

Sheep and Goat Ranching--Texas Style

Goat Ropers Need Love, Too

Janice Maupin
University of Texas

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Those of you who are not fortunate enough to reside in our State of Texas, may not be aware of the significance of my paper's subtitle, i.e., "Goat Ropers Need Love, Too." In recent months a rash of bumper stickers bearing this slogan has appeared on many a rancher's pick-up truck. The sticker slogan seems to be an attempt by goat and sheep ranchers of this state to attract public attention--to obtain public awareness that is a century overdue.

Two years ago the University of Texas' Oral Business History Project began interviewing Texas' sheep and goat ranchers in an effort to compile an oral history on their industry's economic impact on the Southwest, particularly Texas. From the outset it was apparent in our project staff's pre-interview research that a dearth of material existed concerning the sheep and goat ranching industry of Texas, as compared to its counterpart of cattle ranching. One of our interviewees, Bill Sims, commented on sheep and goat ranching's lack of publicity and glamour, as follows:

I've been told that there are many books about cattle but only a very few about sheep. It probably goes back to the idea that everybody who has ten cows says that he is a cattleman; and yet if he has a thousand sheep, he just doesn't say much about being a sheepman . . . I recognize that sheep may be funny animals, but they do make money. Some of these old sheepmen can match the million-acre cattle estates. But the old sheepmen never say much about it. Some of them are hermits, of course.

One thing we have all learned is that our business is our business. You don't find too many sheepmen who will come out and tell you everything they know. If you get it, you have to work at it. They don't like too many people meddling in their affairs. Maybe this is another reason why the history of the sheep industry has never been told. It just goes against the grain of sheepmen to tell all about themselves.¹

Sheep and goat ranchers have been seriously neglected in history's treatment of the development of the Southwestern frontier and of the sheepmen's contribution to Texas' remarkable economic development. Though flattered and fawned upon in biblical times, the shepherd has largely been ignored or abused in recent times. Although the peaceful, pastoral pursuit of shepherding is still associated with scriptural characters and in literature with the beauty and mystery of the Golden Fleece, a transmogrification of the sheep and the shepherd occurred with their introduction into the New World. Throughout America, specifically in the Southwest, the romantic shepherd rapidly descended to the lowest rung on the social ladder, disparagingly branded as being lower than the mule and about equal to the jack rabbit. Sheep were regarded as the dumbest of dumb and nasty "onery" things that impinged upon the sacred ranging ground of the cattlemen. Despite their denigrated status, both socially and historically, sheepmen developed an economic empire in the Southwest.

When you consider that 95% of the mohair in the U. S. is produced in Texas,² when you take into account that of the

thirty million sheep in the U. S. today one-third come from Texas,³ and when you consider that more sheep fortunes were built by sheepherders than cattle fortunes by cowboys⁴ -- it is remarkable that such an empire has sprung from an occupation that faced continual malignment. Moreover, it should amaze the historically-minded that what little public knowledge is afforded this truly Southwestern-style entrepreneur rarely encompasses more than his over-dramatized skirmishes with the cowboy.

In our discussion of the Southwestern entrepreneur, it behooves us to take a closer look at the forces which attracted the pioneer sheep and goat ranchers to Texas and their struggle for livelihood and land, and to isolate the personal characteristics and commonalities among the men who engaged in sheep ranching. Since most of the sheep ranchers interviewed by our Project staff are also "goat ropers," and since the two ranching techniques are so similar that they literally go hand in hand, my discussion will not separate goat and sheep enterprises but treat them as a unit for brevity's sake.

Introduction of Sheep Husbandry in Texas

Although he did not have breeding purposes in mind, Coronado brought the first shipment of sheep via Mexico into what is now the southwestern United States. Unfortunately his flock met a tragic end when 4,972 out of the 5,000 sheep were lost en route across the Southwest's terrain.⁵ Credit for starting a viable sheep industry in the Southwest is generally given to Juan de

Onante who brought the famous Spanish churro sheep to North American in 1558, eighteen years after Coronado.⁶ The churros were of the coarse-wooled variety that were adopted as the foundation flock in Mexico. During these early times sheep played a major role in the exploration and development of the Southwest. Often they provided the only available source of meat to sustain the wanderers while they traversed unpeopled mountains and deserts.

