

ROCKING P RANCH AND THE SECOND CATTLE FRONTIER IN WESTERN CANADA

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Conclusions

In pointing out that the family ranch/farm was better suited to conducting agriculture on the plains than the so-called “great ranches” of an earlier epoch, we have simply looked at the evidence. Through the array of business and personal papers of the Macleay family, including and, above all, the *Rocking P Gazette*, which its descendants have been so careful to retain and preserve, it has been possible here to make that point by examining the conventions and strategies Roderick, Laura, and their daughters embraced. More than anything else, what we have seen is that the Macleays’ ability to respond to specific challenges at particular times was one of their most significant overall attributes. Whether it was farming, moving for a time into feeding grain, taking up pork production, or keeping the bank (should one argue) justly shouldering its share of risk, they had the requisite flexibility and hands-on control. Rod Macleay was on his land enough, season in and season out, to see that things were done properly, and Laura, Dorothy, and Maxine were there to help where they could in a wide range of tasks, from gathering eggs to nurturing the garden, shooting game, hunting down stray cattle, or taking care of domestic affairs. Most noteworthy of all was the trust and teamwork Rod and Laura achieved, which ultimately brought order to their financial affairs.

It has been in vogue since World War II to lament the slow disappearance of the family farm/ranch due to poor economies of scale, and its replacement by large corporations that supposedly can take hold of such efficiencies and drive the smaller people out. This has been dramatically overstated. On the one hand, there is no question that vertically integrated giants like Cargill and Tyson Foods have helped to keep many

producers financially dependent.¹ On the other hand, all the original ranching corporations failed, and the approach they took has proved insufficient for farming as well as ranching in both the Canadian and American Wests. “The presence of large-scale ownership and giant operations have all been part of American farming throughout the long sweep of time,” notes Paul Voisey. “The great slave plantations provide the most conspicuous examples, but the nineteenth-century Midwest also boasted bonanza farms. They arose in the Red River Valley, and even on the Canadian prairies, where mammoth enterprises like the great Bell farm and the Lister-Kaye farms appeared in the late nineteenth century. Because these dinosaurs soon collapsed, historians regarded them as transitory freaks of early western agriculture, but the vision or logic of economies of scale that inspired them survived into the twentieth century.”² Evidence also suggests that big companies will not play a significant part in the rural western economy in the future. Thus, for instance, One Earth Farms, which formerly rented 200,000 acres, largely from First Nations, has now quit farming altogether in the three prairie provinces. Its CEO admits that the reason is that it did not manage to show “any ability to generate anything remotely resembling profitable numbers.”³

When it is possible to find accurate records, the difference in efficiency between the great ranches and the family-operated spreads makes it obvious why the big operations have never dominated. The Macleay papers offer a rare chance to juxtapose one family’s overall productivity on the second cattle frontier against that of some of the ranch companies on the first. Until closing down operations in 1907, one of those companies, the Walrond ranch, continued to subject a large portion of its cattle to the elements on the open range summer and winter. Unable to watch and guard its cattle closely or to practise seasonal birthing, and being totally dependent on the quasi-devoted hands of hired labour, it experienced a very high death rate. In the earliest period the ranch kept some 3,500 cows for breeding purposes. The highest number of calves it ever recorded was just over 2,400—a birth rate of about 65 percent.⁴ The average, however, was about 1,500 calves, or circa 42 percent.⁵ The ranch would attempt to keep the steer calves alive for three to five years in order to get them mature, fat, and ready for the beef market. In the 1890s

the manager, Duncan McEachran, figured in a death loss of 5 percent per year on those cattle from the time they were weaned from their mother until they were ready for slaughter. However, when proper counts were taken this assumption was always far too low. A more realistic estimate puts it in the range of 20 percent.⁶

The losses on Macleay's ranches were miniscule in comparison. Fences allowed Roderick to keep better track of all the stock year-round and particularly during spring calving season when midwifery was at times a necessity. Having enough roughage and, at times, grain on hand to supply the cattle through the longest winters was always a priority, and fences also made it relatively easy to gather the stock in the fall and then to keep it close to feed and some protection from the elements and from predators when the cold season set in. Moreover, and every bit as important, Rod himself was around most of the time putting his own shoulder to the wheel and seeing that his men were doing the same. He not only regularly achieved a 75 to 77 percent calf crop but also actually did eventually manage to market circa 95 percent of his steer calves thereafter.⁷

The difference between the levels of efficiency achieved by the family outfits and the companies was just as evident in the horse business as it was in the cattle business. Here too it is explained by the ability of the one and failure of the other to give the business the right amount of close attention. As we have seen, Rod Macleay produced much higher-quality beef cattle than the big corporation ranches had been able to generate. In terms of the quality of horses, of the companies, the Quorn ranch near Black Diamond did its best to supply superior mounts for the British army, and the Walrond at one point ran over 600 well-bred Clydesdales and Shires on its rangelands that it hoped would impress the most discriminating buyers in Great Britain.⁸ Both failed miserably because they could not manage consistently to produce the type of animals under open rangeland conditions that the very selective Old World buyers wanted. When speaking of the Quorn's breeding program, local rancher Frederick Ings summed up the problem rather succinctly: the "imported mares were not used to rustling on the range, they were not given the care they needed, and though they produced some pretty fair nags, they were not good enough to make ... a success."⁹

One partial success that very clearly illustrates the point is George Lane's purebred Percheron operation on the Bar U ranch. Lane started breeding Percherons in 1908, and he produced some fine animals that won numerous awards in horse shows across North America and Europe. Two things need to be understood about Lane's program, however. Firstly, he attained these high standards with only a select few of his horses. All the animals he expected eventually to offer for sale or show were treated with the greatest possible care and attention. To quote the Bar U's modern chronicler, Simon Evans: "In the spring each youngster was carefully inspected, those showing potential being retained as stallion prospects, while the culls were altered and developed as geldings. ... Horse colts were grain fed even while at pasture during the summer. They ran in large pastures surrounded by fences of woven wire. Feed bunks were installed in each pasture, in which colts received their daily ration of grain."¹⁰ A series of barns and birthing stalls built on the Bar U home place ensured that the marketable animals could be nurtured and fed indoors and kept in top condition at all times.

In other words, Lane protected the most saleable of his Percherons from the harshest of nature's elements summer and winter. That could not be said about the mares that made up his brood herd. Those animals, like the cattle, he left to fend for themselves most of the time. As Evans reports, "Weaning fillies were well cared for the first year and then turned out on native pasture, receiving no grain from then on. Brood mares were never pampered. They ranged the hills west of the ranch in the summer and were moved to the Bar U flats for the winter [where they] grazed the prairie wool never receiving hay or grain." Lane paid dearly for this part of his program in lost stock. In any reasonably sophisticated breeding program one would expect annual reproduction rates of no less than 75 and as high as 90 percent. In the three years for which Evans was able to find breed books, the Bar U produced respectively eleven foals out of fifty mares in 1912; fifteen foals out of forty-six mares in 1913, and thirteen out of forty-two in 1914. By 1913, nine of Lane's original mares had died, 32 percent had not foaled even once, 52 percent had had only one foal, and 16 percent had had two. In 1915, eighty-four foals were born, seventeen died at birth or soon afterward, one drowned in a slough, and one just disappeared.¹¹ These are truly dreadful statistics, reflecting, one

supposes, poor nutrition during the gestation period—particularly in the wintertime—as well as neglect. They also beyond doubt represent very great financial losses for Lane’s horse business as a whole.

The one ranch other than Riddle and Macleay brothers that seems to have made the business work was A. E. Cross’s well-known A7 ranch. Cross claimed that it was that side of his operation that was successful enough in the early days to more than make up for calamity on the beef side. After the disastrous winter of 1886/87, it apparently “paid the total capital invested in three years besides 50 head to the good.” Two facts need to be considered about Cross’s approach, however, that help us understand why Riddle and Macleay brothers and then Macleay on his own found this business worthwhile. First, like them, Cross kept his sights on the local market, which he understood, and he saw that his animals were trained specifically for working cattle and/or hauling and plowing. Second, and probably more importantly, Cross, also like them, dealt in the rougher but sturdy horses that were required mainly by neighbouring ranchers and farmers to work their herds or fields. He “did very well” with these, by “always watching the *local* demand” and having his “horses ready for any purchaser that might come along, and never lost an opportunity of making a sale if any fair price was offered.”¹²

Unlike the Walrond, the Oxley, and the Bar U, all of which succumbed to insolvency, Rod Macleay managed to stay in the horse business for many years—indeed, most of his working life.¹³ He would not have done so unless it was contributing financially to his business. Today his descendants on the Blades side of the family raise saddle horses, and though their business has changed dramatically, it is still a going concern. This has largely been the result of a change in demand. Draft horses pretty much dropped out of use on grain and mixed farms after World War II, and many ranchers supplement the cattle ponies with all-terrain vehicles. Now another type of horse has slowly gained the acceptance of people who do not want them for any sort of work. “The horse population is astounding,” Macleay’s grandson wrote just after the turn of the twenty-first century:

One would think they would have dwindled into oblivion with the advent of mechanization but their population is

now greater than it was when they were an actual necessity. They are still an important part of the cattle business but only a small percentage of the provincial total are used for actual cattle work. It appears today as if the job of the greater majority is to stand in the fence corner to be admired by their owners. The government observed this non-activity and they have been re-classified as a recreational animal instead of a beast of burden. Now even ranches with no ATVs have to admit they use recreational vehicles. They have become indicative of an affluent society.¹⁴

While it is clear that the family approach to operating ranches or farms on the plains is still the only one with any staying power, it is also undeniable that the size of the average agricultural holding has risen quite a lot in the modern period. This is evident from the various figures provided by the Canadian census reports. From 1961 to 2006, the number of farms in Alberta dropped from over 70,000 to under 58,000, and the average size rose from under 700 to over 1,000 acres.¹⁵

However, these figures do not suggest the failure of the family farm or its replacement by corporations. They simply indicate that mechanization has enabled families to continue to work more land. Little by little over the decades, starting in the 1920s and even earlier, they slowly utilized the horse less and less and turned to the tractor and a host of other machines to work their fields, harvest grain, and put up roughage. Using the great four-wheel-drive tractors and self-propelled combines, balers, and windrowers, as well as automatic mixing and feeding equipment, it is as easy for a modern operator to sow his crops and look after his livestock on a 1,000-acre unit today as it was for him to do so on a fifth of that in 1931. Presumably attempting to respond to concerns repeatedly articulated about companies taking over the land, the census reporters in 1971 identified all the “incorporated non-family” operations they could find in which controlling interest was “held by shareholders other than the operator and family.” They found that a mere 78, or .00124 percent, of the 62,702 farms in Alberta could be described that way.¹⁶

