

**Two Rough Riders:
Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt's
Enigmatic Relationship**

by

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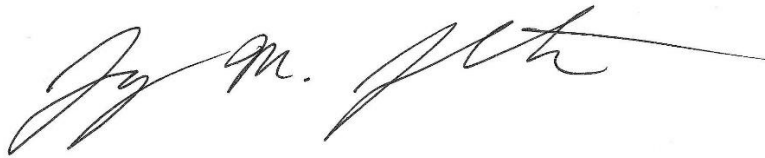
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Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Jy M. Jth". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Date: July 15, 2017

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Abstract:

This dissertation examines the social, political, and cultural connections between Theodore “Teddy” Roosevelt and William F. “Buffalo Bill Cody.” Due to their advocacy of American Exceptionalism through the frontier process, the complexities of both men are covered with a veneer of myths and legends, leading many to believe both men were personal friends and political allies. As an actor, Buffalo Bill appealed to America’s middle and working classes, conveying a strong message of American exceptionalism through his dramatic recreations in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. Yet despite their shared advocacy for the American western experience, there is little documentary evidence to demonstrate the two men were close friends and divided by their class and regional differences. While both men agreed on the political issues of conservation and military intervention in overseas conflicts, they often disagreed on a professional level. Both men found fault with one another over their differing methodologies used to accomplish their similar goals. Buffalo Bill clearly sought financial gain through political support of Roosevelt, practicing the methods reflective of machine politics. Roosevelt, prone to use Buffalo Bill’s support publicly to promote his administration’s policies, advocated a more professional, bureaucratic approach that defined the emerging Progressive Era. Although the strife between Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill was evident in their professional correspondence and government records, the two men realized their public personas complimented one another, and neither spoke ill of the other publicly. Through this detailed investigation of their personal, professional, and public relationship, a more nuanced view of both men emerges. Comparing their complex views of race, land-use, masculinity, and militarism at the turn of the century – all of which was often overshadowed by the popularity of the frontier myth generated by Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill – offering an intriguing view of global influences of the American West.

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Introduction:

Two Rough Riders: Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt

The youngest son of the president of the United States was in imminent danger of abduction by hostile Indians. Lakota Indians on horseback led by Chief Red Eagle chased the Deadwood stagecoach that held the young boy. The *Washington Times* reported the brave lad sat in the stage, unafraid of the danger, “his face beaming, his eyes flashing, and his fists clinched [sic].” He begged his cowboy companion for a pistol to defend himself, only to have the westerner note he might hurt himself. “The small boy pleaded with the cowboy for a revolver, but even the argument that his father was a Rough Rider availed him not. Then he got mad. ‘Keep your old gun. You only got blank cartridges anyhow,’ he exclaimed. He poked his head out of the window of the coach and yelled defiance at the Indians. ‘Come on, you old redskins, we can lick 1,000,000 of you. If I only had a gun I’d show you.’”¹

Helpless, the president’s son witnessed the Indians as they “came on like the wind, and their fleet horses soon overtook the old coach.” The boy’s “voice was drowned in the blood-curdling yells of the marauders” as the Indians surrounded the coach, threatening the young passenger inside. Then a sound of hope rang out in the form of “a bugle call... the American cavalry were rushing bravely to the rescue.” The young man “howled himself hoarse with glee as he saw the Indians fleeing before the soldiers, and jumped up and down inside the old coach to the imminent danger of the thin bottom.” At the last minute, William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody and his cavalry of cowboys saved President Theodore Roosevelt’s youngest child, Quentin Roosevelt. The newspaper noted, “when the fight was over and won he was the most tickled boy in Washington.”²

The *Evening Star* newspaper proclaimed, “Had Red Eagle and his band of Indians been on the warpath yesterday instead of being with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West show, they might have effected a capture which would have set the world talking and kept the wires hot for some time to come.”³ Quentin thoroughly enjoyed himself and

wanted another adventurous ride in the stagecoach. Instead, the President Roosevelt's son received a present from Buffalo Bill – a copy of *The Last of the Great Scouts*, a biography of William Frederick “Buffalo Bill” Cody written by Helen Cody Wetmore, the famed scout's sister. Although Theodore Roosevelt did not attend the performance, one can imagine him being “dee-lighted” while listening to Quentin's account of surviving a *faux* Indian attack and how Buffalo Bill saved the day.

These three “Rough Riders,” Buffalo Bill, Theodore Roosevelt, and Quentin, would die within two years of one another. Both Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt died in bed. Illness took the life of the seventy-one-year-old William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody, famed scout and Colonel of the “Congress of Rough Riders of the World,” on January 10, 1917, at his sister's home in Denver, Colorado. Roosevelt described Buffalo Bill as “An American of Americans” shortly after his death. The former Colonel of the 1st Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, Theodore Roosevelt, also died in bed on January 6, 1919, at the age of sixty. Some argue the premature death of Quentin, who was born a few months before his father fought in Cuba, greatly contributed to his father's declining health. Quentin Roosevelt, who demonstrated his bravery at a young age by riding in the Deadwood Stagecoach during an attack by Lakota Warriors, died “with his boots on,” killed in aerial combat while fighting in France in July 1918.

Due to the extensive popularity of Theodore Roosevelt's charge up the San Juan Heights with the Rough Riders on July 1, 1898, and the widespread currency of the “Rough Rider” designation in popular culture, most Americans publicly identified Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill as allied Rough Riders. Although many believed the men were familiar with one another and advocated similar political views, the relationship between the two was often strained. Smarting that he was not given due credit, in an interview for the *New York World* a year after the Battle of San Juan Hill, Buffalo Bill stated, “It was I who coined the term rough rider, and I am pleased to know that it is an expression destined to live in American history, made everlasting by the gallant regiment that assumed the name and fought so bravely in the Spanish-American war.”⁴ Buffalo Bill defined Rough Riders as follows, “Rough is an expressive English word and nowhere is it more expressive than in the use among the people of the far west... If

any people ever experienced hardships in this world, ever had rough times of it, they were the men who carried the messages between military posts in the wild west in early frontier days... they were the first rough riders... it was the trying experiences of these men that suggested the term to my mind.”⁵ Even if they had wished to, neither man could escape the association between them in the public mind caused partly by the Rough Rider label, and, with varying degrees of willingness, they both appear to have made the best of it. Although Roosevelt initially disliked the term Rough Riders for the 1st Volunteer Cavalry, due to its popular connotations stemming from Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, he came to accept the moniker and titled his war memoirs, *The Rough Riders*. In an 1898 article entitled, “Roosevelt’s Rough Riders,” published in the *National Magazine*, Buffalo Bill compared his Congress of Rough Riders with Roosevelt’s cavalry. “The ‘Congress of Rough Riders’ [of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West] was not conceived altogether in the spirit of money-making or to follow in the wake of the gorgeous circus of Barnum,” wrote Buffalo Bill. “There is a decided educational feature in this preservation and reproduction of this distinctly American life. There is, too, an inspiration of patriotism in the whirling, whisking vitascope of rough riders. In the comparison of the soldiers of all nations is a lesson that stimulates and awakens American loyalty and enthusiasm even in the lethargic times of peace.”⁶

Despite Roosevelt’s omission of credit for the term, Buffalo Bill further linked their public personas as Rough Riders by going on to reenact the Battle of San Juan Hill, even using veterans of Roosevelt’s regiment to instill authenticity in his performances. These reenactments stressed American exceptionalism by linking the rise of American imperialism to the American frontier experience. Buffalo Bill noted that the example of Roosevelt’s Rough Riders, “furnishes a distinctiveness and a well-defined American individuality – something more than a replica of European ideas. There is something stirring, refreshing and wholesome in the general conditions of our western life, and a nation or people is likely to be best known by the distinctions that are pronounced and different from that of other nations.”⁷ Both Americans and Europeans identified William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody and Theodore “Teddy” Roosevelt as “Rough Riders,” cementing them as iconic figures and spokespersons of the American Western

experience who personified how the frontier process shaped American exceptionalism. This shared experience made both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill heroes, especially for young boys growing up at the turn of the 19th century, boys like Quentin Roosevelt, and this iconic status continued for generations to come.

Yet this popular imagery, shaped by published writings by and public performances of both men, obscured the true nature of their complex views on many pressing topics of their day and presented the impression that the two were close friends. They did share common goals for advancing the settlement of the American West and for preserving some of its rugged, wilderness regions and these two Rough Riders clearly molded global perspectives on the popular history of the American frontier. Often, popular books and magazines, and, later, Hollywood films focusing on the American West highlighted both Roosevelt's and Buffalo Bill's western adventures as examples of the best, and sometimes the worst, aspects of American expansion and imperialism.⁸ Yet the Rough Rider image also became a veneer that obscured both men's private and professional lives and that distorted public perceptions of their personal and professional relationship.

Both men were skilled at relating to their respective audiences and they avoided unnecessary controversy; one effect of this was that the true extent to which they differed in their attitudes and opinions towards class, gender, race, politics, and the future development of the American West remained buried under the Rough Rider shell that implied they were cut from the same cloth. Juxtaposing their western adventures and their varying methodologies of interpreting the American frontier experience provides an interesting case study of how the history and memory of the frontier were shaped during the Progressive Era, and the lasting consequences of this process.

William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, the frontiersman who fought the savage opponents of national expansion, border ruffians, outlaws, and Indians in the so-called "Wild West" survived numerous escapades. Not only did his scouting career afford him the opportunity to live an exciting life of dangerous deeds and narrow escapes; it also allowed contemporary biographers to identify him as a Moses-like figure, a "prophet" who led western homesteaders into a new promised land. Surprisingly, the renowned

western figure Buffalo Bill did not make his fortune in the American West; instead, he became a financial success by heading to the East to recreate the western experience on a nightly basis onstage and in the arena. Through the years, many of his western investments cost him a great deal of money with little to show in return and dwindled his fortune. Buffalo Bill's financial successes stemmed from his ability to highlight sensational events related to the settlement of the American frontier through his acting ability. Although he lost money in his Arizona mining investments and failed to earn large financial gains from his investments in building communities in Kansas and Wyoming, his theatrical career and Buffalo Bill's Wild West made him a fortune and transformed him into an international celebrity.

Great interest in his frontier life enabled Buffalo Bill to reenact his frontier experiences before large audiences in the East and the Old World, bridging regional and international barriers as well as the social hierarchy in an industrial America. Millions of adoring fans witnessed the performances staged in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, which in turn shaped their visions of the history of the American West. Buffalo Bill's image of the American West reflected his daring life as an army scout and Indian fighter and instilled within the American public, and the world, love of romantic tales of dangerous adventures set in the Wild West. For the future of the American West, Buffalo Bill envisioned pioneers establishing new communities, facilitating the transition from a *wilderness* to a *civilized* realm. Settlers in the American West who built lasting communities cherished, honored, and celebrated the sacrifice of those rugged homesteaders who tamed the "Wild West" under the guidance of men like the frontier scout and Indian fighter, Buffalo Bill.

Theodore Roosevelt, the "dude" from the East, went into to the American West to challenge his strength and stamina by facing its multifarious elements: the hot sun, the freezing blizzards, mud, raging rivers, outlaws, and bullies; somehow, through it all, the Eastern "dude" survived. Through his writings, the public identified Roosevelt as an expert on the ranching experience, as it occurred in the later years of the American frontier region. Like Buffalo Bill, Roosevelt also bridged regional and socioeconomic barriers, introducing upper and middle-class eastern Americans to the rougher, working-

class of Americans residing and working in the American West. Roosevelt proclaimed the American West allowed him to assume the responsibilities of the presidency of the United States and he touted his formative western experience, along with his northern and southern heritage, as a reflection of his political and social connections throughout the United States, where citizens were in the process of rebuilding their nation after a horrific civil war. Many believed his days in the Dakota Badlands also exposed him to various classes in American society, transforming an eastern elitist into a man who greatly respected the working class and one who fought to protect and advance ordinary Americans.

As president of the United States, he strove to promote and to provide Americans with wilderness experiences within the remote regions of the American West. Roosevelt's administration preserved and conserved as many remnants of its wild landscape and wildlife as it could through the creation of wildlife reserves, national forests, national parks, and the creation of various bureaucratic agencies to efficiently manage these public lands. Protective agencies like the United States Forest Service ensured the conservation of valuable natural resources and the preservation of wilderness areas that allowed Americans to reconnect with their pioneering past. Additionally, Roosevelt ensured federal government agencies facilitated the further settlement of potential agricultural lands located within the American West into the 20th century. Reflective of the Progressive Movement, Roosevelt believed the engineers and scientists, like those who served the Reclamation Service and Forest Service, would overcome the natural and social elements and further facilitate agricultural settlements and effectively implement his conservation policies.⁹

Roosevelt believed the settlement of the American West not only shaped the nation, it shaped future American leaders and soldiers; he wanted to ensure this process continued by protecting both a physical and mythical realm where Americans could rediscover the pioneer spirit of their ancestors, hopefully for generations to come. Roosevelt and his writings urged Americans to honor their common frontier legacy, in addition to fulfilling their obligations to the state, by shaping their bodies and easing their stressed minds by exploring the immense woods and deserts of the rugged regions

of the American West. The vast federal lands set aside during his administration, along with various federal bureaucratic agencies to oversee these public lands, became the legacy of Theodore Roosevelt: the eastern dude, the rancher, the Cowboy President, the Progressive.

There were obvious parallels between Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill, especially in their personal lives and their perspectives of the frontier experience. Both men lost their fathers at a relatively young age. Buffalo Bill's father died when he was just a boy and Roosevelt's father passed away while the young man studied at Harvard. Both men idolized their fathers. Buffalo Bill believed his father died an early death having stood against the expansion of slavery, while Roosevelt believed his father's death resulted from the evils of machine politics. Their mothers also played key roles in shaping the future behavior of these young men. Roosevelt noted his mother was an incredible storyteller and romantic, traits Roosevelt used to his advantage throughout his political career. Buffalo Bill's mother struggled to raise a family after her husband's death, balancing the economic needs and educational needs of young Will Cody who touted himself as "the man of the family".

Both men were active members of the Freemasons, a social organization that promoted brotherly love and fraternity.¹⁰ Through Freemasonry and other organizations like the Boone and Crockett Club, Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill shared common friends. Both socialized and worked with the famous illustrator and painter Frederic Remington, whose visual depictions of life and struggles in the American West greatly romanticized the frontier and provided key iconic images that defined the national experience. Both men knew author Charles King, whose non-fictional and fictional writings about the military men serving in the Plains Indian War promulgated the popular image of the frontier army in the West. In the Wyoming region, both men were well acquainted with internationally renowned artist and rancher A. A. Anderson, rancher O. H. Wallop (the future Earl of Portsmouth), and my great-great grandfather, John B. Goff, who served Roosevelt as a hunting guide and then later managed one of Buffalo Bill's tourist facilities.

Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill shared a common goal of promoting settlement and irrigation in the American West, well past the year of 1890, when the United States Census Bureau declared the frontier line no longer existed and 1893, when historian Frederick Jackson Turner proclaimed the frontier movement transformed the United States into an exceptional nation.¹¹ Through the individual efforts of both Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt, new western communities emerged and thousands of settlers homesteaded on reclaimed lands through their efforts to promote irrigation projects. Although it is often erroneously assumed that Buffalo Bill killed off the bison herds on the Great Plains, both men promoted the preservation of wilderness and wildlife, along with the conservation of natural resources, to ensure Americans continued to live an economically sound life that also provided wild regions and wild sports to rejuvenate their health and emotional wellbeing.

There are numerous reasons *why* many believe the two men must have been close friends. For many Americans, regardless if they lived in a homestead shack on the Great Plains or in a mansion located near an urban seaport, Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill symbolized the conquering of the American Frontier and the personification of the American Dream. Many Europeans saw both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill as American military heroes, whose actions and beliefs provided an alternative to the view of Americans as fat capitalists whose greed transformed America from a rural nation into an industrial nation that led the world in manufacturing. For both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill, it was the Euro-American conquest of the American Frontier, the “Winning of the West,” that made the United States a powerful and united nation. Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill interpreted the history of this frontier process through their actions and their writings, installing both men as experts on the history of the American Frontier process and the lands of the American West.

Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt also positively commented on each other, suggesting the two men were close friends. In an article written for *Success Magazine* shortly after Roosevelt assumed the presidency of the United States after President McKinley’s death, Buffalo Bill recalled and praised Roosevelt’s experiences in the Badlands of the Dakota Territory. In a letter written to Buffalo Bill by Theodore

Roosevelt, dated March 11, 1906, Roosevelt stated, “I believe in you.” Upon Buffalo Bill’s death in 1917, Roosevelt stated, “He embodied those traits of courage, strength, and self-reliant hardihood which are vital to the well-being of the nation.”¹²

Many westerners continue to view Roosevelt as “one of their own,” a president who understood the American West and partnered with pioneers to open the New West of the 20th century. In an overview of the Cody, Wyoming, region’s history printed in a local telephone directory, readers erroneously learn, “Colonel Cody persuaded his friend, President Teddy Roosevelt, to establish the Bureau of Reclamation to build the Shoshone Dam and Reservoir, later renamed the Buffalo Bill Dam and Reservoir... Also through his friendship with the President, Buffalo Bill helped establish the first great National Forest... and the first Ranger Station, at Wapiti.”¹³ The article implies that a supposed bond between east and west that was forged in the relationship between these two men greatly benefited the region and the nation. With the completion of the Buffalo Bill Dam, “the highest in the world at the time, the community was established soundly in the irrigation and electric power fields.”¹⁴

While both men’s experiences and western traits appeared comparable, there were striking differences between the two internationally renowned Rough Riders and character traits that drove the two men apart from one another. This was apparent during Roosevelt’s inaugural parade held March 1905. Former Rough Riders who served under Roosevelt in Cuba marched in the parade through the streets of Washington, D.C. Prominent American Indian leaders, including the Apache Geronimo, the Comanche Quanah Parker and the Nez Perce Chief Joseph also paraded through the streets in honor of Roosevelt’s inauguration. Yet Buffalo Bill did not ride in the parade, nor was he present at any of the ceremonies. Despite its strong western themes, the inaugural parade lacked representation from the celebrity who popularized the dramatic history of the Wild West throughout the United States and Europe through the performances of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West.¹⁵

Although the two men shared a common goal of continued development of settlements in the west through the early 20th century, they advocated different approaches. Buffalo Bill’s exaggerated role of exterminating the bison from the Great

Plains and efforts to profit from speculation on western lands offered a striking contrast to the president advocating greater federal oversight of western lands, and Buffalo Bill now appeared to be the despoiler of American West who advocated the *laissez-faire* practice of the American pioneer – first in time, first in right. Roosevelt’s conservation policies clearly represented the advancement of national progressive reform, advocating for managing the nation’s vast warehouse of natural resources through scientific management, ensuring the greatest good for the greatest number. Roosevelt emerged as the great conservationist who not only succeeded in preserving many of the scenic wonders of the American West, but also advocated the wise use of natural resources through conservation. Emerging federal agencies like the Forest Service and the Bureau of Reclamation under the Roosevelt administration challenged the concept of rugged pioneers settling the American West as well as curtailing the untrammled grabs for natural resources that resulted in great profits for the few.

As a stern, upright father-figure, Roosevelt also advocated for progressive moral reform to strengthen American families, which was in sharp contrast to the behavior revealed in Buffalo Bill’s sensational divorce proceedings that began before the 1905 presidential inauguration and continued to cause headlines thereafter. As the sensational unseemly details of his marriage were splashed across the front pages of the nation’s newspapers, Buffalo Bill seemingly representing an immoral behavior fueled by an uninhibited masculinity and abuse of alcohol. At the turn of the century, Buffalo Bill still represented the nation’s “Wild West” days, whereas Roosevelt, although tempered by his western adventures, reflected a national shift to a more civilized future shaped by progressive moral reform.

Were Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt friends? Did they work together to advance further western settlement in the early 20th century? Did they share a common view of the history of the American Frontier and how that history shaped the American people and the nation? On the surface, it seems one could easily answer this seemingly simple question with a definite “yes” or a shattering “no.” Despite the immense number of writings examining the life and legacy of Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill, both of whom the public identified as “Rough Riders,” the precise nature of their relationship has

remained unclear. No known photograph of Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill posing together can be located; scholars usually can dismiss these images by identifying the Roosevelt or Buffalo Bill look-alike in the photograph. General biographies of Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt consistently repeat a combination of three quotations from Roosevelt to prove a friendship existed; however, scrutiny of these statements offered as evidence indicates many authors printed the remarks outside of their original context or accepted them at face value, in addition to often copying the quotes from previous published biographies and not the primary sources.



Figure 1: This image is often purported to be Theodore Roosevelt, on the left, riding alongside Buffalo Bill through the streets of Cheyenne, Wyoming, during Frontier Days. However, archival information indicates Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill were not in Cheyenne at the same time. See Wyoming Tales and Trails website: <http://www.wyomingtalesandtrails.com/frontierdaysstart.html>, last accessed on May 21, 2016.



Figure 2: This image of Buffalo Bill Cody and General Hugh L. Scott is often confused as a photograph of Theodore Roosevelt and Cody. McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, (P.71.1441).

In the secondary sources relating to William F. Cody, Roosevelt is often referred to as a kindred spirit of the American West, or as Roosevelt's competitor for credit in the popularization of the term Rough Rider.¹⁶ Some historians examining the debate regarding the origin of the term Rough Riders and the development of the Big Horn Basin portray the relationship in terms of a conflict of interests, or of two men with two big egos who did not truly like each other. Most the sources indicate Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill viewed the American West, its history, its prospects, and its legends from the same perspective. Clearly, for many authors, both Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt's lives reflect the history and legacy of the settlement of the American West, be it from a romantic perspective or from a viewpoint that stresses conquest. With a few exceptions, these biographies assert that Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt appeared to offer similar perspectives, goals, and attitudes towards the American West.

If the literature on Buffalo Bill often touts his relationship with Theodore Roosevelt, why, then, is this component missing from, or slightly referenced in, the

majority Of Roosevelt biographies?¹⁷ Many Roosevelt biographers identify the common links between the two men, especially the role they both played in defining *fin-de-siècle* masculinity as shaped by their adventures in the American West; however, these references do not to demonstrate a personal friendship or professional collaboration. Buffalo Bill and Buffalo Bill's Wild West are described as simply part of the manly, western backdrop of 19th century America, a marketing force motivating eastern dudes like Roosevelt to head deep into the rugged, American West, where they could rebuild their physical and emotional fortitude. These interpretations clearly capture the popularity of the image of the Wild West in the East and its relationship to issues of masculinity; however, they tend to ignore the longstanding eastern economic, scientific, and general curiosity regarding the American West, its landscapes, its resources, and its original inhabitants.

Many Roosevelt scholars, struggling to reconcile his great interest in hunting with his conservation legacy, as well as those who greatly admire Roosevelt's hunting aptitude and writings on the subject, avoid connecting him with Buffalo Bill. Perhaps with the popular misconception that Buffalo Bill killed off all the bison on the Great Plains, scholars have played down any focus on this putative relationship. How could a great environmentalist like Roosevelt be associated with a man who earned his moniker for killing a great number of bison? Roosevelt's own sportsman organization, the Boone and Crockett Club identified market hunters such as Buffalo Bill as villains in their efforts to conserve wildlife. (It was an organization that William F. Cody never joined.) Roosevelt's killing of thousands of animals in Africa, albeit for scientific purposes, continues to generate angst among Roosevelt scholars. Perhaps examining his relationship with Buffalo Bill causes one to ponder on Roosevelt's hunting in a light that characterizes him as no better than a market hunter?

In many academic and popular depictions of Roosevelt, he is viewed as a quirky yet straight-laced, upstanding, moral citizen.¹⁸ Perhaps Roosevelt scholars have been prone to dismiss his connections to Buffalo Bill because the latter is often popularly depicted in a completely different light, as a womanizer, a drunk, and a braggart. In his book, *Island of Vice*, Richard Zacks depicts Buffalo Bill as a foil to Roosevelt's morality

by relating how in 1890 Buffalo Bill offered Roosevelt's brother Elliott, who suffered from a long struggle with alcoholism, a shot of whisky. Many Roosevelt biographers touch upon his fascination and friendliness towards various drunks, blasphemers, and rough men in the Badlands, yet, for whatever reason, Buffalo Bill is missing from the roster, unless as a foil.

Many Roosevelt biographies touch upon his role in advancing federal reclamation through his support and signing of the Newlands Bill in 1902, which created the current Bureau of Reclamation.¹⁹ And yet, despite their intense study of Roosevelt's conservation policies, many scholars overlooked his professional dealings with William F. Cody to advance community and resource development in the American West. Why neglect Roosevelt's dealings with Buffalo Bill, one of the American West's greatest promoters? Perhaps in appreciative analyses of the bureaucracies created during the Roosevelt Administration such as the Forest Service and Reclamation Service, Buffalo Bill seems to be the model of the outdated mode of western settlement. Maybe the characterization of Buffalo Bill as the rugged pioneer, benevolent town developer, and struggling water promoter seems out of place with the presentation of these bureaucracies as modern, scientific governing agencies that strive for the greatest good for the greatest number.

Many Roosevelt scholars identify Roosevelt as the all-American president, one who represented the East Coast, both the North and the South, in addition to the American West. Occasionally historians have used William F. Cody's name to cement Roosevelt's connections to the American West, validating his image as an "American of Americans." Because he became a key symbol of westward expansion, Buffalo Bill's ties to Roosevelt have offered the latter's experiences in the Badlands of the Dakota Territory a degree of credibility, an aspect that many easterners who went west lacked. Perhaps a few observers believe it is necessary to counter the popular depictions of Roosevelt as nothing more than an eastern dude out west by providing him with a "sponsor" like Buffalo Bill – a supporter who secures Roosevelt's membership in the club of authentic rugged westerners.

But Buffalo Bill is noticeably missing, or slightly referred to, throughout the bulk of the Roosevelt historiography, begging the question: if Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt were so contemporaneously instrumental in shaping the American West and Americans' perceptions of the frontier myth, why, then, are there so few tangible connections between them for historians to analyze? And if such a personal or professional relationship existed between these two public figures, why would it appear only in the secondary literature on Buffalo Bill? By examining this relationship in closer detail, perhaps we can come to a better understanding as to why Buffalo Bill Cody's connections to the Roosevelt historiography are limited to only a few references. Such an examination offers an opportunity, not only to flesh out the life stories of both men, but also to come to a better understanding of the significance of the West in shaping certain economic, political, and cultural legacies of American history as well as coming to a deeper understanding of the promulgation of frontier myths and legends.

Were Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill friends? Did they work together to open the American West for future economic development? Did they collaborate with one another to shape a common perspective of the legacy of the American West? To determine answers to these questions, this work will focus on three levels of Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt's relationship –the personal, the professional, and the public. Considering how differing audiences influenced each document, the author relied extensively on both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill's private writings to consider the true nature of their supposed friendship and their varying working relationship. The public perception of these two Rough Riders that stemmed from their contemporaries' writings, statements to newspapers, and their published works is juxtaposed with the complexities of their relationship as revealed through the private correspondence. Additionally, detailed comparisons of Roosevelt's daily schedules and Buffalo Bill's performance venues have allowed the author with to invalidate certain claims concerning supposed public meetings between the two, as documented in various newspaper articles and many contemporary secondary sources. These questionable sources have tended to either ignore or exaggerate the actual bonds between these two Rough Riders. This methodology of consistently questioning and reassessing the connections between the

lives of Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill provides a more insightful view, not only of the nature of their complex relationship, the complexity of their social and political viewpoints, and the intriguing shaping their shared Rough Rider image, but also of just how and why those intersections have continued to influence past and present perceptions of their relationship and historical interpretations of both men. Additionally, through the exploration of these two Rough Riders' lives and legacies, readers will gain a better understanding of the evolution of frontier imagery in the Progressive Era through World War I and the ways in which persistent iconic images of the American West have helped to shape current domestic and international views of American exceptionalism.

The first two chapters of this dissertation will examine the historiographies of Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt considering their experiences within the American West as documented in primary sources and interpreted through secondary sources. Chapter three examines Buffalo Bill's life in a violent western setting and how he found financial success in the East and overseas. Chapter four discusses Roosevelt's privileged upbringing in New York City and his sojourn in the Badlands of Dakota Territory, which many claimed transformed him from a "city-slicker" to a cowboy. Chapters five and six will consider Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill as frontier historians and spokespersons of life in the American West, as well as considering their common message and juxtaposing their differing styles in interpreting America's frontier past. These early chapters consider the personal relationship between Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill, and contradicts the popular conception that the two men were indeed close friends.

Chapter seven analyzes both men's involvement in the Spanish American War and its implications on both men's public fame and how their western personas influenced their public image during America's rise as a world power. After Roosevelt's return from Cuba, he and Buffalo Bill developed a strained professional relationship, one in which each tried to use the other to achieve his own goals. The dissertation focuses more on the professional collaboration between Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt in chapter eight and nine, related to their common goals and differing methods applied towards advancing settlement and preserving wilderness regions within

the American West at the turn of the century. Chapter ten examines Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill's separate roles in promoting the American Western myth to an international audience and the final chapter will examine how Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill's western personas have been interpreted in the realm of public memory. These last chapters offer insight into the development of a public relationship between Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill, which promulgated the public perception that the two men were friends and advocated similar beliefs.

This approach offers greater insight into how the historical actuality and the popular memory of both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill have tended to contradict one another by characterizing both men as westerners cut from the same cloth. Additionally, this public relationship fostered a misleading public memory that Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill's friendship produced a unique collaboration between western settlers and the federal government, one that ensured the settlement of the American West's last frontiers alongside the conservation of natural resources and the preservation of wilderness regions. By examining three levels (personal, professional, and public) of the relationship between Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill, and explaining the complexity of both men and how they shaped the American West and its myths, this dissertation provides a more nuanced perspective on both their legacies and how their affiliation shaped common beliefs about America's frontier history. Through the complexity of Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt's relationship, one gains greater insight into different layers of the American western story: the emergence of legendary western personas; the conflict between the pioneer spirit and federalism in shaping the Euro-American settlement of the American West in the early 20th century; the public's perceptions of its frontier past and the international promulgation of the legends and myths of the American West and how these images shaped American society, politics, culture, and the nation's emergence as a world power.

¹ "Quentin a 'Scout' in Wild West Show," *The Washington Times*, (Washington D.C.) May 20, 1908, p. 20, Library of Congress Website Chronicling America: <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/>. Last accessed on October 18, 2015.

² *Ibid.*

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- ³ “Quentin in Mock Fight,” *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), May 20, 1908, p. 20, Library of Congress Website Chronicling America: <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/>. Last accessed on October 18, 2015.
- ⁴ William F. Cody, “Buffalo Bill Writes a New True Tale of the Frontier Heroism and Explains the Origin of the Term ‘Rough Riders,’” *Omaha Herald* reprint of the *New York Herald*, June 18, 1899.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ William F. Cody, “Roosevelt’s Rough Riders,” *National Magazine*, vol. 8, (April-Sept. 1898), p. 338.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ See, for example, Edward S. Barnard, *Story of the Great West* (Pleasantville, NY: Reader’s Digest, 1977); Frank Getlein et al., *The Lure of the Great West* (Waukesha, WI.: Country Beautiful, 1973); Frank H. Goodyear, III, *Faces of the Frontier: Photographic Portraits from the American West, 1845-1924* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press with National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 2009); Richard Ketchum, ed., *The American Heritage Book of the Pioneer Spirit* (New York: American Heritage, 1959); David Lavender, *The American Heritage History of the West* (New York: American Heritage/Bonanza Books, 1988); Paul O’Neil, *The Old West Series: The End and the Myth* (Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1979); Geoffrey C. Ward, *The West: An Illustrated History* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1996); Editors of Time-Life Books, *The Wild West* (New York: Warner Books, 1993) [a companion to Ken Burns’ television series *The West*]. *True West, Cowboys & Indians* [a companion to the television miniseries produced by Rattlesnake Productions] and *Wild West* magazine often highlighted stories about both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill. See also Ralph K. Andrist, *The American Heritage History of the Confident Years, 1865-1916* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1987) on how Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill are depicted in general histories of the USA. For biopics on Buffalo Bill, see *Buffalo Bill*, dir. William A. Wellman (20th Century Fox, 1944), and *Buffalo Bill and the Indians; or, Sitting Bull’s History Lesson*, dir. Robert Altman (Metro Golden Mayer, 1976). For films on Roosevelt, see *The Rough Riders*, dir. John Milius (TNT television, 1997) and *The Wind and the Lion*, dir. Milius (Columbian Pictures, 1975).
- ⁹ Theodore Roosevelt created the modern United States Forest Service in 1905 by moving the National Forest Reserves from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture and placing them under the control of Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot. The modern Bureau of Reclamation emerged from the Reclamation Service, an agency within the United States Geological Survey that resulted from the Newlands Act of 1902 signed by Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt also implemented a study within Yellowstone National Park to create a “Park Guard” and supported the creation of the National Park Service in 1916, see Jeremy M. Johnston, “Progressivism Comes to Yellowstone: Theodore Roosevelt and Professional Land Management Agencies in the Yellowstone Ecosystem,” in *Greater Yellowstone Public Lands: A Century of Discovery, Hard Lessons, and Bright Prospects: Proceedings of the 8th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, October 17-19, 2005*, ed. A. Wondrak Biel (Yellowstone National Park: Yellowstone Center for Resources, 2006), p. 80-93.
- ¹⁰ For an overview of Buffalo Bill’s Masonic affiliations, see Ernest J. Goppert, Jr.’s article on Buffalo Bill: http://www.masonicworld.com/education/files/may03/buffalo_bill.htm Theodore Roosevelt provided an overview of his Masonic membership, see John J. Leary, Jr., *Talks with T.R.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company), p. 275-277.
- ¹¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office and American Historical Association, 1894), p. 199-127. Turner referred to a “recent bulletin of the Superintendent of the Census for 1890” that noted a frontier line could no longer be defined in the United States. See David M. Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal* (Lawrence, KS: University of Press of Kansas, 1993) for a historical overview of the frontier line and how its dissolution generated great concerns over the future of the United States without a frontier region.
- ¹² Theodore Roosevelt to William F. Cody, March 11, 1905, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress, Series II, v. 54 p. 323. See also, William F. Cody, “In the West, Theodore Roosevelt Won His Health and Strenuousness,” *Success*, January 1902, Harvard College Library, Widener Library,

Theodore Roosevelt Collection, 332.C64i. This article can be viewed on *The Papers of William F. Cody* database: www.CodyArchive.org

¹³ 2005-2006 Phone Directory, Wyoming's Big Horn Basin, (Phone Directories Company). The author recalls various versions of this summary appearing in various promotional tourist materials.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ source

¹⁶ See, for example, Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002); Larry McMurtry, *The Colonel and Little Missie: Buffalo Bill, Annie Oakley, and the Beginnings of Superstardom in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005); Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960); Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America – William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005); and Sarah Watts, *Rough Rider in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Desire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).

¹⁷ See, for example, Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc., 1979) (winner of the Pulitzer Prize), *Theodore Rex* (New York: Random House, 2001) and *Colonel Roosevelt* (New York: Random House, 2010). This popular three-volume biography of Roosevelt contains only two passing references to Buffalo Bill. There is no mention of Buffalo Bill in Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931), which also received the Pulitzer Prize.

¹⁸ See, for example, Tom Berenger's portrayal of Theodore Roosevelt in the 1997 TNT miniseries, *Rough Riders* and Brian Keith's 1975 portrayal of Roosevelt in *The Wind and the Lion*; H. W. Brands, *T.R. The Last Romantic* (New York: Basic Books, 1997); and David Fromkin, *The King and the Cowboy: Theodore Roosevelt and Edward the Seventh, Secret Partners* (New York: Penguin, 2008).

¹⁹ See, for example, Douglas Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009) and Paul Russell Cutright, *Theodore Roosevelt the Naturalist* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956).

Chapter I:

Literature Review of Two Rough Riders

In the quest to better understand the personal, professional, and public relationships between Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt, one is struck by the numerous references to Roosevelt within the Buffalo Bill biographies, compared to the scarce mention of Buffalo Bill in the Roosevelt biographies. Throughout the historiography of Buffalo Bill, the impression is given that Roosevelt played a key role in two respects: in reinforcing Buffalo Bill's national significance as a Rough Rider interpreting the American frontier experience through Buffalo Bill's Wild West, and in supporting Buffalo Bill's efforts to open the American West to further settlement. In contrast, the scarce mention of Buffalo Bill in the early Roosevelt literature indicates Roosevelt either ignored Buffalo Bill or early Roosevelt biographers deemed his connections to the famed scout inconsequential or trivial. Only in recent biographies of the former president do we note significant references to Buffalo Bill, most of which are cited from biographies of Buffalo Bill.

Researching the primary resources detailing the lives of Theodore "Teddy" Roosevelt and William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody offers significant challenges in understanding the two Rough Riders' enigmatic relationship. The archival record of Buffalo Bill is relatively slight when compared to primary documents from, to and about Theodore Roosevelt. The archival material concerning Buffalo Bill can be characterized as dramatic and sensational; whereas the Roosevelt material can be considered more serious, with a political bent. Personal correspondence written by Buffalo Bill is limited and scattered among various archives and private collections. Roosevelt's correspondence is vast and details various aspects of his life and career. Although many Buffalo Bill biographers touted his relationship with President Roosevelt, the primary sources do not offer much in the way of correspondence or commentary from either individual regarding the other. Other than a few letters exchanged shortly before Roosevelt's presidency, a few requesting political favors, and some relating to a particular phase of Buffalo Bill's career in land development, there is little reference

within the archival record detailing a personal or professional connection between the two men.

The primary resources related to Buffalo Bill tend to offer a sporadic and limited perspective on his life or a sensational history of his western adventures as told by himself and his press agents. A handful of archival collections provide limited correspondence between Buffalo Bill and others and these letters usually relate to only one specific event or phase of his life, such as his mining investments in Arizona, or his various investments in Cody, Wyoming. Buffalo Bill himself published various writings, including autobiographies, magazine articles, and newspaper interviews; however, the authorship and authenticity of these writings remains questionable. Some historians credit John Burke, Buffalo Bill's primary publicist, for writing most of these self-promotional publications; a few sources containing the same verbiage do appear under both Buffalo Bill and Burke's name.¹ Due to Buffalo Bill's celebrity status, many other individuals sought to tell his life story, or shared anecdotal information about meeting the famed scout, or visiting Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Except for the negative news-coverage and legal documents related his infamous divorce proceedings, the bulk of primary sources pertaining to William F. Cody are ephemera and news articles depicting his life and legacy in heroic terms.

Buffalo Bill's correspondence is scattered across the United States and Europe, for no archival or political institution either collected or preserved his private and professional letters. The archives at the McCracken Research Library at the Buffalo Bill Center of the West holds over four hundred letters written by William F. Cody, offering the most complete selection of his writings. Other repositories contain Buffalo Bill's letters filling in some of the gaps.² The Library of Congress and the National Archives holds the correspondence between Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt, preserving the few letters exchanged between the two men.³ Many Buffalo Bill historians relied on two published collections of his correspondence by Stella Foote and Sara Blackstone.⁴ To date, these are the only compilations of Buffalo Bill's correspondence published in book form.

Buffalo Bill's autobiographical writings started in 1879 with the publication of *The Life of the Honorable William F. Cody, Known as Buffalo Bill*.⁵ In 1888, a second version of Buffalo Bill's autobiography appeared under the title, *Story of the Wild West and Campfire Chats*. This second version added a lengthy chapter detailing the premier performance of *Buffalo Bill's Wild West* in England before various royal personages and heads of state including Queen Victoria and contained biographies of legendary frontiersmen such as Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, and Kit Carson. Buffalo Bill reprinted this edition of his autobiography three separate times and it appeared in different formats.⁶ In 1908, another work appeared under Buffalo Bill Cody's name entitled *True Tales of the Plains*.⁷ This autobiographical account of Buffalo Bill's life offered various retellings of his role during the Indian Wars in addition to accounts of conflicts between the frontier army and American Indian nations. The last version of the Buffalo Bill autobiographies, entitled *Buffalo Bill's Life Story: An Autobiography*, appeared posthumously in 1920.⁸ This version compiled stories from a series of articles published in William Randolph Hearst's *Cosmopolitan Magazine*. Buffalo Bill refers to Theodore Roosevelt only in this last autobiography, noting that Roosevelt ordered the federal construction of a road from Cody, Wyoming, to Yellowstone National Park based on Buffalo Bill's recommendations – a story often repeated in regional tourist brochures and local histories.

Numerous articles appeared under William F. Cody's name in various magazines such as *Success*, *Metropolitan*, and *Cosmopolitan*. Related to his relationship with Roosevelt are an 1898 article in which Buffalo Bill discusses the origin of the term Rough Riders and a 1902 article praising President Roosevelt's skills as a westerner.⁹ Many of these journal articles are retellings of Buffalo Bill's past exploits, closely resembling the material that appeared in his many autobiographies.¹⁰ Buffalo Bill also wrote a few articles extolling the wonders of the Big Horn Basin and calling for increased protection of its wildlife resources.¹¹ As with the autobiographies, historians must question the authorship of these articles for it may be possible that Burke, or another ghostwriter, wrote or heavily edited these writings.

Various interviews attributed to Buffalo Bill also appear in numerous newspaper articles; however, it is nearly impossible to determine which interviews are true and which are fabrications.¹² The voluminous amount of news articles pertaining to his later career challenges the modern historian.¹³ Most these articles mainly examine Buffalo Bill as a celebrity, reviewing his performances and covering his infamous divorce proceedings. The newspaper coverage tends to be somewhat sensational, and in some cases, misleading; however, it is useful for historians to gain a better understanding of public perceptions of Buffalo Bill. One must be careful using these newspaper articles for many prove to be contradictory and must be validated with other source material.¹⁴ With more and more newspapers becoming available online, it is easy to find information on a celebrity such as Buffalo Bill; however, the voluminous nature of these databases requires a historian to sort through a tremendous amount of information. For the purposes of this dissertation, the author has consulted newspapers to follow-up on fellow historian's interpretations, or to find information regarding the connections between Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt that may not be available in other primary resources. The authorship, audience, and dates of publication of news articles have been considered, along and other pertinent information, to assess their veracity and value as evidence.

When examining the life of William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, the ephemera from his stage career and Buffalo Bill's Wild West proves to be an invaluable resource for understanding the popular image of Buffalo Bill. Buffalo Bill's stage productions and scenes reenacted in the Wild West depicted his past exploits, which often blurred fact with fiction, and established Cody's public persona.¹⁵ Additionally, the programs contain remarks from army officers, with whom he served, to highlight his contributions to the settling of the American West. Numerous posters advertising Buffalo Bill's Wild West also provide stunning visual depictions of Buffalo Bill's past exploits.¹⁶ Although many historians characterize these pieces as exaggerated and flamboyant, they do offer a glimpse into Buffalo Bill's popular depiction of the American Frontier and his contributions to settling the American West, which have proved to be a valuable resource in examining the collective memory of Buffalo Bill's western legacy.

Additionally, this collection of ephemera, especially programs, clearly indicates Buffalo Bill's desire to secure credit for coining the term Rough Rider before Roosevelt organized his regiment.

Dime novels, beginning with the first Buffalo Bill story written by Ned Buntline published in 1869, flooded the market with heroic stories of Buffalo Bill's exploits. Biographer Don Russell noted 557 original dime novel storylines about Buffalo Bill. Known reprints bring the sum of Buffalo Bill dime novels to over 1,700. Ned Buntline introduced the first Buffalo Bill dime novel with *King of the Border Men* and went on to write another fourteen. Colonel Prentiss Ingraham wrote around 121 dime novels on Buffalo Bill, W. Bert Foster wrote 136 titles, William Wallace Cooke wrote 119 stories, and Reverend John Harvey Whitson wrote fifty-nine.¹⁷ Don Russell lists twenty-seven individual dime novel titles written under Buffalo Bill's name; however, his role in writing these stories is unclear. The dime novels are mostly fiction, but include references to historical events or historical persons, blending the fact and fiction of Buffalo Bill's life. Although fictional, these dime novels greatly shaped public perceptions of America's frontier history and Buffalo Bill's military career.¹⁸

Many of Buffalo Bill's contemporaries and relatives also offered biographies of the scout and showman. These biographical accounts include, but are not limited to, works by Buffalo Bill's publicist John M. Burke and Cody's sisters Helen Cody Wetmore and Julia Goodman.¹⁹ Written before Roosevelt's emergence as a national military figure, Wetmore's biography does not mention Roosevelt; however, she does offer some interesting perspectives of Buffalo Bill's political ambitions and his efforts to irrigate and settle the Big Horn Basin. Louisa Cody, often depicted as the long-suffering wife of Buffalo Bill, also wrote a biography of her husband, entitled *Memories of Buffalo Bill*.²⁰ This book offers no commentary on the difficulties of their marriage; instead, she offers a storyline that idealizes, not only Buffalo Bill, but their shared life together as well. One of Buffalo Bill's performers, Charles Eldridge Griffin, wrote *Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill* in 1908, detailing Buffalo Bill's last tour of Europe.²¹

These personal accounts offer an idealized view of Buffalo Bill; however, they also offer historians today some insight into the construction of his public image and his

own views on the Indian Wars and the settling of the American West. Due to Buffalo Bill's tremendous celebrity status, many leading literary, political, and military figures provided interesting anecdotal material about him and Buffalo Bill's Wild West.²² Many of Buffalo Bill's fellow actors and business partners also described their involvement with Buffalo Bill's Wild West and their day-to-day interactions with him. These works include *Under the Big Top* by Courtney Ryley Cooper, *This Way to the Big Show* by Dexter Fellows, *Ink from a Circus Press Agent* by Charles H. Day, and *Odd People I Have Met*, all of which offer a variety of anecdotes about Buffalo Bill as a performer in his later years. From the historian's standpoint, one of the shortcomings of this collection of memoirs by circus performers and agents is that it has greatly contributed to the modern public misconception that Buffalo Bill's Wild West was, itself, a circus. Yet these memoirs offer a unique behind-the-scenes of Buffalo Bill as performer.²³ Three unpublished manuscripts written by Nate Salsbury, Pawnee Bill, and George W. T. Beck also offer other depictions of Buffalo Bill, especially as a business partner and entrepreneur.²⁴ Nate Salsbury, the Vice President of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, also wrote an unpublished account of his life with Buffalo Bill that is less than flattering, focusing on his employer's drinking and inability to manage the Wild West.²⁵

The overly positive tones of the primary and other contemporary sources detailing Buffalo Bill's life, career, and legacy, have provided later historians with great fodder from which to argue that he was either an authentic frontiersman who built an acting career around his exploits, or an exaggerated heroic creation by dime novelist and show publicists. The latter perspective tends to prevail: current scholars often use this material to argue Buffalo Bill was a sham, a celebrity created through the exaggerated writings of various publicists who covered his flaws and exaggerated or made-up his great adventures. It is unfortunate, from the perspective of historical accuracy, that so much of Buffalo Bill's private correspondence has been lost to time, or scattered in various archival locations, or held by private collectors, because letters written in Buffalo Bill's own hand tend to be the most revealing about his character. The plethora of Buffalo Bill ephemera and published works, and the scarcity of his own

correspondence by comparison, has greatly shaped current interpretations of Buffalo Bill's life and legacy and led to a tendency to emphasize the artificial aspects of both.

For the purposes of this dissertation, these primary sources have been consulted to demonstrate how Buffalo Bill documented his life story, his interpretation of how he contributed to the Euro-American settlement of the American West, and how he dramatized his exploits dramatically to international audiences. Additionally, these sources offer an insight into how Buffalo Bill came to fuse Theodore Roosevelt's popularity as a western rancher and Rough Rider into the message publicly conveyed by Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Buffalo Bill's references to Roosevelt also demonstrated how he used a popular president's name to publicize and offer credibility to his financial investments in the Big Horn Basin of Wyoming. It is noteworthy that most of these references to Roosevelt began to appear after the Spanish American War and Roosevelt's heroic return with his Rough Rider regiment.

In contrast, the personal writings of Theodore Roosevelt are vast and offer a detailed perspective on the various components of his life; however, due to these extensive writings, it becomes easy for historians to follow the path of least resistance by locating material suited to a singular argument, ignoring his other writings that may challenge their views. In many instances, Roosevelt contradicted himself or changed his perspective, which resulted from his writing to different audiences or from a shift in his thinking that occurred through time. Roosevelt's correspondence is very complete and detailed, and when his published writings are added, the historian must sort through a plethora of material to assess and interpret any aspect of Roosevelt's beliefs, life and career.

The Theodore Roosevelt Papers at the Library of Congress contain over 100,000 letters written by Roosevelt, in addition to 150,000 letters written to Roosevelt. The collection also contains daily schedules, press releases, news clippings, photos, and various other documents related to his New York governorship, his presidency, and his post-presidential career. The Library of Congress microfilmed the collection and indexed it in three volumes. Unfortunately, the three separate indexes offer very little detail on the items within the collection and list the letters by the last name and the

initials of the first and middle name of the individual with whom Roosevelt is corresponding. There is no indication of subject matter, only the date and number of pages of the correspondence in question. The organization of this collection requires historians to search amongst names of individuals most likely to be connected to their research interest in hopes of finding correspondence that may relate to the subject in question. Although this collection is very extensive and full of extremely valuable material, it is difficult to use, a factor that has unfortunately limited its full potential of providing a boon of material for Roosevelt scholars.²⁶

The Theodore Roosevelt Association also collected numerous letters written by Roosevelt and his family. This material is now located at Harvard University in the Theodore Roosevelt Collection and is readily searchable through a five-volume catalog and shelf list, in addition to online databases, inventorying the collection. *Theodore Roosevelt Collection: Dictionary Catalogue and Shelflist Supplement* provides a detailed reference aid to the letters contained in the Theodore Roosevelt Collection, in addition to the various other books, articles, and photos within the archive.²⁷ A portion of Roosevelt's correspondence from both collections was published and indexed in Elting Morison's eight volumes of *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*.²⁸ This lengthy series of volumes only offers 6,500 letters, a fraction of Theodore Roosevelt's numerous correspondences. Morison's set also includes a detailed chronology, in some cases a daily listing, of Roosevelt's activities.

