. 52.
85. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-1907, pp. 55-56.
86. Ibid., p. 3.
87. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Letter from Roosevelt to Baynes, Aug. 31, 1905.

88. Papers of the Boston Society of Natural History,  
Letter from Baynes to Dr. Allen, Sept. 16, 1905.
89. Personal communication to author from Kate M.  
Stewart, Manuscript Historian from the Manuscript  
Division of the Library of Congress, Nov. 1, 1971.
90. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-  
1907, p. 3.
91. Congressional Record, 59th Congress, First Session,  
Vol. 40, Part I, p. 103, message of President Theo-  
dore Roosevelt to Congress, Dec. 5, 1905.
92. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-  
1907, p. 3.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
96. Ibid., pp. 55-56.
97. N.A.R.S. Record Group 16, Records of the Office of  
Secretary of Agriculture, Letters Sent, March 29, 1905.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid., April 5, 1905.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid. Letters Received, April 7, 1905.
102. Ibid. Letters Sent, May 13, 1905.
103. 33 Stat. 614.
104. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-  
1907, p. 56.
105. Forest and Stream, Vol. 65, July 1, 1905, p. 1.

106. Ibid. Members of this committee were the following: "Caspar Whitney, Outing Magazine; Hamilton W. Mabie, Outlook; Richard Watson Gilder, Century; Melville Stone, President, Associated Press; Grover Cleveland, Princeton, N. J.; Dan Beard, Recreation; George Bird Grinnell, Forest and Stream; Frank N. Doubleday, Editor, World's Work; Charles D. Lanier, Editor, Country Calendar; Clarke Howell, Atlanta Constitution; Howard Eaton, Guide and Ranchman; John Muir, California; W. E. Palmer, San Francisco; Henry Van Dyke, Princeton, N. J.; Homer Davenport, Cartoonist, and animal farmer; Hamlin Garland, Novelist and Lecturer."
107. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-1907, p. 56.
108. Tenth Annual Report of the New York Zoological Society, 1905, pp. 181-200, "The Wichita Buffalo Range," by J. Alden Loring.
109. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-1907, p. 57.
110. Tenth Annual Report of the New York Zoological Society, 1905, p. 182.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid., p. 184.
113. Ibid., p. 185.
114. Ibid., p. 181.
115. Ibid., p. 192.
116. Ibid., p. 193.
117. Ibid., p. 199.
118. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-1907, p. 59.
119. Ibid.

120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. New York Zoological Society Bulletin No. 28, 1908,  
p. 412.
123. Brill, Charles J. "What Indian Tongues Could Tell,"  
Southwest Wilds and Waters, 2 (4): 15-17, 42-43.
124. Forest and Stream, Vol. 67, July 14, 1906, p. 52.
125. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-  
1907, p. 61.
126. Ibid. Hornaday even went so far as to include a long  
section in his report on the design and construction  
of such crates. He measured the individual animals  
and built a special crate for each one.
127. Ibid., p. 64.
128. New York Zoological Society Bulletin No. 28, 1908,  
p. 401.
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid., p. 402.
131. Ibid., p. 403.
132. Ibid., pp. 403-07.
133. Ibid., p. 407.
134. Ibid., p. 408.
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid., p. 409.
137. Ibid.

138. Animal Kingdom, Vol. 60, Sept.-Oct., 1957, p. 133, Arthur F. Halloran Interview with Mrs. Rush 50 years after the buffalo returned to Wichita.
139. New York Zoological Society Bulletin No. 28, 1908, p. 411.
140. Ibid. See also William T. Hornaday, "A Study in Offspring Herds," Scientific American, Vol. 125, 1921, pp. 46-47.
141. Scientific American, Vol. 125, 1921, pp. 46-47.
142. Garretson, p. 212.
143. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-1907, pp. 82-94.
144. Ibid., pp. 68-69.

## CHAPTER IV

### CANADIAN PURCHASE OF THE PABLO BUFFALO HERD

While the American Bison Society was being born, the Pablo-Allard Herd, formed from the calves originally captured by Samuel Walking Coyote, was undergoing some important changes of its own. Charles Allard, Sr. had died unexpectedly in 1896 at the age of 43.<sup>1</sup> His share of the buffalo herd was inherited by his wife and four children, two sons and two daughters.<sup>2</sup> Legal problems prevented an immediate division of the estate and it was not until 1902 that the Allard heirs began to sell their half of the herd.<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Allard sold her share of 30 head to Charles Conrad of Kalispell, Montana. Judge Woodward of Missoula purchased some animals from the share of Joseph Allard which were later turned over to the 101 Ranch in Oklahoma.<sup>4</sup> The animals in these two purchases formed the nucleus for two more private herds and, therefore, these sales provided an additional opportunity for the buffalo to expand his numbers. There were probably other sales from the Allard herd, but none were as important as the two mentioned above.<sup>5</sup> Not all the sales, however, were made to people who wished to preserve the species. Some of the animals were sold for slaughter,

but because the cows brought a higher price many of the slaughtered animals were bulls.<sup>6</sup> Death of a private owner was a potentially serious question and Hornaday and Lacey watched the division of this herd closely as did Forest and Stream, but the division was made in such a way as to offer little threat to the continuing increase in buffalo numbers.<sup>7</sup>

Howard Eaton of Medora, North Dakota, was a good friend of the buffalo and those interested in preserving the species. He took an option until July 1, 1902 to buy 60 head at \$250 each from the shares of Charles Allard, Jr., and his two sisters.<sup>8</sup> Eaton had a ranch on the Little Missouri River adjacent to the ranch owned by Theodore Roosevelt. The two outdoorsmen were good friends. Traveling to Washington, Eaton must have described the Flathead buffalo situation to Roosevelt and asked if there was a possibility of the government buying the buffalo from him should he exercise his option. The President spoke to Secretary Hitchcock about the matter and when Hitchcock failed to act, directed his private secretary to make inquiries. Roosevelt's secretary, George M. Catelzan, wrote to Hitchcock:

The President has already spoken to you about trying to preserve the Flathead buffalo herd. . . . (He) says further, if there is any way by which these can be secured for the government, so that the species can be perpetuated . . . he desires to ask that you have the proper authorities in your Department take up the matter at once.<sup>9</sup>

Eaton himself later wrote Secretary Hitchcock saying he would delay his departure from Washington if it would do any good and he warned:

If the Government does not now secure a part of this herd from extermination, it will soon be a thing of the past.<sup>10</sup>

No government action was forthcoming. Eaton removed his animals from the Flathead Reservation as he found buyers and little attention seems to have been paid to the July first deadline on his option.<sup>11</sup> Some of the animals under his option were probably removed from a breeding situation and the herd in general continued to suffer some small attrition, but there was no threat to the herd like that contained in Eaton's letter to Hitchcock. An important point to be mentioned, however, is that as a result of Eaton's offer a sympathetic President and Secretary of the Interior were now more familiar with the buffalo situation on the Flathead.

For a few years Michel Pablo and his buffalo were left alone and the herd began to recover some of its losses. Then, on Thursday, April 28, 1904, the entire situation abruptly changed. On that day President Roosevelt signed House Bill 12231, "An Act for the Survey and Allotment of Lands Now Embraced Within the Limits of the Flathead Indian Reservation, in the State of Montana, and the Sale and Disposal of All Surplus Lands After Allotment."<sup>12</sup> With the passage of this bill Pablo was now



confronted with the problem of securing additional grazing land for his buffalo or of disposing of the herd. This was indeed a serious threat.

Before the lands could actually be opened to settlement, however, they had to be surveyed, appraised, and allotments made to all eligible Indians. No definite date was ever set for the opening of the Flathead lands, and it was not to be until May 22, 1909, that a Presidential Proclamation opened the surplus lands to entry.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the time available to Pablo to make arrangements for his buffalo was an indefinite quantity. Indeed Pablo's son-in-law, Tony Barnaby, implied that Pablo himself was uncertain that the Reservation would really be opened to settlement and probably hesitated until delay was no longer possible. Speaking of his father-in-law's love for the animals, Barnaby said:

Only upon one occasion was Pablo really discouraged. When he was positively assured that the reservation was to be opened to settlers, he knew that free, open range was ending, and that his beloved herd must go.<sup>14</sup>

The date Pablo learned that free and open range was ending is not known with any certainty, but it was probably late in 1904. In December, 1904, Roosevelt kept his promise to Baynes and in his annual message urged Congress to turn the forest reserves into game preserves for the preservation of the buffalo and other species of big game. There is no evidence that word of Roosevelt's interest

in preserving the buffalo ever reached Pablo's ears, but unknown to him a proposal to preserve his herd was laid on the President's desk.

On March 25, 1905, Dan Beard, founder of the Boy Scouts of America, proposed to set aside part of the Flat-head Indian Reservation as a buffalo preserve.<sup>15</sup> The President directed his secretary, William Loeb, to ask W. A. Richards, Commissioner of the General Land Office, to send him a report stating

whether such a reservation as Mr. Beard proposes can be made for the buffalo in question in case they are acquired by private subscription and presented to the Government.<sup>16</sup>

On March 30th, J. H. Finkle, Acting Commissioner of the General Land Office, responded to the Presidential request. He said the allotment act recently signed by the President "does not seem to warrant a reservation for the purposes mentioned." He explained that Congress recognized these lands as belonging to the Indians and said that the United States was to act as a trustee for the Indians in the disposal of such lands. The act clearly spelled out the purposes for which the land was to be used, and forbade its use for other purposes. Not wishing to confront the President with a firm negative, however, Finkle pointed out that much time would be required to complete the survey and allotment of these lands. He suggested

Ample time will therefore be afforded in which you can call the matter to the attention of Congress, if, in your judgement, the object to be accomplished is of sufficient importance to merit that action.<sup>17</sup>

There is no record of Roosevelt's response to the Finkle suggestion, but there was no attempt to seek the aid of Congress on the matter. There may have been an unrecorded decision on the part of Roosevelt and his conservationist supporters to delay the matter until the next session of Congress. In July, for example, Forest and Stream said:

During the next session of Congress a strenuous effort should be made . . . to induce the Government to acquire and care for all the remaining specimens of the American buffalo, now alive and not in zoological collections.<sup>18</sup>

The article pointed out that most of the buffalo were in private hands and said that many Indian reservations are scattered throughout the old buffalo range.

. . . from several of these reservations the Government should purchase sufficient territory to pasture a herd of from sixty to seventy-five buffalo and provide for their increase for twenty or twenty-five years.<sup>19</sup>

Forest and Stream admitted that it would "not be easy to induce Congress to appropriate money for such a purpose," and to help overcome this obstacle editor Grinnell announced the formation of the committee previously discussed in connection with the Wichita Herd. After flexing its muscle with the list of the influential people on the committee, Forest and Stream turned directly

to the question of the Pablo Herd. They explained the situation faced by Pablo and closed the article with the following suggestion:

When the reservation is thrown open Pablo will no longer have any land on which to range his buffalo, and so will be obliged to get rid of them . . . to sell them alive or dead. This herd, therefore, will be soon thrown on the market and can be bought for a very moderate price. They should be bought by the United States and places provided in which to keep them.<sup>20</sup>

Neither the periodicals of this period nor the President's correspondence indicates that this suggestion was followed up. The President had not forgotten the matter, however, because in his annual message at the close of 1905 he again told Congress

The most characteristic animal of the Western plains was the great shaggy-maned wild ox, the bison, commonly known as buffalo. Small fragments of herds exist . . . here and there . . . Such a herd as that on the Flathead Reservation should not be allowed to go out of existence. Either on some reservation or on some forest reserve like the Wichita reserve and game refuge provision should be made for the preservation of such a herd.<sup>21</sup>

Congress, however, again failed to act. The reason for this failure probably centered around the question of money. Pablo owned approximately 300 head and the asking price was in the neighborhood of \$250 each, meaning that an expenditure of \$75,000 would be required to purchase the entire herd. Even if only part of the herd was secured, additional funds would be necessary to provide for the land, fencing, personnel, equipment, and facil-

ities to maintain the herd. Appropriations for expenditures like these had to come from the House and that body was dominated by Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, an opponent of conservation measures.<sup>22</sup> Roosevelt, Hitchcock, and Wilson were very much aware of the buffalo situation and were quite sympathetically disposed to take some kind of affirmative action, but, they had to contend with a conservative House dominated by a Speaker who was reluctant to consider such measures. James Wilson expressed this feeling in answer to a letter from Mary Ann Goodnight, who had written a long appeal imploring some kind of government action before it was too late.

There is a good deal of sentiment regarding the saving of the remnants of the buffalo herds, but Congress . . . is exceedingly economical, owing to the dangers of the expenditures of the Government running ahead of the income. . . . so that I cannot hold out any hope getting the means to do anything along the line of your suggestion.<sup>23</sup>

Pablo himself was angry and distrustful toward the U. S. Government. One writer who was very close to Pablo explained this attitude by suggesting that an attempt was made by the U. S. Government to force the buffalo owner into accepting a very low price for his herd.

. . . a representative of the United States government went out to Montana to inspect the herd and it is believed had authority to close the purchase. However it was his blundering that eventually lost the herd to Uncle Sam. He offered Mr. Pablo \$25 a head for all the buffalo on his range. When this was curtly refused he raised his offer materially, but still was

ridiculously low. At length he offered Mr. Pablo \$75 per head but explained that in doing this he was exceeding his authority. However, he assured the astute and sterling old rancher that he would undertake to see the deal ratified at such a figure provided there was a substantial rake-off (rumor says \$10,000) in it for him. In making such a proposition to a man of Mr. Pablo's high standard of business honor and integrity, he absolutely misjudged his man. The free open and busy life on the range had never tainted nor familiarized Mr. Pablo with the boodling politicians of the effete east. The offer was indignantly refused by Mr. Pablo who peremptorily broke off the negotiations at this state and in disgust turned to seek another purchaser. Circumstances which followed quickly in the train of events compelled Mr. Pablo to hasten in the disposition of the herd. Shortly after the negotiations with the reputed agent of the United States had fallen through, Mr. Pablo received official notification from Washington that the reservation upon which his range was located would be thrown open for settlement as soon as feasible. . . . He either rightly or wrongly but reasonably connected this decision of the government with the representative who had been trying to buy the buffalo and interpreted it as a measure to coerce him into sacrificing them at the figure offered him by Washington.<sup>24</sup>

The current writer, with the assistance of some very able help at the U. S. National Archives, examined every appropriate source and was unable to find any record of Pablo offering his buffalo to the government or making a request for grazing land for his buffalo herd. Similarly, no record was found of any government overtures to Pablo. Pablo was, however, a wealthy, illiterate, Mexican-Indian half-breed, who possessed a very valuable asset under rather trying circumstances. The white man has been known to cheat the Indian upon occasion, and

perhaps it is not too much to suggest that some such attempt was made on Pablo by an unscrupulous individual posing as a government agent.

Faced with the approaching loss of his grazing land and perhaps barred by temperament from seeking relief in Washington, Pablo had only one place to turn . . . our neighbor to the north. In this period of time the Canadian Government maintained active emigration agents in the Western States. Their duty was to encourage prospective American settlers to consider settlement in the Canadian West where 160 acre farms were available free of charge. The agent assigned to northwestern Montana was Alexander Ayotte, an especially dedicated and hard working French Canadian of St. Boniface, Manitoba.<sup>25</sup> Ayotte, who took an active interest in the development of his prairie homeland, had been made a scapegoat in an election list scandal, which resulted in his appointment outside of Canada.<sup>26</sup>

He worked out of the Emigration Office at Great Falls, Montana, and though he was in his fifties during his first years at this post, he applied himself diligently to mastering the Indian dialects, a smattering of which he had acquired in his youth. As a result of his familiarity with the Indian dialects, his class and Indian ancestry, Alexander Ayotte, gradually won the trust of the Indians among whom he worked.<sup>27</sup> Ayotte was, therefore, a

Canadian Government representative whom Pablo could trust.

Pablo evidently opened his mind to Ayotte about mid-November of 1905.<sup>28</sup> He asked for sufficient range of grass and water in the mountains because he preferred hilly land and he promised not to interfere in any way with farming lands.<sup>29</sup> Ayotte referred this request to his superior in Winnipeg, J. Obred Smith.<sup>30</sup> Smith in turn forwarded the request to the Deputy Minister of the Interior, William Wallace Cory, along with the suggestion that perhaps the government would be interested in buying some of the Pablo buffalo for the Banff Park.<sup>31</sup> After checking with Banff Superintendent, Howard Douglas,<sup>32</sup> Cory replied:

I have brought this matter to the attention of the Minister and it has been decided that the Department cannot entertain the proposal which has been submitted for the purchase of additional buffalo for the park.<sup>33</sup>

Two points should be noted here. First, the original request for grazing land brought an answer that was in fact a refusal to buy buffalo for a specific park. Pablo's original request had not really been answered. Second, the ultimate decision appears to have been made by Frank Oliver, the Minister of the Interior. His position on the question of buying buffalo will be important in the future and his action now should be kept in mind. For the present it can be seen that the suggestion of



J. Obred Smith had twisted the original intent of Pablo's request and frustrated his attempt to get an answer on the question of the availability of grazing land for his buffalo.

Trying once more to get an answer to his inquiry about the available grazing lands, Ayotte evidently asked Pablo whether he would sell his herd, and found that although Pablo's main desire was for grazing land, he might sell. This time, to give his request a little more weight, Ayotte had his immediate superior in Great Falls, Ben Davies, write direct to the Commissioner of Immigration in Ottawa. Davies carefully explained to Commissioner Scott that the Flathead reservation was being thrown open for settlement and that Pablo was seeking pasture elsewhere. He described the kind of land Pablo wanted, said that the herd was in good shape, required little care, and asked if they would be allowed in duty free as they were "about the only heard (sic) there is now on the Continent."<sup>34</sup> After stressing Pablo's desire for grazing land Davies closed with the following single sentence.

If the Government prefer to purchase the 300 head he is open to sell at a reasonable figure.<sup>35</sup>

This time Scott relayed the request to Campbell, Superintendent of Forestry.<sup>36</sup> Campbell in turn evidently placed the request before Cory because on March 24, 1906,

Cory wrote to Scott as follows:

I would be glad if you would find out from Mr. Davies at what figure Mr. Pablo would be willing to dispose of his buffalo to us.<sup>37</sup>

Scott in turn asked Davies to ascertain the price.<sup>38</sup>

For the next two months (March 28 - May 28, 1906) letters are missing from the files in Ottawa; but, apparently, the Pablo price did not discourage the Canadian authorities. On May 22, 1906, Cory wrote to Superintendent Doublas at Banff and asked him to go to Montana and inspect the Pablo herd.<sup>39</sup> Douglas was interested in the idea of purchase and replied that he would leave for Montana in early June. He cautioned, however, that an entire township of fenced land would be necessary to pasture the herd if it were purchased, and he suggested that perhaps part of the Stony Indian reservation near Banff could be used for this purpose.<sup>40</sup>

On June 4th, Douglas arrived in Missoula by train bearing a letter of introduction to Ayotte that he had secured from Ben Davies in Great Falls.<sup>41</sup> Ayotte and Douglas then hired a team of horses and drove 80 miles up the Flathead Valley to the Pablo ranch.<sup>42</sup> The rains had been very heavy that spring and muddy roads slowed their travel and gave these two men time to get well acquainted before they knocked on Pablo's door.<sup>43</sup>

With Pablo as guide, the men now drove west for 15 miles toward the Pend d'Oreille River and the Bitter

Root Mountains beyond in search of the buffalo. "After considerable hard riding," Douglas reported, "we got nearly all of them rounded up so that I got a good opportunity to look them over, and from my observations would say that the herd is all pure bred, and consist of some very fine animals."<sup>44</sup> He estimated the herd size at 350 head, and stated that they ranged free, required no feeding and little care.<sup>45</sup> In short, the herd met his expectations in all respects.

With the inspection completed, negotiations began. Pablo would sell the herd in one bunch at \$200 per head. Douglas took an option at that price until July 12th, \$10,000 to be paid then, and the remainder at delivery. Defending this action he urged a bond be taken from Pablo and said:

I consider the herd very cheap at the price asked, and I am sure there will be a great howl from the Americans should the Government decide to purchase them. They are within sixty miles of the Yellowstone Park, and if the Americans knew we were negotiating for the herd they would close on them at once. I cautioned Pablo not to mention anything about the matter until after he had word from me.<sup>46</sup>

On the question of delivery, Douglas estimated that a trail drive would average 12 miles per day and require six weeks to complete. Twelve men and 25 horses would be needed at a total cost of \$3,000. He estimated the entire cost of the herd, delivery, fencing and maintenance expenses for one year at \$95,150.<sup>47</sup>

Douglas proved to be a good judge of the buffalo and a shrewd negotiator, for both the animals and the conditions of their purchase found favor first with Canadian authorities and later with the public. However, on the questions of delivery and the American desire to retain the herd on its native soil, he completely missed the mark. Delivery of the buffalo to Canada was to consume years, not weeks, would cost several times his estimate, and before it was finished several hundred men and horses would be required. Similarly, on the question of potential American opposition to the sale he misjudged the magnitude of the response. There was local pride in the buffalo and the press of northwestern Montana lamented the loss of the herd and blamed the "dilatatory action of the American Congress."<sup>48</sup> Nowhere, however, was serious action to prevent departure of the herd even suggested. The American Bison Society, only recently formed, had neither the money to purchase the herd or the political clout needed to move Congress.<sup>49</sup> President Theodore Roosevelt, who had previously urged Congress to protect the Flathead herd,<sup>50</sup> probably summed up the national mood best when he wrote, "I hate to think of buffalo herds going to Canada, but I am glad that it is going to be preserved, anyway."<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, the fear of American intervention continued to exert a real influence on Canadian authorities.<sup>52</sup>

The men in Ottawa now had Pablo's terms squarely in front of them, however, and were confronted directly with the question to buy or not to buy. A suspicious six-month gap (June 15, 1900 - January 17, 1901) occurs at this specific point in the correspondence files, and, therefore, the evidence available on the infighting surrounding the actual decision is sparse indeed, but it seems certain that the issue encountered some heavy seas. The major stumbling block seems to have been the huge outlay required for the purchase, delivery, and fencing of the entire herd. Initial hesitancy may have come from Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior.<sup>53</sup> Oliver was the owner and editor of the Edmonton Bulletin whose editorials in 1893 and 1894 had urged protection for the Wood Buffalo around the west end of Lake Athabasca.<sup>54</sup> As a member of the Northwest Territorial Council and especially as the first member of Parliament from Alberta, as well as from his position in the Interior Department, Oliver saw to it that the West, and particularly Alberta, received its fair share of federal government money. He seems to have seen his special responsibility as insuring that the sparsely settled West was not overlooked in the councils of government by the more populous East.<sup>55</sup> There seems little doubt that Oliver was wholeheartedly in support of preserving the buffalo especially since to do it in this way would advertise his native Alberta, yet

fragments of evidence indicate that he needed some persuading before he finally took the measure to Premier Sir Wilfred Laurier. Perhaps advocacy of this particular measure jeopardized or required sacrifice of other programs he had in mind for his native West.