Much of the story we have told of the historical development of the family ranch as a holistic institution we have directed toward explaining

its sustainability in the western foothills of Alberta in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. That being the case, it would seem appropriate to conclude the story by owning that the family ranch, ranch/farm, mixed farm, and grain farm have faced and will continue to face significant economic challenges. In the final analysis, to argue that the family unit has traditionally been the only durable means of agricultural production in the Alberta foothills is not to suggest it has been very profitable. One might indeed argue that it has endured largely because it is able to keep going in an industry that tends over much of the time to be uneconomic. The Macleays' case does not challenge that picture. Given the debts that Rod assumed over the years, it took some desperate financial finagling, and the sudden coming together of healthy beef prices and favourable land lease politics at the precise moment when the Gordon, Ironside and Fares firm happened to need cash, to keep them going. Moreover, they survived in part because at that moment in their history they were able to find a wealthy benefactor to finance them so they could take extraordinary steps to protect themselves. In the real world, taking extraordinary steps to counter indebtedness or even just tough times in the agricultural industry is quite, uh ... ordinary, in rural Alberta. The members of many country families today take work off the land when in need of cash—she perhaps teaching at a district school or nursing in a local hospital, he doing custom work with his combine or cattle truck or offering guide services to urbanites who wish to experience the outdoors world he knows so well. Such people are acting the way Rod Macleay and partners did when they first settled on the land in the foothills. They are searching for income when their agricultural business is not making enough to pay all the bills. Some rancher/farmers simply work very long days on their own place without what in town would be overtime pay or even just proper hourly recompense to keep the wheels turning. The following is a well-known joke on the northern Great Plains. People on the land invariably laugh at it because there is more than a grain of truth to it.

Old ranch owner John farmed a ranch in Alberta. The Alberta government claimed he was not paying proper wages to his workers and sent an agent out to interview him.

“I need a list of your employees and how much you pay them,” demanded the agent.

“Well,” replied old John, “There’s my ranch hand who’s been with me for 3 years. I pay him \$600 a week plus free room and board. The cook has been here for 18 months, and I pay her \$500 a week plus free room and board. Then there’s the half-wit who works about 18 hours every day and does about 90% of all the work around here. He makes about \$10 per week, pays his own room and board and I buy him a bottle of bourbon every Saturday night.”

“That’s the guy I want to talk to, the half-wit,” says the agent.

“That would be me,” replied old rancher John.¹⁷

All this aside, many ranchers and farmers have been able one way or another to achieve a reasonably satisfactory life in the countryside mainly by relying on the family approach, part of which has been to keep all its members pitching in as Laura, Dorothy, and Maxine did whenever and wherever they could. In the case of the latter two, the opportunity to contribute out of doors and thus to blur gender roles, seems actually to have diminished for a while after they started families and then increased again in later years. When they first married and produced their own children (5 Blades and 2 Chattaways), most of their time had to be spent in the domestic sphere. As their children grew older and required less attention, however, they were able once again to devote a greater portion of their energies to working the cattle. In saddle or branding corral, they relied on the skills they had learned as youngsters. Clay Chattaway points out that the model Dorothy and Maxine then reinforced continues to play a crucial part in propagating the ranching industry today. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, he tells us,

the majority of women were busy with domestic duties. These were numerous and weighty chores that had to be done with scant help from men or clothes-washers, dryers, dish-washers and microwaves. They seldom wore a pair of pants,

drove tractors, rode horses or spent the whole day outside. I would safely venture a guess that they are more now than then, a key component and an integral part of the so-called “agricultural work force.” They can accomplish this dressed in women’s jeans which were invented after 1950. Men still have clean clothes in the morning, don’t dry dishes and have a hot lunch. Many an operation would grind to a halt today without the direct input of women in the corrals, fields and offices. The old adage was women should be bare foot, pregnant and in the kitchen. Today they are well shod, in the branding corrals, at the processing chutes and it is a real nuisance when they are burdened with a pregnancy. ... My Grandfather has 25 of his direct descendants living on his old range. Part of the reason is that the infrastructure is here, so that we can live as comfortable as people in town and attract spouses to come procreate. The other part is a natural social progression. My grandfather had dozens of men working for him. His descendants now replace them all.¹⁸

One way or another, the system of production that carved out a lasting place for the cattle industry in the foothills of Alberta during the second cattle frontier appears to have gone back to its roots. Now, though, it is more developed infrastructure—including the full array of household conveniences and advanced systems of transportation and communication—rather than a dearth of all such things, that distinguishes it.

We close with a reminder that the *Rocking P Gazette* can now be found online at <http://contentdm.ucalgary.ca/digital/collection/rpg>.¹⁹

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

- 1 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 13–24.
- 2 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 13–24.
- 3 All types of cattle in all of Alberta and Assiniboia: S. M. Evans, "Stocking the Canadian Ranges," *Alberta History* 26, no. 3 (Summer 1978): 1; Canada, *Fourth Census*, 1901, vol. 2, 51–52.
- 4 For cowboys and "remittance men," see Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 12–13. The quotation is from a rancher describing the similar situation at the same time across the line in Montana: Granville Stuart, *Forty Years on the Frontier, as seen in the journals and reminiscences of Granville Stuart*, vol. 2, ed. P. C. Philips (Cleveland: A. H. Clark), 35.
- 5 Canada, *Farming and Ranching in Western Canada* [Montreal, 1890]. The *Daily Courier* in Liverpool claimed that the live cattle trade between Britain and America was so valuable that "anything calculated to curtail its limits could not be regarded as other than a national calamity ("Treatment of Cattle," 15 July 1880); and the Scottish agricultural writer, James Macdonald, told his readers to expect profits in the Trans-Mississippi West to run around 25 percent annually: *Food from the Far West* (New York: Orange Judd, 1878). For the larger story of the promotion of the West on both sides of the forty-ninth parallel, see Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 25–41.
- 6 S. S. Hall, *Stampede Steve; or, the Doom of the Double Face* (New York: Beadle and Adams, 1884); Prentiss Ingraham, *Buffalo Bill, from Boyhood to Manhood: Deeds of Daring, Scenes of Thrilling Peril, and Romantic Incidents in the Early Life of W.F. Cody, the Monarch of the Borderland* (New York: Beadle and Adams, [1882]); J. S. C. Abbott, *Christopher Carson familiarly known as Kit Carson* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1874).
- 7 For the dime and romantic novels, see Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 25–41.
- 8 London: Shumen Sibthorp, [1902].
- 9 *The Virginian: A Horseman of the Plains* (New York: Macmillan, 1902). A recent volume sees Everett Johnson, who moved to Alberta in 1888, as the model for Wister's Virginian: John Jennings, *The Cowboy Legend: Owen Wister's Virginian and the Canadian-American Frontier* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2015).
- 10 H. L. Williams, *The Chief of the Cowboys; or the Beauty of the Neutral Ground* (New York: R. Midewitt, [1870]).
- 11 *Sky Pilot: A Tale of the Foothills* (Chicago, New York, Toronto: R.H. Revell, 1899).
- 12 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 15–24.

- 13 This migration is vividly depicted in James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo World, 1783–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 406–17.
- 14 Lillian Knupp, *Leaves from the Medicine Tree: A history of the area influenced by the tree, and biographies of pioneers and oldtimers who came under its spell prior to 1900* (Lethbridge: High River Pioneers' and Old Timers Association, 1960), 496. James Belich employs the term “settler revolution” throughout *Replenishing the Earth* to describe the spread of English-speaking people and culture to the four corners of the world.
- 15 We are obviously rather creatively filling gaps in our knowledge of *exactly* how Macleay and the others decided to head west, but we feel quite certain that our narrative cannot be very far off the mark.
- 16 John and Helen Riddle’s son.
- 17 John’s brother.
- 18 As we will see, John Riddle would buy land and custom feed cattle on their holdings to help them get started.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 Macleay family papers, Roderick Macleay’s diary.
- 2 NW 32-16-1-W5, #89,479, issued 3 May 1901. Bureaucracy moved slowly in those days too, because it was not until 25 November 1904 that the inspector was there to oversee it. Douglas Riddle got his patent, #112,441, to NE 32-16-1-W5 on 16 July. At the same time Douglas acquired Morrill’s patent as per arrangements on SW 32.
- 3 The Calgary to Fort Macleod leg was also surveyed in 1890, and construction reached Mekastoe/Haneyville (three miles north of Fort Macleod) in 1892. In 1898, a short link with the Crownsnest Pass line was completed. With almost 300 miles of construction complete, the C & E Railway received a total land grant of 1.8 million acres.
- 4 Macleay family papers, Roderick Macleay’s diary.
- 5 Alex Macleay leased the grazing rights to section 29 to the southeast, and to section 36-16-2-W5 directly to the west of the company’s home section, in the name of the partnership. Douglas’s father, John Riddle, bought the north half of 34-16-1-W5 in 1904, which he then leased to the company; and when the patent was issued on his homestead on NE 32-16-1-W5 in 1905, he gave it over to Douglas Riddle. On 11 February 1904, Douglas bought section 30 from the Department of the Interior, and a few days later Rod bought another section and a quarter, from the C & E Railway—all of section 25 and the southeast quarter of section 35-16-1-W5. Rod and Douglas rented these parcels to the company (Macleay family papers, Roderick Macleay’s diary).
- 6 Spaying is removing the ovaries. Ranchers in this earlier period, when veterinarians were not readily available, learned to perform the operation themselves.
- 7 Rod bought out a homestead in 1912 where he set up a winter feeding station they called the calf camp. Weaned calves were sent to the calf camp to be fed over the winter in an area that had protection from the cold winds of winter. It had corrals with good water

- and huge stacks of hay. Weak older cows and sometimes breeding bulls were wintered there as well. A married man lived at the calf camp continually so that attention to the cattle could be ongoing (see Charles Walters, below pp. 52, 184).
- 8 For the spring roundup, see *Rocking P Gazette*, May 1924, 7. It was then that the calves were branded and the males neutered. The females were normally operated on when they were close to a year old.
 - 9 For a fall roundup, see “The Rocking P Round-up,” *Rocking P Gazette*, September 1923, 28.
 - 10 Hauling in salt became routine on the Rocking P: see below, pp. 99, 104, 105.
 - 11 These two men are perhaps best known as half of the “Big Four” who underwrote the first Calgary Stampede in 1912. The other two were Patrick Burns and Archibald J. McLean; Warren Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves; Ranching on the Western Frontier* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000, 157).
 - 12 One child had died soon after birth in 1905.
 - 13 Macleay family papers. For the story of Ware’s life in Canada, see Grant MacEwan, *John Ware’s Cow Country*, 3rd ed. (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1995).
 - 14 Warren Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money: The Walrond Ranch Story, 1883–1907* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 175, 180.
 - 15 Another name for young steers or heifers.
 - 16 Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money*, 193–94.
 - 17 Glenbow Archives, New Walrond Rancho papers, M8688-5, David Warnock to Dumcan McEachran, 14 November 1900.
 - 18 “Wholesale market prices for selected agricultural products, 1867 to 1974,” http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectionm/M228_238-eng.csv.
 - 19 Steers that size will put on at least a pound and a half a day when the weather is good and the grass is lush.