Following his death, a few of Roosevelt's family members and colleagues also published letters they sent to and received from Roosevelt, including Henry Cabot Lodge, Anna Roosevelt Cowles, and Joseph Bucklin Bishop.²⁹ Researchers must be cautious using these contemporaries' letters to Roosevelt due to editorial changes or omissions to the published correspondence. In addition to family and friends, a few historians have also published collections of Roosevelt's letters; these volumes usually focus on one aspect of Theodore Roosevelt's personal life or his political career.³⁰ These collected works of Roosevelt's correspondence are useful for locating subject matter of the letters contained in the vast collections of the Theodore Roosevelt Papers at the Library of Congress and the Theodore Roosevelt Collection at Harvard

University; however, this is reliant on the scope of the letters selected by various editors. None of the published collections of Roosevelt's letters offers researchers any correspondence between Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt.³¹

Published writings by Roosevelt cover a variety of subjects, including histories and biographies of individuals ranging from Oliver Cromwell to Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett.³² Roosevelt also researched and published histories of the Naval War of 1812, New York City, and the early American frontier.³³ Roosevelt wrote numerous tracts on his hunting adventures and various aspects of natural history examining wildlife in North America, South America, and Africa.³⁴ In addition to history and natural history, Roosevelt published a number of books containing his political commentary and speeches from the 1900 election, the 1912 election, and the public debate with Woodrow Wilson on American preparedness during the Great War.³⁵

Roosevelt's literary career resulted in over forty volumes, some of them co-authored, providing historians with a wide variety of written material to assist them in analyzing his life and numerous interests. A useful reference tool in sorting out Roosevelt's multifaceted perspectives, and common viewpoints expressed in his writings, is the *Theodore Roosevelt Cyclopedia*, which provides referenced quotes pertaining to a wide range of topics.³⁶ Another tremendous source is Aloysius A. Norton's examination of Roosevelt as a writer for Twayne's "United States Authors" series. Norton not only examines Roosevelt's multifarious writings and his life as an author; he examines them in the context of history, outdoor life, and journalism.³⁷

Roosevelt's focus on natural history also appears in his numerous accounts detailing his visits to his ranch in the Dakota Badlands. Many American Western historians continue to refer to his accounts of ranching for accurate depictions of life in the American West in the 1880s. Roosevelt's first account of his adventures in the Dakota Territory was *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman*.³⁸ In the introduction to this account, Roosevelt briefly touches upon the desolate yet beautiful scenery of the Badlands, the day-to-day workings and life at a western ranch, and the interesting residents of the region, especially the cowboys and the American Indians. The

remainder of Roosevelt's first Dakota narrative recounts various hunting trips and provides detailed natural histories of western wildlife.

Roosevelt followed up this narrative with a series of articles published by *Century Magazine*, which later appeared as the book, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*.³⁹ Not only does this collection of articles provide researchers with autobiographical information regarding Roosevelt's early adventures in the American West, it also provides a glimpse of early ranching operations and western life in the 1880s. *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail* also provides readers with a romantic visual depiction of the American West through the illustrations by Frederic Remington whose iconic images of cowboys and American Indians bring life to Roosevelt's anecdotes. Roosevelt followed these two volumes with other anthologies of articles detailing his later western hunting adventures, *The Wilderness Hunter*, *Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter*, and *A Book Lovers Holiday in the Open*. Other anthologies, such as *Good Hunting* and *Hunting the Grisly* [sic], reprinted chapters and articles from Roosevelt's previously published volumes.⁴⁰

Roosevelt's writings on the American West and his hunting trips received wide readership, especially when published first as journal articles, collectively published as books, and then reprinted through various Roosevelt anthologies. Not only did these articles reflect Roosevelt's interest and expertise in natural history, they also established him as an authoritative spokesperson on the American West, a similar characterization with Buffalo Bill. It is surely significant that, from this vast literature in which Roosevelt freely discussed an array of personalities and types by whom he was impressed and influenced, he only refers to Buffalo Bill in one of the books he wrote detailing his outdoor life in the West – *The Wilderness Hunter*, first published in 1889.

Roosevelt also wrote two autobiographical accounts, *The Rough Riders*, and his autobiography published in 1913. *The Rough Riders* details Roosevelt's exploits during the Spanish-American War with his famed regiment.⁴¹ Often considered a self-serving account of his wartime exploits, Roosevelt's *Rough Riders* also examines the fighting virtues of America's western residents, not only white cowboys but also American Indians and Mexican vaqueros. Although Roosevelt shared the Rough Rider moniker

with Buffalo Bill, there is no mention of Buffalo Bill or Buffalo Bill's Wild West in this volume. In addition to the *Rough Riders*, Roosevelt's 1913 autobiography offers some interesting insight on Roosevelt's life in the American West and his policies intended to shape the region.⁴² Clearly, the autobiography offers a positive view of his life and career, leaving out much information, such as his first marriage and the infamous Brownsville Affair. Despite these omissions, the autobiography does offer Roosevelt's opinions and insight into his administration and early life. Historians must carefully consider and balance Roosevelt's published writings against other sources, especially when one takes into consideration the various audiences he addresses through his multifarious writings.⁴³

Many of Roosevelt's contemporaries also wrote accounts of their shared experiences with Theodore Roosevelt in the west. Lincoln Lang, whose family ranched near Roosevelt, wrote an account detailing his own experiences in the Badlands and his impressions of Theodore Roosevelt.⁴⁴ In 1922, Dr. V. H. Stickney delivered an address for the dedication of a memorial to Roosevelt in Medora recalling Roosevelt's life as a ranchman.⁴⁵ Roosevelt biographer Hermann Hagedorn also interviewed many of Roosevelt's ranching connections for his book *Roosevelt of the Badlands* and published a synopsis of these interviews for the *Outlook* in 1919.⁴⁶ Theodore Roosevelt's ranch partner and hunting companion, Bill Sewall, wrote a brief account of his interactions with Roosevelt from their first meeting in Maine on a hunting trip to their shared lives in the Dakota Badlands.⁴⁷ A number of Roosevelt's hunting guides also published accounts of their hunting expeditions with Roosevelt.⁴⁸ The majority of these writings are positive depictions of Roosevelt, usually focused on how Roosevelt overcame his physical weaknesses and naiveté concerning the American West and its people, to become "one of their own." None of these sources mention Buffalo Bill.

Most of Roosevelt's writings are readily accessible through the various collections, most of which were published after his death. *The Homeward Bound Edition*, published by *Review of Reviews* and released in 1910, contained many of Roosevelt's published articles and speeches.⁴⁹ *The Memorial Edition of the Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, edited by Hermann Hagedorn, a Roosevelt admirer and early

Roosevelt scholar, followed with individual volumes released in the years 1923 to 1926.⁵⁰ A great number of Roosevelt's writings and presidential speeches are included in this collection. The *National Edition of the Works of Theodore Roosevelt* appeared in 1926 with twenty volumes of Roosevelt's writings, with forewords written by Roosevelt's closest friends, including, George Bird Grinnell, Owen Wister, Gifford Pinchot, William Allen White, Leonard Wood, and Henry Cabot Lodge⁵¹. Additionally, Frederick S. Wood compiled a volume of personal reminiscences pertaining to all aspects of Roosevelt's career and personal life.⁵²

Newspaper coverage of Theodore Roosevelt's career is quite extensive. Online databases offer access to many of these articles, but since most American newspapers in his time affiliated themselves with political parties or practiced "Yellow Journalism" to appeal to readers' interest in sensational stories, all articles must be carefully considered and compared to other sources to balance contradictory interpretations and evidence. Even with the increased access to these newspapers through online databases, very few articles have surfaced to indicate that a strong friendship existed between Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill.

Unlike the case of William F. Cody, there is no question regarding the authorship of Roosevelt's autobiographical writings, nor is there a lack of archival material, such as correspondence, to corroborate Roosevelt's accounts. Nevertheless, when using primary sources pertaining to Roosevelt, researchers must be cautious and consider the date of document to determine if it reflects Roosevelt's later, more nuanced perspectives. They must also consider the audience of the archival source or published writings, remembering that Roosevelt carefully wrote his material to meet the needs of specific audiences. Roosevelt scholars must also sort through the various reprinting of Roosevelt's works, since in many cases editors of later collections deleted chapters or added chapters. Researching Roosevelt primary resources poses for historians a great challenge of examining a vast amount of historical information, which, in some cases, offers researchers a plethora of varying Roosevelt stories and opinions. Throughout this enormous record, anyone searching for any mention or comments made by Roosevelt

and his companions regarding Buffalo Bill, will be struck by how very few references they find.

From the primary resources on Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt, only the Buffalo Bill biographies have been consistent in highlighting any personal or professional relationship between the two men, usually suggesting a connection to Roosevelt solidifies Buffalo Bill's national significance. Early Roosevelt biographers ignored Buffalo Bill and the popularity of Buffalo Bill's Wild West. More recent biographies of Roosevelt refer to Buffalo Bill to demonstrate the popularity of the frontier myth during the age or to establish Roosevelt's credibility as a western adventurer, usually referring to past Buffalo Bill biographies for their source material. A careful study of the combined historiography of these two also demonstrate how the cult of personality overcomes major shifts in historical thought throughout the 20th century, often during periods of time while one is depicted in favorable terms the other is disparaged. Only in the late 1960s through the 1970s do we see both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill disparaged by historians. Due to the immense popularity of both men, one must also consider how popular culture reflects or counters the historiography.

The historiography of William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody ranges between biographical accounts portraying him as a flamboyant showman who exaggerated his contribution to the frontier and others presenting him as an authentic hero who became a celebrity by simply reenacting his past exploits. The vast collection of Buffalo Bill's promotional material surrounding his career that exaggerated and promoted his western adventures has greatly contributed to this shift in biographical studies. This material supported later historians' attempts to understand a frontier individual whose accomplishments of an individual they either viewed as those of a heroic adventurer or an inflated blowhard. Due to Buffalo Bill's personification of the pioneering spirit of the American West, his biographies also reflected the shifting historiographical trends and public perceptions of the American West and the glamorization of frontier violence. As Americans reinterpreted the legacy of their own frontier experience, either as a positive triumph of civilization or as a negative force in shaping the exploitive side of the American nation, the depictions of the life of Buffalo Bill shifted as well. Many of

his later biographies were commentaries on how the realities of the frontier reflected, or inaccurately represented, the myths and legends of the American West.

John Allen Gable, long-time director of the Theodore Roosevelt Association, defined five periods of Roosevelt historiography from 1919 to 1990: the “Heroic Period,” the “Debunking Period,” the “Era of *Realpolitik*,” the “New Left Attack,” and the “Roosevelt Renaissance.” Gable noted, “The historiography of Theodore Roosevelt... can teach a great deal about the United States in the twentieth century, particularly in regard to the place of heroes in American culture, the role of the presidency, and views on foreign policy, the military, regulation of the marketplace, and political ideology.”⁵³ However, Gable’s summary of the five periods tends to dismiss historians who criticized Roosevelt and praise those who presented more positive assessments, often ignoring the shifting historiographical grounds of United States History. Much of Gable’s Theodore Roosevelt historiography focuses on his domestic and international legacies; yet it fails to demonstrate how various historians interpreted how Roosevelt’s brief time in the American West shaped his personal life, his political views, and his approach to diplomacy. Of course, the scope of Gable’s historiographical study did not require a focus on Roosevelt’s relationship with Buffalo Bill, or for that matter, other western figures. By examining historians’ interpretations of Roosevelt’s western experience, it should allow us to see how Roosevelt was influenced by his western adventures and became a spokesperson of the American West, in addition to offering a deeper understanding of why many early Roosevelt biographers ignored his connections to Buffalo Bill.⁵⁴

Shortly after Theodore Roosevelt’s death in 1919, Joseph Bucklin Bishop completed the first official Roosevelt biography entitled *Theodore Roosevelt and his Time, Shown in His Letters*, launching what Gable labeled the “Heroic Period” of Roosevelt scholarship.⁵⁵ Additionally, a number of Roosevelt’s contemporaries wrote reminiscences of their relationships with the deceased, including Owen Wister, the author of *The Virginian*, the first literary western novel.⁵⁶ Ferdinand C. Iglehart, D.D., who assisted Roosevelt in his attempts to enforce saloon closing and other morality regulations in New York City, also wrote a biography as a tribute to Roosevelt.⁵⁷ Gable

noted many of the early Roosevelt biographies were “little value to posterity,” yet these works offer some interesting insights of Roosevelt’s ranching career and inform us how Americans viewed the 26th President’s western connections.⁵⁸ “Of the first generation of biographies, only Lewis Einstein’s wins praise from later generations,” noted Gable.⁵⁹ Collectively these early biographies demonstrated the heroic nature of Roosevelt’s ranching experiences in the Dakota Badlands; indicating that Roosevelt redefined his views of socioeconomic class structure by working alongside working class cowboys and other “common” Americans. His adventures and experience, argued these biographers, vastly improved his physical health and rejuvenated his emotional wellbeing after the death of his first wife and mother. The American West not only served as the setting for his hunting adventures, it also inspired his early western writings. In turn, Roosevelt shaped the Badlands by helping to bring in law and order.

These early themes regarding Roosevelt’s sojourn in the west, as expressed collectively and individually by the early biographers, were incorporated into a romantic narrative history by Hermann Hagedorn entitled *Roosevelt in the Badlands*, published in 1921. Gable highlighted *Roosevelt in the Badlands* as a significant work during this phase and it remains one of the most popular accounts of Roosevelt’s early life in Dakota Territory.⁶⁰ Since the publication of Hagedorn’s book, it has become the literary staple for interpreting Roosevelt’s life in the American West and has greatly influenced most Roosevelt biographies that appeared afterward.⁶¹ As in earlier biographies, there are no references to Buffalo Bill, nor Buffalo Bill’s *Wild West*.⁶² Gable argued most the early biographies of Roosevelt were very poor, yet one can see these early biographies set the stage for demonstrating the importance of Theodore Roosevelt’s brief tenure in the American West, although none of these early biographies mention Buffalo Bill. Perhaps these early biographers felt their heroic depiction of Roosevelt’s life changing experiences would be cheapened if they connected him to Buffalo Bill. Their focus solely on Roosevelt overshadowed those who may have guided the eastern dude during his tenure in the West, not only Buffalo Bill, but his close contemporaries like Bill Sewell, Wilmot Dow, the Ferris brothers of Medora, and others. It is also likely these biographers did not want to consider Roosevelt being influenced by Buffalo Bill or the

romantic depictions of Buffalo Bill's Wild West; that is, a showman and a form of entertainment that may have diminished or demeaned Roosevelt's authentic adventures in the Dakotas.

While the first few biographies of Roosevelt detailed his personal development in the Badlands in heroic terms, the early biographies of Buffalo Bill after his death seriously questioned their subject's legendary image. A decade after Buffalo Bill's death, Richard J. Walsh, a press agent and husband of Pulitzer Prize and Nobel Prize winning author Pearl S. Buck, collaborated with Milton Salsbury, son of Buffalo Bill's former business partner Nate Salsbury, to publish *The Making of Buffalo Bill: A Study in Heroics*. Throughout the book, Walsh asserted the dime novels and Buffalo Bill's Wild West exaggerated the scout's exploits on the frontier.⁶³ In many ways, Walsh's biography of Buffalo Bill reflects how historians began to question the heroics of nations and great warriors in the aftermath of the devastation caused by the blunders of the Great War and the militaristic rhetoric that caused the outbreak of hostilities.⁶⁴ Yet Walsh also argued Buffalo Bill's adventures remained significant and heroic, even with the exaggerations stripped away. Although Walsh questioned the truthfulness of Buffalo Bill's western adventures, he noted the truth lay somewhere between the extremes of dramatic fabrication and historical accuracy.

Walsh reprinted Roosevelt's quote about Buffalo Bill pioneering a new road to Yellowstone National Park; however, he also reprinted an 1886 letter from Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge where within Roosevelt used the term Rough Rider before it was employed by Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Clearly, the early Roosevelt biographers failed to address any connections with Buffalo Bill, but Walsh deemed his subject's connections to Theodore Roosevelt regarding the economic development of the American West worthy of comment and noted Roosevelt's promulgation of the Rough Rider imagery popularized by Buffalo Bill. Although he seriously challenged the popular imagery of Buffalo Bill as a frontiersman, Walsh felt it necessary to establish his subject's connections to a leading international political figure.

In 1929, Herbert Cody Blake wrote a scathing critique of Buffalo Bill in a pamphlet entitled *Blake's Western Stories*. Quoting from many of Buffalo Bill's past

acquaintances, Blake dismissed most of Buffalo Bill's exploits, going so far as to argue Buffalo Bill never killed a hostile Indian! Blake points out that many other western residents effectively contributed to the settlement of the American West, but the public did not know of these individuals because they did not achieve the celebrity status of Buffalo Bill.⁶⁵ According to Blake, William F. Cody's famed moniker "Buffalo Bill" supposedly stemmed from when he was bucked off a horse while hunting bison. Although Blake's work on Buffalo Bill did not see much circulation, it did reflect how contemporary scouts, guides, and other western "frontiersmen" resisted the iconic image of Buffalo Bill and sought to bolster their own exploits by tearing down Buffalo Bill's famed exploits. Any established or self-proclaimed frontier hero, motivated by rage or jealousy, could enhance and publicize their own reputation by discrediting the recently deceased Buffalo Bill. Blake's work does not mention Theodore Roosevelt, perhaps an intentional oversight to further negate Buffalo Bill's national recognition. Blake's work also suggests why many of Roosevelt's biographers in the heroic period negated any connections with Buffalo Bill and Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

John Gable identified the 1930s and 1940s as the Debunking Period of Theodore Roosevelt historiography. This era of debunking occurred during Franklin D. Roosevelt's Administration. Franklin, Theodore Roosevelt's distant cousin, overshadowed his cousin's political accomplishments with his New Deal and by leading the nation through World War II. Additionally, the two cousins represented to different political parties; Theodore was a Republican and Franklin a Democrat. With the stock market crash of 1929 and President Herbert Hoover's seeming indifference to the nation's economic plight, naturally many questioned the past policies of the Republican administrations of Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Hoover. This political difference divided the Roosevelt family for years to come, yet many current historians note the numerous similarities between the two Roosevelt Administrations, arguing FDR's administration simply continued aspects of the Progressive political agenda established by Roosevelt.⁶⁶

Gable, more focused on positive versus negative depictions of Roosevelt through the 20th century, also neglected to address the shifts in United States historiography in

the 1930s and 1940s. While political affiliations divided the families of Theodore and Franklin, historians were also questioning Turner's Frontier Thesis, the most notable being Charles A. Beard. Beard downplayed the role of the heroic individual in shaping the course of history and focused on other forces that shaped historical events, especially economic forces. Additionally, as Americans suffered through the Great Depression and fought in World War II, collective movements overshadowed rugged individuals in shaping the American economy and military might. As historians reinterpreted American history, the collective movements of the 1930s and 1940s seemingly reflected this more complex view of the nation's past. Through this perspective, "heroes" like Theodore Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill did not drive historical movements such as the Progressive Movement or American expansion and imperialism, they simply rode the wave as changes in the economy, politics, and American social forces drove the historical evolution of the United States.

New York journalist Henry F. Pringle's 1931 Pulitzer Prize winning biography of Theodore Roosevelt ushered in the era of questioning the heroic status of Roosevelt.⁶⁷ Using notable sources from the Roosevelt Memorial Association and the Library of Congress, Pringle offered a well-written and well-researched biography, despite its implied criticism of Roosevelt. Gable noted Pringle argued, "Roosevelt's career was colorful and amusing, but seldom marked by solid accomplishment... Theodore Roosevelt 'was the most adolescent of men.'"⁶⁸ Gable backs up his statements by noting Pringle gave scant attention to Roosevelt's conservation record. Pringle also dedicated as much text to examining Roosevelt's attempt to reform spelling as he did the Pure Food and Drug Act. Gable called Pringle's description of the Rough Riders an effort "to reduce Roosevelt from a hero to a Falstaffian buffoon."⁶⁹ Pringle interprets Roosevelt's ranching life in a chapter entitled "Gentleman Cowhand," suggesting that Roosevelt's ranching colleagues did not consider him a "cowboy," while at the same time emphasizing Roosevelt's aristocratic background. Pringle suggests this portion of Roosevelt's life was a mere adolescent escape that had little impact on Roosevelt's outlook.⁷⁰ Pringle did have to admit that Roosevelt's ability to assimilate himself into cowboy society was indeed a feat, yet he credited this to Roosevelt's adolescent

behavior. Pringle also hinted the supposedly deep relationship between Roosevelt and his Dakota neighbors was a sham. Relying on an article describing the 1900 presidential campaign in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Pringle wrote, “Synthetic cowboys, hired for \$2.50 a day to ride in parades in the Middle West, had greeted the Commander of the Rough Riders.”⁷¹

As for Roosevelt’s Rough Rider regiment and his military accomplishments, Pringle wrote, “In retrospect, the battle of July 1, 1898, assumed in Roosevelt’s mind the aspects of a pleasantly dangerous sporting event.”⁷² Perhaps this comment stemmed from Pringle’s service in the army during the Great War, a very different military experience to the one experienced by Roosevelt. The generation that suffered through the horrors of World War I certainly did not view conflict as a “pleasantly dangerous sporting event.” Throughout the 1930s and early 1940s, as most Americans adhered to isolationism and neutrality before Pearl Harbor, Pringle’s popular depiction of Theodore Roosevelt as a warmonger also would have made many feel that an aggressive military stance, opposed to diplomacy, reflected the impulsive actions of the past generation.⁷³ Although Gable severely criticizes Pringle’s well-written narrative, it clearly moved Roosevelt scholarship on from heroic narratives written by Roosevelt’s associates to more critical analyses of Roosevelt’s life and legacy. Again, there was no mention of Buffalo Bill in this biography.⁷⁴

One publication overlooked by Gable that appeared in the same year as Pringle’s biography was *Roosevelt in the Rough* by Jack Willis, one of Roosevelt’s many hunting guides, written in collaboration with Horace Smith.⁷⁵ Willis’s account offers several exciting hunting stories and demonstrates how Roosevelt’s western lifestyle and friends influenced his presidency. Willis offered some interesting insights on Roosevelt’s view of high-society, juxtaposed to the society he experienced in the American West. Willis’s account also depicted Roosevelt as flamboyant and reckless, claiming Roosevelt nearly killed himself to photograph a waterfall by being lowered down a cliff by rope. Kermit Roosevelt, Theodore’s son, originally supported the writing of *Roosevelt in the Rough* and intended to write the introduction, but Kermit disagreed with Smith’s details depicting an attempt by Roosevelt’s adversaries to attack him at a dinner hosted on his

behalf in Butte, Montana. This disagreement resulted in Kermit pulling his introduction and support from the published work. Clearly, the Roosevelt family disagreed with Smith's role in shaping the published Willis account, which raises questions of its accuracy. Although Willis and Buffalo Bill met together with Roosevelt to discuss irrigation projects in Montana and Wyoming, *Roosevelt and the Rough* did not mention Buffalo Bill.

Popular culture also reflected Pringle's depiction of Roosevelt, exaggerating the adolescent qualities of Roosevelt's character. In 1941, Joseph Kesselring's theatrical play *Arsenic and Old Lace* appeared on stage and later as a film, starring leading man Cary Grant. In this depiction, Teddy Brewster, a feeble-minded character, believes himself to be Teddy Roosevelt. Throughout the play, and movie, Teddy runs up the stairs yelling, "Charge," while he pretends to hold a sword. He makes other characters refer to him as "Mr. President" or "Colonel" and when they escort him to the sanitarium, he believes he is going on an African safari. Gable argued this depiction of Teddy Brewster, acting as Roosevelt, greatly shaped the public perception of Theodore Roosevelt during the debunking phase. "The play has perhaps been more formative of Roosevelt's image on the popular level than any book written about Roosevelt," wrote Gable.⁷⁶

While Gable criticized the debunking era's biographies of Roosevelt, it is important to note that more critical eyes were examining the Roosevelt legacy, including his time in the American West. Pringle's work does note the significant class differences between Roosevelt and the cowboys who worked under him, calling in to question the egalitarian character of life in the rural west. Additionally, Pringle, Willis, and others clearly question the reckless characteristics of Roosevelt. Many now viewed Roosevelt's adventurous spirit not as a heroic trait, but as reckless and dangerous. Not only did Roosevelt's careless adventures threaten his own life, they seemingly led the United States into dangerous military conflicts that in turn threatened the lives and wellbeing of others. Judging from the Pulitzer Prize awarded to Pringle and the popularity of *Arsenic and Old Lace*, many Americans viewed Roosevelt's western persona stemming from a self-destructive trait or a mental inadequacy. Additionally,

these works raised the question as to whether Roosevelt's tenure in the Badlands was a life-changing event, or more of an attempt to advance himself politically by adopting a popular cowboy persona as a veneer to his aristocratic background.

During this same period, despite the negative biographical depictions of Buffalo Bill in the late 1920s, many Americans continued to see Buffalo Bill successfully defeat Indians, various villains and secessionists, as well as corrupt industrialists, in films entitled *The Indians are Coming* (1930), *The Plainsmen* (1937), *Young Buffalo Bill* (1940), *Buffalo Bill in Tomahawk Territory* (1952) and *Pony Express* (1953). Popular Hollywood cowboy stars such as Tim McCoy, Roy Rogers, Clayton Moore, and Charlton Heston portrayed superficial Buffalo Bills in films with storylines reflective of the flamboyant dime novels, except for *The Plainsmen* where Buffalo Bill appears as a misguided sidekick learning from Wild Bill Hickok played by Gary Cooper. In many of these films, Buffalo Bill often serves as a cultural mediator between the military and American Indians brought into conflict with one another due to corrupt forces of capitalism or sectionalism.⁷⁷

Buffalo Bill's last autobiographical magazine serial, "The Great West that Was" published by *Hearst's International* from August 1916 to July 1917, served as the basis for two serials, *The Indians are Coming* produced by Universal Studios and *Riding with Buffalo Bill* released by Columbia Studios in 1954. Tim McCoy, who personally met Buffalo Bill in Cody, Wyoming, noted the former serial "raked in over a million," although the work was based on Buffalo Bill's life story, the starring character was named Jack Manning, played by McCoy.⁷⁸ Tom Tyler played a heroic Buffalo Bill in *Battling with Buffalo Bill*, a Universal production released in 1931. Many popular Hollywood cowboys and stars such as Roy Rogers, Clayton Moore, and Charlton Heston portrayed superficial Buffalo Bills in films with storylines reflective of the flamboyant dime novels. In many of these films, Buffalo Bill often serves as a cultural mediator between the military and American Indians brought into conflict with one another due to corrupt forces of capitalism or sectionalism.

Counter to these heroic depictions, actors portraying Buffalo Bill as a struggling businessman blinded by his own masculine image, appeared in the movie *Annie Oakley*

and the musical *Annie Get Your Gun*. One scene in the movie *Annie Oakley* depicts Buffalo Bill, played by Moroni Olsen, removing hairpins from his hair and brushing it out as two cowboys giggle behind his back, challenging his masculinity. In these films, the strong, rugged tomboy Annie Oakley, played by Barbara Stanwyck in the former and the boisterous Ethel Merman in the latter, saves Buffalo Bill's Wild West through her masculine-like skills of shooting, although she struggles to "get a man" due to her chosen sharpshooting profession.⁷⁹

Released in 1944, shortly before D-Day, the biopic starring Joel McCrea entitled *Buffalo Bill* depicted a Buffalo Bill struggling to come to terms with his celebrity status within an eastern establishment that knew little of the simple pleasures or complexities of frontier life. McCrea's Buffalo Bill serves as an effective military scout on the plains, where he kills Yellow Hair played by Anthon Quinn, but his heroic status causes him to leave the American West he loves for the East, where he encounters businessmen eager to exploit the West and its American Indians. The polluted eastern life in the cities, full of disease, takes the life of his only son, causing Buffalo Bill to seek escape from his failing marriage and grief through alcohol, causing his celebrity status to falter. Louisa, played by Maureen O'Hara, later finds a destitute Buffalo Bill working in a shooting gallery, riding a wooden horse, performing before numerous children. Supported by Ned Buntline, Louisa convinces him to resurrect himself as Buffalo Bill and bring the West to the East through a Wild West show, which in turn rekindles their romance. The show ends with a montage of Buffalo Bill's Wild West riders performing before various royalty and thousands of audience members, including an enthusiastic President Theodore Roosevelt shouting, "Bully, Bully," indicating the two men shared the same vision of the historical legacy of the American frontier and its significance in shaping a strong nation.⁸⁰

While historians and Hollywood attempted to separate the real William F. Cody from the myths promulgated by Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Henry Nash Smith's landmark book, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*, embraced the value in understanding the mythical and legendary depictions of the American West and its legendary characters. In understanding the mindset created by these myths, one

gained a better sense of why Americans cherished the frontier and how it contributed to American culture; this included Buffalo Bill's literary legacy in the realm of dime novels depicting Buffalo Bill as a national celebrity, both on stage and in the arena.⁸¹ Smith also briefly touches upon Roosevelt's *Winning of the West* series as it related to Turner, but not Buffalo Bill.

As deeper studies of Roosevelt's domestic and international political legacy emerged, Nebraska historian and novelist Mari Sandoz's work, *The Buffalo Hunters*, presented Buffalo Bill as a false celebrity. Throughout her work, Sandoz portrays Buffalo Bill and his companion Wild Bill Hickok as "ne'er-do-well" westerners who transform themselves into blowhard "dudes" by exaggerating their exploits to dime novel writers and traveling east to perform on stage. Sandoz juxtaposes numerous images of rough and rugged buffalo hunters fighting the natural elements of the Great Plains and hostile American Indians with Buffalo Bill and Hickok, who Sandoz describes as false representatives of the frontier experience. It is clear Sandoz relied on Blake's work to advance her arguments, such as the suggestion that Buffalo Bill did very little hunting, instead, "Mostly he looked after the business from Drum's saloon at Hays."⁸² Sandoz also repeated Henry Cody Blake's assertion that William F. Cody received the name Buffalo Bill after he wounded a bison bull that gored his horse, setting him afoot, and then the bull chased him across the plains. Sandoz argued the true frontiersman viewed Buffalo Bill as a comic figure and the real buffalo hunters continued to hunt the bison herds, while Buffalo Bill went to the East and became a celebrity, or, as Sandoz portrays him, a "notoriety seeker."⁸³ This interpretation later resonated with the American public through theater and film in the 1960s and 1970s.

In 1955, another biography of William F. Cody appeared in print, one that reflected America's post World War II fascination with frontier heroes who appeared on film and in the growing medium of TV westerns. Written by Henry Blackman Sell and Victor Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West* argued Buffalo Bill "fixed the image of the Wild West in the world's mind more vividly than Fremont the Pathfinder, Kit Carson the Army Scout, Custer the Indian Slayer, or their predecessors Dan'l Boone and Davy Crockett."⁸⁴ Using the vast collections acquired by the Buffalo Bill Museum in

Cody, Wyoming, and relying on memories of those who remembered Buffalo Bill, Sells and Weybright offered a more positive assessment of Buffalo Bill's life and legacy; a perspective that countered "the somewhat cynical Salsbury point of view" offered in Walsh's biography.⁸⁵

Both biographers quote Roosevelt's praise of Buffalo Bill after his death to enhance their subject's national popularity and Roosevelt's praise of the cowboys in Buffalo Bill's Wild West. This work printed a story by Gerard Wallop, the Earl of Portsmouth, who claimed Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill solicited support amongst the ranchers Wyoming to establish a wildlife refuge in Goose River Canyon; unfortunately, the authors did not properly cite the source of this story. Wallop did indeed claim in his memoirs that his father worked with Roosevelt to protect the Big Horn Mountains. Additionally, Wallop states Buffalo Bill was a regular guest at the family's ranch, but Wallop does not assert the two prominent men were ever at the ranch at the same time, nor does he give credit to Buffalo Bill for helping to establish any wildlife refuge.⁸⁶

Sells and Weybright also quoted a story from Boy Scouts of America founder Dan Beard's autobiography where Roosevelt supposedly shouted "Bully!" when he discovered Buffalo Bill supported the Scouts. However, Sell and Weybright's use of the Beard reference is somewhat misleading regarding Roosevelt's enthusiasm for Buffalo Bill's support of the Scouting movement. Shortly after Roosevelt supposedly shouted "Bully!" at Beard's report that he recruited Buffalo Bill, Beard asked if Roosevelt could recommend an "Indian Fighter" to join the movement. Ignoring Buffalo Bill's well-known reputation as a veteran of the Plains Indian Wars, Roosevelt suggested they solicit the support of his Chief of Staff, Major General James Franklin Bell. Although Bell did indeed serve during the Indian Wars, one cannot imagine his exploits overshadowing Buffalo Bill's, especially in the eyes of America's young boys in the early 1900s.⁸⁷

As Buffalo Bill's biographers focused on his dramatic frontier exploits, Roosevelt scholarship shifted to a more serious political science and international studies approach. John Gable labeled the third phase of Theodore Roosevelt historiography as "The Era of *Realpolitik*," which coincided with much of the consensus history that

produced numerous works where historians argued conservatives and liberals basically advocated the same political agenda. Gable argued, “After World War II, and with the advent of the Cold War and global American commitments, Roosevelt’s activist foreign policy, and his many diplomatic successes such as his mediation of the Russo-Japanese War and the Algeciras Conference, were widely appreciated.”⁸⁸ Additionally, many conservative and liberal historians viewed Roosevelt’s political actions reflecting their particular political stance, blurring Roosevelt’s party affiliation and endearing him to both Republicans and Democrats.⁸⁹ Gable argued the publication of the eight-volume *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, edited by Elting Morison, John Blum, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., and others, revealed the complexity of Roosevelt’s political thought and intellect.⁹⁰ Historians now had ready access to numerous pieces of Roosevelt’s correspondence, whereas before only collections printed by Roosevelt’s family and closest friends were readily available. Many of the letters selected by Morison and his team demonstrated Roosevelt’s ability to grasp the future needs of the country and meet these challenges with his incredible knowledge of world affairs and astute political skills.

Gable identifies John M. Blum’s *The Republican Roosevelt* as “one of the most important studies of TR ever written.”⁹¹ Blum’s political biography does not comment on Roosevelt’s idyll in the American West, nor on how it affected his political and social viewpoints. Blum dismisses Roosevelt’s outdoor life in a few words describing the stereotypical image of Roosevelt, arguing “Roosevelt is more often remembered than reread... the man appears often in caricature.”⁹² Blum believed this characterization did not reflect the true Roosevelt, one he learned of while editing Roosevelt’s correspondence. Blum argued Roosevelt’s letters and public papers “reveal a broadly roaming and occasionally penetrating intelligence, and incomparable energy, a vastly entreating and remarkably knowledgeable Republican politician.”⁹³

While Blum argued that Roosevelt was a solid Republican and conservative, other historians from the *realpolitik* period postulated Roosevelt was more of a liberal political leader who greatly shaped the Progressive Reform movement. Historians George E. Mowry and Arthur M Schlesinger, Jr., both characterized Roosevelt as a more

liberal reformer.⁹⁴ During this period of Roosevelt historiography, Richard Hofstadter's views of Roosevelt also softened, as is evident in his Pulitzer Prize winning book, *The Age of Reform* (1955).⁹⁵ Many other historical studies in Gable's *realpolitik* period gloss over, or ignore, Roosevelt's western experiences, failing to discuss in detail how his tenure in the West shaped his domestic and foreign policies, nor do they touch upon his connections to Buffalo Bill.

Gable characterized Howard K. Beale's 1956 book, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power*, as "the most comprehensive study of Roosevelt and foreign policy."⁹⁶ Beale argues Roosevelt's aristocratic and urban upbringing shaped his protocol skills. Additionally, Roosevelt's cosmopolitan educational background, combined with trips to Europe and contact with close European friends, provided him with a worldview that many other American presidents lacked. However, Beale did write Roosevelt "managed therefore to deal with foreign problems and foreign agents as man to man, friend to friend, with the directness of a North Dakotan cowboy sheathed under the grace of aristocratic manners."⁹⁷ Beale did not examine how or whether Roosevelt used his experiences as a North Dakotan cowboy to shape this approach, but he implied a connection. Beale also did not discuss how Buffalo Bill's Wild West promulgated the imagery of "Rough Riders" in Europe, which Roosevelt noted in during his 1910 visit to Europe.⁹⁸

In addition to these political studies of Roosevelt, in 1956 Paul Russell Cutright, a biologist and zoologist, wrote a study of Roosevelt's naturalist experiences.⁹⁹ Using various reminiscences of Roosevelt's contemporaries, Roosevelt's own writings, and personal interviews, Cutright detailed his fascination with wildlife, both hunting and study, and how it affected the conservation policies of his administration. As for Roosevelt's experiences in the American West, Cutright argued, "Roosevelt might have been a conservationist under any circumstances, but he would not have been such an enthusiastic, indomitable, crusading one if he had not known the West."¹⁰⁰ Despite much of its focus on the American West, Cutright does not mention Buffalo Bill, neither as a market hunter, a foil to Roosevelt's conservation crusade, or as a fellow conservationist sport hunter. Samuel P. Hays wrote *Conservation and the Gospel of*

Efficiency in 1959, examining the emergence of the conservation movement. Hays detailed how scientists, professional organizations, and bureaucrats used governing agencies to manage natural resources, along the principles of the greatest good for the greatest number.¹⁰¹ Counter to the interpretation that conservation was a grass-roots movement, Hays argued, “Conservation leaders sprang from such fields as hydrology, forestry, agrostology, geology, and anthropology.... Loyalty to these professional ideas, not close association with the grass-roots public, set the tone of the Theodore Roosevelt conservation movement.”¹⁰² It was this approach that led to conflict between Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt regarding the economic development of the Big Horn Basin, yet Hays does not refer to any collaboration between the two men.

In addition to the various political and diplomatic studies, the *realpolitik* era also witnessed new biographies of Roosevelt that countered Pringle’s characterizations. The year 1958, the centennial of Roosevelt’s birth, ushered in the publication of *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt* by Edward Wagenkecht. This psychological perspective on Roosevelt focused on seven traits of Roosevelt’s character, or seven “worlds:” action, thought, human relations, family, spiritual values, public affairs, and war and peace.¹⁰³ Wagenkecht relied on Roosevelt’s writings to examine Roosevelt’s courage, racism, interest in nature, and many other traits, providing various insights into the complexity of Theodore Roosevelt’s perspectives and his intellectualism, a fact greatly downplayed by Pringle.

Carleton Putnam, a retired executive of Delta Airlines, published the first volume of a proposed four-volume biography of Roosevelt’s life in 1958. *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years 1858-1886* examined Roosevelt’s early life in detail and included a well-researched description of his days in the Dakotas.¹⁰⁴ Putnam relied extensively on Hagedorn’s *Roosevelt and the Badlands*, but supplemented his biography by visiting with descendants of Roosevelt’s ranching contemporaries and consulting Hagedorn’s own research notes. Additionally, Putnam relied on the work of Morison on Roosevelt’s extensive correspondence. Putnam credited Roosevelt’s experiences in the Badlands for shaping his political character by introducing the New Yorker to western settlers. According to Putnam, “Roosevelt had observed human nature and had dealt with it to

achieve political ends, at meetings of the Little Missouri and Montana Stockmen's associations as well as in the wards of the nation's greatest city. The training was more than unusual. It was unique."¹⁰⁵ Unlike previous political studies that emerged in the 1950s, Putnam clearly credited Roosevelt's western experiences in shaping his future political career, yet he does not indicate that Roosevelt knew of, or collaborated with, Buffalo Bill.

The centennial of Roosevelt's birth also witnessed the publication of a booklet by the National Park Service on Theodore Roosevelt's days in the Badlands by Chester L. Brooks and Ray H. Mattison. This booklet served as a guidebook for the Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park in North Dakota, now the Theodore Roosevelt National Park. This park site also contributed to the public understanding of Roosevelt's romantic interlude in the Badlands. The booklet reflected many detailed studies by park historian Mattison on Roosevelt's days in the Dakota Territory, marking a growing effort from residents of North Dakota to highlight their connections to the thirty-second President of the United States, and one whose popularity was increasing. Mattison published several detailed studies regarding Roosevelt's ranching days entitled. Despite their focus on the west, these sources do not address any connection between Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill who was also a rancher in North Platte, Nebraska.¹⁰⁶ The *realpolitik* era also produced another one-volume biography of Theodore Roosevelt, *Power and Responsibility: The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, by William H. Harbaugh in 1961. Gable hailed Harbaugh's work, "which has endured as the best complete biography of Roosevelt."¹⁰⁷ Harbaugh sums up Roosevelt's western experiences as follows, "His years in Dakota were one of the great formative experiences of his life, and in passing moments he even considered making a full-time career of ranching, hunting, and writing."¹⁰⁸ Roosevelt did gain reluctant acceptance from his cowboy counterparts, argued Harbaugh, "Nevertheless, his breeding, wealth, and mastery of men kept him apart; he was always a captain, never a private."¹⁰⁹ This rugged lifestyle "proved what he was constrained to prove again and again throughout his life – he was a man among men."¹¹⁰ Yet Harbaugh did not indicate Buffalo Bill was one of these men distanced by Roosevelt's aristocratic persona.

The *Realpolitik* era as defined by Gable reflected his intent to demonstrate the rise and fall of positive and negative depictions of Roosevelt. As the leading spokesperson of the Theodore Roosevelt Association, clearly his professional obligations dictated not only the need to analyze past biographies and historical interpretations of Roosevelt's past, but also to reflect the Theodore Roosevelt Association's efforts to promulgate Roosevelt's enduring legacy. In many ways, expanded access beginning in the 1950s to the vast Roosevelt primary resources not only caused a deeper study of Roosevelt's domestic and foreign policies, it also further advanced theories that had gained ground during both the heroic and debunking periods.

As many historians struggled to depict the accurate life story of William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, relying on a historical record covered in an avalanche of dime novels and promotional material, other historians attempted to provide deeper studies of Buffalo Bill's life and legacy. In 1960, Western historian Don Russell challenged himself to write an accurate biography of Buffalo Bill entitled, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*. In this "cradle-to-grave" biography, Russell considers Buffalo Bill as significant westerner whose actions greatly affected the setting of the American West and a man who deserved much of the publicity resulting from his acting and show.¹¹¹ Russell notes many factual experiences from Buffalo Bill's military record that were worthy of heroic flourishing, noting Buffalo Bill's own glamorization of the American West and its legends overshadowed his very significant contribution as a scout. Russell, following the tradition of past biographers, regurgitates two Roosevelt quotes, one regarding the Yellowstone road and the other being Roosevelt's comments after Buffalo Bill's passing, indicating that Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill were indeed friends.

In the turbulent 1960s, many scholars began to challenge this popular, heroic image of the American West and focused more on its dark and violent exploitations of American Indians and pillaging of western resources. In 1965, Kent Ladd Steckmesser published his study, *The Western Hero in History and Legend*. Steckmesser focused on four key western legends, Kit Carson, Billy the Kid, Wild Bill Hickok, and George Armstrong Custer. By comparing the historical record with the folklore and legends of the mountain man Kit Carson, the outlaw Billy the Kid, the gunfighter Wild Bill Hickok,

and the soldier General Custer, Steckmesser demonstrated how these four individuals became American frontier heroes.¹¹² Although he did not focus primarily on the legend of Buffalo Bill, Steckmesser argued that Buffalo Bill's heroic status naturally followed the careers and the popularization of Carson, Billy the Kid, Hickok, and Custer. Steckmesser also noted that Buffalo Bill greatly profited from reenacting the American frontier experience.

The glamorized depiction of the American West through mass entertainment, believed by Russell to have frustrated scholarly attempts to depict Buffalo Bill's true accomplishments, greatly shifted during the 1960s and early 1970s. With the rise of the Civil Rights Movement, especially the American Indian Civil Rights Movement, historians focused more attention on the Euro-American exploitation of American Indians, and other races, in the American West. The positive image of settlers taming the Wild West gave way to depictions of atrocities and massacres directed against the noble American Indians by settlers motivated by greed to commit violence. The heroic image of Buffalo Bill, both as a frontiersman and as actor, fell under new scrutiny and many modern historians and filmmakers began to cynically question his true contributions and mythical image. What emerged from this process was a legend modeled on an insignificant, or in some cases laughable, frontier character named William F. Cody pretending to be Buffalo Bill.

Ironically, a late 1960s stage production questioned Buffalo Bill's place in popular culture as an American hero. Arthur Kopit's play, *Indians*, debuted at the Aldwych Theatre in London on July 4, 1968, with Stacy Keach playing the role of Buffalo Bill. *Indians* first performed in the United States at the Arena Stage in Washington, D.C., the following year. Kopit's play bounces between scenes depicting Buffalo Bill's performances on stage and in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, the hunt with Grand Duke Alexis, a commission hearing to examine Lakota grievances, and the aftermath of the Wounded Knee Massacre. Staging exaggerated scenes from Buffalo Bill's life, Kopit characterized his historical persona as a phony and a sham who the American public used to cover its inhumanity and injustices towards American Indians.¹¹³ Clearly, Kopit intended his play to question the history of the Indian Wars

and the myths surrounding the settlement of the West; Buffalo Bill was the perfect foil to raise these complex questions. Unfortunately, Kopit's Buffalo Bill ceases to be a historical character and once again becomes a mythical being representing the misguided American Indian policies of the United States. In this case, Buffalo Bill's life and career symbolizes the aggressive military campaigns to wipe out an entire race of people, at the same time as the United States found itself mired in the Vietnam War and television news reported the "body-count" resulting from military actions that appeared to be just as senseless as the past Indian Wars.

In 1973, historian John Burke (not related Buffalo Bill's past press agent) wrote *Buffalo Bill: The Noblest Whiteskin*.¹¹⁴ Burke argued Buffalo Bill was nothing more than a creation of publicity agents and an adoring public who viewed the exploitation of the American West, its resources, and its residents, as their God-given right. Burke did not contribute much original scholarship to Buffalo Bill's historiography, but he managed to present Buffalo Bill's life story in a darker and more cynical light, one in which Buffalo Bill is clearly the symbolic frontiersman who decimated the American Indian nations of the West. To demonstrate Buffalo Bill's role as national symbol of the frontier, Burke quoted Roosevelt's remarks about the passing of the famed scout and noted, "Theodore Roosevelt regarded Cody as the exemplar of Anglo-Saxon manhood."¹¹⁵ Burke suggested Roosevelt "lifted" the term Rough Riders, touching upon the debate regarding the uncredited use of an equestrian term popularized by Buffalo Bill. Regarding reclamation issues and the development of tourism in the Big Horn Basin, Burke suggested Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill closely collaborated to advance the settlement of Cody, Wyoming, supported by his reference to Roosevelt's quote regarding the Yellowstone road. Burke noted much of his information regarding the Buffalo Bill's investments in the Big Horn Basin came from Sells and Weybright.

American mass entertainment that generously contributed to the Buffalo Bill legend throughout the first half of the 20th century posed the greatest challenge to William F. Cody's public persona in the latter half. In 1976, Robert Altman produced *Buffalo Bill and the Indians, or Sitting Bull's History Lesson*, a film based on Kopit's stage play *Indians*. Famed western movie actor Paul Newman starred as a less-than-

heroic Buffalo Bill. Altman's Buffalo Bill continually falls short of the purified hero; he is constantly chasing after opera singers, he is often drunk, and he is a braggart who fails to recognize the true contributor to his success, the dime novelist Ned Buntline (played by Burt Lancaster). Altman also makes light of Buffalo Bill's "fancy shooting" throughout the film, Sitting Bull (played by Frank Kaquitts) laughs when he shoots Buffalo Bill's pistol into a tipi, demonstrating how Buffalo Bill used shells loaded with birdshot to hit glass balls thrown in the air.¹¹⁶ Altman leaves his audience with a clear sense that Buffalo Bill and his Wild West amount to nothing more than a false image of an epic that did not exist, while the true heroes, American Indians, fought and died to save their traditional way of life in the West. Altman's film reflected the changing popular perception of Buffalo Bill's legacy, and it continues to influence modern studies, as his less than stellar public and private life continue to surface in biographies.¹¹⁷

For the first time in the comparative historiography, both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill heroic images were now severely criticized. Roosevelt came under heavy scrutiny during the 1960s and 1970s, an era Gable labeled "The New Left Attack." "And the New Left historians had no use for TR, who was attacked as a racist, militarist, and warmonger."¹¹⁸ This characterization of Roosevelt reflected similar critiques of Buffalo Bill, marking the first time the historiographical record of both men reflected similar characterizations. The depiction of Roosevelt as a warmonger clearly emerges in Leon Wolff's classic, *Little Brown Brother: How the United States Purchased and Pacified the Philippine Island at the Century's Turn* (1961). This study examined America's intervention in the Philippines, beginning with Admiral Dewey's defeat of the Spanish naval fleet at Manila Bay up to the Filipino Insurrection. In his examination of events leading up to the outbreak of the Spanish American War, Wolff summed up Roosevelt's view of war, "It was not only good clean fun but, in the opinion of Roosevelt, essential therapy."¹¹⁹ Although Wolff did not draw attention to Roosevelt's cowboy persona, readers could easily infer that Roosevelt's military service stemmed from his adventures in the Badlands and his service with the Rough Riders.¹²⁰

Gable especially focused on “New Left” historian, Gabriel Kolko and his work, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History*. Kolko argued all three leaders of the Progressive Era, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, were conservative. Kolko did not address how Roosevelt’s experiences in the Badlands shaped this approach, although one can draw some interesting comparisons between Roosevelt’s service with the Little Missouri and Montana Stockgrowers Associations and their enforcement of economic regulations on the cattle ranges.¹²¹ Another work that generated a lot of attention during the 1970s was John D. Weaver’s *The Brownsville Raid*.¹²² This work examined Roosevelt’s handling of the Brownsville Raid. After an “attack” on the town of Brownsville, Texas, in 1906, allegedly by men of the 25th Infantry stationed nearby, Roosevelt dismissed 167 African-American soldiers without a proper trial. Weaver notes Roosevelt’s book, *The Rough Riders*, failed to credit African-American troops who served during the Spanish American War. Although he does not tie Roosevelt’s decision regarding Brownsville to his cowboy roots, it is somewhat suggested throughout the book.¹²³

Howard Zinn also expressed his opinions about the Roosevelt administration in *A People’s History of the United States*. In his chapter, “The Empire and the People,” Zinn dismisses Roosevelt as a warmonger and a racist. “Roosevelt was contemptuous of races and nations he considered inferior,” wrote Zinn.¹²⁴ Zinn also highlighted other soldiers who fought in the Spanish American War just as bravely as the Rough Riders, but who, due to being African Americans, did not receive much public praise.¹²⁵ Surprisingly, Zinn did not mention Buffalo Bill’s role in the Indian Wars, nor his advocating American intervention in the Cuban Revolution.