The spread of sheep herds throughout the vast frontier can be largely attributed to the efforts of the padres. "From the Rio Grande to the Golden Gate no Spanish mission was organized whose domestic economy was not based upon the flock. Of all man's domesticated animals, only sheep could simultaneously provide the mission community with food and clothing."⁷ Between 1690 and 1791 twenty missions were founded in Texas alone. During this century of mission influence, the groundwork was laid for the state's sensational expansion of sheep and goat husbandry. By 1800 the mission drive had exhausted itself and only along the Rio Grande where there were some 5,000 head did sheep raising continue to flourish. Forays of Indians, raiding Mexican and Texas bandits wiped out missions and newly settled ranches on both sides of the Rio Grande.⁸ Nevertheless, this period of decline for Texas missions, and for the flocks and herds as well, failed to stop the growth of sheep ranching north of the Rio Grande.

Contemporaneously with the Spanish, English and Dutch explorers brought sheep into their American colonies where they increased in numbers over the years and made a substantial contribution to life in the New World. However, not until the beginning of the nineteenth century did the modern history of sheep husbandry begin to pursue an active course in the United States. At this time thousands of pure-blood merinos were imported from Spain in 1801. The fine-wooled merino, in contrast with the churro, later became the preferred and predominant breed of sheep. Their ability to walk long distances contributed to their becoming the range sheep of the Southwest.⁹

Between 1800 and 1850 Texas was in a state of political turmoil. There were the battles at the Alamo and San Jacinto which successfully concluded the Texas Revolution. But Texas-Mexico clashes continued to flare up, culminating in the Mexican War which ceased in 1848. This relatively constant warring had a deleterious effect on sheep ranching in the state. Before the Civil War sheep ranching in Texas could hardly be called a business, but a successful demonstration had been made.

As early as 1836 the lands of Texas were being proclaimed as the best sheep and goat country on all the continent. The reasons why Texas was initially perceived as being such an appropriate country for the raising of sheep are not difficult to enumerate. Above their hooves sheep have a small glandular opening that secretes a malvdorous fluid. This secretion purportedly

scent the ground so that sheep can locate their flock. In the Spanish churro sheep this characteristic was more pronounced which necessitated their staying on high, dry range for the scent lasted longer in high, drylands than in the more humid climates. Therefore, the churro was more suited to Texas.¹⁰

But there are other geographical factors that gave Texas a decided advantage over other states. Land in Texas was very cheap and naturally fertile. Mesquite grass, which is found in abundance in Texas, had the benefits of being perennial, of having long and stout roots, and not giving lamb a "muttony" flavor. Texas was exempt from tempestuous weather except for the occasional "northers;" there was a general absence of seasons of continuous drought which influences the pasturage and water supply. These attributes made Texas the target for much activity in sheep raising, creating an area suitable and even enticing for prospective ranchers.

Organized colonies of settlers began flowing into Texas after Stephen F. Austin established the first Texas colony in 1821. However, few ranches of any size were developed in the early 1800's because of the political turbulence. But when the Texas Republic became an accomplished fact, sheep raising re-appeared with renewed vigor.

Several German families settled in Comal County on the Guadalupe under the aegis of Prince Solms during this period. They introduced German sheep and crossed them with the Mexican

stock; they erected a mill where both cotton and wool were woven into clothing and blankets, the surplus of which was sold commercially. Many grew rich, and some led the western movement of sheep after 1850 when farming displaced ranching in this area.¹¹ In other areas Scottish and English immigrants rapidly embraced sheep ranching and weaving as their principal occupation. Even though there were great numbers of immigrants settling in Texas and some bringing their native sheep, the foundation stock remained predominately Mexican-Spanish churro.

Following the Mexican War and preceding the Civil War, stockgrowers stampeded into Texas from both the South and North. Because the Southerners lacked experience with woolies, they turned more to cattle. On the other hand, the northern arrivals launched into sheep ranching. Along with the Northerners, especially those from Vermont, came more merinos that were crossed with the light-shearing Mexican breeds. The result was almost magical and has been considered the first step taken in Texas to modernize the Spanish sheep of the Southwest.¹²

Texas openly advertised for settlers from 1850 to 1890. With the rosetinted enticements of the railroad companies, the Texas Land Office and of individuals, the potentialities for sheep raising were enthusiastically promulgated.¹³ It was proclaimed that a man starting out with little or no capital could rapidly build a fortune. Henry Randall wrote in his book Sheep Husbandry, "The sheep is a prompter paymaster [than the cow].

