CHAPTER SEVEN

Case Studies of Agricultural Use of the White River Badlands (AD 1900-1950s)

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CASE STUDIES OF AGRICULTURAL USE OF THE WHITE RIVER BADLANDS (AD 1900-1950s)

Case Histories, Subject Selection, and Study Methodology

This chapter consists of a series of illustrative examples of the agricultural development and use of the Badlands from permanent Euro-American settlement to the post-World War II era. Six case histories provide information about families who took up early homesteads or cash entries, and built ranching and/or farming operations ranging in complexity from meager to prosperous. The families discussed in the case histories either left the country soon after arrival or remained to the present day. Trends of development and land use discussed in the previous chapter are examined in more detail here through the experiences of individual families.

Selection of case study subjects was based almost exclusively on the availability of information about those families. Typically, that information was in the form of oral histories and published local histories (see below). In addition, the case histories cover different geographic areas of the Badlands in an effort to identify adaptations made to specific locations. The selected case histories showcase individuals or families who lived south and west of the western end of the Badlands (i.e., outside the Park boundaries), throughout the Sage Creek Basin, in the Imlay and Conata areas, and in the far eastern end of the Park, roughly midway between Interior and Cottonwood. Readers will note a preference for family histories associated with the existing North Unit of the Park; this is purely a reflection of the availability of data used to prepare the case histories.

To compile data for these case studies, researchers relied most heavily on three types of sources: published histories, oral histories, and patent and census records. There is a relatively small number of published local histories and personal reminiscences which relate specific events and personal lives of Badlands residents during the historic period. In addition to brief histories of families who lived in eastern Pennington and Jackson Counties and on Cuny Table, the most useful sources were reminiscences written by Bormann, Crew and Heck, and Olney concerning personal and family experiences particularly during the early homesteading period.[1]

Oral histories were used to supplement or verify statements presented in published documents. They were in one of two forms. First, Badlands National Park maintains copies of several interviews with long-time area residents at its archives. Only transcribed interviews were used for the current project. The majority of the interviews were conducted in the late 1960s and the 1970s, thus providing first-hand information about the homesteading period. Additionally, for this project, researchers held three interviews, with subjects suggested by Badlands National Park staff. Keith Crew, Nellie Cuny, and Tony Kudrna all provided information about their family experiences.

To get a sense of the representativeness of how case history families acquired land, researchers reviewed readily available patent records for adjacent land parcels. The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) provided, via compact disk, all electronic patent summary information it had for townships encompassing portions of Badlands National Park. (Note that no such records are available for lands within the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.) In theory, the BLM records identify the patentee, legal description, patent date, and type of entry for each piece of patented ground. Researchers found the data base very useful but incomplete, with as many as 20 percent of the entries missing data.

Other important federal records used for this project were census data. Using records at the South Dakota Historical Society in Pierre, researchers searched for information about age and country of birth for non-reservation families identified as main case history subjects. A few miscellaneous sources of information were of limited use. These included unpublished manuscripts housed at the Badlands National Park Library, such as those regarding grazing and land use; and the Jackson County Clerk and Recorder's Office in Kadoka. Researchers used the latter repository very briefly to learn more about settlers from Pierce, Nebraska, who homesteaded at the far eastern edge of the Badlands.

Far West Badlands and Cuny Table

As the Badlands rise from the east side of the Cheyenne River near the junctions of Custer, Fall River, and Shannon counties, one comes to the area where Dad and Thetna Yeger raised a family of five daughters and commanded a relatively large livestock business. With landholdings both on and off the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, they prospered during the 1920s and into the mid-1930s. Theirs is the story of a mixed-blood Badlands family whose lives were dominated by Euro-American ways but still incorporated a few elements of the Lakota culture.

Dad Yeger was a man of German heritage. In 1916, he married Thetna Hudspeth, apparently a lifetime resident of the Buffalo Gap area (that town being about 25 miles west of the reservation boundary). Thetna was one-quarter Sioux Indian; her grandmother was a full-blooded Sioux named Blue Blanket who had married "an old soldier" two generations before.[2]

Thetna had a 160-acre allotment near the western edge of the reservation, while Dad had established his homestead off-reservation not far to the west. In addition to those two small parcels, the couple leased many acres on the reservation in the general vicinity of their claims. Using this combination of ownership and lease, the two were able to accumulate and care for large herds of livestock. They raised sheep, cattle, milk cows, "a bunch of horses," pigs, and chickens. Apparently with sheep as a specialty, they ran as many as 1,000 head at a time.

Dad and Thetna's five daughters were required to work hard to aid in the family's operation, but were not asked to perform chores routinely considered to be boys' or men's tasks. For those, the Yeger's employed hired hands for herding the sheep, shearing, and a wide range of other tasks that required physical strength and stamina. Meanwhile, the girls had to garden and, more importantly, haul water home. There was a

good spring on the property, but because the spring was a half mile from the farmstead, water had to be hauled by a wheeled cart with a barrel on it. In instances during the drought years of the Depression when the two stock ponds on the property dried up, they hauled water to the nearest stockpond as well.

The Yeger's did not practice farming per se, although they raised clover (unirrigated) for livestock feed. The corn and other feed they provided the animals during the winter was purchased, rather than grown on the home place. Although the Yeger family had considerably more livestock than most Badlands families, their day-to-day living resembled that of others in several ways. The family maintained a large garden, where they raised tomatoes, potatoes, carrots, onions, beans, and peas. They canned the vegetables as much as possible, with some of the more unusual products being sauerkraut (in deference to Dad's background) and canned meat sealed with grease in stoneware crocks. Basic groceries, such as flour, sugar, coffee, cheese, and some canned vegetables, were purchased at the nearest town.

In the case of the Yeger family, the nearest town was Buffalo Gap, 25-30 miles west of the farm. This considerable distance to town is indicative of the extraordinary isolation in the Yegers' corner of the Badlands. That distance factored strongly into the family's practice of driving to Buffalo Gap (via a wagon trail) only once or twice a year. Another aspect of their isolation was the very low population density. The nearest neighbor, actually Thetna's father, was 15 miles away, so there was rarely any socializing with others outside of the family and the hired help. Lastly, no school had been organized within walking or horseback-riding distance of the Yeger farm.

It is for this last reason that the five Yeger daughters received their education at the Red Cloud School in Pine Ridge, 45-50 miles to the southeast. Although Buffalo Gap was closer, they would have had to board there as well, and reportedly there was not much surplus housing available in the town. The Red Cloud School, started by the Roman Catholic Church, was a logical choice for the Yeger family because of the large number of mixed-blood students. The children left their parents' ranch in September, and did not see Dad and Thetna again until Thanksgiving or Christmas because of the distance between home and school. Like many other boarding school families, the Yegers likely camped in a tent (or tipi) when they visited the girls during brief holiday breaks. The girls returned to the ranch each year in May, where they resumed their chores.