Hollywood again played an important role in shaping Roosevelt’s public image during this period of Roosevelt historiography. In 1975, John Milius wrote and produced *The Wind and the Lion*, loosely based on the 1904 Perdicaris Incident.¹²⁶ Candice Bergen assumed the role of Mrs. Perdicaris and famed Scottish actor Sean Connery played Raisuli. Acting as President Theodore Roosevelt was Brian Keith, who portrayed Roosevelt as an energetic, adolescent individual who spoke his mind and was prone to erratic decisions, despite the warnings of John Hay, played by John Huston,

who worries when Roosevelt has “gone cowboy again!”¹²⁷ During the film, Keith boxes during meetings, discusses foreign policy on the firing range while sighting-in his rifles, and jumps up on a table depicting a proper, ferocious pose a grizzly bear to ensure his taxidermist properly reanimates Roosevelt’s kill.¹²⁸ Although the depiction of Roosevelt was similar to past depictions of Teddy Brewster in *Arsenic and Old Lace*, Keith’s role as Roosevelt clearly was connected to Pringle’s image of the reckless President Roosevelt as well as highlighting his romantic ties to the American West.

One book overlooked by Gable in his discussion of Roosevelt historiography is G. Edward White’s *The Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience: The West of Frederic Remington, Theodore Roosevelt, and Owen Wister*.¹²⁹ White argued the artwork of Remington and the literary work of Wister, combined with Roosevelt’s writings and personification of the American West, greatly shaped this impact in the American imagination. In other words, three well-connected Easterners, using their various talents to highlight the vanishing frontier way of life they each experienced, created a good portion of the myth of the American West. This work argues that Roosevelt and his eastern connections shaped public perceptions of the American western experience through their own aristocratic perspectives, yet White neglects to consider how Buffalo Bill’s Wild West promulgated a similar romantic narrative of the American frontier process.

While Kopit’s play, Burke’s biography, and Altman’s film challenged the image of Buffalo Bill and White argued eastern elitist shaped the myths of the frontier, many regional historians continued to stress Buffalo Bill’s importance in settling the American West. Local historian Lucille Nichols Patrick wrote her history, *The Best Little Town by a Dam Site*, of her hometown Cody, Wyoming, in 1969. Relying on local newspapers, Patrick detailed the role of Buffalo Bill in settling the town bearing his name in positive terms.¹³⁰ Patrick indicates Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt hunted together in the Cody, Wyoming, region and cites a *Cody Enterprise* article announcing the hunt; unfortunately, she failed to note a following article in *Enterprise* reporting Roosevelt cancelled the hunt. In 1987, historian W. Hudson Kinsel contributed his study of Buffalo Bill as a promoter of tourism in the Cody region and Yellowstone National Park

by examining Buffalo Bill's efforts to promote a Cody-to-Yellowstone transportation route and hotels.¹³¹ Kensel suggested Buffalo Bill believed his friendship with Roosevelt secured the completion of the Cody-Yellowstone road. To celebrate the centennial of the founding of Cody, Wyoming, in 1996 a group of local historians wrote *Buffalo Bill's Town in the Rockies: A Pictorial History of Cody, Wyoming*.¹³² Although many authors hinted the Roosevelt administration played a key role in developing the town of Cody with Buffalo Bill as a partner, no mention of Roosevelt appeared in this book. In 2008, Lynn Houze, who also contributed to the centennial pictorial history, published another photo history with commentary on Buffalo Bill's significant contributions towards the founding of Cody, Wyoming.¹³³ Houze disputed the apocryphal story that Roosevelt claimed the Cody to Yellowstone route was the most scenic in the world, countering the faux verbiage that many promoters parroted.¹³⁴ This collection of books provided detailed studies of Buffalo Bill's efforts to shape the economic development of Cody, Wyoming, and they also demonstrate the enduring legacy of his frontier image in shaping present day-community life.

North Platte, Nebraska, Buffalo Bill's other "hometown," also produced a history honoring its most famous resident. In 1979, Nebraskan historian Nellie Snyder Yost produced a history of William F. Cody, entitled *Buffalo Bill: His Family, Friends, Fame, Failures, and Fortunes*, focused on his familial and community relationships in North Platte.¹³⁵ Yost's biography is very detailed, yet due to her tendency to focus mainly on primary resources from one community, it comes across as a gossipy account of the Cody family. However, to her credit, Yost managed to portray the complexity of Buffalo Bill's personal life and she offered good insight into his family life, providing a balance to Russell's focus on Buffalo Bill's career and his personal life. Yost does not quote Roosevelt, but she does note the popularity of Buffalo Bill's reenactment of the Battle of San Juan Hill using veteran Roosevelt Rough Riders. Inspired by his Nebraska roots, in 2000 Robert Carter wrote *Buffalo Bill Cody: The Man Behind the Legend*.¹³⁶ Carter relied on past biographies, especially Russell, Yost, and Walsh and published collections of Buffalo Bill's correspondence to compile his information. Carter uses

Roosevelt's memorial quote and the description of the Wild West cowboys in Europe, citing Russell on the former and Sells and Weybright for the latter.

In addition to North Platte, Nebraska, and Cody, Wyoming, the Buffalo Bill Memorial Museum and Grave at Lookout Mountain in Colorado also produced its fair share of literature, both to honor Buffalo Bill and to stress the Denver region's connections to the famed scout. In 1981, O. J. Seiden and curator Stan Zamonski published a brief biography of William F. Cody highlighting the collections of the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave.¹³⁷ Current director of the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, Steve Friesen, recently published a photo biography of Buffalo Bill, entitled *Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary*.¹³⁸ Friesen's work is a visually stunning publication highlighting the life of William F. Cody as told through the collections of the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave. Friesen also notes the quote from Roosevelt honoring Buffalo Bill in death. In addition to providing readers with an overview of Buffalo Bill's life and legacy, these publications strongly argue that Buffalo Bill recanted the wish for his remains to rest on Cedar Mountain near Cody, Wyoming, and selected Lookout Mountain in Colorado as his final resting place.

As the communities of Cody, Golden, and North Platte promulgated Buffalo Bill's heroic image, the small community of Medora, North Dakota, did the same for Roosevelt. Medora underwent a transformation in the 1960s due to Harold Schafer, president of the Gold Seal Company, which in turn rejuvenated interest in the legacy of Roosevelt's tenure in the Badlands. Schafer purchased and reconstructed several Medora buildings, including Joe Ferris's store and the Rough Rider Hotel. Schafer's investments in Medora transformed the small town into a tourist community focused on the heyday of Roosevelt's tenure in the Badlands. In 1986, the stockholders of the Gold Seal Company formed the Theodore Roosevelt Medora Foundation to provide visitor facilities and services as well as interpret Medora's ranching past and its connection to Roosevelt.

During the North Dakota Centennial Celebration in 1989, the Medora Foundation published *The Romance of My Life: Theodore Roosevelt's Speeches in Dakota* by James F. Vivian. This publication reprinted seven speeches delivered by

Roosevelt near Medora, in addition to written commentary, photos, and chronologies of Roosevelt's life and visits to the Dakota Territory.¹³⁹ The North Dakota legacy of Roosevelt recently culminated in the establishment of the Theodore Roosevelt Center at Dickinson State University, which continues to promote Roosevelt's connections to North Dakota through scholarly endeavors under the direction of Roosevelt scholar Clay Jenkinson and director Sharon Kilzer. Additionally, Clay Jenkinson has published two books examining Roosevelt's tenure in the Badlands, *Theodore Roosevelt in the Dakota Badlands: An Historical Guide* and *A Free and Hardy Life: Theodore Roosevelt's Sojourn in the American West*.¹⁴⁰

While local historians continued to produce biographies of Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt, other historians focused on the mythical legacy of the two men and the American West as depicted in the Wild West and Roosevelt's writings. Serious studies appeared studying the logistics and myth-building legacy of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, beginning in 1970 when Buffalo Bill biographer Don Russell wrote *The Wild West: A History of Wild West Shows* to accompany an exhibit hosted by the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, Texas. In addition to Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Russell examined the overall history of Wild West Shows.¹⁴¹ He identified 116 various Wild West shows and notes that famed American showman P. T. Barnum began the process of entertaining the East with people, stories, and animals from the American West. Although Buffalo Bill did not originate the idea of a Wild West show, and nor was his show the last to perform, Russell argues that Buffalo Bill's Wild West represented the acme of success for Wild West shows.

The New Western History Movement of the 1980s, which flourished after the release of Patricia Limerick's book, *Legacy of Conquest*, strongly critiqued the romantic western narratives offered by Buffalo Bill's Wild West and through Roosevelt's writings, casting both men as the foil to the harsh realities of the conquest of the American West. Buffalo Bill's glamorization of the settling of the West provided a striking contrast when juxtaposed to new historical interpretations of massacres and racist policies motivated by greed contributing and resulting from the conquest of the American frontier. Although she seriously challenged Turner's frontier thesis, she also

noted, “Acknowledging the moral complexity of Western history does not require us to surrender the mythic power traditionally associated with the region’s story. On the contrary, moral complexity provides the base for parables and tales of greater and deeper meaning.”¹⁴²

In 1986, historian Sarah J. Blackstone offered another perspective of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West by examining it as a business enterprise. Blackstone’s work captures the immense and complex structure of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, in addition to examining the difficulties of a managing a traveling the show on the road. Through Blackstone’s history, one gains a better appreciation of Buffalo Bill’s business acumen in managing his show enterprise, an image that greatly contradicts the Altman characterization of him as a nonchalant performer. Additionally, Blackstone’s work captures the tremendous cultural legacy of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West in shaping America’s perceptions of the frontier. Blackstone argues that the performances of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West offered a contradictory depiction of the American West – as not only a region full of hostile and violent dangers, but also a land of opportunity, a New Eden.¹⁴³

American Western historian Paul Hutton shared the same view in his introduction to the 1985 reprint of the 1872 private publication, *Ten Days on the Plains* by Henry E. Davies. Hutton concluded his introduction by summarizing Buffalo Bill’s role during the 1871 hunt he shared with Davies and his wealthy, eastern companions. Hutton argued, “Buffalo Bill became the perfect symbol for America’s last frontier, a place where the lines between reality and myth became hopelessly blurred.”¹⁴⁴ Past curator of the Buffalo Bill Museum Paul Fees also noted the enduring cultural legacy of William F. Cody in a 1988 essay entitled “The West and American Unity” for *Frontier America: Art and Treasures of the Old West from the Buffalo Bill Historical Center*. Fees noted Buffalo Bill “did more than any other nineteenth-century figure to bring the story to the public through an easily assimilated form – the Wild West show.”¹⁴⁵ Fees later identified Buffalo Bill as a friend of Roosevelt in this essay. For the 1990 exhibition *Myth of the West*, Fees wrote an essay entitled “In Defense of Buffalo Bill: A Look at Cody in and of His Time.” Noting the New Western historians’ debate

regarding Buffalo Bill's legacy, Fees argued, "In his life and in his Wild West shows, Cody provided a narrative structure that made the myth of the West easy to assimilate... Cody became more than real; he became part of the myth of the West."¹⁴⁶

In 1992, Richard Slotkin examined the role of Buffalo Bill's Wild West in shaping the myth of the frontier in 20th century America. In his influential book, *Gunfighter Nation*, Slotkin argued, "The Wild West also invented and tested the images, staging, and themes and provided much of the personnel for the motion-picture Western, which succeeded to its cultural mantle."¹⁴⁷ Although mistaken in several minor details regarding the Wild West, Slotkin noted Buffalo Bill perfected as entertainment many of the popular themes of the American frontier, such as the attack of the Deadwood Stage and Custer's Last Stand. These iconic images would continue to shape America's views of imperialism and class struggle throughout the remainder of the 20th century, demonstrating the staying power of his mythical depictions of the winning of the American West. Slotkin argues that Buffalo Bill's Wild West version of the American Frontier sanctified the expansion of American imperialism in the early 20th century.¹⁴⁸ Slotkin also examined Roosevelt's contributions to shaping American perceptions of the American Frontier and the latter's presentation of the frontier myth as "regeneration through regression, isolation, and savage war – and the contemporary notion of America as 'melting pot,'"¹⁴⁹ This contrasted with Frederick Jackson Turner's focus on the more democratic aspects of the American Frontier process, stressing the peaceful evolution of an American society and political system. Slotkin's study demonstrates how Roosevelt's frontier concept of "savage war" shaped American thought on foreign conflicts, imperialism, and American military intervention across the globe, and the regimentation of American society, especially in relation to "unruly mobs" and the labor movement.

"New Western" historian Richard White also examined the role of Buffalo Bill's Wild West in shaping American Western iconography in his article, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill." White argued that both Buffalo Bill and Turner shaped the national image of the Wild West through their individual career contributions. Although Turner dismissed the Wild West and dime novels as sensational and unworthy of

academic study, Buffalo Bill enhanced Turner's Frontier Thesis through his visually stimulating reenactments of events depicting the settlement of the American West. White's article captures the powerful combination of popular culture and academic studies that shaped America's unique national identity, defined through the Euro-American settlement of the American West. White's article also demonstrates the value of comparing Buffalo Bill with significant historians, like Turner, to better determine how various individuals from differing professions contributed to the popular imagery of America's frontier experience.¹⁵⁰

Historian L. G. Moses also examined the mythical depictions of the Wild West shows, especially how they highlighted American Indians and their culture. They have been traditionally viewed as victims exploited for profit by showmen like Buffalo Bill, but Moses argues in *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* that these shows "created stereotypes that persist to this day."¹⁵¹ Similarly to Russell, Moses focused much of his attention on Buffalo Bill's Wild West as the archetype of Wild West Shows. Unlike Robert Altman's image of Buffalo Bill exploiting show Indians for profit, Moses concluded the Wild West shows left a lasting, and positive, legacy for American Indians. Paul Reddin's *Wild West Shows*, published in 1999, offered a broad overview of Wild West shows and questioned how they reflected the national character, especially to a transnational audience. Reddin's study began with George Catlin's European tours to showcase his art, American Indian artifacts, and American Indians themselves; the sections on Buffalo Bill's Wild West, the Miller Brother's 101 Ranch Show, and Tom Mix follow. Reddin argued, "these men shared a goal: to create popular entertainments that replicated life on the Great Plains and afforded spectators an opportunity to witness and appreciate reproductions of frontier experiences."¹⁵² Reddin also noted, "Buffalo Bill stressed that he and his show evolved over time, always reflecting the dominant ideas in America."¹⁵³

In 2000, Joy S. Kasson published her study of the mythical depiction of the American West through Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Kasson's *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* focused less on his personal life and more intensely on Buffalo Bill's mythmaking, examining how his cultural legacy shaped

America's past and current views of the American West and America's national identity. Kasson argued.¹⁵⁴ While crediting Buffalo Bill with contributing to a national identity, Kasson cautioned, "At the same time, and equally important, the Wild West sanitized this narrative... Americans could savor the thrill of danger without risking its consequences, could believe that struggle and conflict inflicted no lasting wounds."¹⁵⁵ Kasson referred to Roosevelt throughout her work, but argued he rode to political success on the coattails of Buffalo Bill, "the future President rode to military and political power on the trail blazed by the consummate showman."¹⁵⁶ Roosevelt's popular accounts of life in the American West were in the vein of Buffalo Bill's Wild West: "Roosevelt adopts and transmits a heroic vision of the West, and a sense of its transitoriness, that Buffalo Bill and his publicist had already absorbed and were circulating."¹⁵⁷ In other words, Roosevelt emulated Buffalo Bill, but did not credit him for his political successes.

Sandra Sagala's *Buffalo Bill on Stage* examined Buffalo Bill's often-overlooked stage career. Before Buffalo Bill's Wild West, he appeared on stage from 1872 to 1885. This detailed study reveals the content and popularity of Buffalo Bill's early stage productions, many based on dime novel dramatizations and his own exploits. Sagala reveals how these performances contributed to the grander spectacle of Buffalo Bill's Wild West in his later years. In her 2013 book *Buffalo Bill and the Silver Screen*, Sagala examined how Buffalo Bill used new technologies to portray his vision of the American West through the new medium of film. Using his relationship with Thomas Edison and others, he not only filmed his own exploits, he also set the stage for other western films, many of which depicted him.¹⁵⁸ Sagala's publications reveal the "before and after" phases of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, reminding scholars that Buffalo Bill's mythmaking operation lasted from the early 1870s well into the first decades of the twentieth century.

In addition to these numerous books examining the cultural legacy of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, biographers continued to take up Walsh's challenge to find the true William F. Cody that resides under the deep layer of the mythical and legendary Buffalo Bill. In 1989, Joseph Rosa, an expert and biographer of Wild Bill Hickok joined with author Robin May to produce a photographic biography of Buffalo Bill. In their

introduction, Rosa and May write, “it is Cody the man and not his legend that concerns us, for as his story unfolds we believe the man will survive and surpass the myth.”¹⁵⁹ Historian and Buffalo Bill re-enactor Eric Sorg wrote a book comparing the mythical Buffalo Bill to the reality. By comparing this mythical version of the West to the reality, Sorg hoped to counter any public disenchantment with Buffalo Bill.¹⁶⁰ Songwriter and performer Bobby Bridger’s *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the Wild West* appeared in print. To support Buffalo Bill’s authentic portrayal of life in the American West, Bridger offered Roosevelt’s quote about Buffalo Bill’s Wild West cowboys in Europe. Bridger also prints Roosevelt’s remarks after Buffalo Bill’s death, citing Sells and Weybright, to demonstrate Buffalo Bill’s national prominence.¹⁶¹

Although not intended as a biography of Buffalo Bill, Christopher Corbett’s 2003 publication *Orphans Preferred: The Twisted Truth and Lasting Legend of the Pony Express* took on one of the most elusive events of Buffalo Bill’s life – his career with the famed Pony Express. Many historians and the public question whether Buffalo Bill rode for the Pony Express, but, due to the lack of solid archival information, such as business records from the Pony Express, the questions continue to go unanswered, yet the passion of the debaters remains unabated. Instead, Corbett offers an interesting narrative of how a historical business became one of the most cherished American Western icons, mainly through Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, which transformed this short-lived business into one of the most romanticized images of the American West.¹⁶²

In 2005, two biographies of Buffalo Bill appeared in print that exemplified the complexities of William F. Cody’s historical legacy, a pendulum constantly swinging between historical truth and myth. Pulitzer Prize winning author Larry McMurtry, whose famed *Lonesome Dove* rejuvenated America’s fascination with the American cowboy and the American West, wrote *The Colonel and Little Missie: Buffalo Bill, Annie Oakley, and the Beginnings of Superstardom in America*, to demonstrate how America’s fascination with the West resulted from the celebrity status of these two stars. Due to the popularity of McMurtry, his well-written yet poorly researched dual biography reintroduced a broader audience to the legacy of Buffalo Bill. McMurtry

argues Buffalo Bill and Oakley were the first superstars who, despite their human weaknesses, influenced America's fascination with celebrity.¹⁶³

That same year, University of California Davis professor Louis S. Warren published *Buffalo Bill's America: William F. Cody and the Wild West Show*. Warren argues Buffalo Bill's mythmaking shaped American culture through a simple narrative of the triumph of domesticity, where masculine men protected their homes and family through violence. This narrative reflected the mythical life of Buffalo Bill, a life far from that of the real person and his human fallacies. Warren noted that understanding William F. Cody's true reflection of the heroic Buffalo Bill was somewhat challenging, because "Rather than quash these disputes, the savvy performer [Cody] often encouraged them as a means to keep the attention of the audience."¹⁶⁴ Additionally, Warren notes "Buffalo Bill's show community became a touchstone for Americans seeking to understand their own rapidly urbanizing, racially conflicted, industrial communities and country, and for Europeans contemplating a host of concerns, including industrialism, colonialism, race progress, and race decay."¹⁶⁵ Warren's book effectively combines two separate threads of the intriguing complexities of Buffalo Bill's life and the international cultural legacy of Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

Both Warren and McMurtry presented Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill's relationship as implicitly adversarial. McMurtry began his dual biography of Annie Oakley and Buffalo Bill by proclaiming, "Buffalo Bill was probably the most famous American of his day... more famous even than Theodore Roosevelt."¹⁶⁶ He also noted Buffalo Bill's origination of the Congress of Rough Riders of the World, "a nomenclature Theodore Roosevelt would eventually appropriate."¹⁶⁷ When Roosevelt fought in Cuba, while Buffalo Bill remained on tour with Buffalo Bill's Wild West, McMurtry commented, "it is unlikely that T. R. would have wanted to share the stage with Cody anyway."¹⁶⁸ However, Warren noted that the eastern elite, especially Roosevelt and Frederic Remington, modeled their western identities partly on Buffalo Bill, "Their assumptions of western identities, as cowboy artist and cowboy president, respectively, followed partly in the tradition of frontier imposture pioneered decades before by William Cody and others."¹⁶⁹ Warren argued that Roosevelt was a fan of Buffalo Bill's Wild West,

proclaiming, “Wild West show audiences included right-leaning fans like Remington and Roosevelt.”¹⁷⁰ Both men appreciated Buffalo Bill’s contribution to various 19th century movements “to instill in American manhood some approximation of natural vigor – what Theodore Roosevelt would call the ‘strenuous life’ – to fend off the neurasthenic effects of modern business and the city.”¹⁷¹ Warren postulated that Roosevelt appreciated Buffalo Bill’s Wild West portrayal of violence as a reenactment of the power of the “Big Stick” in civilizing the United States, “Whether the enemy were Lakota Sioux or determined strikers, bloodshed was the path to peace.”¹⁷² Yet Warren also noted, despite Roosevelt’s alleged respect for Buffalo Bill and his vision of the American Frontier, the two men were wary of one another. In describing the angst Buffalo Bill felt about the usage of the term Rough Rider by Roosevelt, Warren noted, “The spat with Roosevelt may have originated in Cody’s early ambivalence about the man, which TR could read as hostility.”¹⁷³

Warren also briefly touched upon the clash between Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt over the reclamation in the Big Horn Basin by addressing how homesteaders failed to settle in the town of Ralston, Wyoming, where Buffalo Bill invested, and instead settled near the Reclamation Service and formed the town of Powell. Warren claimed, “Theodore Roosevelt’s administration and the two that followed gave it to them, in a form of governance that defined the new age, the Progressive Era... This new West, with its irrigated homes and federal agents anxious to do the bidding of their owners, blew away Cody’s dreams like smoke from the embers of a prairie fire.”¹⁷⁴ Robert E. Bonner, a colleague of Warren, further expounded on Warren’s theme of Buffalo Bill role as a frontier imposture in *William F. Cody’s Wyoming Empire, The Buffalo Bill Nobody Knows*, published in 2007. Bonner argued the true developer of Cody, Wyoming, was not Buffalo Bill, as suggested by local historians, but Buffalo Bill’s business partner, George W. T. Beck, along with the shared corporate endeavors of the Chicago, Quincy, and Burlington Railroad, whose tracks reached Cody, Wyoming, in 1901, and the Lincoln Land Company that developed communities along its tracks. Unlike past regional historians, Bonner argues Buffalo Bill was more a meddler, constantly thwarting Beck’s hard work toward developing the town of Cody.

Additionally, Buffalo Bill grasp the realities of community development in the turn-of-the-century American West, finding himself a tool of the railroad and its land company, and completely misunderstanding the role of a progressive government in shaping the new communities of the West.¹⁷⁵

Bonner argued Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill were good friends, until they came to disagreements over the future of irrigation development in the Big Horn Basin. To emphasize the ending of this friendship, Bonner entitles his chapter on Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill with a quote from Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, "I know thee not, Old Man," implying that, just as Henry V dismissed his old friend Falstaff, Roosevelt cast aside Buffalo Bill. "Roosevelt liked Cody and continued to like him, but he showed the mettle of one who understood the demands of modern government when he put [Buffalo Bill] Cody off, time after time, as the Colonel tried to play upon their friendship for his own ends."¹⁷⁶

As more and more historians focused on Buffalo Bill's cultural legacy through the New Western history movement and continued to debate his authenticity as a frontiersman, more positive biographical depictions of Roosevelt also emerged; Gable labeled this period of Roosevelt historiography as the "Roosevelt Renaissance." Gable summed up this period as follows, "Theodore Roosevelt reached levels comparable to the attention the former president had received in the 1950s and 1920s. Roosevelt's reputation seemed to have weathered the attacks of critics from Henry F. Pringle to the New Left, and the Roosevelt Renaissance saw a new emphasis on Roosevelt as a hero and presidential giant."¹⁷⁷ Gable credits the 1979 release Edmund Morris's Pulitzer Prize winning *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, the beginning of a three-volume biography of Roosevelt.¹⁷⁸ In 1981 another biography of Roosevelt's early life appeared, written by popular historian David McCullough, entitled *Mornings on Horseback*, touted as "the story of an extraordinary family, a vanished way of life, and the unique child who became Theodore Roosevelt."¹⁷⁹ Both Morris and McCullough wrote a narrative history of their subject's early years, and like Pringle, wrote in a lively, dynamic, style that appealed to wider audiences. Both Morris and McCullough focused on Roosevelt's early health struggles with asthma and his overcoming his weaknesses

through his Dakota sojourn as an ongoing struggle heroically overcome in the West, reflecting the storyline from *Roosevelt in the Badlands*. The significance of America's conservative shift under Ronald Reagan's presidency cannot be underestimated in shaping how these audiences appreciated this more heroic treatment. Additionally, Reagan's cowboy-like persona also resonated with conservative audiences reading these popular biographies produced by McCullough and Morris, yet their tremendous research and powerful writing also explain the popularity of both books.¹⁸⁰ In the years following the release of Morris's *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, a plethora of publications hit the bookshelves, examining a various aspects of Roosevelt's personal and professional life.¹⁸¹

Gable concluded his essay by noting that Roosevelt's cyclical historiography will continue with "Roosevelt's reputation successively rising and falling."¹⁸² "Theodore Roosevelt, through this process, has been subjected to extreme fluctuations of opinion as much as any figure in American history," argued Gable, "probably because his career involved much that is important to modern American history."¹⁸³ In the twenty-five years since Gable wrote these words, historians have continued to debate the impact of Roosevelt's legacy, arguing whether his administration advanced or hindered modern American government and society. Since Gable published his historiography, the studies of Theodore Roosevelt continue to swing between admiration and debunking. Throughout these works the debate over the extent to which Roosevelt's experiences in the Badlands shaped him and his policies for good, or bad, continues to go on. Many have used Roosevelt as a whipping boy for what they perceive as America's current faults and tragedies, regardless of other politicians and historic events that shaped United States policy, while others praise Roosevelt's legacy in shaping the positive aspects of the United States Government. In short, many historians and popular writers have looked from the present day to the past, using Roosevelt as a vehicle to demonstrate the best and worst of America, and in a few cases, these authors use Buffalo Bill as a touchstone for Roosevelt's connections to the American West.¹⁸⁴

Only a few of these biographical studies of Roosevelt highlight his relationship with Buffalo Bill. In 2002, Kathleen Dalton published a well-researched one-volume

biography of Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*. Dalton argued the West “re-manned” and “de-classed” Roosevelt. “[Roosevelt] took the irritating edge off his own upper-class accents,” Dalton argued, “He put away his tails and pince-nez, wore a soft shirt, and ate at the kitchen table.”¹⁸⁵ Kathleen Dalton’s biography of Roosevelt suggested a personal and professional connection between the two, despite her extensive use of primary resources to interpret her subject, in this section she relies solely on Don Russell’s biography of Buffalo Bill as her key source detailing the association between the two men.¹⁸⁶ In 2008, David Fromkin published a brief book examining Roosevelt’s diplomatic relationship with Edward VII, and how they shaped Anglo-American relations. In *The King and the Cowboy: Theodore Roosevelt and Edward the Seventh, Secret Partners*, Fromkin touches upon how Roosevelt used his cowboy image in his interactions with the British government. Fromkin argues both men greatly shaped the Anglo-American alliance that would carry forward into the Great War and beyond, although this relationship was somewhat tenuous before Roosevelt became president. Additionally, Fromkin notes how Roosevelt used his Buffalo Bill persona both to shock Europeans and impress upon them the effectiveness of American fighting skills and the egalitarian nature of American society.¹⁸⁷

The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute at Hyde Park also folded Theodore Roosevelt’s diplomatic and international policies into their endeavors by publishing two books on the subject. The first work was an in-depth and detailed study of Roosevelt’s relationship with Britain entitled *Theodore Roosevelt and the British Empire* written by William N. Tilchin and published by the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute Series on Diplomatic and Economic History. It touches upon Roosevelt’s tenure in the Badlands and his western writings.¹⁸⁸ In 2012, the Institute published *America’s Transatlantic Turn: Theodore Roosevelt and the “Discovery” of Europe*, a collection of essays edited by Hans Krabbendam, Assistant Director of the Roosevelt Study Center in the Netherlands, and John M. Thompson, Lecturer at the Clinton Institute for American Studies at University College Dublin.¹⁸⁹ Within this collection of essays, Edward P. Kohn, Michael Patrick Cullinane, and Douglas Eden, touch upon Roosevelt’s fascination with American exceptionalism as defined by its frontier experience. This belief partially

shaped Roosevelt's international perspectives on Germany and Britain through his neo-Lamarckian lens, a reflection of his naturalist studies and western experiences.¹⁹⁰

Roosevelt also became a notable subject within the field of gender studies of masculinity. In 1995, Gail Bederman dedicated one chapter to Roosevelt in *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. Bederman examined Roosevelt's transformation from an effeminate, Oscar Wilde prototype dude to a manly westerner.¹⁹¹ Sarah Watts followed Bederman's line of thinking with *Rough Rider in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Desire*. Watts presents a psychological perspective on Roosevelt's desires to be more masculine to counter his inner demons of feminism, miscegenation, homosexuality, and fear of the primeval ape contained within his own body and mind. Watts intently focuses on Roosevelt's western experiences to glean deeper psychological meanings of Roosevelt's hunting trips and participation in roundups with rugged cowboys, as well as examining racial and gender issues surfacing in the American West and its frontier myths. Roosevelt, she argues, transformed his own journey towards masculinity into a national endeavor by fighting alongside "Cowboy Soldiers," and throughout his presidency.¹⁹² In 2013, Monica Rico examined both Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt in the light of masculinity as it played out in a transatlantic setting in *Nature's Noblemen: Transatlantic Masculinities and the Nineteenth-Century American West*. Rico examines Buffalo Bill's tours of Europe and Roosevelt's quest for adventure overseas in "darkest" Africa. She details the strong connections between the United States and the British Empire and explains how both American and British male citizens interacted with one another in the American West and British Empire, promoting nature as a source of masculinity. "There was never one single kind of manhood," argued Rico. "Precisely because hegemonic manhood had to be constructed and maintained as the only way to be a real man, it was constantly in tension with other discourses of gender that emerged as men contended with political, economic, and social change during an era of unprecedented global connection."¹⁹³ Many of these works examining masculinity note how the emerging popularity of the American western myth, including

the depiction of masculinity in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, related directly to Roosevelt's public persona as an overtly masculine American male.¹⁹⁴

Towards the end of his life, John Gable noted the need for more research on Roosevelt's environmental contributions. John Gable calculated Roosevelt protected 84,000 acres of public land per day during his administration by creating 150 National Forests, fifty-one Federal Bird Preserves, eighteen National Monuments, five National Parks, and four National Game Preserves.¹⁹⁵ Many studies of Roosevelt as a hunter and conservationist, continued to appear, although mainly printed by scientific or hunting organizations. Firearms expert and historian R. L. Wilson wrote *Theodore Roosevelt Outdoorsman* in 1971, examining Roosevelt's hunting expeditions and the firearms he used; a revised version of this book appeared in 1994.¹⁹⁶ Most publications regarding Roosevelt's outdoor activities focused on his hunting expeditions, as well as how his life in the Badlands shaped his environmental policies. The most detailed history of early wildlife conservation it released was James B. Trefethen's *An American Crusade for Wildlife* (1975), which included a heavy focus on Roosevelt as a naturalist. The same year John F. Reiger released *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, which credited Roosevelt and Grinnell's Boone and Crockett Club with leading the first major public struggle to protect public lands and wildlife.¹⁹⁷

In 1978, Yellowstone historian and archivist Paul Schullery wrote an article for *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, entitled "A Partnership in Conservation: Theodore Roosevelt and Yellowstone." Schullery's article focused on Roosevelt's efforts, in coordination with other early conservationists to ensure the future of Yellowstone National Park as a scenic and wildlife reserve. In 1983, Schullery edited an anthology of Roosevelt's writings about American bears.¹⁹⁸ Schullery followed this work with an overview of bear hunters, in which a chapter profiled Theodore Roosevelt.¹⁹⁹ Schullery cautioned historians to examine Roosevelt's conservation legacy numerically – the number of acres saved as wildlife refuges, National Parks, National Monuments, National Forests, etc. In his introduction to a collection of Roosevelt's nature writings in 1986, Schullery wrote, "for anyone wishing to understand the beginnings of American conservation or Roosevelt's own complex attitudes about

nature, no such lumping will do. For Roosevelt's conservation philosophy had many facets that sometimes conflicted with one another," as was demonstrated in his dealings with Buffalo Bill.²⁰⁰ In the last few decades, more work on Roosevelt's environmental contributions have appeared. In 1985, Paul Russell Cutright published *Theodore Roosevelt: The Making of a Conservationist*, which expanded upon his original work.²⁰¹ R. L. Wilson wrote a coffee table book full of illustrations in 2009 for the Boone and Crockett Club entitled *Theodore Roosevelt: Hunter – Conservationist*.²⁰² At John Gable's urging, Douglas Brinkley completed *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America*.²⁰³ Brinkley does refer to a few Buffalo Bill connections to Roosevelt, including Buffalo Bill's endorsement of Roosevelt in 1900; however, Brinkley mistakenly states that Buffalo Bill introduced Roosevelt at the Hamilton Club where the latter delivered his famed "Strenuous Life" speech. These publications focused heavily on how Roosevelt's early experiences in the Badlands shaped his conservation policies, in addition to establishing his public image as cowboy, rancher, and sportsman. Although they refer to buffalo hunters as the worst example of market hunting, they do not dwell on Roosevelt's relationship with Buffalo Bill, apart from Brinkley's work.²⁰⁴ In contrast is the recent work by Edward P. Kohn, entitled *Heir to the Empire City: New York and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt*. Kohn argues, "Theodore Roosevelt is best Remembered as America's 'cowboy' President... whose political beliefs were shaped by a youth spent in the rugged American West. Yet while Roosevelt's love of nature certainly was central to his identity, it was in fact his time in New York City that defined the progressive politics for which he is still celebrated today."²⁰⁵

Christine Bold revisited Edward White's scholarship on the eastern establishment's influence on the myth of the American West in *The Frontier Club: Popular Westerns and Cultural Power, 1880-1924*. In addition to reexamining White's key subjects, Fredric Remington, Owen Wister, and Theodore Roosevelt, Bold researched their connections with other "frontier club" members, including naturalist George Bird Grinnell, sportsman and soldier Winthrop Chandler, eugenicist and naturalist Madison Grant, Bostonian politician Henry Cabot Lodge, editor Caspar

Whitney, and neuralgia specialist Dr. Silas Weir Mitchell. Bold argues this collection of men “popularized a version of the West which furthered their own cultural, political, and financial interests while violently excluding less powerful groups.”²⁰⁶ Bold argues that despite its strong national message, this white masculine group concealed or minimized the contributions of women, American Indians, African Americans, and immigrants in the American West, and thereby accorded to men of the “frontier club” type cultural superiority over all of America. Yet Bold acknowledges Buffalo Bill’s contribution to this frontier myth, whereas G. Edward White overlooked Buffalo Bill’s contribution to shaping the frontier myths.

Bold also credits Roosevelt and Grinnell’s writings for the Boone and Crockett Club, which had defined a sportsman’s code, to be the beginning of the moral code for this emerging organization of influential Americans. However, she claims that Roosevelt’s “hunting exploits mask the commercial and managerial orientation of his ranching enterprise, while the needs of his ranch crew enable him to gloss over how much of his activity was trophy and how much subsistence hunting... When he wrote... about the scarcity of game – ‘the cattlemen have crowded it out’ – he finessed the contradiction between his two roles, complaining as a hunter without acknowledging his own culpability as a rancher.”²⁰⁷ Again, this seemed an area that excluded Buffalo Bill who was often viewed as a celebrity market hunter and rancher.

In conclusion, many historians have examined Roosevelt’s connections to the American West, arguing that the experience shaped his social and political views, his conservation policies, his militarism and imperialist ideology, and made him a vigorous example of masculinity. Historians continue to waver between their characterization of Roosevelt as an upstanding hero or a cartoonish bully, many using his tenure in the Badlands as a touchstone to bolster their arguments. Past studies examined Roosevelt’s writings and his popular image as a Rough Rider to define how he and others shaped the popular image of the frontier in 20th century America. Other than noting Roosevelt’s and Buffalo Bill’s shared aptitude for promoting manliness and their celebration of western adventures, many of the Roosevelt biographies fail to contemplate whether a personal or professional relationship truly existed between the two men. A few

historians have compared Roosevelt's romanticized vision of the American frontier with popular depiction of the frontier through Buffalo Bill's Wild West, but most Roosevelt historians never suggested Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt were close acquaintances. Recent biographies of Dalton and Brinkley suggested a professional working relationship between the two men, but failed to provide much detail regarding how the two men collaborated and fought over the development of the American West. In contrast, many of the Buffalo Bill biographies stress a personal and professional relationship between the two men. This necessitates a study to determine the true nature of how Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill viewed, and interacted with, one another. In many ways, Buffalo's popular image continually overshadows his actual life story, greatly influencing how historians have viewed his connections to other westerner icons, including Theodore Roosevelt. Most of the Buffalo Bill biographies attempt to make it clear that the two men worked with one another, that both were iconic figures of the American West and that they may have been friends. There are also suggestions Roosevelt's success as the "Cowboy President" needed the support of true westerners like Buffalo Bill to bolster his public image. These references to Roosevelt tend to augment Buffalo Bill's national and international credibility as an authentic frontiersman, a reputable entrepreneur, and a significant cultural representative, as opposed to a simple actor attempting to recreate his glory days in the American West.

The historiography of Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill reflects some other interesting patterns. Throughout the 1920s, Buffalo Bill's heroic image was seriously questioned, while the early biographies of Roosevelt touted him as a hero. In the 1930s and 1940s, movies continued to depict Buffalo Bill in heroic terms, while Roosevelt was depicted as a childlike bully in both movies and biographical works. The 1950s ushered in serious academic studies of Roosevelt's political legacy and the re-examining of America's frontier myths, yet only the Buffalo Bill biographers considered whether and how these two men interacted with one another. Historians seriously questioned the heroism and legacy of both men in the 1960s and 1970s, yet the 1980s witnessed the resurrection of positive images of both Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt. Current literature examining the lives and legacies of Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill waver between their respective positive

and negative contributions to American society, politics, and culture, yet these modern works also tend to focus on *only* Roosevelt *or* Buffalo Bill, with minor consideration offered to the significance of the other. It is the aim of this dissertation, through examining and analyzing the personal, professional, and public associations of these two “Rough Riders,” to provide a better understanding than that offered by the foregoing literature of the extent to which Theodore Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill, collectively, molded the imagery of the American frontier, shaped development of modern land-use in the American West, and promulgated domestic and global perspectives of the United States as an emergent world power with objectives and strategies that were fundamentally shaped by its frontier past.

¹ Note the almost verbatim details offered by Buffalo Bill and John Burke on the 1887 performance before Queen Victoria in William F. Cody, *The Wild West in England*, ed. Frank Christianson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), p. 76-77, and John M. Burke, *Buffalo Bill from Prairie to Palace*, ed. Chris Dixon (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), p.234-35.

² For example, the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming in Laramie holds many letters exchanged between William F. Cody and his business partner George Beck related to their efforts to develop the town of Cody, Wyoming. The Denver Public Library also holds some correspondence related to various aspects of Buffalo Bill’s life, including the archival records belonging to the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave on Lookout Mountain, Colorado. The University of Arizona at Tucson also holds a collection of material pertaining to his mining investments in that region.

³ *The Papers of William F. Cody* at the Buffalo Bill Center of the West began in 2007 with a grant from the State of Wyoming to locate and publish letters written by William F. Cody, including many that were previously unknown. Private collectors usually retain any letters in their possession and *The Papers* discovers them when they appear for sale on online auction sites like eBay, for excessive prices. *The Papers* is housed at the Buffalo Bill Center of the West in Cody, Wyo. *The Papers* hosts a digital archive of Cody material: www.CodyArchive.org The McCracken Research Library of the Buffalo Bill Center of the West provides an online archive at www.centerofthewest.org. *The Papers* has digitally published, or is currently editing, material from these archives: MS005 Cody Local History Collection and MS006 William F. Cody, Collection, 1840-2011, McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyo.; Beck Family Papers, 1858-1992 (Acc #10386) George T. Beck Papers, 1869-1968 (Acc. #59), Buffalo Bill Letters to George T. Beck (Acc. #9972), Buffalo Bill Dam Construction Photograph Album (Acc. #11723), American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.; William F. Cody Papers (CMSS-M688), Denver Public Library, Denver, Colo.; Archives, Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, Golden, Colo.; Records of the Bureau of Reclamation, RG 115, National Archives, Rocky Mountain Branch, Denver, Colo.; Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Records of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad, Newberry Library, Chicago; Wyoming State Archives; and Papers of Buffalo Bill, Special Collections at the University of Arizona Libraries, Tucson, Ariz.

⁴ Stella Foote, *Letters from Buffalo Bill* (El Segundo, Calif.: Upton & Sons, 1990) and Sarah J. Blackstone, *The Business of Being Buffalo Bill: Selected Letters of William F. Cody, 1879-1917* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1988). A few publications include collections of Cody’s correspondence. See Gladys Andren, *Life Among the Ladies by the Lake* (Cody, Wyo.: Rustler, 1984), containing letters written by Buffalo Bill to Mattie and Eli Jernberg.

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- ⁵ William F. Cody, *The Life of Hon. William F. Cody, Known as Buffalo Bill*, ed. Frank Christianson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011). Numerous reprints of Cody's autobiography are available, usually providing readers the original text and no ancillary information. Don Russell's edition of the autobiography, published by University of Nebraska Press, offers a well-written introduction examining the question of authorship and the legacy of Cody's autobiography.
- ⁶ William F. Cody, *Story of the Wild West and Camp-fire Chats* (Philadelphia: Historical Publishing Co., 1888), also published as *The History of the Wild West* (Chicago: R. S. Peale, 1901). Cody, *The Wild West in England* provides the chapter on Cody's first tour of England and ancillary material.
- ⁷ William F. Cody, *True Tales of the Plains* (New York: Cupples & Leon, 1908).
- ⁸ William F. Cody, *Buffalo Bill's Life Story: An Autobiography* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1920).
- ⁹ William F. Cody, "In the West, Theodore Roosevelt Won His Health and Strenuousness," *Success*, Jan. 1902, p. 9, (Theodore Roosevelt Collection at Harvard University) and "Roosevelt's Rough Riders," *National Magazine of the World*, *Metropolitan*, vol. 82, no. 4 (July 1898), p. 338-44.
- ¹⁰ William F. Cody, "Famous Hunting Parties of the Plains," *Cosmopolitan*, vol. 17, no. 2 (June 1887), p. 131-43; "Fighting and Trapping Out West," *Murray's Magazine* (June 1887); "The Great West That Was, 'Buffalo Bill's' Life Story," *Hearst's Magazine* (August 1916 to July 1917); "Rounding Up Indians," *Harper's Round Table*, vol. 12, no. 15 (Jan. 1899); and "The Wild West in Europe," *Sunday Magazine* (May 12, 1907).
- ¹¹ William F. Cody, "The Big Horn Basin: An American Eden," *Success* (June 1900) and "Preserving the Game," *Independent*, vol. 53 (June 6, 1901), p. 1292-93. Note, there is an ongoing debate regarding the difference between the usage of Big Horn or Bighorn to identify the Big Horn Basin and Big Horn River. The United States Geological Survey officially listed the name as one word, "Bighorn," yet many Big Horn Basin residents prefer the more traditional usage of two separate words, "Big Horn." For the purposes of this dissertation, the author will use "Big Horn," unless quoting from a resource that uses "Bighorn."
- ¹² Some of these newspaper interviews appear in the Cody Digital Archive, www.CodyArchive.com
- ¹³ A recent search of the *New York Times* online archive for "Buffalo Bill", limited to the dates of his life, returns over 1,200 articles. A search for "William F. Cody" within the same dates returns 122 articles. A search for "Buffalo Bill's Wild West," again within the same dates, returns 189 articles.
- ¹⁴ For example, a few newspapers report Elizabeth Custer, General Custer's widow, attended a reenactment of Custer's Last Stand staged by Buffalo Bill's Wild West, yet other articles report she refused to attend. The *New York Times*, July 15, 1886, noted Elizabeth Custer attended Buffalo Bill's Wild West, a few weeks before Cody expressed his plans to reenact Custer's Last Stand. *The Critic: A Weekly Review of Literature and the Arts*, Jan. 1887, vol. 7, no. 157, p. 7 noted, "In giving her consent Mrs. Custer stipulated that she would have time to get out of town before the performances began, as it would be very painful to remain here while they were a subject of newspaper comment and general conversation." Unfortunately, many biographers of Elizabeth Custer took the articles noting she attended as fact and failed to document the articles claiming she refused to attend.
- ¹⁵ For a listing of Buffalo Bill's stage performances, see Sandra K. Sagala, *Buffalo Bill on Stage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008).
- ¹⁶ For examples of programs, see www.CodyArchive.org and James W. Wojtovicz, *The W. F. Cody Buffalo Bill Collectors Guide with Values* (Paducah, KY: Collector Books, 1997). For a visual depiction of the *Wild West* posters, see Jack Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (New York: Darien House, 1976).
- ¹⁷ Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 494-503. Buffalo Bill biographer Don Russell argued dime novels, more so than Buffalo Bill's Wild West, brought William F. Cody into most American communities and offered readers exciting and adventurous storylines of the American Frontier.
- ¹⁸ Because most of Buffalo Bill's military life occurred before he established any relationship with Theodore Roosevelt, this dissertation does not delve to deeply into his official military record as a scout. Instead, the author has relied on Russell's study of his military contributions, while being mindful of

how the popular media of the time tended to exaggerate Buffalo Bill's contributions to the American West.