He pays you annually. And he never dies in your debt." Glowing propaganda continued to attract many more immigrants from England, Scotland and Germany to West Texas. One historian remarked that because of the name-calling and discouraging words of the cattlemen, only the strong-willed, self-assured man from outside could face the condemnation of the sheep business.¹⁴

J. W. Jennings' Prospectus of the Edwards County Angora Goat and Sheep Ranch published in the late nineteenth century is an example of the type of booklet which attempted to inform the newcomer on how to begin a sheep and goat ranching business. The settlers were advised to proceed to Corpus Christi or San Antonio for the purpose of obtaining information about desirable locations. It was suggested that they spend from three to four months looking around for a range they could initially rent. Leasing of grazing land was a common precaution. The rule-of-thumb requirement for 1,000 sheep was 1,000 acres at the average rate of three cents per acre. Since sheep, unlike mustangs and long-horns, did not occur in the wild, the nucleus for a herd had to be purchased, worked for on shares, or stolen. With experienced Mexican herders readily available at low wages, the average novice found it difficult to obtain a flock on shares. And since all flocks were under constant guard, relatively few sheep were stolen. Entering the sheep business, therefore, normally required capital--a scarce item on the new frontier. The minimum amount of money to start in the sheep business with a

flock of 1,000 ewes and to operate for a year was at least \$2,000 and probably nearer \$2,500.¹⁵ A century ago \$2,500 was an appreciable sum, especially for a young man. Bryan Hunt, one of the sheep ranchers interviewed by the Oral Business History Project's staff, said that without the willingness of the bankers in Texas to give the early sheepman credit, he never could have succeeded.¹⁶

The initial plant required for the sheep enterprise, except for the first stock of ewes and rams, was exceedingly small. Since no buildings were necessary except for a covered platform used for shearing, many herders lived in caves, old dugouts and by the rivers. The flockmaster's accoutrement consisted of a wagon with a pair of horses to carry his supplies and a sheepskin for shelter. The well-arranged ranch was after-luxury, earned by the profits of the profession.

The inexperienced sheep rancher relied upon the Mexican herders, known as pastores, to teach him the tricks of the trade. Pastores were masters of the slingshot which they used to control the direction of the flock. They rarely relied upon the assistance of a dog, since many pastores felt they could not trust a canine partner, and instead lead goats were widely used.¹⁷ At lambing time the pastores acted as mid-wives, protecting the young from predators. Three flocks each consisting of approximately 1,000 sheep, were desirable. With just one pastore over each flock it is quite evident that training and skill were of

utmost importance in the management of the early sheep ranch.

Lambing, shearing and dipping were demanding activities for the sheep rancher. Shearing usually took place on April 15 and September 15. The practice of shearing twice a year was adopted because it was most advantageous in the warm Texas climate. An El Capitan ran the festive show and was the one who hired his men to move from ranch to ranch. Mexicans from both sides of the Rio Grande performed the shearing with hand clippers. Fine sheep brought the usual price of \$3.50 per 100 with the shearers averaging thirty head a day.¹⁸ El Capitan paid his men with checks which were bits of tin from old cans, stamped in a way recognized by the Capitan. The checks served as legal tender within the camp.¹⁹ Today shearing is accomplished at a much faster rate with shearing machines. But despite mechanization, the festive nature of shearing time has changed little.

After shearing was completed the wool would go to market in trains of mule-drawn wagons. The trips to market were plagued by problems when it rained. The heavy wagons easily lodged in the mud, and the wool could be ruined if it became wet. When trucks began to be used in 1918, these difficulties were alleviated.

Sheep drives lasted longer than cattle drives, thereby providing time for more incidents. Their route to the shipping points was threatened by predatory animals, hostile Indians, angry cattlemen, irate homesteaders and other dangers and

discomforts of the climate and the land. Also it was very difficult to find dependable men to travel such long distances under those conditions. Even the completion of the railroad did not relieve these problems. By jerking the train with an abrupt stop, a careless engineer could smother hundreds of sheep. Some ranchers found it cheaper to continue driving the sheep part or all the way even when the railroad was an available source of transportation.²⁰ Widespread fencing of range land in the late 19th century, however, gradually put a stop to the long drives. Finally with the advent of the double-decked truck, short sheep drives were unnecessary. The day of their marching was over.

