

Media History Monographs 3:1
(1999-2000)

ISSN 1940-8862

Cowboys and Cow Town Newspapers
in Dakota Territory

DAKOTA IN THE ERA OF THE LONG DRIVES

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Frontier newspaper editors along Dakota Territory's old west cattle trails were more familiar with both cowboys and cattle owners than most other journalists during the 1880s. They relied on cattle money for their livelihood, and their products influenced readers far beyond their cow town offices. In this study the author asks, "What was the nature of the relationship between Dakota Territory's cattle town newspapers, cowboys, and the cattle industry during the peak years of the long drive era?" In an examination of every available Dakota cow town newspaper during this time period, the author found these opinionated cattle paper editors to be sometimes strongly critical of the cattle industry as well as the cowboys who passed through town. Nevertheless, the narrative tone of cowboy-theme articles clearly reflected the developing myth of that figure in later American history.

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Cowboys and Cow Town Newspapers in Dakota Territory

INTRODUCTION

The cow town newspapers of Dakota Territory were published at the northernmost edge of the Western Trail—the greatest cowboy drovers' road in the West between 1877 and 1885.¹ Cattle were herded from Texas north by the ninety-ninth meridian to Ogallala, Nebraska, and through that gateway to the northern plains of Montana, Wyoming, and Dakota territories.² The number of animals brought north during the two-decade long drive era following the Civil War reached at least 5 million;³ it is a wonder carnivores from the East could accommodate that much beef on their tables. Apparently demand was high, however: "huge demand needs huge supply," according to an 1884 report, and by then 2.5 million head had been shipped by rail from western cow towns to Chicago slaughterhouses for processing.⁴ Kansas City and others just east of the plains also became important meatpacking headquarters for cattlemen, who hired an estimated 35,000 cowboys, wranglers, and cooks to make the drive from 1867-1886.⁵

Great fortunes fed great enterprises in the western plains, from Texas to the Canadian border. The cattle barons, as some frontier editors called the livestock financiers (sometimes a compliment, sometimes an epithet),⁶ came almost exclusively from the East and Europe to establish operations in western towns along the long drive trails. Many Dakota Territory cattle owners came from Britain or, in the flamboyant case of the Marquis de Morés in Dakota Territory, from France.⁷

It would be inspiring to say the cattle barons, like cow town editors, came for the adventure and spirit of the great American frontier, but that

would be largely wrong. They came for money. After the Civil War, Texas was broke but rich in semi-wild longhorns, while states east of the Mississippi had cash but expensive beef. When a Kansas Pacific railhead reached Abilene in 1867, Texas cattlemen realized they had a way to ship cattle east at a profit.⁸ In fact, the money could be enormous: at the beginning of the era, cattlemen could expect to receive a 100 percent profit in three years. This diminished to about 60 percent in four years, but this was still well worth the risk for many western entrepreneurs.⁹ The money spread through 1,500 miles of the established cattle towns throughout the plains. A general business rule estimated the cost of driving cattle that far at 60 cents a head, and 80 percent of that money was spent in the cow towns along the way.¹⁰ In fact, the cattle industry at its acme dominated economy and culture of plains states after the Civil War: "They directed the social, economic and political scene for about 40 years."¹¹

Inevitably, the towns directly catering to the drovers grew as fat as beeves grazing their way north, but at a price: cow town fathers catered to some of the least genteel young men engaged in one of the most dangerous of occupations. For them, a night in town was an opportunity to spend a lot, in both time and troublemaking. Cowboys made about \$35-\$40 a month, perhaps \$60 a month for top hands,¹² and spent it at a dusty equivalent of the voyageur's rendezvous: drinking, gambling, shooting, and sleeping it off with "soiled doves." "They invariably get drunk and become a terror to the inhabitants who, on the other hand, get as much profit out of them as they can," wrote a French traveler in 1884 after

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An updated and revised version of this article, "From Reality to Rodeos: Dakota Cow Town Newspapers and the Cowboy Myth, 1877-1886," may be read at <http://www.rossfcollins.com/cowboys> and an accompanying video viewed at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZQE0UuCLAZE>.

visiting Deadwood, Dakota Territory¹³ Cow towns balanced tolerance of cowboy behavior, which meant prosperity, against economic suicide.¹⁴

WHY EXAMINE THE COW TOWN PRESS?

This research will examine the following question: What was the nature of the relationship between Dakota Territory's cattle town newspapers, cowboys, and the cattle industry during the peak years of the long drive era?

The significance of this study grows from the peculiarities of place, time period, and industry. It is difficult nowadays to imagine what it must have been like to establish a newspaper on the western frontier more than a century ago. People whose livelihoods relied on human socialization and communication faced a physically harsh environment, with no real roads, no urban infrastructure, and the thinnest of links to civilization, perhaps a set of metal rails or a telegraph wire.

Similarly, despite decades of sometimes historically accurate Hollywood portrayals, it is hard now to visualize the work of an 1880s cattle drover. Old West cowboys spent months dealing daily with an inhospitable environment, a vast prairie wilderness offering few opportunities for social interaction, and more than a few opportunities for fatal interactions. The cliché of the "lone prairie" was hardly an exaggeration.

While a frontier newspaper invariably operated from town, a cattle business invariably operated from open prairie. Settlement hindered cattle drives; in fact, increasing settlement made such drives impossible by the 1890s. The two frontier entities, therefore, moved in different professional spheres. Dakota Territory journalists were not cowboys, and vice versa. But looking more broadly at the frontier environment, these two pioneer entities were closely connected on a cultural level.

Cattle operations needed cow towns to satisfy social and economic needs. Far from home and intensely isolated, cowboys and cattlemen relied on cow towns for human contact and

for a thread to a civilization they left back east (and most did come from the East). Economically, cattle operators needed cow towns as supply depots, as places of rendezvous, and often as shipping terminals to eastern meat packers.

On the western frontier, however, such towns began their existence more psychologically than physically. Medora was typical: a few shacks by the tracks. A frontier newspaper, however, gave shacks legitimacy, a psychological anchor in the mind of the cattle drover working the trackless frontier. In America, newspapers always emanate from towns; if Medora had a newspaper, therefore, it must be a town, and "civilization." The need for such a psychological anchor helps to explain why frontier towns often had a newspaper before they had anything else, and why frontier editors invariably argued for civil order, streets, buildings, and other symbols of the civilization they knew back home. In the frontier west, they faced an environment totally new and unfamiliar in its living conditions, geography, weather, customs, and social organizations.¹⁵ To adapt to such a place, social structures had to be created from scratch. The frontier newspaper not only offered a focus around which to create such structure, but it offered a regular connection to the kind of structure settlers hoped to recreate.

This is why cow town newspapers were so important to cattlemen, and why this research tries to offer more than a study of the relationship between any old newspaper and any old business in any old town. If one believes the extensively argued theory that the frontier environment helped to create what the United States is today, then a systematic examination of two key institutions on that frontier—cow town newspapers and cattle operations—seems to be worth the effort.