CHAPTER 3

- 1 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 2–24.
- 2 Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money: The Walrond Ranch Story, 1883–1907* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 141–53.
- 3 Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves; Ranching on the Western Frontiers* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 27–29, 48–49, 147. Some western breeders, who closely monitored the local market, also mated their cayuse mares with Percheron or even Clyde or Shire stallions to give them still greater size and strength.
- 4 “Wholesale market prices for selected agricultural products, 1867 to 1974,” http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectionm/M228_238-eng.csv.
- 5 Max Foran, *Trails and Trials: Markets and Land Use in the Alberta Beef Cattle Industry, 1881–1918* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003), 32.

- 6 Foran, *Trails and Trials*, 32.
- 7 Emerson made mention of them in a letter to Rod dated 21 December 1902: “Am glad to hear you had a good trip and got back safe. I wanted to see the horses you bought. I am off to Mexico, good bye to all until I get back.” Demand for horses also apparently came from the British army, particularly during the Boer War (1899–1902): “Horses for South Africa,” *Macleod Gazette*, 21 February 1902.
- 8 Macleay family papers.
- 9 Armour was an American meat-packing company started in 1867 in Chicago, by the Armour brothers under the lead of Philip Danforth Armour. Later, its plant in Omaha, Nebraska, gave that city the largest meat-packing industry in the United States.
- 10 Joseph Harrison, owner of the 7U ranch near Pekisko Creek; see Glenbow Archives, M6552: “Margaret Barry-McGeche, 7U’ Brown, Alberta Cattle Company, 1881–1883, prepared for Alberta Culture, c. 1985.”
- 11 Macleay family papers, Roderick Macleay’s diary.
- 12 A “settlers rail car with effects including 7 horses, owner risk, weighing 24000 lbs @60.00, Barge Rental \$40.00” gives an idea of what transportation fees from High River to Revelstoke were (Macleay family papers). Their bill for hay and shipping to St. Leon’s in January 1908 was \$175.18. R. L. McMillan homesteaded in Alberta on section 11, Township 14, Range 3, Meridian 5 (167671-167680-Alberta Homesteads 1830–1970, file 70136).
- 13 Simon M. Evans, *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), 134–37.
- 14 E. C. Abbott and H. Huntington Smith, *We Pointed them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher*, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 176.
- 15 L. V. Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, , 1988), 191.
- 16 Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves*, 85.
- 17 Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 72,27/SE: Violet LaGrandeur, “Memoirs of a Cowboy’s Wife,” 5.
- 18 Kelly, *The Range Men*, 191; Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money*, 214–220.
- 19 Canada, *Sessional Paper* 42, no. 14 (1907–1908), n 28, 56: Annual Report for D division, 1 November 1907.
- 20 Hazel Bessie Roen, *The Grass Roots of Dorothy, 1895–1970*, 2nd ed. (Calgary: Northwest Printing and Lithographing, 1971), 105.
- 21 See letters between Cross and Douglas, through January, February, and March 1907, Glenbow Archives, Cross papers, M1543, f. 470–77.
- 22 Cross papers, f. 470: Douglass to Cross, 20 January 1907. See also Roen, *The Grass Roots of Dorothy*, 105.
- 23 Cross papers, f. 470: Douglas to Cross, 27 January 1907.
- 24 Cross papers, f. 471: Douglass to Cross, 16 March 1907.

- 25 Macleay family papers. For more on A. E. Cross's experience on the Red Deer, see Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves*, 88–90.
- 26 “Lost,” *Rocking P Gazette*, November 1923, 46.
- 27 Macleay family papers.
- 28 Dorothy Margaret, born 26 January 1909.
- 29 Please see the discussion of race in chapters 11 and 13.
- 30 Macleay family papers.

CHAPTER 4

- 1 Prices actually climbed generally. Nationally, steers averaged \$.0485/pound in 1907 and \$.0829 in 1914. “Wholesale market prices for selected agricultural products, 1867 to 1974,” http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectionm/M228_238-eng.csv.
- 2 Lillian Knupp, *Leaves from the Medicine Tree: A history of the area influenced by the tree, and biographies of pioneers and oldtimers who came under its spell prior to 1900* (Lethbridge: High River Pioneers and Old Timers Association, 1960), 496.
- 3 Knupp, *Leaves from the Medicine Tree*, 23.
- 4 The trail east was originally thought to be a one-way trip to grass gains and then on to market, but after that winter (1914) it became a two-way trip, with many head coming home to the hills for winter. Besides the hay that was put up at the home ranch, more was purchased. It was not transported home, but rather the cattle were farmed out and fed where the hay was located (Macleay family papers, Roderick Macleay's diary).
- 5 Clay Chattaway comments: “At the Home place, the same was done for years.” Macleay's sons-in-law, George Chattaway and Ernie Blades, continued the practice after they took over the Alberta ranchlands in the 1950s.
- 6 “Local News,” January 1925, 6; March 1924, 2.
- 7 “Local News,” February 1924, 9; “Cartoons,” March 1925, 9.
- 8 See below, p. 71.
- 9 “Local News,” November 1923, 4.
- 10 “Local News,” November 1923, 4. The *Gazette* of September 1924 notes that a hired hand named “Ezra Left-hand” and a “company” of assorted other men “finished stooking the wheat at the home-place” (“Local News,” 8).
- 11 “Local News,” October 1924, 2.
- 12 “Local News,” 6.
- 13 See, for instance, “How Do Fertilizers Affect the Environment?” <https://helpsavenature.com/how-do-fertilizers-affect-environment>.
- 14 “Roderick MacLeay – Pioneer Rancher,” *Lethbridge Herald*, 12 December 1931. “Feedlots” were corrals designed to feed cattle usually to get them ready for market.

- 15 “Roderick MacLeay – Pioneer Rancher.” See also Macleay family papers, “Beef Exports to the United Kingdom, 1930–1931–1932–1933.”
- 16 A note in “Sales to Great Britain, 1930 – 1933,” Macleay family papers, reads: “At last it looks as if all Rod’s work on the Council of Beef Producers, the W.S.G.A. and his personal push on all Dept of Agriculture personnel has begun to pay off.”
- 17 A. C. Rutherford, “The Cattle Trade in Western Canada,” quoted in Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1988), 200.
- 18 “Yesterday’s Market,” *Edinburgh Courant*, 18 September 1885.
- 19 “Yesterday’s Markets,” *Edinburgh Courant*, 12 September 1885.
- 20 “Calgary Bull Sale Nets New Records,” *Farm and Ranch Review*, 1 April 1947.
- 21 Clay Chattaway.
- 22 “Local News,” April 1925, 1. As late as 1947 Rod bought the Champion bull at the Calgary bull sale (“Calgary Bull Sale Nets New Records,” *Farm and Ranch Review*, 1 April 1947).
- 23 Clay Chattaway.
- 24 “Sales to Great Britain, 1930–1933.”
- 25 Warren Elofson, “Grasslands Management in Southern Alberta: The Frontier Legacy,” *Agricultural History* 86, no. 4 (2012): 143–68. This also evinces Macleay’s recognition of the necessity of looking after his pasturelands. The only way to produce fully finished steers on grass was and is to keep pastures lush, voluminous, and healthy, mainly by being careful never to overgraze them and by pulling all the cattle off them during extended periods each year.
- 26 “Letter from Ottawa, Dec 5, 1930 from Office of Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Robert Weir, to RRM.”
- 27 “Sales to Great Britain, 1930–1933.”
- 28 “High River Rancher Urges National Marketing Scheme Before Stevens Commission,” *Lethbridge Herald*, 22 March 1934.
- 29 The Hawley-Smoot tariffs were rescinded in 1936.
- 30 Warren Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money: The Walrond Ranch Story, 1883–1907* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 21–62.
- 31 Simon M. Evans, *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), 193–218.
- 32 As to the purchase of the TL, see chapter 6.
- 33 See chapter 8.
- 34 “Local News,” April 1925, 1.
- 35 “Local News,” April 1925, 3
- 36 “Local News,” April 1925, 2. Charles Walters lived at the calf camp with his wife and at least one daughter and with Jesse Walters, who must have been a son. The calf camp

was where the calves were kept after being weaned in the fall. The calves were kept there through the entire winter so they could be fed and looked after.

- 37 “Local News,” December 1924, 4.
- 38 “Local News,” February 1924, 2. Bill Livingstone had a ranch at Willow Creek.
- 39 “Local News, February 1925, 3. “Drumhellar’s” refers to the homestead of Dan Drumhellar, who was a cowhand on Macleay ranches.
- 40 “Local News,” October 1924, 7. Tex Smith, cowpuncher. Peddie unknown.
- 41 “Local News,” October 1924, 7.
- 42 “Local News,” September 1924, 3.