Whatever Oliver's reason, a delay of six months followed Douglas's inspection of the herd. During that interval Douglas is said to have carried on "quite a fight to get the buffalo purchase through."<sup>56</sup> D. J. Benham, a reporter from Winnipeg Free Press whose source of information is supposed to have been Pablo himself, wrote as follows:

They (the government) were on the eve of rejecting it at one time, but Mr. Douglas persistently urged the advisability of making the purchase arguing that no better advertisement of this country for a similar expenditure could possibly be obtained. He also pointed out what a valuable asset was being secured, the heads and hides of the herd being worth more on the open market than was being paid for them on the hoof, . . . <sup>57</sup>

The arguments attributed to Douglas are exactly those that would have appealed to a western advocate like Oliver who was temporarily hesitant over urging such a large expenditure. Similarly, Dixon Craig, editor of the Edmonton Journal confirms this account, saying that Oliver "was not particularly enthusiastic," primarily because the price of the herd "looked like a lot of money" but that "Douglas persisted" and finally he "won over Mr. Oliver and the deal was on."<sup>58</sup>

In addition to Douglas, other prominent figures in and out of government pressured Oliver to approve the purchase. Norman K. Luxton, prominent developer of Banff as a mountain playground as well as editor of the town's Crag and Canyon newspaper, was well known to both Douglas and Oliver. With his very effective pen he wrote to Oliver specifically about the Pablo herd and recommended its purchase.<sup>59</sup> Dixon Craig in the above noted article reported that Arthur Sifton, then Chief Justice of the Province of Alberta and member of a very prominent political family, together with the Hon. W. C. Fielding, Minister of France in the Laurier government, backed Douglas in his efforts and prevailed upon Oliver to approve the purchase.<sup>60</sup>

These arguments and pressures directed at Mr. Oliver had their intended effect, for once his doubts and hesitations had been overcome he became an advocate of the purchase itself. The late Miss Mabel Williams, who worked in the office of the Minister of the Interior at this time, wrote just before her death that "it was the Hon. Frank Oliver . . . who persuaded Sir Wilfred Laurier to buy the Pablo herd in Montana."<sup>61</sup>

Frank Oliver is usually lauded in Canadian historical literature as the savior of the Buffalo, and since he bore a heavy portion of the political responsibility inherent in the purchase decision, this credit

is in part due him. However, the perseverance of Howard Douglas and his friend in Banff, Norman K. Luxton, is probably due a far greater share of the credit than the surviving evidence indicates.<sup>62</sup> Both men were fore-runners of the conservation movement that was just beginning to blossom in the U. S. and Canada,<sup>63</sup> and both men probably harbored an additional motive -- the work and income a buffalo preserve would provide for the Stony Indians on their reservation east of Banff. Both Luxton and Douglas were benefactors of this tribe and while only Douglas is on record as favoring placement of the Pablo herd in this location, it seems fair to conclude that Luxton gave him his wholehearted support in this regard.<sup>64</sup>

On January 9, 1907, Douglas was informed of the success of his efforts. Cory wrote as follows:

I beg to advise you that it has been decided that . . . the Department will be willing to acquire the (herd) at the price mentioned in your letter, namely, two hundred dollars per head. It will have to be understood with the present owner that the Department will not buy except upon delivery in Canada . . ., but the Department will be willing to pay an additional fixed sum to cover the expenses of delivery. The delivery should be made some time during the coming spring at the Elk Park, North East of Edmonton, which is now being fenced.

It is important that there should be no delay in the matter, . . . <sup>65</sup>

Douglas now asked Ayotte to visit Pablo and inform him of the decision and secure from him as nearly as possible the number of head in the herd and the charge he



would make for delivery -- information Ottawa would need to pass the necessary legislation.<sup>66</sup>

Douglas then informed Ottawa that in their June discussion Pablo had refused to accept responsibility for the delivery, but had offered his assistance as far as the border. He further told Ottawa that the drive could not be started before July because of insufficient grass in the spring along the way and because in May the cows would be calving and, therefore, unmanageable. In spite of these reasons for delay, however, he urged that the deal be completed promptly and secured with a deposit. He pointed out that by purchasing immediately Canada would own the calf crop of approximately 75 head that would soon be making its appearance.<sup>67</sup>

Douglas also enclosed a New York newspaper clipping which carried a more ominous reason for haste. The paper reported in part on a recent meeting of the American Bison Society as follows:

The society decided to make an effort to purchase practically all the remaining buffalo in this country and Canada and present them to the United States Government. . . . The society decided to look into the practicability of locating several herds of buffalo on the Flathead Reservation. . . . Morton J. Elroy (sic) of the University of Montana, will be asked to report to the society upon the possibilities of the Flathead Reservation.<sup>68</sup>

Cory sent the clipping along to Frank Oliver and wrote "under the circumstances I have thought that it might be

well to wire at once to Mr. Douglas instructing him to place himself in communication with Mr. Pablo immediately and close the bargain for the purchase of the herd."<sup>69</sup>

In the meantime Ayotte reported to Douglas on his meeting with Pablo. There were, as nearly as he could estimate, about 350 head in his herd and if he had to make delivery in Canada he would only do it by rail because his loss would be too high with a trail drive. Pablo asked \$20,000 for the delivery, but strongly preferred to make delivery in his own corrals. Freight charges alone would exceed \$8,000, Ayotte reported, and in addition Pablo would bear the expense of the round-up and of partitioning the cars to prevent the animals from fighting. All in all Ayotte felt \$20,000 for the delivery was a fair price and should be accepted.<sup>70</sup>

With this information in hand, Douglas now went to Montana to make final arrangements with Pablo. He took an option until March 1st on not less than 300 nor more than 400 head at \$200 each. Pablo would deliver in his corrals at that figure. His second choice was to deliver at Ravalli Station on the Northern Pacific Railroad for \$4,000. If he were asked to deliver in Edmonton he would charge \$18,000. Pablo would not deliver cows in the spring because the calf loss would be too great. He would deliver bulls and young stock in May, and cows and calves in July.<sup>71</sup>

Pablo wanted all the money deposited in the First National Bank in Missoula before a single head left the country. He also wanted \$10,000 deposited to his account when the contract was signed. Pablo referred them to the same bank for his security, but Douglas advised a bond being taken. He reported, however, that Pablo was rumored to be worth \$250,000 and is "perfectly responsible."<sup>72</sup>

Douglas felt these terms were the best that could be obtained and advised that a legal contract be drawn up along these lines and forwarded to him in duplicate along with a draft for \$10,000. He cautioned, however, that Pablo was

. . . a Mexican Half breed without any education and is very suspicious and afraid of being cheated. So that the conditions above will have to be strictly adhered to or he will not do anything. He has a grievance against the American Government as he has been trying for years to get enough land to keep the buffalo on and has not succeeded, and now they are selling all the land on the Flathead Reserve and freezing him out. He thinks they are trying to force him to sell to them, and he would prefer selling to the Canadian Government to get even with them.<sup>73</sup>

Douglas closed his report to Ottawa by saying Ayotte was "largely instrumental in getting this business in its present shape."<sup>74</sup>

The Douglas letter was now forwarded to the Ottawa law firm of McGivern and Haydon where a contract was drawn up.<sup>75</sup> Upon examination of this contract Mr. T. G. Rothwell of the Department of Justice expressed skepticism over the security offered by Pablo.<sup>76</sup> To meet this

difficulty the contract was changed. Under the new terms \$10,000 would be placed in the First National Bank of Missoula as a portion of the total purchase price. Then all the money above \$10,000 necessary to purchase the herd would be placed in the same bank. This contract stated that if this second deposit was not made Pablo could treat the contract as fulfilled and collect the \$10,000 without losing a single buffalo.<sup>77</sup>

Douglas next went to the Pablo ranch with one contract (duplicate copies) bearing the terms of the original agreement and another contract (duplicate copies) incorporating the changes Ottawa had made. He was instructed to present the first of these contracts only if Pablo refused to sign the second.<sup>78</sup> Douglas reported:

On reading over the agreement the old man refused to sign it or come to Missoula as he was afraid to undertake shipping. He wanted to have delivery taken at the station. After a great amount of persuasion I got him to accompany me back to Missoula, and as he trusts all his business to the manager of the Bank, I got the Bank Manager to deal with him, and finally got an agreement signed although not the ones prepared in Ottawa;  
 . . . <sup>79</sup>

The signed contract was, however, very similar to the second contract prepared in Ottawa. Two changes are worthy of note. Because of uncertainty over the number of animals in the herd the contract was changed to cover the entire herd except for 10 cows and two bulls Pablo wanted to keep for himself. Pablo also insisted that

inspection of the animals be made before shipment in order that he would not have rejected animals on his hands in Edmonton.<sup>80</sup>

Douglas had these changes included in retyped duplicate copies of the contract. Pablo signed these copies and then they were sent to Ottawa where the Department of Justice examined and approved them.<sup>81</sup> When one of these copies was returned to the First National Bank in Missoula together with a check for \$10,000 the agreement became official.<sup>82</sup>

One point remains to be discussed with regard to these contracts. All of the contracts sent from Ottawa to Montana were signed by Wm. W. Cory, Deputy Minister of the Interior, and witnessed by his assistant, J. Arthur Cote. Furthermore, all of the contracts bore the Seal of the Department of the Interior.<sup>83</sup> In all dealings with the Crown, however, "it is a fixed rule that the Seal is not to be affixed to a document unless and until the other contracting party to the agreement with the Crown has first signed the document."<sup>84</sup> This means that the duplicate copies of the two different original contracts sent to Douglas were in violation of normal diplomatic procedures.

Mr. J. G. MacGregor, a very well known and respected Edmonton historian, offered an explanation for this breach of protocol in an article in the Alberta Histor-

### ical Review.

. . . after a verbal tentative agreement had been arrived at between Mr. Douglas . . . and Mr. Pablo, an attempt was made by interested Americans to prevent the buffalo from being sold to Canada, and representations were made to Pablo that he was taking a serious risk in dealing with a representative only of the Canadian Government.

It was to meet this difficulty that the honorable Frank Oliver and Howard Douglas conceived the idea that if Mr. Douglas were armed with a document under the Seal of the Department setting out fully the terms of the agreement and the price Canada was prepared to pay for the buffalo, Mr. Pablo's fears would be allayed. This proved to be the case . . . <sup>85</sup>

Both Canadian and American sources agree that news of the sale did not become known in the States until at least a month after the contract was signed.<sup>86</sup> Therefore, that element of the MacGregor explanation which postulates an American attempt to prevent the sale to Canada would seem to be in error. In a letter to the author, Mr. MacGregor very graciously said, "I am afraid I cannot prove the statement in question and it may not be true." He went on to explain that his source for the story was the late Sam A. Dickson, a well known and respected Edmonton barrister. He described Mr. Dickson as "a cautious and reliable man . . . (who) transmitted what amounts to mere hearsay evidence."<sup>87</sup>

Though it may be hearsay evidence, it recalls again the fears Douglas had previously expressed over the possibility of American intervention.<sup>88</sup> He also

quite clearly saw Pablo as a very suspicious individual who was afraid of being cheated and advised Ottawa that the conditions of the agreement would "have to be strictly adhered to."<sup>89</sup> This information together with the fact that the contracts were signed and sealed in a breach of the rules of protocol can all be verified with primary source material. The question that cannot be answered is: Did these fears lead Douglas and the men in Ottawa to break the rules of protocol in an attempt to reassure Pablo of their good faith?

With the details of the agreement now finally settled, Douglas, with the able assistance of Ayotte, personally undertook three new responsibilities to assure himself that the movement of the buffalo would be successfully completed. First, he moved immediately to make transportation arrangements with the Northern Pacific, Great Northern, and Canadian Pacific railroads so that no delays would be involved in getting the train through to its destination.<sup>90</sup> Second, he asked for and received permission to oversee construction of the unloading chutes and corral at Lamont, Alberta, the railway station nearest to Elk Island Park where the buffalo were to be placed.<sup>91</sup> Finally, arrangements had to be made with the Department of Agriculture to have a veterinarian on the scene in Montana to inspect the buffalo before they were loaded and the Collector of Customs had

to be notified in order to avoid a delay at the border.<sup>92</sup>

Douglas had estimated that the cost of the herd, the expense of delivery, fencing, and maintenance for one year would come to \$95,150, and Parliament now took steps to fulfill this new contractual obligation by appropriating \$100,000. The money was approved under the title of "Park Reservations" but little else is known about circumstances surrounding its passage.<sup>93</sup>

While these obligations were being discharged Pablo was also very busy enclosing 15 acres of land in a holding corral on his ranch. With the beginning of this sizable piece of construction in a small mountain community, word of the sale could not long be kept a secret. Billy Gird, a rather well-known cow puncher from east of the Flathead Valley, apparently heard about the sale and the proposed shipment to Canada.<sup>94</sup> Gird, who had worked for Pablo in the past, now approached the old gentleman seeking a job in the round-up and at the same time expressed a desire to go with the buffalo to Canada. Pablo said he would give him a job when the round-up was ready to begin.<sup>95</sup> For Gird this was apparently sufficient confirmation of whatever he had heard. Thereupon he returned to his home in Kalispell and made public news of the sale, and intimated that the Canadian Government had chosen him to inspect and tally the herd. His story was printed in the Kalispell Bee and in time



was reprinted by other newspapers around the country.<sup>96</sup> Ayotte showed Pablo the article and interpreted it for him. Needless to say, Billy Gird did not find employment in the round-up.<sup>97</sup>

Similarly, Howard Eaton, the famous Yellowstone guide, learned of the sale and released the information to the press. Eaton had exercised an option on a number of buffalo before the sale to Canada and eight head remained to be delivered to him at the time preparations were being made for the round-up and shipment to Canada.<sup>98</sup> Pablo's banker in Missoula, Mr. Keith, or Pablo himself, wrote to Eaton, informed him of the sale, and asked him to claim his buffalo before the round-up.<sup>99</sup> The letter reached Eaton in Denver where he released the information to the press.<sup>100</sup> News accounts were slow in reaching Missoula, but on April 26, 1907, the Daily Missoulian published approximate terms of the agreement and the prospective plans for the round-up.<sup>101</sup>

With the news breaking in the American press, Douglas received requests for verification from Canadian newspapers.<sup>102</sup> His response was to write a full account of the transaction and submit it to the Department of the Interior for release to the press at their discretion.<sup>103</sup> Upon release of the Douglas report, the sale received the official confirmation of the Canadian Government, and despite their wishes to the contrary,

news of the sale was now public knowledge.<sup>104</sup>

As the news spread preparations for the round-up and removal of the herd continued. Douglas and Ayotte completed arrangements with the Northern Pacific to carry the buffalo from Ravalli, through Missoula, to Helena. At Helena they would be switched over to the Great Northern track and that line would take them to Great Falls where they would be fed two tons of hay and watered. From Great Falls they would continue over the Great Northern to Virdun Junction. There they would be switched to yet another line -- the A. R. & I. -- which would carry them through the border check points at Coutts, Alberta to Lethbridge. At Lethbridge, two more tons of hay would be fed and they would again be watered. Then they would move over Canadian Pacific tracks through Macleod to Calgary where feed and water were again provided and from there on to Strathcona. Here they would be switched for the last time to the Canadian National which would then take them to their destination at Lamont.<sup>105</sup>

With transportation plans completed, Douglas asked Cory to make arrangements with the Department of Agriculture to provide a veterinarian to inspect the herd prior to loading.<sup>106</sup> Cory later informed Douglas that Dr. Warnock had been instructed to accompany him to Ravalli to perform the inspection.<sup>107</sup> Following the same proced-

ure Douglas saw to it that the Commissioner of Customs in Ottawa informed the customs agent at the border to pass the buffalo without delay.<sup>108</sup>

Meanwhile back at his ranch, Pablo, under the watchful eye of Ayotte, continued work on his holding corral and at the same time turned his attention to the preparations being made at the railway station in Ravalli. The corrals there had been constructed for rough cattle, but when he had shipped small numbers of buffalo in the past they had proven inadequate. At Pablo's request Ayotte asked the Northern Pacific agent in Ravalli to rebuild the corrals. This work was begun in earnest and was completed around the first of May, 1907. Pablo then added a wing fence to this new corral before he felt they were ready to receive the buffalo.<sup>109</sup>

Turning his attention now to the railroad cars themselves, he asked the agent that they be fitted with troughs for water and be delivered a week before the round-up to permit him time to build partitions to separate the animals once they were loaded.<sup>110</sup> This work too was subsequently completed.

While transportation arrangements were being made and corral construction pushed forward, Pablo engaged riders and sent them into Bitterroot hills to search out the buffalo from their winter haunts and slowly move them toward the new holding corral. From time to time Ayotte

and Pablo would ride out and see how this work was progressing. Ayotte reported to Douglas:

Mr. Pablo took me out to see the buffaloes. They had just come from their winter quarters. He had some cowboys drive them out on the flat where we could see them. There were about 250 in the herd and they look very good, much better than I expected after the hard winter they had in this part of the country, and much better than they did last spring.<sup>111</sup>

To Douglas up in Banff, everything seemed to be progressing well except the preparations at Lamont where the buffalo were to be unloaded. The previous fall Douglas had gone to Lamont, and, at Frank Oliver's suggestion, placed Mr. F. A. Walker in charge of construction there.<sup>112</sup> In surveying the facilities they found the stockyards at the railway station to be acceptable but determined that an unloading corral would have to be built to handle the buffalo. Along the three mile distance from the station to the park, a lane would have to be fenced. Finally, the park itself would require fencing around its entire perimeter.

When Douglas returned around the first of May to check on the progress of this work he found that the corral and lane were not yet started and only the posts had been put in place for the fence around the park. Sixteen miles of wire had to be strung around the park alone. Douglas "got after Mr. Walker" who then rushed the work along in good shape.<sup>113</sup> Working almost every hour available up to the time of the buffaloes arrival, he completed

the corral and lane and most of the park fence. Riders had to be hired to keep the buffalo back while the park fence was completed, but this caused no serious problems. Also at Douglas' suggestion Mr. Walker arranged for R.N.W.M.P. to be on hand to protect the crowd that was expected.<sup>114</sup>

Late in the first week of May, all preparations were in an advanced state of readiness and Pablo now sent out his riders to bring in the buffalo. From the eastern perimeter of the Flathead Valley the rocky peaks of the majestic Mission Range look down upon the gently rolling valley floor that slopes westward 20 miles to the Pend d'Oreille River. Beyond this broad swiftly flowing ribbon of water rise the Bitterroot Hills.<sup>115</sup> The snow sometimes got very deep on the valley floor and the low bald wind-swept hills of the Bitterroot Range provided easier grazing for the buffalo and thus this was their winter range.<sup>116</sup>

With the coming of spring, however, the buffalo would begin to meander down toward the better grazing land nearer the river. As the valley floor yielded its blanket of snow and revealed its lush grazing lands the buffalo would swim the river to the bench land on the eastern bank. Here, between the river and the timbered approaches to the Mission Range, was an open expanse of good grazing land well supplied with water.<sup>117</sup> Here,

too, in the buffalo's summer range, was the Pablo ranch with its new holding corral.

Early spring found the herd scattered throughout the Bitterroot Hills. Over perhaps a hundred square miles of territory small bands of buffalo numbering from 12 to 50 head would, each under the influence of its own separate leader, begin their migration across the river to the summer range.<sup>118</sup> Pablo's 35 experienced Indian riders with fresh mounts in tow scoured the creeks and coulees of the Bitterroot Hills and hurried the buffalo along this annual trek trying to make sure no band or individual was overlooked.<sup>119</sup>

The Flathead ranges were known for their magnificent horses and riders. Swift and sure-footed, these trusty animals could pick their way through boulder-strewn mountain terrain while traveling at breakneck speed and do so without aid from the rider, permitting him to concentrate on the herd. The riders, too, were experienced cowboys used to long hours in the saddle. In this round-up, however, man and horse were no match for the buffalo.<sup>120</sup> In spite of his ungainly and awkward appearance the buffalo is a tremendous athlete. He is faster than a horse, stronger than an ox, and on the steep rocky slopes his agility approaches that of a mountain goat. Even more surprising is his power of endurance. Starting with an easy lope he soon develops

into a swinging gallop and it takes a good horse to outstrip him in a break-away run. If any distance is covered the race degenerates into a runaway with the buffalo in the lead and the horse lagging from exhaustion. With his huge front shoulders he can repeat this performance up and down hill as well as on the flat.<sup>121</sup> Only by using remounts could the riders hope to wear down the bison and eventually corral them.

Thirty-five riders now had to cover a hundred square miles of hilly, broken country to round-up several hundred head of buffalo. This was a contest between animal instinct and human ingenuity in which the latter would be sorely tested. However, slowly and with incomplete success, a herd was assembled on the summer range east of the river. Sections of the herd which had thus been gathered together had to be held while other riders brought in stragglers from remote parts of the range. This holding operation violated the buffalo's natural instinct to wander and proved a weary vigil for the riders who had to be on constant watch to prevent a general stampede or stop small bands from wandering away. An unguarded moment could have undone the strenuous work of days.<sup>122</sup>

The precarious quiet of the sullenly milling herd would frequently be broken as a cloud of dust would rise in the air and reveal a leader bull horning and pawing

the earth and issuing a challenge to the leader of another band. Simultaneous sanguinary battles between 2,000 pound contestants had to be prevented by the skillful Indian and half-breed riders to stop the valuable animals from destroying one another.<sup>123</sup> Playing referee between two angry mountains of animal flesh required a rider's full attention, and while he was thus engaged other animals had an opportunity to leave the herd. Frustration ran parallel with exhaustion as horse and rider did their best to hold the herd in check.

The decision had previously been made to ship only bulls and young stock, leaving the cows and calves until later in the season when the calves would be better able to survive the long journey. Before the collected herd was driven to the new holding corral, therefore, the cows and calves had to be separated from the rest of the herd. This was a difficult and dangerous undertaking, for on the open range the bull is the guardian of the herd and when danger threatens they form a circle around the cows and calves and ready themselves for battle. These defensive circles had to be broken up and divided, a hard and risky task requiring the best of a buffalo pony and his rider. This chore itself required seven days in the course of which more animals found their way to freedom.<sup>124</sup>

When the bull and young stock were sufficiently



though incompletely separated from the cows and calves, the riders edged them slowly toward the wing fences which stretched three miles westward and narrowed to the holding corral on the Pablo ranch.<sup>125</sup> Driving buffalo is hard enough but driving them into pens is yet more difficult for when the pens were sighted some of the animals hesitated, backed away, made a break for freedom and reduced still further the number of head actually enclosed by the holding corral.<sup>126</sup> Two weeks<sup>127</sup> were consumed in capturing between 220 and 250 head on this first round-up.<sup>128</sup>

Ayotte watched all these developments very closely and kept Douglas informed up in Banff.<sup>129</sup> From these reports Douglas estimated that perhaps 200 animals would actually be delivered, and, therefore, asked Ottawa for \$40,000 to cover the cost of the herd.<sup>130</sup> In addition he needed money to pay Pablo for delivery expenses and for freight charges from Strathcona to Lamont -- the agreement stating that Pablo would assume responsibility for delivery only as far as Strathcona and from there the expense would be borne by the government.<sup>131</sup>

With the \$40,000 draft in hand Douglas left Banff on May 16, arrived in Missoula May 19, and deposited the money in the First National Bank.<sup>132</sup> He and Dr. Warnock then proceeded up the Flathead Valley through the little town of Ravalli with its waiting corrals to the Pablo

ranch. There the doctor inspected the animals and "found them all in good condition and free from any disease."<sup>133</sup>

Douglas and Dr. Warnock then returned to Ravalli where

Douglas reported to Cory:

It will take at least four days to load them as they are savage and wild. He (Pablo) has already killed two buffalo and one horse in the round-up. Pablo is having gates made (for the cars) and will only put one animal that is over two years old in a stall by itself and in addition tie each with a heavy rope so that it will take a long time to load and cost Pablo heavy.<sup>134</sup>

At this time Douglas reported on another development that was to assume ugly proportions -- a hostile feeling in the U. S. over the loss of the herd. Douglas stated:

The manager of the Bank in Missoula told me that half-a-million could be got in New York in half an hour to keep the herd in the United States if it were possible. They are feeling very keenly the taking of this herd from the U. S.<sup>135</sup>

That a bank manager should convey this information to Douglas was interesting because Ayotte had reported earlier from Missoula that "men in high position are sore about it."<sup>136</sup> The words of one man can encourage action in another especially when the word comes from "men in high position." Like the arrow that cannot be retracted once it leaves the bow, these words were finding their way toward a responsive target.