In 1936, Dad Yeger died from overwork, according to family lore. Thetna continued with the ranching operation, however, by simply hiring more help as needed. Eventually, she sold the place, and for a few years cooked at area ranches. The daughters continued to attend school at Red Cloud. One daughter, Nellie, met her future husband, Sidney Cuny, at the Red Cloud School. Sidney was the fourth generation of the Cuny family to live on or near Cuny Table.[3]

Cuny Table is a large, relatively-flat piece of high ground situated near the southwest edge of the present-day Badlands National Park. The table top measures roughly 9 miles east-west and up to 3.5 miles north-south, and lies 300 feet above the surrounding

badlands. It is bordered by "sharply meandering, precipitous cliffs of pinnacles and crevices."[4] Although the surface water is generally limited to springs on the sloping edges of the table, fresh water can be found in wells about 70 feet deep.[5]

The story of the Cuny family is interesting because it chronicles some of the earliest settlement in the Badlands and it marks a strong commitment to their Badlands way of life. Sidney's great grandmother, Josephine Bissonette, was the daughter of a full-blood Oglala. Sometime during the 1870s, she married Adolf Cuny, a frontiersman from Switzerland, who had immigrated to Wyoming where he operated a livery stable and also served as sheriff. Josephine left Wyoming with her children (but without her husband) by 1890 and settled in the middle of what became known as the Cuny Table. If not *the* first permanent residents of the area, the Cuny family was one of the first, as Josephine claimed one of the earliest allotments there. By the time of the confrontation on Stronghold Table and the Wounded Knee Massacre (1890-1891), her son Charles had established himself as a trader in the Manderson area while maintaining a ranch on Cuny Table. Josephine's children and their children took up allotments on the reservation on Cuny Table, near the southeast edge of the landform.[6]

Over the generations, the Cuny family continued to live on the Table. This included one of Charles Cuny's sons, Chet, who with his wife Mabel and sons Sidney and David, comprised a farming family like many others on Cuny Table. The combination of relatively flat terrain and presumably adequate annual precipitation allowed for dryland wheat farming, and wheat fields covered Cuny Table in the 1920s and 1930s.

In striking contrast to the isolation of the Yeger family ranch, the Chet and Mabel Cuny farm was within a short distance of several other farms. In addition, a local school and Catholic church were open for many years, and there was a dance hall nearby. There was no store or post office (the nearest being at Scenic over 10 mile**s** to the north), but for a short time there was even a gas filling station and a convenience store. Roads that had been little more than wagon trails for years were graded and graveled during the mid-1930s, and in 1935 local workers for the Works Progress Administration (WPA) graded a main east-west road across the Table (present-day BIA Highway 2).[7]

Nellie Yeger married Sidney Cuny in 1942. Five days after their wedding in July, Sidney entered the US Army and was moved out of state. Later that summer, the US Army appropriated hundreds of thousands of acres of the Badlands, including Cuny Table, for use as a Bombing Range. The Chet and Mabel Cuny family was forced to abandon its farm, while Nellie moved to California, and Texas, and then back to California as she followed Sidney during his state-side, World War II tour of duty.[8]

Although the wheat farmers were forced to leave, and were scattered throughout the region (and beyond), some of the ranchers' cattle continued to graze on Cuny Table and other parts of the Bombing Range. Eventually, when families were given the option of repurchasing their allotments and other claims, a small number chose to do so, including Chet Cuny and his brother Lawrence Cuny. However, the older Cuny generation did not return to live there. Subsequently, Sidney and Nellie Cuny purchased three 160-acre

parcels and raised a small herd of cattle. They leased grazing land from the National Park Service, after the Bombing Range was acquired by that agency. Nellie supplemented the family's ranching income by working as a baker for the Rocky Ford School (about 10 miles to the east), and later driving a school bus. Much later, Nellie opened the Cuny Table Café near their home, although it was never considered a money-making enterprise. Sidney died in the early 1990s, but Nellie continues to operate the café and runs about 200 head of cattle in the Badlands.[9]

Miller Basin (Imlay Area)

Miller Basin is a small basin near the west edge of the Badlands between the small communities of Scenic and Imlay. Lying opposite the Sage Creek Basin, it drains into the White River to the south. Homesteads in the Miller Basin area lay along the Milwaukee Road railroad line and were less isolated than either the Yeger family homestead, located much farther south and west, or the families on Cuny Table discussed above. Perhaps the Miller Basin's most well-known residents were, and are, members of the Josef and Marie Kudrna family.

The number of foreign-born homesteaders in the Badlands seems to have been rather small compared to American-born settlers. One family that settled in the Miller Basin, Josef and Marie Kudrna and their children, is representative of such foreign-born families. Their long tenure in the Badlands provides an insight into the originals of immigrant families and the adaptations they made on moving to the area, which differed somewhat from those made by other long-time Badlands families.

Josef Kudrna, Marie Loskota, and six other Bohemian emigrants came to the United States through Ellis Island in the fall of 1903. Born in 1877 and 1881, respectively, Josef and Marie had been raised as Catholics in Bohemia. They were from two different social classes, however, and had not been allowed to marry in their home country, prompting their emigration. Once in the United States, they moved immediately to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and married shortly thereafter.[10]

While in Milwaukee, Josef was employed as a carpenter for the Chicago, St. Paul, and Milwaukee Railroad. He also attended school, where he learned to read, write, and speak English, although never fluently. Marie stayed at home to raise the family; the Kudnras had one son and two daughters while living in Wisconsin. She never learned to speak English well, and preferred to converse in her native language, presumably Czech.[11]

In 1910, Josef bought a 160-acre homestead relinquishment in the Badlands area covering portions of Sections 27, 28, and 34, Township 3 South, and Range 14 East. He arrived in May, at which time he began to build a house. The family moved to its new home soon thereafter.[12]

Josef proved up on his homestead claim, rather than commuting it to a cash entry as so many of the Badlands settlers did. In 1921, Marie patented a 200-acre Desert Land Act parcel in Section 28, and two years later Josef patented another 120 acres, apparently

under the provisions of the Enlarged Homestead Act.[13] Over the years, the family also acquired parcels from neighbors who found they could not survive in the Badlands.[14]

The first years on the homestead were among the most trying for the family, especially Marie. She did not want to stay in the Badlands, but she and Josef had no money to leave. Before the family had an opportunity to build a livestock herd, Josef worked away from the homestead as necessary. One season, he picked bones and sold them in town (for fertilizer). He worked nearby on a section for the Milwaukee Road, his old employer, and he also built fences for a cattle rancher in the area. Marie presumably raised her children single-handedly during those times, the five of them sharing a small space in the sod house that Josef had built when he established the homestead.[15]

Josef, Marie, and their four children (the fourth born after they had moved to South Dakota) eventually came to operate a successful farm and ranch, regularly depending on the good business and financial sense of the head of the family. The Kudrna family raised cattle, hogs, and chickens. The hogs were raised both for family consumption and cash. They usually sold hogs two or three times per year, when the animals had matured to about 200 pounds. Many of the eggs that the chickens produced were sold for money to purchase groceries such as sugar, flour, and coffee.[16]

Farming involved wheat and corn crops. Also, beginning in the late 1920s, Joseph broke sod on a 120-acre parcel to the east of their home to raise flax. At that time, the yield was five bushels per acre, at $3 per bushel and wheat was selling for only $1 per bushel, thus flax was a viable economic alternative.[17] Flax farming was short-lived in the area, however, as the price dropped to an astounding $9 per ton and a half at one point.[18]

To work their grain crops, the Kudrna family purchased gasoline-powered equipment at a time when other Badlands farmers had neither the funds nor inclination to do so. Josef bought the first tractor in the area, a brand-new Case model, in 1925 or 1926, and a new combine in 1929. He also purchased a Model T in 1924. In all those cases, he declined to operate the equipment himself, noting that his reflexes were not as good as they once had been. Instead, his sons used the tractors and combine.[19]

Like many Badlands settlers, the Kudrna family also depended on a vegetable garden. In addition to the potatoes raised for the family, extra potatoes were sold in Scenic. Marie canned many items from her garden, but also harvested and canned wild fruit, particularly plums, chokecherries, and buffaloberries.