- ¹⁹ John Burke, *From Prairie to Palace*, offers a glamorized version of his hero and boss, Buffalo Bill, which gleans a lot of material from the various show programs. Helen Cody Wetmore, *Last of the Great Scouts: The Life Story of Col. William F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill"* (Chicago: Duluth Press, 1899). Wetmore's book has appeared in numerous editions and remains in print, including one edition offering a commentary by well-known American Western writer Zane Grey. Helen Cody Wetmore's biography presents her brother in a heroic light and clearly exaggerated, or in some cases completely fabricated depictions of his numerous adventures in the West. Elizabeth Jane Leonard and Julia Cody Goodman, *Buffalo Bill King of the Old West* (New York: Library Publishers, 1955). Julia's memoirs were published by the Kansas State Historical Society, see "Julia Cody Goodman's Memoirs of Buffalo Bill," ed. Don Russell, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 28 (1962), p. 442-96, provide an overview of Buffalo Bill's early years in Iowa and Kansas. For a year-to-year comparison of Julia's memoirs with Buffalo Bill's autobiography, see John S. Gray, "Fact versus Fiction in the Kansas Boyhood of Buffalo Bill," *Kansas History*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Spring 1985), p. 2-20.
- ²⁰ Louisa Frederici Cody, in collaboration with Courtney Ryley Cooper, *Memories of Buffalo Bill* (New York: D. Appleton, 1920).
- ²¹ Charles Eldridge Griffin, *Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill*, ed. and with introduction by Chris Dixon (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010). This book demonstrates the international appeal of Buffalo Bill's Wild West and offers a glimpse of the complexities of managing numerous performances of great magnitude.
- ²² William Edward Webb, *Buffalo Land* (Cincinnati: E. Hannaford, 1872). *Buffalo Land* by William Edward Webb, a travelogue documenting a journey across the Great Plains, is the first known appearance of Buffalo Bill's name in a published book. Mark Twain not only corresponded with William F. Cody, he wrote a short story detailing Buffalo Bill's exploits from the perspective of his horse, see Mark Twain, *A Horse's Tale* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1907). Henry E. Davies, *Ten Days on the Plains*, ed. Paul Andrew Hutton (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1985), details an extravagant bison hunt on the Great Plains with Buffalo Bill and other dignitaries: including Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan; newspaper publisher James Gordon Bennett, Jr.; and Leonard W. Jerome, Winston Churchill's grandfather. George Allen Beecher, *A Bishop of the Great Plains* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1950), written by a missionary bishop of Nebraska detailed Buffalo Bill's life in North Platte, Nebraska, and a hunting trip to northwest Wyoming. José Martí, *Martí on the U.S.A.*, ed. and trans. Luis A. Baralt (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1966), Martí recalled his excitement at seeing *Buffalo Bill's Wild West* in an article published in *La América*. Hugh Lenox Scott, *Some Memories of a Soldier* (New York: Century, 1928), p.175. Elizabeth Bacon Custer, *Tenting on the Plains* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1895), Elizabeth Custer, also described the excitement of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, as related to her by her servant Eliza who attended one performance.
- ²³ Courtney Ryley Cooper, *Under the Big Top* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1929); Dexter Fellows and Andrew A. Freeman, *This Way to the Big Show: The Life of Dexter Fellows* (New York: Halcyon House, 1936); Charles H. Day, *Ink From a Circus Press Agent* (San Bernardino: Borgo Press, 1995), reprint; and Lew Parker, *Odd People I have Met*, np, nd.
- ²⁴ Two versions of George Beck's manuscript were housed at the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming and the Park County Archives. Beck's reminisces contradicts the exaggerated image of Buffalo Bill as a promoter of reclamation and as sole town founder. Historians who have referred to this copy of the manuscript tend to interpret Buffalo Bill as someone who meddled in business ventures while more business-minded men like Beck completed the difficult, but necessary, tasks that ensured the settlement of the Big Horn Basin. While researching this dissertation, the author met Betty Jane Gerber, George Beck's granddaughter, and her husband George. The Gerbers located Beck's original manuscript in their private collection and shared it with the author. The original typed manuscript is more complete when compared to the archived copies of Beck's manuscript publicly

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- accessible through the American Heritage Center and the Park County Archives, both of which were heavily edited by the daughters. Handwritten editorial notes written by Beck's two daughters located in the original manuscript indicate Beck's daughters were very concerned the original manuscript would discredit their father's image and reputation. This manuscript was recently donated by the Gerbers to the McCracken Research Library and is scheduled for publication by University of Nebraska Press.
- ²⁵ This manuscript is at the Beinecke Library at Yale and snippets of it appear in Walsh's book. (The finding guide for the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts lists a copy of Salsbury's manuscript, but the library staff report that it is missing.) Buffalo Bill's show partner, Pawnee Bill, offered a similar perspective in his unpublished manuscript. Nate Salsbury's manuscript will be published by the University of Nebraska Press under *The Papers of William F. Cody*. Portions of this manuscript appeared in Glenn Shirley's biography of Pawnee Bill and the full version appeared in R. L. Wilson's book, see Glenn Shirley, *Pawnee Bill: A Biography of Major Gordon W. Lillie* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958) and R. L. Wilson with Greg Martin, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: An American Legend* (New York: Random House, 1998). Both the Pawnee Bill and Nate Salsbury manuscripts offer an unglamorous view of Buffalo Bill, focusing on his inability to manage money, his poor investments, the difficult nature of working with Buffalo Bill, and his drinking. On the other hand, both manuscripts promote the authors, themselves, as the hidden hand behind William F. Cody's successes and should be treated with caution as evidence.
- ²⁶ *Index to the Theodore Roosevelt Papers*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1969).
- ²⁷ This collection gives researchers not only the opportunity to examine primary material related to Roosevelt, it also provides one of the biggest collections of Roosevelt's published works and publications written by Roosevelt's contemporaries. For an overview of these archives, consult *Theodore Roosevelt Collection: Dictionary Catalogue and Shelflist*, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Library, 1970).
- ²⁸ Elting E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 8 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951).
- ²⁹ Joseph Bucklin Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time: Shown in His Own Letters*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920) and *Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), also reprinted in *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 19 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926); Anna Roosevelt Cowles, *Letters from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt Cowles, 1870-1918* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924); Henry Cabot Lodge, *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925).
- ³⁰ Louis Auchincloss, *Theodore Roosevelt: Letters and Speeches* (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, Inc., 2004); H. W. Brands, ed. *The Selected Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: First Cooper Square Press, 2001); Will Irwin, ed. *Letters to Kermit from Theodore Roosevelt, 1902-1908* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946); Joan Paterson Kerr, ed. *A Bully Father* (New York: Random House, 1995). The latter book is a reprint of Bishop's *Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to his Children*, with additional notes and a biographical essay by Kerr.
- ³¹ The Theodore Roosevelt Center at Dickinson State University is providing an ever-expanding online database of Theodore Roosevelt correspondence, photographs, and other archival material. This online resource will provide researchers access to the key Roosevelt collections at Harvard and the Library of Congress, in addition to other archival material housed at National Park archives, museums, and private collections. Even in its early stages, the online database provided by the Theodore Roosevelt Center provides easy access to key Roosevelt correspondence and it will surely play an increasingly important role in shaping future Roosevelt scholarship. For further details, see www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org
- ³² Theodore Roosevelt, *Gouverneur Morris* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1888); Theodore Roosevelt, *Oliver Cromwell* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900); Theodore Roosevelt, *Thomas Hart Benton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1887); and Theodore Roosevelt with Henry Cabot Lodge, *Hero Tales from American History* (New York: Century, 1895);

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- ³³ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1882); Theodore Roosevelt, *New York* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1891); and Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, 4 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889-1896).
- ³⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, *African Game Trails* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910); Theodore Roosevelt, *A Book-Lover's Holidays in the Open* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916); Theodore Roosevelt, *Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905); Theodore Roosevelt, *Through the Brazilian Wilderness* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914); Theodore Roosevelt, *The Wilderness Hunter* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893); Theodore Roosevelt, T. S. Van Dyke, D. G. Elliot, and A. J. Stone (Caspar Whitney, ed.), *The Deer Family* (New York: MacMillan, 1902); and Theodore Roosevelt and Edmund Heller, *Life-Histories of African Game Animals* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914). In addition to his own writings on hunting and natural history, Theodore Roosevelt co-edited the Boone and Crockett Club book series published by Forest and Stream Publishing. The books are as follows: *American Big-Game Hunting*, 1893; *Hunting in Many Lands*, 1895; *Trail and Campfire*, 1897; and *American Big Game In its Haunts*, 1904.
- ³⁵ Theodore Roosevelt, *America and the World War* (New York: Charles Scriber's Sons, 1915); Theodore Roosevelt, *American Problems* (New York: Outlook, 1910); Theodore Roosevelt, *American Ideas and Other Essays Social and Political* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897); Theodore Roosevelt, *Essays on Practical Politics* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1888); Theodore Roosevelt, *Fear God and Take Your Own Part* (New York: George H. Doran, 1916); Theodore Roosevelt, *The Foes of Our Own Household* (New York: George H. Doran, 1917); Theodore Roosevelt, *National Strength and International Duty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1917); Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life, Essays and Addresses* (New York: Century, 1900); Theodore Roosevelt, *The New Nationalism* (New York: Outlook, 1910); Theodore Roosevelt, *The Outlook Editorials* (New York: Outlook, 1909); Theodore Roosevelt, *Presidential Addresses and State Papers and European Addresses*, 8 vols. (New York: Review of Reviews, 1910); Theodore Roosevelt, *Progressive Principles: Selections from Addresses Made During the Presidential Campaign of 1912*, Elmer Youngman, ed. (New York: Progressive National Service, 1913); and Theodore Roosevelt, *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star; War-Time Editorials by Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. Ralph Stout (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921).
- ³⁶ Albert Bushnell Hart and Herbert Ronald Ferleger, and John Gable, eds. *Theodore Roosevelt Cyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Oyster Bay: Theodore Roosevelt Association, 1989). A CD-ROM version was released by the Theodore Roosevelt Association in 2000.
- ³⁷ Aloysius A. Norton, *Theodore Roosevelt* (Boston: Twayne, 1980).
- ³⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1885).
- ³⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail* (New York: The Century Company, 1888).
- ⁴⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, *Good Hunting: In Pursuit of Big Game in the West* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1907); and Theodore Roosevelt, *Hunting the Grisly and other Sketches* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893).
- ⁴¹ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899).
- ⁴² Theodore Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1913). Ulysses S. Grant published his Civil War memoirs after his presidency, but did not mention his administration. Roosevelt was the first president to write an autobiography that not only examined his early life, but also his presidency.
- ⁴³ Many historians have relied on his earlier work, not realizing his perspective changed later in his life. A classic example of this is his early commentaries on American Indians. Many of his earlier works depict American Indians as savages and characterize the entire race as being untrustworthy; however, his later writings offer a deeper and more nuanced insight on the subject.
- ⁴⁴ Lincoln A. Lang, *Ranching with Roosevelt* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1926).
- ⁴⁵ Dr. V. H. Stickney, *Theodore Roosevelt: Ranchman* [speech, July 11, 1922] (Pasadena, CA: Post Printing and Binding, n.p.; n.d.), at Hathi Trust Digital Library, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nlj.32101065310375;view=1up;seq=1> Last accessed on May 23, 2016.

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- ⁴⁶ Hermann Hagedorn, "Conversations at Dusk Along the Little Missouri," *Outlook*, 123 (Sept. 24, 1919), p. 137-43.
- ⁴⁷ William Wingate Sewall, *Bill Sewall's Story of T. R.* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1919). A collection of letters between Bill Sewall and his wife Mary were edited and published by Ray H. Mattison in *North Dakota History*, vol. 27, nos. 3 and 4 (Spring 1960), p. 105-141. The article was also published as a booklet.
- ⁴⁸ John R. Abernathy, "*Catch 'Em Alive Jack*": *The Life and Adventures of an American Pioneer* (New York: Association Press, 1936); John Burroughs, *Camping and Tramping with President Roosevelt* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1907); A. C. Huidekoper, *My Experience and Investment in the Bad Lands of Dakota and Some of the Men I met There* (Baltimore: Wirth Brothers, 1947); Jack Willis (as told to Horace Smith) *Roosevelt in the Rough* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1931). Many of Roosevelt's hunting guides shared their experiences in newspaper articles or sporting journals, including the author of this dissertation's great-great grandfather, John B. Goff, who wrote about hunting trips with Roosevelt in Colorado, see John B. Goff, "The Roosevelt Lion Hunt," *Outdoor Life*, vol. 7, no. 4, (May 1901), and "The President's Bear Hunt," *Outdoor Life*, three installments: vol. 16, no. 1, (July 1905), vol. 16, no. 2, (Aug. 1905), and vol. 16, no. 3, (Sept. 1905).
- ⁴⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Homeward Bound Edition*, 20 vols. (New York: Review of Reviews, 1910).
- ⁵⁰ Hermann Hagedorn, ed., *Memorial Edition, Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, 24 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923-1926).
- ⁵¹ Hermann Hagedorn, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, 20 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927).
- ⁵² Frederick S. Wood, ed., *Roosevelt as We Knew Him: The Personal Recollections of One Hundred and Fifty of his Friends and Associates* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1927).
- ⁵³ John Allen Gable, "The Man in the Arena of History: The Historiography of Theodore Roosevelt," *Theodore Roosevelt: Many-Sided American*, Naylor, et al., eds. (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1992), p. 612-645.
- ⁵⁴ The Theodore Roosevelt Association has reviewed publications that both glamorize and critique Roosevelt through the *Theodore Roosevelt Association Journal*, launched in 1975. This journal's voluminous writings on the historiography of Roosevelt have since shaped interpretations of the man and his presidency. Many Roosevelt scholars recognized the late John Gable, of Brown University, as a serious political historian, in addition to his directorship of the Theodore Roosevelt Association, considering him the leading expert on Roosevelt. See his detailed study of Roosevelt and the Progressive Party: Gable, *The Bull Moose Years: Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1978).
- ⁵⁵ Joseph Bucklin Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time Shown in His Own Letters* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), 2 vols. For an overview of Roosevelt and Bishop's friendship, see Chip Bishop, *The Lion and the Journalist: The Unlikely Friendship of Theodore Roosevelt and Joseph Bucklin Bishop* (Guilford, CT.: Lyons Press, 2012).
- ⁵⁶ Owen Wister, *Roosevelt: The Story of a Friendship, 1880-1919* (New York: Macmillan, 1930). In addition to Owen Wister's reminiscences, see William Wingate Sewall, *Bill Sewall's Story of T. R.* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1919); William Chapin Deming, *Roosevelt In the Bunk House: Visits of the Great Rough Rider to Wyoming in 1900, 1903, and 1910* (Laramie, WY: The Laramie Printing Company, 1927), 2nd ed.; Frederick S. Wood, *Roosevelt as We Knew Him: The Personal Recollections of One Hundred and Fifty of His Friends and Associates* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1927), a plethora of personal memories stitched together as a biography; Lincoln A. Lang, *Ranching With Roosevelt* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1926); and *Nicholas Roosevelt: Theodore Roosevelt: The Man as I Knew Him* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1967). The latter demonstrates that personal recollections of Roosevelt appeared decades after his passing. Also, see Billy McGinty, *Oklahoma Rough Rider: Billy McGinty's Own Story*, Jim Fulbright and Albert Stehno, eds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008).

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- ⁵⁷ Ferdinand C. Iglehart, D.D., *Theodore Roosevelt: The Man as I Knew Him* (New York: A. L. Burt, 1919).
- ⁵⁸ Gable, "The Man in the Arena of History," p. 615. William Roscoe Thayer, *Theodore Roosevelt: An Intimate Biography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919), details Roosevelt's Badlands experiences into a chapter entitled "Nature the Healer." Harold Howland, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Times: A Chronicle of the Progressive Movement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), p. 26. Accessed from GoogleBooks on March 27, 2014, noted the experience completed Roosevelt's physical conditioning and exposed him to living with and working alongside lower-class cowboys. William Draper Lewis, *The Life of Theodore Roosevelt* (United States: United Publishers of the United States and Canada, 1919), p. 69, which offers a chapter on Roosevelt's tenure in the Badlands. See introduction by former President William H. Taft, Roosevelt's erstwhile friend and rival in the 1912 presidential election. They reconciled their differences, and Taft's respect for Roosevelt is evident in this introduction. Eugene Thwing, *The Life and Meaning of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Current Literature, 1919), dedicates one chapter to Roosevelt's Badlands experiences, focusing intently on Roosevelt's varied opponents: a saloon bully, the Marques de Mores, boat thieves, and a surly hunting guide. Lord Charnwood, *Theodore Roosevelt* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1923), p. 32. Charnwood relied on Hermann Hagedorn's book *Roosevelt in the Badlands* for his source material describing Roosevelt's experiences and claims Roosevelt tamed the Badlands with his moral sense of justice.
- ⁵⁹ Gable, "The Man in the Arena of History," p. 615. Lewis Einstein, *Roosevelt: His Mind in Action* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930). Lewis Einstein was from an elite Jewish family from New York City and served as an American diplomat during Roosevelt's administration. Einstein only dedicated a few pages describing Roosevelt's experiences in the Dakota Territory, yet he makes some powerful claims that the west shaped Roosevelt's masculinity, endeared him to working-class cowboys despite his upper-class upbringing, and allowed him to unite disparate groups of Americans. Although published after *Roosevelt in the Badlands*, Einstein failed to incorporate Hagedorn's research in his work, including Hagedorn's interviews with Roosevelt's western contemporaries. Instead, Einstein consulted Roosevelt's writings and letters to Henry Cabot Lodge and his sister Anna Roosevelt Cowles to interpret his time in the Badlands, which clearly continues an eastern perspective of this period of Roosevelt's western adventures.
- ⁶⁰ The other work identified by Gable was Tyler Dennett, *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1925). Due to the subject matter of this work, the author did not analyze it for this study.
- ⁶¹ Hermann Hagedorn, *Roosevelt in the Bad Lands* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921). A reprint of this work, issued by the Theodore Roosevelt Nature & History Association in 1987, provides a listing of the true names and the aliases used by Hagedorn in his original work. Hagedorn not only relied on Roosevelt's extensive writings about his western experiences; he traveled to the Badlands and met many of Roosevelt's rural companions. This exposed Hagedorn to many experiences and insights that eluded earlier Roosevelt biographers who relied solely on Roosevelt's writings. *Roosevelt in the Badlands* thoroughly documented Roosevelt's life in Dakota Territory. Due to the nature of the subject and Hagedorn's lively writing style and narrative format, his book remained the classic interpretation of Roosevelt's Badlands experiences.
- ⁶² Ibid. Hagedorn shaped the future of Roosevelt scholarship. In addition to *Roosevelt in the Badlands*, Hagedorn wrote *The Boys' Life of Theodore Roosevelt* (1918), *Roosevelt Prophet of Unity* (1924), *The Bugle that Woke America* (1940), and *The Roosevelt Family of Sagamore Hill* (1954). Hagedorn served as Director of the Roosevelt Memorial Association from 1919 to 1956. Under his leadership, the association assembled the Theodore Roosevelt Collection, then housed at the Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace in New York City; eventually this archive of over 12,000 printed items moved to Harvard University, where it is supervised by Wallace Finn Dailey. See *Theodore Roosevelt Collection: Dictionary and Shelflist*, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Library, 1970) for an inventory.
- ⁶³ Richard J. Walsh in collaboration with Milton S. Salsbury, *The Making of Buffalo Bill - A Study in Heroics* (New York: A. L. Burt Walsh, 1928).

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- ⁶⁴ Walsh questioned Buffalo Bill's claim that he killed Chief Tall Bull at the Battle of Summit Springs, noting the disparities between Cody's literary depictions and reenactments of the event. According to Walsh, this questionable event made Cody into a national celebrity. Ned Buntline had traveled west to interview the supposed killer of Chief Tall Bull, Frank North, and discovered North did not want publicity or to be a character in a dime novel. North directed Buntline to a young man sleeping under a wagon, William F. Cody. Soon after, Buntline wrote *King of the Bordermen*, starring Buffalo Bill, and the young man soon became a national celebrity and eventually created *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*. Walsh's collaboration with Milton Salsbury, whose father expressed frustrations with Cody in his unpublished manuscript, more than likely led Walsh to question the accuracy of many popular depictions of Buffalo Bill's frontier achievements; however, the willingness to continue portraying his subject heroic despite his fabrications probably resulted from Walsh's collaboration with Buffalo Bill's other contemporaries and family members, including Buffalo Bill's adopted son Johnny Baker, Buffalo Bill press agent Louis Cooke, and various executors of Buffalo Bill's estate.
- ⁶⁵ Herbert Cody Blake, *Blake's Western Stories* (Brooklyn: self-published, 1929), p. 5. Although no biographical information can be located for Herbert Cody Blake, nor any indication he was one of Buffalo Bill's companions, there is considerable information on the individuals quoted by Blake, including Doc Carver, Luther North, and Boney Earnest. Little is known of Herbert Cody Blake. The book was reviewed by the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Feb. 3, 1929, p. 65. North and Carver, held grudges against Buffalo Bill that biased their narratives. Luther North believed Buffalo Bill usurped his brother Frank North's rightful place in the pantheon of western heroes and argued Frank was the true killer of Tall Bull, not Buffalo Bill. There is evidence Luther blamed Buffalo Bill for Frank's premature death in a riding accident while performing in Buffalo Bill's Wild West. "Doc" Carver was Buffalo Bill's first business partner in organizing what became Buffalo Bill's Wild West, but they split after one season. Buffalo Bill believed Carver's new show was "shadowing" Buffalo Bill's Wild West, and the two nearly killed one another in a fit of rage. Clearly, Carver would not speak of Buffalo Bill in a favorable light. Boney Earnest, a guide and scout well known in southern Wyoming, had reason to resent Buffalo Bill's celebrity status. In his hunting memoirs, British sportsman Sir Henry Seton-Karr recalled meeting Buffalo Bill at a saloon near Fort Steele, Wyoming, in *My Sporting Holidays* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1924). Seton-Karr was with his hunting guide, Boney Earnest. According to Seton-Karr, Earnest regaled everyone with stories of his past exploits. Buffalo Bill silently listened until the guide finished and then remarked, "Of the three biggest liars in America... Texas Jack is one, and Boney here, is the other two!" As the butt of Buffalo Bill's joke, the group decided Boney should treat everyone to a round of drinks. This incident, along with jealousy, probably colored Earnest's later depictions of Buffalo Bill.
- ⁶⁶ See James MacGregor Burns and Susan Dunn, *The Three Roosevelts: Patrician Leaders Who Transformed America* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2001); Betty Boyd Caroli, *The Roosevelt Women* (New York: Basic Books, 1998); Peter Collier with David Horowitz, *The Roosevelts: An American Saga* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994); and Linda Donn, *The Roosevelt Cousins: Growing Up Together, 1882-1924* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), for overviews of the two factions of the Roosevelt family, their impact on national politics and how politics contributed to strife between the families of Franklin and Theodore Roosevelt.
- ⁶⁷ Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931).
- ⁶⁸ Gable, "The Man in the Arena of History," p. 616.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ⁷⁰ This characterization of Theodore Roosevelt living a boy's life continues to resurface; a recent episode of *The Simpsons* portrays America's bad boy Bart Simpson developing an infatuation with Roosevelt's life because of "Teddy's" adventurous exploits.
- ⁷¹ Ibid. p. 104. As a Democratic paper, the *Enquirer* was likely to sneer at former cowboys or Rough Riders supporting Roosevelt's bid to become vice-president of the USA. Pringle's first wife was the western historian Helena Huntington Smith, who he divorced in 1944. Smith's work chronicled the

experiences of common westerners, see E. C. Abbot (“Teddy Blue”) and Helena Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939) and Nannie T. Alderson and Helena Huntington Smith, *A Bride Goes West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1942). Smith also wrote a history of the Johnson County War that criticized Roosevelt’s aristocratic ranching companions, see Helena Huntington Smith, *The War on Powder River* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966). Although her husband’s work criticized Roosevelt’s western experiences, Smith’s work praised his positive traits. *We Pointed Them North* notes Roosevelt’s supposed efforts to join Granville Stuart’s war against cattle rustlers in Montana, p. 131, and notes that everyone liked Roosevelt as opposed to other aristocratic dudes, p. 191. In her study of Johnson County War, Smith relied on Roosevelt’s accounts for her research, praised his honesty in not branding his neighbors’ calves, p. 58, and noted one of the victims of the vigilantes, John Tisdale, was a former Roosevelt employee. It is uncertain how her relationship with Pringle influenced her writing, and vice versa.

⁷² Ibid. p. 195.

⁷³ Henry Pringle later wrote a two-volume biography of William Howard Taft, whose relationship with Roosevelt can best be characterized as tumultuous. Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft: A Biography* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1939).

⁷⁴ Pringle’s study of Roosevelt influenced other historians, according to Gable. John Chamberlain depicted Roosevelt as an ineffective reform politician who cared more about keeping his political power through great publicity. Diplomatic historians Dexter Perkins and Alfred Vagts questioned Roosevelt’s honesty regarding the Venezuelan Crisis of 1902. Historian of the Progressive Era Daniel Aaron described Roosevelt as a lackluster political reformer. In short, the image of Roosevelt in the 1930s and 1940s was of a flamboyant, shallow politician who loved war and exaggerated his progressive accomplishments. See John Chamberlain, *Farewell to Reform*, (New York: Liveright, 1932); Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1937); Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism: Civilian and Military*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1959); and Daniel Aaron, *Men of Good Hope: A Story of American Progressives* (New York: Oxford Press, 1951).

⁷⁵ Jack Willis, *Roosevelt in the Rough*, as told to Horace Smith (New York: Ives Washburn, 1931).

⁷⁶ Gable, “The Man in the Arena of History,” p. 619. For an overview of movie depictions of Theodore Roosevelt, see M. Patrick Cullinane, “The Memory of Theodore Roosevelt Through Motion Pictures,” in *A Companion to Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. Serge Ricard (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), p. 502-520, and Brian Neve, “The ‘Picture Man’: The Cinematic Strife of Theodore Roosevelt,” *Presidents in the Movies*, ed. Iwan W. Morgan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 65-86. Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1948), further emphasized Pringle’s depiction of Roosevelt’s adolescent and reckless behavior and pondered if this dangerous approach to living stemmed from some deep anxieties. David McCullough noted he was fascinated by Roosevelt through his brother’s onstage performance of Teddy Brewster in his biography *Mornings on Horseback*.

⁷⁷ For an overview of films about Buffalo Bill, see Wayne Michael Sarf, *God Bless You, Buffalo Bill: A Layman’s Guide to History and the Western Film* (East Brunswick: Associated University Presses, 1983) and William Judson, “The Movies,” in *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981), p. 68-83.

⁷⁸ Tim McCoy with Ronald McCoy, *Tim McCoy Remembers the West* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977), 1988 edition published by University of Nebraska Press, 1988. *The Indians are Coming* (1930) directed by Henry MacRae, Universal Studios and *Riding With Buffalo Bill* (1954) directed by Spencer G. Bennet, Columbia Studios.

⁷⁹ *Annie Oakley*, directed by George Stevens, 1935, and *Annie Get Your Gun*, written by Irving Berlin, 1946.

⁸⁰ *Buffalo Bill*, directed by William A. Wellman (20th Century Fox, 1944).

⁸¹ Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), Since the appearance of Smith’s work, various western historians have closely

examined the development of the mythical American West. See Ray Allen Billington, *Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981); Robert G. Athearn, *The Mythic West in Twentieth Century America* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986); William H. Goetzmann and William N. Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1986); Richard W. Etulain, *Re-Imagining the Modern American West: A Century of Fiction, History, and Art* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996); Richard W. Etulain, *Telling Western Stories, From Buffalo Bill to Larry McMurtry* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment* (New York: Atheneum, 1985) and *Gunfighter Nation* (New York: Atheneum, 1992); Richard White and Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Frontier in American Culture*, ed. James R. Grossman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); John Shelton Lawrence and Robert Jewett, *The Myth of the American Superhero* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2002); and Christine Bold, *The Frontier Club* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) for recent examples examining a variety of Buffalo Bill's cultural contributions to American art, literature, and film.

⁸² Mari Sandoz, *The Buffalo Hunters* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954), p. 32.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 101 and 363.

⁸⁴ Henry Blackman Sell and Victor Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West* (Basin, WY: Big Horn Books, 1979), a reprint of the original hardcover published by Oxford University Press in 1955. This book also appeared as a trade paperback in 1959. The 1979 edition was reprinted by the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, probably to address the negative image of Cody depicted in Robert Altman's 1976 film, *Buffalo Bill and the Indians*.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 266.

⁸⁶ Gerald Wallop, Earl of Portsmouth, *A Knot of Roots: An Autobiography* (New York: New American Library, 1965), p. 9-11. Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, p. 234.

⁸⁷ Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill*, quote from Beard, p. 239. Dan Beard, *Hardly A Man Is Now Alive* (New York, Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1939), p. 355-56.

⁸⁸ Gable, "The Man in the Arena of History," p. 620.

⁸⁹ Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny* (New York: Vintage Books, 1956) and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order: The Age of Roosevelt, 1919-1933* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1957). Gable notes historian John M. Blum identified Roosevelt as a conservative in his book, *The Republican Roosevelt* (1954), yet Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Eric F. Goldman praised Roosevelt as a liberal. This blurring of Roosevelt's political affiliation continues to the present day; for example, the 2003 *History Channel* documentary, *Teddy Roosevelt: An American Lion*, included segments of an interview with Democratic President Bill Clinton who praised the Republican Roosevelt's legacy.

⁹⁰ See section of primary resources for an overview of *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*.

⁹¹ Gable, "The Man in the Arena of History," p. 621.

⁹² John Morton Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954, 1977), 2nd ed., p.1.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ George E. Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1946) and *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of Modern America 1900-1912* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958).

⁹⁵ Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1955).

⁹⁶ Gable, "The Man in the Arena of History," p. 622.

⁹⁷ Howard K. Beale, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of American World Power* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1956), p. 13.

⁹⁸ See also Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954). Although this book mainly examines the Wilson administration, it also contains insightful comparisons of Roosevelt's and Wilson's views and policies.

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- ⁹⁹ Paul Russell Cutright, *Theodore Roosevelt the Naturalist* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), p. xii-xiii.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 59.
- ¹⁰¹ Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959), p. 2.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰³ Edward Wagenknecht, *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1958), dust jacket.
- ¹⁰⁴ Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years, 1858-1886* (New York; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958). Although out of print, Putnam's work has been praised by Roosevelt scholars as the most detailed and useful biographical work on Roosevelt's early years. His later research and writings focused, not on Roosevelt, but on opposition to the civil rights movement. His support for racial segregation prevented him from completing the last three volumes of the Roosevelt biography and his first volume was tainted by suggestions that he looked for racist overtones in Roosevelt's life and legacy.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 608.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ray H. Mattison, "Roosevelt and the Stockmen's Association," *North Dakota History*, vol. 17, no. 2, (April 1950), p. 73-95 and vol. 17, no. 3, (July 1950), p. 177-209; (June 1950); Mattison, "Ranching in the Dakota Badlands," *North Dakota History*, vol. 19, no. 2, (1952), p. 93-128 and vol. 19, no. 3, (July 1952), p. 167-206; Mattison, "Roosevelt's Dakota Ranches," *North Dakota History*, vol. 22, no. 4 (Oct. 1955), p. 147-61 ; Mattison, "Roosevelt's Elkhorn Ranch," *North Dakota History*, vol. 27, no. 2 (1960), p. 51-65; Mattison, "Life at Roosevelt's Elkhorn Ranch – The Letters of William W. and Mary Sewall," *North Dakota History Quarterly*, vol. 27, nos. 3 and 4, (Summer and Fall, 1960), 105-141. See also Mrs. A. M. Christianson, "The Roosevelt Cabin," *North Dakota History*, vol. 22, no. 3 (July 1955), p. 117-119; and Gerry Nelson, "Roosevelt Ranch Life in the Badlands," *North Dakota History*, vol. 24, no. 4, (1957), p. 171-74. Many of these articles published in *North Dakota History* were also published as separate brochures. See also Harry V. Johnston, *My Home on the Range: Frontier Ranching in the Badlands* (St. Paul, MN: Webb, 1942), for an historical overview of ranching in the Badlands.
- ¹⁰⁷ Gable, "The Man in the Arena of History," p. 622.
- ¹⁰⁸ William H. Harbaugh, *Power and Responsibility: The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1961), p. 54.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹¹ Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 478.
- ¹¹² Kent Ladd Steckmesser, *The Western Hero in History and Legend* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 245.
- ¹¹³ Arthur L. Kopit, *Indians* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1965), from summary of play printed on back cover of published script.
- ¹¹⁴ John Burke, *Buffalo Bill: The Noblest Whiteskin* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1973).
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 12.
- ¹¹⁶ Buffalo Bill used birdshot to shoot glass balls in the arena, not to make shooting targets easier, but for safety reasons, as birdshot does not have the range of a bullet.
- ¹¹⁷ Chris Enss, *The Many Loves of Buffalo Bill* claimed to offer a complete overview of Buffalo Bill's love life, especially his extramarital affairs. This work detailed one affair after another, like Buffalo Bill's behavior depicted within the film. Enss, *The Many Loves of Buffalo Bill: The True Story of Life on the Wild West Show* (Guilford, CT.: TwoDot, 2010).
- ¹¹⁸ Gable, "The Man in the Arena of History," p. 624. Gable notes the *realpolitik* period of Roosevelt historiography ended with Congress appropriating funds to erect a monumental statue of Theodore Roosevelt on Theodore Roosevelt Island, a federal endeavor long advocated by the Theodore Roosevelt

Association. President Lyndon Johnson dedicated the Roosevelt Memorial in 1967, an interesting public event considering both presidents had ranching backgrounds.

¹¹⁹ Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother: How the United States Purchased and Pacified the Philippine Islands at the Century's Turn* (New York: Doubleday, 1961), p. 15.

¹²⁰ Later historians seriously questioned Roosevelt's call for military action against Spanish rule in Cuba, especially when H. G. Rickover wrote *How the Battleship Maine Was Destroyed* in 1978, which challenged the theory that Spanish agents sabotaged the vessel and argued a fire in a coal bin was responsible for destroying the *U.S.S. Maine*. See H. G. Rickover, *How the Battleship Maine Was Destroyed* (Washington, D.C.: Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, 1976), reprint 1995.

¹²¹ Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History* (New York: Free Press, 1963). Kindle Edition, location 116 of 6351. See also Lloyd C. Gardner, *Imperial America: American Foreign Policy Since 1898* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976); Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), first pub. 1963; and Thomas J. McCormick, *China Market: America's Quest for Informal Empire, 1893-1901* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1967). Gable highlighted the works of Gardner, LaFeber, and McCormick noting these men "saw TR's foreign policy as basically directed to the creation of a global American capitalist empire." Of these three authors, only LaFeber hints at Roosevelt's western experiences, noting his praise of Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis. Both McCormick and LaFeber note Turner's proclamation of the closing of the frontier contributed to America's shifting focus of expansion from a domestic perspective to an overseas perspective.

¹²² John D. Weaver, *The Brownsville Raid* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1970). For examples of more recent studies regarding Roosevelt and race issues, see Leroy G. Dorsey, *We Are All Americans, Pure and Simple: Theodore Roosevelt and the Myth of Americanism* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007) and Deborah Davis, *Guest of Honor: Booker T. Washington, Theodore Roosevelt, and the White House Dinner that Shocked a Nation* (New York: Atria Books, 2012). For an overview of Roosevelt's policies regarding American Indians, see William T. Hagan, *Theodore Roosevelt and Six Friends of the Indian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

¹²³ John D. Weaver released a second book on Brownsville, entitled *The Senator and the Sharecropper's Son: Exoneration of the Brownsville Soldiers* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1997), a dual biography of Ohio Sen. Joseph B. Foraker (R-OH), who defended the soldiers and Dorsie Willis. Threaded between the lives of Willis and Foraker is a biography of Roosevelt, including a brief description of his ranching days. Roosevelt did not mention the Brownsville incident in his autobiography and speculation continues regarding his reasons for dismissing the soldiers. Although Roosevelt was the first President of the United States to invite an African-American, Booker T. Washington, to a White House dinner, Brownsville was a disturbing racial incident that tainted the administration. Weaver's book prompted Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA) to propose legislation to provide all the men with honorable discharges. Congress passed the bill in 1972 and all 167 men received an honorable discharge, including Private Dorsie Willis who finally received his pension in 1973 as the last survivor of the men dishonorably discharged in the aftermath of the Brownsville Affair.

¹²⁴ Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), p. 300

¹²⁵ Howard Zinn, *A People's History of American Empire: A Graphic Adaptation* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2008). Although historians seriously challenged the image of Roosevelt during the 1960s and 1970s, Gable noted works that appeared in the vein of the *realpolitik* period. Of these, Gable highlighted Wallace Chessman's *Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Power* (1969), *Theodore Roosevelt and the International Rivalries* (1970), and Thomas G. Dryer's *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race* (1980). See also, Willard B. Gatewood, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Art of Controversy: Episodes in the White House*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1970).

¹²⁶ At the time of the 1904 presidential election, a supposed American citizen named Ion Perdicaris and his son were kidnapped by a Moroccan Sharif named Mulai Ahmed er Raisuli, who demanded a ransom from the Sultan of Morocco. Roosevelt demanded the return of Perdicaris, not knowing the victim had renounced his American citizenship to become a Greek national. "Perdicaris Alive, or Raisuli Dead!"

- became a rallying cry for Roosevelt supporters during the election; upon learning Perdicaris's true citizenship, Roosevelt curtailed the use of force to ensure the return of the kidnapped pair, without publicly revealing the citizenship of Perdicaris (who was eventually released). For a detailed history of the Perdicaris Affair, see Barbara Tuchman, "Perdicaris Alive or Raisuli Dead," *American Heritage* Vol. X, no. 5 (Aug. 1959) (reprinted in *Practicing History* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1981)).
- ¹²⁷ *The Wind and the Lion*, written by and directed by John Milius, Columbia Pictures, 1975. Milius transformed the Perdicaris Incident into a romantic adventure in which a Mrs. Perdicaris is kidnapped with her two young children, a boy and a girl.
- ¹²⁸ In one scene, Roosevelt (Keith) explains to reporters why the grizzly bear should be the national emblem of America, while sitting next to a grizzly bear he recently killed, supposedly from a hunting camp along the Yellowstone. Roosevelt dismisses the bald eagle as a "dandified vulture" and praises the strength and impulsiveness of the grizzly bear. In the DVD commentary, John Milius noted he received a letter from a small community asking for a copy of Roosevelt's speech used in this scene, hoping to use portions of it to dedicate a Roosevelt statue. Milius claimed he took the fictional speech delivered by Keith and sent it to the town, claiming it was indeed a real Roosevelt speech.
- ¹²⁹ 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).
- ¹³⁰ Lucille Nichols Patrick, *The Best Little Town by a Dam Site* (Cheyenne: Flintlock, 1968).
- ¹³¹ W. Hudson Kensel, *Pahaska Tepee: Buffalo Bill's Old Hunting Lodge and Hotel, a History, 1901-1946* (Cody: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1987).
- ¹³² Jeannie Cook, Lynn Houze, Bob Edgar, and Paul Fees, *Buffalo Bill's Town in the Rockies: A Pictorial History of Cody, Wyoming* (Virginia Beach, Va.: Donning, 1996).
- ¹³³ Lynn Johnson Houze, *Images of America: Cody* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2008).
- ¹³⁴ Richard A. Bartlett wrote a history of the Buffalo Bill Memorial Association in 1992, entitled *From Cody to the World: The First Seventy-Five Years of the Buffalo Bill Memorial Association*. As suggested by Bartlett's title, Buffalo Bill's image continued to shape the development of Cody, Wyoming, through the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, now known as the Buffalo Bill Center of the West. Clearly, as documented by Bartlett, Buffalo Bill's status as an international celebrity greatly contributed to the growth of Cody, Wyoming, shaping how residents depict their town's namesake. Bartlett notes that a key Buffalo Bill Museum promoter, Buffalo Bill's niece Mary Jester Allen claimed she was friends with the Roosevelt family and was a member of the Women's Roosevelt Memorial Association.
- ¹³⁵ Nellie Snyder Yost, *Buffalo Bill: His Family, Friends, Fame, Failures, and Fortunes* (Chicago: Swallow Press, 1979), p. 1.
- ¹³⁶ Robert A. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody: The Man Behind the Legend* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2000), p. xii.
- ¹³⁷ O. J. Seiden, *Buffalo Bill – His Life and Legend, Museum Edition*, ed. Stan Zaminski (Stonehenge Books, 1981).
- ¹³⁸ Steve Friesen, *Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2010).
- ¹³⁹ Larry Woiwode, *Aristocrat of the West: The Story of Harold Schafer, 1912-2001* (Fargo: North Dakota State University, 2000), 2nd ed. One of the summer activities sponsored by the Theodore Roosevelt Medora Foundation is the Medora Musical, which began as a play detailing Roosevelt's life in the Badlands, entitled *Old Four Eyes*. See, Kinley R. Slaughter, *Medora Musical: The First Fifty Years* (Medora, ND: Theodore Roosevelt Medora Foundation, 2015). The foundation has also published two coffee-table books on Roosevelt and Medora; see Rolf Sletten, *Medora: Boom, Bust, and Resurrection Years* (Medora, ND: Theodore Roosevelt Medora Foundation, 2012) and Sletten, *Roosevelt's Ranches: The Maltese Cross & The Elkhorn* (Medora, ND: Theodore Roosevelt Medora Foundation, 2015).
- ¹⁴⁰ Clay S. Jenkinson, *Theodore Roosevelt in the Dakota Badlands: An Historical Guide* (Dickinson: Dickinson State University, 2006) and Jenkinson, *A Free and Hardy Life: Theodore Roosevelt's Sojourn in the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011). There is also a growing interest in how the urban environment shaped Roosevelt, see G. Wallace Chessman, *Governor*

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- Theodore Roosevelt: The Albany Apprenticeship, 1898-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965); H. Paul Jeffers, *Commissioner Roosevelt: The Story of Theodore Roosevelt and the New York City Police, 1895-1897* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1994); John A. Corry, *A Rough Rider to Albany: Teddy Runs for Governor* (New York: John A. Corry, 2000); Richard D. White, Jr., *Roosevelt the Reformer: Theodore Roosevelt as Civil Service Commissioner, 1899-1895* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003); Richard Zacks, *Island of Vice: Theodore Roosevelt's Doomed Quest to Clean Up Sin-Loving New York* (New York: Doubleday, 2012); and Edward P. Kohn, *Heir to the Empire City: New York and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Basic Books, 2014) and *Hot Time in the Old Town: The Great Heat Wave of 1896 and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).
- ¹⁴¹ Don Russell, *The Wild West: A History of the Wild West Shows* (Fort Worth, Tex.: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1970), title page. Tongue-in-cheek, Russell subtitled his book, "Being an Account of the Prestigious, Peregrinatory Pageants Pretentiously Presented Before the Citizens of the Republic, the Crowned Heads of Europe, and Multitudes of Awe-Struck Men, Women, and Children Around the Globe, Which Created a Wonderfully Imaginative and Unrealistic Image of the American West."
- ¹⁴² Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987).
- ¹⁴³ Sarah J. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets, and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).
- ¹⁴⁴ Paul Andrew Hutton, "Introduction," in Henry E. Davies, *Ten Days on the Plains* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1985), p. 49.
- ¹⁴⁵ Paul Fees, "The West and American Unity," in *Frontier America: Art and Treasures of the Old West from the Buffalo Bill Historical Center* (New York: Buffalo Bill Historical Center in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1988), p. 121.
- ¹⁴⁶ Paul Fees, "In Defense of Buffalo Bill: A Look at Cody in and of His Time," in *Myth of the West* (Seattle: Henry Gallery Association, 1990), p. 146.
- ¹⁴⁷ Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Harper, 1993), p. 87.
- ¹⁴⁸ Slotkin barely mentioned Cody in his first two books on the American Frontier Myth, *Regeneration through Violence* (1973) and *The Fatal Environment* (1985). For Slotkin's early work on Buffalo Bill's Wild West, see "The Wild West," in *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1981). Slotkin also expanded this examination in "Buffalo Bill's 'Wild West' and the Mythologization of the American Empire," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).
- ¹⁴⁹ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, p. 44.
- ¹⁵⁰ Richard White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," *The Frontier in American Culture*, ed. James R. Grossman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), reprinted as "When Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill Cody both Played Chicago in 1893," in *Frontier and Region: Essays in Honor of Martin Ridge*, ed. Robert C. Ritchie and Paul Andrew Hutton (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), p.201-12, and *Does the Frontier Experience Make America Exceptional?*, ed. Richard W. Etulain (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's 1999).
- ¹⁵¹ L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Image of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), p. xi-xii.
- ¹⁵² Paul Reddin, *Wild West Shows* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), p. xii.
- ¹⁵³ *Ibid.* p. xvi. Reddin's focus on the European impact of Buffalo Bill's Wild West was supplemented by other European histories. James Noble, whose grandfather attended a Wild West performance, detailed its tours of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Another British historian, Alan Gallop, wrote an overview of the Wild West's travels through Great Britain, beginning with his first European tour in 1887. Alan Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2001). See also, James Noble, *Around the Coast with Buffalo Bill: The Wild West in Yorkshire & Lincolnshire* (Beverly: Hutton

- Press, 1999). Two Scottish historians also contributed extensively researched books on William F. Cody in Europe. University of Glasgow historian Sam Maddra offered greater insight into the complex relationship of American Indian Ghost Dancers (labeled prisoners-of-war at the time) with Buffalo Bill's Wild West and the European communities where it performed. See Maddra, *Hostiles? The Lakota Ghost Dance and Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006). Tom F. Cunningham examines showings of the Wild West in Glasgow and the lasting impact of Buffalo Bill's appearances in Scottish communities. See Cunningham, *'Your Fathers the Ghosts': Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Black & White, 2007). Other historians have explored the cultural diversity in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, including European performers, such as a troop of Georgian trick riders identified as Cossacks. See Richard Alexis Georgian, *Cossacks, Indians and Buffalo Bill: The Adventures of Georgian Riders in America* (Naples, Fla.: Barringer, 2011). and Irakli Makharadze, *Georgian Trick Riders in American Wild West Shows, 1890-1920s* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2015) and *Wild West Georgians* (Tbilisi: New Media, 2001).
- ¹⁵⁴ Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000).
- ¹⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 61
- ¹⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 117.
- ¹⁵⁸ Sandra Sagala, *Buffalo Bill on Stage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), this work is a tremendous resource in documenting where Buffalo Bill appeared through a detailed listing of his stage venues. Sandra Sagala, *Buffalo Bill on the Silver Screen: The Films of William F. Cody* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013).
- ¹⁵⁹ Joseph G. Rosa and Robin May, *Buffalo Bill and His Wild West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1989).
- ¹⁶⁰ Eric Sorg, *Buffalo Bill: Myth and Reality* (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1998), p. xiv.
- ¹⁶¹ Bobby Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the Wild West* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002). During his work on a one-man performance, *A Ballad of the West*, Bridger found himself interested in the life and legacy of Buffalo Bill. Bridger hoped to add a performance about Buffalo Bill entitled *Pahaska* to his show but found himself frustrated trying to find the true stories behind this western legend. After reading Black Elk's account of traveling with Buffalo Bill's Wild West and then reuniting with him after being lost in Europe, Bridger concluded Buffalo Bill's hospitality and generosity shown in welcoming Black Elk captured the true Buffalo Bill.
- ¹⁶² Christopher Corbett, *Orphans Preferred: The Twisted Truth and Lasting Legend of the Pony Express* (New York: Broadway Books, 2003).
- ¹⁶³ Larry McMurtry, *The Colonel and Little Missie: Buffalo Bill, Annie Oakley, and the Beginnings of Superstardom in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), p. 6.
- ¹⁶⁴ Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William F. Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 2005), p. xv.
- ¹⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁶ McMurtry, p. 5
- ¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 10.
- ¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 190
- ¹⁶⁹ Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, p. 215.
- ¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 216.
- ¹⁷¹ Ibid., 226.
- ¹⁷² Ibid., p. 264.
- ¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 465.
- ¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 531-32.
- ¹⁷⁵ Robert E. Bonner, *William F. Cody's Wyoming Empire: The Buffalo Bill Nobody Knows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007).
- ¹⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 221.

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- ¹⁷⁷ Gable, "The Man in the Arena of History," p. 627.
- ¹⁷⁸ Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1979). This book was followed by *Theodore Rex* (New York: Random House, 2001) and *Colonel Roosevelt* (New York: Random House, 2010).
- ¹⁷⁹ David McCullough, *Mornings on Horseback* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), back cover of paperback version.
- ¹⁸⁰ Shortly after the release of *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, Morris was appointed to be President Ronald Reagan's official biographer, due to Reagan's appreciation of his work on Roosevelt. See Edmund Morris, *Dutch: A Memoir of Ronald Reagan* (New York: Random House, 1999).
- ¹⁸¹ Historians Frederick W. Marks and Richard H. Collins defended Roosevelt's foreign policies in Marks, *Velvet on Iron: The Diplomacy of Theodore Roosevelt* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979) and Collins, *Theodore Roosevelt and Reform Politics* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1972). Thomas G. Dyer defended Roosevelt's racial ideologies in Dyer, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980). John Milton Cooper, *The Warrior and the Priest* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1983), is dual biography of Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson comparing the scholarly persona of Wilson and the aggressive "warrior" characteristics Roosevelt gained in the West and military service as a Rough Rider. Lewis Gould ranked Roosevelt as a "near great," president; see Gould, *The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991).
- ¹⁸² Gable, "The Man in the Arena of History," p. 631.
- ¹⁸³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸⁴ Nathan Miller, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Life* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1992). In Nathan Miller's well-received one-volume biography of Roosevelt in 1992, the chapter covering Roosevelt's life in Dakota was entitled "The Wine of Life." Miller's work was the first one-volume examination of Roosevelt's life from cradle to grave since Harbaugh's biography. Miller noted Roosevelt lost his investments in the Badlands, but the experience provided the future president valuable lessons. H. W. Brands, *T.R. The Last Romantic* (New York: Basic Books, 1997). Brands argued Roosevelt's experiences in the west shaped his international and domestic policies, especially his conservation policies. In 1997, historians Peggy and Harold Samuels, in *Teddy Roosevelt at San Juan: The Making of a President*, questioned Roosevelt's heroics during the Spanish American War and challenged his account of the Rough Riders. Michael L. Collins, *That Damned Cowboy: Theodore Roosevelt and the American West, 1883-1898* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989) and Roger L. Di Silvestro, *Theodore Roosevelt in the Badlands: A Young Politician's Quest for Recovery in the American West* (New York: Walker, 2011) provide detailed studies of Roosevelt's years in the Badlands, yet do not touch upon his connections to Buffalo Bill.
- ¹⁸⁵ Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), p. 101.
- ¹⁸⁶ Other biographical works on various facets of Roosevelt's life touch upon his life in the American West, but do not mention Buffalo Bill. Paul Grondahl wrote *I Rose Like a Rocket: The Political Education of Theodore Roosevelt* in 2004 detailing the experiences that shaped Roosevelt's political viewpoints, including his stay in the Badlands. See Paul Grondahl, *I Rose Like a Rocket: The Political Education of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Free Press, 2004). Also, see Timothy Egan, *The Big Burn: Teddy Roosevelt & The Fire That Saved America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009). Both Millard and Egan touch upon Roosevelt's sojourn to the Dakota Territory to explain his deep connections with the American West and his love of adventure and wild spaces. Ronald B. Tobias's book, *Film and the American Moral Vision of Nature*, examines how Roosevelt's writings shaped the public presentation of wildlife and nature, including its influence on Walt Disney nature films, see Ronald B. Tobias, *Film and the American Moral Vision of Nature: Theodore Roosevelt to Walt Disney* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2011), yet does not connect him to Buffalo Bill.
- ¹⁸⁷ David Fromkin, *The King and the Cowboy: Theodore Roosevelt and Edward the Seventh, Secret Partners* (New York: Penguin, 2008). After the United States intervention in the Middle East and the "War on Terrorism," many academic and popular studies emerged examining Roosevelt's foreign

policies, but without reference to his western experiences. See, for example, Peter Balakian, *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response* (2003), a *New York Times* bestseller which discusses Roosevelt's request that the Woodrow Wilson administration intervene on behalf of the Armenians. James R. Holmes, *Theodore Roosevelt and World Order: Police Power in International Relations* (2006) presents Roosevelt's foreign actions as a model the United States should apply to world events after September 11, 2001. Neither book comments on Roosevelt's tenure in the American West. J. Lee Thompson, *Never Call Retreat: Theodore Roosevelt and the Great War* (2013) examines Roosevelt's critique of American policies in relation to World War I, without connecting it to his own military or western careers.

¹⁸⁸ William N. Tilchin, *Theodore Roosevelt and the British Empire* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

¹⁸⁹ Hans Krabbendam and John M. Thompson, ed., *America's Transatlantic Turn: Theodore Roosevelt and the "Discovery" of Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). See also Edward P. Kohn, ed., "Forum: Theodore Roosevelt And Europe" (contributors: Séverine Antigone Marin, Kenneth Welsbrode, J. Simon Rofe, Alan Tomlinson, Michael Patrick Cullinane, John M. Thompson), *Journal of the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Jan. 2016), 21-106.