From the large network of cow towns and newspapers that served cowmen from Texas to Saskatchewan, the Dakota Territory is the focus of this study. This western region was the last settled of the western territories and the last to have newspapers. Long drive cattle reached there in numbers about ten years after the drives began in Texas. Nevertheless, the territory became one of the most influential to the rest of the country,

both in economics for the sheer number of beeves grazing there, and in spirit, for its cheerleaders included national celebrities such as Theodore Roosevelt and the Marquis de Morés.

The time period chosen for study begins with the first newspaper of the territory's cowtowns, in 1877 Deadwood. Ending the period is 1886-87, a pivotal winter for the cattle drivers of the Old West. The great era of the long drive was nearly at an end: the ferocious winter that year killed a majority of the cattle grazing on most of the overstocked northern plains, wiping out fortunes of many opportunist cattlemen, including Morés and Roosevelt.¹⁶ It was a severe blow to an already weakened industry, hampered not only by low prices, fencing, and settlement on the old routes, but by state laws barring Texas cattle, possibly carrying Texas Fever, from trailing north. The closing of Kansas to cattle drives, perhaps more than any other single reason, ended the long drive era.¹⁷ Contemporary writers saw it coming, warning of overstocking¹⁸ and noting, "But they [cowboys] are passing away. Farms will soon cover the regions where their cattle wander at will, and they and all pertaining to them will become things of the past."¹⁹ As the cowboy era in reality came to an end, the cowboy era romance, of Cody, Roosevelt, and the dime novelists moved in.

After the long drive era, cow town newspapers either reinvented themselves to serve a town of ranchers, farmers, miners, or merchants, or they joined the big boot hill of the frontier press. Most of the big eastern investors pulled whatever cash they had left, leaving the industry to the local cattlemen who originally tended small ranch herds. The cowboys who did get jobs worked for those ranches, established their own spreads or, more commonly, went back east from whence they came. Horses, found to be more tolerant of harsh winters, replaced cattle on some ranches.

Of the three cow town newspapers examined here, one did not live through the end of the cowboy era. The *Bad Lands Cow Boy* published its last surviving edition on December 23, 1886; on January 12, 1887, a fire destroyed the office.²⁰ In any case, by 1889, Medora had become nearly a

ghost town.²¹ The *Bad Lands Daily Times* fared better because it was the principal daily in a city built originally on mining, not cattle. The *Sturgis Weekly Record*, too, serving agriculture as well as ranching, survived the end of "king cattle."

DEVELOPMENT OF THE COWBOY AS AN AMERICAN ICON

A large part of this research into the cow town press examines its relationship with the cowboy. That cowboys have become a mythical symbol of American society even today is a story well known and nearly universally taken for granted.²² How that happened is more problematical. Drovers, as they were originally called, suffered early on a most disreputable reputation. The cowboys "had a reckless disregard of any restraint not imposed by himself," wrote a contemporary from the East, controlled only by "the necessity for growth of law and order to protect people in the West."²³ People to fear, cowboys were shiftless, unsavory, rough-hewn, unkempt, "someone always on the move, but you wouldn't want them sticking around along."²⁴ "Throughout the East, the name 'cowboy' is looked upon as a synonym for lawlessness and cussedness," editorialized the *Bismarck (D.T.) Tribune*, in questioning the name of the Medora newspaper.²⁵ "[A cowboy is] often held in disfavor by the general population as a rough, uncouth, and possibly lawless man."²⁶

Disdain reached to the highest level: in 1881 President Chester Arthur in his address to Congress used the term "cowboys" to describe "armed desperadoes" blocking peaceful settlement of Arizona Territory.²⁷

Twenty years later another president, Roosevelt, was a "cowboy."²⁸ The cowboy had become a "knight on horseback," the symbol for "courage, honor, chivalry, individualism."²⁹

What happened in two decades? Or in six years, really: on February 1, 1887, a dime novel by Prentiss Ingraham introduced "Buck Taylor, King of the Cowboys," who appeared in person that same year as a star in William (Buffalo Bill) Cody's Wild West Show. William Levi Taylor became America's first cowboy hero.³⁰ It was like a modern entrepreneur trumping a "king of the

motorcycle gangs," but it worked.³¹

Appearing a few months later was Theodore Roosevelt's *Ranch Life and the Hunting-Trail*, in which he rhapsodized of his experiences in Medora, arguing cowboys were "brave, hospitable, hardy, adventurous," and "it is utterly unfair to judge the whole class by what a few individuals do."³² It is easy to trace the dawning of the cowboy myth in eastern publications in the years just prior to Cody, Roosevelt or Buck. "A picturesque, hardy lot of fellows [are] these wild 'cow-boys.'" Taciturn, "a red face set in lines of iron" but with a "kindly pair of blue eyes." Rough, but kindly meant words.³³ An influential contemporary interpreter of the cattle industry, Joseph Nimmo, wrote that cowboys, while originally reputed to be ruffians, were improving and were generally "true and trusty men" who "have done much toward subduing a vast area to the arts of peace."³⁴ Many periodicals reprinted Roosevelt's defense of cowboys in the years before publication of his 1888 book.

In reality, facts of true cowboy history are scarce. Their lives were dangerous and lonely. They seldom used guns except to kill a snake or a cow with a broken leg, and they were not good shots. They represented lower-level employees of large, absentee cattlemen, and were not much different from perhaps a shepherd. Asked to think of a cowboy, people today might name Buffalo Bill, John Wayne, Charles M. Russell, Tom Mix, or Roy Rogers—none of whom were remotely connected to real cattle.³⁵ The portrayals by Cody and Roosevelt have been well-examined, but exactly how the occupation of the cowboy, a character without a name to fame, moved from gritty reality to romantic myth still eludes researchers. Old West figures such as Jesse James represent the outlaw and Wyatt Earp the lawman; they were real people to give authenticity to the myth. Not the cowboy. "The precise way, then, in which the cowboy has entered the realm of myth remains a mystery."³⁶

Of the contributing factors which have been studied, from dime novels to Cody's showmanship, one important medium has been ignored: the cowboy's role in the cow town newspapers.

COW TOWN EDITORS AND THEIR PAPERS

Quick to smell the money of the cattle industry were cow town newspaper editors. The "ink-slingers,"³⁷ as frontier editors were fond of calling themselves, followed, or perhaps even preceded, settlement at nearly every tiny townsite throughout the western frontier. Like the cowboys on the northern plains they usually were young and from the East, with names and biographies mostly forgotten by historians.³⁸

Frontier editors generally found their voice in booming—that is, extolling the opportunities for health and prosperity in the West, and particularly, in their town, no matter how tiny. Nearly every town had a newspaper, perhaps two. A contemporary report, quoting from what it called a government pamphlet, showed 275 newspapers in 1885 Dakota Territory.³⁹ In the case of Deadwood, now in South Dakota, new settlers could choose from four dailies, in what was then the largest city in the territory, with an 1880 census population of 3,677.⁴⁰

Because so many newspapers lived and died on the western frontier at the tail of the last century, it is tempting to paint them with one brush, mostly alike in presentation and substance. A look at these Dakota newspapers, however, belies that assumption: these lively pages reflected intimately a distinctive personality of their editors and owners. Sometimes they acted as unabashed boomers; other times they declared their distaste of booming. Sometimes they launched self-righteous crusades; other times they downplayed local problems. Sometimes they were political, sometimes impartial. Sometimes they relied on the "patent insides," sheets pre-printed on one side with general news and advertisements and shipped in from large eastern cities. Other times they disdained ready-print.