After finishing his report Douglas left the Ravalli Hotel and crossed the road to examine the 40 railroad cars provided by the Northern Pacific. He selected only nine

that he felt were strong enough to hold the buffalo. The Northern Pacific people, however, were most accommodating and told Douglas whatever he needed would be supplied.<sup>137</sup> To reinforce the weaker cars, 2-inch planking was nailed vertically on the outside and these supports were used to receive the ropes that would secure the buffalo in the cars.<sup>138</sup>

While Douglas was completing final preparations in Ravalli, Pablo was supervising all preparations for the big drive to the Ravalli corrals. When he was satisfied that all was in readiness he ordered the corral gates thrown open. Approximately 60 head were allowed into the long fenced land that led southward away from the gates of the corral.<sup>139</sup> Where the fences terminated, open plains invited the buffalo to make attempts to escape westward toward the river. Pablo guarded against this move by stationing his buffalo-boys, as they were called, along that side of the buffaloes' line of travel. When they first left the fenced lane the animals were moving at a healthy rate of speed, but after the first seven or eight miles the riders succeeded in encircling the small herd and reduced their rate of speed to more manageable proportions.<sup>140</sup>

The 27-mile route of travel<sup>141</sup> to Ravalli followed the old stage road which ran roughly parallel to the Mission Range slightly east of the Pablo ranch.<sup>142</sup> In this

round-up in the spring of 1907, the more passive members of the herd were ensnared -- animals familiar with mounted horsemen and not wary from the constant harrassment of a round-up, and therefore, comparatively little trouble was encountered in the drives down the valley.<sup>143</sup> There was probably some apprehension as Mud Creek was approached, but the riders no doubt herded them more closely and passed this first obstacle with surprisingly little difficulty. Similarly Crow Creek and Post Creek were crossed and after going by the St. Ignatius Mission they began the long climb out of the valley. At the top of the hill they hesitated, but the riders again pressed them closely and soon the herd was moving down the long hill toward the little town of Ravalli at its base.<sup>144</sup>

At the base of the hill the loading pens were sighted and the buffalo hesitated and this time attempted to back away. The riders, however, had slowed their speed and a line of horsemen was drawn close around them.<sup>145</sup> Slowly they were driven past the north side of the General Merchandise Store in Ravalli and here a left turn was negotiated and the buffalo boys headed them down Ravalli's only street. They passed the Ravalli Hotel, where Douglas was staying, and then, just past a barn and shed next to the hotel, the riders swung them wide to the left and turned them hard to the right into the approaches of the wing fence Pablo had built. Once

inside the arms of the wing fence a narrow lane was entered. Opening to the left off the lane were three holding pens and in these the buffalo were placed. Now the really difficult task of loading them into the cars was about to begin.<sup>146</sup>

The Ravalli corrals were nine feet high, constructed of "fir planks two inches thick and eight inches wide, spiked upon piles driven into the ground four and a half feet apart."<sup>147</sup> Yet there was at least one occasion when an angry bull breached the fence and another when a buffalo inserted his horn under a plank, ripped it off, and sent it flying over his head and a dozen feet to the rear. Another time Douglas measured a gash in the planking caused by a buffalo horn -- one and three-fourths inches deep and three feet eight inches long.<sup>148</sup> Turning buffalo into railroad passengers would prove to be a difficult and dangerous business.

From the holding pens the buffalo were cut out one by one and driven back out into the lane way. At the other end of this narrow passageway a gate was opened that led into a comparatively small loading pen. The individual buffalo was next driven into this loading pen. From the loading pen, a narrow chute led up to the waiting railroad car.<sup>149</sup> The animals would not enter the chute of their own accord and had to be driven. To do this the cowboys entered the small loading pen on

foot but took every precaution to keep near the fence. With yells and proddings they would try and goad the animal up the chute.<sup>150</sup> Sometimes this was a comparatively simple operation, but, at other times, the frenzied brutes would turn on the cowboys and savagely charge them. Then it was a case of moving quickly to the nearby fence and scrambling up out of harm's way. Finally, in desperation the animal would catch sight of the narrow exit and rush into the chute.<sup>151</sup>

Standing on a running board along the outside of the chute were two husky Indians with an open lariat across the chute. As the buffalo entered the chute they bent down and dexterously dropped a running noose over the animal's head just behind the horns. This one inch thick rope ran completely through the railroad car where men on the other side now gave it a sudden pull and wrapped it around a snubbing post. The sudden pull would tighten the noose somewhat, but it was tied in such a way that it would not choke the animal no matter how he struggled and the pull was primarily against his horns.<sup>152</sup> Since the buffalo trachea will not easily reopen if once collapsed and the animal will suffocate, this precaution was necessary.<sup>153</sup> At the same time the noose was dropped over his head, bars were shoved across the chute making retreat impossible.<sup>154</sup>

Now a lively tug-of-war began. The buffalo,

finding itself caught, attempted to back and kicked and plunged around in the narrow chute.<sup>155</sup> A gang of five to 15 men on the other side, however, clung to the rope and played with the maddened buffalo as an angler plays with a fish.<sup>156</sup> The men could work in changing teams on the rope and in this way wear down the refractory animal and inch him into the car. Thus the contest between human ingenuity and animal force was played out.

Once the animal was in his place in the car he was securely tied to uprights fastened to the outside of the car for this purpose. The rope that had been placed around his neck when he entered the chute remained in place all the way to Canada and it was with this same rope that the animal was secured to the vertical planking.<sup>157</sup> The partition that separated him from his neighbor resembled a hurdle but was made of "2-inch planking"<sup>158</sup> held together with "6-inch spikes."<sup>159</sup> After the buffalo was tied this partition was put in place and "securely fastened at both ends with rope thus forming a comfortable stall in which the animal had ample room to lie down."<sup>160</sup>

Some cows and calves were inevitably included in this first shipment and for them the stalls were made a little bigger and the calves were put in with their mothers. Thus arranged, a railroad car would hold about eight bulls, but younger stock -- yearlings and

two-year-olds -- were run in loose like cattle, a car holding 20 or 25. The calves were no trouble at all as they invariably followed their mothers and were careful to avoid separation.<sup>161</sup>

Occasionally, however, an especially recalcitrant animal was encountered who would continue to resist even after he was partitioned inside the car. Their struggles would end only when they were exhausted and frequently the loaders had to get on the opposite side of the partition and pry them into place with crowbars.<sup>162</sup> Two of the tough old bulls gave the cowboys such a hard time that they were dubbed "Corbett" and "Sullivan" after the leading pugilists of the day.<sup>163</sup> The loaders successfully got both animals into the cars, but "Corbett" continued to plunge around and offer resistance inside the car. At length he was able to break through the side of the car above the height where it had been reinforced, but the opening thus made was too high for him to effect an escape.<sup>164</sup> He was hurriedly chased down from his high opening and the car was reinforced with planking from top to bottom around his stall.

Even death visited the Ravalli corrals that spring. Douglas reported that two animals were gored to death at Ravalli and his friend, Norman K. Luxton, described one bull who took a "punch" at a buffalo steer. The steer sustained a serious wound and died shortly thereafter.



When the carcass was butchered it was found that from the single blow delivered by the bull "no less than seven ribs had snapped off at the backbone."<sup>166</sup>

Luxton was very much interested in the slain animals and for good reason. An accomplished taxidermist, he offered Pablo \$100 each for these animals as they lay. This arrangement allowed Pablo some return on what otherwise would have been a complete loss and at the same time proved very lucrative for Luxton. He explained:

Buffalo specimens were at a premium in Canada, a robe commanded two hundred dollars and a bull head mounted a thousand dollars, so I did not do so badly either.<sup>167</sup>

On other occasions, Pablo very graciously gave the slain animals to his Indian friends. Duncan McDonald, a highly respected half-breed of the Flathead Valley, was the recipient of one such gift that had sad and embarrassing results. McDonald explained:

I thought I would have a feast for the Indians and I called some of the young fellows who were there and asked them to skin the carcass. They could not do it; they didn't know how. . . . and it was not until I found three old Indian women, that I was able to get that buffalo skinned and made ready for cooking.<sup>168</sup>

The animals, however, were not the only ones to sustain injuries. While a large bull was being goaded into the car, the rope broke and he turned to escape down the chute. As he turned his horn caught

the gate by the car door and heaved it off its hinges, leaving Messrs. Ayotte, Douglas, and

McMullen, the C.P.R. stock inspector, . . . unguarded and directly in front of him, only a few feet away. He charged furiously at them and but for the fortunate circumstance that he momentarily lost his balance by a foot slipping over the platform he would surely have caught one or more of them on his horns, . . . the three men threw themselves backward over the fence of the corral and in the fall McMullen had his arm broken, while the other two were stunned.<sup>169</sup>

Buffalo were not the sole source of trouble for the round-up crew that spring. Spectators thronged to Ravalli to witness this most unusual excitement for a small mountain community. The drives from the Pablo ranch began on a Wednesday and at first no trouble from the crowd was experienced.<sup>170</sup> By the week end, though, a rough element from Missoula was coming in with liquor<sup>171</sup> for the Indian riders. By Sunday<sup>172</sup> it was obvious that a deliberate attempt was being made to frustrate the loading. Douglas reported:

Had the contract not called for delivery at Strathcona there would certainly have been trouble at the loading point as the citizens were very sore about the Buffalo being shipped and a deliberate attempt was made to get the cowboys drunk and not to load. One day was lost by this and we kept a guard on the corrals all night as they talked openly of liberating the Buffalo. However, when they found that Pablo would be the loser they calmed down and I was glad when the train got away.<sup>173</sup>

Pablo was a scrupulously honest individual of the old school who regarded fulfillment of this part of the contract as a solemn obligation. Since delivery of the animals was his responsibility he was particularly appre-

hensive about the menacing nature of the crowd. This shy and quiet man addressed the crowd himself, explained the terms of the contract, and emphasize that he and not the Canadians would be the loser if the buffalo were liberated.<sup>174</sup> A mob is slow to learn, but when this information came from Michel Pablo himself the crisis was blunted, and though a cautious watch was always necessary the loading operation went forward.

In spite of an ugly mob and recalcitrant animals, however, the round-up crew worked nine straight days from 4:00 AM to 9:00 AM<sup>175</sup> loading 202 buffalo<sup>176</sup> into 17 cars.<sup>177</sup> Pablo made three drives from his ranch, bringing 60 to 75 head each time,<sup>178</sup> and the loading crew, using two loading chutes simultaneously, entrained the animals as fast as possible.<sup>179</sup> Each animal required approximately 45 minutes to load, on the average. Luxton reported this whole effort required \$240 worth of 1-inch rope and 10,000 feet of 2-inch planking.<sup>180</sup> All in all, Pablo and his hardy Indian crew had turned in a remarkable performance and were now ready for the trip to the north.

On the evening of Wednesday, May 29, the Northern Pacific special was ready for the uncertain journey toward Canada.<sup>181</sup> That day the Missoulian ran a long article on the round-up which announced

The train . . . will probably pass through Missoula tomorrow afternoon. . . It will no doubt attract much attention.<sup>182</sup>

Clearly a Missoula crowd was at least a potential source of trouble and the train was wisely slipped through this mountain community around 11:00 o'clock that night and passed largely unnoticed.<sup>183</sup> The next morning the buffalo arrived in Helena where Dr. Warnock was making sure the switch-over to the Great Northern line would be smoothly and quickly completed.<sup>184</sup> On the Great Northern line they arrived at Great Falls about noon where plans called for feeding two tons of hay and watering the animals.<sup>185</sup> After Great Falls they went to Virdun Junction where they were switched once again. This time the Alberta Railroad and Irrigation Company received the buffalo and carried them across the border at Coutts, Alberta, to Lethbridge. They arrived there late Thursday, the 30th, and another two tons of hay were fed. Water was put in the troughs on board the cars. They were then moved over to the Canadian Pacific tracks and travelled to Macleod. On Friday morning, the 31st, they pulled into Calgary. Here they were again fed and watered and the train carried them on to Strathcona.<sup>186</sup>

At Strathcona a large crowd of men, women and children gathered about the cars to see the novel shipment.<sup>187</sup> The Edmonton Bulletin reported that

One dead buffalo cow was seen . . . with its calf looking forlornly at its dead mother. The

buffalo looked tired . . . Some of them had kicked so vigorously against their confinement that the sides of the cars were badly broken in one or two places to such an extent that escape was almost possible.<sup>188</sup>

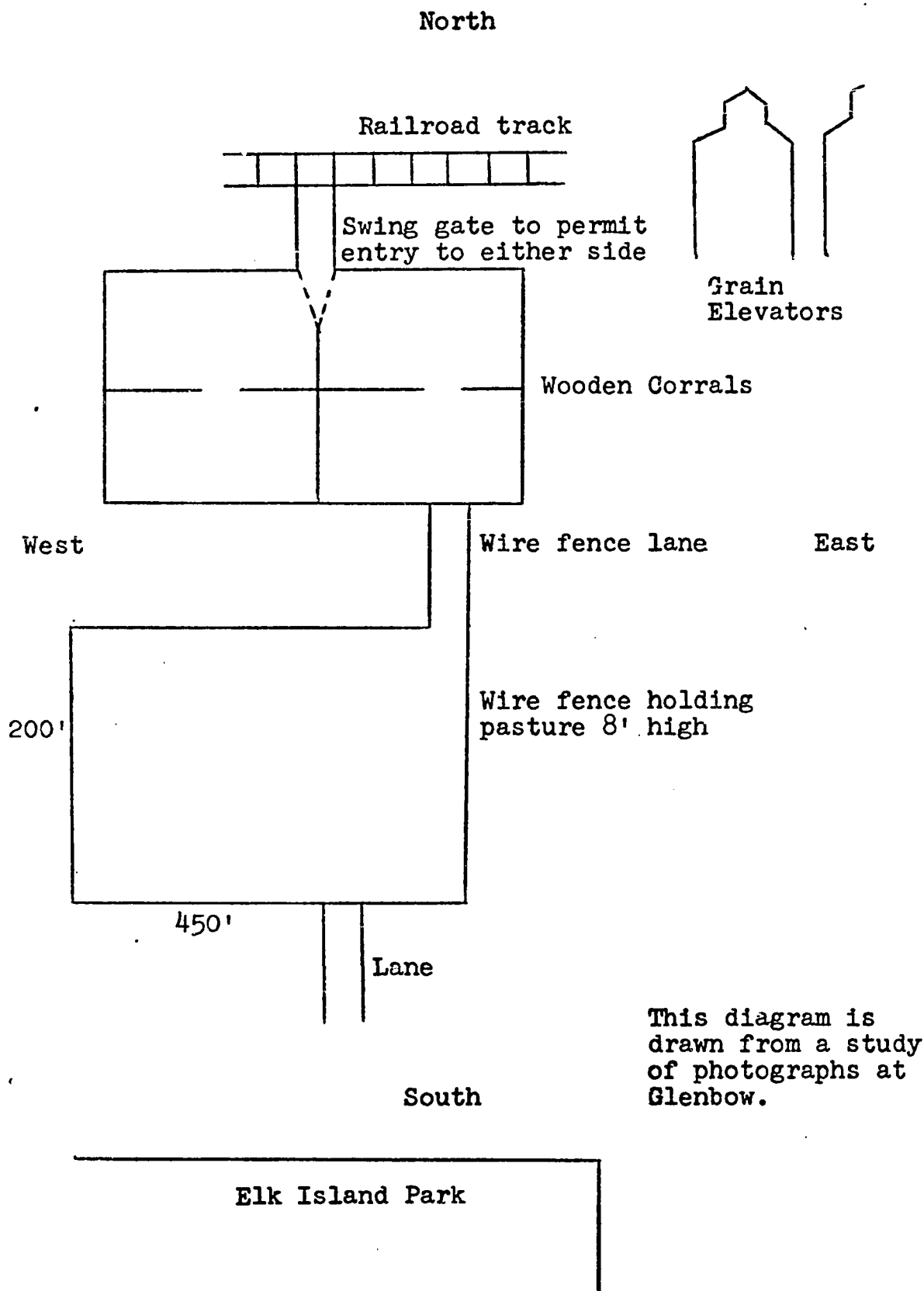
The train was here divided and switched for the last time to the Canadian National Railroad.<sup>189</sup> Before the two trains departed for Lamont early Saturday morning (June 1), Douglas officially accepted the buffalo from Pablo.<sup>190</sup> At 7:30 AM the first train pulled out for Lamont. The second train followed at 8:00 AM.<sup>191</sup>

By 10:30 Saturday morning both trains were at the stockyards in Lamont. Scores of school children and citizens from Lamont, Saskatchewan and Vegreville were on hand to witness the excitement that was sure to accompany the unloading. A large corral built of wire fencing 8 feet high and 200 feet wide by 450 feet in length had been recently completed and was connected to the railway stockyards by a narrow fenced lane. Inside these enclosures hay and water awaited the buffalo. Around this structure and the railroad cars themselves, the crowd pressed closely.<sup>192</sup> Mr. Walker had asked Major Strickland, of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police, for a detachment of men to keep the crowd a safe distance from the pens and to prevent small boys from teasing the animals in the cars, but only six men were sent and they proved insufficient for the task.<sup>193</sup> In addition Sergeant Sweetapple, the veterinary of R.N.W.M.P., was on

hand in case of accident to the buffalo.<sup>194</sup>

With everything in readiness the unloading process began. Pablo had brought five top riders with him -- Arthur Ray, Joe McDonald, Louis Ashley, Louisian Ashley, and M. H. Prideaux. As soon as the train pulled up to the stockyard pens these cowboys, who had brought their own saddles and bridles, went over to a barn and saddled the ponies Mr. Walker had provided for them. Pablo tied his pony in the corral and his riders tied their mounts on the outside. The crowd sensed the excitement was about to begin and this contagion spread to the buffalo who kicked and charged the sides of the car with increased fury. Some of the cars were so badly damaged that stout ropes were used to hold them intact until they could be unloaded.<sup>195</sup>

The first car pulled into position to be unloaded contained eight large bulls. The car door was first opened and this gave access to a narrow chute which led down to the wooden stockyards of the railroad. A gang of men then climbed to the roof of the car and opened several square hatch covers on the top of the car. One of these men carried a long pole with a heavy hook on the end. Next a man on the ground severed the ropes that held the buffalo and his respective partition to the side of the car. The man on top with the long pole now reached down through the open hatch and hooked the



rope that was around the buffalo's neck. In this way the rope was removed and again using the long pole the partition restraining the buffalo was pushed down. The buffalo was now free to leave the car.<sup>196</sup>

The first animal thus freed ran down the chute and into the corral without any trouble. The second bull, however, refused to do anything except kick and charge until his legs were cut and bleeding. Finally a strong lariat was thrown over his horns and 20 men pulled him to the edge of the chute. When he saw the open chute he charged down it at great speed and one of the skillful cowboys dexterously lifted the rope from around his horns. This same procedure had to be followed with all the bulls in the car. The last bull raced up and down the car and turned round and round like a dog chasing his tail which made roping him inside the car a trying proposition. At length, however, he was roped and then pulled and prodded into the pen.<sup>197</sup>

Two hours were consumed emptying this first car and it began to look like the unloading procedure was going to take more time than expected. The second car, however, contained eight cows and their calves. The cows were not quite so hard to handle as the bulls, yet most of them had to be roped and pulled from the car. The calves scampered down the chute after their mothers and raced around the corral and enjoyed their release from



such cramped quarters. The calf whose mother died was taken in charge by a Mr. Alton of Lamont. Alton fed the calf cow's milk, which it drank with evident relish, although when he was finished drinking he charged his feeder.<sup>198</sup>

The third car contained 20 yearlings. They had been put in loose and as soon as the door was opened they filed out without much difficulty. By 7:30 PM Saturday evening, six more cars had been unloaded and 125 buffalo were grazing in the corrals. The same tactics used in the first car were repeated again and again that afternoon, and the volunteers on the rope seemed to enjoy the work even in the pelting rain showers that fell several times that day and transformed the footing around the pens into a sticky mire.<sup>199</sup>

The stockyard gates remained open throughout the unloading process permitting the buffalo to pass completely through and enter the wire holding pen Mr. Walker had recently completed. This fence was tried several times by angry animals. The first to try was a big cow who ran down the chute at a furious pace, charged through the stockyards, and made straight for the wire fence of the holding pen. The fence gave under her attack and then threw her back on her haunches, to the great enjoyment of the crowd. She tried the fence twice more but each time it held.<sup>200</sup>

Twilight was at hand when Pablo walked into the holding pen and looked at the 125 buffalo already unloaded. There were too many to leave in the holding pen over night. A barking dog or a train passing in the night and the entire herd would stampede and carry the fence away on their horns. From this holding pen a fenced lane had been built which ran the two and one-half miles to the park. Pablo let down the bars to this lane and the herd filtered out in less than two minutes and headed to the park at an ungainly lope followed by Pablo and one of his men on horseback.<sup>201</sup>

On Sunday morning (June 2) Pablo and his crew were up at 4:00 o'clock and had five cars unloaded before the town's people were astir. By 10:00 o'clock the crowd was again on hand and their presence excited the animals and made unloading the last two cars more difficult. By noon, the unloading was finished.<sup>202</sup>

The very last car contained buffalo from Banff National Park. In order to provide new blood for both herds, Douglas sent 16 of the Pablo bulls to Banff and brought seven Banff bulls to Lamont. These animals proved to be more docile and easier to unload than the Pablo animals. The last bull, however, provided the most exciting episode of the day. One of the cowboys had to enter the car in order to rope the recalcitrant animal, and when he approached the buffalo, he charged

and the cowboy had to race down the chute and scramble up the stockyard fence.<sup>203</sup>

When the unloading was finally completed the cowboys had lunch while the large Sunday crowd assembled their buggies and wagons on either side of the lane leading to the park and prepared to follow the drive that was about to commence. There was some momentary excitement during the lunch hour when one of the bulls broke out of the wire fence of the holding pen, but the bull stayed near his companions in the enclosure and no one was injured.<sup>204</sup>

Preceding the drive two mounted policemen went ahead, one on each side of the lane, to see that the fence was intact. Pablo and his men, along with Park Manager A. Simmons, followed the buffalo down the lane. A few of the old bulls dragged behind and took their time. When an effort was made to hurry them, an old sullen bull turned and charged the horsemen. The cowboys had to retreat toward the holding pen, but the buffalo only ran a few yards and stopped. No further attempts were made to hurry the straggling animals.<sup>205</sup>

About three quarters of the way down the lane, the first half of the herd that had been taken down the evening before was encountered. They were easily turned and then the entire herd began to climb a small slope that led up toward the park. When the entrance to the park

was sighted the herd leaders became frightened and stopped. The animals behind surged towards the sides of the lane, the fence gave way, and the leading bunch of buffalo got out.<sup>206</sup>

They ran westward along the park border with the cowboys after them in hot pursuit. This was dangerous riding because of the crowd, thick timber, and marsh land around the park. Eight of the buffaloes galloped a mile west until their progress was halted by a small lake. One of the buffaloes even swam across a narrow arm of this lake, but when he emerged on the other side a cowboy was waiting and drove him back again to the other side.<sup>207</sup>

Slowly this small bunch of runaways was turned and headed toward the park. They reached the park entrance just as the main herd was about to enter the park from the lane. Seeing some of their companions outside the lane fence, the main herd now chose to go through the break in the fence and join them rather than enter the park. They ran out to the park road and into the timber. For a moment the situation looked bleak, but in just a few minutes the entire herd was rounded up and driven back into the lane and then into the park.<sup>208</sup>

A little calf remained in the timber, however, and could be heard bellowing for his mother. Pablo rode quietly into the woods imitating the call of a buffalo

cow. Soon he emerged riding quickly with the calf chasing right behind.<sup>209</sup>

Pablo and his men left the buffalo at the park gate, but Mr. Walker and Mr. Simmons, with the mounted police and some local herdsman, continued to drive the herd to the open grass country on the south side of the park. Only two buffalo now remained outside the park. One of those who had originally broken out had eluded capture and the old bull who had chased the cowboys back down the lane laid down when he came to the bottom of the hill that led to the park.<sup>210</sup> He was driven into the park the next day but died the following day. His head was mounted.<sup>211</sup> A herder was employed to search for the buffalo who had eluded capture.<sup>212</sup> He was finally found grazing with the cattle in the Galacian settlements, but could not be driven and had to be shot.<sup>213</sup>