George Kendall--Innovator of Sheep Ranching

In some industries it is impossible to consider one man's contribution as the turning point of that industry. But in the case of George Wilkins Kendall, who has deservedly been labeled the father of Texas' sheep business, this simply is not so. Without George Kendall's progressive, intelligent and courageous efforts, it is questionable whether or not Texas would have developed into the great wool-producing state that it has.

George Kendall, a native of New Hampshire, was actively engaged in sheep raising in Texas from 1856-1871. At the age of forty-six he settled on a ranch near New Braunfels, Texas. Prior to his sheep-raising days, Kendall was well known as a journalist for the New Orleans Picayune and The Texas Almanac. He has been

called the first modern war reporter because of his newspaper correspondence sent directly from the lines during the Mexican War.²¹ The story of how he rechanneled his energies from journalism to sheep is quite interesting. During his period as a war correspondent, Kenndall was captured by the Mexican forces. After his imprisonment Kenndall was stranded on the Rio Grande Plains for seven days without food. His first meal after the involuntary fast consisted of churro meat, and Kendall is reported to have been so kindly disposed towards sheep following that meal that he started a flock of merinos near New Braunfels in 1856.²² Regardless of the reason, Kendall set out in a business-like fashion to demonstrate what sheep ranching could amount to.

Kendall was not exempt from entrepreneurial risks. His early years in sheep ranching were most difficult. Many of his sheep died with liver rot; a severe storm killed his unsheltered sheep; his lambs came too early and many died; his prairie grass was destroyed by fire; three of his good herders were killed by Comanches; and a hard winter added to Kendall's tribulations.²³ Such astounding misfortune would have set many fleeing from Texas cursing the advertised prosperity of sheep ranching. But not Kenndall. He stayed. He soon cut his losses down to less than 1% at a time when flockmasters counted themselves successful with losses of 15-20%.²⁴ And after years of hard work, Kendall was rewarded by gratifying success.

George Kendall is the first recognized selective breeder of

the Mexican sheep that were descendents from the churro race of Spain. He was the first to conceive the idea of engrafting the native Mexican sheep with the merino stock. For seventeen years he bred the best sheep in the state, employed the most modern methods such as the dipping vat, and circumvented many obstacles raised by the Civil War.²⁵ Through his zealous newspaper promotion and his private correspondence, Kendall had a great deal to do with attracting settlers from the Northeast to Texas. Without a doubt, Kendall paved the way for the spectacular boom in Texas' sheep industry in the late 1870's and early 1880's and certainly contributed to the state's top rank in wool production nearly a century later.

The Civil War aggravated the normal troubles of the Texas woolgrower. Kendall thought that Texas woolgrowers suffered more than other classes from the war. Loss of markets damned up the clipped wool. Confederate currency was unacceptable to the Mexican herders. At the same time the country was terrorized by the Indians. Droughts and storms were frequent and severe. In March of 1864, creeks disappeared and grass crops withered. Kendall wrote, "A crop dries up and makes no moan, but starving lambs die uttering the most plaintive cries."²⁶ Great herds of wild cattle invaded the valley. An additional affliction was scabies, commonly called the scab. During the war it was difficult to obtain the usual curatives, sulphur and lime. This was when Kendall invented his innovative dipping vat.²⁷

Early in 1870 the sheep industry in Texas began the post-war expansion that was finally to make it the most important of the Southwest's industries. Soon after the Civil War sheepmen found their product in tremendous demand. Texas wool prices rose to an attractive 24¢ a pound.²⁸ Sheep derives of good breeding stock from the North stimulated sheep improvement throughout Texas. Large numbers of stockmen came to the Rio Grande Plains because peace promised more stable political conditions. The abundant commodities of land and grass, however, were the major inducements. Markets opened up, the Plains Indians were being suppressed, and the great open range west of Texas hill country was thrown open to the use of any who wanted to come. And many a sheep raiser in the sheep states of the North and East realized that here in Texas was what he had waited for. By 1870 a few hundred indomitable sheepmen had "donned seven-league boots" and boosted the state's ovine population in one twenty-year stride from 700,000 to nearly 3.5 million.²⁹