CHAPTER 5

- 1 Elliott West, “Families in the West,” *Organization of American Historians Magazine of History* 9, no. 1 (Fall 1994): 18–21.
- 2 Sarah Carter observes that while some works, such as those by Sheila Jameson and Lewis Thomas, examine the lives of women on western ranches, “a cherished myth of an entirely masculine ranching culture and cattle industry has proven difficult to dislodge.” “He Country in Pants’ No Longer—Diversifying Ranching History,” in *Cowboys, Ranchers and the Cattle Business: Cross Border Perspectives on Ranching History*, ed. Simon Evans, Sarah Carter, and Bill Yeo (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1997), 155; Shelagh S. Jameson, “Women in the Southern Alberta Ranch Community, 1881–1914,” in *The Canadian West: Social Change and Economic Development*, ed. Henry C. Klassen (Calgary: University of Calgary Comprint Publishing, 1977), 63–78; Lewis G. Thomas, *Rancher’s Legacy: Alberta Essays*, ed. Patrick E. Dunae (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986). The best source for women’s contributions to the family ranch in the western foothills is Rachel Herbert, *Ranching Women in Southern Alberta* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2017). For a paralleling of nature and gender issues, see Carolyn Merchant, *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 93–143. An extensive historiography of farm women exists; see also Linda Rasmussen et al., eds., *A Harvest Yet to Reap: A History of Prairie Women* (Toronto: The Women’s Press, 1976); Veronica Strong-Boag, “Pulling in Double Harness or Hauling a Double Load: Women, Work and Feminism on the Canadian Prairie,” in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, ed. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, 2nd ed. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), 401–23.
- 3 Macleay family papers, Roderick Macleay’s diary.
- 4 *A Female Economy: Women’s Work in a Prairie Province* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998), 95.
- 5 Gertrude Lillian Sturtevant was born on 19 May 1882, and her sister Laura Marguerite on 12 December 1884, in Burlington, Chittenden County, Vermont, to Charles and Adelaide [Frenier] Sturtevant. Two boys, Curtis and Wallace, were added to the family. Charles Sturtevant, Laura’s father, died in 1891. At about the same time, a fire destroyed their home, leaving Adelaide and four young children homeless. Charles’s sister

Hortense and her husband Robert Wright, a banker, took the girls Laura and Gertrude to raise. It was hard for Adelaide to let them go but fortunate for them that she did, as they both benefited from a superior education and a fine home, something that the boys were not able to obtain. Dorothy was also educated at Newport Academy, Newport, Vermont (Clay Chattaway).

- 6 "Local News," *Rocking P Gazette*, October 1923, 1: "On the 2nd day of this month Clem Hensen, trailed to the trading post of Cayley, with the double wagon, and brought back the winter's grub-stake for the Rocking P outfit."
- 7 Macleay family papers, Clay Chattaway, "Ranching Changes 1945 to 2005."
- 8 "Local News," *Rocking P Gazette*, February 1924, 6: "Wick [LeMaster] and Tommy [MacKinnon] put up the first load of ice on Feb. 28th."
- 9 A stone boat was a flat wooden platform on skids used for moving heavy objects. It was horse-drawn.
- 10 P. 29
- 11 "Local News," 8.
- 12 Macleay family papers, "High River, Alberta, 20th February, 1919, Names of men employed by Roderick R. Macleay during 1918." For vehicles as well as roads, see below, present chapter and chapter 12.
- 13 "Lost and Found," September 1924, 67.
- 14 "Local News," 6.
- 15 "Local News," September 1923, 7.
- 16 "Local News," 5.
- 17 "Local News," January 1925, 6.
- 18 "Local News," September 1924, 8.
- 19 "Local News," February 1924, 4.
- 20 "Local News," January 1925, 1.
- 21 "Local News," January 1924, 5.
- 22 "Local News," January 1924, 7.
- 23 A cigarette.
- 24 That is, the Rocking P Ranch.
- 25 October 1924, 25.
- 26 Glenbow Archives, Cochrane papers, M65552-2: Evelyn Cochrane to Arthur Cochrane, 29 November 1900. I am indebted to Rachel Herbert for this reference and for those in notes 27–30 below: see *Ranching Women in Southern Alberta*, 172–73.
- 27 Pedersen family, in Pincher Creek Historical Society, *Prairie Grass to Mountain Pass* (Pincher Creek: Pincher Creek Historical Society, 1974), 797.
- 28 Bateman family, in Foothills Historical Society, *Chaps and Chinooks: A History West of Calgary* (Calgary: Foothills Historical Society, 1976), 257.

- 29 Halton family, in Pincher Creek Historical Society. *Prairie Grass to Mountain Pass*, 67.
- 30 *Prairie Grass to Mountain Pass*, 261–62.
- 31 Warren Elofson, *So Far and Yet So Close: Frontier Cattle Ranching in Western Prairie Canada and the Northern Territory of Australia* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2015), 192.
- 32 “A Remarkable Man. The Late Mr. W.P. Hayes, Sen.,” *The Register*, 19 November 1913. William figured his daughters were mentally strong too. “I can tell you that if they were bosses of a station things would have to be carried out their way.”

CHAPTER 6

- 1 Macleay family papers, “John Ware Ranch,” compiled history, handwritten notes [date and author unknown]. Clay Chattaway comments: “Emerson got some of the money but it was mostly put towards paying off the bank for the cattle. Emerson was paid in instalments as was usual. He received the final payment in July 1915.”
- 2 Formerly owned by Paddy Langford.
- 3 Macleay family papers, Roderick Macleay’s diary.
- 4 As opposed to private land such as that of the CPR or Hudson’s Bay Company.
- 5 Clay Chattaway comments: “These were the days when a cow was worth more than an acre of land and it was somewhat easier to make a land purchase pencil out. But it was not so much a situation of whether or not the land would pay for itself, but as to whether or not one had the money, or had the ability to swing the credit. The real profits at this time were in grain and the demand was strong for farmland, the opposite was true of ranch land.”
- 6 Burns had previously acquired the lease from the well-known Conrad brothers of Montana.
- 7 10 April 1919.
- 8 Macleay family papers.
- 9 Glenbow Archives, Burns papers, M160–231: P. Burns Ranches Ltd. to Riddell, Stead, Graham & Hitchison (now KPMG), 18 March 1924. M160–231: P. Burns Ranches Ltd. to Bank of Montreal, 3 January 1922.
- 10 “Wholesale market prices for selected agricultural products, 1867 to 1974,” http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectionm/M228_238-eng.csv.
- 11 Macleay family papers, “Burns and Macleay Law Suit.”
- 12 Judge Walsh stated: “My conclusion upon the whole is that the contract, is that set up by the plaintiff. Defendant’s action to sell to him only circle cattle on circle ranch must fail,” Macleay Family Papers, “Burns and Macleay Law Suit.”
- 13 R. B. Bennett charged \$3,871.76 for the Macleay v. Burns lawsuit over the Circle cattle and agreed to monthly payments of \$200, Macleay Family Papers, “Burns and Macleay Law Suit.” Burns turned the Circle 3 brands over to Macleay Ranches.

- 14 It was possible to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council until 1949.
- 15 The judge had ordered Macleay to “pay \$0.50 per head per month to Burns” for the care and feed of the cattle “since 9 June,” when the original deal was struck.
- 16 Macleay family papers, quoting Maxine Macleay.
- 17 Macleay family papers, Dorothy Macleay, compiled history [date unknown].
- 18 Clay Chattaway.
- 19 And an audit for the year 1924 showed a loss of \$27,000.00 (Macleay family papers, “1924,” compiled history [date and author unknown]).
- 20 Glenbow Archives, Burns papers, M160–202: Riddell, Stead, Graham & Hutchison to P. Burns, 13 April 1925.
- 21 “1924 per head value of all non-dairy cattle in Canada: 27.11,” online: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/pdf/5220015-eng.pdf>.
- 22 Since Rod paid \$90 for the Burns cattle we assume that they were all older steers.
- 23 Burns papers, M160–202: R. Macleay to E. Corlet, 11 April 1925.
- 24 Macleay family papers: Bank of Montreal to Rod Macleay, 4 August 1923.
- 25 As opposed to today’s standards, which are asset (or land) based.
- 26 The original brand was 4 walking sticks; one was dropped, making 3, which looked like 9s opened up so as not to blotch. Some called it the “three 7s” (Clay Chattaway).
- 27 Burns papers, M160–231: Bank of Montreal to P. Burns Ranches Ltd., 22 December 1921; M160–231: Letter to Macleay from Burns, 7 December 1921.
- 28 “76” was the brand of the Powder River Cattle Co. taken over by Gordon, Ironside and Fares. For the Gordon, Ironside and Fares story, see A. B. McCullough, “Winnipeg Ranchers: Gordon, Ironside and Fares,” *Manitoba History* 41 (Spring/Summer 2001): 18–25.
- 29 A rancher from near Winnipeg named Harvey Iliff Wallace was the president and also a shareholder. The two founders of Gordon, Ironside and Fares Company Ltd. were James T. Gordon and Robert Ironside Senior: Manitoba Historical Society website at http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history/41/winnipeg_ranchers.shtml.
- 30 Burns papers, M160–202: Mule Creek Cattle Co. 1924–26; M160–202: “Agreement” dated 9 August 1924; Macleay family papers, “Rod Macleay’s Purchase,” compiled history [date and author unknown].
- 31 There were 340 cows, 437 steers two years and up, 250 two- and three-year-old heifers, 75 yearling steers and heifers, and 35 saddle horses. See Burns papers, M160–202: agreement dated 9 August 1924; Macleay family papers, “Rod Macleay’s Purchase,” compiled history [date and author unknown].
- 32 The terms are evident in the written agreement (Burns papers, M160–202: agreement dated 9 August 1924).
- 33 When he bought the TL.