Of the 202 buffalo loaded at Ravalli, 199 reached Strathcona alive and were turned over to Canadian authorities. These 199 consisted of 101 bulls, 18 steers, 47 cows, and 33 calves. Sixteen of the bulls were sent to Banff National Park and seven Banff bulls joined the Pablo herd as it left Strathcona and headed for Lamont. Three buffalo died before arriving at Lamont. A total of 187 head including the Banff animals were delivered at Elk Island Park.<sup>214</sup> For such a large and dangerous undertaking, it was remarkable that the losses were so

low. Pablo was paid \$39,800 for this shipment and thus the round-up came to its close.<sup>215</sup>

The work of rounding up the Pablo herd was to continue until 1912. Each year the animals became progressively more wary and vicious, necessitating the use of more elaborate techniques before they could be caught and shipped. In 1908 Pablo built a huge corral on a horseshoe bend in the Pend d'Oreille River to cut out the long drive to the corral on his ranch during which so many animals escaped. When a moderately large herd was assembled in this new corral, however, they succeeded in making an escape during the night and the round-up was cancelled. Not a single animal was shipped in 1908.<sup>216</sup>

This failure taught Pablo another lesson. Driving the buffalo from the corral to the railhead would no longer be possible with the remaining animals. Crates would have to be built and each buffalo hauled to Ravalli by a wagon team. This meant building crates, leveling out the road, even building bridges, as well as hiring teams and drivers. These preparations consumed much time, but in 1909 a total of 218 head were shipped.<sup>217</sup>

In 1910 a new problem was encountered. Some of the old bulls became so vicious they would charge a rider a quarter of a mile away and they would not permit the female stock to be driven. Pablo proposed shooting these old bulls, but the state game authorities registered a

protest. This legal problem was settled by a ruling of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but this took time, and only 66 buffalo were shipped in 1910.<sup>218</sup>

In 1911 and 1912 the situation really degenerated to one of diminishing returns. Pablo, however, had a sizeable investment in corrals, wing fences, crates, and horses and wanted to ship as many buffalo as possible. By this time the buffalo had grown extremely wary and were only found in the most inaccessible areas of the mountains. They would take flight sometimes before the riders even spotted them. This meant that the round-up had to be conducted in winter when the snow would make it possible to track the animals. Added to the other difficulties this made the round-up task almost an impossibility, and only seven animals were shipped in each of these last two years. After this Pablo gave up and the animals that remained at large eventually became the victims of settlement.<sup>219</sup>

The Canadians were very generous with Pablo, always giving him more time in which to complete the round-up and appropriating additional sums of money to purchase the growing number of animals. They soon realized that Elk Island Park was insufficient for the size herd they were acquiring and established a new park at Wainwright, Alberta. This park contained over 170 square miles of well watered grazing land of the finest quality. When

this park was ready, most of the animals at Elk Island were shipped there, but a nucleus herd remained at the Elk Park and this herd, together with the one at Banff, gave the Canadians three public herds. To insure against the dangers of inbreeding, some of the Pablo animals went to Banff and Banff animals were transferred to both Elk Island and Wainwright. In addition the Canadians bought 30 head from the Conrad herd at Kalispell, Montana, and released them to Wainwright.<sup>220</sup> These additions completed the formation of the huge Wainwright herd which can be briefly summarized as follows:

Buffalo Received from Michel Pablo:

<u>Shipments</u>	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Date Receipt Signed</u>	<u>No. of Head</u>
1st	Elk Island	June 1, 1907	199
2nd	Elk Island	October 22, 1907	211
3rd	Wainwright	July 3, 1909	190
4th	Wainwright	November 9, 1909	28
5th	Wainwright	June 21, 1910	46
6th	Wainwright	October 19, 1910	28
7th	Wainwright	June 16, 1911	7
8th	Wainwright	June 6, 1912	<u>7</u>
Total			716 head

Shipments to Wainwright Park:

<u>From Pablo Herd:</u>		June 16, 1909	325*
		July 3, 1909	190
		October 17, 1909	28
		June 12, 1910	46
		October 17, 1910	28
		May 30, 1911	7
		June 30, 1912	<u>7</u>
		Total	631 head 631
<u>From Conrad Herd:</u>		November 23, 1910	15
		April 20, 1911	<u>15</u>
		Total	30 head 30



<u>From Banff:</u>	October 31, 1909	77	
	March 31, 1914	<u>10</u>	
	Total	87 head	<u>87</u>
	Grand Total		748

\* These animals were shipped from Elk Island. All other shipments came directly from Montana.

If one act had to be singled out that more than any other assured a continuing increase in buffalo numbers, it would be the successful acquisition by Canada of the Pablo herd. That herd contained almost 30 per cent of the world's buffalo population, and the Canadian acquisition was a guarantee that these animals would remain permanently in a breeding situation. Wainwright Park contained enough excellent grass lands to adequately pasture 6,000 head of buffalo.<sup>222</sup> In retrospect it seems fair to say that this act alone would have saved the species. But the willingness of Canadian authorities to take such a large step in the interest of the buffalo must surely have played a part in stimulating the Americans to be less niggardly in their own steps to preserve the species. In this respect also the Canadian acquisition was an important event in the movement that resulted in the preservation of the buffalo.

One final point must be emphasized. Well before the completion of Pablo's last round-up, the buffalo was considered saved. Hornaday put the date as early as 1909.<sup>223</sup> By that time there were three public herds

in Canada and three in the United States, in addition to several large private herds. All of these herds were widely separated, protected from hunters, and provided with sufficient pasturage. Several more public herds were yet to be established in the U. S., but it was clear to contemporaries who watched this matter closely that shortly after the Canadian purchase the species could be considered saved. Not only was the buffalo continuing to increase his numbers, but public provisions were being made which would allow the species to maintain themselves on a permanent basis. Thus in a surprisingly short time after the buffalo was thought to be on the verge of extinction, his ultimate survival was assured.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Daily Missoulaian, July 28, 1896.
2. D. J. Benham, "The Round-up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11.
3. Forest and Stream, Vol. 59, July 12, 1902, pp. 24-26.
4. D. J. Benham, Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11.
5. Boston Evening Transcript, September 14, 1904, p. 16.
6. Forest and Stream, Vol. 59, July 12, 1902, pp. 24-26.
7. John F. Lacey Papers, 1902, Political, Letter from Hornaday to Lacey, January 24, 1902. See also Forest and Stream, Vol. 65, July 1, 1905, p. 1.
8. N.A.R.S., RG 79, Records of National Park Service, Letters Relating to Yellowstone, No. 1143, 1902.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid. No. 4180, 1902.
12. Stat. L., Vol. 33, pt. 1, p. 302.
13. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1909, p. 40.
14. W. A. Bartlett, "The Story of the Buffalo" unpublished Montana W.P.A. Project on Buffalo, interview with Tony Barnaby.
15. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, letter from Wm. Loeb to W. A. Richards, March 28, 1905.

16. Ibid.
17. Ibid. Letter from J. H. Finkle to Theodore Roosevelt, March 30, 1905.
18. Forest and Stream, Vol. 65, p. 1, July 1, 1905.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Congressional Record, 59th Congress, First Session, Vol. 40, Part I, p. 103, message of President Theodore Roosevelt to Congress, December 5, 1905.
22. Second Annual Report of the New York Zoological Society, 1908-1909, p. 2.
23. N.A.R.S., RG 16, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture, Letters Sent, January 24, 1905.
24. D. J. Benham, "The Round-Up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9-11.
25. Fred Cook, "Giants and Jesters in Public Life," Calgary Herald, January 16, 1936, p. 17.
26. Hudson Bay Library, Winnipeg, Buffalo Preservation File Folder, letter from Norman K. Luxton to Hudson Bay Library, January 10, 1948.
27. Fred Cook, "Giants and Jesters in Public Life," Calgary Herald, January 16, 1936, p. 17.
28. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209, No. 1, letter from J. Obred Smith, Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg to W. D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration at Ottawa, November 20, 1905.
29. Ibid. Letter from Ben Davies, Canadian Emigration Agent at Great Falls, Montana, to W. D. Scott, March 6, 1906.

30. Ibid. Letter from J. O. Smith to W. D. Scott, November 20, 1905.
31. Ibid.
32. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Keyes to W. W. Cory, December 1, 1905.
33. Ibid. Letter from Cory to Keyes, January 8, 1906 and letter Keyes to Smith, January 10, 1906.
34. Ibid. Letter from Davies to Scott, March 6, 1906.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid. Letter from Scott to Campbell, March 20, 1906.
37. Ibid. Letter from Cory to Scott, March 24, 1906.
38. Ibid. Letter from Scott to Davies, March 28, 1906.
39. Ibid. Letter from Douglas to Cory, May 28, 1906.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid. Letter from Davies to Scott, June 8, 1906.
42. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, June 15, 1906.
43. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 76, Vol. 107, File 439371, letter from Davies to Scott, June 8, 1906. See also RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letter from Ayotte to Douglas, April 22, 1907.
44. Ibid. Letter from Douglas to Cory, June 15, 1906.
45. Ibid. He estimated the herd at "75 bulls, aged 75 cows, aged 50 steers, aged 100 1, 2 and 3 year olds and 50 calves. Some of the Bulls are very old, but their head and robe would be worth more than the

price asked. The Steers could be gradually sold, if thought advisable, for what they cost, and thus get the herd in good shape."

46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Helena Independent, April 6, 1907, p. 1, Butte Miner, April 7, 1907, p. 4, Daily Missoulian, April 26, 1907, p. 8, Kalispell Bee, May 21, 1907, p. 5.
49. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-1907, pp. 1-14.
50. Congressional Record, 59th Congress, First Session, Vol. 40, Part I, p. 103, message of President Theodore Roosevelt to Congress, December 5, 1905.
51. U. S. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Vol. 73 - p. 416, letter from Theodore Roosevelt to the Eaton brothers, July 8, 1907.
52. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, January 17, 1907.
53. Dixon Craig, "He Created Buffalo Park," Edmonton Journal, January 8, 1929. See also D. J. Benham, "The Round-up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11. Also interview by author of Miss Eleanor G. Luxton in Banff, Alberta, August 22, 1973.
54. Edmonton Bulletin, July 17, 1893 and April 5, 1894, and April 16, 1894.
55. Alan Macdonald, "Edmonton's Frank Oliver," Edmonton Journal, July 6, 1960. See also Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Frank Oliver File, biographical statement filed August 8, 1964.
56. Interview by author of Miss Eleanor G. Luxton in Banff, Alberta, August 22, 1973.

57. D. J. Benham, "The Round-up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11.
58. Dixon Craig, "He Created Buffalo Park," Edmonton Journal, January 8, 1929.
59. Interview by author of Miss Eleanor G. Luxton in Banff, Alberta, August 22, 1973. See also Hudson Bay Library, Winnipeg, Buffalo Preservation File, letter from Luxton to Hudson Bay Library, June 10, 1948.
60. Dixon Craig, "He Created Buffalo Park," Edmonton Journal, January 8, 1929.
61. Letter of Miss Mabel B. Williams to W. Fergus Lothian, May 29, 1967 shown to author during interview with Mr. Lothian in Ottawa, November 19, 1973.
62. Interview by author of Miss Eleanor G. Luxton in Banff, Alberta, August 22, 1973. In the Crag and Canyon, May 11, 1907, p. 3, Luxton himself gives credit to Douglas for urging the purchase of the herd. He says, "The credit of the deal whereby Canada secured these animals is due Supt. Douglas, . . . ."
63. Interview by author of Miss Eleanor G. Luxton in Banff, Alberta, August 22, 1973. See also Archives of the Canadian Rockies, Banff, Alberta, "The Development of National Park Policy in Canada's Mountain National Parks, 1885-1930," unpublished Master's Thesis by Sylvia M. VanKirk, University of Alberta, 1969, pp. 156-162 and Eleanor G. Luxton, Luxton's Pacific Crossing, Sidney, British Columbia, Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1971, pp. 17-18.
64. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 76, Vol. 107, File 439371, letter from Douglas to Cory, May 28, 1906. See also Eleanor G. Luxton, Luxton's Pacific Crossing (Sidney, British Columbia, Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1971), pp. 17-18. See also Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letter from Douglas to R. A. Darker of Calgary, June 24, 1907.

65. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letter from Cory to Douglas, January 9, 1907.
66. Ibid. Letter from Douglas to Davies, January 14, 1907.
67. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, January 17, 1907. Douglas also noted that high water in the spring would make a trail drive difficult at that time of year.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid. Letter from Cory to Oliver, January 25, 1907.
70. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letter from Davies to Douglas, January 28, 1907. Sister Elizabeth Lent, a nun at the St. Ignatius Mission in the Flathead Valley, says in an article:

Few know that the famous contract was signed in a small frame house just down the road in the little town of St. Ignatius, Montana . . . the home of a Mrs. Dowd, then postmistress. Her only living daughter, a well-known old-timer, will tell you with an air of pride, "Yes sir! That contract was signed right here on the table in that back room. My own mother handed Pablo and Ayotte the pen and ink.

Ayotte of course was not authorized to sign the contract and did not do so, but the above evidence does suggest that perhaps Pablo and Ayotte did sign some kind of preliminary agreement in this meeting. See Elizabeth Lent, "Michel Pablo, Buffalo King," in The Apostle, Vol. 22, No. 7, July 1944. No such document was found, however, among the official correspondence in Ottawa.

71. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, February 4, 1907.



72. Ibid. Pablo was illiterate, but throughout the period of time covered by this sale and round-up several people handled his business papers and correspondence for him. J. B. Munroe visiting Pablo in 1902 for Forest and Stream found one of Pablo's daughters handling all his office work. See Forest and Stream, Vol. 59, July 12, 1902, pp. 24-26. For his official correspondence as well as financial advice Pablo relied on Mr. James Keith at the First National Bank of Missoula. See Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209, No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, March 1, 1907. For legal advice Pablo relied on Thomas C. Marshall from the prestigious law firm of Marshall, Stiff and Roberts of Missoula. See letter from Pablo to F. C. Morgan, Flathead Indian Agent, December 16, 1910 (letter written for correct reference). John Kidder in "Montana Miracle: It Saved the Buffalo," Montana; The Magazine of Western History, 15 (2): 52-67, Spring, 1965, says John P. Swee was a Pablo attorney and sometimes handled his correspondence for him.
73. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, February 4, 1907. The indices to letters received by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, U. S. National Archives, from 1890-1907 fails to show any grazing permits granted to Pablo. The central files of BIA relating to the Flathead for 1907-39 include two permits issued to Michel Pablo. On July 16, 1913 Pablo and Andrew Stringer were granted a permit to graze 30 horses and 140 cattle. On April 9, 1914 Pablo received another permit to graze 470 head of cattle. Neither of these latter permits indicates any intention to maintain a buffalo herd. This information is from Dr. Harold T. Pinkett, Chief, Natural Resources Branch, Civil Archives Division, U. S. National Archives to author, May 2, 1973.
74. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, February 4, 1907.
75. Ibid. Letter from T. G. Rothwell to Cory, February 15, 1907.
76. Ibid.

77. Ibid. Letter from Cory to Douglas, February 15, 1907.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid. Letter from Douglas to Cory, March 1, 1907. See handwritten note at the bottom of the first page of this letter believed to have been written by T. G. Rothwell.
82. Ibid. Letter from Cory to Keith, Manager of the First National Bank of Missoula, March 7, 1907. Pablo also confirmed that a copy of this contract was in the First National Bank at Missoula and that he had had his lawyer, Thomas C. Marshall, read over the contract. N.A.R.S., RG 75, Central Files, 1907-1939 BIA, 92843 - 1910 - 270 Flathead, letter from Pablo to F. C. Morgan, December 15, 1910. A visit by the author to the First National Bank at Missoula on July 27, 1973 found that the contract no longer survived.
83. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, duplicate "B" contracts (first contracts), and one copy of the "A" contract (second contract).
84. J. G. MacGregor, "The Return of the Buffalo," Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 9.
85. Ibid.
86. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Davies to Douglas, April 2, 1907 and letter from Davies to Cory, April 2, 1907. See also Great Falls Daily Tribune, April 2, 1907, "Canada Buys Buffalo Herd." The contract arrangements were completed by early March and it was not until April 2nd that news of the sale became known.
87. Letter from J. G. MacGregor to author, April 20, 1973.

88. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, June 15, 1906, letter from Douglas to Cory, January 17, 1907, and enclosed clipping, and letter from Douglas to Cory, February 4, 1907.
89. Ibid. Letter from Douglas to Cory, February 4, 1907.
90. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letter from Douglas to Cory, March 13, 1907.
91. Ibid. Another letter from Douglas to Cory of March 13, 1907 and letter from Cory to Douglas, March 23, 1907.
92. Ibid.
93. A search was made of the following sources for more information on this subject, but without success.
  1. Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 1906-7.
  2. Journals of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada.
  3. Report of the Auditor General.
  4. Canada: Public Accounts.

See RG 2, Series 1, August 31, 1907.
94. "Canada Buys Buffalo Herd," Great Falls Daily Tribune, April 2, 1907.
95. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letter from Ayotte to Douglas, April 22, 1907.
96. Ibid. See also The St. Paul Dispatch, April 10, 1907.
97. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letter from Ayotte to Douglas, April 22, 1907.

98. Ibid. Letters from Ayotte to Douglas, April 27, 1907 and May 4, 1907.
99. Ibid. Letters from Ayotte to Douglas, April 22, 1907 and April 27, 1907.
100. Helena Independent, April 6, 1907, p. 1.
101. Daily Missoulain, April 26, 1907, p. 8.
102. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letter from Douglas to Cory, April 11, 1907 and letter from Douglas to J. W. Defoe, Manager and Editor of the Manitoba Free Press.
103. Ibid.
104. Manitoba Free Press, April 28, 1907.
105. For information on the route of travel see the correspondence in Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910 and RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1 for March and April, 1907. The route as well as feeding and watering information was reconstructed from this correspondence. For a more general description of the route see Forest and Stream, Vol. 68, p. 737.
106. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, April 22, 1907.
107. Ibid. Telegram from Cory to Douglas, April 29, 1907.
108. Ibid. Letters from Douglas to Cory, April 22, 1907, and Cory to John McDougald, Commissioner of Customs, May 2, 1907, and letter from John McDougald to Cory, May 11, 1907.
109. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letter from Ayotte to Douglas, April 22, 1907.

110. Ibid.
111. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, June 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letter from Ayotte to Douglas, April 22, 1907.
112. Ibid. Letter from Douglas to Cory, March 13, 1907 and letter from Cory to Douglas, March 23, 1907.
113. Ibid. Letter from Douglas to F. A. Walker, May 3, 1907, letter from Douglas to Cory, May 3, 1907, letter from Douglas to Ayotte, May 3, 1907, and letter from F. A. Walker to Douglas, May 11, 1907.
114. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from F. A. Walker to Frank Oliver, June 18, 1907. See also Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Accession No. 70.290 correspondence between F. A. Walker and Commander Strickland, R.N.W.M.P. between May 25 and June 15, 1907.
115. "Across the Reservation," Kalispell Bee, June 28, 1907, p. 3, and personal investigation by the author on visits to the valley in the summers of 1969 and 1973.
116. J. B. Munroe, "Montana's Buffalo, The Pablo-Allard Herd," Forest and Stream, Vol. 59, July 12, 1902, pp. 24-26.
117. Ibid.
118. D. J. Benham, "The Round-Up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11.
119. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, list of expenses on first round-up prepared by Pablo on June 15, 1907. Through the years of the round-up many different men worked for Pablo and a complete list of their names will probably never be assembled. The following is a list of all the riders found by the author to have worked for Pablo at one time or another on the buffalo round-up: Joe Marion, Joe

Houle, George Sloan and probably his son Walter Sloan, John Decker, Fred Decker, Jim Michael, Arthur Ray, Tony Barnaby (Pablo's son-in-law), Zephyr Courville (Allard's brother-in-law), Frank McCloud, Malcolm McCloud, James Peone, Jim Grinder, Antoine Morijeau, Bill Lewis, Billy Ervine, Mrs. Emily Ervine, Billy Archibald, Tom "Butch" O'Connell, Charles Allard, Jr., Joe McDonald, Johnny McDonald, Josephine Brown, Marcel Michel, Jim Michel, Luiz Ashley, Alex Pablo, Don Michel, Alex Ashley, Louie Pablo, Joe Pablo, and of course Michel Pablo rode himself. Emphasis should be made again that this is by no means a complete list.

120. D. J. Benham, "The Round-up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. Ibid.
125. Ibid. See also W. A. Bartlett, "Bartlett Manuscript," unpublished Montana W.P.A. Writer's Project on buffalo, Special Collections, Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana, October 23, 1941, entry number 300.148 or 910.017.
126. Daily Missoulian, May 29, 1907 mentions the buffalo's hesitation in the sight of pens and this tendency has been noticed by the author when he was in attendance at the Custer State Park round-up in the fall of 1969.
127. D. J. Benham, "The Round-up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11.
128. At one time Douglas made an estimate of 220 head and later he revised the estimate to 250. See Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, May 22, 1907, letter from Douglas to Cory, June 11, 1907.

129. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letters from Ayotte to Douglas of April 22, 24, and 27, 1907.
130. Ibid. Letter from Pablo to Douglas, April 15, 1907, letter from Douglas to Cory, May 3, 1907, and letter from Cory to Douglas, May 8, 1907.
131. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, May 3, 1907.
132. Ibid. Letter from Douglas to Cory, June 11, 1907.
133. Ibid. Letter from Douglas to Cory, May 22, 1907 and letter from Douglas to Cory, June 11, 1907.
134. Ibid. Letter from Douglas to Cory, May 22, 1907.
135. Ibid.
136. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letter from Ayotte to Douglas, April 22, 1907.
137. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, June 11, 1907. See also Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 224, U. 213 No. 1, November, 1908 - December, 1929, Frederick Talbot, "The Last Great Buffalo Round-up."
138. D. J. Benham, "The Round-up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11.
139. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, June 11, 1907. Douglas estimated that Pablo brought in 60 - 75 head on each of three drives from the holding corral on his ranch to the Ravalli corrals.
140. W. A. Bartlett, "Bartlett Manuscript," Special Collections, Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana,

October 23, 1941, entry number 300.148 or 910.017, interview of Robert A. McCrea, an eye witness to the round-up, by Bon I. Whealdon.

141. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, June 11, 1907.
142. W. A. Bartlett, "Bartlett Manuscript," Special Collections, Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana, October 23, 1941, entry number 300.148 or 910.017.
143. Ibid. See also Daily Missoulian, May 29, 1907.
144. Daily Missoulian, May 29, 1907.
145. Ibid.
146. The layout of the town of Ravalli and the pattern of the corrals was worked out from a study of photographs 2, 4, 8, 9, 11, 12, and 18 of Prof. Morton J. Elrod. These were 1907 photographs and can be found at the Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana. Norman K. Luxton photograph No. 9 was also helpful and can be found at Montana Historical Society.
147. D. J. Benham, "The Round-up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11.
148. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 224, U. 213 No. 1, November, 1908 - December, 1929, unidentified article entitled "The Last Great Bison Hunt."
149. D. J. Benham, "The Round-up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11.
150. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 224, U. 213 No. 1, November, 1908 - December, 1929, Frederick A. Talbot, "The Last Great Buffalo Round-up." See also Benham.



151. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 224, U. 213 No. 1, November, 1908 - December, 1929, Frederick A. Talbot, "The Last Great Buffalo Round-up." See also Benham.
152. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 224, U. 213 No. 1, November, 1908 - December, 1929, Frederick A. Talbot, "The Last Great Buffalo Round-up." See also Benham.
153. Frank G. Roe, The North American Buffalo, University of Toronto Press, 1951.
154. Daily Missoulian, May 29, 1907.
155. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 224, U. 213 No. 1, November, 1908 - December, 1929, Frederick A. Talbot, "The Last Great Buffalo Round-up."
156. D. J. Benham, "The Round-up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11. See also Talbot.
157. D. J. Benham, "The Round-up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11.
158. Ibid.
159. Norman K. Luxton, "Buffalo Corralled," Crag and Canyon, June 8, 1907.
160. D. J. Benham, "The Round-up of the Second Herd of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11. Luxton said cotton was hung over these partitions in the cars. This was apparently an attempt to give the partition a solid appearance and discourage the buffalo trying to push through. Interview by author with Miss Eleanor G. Luxton in Banff, August 23, 1973.
161. Ibid. Usually no more than eight bulls were placed in a car because the railroad rates increased when more than eight animals were placed in one car.

- See Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, June 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letter from Douglas to Ayotte, May 3, 1907. See also Kalispell Bee, May 31, 1907.
162. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209-A, June 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910, letter from Douglas to Ayotte, May 3, 1907.
  163. John Kidder, "Montana Miracle: It Saved the Buffalo," Montana: The Magazine of Western History, 15 (2): 52 - 67, Spring, 1965, p. 60.
  164. Ibid. Kidder says that "Corbett" did escape through the side of the car, however, in an August 6, 1973 interview with Mr. Art Cantrill of Dixon, Montana, an eye witness to the event, the author was told that "Corbett" did not escape.
  165. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, June 11, 1907.
  166. Crag and Canyon (Banff), June 8, 1907.
  167. Montana Historical Society, Helena, letter from Norman K. Luxton to Michael Kennedy, Director of the Montana Historical Society, August 18, 1956.
  168. Sam E. Johns, "The Pioneers," unpublished manuscript in the Flathead County Library, Kalispell, Montana, p. 97.
  169. D. J. Benham, "The Second Round-up of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11.
  170. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, May 22, 1907.
  171. D. J. Benham, "The Second Round-up of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11.

172. Montana Historical Society, Helena, letter from Luxton to Kennedy, August 18, 1956.
173. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, June 11, 1907.
174. Montana Historical Society, Helena, letter from Luxton to Kennedy, August 18, 1956.
175. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, June 11, 1907.
176. Ibid. This figure is obtained from mathematical deduction. Douglas reported delivering 187 head to Lamont including seven from the Banff herd; 16 Pablo buffalo were sent to Banff. That makes a total of 196 buffalo. In addition six animals died in transit meaning 202 buffalo were loaded into the cars at Ravalli in the spring of 1907.
177. D. J. Benham, "The Second Round-up of Pablo's Buffalo," Edmonton Bulletin, November 8, 1907, pp. 9, 10, and 11.
178. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, June 11, 1907.
179. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 224, U. 213 No. 1, November, 1908 - December, 1929, Frederick A. Talbot, "The Last Great Buffalo Round-up."
180. Crag and Canyon (Banff), June 8, 1907. See also Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, June 11, 1907. Douglas reported that Pablo spent over \$1,000 on the partitions and ropes alone.
181. "First Shipment of Buffaloes Safely in Elk Island Park," Edmonton Daily Bulletin, June 3, 1907, p. 1.
182. "Loading the Allard Buffalo for Shipment to the North," Daily Missoulian, May 29, 1907, p. 2.

183. "City in Brief," Daily Missoulian, May 30, 1907.
184. "Buffalo Here This Morning," Helena Daily Independent, May 30, 1907.
185. "Buffaloes Will Go Through City Today," Great Falls Tribune, May 30, 1907 and "Great Falls Sees the Passing of the Buffalo," Great Falls Tribune, May 31, 1907.
186. "Buffalo Herd On Its Way Here," Edmonton Daily Bulletin, May 31, 1907, p. 1.
187. "Buffaloes Off for Lamont," Edmonton Daily Bulletin, June 1, 1907.
188. Ibid.
189. Ibid.
190. The contract called for Pablo to make delivery at Strathcona. The money he was advanced was meant to pay shipping costs to this point. From Strathcona to Lamont Canada assumed responsibility for the buffalo and paid the shipping and unloading costs.
191. "Buffaloes Off for Lamont," Edmonton Bulletin, June 1, 1907.
192. "First Shipment of Buffaloes Safely in Elk Island Park," Edmonton Bulletin, June 3, 1907, p. 1.
193. Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Accession No. 70.290 letters of F. A. Walker and Major Strickland between June 5, 1907, and June 15, 1907.
194. Edmonton Bulletin, June 3, 1907, p. 1.
195. Ibid.
196. Ibid.
197. Ibid.

198. Ibid.
199. Ibid.
200. Ibid.
201. Ibid.
202. Ibid.
203. Ibid.
204. Ibid.
205. Ibid.
206. Ibid.
207. Ibid.
208. Ibid.
209. Ibid.
210. Ibid.
211. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from F. A. Walker to Oliver, June 18, 1907.
212. Ibid.
213. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 2, letter from Sargent Strickland to Oliver, January 23, 1908.
214. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 1, letter from Douglas to Cory, June 11, 1907.
215. Ibid. Letter from Keith to Cory, July 2, 1907 and telegram from Cory to Douglas, July 3, 1907.

216. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 2.
217. Ibid. and Vol. 108, BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910.
218. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 107, BU 209 No. 2 and BU 209-A, January 30, 1909 - December 14, 1910.
219. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 108, BU 209 No. 3, October, 1910 - February, 1928.
220. Dominion of Canada, Public Archives, Ottawa, RG 84, Vol. 224, U. 213 No. 1, November, 1908 - December, 1929 memorandum from Publicity Division to Campbell, August 31, 1925.
221. Ibid.
222. By the 1920's the herd had grown to 8,000 head. See Natural Resources, Canada, October, 1923, Vol. 2, No. 10.
223. Unpublished correspondence of the American Bison Society; Book I Correspondence, letter from Hornaday to Dr. H. Kreutzmann, June 24, 1909.

## CHAPTER V

### THE WORK OF THE AMERICAN BISON SOCIETY MONTANA NATIONAL BISON RANGE

After the first meeting of the American Bison Society in December, 1905, Dr. Hornaday wrote letters to many well-known authorities in different parts of the country and asked if they thought it was possible to save the buffalo. At the second meeting of the Society held February 2, 1906, the results of this correspondence were made known to the membership.

The Secretary read many letters concerning the preservation of the Buffalo from well-known authorities in different parts of the country. These letters were written in answer to a series of questions recently sent out by Mr. Hornaday, and the correspondents agreed that it was possible to save the Buffalo from extinction, and that the only sure way to accomplish its preservation was by establishing a number of buffalo herds in widely-separated parts of the country.<sup>1</sup>

Among the letters received was one of special interest from Professor Morton J. Elrod of the University of Montana at Missoula and a member of the Society.<sup>2</sup> Elrod noted in his letter that the Pablo-Allard Herd had increased tremendously on the Flathead Reservation with little or no attention from man. He pointed out that the reservation was going to be thrown open to settlement and

suggested that it might be possible to set aside a tract of land of sufficient size to accommodate a herd of buffalo. Compensation for this land would of course have to be made to the Indians.<sup>3</sup>

Throughout 1906 the American Bison Society held only one meeting of the Board of Managers,<sup>4</sup> but Hornaday was engaged with the establishment of the Wichita Herd and Baynes was continuing with his public relations activities. At the first annual meeting on January 10, 1907, however, definite action was taken. Hornaday again mentioned the suggestion of Prof. Elrod.<sup>5</sup> Following the method previously employed in the case of the Wichita Herd, Hornaday asked the Society for authority and funds to make a careful examination of the Flathead Reservation.<sup>6</sup> Baynes made a motion that Elrod be asked to make this examination and write a full report on his findings on all available locations.<sup>7</sup> This motion met with approval and \$250 was provided for Prof. Elrod's expenses in this undertaking. Also following the lesson he had learned in founding the Wichita Herd, Hornaday proposed that a nucleus herd should be presented to the government, which in turn would provide the land and fencing. This proposal also found acceptance.<sup>8</sup>

Prof. Morton J. Elrod was peculiarly well qualified to carry out the investigation which would determine the location of the prospective bison range. He not only held



the rank of professor at the University of Montana in nearby Missoula but served as the Director of the University Biological Station. In this latter position he had spent the preceding ten summers traveling over every portion of the Flathead Reservation, and was, therefore, very familiar with the land in question.<sup>9</sup>

Before beginning the investigation Prof. Elrod set down the following criteria that he felt the prospective range should meet:

#### Accessibility

For shipping animals, transportation of forage, procurement of fencing materials, and ease of public visit -- for all of these reasons the prospective site had to be reasonably near to the railroad.<sup>10</sup>

#### The Range

The range must provide suitable winter and summer grazing, with plenty of water. There must also be natural protection from storms and blizzards. The land itself must not be good for agriculture or, in other words, it must be non-irrigable land.<sup>11</sup>

#### Fencing

Since the range must be fenced it must be in a location where digging will not be difficult and where posts can be secured at minimum expense.<sup>12</sup>

#### Care-taking

The range would require a care-taker who would need

lodging and materials and communication with the outside world.<sup>13</sup>

Applying these criteria Prof. Elrod investigated four potential locations on the Flathead Reservation. Wild Horse Island in Flathead Lake was the first to be considered, and while it was a good potential range, it was rejected because of the distance from adequate transportation and the difficulty of public access.<sup>14</sup> The Little Bitterroot Country was also considered to be ideal range but much too difficult to reach easily.<sup>15</sup> The "Hills East of the Pend d'Oreille River" where the Pablo buffalo had roamed was also investigated, but was found to be too far from the railroads and a little short of water.<sup>16</sup>

The location Prof. Elrod finally recommended was the "Ravalli Hills and Meadows," the site of the present National Bison Range. This area was bounded on the north by Mission Creek, on the west by the Pend d'Oreille, or Flathead River, on the south by the Jocko River, and on the east by a ravine through which ran the main road from Ravalli to Flathead Lake.<sup>17</sup>

This range contained only five Indian allotments totaling 800 acres. Elrod recommended that these should be eliminated either by purchase or lien selections. Once they were eliminated the range would contain approximately 27 sections of land. In case the Indian allotments could

not be removed, Prof. Elrod suggested alternative plans for this location, but these plans would have resulted in a less desirable range of much smaller size. Beyond these concerns the land was free of any claims.<sup>18</sup>

In all respects this location met the criteria Prof. Elrod had previously established for the proposed bison range. A railroad, and road, ran close by the range providing easy public access and shipment of material and animals for the range. The range itself was strictly non-agricultural because it was too high for irrigation purposes and the hills were too steep for dry farming, yet the land was excellent for grazing. The land could accommodate 1,500 to 2,000 buffalo in summer and winter and provide good grazing for deer, elk, and even mountain sheep. While it would require twenty and one-half miles of fencing there were no hills to cross under this plan, and posts could be cut from the range itself. In the remainder of his report, Elrod discussed the character of the soil, vegetation, the timber, springs and streams, climate, and the animal life already found on the range. In every respect he found the location a suitable site for the proposed bison range.<sup>19</sup>

The people of the area had been very much disappointed to see the Pablo buffalo leave, and, therefore, very much favored the proposed range. Joseph Allard, Duncan MacDonald, a leader among the Indians and half-

breeds, and Col. Rankin, the allotting agent, all agreed that the site chosen was the very best the Flathead Reservation had to offer.<sup>20</sup>

The Elrod report was completed in 1907 and published in January, 1908. With this report in hand, the American Bison Society could approach Congress to set aside the proposed site for a permanent national bison range. Dr. Hornaday had very definite plans about the form this proposal should take.

The success achieved by the New York Zoological Society in founding the Wichita National Bison Herd seemed to point out the way by which a similar result might be secured in Montana. Congress had been found quickly responsive to a proposal that private individuals should join the national government in a measure intended to preserve the bison for a long period. It was proposed that a similar plan should be formulated for the founding of a national herd in Montana, and the necessary authority to act was given to the president.<sup>21</sup>

By this time, of course, news of the loss of the Pablo Herd was well known and Congress had received some criticism for allowing these animals to be removed from the country. Hornaday very wisely took the side of Congress, in effect, by stating what he considered to be "the real attitude of Congress toward the bison . . ."

In view of all circumstances, including a certain amount of criticism that has been aimed at Congress on account of the American bison, we deem it of interest to the public that a brief statement regarding the real attitude of Congress toward the bison should here be recorded.

In the belief that Congress would receive with serious attention a proposition of reasonable proportions, based on good business principles and common sense, a plan was formulated. It proposed that the national government should furnish a satisfactory bison range, and that the Bison Society should, at its own expense, provide a nucleus herd of pure-blood bison, and present it to the government as soon as the range could be made ready to receive it. It seemed to be the duty of the American people to do something more for the preservation of the bison than merely to exhort Congress to spend money, and bear the entire burden.<sup>22</sup>

When Dr. Hornaday went to Washington on March 2, 1908, to secure the introduction of a bill and open the campaign it was already late in the second session of the 60th Congress. Probably because Speaker Cannon, an opponent of conservation measures, dominated the House, Dr. Hornaday concluded that success could best be achieved by a bill that had passed the Senate. After a prolonged interview with Senator Joseph M. Dixon of Montana, he agreed to draw a bill, introduce it, and take charge of the campaign necessary in its behalf. His original bill (Senate No. 6159), was introduced on March 16, 1908, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, of which Senator Dixon was Chairman.<sup>23</sup>

The Appraisement Commission would not fix the value of the Flathead lands until late in 1908, and without knowing how much money would be needed to purchase the lands, Senator Dixon asked for \$30,000 for land acquisition and \$10,000 for the fence. On April 6, 1908,

the bill was favorably reported to the Senate along with a report containing letters from Edmund Seymour and Dr. Hornaday. The bill passed the Senate on April 15, 1908.<sup>24</sup>

To prepare for an expected battle in the House, the Board of Managers of the Bison Society were requested to do their utmost in correspondence with their friends in Congress in support of the measure. Among those who engaged in this campaign were Edmund Seymour, Prof. Franklin W. Hooper, Prof. C. M. Woodward, Harry W. Smith, F. H. Kennard and Madison Grant. Dr. Hornaday conducted a letter writing campaign by himself, sending letters to many members of the Senate and House. He was well pleased with the reception of this campaign.

It is no exaggeration to state that the Society's overtures were received by Congress in a friendly, and even cordial, spirit. Many Senators and Members of the House immediately announced their approval of the measure, and many more promised for it their serious attention. No effort was ever made to reduce the amount of the appropriation asked for; and no effort was made to bind the Bison Society by a formal agreement regarding the nucleus herd. Indeed, the Society was not even required to name the number of bison that the nucleus herd should contain, but the President freely stated our intention that the herd should contain "at least forty head of pure-blood animals, one-half of which should be females."<sup>25</sup>

It was now late in the Congressional session and there was thought to be little chance that the bill would reach the House calendar and come up for final passage before the end of the session. At the same time the bill

had to be enacted before the opening of the Flathead lands, therefore, it could not be delayed until the next session of Congress. The purchase of any portion of the range by private interests would block the entire undertaking.<sup>26</sup>

Because of the necessity for speed, Senator Dixon and his friends attached the bill to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill as an amendment. This move had the consent of Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson. This action put the fate of the bill in the hands of the Conference Committee on the Agricultural Bill. On this Committee the bill would require the support of two of the three House members.<sup>27</sup>

The three conferees on the part of the House were Representatives Charles F. Scott (Kansas), Chairman; Gilbert N. Haugen (Iowa), and John Lamb (Virginia). These three men went over the bison measure very carefully and obtained the views of President Roosevelt before reaching a favorable decision. They unanimously agreed to accept the bison amendment without alteration. Hornaday believed that Speaker Cannon was favorably disposed toward the bill as he was toward the founding of the bison herd in the National Zoological Park at Washington.<sup>28</sup>

All in all the bison measure went through Congress with much dispatch and for this Senator Dixon and Representatives Scott, Haugen and Lamb deserve the credit along

with those members of the Bison Society who were active in the campaign.

President Roosevelt signed the Agricultural Appropriation bill on May 23, 1908, and Dr. Hornaday received the pen with which the bill was signed.<sup>29</sup>

With the passage of this bill the next duty of the Bison Society was very clear to Hornaday. The Executive Committee had already been authorized at the second annual meeting to raise a special fund with which to purchase buffaloes to be placed on government lands, provided the government assumed the obligation for their maintenance. Hornaday immediately set about the very serious business of raising a special fund with which to purchase a nucleus herd.

It was regarded as far more desirable to receive the fund in a large number of small subscriptions than in a few large ones only.

By means of a circular letter each member of the Board of Managers was asked to procure subscriptions amounting to at least \$100. The other members of the Bison Society were asked to subscribe and to secure subscriptions, amounting to a total of at least \$10 for each member.<sup>30</sup>

Hornaday, however, soon expanded the activities of the campaign outside the bounds of the Bison Society itself.

In the belief that some of the mayors of some of our American cities having over 30,000 population would take an interest in the founding of the Montana Bison Herd, if invited to do so, the president of the Society wrote an urgent individual letter to each one of the mayors of 150 cities



containing 30,000 inhabitants, or above, excepting only those of New York and Boston. The officials addressed were asked to take such steps as might be necessary to cause subscriptions to be collected in their respective cities. There was no result.<sup>31</sup>

Two features of the campaign contained surprises for Hornaday. The first surprise was the splendid support that the undertaking received from the women of America. One hundred and twelve women contributed a total of \$1,227, with the largest contribution coming from Mrs. Ezra R. Thayer of Boston who sent in \$510. The second feature of the campaign to surprise the president was the failure of the West to contribute significantly. In large part the financial support necessary for saving the buffalo came from Eastern sources.<sup>32</sup>

The newspapers and magazines were very helpful in the fund raising effort. At least 50 publications brought the campaign before the eyes of their readers and put out a call for subscriptions. Forest and Stream and the Boston Transcript each made a special effort to secure subscriptions with substantial success. Several newspapers, including the Kansas City Journal, published identical editorials critical of the entire effort.<sup>33</sup>

Hornaday wrote the following brief account of the actual fund raising itself.

In January, 1909, when the total subscriptions amounted to but \$6,750, and the end seemed far away, we received two large subscriptions that

put new life into the canvass. Mr. Charles E. Senff, of New York, subscribed \$1,000, and Mr. William P. Clyde raised his first subscription of \$100 to \$500. Shortly after this, Mr. W. P. Norton, of New York, resolved to lend a hand, and started a list with a subscription of \$100. In a remarkably short time he secured \$1,000, and at the same time Mr. G. Frederick Norton raised \$315 more. These welcome sums brought the total up to \$9,465, and then it was that an appeal to Mr. Howard Elliott of St. Paul, Minnesota, brought a subscription of \$1,000. This generous sum, with a few others, handsomely closed the campaign with \$10,560.50, or \$560.50 more than the sum originally called for. Of course any extra amount that hereafter may be secured will be accepted and expended in the purchase of bison. If we were in possession of sufficient cash, the Bison Society would gladly purchase and present to the government 75 bison instead of 50.<sup>34</sup>

Gift bison were promised from James J. Hill, John E. Dooly, James Philip, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Goodnight, and the C. E. Conrad Estate.<sup>35</sup>

With Congressional approval secured and the funds in hand, the only remaining problem was the actual preparation of the land to receive the bison. The report of the Appraisement Commission, acting upon the salable lands of the Flathead Indian Reservation, revealed the fact that the \$30,000 appropriated by Congress for the purchase of 20 square miles of grazing land, was sufficient to pay for the whole 28 square miles included in the original "ideal Range" in the Elrod report. This could be done without any further appropriation by Congress.<sup>36</sup>

To get on with the work of completing the preparation of the land, three officers from the three different bureaus concerned met at Ravalli to make a careful examination of the proposed range and its environs. On October 28, 1908, Dr. C. Hart Merriam, Chief of the Biological Survey, J. P. Martin, Engineer of the Forest Service, and F. X. Salzman, Chairman of the Allotment Commission of the Indian Bureau, inspected the whole area. For several days they examined the boundary and took photographs. They found the steep and rocky hills along the east and south sides of the 20-mile range rather difficult terrain for fence building. Lower down a much larger area could be fenced much more cheaply. It was also agreed to provide a fence that would be 88 inches high, and could hold antelope as well as bison.<sup>37</sup>

All parties agreed that Congress should be asked to authorize the purchase of additional land up to 20,000 acres with the \$30,000 available and to turn the balance back into the treasury. There was a further agreement to ask Congress for \$3,000 more for fencing as the original fencing appropriation of \$10,000 was insufficient. Senator Dixon immediately took the necessary action on these requests. The appropriation of \$3,000 was granted in an item attached as an amendment to the General Deficiency Bill, and authority for the purchase of the additional

land was secured in the item for the Biological Survey in the Agricultural Appropriation Bill. Both of these measures became law on March 4, 1909.<sup>38</sup>

At the annual meeting held in January, 1909, a Committee on the purchase of the Montana National Herd was appointed by the Society. It consisted of the President, Vice-President F. H. Kennard, and the Treasurer, Clark Williams.

To the Purchasing Committee, three considerations appeared of prime importance. These were (1) the desirability of purchasing from a herd containing no strains of domestic blood; (2) the necessity of selecting the most hardy stock available, and (3) economy in transportation to the range.<sup>39</sup>

Even before the completion of the fund Dr. Hornaday had been in correspondence with Mrs. Alicia D. Conrad, Executrix of the Conrad Estate, owner of the herd of bison established by C. E. Conrad. This herd was in Kalispell, Montana, in close proximity to the proposed range, contained no domestic blood, and with 92 animals in the summer of 1909, provided a satisfactory range of choice in the selection of individuals for the new herd. The asking price was \$275 per head and at first Hornaday objected to this because it was higher than the Canadian Government had paid for the Pablo buffaloes. But eventually Hornaday had to pay this price. There was concern for a while that the Canadians might buy this herd as well.<sup>40</sup>

The Purchasing Committee decided that it was their

responsibility to the subscribers of the fund to go out to Montana and supervise the purchase of the herd and inspect the range. Treasurer Williams was unable to go but in September, Hornaday and Kennard journeyed to Kalispell and Ravalli and rendered their services.<sup>41</sup>

They found the Conrad Herd immaculately pure of blood and free of aged and useless animals. The herd was sufficiently accustomed to men and horses to permit Hornaday and Kennard to view its members at close quarters, and they reported all animals in good health and full vigor.<sup>42</sup>

A price of \$275 per head, including delivery to the range, had already been agreed upon and a contract with Mrs. Conrad was executed. The American Bison Society bought 34 carefully selected bison which made up the nucleus herd. The make-up of the herd was as follows:

#### MALES

1	"Understudy" to "Kalispell Chief," five years old.
2	Males four years old.
2	Males three years old.
3	Males two years old.
<u>4</u>	Males one and one-half years old.
12	Total

#### FEMALES

3	Females six years old.
7	Females four to five years old.
3	Females three years old.
5	Females two years old.
<u>4</u>	Females one and one-half years old.
22	Total
34	Grand Total <sup>43</sup>

In addition to the above purchased animals, the Conrad Estate gave as a gift one male herd leader, Kalispell Chief, seven years old, and one female herd leader, six years old. Early in the spring of 1909, Charles Goodnight had forwarded a pair of gift bison to be added to the nucleus herd. During the interval the male individual had died, but the female was shipped to Ravalli as part of the nucleus herd. The nucleus herd was then composed of 37 head of bison.<sup>44</sup>

After the survey of the land for the range, Hornaday reported:

It was found that notwithstanding the most careful estimate that could be obtained in advance regarding the probable cost of the range lands, the final appraisement fixed the cost of the land at \$28,955.48. That sum was \$5,955.48 greater than was expected, and of course it depleted the allotment of \$20,000.00 for the fence by that amount.