But the good fortune of woolgrowers during the 1870's and 1880's came to a screeching halt with the Panic of 1893 and the Wilson Bill of 1894. Wool, which was put on the free list, dropped to nothing in price. Once again the sheep ranchers were victims to political whims. For three years wool stayed on the free list until the Republicans came back into power and William McKinley. As a result, many of the sheepmen expressed their political sentiment by becoming Republicans--even in Texas.³⁰

The Battle between the Fleece and the Horn

One of the few historical positions that the sheepman has held concerns the range wars between cattlemen and sheepmen. The contact with such a colorful character as the cowboy put the sheep raiser in the historical limelight. The war between the sheepmen and the cattlemen "began in the 1870's, reached its peak of intensity in the late 1880's, and was renewed in earnest in the early 1900's."³¹ It was a war for possession of grass. However, in most cases the disputes were exaggerated out of all proportion to their importance. For instance, in Texas there was no serious warring as is indicated by one lone Mexican sheepherder's death reaching the records as a victim of such a struggle.³² On the other hand, more blood was shed in Wyoming and Colorado. So depending upon the state involved, the intensity of the conflict could be considered a war, a dispute, or a passing altercation.

Range disagreements had their beginning in Texas between the free-grass men and the fenced-range men. Land had become more precious because the Republican tariff hoisted the price of wool, and the creation of trade combinations sent beef and mutton prices soaring.³³ Cowmen also claimed that they were on the range first, thus giving them priority on the land. In the early days there were two kinds of sheepmen utilizing Texas land--the "legitimate" sheepman and the "drifter." The ethical, or legitimate, sheepman claimed a limited range by virtue of having driven

his sheep there first. Later he acquired range by leasing or buying. If he moved through another man's range, he did so by permission and because he was going somewhere. But the drifter was hated by cattlemen and sheepmen alike. He was the one who drifted his sheep through the range with no specific destination and no claim to a range. It was the drifter who initially incensed the cattleman.³⁴

There are other explanations for the cattleman's antipathy for the woolgrower. Sheepmen were closely associated with the Mexicans' consequently the cattlemen classified all sheepmen, whether Mexican or not, as the "inferior" people conquered at San Jacinto.³⁵ Also cattlemen decried the presence of sheep on the same range with cattle because sheep supposedly marked the grass with an odor so disagreeable that cattle would not feed on it. Plus those nasty animals trampled down the range with their hooves and ate the grass so low thus ruining the land further for the cattle--so thought the cowman. But there is yet another reason why the cowboys looked down upon the sheepman, perhaps even literally. Being mounted on a horse was considered a status symbol in those days. Since sheepherders walked on foot with their flock, they were branded socially inferior. The aristocrat of the saddle regarded the careless, dusty dress of the sheepherder, compared to the fancier-dressed cowboys, as another indication of the sheepmen being a somewhat lesser species. All of these factors contributed to the ridicule,

harrassment and sometimes bloodshed that the sheepmen faced. As Charles Towne and Edward Wentworth describe in their Shepherd's Empire:

Cowboys were always careful to outnumber the herder five or ten to one, and being mounted, they were always in a position to gain surprise, attack quickly, and withdraw from their scenes of carnage with due celerity. Their activities expressed the mob spirit in one of its most cowardly forms. (p. 190)

In 1881 the Texas Legislature passed a law which made it illegal to graze sheep on land belonging to another without the owner's permission. Cattle and horses were obviously excepted under the law.³⁶ This unjust discrimination worked a hardship on the sheepman. He had to buy or lease the land on which he ran his sheep; he had to improve and protect it by fencing against herds of cattle and horses. This left him less money with which to invest in flocks. Nevertheless, the sheepmen began to fence their range with barbed wire, but only to find the disagreement escalated. Cattlemen would cut and destroy the fences because they might arbitrarily choose to graze their livestock on the sheepman's property.