¹⁹⁰ Journalists Evan Thomas and Gregg Jones examined Roosevelt's military and foreign policies in the aftermath of the Iraq War. Thomas, *The War Lovers: Roosevelt, Lodge, Hearst, and the Rush to Empire, 1898* (New York: Little, Brown, 2010) examined the rise of the American Empire and Roosevelt's role in America's entry into the Spanish American War. Thomas argued that Roosevelt believed the solution to becoming too weak as an individual and a nation originated from his ranching days: "The Solution – indeed salvation—would come from tapping into more primitive instincts, the kind brought out by sport, especially by hunting, and most of all by war," p. 43. Jones, *Honor in the Dust: Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise and Fall of America's Imperial Dreams* (New York: New American Library, 2012), uses the same approach to focus on the Filipino Insurrection, arguing that Roosevelt "embodied the frontiersmen qualities that had fueled America's rise," and extrapolating from a news article that Roosevelt could ride horses and perform some fancy shooting worthy of a Wild West performance, p. 25. For a comparison of Mark Twain, an anti-imperialist, and Roosevelt, see Philip McFarland, *Mark Twain and the Colonel: Samuel L. Clemens, Theodore Roosevelt and the Arrival of a New Century* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012). One of the strangest interpretations of Roosevelt's international diplomacy is James Bradley, *The Imperial Cruise: A Secret History of Empire and War* (New York: Little, Brown, 2009). Concerning Roosevelt's western experiences, Bradley argued that Buffalo Bill Cody motivated an effeminate, young Roosevelt to head west. Summing his argument up, Bradley wrote, "Roosevelt galloped west, following Buffalo Bill's tracks. Thus began one of America's great political makeovers... Ranchman Teddy was to Theodore Roosevelt what Buffalo Bill was to William Cody: a spectacular fiction concocted with an audience in mind," (p. 51-52). This experience in the West is what shaped Roosevelt's misbegotten policies in the Pacific, which in turn led to Pearl Harbor, according to Bradley.

¹⁹¹ Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

¹⁹² Sarah Watts, *Rough Rider in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Desire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

¹⁹³ Monica Rico, *Nature's Noblemen: Transatlantic Masculinities and the Nineteenth-Century American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 210. See also David M. Wrobel, *Global West, American Frontier: Travel, Empire, and Exceptionalism from Manifest Destiny to the Great Depression* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013).

¹⁹⁴ The 1912 presidential election has allowed historians to compare these three presidents. For example, see James Chace, *1912 Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft & Debs – The Election that Changed the Country* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004); Lewis L. Gould, *Four Hats in the Ring: The 1912 Election and the Birth of American Politics* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008); and Sidney M. Milkis, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive Party, and the Transformation of American Democracy* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2009). There are two detailed studies of Roosevelt in his post-

Presidency years, Joseph L. Gardner, *Departing Glory: Theodore Roosevelt as Ex-President* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973); Patricia O'Toole, *When Trumpets Call: Theodore Roosevelt After the White House* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005). Popular historian Doris Kearns Goodwin recently examined the relationship between Roosevelt and Taft, along with what Roosevelt termed the "Muckraking" press. See Goodwin, *The Bully Pulpit: Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and the Golden Age of Journalism* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013). These works compare Roosevelt, the rugged individualist who played cowboy in the Dakotas, with the scholarly, progressive Wilson and the conservative, overweight Taft.

- ¹⁹⁵ John Gable, "President Theodore Roosevelt's Record on Conservation," *Theodore Roosevelt Association Journal*, 10 (Fall, 1984), p. 2-11. Also, see T. W. Benson, *Theodore Roosevelt's Conservation Legacy* (Haverford, PA.: Infinity, 2003) for a listing of lands protected during the Roosevelt Administration.
- ¹⁹⁶ R. L. Wilson, *Theodore Roosevelt Outdoorsman* (Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1971, 1994).
- ¹⁹⁷ Daniel Justin Herman, *Hunting and the American Imagination* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001); John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001), 3rd ed.; and James B. Trefethen, *An American Crusade for Wildlife* (Alexandria, VA: The Boone and Crockett Club, 1975).
- ¹⁹⁸ Paul Schullery, ed., *American Bears: Selections and Writings of Theodore Roosevelt* (Boulder, CO: Associated University Press, 1983), intro. by John A. Gable, p. x.
- ¹⁹⁹ Paul Schullery, *The Bear Hunter's Century: Profiles from the Golden Age of Bear Hunting* (Harrisburg, PA.: Stackpole, 1988), p. 155.
- ²⁰⁰ Paul Schullery, ed., *Theodore Roosevelt Wilderness Writings* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs M. Smith, 1986), p. 15. At the conference when Gable outlined his historiography of Roosevelt, Schullery defended Roosevelt as a hunter and as a lover of nature, a balance that seemed inconceivable to many modern Roosevelt biographers. He noted obvious, but often neglected, facts surrounding wildlife killed by Roosevelt. First, wildlife served as camp meat for individuals a far distance from "civilization". Second, natural history before high-speed cameras or tracking devices necessitated the killing of specimens for study. He reminded scholars to consider Roosevelt within the context of his own times, see Paul Schullery, "The Scandal of the Hunter as Nature Lover," in *Theodore Roosevelt: Many-Sided American*, Natalie A. Naylor, et al., eds., p. 221-30.
- ²⁰¹ Paul Russell Cutright, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Making of a Conservationist* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).
- ²⁰² R. L. Wilson, *Theodore Roosevelt Hunter-Conservationist* (Missoula, MT.: The Boone and Crockett Club, 2009).
- ²⁰³ Douglas Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009).
- ²⁰⁴ Roosevelt's hunting adventures in the American West continue to be a popular topic for sports publications. Jim Posewitz, a retired biologist from the Montana Department of Fish, Wildlife, & Parks, wrote *Beyond Fair Chase: The Ethic and Tradition of Hunting* (Helena, MT: Falcon Press, 1994) outlining a sportsman code, which reflects Roosevelt's mix of hunting and land ethic. Posewitz's second book, *Rifle in Hand: How Wild America Was Saved* (Helena, MT: Riverbend Publishing, 2004) examined Roosevelt's contributions to the conservation movement and how American hunters preserved vast acres of wilderness regions. See also Posewitz, *Taking a Bullet for Conservation: The Bull Moose Party – A Centennial Reflection 1912-2012* (Helena, MT: Riverbend Publishing, 2011) on Roosevelt's political accomplishments. See also Dan Aadland *In Trace of TR: A Montana Hunter's Journey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010). Many works examining Roosevelt's sport hunting and his role in the conservation movement depict market hunters as the foil to his endeavors to protect wildlife, and include Buffalo Bill by association with the bison hunters. Other historians have produced detailed studies of Roosevelt's overseas hunting expeditions, all of which reflect his adventuresome spirit, which many historians argued stemmed from his western experiences. Joseph R. Orng's *My Last Chance to Be a Boy* examined Roosevelt's journey through the Amazon Basin in 1913-

1914. H. Paul Jeffers, who wrote two previous books on Roosevelt as a Rough Rider and New York City police commissioner, published *Roosevelt the Explorer* in 2003, which examined his varied trips through the American West, Africa, and South America. In 2005, Candice Millard published *The River of Doubt: Theodore Roosevelt's Darkest Journey*, a narrative of his exploration of an unmapped tributary of the Amazon River. Millard focuses on Roosevelt's adventurous spirit and argues he placed himself in dangerous settings to escape from emotional distress, be it the death of his first wife and his escape to the Badlands, or his defeat in the 1912 Presidential Election and his trip to the Amazon rainforest. Candice Millard, *The River of Doubt: Theodore Roosevelt's Darkest Journey* (New York: Doubleday, 2005). See also J. Lee Thompson, *Theodore Roosevelt Abroad: Nature, Empire, and the Journey of an American President* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), which examines Roosevelt's 1909 Safari and his 1910 trip through Europe.

²⁰⁵ Edward P. Kohn, *Heir to the Empire City: New York and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), inside dust jacket, front fold.

²⁰⁶ Christine Bold, *The Frontier Club*, Kindle edition, location 185 of 8464.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.* location 648-649 of 8464.

Chapter II:

William F. Cody, a Westerner Goes East (1846-1893)

In 1872, Buffalo Bill faced his greatest fear, going East. After guiding a few hunting expeditions for prominent eastern businessmen and Grand Duke Alexis of Russia, Buffalo Bill was invited to visit Chicago and New York City. “I had my first adventure in high society,” Buffalo Bill recalled, “and it proved more terrifying to me than any Indian fight I had ever taken part in.”¹ Preparing for a Chicago ball hosted in his honor, Mike Sheridan escorted him to Marshall Fields to be fitted for a suit. Buffalo Bill contemplated cutting his long hair in preparation for the evening, but General Sheridan convinced him to keep his hair long and to wear his “Stetson.” Upon arriving at the ball, Buffalo Bill found himself surrounded by “a bevy of the most beautiful women I have ever seen.”² Fearing he would “burst my new and tight evening clothes,” Buffalo Bill “bowed to them all around – but very stiffly.”³ Buffalo Bill, unfamiliar with ballroom dancing, danced one square dance, played to accommodate the dancing form of which he was familiar. After the dance, Buffalo Bill hid in a corner near the bar, behind an ice box, until the end of the festivities. “The next morning I reported to the general,” noted Buffalo Bill, “and explained to him that I was going back to the sagebrush. If New York were like Chicago, I wanted to be excused.”⁴ General Sheridan insisted Buffalo Bill continue his trip.

Often touted as the stereotypical frontiersman, in much the same vein as Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, and Kit Carson, William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody later excelled in dramatizing his western adventures to Eastern audiences through sensational reenactments, despite his initial trepidation of urban settings. Buffalo Bill did not make his fortune in the American West as a homesteader or a scout; instead, his great success stemmed from going to the East and overseas to illustrate his frontier experiences through theatrical reenactments on the stage and in the arena.

In a way, Buffalo Bill reversed the mantra expressed in the famed American slogan, “Go West Young Man,” by “Going East” to find financial success in urban America and the cosmopolitan cities of Europe. In turn, Buffalo Bill became an iconic frontiersman at the time the United States “conquered” the America West and began shifting its focus towards building an overseas empire and becoming a world power. These dramatic performances, combined with dime novel accounts and astonishing tales told in his autobiographies led many of Buffalo Bill’s contemporaries and future historians to question the validity of his frontier exploits, his depictions of the American frontier, and his international status as a western legend.

Buffalo Bill noted his frontier heritage began with his parents who “were numbered among the pioneers of Iowa.”⁵ Buffalo Bill biographer Don Russell agreed, describing Buffalo Bill’s father Isaac as, “one of those pioneers who were always looking for something bigger and better around the next bend of the river.”⁶ In many ways, Will Cody’s parents represented many frontier settlers in search of the American Dream, hoping to profit from the countless acres made available through public land openings in the American Midwest. This nomadic lifestyle of the Cody family was quite common for many American pioneers.

Throughout the early half of the 19th century, various Indian Wars, treaties, and the removal policies of the 1830s proved an effective combination in pushing American Indians further and further west, opening more land for families like the Cody family. These Midwestern settlers benefited from an orderly homesteading process through the passage of the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which established a survey system and a statehood process for these federal lands secured from American Indian nations. Northern settlers built up orderly settlements and homestead claims, as opposed to the haphazard land distribution systems in the South. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 forbade slavery in these developing regions, reflective of the political compromises that suppressed the national debate regarding the expansion of slavery into the American Frontier, a political and social issue that would later disrupt the Cody family and other settlers.⁷

Buffalo Bill's father Isaac Cody was born near Toronto, Canada, in 1811. His family moved to Ohio when he was seventeen. Isaac married his first wife, Martha Miranda O'Conner, in 1835 but she passed away shortly after giving birth to their daughter, Martha. The widowed Isaac then married Rebecca Sumner, who passed away shortly after their marriage. Isaac Cody helped his older brother Elijah move to Missouri in 1839 and it was in Ohio during this trip that Isaac met Mary Ann Laycock, born in Pennsylvania in 1827, whom he married in 1840. The newlyweds and Isaac's daughter soon traveled from Cincinnati, Ohio, to the newly opened territory of Iowa, where Isaac became an Indian trader.⁸

Using his proceeds from trading, Isaac purchased a home in LeClaire, Iowa, where Mary delivered a baby boy named Samuel in 1841. Isaac later claimed 160 acres and built a four-room cabin near LeClaire, where Julia Cody Goodman was born in 1843 and William Frederick Cody was born in 1846. After William's birth, Eliza was born in 1848, Laura Ann (called Nellie or Helen) in 1850, Mary Hannah (called May) in 1853, and Charles born in Kansas in 1855, bringing the total number of children in the Cody family to eight.⁹ Similar to many households that moved in to the Midwest, the Cody family was a mix of stepchildren and regular offspring. Due to high mortality rates, these large families consisting of widows and widowers, half-brothers and half-sisters were very common on the American Midwest frontier.¹⁰

Prior to the 1840s, the main sources of immigration to the Midwest were Kentucky, Tennessee, Upper-Virginia, and the Carolinas, meaning most of the Midwest states were populated by white southerners. Many of them were fleeing from the negative economic impact of slavery; feeling large landholders using slaves to develop agricultural lands limited their opportunities. They did not oppose slavery *per se*, but they did feel the institution of slavery limited their economic potential in an agricultural economy that promised economic advancement by moving to regions where access to cheap land abounded.¹¹ Isaac and Mary Cody's experiences in this movement were not at all different from those of their neighbors. The only distinguishing quality of the Cody family was their point of origin, for many the Cody's Iowan neighbors likely

originated from the southern states of Kentucky and Tennessee, and first settled in Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana.

The Cody family settled during an economic transition in agriculture as the Midwest shifted from self-sufficient family farms to family commercial farming. More effective transportation routes, especially railroads, connected the farms of the west to eastern markets; ensuring farm produce reached distant customers. New technology also allowed family farms to produce more agricultural goods; John Deere's new horse-drawn steel plow allowed the pioneers to cut furrows across acres of prairie land, once believed to be worthless for cultivation, but suitable for grazing. Other farm implements also allowed farmers to increase their productivity, yet for many farming families on the frontier, their farms shifted between commercial farming and self-subsistence.¹²

Settlers also contributed to the formation of local governments. Julia and Will later recalled their father served as a territorial legislator in Iowa; no record of his election or legislative service exists and it is most likely they confused his political career in Kansas Territory with their early life in Iowa. Yet their failed memories reflect another aspect of the political self-structured Midwest through the establishment of territorial legislatures under the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.¹³ Popular media would later stress the stereotypical image of a lone frontiersman, men like Buffalo Bill, bringing law and order to the wilderness; however, for most Midwestern settlers like his parents, the federal government established an orderly process for creating territorial governments that provided for the expansion of state governments under a republican system of government.¹⁴

The year after William Cody's birth, Isaac became a supervisor for a 600-acre farm in Iowa owned by Senator William Brackenridge of Kentucky, who only visited this farm once. Under Isaac's supervision, twenty-five workers developed the land and built a large stone house. A small log cabin served as the Cody family home until the completion of the stone house. Due to Mary's cooking responsibilities for the work crew on Brackenridge Farm, Julia, Samuel, and Martha accompanied young Willie to school, easing the domestic chores of their mother. After Mary delivered another daughter named Eliza, Julia continued to look after her young brother Will.

The California Gold Rush temporarily upended the Cody family's routine and security for the lure of easy money enticed Isaac Cody to leave his supervisor position and strike out for California. Isaac moved the family back to the house in LeClaire and began preparing for his trip across the California Trail with twenty other men; however, he became ill and was unable to make the trip. Isaac later received news that the group of men suffered greatly from illness. After recovering, Isaac bartered for an ambulance (a passenger wagon) and began a mail and passenger stage route between LeClaire and Chicago, Illinois, bringing in some income for the family.

In 1852, Isaac accepted another position developing a large farmstead named Walnut Grove Farm, where he supervised fifteen to twenty German workers, many of whom brought their families to the farm. Disaster struck the Cody family in 1853 with the death of Will's older brother Samuel, whose horse reared back, throwing itself on the ground and crushing Samuel beneath its weight. With Samuel's death, the Cody family decided to relocate to Kansas, where they were to encounter even more tragedy due to political conflict emerging from the American expansion westward.

In his autobiographies, William F. Cody recalled a pleasant, idyllic childhood in Iowa. He recalled trapping small creatures, stealing apples, surviving an attack by a vicious dog, floating down a river on a stolen raft. Many of his early adventures seemed to come straight from Mark Twain's novel *Tom Sawyer*; as a matter of fact, a few of the same illustrations from *Tom Sawyer* also appeared in Buffalo Bill's first autobiography.¹⁵ For young Will, the family's life in Kansas stood in stark contrast to his idyllic childhood in Iowa. Growing tensions related to the westward expansion of slavery eventually disrupted the orderly settlement of the frontier and the domestic stability of the Cody family and others. The violent struggle stemming from the slavery debate significantly altered the lives of the Cody family, ending young William's idyllic childhood by exposing him and his family to horrific, violent acts.¹⁶

Shortly before the Cody family homestead was established in Kansas, Senator Stephen Douglas proposed insertion of the principle of Popular Sovereignty into the act creating the new territories of Kansas and Nebraska; thus, threatening an end to a series of Congressional compromises over the expansion of slavery. Douglas hoped Popular

Sovereignty would allow settlers to decide through votes cast in a fair election whether their territory would become a free or slaveholding government. Although intended to promote grassroots democracy, this act ensured Kansas became the epicenter of the national debate regarding the expansion of slavery into the American West.

Most Missourians wanted the new territory of Kansas, which shared their western boundary, to be a slave territory and then a slave state. Abolitionists believed popular sovereignty provided them the democratic tools to end the expansion of slavery; leading eastern organizations began funding settlement in the new territory to strengthen the vote for Kansas as a free state, much to the chagrin of Missouri settlers. With the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Missourians believed Popular Sovereignty would secure the neighboring Kansas Territory as a fellow slave state. By doing so, Missourians would secure future rights for economic expansion westward with their slaves, and they would shut down a potential escape route for runaway slaves, especially with the free states of Iowa and Illinois bordering Missouri to the north and east.

As Missouri settlers claimed lands in the newly opened territory, abolitionists challenged their efforts to secure Kansas as a slave state by sending in Eastern settlers who supported a free state. The New England Emigrant Society provided Free-State settlers with funds and weapons to settle Kansas. With pro-slavery Missourians and Free-State settlers squaring off against one another, the stage was set for Bleeding Kansas, an extremely violent struggle that foreshadowed the violent fighting in the American Civil War.¹⁷

Isaac Cody soon became embroiled in the debate over slavery in Kansas. At a public gathering, someone asked Isaac to share his opinion on slavery. As he voiced his support for making Kansas a free-state, a proslavery Missourian named Charles Dunn stabbed him. Dunn was an employee of Isaac's brother Elijah, demonstrating how the political issue of slavery destroyed familiarity among settlers. Buffalo Bill claimed in his autobiography that his father was the first to suffer a violent attack in the cause of abolishing slavery from Kansas, as did his sisters in their accounts. One Missouri newspaper reported, "A Mr. Cody, a noisy abolitionist... was severely stabbed, while in a dispute about a claim with Mr. Dunn... Cody is severely hurt, but not enough it is

feared to cause his death. The settlers on Salt Creek regret that his wound is not more dangerous, and all sustain Mr. Dunn in the course he took.”¹⁸ Despite the article’s reference to Isaac being an abolitionist, his views regarding slavery remain ambiguous, for it is uncertain if he opposed the institution of slavery or only its expansion into Kansas Territory.¹⁹

The stabling of Isaac represented the chaos and violence plaguing the new Territory of Kansas and how the intense debate regarding the expansion of slavery threatened the orderly frontier process. Bleeding Kansas became a historical event that clearly affected all the Cody children, crushing their naive childhood perceptions of their parents’ abilities to protect them from harm. Isaac survived his knife wound, but spent the last few years of his life on the run, avoiding the proslavery “ruffians” who often visited his home and terrified his family. Isaac fully committed himself to the free-state movement and served as a legislator in the Free State Legislature organized in Lawrence and convened in Topeka, considered by many, including the officially elected Kansas Territorial Legislature meeting at Lecompton, Kansas, to be a den of traitors.

In addition to his work on behalf of the free-state movement, Isaac recruited more settlers to Kansas and worked to build a community named Grasshopper Falls. Isaac’s absences often left young Will, along with his mother and sisters, to face alone the violent behavior of Border Ruffians from Missouri. Mary Cody was left alone to raise her family as Isaac was either on the run or serving in the legislature. Shortly before he returned home for what proved to be his last time, Isaac was helping a new group of settlers when fever and measles broke out in the settlers’ camp. Isaac died in 1857 from a fever and his family buried him on Pilot Knob Cemetery, overlooking Leavenworth, Kansas.²⁰

Now the oldest male of the household, young William Cody sought employment away from the home. Kansas served as a gateway to the interior American West and its plethora of resources, and Cody found himself residing near a major national transportation terminal and found work as a messenger boy for the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, the founders of the famed Pony Express. Additionally, Will Cody drove oxen with John R. Willis, also an employee of Russell, Majors, and Waddell.

Buffalo Bill's autobiography is full of stories of western adventures such as traveling to Fort Laramie, serving as a teamster during the Mormon War, killing his first Indian, and riding for the Pony Express.²¹ Will Cody also met another emerging frontier celebrity who would become a close friend, James Butler Hickok, whose violent encounters earned him the moniker "Wild Bill." Many historians have questioned the accuracy of Buffalo Bill's early western adventures.²² If he himself did not witness or experience the scenes he described as his first western adventures, he would have been in a perfect location to hear about others' experiences on the trails, later making them part of his own reminiscences that reflected the collective experiences of life and adventure on the Great Plains.²³

According to his autobiography, young Will Cody's first trip to the plains resulted from an act of violence he perpetrated at school. According to Buffalo Bill's autobiography, when he was twelve years old, an older boy by the name of Steve Goble teased him for building a small house for a girl young Will admired. The next morning, Steve and Will fought. Young Cody was losing, until he took his pocketknife and stabbed Steve in the leg and fled the scene. He sought refuge with John Willis, who not only protected Will from Steve's angry father, but also agreed to take the young boy with him to freight goods to Fort Laramie along the Oregon Trail. Mrs. Cody reluctantly agreed, hoping the tension caused by her son stabbing another boy would dissipate in his absence.

This event is quite revealing in understanding William F. Cody. Clearly, the violence stemming from the battles of "Bleeding Kansas" left a deep impression on the young man. Buffalo Bill believed violence was the solution to ensuring right overcame might and he expressed no regret for stabbing Steve. Nor did he blame the event on the hardship he suffered from his father's stabbing. Instead, William Cody characterized this incident as a small squabble among boys; yet, this event clearly reveals violence was an accepted facet of life in early Kansas and the young Buffalo Bill was not averse to using violence to defend his individual rights. Later, Buffalo Bill would recreate violent episodes through his theatrical performances and Buffalo Bill's Wild West. As Louis Warren noted, "during its most successful years, the [Buffalo Bill's Wild West] embrace

of race war was balanced by its display of national progress through family and hearth. As [Buffalo Bill] Cody was to discover, before the Wild West show could succeed, it had to be domesticated.”²⁴ Clearly for young Will Cody, this balance of domesticity and violence played a key role in his early years in Kansas.

Shortly after the American Civil War erupted, William F. Cody joined Charles Jennison’s Jayhawkers, a group of free-state ruffians who raided into Missouri stealing horses. These men, known as Red Legs because of the red leggings they wore, made a career out of stealing from the neighboring state, although Missouri did not secede from the Union, nor were Missourian slaveholders impacted by the Emancipation Proclamation. Missourians soon struck back against the Kansas raiders, the most infamous attack being the raid against Lawrence, Kansas, led by William Quantrill and Bloody Bill Anderson. Some Missourians who fought in this conflict, including Frank and Jesse James, continued their attack against the “North” and its Unionist representatives well into the early 1880s.²⁵

More than likely young Will Cody adopted his flamboyant style of dress during his Jayhawker period. His opponents, the Border Ruffians, with men like William Quantrill and Bloody Bill Anderson, often wore colorful, floral shirts that proclaimed their unorganized, rugged individual military status. Mothers, lovers, and wives handcrafted these extravagant shirts for their beloved fighting men, allowing them an opportunity to participate in the conflict through their domestic skills. The shirt worn by Bloody Bill Anderson when Union Troops killed him and photographed his corpse reflects the style later worn by Buffalo Bill onstage and in the arena. When Buffalo Bill served as a military scout, Plains Indian warriors also showcased a flamboyant style of dress and body-paint, all of which broadcasted to their enemies their military accomplishments, skills, and daring as rugged individual fighters.²⁶

After his mother passed away, Will Cody signed up to join the 7th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry after a night of drinking; the next morning, a hung-over Will realized he had enlisted. The Kansas 7th fought in Tennessee and Mississippi against General Sterling Price’s group of secessionist Missourians and General Nathaniel Bedford Forrest’s men. Buffalo Bill later claimed he spent much of his time serving the military

as a spy, infiltrating the Confederate lines to secure information. Due to his time with the Jayhawkers, it is likely Will Cody's officers considered him a scout and sent him to reconnoiter the enemy's positions and carry dispatches; however, his characterization of his service as a spy is probably stretching the truth.²⁷

After his discharge from the military, William married Louisa Frederici of St. Louis on March 6, 1866. Louisa's parents were John Frederici, a French immigrant from Alsace-Lorraine and an American Elizabeth Smith.²⁸ Will and Louisa, nicknamed Lulu, met while Cody was stationed in St. Louis. The newlyweds moved to Kansas and operated a hotel named the Golden Rule House. "People generally said I made a good landlord and knew how to run a hotel -- a business qualification which, it is said, is possessed by comparatively few men," proclaimed Buffalo Bill, "But it proved to tame employment for me, and again I sighed for the freedom of the plains."²⁹ Will Cody ran into his old friend Wild Bill Hickok shortly after losing his hotel and Wild Bill convinced him to become a military scout. As a scout, Buffalo Bill proved himself as a capable frontiersman who could deliver messages, provide reconnaissance of unfamiliar terrain, and fight effectively, all of which contributed to his rising fame.

Although the Civil War ended in the East, the conflict continued in the American West, giving Buffalo Bill yet another opportunity to stand against violent forces perceived by many as a threat to the union of the United States and its western regions. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, tensions between settlers, the frontier army, and American Indians escalated, but remained a relatively small-scaled conflict. The Civil War greatly exacerbated this conflict. As frontier troops withdrew to fight on behalf of the Confederacy or the Union, military posts lost most of their strength, until resupplied with fresh troops. These fresh troops served in volunteer militia units from the western territories, and many believed "the only good Indian is a dead one."³⁰

Additionally, with the growing military conflict in the East, the United States government severely cut, or failed to deliver promised annuities and supplies to American Indian nations at peace. These tensions soon erupted into two of the biggest massacres in the west, the New Ulm Massacre and the Sand Creek Massacre. These two conflicts generated strong animosity between Euro-American settlers and American

Indians that lasted for generations, as well as contributing to stereotyping of both cultures by one another as inhuman savages. The Dakota War of 1862 began in Minnesota on August 17, 1862, when four young hungry Santee Sioux killed five settlers over a few chicken eggs. Fearing reprisals, various bands of the Dakota decided to attack. Soon a military force emerged under the leadership of Little Crow, a Mdewakanton chief. Little Crow's forces attacked Indian traders and agency employees and their families residing at the Lower Sioux Agency and killed thirty-one people and took ten captives. Little Crow's forces attacked the settlement of New Ulm, Minnesota, along with many homesteads. Historian Gregory Michno's research into depredation claims led him to conclude that the Dakota warriors killed at least 400 white settlers, including women and children, within the first week of the Minnesota Sioux Uprising. Both real and imagined atrocities committed by the Dakota soon spread by word of mouth and through the press.³¹

Two years later, Col. John M. Chivington led a group of Colorado Volunteers against a Cheyenne encampment led by Chief Black Kettle on Sand Creek in eastern Colorado Territory. Despite recent overtures of peace by Black Kettle and the presence of a white flag of truce flying over the encampment, Chivington's men, fueled with hatred and resentment, brutally massacred nearly 200 Cheyenne men, women, and children. After the massacre, many of Chivington's men butchered the dead, securing various "trophies" of war such as scalps, fingers, and both female and male private parts, and some accounts depicted men bashing babies' heads against trees. Chivington responded to the killing of children with the infamous line, "Nits make lice."³²

Both massacres greatly heightened the conflict and tension felt on the plains between settlers, the frontier army, and American Indians, especially the Dakota, Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho. In the aftermath of the Minnesota Uprising, military forces hanged thirty-eight Indians and a settler shot Little Crow. Many Dakota fled west to the Dakota Territory and joined the Lakota bands to continue fighting United States military. In 1863, these warriors fought U.S. troops at Big Mound, Dead Buffalo Lake, Stony Lake, and Whitestone Hill. The following year, these forces fought at Killdeer Mountain (just a few miles from the Little Missouri River where Theodore Roosevelt

established his ranches in the early 1880s). One Lakota warrior and spiritual leader who fought at Killdeer Mountain was Sitting Bull.³³

The Sand Creek Massacre angered many Cheyenne, as well as their allies the Northern Cheyenne and the Northern Arapaho. Soon these warriors retaliated by attacking Julesburg, Colorado, and various stage stations and military encampments within Colorado and Wyoming Territories throughout 1865. The most successful blows against the military occurred near the Platte River Bridge, where united Plains warriors destroyed a military supply column near Red Butte and killed a young Lt. Caspar Collins who attempted to relieve the wagon train. The military post expanded and was renamed Fort Caspar in his honor. A military expedition into the Powder River country surprised an Arapaho encampment on the Tongue River, killing sixty-three Arapaho and capturing 500 ponies as well as destroying 250 lodges. The loss of horses, lodges, and winter supplies ensured even greater losses to the residents of the Arapaho encampment with the onslaught of winter.³⁴

As Gen. Robert E. Lee surrendered to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, the exacerbated conflict on the Great Plains between the United States and the Indian Nations of the Dakota, Lakota, Northern Cheyenne, and Northern Arapaho showed no sign of ending. In fact, this conflict continued well into the 1870s. Not only did both sides suffer greatly during this conflict, new military heroes would emerge from both sides. Men like the Lakota Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse; the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers Roman Nose, Tall Bull, and Yellow Hair; and many other proud Plains Indian warriors representing the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Lakota Nations. In response to these attacks, the United States military sent men like Generals Nelson A. Miles, George Crook, and George Armstrong Custer into the Great Plains. Providing reconnaissance and general geographical information, along with ensuring communication between military groups, were the famed Indian Scouts, men such as Jim Bridger, Frank North and his famed Pawnee Scouts, Big Bat, Frank Girard, Charlie Reynolds, and William F. Cody. These men would engage in warfare along various streams and geographical features that lent their names to the individual battles, Powder River, Washita River, Summit Springs Little Big Horn River, Warbonnet Creek, and Wounded Knee Creek.³⁵

Although Buffalo Bill peppered his autobiography with stories of daring, near escapes while scouting, he also documented the less exciting aspects of the life of a scout, perfecting skills that proved to be in great demand by the military and drawing even more attention to him from the higher command. Communication between isolated military posts posed one of the greatest challenges to the frontier army on the Great Plains. Asked to deliver a message to Gen. Sheridan, Buffalo Bill promised to deliver the dispatches to the general at Fort Hays. After visiting friends, he agreed to carry more dispatches to Maj. Cox at Fort Dodge, 95 miles away. After a brief rest, he returned to Fort Larned with more messages but, while traveling to the fort, his mule ran off and eluded Buffalo Bill as he walked back to the fort. Upon reaching Fort Larned, Cody shot his mule, “without doubt, the toughest and meanest mule I ever saw, and he died hard.”³⁶ After his long walk, he rested and then returned Fort Hays with more messages for Sheridan. Buffalo Bill later recalled he greatly impressed Sheridan with his round-trip journey that totaled 355 miles, ensuring communication between the various posts.

In between his scouting adventures, Buffalo Bill sought other moneymaking opportunities, including the founding of a town. Buffalo Bill and a partner plotted a town in Kansas and named it Rome, only to see it collapse after they refused to cooperate with the Kansas Pacific Railroad. As a failed town promoter, William F. Cody went to work grading roadbeds for the Kansas Division of the Union Pacific Railroad, but word soon circulated about his bison hunting skills. Due to his hunting reputation, he obtained employment from the Goddard Brothers, railroad suppliers, to secure bison for feeding the work crews and his exceptional skills in killing bison position earned him his famous moniker, “Buffalo Bill.” As a bison hunter, Buffalo Bill earned \$500 per month and he claimed he killed 4,280 beasts during his stint as a buffalo hunter.³⁷

Due to his expertise and reliability in delivering messages, Sheridan assigned Buffalo Bill to the 5th Cavalry, which was then preparing for an expedition against the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers. In his autobiography, Buffalo Bill highlighted his role in the conflict with the Cheyenne, especially the Dog Soldier bands on the southern plains.

“The Dog Soldier Indians were a band of Cheyennes and unruly, turbulent members of other tribes, who would not enter into any treaty, or keep a treaty if they made one, and who always refused to go upon a reservation,” recalled Buffalo Bill³⁸ It was during his encounter with the Dog Soldiers at the Battle of Summit Springs that launched Buffalo Bill as a national celebrity. At Summit Springs, the 5th Cavalry under General Carr encountered a band of Dog Soldiers led by Chief Tall Bull. In Tall Bull’s camp were two female captives, evident by a few tracks left behind by the women. Surprising Tall Bull’s village, the soldiers managed to save Mrs. Weichell, unfortunately someone killed her companion Mrs. Alderdice; reportedly, Tall Bull’s wife was the killer.

During the heat of the battle, Buffalo Bill claimed he fired upon a Cheyenne warrior, hoping to secure his horse, seeing the Indian fall to the ground, he believed he fatally shot his intended victim. Later he secured the horse and discovered as he paraded it in front of the female captives, Tall Bull’s wife broke into tears for it was her husband’s horse, making him one of many claimants to kill Chief Tall Bull, including the Pawnee Scouts and Frank North. Buffalo Bill named the horse Tall Bull in the Cheyenne warrior’s honor. Regardless of whoever killed Tall Bull, the primary military objective was the capture of the camp and destruction of the Cheyenne lodges and winter supplies, forcing this band to face starvation on the plains or return to the Indian Agency, which many perceived to be an end to the Indian depredations on the Southern Plains.³⁹

Shortly after the Battle of Summit Springs, Buffalo Bill met the famed novelist Ned Buntline, who made him the hero of his dime novel *Buffalo Bill the King of the Border Men*.⁴⁰ Many historians have contemplated the moment William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody become a celebrity through the efforts of the flamboyant writer, Edward Zane Carroll Judson, popularly known as Ned Buntline. On the surface, the meeting between Buntline and Buffalo Bill appears to be a “star is born” fairytale wherein Ned Buntline seeks out the supposed true hero of the Battle of Summit Springs, Frank North the leader of the famed Pawnee Scouts. North did not desire to become a literary star in Buntline’s novelette, so he directed the writer to a young man sleeping under a wagon, Buffalo Bill. Per western author Clay Reynolds, Buntline discovered in Buffalo Bill the

“heroic ideal, an in-the-flesh symbol of the American frontiersman, the perfect protagonist of a dime novel. Tall and muscular, dressed in greasy buckskins and a broad plainsman hat, his long curly hair flowing down to his shoulders and his piercing blue eyes revealing both intelligence and wit, Cody was almost too good to be true. To [Buntline], it must have seemed that the army scout and forager had stepped off the pages of a Sir Walter Scott or James Fenimore Cooper novel...”⁴¹

The story of Buffalo Bill’s discovery appeared repeatedly throughout the Buffalo Bill biographies and biopics. After the publication of “Buffalo Bill: King of the Border Men” by Ned Buntline as a serialized story in the *New York Weekly* starting in December 1869, and afterwards in numerous reprints and dramatizations, Buffalo Bill Cody’s frontier celebrity status continued to grow.⁴² *King of the Border Men* transformed Buffalo Bill into a national celebrity, his imagined and real adventures served before the public through the sensational writing of Ned Buntline. Through his collaboration with Ned Buntline, Buffalo Bill now served as an icon of the American West, a hunter turned scout, a person in the vein of James Fenimore Cooper’s renowned literary figure Natty Bumppo. For the remainder of his life, he continued to serve as the mythical embodiment of the post-Civil War American frontier experience.

Due to his enhanced status as a dime novel celebrity and renowned bison hunter, wealthy easterners and Europeans, including royalty, sought his services as a hunting guide, which in turn furthered his popularity in the East. In 1871, Gen. Phillip Sheridan requested Buffalo Bill guide a group of army officers and wealthy Easterners that included *New York Herald* publisher, James Gordon Bennett, Jr., and Charles L. Wilson of the *Chicago Evening Journal*. Bennett and Wilson’s newspapers detailed the specifics of this hunting expedition and further publicized Buffalo Bill’s exploits to a national audience. The hunting party also included Wall Street financiers Carroll Livingston and Lawrence Jerome and his brother Leonard Jerome, the future grandfather of Winston Churchill. In the winter of 1872, Sheridan requested Buffalo Bill guide the Russian Grand Duke Alexis during his visit to the United States, enhancing his international reputation. Gen. George Armstrong Custer and the famed Lakota chieftain, Spotted Tail, also joined this hunting expedition. Some historians later claimed this

hunting trip afforded Buffalo Bill the opportunity to stage his first Wild West production by encouraging Spotted Tail's followers to entertain the royal guests.⁴³

Buffalo Bill's prominent connections established during these hunting expeditions enabled him to visit the New York City, where he met his former hunting partners and Ned Buntline who wined and dined the scout in a series of elaborate dinners. At the Bowery Theater in New York, Buffalo Bill attended a play starring J. B. Studley as "Buffalo Bill." Upon hearing the real Buffalo Bill was in the house, the audience cheered and the theater manager asked Buffalo Bill to deliver an impromptu speech from the stage. Stage fright overcame him and he later recalled he muttered a few inaudible words and quickly exited the stage. Despite his poor showing with his first stage debut, the manager offered Buffalo Bill \$500 per week to play himself; a frightened Buffalo Bill turned down the generous offer.

After tasting a sample of his celebrity status, Buffalo Bill returned to Fort McPherson in Nebraska and returned to scouting. Buffalo Bill wrote in his autobiography that he returned to his scouting duties wearing his fancy eastern dress with his hair tucked up in his hat. His commanding officer did not recognize him until Buffalo Bill removed his hat and lowered his long hair. "A loud yell went up from both officers and enlisted men," Buffalo Bill later wrote, "as the word went up and down the line that the dude they had been bedeviling was none other than Buffalo Bill."⁴⁴ Texas Jack Omohundro and other fellow scouts, Buffalo Bill recalled, "gathered around me, shaking my hand and congratulating me on my safe return from the dangers and the perils of the East."⁴⁵ Buffalo Bill further cemented his national fame by guiding more hunting trips and leading troops against "hostile" Indians. In one engagement with a band of Indians, Buffalo Bill's dash and daring captured the attention of Capt. Charles Meinhold, who recommended the scout receive the Medal of Honor, which Buffalo Bill duly received on May 22, 1872. In between guiding for the army, Buffalo Bill continued to serve as a prominent hunting guide. His clients included the Earl of Dunraven and a variety of prominent, wealthy American businessmen.⁴⁶

Buffalo Bill returned to the East, lured by the suggestions he become an actor and reenact his western exploits. He and Texas Jack joined Ned Buntline and an Italian

actress, Giuseppina Morlachi (who later became Texas Jack's wife), and performed *Scouts of the Prairie*, a play that Buffalo Bill claimed Ned Buntline wrote in four hours.⁴⁷ When Buntline unexpectedly left the group due to fears of an arrest warrant for him in St. Louis from a previous charge of inciting a riot, Buffalo Bill and Texas Jack reorganized and eventually recruited Wild Bill Hickok to join them onstage for a new play entitled *Scouts of the Plains*. Hickok's susceptibility to creating problems by brawling, shooting out the stage lights, and firing blank pistol charges close to the legs of actors playing dead soon led him to leave the acting troupe. Despite all the early problems of beginning an acting career, Cody remained a stage sensation, drawing audiences who wanted to see the real Buffalo Bill, regardless of the quality of the onstage productions.⁴⁸

With his stage career progressing, Buffalo Bill purchased a home in Rochester, New York, and relocated Louisa and his two daughters Arta (b. 1866) and Orra (b. 1872), and his son Kit Carson (b. 1870) to their new eastern home. As an actor, he continued to return to the Great Plains between shows to guide hunting expeditions and serve as a civilian scout. In 1874, Buffalo Bill scouted for Big Horn Expedition led by Brevet Lt. Col. Anson Mills; more than likely, it was with this time that he first viewed the southern end of the Big Horn Basin as the military expedition traversed the Big Horn Mountains. Buffalo Bill would return to the Big Horn Basin in 1894 with George W. T. Beck, who planned to reclaim the arid region through irrigation and build a town that would bear Buffalo Bill's surname.⁴⁹

Buffalo Bill's family life was again shattered in 1876 when his only son Kit Carson Cody died in Rochester. During the summer of 1876, Buffalo Bill returned to the Great Plains, scouting for the 5th Cavalry. Scouting for the 5th, he learned that bands of Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho killed General George Armstrong Custer, along with over two hundred of Custer's command, at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Buffalo Bill hoped to force the American Indians who defeated the 7th Cavalry back onto their reservations, as well as seek revenge for the death of Custer. During this mission, Buffalo Bill killed a Cheyenne warrior named Yellow Hair at the Battle of Warbonnet Creek.⁵⁰

On the morning of July 17, 1876, nearly a month after the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the Fifth Cavalry under the command of Col. Wesley Merritt observed a group of Cheyenne warriors under the leadership of Little Wolf leaving the reservation, moving west in to the Powder River Country to join the “hostiles” who had just defeated Custer. While spying on this group, Buffalo Bill noticed a small group of Cheyenne warriors attempting to cut off two military messengers. The appearance of Buffalo Bill on the hill was striking, for he wore a theatrical costume, as if he were preparing to appear on stage instead of preparing for a military engagement. Trooper Maddsen stated, “When Cody arrived in Cheyenne he was dressed in his theatrical toggery, which he had not taken time to change, and in the velvet suit studded with silver and gilt buttons he looked more like a Spanish toreador than like a frontier scout.”⁵¹ Army officer Charles King noted newspaper mogul James Gordon Bennett Jr., sent Buffalo Bill a telegram asking for the details.⁵²

Merritt ordered King to lead an attack with Buffalo Bill, a group of scouts, and six troopers. King ordered his men to attack with the words, “Now lads – in with you!” The scouts and troopers rode towards the Cheyenne: “with an instant rush and cheer the little party of scouts and troopers burst from their concealment, tore headlong around the shoulder of bluff and straight at the face of the astonished foe – Buffalo Bill ten lengths in the lead.”⁵³ One of the troopers, Wilkerson, fired at the Cheyenne and various historical accounts note he either missed the leader of the party or wounded his horse. Buffalo Bill, also given credit for wounding the leader’s horse, rode forward yet his horse stumbled, throwing the scout on the ground. Buffalo Bill stood up, aimed at the warrior and fired a shot that killed the chief. Running to his victim, Buffalo Bill bent over, scalped the warrior, raised his trophy above his head, and shouted “First Scalp for Custer.” King noted, “The Indian was identified as Hay-o-wei, a young Cheyenne leader. The name was translated for us by a half-breed guide known as Little Bat as meaning “Yellow Hand,” and so we always called him in speaking of the affair. Much later, an Indian authority who claims to know the Cheyenne language told me the name really means “Yellow Hair” and probably refers to a scalp he had taken, possibly a white woman’s.”⁵⁴

Buffalo Bill's action at Warbonnet greatly blurred reality and fiction. Along this isolated creek in northwest Nebraska, the dime-novel sensation and actor performed a very real act of killing a Cheyenne warrior, with flare and flamboyance. He wore a vaquero type costume, supposedly a stage costume, and his actions clearly reflected his dramatic style. Officers of the 5th Cavalry and Buffalo Bill himself proclaimed this event to be the turning point of the Great Sioux War of 1876. The killing of Yellow Hair, as well as the presence of Merritt's men, supposedly turned the Cheyenne under Morning Star (also known by his Lakota name Dull Knife) back to the reservation, preventing them from joining the Lakota and Cheyenne responsible for destroying half of Custer's command. Despite Buffalo Bill's later claims that this band returned defeated to the reservation, shortly after the battle this group of Cheyenne did travel to the Powder River Country where a military force led by Captain Reynolds successfully attacked their village, seizing the lodges and many belongings. This action caused Dull Knife's Band to surrender, due to the fact the loss of supplies made it impossible for them to winter on the plains.⁵⁵

In his subsequent writings and reenactments, Buffalo Bill continued to offer the impression the "First Scalp for Custer" reversed the military disaster of the Battle of the Little Big Horn and ended Cheyenne depredations on the Northern Plains, just as his killing of Chief Tall Bull had secured peace on the Southern Plains. Buffalo Bill's military accomplishment at Warbonnet Creek, theatrically named the "First Scalp for Custer," seemed so surreal that many of Buffalo Bill's contemporaries and later historians debated his role in the conflict – some going as far as claiming Buffalo Bill did not kill the Cheyenne warrior Yellow Hand. Frustrated by claims Buffalo Bill did not kill Yellow Hand, Lt. Clarence King, a writer and companion of Buffalo Bill's, cautioned his readers, "Now, even his most celebrated exploit, the killing of Yellow Hand, the Cheyenne chief, at the fight on the War Bonnet in 1876, is doubted. That is going too far. To take a grain of salt doesn't mean you must put it in your eye." King proclaimed, "I saw that fight from start to finish. Probably fifteen other persons were in a position to see all or any part of it. Of these, it would seem at least a hundred survive,

most of whom either killed Yellow Hand themselves or saw someone other than Buffalo Bill do it.”⁵⁶

The “First Scalp for Custer” became a staple story in his writings and programs, blurring the lines of reality and drama as related to his career and legacy. Buffalo Bill’s dramatic struggles to make a living in the American West now provided him the opportunity to achieve an even greater financial wealth by recreating his western life for Eastern audiences. In addition to his stage performances and his appearance as a literary character in numerous dime novels, Buffalo Bill also published his first autobiography in 1879. After a decade of reenacting his western adventures on stage, Buffalo Bill hoped to expand his theatrical performances on a grander scale. In 1883, Buffalo Bill collaborated with famed sharpshooter “Doc” William F. Carver to stage an outdoor performance recreating dramatic events related to life on the American frontier.⁵⁷ The following year, after splitting with Carver, Buffalo Bill formed Buffalo Bill’s Wild West with his new partner Nate Salsbury. Through this enterprise, Buffalo Bill traveled throughout the United States and Europe showcasing his vision of the history of the American West. By traveling to the East, Buffalo Bill the performer greatly influenced the popular history of the American frontier by focusing on the violent “Wild West” that he experienced firsthand, blending history and drama into what he billed as America’s National Entertainment. Portraying his opponents were other westerners, ones who resisted expansion, including many Lakota warriors who resisted the coming of the Euro-American settlements, a factor that added a strong element of authenticity.⁵⁸

Buffalo Bill's Wild West became an international phenomenon beginning in 1887 when it debuted in London and Buffalo Bill appeared before Queen Victoria. Buffalo Bill returned to Europe in 1889, performing alongside the new Eiffel Tower at the *Exhibition Internationale* in Paris and continued touring through France, Spain, Italy, Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Belgium, the United Kingdom. In 1893 in Chicago, Buffalo Bill's Wild West performed next to the Columbian Exposition and debuted the Congress of Rough Riders of the World, an international ensemble of equestrian riders from around the world, an act that brought national attention to the term "Rough Riders."⁵⁹

The success Buffalo Bill found in the East transformed him into an international celebrity; however, this success also contributed to many questioning this status as a true frontier hero. A handful of Buffalo Bill's contemporaries, including Captain Jack Crawford and Doc Carver challenged the authenticity of Buffalo Bill's public persona. Carver noted repeatedly to his biographer Raymond Thorp that Buffalo Bill was a drunk. Carver also claimed Buffalo Bill was a simple farmer from Salt Creek who earned his name by purchasing it from Bill Marston for \$100. Marston and Buffalo Bill faked a contest where Cody "won" the title. Carver went on to claim Buffalo Bill hired a man named Buffalo Chips to do most of the bison hunting for the railroad construction crews. Fellow actor and scout Captain Jack Crawford also characterized Buffalo Bill as a drunk and blamed him for misloading a pistol with real bullets, which caused Crawford to seriously wound himself with an accidental gunshot to the groin. Many of these stories appeared in *Blake's Western Stories*, published in 1929, years after the passing of Buffalo Bill, Louisa Cody and their children.⁶⁰

Episcopal Bishop George Allen Beecher, who resided in North Platte, Nebraska, from 1895-1903 and knew the Cody family, recounted how Buffalo Bill's celebrity status generated both fans who loved the scout, and critics who disparaged him as an inauthentic westerner. Beecher wrote in his memoir:

I learned to respect this man for his virtues, and to be patient with his faults. Most of the latter were surface irregularities which developed upon the fringe of his better self as the result of a long continued relationship of

those who proved false friends and jealous critics. It is always easier to criticize than to praise...

I know that he was never guilty of betraying a friend, and that he never placed a false advertisement in any department of his famous show.

The shadows of any man's career in public life may easily be emphasized by those who are curious, and who in many instances make commercial profit out of their publications, for all of which I personally know that the man himself was in no way responsible.⁶¹

Despite his critics, Buffalo Bill's role as a celebrity frontiersman secured for him great economic wealth, something he could not achieve as a settler in the rural American West; he made his fortune by recreating his western experiences for audiences in urban America and Europe. Writing to a friend in 1887, before he left New York to appear in London with Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Buffalo Bill noted, "My winter success has been my greatest victory yet I could stay here in New York another Year if I wished [for] every seat in this immense building is now sold for the rest of the time I am here & I have got the money in a Bank— Jim old Boy if my health holds out three years... I will down every showman in the world... I will have money to throw at the birds."⁶²

Although initially timid about performing on stage, Buffalo Bill became a popular performer and reaped great financial gains through his acting career. Throughout his performances onstage and in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Buffalo Bill served as a cultural bridge, spanning the social hierarchy and regional differences found within post-Civil War America. In 1887, Buffalo Bill's Wild West appeared in London and performed before Queen Victoria, transforming him into an international celebrity, a prominent transatlantic cultural ambassador bridging the New World and the Old World. While Buffalo Bill introduced the Wild West to both urbane and working-class Americans and Europeans, many of his fellow westerners became jealous of his success,

and dismissed or trivialized his western exploits, just as his fellow soldiers and scouts suspiciously viewed him upon his return from his first visit to the East – that is until he let his hair down.