Available information suggests that the 1920s were the most profitable for the Kudrnas. In addition to the new equipment Josef purchased, they built a new, wood-frame house in 1927. However, the 1930s Depression presented new hardships for the family. With wheat prices at 20 cents per bushel, and cows selling for $20 and calves for $5 per head, the family had a difficult time, but managed to hold their land. The 16-foot domestic water well that the family had depended on since moving to the homestead went dry during that time. The winter of 1936-1937 was one of the driest that the family could

remember, and they were forced to haul water at night from a WPA spring development some miles distant.

Imlay was the nearest community to the Kudrna ranch (3.5 miles distant), and, although always small, it provided a few basic services for area settlers. There was a post office, store, school, dance hall, and a Catholic church. The Kudrna children attended the Imlay School, either on foot or on horseback each day. The children also visited the dance hall, although the parents reportedly never did.

The town of Scenic was located about 5.5 miles from the Kudrna home in the opposite direction from Imlay, and was the real center of commerce for this part of the Badlands. The family visited there often, purchasing coal for heating their home at the Farmers Union and groceries at the local store.[20]

The proximity of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation to the ranch was partially responsible for a good relationship between the Kudrnas and their American Indian neighbors to the south. Perhaps soon after moving to the Badlands, Josef became acquainted with some American Indian families, purchasing a heifer for use as a milk cow and his first team of horses. Over the years, he leased land on the reservation where his cattle could graze. After many years, the family lost its lease as more livestock were grazed in the area and Indians were given preferences on leases. Josef's amicable relationship with the Indian families may have been reinforced by their common religious beliefs, as Lakota people used to attend, "quite a bit," the Catholic Church in Imlay where the Kudrnas worshipped.[21]

Many things changed for the Kudrna family beginning with World War II. Just prior to the war, the youngest son Tony was drafted, and eventually was sent to the Pacific Theatre. He served in both Australia and New Guinea, building runways for the Air Force at the latter location. About the time of his return from the war, Josef died and left the family ranch to his widow and his two sons Joseph and Tony.

Shortly after the war, the post office at Imlay closed, presumably marking the end of the small town's existence. The family converted the farmstead from coal and wood to propane for heating and cooking, and between 1952 and1953 electrical power was brought to the area. In 1952, they built a new house at the farmstead. The farm no longer included hogs; the Kudrnas relied on cattle exclusively. After Marie died in 1973 and Joseph died in 1980, Tony and his nephew Donald have continued to run the ranch to this day. They still live on the Kudrna home place in 2005.[22]

Sage Creek Basin

Sage Creek is a major tributary of the Cheyenne River, entering that stream on the south. Its upper reaches, which generally comprise the area known as Sage Creek Basin, eventually became a major portion of present-day Badlands National Park. The basin, which measures roughly 8 miles long and 2-3 miles wide, is bordered by the Badlands wall on the north and Hay Butte to the south. Although the most intensive and longest-

lasting historic occupations were in the basin itself, homesteaders claimed land parcels across the upper Sage Creek drainage basin, on and beyond the fringes of the basin.

Sage Creek Basin encompassed some of the earliest homesteads within the area that would become Badlands National Park. A few individuals took claims in the Sage Creek Basin in 1902, but most others did not take or "prove up" on their claims until the 1910s, or later. Unlike Cuny Table or even Miller Basin, this part of the Badlands was not as intensively occupied during the early twentieth century. Long-time area residents remember fewer than 10 families who stayed in the area any length of time.[23]

Two case histories of the upper Sage Creek drainage basin are provided here because they represent both ends of the homesteading spectrum, from those who had no intention of staying in the Badlands to others who spent a good part of their lives there. In 1911, Earnest Bormann, a young bachelor, took over a relinquished homestead entry that straddled the Badlands wall one mile north of Sage Creek. He left the property immediately after commuting his homestead in 1913. Conversely, Jess and Nellie Harris's family was the most well-known of the Sage Creek Basin occupants, having stayed in the area for about 30 years. Their home ranch, located at the confluence of Dry and Sage Creeks, was the center of a comparatively large ranching operation by Badlands standards.

When Ernest Bormann decided to take up a homestead in the Badlands, he was following in his father's footsteps. Fritz Bormann, a German immigrant, had homesteaded in Yankton County, South Dakota, in the early 1870s. Most of the boys in the family eventually went on to stake claims of their own.[24]

By 1911, John Zabranski, a neighbor of the Fritz Bormann family, was living in eastern South Dakota in Davison County, and he encouraged Ernest to homestead in the White River Badlands. Zabranski had made minimal improvements on his homestead on the north edge of the Sage Creek drainage basin. He quickly found that he had no interest in either sticking out the 5-year residence term or commuting the entry via cash payment. He agreed to relinquish his claim, and Ernest immediately filed on the same parcel, namely the NW quarter of Section 4, Township 2 South, Range 15 East.[25]

From the beginning, Ernest had no illusions about making the homestead his permanent residence. His personal account of his occupation reflects a lackluster dedication to the property, and a stronger interest in visiting the country and making a meager living by working for others. He only cultivated 10 acres (actually an achievement in itself) and never attempted to purchase or raise any livestock other than a horse he had brought to the Badlands from his father's farm.[26]

In some ways, his Badlands house was a reflection of his limited commitment to the land. The house was akin to a typical homesteader's shack, of wood-frame construction and measuring just 8 x 12 feet. The house had a side gable roof and a single door and window. Ernest did, however, employ aspects of a common prairie house building technique to winterize his shack. He built short sod walls directly against all sides of the

tar paper shack, but never completed them to the eaves. Out of necessity, he also excavated a basement under his shack. Homesteaders almost invariably built either a basement or a "cave" (dugout) to keep foodstuffs from freezing in the winter and spoiling in the summer. Ernest's house furnishings also were humble, consisting of a bed (i.e., a bed sack filled with buffalo grass), a heating/cooking stove, and perhaps little else.[27]

Although Ernest had good knowledge and skills about farming, skills that he had gained as a boy, he barely took advantage of these on his Badlands homestead. In the summer of 1912, he busted sod on 10 acres and planted oats. One year later, on the same plot, he planted some drought-resistant milo. In both cases, the hot winds of summer damaged the crops, so that Ernest harvested just one wagon load of oats and apparently none of the milo. In order to feed his horse during the winter, Ernest hayed wild grass in creek bottoms and other "low places" about 3 miles from his home place. He never purchased cattle or sheep.[28]

When Ernest had satisfied his residency requirement for a commuted homestead entry (18 months), he immediately left for Chamberlain to apply for a patent. By September 1913, his homestead was vacant. He subsequently sold the 160-acre parcel, but the site's more recent history has not been researched.[29]

Aside from the fact that Ernest apparently had no intention of staying in the Badlands, he also lacked any family support structure in the immediate area. Those homesteaders who stayed in the Badlands often had family members and/or long-time friends or acquaintances who took up nearby claims. Their support network took several forms, from simple company in a new land to joint operation of ranches. One of Ernest's brothers, John, did take up a claim 3.5 miles south on a tributary of the Middle Fork of Sage Creek (Section 27, Township 2 South, Range 15 East), but that was two years after Ernest left the area.[30]

In contrast to Ernest's situation, the history of the Jess and Nellie Harris family, whose lives provide details for the next case history, is an example of homesteading in the Sage Creek Basin with close family members for neighbors. Much of the Harris' success, however, can be attributed to an aggressive ranching plan and the execution of that plan.

