



THE COWBOY LEGEND: OWEN WISTER'S VIRGINIAN AND THE CANADIAN-AMERICAN FRONTIER by John Jennings

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POSTSCRIPT

One final note regarding Johnson's connection to Wister. In April 1969, Jean Johnson wrote to James McCook, formerly city editor of *The Albertan*, one of the two Calgary dailies of the time, regarding the newspaper's correspondence with Wister in the early 1930s when the first "talkie" version of *The Virginian* came out. McCook had contacted Wister at that time because of rumours in Calgary that Johnson was the Virginian. McCook had not kept detailed notes, but told Jean that Wister had replied to his telegram, saying that "Johnson seemed to be the man, although he had not been in touch with him for many years." On the strength of this reply, *The Albertan* had invited Johnson to go to the movie with a reporter from the paper. McCook remembered that Johnson was extremely reluctant to go to the movie, which made *The Albertan* believe that Johnson was no "put-up job." Johnson did not enjoy the movie!

Wister's ambiguous reply to *The Albertan* is very puzzling. His response appears to be the only time that he acknowledged who the Virginian was. The closest he had come previously was to state that Corporal Skirdin was the "type" that he had in mind when he wrote the novel. But why would he say that Johnson "*seemed*" to be the man? Who knows what was going on in Wister's mind in the early 1930s? By then he was in his mid-seventies and was not at all well; he had also become disillusioned with the West. Perhaps he just thought it was time to stop being coy. After all, what did it matter anymore? He died in 1938 at the age of seventy-eight. It is a great shame that no one at the time had the understanding to follow up on Wister's comment.

Notes

PREFACE

- 1 Sidney Freifeld, *Undiplomatic Notes: Tales From the Canadian Foreign Service* (Toronto: Hounslow Press, 1990), 20–22.

INTRODUCTION: AMERICA'S GUN CULTURE AND THE VIGILANTE TRADITION

- 1 Ashraf H.A. Rushdy, *American Lynching* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 1.
- 2 The word “lynch” originated in Bedford County, Virginia in 1780, during the Revolutionary War. The leader of the Bedford Militia, Colonel Charles Lynch, became known for his sometimes abrupt way of dealing with the enemy. Rushdy, *American Lynching*, 23–25. The Oxford Dictionary defines lynching: “To kill someone for an alleged crime without legal trial, especially by hanging.” However, the word lynch is sometimes used to describe the act of tarring and feathering or whipping. In the nineteenth century in the South, lynching could also include

torture, skinning, burning alive and beheading. In this study, the word is used essentially as the Oxford Dictionary defines it.

- 3 The more that is known about the Loyalists, the more it is realized that they represented all levels of society and all political persuasions. But the Loyalists who were to have a large political and legal influence in Canada were almost exclusively conservative. They believed devoutly in maintaining ties with the British monarchy and ensuring that society was not changed by revolution.
- 4 John N. Jennings, “The North West Mounted Police and Indian Policy, 1874–1896” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1979), 99–104.
- 5 J. Edward Chamberlin, *If This Is Your Land, Where Are Your Stories? Finding Common Ground* (Toronto: Knopf Canada, 2003), 29–30
- 6 Jennings, “The North West Mounted Police,” 287–97.

- 7 In J. S. Moir, ed., *Character and Circumstance* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970).
- 8 The English common law dictated that it was only as a very last resort that a threatened person had the right to resist with deadly force.
- 9 Richard M. Brown, "Violence," in *The Oxford History of the American West*, ed. Clyde A. Milner, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Knopf, 1994), 393–94.
- 10 See Simon Schama, *The American Future: A History* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2008).
- 11 An oft-quoted line from Hilaire Belloc's poem for children, "Jim, Who Ran Away From His Nurse, and Was Eaten by a Lion."
- 12 Jennings, "The North West Mounted Police," 113.
- 13 See L. H. Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories, 1870–1897* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956).
- 14 Schama, *The American Future*, 326.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 264.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 268–69.
- 17 See Jean Pfaelzer, *Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against the Chinese Americans* (New York: Random House, 2007), and Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).
- 18 See J. Brian Dawson, "The Chinese Experience in Frontier Calgary," in *Frontier Calgary, 1875–1914*, ed. A. W. Rasporich and Henry Klassen (Calgary: McClelland & Stewart West, 1975).
- 19 John McLaren, "The Early British Columbia Judges, the Rule of Law and the Chinese Question: The California and Oregon Connection" in John McLaren, Hamar Foster and Chet Orloff, *Law For the Elephant, Law For the Beaver: Essays in the Legal History of the North American West* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1992), 237.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 263–64.
- 21 See especially Joe E. Franz, "The Frontier Tradition: An Invitation to Violence" and Richard Maxwell Brown, "The American Vigilante Tradition," in *The History of Violence in America*, ed. Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr (New York: Bantam, 1969); and Brown, "Violence," in *The Oxford History of the American West*.
- 22 See Robert Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns* (New York: Knopf, 1971); Frank Richard Prassel, *The Western Peace Officer* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972); and Eugene Hollon, *Frontier Violence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).
- 23 Prassel, *Western Peace Officer*, 22.
- 24 Hollon, *Frontier Violence*, 97.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 88, 97.
- 26 Roger D. McGrath, *Gunfighters, Highwaymen and Vigilantes: Violence on the Frontier* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 84–85, 185.
- 27 See McGrath, *Gunfighters*; Franz, "The Frontier Tradition"; Harry Sinclair Drago, *The Great Range Wars: Violence on the Grasslands* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970); Joseph G. Rosa, *The Gunfighter: Man or Myth?* (Norman: University of Nebraska Press, 1969); Philip D. Jordan, *Frontier Law and Order* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970); and Brown, "Violence," in

- The Oxford History of the American West.*
- 28 See Richard Hofstadter and Michael Wallace, eds., *American Violence: A Documentary History* (New York: Knopf, 1970).
- 29 See Franz, "The Frontier Tradition."
- 30 Drago, *Great Range Wars*, 48–49.
- 31 Jordan, *Frontier Law and Order*, ix, 13.
- 32 Rosa, *Gunfighters*, 264.
- 33 Brown, "Violence," in *The Oxford History of the American West*, 423.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 See Richard Maxwell Brown, "Law and Order on the American Frontier: The Western Civil War of Incorporation," in *Law For the Elephant, Law For the Beaver*, 74–76.
- 37 See William D. Corrigan and Christopher Waldrep, eds., *Swift to Wrath: Lynching in Global Historical Perspective* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013).
- 38 Richard Maxwell Brown, "Historical Patterns of Violence in America," in Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr, *A History of Violence in America*, (New York: Bantam, 1969), 67–68.
- 39 Ibid., 68–69.
- 40 See Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *On Lynching* (Amherst, New York: Humanity Books, 2002).
- 41 J. H. Chadbourn, *Lynching and the Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933), 3.
- 42 *Toronto Globe and Mail*, June 14, 2005. The Senate seems to have changed its mind after viewing the graphic horrors of lynching in James Allen et al., *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* (Santa Fe: Twin Palms, 2000).
- 43 Brown, "Violence," 154. As would be expected, Texas had more vigilante movements – 52 – than any other state or territory. Brown traces 116 eastern and 210 western movements.
- 44 John G. Cawalti, *The Six Gun Mystique* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1971), 58–61.
- 45 Keith Walden, *Visions of Order* (Toronto: Butterworth, 1982), 62.
- 46 Michael Dawson, "That Nice Red Coat Goes To My Head Like Champagne: Gender, Antimodernism and the Mountie Image, 1880–1960," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 3 (Fall 1979): 119–39. The red colour of the Mountie uniform was actually called "Hunting Pink," named for a tailor of that name who specialized in making coats for the fox-hunting crowd.
- 47 Ibid., 129.
- 48 Ibid., 130.
- 49 Jill Lapore, "Battleground America: One nation under the gun." *New Yorker* (April 23, 2012), 40.
- 50 Quoted in the *Peterborough Examiner*, July 18, 2013.
- 51 Yemen is second, with a rate half that of the United States. Lepore, "Battleground," 39.
- 52 April 21, 2007. This figure is close to the FBI estimate for 2000: 250 million firearms in private hands and 5 million new ones added every year. See Michael A. Bellesiles, *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture* (New York: Knopf, 2000). Cook and Ludwig estimate that there are 200 million firearms in private hands. Paul M. Barrett, *Glock: The Rise of America's Gun* (New York:

- Crown, 2012), 258–59, estimates that there are between 200 and 300 million guns in private hands in the US. This works out to roughly one firearm per adult. It is estimated that 40% of American handguns are acquired without a background check. Despite leading the world in gun ownership, only one-third of American households own any guns, down from half of American households forty years ago. Lepore, “Battleground,” 39, citing the National Policy Opinion Center, University of Chicago. Gun ownership is higher among white and rural Americans.
- 53 Lepore, “Battleground,” 39–40. Of these 300 million firearms, 106 million are handguns, 105 million are rifles, and 83 million are shotguns. 40% of guns purchased are from private sellers at gun shows.
- 54 See Wikipedia for FBI statistics. In 1992, for instance, there were 13,220 murders in the US using handguns; in Canada there were 128 – and that number was well above the average.
- 55 New York Times, February 14, 2015. The film was based on Kyle’s book *American Sniper: The Autobiography of the Most Lethal Sniper in U.S. Military History* (New York: William Morrow, 2012). Kyle also wrote *American Gun* (New York: William Morrow, 2013), a history of the United States seen through ten of her most famous guns.
- 56 Toronto *Globe and Mail*, July 1994, article by Geoffrey Simpson. Wikipedia, obviously a somewhat doubtful source for scrupulous accuracy, compares some national homicide rates per hundred thousand people in 2010 and 2011: US 4.8; Canada 1.6; U.K. and Australia 1.2; Western Europe 1.3; France 1.6; Germany 1.1; Russia 25.5. According to Barrett, *Glock*, 257, the general homicide rate in the US is roughly five times that of Canada, Britain, Australia, and Western Europe.
- 57 Lepore, “Battleground,” 47.
- 58 Philip J. Cook and Jens Ludwick, *Gun Violence: The Real Cost* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 15. These authors calculate that the cost of gun violence per year in the United States is \$100 billion. They state: “Among developed countries, the U.S. is distinctive not for the high volume of violent crime, but for the high percentage of those crimes that involve a gun and the main consequence – a homicide rate far in excess of any developed country.”
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 A CBS News survey, January 2012, in *Vanity Fair*, April 2012. The survey polled approximately 1,200 people, certainly not a definitive number, but a number not to be ignored.
- 61 Martin Friedland, *A Century of Criminal Justice* (Toronto: Carswell, 1984), 129.
- 62 Ibid., 113–14. The Canadian handgun rate in these years was about 10 percent of all homicides. In the US, it was 50 percent. In the US, 90 percent of firearm robberies were carried out with handguns. Friedland, *Century of Criminal Justice*, 117.
- 63 A special permit is required to carry a handgun. Very few permits are issued, especially for protection. Friedland, *Century of Criminal Justice*, 118–19.
- 64 See chapter 6.