¹ Cody, *The Life of Buffalo Bill*, 1920, p. 139.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. p. 40. Popular media has played upon Buffalo Bill as a frontiersman struggling to adapt to an urban setting and high-society, see William B. Jones, Jr., *Classics Illustrated: Buffalo Bill* (Toronto: Jack Lake Productions, Inc., 2011) for a comic book biography of Buffalo Bill. See also *Buffalo Bill* starring Joel McCrea as Buffalo Bill, 1944, directed by William A. Wellman, produced by 20th Century Fox.

⁵ Cody, *Life of Hon. William F. Cody*, 1879, p. 19. Scholars continue to debate whether Cody's autobiographical writings depict factual events, or scenes from Cody's imagination that he intended to stage before his vast audiences, making it difficult to separate fact from dramatic fiction. William F. Cody's exploits in Kansas and on the Great Plains are somewhat nebulous because only three key primary sources detailed his early life: his sisters, Helen and Julia, wrote individual biographical accounts and Buffalo Bill penned or sanctioned various autobiographies which repeat stories of Cody's early life verbatim. Julia Cody Goodman's account is very brief and tends to support many tales offered by Cody in his autobiography. Helen Cody Wetmore's biography of her brother, *Last of the Great Scouts* was such an idealized tale, depicting one overdramatized scene after another, that it offers little insight into Cody's early life. *Last of the Great Scouts* is so theatrical it is obvious many of the scenes from her book are indeed products of her imagination or gleaned from dime novel depictions of her brother.

⁶ Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*, p. 5.

⁷ For an overview of the United States survey system and how it shaped the American frontier, see Andro Linklater, *Measuring America: How an Untamed Wilderness Shaped the United States and Fulfilled the Promise of Democracy*. (New York: Walker Publishing Company, 2002).

⁸ For biographical information about Isaac and Mary Cody, see Russell, *Lives and Legends*, p. 3-9; Julia Goodman, "Julia Cody Goodman's Memoirs of Buffalo Bill," ed. Don Russell, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 4 (1962), p. 442-496; Lydia S. Cody and Ernest William Cody, *Five Generations: The Cody Family in North America* (NA: International Cody Family Association, 1986), abridged edition; and F. M. Fryxell, "The Codys in Le Claire," *The Annals of Iowa*. vol. 17, no. 1, (Summer 1929), p. 3-11.

⁹ Cody's early autobiographical accounts list his birth year as 1845; however, the Cody family bible within the collections of the McCracken Research Library at the Buffalo Bill Center of the West and census records prove the date was 1846. See Russell, *Lives and Legends*, p. 5-6.

¹⁰ The expansion of the Cody family reflected the social norms of the Midwestern rural society in the 1840s and 1850s. John Mack Faragher in his study of Midwestern families in the 1850s noted that families tended to be very large. The mean family size was 5.7 persons and women usually raised five to six children due to limited birth control and higher fatality rates for children. See John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 79-118, for an overview of historical Midwestern family demographics.

¹¹ John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek*, p. 44-51.

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- ¹² For a historical overview of settlement patterns in the Midwest, see Faragher, *Sugar Creek* for a case study of the evolution of one Midwest community in the early 19th century; John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 40-65; and Richard A. Bartlett, *The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 189-211.
- ¹³ The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 stipulated how these settlers could become a territory when 5,000 eligible voters settled the region, followed by statehood when the total population reached 60,000. This process ensured an orderly system for new territories to secure national representation and guided them in establishing a local system of government.
- ¹⁴ See Faragher, *Sugar Creek*, p.53-60.
- ¹⁵ See illustrations in Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (Hartford, CT: The American Publishing Company, 1876), p. 69 and 117, which are identical to images on page 54 and 90 of Buffalo Bill's 1879 autobiography on pages 64 and 102, respectively in Frank Christianson edition. Buffalo Bill's autobiography also shared illustrations with Mark Twain's *Roughing It*. See Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1872), p. 57, 72, and 76 for images that appear in Buffalo Bill's 1879 autobiography on pages 124, 120, and 230, respectively in Frank Christianson edition. For an overview of Buffalo Bill's friendship with Mark Twain, see Sandra Sagala's, "Mark Twain and Buffalo Bill Cody: Mirrored through a Glass Darkly," *Points West*, four installments (Winter 2005), (Spring 2006), (Fall 2006), and (Winter 2006) (Cody, WY: Buffalo Bill Historical Center).
- ¹⁶ For an overview of the Buffalo Bill's life in Kansas, his early adventures on the Great Plains, and his Civil War exploits, see John S. Gray, "Fact versus Fiction in the Kansas Boyhood of Buffalo Bill." *Kansas History* (Kansas Historical Society) vol. 8 no. 1 (1985), p. 2-20. Gray compares Buffalo Bill and Julia's accounts of their time in Kansas. See also Don Russell, *Lives and Legends*, p. 10-26; William F. Cody, *Life of Hon. William F. Cody*, p. 43-160, and *Buffalo Bill's Life Story*, p. 1-46; Helen Cody Wetmore, *Last of the Great Scouts*, p. 9-132; and Julia Goodman, p. 442-496.
- ¹⁷ There are numerous works examining the violence associated with Bleeding Kansas and guerilla warfare during the Civil War. For overviews of "Bleeding Kansas" and the Border Wars in Missouri, see Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Steven E. Woodworth, *Manifest Destinies: America's Expansion and the Road to Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010); Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004); Thomas Goodrich, *War to the Knife: Bleeding Kansas, 1854-1861* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); for the Kansas Free-State perspective, see Debra Goodrich Bisel, *The Civil War in Kansas Ten Years of Turmoil* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2012); for more of a Missouri perspective, see Donald L. Gilmore, *Civil War on the Missouri-Kansas Border* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2008).
- ¹⁸ John S. Gray, "Fact vs. Fiction in the Kansas Boyhood of Buffalo Bill," *Kansas History*, 8 (1), p. 5.
- ¹⁹ The Cody family also provided varying accounts of whether Isaac Cody spoke against the expansion of slavery into Kansas or he voiced his opposition to slaver. Buffalo Bill's 1879 autobiography provides a two-paragraph record of Isaac's speech. According to Buffalo Bill's first autobiography, Isaac said, "Gentlemen, I voted that it should be a *white* state – that negroes, whether free or slave, should never be allowed to locate within its limits... I believe in letting slavery remain as it now exists, and I shall always oppose its further extension," p. 47. Helen Cody Wetmore claims Isaac said, "I am, and always have been, opposed to slavery," p. 17. Julia Goodman's unpublished memoir noted, "My father had been talking very freely about Kansas being like Iowa was, not to have any slaves or to hold Negroes in Kansas," p. 458. Julia also notes many settlers, both Free State and Slave State supporters, relied on Isaac as a surveyor for their claims, where they often heard his views on the expansion of slavery. She also noted at a "meeting" a group of Slave State supporters forced him to express his views publicly, which precipitated Dunn's stabbing of Isaac. In his last published autobiography, Buffalo Bill records Isaac's words, "I am not ashamed of my views... I am not an Abolitionist, and have never been. I think

it is better to let slavery alone in the States where it is now. But I am not at all afraid to tell you that I am opposed to its extension, and that I believe that it should be kept out of Kansas,” p. 7.

- ²⁰ Both Isaac and Mary Cody were buried at Pilot Knob Cemetery, later renamed Mount Aurora Cemetery. In the early 1880s, the city of Leavenworth constructed a water cistern on the cite and relocated the human remains to other cemeteries. Buffalo Bill was unable to determine if his parents’ bodies were relocated. Today, no one knows exactly where their remains lie. See Jeff Barnes, *The Great Plains Guide to Buffalo Bill: Forts, Fights and Other Sites* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2014) for information regarding geographic and historical sites related to Buffalo Bill.
- ²¹ Historians have long questioned Buffalo Bill’s claims he rode in the Pony Express; unfortunately, no business records survive from the short-lived enterprise to prove, or disprove, Buffalo Bill’s claims. For a good overview of the history of the Pony Express, juxtaposed with the myths and legends, see Christopher Corbett, *Orphans Preferred: The Twisted Truth and Lasting Legend of the Pony Express*. See also Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1893). Scholars question the accuracy of this work as it relates to Buffalo Bill’s connections to the freighting firm due to the fact it was edited by Buffalo Bill dime novelist Prentiss Ingraham. Buffalo Bill Cody provided a preface to the work.
- ²² For biographies of Wild Bill Hickok, see Joseph G. Rosa, *They Called Him Wild Bill: The Life and Adventures of James Butler Hickok* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), *The West of wild Bill Hickok* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), *Wild Bill Hickok Gunfighter* (Norman; University of Oklahoma, 2003), and *Wild Bill Hickok: The Man and His Myth* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas). Kent Ladd Steckmesser, *The Western Hero in History and Legend* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 105-162 offers insight into the popularization of Wild Bill as a western lawman.
- ²³ For experiences of other freighters, see William Francis Hooker, *The Bullwhacker: Adventures of a Frontier Freighter* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), reprint; Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*; and Alexander Toponce, *Reminiscences of Alexander Toponce* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971). For histories of freighting in the American West, see William E. Lass, *From the Missouri to the Great Salt Lake: An Account of Overland Freighting* (Nebraska State Historical Society, 1972) and Henry Pickering Walker, *The Wagonmasters: High Plains Freighting from the Earliest Days of the Santa Fe Trail to 1880* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966). For an interesting study of how these freighting trails to Colorado from Missouri and Kansas led to greater conflict with American Indians, see Elliot West, *Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998). President Harry S. Truman also shared his memories of his grandfather Solomon Young’s experiences freighting goods to the Mormons in Salt Lake City and his business dealings with Brigham Young to Merle Miller. See *Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman*. Buffalo Bill claimed he was part of a freighting group attacked by the Avenging Angels during the Mormon War; however, many of his biographers question the accuracy of this story. For overviews of the Mormon War, see Donald R. Moorman, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992) and David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, *The Mormon Rebellion: America’s First Civil War, 1857-1858* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012). For a history of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, an event Buffalo Bill referred to in various plays, see Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).
- ²⁴ Louis Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, p. 218.
- ²⁵ For an interesting history of how the violence from the Kansas – Missouri conflict of the 1850s and the American Civil War continued after the conclusion of the Civil War for Frank and Jesse James, see T. J. Stiles, *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002) and Ted P. Yeatman, *Frank and Jesse James: The Story Behind the Legend* (Nashville: Cumberland House, 2000). Kent Ladd Steckmesser, *Western Outlaws: The “Good Badman” in Fact, Film, and Folklore* (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 1983) offers an interesting study of how western outlaws became folk heroes in the same vein as Robin Hood. Steckmesser specifically examines Jesse James on pages 32-

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58. See also Richard White, "Outlaw Gangs of the Middle Border: American Social Bandits," *Western Historical Quarterly* vol. 12, no. 4 (October 1981), p. 387-408.
- ²⁶ For an interesting history of the style of shirts worn by the Border Ruffians, see Joseph M. Beilein, Jr., "The Guerrilla Shirt: A Labor of Love and the Style of Rebellion in Civil War Missouri," *Civil War History*, vol. 58, no. 2, (June 2012), reprinted in *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri: The Long Civil War on the Border*, ed. Jonathan Earle and Diane Mutti Burke (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2016). Buffalo Bill adapted this flamboyant style of clothing and wore similar items during his service as a scout and as a performer.
- ²⁷ See Don Russell's biography of Buffalo Bill Cody for a detailed overview of William F. Cody's service during the Civil War and his scouting service, p. 73-161, p. 185-191, and 214-251. For a critical view of his claims regarding his military service, see Richard J. Walsh, *The Making of Buffalo Bill*, p. 15-97 and Louis Warren's *Buffalo Bill's America*, p. 3-152.
- ²⁸ Both Louisa and Buffalo Bill offer positive comments regarding their relationship and detail their early attraction for one another in their memoirs, see Cody, *The Life of the Hon. William F. Cody*, p. 161-162 and Louisa Frederici Cody, in collaboration with Courtney Ryley Cooper, *Memories of Buffalo Bill* (New York: D. Appleton and Company), p. 1-38. No letters from the courtship are known to exist, due to the detailed divorce proceedings later in their marriage, most historians detail the problems of their marriage and Buffalo Bill's extramarital affairs. See Chris Enss, *The Many Loves of Buffalo Bill: The True Story of Life in the Wild West Show* (Guilford, CT: TwoDot, 2010), which not only examines the marriage of Louisa and Will Cody, but also delves into their troubled marriage and divorce that was not granted to Buffalo Bill.
- ²⁹ Cody, *The Life of the Hon. William F. Cody*, 1879, p. 165.
- ³⁰ For an overview of the Indian Wars in the United States after the Mexican War, see Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971); Peter Cozzens, *The Earth is Weeping: The Epic Story of the Indian Wars for the American West* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2016); and Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984). Dee Brown interprets the Indian Wars from an American Indian perspective, Utley examines the cultural, political, and social conflicts between the United States and Indian Nations that contributed to the Indian Wars, while Cozzens reinterprets Brown's findings by questioning the purposes of American Indian policies, the mission of the United States military forces, and the role of intertribal conflict. For an overview of the frontier military during the Indian Wars, see Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967); and Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973). See also Don Rickey, Jr., *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963) for an overview of the day-to-day existence of soldiers serving during the Indian Wars from 1865 to the 1890s. See Peter Cozzens, *Eyewitness to the Indian Wars: Volume 3, Conquering the Southern Plains* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2003); *Eyewitness to the Indian Wars: Volume 4, The Long War for the Northern Plains* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2004); and *Eyewitness to the Indian War: Volume 5, The Army and the Indian* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2005) for various accounts detailing individual conflicts during the Indian Wars. See also Jerome A. Greene, *Indian War Veterans: Memories of Army Life and Campaigns in the West, 1864-1898* (New York: Savas Beatie, 2007) for other historical accounts of the Indian Wars.
- ³¹ For overviews of the New Ulm Massacre and the US military response, see Gary Clayton Anderson, *Little Crow: Spokesman for the Sioux*. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1986); Paul N. Beck, *Columns of Vengeance: Soldiers, Sioux, and the Punitive Expeditions, 1863-1864* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013); Scott W. Berg, *38 Nooses: Lincoln, Little Crow, and the Beginning of the Frontier's End* (New York: Pantheon, 2012); and Greg F. Michno, *Dakota Dawn: The Decisive First Week of the Sioux Uprising, August 17-24, 1862* (New York: Savas Beatie, 2011). Tensions between the Lakota and Cheyenne began earlier with the crossing of emigrant trails across the plains. For pre-Civil War conflicts on the Great Plains, see Paul N. Beck, *The First Sioux War: The*

Grattan Fight and Blue Water Creek 1854-1856 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004); Doreen Chaky, *Terrible Justice: Sioux Chiefs and U.S. Soldiers on the Upper Missouri, 1854-1868* (Norman: Arthur H. Clark, 2012); William Y. Chalfant, *Cheyennes and Horse Soldiers: The 1857 Expedition and the Battle of Solomon's Fork* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989); Eli R. Paul, *Blue Water Creek and the First Sioux War, 1854-1856* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004); Fred H. Werner, *With Harney on the Blue Water: Battle of Ash Hollow, September 3, 1855* (Greeley, CO: Werner, 1988); and Elliot West, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado*.

- ³² Alvin M. Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Vintage, 1991) discusses the impact of the Civil War on Indian relations in the American West as well as Confederate attempts to secure the Indian Territory and the American Southwest. For histories of the Sand Creek Massacre, see Jeff Broome, "Collateral Damage: Sand Creek and the Fletcher Family Indian Captivity Store," *The Denver Westerners Roundup*, vol. 70, no. 5, (Sept.-Oct. 2014); Jerome A. Greene and Douglas D. Scott, *Finding Sand Creek: History, Archaeology, and the 1864 Massacre Site* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004); Stan Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre* (Norman: University of Nebraska Press, 1961); Bob Scott, *Blood at Sand Creek: The Massacre Revisited* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton, 1994); and Fred H. Werner, *The Sand Creek Fight* (Greeley, CO: Kendall, 1993). Elliot West offers an interesting reinterpretation of the Sand Creek Massacre by focusing on familial connections as opposed to racial differences, see Elliot West, *The Way West: Essays on the Central Plains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), p. 122-125.
- ³³ For biographical accounts of Sitting Bull, see the following: W. Fletcher Johnson, *The Life of Sitting Bull and History of the Indian War of 1890-'91* (Edgewood Publishing Company, 1891); Stanley Vestal, *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989); Robert Utley, *The Lance and the Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1994); and Ernie LaPointe, *Sitting Bull: His Life and Legacy* (Layton UT: Gibbs Smith, 2009).
- ³⁴ Regarding the escalation of combat on the Great Plains after the Sand Creek Massacre, see Jeff Bloome, *Cheyenne War: Indian Raids on the Roads to Denver, 1864-1865* (Sheridan, CO: Aberdeen Books, 2013) and *Dog Soldier Justice: The Ordeal of Susan Alerdice in the Kansas Indian War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003); Dee Brown, *The Galvanized Yankees* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963); Robert Huhn Jones, *Guarding the Overland Trails: The Eleventh Ohio Cavalry in the Civil War* (Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark, 2005); John D. McDermott, *Circle of Fire: The Indian War of 1865* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2003); Agnes Wright Spring, *Caspar Collins: The Life and Exploits of an Indian Fighter of the Sixties* (New York: AMS Press, 1967); David E. Wagner, *Patrick Connor's War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010); and, Capt. Eugene F. Ware, *The Indian War of 1864* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).
- ³⁵ The Battle of Summit Springs in 1869 and the Battle of Warbonnet Creek in 1876, two battles that significantly shaped Buffalo Bill's heroic status, will be addressed later in this chapter. For overviews of the Indian War campaigns and battles that occurred in the aftermath of the Civil War on the Northern Great Plains, see Stephen E. Ambrose, *Crazy Horse and Custer: The Parallel Lives of Two American Warriors* (New York: Anchor Books Doubleday, 1975); Robert G. Athearn, *William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956); E. A. Brininstool, *Troopers with Custer: Historic Incidents of the Battle of the Little Big Horn* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1951); Dee Brown, *The Fetterman Massacre* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962); William Y. Chalfant, *Cheyennes at Dark Water Creek: The Last Fight of the Red River War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997) and *Hancock's War: Conflict on the Southern Plains* (Norman: Arthur H. Clarke, 2010); Bob Drury and Tom Clavin, *The Heart of Everything That Is* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2013); Robert J. Ege, *After the Little Bighorn: Battle of Snake Creek* (Greeley, CO: Werner, 1982) and *Settling the Dust: The Story of the Custer Battle* (Greeley, CO: Werner, 1981); John S. Gray, *Centennial Campaign: The Sioux War of 1876* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); Jerome A. Greene, *American Carnage: Wounded Knee, 1890* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), *Morning Star Dawn: The Powder River Expedition and*

the Northern Cheyennes, 1876 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), *Slim Buttes, 1876* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), *Washita: The U.S. Army and the Southern Cheyennes, 1867-1869* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), and *Yellowstone Command: Colonel Nelson A. Miles and the Great Sioux War, 1876-1877* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991); Paul L. Hedren, *Powder River: Disastrous Opening of the Great Sioux War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016) Paul Andrew Hutton, *Phil Sheridan and His Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); Jerry Keenan, *The Life of Yellowstone Kelly* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); Neil C. Mangum, *Battle of the Rosebud: Prelude to the Little Bighorn* (El Segundo: Upton & Sons, 2012); John D. McDermott, *Red Cloud Oglala Legend* (Pierre, SD: South Dakota Historical Society, 2015) and *Red Cloud's War*, 2 vols. (Norman: Arthur H. Clark, 2010); Joe E. Milner and Earle R. Forrest, *California Joe: Noted Scout and Indian Fighter* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1935); John H. Monnett, *The Battle of Beecher Island and the Indian War of 1867-1869* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1992) and *Where a Hundred Soldiers Were Killed: The Struggles for the Powder River Country in 1866 and the Making of the Fetterman Myth* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008); Shannon D. Smith, *Give Me Eighty Men: Women and the Myth of the Fetterman Fight* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); Robert M. Utley, *Cavalier in Buckskin: George Armstrong Custer and the Western Military Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), *Custer and the Great Controversy: Origin and Development of a Legend* (Pasadena, CA: Westernlore Press, 1980); James Welch with Paul Stekler, *Killing Custer* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994); J. W. Vaughn, *Indian Fights: New Facts on Seven Encounters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966) and *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961); and Donald Wooster, *Nelson A. Miles & the Twilight of the Frontier Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993).

³⁶ Cody, *The Life of the Hon. William F. Cody*, 1879, p. 227.

³⁷ A popular misconception is that Buffalo Bill killed out most of the bison on the Great Plains by himself. Other bison hunters killed a great number more bison than Buffalo Bill. For example, Victor Grant Smith (who hunted with Roosevelt in the Badlands) killed over 5,000 bison in Montana over the course of one winter, see Victory Grant Smith, *The Champion Buffalo Hunter: The Frontier Memoirs of Yellowstone Vic Smith*, edited by Jeanette Producers (Helena, MT: TwoDot, 1997). Many of these bison were killed for their hides alone, due to the demand for strong leather belts to drive the machines of industrialization. Other groups also decimated bison popular by altering bison habitat through grazing and cutting down trees on the Great Plains, see Elliot West, "Animals," in *The Way to the West: Essays on the Central Plains*, p. 85-126. For an outstanding overview of the multifarious causes of the bison population decline, see Andrew Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). For biographies of bison hide hunters, see *Encyclopedia of Buffalo Hunters and Skinners, Volume I, A-D*, compiled by Miles Gilbert, Leo Remiger, and Sharon Cunningham, (Union City, TN: Pioneer Press, 2003) and *Volume II, E-K* (Union City, TN: Pioneer Press, 2006). No information could be located regarding the publication of future volumes for this outstanding reference series. For individual bison hunter memoirs, see James H. Cook, *Fifty Years on the Old Frontier as Cowboy, Hunter, Guide, Scout, and Ranchman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923); John R. Cook, *The Border and the Buffalo* (Topeka, KS: Crane and Company, 1907); Olive K. Dixon, *Life and Adventures of Billy Dixon of Adobe Walls* (Guthrie, OK: Co-Operative Publishing Company, 1914); Henry Inman, *Buffalo Jones' Forty Years of Adventure* (Topeka, KS: Crane and Company, 1899); Frank H. Mayer with Charles B. Roth, *The Buffalo Harvest* (Union City, TN: Pioneer Press, 1995, reprint; and J. Wright Mooar and James Winford Hunt, *Buffalo Days: Stories from J. Wright Mooar* (Abilene, TX: State House Press, 2005).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

³⁹ For overviews of the Battle of Summit Springs, see Fred H. Werner, *The Summit Springs Battle* (Greeley, Colorado: Werner, 1991) and Jeff Broome, *Dog Soldier Justice* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003). For overviews of the Pawnee Scouts and the North Brothers, see Thomas W. Dunlay, *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), Mark

Van de Logt, *War Party in Blue: Pawnee Scouts in the U. S. Army* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), Donald F. Danker, editor, *Man of the Plains: Recollections of Luther North* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), Ruby E. Wilson, *Frank J. North: Pawnee Scout Commander and Pioneer* (Athens, Chicago and London: Swallow Press, 1984), and George Bird Grinnell's two books *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-tales* (Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific, 2003) reprint of 1912 edition and *Two Great Scouts and their Pawnee Battalion* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1973) reprint of 1928 edition. George Bird Grinnell also published other books on the Cheyenne, see *The Fighting Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955) reprint of the 1915 original edition; *The Cheyenne Indians*, two volumes, (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1972) reprint of 1923 original edition; and *By Cheyenne Campfires* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971) reprint of 1926 original edition. For first-hand accounts, see Peter Cozzens, *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, Conquering the Southern Plains*, volume 3.

⁴⁰ See Jay Monaghan, *The Great Rascal: The Exploits of the Amazing Ned Buntline* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1951) for an overview of Buntline's life and career.

⁴¹ Ned Buntline, *The Hero of a Hundred Fights*, ed. Clay Reynolds (New York: Union Square, 2011), p. xv.

⁴² Several Buffalo Bill biographies credit Ned Buntline for making Buffalo Bill a national celebrity, although they greatly differ on whether William F. Cody was a heroic westerner. See Herbert Cody Blake, *Blake's Western Stories*, p. 1-8; Richard J. Walsh, *The Making of Buffalo Bill*, p. 155-56; Don Russell, *Lives and Legends*, p. 149-61; Henry Blackman Sell and Victor Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, p. 78; Nellie Snyder Yost, *Buffalo Bill*, p. 24-25; John Burke, *Buffalo Bill the Noblest Whiteskin*, p. 17-22; Robert A. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, p. 138-41 and 147-49; Joseph G. Rosa and Robin May, *Buffalo Bill and his Wild West*, p. 33; and Louis Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, p. 112-13. John Burke begins his biography of Buffalo Bill with the story of Buntline "discovering" Buffalo Bill, like Jay Monaghan's biography of Ned Buntline, *The Great Rascal*. Robert Altman's movie *Buffalo Bill and the Indians* (1976) gives full credit to Buntline for making Buffalo Bill, as played by Paul Newman, a flawed frontier character masked by his celebrity status.

⁴³ See Henry E. Davies, *Ten Days on the Plains*, edited by Paul Hutton and W. E. Webb, *Buffalo Land* for narratives of hunting trips guided by Buffalo Bill. For histories of the visit of and hunting expedition organized for Grand Duke Alexis, see Lee A. Farrow, *Alexis in America: A Russian Grand Duke's Tour, 1871-1872* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2014) and Douglas D. Scott, Peter Bleed, and Stephen Damm, *Custer, Cody, and Grand Duke Alexis: Historical Archaeology of the Royal Buffalo Hunt* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013). See also William F. Cody, "Famous Hunting Parties of the Plains," *Cosmopolitan*, vol. 17, no. 2 (June 1894), p. 130-143 and "Preserving the Game," *The Independent*. Vol. 53, (June 6, 1901), p. 1292-93. Buffalo Bill also wrote about these hunting expeditions in his various autobiographies, see William F. Cody, *The Life of Hon. W. F. Cody*, p. 197-204 and p. 327-342.

⁴⁴ Cody, *Buffalo Bill's Life Story*, 1920, p. 144.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ For published accounts of hunting expeditions guided by Buffalo Bill, see Henry Davies, *Ten Days on the Plains*. The Earl of Dunraven also published various accounts of his hunting trip with Buffalo Bill, see "Wapiti-Running on the Plains," *Canadian Nights* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914), p. 51-99 and *Past Times and Pastimes*, vol. 1 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922), p. 72-88. See also George Henry Kingsley, *Notes on Sport and Travel* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1900). Kingsley accompanied the Earl of Dunraven on his hunting trip with Buffalo Bill. Kingsley's account was generously quoted in Horace Kephart's introduction to Earl of Dunraven, *Hunting in the Yellowstone*, edited by Horace Kephart (New York: Outing Publishing, 1917)

⁴⁷ The lives of Texas Jack and Giuseppina Morlachi are documented in Herschel C. Logan, *Buckskin and Satin* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1954).

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- ⁴⁸ For an overview of Buffalo Bill's stage career, see Sandra Sagala, *Buffalo Bill on Stage*. Sagala's work provides a detailed listing of communities where Buffalo Bill performed, plots of Buffalo Bill's plays, and lists cast members who performed on stage with Buffalo Bill.
- ⁴⁹ See Capt. Anson Mills, "Big Horn Expedition August 15 to September 30, 1874," William Robertson Coe Collection at Yale University, available on microfilm. See also, Anson Mills, *My Story* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2003), reprint of original 1918 edition. Information regarding Buffalo Bill's family life can be found throughout Don Russell, *Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*, and Nellie Synder Yost, *Buffalo Bill: His Family, Friends, Fame, Failures, and Fortunes*.
- ⁵⁰ The name Yellow Hair reportedly came from a blonde scalp carried by this Cheyenne. Yellow Hair's name was mistranslated as Yellow Hand at the time of the battle; it was this name that Buffalo Bill used in his recreations of his duel with this Cheyenne warrior.
- ⁵¹ Chris Madsen, "The Skirmish at Warbonnet Creek, 1876," *Winners of the West*, November 30, 1934 and December 30, 1934, reprinted in Jerome Greene, ed., *Indian War Veterans: Memories of Army Life and Campaigns in the West, 1864 – 1898* (New York and California: Savas Beatie, 2007), p. 138. For an overview of the Battle of Warbonnet Creek, see Paul L. Hedren, *First Scalp for Custer: The Skirmish at Warbonnet Creek, Nebraska, July 17, 1876* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1980). A number of firsthand accounts are also available in the following works: Peter Cozzens, *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars 1865-1890, The Long War for the Northern Plains*, volume 4 (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2004) and *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, The Army and the Indian*, volume 5 (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2005); Jerome A. Greene, *Battles and Skirmishes of the Great Sioux War, 1876-1877* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993) and *Indian War Veterans: Memories of Army Life and Campaigns in the West, 1864-1898*. For a collection of American Indian versions of the Battle of Warbonnet, see Jerome A. Greene, *Lakota and Cheyenne: Indian Views of the Great Sioux War, 1876-1877* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).
- ⁵² Charles King, "My Friend Buffalo Bill," *Winners of the West* 10 (1), Dec. 1932: 1, 4, reprinted in Peter Cozzens, ed., *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, The Army and the Indian*, volume 5 (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2005), p. 369.
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ For more information regarding the defeat of Morning Star's Band, see Jerome A. Greene, *Morning Star Dawn: The Powder River Expedition and the Northern Cheyennes, 1876*. Also see Cozzens and Greene's collections of eyewitness accounts for the Dull Knife Battle.
- ⁵⁶ King, p. 369.
- ⁵⁷ See Raymond W. Thorp, *Spirit Gun of the West the Story of Doc W. F. Carver* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1957), for more details regarding the Buffalo Bill and Doc Carver short-lived and contentious partnership.
- ⁵⁸ For histories of Buffalo Bill's Wild West and its transnational legacy, see Sarah J. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets, and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*; Tom F. Cunningham, "Your Fathers the Ghosts: Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Scotland"; Michelle Delaney, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors*; Jill Jonnes, *Eiffel's Tower: The Thrilling Story Behind Paris's Beloved Monument and the Extraordinary World's Fair That Introduced It*; Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular Culture*; Sam Maddra, *Hostiles? The Lakota Ghost Dance and Buffalo Bill's Wild West*; Paul Reddin, *Wild West Shows* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Don Russell, *The Wild West – A History of the Wild West Shows*; Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America – William Cody and the Wild West Show*; and R. L. Wilson and Greg Martin, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: An American Legend*. For performers and press agent anecdotes, see Courtney Ryley Cooper, *Under the Big Top*; Charles H. Day, *Ink from a Circus Press Agent*; Dexter Fellows, *This Way to the Big Show*; and Lew Parker, *Odd People I Have Met*. Ironically, Buffalo Bill's Wild West never billed itself as a "show" but as an exhibition. Nor was it touted as a circus. Due to the transition of Buffalo Bill's Wild West to the Pawnee Bill/Buffalo Bill combination and Buffalo Bill's later appearances in Sells Floto

Circus, many believe it was a circus. This was further promulgated by circus performers and agents through the memoirs of Cooper, Day, Fellows, and Parker who worked with a variety of circuses.

⁵⁹ For an interesting study of the evolution of the Rough Riders during Buffalo Bill's second European tour, see Tom F. Cunningham, "Rough Riding with Buffalo Bill's Wild West," *Points West*, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Fall/Winter 2014.

⁶⁰ Louisa Cody outlived her spouse and all her children before she passed away in 1921. For collections of these derogatory tales of Buffalo Bill's frontier exploits, see Herbert Cody Blake, *Blake's Western Stories*; Jay Monaghan, *The Great Rascal: The Exploits of the Amazing Ned Buntline*; and Mari Sandoz, *The Buffalo Hunters*. Additionally, see Paul Hedren, ed. *Ho for the Black Hills: Captain Jack Crawford Reports for the Black Hills Gold Rush and the Great Sioux War* (Pierre, SD: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2012); Darlis A. Miller, *Captain Jack Crawford: Buckskin Poet, Scout, and Showman*; Glenn Shirley, *Pawnee Bill: A Biography of Major Gordon W. Lillie*; and Raymond W. Thorp, *Doc W. F. Carver: Spirit Gun of the West*.

⁶¹ George Allen Beecher, *A Bishop of the Great Plains* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1950), p. 112-113.

⁶² William F. Cody to James Geary, February 19, 1887, McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming, MS6.0062. Available through www.CodyArchive.org Last accessed May 2, 2016.

Chapter III:

Theodore Roosevelt, an Easterner Heads West (1858-1893)

At the end of his 1879 autobiography, Buffalo Bill described his ranching operations near North Platte, Nebraska, and praised the cowboys that he worked with on the roundups. Buffalo Bill wrote, “in this cattle driving business is exhibited some most magnificent horsemanship, for the ‘cow-boys,’ as they are called, are invariably skillful and fearless horsemen – in fact only a most expert rider could be a cow-boy, as it requires the greatest dexterity and daring in the saddle to cut a wild steer out of the herd.”¹ He joined the cowboys on the roundup with his ranching partner, Frank North, describing this task as hard work, “But it was an exciting life.”² Buffalo Bill’s last chapter in his autobiography also made it clear that the American West had entered a new phase; it was no longer the wide-open, dangerous, plains of his younger years and scattered farms and settlements populated the areas he once scouted. Ranching on the plains was in full swing, luring new men to the West, including eastern investors looking for economic opportunities, and perhaps some adventure, in the closing heyday of the American frontier – men like Theodore Roosevelt from New York. When Roosevelt arrived at the primitive community of Little Missouri in 1883, he was certainly out of the up-scale New York environment of which he was accustomed and many of the Dakota residents would characterize him as a stereotypical eastern “dude” who was completely out of his element.

It is somewhat surprising that Roosevelt’s tenure in the Badlands came to shape so much of his public persona. Roosevelt historian Clay Jenkinson calculated Roosevelt spent only 359 days in the Badlands between 1883 and 1887.³ However, Roosevelt carefully detailed these 359 days in his popular writings, placing himself in a dramatic and romantic depiction of a ranching and hunting by living the strenuous life among the rough and tough cowboys, as well as establishing himself as an expert the American Western experience. This frontier reputation remained consistent throughout Roosevelt’s political life, including among his political opponents like Marcus A. “Mark” Hanna, who referred to Roosevelt as that “damned cowboy.” Later in his life,

Roosevelt proclaimed his life in the American West greatly contributed to his rise to the presidency. Like Buffalo Bill, Roosevelt lost a great deal of money investing in the American West; however, Roosevelt generated a western persona for himself, one that, like Buffalo Bill, benefited him in the East. Roosevelt's public western image, notable in his early published writings, his military career, and to a certain extent, in his presidency, benefited him far more than any financial gain he hoped to earn by investing in a western ranch.

Clearly, both Roosevelt's supporters and his enemies were conscious that these 359 days in the Dakota Badlands greatly shaped his public persona and contributed to his political success. The question remaining is whether this tenure truly shaped Roosevelt's character, or simply allowed him to create a façade as a rugged westerner that enhanced his political image as a cowboy president. As noted in the literature review, many of Roosevelt's contemporaries argued the American West built up his health and provided a democratizing process for an eastern dude. Hermann Hagedorn's popular narrative, *Roosevelt in the Bad Lands*, romanticized Roosevelt's tenure in the West among the rugged and colorful citizens of Medora, North Dakota, all of whom proved to be rugged, regardless of moral character. Those observations aside, the influence of Buffalo Bill, himself, or the popularity of Buffalo Bill's Wild West on Roosevelt is questionable.

Many historians continued to build upon Hagedorn's work arguing the American West transformed Roosevelt from an eastern dude into a masculine western hero. Roosevelt's own stories of the regular ranching duties of riding on the round-ups, crossing swollen streams, and surviving winters appear in most of his biographies. His conflicts with others, including punching out a drunken bully in a Montana saloon, offering to duel the Marques de Mores, and holding of a band of Indians at rifle point also added exciting biographical vignettes during Roosevelt's brief time in the Badlands. Roosevelt not only provided his observations regarding the habitat and behavior of western wildlife, he peppered his stories with near escapes from charging grizzly bears and traipsing through rugged terrain in pursuit of his prey. His ultimate western adventure was the pursuit and capture of three boat thieves, who Roosevelt later

identified as either horse thieves or cattle rustlers. Roosevelt's Dakota neighbors also offered their own stories of Roosevelt's exploits, surviving storms, his attempts to join Granville Stuart's vigilante movement, and remounting wild broncs after being bucked off, again and again.⁴

Edward Kohn's *Heir to the Empire City: New York and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt* recently challenged the common trope that the American West transformed Roosevelt's physical traits and political views, allowing him to become President of the United States. Kohn argues that, if anything, Roosevelt gained mental strength from the West, writing, "The West allowed Roosevelt to transcend his wealthy, urban, eastern origins. It allowed him to prove his masculinity. It allowed him an escape from grief. Finally, it allowed him a refuge from recent political defeats. The West helped transform Roosevelt into the man and politician he would become."⁵ Yet Kohn notes that much of Roosevelt's character, building up his physical strength, his political views on political reform, his quest for social equality, and strong belief in law and order resulted from his urban upbringing in New York. "Roosevelt himself had a keen interest in amplifying his short time in the West... And the amplification seemed to increase over time... But it seems absurd to suggest... that Roosevelt truly became one of the cowboys, or that he ever seriously considered giving up his life in the East,"⁶

Kohn also noted that Buffalo Bill's and Roosevelt's narratives of the American West provided similar depictions of heroic frontiersman conquering the American West at the expense of American Indians. "These were enduring images," notes Kohn, "and Roosevelt played a key role in creating the myth of the American West. The West did not 'make' Theodore Roosevelt, but Theodore Roosevelt surely helped to make the West."⁷ Kohn quotes historian Earl Pomeroy who suggested in his historical study of tourism in the American West that Roosevelt "who became probably the best-known exponent of the wild West after Buffalo Bill Cody."⁸ G. Edward White's work on the *Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience* offers a detailed study of how Roosevelt, along with his contemporaries Frederic Remington and Owen Wister, shaped many of the popular images of the American West through art, novels, and factual accounts based on their collective adventures.

Clay Jenkinson posed the question, “Did Roosevelt mean it when he said he would never have been President were it not for his experiences in North Dakota?” and responded, “Yes. But he may not have been right about that.”⁹ Jenkinson notes that Roosevelt possessed numerous talents and was an adept politician who may have become President of the United States without any tutoring in the American West. Jenkinson nevertheless notes the experience transformed Roosevelt by allowing him to overcome his physical weaknesses and it taught him the basics of democracy. “[Roosevelt] learned to respect and love average Americans of the heartland, and to understand they were not fundamentally different from himself, of he from them.”¹⁰

Roosevelt’s aristocratic, urbane upbringing certainly was considerably different from Buffalo Bill’s life as a boy in Iowa and Kansas, marking a striking socioeconomic contrast between the two men. Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York City to Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., and Mattie Bullock Roosevelt on October 27, 1858. The senior Theodore Roosevelt was a northerner raised in New York City, a wealthy descendant of Dutch immigrants. Mattie was raised in Bulloch Hall, a plantation near Atlanta, Georgia; many believe Margaret Mitchell modeled the Tara Plantation after the Bulloch Hall. Roosevelt had four siblings, the elder Bamie, and younger brother Elliott and sister Corrine. In his later years as President of the United States, Roosevelt used his northern and southern lineage, along with his brief residency in the American West, to promote himself as a true national president, as opposed to his many predecessors who traced their lineage to solely one region of the country.¹¹

Later historians wrote how the American West shaped Theodore Roosevelt’s physical strength; however, it must be admitted that many of the masculine traits he exhibited in the Badlands he acquired and perfected in New York City. Throughout his childhood years, young Theodore was a sickly child, suffering with severe asthma, alongside Bamie, who suffered from spinal trouble, and Elliott, who suffered from fits of convulsion. The young boy, nicknamed “Teedie” by his family, suffered from severe asthma attacks and nightmares of werewolves, all of which constantly caused him to seek his parents. Roosevelt’s poor health as a child made him a weakling among other children, and, as an adult, Roosevelt remembered the shame of other children bullying

him. Many interpreted Roosevelt's days in the Badlands as the turning point in his health and his ability to bravely fend for himself; however, one cannot overlook the efforts of Roosevelt's father to remake his son by encouraging exercise and boxing, hoping to build the young lad's strength. A usual treatment for young sufferers of asthma was to retreat away from the "bad air" in urban environments to more natural landscapes that abounded in fresh air.¹² Regardless if Roosevelt's successful quest for health began in the city of New York or the Dakota Badlands, it is clear he continued to suffer from asthma and other ailments, some exacerbated by his rugged lifestyle, throughout his entire life.¹³

"Teedie" Roosevelt was a precocious child and a voracious reader. It was through the works of Mayne Reid that Roosevelt first learned about the sport of hunting and outdoor life in the wilderness; a life he aspired to take part in when he was strong enough. When the young Roosevelt encountered a dead seal at one of New York's fish markets, his love of natural history began. Roosevelt repeatedly returned to see the seal; he measured it, recorded its dimensions, and finally secured the skull of the seal to begin his first specimen collection. This collection rapidly expanded, especially after his father purchased him his first shotgun and hired John G. Bell, a protégé of John James Audubon, to teach the young Theodore taxidermy. Concerns about not being able to kill his prey with his shotgun led to discovering Roosevelt's weak eyesight, which in turn led to securing his first pair of eyeglasses, one of Roosevelt's enduring trademarks. Roosevelt also spent considerable time in the woods of Maine with guides William Sewall and Wilmot Dow, two men who would later serve as foremen at his Dakota Ranch.¹⁴

At an early age, Roosevelt's family instilled in "Teedie" a deep patriotism as well as a romantic image of brave soldiers at war. As the Civil War broke out, Roosevelt found his family divided between the North, the land of his father, and the South, the land of his mother. Roosevelt's father did not serve in the military. When Abraham Lincoln called for the draft, Roosevelt's father paid a substitute to go in his place, as allowed by the conscription act of 1863, yet Theodore senior did lobby congress to create an Allotment Commission. This agency allowed soldiers to send a

portion of their pay to their family without charge, Roosevelt then spent two years visiting various Union regiments, visiting soldiers and convincing them to participate in this program¹⁵.

Although his work ensured many Union soldiers' families received monies throughout the war, Theodore senior's action contrasted greatly with his southern uncles who volunteered to fight on behalf of the confederacy as privateers, highlighting the South's cavalier traditions. After the war, a young Roosevelt met his uncles in England. Stories of their military exploits as famed blockade-runners, albeit on behalf of the Confederate States, entranced their young nephew. Many historians have argued the senior Theodore Roosevelt's refusal to fight on his country's behalf later contributed to his son's desire to fight on his country's behalf during the Spanish American War, an attempt to remove what the future president perceived as a blight on his family's name.¹⁶

Although he lived far from the military front during the Civil War years and did not suffer the level of violence Buffalo Bill witnessed in Kansas and Missouri, national strife made a strong impression on the young Roosevelt. Roosevelt enjoyed playing blockade-runner and assisted his mother and aunts in secreting goods to their southern relatives through agents working within New York City. Roosevelt's southern side of the family instilled in him a love of valor and the romantic imagery of the Cavalier warrior fighting for a cause. In 1886, Roosevelt delivered a Fourth-of-July oration to his fellow westerners in Dickinson, North Dakota, and harkened back to the bravery exemplified during the Civil War by both sides of the conflict. "When Fort Sumter was fired upon," noted Roosevelt, "America sprang to her feet a queen among nations, and as Americans every American can be proud of the courage and patriotism displayed on both sides."¹⁷ Roosevelt's use of military rhetoric continued to escalate through his political career, especially when supporting American military forces and armed interventions overseas. Roosevelt's use of military rhetoric endured him to many, including his Medora neighbors, but also led his opponents to characterize him as a dangerous militant.

When Abraham Lincoln signed The Enrollment Act providing for federal conscription, it included an unpopular exemption clause that allowed wealthy men like

Roosevelt's father to hire substitutes. This clause led to the infamous Draft Riots erupted in New York City in mid-July 1863, bringing the violence of the sectional conflict very close to seemingly isolated New Yorkers, including the Roosevelt family. Although he was at a summer retreat at the time, the thought of riots in his home city, very near his home, must have made quite an impression on the youth. In his later history of New York City, Roosevelt reported how the mob targeted members of Roosevelt's social class, "burning and plundering the houses of rich and poor alike, and threatened to destroy the whole city in their anarchic fury – the criminal classes, as always in such a movement, taking the control into their own hands."¹⁸ Roosevelt noted this mob "committed the most horrible outrages, their hostility being directed especially against the unfortunate negroes, many of whom they hung or beat to death with lingering cruelty; and they attacked various charitable institutions where negroes were cared for." Additionally, Roosevelt noted the anti-Union character of the mob, "They also showed their hatred to the national government and its defenders in every way, and even set out to burn down a hospital filled with wounded Union soldiers, besides mobbing all government officials."¹⁹

In addition to the "criminal classes" participating in the riots, Roosevelt criticized the "baser Democratic politicians" who protected the rioters, hoping to "curry favor with the mob." Roosevelt included Gov. Horatio Seymour of New York in this denunciation of the Democratic Party's response to the riot. Roosevelt's history noted how the mob overwhelmed the local police forces and how the lack of federal troops, then fighting at Gettysburg, prevented suppression of the riot. Roosevelt proclaimed the heroes of the Draft Riots were soldiers such as the "gallant Colonel O'Brien of the Eleventh New York Volunteers" who sought to curtail the rioters "and was afterward caught by them when alone, and butchered under circumstances of foul and revolting brutality." Additionally, "Most of the real working men refused to join with the rioters... and many of them formed themselves into armed bodies, and assisted to restore order." When the riots concluded, Roosevelt summed up the destruction as follows, "property had been destroyed, and many valuable lives lost. But over twelve hundred rioters were slain – an admirable object-lesson to the remainder."²⁰ Although

Roosevelt's home was far from the frontlines of the Civil War, Roosevelt clearly believed sectional forces, like those Buffalo Bill faced on the frontier, could also threaten the most prosperous cities of the United States. The presence of a strong and active national government maintained domestic tranquility, not only in the face of secession and on the frontier, but also on the city streets.

As a young boy, Roosevelt also witnessed President Abraham Lincoln's funeral procession through New York City. One photograph of the procession captured the caisson passing the Roosevelt home. In the upper story of the house, two young boys are peering out watching the procession; this was Theodore and Elliott, witnessing the sorrowful aftermath of a national tragedy.



Figure 4: Note the two small children peering from the open second story window. This was Theodore Roosevelt and his brother Elliott, watching Lincoln's funeral procession through New York City. Abraham Lincoln's Funeral Procession. April 25, 1865 Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace National Historic Site. <http://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record.aspx?libID=o284880>. Theodore Roosevelt Digital Library. Dickinson State University.

It is no surprise that Roosevelt later proclaimed Lincoln to be one of the greatest Presidents of the United States, hailing his administration's accomplishment of ending slavery and preserving the Union. In February 1909, shortly before he ceased to be President of the United States, Roosevelt spoke at Hodgenville, Kentucky, honoring the centennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth. Roosevelt praised Lincoln for his "iron effort" and his leadership qualities. "Power was his, but not pleasure," noted Roosevelt, "The furrows deepened on his brow, but his eyes were undimmed by either hate or fear. His gaunt shoulders were bowed, but his steel thews never faltered as he bore for a burden the destinies of his people." Additionally, Lincoln symbolized the reunification of North and South, which may have had personal resonance for Roosevelt in the regional origins of his mother and father. Roosevelt proclaimed, "[Lincoln] saw clearly that the same high qualities, the same courage, and willingness for self-sacrifice, and devotion to the right as it was given them to see the right, belonged to both the men of the North and to the men of the South... [T]he mightiest of the mighty men who mastered the mighty days [was] Abraham Lincoln."²¹

After the Civil War, Roosevelt began his transition to becoming a young man, following his father's dictum to build up his mind and his body. The Roosevelt family provided several educational experiences for the young Roosevelt and his siblings. The family travelled to Europe and Egypt on two separate occasions; on the last trip Roosevelt's father arranged for Roosevelt and his younger siblings to stay in Dresden with a German family to further their education. Upon returning to the United States, Roosevelt worked with a tutor to prepare him for college. After a run-in with two young bullies on a stagecoach, Roosevelt also began boxing lessons and an exercise regime to build his body. Roosevelt also furthered his interest in natural history by collecting specimens and preserving them through taxidermy. Additionally, he traveled throughout the city of New York, accompanying and assisting his father with various charitable contributions.

In September 1876, only a few months after General Custer's defeat at the Battle of the Little Big Horn, Roosevelt entered Harvard University, planning to earn a degree in natural history. Roosevelt later indicated he preferred to study natural history in the

field, as opposed to studying specimens in the laboratory as required by his Harvard courses, so he decided to pursue a law degree instead. Another possibility for changing his field of study was a young woman named Alice Lee, with whom Roosevelt fell in love and strongly desired to make his wife. As a taxidermist, Roosevelt spent a considerable amount of time with dead, stinking animal corpses, his hands were black from the arsenic used to treat the skins, and he maintained a collection of live specimens such as mice and snakes; anyone of these traits would not have helped Roosevelt's attempts to properly court Alice.²²

Roosevelt's focus on political reform possibly began with the death of his father, who died of stomach cancer while struggling to become the Duties Collector of New York, a political appointed position that often went to the most corrupt politicians. The senior Theodore Roosevelt hoped his appointment would transform the position into one of greater credibility, much to the chagrin of those who sought it for financial advantage due to the vast bribes often received by the collector. As he suffered with his health, the political maelstrom furthered taxed him, and despite his efforts, the position went to another, Chester A. Arthur, who went on to become James Garfield's vice-president, and then President of the United States after Garfield's assassination. Upon the death of Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., his eldest son and namesake held patronage politics in very low regard. "My father worked hard at his business, for he died when he was forty-six, too early to have retired," recalled Roosevelt. "He was interested in every social reform movement, and he did an immense amount of practical charitable work himself."²³ Whereas Buffalo Bill blamed sectional politics for the death of his father, Roosevelt blamed city machine politics for the death of *his* father.