Jess and Nellie Harris were among those homesteaders whose route to the Badlands was via the Black Hills. Jess was born in Tennessee, but he was drawn to the Black Hills by the time he was about 18 years old. He reportedly located a number of valuable gold mines in the Hills, but by the time he took up his Badlands homestead he had turned to full-time farming. His wife was born Nellie Bobier. Eighteen years Jess' junior, Nellie was not yet born when her family moved to the Black Hills in 1879. There, her father was first engaged in the mining business, but later homesteaded toward the south end of the Black Hills. Married to Jess Harris in 1899 when she was just 16, Nellie proved to be a good partner in the Harris family's Badlands ranching operation.[31]

The 160-acre homestead that Jess claimed in 1902 was well-located along Sage Creek in the heart of the Sage Creek Basin. The creek provided some of the best surface water in

the area, even if it had to be "filtered" before consumption by the family. As it turned out, the area was also a good location for cattle ranching, and the family accumulated a considerable amount of acreage during the 1910s and 1920s.[32]

In 1910, Jess proved up on his original homestead claim, in the west half of Section 2, Township 2 South, Range 14 East. Two years later, he was able to patent an additional 160 acres in that section via a cash entry, and in 1920 one more quarter-section via an additional homestead entry. In the latter year, Nellie patented 240 acres located 3 miles to the south-southwest in Sections 19 and 30 of the same township.

The family's beginnings were humble enough, although perhaps not typical. When Jess and Nellie moved to their homestead with their very young family, they resided in a log house. Because of the family's Black Hills connection, they built a home and some of the outbuildings, of log—with both log and lumber obtained from the Black Hills. It was not until about 1920 that the old log home was replaced with a larger, presumably, wood-frame structure. Also, the livestock bought by the Harris family was more impressive than the typical Badlands homestead. They not only brought cattle and horses, but also chickens, ducks, geese, and turkeys. As they developed their property, the Harris family engaged in limited farming. They raised corn, maintained a large garden, and, of course, they put up hay (presumably unirrigated, as was other Badlands alfalfa and wild grass hay).[33]

Although the Harris family accumulation of land from the US government was more aggressive than that of many Badland homesteaders, they simply supplemented the outright purchase of patented parcels when neighboring homesteaders abandoned the area. Their accumulation of property helped support the cattle herd the family maintained. Jess and Nellie had about 500 head of cattle, and possibly an equal number of horses.[34]

Jess and Nellie Harris had family members who took up homesteads in the vicinity. Among those was John H. Bobier, Nellie's brother, who claimed 640 acres in Sections 1 and 12, just east of the Harris ranch. He took up the claim sometime between about 1905 and 1915, and left it before the patent had been issued. One of John's two sons, Richard, and Richard's wife, Anne, moved onto his father's homestead in 1915, possibly intending to patent a parcel for themselves. They lived there with their small children until 1918.[35]

Considerably more is known about the occupation by the Richard and Anne Bobier family than that of his father's. The Bobiers' farmstead was about one mile from the Harrises', and the family was considerably younger. By the time Richard and Anne moved to the Sage Creek Basin, the Harrises were well on their way to a stable and successful ranching operation. By contrast, Richard and Anne had a smaller operation. They took over John Bobier's homestead house, and later built their own root cellar on the property. They added other outbuildings as well, and even attempted (unsuccessfully) to dig a well for drinking water. Like the Harrises, they maintained a large vegetable garden and cultivated about 25 acres for a cornfield. Richard and Anne had several milk

cows, and separated cream which they sold in Wall, 12 miles to the north. By 1918, the Bobiers had 20 head of cattle.[36]

Despite their acreage and apparently at least a start in the beef cattle business, Richard and Anne relied very heavily on business away from their ranch. Richard owned a threshing machine, and hired it out to area farmers during the harvest to separate grain from straw. Eventually he tired of the threshing business, and perhaps life in the basin as well, so the family elected to leave the ranch in about 1918 and move to Wall. Richard changed careers at that time, operating a garage and a delivery business in Wall for five years before moving again, this time out of state.[37]

The Bobier family's move roughly coincided with that of many families from across the Badlands. The dry year of 1916 discouraged many homesteaders, while at least a few others, such as Ernest Bormann, had left simply because they had achieved their goal: to patent a homestead.

Another member of the Jess and Nellie Harris family held property in the area about the same time as the Bobier family. Jess's uncle, Andrew J. (Jack) Harris, while living with the family, patented 640 acres just one half mile south of the Harrises homestead block in Sections 11, 14, and 23. A bachelor, Harris later moved to Quinn Table (to the west), and later returned to the southern United States where he and his brother had been raised.[38]

During the 1910s and 1920s, Jess and Nellie continued to build their ranching operation. They added many homesteads to their holdings, perhaps including those of John Bobier and Jack Harris. They occasionally lived at another ranch headquarters they owned at the edge of the Quinn Table.[39]

To ensure their children were educated, Jess and Nellie hired a live-in school teacher at their Sage Creek Basin ranch. Rural families took this extraordinary step to ensure the education of their school-aged children. Later, they rented a place in Wall and even later bought a house in Rapid City where they lived during the school year. During those months, Jess stayed at Sage Creek or the family's Quinn Table ranch to care for their livestock. On occasion, Jess moved to town to live with Nellie and the children.[40]

In addition to the 500 or more head of cattle, the Harris family had a large herd of horses, estimated by one source to be about the size of the cattle herd. The family also raised hogs and chickens. Their garden was quite large. In addition to the standard crops and vegetables, the family grew peanuts, a skill Jess presumably learned when he lived in his home state of Tennessee.[41]

Despite the family's successes, in the mid-1920s, Jess and Nellie found that the ranch was in financial trouble. Cattle losses and crop failure, coming at a time when Jess was 60 years old, forced the family to concentrate exclusively on the Sage Creek Basin ranch, but by the early 1930s, they were forced to leave the old Sage Creek homestead because it was no longer profitable.[42]

In 1929, roughly half of the land in Township 2 South, Ranges 14 and 15 East, that would eventually become part of Badlands National Park (and where the Harrises lived) was described as "vacant," presumably meaning not claimed by private owners. Shortly after the Harrises left Sage Creek Basin in the early 1930s, the remaining full-time residents in the area also moved away. Clyde Wyant, whose father and family members homesteaded more than one parcel in the area between about 1912 and the mid-1920s, was reportedly the last to leave the basin around 1936.[43]

Conata Basin

Homesteading in the Conata Basin began shortly before the Milwaukee Road built its railroad line through the area. The Conata Basin is a relatively flat expanse, cut by several shallow ravines. It is bordered by rugged badlands to the north and the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation on the south. The tiny community of Conata once lay at roughly the center of this homesteading "cluster," but today the town no longer exists.

The case history provided here for the Conata Basin is brief, due to the lack of readily available detailed information on families who homesteaded and stayed in the area. It instead focuses on the mechanics of finding and establishing a homestead, for which there is better information. Paul Beaman was a homestead locator, who moved to the Conata area in 1907 shortly before the town was established. One of the families for whom he helped locate claims was the Sarah Ageton family. Sarah and her family lived in the Badlands for only a few years.