- 34 Max Foran, *Trails and Trials: Markets and Land Use in the Alberta Beef Cattle Industry, 1881–1918* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003), 130–35. In Alberta, farmers were agitating to have them either thrown open to settlement or turned into community pastures. Community pastures never really gained ground until the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act, enacted on 17 April 1935, which created the Community Pasture Program. James Gray, *Men Against the Desert* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1967), 169.
- 35 Macleay family papers, compiled history [date and author unknown].
- 36 Riley was also founding president of the High River Local of the United Farmers of Alberta.
- 37 In 1925: Foran, *Trails and Trials*, 134–35.
- 38 Macleay family papers.
- 39 Much to the Macleays' benefit, this would prove correct in 1925 when all western Canadian leases that could meet the criterion of agricultural insufficiency were to be given the requested much longer terms (note 37 above).
- 40 On 5 June 1923, Burns wrote to the provincial treasurer of Manitoba, Hon. F. M. Black, asking if he could put a word in with someone who might be willing to loan Macleay money on some 15,000 acres. "The land is all good land, not ordinary ranch property, most of it being fit for mixed farming. He tells me he would require about \$100,000." (Burns papers, M160–233.)
- 41 Warren Elofson, "Patrick Burns," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/burns_patrick_16E.html.
- 42 In the 1930s, Burns was actually appointed to the Canadian Senate by the Liberal government.
- 43 Burns papers, M160–215: "Schedule C." Some of the horses were branded with the O and some with the 76 brand.
- 44 "Local News," November 1923.
- 45 Macleay family papers, compiled history [author and date unknown]. It also states that "370 head of L4L (Streeter) cattle and 456 more home ranch cattle were [also] sent. 500 calves were bought from Mitchell brothers at Medicine Hat and 257 steers from Hardwick."
- 46 Burns papers, M160–215: P. Burns Ranches Ltd. to Macleay, 28 August 1928. On 28 August 1928, Macleay paid Burns \$46,247.91, "representing payment in full of our indebtedness against Mrs. Laura Macleay covering cattle situated on Ranch '76.'" This would have been possible because of the RBC loan. See also Letter to Laura from A. Lewis, Manager of Royal Bank of Canada, 22 August 1928 (Macleay family papers).
- 47 Burns papers, M160–202: "Schedule A."
- 48 "Livestock statistics, number on farms and farm values at 1 June, Canada, 1906 to 1975," and "Wholesale market prices for selected agricultural products, 1867–1974," <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/pdf/5220015-eng.pdf>.
- 49 Burns papers, M160–215.

- 50 Macleay family papers, compiled history [author and date unknown].
- 51 Burns papers, M160–215: Western Ranching Limited to the North of Scotland Canadian Mortgage Co. Ltd., 27 November 1929.
- 52 Calculated by Clay Chattaway.
- 53 Burns papers, M160–215: P. Burns to C.W. Chesterton, Superintendent, Bank of Montreal, 2 February 1929. Clay Chattaway comments: “The O is the primary brand because it is on the rib, the 3 is secondary and only used because the O is too easy to tamper with. They were always used together but were registered separately.”
- 54 Macleay family papers, Dorothy Macleay compiled history [date unknown]. In fact, they started their own cattle herd as early as January 1924: “Dorothy and her ‘pard’ started in the cow business this month. Max got a heifer ... Dorothy got a steer ...” (*Rocking P Gazette*, “Local News,” 6).
- 55 “The Bank of Montreal in Calgary were after Dad to give them a [quit] claim deed to all land and cattle; Dad suggested to G.W. Spinnery at the Head Office in Montreal that he [Rod] go down and negotiate a settlement with the men in Head Office as the relations with their men in Calgary ‘were strained to say the least.’ Spinney replied that ‘any negotiations should be conducted through our local representatives and it would not suit us therefore, to negotiate a settlement of your debt thru one of our Head officials.’ Dad went to Montreal in February but still made no headway towards a settlement of the ranch debt. Alexander Hannah, a canny old Scot in Bennett’s law firm, was the lawyer and he kept up a barrage of proposals and ideas with the Bank’s lawyers McLaws and McLaws.” (Macleay family papers, Dorothy Macleay, compiled history [date unknown]).
- 56 “File Defence in Suit for \$370,000,” *Lethbridge Herald*, 11 September 1941.
- 57 He had done this once before. In 1925, he negotiated with the Bank of Montreal and it lowered his interest on his bank loan by \$10,657.69 and reduced his overall indebtedness by about 109,000.00, (Macleay family papers, Dorothy Macleay, compiled history [date unknown]).
- 58 See John Feldberg and Warren Elofson, “Financing the Palliser Triangle, 1908–1913,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1998): 257–68.
- 59 P. 3.
- 60 See, as well, David C. Jones, “An Exceedingly Risky and Unremunerative Partnership: Farmers and the Financial Interests Amid the Collapse of Southern Alberta,” in *Building Beyond the Homestead*, ed. David C. Jones and Ian MacPherson (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1985), 207–27.
- 61 Kathryn McPherson, “Was the Frontier Good for Women? Historical Approaches to Women and Agricultural Settlement in the Prairie West, 1870–1925,” *Atlantis: A Women’s Study Journal* 25, no. 1 (2000): 80.
- 62 “Local News,” 5.
- 63 See also “Local News,” May 1924, 5; November 1924, 2; October 1924, 2.
- 64 Dee Garceau-Hagen, *The Important Things of Life: Women, Work, and Family in Sweetwater County, Wyoming, 1880–1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

- 65 “Old Stock and Other Notes,” *The Northern Miner*, 2 December 1905.
- 66 McPherson, “Was the Frontier Good for Women?,” 79.
- 67 In 1947. “Wholesale market prices for selected agricultural products, 1867–1974,” <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/pdf/5220015-eng.pdf>.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Henry C. Klassen, “A Century of Ranching at the Rocking P and Bar S,” in *Cowboys, Ranchers and the Cattle Business: Cross Border Perspectives on Ranching History*, ed. Simon Evans, Sarah Carter, and Bill Yeo (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1997), 112–13.

CHAPTER 7

- 1 January 1924, 17.
- 2 December 1924, 15.
- 3 May 1924, 53, 61.
- 4 Paul Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 175–98.
- 5 April 1924, 8. Clay Chattaway mentions the Macleays’ fear of the Spanish Flu.
- 6 In 1918 and 1919 they had a teacher by the name of Mrs. Estella Gokey for grades three and four. Then, from 1920 to 1921, their teacher was Miss Elizabeth Moore. Dorothy notes she was “a very nice lady, and a good teacher. She was English and liked to ride. Her fiancé had been killed in WWI and she never married” (Macleay family papers). By the fall of 1922 the flu had subsided and Laura moved with Maxine and Dorothy to Calgary for the school year, where they could attend Earl Grey Elementary. In the winter of 1925/26 the sisters went to Anna Head School for Girls, in Berkeley, California, boarding in residence, and the next year the girls were back in Calgary at St. Hilda’s. Dorothy then returned to Anna Head in California in 1927–28 while Maxine went to St. Hilda’s as they both finished high school. Dorothy and Maxine went on to the University of Alberta late in 1929.
- 7 “Scene, Rocking P Kitchen,” November 1923, 27.
- 8 Respectively, pp. 37 and 23.

CHAPTER 8

- 1 “Local News,” January 1924, 2.
- 2 Rod and Laura Macleay travelled in their own car by 1924 (“Local News,” October 1924, 6). By this time, the family operations were beginning to haul grain in what would now be considered relatively small trucks (November 1924, 24).
- 3 “Local News,” January 1924, 2.
- 4 “Visit to the E.P. Ranch,” September 1923, 5.
- 5 February 1925, 12. The workers were Jim Hendrie and Bob Reeves.

- 6 Credited to “Homer Milton” (but in Maxine’s hand), February 1924, 45–46.
- 7 Warren Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money: The Walrond Ranch Story, 1883–1907* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 113–35; Warren Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves: Ranching on the Western Frontier* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000) 134–49.
- 8 May 1924, 68–69.
- 9 January 1924, 35–39.
- 10 January 1924, 35–36. See also E.B.W., “The Foothill Country,” May 1924, 35.
- 11 *Wild Life, Land and People: A Century of Change in Prairie Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2016), 252–89.
- 12 Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money*, 161–62
- 13 Wetherell, *Wild Life, Land and People*, 356–57.
- 14 P. 63.
- 15 Clay Chattaway.
- 16 Clay Chattaway, “Ranching Changes 1945 to 2005,” Macleay Family papers.
- 17 Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870–1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 105.
- 18 William L. Bowers, *The Country Life Movement in America, 1900–1920* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1974), 3–4.
- 19 Bowers, *Country Life*, 28.
- 20 David C. Jones, “‘There Is Some Power About the Land’: The Western Agrarian Press and Country Life Ideology,” in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, ed. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), 457.
- 21 Pp. 27–33.
- 22 Edward C. Abbott and Helen Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher*, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, , 1955), 223.
- 23 P. 33.
- 24 Pp. 23–30. Van Eden (sometimes spelled Eeden), became a cowpuncher on the Bar S.
- 25 *Census of Prairie Provinces: Population and Agriculture*, 1926. xii, http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2017/statcan/CS98-1926.pdf.
- 26 In 1926, Calgary had a population of 65,291. Historians have tended to overlook the longevity of ranching culture in the foothills region. For instance, John Herd Thompson, *Forging the Prairie West: The Illustrated History of Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), delves into economic and social history, stressing the importance of the region and giving only passing reference to the ranching industry.
- 27 The first “talkie,” *The Jazz Singer*, was released in October 1927.
- 28 The Rocking P brand looks somewhat like an anchor.

- 29 Ed Orvis also did work such as driving field equipment, including binders.
- 30 Robert Raynor (ranch carpenter and also a justice of the peace).
- 31 Tex Smith, cowpuncher.
- 32 Stewart Riddle.
- 33 The Bar S.
- 34 Jim Hendrie (also known as Highland Jim), cowpuncher.
- 35 Probably Bob Reeves, ranch hand; Tom McKinnon; and Donald Comrie, ranch hand who homesteaded on a ranch south of the Rocking P.
- 36 Val Blake, cowpuncher.
- 37 Cowpuncher who died in 1925. The *Gazette* spells his name Kreps, Krepps, and Creps.
- 38 Ranch hand at the Bar S. In the *Gazette*, they switch between spelling his name Eden and Eeden.
- 39 “Birth of the Hollywood Cowboy, 1911,” blog post, <http://www.eyewitnesstohistory.com/hart.htm> (2006).
- 40 “Gilbert M. ‘Broncho Billy’ Anderson (1881–1971) [was] the genre’s *first* western film hero and star, who made about 400 ‘Broncho Billy’ westerns, beginning with *Broncho Billy and the Baby* (1910); his last *silent* western role was in *The Son of a Gun* (1919):” (Tim Dirks, AMC filmsite blog, Western Films, pt. 2 at <http://www.filmsite.org/westernfilms2.html>).
- 41 “Hoot Gibson,” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hoot_Gibson.
- 42 “Tom Mix (1880–1940) ... [was] a prototypical western action hero with a wholesome screen persona, fancy cowboy outfits, and his horse Tony the Wonder Horse, a prominent star for Fox films. ... He was known as the first western superstar, and first appeared as Bronco Buster in Selig Polyscope’s *Ranch Life in the Great Southwest* (1910), and then in many others (for Selig and later for Fox), including *The Man From Texas* (1915), *The Heart of Texas Ryan* (1916), and later in such expensive features as Fox’s *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1925) ... and *The Great K & A Train Robbery* (1926).” (Tim Dirks, AMC filmsite blog, Western Films, pt. 2: <http://www.filmsite.org/westernfilms2.html>).
- 43 “Buck Jones,” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buck_Jones.
- 44 Dominique Brégent-Heald, *Borderland Films; American Cinema, Mexico, and Canada during the Progressive Era* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 204.
- 45 “Current Empress Attractions,” *Macleod Times*, 14 July 1921. For the movie industry in High River, see Paul Voisey, *High River and the Times: An Alberta Community and its Weekly Newspaper, 1905–1966* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2004), 137–38.
- 46 “Impersonating Bandit Lands, Hoot in Cell,” *Macleod Times*, 31 January 1924; “Hoot Gibson Comes to Empress in New Western,” *Macleod Times*, 17 January 1924; “The Empress Theatre Current Attractions: Hoot Gibson Offers a New Characterization,” *Macleod Gazette*, 21 September 1922; “Buck Jones Coming in New Fox Picture,” *Macleod Times*, 12 January 1922.