Notwithstanding the serious situation that thus was created, the Department of Agriculture steadfastly insisted upon the vital necessity of acquiring the full area of twenty-nine square miles, originally proposed as the ideal range. On December 16, 1909, the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. James Wilson, called upon Congress for a deficiency appropriation of \$7,700 with which to make good the depletion of the fund for fencing, and also to make several minor permanent improvements on the range. In connection with this deficiency item, and in many other ways, Dr. T. S. Palmer, of the Biological Survey, rendered the government and the public very valuable services. The deficiency appropriation of \$7,700 was promptly granted by Congress, and became available in ample time to meet the demands of the work.<sup>45</sup>

In the fall of 1909, Dr. C. Hart Merriam, Chief of the Biological Survey, again visited the range and devoted

much personal attention to the work of completing the range properly and on time.

To save time and secure the best quality fence, the Forestry Bureau decided to build the fence with its own men and under the daily supervision of one of its own engineers. This task was assigned to Mr. E. W. Kramer, construction engineer of the Missoula Branch of the Bureau. The Purchasing Committee visited him and his men in the field while they were at work on the fence and reported that the manner in which the work was progressing "left nothing to be desired."<sup>46</sup>

The fence is of Page wire, of the heaviest size, and at present it is six feet six inches in height. The posts are twelve inches higher than the fence, which renders it easily possible to add two more wires whenever the time arrives that the government desires to introduce a herd of elk. The posts are of oak, heavily tarred and creosoted for three feet of their length, and are set three feet into the ground.

A house for the warden of the range has been erected at the northwestern corner of the range, six miles from Dixon Station, and eleven miles from Ravalli, on the Northern Pacific Railway. A telephone line has been run on the tops of the fence posts from Ravalli to the warden's house. On the southern boundary of the range, south of the Jocko River and two miles from Ravalli, a switch from the railway leads into the range, and it was there that the herd was unloaded and set free.<sup>47</sup>

Andrew R. Hodges, of Colorado, was appointed warden of the new range after Civil Service Examinations in 1909. He reached Ravalli and entered upon his duties in September, 1909. He then went to Kalispell to learn from the

bison keepers of the Conrad Estate as much as possible regarding the individual traits of the animals shortly to come under his care.<sup>48</sup>

On October 11, 1909, Warden Hodges reported in person to Mrs. Conrad at Kalispell that the range fence was finished and the range was now ready to receive the animals. The next day the 37 bison were driven to the stockyards of the Great Northern Railway. Mrs. Conrad and her son directed the operation as the cowboys, without any shouting, which was forbidden in the handling of the Conrad Herd, drove each animal into a corral that communicated with the loading chute. In the middle of this chute was placed an especially prepared crate for each animal. The door at the end of the crate was raised and when the animal was driven into the crate the door was lowered and bolted shut. Then the crated bison was pulled and hauled into the railroad car for shipment.<sup>49</sup>

The bison shipment reached Ravalli on the night of Saturday, October 16, after being taken by railroad to Flathead Lake where they were put on board boats and shipped to Polson. From there they were hauled about 25 miles over land to the new range. On October 17, 1909, they were unloaded at the new switch on the south side of the range, two and one-half miles west of Ravalli Station. In the loading there were no mishaps. The bison backed out of the opened crates, splashed across



the Jocko River, and climbed up into their new home.<sup>50</sup>

In the spring of 1910, Warden Hodges reported that the herd had come through its first winter in fine shape. As master of the herd, Kalispell Chief had warned away his understudy, Ravalli Chief, and the latter had taken three cows and retired to the western side of the range.

During the month of May, 1910, Hornaday looked forward to the delivery of the ten remaining gift bison which would bring the nucleus herd total to 47 head.<sup>51</sup>

Upon the successful completion of the Montana National Bison Range, Hornaday wrote:

It is my opinion that as it is today established, the Montana herd alone will be sufficient to save the species from becoming extinct, and that within our own times it will make good to us the loss of the Pablo herd to Canada.<sup>52</sup>

On January 4, 1911, Hornaday reported on the progress of the gift bison. The bison from the Blue Mountain Forest were delivered and the Bison Society paid for the transportation after Hornaday got the American Express Company to reduce the rates by one-third. James J. Hill informed Hornaday that he got tired of waiting and had his buffalo killed. Hornaday was angered over this move and told Hill so. Hill had been elected a Patron of the Society on the basis of that gift and much publicity had been given to the gift. Mr. Dooly had found it impossible to deliver his bison because the water had risen

in the Great Salt Lake and they could not be driven through the water to shore, whence they could have been shipped. Mr. Philip, for unexplained reasons, had not shipped his buffalo. In the case of Mr. Dooly, the Bison Society asked him for the name of a man with whom they could make a contract to catch, crate, and deliver to an express company the Dooly buffalo.<sup>53</sup>

The published reports of the American Bison Society make no mention of the ultimate outcome of the promised gifts of Mr. Dooly and Mr. Philip.

The establishment of this large nucleus herd on the Montana National Bison Range was the most important accomplishment of the Bison Society. In the United States and Canada there now were six herds under government protection and to those who watched the welfare of the species closely the feeling of urgency was beginning to fade. All the herds, public and private, continued to show increases and the census for 1908 revealed the captive animals to exceed 2,000 head. Hornaday's statement that "the Montana herd alone will be sufficient to save the species" was beginning to be appreciated. The Bison Society, however, was now firmly organized, well respected, and in possession of battle tested formula for inducing the government to establish herds. While some of the old enthusiasm appeared to go out of the movement after the Montana herd

was established the buffalo's more conservative benefactors pushed on and saw to it that several more herds were placed under government protection.

#### WIND CAVE

Essential to the success of any group which seeks favorable legislation from Congress, is the service of a man who is familiar with the work of Capitol Hill. The Bison Society's man in this respect was Dr. Thomas Sherman Palmer, perhaps the buffalo's most conservative benefactor. An employee of the Bureau of Biological Survey, he was permanently in Washington where his main job was to protect the Bureau's interests in Congress. When he became a member of the Bison Society he performed this function for them as well. This was a tremendous aid to the Society, and their success on Capitol Hill was due in large part to the quiet, but diligent work of Dr. Palmer. The formation of the next three government herds was due more to his efforts than that of the Society.

Secretary Wilson was pleased with the success achieved by the Society in establishing the Montana National Bison Range and expressed his gratitude. He felt, however, that at least one other government herd should be established. On November 29, 1910, he wrote Hornaday as follows:

It would be desirable to have at least one other Government herd at some point in North or South Dakota in the region formerly occupied by the great herd which ranged over the northern plains.<sup>54</sup>

Dr. Hornaday resigned the presidency after the Bison Range was established and was succeeded by Prof. Franklin W. Hooper. The very first recommendation Hooper made to the Society was that they "seek to establish . . . a bison herd . . . in South Dakota, with the cooperation of the National Government. . . ." <sup>55</sup> At the annual meeting of the Board of Managers of the Society it was voted to turn this matter over to the Executive Committee with power to investigate its practicality.<sup>56</sup>

In February, 1911, Hooper went to Washington where he and Dr. Palmer, along with some other members of the Biological Survey, called upon Secretary Wilson and discussed his proposal for a buffalo herd in South Dakota. Wilson told them to get the cooperation of the Senators and Representatives of South Dakota and bring forth a workable plan. After this meeting Hooper and Palmer called on the members of the South Dakota delegation and found them all "actively interested." They all promised to do all they could for the measure both in Washington and in their home state.<sup>57</sup>

Hooper and Palmer next consulted with "the departments in Washington" about possible locations for a herd in South Dakota. They decided there were five possible

sites: Rosebud Indian Reservation, Standing Rock Indian Reservation, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, the Black Hills, and Wind Cave National Park, although this last location was thought to be short of water.<sup>58</sup>

At a special meeting of the Board of Managers, Hooper reported on this trip to Washington. Dr. Palmer then took the floor and asked bluntly if it was the will of the Executive Committee that a herd be established in South Dakota and whether or not they would provide financial support. Hornaday thought the Black Hills locations were preferable and suggested that Mr. Loring be hired to examine the various locations and submit a report as he had done in the case of the Wichita Herd. A vote was taken and the president was given power to act on this matter at a cost not to exceed \$500.<sup>59</sup>

Prof. Hooper next raised the question concerning an appropriation to pay for a nucleus herd. The Board of Managers had at their previous meeting voted to expend a sum not to exceed \$2,000 for this purpose. Hooper pointed out that \$2,000 would seriously deplete their treasury and would not buy many buffalo. He asked for a motion authorizing the Society to raise \$5,000 additional money for the purchase of a herd. After some discussion a motion was unanimously approved that the Society guarantee the government a minimum of 15 head if a herd were established.

The president was also given authority to appoint a Finance Committee to take up the question of raising the \$5,000.<sup>60</sup>

Hooper did hire Mr. Loring for \$150 a month, plus expenses, to make an examination of the potential locations in South Dakota.<sup>61</sup> On June 30, 1911, Loring left New York and examined all the sites. He found the locations on the Indian Reservations were too far from the railroads, the land would be too expensive, and there was no timber available for fencing. The Black Hills site had more water and would have been easier to fence than the Wind Cave location, but he thought if some additional land could be bought to assure a water supply the Wind Cave National Park was the best place to put a buffalo herd.<sup>62</sup>

Loring described the 10,500 acre site in great detail. There was plenty of timber for fencing and yet about two-thirds of the tract was open grazing country containing creeks, gullies, and several hills about 300 feet in height. Loring and Prof. Cleophas O'Harra from the South Dakota School of Mines, examined the Park with respect to the question of water and they decided that several properties adjoining the Park would have to be purchased to assure an adequate water supply for the buffalo. Also 17.5 miles of fencing would be required.

Finally, the Park was easily accessible and the people of the area, as well as the Governor and Congressional Delegation from South Dakota, offered to do what they could to help establish the preserve.<sup>63</sup>

Loring submitted his report in August, 1911. Palmer was one of the first to see it. He suggested that Senator Gamble from South Dakota should be asked to make an estimate on the land they had to purchase in order that they would know how much money to seek from Congress. Palmer estimated that the fencing would cost \$17,000.<sup>64</sup> Senator Crawford, however, proved to be the one who suggested that Seth Bullock, who had a son in the real estate business at Belle Fourche near the Park, be hired to make the estimate.<sup>65</sup>

At the sixth annual meeting of the Bison Society held January 11, 1912, Palmer explained the progress of the Wind Cave measure and suggested that Seth Bullock be hired to make the estimate. The Society voted unanimously to endorse the Loring report and secure the valuations on the land.<sup>66</sup> With this authority Palmer secured an estimate on the land of \$15,000.<sup>67</sup> The Bison Society paid Stanley Bullock \$125 for this work.<sup>68</sup>

In February, 1912, Hooper wrote a letter to Secretary Wilson telling him the progress they had made and said an appropriation of \$32,000 would be required. He wisely asked Palmer to read the letter before sending it.

Palmer edited the letter and very clearly asked Wilson for three different things:

1. The use of Wind Cave National Park for a game preserve.
2. An appropriation for the acquisition of additional lands.
3. An appropriation for fencing.

Hooper assured the Secretary that the Bison Society would place in the preserve not less than 15 pure-blood buffalo as soon as it was ready to receive them.<sup>69</sup>

Wilson replied on March 14, 1912:

The matter will be taken up at once and your plan will be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior and to Congress in the hope that the necessary legislation may be secured.<sup>70</sup>

This was good news indeed, but even better news came in April from Dr. Hornaday.

The New York Zoological Society, through its Executive Committee, authorizes me to offer to the American Bison Society a herd of ten buffaloes, consisting of males and females of various ages, for the nucleus herd with which to stock the Wind Cave National Bison Range, whenever it is established by Congress.<sup>71</sup>

Hornaday went on to explain that the Zoological Society would build the crates and provide the feed for the journey, but that the Bison Society would have to assume the transportation expenses.<sup>72</sup> Hooper was delighted with the gift and expressed his gratitude and appreciation to Hornaday.<sup>73</sup>

This gift came at a very appropriate time because



Rep. E. W. Martin and Senator Crawford had inserted clauses in the Agriculture Appropriation Bill in their respective houses, providing for the establishment of the Wind Cave National Game Preserve, and an appropriation of \$32,000 for land purchases and fencing. The Committee of Agriculture in both houses had the responsibility of considering this item and information about this gift and a copy of the Loring report was laid before each member of these two committees, as well as the press.<sup>74</sup> In addition, members of the Bison Society testified before both committees.<sup>75</sup>

The measure passed the Senate in mid-May and went to a Conference Committee of the two Houses. In the Conference Committee the amount of the appropriation was reduced to \$26,000, but Palmer was pleased that it passed as one lump sum and not a specified amount for both fencing and land acquisition.<sup>76</sup> With this minor change the bill came out of conference and finally passed both Houses in August, 1912.<sup>77</sup> Hooper congratulated Palmer on the passage of this measure and said "the general credit for the successful issue is due to you."<sup>78</sup>

In October Palmer went out to Wind Cave National Park and went over the ground with Fred M. Dille, the inspector in that area for the Biological Survey. He was "delighted with the outlook." He reported to Hooper:

The appropriation is inadequate to fence the entire park but . . . I find that we can enclose two large pastures . . . of 3,000 acres of the best grazing land. This will more than meet the needs for some years to come.<sup>79</sup>

Before any fencing could be done, however, they had to acquire the additional land. This was a long involved process, but throughout the ordeal Palmer kept Hooper appraised of the progress he was making.<sup>80</sup>

At the seventh annual meeting of the Bison Society held January 9, 1913, the generous offer of the Zoological Society was formally accepted, and Baynes announced the offer of a gift of five buffalo from the Blue Mountain Forest to stock the Wind Cave Preserve when it was established. This offer also was accepted and the Society voted an expression of its gratitude.<sup>81</sup> At this meeting Palmer reported that it was impossible to fence the entire 3,000 acre plot because of the impracticability of maintaining gates where the roads crossed the enclosure. For this reason the Bureau had decided to fence 1,640 acres in one place, and 4,160 in another, and connect them by a passage-way beneath the road. Palmer said he hoped the land acquisition business could be cleared up soon and the fence completed to receive the buffalo by the fall of 1913.<sup>82</sup>

All the land required for the preserve was acquired by the summer of 1913, but work on the fence was delayed longer than expected because of trouble in get-

ting the woven wire. On September 23, 1913, Palmer reported to Hooper:

. . . it will be impossible to complete the main enclosure in time to transfer the animals this autumn. We have therefore decided to try to build a 30 acre enclosure near headquarters in which the herd can be kept during the winter until the larger pasture is ready.<sup>83</sup>

Palmer instructed Mr. Dille to go to Wind Cave and push forward with the fence with all haste and to wire immediately when he was ready to receive the buffalo.<sup>84</sup> On October 15, Dille sent a telegram saying he would be ready in "two or three weeks."<sup>85</sup> Palmer forwarded this information to Hornaday who replied that they would arrange to ship on October 30th. The crates were then being made Hornaday said, and he had selected 14 of the most tractable animals for shipment, the Zoological Society having recently increased the size of its gift.<sup>86</sup>

On November 5th Palmer informed the Zoological Society and the Bison Society that the Preserve would definitely be ready within ten days to receive the nucleus herd.<sup>87</sup> Mr. Mitchell, from the Zoological Society, made the transportation arrangements and succeeded in getting the rate reduced by some \$400.<sup>88</sup> Mr. Dille and Mr. Rush from Wichita were brought to New York to accompany the shipment along with Mr. Mitchell.<sup>89</sup>

Crating of the seven cows and seven bulls from the Zoological Society Herd began on the morning of

November 24th.<sup>90</sup> The same chute arrangement was used that had been previously employed when the Wichita Herd had been shipped. The crating was completed in one day and the buffalo stored in a service building over night. The next day they were loaded on to the train at Fordham Station and hooked up to a fast train at Grand Central Station. At 6:15 that evening they began the journey to their new home.<sup>91</sup>

They took the New York Central and Michigan Central to Chicago and from there the Chicago and Northwestern to Hot Springs, South Dakota. They were scheduled to arrive at their destination at 9:30 AM and remarkable though it was, they arrived right on schedule.<sup>92</sup> Almost every truck and wagon in Hot Springs was pressed into service and the unloading was completed by noon. After a hurried lunch the procession began to move toward the range 11 miles away at 1:00 PM, and at 7:00 PM they reached the unloading point. Trenches had been dug just outside the entrance to the enclosure into which each wagon or truck was backed. This brought the crate near to the ground so they could be worked off just inside the fence. By the light of lanterns and bon fires they completed the unloading just before midnight.<sup>93</sup>

The next morning Dille, Mitchell, and Rush found the buffalo grazing contentedly in the temporary 55 acre

enclosure Mr. Dille had rushed to completion.<sup>94</sup>

At the eighth annual meeting of the Bison Society held January 8, 1914, President Hooper reported that the cost of this shipment was \$850 for transportation and \$230.10 for the attendants.<sup>95</sup> He reminded the members they had pledged to put 15 buffaloes on the Wind Cave Preserve and suggested that sometime in the coming season they should make additions to this herd. He thought it would be wise if some buffalo could be purchased from the Philip Herd.<sup>96</sup> Mr. Corbin of the Blue Mountain Forest Association said it was immaterial where his gift of Bison were sent so long as they would prosper and increase.<sup>97</sup> No other additions, however, were ever made to the nucleus herd at Wind Cave. Hooper closed the chapter on the establishment of this herd by presenting a letter of gratitude from Secretary of Agriculture, D. F. Houston, which read in part:

On behalf of the Department I beg to extend through you to the American Bison Society our thanks for this magnificent gift which has resulted in the establishment of another National game preserve and the acquisition of another herd of buffalo under Government auspices.<sup>98</sup>

#### NIOBRARA

At the fourth annual meeting of the Bison Society on January 4, 1911, Dr. Hornaday reported that a Mr.

John W. Gilbert of Friend, Nebraska, had advised Mr. George O. Shields, President of the League of American Sportsmen, that he was bequeathing to the Bison Society his herd of eight buffalo . . . "four bulls and four cows" . . . on the proviso that they not be taken east of the Mississippi River.<sup>99</sup> Hornaday wrote and thanked Mr. Gilbert for his gift and assured him that if the Society came into possession of the herd it "will be utilized to good advantage in some portion of the West."<sup>100</sup>

John W. Gilbert was born in Drake County, Ohio, July 31, 1840, but moved to Nebraska in 1865 with his family. The Gilbert family claimed 1,000 acres of land, worked hard, and in time became prosperous and comfortable members of their community.<sup>101</sup> Besides farming, Mr. Gilbert served as agent of the Page Woven Fence Company of Adrian, Michigan.<sup>102</sup> This company made the type of fencing required to enclose large game preserves and maintained a small buffalo herd of its own. In 1902, Mr. Gilbert fenced in 80 acres of land with Page fencing and bought a five-month old bull from the company. In 1903 he bought two heifer calves from the same company and another bull from a man in Buffalo Center, Iowa. By 1912 he had raised nine calves and six buffalo had been slaughtered or died.<sup>103</sup>

Nothing more was done with the Gilbert offer until Dr. Palmer made a motion at the Board of Managers

meeting January 12, 1911, that the Society secure from Mr. Gilbert "all information possible regarding the herd . . . and his wishes as regards its disposition . . ." At this time the Society voted Mr. Gilbert their "grateful thanks . . . for his gift."<sup>104</sup> Mr. Gilbert replied to this request by saying:

There was a bill before the Legislature last winter to purchase the Park and herd, . . . and perpetuate them here as a state Preserve but it failed to pass. I am 71 years old and if there is nothing done by the state or county to keep them here they will go to the American Bison Society at my death.<sup>105</sup>

At the sixth annual meeting of the Society held January 11, 1912, Dr. Palmer reported that the bill to create a State Park and Preserve out of Mr. Gilbert's holdings had been vigorously pushed but had failed nonetheless. He thought it might be brought up again at the next legislative session. Palmer was charged with the task of keeping an eye on state buffalo herds and reported on the Gilbert matter in this capacity. He went on to note, however, that it might be possible to have a herd in Nebraska not under state auspices because on January 11, 1912, the Niobrara Bird Reservation had been created by Executive Order. This reservation comprised some 10 or 12 thousand acres of land on the Niobrara River, near Valentine, Nebraska, including some grazing land and would only need a fence to make it an ideal refuge for buffalo.<sup>106</sup>

On May 12, 1912, Palmer received the following letter from George L. Carter of Nebraska:

Mr. J. W. Gilbert, an old gentleman at Friend, Neb., has a herd of wild animals, deer, elk and buffalo. When I was State Warden he made me the proposition that if the State would make provision to care for them he would donate one-half of the herd at that time, and the balance at his death. I could not interest the members of the Legislature at that time and he has made provision in his will to turn them over to the American Bison Society, and they have accepted the trust.

He is getting quite old and he tells me the animals are not getting the care he would like, and it would give him great pleasure to see them in the Niobrara preserve. This preserve if fenced would be a grand place for them. Do you think any arrangement could be made to take them over? P.S. I think there is 50 or 60 head altogether in the herd.<sup>107</sup>

Palmer replied immediately that there was no fence on the Niobrara Preserve and that the Bureau had no money or authority to construct fences on bird reservations. He felt, however, that "it might be possible in some way to provide a small temporary enclosure."<sup>108</sup> Palmer sent copies of this correspondence to Prof. Hooper who had replaced Hornaday as President of the Bison Society. Even more important, Palmer instructed Fred M. Dille, the Bureau's inspector in that area, to visit Mr. Gilbert and write a detailed report in order that he would have "the data necessary for intelligent action whenever opportunity offers."<sup>109</sup>

Mr. Dille reported that Gilbert had eight buffalo,



two bulls, one six and one eight years old, and six cows, an eight-year old, a nine-year old, a three-year old, a two-year old, and two yearlings. They were in good condition, even though they were in a pasture less desirable than the one at Niobrara. Dille felt sure he could easily fence just 160 acres at Niobrara that would be "superior to his in every way, . . ."110

On Mr. Gilbert himself, Dille said:

He is perfectly well except he has the palsey (sic) pretty bad and that scares him. He thinks he is going to die and he is anxious to have the herd disposed of before hand. He has several nephews, men of 30 to 40 years, that are running the farm lands, but none of them enthuse over such matters and Mr. Gilbert is in that frame of mind whereby he would give away everything, rather than see things go to the relations on his death.<sup>111</sup>

Mr. Gilbert had a corral and chute in one corner of his pasture for handling the buffalo and they would have to be accepted in the pasture with all expense and risk of moving assumed by the Bureau or the Bison Society. Gilbert further stipulated that "his name be identified with the herd so as to become a matter of history."<sup>112</sup>

Dille closed his report with the following recommendation:

I would suggest that we now take a bill of sale from Mr. Gilbert and in return enter into a contract with him . . . for keeping them, with a pasture charge and possibly a small compensation. This would put the transfer in a definite form and he would look at the matter as settled.<sup>113</sup>

Upon receipt of this report Palmer began laying plans. He reported to Hooper:

Our plan . . . is . . . to ask Congress to insert in the General Deficiency Bill an item authorizing the use of our regular appropriation for fencing. . . . This will probably be sufficient to enclose 160 acres which can be used as a unit pasture, to be added to later when necessary.<sup>114</sup>

Palmer informed Hornaday of his intentions and Hornaday advised Hooper that the matter should be acted upon quickly and suggested that appropriations for two or three areas of 160 acres each could be obtained as easy as for one. He felt the herd would increase and that the government would be wise to provide for this growth in advance.<sup>115</sup> The item failed to remain in the General Deficiency Bill and the issue was dead for that session of Congress.

Palmer did not give up, however. He evidently corresponded with C. H. Cornell of the "Commercial Club" in Valentine, Nebraska, and found that the people of that community "were desirous of having the game preserve established in their vicinity to compensate for the loss sustained . . . through the abandonment of the military post."<sup>116</sup> Niobrara had formerly been a military post. Here Palmer sensed a possible source of funds. He knew that the required area could be fenced for \$1,500 and he proceeded on Hornaday's principle that the citizens should

do more than exhort Congress to assume the entire burden.