Paul Beaman, his wife, and son George moved to the Badlands in May 1907 to claim a few homesteads. Within a short time, Paul had taken on the task of a locator, whereby he sold relinquishments to the succeeding wave of homesteaders. Individuals or families who had moved to the Badlands and perhaps had only gotten as far as setting up their homestead shacks, found the conditions too harsh. Paul acquired the relinquishments and sold them to others.[44]

The Beaman family lived in Iowa prior to moving to the Badlands, an experience they had in common with many of the Conata area homesteaders.[45] Because so many have been identified as once living in Des Moines, Iowa, it seems possible that Paul had actually advertised his services there, through broadsheets, newspaper, or perhaps simply by word of mouth.

Like his father, George Beaman homesteaded a claim and was involved in the business of homesteading. For the first months after he arrived in 1907 and before the railroad reached Conata in August, George freighted goods and possessions between Kadoka (then the end of the rail line) and the old town of Interior on the White River. Later, he formed a partnership with another man, and the two built about 50 homestead shacks between 1907 and 1910. These were wood-frame shacks covered with tar paper that were moved from place to place as some homesteaders abandoned their claims and new homesteaders looked for a house to demonstrate progress toward the requirement of making improvements on their quarter-section claims. Unlike many of the buildings that

punctuate the landscape of the Plains with their gable roofs, Paul's buildings featured shed roofs.[46]

Sometimes the men would combine the freighting and building enterprises. George described it this way:

> ...these homesteaders would send us their listing of their land and size of the shack they wanted, and shipped their furniture. Well, when their wife was ready to come out there, why we would have a shack built and the furniture moved in, and she would just move in and start keeping up the place. We got more than $20 (the standard for a house alone) for that kind of deal, I promise you that.[47]

The sod houses and dugouts that homesteaders built in other parts of the Badlands and surrounding areas were not suitable in the Conata Basin because the clay soil did not support the growth of buffalo grass, the staple of a sod home. The gumbo soil was not suitable for dugout house construction, although some homesteaders built their "caves" for winter food storage.[48]

Many years later, George recalled that many, if not most, of the homesteaders had no intention of staying on the land after they proved up, and that included what reportedly was a high percentage of women homesteaders. His wife Della was one such woman homesteader. Moving from Des Moines in 1909, Della came on the recommendation of her physician. After she arrived, she paid George to build her a house, although one that turned out to be a more impressive than the typical homestead, with shingle siding and more than one window. After they married in January 1910, Della and George resided at her homestead for about three years, reportedly eventually patenting it, either as a homestead or cash entry. They did not farm and the only livestock they kept at the time were a few milk cows and a horse.[49]

Another family of Iowans from Des Moines, including two unmarried women homesteaders, moved to Conata in March 1911. Three of the four reportedly "selected [their homesteads] by correspondence with those who were surrendering the claims."[50] Sarah Ageton, her sons Jesse and Roy, and her daughter Maude all took up claims, the first three in Section 35, Township 3 South, Range 16 East, and Sections 1 and 2, Township 4 South, Range 16 East, respectively. Maude's homestead, which she did not claim until 1912, lay nine miles to the west in Section 31, Township 3 South, Range 15 East. An aunt and uncle left Iowa a short time later, taking up a claim near Maude's.[51]

The family's experiences seem to have been typical for the area. This includes their moves away from the Badlands to other locations after each homestead had been proved-up. Sarah, Jesse, and Maude returned to Iowa, while Roy moved to Belle Fourche. While in the Badlands, each family member had her/his own wood-frame homestead shack sided with "rubberoid," otherwise known as tar paper. At Sarah's place, and perhaps the others, the family built a root cellar, but that seems to have been the extent of building improvements. At first they relied for water on a man-made pond in Conata,

one quarter mile to two miles distant. Homesteaders filled their barrels from the pond, hauling them home in their wagons; livestock drank from the same pond. The Ageton's later dammed a small ravine near Sarah's house, and waited for rain water to fill it. For fuel to heat her home and cook her food, Maude collected "some fallen scrub pines" and purchased coal, a practice to which other homesteaders may have been accustomed.[52]

The family owned a few horses, and fed them over the winter with hay they cut at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Roy and Jesse worked out an arrangement with some Indian farmers, the Davidson Brothers, whereby the Ageton's provided the mower and labor, and the two parties split the harvested hay. The remainder of the Ageton livestock was limited to three pigs. These were free-range, allowed to scrounge for feed across the prairie. The family engaged in very little farming. They attempted to raise corn, but their only crop was destroyed by a neighbor's cattle and lost.[53]

Because the homesteads proved to be a poor source of income, Maude turned to teaching for a living. She taught at three area schools during her tenure in the Badlands, occasionally staying with a student's family or at an abandoned shack near the school.[54] RTI did not research the disposal of the Ageton claims for this study. They are presumed to have eventually been acquired by neighboring ranchers for grazing land.[55]

Upper Big Buffalo Creek

The upper Big Buffalo Creek drainage basin, at the far eastern edge of the Badlands, had a settlement history comparable to that of the Conata Basin, not far to its southwest. It is an area of hills with some steep-sided ravines and bluffs. There are no permanent sources of surface water, but Big Buffalo Creek and some tributaries have running water in the spring. Also, one homesteader reported good drinking water in a 20-foot well.[56]

Records for patents in Township 3 South, Range 18 East (one of the townships generally encompassed by the upper Big Buffalo Creek) identify the earliest patent as that of Fred Fry in December 1907. Between that date and the end of 1915, the US government had deeded about 80% of the lands patented in the township to homesteaders. Initially, the claims were homestead entries that were commuted and paid for in cash. Cash entries dominated the patents until 1914 when homestead entries became the preferred mechanism for patent. Less than two-thirds of the land in Township 3 South, Range 18 East was ever patented, which is not surprising, given the very rugged terrain particularly in the south and southeast portions of the township.[57]

As noted previously, the area had not been opened to Euro-American settlement until 1890, the date when the Great Sioux Reservation was opened. But the most critical barrier to early settlement, the absence of local railroad access, was lifted in 1907 with the arrival of two rail lines across this stretch of South Dakota. A large number of the homesteaders arrived by railroad, with the closest railroad destinations on the east side of the Badlands being Cottonwood on the Chicago and Northwestern Railway line and Interior on the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul line. Both stations were established at their present locations in the same year that the two railroads were built through the area.

Immigrants to the upper Big Buffalo area often traveled with family members or friends, or they sent for them shortly after arriving. They would settle on adjacent claims, if possible. A fair number of the immigrants came to the east side of the Badlands and adjacent areas from communities in eastern Nebraska, such as Emerson, York, and Pierce. Others came from Des Moines or other Iowa towns, and some came from Minnesota.[58] Immigrants from Pierce, Nebraska, included at least six families: the Goffs, Browns, Crews, Blairs, Leedoms, and Mendenhalls. The Crew family provides the case study for settlers in this area at the northeast edge of Badlands National Park.