They did have some things in common. In the East, the Civil War may have signaled the end of the newspaper dominated by a personality,⁴¹ but this was not true among frontier cow town papers. These papers clung to an older-style journalism oriented to the personality of the owner and liberally mixing fact and opinion as necessary. *The Bad Lands Cow Boy* was written by

A.T. Packard, not just "printed by" him, and the owner reminded readers of that in every issue. "Moody and Elliott" (later C.C. Moody) reminded readers weekly of their handiwork, and even on a larger, more anonymous daily, Porter Warner always figured strongly in the masthead. These opinionated proprietors, producing their four- and sometimes six-page sheets with hand-set type and cranky Washington Hand Presses,⁴² were likely to strike out at their purported nemeses, usually the neighboring ink-slingers. "The *Deadwood Times* scribblers seem to be troubled with a diarrhea of words and a dysentery of ideas," wrote the *Cheyenne Leader* in characteristic frontier form, as reported by the *Times*. That editor responded, "Very well said, friend *Leader*, but if such be the case, why do you in your every issue copy sometimes entire columns of our matter?"⁴³ Others examined here aimed similarly drenched invective at their publishing brethren in what one frontier journalism historian called "the Oregon style." The well-known frontier editor Clement Lounsberry of the *Bismarck Tribune* claimed the Dakota editors were in reality good friends.⁴⁴ In fact, a report of an early Wyoming Press Association convention declared that one of the first resolutions, adopted by a unanimous vote, "was regretting the strifes and bickerings among editors, and recommending courteous interchanges." A *Times* editor's note congratulated that effort, declaring that henceforth "mud slinging is strictly forbidden."⁴⁵ Not really, of course.

Also in common between these cow town newspapers was a goal shared by the cattlemen they covered: to make money. "The *Cow Boy* Is Not published For Fun, But For \$2 a Year," emphasized Packard, who explained in his salutatory editorial, "We do not come to serve a great moral end. Another field would have been more congenial. . . . We do come, however, to make some almighty dollars."⁴⁶ In Sturgis the editors "have settled down to make money. . . . When the *Record* can't be making a little it will quit business. Both the proprietors hereof have run newspapers for fun before and they wore old clothes behind."⁴⁷ Agreeing with that paper's statement, The *Daily Times* welcomed the *Record*

by adding, "You can't run a live town without a newspaper, nor a newspaper without a town to support it."⁴⁸

THE COW TOWN PRESS OF DAKOTA TERRITORY

Deadwood marked the largest Dakota stop of the cattle town trails that reached all the way to the Canadian border. It forms part of the study of this type of frontier newspaper and a particular kind of news: the cow town papers of Dakota Territory and the cowboy. How does one define a cattle paper? In the big cow towns such as Abilene, it may have been a paper bankrolled and controlled by the big cattle concerns.⁴⁹ In the smaller towns up and down the drives, it may have been a paper not controlled by, but still dependent on, the economy of cattle. In all cases, the towns chosen for this study were as close as possible to the Black Hills and the Canadian Trail, as the north part was called, and its newspapers were intimately familiar with cowboys and the cattle industry.⁵⁰ The territory's cow centers were Belle Fourche in what is now South Dakota, and Medora in what is now North Dakota. While not as famous today as Kansas cow centers such as Abilene and Dodge City, these Dakota Territory towns were particularly important to the cattle industry during the long drive era. Belle Fourche, fifteen miles north of Deadwood, became the world's largest primary cattle shipping center by 1890, pasturing 700,000-800,000 head by 1884.⁵¹ Medora, 200 miles north and the site of North Dakota's only round-ups, became a nationally famous cow town because of two distinctive cattlemen who ranched there: the French aristocrat de Morés and the eastern patrician Roosevelt. The 1886 round-up there and in eastern Montana was one of the largest in the history of the cattle industry.⁵²

Unlike the eastern writers taking tours West, the cattle paper newsmen (as nearly all of them were) lived among the cowboys and cattlemen day by day and year by year. In cattle they found their economic livelihood, just as the towns they served soared or suffered under the vicissitudes of cattle money. No other journalist knew cowboys like the cattle paper journalist, except

the writers of the specialized publications aimed directly at the stockgrowers, but these did not write for a general audience. Cattle town papers in general and the papers studied here in particular influenced a wide swath of consumers far beyond their small towns. Evidence that cow town newspapers reached far afield is easy to find in the papers. *Bad Lands Cow Boy* editor and publisher Arthur T. Packard regularly reprinted comments from eastern newspapers, including those from the *New York Sun* and *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, on his enterprise.⁵³ "Many copies of the *Record* go East direct from the office, besides those sent by private parties," wrote the editors of the *Sturgis Weekly Record*, Moody and Elliott.⁵⁴ Deadwood's *Daily Times*, owned by Warner, noted circulation was "very large," not only in the region but throughout the country, and later boasted, "Scarcely a mail arrives without one to a dozen letters or postcards, asking for the paper or for information best supplied by the *Times*."⁵⁵

Actual circulations, however, were not published, except for the *Cow Boy*, which on page 4 of its August 7, 1884, issue declared its circulation to be 520, in a town of 261. Under the suspicion, however, that these editors were merely self-booming, it should be noted that statements of more objective writers corroborate testimony of their widespread influence. Twice the *New York Times* lauded the *Cow Boy*, noting Medora had "a real live newspaper, called the *Bad Lands Cowboy* [*sic*], with Mr. G. [*sic*] Packard, formerly of Chicago, editor, and is destined before long to become one of the greatest points along the whole line of the Northern Pacific Railroad for the shipping of dressed beeves to Chicago."⁵⁶ Evidence seems ample that newspapers from the western frontier circulated widely back East through subscriptions and exchanges. Editors "sent dozens of copies" to the East, even overseas, as the newspapers encouraged settlement of the western towns.⁵⁷ Publishers such as Packard promoted his paper to passing train travelers. To them he sold, according to one source, 700-800 a week.⁵⁸ Some newspapers even employed traveling agents to hawk newspapers in the East, offering commissions and prizes to those who sold the most.⁵⁹ Cowboys also avidly

searched out newspapers which they passed from hand to hand until they literally fell apart; it was "the great unifier" of the vast stretches of western plain tracked by the herders.⁶⁰

The three cattle papers chosen for study do not reflect the number of newspapers published in Lawrence County (the Black Hills cattle region), but they do reflect the number published in Billings County: one. Many others are lost, but these have survived in archives: *The Black Hills Times* (daily) and *Weekly Times* (Sunday) of Deadwood, the *Sturgis Weekly Record* from that city, and the *Bad Lands Cow Boy* of Medora. No newspaper has survived from Belle Fourche, nor do any listings or references from the other papers show that one existed during the cattle drive era. This research examined every edition available during the time period studied.