He raised \$470 from the Commercial Club of Valentine on the condition that the balance be raised elsewhere. He secured \$100 more from the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad and then, in some way, persuaded the National Association of Audubon Societies to put up \$1,500.<sup>117</sup> On November 14, 1912, an Executive Order was issued enlarging the Fort Niobrara Game Preserve. This was done by adding to the portion already set aside that formerly was used as the parade grounds and headquarters for the old military post. Gilbert's offer was then formally accepted by the Secretary of Agriculture.<sup>118</sup>

On November 22, 1912, the Valentine Republican reported that Fred M. Dille had arrived in town with instructions to enclose 213 acres of the old parade ground at Fort Niobrara. The paper said that in order to secure the gift of Mr. Gilbert an enclosure had to be prepared immediately and for that reason the work was being pushed along even though it was late in the season.<sup>119</sup> In his report on the transfer, Dille said they were moved at this time in order that Gilbert would not have the burden of their care in the winter season.<sup>120</sup>

Dille described the Niobrara Reservation in his report:

The original military reserve comprised 37,000 acres . . . The Niobrara River runs east and west across the tract, about one-third of the

area lying north of the stream. This northern portion includes many sheltering bluffs, gulches, and warm winter slopes. Three small streams originating in perpetual springs and flowing down canyons to the Niobrara afford ample water. There is considerable timber with oak and ash thickets, and the whole is strongly sodded on a deep rich soil. . . . the buffalo need no better retreat than in the territory north of the river, where they could roam about numerous canyons and find ample natural shelter from the most severe storms.<sup>121</sup>

He further explained that the small area that had been pastured had been planned with a view to its use as a permanent exhibition pasture. The buffalo, elk and deer, would go into this enclosure and when more money was available the area north of the river would be fenced and become the buffalo's permanent home.<sup>122</sup>

Moving the animals proved to be a difficult task because three species were involved in the gift -- 17 elk, 2 deer, and 6 buffaloes.<sup>123</sup> The shipment had to be made in two trips. The buffalo were put in crates in the Gilbert corrals and hauled 14 miles to the rail-head at Friend, Nebraska. At Valentine there was a four-mile haul to the reservation. The buffalo were in the crates 44 hours, but they were turned loose in the new pasture on January 21, 1913, "without loss or accident."<sup>124</sup> To protect against the dangers of inbreeding, two bulls from the Yellowstone Herd were transferred to Niobrara in June, 1913.<sup>125</sup>

On February 14, 1913, the Valentine Republican reported that Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, had written to the Commercial Club of Valentine expressing the gratitude of his Department for the help furnished by the citizens of Valentine.<sup>126</sup> Thus another nucleus herd under government control was successfully established.

### SULLY'S HILL

This last small herd was the product of good intentions by the Bison Society and real effort by Dr. Palmer. In his report to the Society in January, 1914, Hooper related that a bill was then before Congress authorizing the use of Sully's Hill National Park as a game preserve. He urged the Society to cooperate with the federal government in establishing a nucleus herd in this Park and suggested five head could be brought from the Yellowstone Park Herd, which was now increasing its numbers, and the Society could donate five.<sup>127</sup>

Prof. Henry Fairfield Osborn succeeded Hooper as President of the Society in 1915, and in his first address to the members he reported that Congress had appropriated \$5,000 for fencing the Sully's Hill National Park.<sup>128</sup> Osborn was much encouraged over the appointment of his friend Stephen T. Mather as the Assistant

Secretary of the Interior. Prof. Osborn visited Mather in Washington and discussed with him the possibility of the government buying the Philip Herd which now numbered about 600 head. They concluded, however, that \$100,000 would be required to make this purchase which was beyond the will of the government and beyond the means of the Society. This matter, therefore, was dropped.<sup>129</sup> At the meeting of the Board of Managers, though, Osborn did succeed in getting a resolution passed committing the Society to the establishment of a nucleus herd at Sully's Hill.<sup>130</sup>

In 1917, Martin S. Garretson, Secretary of the Bison Society, explained to the members that they had over \$2,200 in their treasury and wanted to buy five buffalo for Sully's Hill, but due to the war it was almost impossible to arrange for transportation. He urged private owners to donate animals for a nucleus herd in this Park.<sup>131</sup>

In Washington Palmer was evidently trying to find some buffalo for Sully's Hill. In October, 1918, he wrote to Edmund Seymour, the last president of the Bison Society, as follows:

You will be interested to know that the City Park of Portland, Oregon, has offered us a herd of seven animals for Sully's Hill Game Preserve; that our appropriation bill has finally passed, and that we hope to transfer the herd this month.<sup>132</sup>

In January, 1919, Fred Dille went to Oregon and brought back just six animals which formed the nucleus herd at Sully's Hill National Park.<sup>133</sup>

The four herds discussed above were the only national herds successfully established by the American Bison Society. Under the final administration of Edmund Seymour the animals donated by Austin Corbin, Jr., were placed in the Pisgah National Forest and Game Preserve in North Carolina in 1919. Although this was native range for the buffalo, this herd did not fare as well as the animals on the preserves and refuges discussed above. Some of the Pisgah buffalo died the first year from eating a poisonous weed and the remainder of the herd never thrived in this southern location. In 1939 the last Pisgah buffalo died and their small exhibition pasture was disbanded.<sup>134</sup>

#### OTHER WORK OF THE AMERICAN BISON SOCIETY

Although the chosen province of this paper is the national effort that resulted in the preservation of the buffalo, no discussion of the work of the American Bison Society would be complete without at least a brief mention of its attempts to encourage state governments to establish buffalo herds. At the first meeting of the Board of Managers in January, 1907, Prof. Hooper proposed

that the Society establish a buffalo preserve on state lands in the Adirondack Mountains of New York. His proposal was accepted and the Society drew up a plan for the refuge and presented it to the New York Legislature in 1907. The bill asked for \$20,000 to be used for fencing and buildings needed to care for the buffalo. Members of the Society, led by Hornaday and Hooper, testified before committees of both Houses of the Legislature. Their lobbying proved effective, for the bill passed only to be vetoed by Governor Charles Evans Hughes. In defending his action, Hughes said the buffalo had never been native to the Adirondacks and that the funds could be better used elsewhere.<sup>135</sup>

The Society's interest in state herds continued, however, and at the Board of Managers meeting in January, 1909, a Committee on State Herds was formed. Dedicated men like Hornaday, Hooper, and Palmer served on this committee and at one time or another they tried to persuade state officials in Colorado, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin and West Virginia to form herds, but in no case were they successful.

There was one significant event at the state level in this period that bears comment even though the Society was not an active participant. In 1913 the South Dakota Legislature set aside 12 square miles



of land immediately adjacent to Wind Cave National Park on the north as a state game preserve. The land was fenced and in 1914 36 buffalo from the Philip Herd were purchased and released in this new refuge. This state game preserve is today Custer State Park, the only self-supporting park in the country.<sup>136</sup> The author was told on a visit to this beautiful Black Hills playground that the big attraction for most of the Park's two million annual visitors is the buffalo herd which is highly visible yet today.<sup>137</sup>

One of President Seymour's valuable contributions to the cause of the buffalo came during World War I. During this conflict, a shortage of beef and mutton brought together the sheep and cattlemen of the West in seeking the privilege of grazing their stock in the national parks and game preserves as a war measure. Seymour saw this move as a real and serious threat to the grazing land of the buffalo and other wildlife in these protected areas. He communicated with game protective organizations throughout the country urging them to unite against this measure if it ever reached Congress. Perhaps, more significantly, he gained the assurance of authorities in the Department of Agriculture that they opposed the efforts of the sheep and cattlemen. A constant vigil against this threat was necessary throughout

the entire war, but the national parks and game preserves remained free from commercial exploitation.<sup>138</sup>

As noted above, the effort to establish the Pisgah Herd in 1919 marked the end of the Bison Society's campaign to set up buffalo herds under government control. The Society, however, continued to monitor the buffalo situation through its censuses and publications. From 1908 to 1934 the Society took 18 censuses of the buffalo and published them in their annual reports. Gathering these statistics was no small task because it required voluminous correspondence. This was a necessary and valuable service, however, because only by closely monitoring these nucleus herds could the Society be assured of the success of their efforts.<sup>139</sup> The Society's two secretaries, William P. Wharton, and especially Martin S. Garretson, deserve most of the credit for performing this important service.<sup>140</sup>

Finally, the Society's publications continued the publicity and educational campaign originally initiated by Ernest Harold Baynes. The Society's annual report was printed in pamphlet form and distributed, not only to the membership, but to libraries, government officials, and anyone who was interested. The annual report, which was published from 1907 to 1930, not only recorded the Society's activities, but carried articles about the buffalo

in Canada and in Europe as well as material on other big game species.<sup>141</sup>

In its later years the Society's main function became largely educational in nature. They received hundreds of inquiries each year, especially from school children across the country. In response to this volume of inquiries, Martin S. Garretson, the Secretary, wrote a pamphlet entitled A Short History of the American Bison. Garretson's work was published by the Society in 1927 and sent, free of charge, to schools across the country.<sup>142</sup> In 1934 it was revised and republished.<sup>143</sup> In 1938, Garretson came out with a book-length study entitled The American Bison, which was published by the New York Zoological Society.<sup>144</sup> In spite of the availability of this published information, however, the Society continued to receive a growing number of inquiries each year. In 1940 Garretson answered more than 1,700 letters. Like all officers in the Society, he was unpaid.<sup>145</sup>

The work of the American Bison Society was crucial in the movement that led to the preservation of the buffalo because it assured the continuing increase of our greatest big game animal on a permanent basis. Before the formation of the Society, the buffalo was increasing its numbers to such an extent that this very increase was becoming a problem for the private owners. Clearly

if the species was to be saved this increase had to be provided for on a permanent basis. Since this provision was beyond private means, it was obvious to those interested in the preservation of the species that the government would have to assume the obligation. To persuade the government to accept this burden required organization, educational publicity to rally popular support, and a willingness to meet the government half way. These were the services the American Bison Society provided. They carefully formulated a plan which allowed the government to assume the desired responsibility without a huge initial investment. Then they prepared public opinion and mounted a rather effective lobby in Washington which achieved the desired end. When they had established sufficient numbers of herds to put the preservation of the species beyond doubt, they continued to monitor the situation through their censuses to make sure the nucleus herds were progressing as desired. In short they came on the scene when they were needed, performed the functions that were required, and then monitored the situation to make sure everything was working as they desired. This effort assured the permanent preservation of the species.

## FOOTNOTES

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4. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-1907, pp. 4-5.
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6. Book One, Minutes of the American Bison Society, unpublished papers of American Bison Society, pp. 28 and 32.
7. Ibid., see also Third Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1909-1910, p. 1.
8. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1905-1907, p. 1.
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34. Ibid.
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50. Ibid., p. 17.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Fourth Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1911, pp. 1-8.
54. Ibid., p. 9.
55. Ibid., p. 13.

56. Ibid., p. 22.
57. Ibid., p. 27.
58. Ibid., pp. 27-28.
59. Ibid., pp. 28-29.
60. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
61. Unpublished American Bison Society Correspondence at the Conservation Library Center, Denver, Colorado, Letter from Hooper to Loring, June 1, 1911.
62. Loring's entire report is published as an appendix to the Fifth Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1912.
63. Ibid.
64. Unpublished American Bison Society Correspondence, Letter from Palmer to Hooper, August 31, 1911.
65. Ibid. Letter from Palmer's assistant, Henry Oldys, to Hooper, December 14, 1911.
66. Fifth Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1912, p. 9.
67. Unpublished American Bison Society Correspondence, Letter from Hooper to James Wilson, February 27, 1912.
68. Ibid. Letter from Stanley Bullock to Hooper, February 12, 1912.
69. Ibid. Letter from Palmer to Hooper, March, 1912.
70. Ibid. Letter from James Wilson to Hooper, March 14, 1912.
71. Ibid. Letter from Hornaday to Hooper, April, 1912.



72. Ibid.
73. Ibid. Letter from Hooper to Hornaday, April 22, 1912.
74. Ibid. Letter from Palmer to Hooper, April 22, 1912.
75. Sixth Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1913, p. 10.
76. Unpublished Correspondence of the American Bison Society, Letter from Palmer to Hooper, August 3, 1912.
77. Ibid. Letter from Palmer to Hooper, August 12, 1912.
78. Ibid. Letter from Hooper to Palmer, August 15, 1912.
79. Ibid. Letter from Palmer to Hooper, October 3, 1912.
80. Ibid. Letter from Palmer to Hooper, March 14, 1913.
81. Sixth Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1913, p. 23.
82. Ibid., p. 24.
83. Unpublished Correspondence of the American Bison Society, Letter from Palmer to Hooper, September 23, 1913.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid. Letter from Palmer to Hooper, October 15, 1913.
86. Ibid. Letter from Hornaday to Palmer, October 16, 1913.
87. Seventh Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1914, p. 11.

88. Unpublished Correspondence of the American Bison Society, Letter from Hornaday to Hooper, October 25, 1913.
89. Seventh Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1914, p. 41.
90. Ibid.
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93. Ibid., pp. 45-47.
94. Ibid., pp. 48-49.
95. Ibid., p. 12.
96. Ibid., p. 13.
97. Ibid., p. 23.
98. Ibid., p. 51.
99. Fourth Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1911, p. 10.
100. Unpublished Correspondence of the American Bison Society, Letter from Hornaday to John W. Gilbert, January 19, 1910.
101. Unpublished paper giving a short biography of John W. Gilbert found in the Nebraska State Library, Lincoln, Nebraska, entitled "The Life of Honorable John W. Gilbert" by Frank T. Hamilton, M.D.
102. Unpublished Correspondence of the American Bison Society, Letter from Dille to Palmer, May 23, 1912.
103. Ibid. Letter from John W. Gilbert to William P. Wharton, Secretary of the American Bison Society, February 20, 1912.

104. Fourth Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1911, p. 22.
105. Unpublished Correspondence of the American Bison Society, Letter from John W. Gilbert to William P. Wharton, February 20, 1912.
106. Fifth Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1912, pp. 18-19.
107. Unpublished Correspondence of the American Bison Society, Letter from George L. Carter to Palmer, May 12, 1912.
108. Ibid. Letter from Palmer to George L. Carter, May 15, 1912.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid. Letter from Dille to Palmer, May 23, 1912.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid. According to the Valentine Republican, May 24, 1912, Dille investigated the Niobrara Reservation as well as the Gilbert Herd, but he made no mention of this visit in his report to Palmer.
114. Ibid. Letter from Palmer to Hooper, May 31, 1912.
115. Ibid. Letter from Hornaday to Hooper, June 5, 1912.
116. Clara Ruth, "Fort Niobrara Game Preserve," Bureau of the Biological Survey leaflet BS-109, p. 2. See also Valentine Republican, February 14, 1913, p. 5.
117. Sixth Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1913, pp. 37-39.
118. Clara Ruth, "Fort Niobrara Game Preserve," Bureau of the Biological Survey leaflet BS-109, p. 2.

119. Valentine Republican, November 22, 1912, p. 5.
120. Sixth Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1913, pp. 33-39.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid., p. 39.
124. Ibid.
125. Unpublished Correspondence of the American Bison Society, Letter from Charles Schultz, Assistant Warden at Niobrara, to William P. Wharton, March 18, 1914.
126. Valentine Republican, February 14, 1913, p. 5.
127. Seventh Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1914, pp. 14 and 25.
128. Tenth Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1915-1916, p. 17.
129. Ibid., p. 33.
130. Ibid., p. 35.
131. Annual Report of the American Bison Society, 1917-1918, p. 13.
132. Unpublished Correspondence of the American Bison Society, Letter from Palmer to Seymour, October 10, 1918.
133. Ibid. Letter from Dille to Garretson, January 2, 1919.
134. Martin S. Garretson, "A Short History of the American Bison" (New York, 1934), p. 50. See also Clara Ruth, Preserves and Ranges Maintained for Buffalo

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leaflet BS-95, p. 2.

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136. Martin S. Garretson, The American Bison (New York, 1938), p. 222.
137. Interview by author with Mr. Wes Broer, Assistant Superintendent at Custer State Park, at the Park on July 30, 1969.
138. Garretson, A Short History of the American Bison, pp. 49-50.
139. Reports of the American Bison Society (13 Vols., New York, 1907-1930).
140. Garretson, The American Bison, pp. 212-213.
141. Reports of the American Bison Society (13 Vols., New York, 1907-1930).
142. Ibid., (New York, 1934).
143. Ibid.
144. Garretson, The American Bison (New York, 1938).
145. Unpublished Correspondence of the American Bison Society, Letter from Seymour to Mrs. W. H. Miner, February 20, 1941.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS

The movement to preserve the buffalo began with the efforts of James McKay, Charles Alloway, Charles Goodnight, Walking Coyote, Frederick Dupree, and Charles J. Jones. Other benefactors of the buffalo also captured animals from the wild herd, but it was primarily the animals secured by the men listed above that provided the nucleus stock for the 30,000 buffalo found in North American today. As this precious nucleus began the journey down the road of recovery Michel Pablo, Charles Allard, and Col. Samuel L. Bedson secured a portion of the animals and provided for their protection and increase. Later these men were joined by Charles Conrad, Austin Corbin and others who established herds, thereby lightening the burden of private ownership and providing more protection against epidemic and disease through wider distribution of the available animals. Throughout this entire effort the buffalo were closely monitored and the animals were always maintained in a strong breeding situation.

With the dawn of the twentieth century, however, a new problem began to plague the buffalo's benefactors.

The increasing number of animals became a burden the private owners could not continue to bear. When this situation was clearly perceived those individuals interested in saving the species on a permanent basis followed the leadership of Ernest Harold Baynes and organized themselves into the American Bison Society. Their stated objective was "the permanent preservation and increase" of the buffalo. Under the leadership of Dr. William T. Hornaday and Baynes, the Bison Society formulated a plan to persuade the government to take over the responsibility of preserving the species. The plan consisted of giving the government a nucleus herd of buffalo if the government would provide for the land and fencing. In this way the permanent protection of the buffalo would be assured and a huge initial investment by the government would be avoided.

This general plan met with the acceptance of federal authorities whose previous efforts to protect the species in Yellowstone National Park and at the National Zoological Park in Washington, D. C., had not been sufficient to assure protection for the buffalo on a permanent basis. Under this plan herds were established at the Wichita Forest and Game Preserve, the Montana National Bison Range, the Wind Cave National Park, the Niobrara National Wildlife Refuge, and the Sully's Hill National Park. This total effort paralleled the tremendous con-

tribution of the Canadian Government whose three public herds offered protection to perhaps 40 per cent of all the animals remaining on earth.

The formation of these herds in the United States and Canada assured the permanent preservation of the buffalo. The American Bison Society, however, remained active and until 1934 they took a buffalo census and made sure that the herds under public protection continued to increase. When the herds were threatened by the grazing demands of the cattle and sheep ranchers during World War I, the Bison Society under president Edmund Seymour organized the effort that successfully resisted this demand. In later years the Society also carried on an extensive educational campaign providing information to the public free of charge.

The Bison Society censuses are summarized at the end of this chapter and bring the story of the buffalo's survival up through the period of time chosen for this paper. Several developments are observable here and bear comment. Perhaps the most obvious development was that the buffalo on all the government preserves continued to increase their numbers. By 1934, when the Society took its last census, Yellowstone had 1,145 head, the Montana National Bison Range was next with 554, followed by Wichita with 327, Wind Cave with 238, Niobrara with 128, and Sully's Hill with 20. In Canada, Banff had 28, Elk



Island 1,610, and Wainwright had the largest herd in the world with 5,343. The United States total was 2,435 and the world total was 21,701, which included an estimated 10,000 for the wood buffalo of the Lake Athabasca Region of Canada.<sup>1</sup>

Out of this increase a new national herd was started at Platt National Park in Oklahoma. Similarly the Canadian Government established another national herd at Riding Mountain National Park in Manitoba. By this time several state herds had also been established in Alaska, Arizona, Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Wyoming and South Dakota. The last of these was quite sizeable with 228 head. This last census also shows a proliferation of private and municipal herds as well as an increase of buffalo in foreign countries.<sup>2</sup> In short, the buffalo were on the increase everywhere.

In fact the preservation of the buffalo has been so successful that annual reductions of all the herds must be made in order that the preserves are not over-grazed. In a couple of instances these reductions have taken unusual forms. In 1928, for example, the Alaska Game Commission obtained 23 buffalo from the Montana National Bison Range and shipped them to Central Alaska. Although this was not native range for the species, 19 of them were turned loose and given a chance to forage for themselves in the wild state.<sup>3</sup> The experiment was a surprising success and in

1963 over 500 buffalo were estimated to be in that herd.<sup>4</sup>

An even more dramatic reduction policy was practiced by the Canadian Government at Wainwright. When this huge herd expanded beyond the grazing capacity of the range, Canadian authorities made the unfortunate decision to ship the surplus up to Wood Buffalo National Park. Scientists opposed the move for two reasons. The wood buffalo was a distinct sub-species (*bison athabasca*) and if his preserve was flooded with the plains-dwelling animal (*bison bison*) the two sub-species would undoubtedly mix and the superior numbers of the Wainwright animals would mean that, in time, the wood buffalo would no longer be distinguishable as a sub-specie. Scientists also opposed the move because tuberculosis was known to have affected the Wainwright animals.<sup>5</sup>

Regrettably, however, over 6,000 Wainwright buffalo were shipped north. As predicted the two species did mix and as expected disease spread. The Wood Buffalo National Park today has the largest herd in the world. They seem to have stabilized their numbers somewhere between 12,000 and 14,000 head. Unfortunately it is also the herd most afflicted with disease. Besides tuberculosis, hemorrhagic septicemia, and even anthrax have been reported.<sup>6</sup>

There is a happier note on which this sad chapter can end, however. The Wood Buffalo National Park is 18,000 square miles of low, swampy country through which

the buffalo are able to travel with great difficulty. The Park is so large that the buffalo have definite summer and winter grazing grounds. In the mid 1960's an aerial survey of the Park discovered a small herd of buffalo about 200 swampy miles away from the main herd. Some of these animals were captured and flown to Ottawa where scientists found them to be wood buffalo. Some were tubercular, indicating possible contact with the main herd, but a group of them were taken down to Elk Island Park and placed in an isolation compound.<sup>7</sup> When calves were produced in this group the parents were slaughtered and the calves were raised on a bottle.<sup>8</sup> In this manner Canada can boast of having a disease-free herd of wood buffalo.

In the United States the wood buffalo were also mixed with the plains-dwelling specie, but here the act of mixing was done in ignorance and the mistake was not detected until years later. For a long while it was believed that the buffalo found in the mountains of Yellowstone National Park were refugees from the slaughter on the plains. On this assumption the "wild herd" and the "tame herd" were mixed in 1920. Not until a brilliant piece of work done by Dr. Mary Meagher in the 1960's was it discovered that the "wild herd" was indigenous to the Park and were in fact wood buffalo. On the basis of exhaustive studies she estimates the Yellowstone herd today

carries approximately 65 per cent wood buffalo blood.<sup>9</sup>

Shipping buffalo northward to Alaska and Wood Buffalo National Park, however, were not the usual ways of implementing a reduction policy. Animals were usually disposed of live to individuals or organizations who were interested in raising them. When this source was exhausted animals were butchered and the meat and hides sold to the public or given to the Indians.

Between the mid-1920's and the mid-1950's, U. S. and Canadian authorities continued to dispose of their surplus animals in the above mentioned manner. They sold live animals by auction and toward the latter end of this period interest in buffalo began to increase and the price of buffalo began to rise.