The first member of the Crew family to take up a claim in the area was Claude, a young man of 22 years in 1908 when he first saw the Badlands. Encouraging his parents Edwin and Lucy Crew to move from Pierce and join him in the Big Buffalo area two years later, Claude soon had to admit that his first choice for a piece of South Dakota (NW quarter of Section 9, Township 3 South, Range 19 East), was less than ideal as there was no water on it. Ed and Lucy also claimed a 160-acre parcel immediately to the west, with a portion of it in the Badlands. Ed and Lucy purchased the parcel from a discouraged immigrant, Fred Pagel, who returned to Minnesota rather than stick it out in the Badlands. Abandoning his original claim, Claude later moved one mile south, below a wall of Badlands (in Section 18, Township 3 South, Range 19 East), where he homesteaded another 160-acre parcel. He patented that homestead entry in 1919.[59]

The appeal of the upper Big Buffalo Creek land was almost certainly its price. Although the area was obviously dry, and in places rugged by eastern South Dakota standards, the price of 50 cents per acre for commuted homesteads was about one-twentieth of the price of property being offered by a land company in the Kadoka area about 20 miles to the east.[60]

In their eagerness to make claims in the area, homesteaders occasionally rectified bad choices by either abandoning a claim before patent, such as Ed, Lucy, and Claude Crew did, or by making an additional filing. This latter choice could be accomplished by filling out the 160-acre maximum acreage allowance if a smaller parcel had been claimed at first, or by having a spouse, sibling, or adult child register a claim of her/his own.[61]

To get to their new home, the Ed Crew family took the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad from Pierce, Nebraska, to Cottonwood, South Dakota—the nearest station. An immigrant rail car hauled all of their possessions, including horses and wagons. The family then used the wagons to move their belongings the last 15-16 miles to their homestead claims.[62]

When Ed and Lucy Crew made the move to the Badlands, they may have been among the older of the area immigrants. They were 52 and 47 years old, respectively. Their oldest child Laura did not move with the family and the youngest son Leslie was 18 years old at the time of the move. Ed and Lucy had been born in Iowa and, after marrying, had moved to Pierce, Nebraska, in 1896. There is no information available about what factored into their decision to leave Pierce, other than the fact that they did not own land there.[63]

Local histories indicate that, like the Crews, most of the eastern Badlands homesteaders were American citizens who had been born and/or recently lived in South Dakota or adjacent states.[64] This pattern might be attributable to the late date of the immigration, by which time the influx of immigrants to the United States had fallen appreciably from that of the late nineteenth century.

The Crew family's homestead developed into an admirable success, it would appear. Ed, Lucy, and Leslie built two houses, a root cellar, and a sheep barn on the property; raised 30-40 horses and 400-500 sheep; and watered the livestock with water from a stock pond on the property. After Leslie married in 1919, he and his wife lived on the property with Ed and Lucy for several years, working the ranch together.[65]

The Crew family success was in contrast to the failure of many of the early homesteads in the Big Buffalo Creek area. While sources have reported that at the height of the boom homestead shacks stood on almost every quarter-section of land (outside of the rough Badlands to the south), an exodus began as early as 1916 when drought dried up surface water, grasses, and what crops there were. As families left, their neighbors generally did not move to buy the empty parcels. At that time, Jackson County had no interest in taking the parcels for back taxes, so the land stood without owners. Neighboring ranchers, however, used the parcels for grazing their livestock, without making payments to either the former owners or the county. Adjacent neighbors apparently made verbal agreements among themselves about who would use a parcel if more than one rancher was interested.[66]

During this time, the Crew family's ranching operation focused almost exclusively on sheep. Rarely did any of the local residents attempt to grow grains because of the dry climate and absence of surface water, but some were successful when they raised alfalfa seed in the wet bottoms along some tributary stream courses. Families, including the Crews, also kept a small number of dairy cattle, taking their cream to Cottonwood to be shipped by railcar to regional markets.[67]

Those neighboring immigrants who left the upper Big Buffalo Creek area at about the time of World War I included George W. Goff. He was one of the first, if not *the* first, to move to the area from Pierce, Nebraska. George took up a claim in Section 12, Township 3 South, Range 18 East, not far to the west of the Crew family claims. George commuted his homestead entry in August 1907 and patented that 160-acre parcel in early 1908. Two other members of the Goff family, perhaps siblings, also claimed land in the vicinity. John patented his 160-acre piece just north and northwest of George's in 1908 and Lulu patented her parcel east and southeast of George's in 1910. Records indicate, however, that George and his wife Elizabeth had returned to Pierce by 1918. In that year, they deeded George's quarter-section to Edgar S. Goff, possibly another brother or a son.[68]

When Leslie Crew returned from military service in World War I and married Jessie Buerck in 1919, the story of the next generation of the Crew family began. Jessie had

moved to the area from Minnesota when she was 18 years old. She lived with her sister Ada who had earlier married James Bateman. Bateman's homestead, which initially consisted of 160 acres which he patented in 1909, lay about 1.5 miles north of George Goff's and within one-eighth of a mile of Big Buffalo Creek. For a brief time before marrying, Jessie taught at the Fairview School, some 15 miles from her brother-in-law's homestead.[69]

As noted above, after Leslie and Jessie married, they lived and worked at Ed and Lucy Crew's homestead, apparently occupying (and perhaps building?) the second house at the farmstead. At the same time, Leslie began to acquire his land. He received a patent for a homestead claim within a mile or so of his parents. He also purchased another quarter-section and used it to produce hay. His quarter-section was subject to two mortgages totaling $630, and eventually he and his wife were unable to repay that and a mortgage on another property (perhaps his homestead). The 320 acres were lost in 1926 to the State of South Dakota through a sheriff's deed. It may have been at that time that the couple moved briefly to Spearfish. Within six years, however, about when their second son Keith was born, Leslie and Jessie had returned to the Badlands.[70]

In 1932 or 1933, they purchased a quarter-section in Section 11, Township 3 South, Range 18 East. When the new highway was completed about three years later, Leslie and Jessie opened a gas station on their newly-acquired parcel, and continued to operate it until mid-1951. The place catered to tourists, offering refreshments and souvenirs in addition to gasoline. The couple certainly shared his parents' spirit of hospitality and tourism service. For years, the Ed and Lucy Crew family home had served as an unofficial headquarters for visitors to the Badlands from surrounding communities, and Leslie and Jessie carried on the tradition at their gas station.[71]

Leslie and Jessie also continued in the family's ranching tradition. After Ed and Lucy died in 1937 and 1949, respectively, Leslie and Jessie incorporated the old homestead into their ranching operation. Between 1939 and 1940, they began to accumulate other acreage in the area, often purchasing it at auction in Jackson County. In the late 1940s, Leslie and Jessie added the old Ed and Alice Brown homestead to their increasingly large landholdings. Eventually, that property would be the next generation's project to provide a service to Badlands tourists and at the same time preserve a piece of the area's homesteading past.[72]

No story of the east end of the Badlands or the Crew family is complete without mention of Edgar I. and Alice Brown. They and their son Charles were also from Pierce, Nebraska. Arriving in 1909, Ed had, in the previous summer, selected his 160-acre homestead parcel (then recently relinquished by another party) on either side of a south tributary of Big Buffalo Creek (NE quarter of Section 12, Township 3 South, Range 18 East). He subsequently commuted the homestead, paying cash for the land, and receiving a patent in 1911.[73]

Unlike their neighbors, the Crews, the Browns traveled to their Badlands homestead in a covered wagon. But in many other respects their lives were comparable to those of their

neighbors. For example, their first major task when reaching their homestead was to build a "permanent" home. The Brown family chose to build a dugout sod house, using the local material which was plentiful. If historic photographs and written remembrances are any indication, at least half of the first homes in the general area were made with sod walls. Cottonwood logs served as roof and supporting members in the Brown house, while milled lumber from a White River sawmill was used for roof decking and window and door trim. Between 1911 and 1913, the family also erected a dugout root cellar, outhouse, chicken coop, and barn on the property. Another major improvement came in 1913 when an abandoned claim shack was moved onto the property and added to the north side of the sod house. Perhaps at about that time, the front of the sod house and the claim shack were sided with matching lap siding. Between 1915 and 1920, the old barn was replaced with a new, larger structure and a garage was attached to one end. Later, a new well was dug. These improvements were the only ones ever made on the 1909 Brown farmstead.[74]