THE RISE OF CATTLE HYPE

Warner, who began the *Times* as Deadwood's first daily during gold rush days with W.P. Newhard (soon dropped from the masthead), also dabbled in politics. This was a common frontier publisher's sideline—there was so much to be done and so few frontierspeople available to do it. Warner was elected to the territorial legislature in 1880 as a Republican, as were most frontier publishers. His chief editor in 1877 was Charles B. Reynolds from Seneca Falls, New York.⁶¹ Unlike newspapers that followed "king cattle," Warner's daily initially followed gold in the Hills. In early issues it squarely declared itself to be a spokesman of a mining town,⁶² and no story on cattle or cowboys reached its pages during the first year of its existence. However, because the long drives did not reach Dakota Territory until the end of the 1870s, no newspaper would have covered the issue from the local perspective. The first cattle-related story appeared on January 20, 1880, when a note observed, "The superiority of this county as a stock growing region has been abundantly demonstrated during the present winter."⁶³

From then on the importance of Belle Fourche's cattle industry became more and more important to Deadwood's economic livelihood.⁶⁴ The *Times* acknowledged this implicitly in its

ever-increasing articles on the industry and explicitly in its tracking of the industry. By 1880, the newspaper noted, the cattle industry had been established for "the past year or two" and locally was so profitable that a \$10,400 investment could return \$25,800, for example.⁶⁵

Hype of cattle industry profitability in Dakota was echoed by the other cow town newspapers studied here. By 1883, recorded the *Sturgis Weekly Record*, 700,000-800,000 head were in the area, and the paper predicted that in two years the Black Hills area "will have more live stock wandering over its ranges than are contained in any state or territory in the Union."⁶⁶ The *Bad Lands Cow Boy* declared its intention "to preach King Cattle to all men,"⁶⁷ and did not waver on that promise until the boom turned to bust and the *Cow Boy* office turned to ash. In fact, this paper, most unabashedly dedicated to the cattle industry in boom town Medora, published hardly a story not connected to cattle in some way. The *Record* during these years appealed to more general interests: in 1883 (the first issue was published at the end of July), it published two articles on the cattle industry; in 1884 it published none, but in 1885, it published ten. The *Times*, after starting slowly and publishing no articles covering cattlemen before 1880, published eleven in that year. That was followed by twenty six in 1881, none in 1882, two in 1883, eighteen in 1884, fifty one in 1885, and four in 1886 (these numbers reflect general cattle industry articles, not articles on a specific cowboy theme.)

While most of these articles spoke positively of the industry's prospects, some in the *Times* and *Record* were less optimistic. An article in the *Record*⁶⁸ warned of overstocking a year before the deadly 1886-87 winter cruelly demonstrated the risk of grazing too many cattle up North. As early as 1880 the *Times*, acknowledging the huge profit of the industry, warned that more and more cattlemen would graze herds in the Black Hills. "Heavy losses during winter from overcrowding will result, and then stock raising will be reduced to a par with other pursuits."⁶⁹

In fact, of the cattle-related articles published in the *Times* during the years studied, only 53

percent were clearly positive; another 25 percent related problems or concerns of the industry, and 22 percent were neutral. The *Sturgis* weekly also had published information both positive and otherwise on the cattle business; of the sixteen articles on the industry during the period studied, 38 percent emphasized positive aspects, 37 percent noted problems, and 25 percent presented neutral information. As the end of the long drive era closed in on cattle towns, the *Record* filled nearly the entire front page with a long, bleak warning by Frank Wilkeson, "A well-known correspondent from Colorado." He noted overgrazing and falling cattle prices had already driven some cattlemen out of business, and with a probable harsh winter, "the day of reckoning is nigh." Moreover, he indicated that those who had warned that "serious financial disaster would inevitably overtake the cattle industry" were denounced and silenced by cattlemen who "controlled the local press" and misrepresented the situation to reporters from the East as well.⁷⁰ No evidence exists, however, that the southern Dakota Territory cow town newspapers were controlled by cattlemen.

The story is different for the *Bad Lands Cow Boy* in the north. As a through-and-through cattle paper with few other interests, Packard opened himself up to the charge of outside control by the powerful personalities pouring money into the town. Medora, on the Little Missouri River, was built by a dashing media celebrity from French aristocracy, de Morés, and named after his wife. He aimed to make a killing by slaughtering cattle *sur place*, that is, in Medora, and then having them shipped by cooled rail cars "from ranch to table," thus eliminating the big eastern meat packers.⁷¹ Packard, a twenty-two-year-old graduate of the University of Michigan working as an editor in Bismarck, smelled money and rode the rails to Medora in November 1883.

According to Roosevelt's ranch partners, Packard met his first cowboy at the Pyramid Park Hotel bar and took notes on his appearance for a writing job back East, but then he decided to wait until the next day to file by telegraph. As he rode to the Maltese Cross ranch on the next morning, Packard was joined by the same cow-

boy who said that the night before he had thought Packard was a deputy sheriff gathering intelligence. Had Packard sent his story, the suspicious cowboy told him, "I'd have killed you."⁷²

Despite that inauspicious introduction, Packard became an indefatigable defender of cowboys. He set up business in a converted blacksmith shop and became a frequent dinner guest at the Morés ranch chateau.⁷³ Upholding the feisty reputation of frontier editors, however, he insisted he was independent of the rich cattleman's control. In the third issue he emphasized, "We are not the tool of nor are we beholden in any way to any man or set of men. . . . Marquis de Morés is the heaviest advertiser, as his interests are the largest here and he will reap the greatest benefit through our publication. Beyond this he has no interest whatsoever."⁷⁴ Packard also stated his intention to avoid "booming," the standard frontier journalism practice of bequeathing a rough new town with the finest of climates, noblest of settlers, and richest of potential.⁷⁵ He decried this as "almost lying,"⁷⁶ and fulfilled his promise to avoid pro-Medora hyperbole during his newspaper's three-year run. Neither did he critically examine issues close to his wallet: unlike the two southern territory newspapers, no cattle-business article in the *Cow Boy* was negative.