- 47 Probably Ropeswift Ralph—a ranch hand who lived with his wife at the Rocking P.
- 48 Clem Henson, “The Wild Buckaroo,” May 1924, 57. Henson was a Rocking P cowpuncher.
- 49 Cowpuncher.
- 50 “Wicked Wick,” teamster.
- 51 “The Rocking P Round-up,” September 1923, 28.
- 52 A prolapse is what veterinarians call the outward collapse of the rectum or vagina. Normally these are pushed back in and stitched up.
- 53 “Antelope AI” (Maxine), September 1923, 30.
- 54 I.e. by grabbing it by the horns and throwing it to the ground, often by jumping on it from the back of a fast horse.
- 55 See L. V. Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1988), 216–220.

CHAPTER 9

- 1 Edward C. Abbott and Helen Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher*, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 101.
- 2 *We Pointed Them North*, 87.
- 3 *We Pointed Them North*, 222–33; E. J. “Bud” Cotton, *Buffalo Bud: Adventures of a Cowboy* (North Vancouver: Hancock House, 1981), 45.
- 4 *We Pointed Them North*, 223.
- 5 *We Pointed Them North*, 231–22.
- 6 Edith Fowke, “American Cowboy and Western Pioneer Songs in Canada,” *Western Folklore* 21 (1962): 247–56.
- 7 “The Cowboy’s Life,” in *Songs of the American West*, ed. R. E. Lingenfelter, R. A. Dwyer, and D. Cohen (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 347.
- 8 R. Lithicum, “The Rough Rider” (1895), quoted in *Trailing the Cowboy: His Life and Lore as told by Frontier Journalists*, ed. C. P. Westermeier (Caldwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, 1955), 269–70.
- 9 Warren Elofson, *So Far and Yet So Close: Frontier Cattle Ranching in Western Prairie Canada and the Northern Territory of Australia* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2015), 191–205.
- 10 Abbott and Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North*, 211.
- 11 Warren Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves: Ranching on the Western Frontier* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 32. From the 1890s on, far more Americans flowed into Alberta than even Britons.
- 12 Ranch carpenter and justice of the peace.
- 13 May 1924, 57.

- 14 March 1925, 57. Hendrie, also known as “Highland Jim,” was a cowpuncher.
- 15 October 1923, 49–50, credited to Ropeswift Ralph (pseudonym), shows how concerned Macleay cowpunchers were in the 1920s about the danger of a stampede.
- 16 November 1923, 45. See also Warren Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 98–104.
- 17 November 1923, 45.
- 18 April 1924, 57–58.
- 19 For one, Tommy McKinnon (November 1924, 4).
- 20 April 1925, 73.
- 21 May 1924, 10.
- 22 October 1924, 82.
- 23 Charles Russell, *Trails Plowed Under: Stories of the Old West*, introduction by W. Rogers and B. W. Dippie (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 51.
- 24 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 104–5.
- 25 See Paul Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 158–74.
- 26 The Leman family homesteaded west of the home place and later started up an operation near Muirhead school (Clay Chattaway).
- 27 All local ranchers.
- 28 “Local News,” February 1924, 7–8.
- 29 For a discussion of this subject, see Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 42–62.
- 30 Below, pp. 163, 164.
- 31 Might be a misspelling for Hayden.
- 32 November 1924, 12. Albert Comstock “was a ranch hand, who made the trip trailing cattle to Brooks/Red Deer place several times, good cowboy and cook” (Clay Chattaway). The other three Comstocks are not identified but appear to have been of Albert’s family, possibly from the United States.
- 33 Voisey, *Vulcan*, 222–23.
- 34 Clay Chattaway.
- 35 Simon M. Evans, *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), 109–48.
- 36 Cross got his start in the West in 1883 as a bookkeeper and veterinarian for the British American Company (Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 16–17).
- 37 Clay Chattaway.
- 38 Elofson, *So Far and Yet So Close*, 204–5.
- 39 “Range Notes,” *Yellowstone Journal*, 15 October 1885.

- 40 Samuel Steele, *Forty Years in Canada: Reminiscences of the Great North-West, with some account of his service in South Africa*, ed. M. G. Niblett, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Prospero Books, 2000), 270–71.
- 41 Tom McKinnon, “The Stampede (or the Pinto Kid),” September 1924, 51–52; “Bill Patterson out of the chute at the Calgary Stampede,” September 1924, 9; “Local News,” February 1925, 10. See also, September 1924, 29.
- 42 Pp. 9, 11–14.
- 43 Pp. 11–12.
- 44 “Local News,” April 1924, 3 and 6.
- 45 “Local News,” 7.
- 46 “Local News,” 1.
- 47 See note 46. Hendry is normally referred to as “Hendric” in the *Gazette*.
- 48 Voisey, *Vulcan*, 161–65.
- 49 Voisey, *Vulcan*, 164. “Chicago of the North” is our expression.
- 50 James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo World, 1783–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 324.
- 51 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 63–80.
- 52 Frederick Ings, *Before the Fences: Tales from the Midway Ranch*, ed. J. Davis (Calgary: McAra Printing, 1980), 48.
- 53 Steele, *Forty Years in Canada*, 177.
- 54 On 10 May 1924, the Alberta Liquor Act was amended and prohibition ceased to exist in Alberta.
- 55 “Local News,” November 1923, 1.
- 56 April 1924, 66.
- 57 “Selection from Mother Goose according to R.[obert] R.[aynor] – J.P.,” March 1925, 59–60.
- 58 See also Elofson, *So Far and Yet So Close*, 70.
- 59 May 1924, 7.
- 60 See Russell, *Trails Plowed Under*, 159. “Is Gambling Prevalent Throughout the City,” *Calgary Herald*, 17 October 1906.
- 61 See Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 103–4, 121–24; James Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies* (Scarborough, ON: New American Library of Canada, 1973).
- 62 Char Smith, “Crossing the Line, American Prostitutes in Western Canada,” *One Step Over the Line; Toward a History of Women in the North American Wests*, ed. Elizabeth Jameson and Sheila McManus (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008), 241–60.
- 63 The same was true on the mining frontier. For Butte Montana, see Mary Murphy, “Private Lives of Public Women,” in *The Women’s West*, ed. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 191–205.

- 64 Frank W. Anderson, *Sheriffs and Outlaws of Western Canada* (Calgary: Frontier Publishing, n.d.), 48.
- 65 Hugh A. Dempsey, *The Golden Age of the Canadian Cowboy* (Calgary: Fifth House, 1995), 56.
- 66 “Claim City Is Run Wide Open,” *Lethbridge Herald*, 9 July 1923. The *Herald* reported this sort of event quite often. See “Draws Stiff Fine,” 29 December 1925; “To Get Out of City,” 6 February 1925; “Blairmore Police Court,” 24 March 1921.
- 67 “Local News,” February 1925, 3. “The Empire Hotel was built in 1906 by William J. Stokes and Mr. Lewis at 118-9th Avenue SE, Calgary, Alberta. In 1920 the Empire was gutted by fire and after repairs was amalgamated with the Grand Central which at the time was owned by the Calgary Brewing and Malting Co. Ltd. The amalgamated hotel was named the Empire.” In 1972, it was torn down to make way for the Calgary Convention Centre. See Archives Society of Alberta, online: <https://albertaonrecord.ca/empire-hotel>.

CHAPTER 10

- 1 *Preserving the Family Farm: Women, Community, and the Foundations of Agribusiness in the Midwest, 1900–1940* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 17–70.
- 2 “Fire,” 15–18.
- 3 High River had a fire department as early as 1912. Paul Voisey, *High River and the Times: An Alberta Community and Its Weekly Newspaper, 1905–1966* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2004), 27).
- 4 “In 1880 the National Bell Telephone Company had incorporated, through an Act of Parliament, the Bell Telephone Company of Canada. ... Which was thereby authorized to construct telephone lines over and along all public property and rights-of-way.” There was general dissatisfaction with Bell for its failure to service less lucrative rural areas. Therefore, “in 1908 and 1909, Bell Telephone operations in Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan were purchased by the provincial governments to be operated ... as provincially owned utilities.” From that point, services were steadily extended to areas such as the Alberta foothills (*Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/telephones/>).
- 5 P. 16.
- 6 E. A. (Aubrey) Cartwright and John Thorpe (sometimes spelled Thorp) were the first to settle these properties around the turn of the twentieth century. Adjacent to the north of them was Macleay’s “Half Way” place—halfway to the TL. All were on the east side of Highway 22.
- 7 Frank Scofield Sharpe, homesteaded SW 4-39-7-W5 in 1912 (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, Canada, Homestead Grant Registers, 1872–1930).
- 8 A neighbouring farmer.