In his 1913 autobiography, Roosevelt summed up his early education as "genuinely democratic in one way," but he cautioned, "It was not so democratic in another."²⁴ Roosevelt's earliest lessons were taught by his mother's sister, Anna Bulloch, who also entertained Roosevelt with tales of the Bulloch family plantation in Georgia, including stories of fox hunts, bear and wildcat hunts, various family slaves, and horses named "Boone," "Crockett," and "Buena Vista." Additionally, a French governess oversaw the Roosevelt children. Roosevelt also learned many early lessons of

geography and history from his family trips to Europe. His residence in Germany exposed him to German culture and he later recalled, “it would have been quite impossible to make me feel that the Germans were really foreigners.”²⁵ Upon the family’s return, Roosevelt’s father hired Arthur Cutler to tutor young Theodore to prepare him to enter Harvard. “I could not go to school because I knew much less than most boys of my age in some subjects and so much more in others,” Roosevelt explained, “In science and history and geography and in unexpected parts of German and French I was strong, but lamentably weak in Latin and Greek and mathematics.”²⁶ Clearly, Roosevelt’s educational background set him apart from his western compatriots who, like Buffalo Bill, received a basic education in a one-room schoolhouse or from homeschooling.

Roosevelt successfully entered and graduated from Harvard, yet later in his life he noted, “I thoroughly enjoyed Harvard, and I am sure it did me good, but only in the general effect, there was very little in my actual studies which helped me in after life. Roosevelt’s frustration with his education arose from a sense that it taught him:

that socially and industrially pretty much the whole duty of the man lay in thus making the best of himself; that he should be honest in his dealings with others and charitable in the old-fashioned way to the unfortunate; but that it was no part of his business to join with others in trying to make things better for the many by curbing the abnormal and excessive development of individualism in a few.²⁷

However, Roosevelt ignored this dictate and decided to run for assemblyman in the New York State Legislature. This political position required him not only to associate with the working class of New York, but also collaborate with his fellow Republican Party members through election campaigns and drafting legislation in Albany, New York.

As a young politician, Theodore Roosevelt rubbed elbows with working class New Yorkers in a saloon that served as his political ward’s headquarters, an experience that served him well in adjusting to the rugged community residing within the Dakota Badlands. While serving in the New York Assembly, Roosevelt threatened those who

offered to harm him, and in one case, he punched an opponent, knocking him down to the ground. Roosevelt assisted his victim back up and told him to clean himself. Clearly, the boxing lessons paid for by his father, and then later perfected in college, gave Roosevelt the skills and the strength for self-defense against bullies. In one case, Roosevelt single-handily captured a New York City con-artist and escorted him to jail. In many ways, the health regime implemented by his father, exposure to working class Americans through his political campaigns, and urban social reform movements prepared him for life in the American West, as opposed to the popular image of a nearsighted, weakly dude encountering the rough and tough characters of the Dakota Badlands.²⁸

Roosevelt first appeared in the Badlands of North Dakota in 1883, hoping to kill a bison before they disappeared from the Great Plains forever, inspired more by his past career as an eastern natural historian than any romantic illusions inspired by frontier heroes like Buffalo Bill. Many historians tout this trip as the turning point in Roosevelt's life; however, many of the traits credited to Roosevelt originated from his experiences in the city, not the wilderness. His tenacity, strength, and endurance were what impressed westerners, despite the appearance of this strange looking dude from New York City with a high squeaky voice and glasses.²⁹

In many ways, the West was not a training ground for Roosevelt, but another proving to test him, confirming to himself he could endure and survive in any environment, be it the rough streets of New York or the Badlands of Dakota Territory. Roosevelt also realized from an early age the redemptive experiences one could have in the American West through the welfare activities of one of his father's colleagues, Charles Loring Brace. Brace worked "in getting children off the streets and out on the farms in the West" on the well-known Orphan Trains.³⁰ As Governor of New York, Roosevelt met one of the young men who benefited from the Orphan Train experience, funded in part by his father; that man was John Green Brady who served as Territorial Governor of Alaska from 1897 to 1906.³¹

During this first trip to the Badlands, Roosevelt invested in ranching, like many of his wealthy companions from the East and Great Britain.³² Later historians,

especially Herman Hagedorn, proclaimed Roosevelt's love of the region and spirit of adventure arguing led him to invest in the region to provide for himself a giant playground on the northern Great Plains. The Badlands allowed Roosevelt to enjoy hunting trips and play cowboy, supposedly fulfilling his goal of rebuilding his ill health stemming from years of suffering with asthma. Regardless of the romanticism surrounding Roosevelt's decision to establish a ranch in the Badlands, many potential investors believed that investing in open range ranching was a sound financial investment, one that could potentially produce great returns. As Buffalo Bill sought his fortune by bringing the Wild West to the East, Theodore Roosevelt hoped to increase his financial status by investing in the American West with his share of eastern capital.

The year after Roosevelt's first trip to the Badlands, Captain James Brisbin published *The Beef Bonanza; or, How to Get Rich on the Plains*. Brisbin's book enticed many individuals, especially those from Roosevelt's socioeconomic class, to invest in ranching enterprises. According to Brisbin, men like Mr. R. C. Keith of North Platte, Nebraska, invested \$55,000 to purchase cattle between the years 1867-1873. This initial investment resulted in \$12,000 profit from sales and secured \$109,900 in cattle as an asset.³³ Mr. Keith was not alone. Brisbin touched upon many other ranchers who experienced similar returns from their investments. Just the chapter titles alone would entice a potential investor, "Estimated Fortunes," "The Money to Be Made," and "Millions in Beef." In his memoirs, fellow rancher Lincoln Lang recalled that during Roosevelt's first visit to the Badlands his father, Gregor, "had by this time acquired a good deal of practical information, as far as it could be acquired in a region where the industry was still in its infancy. The southern cattlemen who knew the game from A to Z were rushing in. Others were coming from the east... so that all were feeling enthusiastic over the prospects."³⁴ This information interested a number of investors hoping to profit from the nation's westward movement, especially upper-class American men living in the cities.

Historian Clay Jenkinson estimates Roosevelt invested a total of \$82,500 in the Badlands. Since he squatted on the land, as did other ranchers, the funds went directly to purchasing cattle and horses, bringing his herd size to around 3,500 to 5,000 cattle. If

Brisbin's predictions held true for Roosevelt, more than likely he believed he could double his investments to \$165,000 worth of cattle while earning a profit from sales to cover his initial investment. To put this figure in perspective, Roosevelt inherited \$125,000 after his father passed away and an additional \$62,500 after his mother died. More than likely, Roosevelt forever looked at the blizzard of 1886-1887, which wiped out his herd as well as those of many other western ranchers, as the turning point when he lost an opportunity to double his inheritance and provide a better life for his emerging family.³⁵

Despite his eventual failure in making a financial profit from ranching, Roosevelt found a deeper connection to the Dakota Badlands. Fellow rancher Lincoln Lang later noted Roosevelt's love for the region and its outdoor life, arguing Roosevelt's financial investments were secondary to his interest in the Badlands. Lang recalled, "in view of his deep enthusiasm over the Badlands, his inherent love of the wild and all out-doors, as well as the general trend of his talk and actions, I have always been convinced that while really interested in the ranching game, it was after all, but a secondary consideration."³⁶ During this first trip, Roosevelt did secure a bison after a very strenuous hunt and won the respect of his guides through his strength, his endurance, and his good nature. The Badlands tested the Eastern Dude from New York, facing mud, rain, cold, near mishaps with horses, yet through it all, he managed to tough-it-out and kill his bison. The American West not only provided potential economic earnings, it also provided the developing Roosevelt with a vast playground and strenuous physical challenges that allowed him to continue following his father's advice to build up his body.³⁷

Before he returned to the Badlands, Roosevelt lost his mother and his first wife Alice Lee, who died shortly after she delivered Roosevelt's first daughter, Alice. Many Roosevelt biographers note that after the deaths of his mother and Alice Lee, he entered a dark period of melancholy, from which he escaped by leaving his newborn daughter with his sister Bamie and fleeing to the Badlands. The photographs of Roosevelt from this time reflect an ailing young man, with a thin, gaunt face and skinny body, probably reflecting the stress of his mother's and wife's deaths. Shortly after the dual tragedy, Roosevelt found himself in an intense political debate that fractured the National

Republican Party; some have speculated he went west to avoid the fallout, believing his political career had come to a premature end.³⁸ “I will not mind going back into private for a few years,” Roosevelt wrote newspaper editor Simon North, “My work this winter has been very harassing, and I fell both tired and restless, for the next few months I shall probably be in Dakota, and I think I shall spend the next two or three years in making shooting trips, either in the far West or in the Northern Woods – and there will be plenty of work to do writing.”³⁹

In letters to his sister Anna and Henry Cabot Lodge, Roosevelt reflected on how his new lifestyle mixed the rugged isolation of the West with the urbane East. In a letter to Henry Cabot Lodge, Roosevelt reported he shared Lodge’s work *Studies in Histories* with a few of his cowboys. Roosevelt wrote, “my foreman handed the book back to me today... remarking meditatively, and with certainly, very great justice that early Puritanism ‘must have been darned rough on the kids.’ He evidently sympathized keenly with the feelings of the poor little ‘examples of original sin.’”⁴⁰ After returning from a strenuous expedition to capture three boat thieves, Roosevelt reported to his sister, “I took ‘Anna Karenine’ (sic) along on the thief catching trip and read it through with much more interest than I have any other novel for I do not know how long,” reflected Roosevelt.⁴¹ Roosevelt must have presented a striking scene during the chase for the boat thieves. A bespectacled man wearing a hunting shirt made of buckskin, reading a Tolstoy novel and pondering his biographical work on Thomas Benton while guarding three criminals, one of which Roosevelt described as having “wolfish eyes.” In addition to providing his sister Anna with an overview of catching three horse thieves that stole his boat, he also provided her his thoughts on Tolstoy’s *Anna Karenina*.

Roosevelt assured his sister how his rugged neighbors accepted him as a fellow community member, “indeed these Westerners have now pretty well accepted me as one of themselves, and as a representative stockman.”⁴² Roosevelt was also quick to express his family and friends how he differed from other sport hunters from the east. Writing to his sister Anna from Fort McKinney, Wyoming, after a successful hunting trip in the Big Horn Mountains, Roosevelt noted he met with “dozen parties of English or Eastern amateurs or of professional hunters, who were on the mountain at the same time we

were; but not one of them had have the success I had... mainly because they hunted on horseback, much the easiest and least laborious way.”⁴³ Roosevelt reported he and Merrifield, “in our moccasins and buckskin suites hunted almost every day on foot, following the game into the deepest and most inaccessible ravines... [the other hunters] would only venture to attack the grizzly bears if they found them in the open, or if there were several men together, while we followed them into their own chosen haunts.”⁴⁴

Although he expressed how much he missed his family in the East, especially his baby daughter, Roosevelt truly loved his new lifestyle in the American West. “Yet I enjoy my life at present,” he proclaimed in one of his letters to Anna, “I have my time fully occupied with work of which I am fond; and so have none of my usual restless, caged wolf feeling.”⁴⁵ Roosevelt praised his new life, a life that mixed his acculturated background with the primitive ruggedness of the American West. “I work two days out of three at my book or papers,” he reported, “and I hunt, ride and lead the wild, half adventurous life of a ranchman all through it.”⁴⁶ In a short biographical account Roosevelt provided in 1884 to a newspaper reporter, Roosevelt noted, “I am very fond of both horse and rifle, and spend my summers either on the great plains after buffalo and antelope or in the northern woods, after deer and caribou.”⁴⁷

Upon his return to the East from the American West, Roosevelt appeared transformed from a “dude” to a “westerner” by his sunburned cheeks, his increased bulk, and his large cowboy hat. He bragged to his sister Corrine that after turning the captured boat thieves over to the authorities, “I was pretty well done out with the work, the lack of sleep and the strain of the constant watchfulness, but I am as brown and as tough as a pine knot and feel equal to anything.”⁴⁸ Roosevelt’s physical transition seemed to mark his ability to overcome his grief, yet Roosevelt never again mentioned his first wife’s name, not even to his daughter, Alice. Additionally, Roosevelt created a new persona for himself; one that greatly enhanced his image among future voters for cartoonist now depicted him as a cowboy and not the “dude” from Manhattan. Although he acquired many of his manly traits and close connections to the working class from his New York background, the American West clearly transformed Roosevelt’s public image.

Roosevelt considered himself one of the early pioneers of the Dakota Badlands. At the 1886 Fourth of July celebrations in Dickinson, the summer before the tragic winter, Roosevelt stated, “We – grangers and cowboys alike – have opened a new land; we are the pioneers... I am myself at heart as much as westerner as an easterner; I am proud indeed to be considered one of yourselves, and I address you in this rather solemn strain today only because of my pride in you and because your welfare, moral as well as material, is so near my heart.”⁴⁹ Roosevelt wrote his sister Corrine that after he delivered his speech “to a great crowd of cowboys and grangers, and afterwards stayed to see the horse races between cowboys & Indians, etc.”⁵⁰ Roosevelt also noted in this same letter that he was considering returning to political life by accepting an offer from New York Mayor Grace to serve as president of the New York Board of Health. To his sister, he noted Henry Cabot Lodge urged him not to accept the position, “but I think he is wrong,” wrote Roosevelt, “But it will fairly break my heart to have to give up this life, and especially my Rocky Mountain Hunting trip this fall. However if I continued to make long stays here I should very soon get to practically give up the east entirely.”⁵¹ Although he turned Mayor Grace down and went on his fall hunting trip for Rocky Mountain Goats, Roosevelt would eventually leave his ranches in the Badlands and resume his political career.

The following winter of 1886-1887, Roosevelt’s hope of securing a profit from his investments in the Badlands faltered. The severe blizzards wiped out many cattle herds, including Roosevelt’s own herd. Even with great winter losses, cattle prices remained low due to heavy overstocking of cattle on the western ranges; the winter did not kill off enough cattle to deplete the supply and raise prices. Roosevelt, realizing the prognosis, took steps to sell his properties and divest his ranching investments. “I am bluer than indigo about the cattle,” he wrote to his sister Anna, “it is even worse than I feared; I wish I would lose no more than half the money (\$80,000) I invested out here.”⁵² To Henry Cabot Lodge, Roosevelt reported, “we have had a perfect smashup all through the cattle country... The losses are crippling. For the first time I have been utterly unable to enjoy a visit to my ranch.”⁵³

Roosevelt's brief tenure in the American West certainly rejuvenated his spirit and alleviated his grief. Roosevelt married Edith Carow in 1886, despite feeling great angst that he was dishonoring the memory of his first wife and lacked the moral backbone to remain a widower. Edith and Theodore's marriage produced four sons and one daughter: Theodore, Jr., was born in 1887, followed by three brothers and a sister, Kermit in 1889, Ethel in 1891, Archie in 1894, and Quentin in 1897. Roosevelt also reentered politics by running for mayor of New York City, an election he lost but which positioned him as a strong Republican leader and led to his appointment as a Civil Service Commissioner from 1889 to 1895, even under the Democratic President Grover Cleveland, and Police Commissioner for New York City in 1895.

Roosevelt's brief time in the Badlands, along with his keen powers of observation and writing abilities, elevated him being a key spokesperson of the American Western experience. Many Americans came to view Roosevelt as an expert on western ranching through his autobiographical accounts and hunting narratives, just as they viewed Buffalo Bill as the embodiment of the Plains Indian Wars. Following the publication of *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman*, Roosevelt published *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail in 1888*, a collection of articles previously published by *Century Magazine*, detailing his further adventures in the Badlands. Roosevelt shared many of his adventures: a horse bucked him off, breaking his ribs and the tip of his shoulder blade; when challenged by a bully, he punched the offender out; he pursued and captured three boat thieves; and he survived the freezing cold winters. Famed western artist Frederic Remington provided the illustrations for the articles, resulting in a rich pictorial depiction of Roosevelt's experiences. Additionally, the articles offered readers a nuanced view of the Badlands and its diverse residents.

His romanticized depiction of the American cowboy greatly elevated an individual many viewed as a common laborer into a national hero.⁵⁴ Many Americans viewed cowboys as lawless and violent men, plaguing the peaceful Victorian communities developing along the railroad lines. The dime novels praised men like Buffalo Bill's friend Wild Bill Hickok for ridding towns like Abilene and Hays City of the rougher cowboy elements that shot-up the town after a long drive from Texas.

Chester A. Arthur's visit to the West, marking the first presidential visit to Yellowstone National Park, generated rumors that bands of roving cowboys might kidnap the President of the United States and force the nation to pay a hefty ransom. In the early 1880s, the cowboy's image was far from heroic.⁵⁵

Roosevelt attempted to place this violent image in the context of the day-to-day existence of the cowboys. "They are far from being as lawless as they are described; though they sometimes cut queer antics, when, after many months of lonely life, they come into a frontier town in which drinking and gambling recognized forms of amusement, and where pleasure and vice are considered synonymous terms. On the round-ups, or when a number get together, there is much boisterous, often foul-mouthed mirth," noted Roosevelt.⁵⁶ Contrary to the exaggerations of their violent natures, Roosevelt argued, "but they are rather silent, self-contained men when with strangers, and are frank and hospitable to a degree."⁵⁷ Their tendency towards violence, reflected by the carrying of firearms, simply demonstrated a life where "the revolver was formerly a necessity, to protect the owner from Indians and other human foes; this is still the case in a few places," asserted Roosevelt.⁵⁸ For the cowboys Roosevelt rode with, the revolver now served as a simple tool, "carried merely from habit, or to kill rattlesnakes, or on the chance of falling in with a wolf or coyote, while not infrequently it is used to add game to the cowboy's not too varied bill of fare."⁵⁹

What impressed Roosevelt most about the cowboys was how they reflected Americanism at its best, for the cowboys came from various regions representing the United States, contributing their multifarious cultural attributes to the collective group. "[Cowboys] are mostly of native birth, and although there are among them wild spirits from every land, yet the latter soon become undistinguishable from their American companions, for these plainsmen are far from being heterogeneous a people as commonly supposed," noted Roosevelt.⁶⁰ This regional diversity represented "Texans... the best at actual cowboy work... are absolutely fearless riders... in the use of the rope they are only excelled by the Mexicans. On the other hand, they are prone to drink, and when drunk, to shoot."⁶¹ From the north, "many Kansans, and others from northern states... scarcely reach, in point of skills and dash, the standard of the southerners... yet

they are to the full as resolute and even more trustworthy.”⁶² Roosevelt noted his “own foremen were originally eastern backwoodsmen.”⁶³

The cowboys, according to Roosevelt, “all have a certain curious similarity to each other; existence in the west seems to put the same stamp upon each and every one of them. Sinewy, hardy, self-reliant, their life forces them to be both daring and adventurous, and the passing over their heads of a few years leaves printed on their faces certain lines which tell of dangers quietly fronted and hardships uncomplainingly endured.”⁶⁴ The cowboys working the roundup reflected the best of the American work ethic, in Roosevelt’s eyes, “there is no eight-hour law in cowboy land... we count ourselves luck if we get off with much less than sixteen hours.”⁶⁵ Roosevelt noted the cowboys worked well together during these long days, “spurred on by the desire to outdo one another in feats of daring and skillful horsemanship” with “little quarreling or fighting... the fun takes the form of rather rough horse-play.”⁶⁶ When compared to his eastern brethren, the cowboy “possesses, in fact, few of the emasculated, milk-and-water moralities admired by the pseudo-philanthropists; but he does possess, to a very high degree, the stern, manly qualities that are invaluable to a nation.”⁶⁷

While he praised the similarities of the cowboys, Roosevelt also was quick to point out class differences between the gentlemen ranchers and their rough cowhands. “A ranchman or foreman dresses precisely like the cowboys, except that the materials are finer, the saddle leather being handsomely carved, the spurs, bit, and revolver silver-mounted, the shaps [chaps] of seal-skin, etc.”⁶⁸ Whereas the cowboys roamed the range during the winter months, going from one line-shack to another, where the working men most likely read dime-novels, Roosevelt’s noted in his ranch house “rough board shelves hold a number of books, without which some of the evenings would be long indeed. No ranchman who loves sport can afford to be without Van Dyke’s ‘Still Hunter,’ Dodge’s ‘Plains of the Great West,’ or Caton’s ‘Deer and Antelope of America’; and Coues’ ‘Birds of the Northwest’ will be valued if he cares at all for natural history.”⁶⁹

While the cowboys formed a cohesive group, during the roundup they required strong and able leaders to guide them. Roosevelt noted, “the captain or foreman of the

round-up, upon whom very much of its efficiency and success depends... is, of course, an expert cowman, thoroughly acquainted with the country; and he must also be able to command to keep control of the wild *rough-riders* he has under him – a feat needing both tact and firmness. [emphasis added].”⁷⁰ The necessity of a strong leader for the roundup ensured an egalitarian practice for his selection, and the leader might be either a ranchman or a cowboy, depending on their ability to lead. Roosevelt, himself a ranchman who clearly understood the role of class in American society, noted if a ranchman was not appointed to be the foreman, “he works and fares precisely as do the other cowboys.”⁷¹ Later, Roosevelt demonstrated how these men would fight alongside men like himself in his famed Rough Rider Regiment. Additionally, Roosevelt’s literary approach to praising the American cowboy appeared at the same time Buffalo Bill portrayed cowboys as heroic characters in his later stage productions and Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, including the promotion of Buck Taylor as “King of the Cowboys.”⁷²

Roosevelt continued to seek adventures in the American West and other rugged regions through numerous hunting trips. Roosevelt also published numerous articles about these hunting expeditions, collections of which appeared in published volumes: *Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter* in 1905, *Good Hunting* in 1907, *African Game Trails* in 1910, *Through the Brazilian Wilderness* in 1914, and *A Book-Lover’s Holidays in the Open* in 1916. Additionally, Roosevelt co-authored two natural histories: *The Deer Family*, coauthored with T. S. Van Dyke, D. G. Elliot, and A. J. Stone, and *Life-Histories of African Game Animals*, coauthored with Edmund Heller. In 1887, Theodore Roosevelt and George Bird Grinnell, a fellow naturalist and sportsman, formed the Boone and Crockett Club, one of the first successful organizations advocating the preservation of wildlife and natural lands, and dedicated to ending market hunting and promoting the fair chase of sport hunting. Together, Grinnell and Roosevelt contributed to and edited four hunting anthologies published by the Boone and Crockett Club.⁷³

Roosevelt praised the skill and daring of the old hunters and scouts of the American West, depicting them as models of James Fenimore Cooper’s fictional hunter Natty Bumppo. “They were skillful shots, and were cool, daring, and resolute to the

verge of recklessness. On any thing like even terms they were greatly overmatched by the Indians by whom they were surrounded, and with whom they waged constant and ferocious war.”⁷⁴ Roosevelt noted these groups of hunters “were of absolutely invaluable assistance as scouts” during the military campaigns against the Plains Indians. Little marked the passing of the old hunters, according to Roosevelt, for they established no white families to settle the region. Roosevelt did not draw attention to Buffalo Bill in his summary of the old frontier scouts.

Roosevelt also touched upon the transition of scouts from fighters to hunting guides. “Until recently all sporting on the plains was confined to army officers, or to men of leisure who made extensive trips for no other purpose; leaving out consideration the professional hunters, who trapped and shot for their livelihood,” explained Roosevelt. Regarding market hunting, Roosevelt looked down upon the professional hunters who poisoned the predators and killed the bison for their skins. “The ranks of the skin-hunters and meat-hunters contain some good men,” wrote Roosevelt, “but as a rule they are a most unlovely race of beings, not excelling even in the pursuit which they follow because they are too shiftless to do any thing else; and the sooner they vanish the better.”⁷⁵

It would be interesting to know how Roosevelt viewed Buffalo Bill’s career as a meat-hunter for the Goddard Brothers in Kansas. Indeed, when and how Roosevelt first became aware of the existence of Buffalo Bill is unclear. When Buffalo Bill was sightseeing in New York City, which was reported in newspapers, the teenage Roosevelt made no note about it in his boyhood diaries or in his later writings. Later in his life, Roosevelt made it clear he did not read dime novels, so it is unlikely he read any depicting Buffalo Bill as a hero. If Roosevelt or his family did notice Buffalo Bill, they probably offered an indifferent glance, or viewed the scout with low regard. Buffalo Bill’s eastern friends were not of the old money class, the patriarchs of New York City such as the Astor family, who represented the city’s high society. Instead, Buffalo Bill’s new urban friends represented the new money class, the upstarts in New York society; men like newspaper mogul James Gordon Bennett, Jr., who fled to Europe after disgracing himself at a social function by urinating in the fireplace while inebriated.⁷⁶

Even if many considered Buffalo Bill to be a frontier hero, the company he kept in the East would have caused the Roosevelt's to question the character of the famed scout.

Nor did Roosevelt indicate any familiarity or detail any chance encounters with Buffalo Bill during his tenure in the Badlands; instead, he only offered passing references to Buffalo Bill in his writings about the American West. On December 26, 1890, Roosevelt reported in a letter to his sister Anna that his children enjoyed their Christmas presents. He also noted, "Soon the trains of cars were loaded with the luridly imaginative beasts of the Noah's Ark, while Buffalo Bill and his Indians walked in wonderful procession with soldiers and dolls, and my jaded mind had to find names for each of the new skin horses."⁷⁷ Although it is unlikely that as a child Roosevelt read a Buffalo Bill dime novel, or watched the scout play himself on the stage, the popularity of Buffalo Bill's Wild West certainly had infiltrated the world of his children. Roosevelt's children also linked his experiences to the glamorous depiction of the settling of the American Frontier as depicted by Buffalo Bill's Wild West by having their father name the toy horses. Although it is unlikely that the two men ever met when Buffalo Bill visited the East, or when Roosevelt sought his adventures in the West, clearly Roosevelt took pleasure in the idea that his own children considered their father to be a true pioneer of the American West in the same vein as the frontier hero Buffalo Bill.

In 1893, Roosevelt published *The Wilderness Hunter*, detailing various hunting expeditions in the American West and the bronco-busting skills of the Wild West cowboys. Roosevelt described how these men took the toughest European stock and managed to break the horses before their bewildered "civilized rivals."⁷⁸ Unfortunately, Roosevelt did not indicate the source of his information regarding the riding styles of Buffalo Bill's cowboys. Roosevelt doubted the cowboys would be much good at steeple chasing or foxhunting with hounds; however, he speculated that due to repeated visits back to Europe, Buffalo Bill's cowboys possibly improved their European style of riding. Roosevelt also described a bear hunt that involved Buffalo Bill and his wife's uncle, Captain Alexander Moore, in Wyoming near the Freezeout Mountains. During this hunt, the participants wounded a grizzly bear that they later dispatched with great

skill and bravery. Roosevelt noted that Buffalo Bill received the bearskin.⁷⁹ Additionally, Roosevelt reviewed other western books through various literary magazines and through these reviews, Roosevelt briefly mentioned Buffalo Bill. In 1892, Roosevelt reviewed the book, *On the Border with Crook*, where he wrote “All the Indians of the Northwest were on the war-path... in which one of the most marked incidents was the slaying of the chief Yellow Hand by the then famous scout Buffalo Bill.”⁸⁰

Even if they did not meet, both men were considered experts on the American West and the frontier experience; their well-publicized careers led the public, the press, and a few of their friends to paint them with the same brush, giving modern historians the impression that they were indeed friends. In 1887, at a dinner honoring Theodore Roosevelt’s return to New York politics, Chauncey Depew, a famed Republican politician and speaker, stated, “Buffalo Bill said to me in the utmost confidence: ‘Theodore Roosevelt is the only New York dude that has got the making of a man in him. He fought the grizzly in his lair and the grizzly said – for the grizzly got away – ‘Accept the assurances of my distinguished consideration.’”⁸¹

Historians, including the Pulitzer Prize winner Edmund Morris in his biography, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, often use the first part of Depew’s quote to support the notion that Roosevelt and Buffalo were good friends and fellow western pioneers. However, the full quote places it in its context and we can see the intention of Depew was to make a humorous statement, not build up Roosevelt by quoting Buffalo Bill, in particular. In addition, it is interesting to note that in Depew does not mention Buffalo Bill at all in his memoirs, suggesting that Buffalo Bill said no such thing and that the remark was the product of Depew’s humorous imagination. Yet Depew’s remarks indicate the American public viewed Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill’s differing adventures as complementary phenomena.

Although they differed in how they conveyed their western experiences to the public – Roosevelt through his literary works and Buffalo Bill through performances – they were common spokespersons for life in the American West. One historical object used to market Buffalo Bill’s Wild West demonstrates their shared public personas. An

early poster produced by Calhoun Publishing for Buffalo Bill's Wild West depicts a group of cowboys making a stand against a band of Indians. One of the cowboys is clearly dead, killed by the warriors, and the remainder of the group is standing their ground, fortified-up behind their horses with rifles ready. This image of the cowboy "last stand" came directly from Roosevelt's work *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*. Frederic Remington sketched this scene, a visual representation of Roosevelt's narrative detailing Nelson Story's 1866 cattle drive to the Montana goldfields over the Bozeman Trail at the height of Red Cloud's War, one of the few deadly encounters between cowboys and Indians in the American West.



Figure 5: Frederic Remington illustration from "In the Cattle Country" by Theodore Roosevelt, printed in Century Magazine, Vol 35, No. 4, Feb. 1888. This image later appeared in Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail by Theodore Roosevelt, illustrating "An Episode in the Opening Up of a Cattle Country."



Figure 6: *Buffalo Bill Wild West Poster circa 1888 incorporating Remington's illustration for Roosevelt's article. Buffalo Bill Museum, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, 1.69.6148*

In addition to his popular writings detailing his own experiences in the American West, Roosevelt assisted others in preserving and promulgating western culture. When Owen Wister published his novel, *The Virginian*, he dedicated it to Roosevelt with the following explanation, "Some of these pages you have seen, some you have praised, one stands new-written because you blamed it; and all, my dear critic, beg leave to remind you of their author's changeless admiration."⁸² Roosevelt encouraged and endorsed John Lomax's efforts to preserve cowboy songs and poetry.⁸³ Additionally, as president, Roosevelt letters of support to various Indian agents for anthropologists and biographers wishing to study American Indian cultures, in addition to offering his support for their scholarly endeavors. Roosevelt supported the efforts of Nancy Curtis to record and publish the songs of the Hopi people and later met her during his visit to Arizona, when he also witnessed first-hand a sacred Hopi Snake Dance.⁸⁴ Geronimo dedicated his autobiography to Roosevelt after securing the president's support for writing it with S. M. Barrett: "Because he has given me permission to tell my story and knows I try to

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...speak the truth; because I believe he is fair-minded and will cause my people to receive justice in the future; and because he is chief of a great people.”⁸⁵

Roosevelt believed life in the development of the American West reflected a strong nationalizing process, a movement that could reconstitute the United States and bind its diverse regions together after a long and bloody Civil War. He tested his own ability to join a new community of diverse individuals, regardless of his eastern upbringing and the split between his northern and southern ancestry. This mix of an acculturated, aristocratic upbringing with his willingness to live in the primitive and physically challenging American West contributed to Roosevelt’s later perspectives on leadership, both military and political, and his views of the role of the national government and its relationship to individual rights. In his 1913 autobiography, Roosevelt wrote,

I owe more than I can ever express to the West, which of course means to the men and women I met in the West... I was always welcome at their houses as they were at mine... They soon accepted me as a friend and fellow-worker who stood on an equal footing with them, and I believe that most of them have kept their feeling for me ever since... No guests were ever more welcome at the White House than these old friends of the cattle ranches and cow camps – the men with whom I have ridden the long circle and eaten at the tail-board of a chuck wagon.⁸⁶

The cultural planes on which Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill operated were different, but not entirely separate, and between them they altered the position occupied by the cowboy in American life. For the middle class and wealthy Americans who read *Century Magazine* and shelved a copy of *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail* in their bookcases, Roosevelt made the case that American cowboys were tough, rugged individualists who could hold their own against the most feared, deadly dangers of the American West, and represented something essential in the American spirit. For middle-class and working-class Americans drawn to the powerful reenactments of Buffalo Bill and his performers, the Wild West poster depicting a group of cowboys making a stand against Cheyenne and Lakota warriors reflected the adventure and drama of the American West, in a scene seemingly straight from a dime novel.

Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill appeared to share the same romantic, adventurous perspectives on the historical episodes that shaped the American West and hence the nation, and yet their style and approach to conveying these stories to their respective audiences, through publications and theatrics, revealed great differences in their outlooks. Roosevelt, the highly-educated would-be professional historian and ambitious public servant, on the one hand, and Buffalo Bill, the popular historian and skilled entertainer, on the other, were not just products of radically different upbringings; their views on the value, government and management of western lands were also fundamentally different and dictated the limited degree to which they could ever relate personally to each other.

Roosevelt wrote the following words, which reflect the lasting lesson he learned from his brief tenure in the Badlands, a lesson that weaved itself throughout his political career and shaped his political policies:

It frequently happens that a solitary hunter finds himself in an awkward predicament, from which he could be extricated easily enough if there were another man with him. His horse may fall into a wash-out, or may get stuck in a mud-hole or quicksand in such a manner that a man working by himself will have great difficulty in getting it out; and two heads often prove better than one in an emergency, especially if a man gets hurt in any way. *The first thing that a western plainsman has to learn is the capacity for self-help, but at the same time he must not forget that occasions may arise when the help of others will be most grateful.*⁸⁷

[Emphasis Added]

While Roosevelt's book, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman* (1883), depicts his life in the American West as a gentlemen rancher and sportsman, he makes it very clear this experience taught him an important lesson, one that greatly influenced him throughout the remainder of his life and shaped his political viewpoint: that the government must recognize this precarious balance between rugged individualism and collective action. The combination of Roosevelt's mishaps and adventures, along with stories gleaned

from his western companions, reinforced that important lesson – to survive in the American West one must balance self-reliance with cooperative assistance.

In *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail* (1888), Roosevelt described how ranchers balanced individual needs with cooperative needs. “Stockmen are learning more and more to act together,” wrote Roosevelt, “and certainly the meetings of their associations are conducted with a dignity and good sense that would do credit to any parliamentary body.”⁸⁸ The practice of this balance between cooperation and rugged individualism revealed itself in the annual roundups, in which the smaller ranchers “can take no step effectively without their neighbors’ consent and assistance.”⁸⁹

The American West also further demonstrated the need for professionals in maintaining a balance between the pioneer mindset of “first in right” and the progressive goal of striving for the “greatest good.” Roosevelt noted the cattlemen associations also hired professionals to assist in their operations and to assist with the ranching operations and curtail rustling. Roosevelt praised the brand inspectors, “these inspectors examine the hide of every animal slain, sold, or driven off, and it is wonderful to see how quickly one of them will detect any signs of a brand having been tampered with.”⁹⁰ Later in his administration, professionally trained forest rangers, reclamation engineers, and scientists, often characterized as rugged individualists pioneering new methods, managed the vast federal domain in the American West, through emerging progressive bureaucracies like the Reclamation Service and the United States Forest Service.

Roosevelt’s later domestic policies reflected this belief that government must respect an individual’s right to self-determination, yet on other occasions, the individual must concede to the government the determination of the greatest good for the greatest number. The debate between “self-help” and “the help of others,” began in the late 19th century and intensified during the Progressive Era, especially under Roosevelt’s administration and in the West created the greatest tension between the Pioneers represented by Buffalo Bill and the Progressives represented by Roosevelt and his administration.⁹¹ In looking back at his early life, Roosevelt concluded, “for all the laws that the wit of man can devise will never make a man a worthy citizen unless he has within himself the right stuff, unless he has self-reliance, energy, courage, the power of

insisting on his own rights and the sympathy that makes him regardful of the rights of others.”⁹² This “individual morality” Roosevelt described was learned not through courses or class lessons, instead through his self-education and through his western experiences, Roosevelt reflected his early education lacked an important element, “there was almost no teaching of the need for collective action, and of the fact that in addition to, not as a substitute for individual responsibility, there is a collective responsibility.”⁹³ For the remainder of his political career, Roosevelt strove to balance his fellow American’s rugged individualism with the collective good ensured through progressive reform – this approach ensured agreement, and conflict, with his fellow western spokesperson, William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody.

Like Buffalo Bill’s experiences in the East, Theodore Roosevelt also bridged the social hierarchy and regional divides of the late 19th century. Roosevelt’s writings about his western adventures introduced urban, upper and middle-class Americans to the interesting residents of the Badlands. Traditionally viewed as a “rough” class of Americans, the cowboys of the northern plains were depicted by Roosevelt as rugged individualists, who worked together, to overcome a variety of challenges posed by natural dangers and criminal elements residing in the west. As an Eastern dude, Roosevelt also reinforced the benefits of American society and culture to his western neighbors, bridging the gap between the Eastern Seaboard and the American West. In many ways, Roosevelt’s future Rough Rider regiment, made up of American Indians, cowboys, and aristocratic easterners, reflected his ability to unite a disparate group of Americans separated by region and social standing.



Figure 7: An 1889 Thomas Nast cartoon reflecting Roosevelt's political image of a dude transformed into a cowboy breaking the bronco "spoilsman" with a Civil Service reform saddle at Uncle Sam's Ranch. Signed with compliments in 1896: "The winning Theodore Roosevelt. Stick to your saddle and don't be bounced" <http://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record.aspx?libID=o274848>. Theodore Roosevelt Digital Library. Dickinson State University.

¹ William F. Cody, *Life of Hon. William F. Cody*, p. 427.

² Ibid.

³ Clay S. Jenkinson, *Theodore Roosevelt in the Dakota Badlands: An Historical Guide* (Dickinson, ND: Dickinson State University, 2006), p. 35.

⁴ Hermann Hagedorn's *Roosevelt in the Badlands* is the classical account of Theodore Roosevelt's experiences in North Dakota and how it shaped his character. It is often cited in Roosevelt biographies. For additional perspectives, see Michael L. Collins, *That Damned Cowboy: Theodore Roosevelt and the American West, 1883-1898*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1989); Roger L. Di Silvestro, *Theodore Roosevelt in the Badlands: A Young Politician's Quest for Recovery in West* (New York: Walker Books, 2011); and Clay S. Jenkinson, *A Free and Hardy Life: Theodore Roosevelt's Sojourn in the American West*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011). See also, Edward Schapsmeier and Frederick H. Schapsmeier, "Theodore Roosevelt's Cowboy Years," James F. Vivian, "Badlands Bricolage: Forgotten Fragments Culled from the Local Press," and Lawrence H. Budner, "Hunting, Ranching, and Writing: Did Theodore Roosevelt's Western Experiences Significantly Influence His Later Career and Political Thought?" in *Theodore Roosevelt: Many-Sided American*, edited by Naylor, Brinkley, and Grable. See also, Michael L. Collins, "The Education of Theodore Roosevelt," Steven Doherty, "The Rough Rider as Super-Politician: Theodore Roosevelt's Ascendancy on the National Political Stage," and Roger L. Nichols, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Indians," in *A Companion to Theodore Roosevelt* edited by Serge Ricard. As with Buffalo Bill, popular media highlighted the class transition of Theodore Roosevelt, stressing how an aristocratic, high-class dude mixed into a working-class rural neighborhood. See William B. Jones, Jr., *Classics Illustrated: The Rough Rider* (Toronto: Jack Lake Productions, 2008) for a comic book biography of Roosevelt.

⁵ Edward Kohn, *Heir to the Empire City*, p. 87.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., p. 92.

⁸ Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1957), p. 94. Pomeroy notes Roosevelt's extensive writings about the American West promoted sport hunting, tourism, and dude ranching as economic resources throughout the west.

⁹ Clay S. Jenkinson, *Theodore Roosevelt in the Dakota Badlands: An Historical Guide*, p. 98.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 99. Jenkinson and Kohn's recent remarks reflect an ongoing debate regarding the influence of the American West on Roosevelt, and vice versa. Henry F. Pringle challenged Hagedorn's perspective in *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* by referring to Roosevelt as a gentleman cowhand. Carleton Putnam argued in his work *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography*, "There was nothing in his life in the Bad Lands to alter his outlook. Rather his Dakota days reinforced it," p. 605. William H. Harbaugh's *Power and Responsibility* notes, "[Roosevelt's] years in Dakota were one of the great formative experiences of his life, and in passing moments, he even considered making a full-time career of ranching, hunting, and writing." He noted Roosevelt's actions and behavior, "gradually earned Roosevelt acceptance in the Bad Lands. Nevertheless, his breeding, wealth, and mastery of men kept him apart; he was always a captain, never a private," p. 55. Edmund Morris highlighted Roosevelt's deep ties to the landscape of the Badlands, "[Roosevelt] sensed a relationship between the iron in his soul and the iron in the landscape... in his writings about Dakota... constant repetitions of the word *iron, iron, iron.*" Morris noted this bleak landscape eventually rejuvenated Roosevelt, "With the New Year, and spring, and the return of the meadowlark to Dakota, his blood would begin to run warm again," p. 294-95. David McCullough's work, *Morning on Horseback*, refers to Roosevelt's time in Dakota as "Glory Days," which concludes with Bill Sewell, one of Roosevelt's foremen, noting the transformation in Roosevelt's physical capabilities, along with Arthur Packard, editor and owner of *The Bad Lands Cow Boy*, Medora's newspaper, predicting Roosevelt would become President of the United States – "Roosevelt seemed to have arrived at the same conclusion," p. 350. H. W. Brands noted in his biography, *TR: The Last Romantic*, "[Roosevelt's] memory of the frontier code of justice would color Roosevelt's approach to international affairs, which were, in their own way, as lawless and anarchic as the affaire of the wild West. His Dakota days influenced his approach to domestic politics as well," p.

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- 185-86. Kathleen Dalton in *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* notes, “The West had helped him gain muscles and self-confidence in order to return home to battles he knew he must fight,” p. 109.
- ¹¹ Many of the one volume biographies of Theodore Roosevelt examine his childhood and his ancestry, see William H. Harbaugh’s *Power and Responsibility* and Nathan Miller’s *Theodore Roosevelt: A Life*. Edward Kohn’s *Heir to the Empire City* provides a good overview of Roosevelt’s early life in New York City. Carlton Putnam’s *Theodore Roosevelt a Biography: The Formative Years* and Edmund Morris’s *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* provide detailed accounts of Roosevelt’s ancestry, birth, childhood, adolescence, college career, first marriage, and tenure in the Badlands of North Dakota. David McCullough’s *Mornings on Horseback* also provides an engaging narrative of Roosevelt’s early years, with a focus on his health issues. See also Edward P. Kohn, ed., *A Most Glorious Ride: The Diaries of Theodore Roosevelt 1876-1886* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2015), which serves as a wonderful resource to gauge and compare Roosevelt’s varied lifestyles in New York City, Cambridge, and Medora.
- ¹² For interesting studies of 19th century health concerns regarding asthma and neurasthenia, in addition to recommended outdoor treatments, see Gregg Mitman, *Breathing Space: How Allergies Shape Our Lives and Landscapes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007) and David G. Schuster, *Neurasthenic Nation* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2011). David McCullough’s biography of Roosevelt offers detailed information regarding the treatments the young Roosevelt endured for his asthma and speculates on possible mentally induced causes and fears that brought on Roosevelt’s asthma attacks.
- ¹³ Many popular accounts and biographies of Roosevelt’s life suggest through his strenuous lifestyle, the future president overcame asthma and bolstered his health. It must be noted that Roosevelt continued to suffer from asthma for the remainder of his life and his active lifestyle caused other health issues. Candace Millard’s *The River of Doubt* provides a good overview of Roosevelt’s health issues and how they plagued him throughout his life. Kathleen Dalton’s *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* also questions the image of Roosevelt’s robust health and his ability to control his asthma, see p. 51-52, which provides a statement from Corrine Roosevelt Robinson noting her brother suffered from asthma for his entire life.
- ¹⁴ For overviews of Theodore Roosevelt’s connections to the Maine woods, see Andrew Vietze, *Becoming Teddy Roosevelt: How a Maine Guide Inspired America’s 26th President* (Rockport, MA: Down East Books, 2010) and William Wingate Sewall, *Bill Sewall’s Story of T. R.* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1919).
- ¹⁵ For good biographical overviews of Roosevelt’s father’s Civil War contributions and the family tensions, see David McCulloch, *Mornings on Horse Back*, Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, Kathleen Dalton, *The Strenuous Life*.
- ¹⁶ For summaries of Theodore Roosevelt’s military career, see Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders*; Peggy and Harold Samuel, *Teddy Roosevelt at San Juan: The Making of a President*; Dale L. Walker, *The Boys of ’98: Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders*; and Max Lee Gardner, *Rough Riders: Theodore Roosevelt, His Cowboy Regiment, and the Immortal Charge Up San Juan Hill*. Pub details?
- ¹⁷ James F. Vivian, ed., *The Romance of My Life: Theodore Roosevelt’s Speeches in Dakota* (Fargo, ND: Prairie House, 1989), p. 10.
- ¹⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 10, p. 529.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 529-30.
- ²⁰ Hermann Hagedorn, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt* (National Edition, 20 vols.), (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1926), vol. 10, p. 529-30. Hereafter, *TR Works National Edition*. This was a massive exaggeration of the death toll, which was approximately a tenth of the number asserted by Roosevelt, see Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots*, p. 5.
- ²¹ *TR Works National Edition*, vol. 11, p. 210-14. Shortly after Buffalo Bill’s death, Roosevelt was quoted describing Buffalo Bill as “steel-thewed.”

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- ²² For works contemplating Roosevelt's shift from natural history to law and politics, see Douglas Brinkley, *Wilderness Warrior* and Paul Cutright's books *Theodore Roosevelt: The Naturalist* and *Theodore Roosevelt: The Making of a Conservationist*.
- ²³ Theodore Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography* (New York: Macmillan, 1913), p. 9.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- ²⁸ For an interesting study of how Roosevelt's New York upbringing shaped his character, see Edward P. Kohn's, *Heir to the Empire City: New York and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt* and *Hot Time in the Old Town: The Great Heat Wave of 1896 and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Basic Books, 2010). Kohn's edition of Theodore Roosevelt's diaries also provides interesting vignettes regarding Roosevelt's activities in New York, Harvard, and the Badlands. Edmund Morris and Carlton Putnam's work also examine in detail Roosevelt's early political career. See also Paul Grondahl, *I Rose Like a Rocket: The Political Education of Theodore Roosevelt*.
- ²⁹ The classical narrative of Roosevelt's tenure in the Badlands is Hermann Hagedorn's *Roosevelt in the Bad Lands*. See also Clay S. Jenkinson, *Theodore Roosevelt in the Dakota Badlands: An Historical Guide* and *A Free and Hardy Life: Theodore Roosevelt's Sojourn in the American West*; Michael L. Collins, *That Damned Cowboy: Theodore Roosevelt and the American West, 1883-1898*; and Roger Di Silvestro, *Theodore Roosevelt in the Badlands: A Young Politicians Quest for Recovery in the American West*.
- ³⁰ Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, p. 10.
- ³¹ For an overview of the Orphan Trains, see Marilyn Irvin Holt, *The Orphan Trains: Placing Out in America* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992). See also Ted C. Hinckley, *Alaskan John G. Brady: Missionary, Businessman, Judge, and Governor, 1878-1918* (Columbus: Miami University, 1982).
- ³² For an overview of British investors in American ranching, see Lee Olson, *Marmalade & Whiskey: British Remittance Men in the West* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1993) and Lawrence M. Woods, *British Gentlemen in the Wild West: The Era of the Intensely English Cowboy* (New York: The Free Press, 1989). For overviews of American cowboys, see David Dary, *Cowboy Culture: A Saga of Five Centuries* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1981) and Richard W. Slatta, *Cowboys of the Americas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).
- ³³ James S. Brisbin, *The Beef Bonanza; or, How to Get Rich on the Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), reprint, p. 25-26.
- ³⁴ Lincoln A. Lang, *Ranching with Roosevelt* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1926), p. 115.
- ³⁵ Clay S. Jenkinson, *Theodore Roosevelt in the Dakota Badlands: An Historical Guide* (Dickinson, ND: Theodore Roosevelt Center, 2008), second edition, p. 92. Jenkinson addresses many general questions regarding Roosevelt's tenure in North Dakota.
- ³⁶ Lang, *Ranching with Roosevelt*, p. 114.
- ³⁷ While his quest for physical strength is credited for allow him to overcome asthma and other ailments, it must also be said that Roosevelt's quest for dangerous adventures took a great toll on his health and contributed to an early death. See Candace Millard's *The River of Doubt: Theodore Roosevelt's Darkest Journey* for a synopsis of how his South American expedition aggravated various past injuries and led to further health issues for Roosevelt.
- ³⁸ Roosevelt's romances and marriages to Alice Lee and Edith Carow are documented in William Everett Monk, *Theodore and Alice: A Love Story* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State, 1994); Dorothy Clarke Wilson, *Alice & Edith: A Biographical Novel of the Two Wives of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Doubleday, 1989); and Sylvia Jukes Morris, *Edith Kermit Roosevelt: Portrait of a First Lady* (New York: Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, 1980).
- ³⁹ Roosevelt to Simon Newton Dexter North, April 30, 1884, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 1, p. 66.