Like Ed Crew, Ed Brown was in his early 50s when he made his initial claim on 160 acres in the Badlands.[75] Despite his age, he maintained a diversified farming operation. The family reportedly raised (or tried to raise) barley, spelt, wheat, oats, and alfalfa, and kept a small number of livestock, which included chickens, pigs, milk cows, and occasionally some beef cattle.[76]

After Ed died in 1920, Alice and Charles continued on the place until 1934, presumably producing similar crops and handling the same type of livestock. By 1936, both Alice and Charles had left for California, and a bachelor by the name of George Carr was renting the old homestead and caring for the buildings. George had a small farming operation as well, with most of his efforts apparently concentrated on raising oats, wheat, and alfalfa. He continued to live on the property, at least seasonally, until his death in 1949.[77]

As noted above, Leslie and Jessie Crew purchased the Brown homestead acreage. Years later, son Keith would restore the old "soddy" and other homestead buildings. In the family tradition of tourist services, Keith and his wife Dorothy opened the "Prairie Homestead," just beyond the Park's northeast entrance to area visitors, using the "soddy" and other outbuildings to tell the agricultural and homesteading history of the badlands.[78]

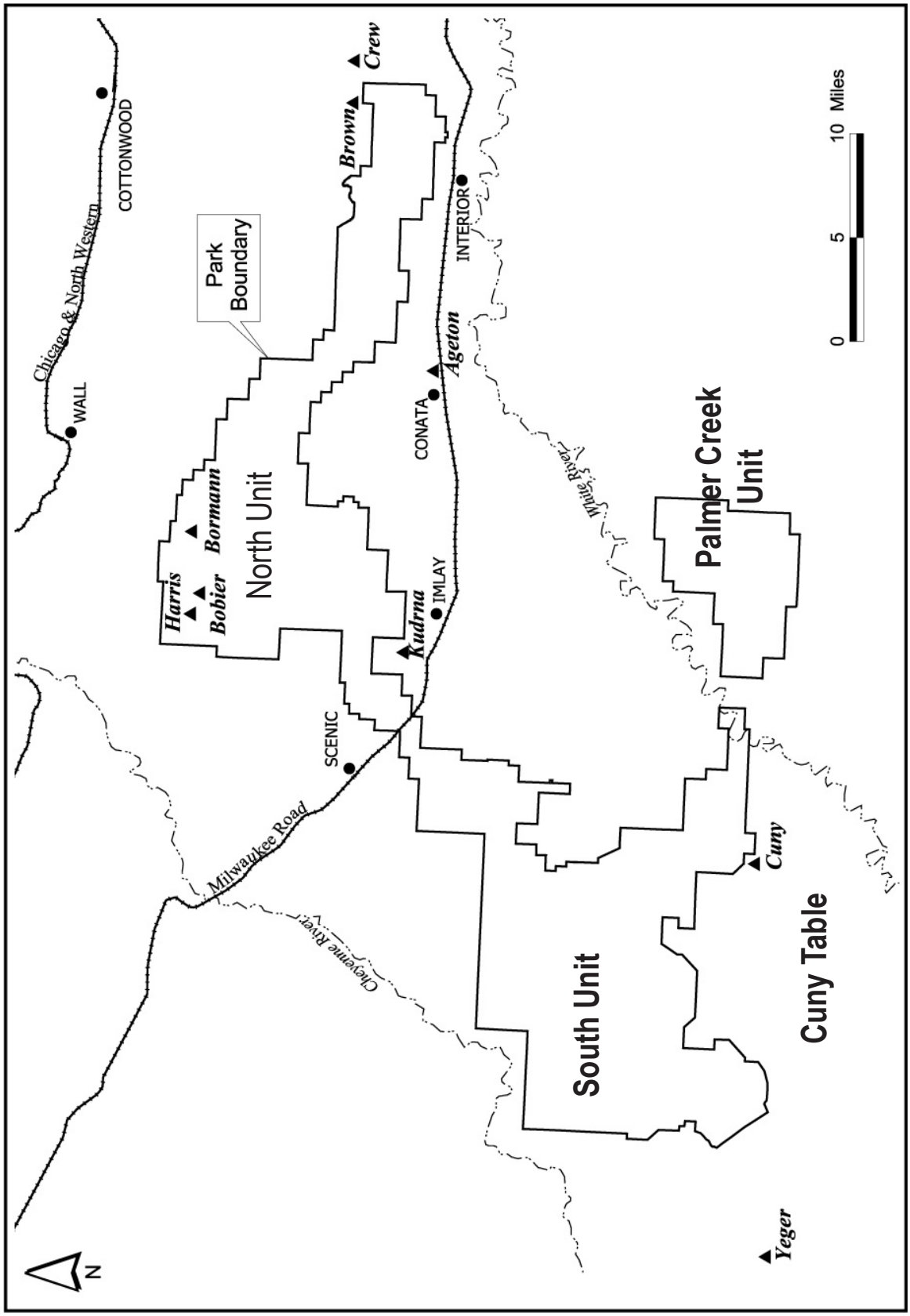

Figure 2: Map showing locations of selected homesteads mentioned in text (homesteads labeled in italics by claimant's surname).

Source: To be added in future submissions.

Source: Copy of photograph at Badlands National Park Archives, No. BADL-6343; reprinted from Bormann's *Homesteading in the South Dakota Badlands – 1912*, p. 71.

Figure 3: Ernest Bormann stacking sod around base of his tar-paper homestead shack in 1912.

Source: Photograph courtesy of Keith Crew; reprinted from *Prairie Homestead*, p. 10.

Figure 4: Edgar and Alice Brown sod homestead house (at left) and another shack attached (at right), both buildings with wood lap siding. Alice and son Charles standing in front of house, photo from early 1930s.

[1] American Legion Auxiliary, Carrol McDonald Unit, *Eastern Pennington County Memoirs* (Wall: 1965); Jackson-Washabaugh County Historical Society, *Jackson-Washabaugh Counties 1915 – 1965* (n.p.:1966); Virginia I. Kain Lautenschlager, *A History of Cuny Table, 1890-1983* (Rapid City: Pioneer Baptist Press, 1983); Ernest Bormann, *Homesteading in the South Dakota Badlands* (Stickney, SD: Argus Printers, 1971); Keith Crew and Douglas Heck, *Prairie Homestead, Meet the Browns and Their Neighbors* (Martin, SD: Lewis Publications, 1996); Maude Olney, "Light on the Badlands," *South Dakota Department of History Report and Historical Collections* 33.

[2] All information provided about the Yeger family was provided by (daughter) Nellie Cuny, interview with Mitzi Rossillon, tape recording, 27 January 2005.

[3] Cuny interview; Lautenschlager, *History of Cuny Table*, 34-5.

[4] Lautenschlager, *History of Cuny Table*, 2.

[5] Ibid., 25.

[6] Ibid., 33-4, 84, appended "Some Last-Minute Tid-Bits"; Cuny interview.