- 65 Hofstadter and Wallace, *American Violence*, 24.
- 66 Ibid., 6.
- 67 Ibid., 26.
- 68 Ibid., 4, 12.
- 69 Ibid., 25.
- 70 Leslie A. Pal, "Between the Sights: Gun Control in Canada and the United States," in *Canada and the United States: The Differences that Count*, 71. For two contradictory opinions on the Second Amendment, see Warren Freeman, *The Privilege to Keep and Bear Arms: The Second Amendment and its Interpretation* (New York: Quorum Books, 1999), and Stephen P. Halbrook, *The Every Man Be Armed: The Evolution of a Constitutional Right* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984). Adam Winkler, in *Gunfight: The Battle over the Right to Bear Arms in America* (New York: Norton, 2011), points out the legal complexities surrounding the Second Amendment. In 2008, the US Supreme Court, in a 5–4 decision, ruled that the Second Amendment does, in fact, protect the right of private citizens to have a gun at home. Barrett, *Glock*, 258.
- 71 Lepore, "Battleground," 42.
- 72 Gordon Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969); and Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967).
- 73 Michael Waldman, *The Second Amendment: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), xii, 7, 27, 97.
- 74 It is ironic that the Dominion of Canada Rifle Association preceded the NRA by three years and gave it some guidance in its early years. But the DCRA was created for almost opposite reasons. Its primary purpose was, first, to train Canadians for a possible invasion from the United States in the tense years following the Civil War and then to train Canadians to kill for the Empire, as war in Europe loomed. R. Blake Brown, *Arming and Disarming: A History of Gun Control in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), chapters 2 and 3.
- 75 During the Clinton era, two gun laws were passed: the 1993 Brady Handgun Control Act, which required federally licensed gun dealers to conduct background checks, but with no such requirement for unlicensed dealers, and the Violent Crime Control and Enforcement Act of 1994, which banned nineteen military-style assault weapons and certain high-capacity magazines of more than ten rounds. *Globe and Mail*, Dec. 18, 2012.
- 76 Lapore, 46.
- 77 *The Economist*, Dec. 22, 2012.
- 78 *Globe and Mail*, Dec. 17, 2012.
- 79 *Harper's Magazine*, June, 2013.
- 80 Four presidents, Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley and Kennedy have been killed; six more have had assassination attempts: Jackson, both Roosevelts, Truman, Ford and Reagan. As well, Kennedy's brother, Robert, and Martin Luther King Jr. could top a list of important Americans who have been killed or had attempts on their lives.
- 81 April 21, 2007, 11; Barrett, *Glock*, 253.
- 82 In 2007, a semi-automatic rifle was used to kill seven and wound four at the Westwoods Mall in Omaha, Nebraska. And the next

- year at a house party in a suburb of Los Angeles, four semi-automatic pistols were used to kill an ex-wife and her family. The decade ended with the Glock 9 killing of five and the wounding of sixteen at Northern Illinois University by a student who had gone off his medication (Barrett, *Glock*, 22), and, finally, the killing of thirteen and wounding of twenty-nine by a radical Muslim at Fort Hood, Texas.
- 83 Eight were killed and one wounded at a California hair salon in 2011. And then, of course, came the attempt at political assassination at a rally in Tucson, Arizona. Six were killed and fourteen wounded by Jared Loughner using a semi-automatic Glock 19 pistol with a special oversized magazine that took thirty-three rounds (Barrett, *Glock*, 253). He was found incompetent to stand trial, but he had had no trouble getting his hands on a Glock (Barrett, *Glock*, 259). The day after the Tucson killings, there was a huge rush of Glock 19 sales at gun stores in Tucson, but no call for a debate on guns (Barrett, *Glock*, 264). 2011 also saw the killing of seven and the wounding of three with a 9 mm Glock at Grand Rapids, Michigan.
- 84 Toronto *Globe and Mail*, July 21, 2012. The M&P 15 has a detachable ten or thirty round box magazine.
- 85 Pew Research Center poll, reported in the *Globe and Mail*, Jan. 17, 2013.
- 86 In April 2013, President Obama's bill was defeated in the Senate by a narrow margin. Obama called the failure of the bill "shameful" and added that Republicans had "willfully lied" about the consequences of the bill.
- 87 *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 26, 2013.
- 88 *New York Times*, Dec. 30, 2012.
- 89 *Globe and Mail*, Dec. 18, 2012. In 2011, Britain (including Scotland) had sixty-five gun homicides. The US had more than half that number (thirty-four) every day! At first, the handgun ban did not have the desired effect, but in the long run, gun violence in Britain dropped considerably. More than 200,000 weapons and 700 tons of ammunition were confiscated by police in the last fifteen years. Andy Marsh, the firearms director for Britain's Association of Chief Police Officers, stated recently that Britain now has "significantly lower levels of gun crime, levels that continue to fall." In 2011, firearms killed fifty-nine people in Britain, which has a population of 63 million. *Washington Post*, Feb. 1, 2013.
- 90 From 1996 to 1998, 700,000 rifles were turned in. A study by the *American Journal of Law and Economics* in 2010 stated that, between 1995 and 2006, gun-related homicides in Australia dropped 59% and the firearm-suicide rate dropped 65%. *Time*, Dec. 15, 2012.
- 91 *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 2013.
- 92 *Globe and Mail*, Jan. 19, 2013.
- 93 *Fifth Estate*, Jan. 10, 2013.
- 94 *Peterborough Examiner*, Dec. 20, 2012. In 2012, a Johns Hopkins University gun policy center study concluded, "Although there is little difference in the overall crime rates between the U.S. and other high-income countries, the homicide rate in the U.S. is seven times higher than the combined homicide rates of 22 other high-income countries." Waldman, *Second Amendment*, 162.
- 95 Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1931), 496-98.

- 96 Friedland, *Century of Criminal Justice*, 131. Because of this divided jurisdiction, for instance, the 1968 Gun Control Act has had little effect on handgun policies.
- 97 *Ibid.*, 125. S. C. 1885, c. 51, s. 14.
- 98 Brown, *Arming and Disarming*, 47.
- 99 *Ibid.*, p. 7. Beginning in the 1860s, the federal government largely banned people from carrying revolvers and required retailers to keep records of handgun purchases.
- 100 *Ibid.*, 126.
- 101 *Ibid.*, 132–33.
- 102 *Ibid.*, 151–54.
- 103 The RCMP has a central handgun registry, making it easier than in the US to track handguns. Friedland, *Century of Criminal Justice*, 132.
- 104 Brown, *Arming and Disarming*, 190.
- 105 “Gun Control: The Options.”
- 106 Friedland, *Century of Criminal Justice*, 114–16.
- 107 Brown, *Arming and Disarming*, 211.
- 108 *Ibid.*, 214.
- 109 Pal, *Between the Sights*, 68–70.
- 110 This law is in the process of being repealed, but the point is that the federal government was able to pass a law that was extremely unpopular in large parts of rural Canada.
- 111 Friedland, *Century of Criminal Justice*, 137.
- the Glenbow Archives in Calgary, Alberta.
- 2 Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846–1890* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 76. Myrick stated, “As far as I am concerned, if they are hungry let them eat grass or their own dung.”
- 3 T. R. Fehrenbach, *Lone Star: A History of Texas and the Texans* (New York: Macmillan, 1985), 571.
- 4 See Walter Prescott Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1935); Fehrenbach, *Lone Star*; Robert M. Utley, *Lone Star Justice: The First Century of the Texas Rangers* (New York: Berkley Books, 2002); Andrew R. Graybill, *Policing the Great Plains: Rangers, Mounties, and the North American Frontier, 1875–1910* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).
- 5 Ted Grant and Andy Russell, *Men of the Saddle: Working Cowboys of Canada* (Toronto: Van Nostrand, 1978), 39.
- 6 Wallace Stegner, *Wolf Willow: A History, a Story, and a Memory of the Last Plains Frontier* (New York: Viking Compass, 1966), 136.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 135–36.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 James H. Cook, *Fifty Years on the Old Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 26–27.
- 10 Cited in Grant and Russell, *Men of the Saddle*, 26.
- 11 Cook, *Fifty Years*, 99–100.
- 12 Fehrenbach, *Lone Star*, 545.
- 13 Nyle H. Miller and Joseph W. Snell, *Great Gunfighters of the Kansas Cowntowns, 1867–1886* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 249–50.

1: BEGINNINGS

- 1 All references to Everett Johnson, unless otherwise indicated, come from his daughter-in-law Jean Johnson’s manuscript about his life, “A Virginian Cowboy: His Life and Friends,” which she deposited with

- 14 Fehrenbach, *Lone Star*, 536–37.
- 15 W. Eugene Hollon, *Frontier Violence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 210.
- 16 Robert R. Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns* (New York: Knopf, 1968), 58.
- 17 Joseph G. Rosa, *The Gunfighter: Man or Myth?* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 106–7.
- 18 Stanley Vestal, *Dodge City, Queen of the Cowntowns* (London: Nevill, 1955), 35–37.
- 19 Mari Sandoz, *The Cattlemen* (New York: Hastings House, 1958), 146. Boot Hill Cemetery was originally created to bury the casualties of the clashes between the track layers, troops, and buffalo hide men.
- 20 Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns*, 113, 143–44. Dykstra claims that there were 45 killings in the Kansas cattle towns from 1870 to 1885, fifteen of them in Dodge City. He states that the first killing in Dodge did not occur until 1878. However, Rosa, *The Gunfighter*, 113, claims that there were 25 killings in Dodge in 1872 alone. He provides convincing evidence for at least one of them. Stuart Lake, admittedly a doubtful source, claimed that there were 80 killings in Dodge before Wyatt Earp arrived there in May 1876. Stuart Lake, *Wyatt Earp, Frontier Marshal* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 138.
- 21 Dee Brown and Martin Schmitt, *Trail Driving Days* (New York: Scribner's, 1952), 94.
- 22 Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns*, 119–21.
- 23 Lake, *Wyatt Earp*, 70.

2: THE BLACK HILLS

- 1 R. M. Utley, *Cavalier in Buckskins: George Armstrong Custer and the Western Military Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 136–37.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 133. The rumours would, indeed, prove true. In the hundred years after 1875, one single gold mine in the Black Hills produced a billion dollars in gold. Nathaniel Philbrick, *The Last Stand: Custer, Sitting Bull, and the Battle of the Little Bighorn* (New York: Viking, 2010), 4.
- 3 Utley, *Cavalier in Buckskins*, 139.
- 4 Philbrick, *The Last Stand*, 64–65.
- 5 Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987), 334.
- 6 Robert K. DeArment, *Assault on the Deadwood Stage: Road Agents and Shotgun Messengers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 8.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 42, 51. Sam Bass, after his many stagecoach robberies around Deadwood, left for Texas and formed a new gang. In 1878, the Texas Rangers cornered him near Round Rock and killed him in a shootout. “Persimmon Bill” Chambers, whose reputation rested on stealing Native horses, as well as holding up stagecoaches, was wanted for the cold-blooded murder of an army sergeant in 1876. He saw the man with a large wad of money, so “I just plugged him in the back.” He laughed as he related the story. Persimmon Bill simply vanished, and his subsequent history is unknown. DeArment, *Assault on the Deadwood Stage*, 132, 207.
- 8 See Harry N. Scheiber, *Abbott-Downing and the Concord Coach*