- 9 Clem Henson worked for Rocking P. He was a World War I veteran who came up from Texas with the Turkey Track ranch. Hugh Jenkins and Herb Thurber were teamsters who often hauled for Macleay.
- 10 The Martin family came to the Macleays' Bar S ranch in March 1925. Ostensibly Mr. Martin and, perhaps, Mrs. Martin worked on the ranch respectively as cow hand and domestic ("Local News," *Rocking P Gazette*, March 1925, 6).
- 11 Donald, Dunk, and Peter Comrie, World War I vets, homesteaded south of the Rocking P.
- 12 William and Jennie Gardiner settled on land to the west of the Rocking P in 1888.
- 13 Presumably NE 24-16-2-W5, which was a mile and a half southwest of the home place and thus about halfway between the home place and the TL ranch.
- 14 L. V. Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1988), 126. For other fires, see Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves; Ranching on the Western Frontier* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 94–97.
- 15 For which see Bradford James Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy: The United Farmers of Alberta, 1909–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), especially 138–60.
- 16 Glenbow Archives, Calgary, United Farmers of Alberta papers, Micro/u/a: *United Farmers of Alberta Annual Report and Year Book containing Reports of Officers and Committees for the year 1921 together with Official Minutes of the fourteenth Annual Convention, Calgary, January 17–21, 1922*, 40. For the politicizing of the UFA movement, see Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, 179–206.
- 17 "Stereotype of Albertans as rednecks on social issues shattered: poll," <https://ca.news.yahoo.com/blogs/dailybrew/stereotype-albertans-rednecks-social-issues-shattered-poll-232711906.html>; Brenda Ward, "Rednecks, Rig Pigs, and Cowboys: Rural Masculinity in Albertan Country Music," <http://ejournals.library.ualberta.ca/index.php/spacesbetween/article/view/19482>: "This masculinity is heavily influenced by frontier and cowboy mythology. I will then show that country music acts as an expression of gender fantasy, recursively performing rural masculinity and thereby uncritically affirming and reinforcing the rural/redneck/cowboy categories. That is, country music appropriates frontier and cowboy mythology and acts as a vehicle of group values and ideologies, thereby forming and defining identity, including gender identity. I aim to demonstrate the interconnections between and the continuities of social practices, and the images that represent them. What ties the two together are narratives and ideals of cowboy and frontier mythology, often emerging from or depicting anxieties of a masculinity crisis."
- 18 Veronica Strong-Boag in "Pulling in Double Harness or Hauling a Double Load: Women, Work and Feminism on the Canadian Prairie," in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, ed. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, 2nd ed. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), 401–423, argues that women in the West had to fight exploitation by a patriarchal society. For historians' charges of racism see our next chapter.
- 19 September 1923, 31–34, written by "Carney Mulligan, Willow Bluff, Utah."

- 20 Pp. 33–34.
- 21 See Chapter 13.
- 22 Warren Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal: McGill Queen’s University Press, 2004), 118–31.
- 23 The progression is visible in the population figures. Calgary and vicinity had 43,204 males and 37,214 females in 1916. In 1911 it had 39,657 males and 25,529 females. Macleod and vicinity had 19,379 males and 14,504 females in 1916. In 1911 it had 18,213 males and 12,548 females. Maple Creek and vicinity had 28,126 males and 19,424 females in 1916, and in 1911 it had 12,322 males and 7,408 females (Canada. *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1916: Population and Agriculture*, 44–127).
- 24 “Population of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1921 to 2011, Topic-based tabulation: Age Groups (13) and Sex (3), <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/tbt-tt/Rp-eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=0&PID=102186&PRID=0&PTYPE=101955&S=0&SHO WALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2011&THEME=88&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=>
- 25 Edward C. Abbott and Helen Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher*, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 188–89.
- 26 Con Price, *Memories of Old Montana* (Pasadena, CA: Trail’s End Publishing, 1945), 37.
- 27 “Local News,” 6–7.
- 28 Charles Dew, a nearby rancher.
- 29 R. Raynor, “Local News,” January 1925, 54.
- 30 Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 221–46.
- 31 Frederick Ings, *Before the Fences: Tales from the Midway Ranch*, ed. J. Davis (Calgary: McAra Printing, 1980), 76.
- 32 “Local News,” February 1925, 4.
- 33 March 1925, 29–33.
- 34 Pp. 12–17.
- 35 “The Dying Cowboy,” September 1924, 43–49.
- 36 “Personal,” December 1923, 55–58.
- 37 Sandra Meyres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800–1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 165.
- 38 *A Female Economy: Women’s Work in a Prairie Province* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1998), 95.
- 39 Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, 114–16.
- 40 Murphy, one of the “famous five” who fought the “persons case” for the legal recognition of women as persons, which they won in 1929, author Janey Canuck articles and books, executive of Canadian Women’s Press Club, leader in campaign for the 1917 Dower Act in Alberta; Edwards, “persons case,” fought for Alberta Dower Act, author,

Legal Status of Women; McClung, “persons case,” editor *Manitoba Monthly*, founder Women’s Christian Temperance Union, MLA Alberta 1921–26, author *Sowing Seeds in Danny*, *Stream Runs Fast* etc.; Parlyb, “persons case,” president United Farm Women of Alberta, MLA and minister without portfolio, delegate to the League of Nations; McKinney, “persons case,” Dower Act, as MLA for Non-Partisan League in 1917 one of the first women elected to a legislative assembly in the British Empire; McNaughton, president of the Saskatchewan Women’s Grain Growers Association, president of the Interprovincial Council of Farm Women; McNeal, president of the SWGGA; McCallum, women’s editor of the *Country Guide*; Binnie-Clark, author *A Summer on the Canadian Prairie* and *Wheat and Women*; Gale, alderwoman Calgary and as such first woman elected to any government position in the British Empire (1917), trustee Calgary Board of Education.

- 41 Women’s suffrage was granted 28 January 1916 in Manitoba, 14 May 1916 in Saskatchewan, 19 May 1916 in Alberta, 5 April 1917 in BC, and 24 May 1918 federally.
- 42 Some scholars would argue that women like the above took the leadership in the fight against the victimization and exploitation of their frontier sisters who were subjected to the hardships and privations of a very difficult life. See, for instance, Strong-Boag, “Pulling in Double Harness or Hauling a Double Load.”

CHAPTER 11

- 1 *Patterns of Racism: Attitudes Toward Chinese and Japanese in Alberta* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979); also by Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); “Strangers and Stereotypes: The Rise of Nativism in Alberta, 1880–1920,” in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, ed. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, 2nd ed. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), 308–34; “Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century,” in *Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation*, ed. R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, 7th ed. (Toronto: Thomson Nelson Learning, 2006), 143–61.
- 2 Hugh A. Dempsey, “Cypress Hills Massacre,” *Montana Magazine* 3, no. 4 (Autumn 1953): 1–9.
- 3 *Great Plains Quarterly* 24 (Spring 2004): 96. The police role in supporting government, big business, and the cattlemen against Indigenous people and immigrant workers is explored in Graybill’s *Policing the Great Plains: Rangers, Mounties and the North American Frontier, 1875–1910* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). In the Mounties’ defence, we would mention that they were known at times to side with the Indigenous peoples against corporations like the Canadian Pacific Railway; see “In Town and Out,” *Macleod Gazette*, 1 July 1882.
- 4 *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013).
- 5 Paul Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 221–46.

- 6 Abram de Swaan, *Killing Compartments: The Mentality of Mass Murder* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).
- 7 Thus the lack of religious or racial conflict in many multicultural rural western societies; see Voisey, *Vulcan*, 175–98, 221–46.
- 8 Glenbow Archives, Calgary, M376: Mrs. Charles Inderwick, Diary and Personal Letters from the North Fork Ranch, “Letter written in the Canadian North West Territory in 1884, the East Range Ranche, May 13th 1884.”
- 9 Voisey, *Vulcan*, 174–98
- 10 P. 9.
- 11 For instance, “Jokes,” November 1924, 87; “Bills Last Romance,” January 1925, 52; “All’s Well That Ends Well,” April 1925, 55. On the numerous instances in which a church is mentioned in any of the published stories, it invariably is in connection with a social service it provided, in a particular marriage, rather than worship.
- 12 December 1924, 44.
- 13 L. V. Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, , 1988), 60–62.
- 14 Glenbow Archives, Macleod papers, M776-14a: Macleod to Mary Macleod, 3 June 1880.
- 15 Captain Richard Burton Deane, *Mounted Police Life in Canada* (Toronto: Prospero, 2001), 149.
- 16 Ings, *Before the Fences: Tales from the Midway Ranch*, ed. by J. Davis (Calgary: McAra Printing, 1980) 34.
- 17 “During the first few censuses after Confederation, the British Isles were the main source of immigration, accounting for 83.6% of the foreign-born population in the 1871 Census, or close to half a million people. Immigrants from the United States (10.9%), Germany (4.1%) and France (0.5%) were far behind. The population of immigrants born in European countries other than those of the British Isles started to increase in the late 1800s, slowly at first and then more rapidly, peaking in the 1970s. This transformation consisted of three major waves. The first wave began in the late 1800s and early 1900s, with the arrival of new groups of immigrants from Eastern Europe (Russians, Polish and Ukrainians), Western Europe and Scandinavia, (“150 years of immigration in Canada,” 29 June 2016, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2016006-eng.htm>).
- 18 Warren Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money: The Walrond Ranch Story, 1883–1907* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 161–62.
- 19 P. 8.
- 20 “Celebrate Purchase of Eden Ranch,” *Lethbridge Herald*, 28 October 1948.
- 21 “Results of Last Month’s Competition,” May 1924, 38.
- 22 “Competition,” November 1924, 44.
- 23 “Grand Competition,” December 1923, 36.

- 24 “This Month’s Competition, Count the Dots in the Circle,” October 1924, 50.
- 25 “Thanks,” February 1925, 34.
- 26 “Jokes,” November 1924, 88.
- 27 “Jokes,” March 1924, 69.
- 28 By Ethel Watts, November 1924, 39–43.
- 29 P. 43.
- 30 P. 92. The piece is credited to Annabella Trunk of Tunnerville, Ontario. In two other citations in the *Gazette* Trunk is cited as Annabelle. Her work seems to be copied from another print media source. The Longfellow poem reads:
- Thus departed Hiawatha,
 Hiawatha the Beloved,
 In the glory of the sunset,
 In the purple mists of evening,
 To the regions of the home-wind,
 Of the Northwest wind Keewajdin,
 To the Islands of the Blessed,
 To the kingdom of Ponemah,
 To the land of the Hereafter!
- 31 Voisey, *Vulcan*, 214.
- 32 Palmer, “Strangers and Stereotypes,” 316.
- 33 Pp. 36–37.
- 34 I am indebted to Dr. David Wright for the translations in the following six notes.
Translator’s note: “These two phrases are famous in the modern Chinese language and trace back to a memorial (a written communication) by Sun Yat-sen (widely regarded as the father of modern China) in 1894 to Li Hongzhang, a high government official of the Manchu Qing dynasty then ruling China. Li Hongzhang ignored Sun Yat-sen because Sun had no academic degrees in traditional Confucian learning, and after this contemptuous dismissal and the victory of Japan over China in a war between the two countries in 1895, Sun Yat-sen gave up on trying to reform the Manchu Qing dynasty and became a revolutionary whose forces overthrew it in 1911 and founded the Republic of China. The meaning of the two phrases here is that the people are the basis of the state, and in turn that the basic need of the people is for food (and thus a reference to agricultural production in Canada). The extended meanings are that food is more important to the people than the state and that a country cannot be strong and prosperous if its people are not well nourished.”
- 35 *Translator’s note:* “In other words, both men and women.”
- 36 *Translator’s note:* “Maishen here seems to be a place name, but the location is unclear.”