[7] Lautenschlager, *History of Cuny Table*, 24, 26-7, 50, 55, 58-9, 69; Cuny interview.

[8] Cuny interview; Lautenschlager, *History of Cuny Table*, 74.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Tony Kudrna, interview by Mitzi Rossillon, Scenic, SD, 31 January 2005; South Dakota census, 1925, cards on file, South Dakota Historical Society, Pierre.

[11] Ibid.; American Legion Auxiliary, *Eastern Pennington County Memoirs*, 200.

[12] US Bureau of Land Management, "Land Patent Details, General Land Office Records," accessed 16 December 2004, portion of online database for various townships in Jackson and Pennington Counties; Kudrna interview.

[13] US Bureau of Land Management, "Land Patent Details." It is possible that the 120-acre parcel was patented instead by Joseph Kudrna, the son, who would have been of legal age to take up a homestead at about that time. The records that RTI used do not distinguish between family members of the same or similar name.

[14] Kudrna interview.

[15] Ibid.; American Legion Auxiliary, *Eastern Pennington County Memoirs*, 200.

[16] Kudrna interview.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Lautenschlager, *A History of Cuny Table, 1890-1983*, 51.

[19] Kudrna interview; American Legion Auxiliary, *Eastern Pennington County Memoirs*, 200.

[20] Kudrna interview.

[21] Ibid.; American Legion Auxiliary, *Eastern Pennington County Memoirs*, 200.

[22] Kudrna interview.

[23] American Legion Auxiliary, *Eastern Penning County Memoirs*, 218; US Bureau of Land Management, "Land Patent Details"; Louis Blumer, interview by J. Earnest, tape recording, Wall, 15 January 1968, Badlands National Park Library, Headquarters.

[24] Bormann, *Homesteading in the South Dakota Badlands*, 10, 15.

[25] Ibid., 10, 22, 24.

[26] Ibid., 26, 33-37, 62.

[27] Ibid., 63, 69-70.

[28] Ibid., 62, 65.

[29] Ibid., 88, 93.

[30] Ibid., 7; US Bureau of Land Management, "Land Patent Details."

[31] American Legion Auxiliary, *Eastern Pennington County Memoirs*, 210; US Census Bureau, 1910 Census.

[32] Anne Bobier, interview with Susan Sindt, taped interview, Rapid City, 14 February 1973, Badlands National Park Library, Headquarters.
[33] American Legion Auxiliary, *Eastern Pennington County Memoirs*, 218-219.
[34] Ibid., 220; Blumer interview; Bobier, interview.
[35] US Bureau of Land Management, "Land Patent Details"; Bobier interview; American Legion Auxiliary, *Eastern Pennington County Memoirs*, 218.
[36] Bobier interview.
[37] Ibid.
[38] American Legion Auxiliary, *Eastern Pennington County Memoirs*, 220; US Bureau of Land Management, "Land Patent Details."
[39] American Legion Auxiliary, *Eastern Pennington County Memoirs*, 220.
[40] Ibid.; Blumer interview.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid, 220.
[43] Anonymous, *Land Use and Survey Maps of South Dakota and the Badlands Region, 1929*. Bound volume on file, Badlands National Park Library, Headquarters; American Legion Auxiliary, *Eastern Pennington County Memoirs*, 219-221; Blumer interview.
[44] George and Della Beaman, interview with J. Stockert, 1 April 1971, Badlands National Park Library, Headquarters; American Legion Auxiliary, Carrol McDonald Unit, *Eastern Pennington County Memoirs* (Wall: 1965), 201
[45] Olney, "Light on the Badlands," 500; Philip S. Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands* (Vermillion: University of South Dakota Press, 1933), 156-7.
[46] US Census Bureau, Digitized Census Index, on file, South Dakota Historical Society, Pierre; Beaman interview.
[47] Beaman interview.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Olney, "Light on the Badlands," 491.
[51] Ibid., 491, 505-506.
[52] Ibid., 495, 505, 510-511.
[53] Ibid., 499-499.
[54] Ibid., 501-509.
[55] One source indicates that the land was "in use" as of 1929: Anonymous, *Land Use and Survey Maps*.
[56] Keith Crew, interview by Mitzi Rossillon, partial tape recording, Phillip, SD, 29 January 2005.
[57] US Bureau of Land Management, "Land Patent Details"; Anonymous, *Land Use and Survey Maps*; Crew and Heck, *Prairie Homestead*, 14.
[58] Crew and Heck, *Prairie Homestead*, 13; Jackson-Washabaugh County Historical Society, *Jackson-Washabaugh Counties*, 46, 66, 109, 111, 134; Francis and Wanda Guptill, *Memoirs from Interior and Wanblee Schools*, unpublished manuscript, 1989, on file at Badlands National Park Library, Headquarters, 6; Olney, "Light on the Badlands," 500.
[59] Crew and Heck, *Prairie Homestead*, v, 1, 33, 35; Crew interview; US Bureau of Land Management, "Land Patent Details"; Jackson-Washabaugh County Historical Society, *Jackson-Washabaugh*, 134; South Dakota, 1915 State Census.
[60] Jackson-Washabaugh County Historical Society, *Jackson-Washabaugh*, 9-10.
[61] Ibid., 12-13.
[62] Ibid., 134.
[63] Ibid.; South Dakota, 1915 State Census, on file, South Dakota Historical Society, Pierre; Crew interview.

[64] See for example, Jackson-Washabaugh County Historical Society, *Jackson-Washabaugh*, 11-16, 66, 134-135; Olney, "Light on the Badlands."
[65] Crew interview; Jackson-Washabaugh County Historical Society, *Jackson-Washabaugh*, 134.
[66] Crew interview; Crew and Heck, *Prairie Homestead*, 14.
[67] Crew interview.
[68] Crew and Heck, *Prairie Homestead*, 13, 45; US Bureau of Land Management, "Land Patent Details"; Jackson County, receiver's receipt for $80 for SW¼ of Section 12, Township 3 South, Range 18 East, 29 August 1907, Book 5, p. 412; Deed for SW¼ Section 12 from George W. and Elizabeth Goff to Edgar S. Goff, 21 August 1918, Deed Book 4, p. 192.
[69] Crew interview; Jackson-Washabaugh County Historical Society, *Jackson-Washabaugh*, 134; Crew and Heck, *Prairie Homestead*, 29; US Bureau of Land Management, "Land Patent Details."
[70] Jackson-Washabaugh County Historical Society, *Jackson-Washabaugh*, 134; US Bureau of Land Management, "Land Patent Details"; Jackson County, Deed for SW¼ Section 13, Township 3 South, Range 18 East from Mattie and Charles Smalley to Leslie C. Crew, subject to mortgage, 19 April 1919, Deed Book 4, p. 393; Sheriff's deed from SW¼ Section 13 and SE ¼ Section 14, Township 3 South, Range 18 East from E.B. Hughes, Sheriff, to State of South Dakota, 26 August 1926, deed Book 9, p. 150; Crew interview.
[71] Crew and Heck, *Prairie Homestead*, 34; Crew interview.
[72] Ibid.; Jackson-Washabaugh County Historical Society, *Jackson-Washabagh*, 154.
[73] Crew and Heck, *Prairie Homestead*, 7, 8, 11, 45; US Bureau of Land Management, "Land Patent Details."
[74] Crew and Heck, *Prairie Homestead*, 7-11, 15.
[75] Ibid., 17.
[76] Ibid., 16.
[77] Ibid., 19-21.
[78] Ibid., v.