- (Concord: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1989).
- 9 Agnes Wright Spring, *The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Routes* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1948), 88–91.
 - 10 Watson Parker, *Deadwood, the Golden Years* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 59. By October, the population of Deadwood was estimated to be 3,000.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, 207.
 - 12 *Ibid.*; Estelline Bennett, *Old Deadwood Days* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 112.
 - 13 Paul Trachtman, *The Gunfighters* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1974), 170.
 - 14 DeArment, *Assault on the Deadwood Stage*, 59.
 - 15 Parker, *Deadwood*, 210.
 - 16 Bennett, *Old Deadwood Days*, 253–55.
 - 17 DeArment, *Assault on the Deadwood Stage*, 182.
 - 18 *Ibid.*, 91.
 - 19 *Ibid.*, 180.
 - 20 *Ibid.*, 144.
 - 21 *Ibid.*, 95.
 - 22 Parker, *Deadwood*, 193.
 - 23 W. Eugene Hollon, *Frontier Violence: Another Look* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 116.
 - 24 Joe B. Franz and Julian E. Choate, *The American Cowboy: Myth and Reality* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 90.
 - 25 Kent L. Steckmesser, *The Western Hero in History and Legend* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 118–20; Eugene Hollon, “Frontier Violence: Another Look,” in *People of the Plains and Mountains*, ed. Ray Allen Billington (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1973), 87.
 - 26 Trachtman, *Gunfighters*, 16.
 - 27 Nyle H. Miller and Joseph W. Snell, *Great Gunfighters of the Kansas Cowtowns* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 78.
 - 28 Stuart N. Lake, *Wyatt Earp: Frontier Marshal* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 157.
 - 29 Allen Barra, *Inventing Wyatt Earp: His Life and Many Legends* (New York: Carroll, 1998), 69.
 - 30 *Ibid.*, 70.
 - 31 *Ibid.*
 - 32 DeArment, *Assault on the Deadwood Stage*, 205. Lee A. Silva, in his huge multivolume biography of Earp, goes into excruciating detail on the issue of whether Earp was ever a shotgun messenger while in Deadwood. He concludes that he was – probably! Lee A. Silva, *Wyatt Earp: A Biography of a Legend: The Cowtown Years* (Santa Ana, CA: Graphic Publishers, 2002), 400–432.
 - 33 Lake, *Wyatt Earp*, 157.
 - 34 Frank Richard Prassel, *The Western Peace Officer* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 51.
 - 35 DeArment, *Assault on the Deadwood Stage*, 32.
 - 36 See Christine Bold, *Selling the Wild West: Popular Western Fiction, 1860 to 1960* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987). Wheeler wrote thirty-three Deadwood Dick novels, and when he died in 1885, the Beadle company kept his death a secret and churned out another ninety-seven stories under his name.
 - 37 DeArment, *Assault on the Deadwood Stage*, 138–42.
 - 38 *Ibid.*
 - 39 *Ibid.*, 101–4, 205.

3: BILL CODY

- 1 Agnes Wright Spring, *The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Routes* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1948), 180.
- 2 Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 50.
- 3 Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Knopf, 2005), 18–20.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 18.
- 5 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 103, 123–24; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 86, 89.
- 6 Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 55–56.
- 7 Russell L. Barsh, “The Substitution of Cattle for Bison on the Great Plains,” in *The Struggle for the Land: Indigenous Insight and Industrial Empire in the Semiarid World*, ed. Paul A. Olson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 107–8.
- 8 Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 57.
- 9 Barsh, “The Substitution of Cattle,” 108.
- 10 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 86, 94.
- 11 Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 127.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 116, 146.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 158.
- 14 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 170–73.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 178.
- 16 Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 149.
- 17 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 156, 179. Cody was also notably casual about spelling. Bill Reid appears as “Reed” in his writing.
- 18 The battle of Summit Springs, on July 11, 1869, was in retaliation for Cheyenne raids. Cody was a scout for Col. Eugene Carr's Fifth Cavalry.
- 19 Richard W. Etulain, *Telling Western Stories: From Buffalo Bill to Larry McMurtry* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 18.
- 20 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 192–94, 196.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 199.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 207.
- 23 Paul L. Hedren, *First Scalp For Custer: The Skirmish at Warbonnet Creek, Nebraska, July 17, 1876* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 61.
- 24 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 225.
- 25 Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 118.
- 26 Nathaniel Philbrick, *The Last Stand: Custer, Sitting Bull, and the Battle of the Little Big Horn* (New York: Viking, 2010), 59. This claim of Custer's parenthood has been met with scorn by other historians.
- 27 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 230.
- 28 William F. Cody, *The Life of Hon. William F. Cody* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 342–44.
- 29 Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 118.
- 30 See Richard White, “Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill,” in *The Frontier in American Culture: Essays by Richard White and Patricia Nelson Limerick*, ed. James R. Grossman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
- 31 Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 218.
- 32 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 227. For Madsen's account, see Don Russell Collection, Buffalo Bill Historic Center, Chris Madsen, “Buffalo Bill Fight.”
- 33 Hedren, *First Scalp For Custer*, 66; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 225. Russell includes one other scout named Tate.
- 34 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 226, 235.

- 35 Hedren, *First Scalp For Custer*, 67.
- 36 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 226.
- 37 Ibid. See also Johnny Backer Collection, MS 6, Series IV, W. F. Cody Collection, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming, for the testimony of Chris Madsen, Louis V. Cooke, and Sgt. John Hamilton.
- 38 In the mid-1950s, a vigorous debate was carried on in the pages of *The Westerner's New York Posse Brand Book* concerning Captain King's credibility (vol. 2, no. 4, 1955; vol. 3, no. 1, 1956; vol. 4, no. 2, 1957). Both Mari Sandoz and Art Woodward accused King of falsifying facts concerning the Yellow Hair incident in his *Campaigning with Crook*. See Mari Sandoz, "Captain Charles King as Portrayer of the West," *The Westerner's New York Posse Brand Book* 2, no. 4 (1955), pt. 84, and Art Woodward, "More on Captain Charles King – A Defense," *The Westerner's New York Posse Brand Book* 3, no. 1 (1956).
- 39 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 229, 232–33.
- 40 Don Russell, "Captain Charles King," *The Westerner's New York Posse Brand Book* 4, no. 2 (1957), 39–40.
- 41 Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 171.
- 42 Ibid., 120; Robert Utley in *Frontier Regulars* states that 800 Cheyennes left the Red Cloud Agency for the Powder River country, but he is probably speaking in more general terms. Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866–1891* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 268.
- 43 Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 120. Warren mentions that there is considerable material on the Yellow Hair incident at the Nebraska State Historical Society in Lincoln.
- 44 A. E. Brininstool, "Who Killed Yellow Hand?," *Outdoor Life – Outdoor Recreation*, Feb. 1930, cited in Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 119.
- 45 Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 122–23.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid., 138–39.
- 48 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 231.
- 49 Philbrick, *Last Stand*, 40, 48.
- 50 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 298.
- 51 Ibid., 314.
- 52 Ibid., 315–16.
- 53 Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 191, 195.
- 54 Ibid., 359–60.
- 55 Ibid., 282.
- 56 Ibid., 305.
- 57 Ibid., 284.
- 58 Ibid., 305.
- 59 Jill Jonnes, *Eiffel's Tower: And the World's Fair Where Buffalo Bill Beguiled Paris, the Artists Quarreled, and Thomas Edison Became a Count* (New York: Viking, 2009), 112.
- 60 Ibid., 132.
- 61 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 350.
- 62 Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in the Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 73.
- 63 Jonnes, *Eiffel's Tower*, 267.
- 64 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 358–59.
- 65 Etulain, *Telling Western Stories*, 15. Sitting Bull's cabin was purchased from his heirs, set up on the midway of the Chicago fairgrounds, and manned by Sioux who pointed out the bullet holes for visitors. Philbrick, *Last Stand*, 308.

- 66 Eric Larson, *The Devil in the White City: Murder, Magic, and Madness at the Fair That Changed America* (New York: Vintage, 2003), 250.
- 67 Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 313.
- 68 This has not been verified. But as Mary Lou Pence has stated in her study of Nat Boswell, the most difficult obstacle in her study was to verify the names of those associated with him. Many were referred to only by first name. And newspaper accounts of the time are very sketchy. Mary Lou Pence, *Boswell, the Story of a Frontier Lawman* (Cheyenne, WY: Pioneer Printing, 1978).
- 69 See Pence, *Boswell*.
- 70 Robert K. DeArment, *Assault on the Deadwood Stage: Road Agents and Shotgun Messengers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 147–50.
- 71 Pence, *Boswell*, 147; Richard Maxwell Brown, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 108.
- 72 DeArment, *Assault on the Deadwood Stage*, 206–7.
- 5 See Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846–1890* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 92–93.
- 6 US War Department, *The War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 48, pt. 2, 356.
- 7 Kingsley Bray, *Crazy Horse: A Life* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 86.
- 8 Murray, *Bozeman Trail*, 7.
- 9 Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866–1891* (New York: Macmillan, 1974), 11–14
- 10 *Ibid.*, 59–67.
- 11 Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Knopf, 2005), 106.
- 12 Grace R. Heberd and A. E. Brininstool, *The Bozeman Trail* (Cleveland: A. H. Clark, 1922), vol. 1, 307; Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 96, states that there were 1,500 warriors involved in the Fetterman fight and Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 105, put the number at 1,500–2,000.
- 13 Heberd and Brininstool, vol. 1, 305–6; Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 105, stated that the cavalry under Lieut. Grummond were armed with Spencer repeating carbines and the two civilians, James Wheatly and Isaac Fisher, were armed with Henry repeating rifles.

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- 1 T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 194.
- 2 Andy Russell, *The Canadian Cowboy* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993), 48–49.
- 3 John D. McDermott, *Red Cloud's War: The Bozeman Trail, 1866–1868*, vol. 1 (Norman: Arthur H. Clark, 2010), 4–10.
- 4 Robert A. Murray, *The Bozeman Trail* (Boulder, CO: Pruett, 1988), 5.
- 14 Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 95.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 101.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 Dee Brown, *The Fetterman Massacre* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), 188.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 198.
- 19 Heberd and Brininstool, *Bozeman Trail*, vol. 2, 21.

- 20 Brown, *Fetterman Massacre*, 194.
- 21 Quoted in Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 111 (Senate Executive Documents, 40th Congress, 1867).
- 22 Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 78.
- 23 Russell, *The Canadian Cowboy*, 49.
- 24 Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 123–25.
- 25 Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 108.
- 26 Heberd and Brininstool, *Bozeman Trail*, 223.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 51–52.
- 28 Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 109–10.
- 29 Heberd and Brininstool, *Bozeman Trail*, 66–68.
- 30 Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 125–29. George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians*, stated that there were 1,000 warriors at the battle, and six were killed and six wounded, clearly an absurd tally for a battle of this magnitude.
- 31 Robert A. Murray, *Military Posts in the Powder River Country of Wyoming, 1865–1894* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), 53.
- 32 Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 69.
- 33 Robert M. Utley, *Cavalier in Buckskin* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 177, 189–90; H. F. Williamson, *Winchester: The Gun That Won the West* (Washington, DC: Combat Forces Press, 1952), 43, 51–52; Lee Kennett and James L. Anderson, *The Gun in America: The Origins of a National Dilemma* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1975), 117.
- 34 Douglas D. Scott and Richard A. Fox Jr., *Archaeological Insights into the Custer Battle* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 112; Utley, *Cavalier in Buckskins*, 190, states that many Sioux at the battle were armed with repeating rifles and many with trade muskets and bows and arrows.
- 35 Scott and Fox, *Archaeological Insights*, citing the US Army Ordinance Report of 1879, 112–13.
- 36 Jerry Keenan, *The Wagon Box Fight* (Buffalo, WY: Bozeman Trail Association, 1988), 2.
- 37 William Murphy, “The Forgotten Battalion,” *Annals of Wyoming* 7, no. 2 (October 1930): 395.
- 38 Robert A. Murray, “The Wagon Box Fight: A Centennial Appraisal,” *Annals of Wyoming* 39, no. 1 (April 1967): 105.
- 39 James S. Hutchins, ed., *Boots and Saddles at the Little Big Horn* (Fort Collins, CO: Old Army Press, 1976), 33–35.
- 40 Roy A. Appleman, “The Wagon Box Fight,” in *Great Western Indian Fight*, ed. Members of the Potomac Corral of the Westerners (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), 155. Murray, “The Wagon Box Fight,” 45, states that “a few civilians were armed with seven shot Spencers.”
- 41 George Madis, *The Winchester Book* (Lancaster, Texas: Art and Reference House, 1971), 167. The .44-calibre Henry was designed by B. Tyler Henry in 1860 and produced at the New Haven Arms Company. It was modified in 1866 and again in 1873.
- 42 William B. Edwards, *Civil War Guns* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole, 1962), 158–62; Charles E. Chapel, *Guns of the Old West* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1961), 247. The Henry rifle was a 16-shot .44-calibre lever action rifle with a 24-inch octagonal barrel, weighing nine and a quarter pounds. It was the forerunner of the Winchester repeating rifle.