TR AND A CATTLE PAPER

Roosevelt decided to establish a cattle operation in Medora a few months after Packard arrived in spring 1884 after a hunting trip there the preceding fall. Although like Morés from a high-class background, Roosevelt by contemporary accounts proved himself a capable cowpuncher.⁷⁷ Not that he liked the saloons as much: both Roosevelt and Morés found good conversation at the only vaguely respectable place in town, the office of the *Bad Lands Cow Boy*. Packard said Roosevelt stopped in often, avoiding the "booze joints," because he liked "chatting with the men who liked the smell of printer's ink" to "feel civilized."⁷⁸ A romantic afflicted with terminal "cowboy-itis,"⁷⁹ Roosevelt wrote that saloons were the cowboy's nemesis: "spending their money on poisonous whisky or losing it

over greasy cards in the vile dance-houses." Packard, on the other hand was "a good fellow, a college graduate, and a first-class base-ball player."⁸⁰ But Packard's sanctum for the town's intellectual triumvirate was not without occasional frontier violators. "The first shot, through the office of the *Bad Lands Cow Boy*, sent the editor flying into a washout"⁸¹ wrote a contemporary of a character named "Bad-Man Finnegan." Nor was his cattle town salon a money-maker for the ever-hustling Packard: from advertisements in the *Cow Boy* he sold Studebaker wagons, insurance, serial subscriptions, cattle, cedar fencing, real estate, and even barbed wire. He was a notary public, a partner in a coal mine, and general manager of Morés' ill-fated stagecoach line running from top to bottom of the territory's cattle country, Medora to Deadwood. He was also an officer in the Bad Lands Live Stock Association and Medora Gun Club, a territorial representative to Republican conventions, chairman of the "bucket brigade," and chairman of a "citizens' meeting" to organize a fire department, city sanitation effort, school, and committee on public order. He ran unsuccessfully for Justice of the Peace. While Roosevelt and Morés are more famous today, Packard did the most for Medora.⁸²

The southern Dakota Territory cattle papers often gave space to Packard's activities and comments, sometimes including the familiar editorial jousting. While these did not have an editor bound to a kind of personal journalistic cow crusade such as Packard and his *Cow Boy*, journalists there became notorious for bare-fisted quill-shoving. There was the easily-ruffled Charles Collins, itinerant editor in Deadwood, trying to pose his staff for a store-front photo. "A rounder stepped into the focus ring. This exasperated Charley, and without turning his head or eyes from the direction of the camera, he cried out at the rounder, 'Get out of there, git, you s— of a b— s— a' b— s— a' b—.' But the fellow remained and Charley made a break, ditching him and returning to his former staked position before the rounder knew what had happened." Unfortunately the picture was spoiled, the blurred Charley looking "like a comet" in the final print.⁸³

COWBOYS IN THE CATTLE PAPERS

As for its depiction of the cowboy, the *Times* and *Record*, too, diverged from the *Cow Boy*. The *Times* published its first article relating to the cowboy on May 26, 1881, one of three that year.

Its story-telling narrative, recounting the life of the cowboy, was an entire column of charming anecdotes: "In the midst of a mountain storm, in view of tarantulas, rattlesnakes and centipedes for bedfellows, he closes his eyes and dreams of a heaven of unlimited plug tobacco and unstinted sleep." And what's best for the cowboy, "if you can only sing a little, you can do the work all the quicker."⁸⁴ This narrative seemed to support the ideas familiar to the cowboy myth. It was not a harbinger of cowboys to come in the *Times*, however. When for a second time the columns opened to a cowboy theme, they had become the bad guys. "They are probably the most reckless gang of desperadoes ever banded together," reported the *Times*, in an article recounting a band of seventy out for revenge in Mexico. Later that fall, a third article found the bad guys closer to home: a "shooting affray" between cowboys Combs and Wilson, who settled a quarrel near Spearfish with guns.⁸⁵ Cowboys, as well as the cattle business, did not make news often in the next two years, appearing in the *Times* columns twice in 1882 and four times in 1883. Of these six articles, none flattered the drover. On June 14, 1882, they were "thugs," and the next day they were "gangs." In 1883 they were "drunken cowboys" or a "bad cowboy."

In 1884 the newspaper awakened to the cow trailing business, publishing eighteen articles on the cattle industry and seven on cowboys per se. Of these seven, four, or 57 percent, treated cowboys favorably. "The greatly reviled, and often unjustly so, cowboy, receives kind consideration from an exchange in a manner that meets the approbation of all familiar with that peculiar and interesting class of individuals," an editor's note began.

The genuine Texas cowboy is hardly ever known to do a mean and cowardly act, but his reputation has been infringed upon, in fact ruined, by desperadoes who know but little of cowboy life and magnanimity, but palm

themselves off upon an unsuspecting public as man-eating, man-destroying cowboy.

Because it was well-known to cattle town editors and their readers, the article, however, had to admit: "Of course, the knight of the lariat, when under the influence of liquor, is noisy. Aside from this he is a harmless creature."⁸⁶ Later that summer cowboys were credited with capturing horse thieves, and/or generally leading an honest, if lonely, life.⁸⁷

Reports in the next year jumped to sixteen, with forty-five stories on the industry generally. It might be suspected that the cowboy image in the *Times* was undergoing a change after 1884, but this was not the case. In 1885, 81 percent of cowboy articles were negative. Cowboys were blamed for "the Sand Creek shooting" near Deadwood when three of them "decided it would be 'lots of fun' to shoot out the lights, etc." in Jim Davis' saloon in Spearfish. Jim demurred with a Winchester, and the cowboys ended up shot. "The general verdict is, 'served them right!'"⁸⁸ Other reports covered cowboy riots, cowboy drunks, cowboy troublemakers, cowboy fights, or cowboy stupidity.

The year 1885 marked the high point of *Times* cowboy and cattle articles. In 1886 only seven articles addressed the cowboy and only four the cattle business. Of the cowboy stories, 71 percent were negative. An exception to this was a yarn about a "cowboy pianist" under a New York dateline. "He astounded us. In facility, force, brilliance and rapidity of execution, I confess that he amazed me." The story described an old Chickering piano belonging to the cowboy's father and used for an ironing board. The prodigal cowboy gave it a go after an injury, explaining, "You know what the boys are out there. We had a ride of 16 miles, and we stopped half way and got drunk."⁸⁹

In the *Sturgis Weekly Record*, all five cowboy reports were negative. Apparently locally-written but un-bylined, one entire column said:

So much amusing talk is being made recently about the blood-bedraggled cow-boy of the wild West that I rise as one man to say a few things, not in a dictatorial style, but regarding this so-called or so-esteemed dry land pirate

who, mounted on a little cow-pony and under the black flag, sails out across the green surge of the plains to scatter the rocky shores of Time with the bones of his fellow men. . . .

A great many people wonder where the cow-boy with his abnormal thirst for blood, originated. Careful research and cold, hard statistics show the cow-boy, as a general thing, was born in an unostentatious manner on the farm. I hate to sit down on a beautiful romance and squash the heart out of a romantic dream. . . .

He generally is a youth who thinks he will not earn his twenty-five dollars per month if he does not yell and whoop and shoot and scare little girls.

The author noted cowboys often ended up hurting themselves and others because "they are no more familiar with the horse than with Smith & Wesson." The article concluded, "All cowboys are not sanguinary, but out of twenty you will find one who is brave when he has his revolvers with him."⁹⁰

Up north, however, Packard's *Bad Lands Cow Boy* clearly decided to thrust its mighty pen directly at this negative image. In his second issue, he stated his goal:

First, that cow boys are, as a rule, one of the most peaceful and law-abiding classes of citizens that we have.