37 *Translator's note*: "i.e., the morning. The meaning here is that Chinese daffodils are at their most beautiful in the morning."

38 *Translator's note*: "i.e., Chinese daffodils."

39 *Translator's note*: "Maiwei is a place name in Guangdong province, approximately 80 kilometres NNW of Guangzhou."

40 *Translator's note*: "This is a place name, but the Chinese characters are illegible. The writer is quite educated and literate and uses the old classical or literary style of Chinese, not modern colloquial Chinese. He also uses no punctuation, which is indicative of his style dating to before 1917, if not the actual date of the composition. At the end of the small piece the author gives his name and where he was living or staying at the time he wrote this.

The writing here is not concentrated on any one thing. It is what the Chinese call 'random jottings' written into little notebooks that literate and educated people took along with them to jot down their thoughts or impressions on the spot, before they forgot them. (Think Moleskines, I guess.) The random jottings here seem to pertain to three things: first, a statement that Chinese daffodils are the most beautiful of all vistas; second, a small comment on a famous statement by Sun Yat-sen, who said that the people were the basis of the state and that food was the basic need of the people; and third, a few sentences more or less arguing that Chinese daffodils are the greatest of all flowers, greater even than peonies. In Chinese culture, daffodils are very appropriate flowers to give to sick people. The daffodil symbolizes good fortune in the Chinese culture. In fact, it is so esteemed for its ability to bring forth positive things that it is the official symbol of the Chinese New Year."

41 May 1924, 67; quote, 74–75.

42 James Morrow Walsh. In 1875, Walsh was sent to the Cypress Hills in command of B Division to establish an independent post (Fort Walsh), which he was allowed to name for himself.

43 Macleod papers, M776-14a: Macleod to Mary Macleod, 29 July 1878.

44 *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800–1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 96–97.

45 P. 18.

46 As we have seen, Colonel Macleod used the term.

47 Edward C. Abbott and H. Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher*, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 222–33; E. J. "Bud" Cotton, *Buffalo Bud: Adventures of a Cowboy* (North Vancouver: Hancock House, 1981), 148.

48 *We Pointed Them North*, 149.

49 *We Pointed Them North*, 208–9.

50 By "Coyote Cal," November 1923, 33–36.

51 Brian Dippie, ed., *Charlie Russell Roundup: Essays on America's Favorite Cowboy Artist* (Helena: Montana Historical Society, 1999), 146.

- 52 Grant McEwan, *John Ware's Cow Country*, 3rd ed. (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1995). John Ware Ridge (formerly Nigger John Ridge), Mount Ware, and Ware Creek, all near the Ware ranch, are named after him and the family.
- 53 Quoted in David Breen, "John Ware," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/ware_john_13E.html.
- 54 Glenbow Archives, Calgary, M-1281-2: Slim Marsden, "Reminiscences; John Ware, Famous Cowboy, of the Bar U," n.d., <http://www.glenbow.org/collections/search/findingAids/archhtm/extras/ware/m-1281-2.pdf>.
- 55 Marsden called Ware "the Whitest Man in the North West Territories" (Reminiscences). See also Ings, *Before the Fences*. V. Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1988), 5
- 56 Kelly, *The Range Men*, 5.
- 57 P. 76.
- 58 May 1924, 93.
- 59 Surnames such as McKinnon, Hendrie, and McDonal are, like Macleay, Scottish.
- 60 "Jokes," November 1924, 89.
- 61 "The Passing of an Old Cowpuncher," 13

CHAPTER 12

- 1 "Flivver" is slang for decrepit old car.
- 2 "Local News," January 1924, 3; cartoon drawing, p. 13.
- 3 For instance, "The Romantic Hour," December 1924, 17.
- 4 "Ads," December 1923, 62; "Adds" [*sic*], September 23, 48; "Romantic Hour," December 1924, 22; "Ads," November 1923, 65; "Ads," March 1924, 73.
- 5 Larger items were usually delivered to a depot or post office, but anyone in the family, or even a neighbour, could retrieve them when picking up necessities.
- 6 Georgina Helen Thompson, *Crocus and Meadowlark Country: Recollections of a Happy Childhood and Youth in Southern Alberta* (Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art, 1963), 83, quoted in Paul Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 24.
- 7 See also May 1924, 100; "Ads," September 1924, 79; "High River Hats," January 1925, 12; "Hat Styles for cow girls," April 1925, 46. For men's fashions, see March 1925, 74.
- 8 His numerous trips to Calgary and other towns are recorded in the *Rocking P Gazette*. For instance, "Local News," February 1925, 8: "Mr. R. Macleay has spent the past week in Calgary attending all the meetings etc."; "Local News," January 1924, 3: "Mr. Macleay has been to town and back several times this month and has had to shovel several times also."
- 9 See *Blairmore Enterprise*.

- 10 See *Macleod Times*.
- 11 See *Empress Express*.
- 12 See *Macleod Gazette*.
- 13 Ted Nelson was principally a horse wrangler. Jesse Walters lived at the cow camp on the Bar S.
- 14 February 1925, 5–8.
- 15 “Notice,” January 1925, 22. Frank Van Eden on the Bar S.
- 16 For instance, Val, Jim, Tex, and Bill are all found in “Shooting Through Life” (13–19), and Tex, Bill, Stewart, and Tom are in “Shorty Passes On” (35–44) in the January 1925 issue.
- 17 December 1923, 21.
- 18 April 1924, 19–20.
- 19 Sancho and Sawndy were dogs. The latter was experiencing the infirmities of old age.
- 20 January 1925, 45–47.

CHAPTER 13

- 1 Warren Elofson, “Other People’s Money: Patrick Burns and the Beef Plutocracy,” *Prairie Forum* 32, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 235–36.
- 2 Paul Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 310. Voisey cites the following works: Morton Rothstein, “The Big Farm: Abundance and Scale in American Agriculture,” *Agricultural History* 49, no. 4 (October 1975): 585; Paul Wallace Gates, “Large-Scale Farming in Illinois, 1850 to 1870,” *Agricultural History* 6, no. 1 (January 1932): 14–25; Harold E. Briggs, “Early Bonanza Farming in the Red River Valley of the North,” *Agricultural History*, 6, no. 1 (January 1932): 26–37; Stanley Norman Murray, *The Valley Comes of Age: A History of Agriculture in the Valley of the Red River of North, 1812–1920* (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1967): 131–38; Hiram M. Drache, *The Day of the Bonanza: A History of Bonanza Farming in the Red River Valley of the North* (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1964), and “Bonanza Farming in the Red River Valley,” *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions* 3, no. 24 (1967–68): 53–64; E. C. Morgan, “The Bell Farm,” *Saskatchewan History* 19, no. 2 (Spring 1966): 41–60; Don G. McGowan, *Grassland Settlers: The Swift Current Region during the Early Years of the Ranching Frontier* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1976), 57–59; and Grant McEwan, *Illustrated History of Western Canadian Agriculture* (Regina: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980), 57–79.
- 3 “One Earth Farms Restructures,” <https://www.producer.com/2014/05/one-earth-farms-restructures/>, Mike Beretta, company chief executive officer, 15 May 2014,
- 4 Glenbow Archives, New Walrond Ranche papers, count books, M8688–37.
- 5 Figures are also given from time to time in the company letters and annual reports. Thus, for instance, on 21 October 1905 McEachran wrote to A. M. Walrond informing

- him that the ranch had branded nearly 2,300 head (New Walrond Ranche papers, M8688–8); see also M8688–2: “Sixth Annual Report of the New Walrond Ranche Company Limited,” for the year ended 31 December 1903.
- 6 Warren Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money: The Walrond Ranch Story, 1883–1907* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 191–220.
 - 7 Clay Chattaway.
 - 8 Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money*, 141–52.
 - 9 Frederick Ings, *Before the Fences: Tales from the Midway Ranch*, ed. J. Davis (Calgary: McAra Printing, 1980), 78.
 - 10 Simon M. Evans, *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), 163.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, 149–70.
 - 12 Glenbow Archives, A.E. Cross papers, M8780–112: Cross to A.R. Springett, 10 November 1902.
 - 13 In the period from 1924 to 1928 Macleay ran horses with his cattle on the 76 ranch. And in March 1925 he actually had horses on feed (“Local News,” *Rocking P Gazette*, 4).
 - 14 Clay Chattaway, “Ranching Changes 1945 to 2005,” Macleay family papers.
 - 15 “Number and Average Size of Alberta Farms, 1961–2006,” [http://www1.agric.gov.ab.ca/\\$department/deptdocs.nsf/all/sdd12892/\\$FILE/figure35.pdf](http://www1.agric.gov.ab.ca/$department/deptdocs.nsf/all/sdd12892/$FILE/figure35.pdf).
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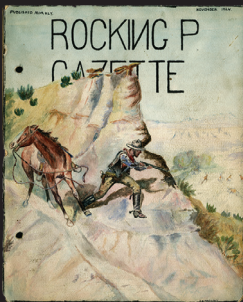
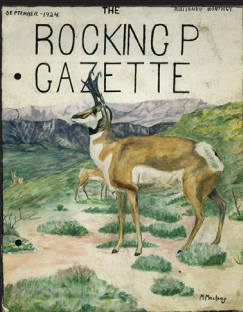
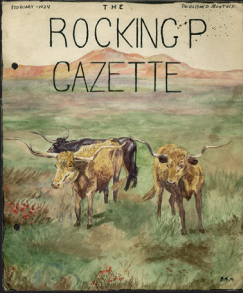
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