- 43 Louise Barnett, *Touched By Fire: The Life, Death, and Mythic Afterlife of George Armstrong Custer* (New York: Henry Holt, 1996), 297.
- 44 Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 70.
- 45 Chapel, *Guns of the Old West*, 257.
- 46 Keenan, *Wagon Box Fight*, 8, states that there were two officers, twenty-four enlisted men, and six civilians at the fight.
- 47 Information on George Reid's part in the Wagon Box Fight comes from Jean Johnson's manuscript "A Virginian Cowboy" in the Glenbow Archives.
- 48 Heberd and Brininstool, *Bozeman Trail*, vol. 2, 85.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 162–68. Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 124, states that when Lt. Sigismund Sturnberg was killed, Al Colvin, a civilian, took charge of the engagement. At the Hayfield Fight, Lt. Sturnberg and nineteen soldiers were guarding twelve civilian hay cutters.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 70, 81.
- 51 Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 148.
- 52 Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 167.
- 53 Glenbow Archives, John Henry Reid, "Biography of a Cardston Poiner," D 920, R 356, 1958.
- 54 Russell, *The Canadian Cowboy*, 49.
- 55 The 76 would establish line camps on Salt Creek, Crazy Woman Creek, Buffalo Creek and one on the middle fork of the Powder River, which became the KC Ranch, where the shootout took place during the Johnson County War.
- 56 Terry G. Jordan, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers: Origins, Diffusion, and Differentiation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 8.
- 57 Emerson Hough, *The Passing of the Frontier* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1918), 43.
- 58 Andy Adams, *Log of a Cowboy* (New York: Airmont, 1969).
- 59 Allen Andrews, *The Splendid Pauper* (New York: Lippincot, 1968), 82; Lawrence Woods, *British Gentlemen in the Wild West: The Era of the Intensely English Cowboy* (New York: Free Press, 1989), 58.
- 60 Woods, *British Gentlemen*, 57.
- 61 Lawrence Woods, *Moreton Frewen's Western Adventures* (Boulder, CO: Roberts Rinehart, 1993), 73.
- 62 Maurice Frink, *Cow Country Cavalcade* (Denver, CO: Old West Publishing, 1954), 241; Woods, *Frewen's Western Adventures* put the return for 1883 at 5 percent, 84.
- 63 Agnes Wright Spring, *The Cheyenne Club: Mecca of the Aristocrats of the Old Time Cattle Range* (Kansas City: Ornduff, 1961), 19.
- 64 Hesse was foreman of the 76 from 1882 to 1890. After that, he operated his own ranch, the 28 Ranch, on Crazy Woman Creek. In the 76 account ledger, Johnson's salary from 1886 to 1888 is listed at \$40 per month. He is no longer listed after the summer of 1888. Jim Drummond was also listed on the ledger in 1887 and 1888. University of Wyoming, Western Heritage Center, Fred G. S. Hesse Papers, Coll. 240.
- 65 Spring, *The Cheyenne Club*, 19.
- 66 Moreton Frewen, *Melton Mowbray and Other Memories* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1924), 96–97.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 142.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 166–67.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 212; Andrews, *Splendid Pauper*, 75.

- 70 Anita Leslie, *Mr. Frewen of England* (London: Hutchinson, 1966), 64–65.
- 71 Andrews, *Splendid Pauper*, 31.
- 72 Leslie, *Mr. Frewen*, 61.
- 73 Woods, *British Gentlemen*, 194–95.
- 74 Frink, *Cow Country Cavalcade*, 119.
- 75 Woods, *Frewen's Western Adventures*, 73.
- 76 Andrews, 89; Woods, *Frewen's Western Adventures* claimed that the 76's return in 1883 was 5 percent and in 1884 it was 3 percent, at the back of the pack! The Swan ranch had a return of 10 percent. The average for the big ranches in 1884 was 6 percent (117–18).
- 77 Woods, *Frewen's Western Adventures*, 131
- 78 John Clay, *My Life on the Range* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 180.
- 79 Mari Sandoz, *The Cattlemen* (New York: Hastings House, 1958), 99.
- 80 *Ibid.*, 236.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 244.
- 82 The principle of refrigeration was first demonstrated in Scotland in 1756. In 1758, Benjamin Franklin was experimenting with its principles. By 1820 the British scientist Michael Faraday liquefied ammonia and other gasses using high pressures and low temperatures. In 1842, an American physician designed the first system to produce ice. Alexander Twining is credited with the first commercial use of refrigeration in 1856. By the 1870s, commercial refrigeration units were in use. Refrigerated railway cars started in the 1840s and by 1900, Chicago, the centre of the meat packing industry, had adopted ammonia-cycle commercial refrigeration.
- 83 Clay, *My Life on the Range*, xii–xiii.
- 84 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 85 Sandoz, *The Cattlemen*, 247.
- 86 Frink, *Cow Country Cavalcade*, 197.
- 87 *Ibid.*, 249.
- 88 *Ibid.*, 71.
- 89 Deborah Donahue, *The Western Range Revisited* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 13.
- 90 See Wallace Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the American West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954) and Donald Worster, *A River Running West: The Life of John Wesley Powell* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). For a discussion of earlier western American land legislation, see Roy M. Robbins, "Preemption – A Frontier Triumph" in *Essays on the History of the American West*, ed. Stephen Salisbury (New York: Holt Rinehart, 1975).
- 91 Donahue, *Western Range*, 15.
- 92 *Ibid.*, 19.
- 93 *Ibid.*, 30. The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 turned eighty million acres into grazing districts, with ten-year renewable leases. Edward E. Taylor was a congressman from Colorado.
- 94 Christopher Ketcham, "The Ruin of the West: How Republicans are Plundering our Public Lands," *Harper's Magazine*, February 2015, 23–31.
- 95 Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 175.
- 96 *Ibid.*, 181.
- 97 *Ibid.*, 177.
- 98 Frink, *Cow Country Cavalcade*, 10.
- 99 Hough, *Passing of the Frontier*, 43.
- 100 Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 167.

- 101 Russell L. Barsh, "The Substitution of Cattle for Bison on the Great Plains" in *The Struggle For the Land: Indigenous Insight and Industrial Empire in the Semiarid World*, ed. Paul A. Olson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 117.
- 102 Ibid., 112.
- 103 Robert H. Fletcher, *Free Grass to Fences: The Montana Cattle Range Story* (New York: University Publishers, 1960), 117–18.
- 104 Frink, *Cow Country Cavalcade*, 6.
- 105 Andrews, *Splendid Pauper*, 82
- 106 Woods, *Frewen's Western Adventures*, 127.
- 107 Woods, *British Gentlemen*, 168.
- 108 American Heritage Society Archives, Frewen Papers, MC 9529.
- 109 Andrews, *Splendid Pauper*, 225.
- 110 Woods, *Frewen's Western Adventures*, 197.
- 111 Leslie, *Mr. Frewen*, 201–2.
- 112 In 1928, Aaron Copland wrote the music for the ballet *Billy the Kid*, which was choreographed by Eugene Loring. The ballet was based on Walter Noble Burns' 1926 novel *The Saga of Billy the Kid*, which turned Billy into a folk hero for the downtrodden, a latter-day Robin Hood, a champion of the little people battling corrupt and powerful politicians. During the Depression, when the ballet was produced, the mythology of Billy the Kid was at its zenith. Copland admitted that he didn't really know much about the real Billy the Kid when he composed the music.
- 113 Donna A. Ernst, *The Sundance Kid: The Life of Harry Alonzo Longabaugh* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 28.
- 114 Ibid., 30–32.
- 115 Ibid., 33.
- 116 Anne Meadows, *Digging Up Butch and Sundance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 89.
- 117 Richard Patterson, *Butch Cassidy: A Biography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 113.
- 118 See Daniel Buck, "Surprising Development: The Sundance Kid's Unusual – and Unknown – Life in Canada," *Journal of the Western Outlaw – Lawman History Association* (Winter 1993), 34.
- 119 Meadows, *Digging Up Butch*, 33.
- 120 Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*, 160.
- 121 Ibid., 193.
- 122 Paul Trachtman, *The Gunfighters* (New York: Time–Life Books, 1974), 92.
- 123 Ibid., 215.
- 124 Toronto *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 15, 1992.
- 125 Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*, 245.
- 126 Larry Pointer, *In Search of Butch Cassidy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), 219.
- 127 Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*, 250–51.
- 128 See Pointer, *In Search of Butch Cassidy*.
- 129 John W. Davis, *Wyoming Range War: The Infamous Invasion of Johnson County* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 13, 44.
- 130 Clay, *My Life on the Range*, 269.
- 131 Ibid., 117–18.
- 132 Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 176.
- 133 Ibid., 179.
- 134 Davis, *Wyoming Range War*, 36; Henry Sinclair Drago, *The Great Range Wars: Violence on the Grasslands* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 171, states that in the Texas Panhandle, ranchers in the 1880s hired gunmen to protect their illegal fences.

- 135 Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 273.
- 136 Davis, *Wyoming Range War*, 19.
- 137 *Big Horn Sentinel*, Nov. 2, 1884.
- 138 Emerson Hough, *The Story of the Cowboy* (New York: Appleton, 1897), 273–77.
- 139 *Ibid.*, 311.
- 140 *Big Horn Sentinel*, June 5, 1885.
- 141 Helena Huntington Smith, *War on Powder River: The History of an Insurrection* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 76, 117.
- 142 *Ibid.*
- 143 Clay, *My Life on the Range*, 274–75. The term drygulching refers to a form of ambush. In the West, trails often went through dry gulches where water courses had dried up, making them an ideal location for ambush.
- 144 W. Turrentine Jackson, “The Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association: Political Power in Wyoming Territory, 1883–1890,” *MVHR*, March 1947, 589.
- 145 Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 230.
- 146 *Ibid.*, 182.
- 147 Sandoz, *Cattlemen*, 59.
- 148 Davis, *Wyoming Range War*, 76–80.
- 149 Robert K. DeArment, *Alias Frank Canton* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 83–86.
- 150 See DeArment, *Alias Frank Canton*.
- 151 Fanny Kemble Wister Stokes, ed., *Owen Wister Out West: His Journals and Letters* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 116.
- 152 Clay, *My Life On the Range*, 278–79.
- 153 Frederick Allen, *A Decent, Orderly Lynching: The Montana Vigilantes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), xvii.
- 154 Philip D. Jordan, “The Town Marshal and the Police,” in *People of the Plains and Mountains*, ed. Ray Allen Billington (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1973), 102–4.
- 155 Allen, *A Decent, Orderly Lynching*, 212.
- 156 *Ibid.*, 230–32.
- 157 *Ibid.*, 250.
- 158 *Ibid.*, 305.
- 159 Thomas J. Dimsdale, *The Vigilantes of Montana* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), 211.
- 160 Clyde A. Milner and Carol O’Connor, *As Big As the West: The Pioneer Life of Granville Stuart* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 220.
- 161 Sessional Papers, 1884, Report of Commissioner A. G. Irvine.
- 162 Cited in Hugh Dempsey, *The Golden Age of the Cowboy* (Calgary: Fifth House, 1995), 86.
- 163 *Ibid.*, 237.
- 164 Granville Stuart, *Forty Years on the Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), vol. 2, 197.
- 165 *Ibid.*, 209.
- 166 Warren Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen, and Cattle Thieves* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 153.
- 167 Warren Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Time of Charlie Russell* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 87.
- 168 Granville Stuart, *Forty Years on the Frontier* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1967), 209.
- 169 Milner and O’Connor, *As Big as the West*, 247.
- 170 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 82.
- 171 Allen, *A Decent, Orderly Lynching*, 359–60.
- 172 Warren Elofson, “Law and Disorder in the Ranching Frontiers of Montana and Alberta/