The term "cow boy" has been a reproach long enough. Every other paper in the land has joined hands to heap contumely on the devoted head of the cow boy. We will stand singly and alone and uphold a name which we know represented a good cause.⁹¹

This declared mission (next to making money) appeared throughout the three-year run of the weekly. Sometimes Packard relied on negative reports from eastern newspapers as a foil, calling, for example, one report in the *Minneapolis Evening Journal* "from beginning to end a lie. If a man knows anything of a class called cow boys he cannot help but know that as a class they are honest, industrious and fearless. . . . [T]hey are generous, hospital [*sic*] and extravagant to a fault, and abhor a dishonorable action."⁹²

Many more articles and poems defending the cowboy were borrowed from other sources, including three interviews with Roosevelt: "Cow boys are a very much maligned order of human beings. I have always found them a very hospitable, generous sort of men with a certain rude chivalry about them." The chivalric ideal was even echoed in poetry:

Who is it has no fixed abode
Who seeks adventures by the load—
An errant knight without a code?
—The Cowboy⁹³

Numerous jokes also extolled rude cowboy virtue. A cowboy entered a train car where a snoring man was annoying passengers. "The cow boy stepped up, said, 'Say, stranger, stop that 'ar snort or you'll get fired.' The cow boy was not large but he was full of guns and there was business in his eye. The big man said nothing but lay still, and his sleep, if he slept, was quiet as the slumber of infancy."⁹⁴

During the *Cow Boy's* run, sixty-nine articles specifically addressed the cowboy theme. Of these, 10 percent were negative, though usually Packard included in a report of troublemaking cowboys a disclaimer, such as "four fifths of the reckless shooting done in the West is the work of some sap-headed tender-foot who wants to pose as a bad man."⁹⁵ Packard, as did unsigned editorials in the *Times*, railed periodically against "the senseless custom of 'packing a gun' in town."⁹⁶

Cowboy themes addressed by him included "bad" cowboys and their handiwork (19 percent), the kindly ridicule of cowboys, usually newcomers (10 percent), "dudes" trying to be cowboys (10 percent), the great life of cowboys in the beauty of the West (8 percent), cowboys and Indians (6 percent), the romance of the roundup (4 percent), and the freedom of the cowboy (3 percent).

Largest, however, were topics pertaining to the positive character and morality of cowboys as tough but law-abiding, virtuous, courageous, and noble heroes. "Honest . . . generous . . . fearless . . . hardship . . . adventure . . . perfect type of manhood . . . abhors a dishonorable action . . . finest horsemen . . . worships his horse." The adjectives from this cattle paper nearly mirrored

those of cowboy proponent Roosevelt in interviews published from coast to coast. "Hospitable, generous sort of men with a certain rude chivalry." "Simple, unconscious manhood . . . the jealousy of personal valor." "Hospitable, hardy, adventurous . . . Simple and generous."⁹⁷ With Roosevelt and Packard socializing often in Medora, it is hard to say who influenced whom.

CONCLUSION

Cattlemen and cowboys relied on newspapers to advertise strays and roundups, but in Dakota Territory no evidence indicates they were directly involved in newspaper publishing. Similarly, no evidence indicates publishers there were directly involved in cattle-ranching except for Packard's attempts to advertise a few cows for sale, which was one of his many money-making sidelines. Nevertheless, a strong tie developed between these two frontier entities which was based on the need of the publishers for economic development and the need of cattlemen and cowboys for a tie to the civilization most of them left back east.

Dakota's cattle town newspapers also clearly enjoyed readership far from the local pioneers, particularly back East. That Packard had the additional good fortune to publish a romantically titled sheet in the town of two celebrities surely helps to explain his circulation. Other newspapers, too, likely attracted far-off audiences who had invested in cattle and hoped to keep tabs on the local scene.

In contrast to a growing emphasis back in "the States" of objectivity and separation between opinion and news, these territorial newspapers reflected strong opinions and personal flair. Paid advertisements were often set directly into the news columns, without distinction, which was uncommon by this time back east. Dakota Territory's cattle town publishers stated their aim of profit over idealism, an ap-

proach that obviously drove editors to report the growing local cattle industry in considerable detail. Despite an often-deserved reputation for booming their corners of the frontier, however, they were not universally positive about the prospects of the cattle industry. This became especially obvious as outside investment drove thousands of cattle to a traditionally dry and harsh Dakota climate intolerant of over-grazing. The problem probably became increasingly obvious to cow town newspapers operating so close to these plains, even if absentee investors usually did not heed the local warnings.

Concerning coverage of the cowboys, the *Cow Boy* differed dramatically from the mostly-negative *Times* and *Record*. But if one analyzes these articles not for specific content but for writing style, differences were not so striking. In the case of the cattle business, articles were factual, covering meetings, laws, weather, politics, numbers of cattle, and economic impact. Reports of the cowboys, however, told stories of saloon fights and duels, of dramatic battles with desperadoes and lawmen, of antics with trains and conductors, of long days in a saddle, of tough men sometimes being tender, of wide open skies, horses, leather—and even song. In fact, the only article which seemed to attempt a truly realistic report of cowboy life was the front-page piece published by the *Record* described above. As the days of the cattle drives clearly were coming to an end, Roosevelt and others predicted, "When the cow boy disappears, one of the best and healthiest phases of western life with disappear with him."⁹⁸ By then the stories—if not the facts—of the cowboy had been well told in the cowboy's own newspapers, and the old shoot-'em-up narratives could turn easily into legend. If the cow town newspapers examined here showed no consensus on the character of the real cowboy, they certainly contributed to the character of the mythical one.