With the price going up, however, buffalo became a good investment and attracted more people into the market. Seeing each other frequently at these sales the buffalo owners soon became known to one another. Among these buffalo people was Roy Houck of Pierre, South Dakota. In 1967 he suggested that rather than bidding against each other they organize to protect their interests. This is how the National Buffalo Association was born. Today the NBA has several hundred members throughout the world. The members own many thousands of buffalo and are in the business of raising buffalo for profit. They sell meat, heads, hides, horns, skulls, live animals, and hunting

privileges. The NBA protects the interests of its members in Washington, publishes a magazine, and holds several meetings each year to discuss common problems.<sup>10</sup> In the past year an eastern branch of the NBA has been formed.<sup>11</sup>

Interest in buffalo is expected to grow in the future because of the increasing price of feed grains. In this respect there has been some interest lately in the "beefalo," a cross between the buffalo and domestic cattle. The Canadian Government experimented with these crosses from 1919 to 1960 trying to produce an animal that would thrive in the north and thereby encourage settlement in their vast northland. Eventually the experiments were terminated without success. The discussion today over the "beefalo" is based on current feeding practices and not on what kind of production is attainable. In the U. S. cattle have been fed large quantities of grain because grain was cheap relative to grass. This is a simple question of economics that can and will be changed as the cost of feed grains go up. The yield of lean meat per carcass depends more on management and feeding practices than on the difference among breeds.<sup>12</sup> Grass fed buffalo, however, seem to compare favorably with beef, and in the future the buffalo may give us more meat per unit of pasture than domestic grass fed stock. This is saying nothing more than that the native species enjoys a more efficient relationship with his environment

than the introduced species. There is an advantage in cooperating with the environment.

Besides this commercial interest in buffalo two other developments are worthy of note. Research initiated by the NBA and sponsored by the Mayo Clinic has produced an antilymphocyte vaccine from the buffalo that promises to be of service to mankind in organ transplants. In the past horses have been used to produce this vaccine, but the buffalo can produce a vaccine of twice the concentration in half the time as that needed by the horse. Of even greater medical interest though, is the finding that the buffalo and the cross-bred animals are immune to cancer. The Mayo Clinic has expressed an interest in this finding, but no explanation of this immunity has yet been forthcoming.<sup>13</sup>

Finally, in Yellowstone National Park, the buffalo has achieved an esthetic objective in this post-preservation era. When the "tame herd" was brought to Yellowstone it was cared for according to game management techniques. As the species retreated from the brink of extinction, however, these methods were gradually reduced in favor of a natural existence for the buffalo. Today no vestige of artificial care remains. The animals are not even vaccinated. Winter storms are allowed to take their toll, enough grazing area remaining around the hot springs in winter to assure feed for survivors and the new calf crop.

By air, horseback, and on foot the animals are closely watched and carefully studied, but Yellowstone can boast a naturally regulated herd to the greatest extent possible.<sup>14</sup>

A close look at the movement that resulted in the preservation of the buffalo has now been offered and a brief glimpse of the buffalo in the post-preservation era has been presented. Some concluding remarks are now in order. The generation that witnessed the rapid disappearance of millions and millions of buffalo, that caught the stench of putrefying carcasses over a vast landscape, and that harvested millions of tons of bones for the fertilizer works, quite naturally assumed that the buffalo was extinct, or nearly so. Indeed this type of evidence would have been overwhelming for any observer of the slaughter.

In their stunned amazement, however, witnesses to the slaughter failed to consider that only a very prolific animal could have attained the tremendous numbers enjoyed by the buffalo in the wild state. Calf ratios in some herds of over 90 per cent have not been unknown and several cows well over 30 years of age have been reported with calves.<sup>15</sup> This characteristic of the buffalo was perhaps the most important factor in the restoration of the specie. A high rate of reproduction meant that as long as a small breeding population remained there was a good possibility that the buffalo could be returned to

greater abundance.

The point has been made in this paper that even though a low point in buffalo numbers was reached in the 1880's, a more than sufficient breeding population remained to bring the species back to greater abundance. Indeed the foregoing summary of the buffalo's comeback makes clear that not all of the animals recorded in Hornaday's first census were used to raise the species to greater numbers. He recorded 216 animals in captivity that were being used for breeding purposes. Almost all of the animals in the nucleus herds discussed in this paper, however, came from the five foundation herds discussed in the first chapter, and they constituted a total of 172 head. Furthermore these animals had come from the 76 - 84 animals originally captured by the owners of the five foundation herds. Therefore, the low point in buffalo numbers is an academic question because the specie was restored from a far smaller base.

From this consideration alone it would seem fair to conclude that the buffalo was not in as much danger of becoming extinct as the Hornaday census would have had his contemporaries believe. But the foregoing consideration is only one of numbers, and only the number in captivity at that. The low point among the wild buffalo was reached in 1902 when less than 30 were actually sighted in Yellowstone National Park. Dr. Mary Meagher, the fore-



most authority on the Yellowstone Herd, feels this low point was actually closer to 50 head.<sup>16</sup> By the time this low point was reached, however, this "wild herd" was no longer suffering serious attrition from the poachers and began to increase its numbers with no help from man other than that of the predator control program. The Yellowstone "wild herd" was in short a microcosm of what happened to the species in general. When removed from the hunt and given adequate range they immediately began to increase their numbers and continued to do so.

Even at this low point, however, the buffalo had more than numbers in his favor. Of the 256 animals Hornaday recorded in captivity all but 40 were in a breeding situation, and even some of those 40 animals used for exhibition purposes produced offspring. The vast majority of these animals - the 172 head in the five foundation herds - were in herds of some size. Thus, even at its low point the buffalo were not so widely scattered as to inhibit reproduction. Had the existing animals been divided into small herds of two or three individuals each, the situation would have been much more serious. On the other hand there was a sufficient scattering of the animals to offer some assurance against the ravages of disease. Hornaday recorded over 20 separate buffalo owners. In short, even at the low point the physical arrangement of the remaining animals was all that could be desired.

Another factor in the buffalo's favor at his low point was the number of people who took his survival seriously enough to offer protection to some of the remaining animals. Indeed, without the early initiative taken by private individuals working in quiet there is serious doubt that the buffalo would have survived. Not only were there people who made captures from the wild, but later there were people, like Austin Corbin, Sr., and Charles Conrad, who took over a share of the burden of private ownership from owners of the five foundation herds. In the movement that led to the preservation of the buffalo there were more individuals who deserve recognition than history will ever record and it must be said to their lasting credit that without their early and continuing efforts the buffalo would probably be a thing of the past.

Still another factor in the buffalo's favor, throughout this period of concern, was the close watch maintained by his benefactors on fluctuations in the buffalo numbers and changes in herd ownership that might have affected the welfare of the species. Hornaday was known to Jones, Goodnight, the Philip family and even to Norman Luxton and Howard Douglas in Canada. They were a tight enough community, and corresponded frequently enough, that any drastic change in the buffalo situation would have become known very quickly.<sup>17</sup> Hornaday did not correspond directly with Pablo, but Prof. Elrod kept an eye on the Pablo-Allard

Herd and reported to Hornaday from time to time.<sup>18</sup> In a later period Dr. Palmer maintained a close eye on buffalo numbers through his office in the Biological Survey and through the census work of Wharton and Garretson in the American Bison Society.<sup>19</sup> Throughout the movement to preserve the buffalo good intelligence among a small group of dedicated men kept the buffalo situation continually monitored.

The conclusion to be drawn from the above evidence is that the buffalo was not as near the brink of extinction as thought by a generation closer to the slaughter. From the less stunned and overwhelmed perspective of hindsight it can clearly be seen that the buffalo had much in his favor. Hornaday said the Montana National Bison Range herd alone assured the survival of the specie, and the same statement could have been made for many another herd. While there never was a question of the buffalo's ability to breed and reproduce, however, there was a question of whether or not man would allow his existence to continue. For a while the answer to this question was in doubt, but fortunately men came forward who provided the protection when it was needed, and later lobbied effectively to transfer the increasing burden of buffalo ownership from private to public hands. Through the efforts of this rather small group of quiet, dedicated men the buffalo was permitted to remain on earth. Surely

these men deserve a place in our historical literature, at least on a par with the buffalo hunter, whose story has been so often told.

Those men who went on to the frontier and developed the nation's resources have been justifiably lauded as the "captains of industry" whose efforts built the economy we have today. In a day when the major task facing the nation was growth and development the elevation of such men to the rank of folk heroes was proper and even necessary. Today, however, when man appears on the brink of overwhelming his natural environment, perhaps it is time to examine more closely those men who simply sought to study and preserve the natural world, who saw a forest in terms of its beauty rather than in terms of the number of board feet of commercial lumber it would produce.<sup>20</sup> The men who saved the buffalo were such men. Although from time to time they tried to convince themselves and others that the animal might have some economic value, their own reasons for saving the buffalo stemmed from a belief in the sanctity of the natural world and an unwillingness to view any part of nature solely in terms of economic utility.<sup>21</sup> They worked long and hard and contributed from their own pockets so that the buffalo might be saved. The "captains of industry" were necessary folk-heroes that encouraged others to follow their example and develop the country. The men who saved the buffalo exemplify those qual-

ities which perhaps should be glorified if we wish to encourage others to practice a reverence for the environment.

In the early years of the twentieth century when these men were laboring in the buffalo's behalf, the "end of American innocence" was at hand.<sup>22</sup> The country was "coming of age."<sup>23</sup> Indeed a middle-aged mood prevailed, and the feeling seemed to be that with "it's wild country largely developed the American civilization was no longer becoming - it had become."<sup>24</sup> Unprepared to accept the responsibilities brought by the end of youth, the American people grew critical of the growing urban environment with its increasing restrictions.<sup>25</sup> They yearned nostalgically for a return to nature, to the freer day of the past. In this atmosphere Jack London's Call of the Wild met great success and Theodore Roosevelt's safaris in Africa and South America were the dream of those who could not afford to go. Summer camps, country clubs, and bicycling became popular because they gave people a taste of nature however brief. In short, popular aspirations toward nature increased in proportion to its decreasing role in American life.<sup>26</sup>

The conservation movement was an outgrowth of this longing for a more natural way of life. The desire to conserve before it was too late was the motive force, and in this era it won some limited and partial victories

over the devotees of unrestricted development. Parallel-  
ing the national friction between growing responsibili-  
ties and the desire to return to a more natural pattern  
of living, the conservation movement spawned a debate  
between the proponents of "wise-use" of our resources and  
those who rebelled against any restrictions on resource  
use whatsoever. The central question in this debate was:  
how should resource decisions be made and by whom? The  
conservationists believed that "experts, using technical  
and scientific methods, should decide all matters of de-  
velopment and utilization of resources, . . ."28 Presum-  
ably these "experts" would examine all the competing uses  
to which the resource in question could be put, and then  
make their decision in such a way that the largest number  
of people would get the most use out of the resources for  
the longest period of time. Resource users, however, did  
not share the conservationist's view for integrated plan-  
ning and central direction. In their view the most im-  
portant use for the resource was the one they had in mind,  
and they regarded the conservationists as another infringe-  
ment on their freedom in an increasingly restricted age.28

This debate assumed especially serious proportions  
when the resource in question had great economic value.  
In the field of wildlife this controversy raged between  
the conservationists and the hunters and was concerned  
largely with migratory waterfowl. The buffalo, however,  
presented a different situation entirely. This animal

resource was almost completely in private hands and the owners could do with the animals whatever they wished. Far from objecting to government management the private owners themselves, and the conservationists in the form of the American Bison Society, eagerly and consistently urged the government to assume the obligation of preserving the species. Indeed, in order to persuade the government to accept this responsibility it was necessary to give the government several nucleus herds so that the obligation could be assumed without a large initial investment.

Where the buffalo were public property, however, as in the case of Yellowstone National Park, the debate between local resource users (poachers) and the conservationists (Park authorities and the Boone and Crockett Club) did parallel the controversy common to that period. In this case the buffalo was not only public property, there were so few of the animals available for taxidermy purposes that the economic value of each animal was high. Had the species in general fulfilled the prerequisites of being public property with high economic value there is little doubt that he would have provided more dramatic confirmation of the interpretation of the conservation movement provided by Professor Samuel P. Hays.

In two other respects, however, the movement to preserve the buffalo reflected more closely characteristics

of our conservation history. After visiting the wilderness in Michigan, Tocqueville wrote

. . . in Europe people talk a great deal of the wilds of America, but the Americans themselves never think about them; they are insensible to the wonders of inanimate nature. . . . Their eyes are fixed upon another sight . . . the march across these wilds, draining swamps, turning the course of rivers, peopling solitudes, and subduing nature.<sup>29</sup>

In a later day Roderick Nash pointed out a similar tendency. He noted that the farther removed people became from nature and the more complete their urban existence, the more likely they were to support conservation measures.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand those people closer to the frontier who had to contend with nature on a daily basis, took a less benign view of conservation proposals. The effort of the American Bison Society to raise a public subscription to pay for the nucleus herd on the National Bison Range in Montana reveals rather dramatically the leadership of the urban East and the lack of support in the more rural West.

#### Summary of Subscriptions by States

New York . . . . .	\$5,213.00
Massachusetts . . . . .	2,320.00
Minnesota . . . . .	1,054.00
Pennsylvania . . . . .	503.00
Montana . . . . .	366.00
Illinois . . . . .	177.50
District of Columbia . .	149.00
Connecticut . . . . .	97.00
New Jersey . . . . .	92.00
California . . . . .	91.00
Michigan . . . . .	83.00



Ohio . . . . .	72.00	
Missouri . . . . .	53.00	
New Hampshire . . . . .	53.00	
Oklahoma . . . . .	48.00	
Rhode Island . . . . .	39.10	
Nebraska . . . . .	32.00	
England . . . . .	25.00	
Colorado . . . . .	15.00	
Arizona . . . . .	15.00	
Florida . . . . .	10.00	
Maryland . . . . .	8.00	
Washington . . . . .	7.50	
France . . . . .	6.90	
Iowa . . . . .	6.00	
Wyoming . . . . .	5.00	
Kentucky . . . . .	4.50	
Maine . . . . .	4.00	
West Virginia . . . . .	4.00	
"Anonymous" (No state given)	3.00	
South Carolina . . . . .	1.00	
Louisiana . . . . .	1.00	
Vermont . . . . .	1.00	
British Columbia . . . . .	1.00	
	<u>\$10,560.50</u>	31

To be sure westerners played a key role in preserving the buffalo, for they were the ones who made the initial captures from the wild herd. Without this effort the ultimate survival of the buffalo would have been a much more precarious proposition. While the role of the West was important, however, the preponderance of the money and leadership came from the East and especially from the highly urbanized areas of New York and Boston. In this respect the campaign to preserve the buffalo was characteristic of our conservation movement.

In one final way the effort to preserve the buffalo reflected another feature of our conservation history.

Stewart L. Udall said in 1961:

On looking back over the history of conservation it is surprising how much of our total accomplishment is attributable to quiet men from private life who at crucial moments have provided the needed inspiration and wherewithal.<sup>32</sup>

This observation is certainly true where the buffalo is concerned. In the beginning it was quiet individuals who made the original capture of animals in the wild state. Later as the number of animals increased and became a burden to their owners, additional private parties established herds with purchases from the five foundation herds. Still other private individuals organized the effort that at the very end persuaded the government to assume the responsibility of preserving the species. Even then the work of individuals like Dr. T. S. Palmer stands out. From the beginning to the end the struggle to save the buffalo was dominated and characterized by the efforts of private men who took action when they saw the need.

On these two minor features - Eastern leadership and individual initiative - the movement to save the buffalo closely parallels the conservation crusade of the early twentieth century. The central feature of the conservation movement, however, was a debate between those who advocated the most efficient resource use for the greatest number, and those who felt the wisest use of a given resource was the one that catered to their

own special interest. Only when the buffalo was public property of relatively high economic value did this controversy touch the movement that led to the preservation of the species. For the most part the buffalo was in private hands and represented a comparatively small economic interest. Under these circumstances the objective of the conservationists was not the promotion of efficient use, but to persuade the government to assume the burden of saving the species which could not be indefinitely sustained by the private individuals who had originally initiated the preservation movement.

Besides the lack of economic value in the buffalo there was another reason the movement to preserve the buffalo did not follow closely the interpretation offered by Prof. Samuel P. Hays. Most of the Eastern men who were active in the buffalo's behalf were really preservationists rather than conservationists. The preservationists believed in saving natural resources, but differed from the conservationists on the doctrine of "wise-use." The preservationists felt that practical utility should not be the only criterion on which resource use should be judged. They argued that man was only one strand in a complex ecological web which bound him to his fellow creatures by deep bonds that would be disregarded if man tried to remodel nature to serve his own interests. For the

preservationist, the natural order transcended the human social order rather than vice versa. To these men the buffalo had to be saved, even if he did not have any practical utility, simply because he was part of the natural world. They believed with Darwin that the animals were "our fellow brethren in pain, disease, death, suffering, and famine" and that it was a crime against nature to judge these animals solely on the basis of their utility to man.<sup>33</sup>

In the field of wild life this division between the preservationists and the conservationists became widest on the question of protection for migratory waterfowl. The preservationists wanted more stringent regulations placed on the hunters - shorter open seasons and lower bag limits - than the conservationists. In fact it was upon this question that the preservationist position of the buffalo's benefactors came to the surface. No such controversy and no such opposition is sound in the literature pertaining to the movement to preserve the buffalo.

# U. S. NATIONAL HERDS

	Jan. 1 1908	Jan. 1 1910	Jan. 1 1911	Jan. 1 1912	Jan. 1 1913	Jan. 1 1914	Jan. 1 1916	Jan. 1 1918	Jan. 1 1920	Jan. 1 1923	Jan. 1 1926	Jan. 1 1929	Jan. 1 1934
Nat. Zoo. Park	8	12	13	13	13	15	16	18	21	14	15	14	15
Yellowstone (Both Herds)	94	120	145	150	192	219	292	400	502	702	889	1036	1145
Banff	67	15	25	27		31	13	8	6	16	26	20	28
Elk Island	398	45	48	53		83	106	161	202	322	469	593	1610
Wainwright		600	870	1052		1212	2077	2921	4543	7559	8795	4937	6781
Mont. Natl. Bison Range		37	51	70	82	97	149	200	376	473	532	325	554
Wichita	15	20	23	30	39	48	62	92	119	146	189	257	327
Wind Cave						14	16	34	55	92	125	147	238
Niobrara					6	10	11	14	21	41	57	89	128
Sully's Hill									7	11	14	13	20

## BUFFALO BY STATES

	Jan. 1908	Jan. 1910	Jan. 1911	Jan. 1912	Jan. 1913	Jan. 1914	Jan. 1916	Jan. 1918	Jan. 1920	Jan. 1923	Jan. 1926	Jan. 1929	Jan. 1934
Alabama	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alaska													
Arizona	14	14	?	?	11?	11?	17			82	80	21	46
Arkansas		2	2	2						1	6	86	95
California	18	18	31	33	30	33	39	34	37	47	84	75	141
Colorado	16	15	14	15	98	115	177	173	212	133	136	158	206
Delaware			2	2						1	2	3	
Dist. of Columbia	8	12	13	13	13	15	16	18	21	14	15	14	15
Florida										2	2	2	1
Georgia					2	3	2	2	2	2	2	4	
Idaho									8	9	18	13	20
Illinois	13	19	17	18	18	23	22	26	39	21	29	17	16
Indiana			2	3	3	2	2	4	1	4	5	7	8
Iowa	28	33	20	16	40	46	57	49	58	54	41	22	24
Kansas	27	43	52	56	63	53	9	9	11	12	14	11	80
Kentucky						5	2	2	2	1	5	1	
Louisiana									3	1	5	4	
Maine					4	5	2						
Maryland					3	4	7	6	7	5	5		3
Massachusetts	6	9	9	9	13	15	19	22	27	21	29	20	16
Michigan	9	9	4	5	5	7	5	8	8	10	22	11	23
Minnesota	9	3				3		4	6	19	22	22	29
Mississippi										2	2	3	
Missouri	3	3	21	23	24	24	64	44	6	15	68	20	23
Montana	320	152	180	107	154	172	228	278	376	473	553	349	683
Nebraska	7	8	7	18	24	26	27	31	38	57	66	110	184

## BUFFALO BY STATES (Continued)

	Jan. 1 1908	Jan. 1 1910	Jan. 1 1911	Jan. 1 1912	Jan. 1 1913	Jan. 1 1914	Jan. 1 1916	Jan. 1 1918	Jan. 1 1920	Jan. 1 1923	Jan. 1 1926	Jan. 1 1929	Jan. 1 1934
Nevada										8	11		2
New Hampshire	136	106	85	86	80	71	91	100	45	20	21	16	21
New Jersey										9	14	11	4
New Mexico										54	63	7	
New York	47	49	60	56	57	44	51	55	41	42	71	26	43
North Carolina							7	7	13	12	9	2	2
North Dakota									7	11	49	47	94
Ohio	30	18	18	16	20	22	20	17	20	20	18	20	5
Oklahoma	70	79	129	141	155	164	166	186	296	256	601	428	476
Oregon						2	1	1	5	6	11	20	22
Pennsylvania	9	10	11	12	21	25	35	49	73	110	152	98	121
South Dakota	158	158	285	285	345	359	616	789	948	1053	338	296	555
Tennessee								2	3	4	8	3	3
Texas	70	104	159	160	142	164	167	192	230	251	300	285	262
Utah	35	35	70	70	70	70	125	300	300	227	453	3	2
Virginia												2	2
Washington			6	5	4	6	15	15	19	64	9	69	7
West Virginia													5
Wisconsin	2	3	4	5	4	5	3	5	7	21	27	11	15
Wyoming	79	130	145	150	192	219	313	417	523	725	927	1071	1190

## BUFFALO IN CANADA

	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1908	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1916	1918	1920	1923	1926	1929	1934		
Alberta	465	621	943	1132	1287	1558	2196	3090	4543	7559	8795	4937	6981	
British Columbia			1	1	2	3	3	3	4			1		
Manitoba	10	3	8	9	9	6	8	8	10	10	16	23	55	
Ontario	1	2	2	2	9	8	1	16	20	10	12	8	7	
Quebec							5	6	3					
Lake Athabasca (Wild Buffalo)	300	450	450	450	450	450	500	500	500	1000	3134	10000	10000	

## BUFFALO IN THE WORLD

United States	1141	1032	1356	1313	1700	1693	2365	2843	3393	3878	4376	3406	4450
Canada	776	1076	1404	1594	1753	2025	3227	3623	5080	8579	11957	14969	17043
Other	130	?	?	?	?	?	53	57	66	64	84	119	208
World	2047	2108	2760	2907	3453	3718	5645	6523	8539	12521	16417	18494	21701

## NUMBER OF HERDS

No. of Herds	63	45	53	56	58	70	77	74	101	124	145	116	154
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## FOOTNOTES

1. American Bison Society, Twentieth Census of Living American Bison, January, 1934.
2. Ibid.
3. Garretson, The American Bison, p. 225.
4. U. S. Department of the Interior, Big Game Inventory for 1963, p. 3.
5. The information for the Wainwright transfer and the controversy surrounding it comes from Dr. C. H. D. Clark of Toronto. He rescued the official files from oblivion in order to exonerate one Maxwell Graham from complicity in the scheme to mix the two subspecies. This information was given to Prof. William A. Fuller who in turn gave it to the author. The material is obviously official government papers, but it is impossible to assign them a record group or volume number. See letter from Prof. William A. Fuller to author, August 5, 1969.
6. Ibid.
7. Interview by author with Tom Smith, Superintendent of Elk Island National Park; at the Park, July 11, 1969.
8. Ibid.
9. Interview by author with Mary Meagher, Yellowstone Biologist, at the Park, July 28, 1969.
10. Interview by author with Mr. Roy Houck in Pierre, South Dakota, November 7, 1969.
11. Letter from A. F. Roach, President of the Eastern Branch of the NBA to author, September 12, 1974.
12. Washington Star News, December 24, 1974.

13. Interview by author with Dr. Dwain Cummings in Denver, Colorado, March, 1970.
14. Interview by author with Dr. Mary Meagher in Yellowstone National Park, July 28, 1969.
15. See the Narrative Reports of the Refuge Managers for the refuges discussed in this paper. They can be found at the Federal Record Center, Suitland, Maryland.
16. Interview by author with Mary Meagher in Yellowstone National Park, July 28, 1969.
17. See John F. Lacey Papers, Political, 1902, letter from Hornaday to Lacey, January 24, 1902.
18. Unpublished correspondence of the American Bison Society, letter from Hornaday to Elrod, July 3, 1908.
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