- Assiniboia, 1870–1914.” *Journal of the West* 42, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 41–47.
- 173 See Casey Tefertiller, *Wyatt Earp: The Life Behind the Legend* (New York: John Wiley, 1997).
- 174 Davis, *Wyoming Range War*, 58.
- 175 *Ibid.*, 283.
- 176 Clay, *My Life on the Range*, 270.
- 177 Trachtman, *Gunfighters*, 194–98.
- 178 Clay, *My Life on the Range*, 283.
- 179 Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 273.
- 180 See Smith, *War on Powder River*; Sandoz, *The Cattleman*; A. S. Mercer, *The Banditti of the Plains: Or the Cattleman’s Invasion of Wyoming, 1892* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983); Davis, *Wyoming Range War*.
- 181 Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 275.
- 182 *Ibid.*, 281.
- 183 *Ibid.*, 276.
- 184 Darwin Payne, *Owen Wister: Chronicler of the West, Gentleman of the East* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press), 1985, 117–26. After the eye-gouging incident, Wister rode with a friend to Fort McKinney, where he met “Black Henry” Smith, the model for Trampas.
- 185 Smith, *War on Powder River*, 242.
- 186 See Dean F. Krakel, *The Saga of Tom Horn: The Story of a Cattleman’s War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954).
- 2 Darwin Payne, *Owen Wister: Chronicler of the West, Gentleman of the East* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1985), 77. The school was the West Pennsylvania Square Seminary for Young Ladies.
- 3 Agnes Wright Spring, *The Cheyenne Club: Mecca of the Aristocrats of the Old Time Cattle Range* (Kansas City: Ornduff, 1961), 25.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 17.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 19.
- 6 American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Wister Diary.
- 7 F. K. W. Stokes, *My Father, Owen Wister: and Ten Letters Written by Owen Wister to his Mother during His First Trip to Wyoming in 1885* (Laramie: University of Wyoming Press, 1952).
- 8 Darwin Payne, “Owen Wister Discovers Wyoming,” *Persimmon Hill* 12, no. 1 (1982): 29.
- 9 See “The 88 Centennial,” *Casper Magazine*, Feb.–March 1979. The ranch is now run by the fourth generation of Henrys, with the fifth in the wings. Currently the 88 is owned by Bill Henry, the grandson of Mike Henry, and his wife Pat. Bill Henry is also the head of the life science department at Casper College. The 88, which now covers 30,000 acres along nineteen miles of the Cheyenne River, is run by Mike Henry’s great-grandson, Mike, and his wife Susan.

By the end of his life in 1923, at the age of eighty-three, the original Mike Henry had become one of Wyoming’s leading citizens, a successful rancher, a major stockholder in the Poposia Coal Company, the first president of the Bank of Hudson, the president

5: OWEN WISTER AND WYOMING

- 1 Proof of Johnson’s presence at the VR Ranch can be found scratched on one of the ranch’s barn walls. Among many initials is “Buckeye, Slim, Eb” – the name that Johnson went by in Wyoming.

- of an oil company, and a major holder of real estate. In fact, he fits the picture of the future that Wister had staked out for his Virginian! Biography of Mike Henry, Wyoming State Historical Research and Publication Division; *Torrington Telegram*, June 17, 1915.
- 10 “88 Centennial,” *Casper Magazine*, Feb.–March 1979, 5.
- 11 W. P. Ricketts, *Fifty Years in the Saddle* (Sheridan: Star Publishing, 1942), 68. The Searights ran 20,000 head of cattle on either side of the Platte River for eighty miles. Ricketts worked on the Goose Egg for a few years and left in 1885. He made no mention of baby swapping.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 See “88 Centennial,” *Casper Magazine* (Feb.–March 1979); *Torrington Telegram*, June 17, 1915; Profile of “Mike” Henry by Agnes R. Wright, Wyoming State Librarian, in the Wyoming State Archives; Interviews with Mike Henry’s grandson, Bill Henry, who is head of the Life Science Department at Casper College.
- 14 In 1892, the year in which Wolcott led the “Invasion” of Johnson County, he owed the estate of Thomas Nelson \$131,427. Wolcott was forced to give up his shares in the VR to pay the debt. The VR was bought in 1983 by Dave True. The ranch by then encompassed 61,000 acres, half deeded and half lease land. The ranch ran 2,000 head of cattle and ninety horses. The VR Ranch tour pamphlet, June 10, 1989. See also Payne, *Owen Wister*, 90.
- 15 John Clay, *My Life on the Range* (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1961), 142.
- 16 T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 124.
- 17 American Heritage Center, File B-W 83-f, an anonymous article, “Major Frank Wolcott, alias Jack of Spades,” written in September 1886.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Library of Congress (hereafter LC), Wister Journal, October 12, 1889.
- 20 Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 269–70; See also Glenda Riley, *Wild Women of the Old West* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2003); George W. Hufsmith, *The Wyoming Lynching of Cattle Kate, 1889* (Glendo, WY: High Plains Press, 1993). Hufsmith also wrote an opera on the subject of Cattle Kate.
- 21 Moreton Frewen, *Melton Mowbray and Other Memories* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1924), 212.
- 22 Joel Williamson, *A Rage for Order: Black/White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 96.
- 23 W. Eugene Hollon, *Frontier Violence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 51.
- 24 Williamson, *Rage for Order*, 122–24.
- 25 See Alice M. Hadley, *Where the Winds Blow Free* (Caanan, NH: Phoenix, 1976). The original Stark, Archibald, came to America from Scotland in 1720. The Stark mansion that Wister knew was built by General John Stark’s eldest son, Major Caleb Stark. Elizabeth “Molly” Stark was a Page, also from Dunbarton. Charlotte Stark died in 1889. It is claimed that General Lafayette was entertained at the Stark house on his last trip to America.

- 26 Elsewhere, in a Calgary newspaper interview, Johnson said that the real Trampas, the one he killed in the bar of the Occidental Hotel in Buffalo, was named Frank Bull, not White Clay George. It is quite possible that the man went by both names, as many did who wanted to keep their identity private.
- 27 LC, Wister Journal, June 26, 1891.
- 28 Payne, *Wister: Chronicler of the West*, 120, 125; Helena Huntington Smith, *The War on Powder River: The History of the Insurrection* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 253–58.
- 29 Fanny Kemble Wister Stokes, *Owen Wister Out West: His Journals and Letters* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 20.
- 30 Payne, *Wister: Chronicler of the West*, 143.
- 31 LC, Wister Journal, May 23, 1894.
- 32 Payne, *Wister: Chronicler of the West*, 264.
- 33 Owen Wister, *Roosevelt: The Story of a Friendship, 1880–1919* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), 355.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 124, 164.
- 35 LC, Wister Papers, Box 9, Wister to his mother, August 4, 1887, from Fort Washakie.
- 36 Payne, *Wister: Chronicler of the West*, 134.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 197.
- 38 LC, Wister Journal, 1895, 16.
- 39 LC, Wister Journal, June 8, 1895.
- 40 Payne, *Wister: Chronicler of the West*, 156.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 65, 129–30.
- 42 Richard W. Slatta, *The Cowboy Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Press, 1994), 374.
- 43 Payne, *Wister: Chronicler of the West*, 314.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 197.
- 45 LC, Wister Journal, 1893, February–March.
- 46 *Ibid.*, Letters to Wister.

6: ALBERTA

- 1 Lawrence M. Woods, *Moreton Frewen's Western Adventures* (Boulder, CO: Roberts Rinehart, 1993), 112.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 131.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 127, 131.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 134.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 142.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 159.
- 7 American Heritage Center, Frewen Papers, MC 9529-2-11.
- 8 Woods, *Frewen's Western Adventures*, 162.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 *Ibid.*, 158.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 187.
- 12 Edward Brado, *Cattle Kingdom: Early Ranching in Alberta* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984), 157; Hugh Dempsey, *The Golden Age of the Canadian Cowboy* (Calgary: Fifth House, 1995), 78.
- 13 Woods, *Frewen's Western Adventures*, 187.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 194.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 180, 187–88, 194–95.
- 16 Warren M. Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 139.
- 17 Brado, *Cattle Kingdom*, 262–65.
- 18 The Quorn Ranch, south of present-day Okotoks, had a 66,000-acre lease. It never did break into the British remount market. The ranch folded after the 1906–7 winter. Brado, *Cattle Kingdom*, 146.

- 19 See Grant McEwan, *John Ware's Cow Country* (Edmonton: Institute of Applied Arts, 1960).
- 20 Alan B. McCullough, "Not an Old Cow-Hand: Fred Stimson and the Bar U Ranch," in *Cowboys, Ranchers and the Cattle Business: Cross-Border Perspectives on Ranching History*, eds. Simon Evans, Sarah Carter, and Bill Yeo (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000), 31.
- 21 Lachlin McKinnon, *Autobiography* (Calgary, Glenbow Archives, nd).
- 22 Simon M. Evans, *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005), 72.
- 23 Evans, *Bar U*, 105.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 18.
- 25 McCullough, "Not an Old Cow Hand," 34.
- 26 Evans, *Bar U*, 32.
- 27 See Vicky Kelly, "Butch and the Kid," *Glenbow* 3, no. 6 (Nov. 1970); Simon Evans, "The Bar U Community during the 1890s," *Research Links, Parks Canada Service, Western Region* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1993).
- 28 Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 276. Fares joined the partnership in 1897.
- 29 Evans, *Bar U*, 76–77.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 85.
- 31 Simon M. Evans, "Some Observations on the Labour Force of the Canadian Ranching Frontier during Its Golden Age, 1882–1901," paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, June 1994, 10. This census of 1901 confirms David Breen's findings that, after 1885, the number of the Americans on the Canadian range constantly diminished.
- 32 Robert Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846–1890* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), xix.
- 33 See John Jennings, *The Canoe: A Living Tradition* (Toronto: Firefly Books, 2002) and *Bark Canoes: The Art and Obsession of Tappan Adney* (Toronto: Firefly Books, 2004). The Native birch bark canoe is clearly Canada's most important historical symbol.
- 34 Donald Creighton, *The Road to Confederation* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1964), 141–42.
- 35 For relations between fur traders and Native peoples and Sir George Simpson's role in the fur trade, see James Raffan, *Emperor of the North: Sir George Simpson and the Remarkable Story of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2007); John S. Galbraith, *The Little Emperor: Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976); E. E. Rich, *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967); Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples From Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992); Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660–1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Arthur J. Ray, *I Have Lived Here Since the World Began: An Illustrated History of Canada's Native People* (Toronto: Key Porter, 1996); Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774–1890* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992).