NOTES

- ¹ Norbert R. Mahnken, "Ogallala—Nebraska's Cowboy Capital," *Nebraska History* 28 (January–March 1947): 91. This route through Dodge City had supplanted the older Chisholm Trail route through Abilene by the time Dakota Territory became a big cattle industry player.
- ² See *Ibid.*, 85; Floyd Benjamin Streeter, *Prairie Trails and Cow Towns* (Boston: Chapman & Grimes, 1936), 64; and David G. McComb, *Texas: A Modern History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), 87.
- ³ Everett Dick, *Vanguards of the Frontier: A Social History of the Northern Plains and Rocky Mountains from the Fur Traders to the Sod Busters* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1941), 470. It was ten million, according to David Nevin, *The Texans* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1975), 180.
- ⁴ G. Pomeroy Keese, "Beef From the Range to the Shambles," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, November 1884, 292.
- ⁵ David Daly and Joel Persky, "The Western: Myth and Reality," *Journal of the West* 29 (April 1990): 23.
- ⁶ "Cattle Ranges. A letter from Gen. Brisbin," *The Black Hills Times*, November 29, 1885, 4. Hereafter, the paper will be referred to as the Times.
- ⁷ See *Times*, January 20, 1886, 1; David Galenson, "Origins of the Long Drive," *Journal of the West*, 14 (July 1975): 3; and "Paying Cattle Ranches: A Thriving Industry in the Northwest," *The New York Times*, September 21, 1884, 4. If newspaper articles have no title, only the date and page number are given in footnotes.
- ⁸ See Jimmy M. Skaggs, *The Cattle-Trailing Industry: Between Supply and Demand, 1866-1890* (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1973), 5; and Streeter, *Prairie Trails and Cow Towns*, 63.
- ⁹ Keese, "Beef from the Range to the Shambles," 295.
- ¹⁰ Skaggs, *The Cattle-Trailing Industry*, 88.
- ¹¹ Robert G. Athearn, *The Mythic West in Twentieth-Century America* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1986), 25.
- ¹² Dick, *Vanguards of the Frontier*, 493.
- ¹³ Edmond Baron de Mandat-Grancey, 1887 London Edition, *Cow-Boys and Colonels* (Reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 15.
- ¹⁴ Skaggs, *The Cattle-Trailing Industry*, 91.
- ¹⁵ Roger G. Barker, "The Influence of Frontier Environments on Behavior," in Jerome O Steffen, ed., *The American West: New Perspectives, New Dimensions* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 62.
- ¹⁶ See Don D. Walker, *Clio's Cowboys: Studies in the Historiography of the Cattle Trade* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 29; James McClellan Hamilton, *History of Montana: From Wilderness to Statehood* (Portland, Ore.: Binford & Mort, 1970), 394; and "Off to India With Tigers; The Marquis de Morés Tired of America," *New York Times*, December 19, 1887, 1.
- ¹⁷ See Skaggs, *The Cattle-Trailing Industry*, 97, 103; and Daly and Persky, "The Western," 24.
- ¹⁸ Frank Wilkeson, "Cattle-Raising on the Plains," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, April 1886, 789, 793.
- ¹⁹ Book review of Theodore Roosevelt's *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman*, *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1885, 565.
- ²⁰ *Dickinson (Dakota Territory) Press*, January 5, 1887, 4. Dickinson was the closest Dakota rival to Medora during the territory's cattle days.
- ²¹ Excerpted from *Northwest* magazine, *Dickinson Press*, January 12, 1889, 3.
- ²² See William W. Savage, ed., *Cowboy Life: Reconstructing an American Myth* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 3; Athearn, *The Mythic West*, 23; and Walker, *Clio's Cowboys*, 76. While the definition of "myth" is debated among western historians, what is agreed upon is that if there is one figure that most exemplifies the concept, it is the West and its central hero, the cowboy. See Daly and Persky, "The Western: Myth and Reality," 7, 10.
- ²³ Keese, "Beef from the Range to the Shambles," 292.
- ²⁴ Russell Martin, *Cowboy: The Enduring Myth of the Wild West* (New York: Stewart, Tabori & Chang, 1983), 111.
- ²⁵ Ray H. Mattison, "Ranching in the Dakota Badlands: A Study of Roosevelt's Contemporaries," *North Dakota History* 19 (April 1952): 114.
- ²⁶ Peter Watts, *A Dictionary of the Old West 1870-1900* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 100.
- ²⁷ Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman:

University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 305.

²⁸ Paul O'Neil, *The Old West. The End and the Myth* (Alexandria, VA.: Time-Life Books, 1979), 122.

²⁹ See Joe B. Frantz, "Cowboy Philosophy. A Cold Spoor," in *The Frontier Reexamined*, John Francis McDermott, ed. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1967, 170); and Savage, *Cowboy Life*, 6.

³⁰ See Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*, 305, 389; and Savage, *Cowboy Life*, 111.

³¹ See Martin, *Cowboy*, 111; and Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation. The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992), 87.

³² Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting-Trail* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983, reprint, originally published in 1888), 100.

³³ See Rufus Fairchild, "A Day's 'Drive' with Montana Cow-Boys," *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, June-November 1885, 190; and Arthur H. Paterson, "Camp Life on the Plains," excerpt from *Macmillan's Magazine* in *Littell's Living Age*, January-March 1884, 361-2.

³⁴ Joseph Nimmo, Jr., "The American Cow-boy," *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, 881. This article flattering the cowboy was reprinted by the *Bad Lands Cow Boy* on November 18, 1886, 1.

³⁵ Martin, *Cowboy*, 35, 40.

³⁶ Daly and Persky, "The Western," 25.

³⁷ *Times*, passim. Other favored descriptions included "quill-shovers" and "scribes."

³⁸ See Robert F. Karolevitz, *Newspapering in the Old West: A Pictorial History of Journalism and Printing on the Frontier* (Seattle: Superior Publishing, 1965), 12; Nimmo, "The American Cow-boy," 883; Everett, *Vanguards*, 491-3; and D. Jerome Tweton, lecture commemorating the North Dakota Cowboy Hall of Fame, North Dakota State University, January 14, 1998.

³⁹ *Sturgis Weekly Record*, March 1, 1885, 2.

⁴⁰ See William H. Lyon, "The Significance of Newspapers on the American Frontier," *Journal of the West* 19 (April 1980): 3; *Times*, July 16, 1880, 2; and *Times*, October 8, 1880, 2. Barbara Cloud's work disputed the belief that territorial newspapers were ubiquitous, noting that of 165 counties in eight 1880 frontier territories, including Dakota,

only 76 had newspapers. See Barbara Cloud, "Establishing the Frontier Newspaper: a Study of Eight Western Territories," *Journalism Quarterly* 61 (Winter 1984): 807. However, in this southwestern Dakota area, at least twelve were published between 1876-1890. See *Times*, October 8, 1880, 2; and an on-line search of the South Dakota archives. The *Times* alluded to many more, now apparently lost.

⁴¹ Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 53.

⁴² A contemporary account of the life of one newspaper's Washington Hand Press said "Old Ezekiel" was shipped from Chicago to the West Coast, and from there to Dakota Territory, where it had seen three area newspapers come and go. It would have been sent back to Chicago "if the consignors have not sold it to some deluded and misguided cuss who wants to start a paper." "A Hand Press and Its Fate," *Sturgis Weekly Record*, October 1, 1886, 2. For technical details on old-time printing, see Hugo Jahn, *Hand Composition: A Treatise on the Trade and Practice of the Compositor and Printer* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1947).

⁴³ *Times*, June 11, 1877, 2.

⁴⁴ See Karolevitz, *Newspapering in the Old West*, 134, who said the style first appeared in 1850s Oregon newspapers; Barry Brissman, "The *Bad Lands Cow Boy*: Journalism on the Dakota Frontier" (Master's thesis, University of Iowa, 1981), 88; Watson Parker, *Deadwood: The Golden Years* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 84; and Clement A. Lounsbury, *North Dakota. History and People*, vol. 1 (Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1917), 482.

⁴⁵ Editorial, *Times*, December 21, 1881, 2.

⁴⁶ "Introductory," *Bad Lands Cow Boy*, February 7, 1884, 1.

⁴⁷ Editorial, *Sturgis Weekly Record*, July 27, 1883, 2.

⁴⁸ "This is the Record," *Times*, July 29, 1883, 2.

⁴⁹ Robert R. Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns* (New York: Knopf, 1971), 149.

⁵⁰ Herbert S. Schell, *History of South Dakota* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 250.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 244, 250.