Finally the state legislators redeemed themselves. In 1884 they made fence cutting a felony.³⁷ This timely action transformed the sheepman's fence from a liability to an asset that inaugurated a system of sheep control which was truly an innovation in the industry. With fences erected the sheep owners could afford to reduce the number of herders; the range increased in productivity under this system because sheep could spread out

shorter sprouts. Some range war historians say that the realization in Texas of cattle and sheep doing well on the same pasture prevented range strife from becoming so intense. It is rather ironical that before the Indians were conquered, they were raising cattle and sheep together impartially.⁴⁰

Range confrontations and financial panics, spawned by the North and East to develop protective tariffs, were only the manmade adversities facing the sheep rancher. He had to deal incessantly with the norther, sandstorm, and as the result of long droughts which destroyed both the grass and water supply. History bears the proof that these cyclical scourges wrought great havoc with the flocks. Toxic plants (e.g., loco weed, milkweed, and bitterweed) were yet another natural obstacle with which the sheepman had to deal.

With the extermination of the buffalo and antelope, wolves and coyotes transferred their tactics to sheep and became the sheepman's greatest predator problem.⁴¹ The bobcat, lynx, panther, eagle and sometimes the buzzard are other predatory wildlife needing control. Livestock in West Texas, New Mexico and Arizona suffered considerable damage from dogs which had gone wild and taken up the life of wolves. In some instances dogs joined the wolves and the half-breed offspring have increased the number of predators. It is interesting to note that with the improvement of the land from brush to pasture the predators

as well as all wildlife forms increased.⁴² In order to deal with them the sheepman tried poison, which becomes ineffective after a time, and traps. Today in many counties in the Southwest there are "government-paid exterminators whose business it is to destroy wolves and other predatory animals and whose jobs depend upon their success."⁴³

Personality of a Sheepman

In trying to isolate the personal characteristics and commonalities among these early entrepreneurs who engaged in sheep ranching, one might note the words of George Kendall in a letter to Henry Randall: "There are two callings, friend Randall, in this world which imperatively demand practical knowledge, viz., navigation and sheep raising. In fair weather all goes well with theory, but when storms and foul weather come, then a practical man is needed at the helm"⁴⁴ The careful, conscientious, hard-working traits of the Basque and the Scotchman further define the prerequisites of a successful sheep rancher. But regardless of their different national origins, sheepherders and another characteristic in common: the unique temperament which sent a man out to live alone for weeks, devoid of human contact, but weighted with the responsibility for the welfare of a bleating multitude--animals who otherwise are defenseless against storms, disease, drought, predators and starvation.⁴⁵ It was up to the herder to work out his own and the flock's salvation. As Towne and Wentworth elaborate in Shepherd's Empire,

"The herder, more than any other type of male Homo sapiens, possessed to an extraordinary degree a vicarious maternal instinct."

Such traits differentiated the early sheepman from the early cattleman and perhaps contributed to the phenomenon that more sheep fortunes were built by shepherders than cattle fortunes by cowboys. Bill Sims, a West Texas sheep rancher, commented in an oral history interview: "In choosing whether to raise sheep or cattle, you might say that it depends on whether you want to put on a big hat and boots and say that you're a cowboy or whether you want to make money."

A man who worked with sheep developed, if he did not already have it, a dogged persistence and a sense of responsibility. He had to be more adult than the cowboy for his solitary life style demanded intelligence and inner resources. It is this ingenuity and inner resourcefulness, stemming from isolation and sharpened by experience, that distinguishes the herder from the cowboy. Unlike the cowboys who created many folksongs, the shepherd was the type of man who naturally chose reading as a recreation,⁴⁶ and reading affected his personality. N. C. Wyeth's painting of the Southwestern shepherd captures the rugged individual, contemplating alone under the stars next to a dying fire. In one hand is a well-worn pipe; in the other, the ever-present book.⁴⁷ A man who read Shakespeare had little to contribute to songs or tall tales even though he was not

above using other people's occasionally. Winifred Kupper explains yet another criterion in Texas for distinguishing a sheepman from a cattleman: "Get him into a poker game, and if he plays with all his chips in front of him and bluffs a lot, he's a cowman; if he sinks enough blue chips in his pocket to make up his original investment and goes on betting axes and cinches, he's a sheepman."⁴⁸

These pioneers of sheep husbandry who first introduced sheep into the Southwest, who built great flocks, and who supported the sheepman's community and industry should not be regarded as unique, but typical of scores of others whose aptitude and imagination raised a somewhat indifferent Mexican-Spanish avocation to the preeminent place among the nation's industries. The sheepmen and goatmen were truly a special breed of Texas entrepreneurs who were as important a factor in the history of the Southwest as a buffalo hunter, the mountain man, the Indian fighter, the squatter or even the cowboy.

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