- 36 See John Jennings, "The Plains Indian and the Law," in *Men in Scarlet*, ed. Hugh Dempsey (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta/McClelland & Stewart West, 1974).
- 37 Wallace Stegner, *Wolf Willow: A History, a Story, and a Memory of the Last Plains Frontier* (New York: Viking Compass, 1966), 100–102.
- 38 Shelley A. M. Gavigan, *Hunger, Horses, and Government Men: Criminal Law on the Aboriginal Plains, 1870–1905* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 39–40. The act creating the NWMP was titled An Act Respecting the Administration of Justice, and for the Establishment of a Police Force in the North-West Territories, 1873, 36 Vict., c. 35, s. 3.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 40.
- 40 See North-West Territories Act, 1875, 38 Vict., c. 49, s. 61. This was an omnibus legislation, which included "the prohibition of manufacture, import, distribution and sale, and possession of intoxicants." It also authorized the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to appoint stipendiary magistrates, who could preside over a broad range of cases. By 1877, all criminal cases could be tried in the North-West Territories except those involving the death penalty, which were still tried in Manitoba.
- 41 Philip D. Jordan, "The Pistol Packin' Cowboy," in *The Cowboy: Six-Shooters, Songs, and Sex*, ed. Charles W. Harris and Buck Rainy (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 64.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 69.
- 43 Floyd Bard (as told to Agnes Wright Spring), *Horse Wrangler* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 198.
- 44 Frederick Ings, *Before the Fences: Tales from the Midway Ranch* (Calgary: McAra Printing, 1980), 48.
- 45 Stegner, *Wolf Willow*, 5.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 134.
- 47 Sessional Papers, Report of the Commissioner of the NWMP, 1885 and 1886, 119, 130.
- 48 LAC (Library Archives Canada), RG (Record Group) 18 (Mounted Police records), A-1, vol. 126, no. 3, Fort Macleod monthly report, Jan. 1897.
- 49 Martin L. Friedland, *A Century of Criminal Justice: Perspectives on the Development of Canadian Law* (Toronto: Carswell, 1984), 125; R. Blake Brown, *Arming and Disarming: A History of Gun Control in Canada* (Toronto: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 2012), 68–72; See also Lee Kennett and James L. Anderson, *The Gun in America: The Origins of a National Dilemma* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1975), chapter 5, "Firearms and the Frontier Experience." Blake Brown points out that the Liberal government of Alexander Mackenzie passed two important pieces of gun regulation in 1877 and 1878. The 1877 bill limited the use of pistols, adding them to the list of "offensive weapons" that were not allowed to be carried. The 1877 act represented the first time in Canada that handguns began to be regulated on a national level. The act banned the carrying of handguns unless there was reasonable cause to fear assault. A jail term of thirty days could be imposed. Anyone committing an offence with a handgun could be sent to jail for six months. In 1878, the Blake Act, The Better Prevention of Crime Act, 1878,

- S.C. 1878, c. 17, allowed for the search of persons suspected of carrying weapons and of homes believed to contain guns kept for illegal purposes. People could still buy handguns and gun dealers did not need to keep records. This changed in 1892. The Criminal Code of 1892 introduced a nationwide permit system for handguns; it imposed a severe penalty, up to five years in jail, for carrying an offensive weapon for a purpose dangerous to the public peace; it raised the penalty for carrying a pistol “without justification.” A person could carry a handgun only with a certificate of exemption from a Justice of the Peace, and the J.P. had to vouch for that person’s “discretion and good character.” The Code also stipulated that the J.P. had to record these certificates and, most importantly, gun sellers must record all handgun sales. As well, no one under sixteen could buy a handgun. Collectively, the handgun legislation of 1877, 1878 and 1892 “represented the beginning of permanent regulation of handguns. This early legislation began to differentiate the firearm laws of Canada and the United States and became the cornerstone of a regulatory framework that, over time, encouraged a substantially lower level of pistol ownership in Canada than in the United States and also, perhaps, different attitudes to handguns in the two nations. Brown, *Arming and Disarming*, 72–79.
- 50 Friedland, *A Century of Criminal Justice*, 132
- 51 *Ibid.*, 133.
- 52 Dempsey, *Golden Age*, 106–11.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 113–14.
- 54 R. C. Macleod. “The North-West Mounted Police and Minority Groups” in *The Mounted Police and Prairie Society, 1873–1919*, ed. William M. Baker (Regina: Great Plains Research Center, 1998), 129.
- 55 David Breen, *The Canadian Prairie West and the Ranching Frontier, 1874–1924* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 82–85. The thoroughness of this patrol system is clear from the numerous reports in NWMP files, some of them very thick. The extent of these patrols can be seen, for instance, in the statistics from the Calgary division in 1889. In that year alone, the Calgary division sent out more than 2,000 patrols.
- 56 Carl Betke, “Pioneers and Police on the Canadian Prairies, 1885–1914” in *The Mounted Police and Prairie Society*, ed. William M. Baker (Regina: Great Plains Research Center, 1998), 223–24.
- 57 John Jennings, “The North West Mounted Police and Indian Policy After the 1885 Rebellion,” in *1885 and After: Native Society in Transition*, ed. F. Laurie Barron and James B. Waldram (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1986), 232.
- 58 John Jennings, “Policemen and Poachers: Indian Relations on the Ranching Frontier,” in *Frontier Calgary: Town, City and Region*, ed. A.W. Rasporich (Calgary: McClelland and Stewart West, 1975), 89.
- 59 SP, Mounted Police Report, 1884, 15.
- 60 Brian Hubner, “Horse Stealing and the Borderline: The NWMP and the Control of Indian Movement, 1874–1900,” in *The Mounted Police and Prairie Society, 1873–1919*, ed. William M. Baker (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1998), 55–69; Mounted Police *Annual Report*, 1888, 9 and

- 1889, 1–2; Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1891, 82; Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1895, 75, 154; Mounted Police *Annual Report*, 1898, 3.
- 61 Jennings, “North West Mounted Police,” 208.
- 62 Ken S. Coates and William R. Morrison, *Strange Things Done: Murder in Yukon History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 5.
- 63 See William R. Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Sovereignty in the North, 1894–1925* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1985); Howard Blum, *The Floor of Heaven: A True Tale of the Last Frontier and the Yukon Gold Rush* (New York: Broadway, 2011); Edward Lester, *Guarding the Goldfields: The Story of the Yukon Field Force* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1987).
- 64 Coates and Morrison, *Strange Things Done*, 6–9.
- 65 Blum, *Floor of Heaven*, 395.
- 66 Coates and Morrison, *Strange Things Done*, xiii.
- 67 Pierre Berton, *Why We Act Like Canadians: A Personal Exploration of Our National Character* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 22.
- 68 See Breen, *Canadian Prairie West*.
- 69 The Dominion Lands Act of 1872 was essentially the same as the American Homestead Act of 1862, except that it stipulated three years for “proving up” rather than five. At first, women were allowed access to homestead land, but this changed in 1876. Single women were then barred from claiming homesteads.
- 70 Sheila McManus, *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender, and the Making of the Alberta–Montana Borderlands* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 46.
- 71 Breen, *Canadian Prairie West*, 15–19.
- 72 Brado, *Cattle Kingdom*, 74.
- 73 Max Foran, *Trails and Trials: Markets and Land Use in the Alberta Beef Cattle Industry* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003), 4.
- 74 Breen, *Canadian Prairie West*, 20–22.
- 75 Evans, *Bar U*, 121.
- 76 McManus, *Line Which Separates*, 51.
- 77 Brado, *Cattle Kingdom*, 176–91.
- 78 *Ibid.*, 189.
- 79 Foran, *Trails and Trials*, 6.
- 80 *Ibid.*, 29.
- 81 Stegner, *Wolf Willow*, 137. After the winter of 1906, 85 percent of leasehold cattle were in herds of under 500 head. When the Conservative Party returned to power in 1911, it formulated a new lease policy, which was introduced in 1914. Ten-year closed leases were introduced of up to 12,000 acres at two cents per acre, to be stocked at a rate of 35 acres per head. Two years after the introduction of the new legislation, 3,352 leaseholders were in control of over five million acres. Foran, *Trails and Trials*, 49–55.
- 82 Stegner, *Wolf Willow*, 139–219.
- 83 Breen, *Canadian Prairie West*, 27–29.
- 84 *Ibid.*, 30.
- 85 Foran, *Trails and Trials*, 1–2.
- 86 Brado, *Cattle Kingdom*, 188.
- 87 Evans, *Bar U*, 35.
- 88 Dempsey, *Golden Age*, 104.
- 89 See Warren M. Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen, and Cattle Thieves* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s

- University Press, 2000); *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004); *Somebody Else's Money* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009).
- 90 Paul Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country: The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973).
- 91 Knafla, in an article on violence on the western Canadian frontier, has stated that the claim that there was no vigilantism on that frontier "is not supported by the evidence." See Louis A. Knafla, "Violence on the Western Canadian Frontier," in *Violence in Canada: Sociopolitical Perspectives*, ed. Jeffrey Ian Ross (Somerset, NJ: Transaction Publications, 2004), 29. His evidence for that statement? An article by Paul Sharp and a printed lecture by Robin Winks. Paul Sharp's evidence, discussed elsewhere, is minimal and unconvincing. Robin Winks' paper, in arguing the exact opposite of Knafla, states that there was "little vigilante justice" in the Canadian West. Winks provides no evidence whatever that there was any vigilantism in western Canada. See Robin Winks, *The Myth of the American Frontier: Its Relevance to America, Canada and Australia* (Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press, 1971), 26. Winks argues that Americans, unlike Canadians, are a violent people "given to quick solutions to immediate problems."
- 92 Knafla, "Violence," 11.
- 93 Lesley Erickson, *Westward Bound: Sex, Violence, the Law, and the Making of a Settler Society* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 33. Terry Chapman, in an essay in Louis A. Knafla's *Crime and Justice in Europe and Canada* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1981) entitled "The Measurement of Crime in Nineteenth-Century Canada: Some Methodological and Philosophical Problems," argues that the theme of a peaceful Canadian West is a "time-worn" and "hapless" cliché. She then accuses traditional Canadian historians of manufacturing the myth of a peaceful society "in an attempt to give Canadians a sense of identity and a much-needed sense of superiority" over Americans.
- 94 The term "Boot Hill" originated in Dodge City and refers to cemeteries where they buried men who had been shot or lynched with their boots on.
- 95 Tom Thorner, "The Not So Peaceable Kingdom: Crime and Criminal Justice in Frontier Calgary" in *Frontier Calgary: Town, City and Region*, eds. A. W. Rasporich and Henry Klassen (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1975).
- 96 R. C. Macleod and Heather Rollason Driscoll, "Natives, Newspapers and Crime Rates in the North-West Territories, 1878-1885," in *From Rupert's Land to Canada*, eds. Theodore Binnema, Gerhard E. Ens, and R. C. Macleod (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001), 250.
- 97 R. C. Macleod and Heather Rollason, "Restrain the Lawless Savages: Native Defendants in the Criminal Courts of the North West Territories, 1878-1885," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 10, no. 2 (June 1997): 157-83. The same point is also made in John Jennings, "The North West Mounted Police and Indian Policy, 1873-1896" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1979).