⁵² See William H. Forbis, *The Cowboys* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1973), 119; "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman,"

- Atlantic Monthly*, July-December 1885, 563-565; William T. Dantz, "Theodore Roosevelt—Cowboy and Ranchman: A Cowboy's Reminiscences of the President's Cowboy Experiences as a Ranchman in the Bad Lands of North Dakota," *Harper's Weekly*, August 6, 1904, 1212-1215; A.T. Packard, "Roosevelt's Ranching Days: The Outdoor Training of a President as a Man Among Men," *Saturday Evening Post*, March 4, 1905, 13-14; "Paying Cattle Ranches: A Thriving Industry in the Northwest," *New York Times*, September 21, 1884, 4; and "Dressed Beef in the West: The Business Enterprise of the Marquis de Morés," *New York Times*, February 25, 1884, 8. These articles form a small sample of numerous articles both in the United States and in Europe on the western activities of Roosevelt and Morés. A neighboring cattleman said that by the time a newspaper appeared in Medora, the town was already nationally famous. See Hermann Hagedorn, *Roosevelt on the Bad Lands* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 77.
- ⁵³Editorial, *Bad Lands Cow Boy*, March 20, 1884, 1.
- ⁵⁴ Editorial response to a letter to the editor, *Sturgis Weekly Record*, January 25, 1884, 2.
- ⁵⁵ Editorials, *Times*, October 19, 1884, 1, and November 24, 1885, 2.
- ⁵⁶ "Paying Cattle Ranches: A Thriving Industry in the Northwest," *New York Times*, September 21, 1884, 4. This also was mentioned on February 25, 1884, 8.
- ⁵⁷ See Karolevitz, *Newspapering in the Old West*, 118; Everett Dick, *The Sod-House Frontier 1854-1890* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1937, 1954, 1979), 418-9; Paul C. Schmidt, "The Press in North Dakota," *North Dakota History* 31 (October 1964): 219; George S. Hage, *Newspapers in the Minnesota Frontier, 1849-1860* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1967), 9; and Hagedorn, *Roosevelt on the Bad Land*, 76.
- ⁵⁸ Barry Brissman, "The *Bad Lands Cow Boy*: Journalism on the Dakota Frontier" (Master's thesis, University of Iowa, 1981), 84-85. Brissman had access to unpublished material by Hermann Hagedorn, who in 1921 interviewed Roosevelt's ranch partners as well as Packard about the president's Dakota years. While many frontier newspapers clearly circulated on passing trains, this figure of newspapers sold each week seems high.
- ⁵⁹ Dick, *The Sod-House Frontier*, 432.
- ⁶⁰ See Dick, *Vanguards*, 478; William H. Lyon, "The Significance of Newspapers on the American Frontier," *Journal of the West* 19 (April 1980): 5, footnote.
- ⁶¹ See *Times*, May 9, 1877, 3; and *Times*, November 3, 1880, 1.
- ⁶² *Times*, May 24, 1877, 2. The August 16, 1879, to January 1, 1880, editions are lost.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, 4.
- ⁶⁴ Parker, *Deadwood*, 78.
- ⁶⁵ *Times*, February 14, 1880, 2.
- ⁶⁶ See Editorial, *Record*, August 3, 1883, 2; and *Record*, "Cattlemen of Black Hills," October 12, 1883, 1.
- ⁶⁷ *Cow Boy*, February 7, 1884, 1.
- ⁶⁸ "Overcrowding—the Danger of Overstocking the Cattle Ranges," excerpted from *Stockgrowers Journal* of Miles City, Mont., *Record*, May 24, 1885, 4.
- ⁶⁹ Editorial, *Times*, April 17, 1880, 2.
- ⁷⁰ Frank Wilkeson, "The Ranges," *Record*, December 3, 1886, 1.
- ⁷¹ "A Marquis Under Arrest; De Morés, the Noble Ranchman, Sued by a Butcher," *New York Times*, May 20, 1887, 1. The best history of de Morés is by D. Jerome Tweton, *The Marquis de Morés: Dakota Capitalist, French Nationalist* (Fargo: North Dakota State University Institute of Regional Studies, 1972).
- ⁷² Hagedorn, *Roosevelt on the Bad Lands*, 75.
- ⁷³ See Brissman, "The Bad Lands Cow Boy," 23; and Tweton, *The Marquis de Mores*, 105.
- ⁷⁴ *Bad Lands Cow Boy*, February 23, 1884, 1.
- ⁷⁵ Julie Dagenais, "Newspaper Language as an Active Agent in the Building of a Frontier Town," *American Speech* 17 (May 1967): 117.
- ⁷⁶ *Bad Lands Cow Boy*, April 24, 1884, 1.
- ⁷⁷ See Michael L. Collins, *That Damned Cowboy. Theodore Roosevelt and the American West, 1883-1898* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 23; Dantz, "Theodore Roosevelt," 1212; and *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1885, 565.
- ⁷⁸ Packard, "Roosevelt's Ranching Days," 13.
- ⁷⁹ Athearn, *The Mythic West*, 56.

⁸⁰ Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting-Trail*, 91, 96.

Packard played in college, organized a team in Medora, and retired as golf editor for the *Chicago Evening Post*. He died in 1931 in Chicago. See Brissman, 38, 140.

⁸¹ Dantz, "Theodore Roosevelt," 1215.

⁸² See Hagedorn, *Roosevelt on the Bad Lands*, 112; and Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting-Trail*, 96.

⁸³ *Times*, January 13, 1881, 2.

⁸⁴ *Times*, "A Cowboy's Life," May 26, 1881, 2.

⁸⁵ See *Times*, "The Cowboys on the War Trail," June 22, 1881, 1; and *Times*, "Shooting Affair," October 5, 1881.

⁸⁶ *Times*, "The Cowboy," July 6, 1884, 2.

⁸⁷ See *Times*, "Cowboys Capture Horsethieves," [sic] August 10, 1884, 2; and *Times*, "Dakota Beeves," October 21, 1884, 1.

⁸⁸ *Times*, "The Sand Creek Shooting," January 12, 1885, 3.

⁸⁹ *Times*, "A Cowboy Pianist," March 21, 1886, 3.

⁹⁰ *Weekly Record*, "The Cow-boy," January 4, 1884, 1.

Publications during this period had no standard spelling of "cowboy," so permutations, even within a single article, are preserved.

⁹¹ *Bad Lands Cow Boy*, February 14, 1884, 1.

⁹² *Bad Lands Cow Boy*, June 10, 1884, 1.

⁹³ See *Bad Lands Cow Boy*, June 22, 1885, 1; and "Credit to New Mexico *Stockgrower*," *Cow Boy*, December 18, 1884, 1.

⁹⁴ *Bad Lands Cow Boy*, October 30, 1884, 1.

⁹⁵ *Bad Lands Cow Boy*, March 26, 1885, 1.

⁹⁶ *Bad Lands Cow Boy*, July 30, 1885, 4.

⁹⁷ See "Likes Dakota: Hon. Theodore Roosevelt Talks to a Reporter About Dakota and Her Warm Hearted People," *Fargo (Dakota Territory) Daily Argus*, January 20, 1885, 3; Dantz, "Theodore Roosevelt," 1212; and Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting-Trail*, 9-10, 100.

⁹⁸ "Roosevelt on Cow Boys and Indians," *Times*, January 22, 1886, 2.