- 98 See James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, the Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013). This book is a well-researched and devastating account of both the effects of European diseases on Aboriginal Plains cultures and the added loss of life in these communities because of malnutrition.
- 99 Macleod and Rollason Driscoll can argue with authority because of the surprisingly good records at their disposal. In 1873, the year that the Mounted Police were formed, the federal parliament passed legislation extending most Canadian criminal law to the North-West Territories and made provisions for a court system. Within four years, the Territories had a “fully functioning criminal justice system.” The authors point out (157, 159) that their study of Native crime in this period rests on “unusually good” records: the North-West Mounted Police criminal court records, yearly summaries of Indian agents, beginning in 1878, the decennial census of 1881, a special census of the NWT in 1885, and four regional newspapers: the *Saskatchewan Herald*, the *Edmonton Bulletin*, the *Calgary Herald*, and the *Macleod Gazette*. These newspapers were especially important for a qualitative analysis and to study white perceptions of Native crime.
- 100 In an eight-year period, Macleod and Rollason Driscoll documented 1,355 criminal cases. Of these, only 242 cases (18 percent) involved Native defendants. And the conviction rate for Natives was much lower than for whites. *Ibid.*, 163.
- 101 *Ibid.*, 166. Liquor offences constituted the largest single category – almost 500 cases. Only 4 percent of the defendants were Native. Eleven percent of cases involved livestock theft. This was the only category where Natives outstripped whites.
- 102 Gavigan, *Hunger, Horses, and Government Men*, 86. In the first decades of Mounted Police law, Natives, according to court files, accounted for less than one-third of those accused of crimes. And most were accused of petty crimes.
- 103 See Gavigan, *Hunger, Horses, and Government Men*, chapter 3.
- 104 *Ibid.*, 105. One constable was sentenced to three months in jail for being drunk and disorderly and was jailed again for exhorting money from a Native woman.
- 105 See Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen, and Cattle Thieves*.
- 106 *Ibid.*, 114.
- 107 *Ibid.*
- 108 Hugh Dempsey’s review is found in *Alberta History* 49, no. 2 (Spring 2001), 27.
- 109 Hugh Dempsey, in *Alberta History* 50, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 28, refuted Elofson’s claim that anyone from Canmore was involved in the lynching at Flathead Lake, Montana.
- 110 R. C. Macleod, *The North-West Mounted Police and Law Enforcement, 1873–1905* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 150; Jennings, “The North West Mounted Police,” 327.
- 111 See Jennings, “The North West Mounted Police,” chapter 8: “The Almighty Voice Affair.”
- 112 *Ibid.*, 347.
- 113 *Ibid.*, 176–81.

- 114 Glenbow Archives, Elizabeth Bailey Price Correspondence, E. H. Maunsell to Mrs. Price, May 29, 1922. After leaving the Mounted Police, Maunsell became one of the biggest ranchers in the Canadian West and a successful banker.
- 115 Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen, and Cattle Thieves*, 114.
- 116 Jennings, "The North West Mounted Police," 193.
- 117 *Calgary Herald*, August 26, 1887.
- 118 LAC, RG 18, vol. 1085, file 544.
- 119 Jennings, "North West Mounted Police," 193–94. Elofson concludes from this incident that the fact that there was so little "shock and dismay" in the media about the death "suggests that there was a general and widespread value system that inclined cattlemen to use the gun to protect their stock from Natives whenever necessary." Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen, and Cattle Thieves*, 114. A single incident in the entire frontier period does not "suggest a value system" of violent retribution for Native stealing. It demonstrates the exact opposite! And the *Calgary Herald*, in calling for Indian removal, was certainly "suggesting" shock and dismay.
- 120 LAC, Record Group (RG) 10, Indian Affairs, vol. 3912, file 111,762; RG 18, Mounted Police Records, vol. 1329, file 76.
- 121 Jennings, "North West Mounted Police," 306–7; SP, Mounted Police Report, 1895, 6, 129; SP, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1895, xviii.
- 122 LAC, RG 18, Mounted Police Records, vol. 105, file 147.
- 123 LAC, RG 18, vol. 1329, file 76; RG 10, vol. 3912, file 762; SP, 1895, xvii.
- 124 LAC, RG 18, vol. 78, file 233, Report of Inspector Sanders, March 5, 1893; RG 18, vol. 1281, file 296. In later life, Inspector Sanders was a patient of my father in Calgary. My father told me that he was one of those stiff-backed soldiers who was incapable of telling a lie.
- 125 William Beahen and Stan Horrall, *The Red Coats on the Prairies* (Regina: Centax, 1998), 99–100.
- 126 Anna-Maria Mavromichalis, "Tar and Feathers: The Mounted Police and Frontier Justice," in *The Mounted Police and Prairie Society, 1873–1919*, ed. William M. Baker (Regina: Great Plains Research Center, 1998), 109–15.
- 127 Elofson cites one other lynching in Alberta ranching country. A trail herd allegedly picked up someone else's stock as they passed through. A posse of ranchers was formed, and when they returned with the missing stock, "they were all missing their ropes." The evidence for this supposed lynching? Someone named Drew, in his reminiscences. This sort of vague evidence cannot be taken seriously without corroborating evidence. Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 79.
- 128 *Toronto Globe and Mail*, March 2, 2006.
- 129 Elofson (*Cowboys, Gentlemen, and Cattle Thieves*, 111) claims that an episode in 1891 "suggests that barroom gunfighting was entwined in the popular culture of the cowboy." One incident hardly "suggests" a popular culture of gunfighting. In this period, there was practically no mention of gunfights in Mounted Police reports. When there was a gunfight, it was taken very seriously. Again, Elofson has taken one solitary incident and turned it into a "frequent means of dispute resolution."

- 130 Beahen and Horrall, *Red Coats*, 98.
- 131 Beth LaDow, *The Medicine Line: Life and Death on the North American Borderland* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 128.
- 132 *Ibid.*, 123.
- 133 Dempsey, *Golden Age*, 89.
- 134 *Ibid.*, 91.
- 135 SP, Mounted Police Report, 1877, #18, 3.
- 136 See Jennings, "North West Mounted Police," chapter 4, "Sitting Bull in Canada." In 1882, Legare filed a claim with the Canadian government for \$48,891 for providing for 500 Sioux on the trek south, thus keeping them peaceful. The Canadian government gave him \$2,000. Finally, after years of court battles in the US, Legare received \$5,000 from the American government.
- 137 *Macleod Gazette*, May 14, 1883.
- 138 *Ibid.*, July 14, 1883.
- 139 *Calgary Herald*, Jan. 29, 1885.
- 140 *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1887.
- 141 *Ibid.*, March 6, 1889. The Jesuit Estates question resulted from the Papacy's suppression of the order in the new world in 1773. The order's extensive landholdings in Canada became the property of the British government. Revenues from Jesuit lands were to go toward educational programs. The society was restored in 1814, and in 1842 a number of Jesuits returned to Canada. Subsequently, the issue of restitution became a major issue. The Jesuit Estates Act of 1888 gave the order \$400,000 in compensation. This aroused intense anti-Catholic feelings in Protestant Ontario and an unsuccessful attempt in Parliament to disallow the act.
- 142 Stegner, *Wolf Willow*, 50.
- 143 Jennings, "North West Mounted Police," 219.
- 144 SP, Mounted Police Report, 1884, 6.
- 145 Jennings, "North West Mounted Police," 287–91.
- 146 LAC, RG 18, vol. 101, file 38; SP, Mounted Police Report, 1895, 194–247.
- 147 *Ibid.*, Superintendent Steele to Commissioner, June 9, 1894.
- 148 Jennings, "North West Mounted Police," 304.
- 149 Andrew R. Graybill, *Policing the Great Plains: Rangers, Mounties, and the North American Frontier, 1875–1910* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).
- 150 Patrick Dunae, *Gentlemen Immigrants: From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981), 92.
- 151 *Ibid.*, xxi.
- 152 Brado, *Cattle Kingdom*, 241.
- 153 Dunae, *Gentlemen Immigrants*, 53.
- 154 Monica Hopkins, *Letters from a Lady Rancher* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1981), ix–xi.
- 155 See Tony Rees, *The Galloping Game: An Illustrated History of Polo in Western Canada* (Cochrane, AB: Western Heritage Centre Society, 2000).
- 156 John C. Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955), 60–64. Blackfoot informants told Ewers that they used several horse-breaking methods, but the one described was the best and most popular. The method was also used by other Plains peoples, including the Sioux, Comanche, Apache and Assiniboine. Horses were usually broken when they were two or three years old, by young boys from

- 12 to 18. Ewers was told by one informant that water breaking was so successful because most horses don't like to get their heads wet and would soon stop bucking in deep water. A good buffalo horse was trained to respond to pressure from the legs and a shifting of weight, not dissimilar to the training of a dressage horse! The hands were busy with bow or gun. And the Plains buffalo hunters rode with a short stirrup, similar to modern jump riders and Three Day Eventers.
- 157 For a good discussion of Native rodeo, see Morgan Baillargeon and Leslie Tepper, eds., *Legends of Our Times: Native Cowboy Life* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998).
- 158 Brado, *Cattle Kingdom*, 154.
- 159 Ted Grant and Andy Russell, *Men of the Saddle: Working Cowboys of Canada* (Toronto: Van Nostrand, 1978), 83.
- 160 L. V. Kelly, *The Range Men* (Toronto: Briggs, 1913).

7: THE BOOK

- 1 John L. Cobbs, *Owen Wister* (Boston: Twayne, 1984), 2.
- 2 Malcolm Bell Jr., *Major Butler's Legacy: Five Generations of a Slaveholding Family* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 374–76. Fanny Kemble's *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation, 1838–1839* was published in London in early 1863, as British opinion was switching from being generally pro-Southern to being more critical of Southern obstinacy on the subject of slavery.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 87. Wister grew up on one of Pierce Butler's estates: Butler Place in Germantown, near Philadelphia.
- 4 Bell, *Major Butler's Legacy*, 75.
- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 See August Heckschur, *St. Paul's: The Life of a New England School* (New York: Scribner's, 1980).
- 7 Darwin Payne, *Owen Wister: Chronicler of the West, Gentleman of the East* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1985), 5. Wister played for Liszt in Richard Wagner's house at Bayreuth. As Wister recalled later, he played his own composition, Merlin and Vivien, for him. "He jumped up in the middle and stood behind me muttering approval, and now and then he stopped me and put his hands over my shoulders onto the keys, struck a bar or two and said: I should do that here if I were you." Owen Wister, *Roosevelt: The Story of a Friendship* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), 22.
- 8 Fanny Kemble Wister, *That I May Tell You: Journals and Letters of the Owen Wister Family* (Wayne, PA: Haverford House, 1979), 110.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 64.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 73.
- 11 Cobbs, *Owen Wister*, 7.
- 12 E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), 126, 152–57.
- 13 John Lukacs, *Philadelphia: Patricians and Philistines, 1900–1950* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1981), 39.
- 14 Payne, *Owen Wister*, 76.
- 15 Elsewhere, I have pointed out that this book resulted from the fact that my father was a doctor, and one of his patients was Everett Johnson. My father became a doctor in a very peculiar way. When he enlisted with the Canadian Expeditionary Force during the First World War and

landed in England, he immediately was ordered to report to the Canadian Army Red Cross hospital on the estate of Lord and Lady Astor at Clivedon. There, with no choice in the matter, he was told that he was to play baseball for the Astorias, the team assembled in honour of the Duchess of Connaught, the wife of the Duke of Connaught, Canada's governor general and Queen Victoria's third son, who was a good friend of the Astors. The military commander of the hospital was a baseball fanatic, and he grabbed any well-known baseball player who arrived in England with the Canadian Expeditionary Force. My father also played in the famous Canadian-American all-star baseball game at Lord's Cricket Grounds on Canada Day, 1917, which attracted 10,000 spectators. As luck would have it, the Clivedon hospital's chief consultant, who spent every Monday morning doing the rounds of the hospital, was Canada's most famous doctor, Sir William Osler, Regius Chair in Medicine at Oxford University. All the baseball players were given hospital duties, and my father had the great good fortune to be sent by Sir William to Oxford for several courses. My father revered Osler, and, as soon as the war ended, he left the Royal Flying Corps, where he had been a fighter pilot, and enrolled in medicine at the University of Toronto.

Before taking up his position at Oxford in 1905, Osler had made his international reputation first at the University of Pennsylvania's medical school and then at Johns Hopkins in Baltimore. He had been enticed to Philadelphia from McGill University in Montreal in 1884 by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell,

and the two of them were later to become great friends. Osler recounted how Mitchell had taken him to dinner when he was being considered for the post in Philadelphia and, when dessert came, was given the all-important cherry pie test; fortunately Osler had heard of this test and was able to dispose of his cherry pits in the proper Philadelphia manner. If he had not passed the test, he could not possibly have been considered for the post!

After Philadelphia, Osler went on to a distinguished career at Johns Hopkins University. There one of his great friends was Professor H. A. Rowland, a pioneer in atomic spectroscopy, after whom the physics building at Johns Hopkins is named. Professor Rowland happened to be my mother's uncle. Small world!

- 16 Payne, *Owen Wister*, 90.
- 17 Library of Congress, Washington, DC (LC), Wister Papers, Box 89.
- 18 Wister, *Roosevelt*, 29.
- 19 American Heritage Center (AHC), Wister Collection.
- 20 Fanny Kemble Wister, *Owen Wister Out West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 15; "Hank's Woman," *Harper's Weekly* 36 (Aug. 27, 1892), 821-23.
- 21 Owen Wister, "How Lin McLean Went East," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 86 (December 1892), 135-46.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 135.
- 23 LC, Wister Papers, Clemens to Wister, Aug. 4, 1895, Box 45.
- 24 Published in *Harper's Monthly* 88 (January 1894). The story was illustrated by Remington.
- 25 Kemble Wister, *Owen Wister Out West*, 196; "Balaam and Pedro,"

- Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (Jan. 1894), 293–307.
- 26 Payne, *Owen Wister*, 133.
- 27 LC, Wister Papers, Box 45, H. M. Alden to Wister, July 14, 1893.
- 28 “Em’ly,” *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (Nov. 1893), 941–48.
- 29 “The Winning of the Biscuit-Shooter,” *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (Dec. 1893), 52–57.
- 30 Frederic Remington was born in 1861, a year after Wister, and died at forty-eight of a ruptured appendix, a common cause of death in an age before antibiotics. His father had been a newspaper publisher, a Civil War hero, and, later, a breeder of race horses. After graduating from Yale’s school of fine arts, Remington first went west in 1881.
- 31 *Harper's Monthly*, September 1895.
- 32 G. Edward White, *The Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience: The West of Frederic Remington, Theodore Roosevelt, and Owen Wister* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 93.
- 33 The club began with a dinner organized by Roosevelt in December 1887. The club’s twin aims were “to promote manly sport with a rifle” and “to work for the preservation of the large game of the country.” The cofounder was George Bird Grinnell, a good friend who promoted the ideas of the club through the magazine he edited, *Forest and Stream*. In 1888, Roosevelt wrote six articles for *Century*, illustrated by Remington, on the conservation theme. When Roosevelt became president, the ideas of the club became national policy.
- 34 Douglas Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America* (New York: Harper, 2009), 463–67.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 156.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 148.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 184.
- 38 Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1979), 298.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 333.
- 40 Brinkley, *Wilderness Warrior*, 194–95.
- 41 Remington Museum, Ogdensburg, NY, Remington Papers, Roosevelt to Remington, Nov. 20, 1895.
- 42 *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1897.
- 43 *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1898.
- 44 *Ibid.*, June 29, 1908.
- 45 Brinkley, *Wilderness Warrior*, 335.
- 46 *The Winning of the West: An Account of the Exploration and Settlement of Our Country From the Alleghanies to the Pacific*, 4 vols. (New York: Putnam’s, vol. 1 and 2, 1889; vol. 3, 1894; vol. 4, 1896).
- 47 Morris, *Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, 462–63.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 464.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 454.
- 50 Quoted from Owen Wister’s foreword, “The Young Roosevelt,” to the 1926 edition of Roosevelt’s *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*.
- 51 Brinkley, *Wilderness Warrior*, 241.
- 52 Morris, *Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, 465.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 465–66. In *The Historical World of Frederick Jackson Turner*, Wilbur Jacobs noted that Turner wrote an unpublished essay, “The Hunter Type,” in 1890, which was based almost entirely on the early volumes of Roosevelt’s *The Winning of the West*. Morris, *Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, 465.
- 54 Brinkley, *Wilderness Warrior*, 241.

- 55 Patricia Nelson Limerick, "The Adventures of the Frontier in the Twentieth Century," in *The Frontier in American Culture*, ed. James R. Grossman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 75.
- 56 Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1894), 199.
- 57 Richard White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," in *The Frontier in American Culture*, ed. James R. Grossman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 9.
- 58 Richard W. Etulain, *Telling Western Stories: From Buffalo Bill to Larry McMurtry* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 29.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," 25.
- 61 *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (September 1895), 602–17.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Remington Museum, Ogdensburg, NY, Remington Papers, Wister to Remington, n.d.
- 65 Theodore Roosevelt, "What Americanism Means," *Forum* (April 1894).
- 66 Morris, *Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, 467–68.
- 67 Elting E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 8 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951), 390.
- 68 Morris, *Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, 468, quoting Leon Edel, *Henry James, The Master: 1901–1916* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1972).
- 69 Ben Merchant Vorpahl, *My Dear Wister: The Frederic Remington–Owen Wister Letters* (Palo Alto, CA: American West Publishing, 1973), 38, 116.
- 70 See Peggy Samuels and Samuel Samuels, eds., *The Collected Works of Frederic Remington* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979). Remington wrote for *Harper's Weekly* and *Monthly*, *Harper's Round Table*, *Outing*, *Century*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Collier's*, *McClure's*, and *Scribner's*.
- 71 See Candice Millard, *The River of Doubt: Theodore Roosevelt's Darkest Journey* (New York: Broadway Books, 2005).
- 72 Charles Darwin, *Journal of Researches into the Geology and Natural History of the Various Countries Visited by H.M.S. Beagle* (New York: Hafner, 1952), 48, cited in Richard W. Slatta, *Cowboys of the Americas* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 32.
- 73 Ibid., 197.
- 74 Remington Museum, Ogdensburg, NY, Remington Papers, Wister to Remington, n.d.
- 75 According to Susan Meyer, Remington was later the first American artist to use the "lost wax" process to produce his sculptures, a process brought from Europe by Riccardo Bertelli. This method of casting allowed great delicacy and movement not possible with the sand casting process. He was also in the forefront in America in adopting European impressionism in his paintings. See Susan Meyer, *America's Great Illustrators* (New York: Abrams, 1978).
- 76 Payne, *Owen Wister*, 170.
- 77 Ibid., 173.

- 78 Ibid., 189.
- 78a Atwood Manley and Margaret Manley Mangum, *Frederic Remington and the North Country* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1988), 159–60. Later, in the 1911 edition, the editor did include a few Remington illustrations, but they were unrelated to the story.
- 79 Wister, *Roosevelt*, 18.
- 80 Robert Murray Davis, *Playing Cowboys: Low Culture and High Art in the Western* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 7, 11.
- 81 Owen Wister, *Romney*, ed. James A. Butler (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2001), xxxi.
- 82 LC, Wister Papers, Box 79.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Slatta, *Cowboys*, 195.
- 85 Wister, *Roosevelt*, 246–47.
- 86 Cited in Cobbs, *Owen Wister*, 27.
- 87 Ibid., 105.
- 88 Ibid., 104–7.
- 89 Ibid., 102.
- 90 Struthers Burt, introduction to the 1951 Heritage Press edition of *The Virginian*, xiv.
- 91 Wister, *Roosevelt*, 251–53.
- 92 Ibid., 259–61.
- 93 Wister, *Romney*, xxxiv.
- 94 See Wister, *The Virginian*, chapter 12: “Quality and Equality,” to chapter 16: “The Game and the Nation: Last Act.”
- 95 Evan Thomas, *War Lovers: Roosevelt, Lodge, Hearst, and the Rush to Empire, 1898* (New York: Little, Brown, 2010), 5, 38.
- 96 Wister, *Roosevelt*, 319.
- 97 Payne, *Owen Wister*, 262.
- 98 Wister, *Romney*, xxvii.
- 99 See chapter 8.

8: AFTERWORD

- 1 All the information for this chapter came from Jean Johnson’s manuscript.
- 2 Charles M. Russell, *Trails Plowed Under: Tales of the Old West* (New York: Doubleday, 1927), 166.
- 3 Richard Slatta, *Cowboys of the Americas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 90.
- 4 Ibid., 39, 90–91.
- 5 See Tony Rees, *Polo, The Galloping Game: An Illustrated History of Polo in Western Canada* (Cochrane, AB: Western Heritage Centre Society, 2000). A Pincher Creek, Alberta, rancher, E. M. Wilmot, is credited with introducing the game to his ranching community in 1889. He founded, perhaps, the first organized polo club in Canada. It may have been the first club in North America. Polo goes back to ancient Persia and was introduced to the British Army in India shortly after the Indian Mutiny of 1857.
- 6 See Glenbow Archives, John Henry Reid, “Biography of a Cardston Pioneer”; private manuscript, “Canadian Justice,” which Jack Reid distributed to close friends. He had hoped to have the article published in a magazine, but he was told by several magazine publishers that it was not sufficiently exciting!
- 7 Johnson had four children: Jessie Lucretia, Robert Everett Poindexter, Laurence Branch, and Frances Olive (Dot). Frances married H. K. “Chappie” Clarkson from Pincher Creek. They had five children: Patricia, Robert, Donald, Laurie, and William. Robert held the middleweight boxing championship for the Canadian Army in Europe. He was also a commando instructor. In 1927,

Laurie married Jean Lamont while he was foreman of the Rhodes Ranch in the Grand Valley west of Cochrane. Their children were Donna Carroll, born in 1929, and Margaret Jean, born in 1931. Donna married Richard Butters, whose family came to Alberta in 1883. They had the adjoining ranch

to the Johnson ranch. They had three children, Erik, Lamont, and Ian. Margaret Jean married Lt. Commander S. R. Wallace and had three children, Robert, Laurence, and Carolyn. Jessie Lucretia married John Annear, and Robert Everett Poindexter married Ona Patterson.

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- “Balaam and Pedro.” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, Jan. 1894, 293–307.
- “The Promised Land.” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, April 1894, 781–96.
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The cowboy, as perhaps no other figure, has captured the imagination of North Americans for over a century. Owen Wister's publication of *The Virginian* in 1902 transformed, almost overnight, the rough image of the cowboy. Soon after its publication, Wister sent a copy, inscribed "To the hero from the author," to Everett Johnson, a cowboy from Virginia who had been a friend of Wister's in Wyoming in the 1880s. Johnson had migrated to Alberta by the 1890s, eventually settling in the Calgary area. Before his death in 1946, his daughter-in-law, Jean Johnson, transcribed Everett's stories of the old west and collected them into a manuscript, now on deposit in the Glenbow Archives.

In *The Cowboy Legend*, John Jennings, building on Jean Johnson's work, details the evidence that Everett Johnson was the initial and prime inspiration for Wister's cowboy, and in the process shows that Johnson led a fascinating life in his own right. His memories of both the Wyoming and Alberta cattle frontiers provide insight into ranch life on both sides of the border, and the compelling parallel biographies of Johnson and Wister feature vignettes of legendary period figures such as Buffalo Bill Cody, Wild Bill Hickok, Wyatt Earp, and Butch Cassidy, not to mention the best man at Johnson's wedding, Henry Longabaugh, a.k.a. the Sundance Kid.

With an impressive range of scholarship and archival research, Jennings melds this realistic study of the cowboy frontier with an intriguing account of Wister's subsequent creation of the cowboy mystique.

JOHN JENNINGS is a retired associate professor in the Department of History at Trent University, former member of the Canadian Equestrian Team, and a past member of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.



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