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- ⁴⁰ Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, August 24, 1884, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 1 p. 80.
- ⁴¹ Anna Roosevelt Cowles, *Letters from Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 75.
- ⁴² *Ibid.* p. 78.
- ⁴³ Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, September 20, 1884, *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 1, p. 81.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 81-82.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 81
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁷ Theodore Roosevelt to unknown reporter in Albany, New York, May 1, 1884, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 1, p. 67. A footnote for this letter indicates it was from a facsimile of a handwritten letters published in *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, vol. 44, (November 1907), p. 38-46.
- ⁴⁸ Theodore Roosevelt to Corrine Roosevelt Robinson, April 12, 1886, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 1, p. 96.
- ⁴⁹ James Vivian, *The Romance of my Life*, p. 9-10.
- ⁵⁰ Theodore Roosevelt to Corrinne Roosevelt Robinson, July 5, 1886, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 1, p. 107.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵² Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, April 16, 1887, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 1, p. 126.
- ⁵³ Theodore Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, April 20, 1887, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 1, p. 127.
- ⁵⁴ For critical overviews of how the eastern elite shaped societal and cultural perceptions of the American West, see G. Edward White, *The Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience: The West of Frederic Remington, Theodore Roosevelt, and Owen Wister*; Richard Slotkin's *Gunfighter Nation*; and Christine Bold's *The Frontier Club: Popular Westerns and Cultural Power, 1880-1924*.
- ⁵⁵ For an overview of the American cowboy's transition from ruffian to hero, see William H. Goetzmann and William N. Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1986); William W. Savage, Jr. *The Cowboy Hero: His Image in American History and Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979); and Richard W. Slatta, *Cowboys of the Americas* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990). For overview of President Arthur's presidential visit to Yellowstone, see Frank H. Goodyear, III, *A President in Yellowstone: The F. Jay Haynes Photographic Album of Chester Arthur's 1883 Expedition* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013) and Robert E. Hartley, *Saving Yellowstone: The President Arthur Expedition of 1883* (Westminster, Colorado: Sniktau Publications, 2007).
- ⁵⁶ Theodore Roosevelt, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman & The Wilderness Hunter*, p. 14.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 14-15.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 16.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 14.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 15.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail.*, p. 52-53.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- ⁶⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman*, p.16.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 19. The actual title of Caton's work was *The Antelope and Deer of America*.
- ⁷⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail.*, p. 48.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.
- ⁷² See William W. Savage, *The Cowboy Hero*, p. 109-12, for an overview of Buck Taylor.

- ⁷³ For overviews of the history of the Boone and Crockett Club, see Daniel Justin Herman, *Hunting and the American Imagination* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001); John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001) third edition; and James B. Trefethen, *An American Crusade for Wildlife* (Alexandria: Boone and Crockett Club, 1975). See also Christine Bold, *The Frontier Club: Popular Westerns and Cultural Power 1880-1924* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); and Louis S. Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997) for examinations of the Boone and Crockett Club in relation to socioeconomic issues and class conflict.
- ⁷⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*, p. 38. Ibid. pg. 38
- ⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ⁷⁶ For an overview of the career of James Gordon Bennett, Jr., as it relates to emerging myths of the American West, see Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (New York: Atheneum, 1985). See Paul Andrew Hutton's edition of *Ten Days on the Plains* for more information regarding Buffalo Bill's friendship with James Gordon Bennett, Jr.
- ⁷⁷ *Letters from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt Cowles, 1870-1918*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), p. 112.
- ⁷⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, "Hunting with Hounds," in *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt National Edition*, vol. 2, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 301. This chapter is from *The Wilderness Hunter*, which was originally published by G. P. Putnam's Sons in 1893.
- ⁷⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, "Hunting the Grizzly," in *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 2, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 253. This chapter is from *The Wilderness Hunter*.
- ⁸⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, "Indian Warfare on the Frontier," *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt National Edition*, vol. 12 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 258. Roosevelt's review of *On the Border with Crook* by John G. Bourke was originally published in *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 1892.
- ⁸¹ John Denison Champlin, ed. *Orations, Addresses and Speeches of Chauncey M. Depew, Volume II Banquet and Dinner Speeches* (New York: Privately Published, 1910), p. 224-25.
- ⁸² Owen Wister, *The Virginian* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1902) and Owen Wister, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Story of a Friendship* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930). He suggested his friend Owen Wister remove a gruesome scene from his fictional story of a Wyoming cowboy in which a cruel horseman gouged out a horse's eye, possibly due to his concerns about offending readers who adhered to Victorian morals.
- ⁸³ Nolan Porterfield, *Last Cavalier: The Life and Times of John Lomax* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), p. 150-51.
- ⁸⁴ Edmund Morris, *Colonel Roosevelt*, p. 288-94, for his dealings with Nancy Curtis.
- ⁸⁵ Geronimo, *Geronimo's Story of His Life*, recorded and edited by S. M. Barrett (New York: Duffield & Company, 1906).
- ⁸⁶ Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, p. 121.
- ⁸⁷ Roosevelt, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman*. p. 48.
- ⁸⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986/1983), first pub. 1887.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 48.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 93.
- ⁹¹ For an overview of Social Darwinism in America, See Richard H. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2016), reprint edition. Hofstadter examines the emergence of Darwinism, Herbert Spencer's theories, and the role of William Graham Sumner in promoting the theories of Darwin and Spencer throughout the United States under the banner of Social Darwinism. Sumner's criticism of Jeremy Bentham's theory of the greatest happiness of the greatest number and a call for the restoration of natural rights is like the tension between Buffalo Bill, who advocated the

rights of pioneers, and Theodore Roosevelt, who advocated the Progressive drive to ensure the greatest good for the greatest number. See Mark Francis, *Herbert Spencer and the Invention of Modern Life* (London: Routledge, 2014) and Robert C. Bannister, editor, *On Liberty, Society, and Politics: The Essential Essays of William Graham Sumner* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1992). Although he advocated the pioneer spirit publicized by Buffalo Bill, Sumner was not a fan of violent dime-novels, as noted in the essay “What Our Boys Are Reading,” published in 1878, see Bannister (1992) p. 46-53.

⁹² Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, p. 27.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

Chapter IV:

Buffalo Bill the Popular Historian

The characterization of Buffalo Bill as a historian might seem to be inconsistent with his career as an entertainer. The public memory of Buffalo Bill as a popular showman certainly overshadows his efforts to maintain some element of authenticity within his performances, and his writings. Buffalo Bill never considered his Wild West to be a show, but an exhibition detailing key historical struggles that opened the American West to settlers. Within the 1885 program, correspondent Brick Pomeroy noted, “There is more of real life, of genuine interest, of positive education in this startling exhibition, than I have ever before seen, and it is so true to nature and life... I wish there were more progressive educators like Wm. Cody in this world.”¹

Buffalo Bill clearly touted Buffalo Bill’s Wild West as an educational exhibition, one that thrived on a unique mix of authenticity and histrionics; a historical event brought to life through dramatic recreations with genuine frontiersmen and women serving as performers. William F. Cody perfected the art of presenting the history of the American Frontier through popular literature and dramatic recreations, forging a powerful blend that greatly popularized American frontier history. Additionally, audiences for generations to come expected frontier history to be presented in dramatic fashion, where historical characters were personified as good or evil and the hero always saved the day; this carried forward into early western dramas depicted in film, radio, and television. Later westerns used the same formula, but switched the “black hats and white hats” for the main characters.²

The use of historical characters in popular literature and theater to dramatize the past was not new in Buffalo Bill’s time. William Shakespeare’s plays provided a popular interpretation of the reign of the Stuarts in England and Sir Walter Scott popularized the genre of historical fiction by intermingling fictional and historical characters, sensationalizing and personifying episodes from the histories of Scotland and England. James Fenimore Cooper assumed the role of the American version of Scott through his Leatherstocking Tales, where the main fictional characters Natty Bumppo

and his Mohican companion experience a variety of dramatic adventures in the early American colonial frontier and the collective struggles culminating in the French and Indian War. Cooper demonstrated the literary interest in and profitability of providing fictional, frontier narratives set in the backdrop of the wilderness areas of the American frontier during key episodes of American westward expansion. Buffalo Bill's reenactments and writings followed this tradition of dramatizing historical events, a real Natty Bumppo recreating a Scott-like version of western history on stage and in the arena.³

Other historical figures identified as "frontiersmen" also achieved celebrity status through literary works and stage productions, yet, unlike Buffalo Bill, these individuals did not attempt to transform themselves into actors portraying themselves. Daniel Boone emerged as the first literary frontier star, with his appearance in a brief sketch entitled *The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boon*, written by John Filson in 1784. Although the sketch served as an appendix to Filson's history of the State of Kentucky, the story of Boone became the stock character for frontier literature, fully sensationalized by Cooper's Natty Bumppo. Not only did Daniel Boone become a leading source for popular tales of settling the American frontier, he also attracted the attention of writers such as Lord Byron who referred to Boone in his 1823 poem, "Don Juan." For both Americans and Europeans, Boone assumed the role of a living example of the French philosopher Rousseau's "Natural Man," providing fodder for American authors such as Cooper.

The factual and fictional exploits of Davy Crockett continued the literary tradition of celebrating Boone-like pioneer characters and their sensationalized, often violent encounters in the American wilderness. As a congressman, Crockett found himself the center of attention, seen as a leading representative of "The Common Man" popularized by the presidency of Andrew Jackson. Crockett received a brief, although not flattering, reference in Alexander de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* in addition to a biographical account of his life. An 1831 stage production based on his exploits, entitled *The Lion of the West* and written by James Kirke Paulding, starred James Hackett as Nimrod Wildfire and was clearly modeled after the popular

perceptions of Crockett. Congressman Crockett attended one of Hackett's performances in 1833 and the announcement of his attendance brought the house down. Crockett published his own autobiography in 1834, providing even more fodder for the continued growth of Crockett tales. Many of the more sensationalized, outrageous tales appeared in *Davy Crockett's Almanack of Wild Sports of the West, and Life in the Backwoods*, a series published in Nashville that remained in print until 1856. Crockett's death at the Alamo in 1836 forever secured his prominent status in the pantheon of American frontier heroes.

As America expanded west of the Mississippi River, new frontier heroes emerged through the expansion of the American fur trade. Writers popularized the heroic exploits of early fur traders, especially fur traders like John Colter and Jedediah Smith, through novels and histories. Timothy Flint produced the first novel based on these American fur traders and edited James Ohio Pattie's exaggerated personal narrative. Washington Irving, who traveled to Scotland to meet Sir Water Scott, suspecting Scott to be the author of *Waverley* even before he publicly claimed authorship, published two popular historical narratives entitled *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* and *Astoria*.⁴

One fur trading mountain man who emerged from this period of history as a legendary frontiersman was Kit Carson. Carson's exploits first stepped onto the public stage through the government reports of John C. Fremont; Fremont's wife, Jessie Benton Fremont, daughter of prominent expansionist Senator Thomas Hart Benton, greatly enhanced her husband's reports through her tremendous editorial and writing skills. Through his exploits in the Mexican War, a biographical account of Carson appeared in the *Rough and Ready Annual* in 1848. The following year, writer Charles Averill published a paperback novel entitled *Kit Carson, Prince of the Goldhunters*. Averill's adventure story spawned the play *Kit Carson* and a full-length biography of Carson written by DeWitt C. Peters appeared in 1858, based on Carson's hand-written autobiography. These publications depicted Carson as a heroic yet genteel frontiersman, often ignoring or apologizing for what was then considered to be the unconventional social aspects of Carson's life, including his interracial marriage to a Lakota woman.

Kit Carson did not embrace these public depictions, nor did he attempt to substantiate any of their inflated claims. He described one poignant moment in his life when he first encountered his public heroic persona. In the fall of 1849, Jicarilla Apaches attacked a wagon train killing a Mr. White and kidnapping his wife and child. The citizens of Taos, New Mexico, organized a rescue party and Carson served as one of the guides. While following the trail of the Apache, the hope of saving Mrs. White increased as the party noticed pieces of her clothing in the abandoned camps. Upon discovering the Apache camp, Carson and his colleagues attacked, killing several their foes; however, in the chaos and confusion, Mrs. White was also killed. Upon examining her belongings found in the encampment, they found a book detailing Carson's Indian fighting adventures. Carson later wrote, "we found a book in the camp, the first of the kind I had ever seen, in which I was represented as a great hero, slaying Indians by the hundred." Carson expressed his regrets, "I have often thought that Mrs. White must have read it, and knowing that I lived nearby, must have prayed for my appearance in order that she may be saved."⁵ Clearly, Carson understood, and did not shy away from, the gruesome realities of his life and career juxtaposed to the emerging popular depiction of him as a hero.

Like Daniel Boone who paid little heed to his celebrity status and moved further into the American frontier, Carson viewed his heroic status with suspicion. The reality of not saving Mrs. White compared to the happy endings portrayed in popular works clearly did not authentically represent his role as a heroic, frontier guide. Crockett embraced his fame for political reasons, as did Theodore Roosevelt who was known as the Cowboy President. Crockett noted in the introduction to his autobiography, "Most authors seek fame, but I seek justice, -- a holier impulse than ever entered into the ambitions struggles of the votaries of that *fickle, flirting* goddess."⁶ Crockett concluded his autobiography by redefining his political position in the shifting dynamics of the Democratic Party during Jackson's Administration by noting he was certainly not Andrew Jackson's dog. "But you will find me standing up to my rack, as the people's faithful representative, and the public's most obedient, very humble servant," proclaimed

Crockett.⁷ The heroism of Crockett and his fellow defenders of the Alamo ensured the continual growth of his popularity as a frontiersman long after his death.

Buffalo Bill fully embraced his growing heroic status, more so than these past American hunter-heroes. In his second autobiography, published in 1888 after his triumphant appearance before Queen Victoria, Buffalo Bill prefaced his own life story with extensive biographical chapters about Boone, Crockett, and Carson. Clearly, he wanted his admirers to view him as the heir-apparent in the evolution of the heroic American frontiersman. Additionally, by connecting himself with these past historical/mythical frontiersmen, Buffalo Bill embraced the long-standing literary tradition of presenting historical events as popular entertainment.

The mix of drama and history used by Buffalo Bill to entertain and educate his audiences to an extent reflected the sensational narratives of the dime novels in which he appeared. Dime novels did greatly exaggerate characters and storylines through a seemingly never-ending series of articles, equivalent to the never-ending plot of a modern soap opera. Today's readers often view them as anachronistic, predictable, and sensational tripe. It seems hard to believe any reader confused these forms of popular literature with any historical event or personage, yet many dime novels incorporated historical events and figures into their storylines.

Some dime novelists even attempted serious biographies of prominent people. Frederick Whittaker began as a dime novelist but in 1876, shortly after the Battle of the Little Big Horn, he wrote the first biography of General George Armstrong Custer. Prentiss Ingraham, author of the most Buffalo Bill dime novels, also published a serious biographical series of his subject. This blurring of reality and romance, drama with authenticity, hinted at within the covers of these dime novels, became a successful formula for Buffalo Bill's career as historian.⁸

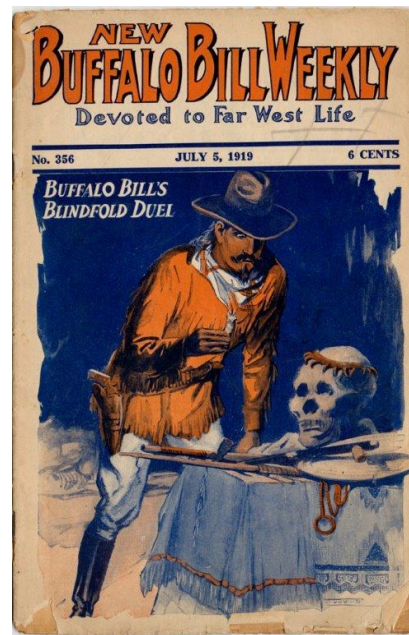
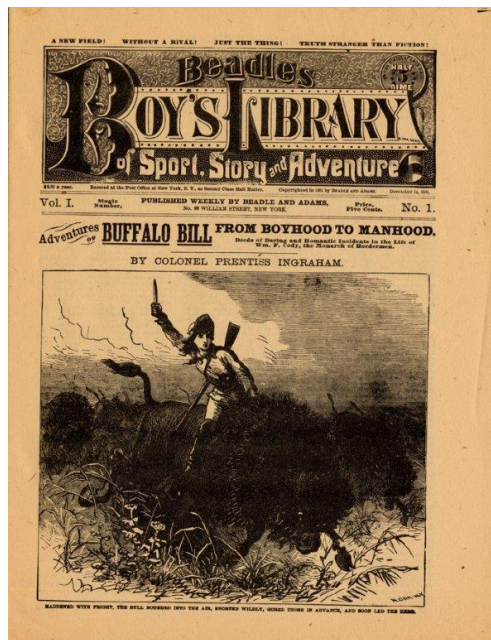


Figure 8 Examples of Buffalo Bill dime novels. The Beadle's Boy's Library article on Buffalo Bill by Col. Prentis Ingraham purports to be a biography but is filled with sensational, fictional drama, including a story in which Buffalo Bill dresses as a girl to seduce a villain and lure him into a trap. The New Buffalo Bill Weekly was published after Buffalo Bill's death on January 10, 1917, reflecting how the dime novels continued to promulgate Buffalo Bill's heroic image even after his death. Courtesy of McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming.

Ned Buntline, the alias for Zane Carroll Judson, wrote the first Buffalo Bill dime novel, entitled *King of the Border Men* in 1869. Throughout this work, Buntline mixed sensational drama and poetic dialogue with Buffalo Bill's acquaintances and historical events surrounding the Civil War and the Indian Wars. Buntline describes the opening scene as "An oasis of green wood on Kansas prairie – a bright stream like liquid silver in the moonlight – a log house built under the limbs of great trees – within this humble home a happy group..." Buffalo Bill's Father reads the Bible out loud for family prayer before the story's leading villain, Jake M'Kandlas, rides up with his border ruffians. "You are wanted you black-hearted nigger-worshipper, and I – Colonel M'Kandlas – have come to fetch you! And there's the warrant!" As the ruffian leader of the band shouted these words, the pistol already in his hands was raised, leveled, fired, and the father, husband and Christian fell dead before his horror-stricken family."⁹ Despite the

overly dramatic depiction, those familiar with Buffalo Bill's early life noted the superficial similarity of this scene to the (non-fatal) stabbing of his father Isaac by a proslavery advocate in Kansas and other violence perpetrated in Bleeding Kansas.

Of course, numerous scenes and dialogues overwhelm the few historical references. Buntline depicts Buffalo Bill as the hero in the making, vowing to avenge his father's killing.

'Stop!' It was but a single word – spoken, too, by a boy whose blue eyes shone wildly in a face as white as new-fallen snow, and full as cold – spoken as he stood erect over the body of his dead father, weaponless and alone. Yet that ruffian – and all of his mad, reckless crew – stopped as if a might spell was laid upon them. 'You, Jake M'Kandlas, have murdered my father! You, base cowards, who saw him do this dark deed, spoke no word to restrain him. I am only little Bill, his son, but as God in heaven hears me now, I will kill every father's son of you before the beard grows on my face!'

Buffalo Bill and Wild Bill Hickok later collaborate to destroy the M'Kandlas gang – according to Buntline, "more perfect men, in point of personal beauty, never trod the earth" than Buffalo Bill and Wild Bill. Although the young William Cody never faced down William Dunn who stabbed his father, on the pages of Buntline's dime novel he fought his father's killer and continued to dramatically defeat him repeatedly. Buntline packed the remainder of the narrative with daring rescues of Buffalo Bill's sisters and mother, whom either bad men or Indians manage to kidnap on a regular basis.

Representing the evil forces conspiring against Buffalo Bill are historical opponents that many past readers would easily recognize. David Tutt begins as Wild Bill and Buffalo Bill's friend, yet turns out to be a spy for the M'Kandlas gang who kidnap Buffalo Bill's sister. Eventually, a wounded Wild Bill locates and kills both Tutt and M'Kandlas. A thread of realism again runs this section of Buntline's dime novel. Two years before Buntline published *King of the Border Men*, reporter George Ward

Nichols of *Harper's Magazine* wrote an article detailing Wild Bill Hickok's exploits, including the Rock Creek Station fight, where Hickok killed a very real Jake McKandles, the model for M'Kandlas, and two of his employees in 1861 over a dispute regarding the ownership of a Pony Express station. Nichols also detailed the 1865 killing of David Tutt by Wild Bill in Springfield, Missouri, where both men engaged in a street gunfight after a disagreement stemming from a card game.¹⁰ Nichols's chronicling of these historical events provided wonderful dramatic fodder for Buntline's fictional work.

Other historical events and persons also find their way in to Buntline's dime novel. There are passing references to the Battle of Summit Springs, Captain Brown, and the 5th Cavalry. As an interesting sidelight in this fictional story, Captain Brown expressed his desire to secure an Indian scalp for his fiancée, eerily forecasting the "First Scalp for Custer," which Buffalo Bill sent to his wife Louisa. The enemies of the state also appear as various historical figures. Captain Quantrill joins the M'Kandlas gang, as does real Texas Ranger and Confederate Ben McCulloch. Buntline combines the threat of Civil War and the Plains Indian Wars into one struggle, using the real Battle of Pea Ridge, where Union Troops fought against factions of the Five Civilized Nations, as a scene for the action.

Buffalo Bill's stage performances reflect early dime novels by highlighting his exploits, an anachronistic product that greatly inflated the heroics of the frontier and Buffalo Bill's celebrity status, in addition to presenting an interesting blend of authenticity and drama. Ned Buntline convinced Buffalo Bill to play himself on stage and this transition reflected a tremendous shift from sensational dramatics performed by actors to a more authentic presentation by a real heroic figure.¹¹ Granted the theatrical performances remained sensational, yet the star of the show was a true frontiersman, allegedly recreating events he experienced. Buffalo Bill's first performances tended to shift the balance to the more dramatic side of the scale.

The first play, *Scouts of the Prairie, and Red Deviltry As It Is*, which Buntline claimed to have written in a few hours, appeared in 1872 starring Texas Jack Omohundro, Buntline, and Buffalo Bill. Texas Jack and Buffalo Bill performed as their

selves, Buntline starred as Cale Durg, a fictional frontier scout who lectures on temperance. The chaotic staging of this play recreated one non-descript Indian fight after another, peppered with temperance lectures and impromptu stories told by Buffalo Bill detailing his past hunting expeditions. The following season, Buffalo Bill and Texas Jack left Buntline and performed their own stage production written by Frederick G. Maeder, entitled *Buffalo Bill, King of the Border Men*. Towards the end of 1873, Buffalo Bill and Texas Jack enlisted Wild Bill Hickok to play himself, and the three appeared in *Scouts of the Plains*, written by Hiram Robbins.¹²

Buffalo Bill continued performing variations of these plays until June 1876. Not only did Buffalo Bill act alongside the famed Texas Jack and Wild Bill, he also starred on stage with Kit Carson, Jr. The scenes and storyline enacted on stage through these plays depicted the American West as a dangerous frontier, tamed only through the exploits of the heroic scouts. Theoretically, audiences not only witnessed a theatrical performance, they viewed authentic frontier characters recreating their actual life in the American West; a sensational living history performed on-stage where the “good guys” always defeated the villains.

Buffalo Bill significantly blurred the contrast between history and histrionics by reenacting his duel with Yellow Hair the Battle of Warbonnet Creek onstage. After the summer of 1876, Buffalo Bill returned to the stage and performed the old standby plays, *Life on the Border* and *Scouts of the Plains*. Frontier scouts Texas Jack and Capt. Jack Crawford joined Buffalo Bill on stage. Beginning in December 1876, Buffalo Bill starred in a new play written by the dime novelist Prentiss Ingraham, entitled *Red Right Hand; or Buffalo Bill's First Scalp for Custer*. The play contained scenes that occurred in exotic locations, such as a haunted valley; yet, the play also reenacted the killing of Yellow Hair, which had occurred only a few months previously, perpetrated by the very “actor” portraying the scene onstage. Furthering this drama’s connections to real events on the Great Plains, audience goers viewed the actual scalp of Yellow Hair while entering the theater. After receiving complaints regarding the gruesome display, Buffalo Bill removed the scalp from display.¹³

One cannot imagine a scene like this occurring today. The only more recent equivalent to this event is Audie Murphy, the most-decorated American soldier in World War II, playing himself in the movie *Hell and Back* (1955). Buffalo Bill the actor not only successfully fought and killed a Cheyenne leader, Buffalo Bill the scout returned to the stage to recreate the scene in the play, greatly blurring the boundary between history and histrionics.

Other Buffalo Bill plays based on actual historical events followed *The Right Red Hand*. In 1877, Buffalo Bill appeared in *May Cody; or, Lost and Won*, written by Andrew S. Burt. This play pitted Buffalo Bill against the Mormons at the time of the Mountain Meadows Massacre; stage actors played the role of Brigham Young and John D. Lee. The following year Buffalo Bill appeared in *Knight of the Plains; or, Buffalo Bill's Best Trail*, written by Prentiss Ingraham. This stage production marked the first time Buffalo Bill used American Indians to play the role of the "hostiles." The plays continued until 1885. New plays debuted in this period *Buffalo Bill at Bay; or, the Pearl of the Prairie*, written by Ingraham in 1880, *Prairie Waif, a Story of the Far West*, written by John A. Stevens in 1880, and *Twenty Days; or Buffalo Bill's Pledge*, written by Charles Foster in 1882. In addition to Buffalo Bill, many performers played their own characters, including many American Indians and the cowboy Buck Taylor. Taylor's role reflects an interesting shift in American heroism, from frontier scout to American cowboy.

In 1883, Buffalo Bill collaborated with William F. "Doc" Carver to begin an outdoor exhibition of America's frontier past that would launch Buffalo Bill's Wild West the following year. Buffalo Bill wished this outdoor extravaganza to be a more authentic and grander spectacle detailing history of the American West. Carver and Buffalo Bill separated after one season, allowing the latter to establish a partnership with actor Nate Salsbury to create Buffalo Bill's Wild West, an entertainment venture that lasted until its bankruptcy in 1913. Buffalo Bill recruited authentic western figures to join him in the arena, including Chief Sitting Bull who appeared in 1885, only a few years after his exile in Canada. Annie Oakley and other sharpshooters also appeared with Buffalo Bill and became international celebrities. Buffalo Bill's Wild West soon

became an international success. In 1887, Buffalo Bill appeared before Queen Victoria and other notable royal persons. Buffalo Bill's Wild West returned to Europe in 1889, appearing within the Paris Exposition and toured through France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Belgium and the United Kingdom before returning to the United States to perform next to the Colombian Exposition.

In 1895, the *Wilkes-Barre Times* of Pennsylvania promoted Buffalo Bill's Wild West as "Object Lesson in History." The article reported, "Not only is the entertainment interesting and exciting, but it is most instructive as it reproduces with marvelous fidelity stirring scenes and thrilling incidents of life in the vast West, in the pioneer days when the early scouts and frontiersmen had to face countless dangers from innumerable foes – animal and human – and in every direction."¹⁴ The report praised Buffalo Bill's mix of drama and authenticity in presenting "living examples of those pioneer days, veritable cowboys, real Indians, frontiersmen, hunters, and scouts, chief among them all is 'Buffalo Bill' himself, whose record on the plains, prairies and foothills of the far West sound like pages from the romances of the chivalric days of the knights errand."¹⁵ Clearly, Buffalo Bill's Wild West promised potential audience members the opportunity to see a true-life American hero portraying himself as a romantic *Cavalier* in sensational romantic scenes.

Additionally, Buffalo Bill and his marketing team promoted the authenticity of the Wild West in their programs, which included a brief reference to Theodore Roosevelt, then emerging as a renowned chronicler of life in the American West. The 1891 and 1892 programs for the British venues suggested that *Harper's Weekly's* coverage of the work of Roosevelt and others had somehow set the stage for the Wild West and thereby vouched for the authenticity of Buffalo Bill's reenactments:

This able magazine had done effective work in the past years in faithfully illustrating the same subject that the [Buffalo Bill's] Wild West is simplifying to the present generation by animated tableaux – thus aiding the permanent character of the marvelously correct and imperishable illustrations of their artist, Fred Remington (and their contributors – notably

Col [Theodore. A.] Dodge and Theo. Roosevelt), [the passage of] time enhancing the literary, artistic, and historical value of their work.¹⁶

While Buffalo Bill was popularizing the history of the American West on stage and in arena, he was also chronicling his western adventures through his published writings. Historians have seriously questioned the authorship of Buffalo Bill's various autobiographies, newspaper articles, and dime novels, arguing that Buffalo Bill's publicists, John Burke and dime novelist Prentiss Ingraham, wrote these accounts. Regardless of the authorship, William F. Cody's name was on the published material and his audiences usually credited him with writing this material. Chronicling his adventures authenticated Buffalo Bill's performances on stage and in Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Additionally, these published works secured what Buffalo Bill believed was his rightful place in the history of the American frontier, among the pantheon of frontier heroes like Boone, Crockett, and Carson.

Buffalo Bill's first attempt to write a history of the American frontier appeared in his second autobiography, *Story of the Wild West and Camp-fire Chats*, published in 1888, with the inclusion of biographical chapters on Daniel Boone, Davey Crockett, and Kit Carson. In 1897, he wrote a foreword to Col. Henry Inman's history of the Santa Fe Trail. Inman, former assistant quartermaster of the United States Army, coauthored *The Great Salt Lake Trail* with Buffalo Bill the following year. This historical study narrated the history of the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains from the early 1800s, through the Indian Wars, then to the completion of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads, placing Buffalo Bill's individual exploits into a larger narrative of Manifest Destiny. In 1908, Buffalo Bill published *True Tales of the Plains*, a history of the Plains Indian Wars that highlighted the heroism of various Indian fighters.

These historical works authenticated both Buffalo Bill's past military career as a scout and validated the drama reenacted by Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Not only did this combination of showmanship and writing secure the public memory of Buffalo Bill as a great frontier scout; it also greatly shaped the public's perceptions of the Indian Wars. Buffalo Bill's histories offered a chivalrous perspective on the Indian Wars. He gave the

impression that his hand-to-hand duels with the Cheyenne warriors Tall Bull and Yellow Hair ended savage depredations on the Plains and ensured the safety of white settlers; thus, implying that Buffalo Bill turned the tide after the disastrous defeat of Custer at the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

Additionally, these accounts ignore much of the suffering and atrocities experienced by American Indians. Buffalo Bill's writings and reenactments of killing Tall Bull in 1869 neglected to detail the impact of the Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado Territory in motivating the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers to raid white settlements seeking revenge. His narrative of the "First Scalp for Custer," the killing Yellow Hair, neglected to mention another band of Northern Cheyenne encamped on the Powder River with a band of Lakota were first attacked by Col. J. Reynolds, drawing them into the conflict between the Lakota and the United States that led to Custer's defeat. Buffalo Bill also indicated that the conflict with the Cheyenne ended after Warbonnet Creek and failed to document that one band of Cheyenne led by Morning Star (a.k.a. Dull Knife) did manage to flee the reservation and join Little Wolf's band of Northern Cheyenne and participate in the Battle of the Little Big Horn. This band, while encamped on the Powder River, was successfully attacked and defeated by Col. Ranald S. Mackenzie of the 4th Cavalry under Gen. Crook, accompanied by the Pawnee Scouts under Frank and Luther North. The Dull Knife Battle in northern Wyoming effectively ended the Cheyenne resistance in the aftermath of the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Buffalo Bill neglected to mention Mackenzie's victory over the Cheyenne in *True Tales of the Plains*.¹⁷

What motivated Buffalo Bill to write a historical work in 1908 about the Plains Indian Wars? One motivation may have been his desire to counter some of the negative works emerging that criticized United States Indian Policy, the frontier army, and that, in many cases rightly so, depicted many Indian conflicts as brutal massacres of innocent men, women, and children. In 1880, George W. Manypenny published his book, *Our Indian Wars*, which severely criticized the frontier army for its brutal treatment of American Indians. The following year, Helen Hunt Jackson released *A Century of Dishonor*. Jackson's book detailed a trail of broken treaties from the early colonial

period to the 1870s, arguing that the Indian policy of the United States was a source of a great shame. Jackson followed this book by writing the novel *Ramona*, which also detailed the plight of Indian peoples. In 1886, J. P. Dunn, Jr., wrote *Massacres of the Mountains: A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West* detailing the brutality of the military actions against American Indian people, as well as the numerous broken promises made to various Indian Nations.¹⁸

These historical narratives of the Indian Wars painted a very different picture to the one portrayed in Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Instead of soldiers riding into an Indian encampment to rescue white female captives at Summit Springs, readers learned of the brutal massacre of Cheyenne women and children at Sand Creek. One could argue this perspective not only challenged Buffalo Bill's interpretation of the Indian Wars, it also threatened to diminish his ticket-sales by presenting a less than glamorous, virtuous and dramatic version of the very acts he reenacted through Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

Another reason Buffalo Bill may have written this book was to secure his place in the annals of military history. Officers and their wives wrote various memoirs of their experiences on the Plains. George Armstrong Custer published a series of articles for *Century Magazine* that were later collected in book form and entitled *My Life on the Plains*. Col. Carrington's wife Margaret wrote *Absaraka: Home of the Crows* to defend her husband's command at Fort Phil Kearny and to protect him from criticism resulting from the nearby Fetterman Massacre.¹⁹ In 1891, James G. Bourke wrote *On the Border with Crook* detailing his military career under Gen. George Crook's command during the Apache Wars and the Lakota Conflict of the 1870s. Due to the competitive nature of these officers and their wives, and their strong desire to protect their own honor, even at the expense of other officers, these books tended to be defensive and vindictive. Major Frederick Benteen referred to his former commander Custer's book as *My Lie on the Plains*.²⁰

One historian of the Indians Wars who probably attracted Buffalo Bill's attention was Cyrus Townsend Brady, an Episcopal missionary, who published *Indian Fights and Fighters* to document the post-Civil War Indian conflict. Various chapters of Brady's work appeared as serialized articles in different magazines, generating responses for and

against his interpretations. Brady published some of these responses in his final work, revealing conflicting interpretations between officers defending their military record. Although Buffalo Bill commanded audiences of thousands with Buffalo Bill's Wild West, he surely worried about the historical record regarding his military service. Brady's account of the Battle of Summit Springs called into question Buffalo Bill's claim of killing Chief Tall Bull and reprinted an account written by J. E. Welch giving credit to Lt. George Mason for killing the Cheyenne Dog Soldier.

Other historians would also call Buffalo Bill's fight with Tall Bull a falsehood, including Roosevelt's friend and co-founder of the Boone and Crockett Club, George Bird Grinnell. Grinnell and others gave credit to Frank North, the leader of the famed Pawnee Scouts, yet the primary source of this story was Luther North, Frank's brother, who held a grudge against Buffalo Bill. According to Buffalo Bill biographer Don Russell, Luther wanted to elevate his brother's status as frontier scout by discrediting Buffalo Bill, possibly because of tension emerging from their ranching partnership. Additionally, Russell speculates that Luther North blamed his brother's premature death from an accident while Frank performed in the Wild West on Buffalo Bill. Luther North's stories appear in three Grinnell publications: *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales* (1889); *The Fighting Cheyennes* (1914); and *Two Great Scouts and Their Pawnee Battalion* (1928). Grinnell completely left out the Battle of Warbonnet, along with Buffalo Bill's "First Scalp for Custer," in his history of the Cheyenne wars in his book *The Fighting Cheyennes*, indicating that the Cheyenne did not view the Battle of Warbonnet as a significant military engagement.

Buffalo Bill biographer Don Russell noted that Luther North's stories consistently changed within Grinnell's narratives and in *Blake's Western Stories* published in 1929. Other accounts give the credit for killing Tall Bull to Sgt. Daniel McGrath, or Lt. Mason, or one of the Pawnee Scouts who fought at Summit Springs. Various historians note Gen. Carr identified at least three different individuals for killing Tall Bull, including Buffalo Bill. In a recommendation letter written in 1901, Carr said McGrath killed the Cheyenne chief, although in a letter to Buffalo Bill in 1906 he credited the Pawnees.²¹

When Buffalo Bill came to write *True Tales of the Plains*, he must have felt that the record needed to be set straight (from his own perspective, at least). He provided his readers in *True Tales of the Plains* with two accounts that give him the credit, *Carr's Campaigns* and an article from the *New York Herald* dated July 20, 1869; however, these sources are both highly questionable. First, Carr did not publish any memoirs, yet the account in "his" words are like an article that appeared in the *Denver Post* dated August 30, 1908, under the title "Famous General Tells of Buffalo Bill's War Service." Carr biographer James T. King notes, "In later years, however, Carr was willing to accept his friend Cody's story. With this single addition – the support of Cody's claim – the story Carr tells is virtually the same as that in his report."²² A search of pertinent online newspaper databases failed to produce the *New York Herald* article cited by Buffalo Bill, but other newspapers published the said article with two major discrepancies, the amount of money given to the rescued captive Mrs. Weichel (Buffalo Bill claimed it was \$1500 while the papers noted \$900) and the notification of who killed Tall Bull. The newspapers reported, "Among the killed is the noted chief Standing Bull," while *True Tales of the Plains* quoted the article as saying, "Among the killed was the noted chief, Standing (Tall) Bull, killed by Cody, chief of scouts."²³ Clearly, William F. Cody, or his appointed ghost-writer of *True Tales*, altered the quotation of the newspaper article to support the claim Buffalo Bill was the one who killed Tall Bull at the Battle of Summit Springs. Although his earlier dramatizations mixed drama and authenticity, Buffalo Bill's fabrication of historical sources for *True Tales* greatly questions the validity of his recreations and his writings. Due to the continuing debate regarding authorship of Buffalo Bill's writings, one may argue he was unaware of the use of the false *New York Herald* article; yet, because his name is listed as the author of *True Tales of the Plains*, he must take both the credit and the criticism of this work.

Although Grinnell and others disputed Buffalo Bill's claim that he killed Tall Bull, Don Russell noted, "It is unfortunate that a dispute so inconsequential should have obscured the fact that Buffalo Bill is credited with guiding the Fifth Cavalry to a position whence it was enabled to win a brilliant victory. It was scouting and guiding that he was hired to do."²⁴ Russell also notes that Buffalo Bill's stories of killing Tall Bull changed

through the years after it appeared in his 1879 autobiography, but Russell passes this off as Buffalo Bill's "indifference to what was printed about him, even under his own name and of an almost inconceivable recklessness with facts on the part of his Wild West publicity department."²⁵ Although Russell dismisses the killing of Tall Bull as a minor event during the battle that obscured Buffalo Bill's true contributions, Buffalo Bill's method of recreating the history of the Indian Wars demanded a vivid ending where the knight-errant battled his archenemy to the death and saved the day. The killing of Tall Bull by the scout-turned-celebrity ensured the necessary dramatic flair, much more than a debate among historians as to who deserved the credit for killing Tall Bull. If Buffalo Bill's claims were doubted, his method of performing theatrical history clouded this claim just as much as the conflicting accounts told by Gen. Carr, Luther North, and others.

Despite his other provable claims to fame, Buffalo Bill clearly wanted credit for killing Tall Bull and used his chronicling skills to secure what he believed was his rightful place in the history of the Battle of Summit Springs. The dramatic nature of the Battle of Summit Springs accounts for Buffalo Bill's reluctance to lose his ability to recreate this clash and the killing of Tall Bull in the arena. According to Don Russell, "Summit Springs... was one of a very few of these fights that would satisfy Hollywood and the writers of Westerns."²⁶ Not only did Tall Bull, a key Cheyenne Dog warrior, die in this conflict, the soldiers also rescued a white female captive kidnapping, Mrs. Thomas Alderdice, who witnessed the killing of her own child and fellow captive Mrs. Weichel during her captivity. The rescue of one white female captive tied the Battle of Summit Springs into a long history of American captivity narratives and the frontier hero narrative by reflecting Daniel Boone's rescue of his daughters. Although Buffalo Bill historian Louis Warren credits the Pawnee Scouts for killing Tall Bull, he noted that the Battle of Summit Springs, "would be the largest and, militarily, the most consequential of his [Buffalo Bill's] life" – imperative enough to warrant fabricating historical evidence to strengthen his claim of killing Tall Bull.²⁷



Figure 9: Buffalo Bill's Wild West Poster circa 1907 depicting Buffalo Bill's reenactment of the Battle of Summit Springs. Buffalo Bill Center of the West, 1.69.2033

Not only did Buffalo Bill tell his version of through his writings; he also reenacted the scene before hundreds of spectators daily. Combining histrionics and history proved to be a powerful method to ensure his account of killing Tall Bull remained at the forefront of the public memory, tacitly like a methodology used by today's Hollywood filmmakers who tout films as "based on true events." James T. King noted that shortly before the 1907 season Gen. Carr received a letter from Buffalo Bill requesting he attend Buffalo Bill's Wild West and witness the reenactment of the Battle of Summit Springs. Carr thoroughly enjoyed the presentation and returned with guests to watch Buffalo Bill's presentation of the famed battle, apparently lending support to Buffalo Bill's depiction of the conflict and validating the claim that Buffalo Bill killed Tall Bull.²⁸ This was not the first-time Buffalo Bill had tried to authenticate his recreation of events through the presence of an eminent participant. In 1899, he attempted to lure Theodore Roosevelt to his reenactment of the Battle of San Juan Hill, but Roosevelt chose not to attend.

Buffalo Bill biographers have spent a tremendous amount of ink and paper debating who killed Tall Bull, yet few have considered who Tall Bull was and the reasons why he died fighting at Summit Springs. Early narratives depict Tall Bull as a savage raider, slaughtering peaceful settlers and kidnapping innocent women, the perfect foil to the heroic Buffalo Bill, the unassuming Frank North, or the unsung Pawnee Scouts, especially for white audiences who recalled the violent Minnesota Sioux Massacres during the Civil War. When one considers what the Cheyenne people experienced, beginning with the horrific massacre at Sand Creek, the destruction of an abandoned encampment during Hancock's War, and the Battle of Washita that killed Chief Black Kettle, one can understand why Tall Bull refused to negotiate and instead fought bravely for the Cheyenne Nation. Buffalo Bill's histories of the Battle of Summit Springs depicted history through a dramatic lens, transforming the battle into a conflict between heroic soldiers and brutal savages. This ignored the historical reality of two conflicting cultures embroiled in a brutal war that left a deadly path of destruction within both the white and red worlds. The debate over why two cultures found themselves fighting at Summit Springs disappeared in the histrionics of Buffalo Bill's reenactment.

Yet Buffalo Bill presented a surprisingly progressive depiction of the killing of Sitting Bull, who joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West in 1885. Buffalo Bill defended his friend Sitting Bull, noting the Lakota leader had exercised so adeptly

the cunning of an arch-schemer, allied to an undoubted racial pride and patriotism that the future historian, devoid of our generation's view of the Indian question, unprejudiced and unbiased, may be justified in recording as the action of a savage largely endowed with the courage of his convictions, of incorruptible loyalty to his people, a stickler for their treaty rights, ad native politician who if schooled a little more in diplomacy and its concealment of designs would class him as the great Indian statesman. In war his bitter opponent, in peace he won my friendship and sympathy; he impressed me as a deep thinker; conscientious

as to the proper rights to the lands of their fathers, he advanced arguments that were strong and convincing.²⁹

In lieu of identifying a particular villain opposed to Sitting Bull, Buffalo Bill referred to the “Man in the Dark” as the antihero in this episode, “known to us as the ‘corporations,’” wrote Buffalo Bill.³⁰ It was the “Man in the Dark” who violated the Indian treaties and sold the land belonging to the Lakota people represented by Sitting Bull. “Thus was ended the life of the chief whose faults and virtues will long be a subject of discussion, but who will always stand as a great red chief,” noted Buffalo Bill.³¹

Roosevelt held a differing opinion regarding Sitting Bull and his death. In a letter dated January 1893 to *The Century*, Roosevelt noted, “I saw recently in one of our prominent magazines a reference to what the writer was pleased to call the ‘murder’ of Sitting Bull, the great Sioux medicine chief, who was for so many years the mainspring of hostility to the United States among the Dakota tribes, being even a greater bane to his own people than to ours.” Roosevelt proclaimed, “to speak of Sitting Bull’s killing as a ‘murder’ is a piece of simple hysterics. Sitting Bull had always been an arch-plotter and stirrer-up of mischief ... The killing was not only a most righteous deed, but was absolutely inevitable, and very beneficial in its results.” During an investigation of the Reservation system as a Civil Service Commissioner, Roosevelt interviewed a number of Indian Policemen involved in the death of Sitting Bull, and he concluded, “It would be difficult to speak too highly of the loyalty and courage of the Indian police engaged, and I most earnestly wish that Congress would see that the relatives of those who were killed while thus manfully doing their duty (in the interest not only of their own people, but of all the white settlers) should receive some pension or other reward. No white veteran, of no matter what war, can have a better claim on the Government.”³² Clearly, Roosevelt’s views of Sitting Bull and his death greatly differed from Buffalo Bill’s later summary in *True Tales of the Plains*. In Roosevelt’s opinion, the “Man in the Dark” was not to blame for Sitting Bull’s death, instead the Lakota leader brought about his own demise.

At the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago, Buffalo Bill and historian Frederick Jackson Turner offered differing interpretations of America’s frontier history through strikingly varied methods of delivery. Turner argued before the American

Historical Society during their annual meeting held on the grounds of the exposition that the settling of the American frontier, officially declared settled by the 1890 Census, greatly shaped American politics and society. Contrary to the common historical perspective view at the time that proposed American institutions and culture germinated from European roots, Turner argued that this procession of European immigrants and their descendants and their recurrent exposure to the challenge of the frontier created a unique democratic society, making the United States an exceptional country. Turner also noted the history of the American frontier was “a fertile field for investigation,” launching the field of American Western History.³³

Turner argued the frontier created a unique American character when established “Old World” societies and cultures reverted to a primitive state. As Turner explained, the settlement of the frontier was a relatively structured and orderly process, a gradual evolution from wilderness to civilization. “Stand at Cumberland Gap and watch the procession of civilization, marching single file – the buffalo, following the trail to the salt springs, the Indian, the fur trader and hunter, the cattle raiser, the pioneer farmer – and the frontier has passed by. Stand at South Pass in the Rockies a century later, and see the same procession with wider intervals between.”³⁴

Turner chose to ignore much of the violence and “ruffians” who resided in this evolving frontier region as well as those rugged individuals celebrated in dime novels and stage performances depicting western themes. In a footnote of his famed essay, Turner stated, “I have refrained from dwelling on the lawless characteristics of the frontier because they are sufficiently well known. The gambler and desperado, the regulators of the Carolinas and the vigilantes of California, are types of that line of scum that the waves of advancing civilization bore before them, and of the growth of spontaneous organs of authority where legal authority was absent.” Yet, Turner admitted, “The humor, bravery, and rude strength, as well as the vices of the frontier in its worst aspect, have left traces on American character, language, and literature, not soon to be effaced.”³⁵

While Turner gave the American Historical Society his theory on how the American frontier shaped American culture, politics, and society, Buffalo Bill offered

his spectators a more dramatic view of the Wild West, one that highlighted bravery and rude strength through the recreation of violent historical frontier events. Buffalo Bill's Wild West highlighted the attack on the settler's cabin, the attack of the Deadwood Stagecoach, the Battle of the Little Big Horn, and other exciting recreations of exciting events depicting Euro-Americans violently clashing with American Indians. Compared to a history professor delivering a paper before a group of his professional colleagues, Buffalo Bill's Wild West offered a striking contrast; an exciting depiction of a brutal and spectacular frontier history with the sound of horses running, Indian yells and screams, cowboys' whoops, gunshots, and brassy music.³⁶

One-hundred years later historian Richard White noted,

Turner and Buffalo Bill told separate stories; indeed, each contradicted the other in significant ways. Turner's history was one of free land, the essentially peaceful occupation of a largely empty continent, and the creation of a unique American identity. Cody's Wild West told of violent conquest, of wresting the continent from the American Indian peoples who occupied the land. Although fictional, Buffalo Bill's story claimed to represent a history, for like Turner, Buffalo Bill worked with real historical events and real historical figures.³⁷

Although noting authentic frontier characters staged the acts of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, White mischaracterized the sensational aspects of Buffalo Bill's reenactments as pure fiction. Much of the fodder for Buffalo Bill's performances stemmed from his experiences in the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s, when he participated in a chaotic and violent frontier process that greatly differed from the orderly process outlined in Turner's Frontier Thesis. Throughout his early frontier life, Buffalo Bill encountered many of the "villains" he later fought on stage and in the arena: Border Ruffians from Missouri, Cheyenne Dog Soldiers, Mormon renegades, rustlers, and highwaymen. Using these iconic representatives and historical events, Buffalo Bill produced a unique blend of authenticity and drama with which to interpret America's frontier history.

Turner's Frontier Thesis portrayed the settling of the American West as a more orderly and systematic process that steadily advanced the frontier line westward, pushing the savage wilderness and its people aside and leaving in its place square plots of farmland and towns. Life in Iowa for Buffalo Bill and his family certainly reflected this orderly settlement. Yet the audience of Buffalo Bill's Wild West learned the American West was far from neat or orderly, the settlement of the frontier was dirty, dangerous, and bloody; it required someone with rude strength, bravery, and perhaps a little humor, to ensure those regions lacking proper authority were civilized as well – more reflective of the Cody family's experiences in Kansas, for example.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West argued that violence was a necessary element in settling the American West, it ensured the restoration of an orderly frontier process as defined by Turner. Sharpshooters like Buffalo Bill, Johnny Baker "The Cowboy Kid," and Annie Oakley clearly demonstrated their prowess with rifle and shotgun. Programs explained the need for such skills in settling the American West: "There is a trite saying that 'the pen is mightier than the sword.' It is an equally true one that the bullet is the pioneer of civilization, for it has gone hand in hand with the axe that cleared the forest, and with the family bible and school book. Deadly as has been its mission in one sense, it has been merciful in another; for without the rifle ball we of America would not be to-day in the possession of a free and united country, and might in our strength."³⁸

Through his writings, his stage career, and Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Buffalo Bill met violence with violence, informing audiences that bullets were necessary to settle the American West, as well as to defend one's home, or, in the case of his Lakota friend Sitting Bull, one's way of life and traditions. As a frontiersman, Buffalo Bill fought villains characterized as the opponents of nationalism and westward expansion: Mormon Renegades, Bushwhackers, Outlaws, and American Indian. For most Americans, Buffalo Bill the rugged scout exemplified the American Hero tradition of resorting to violent action to preserve the entitlement of other pioneers by restoring a neat and orderly process of settlement that ensured the success and national benefits of a strong nation united through Manifest Destiny.

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- ¹ Buffalo Bill's Wild West 1885 program, McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming, MS6. Available on CodyArchive.org. last accessed June 30, 2016.
- ² For an overview of Buffalo Bill's usage of film, see Sandra K. Sagala, *Buffalo Bill on the Silver Screen: The Films of William F. Cody* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013). For an interesting perspective regarding how Buffalo Bill's Wild West shaped early western films, see Scott Simmon, *The Invention of the Western Film: A Cultural History of the Genre's First Half-Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). For an overview of early films starring Buffalo Bill himself, see Don Russell, "Buffalo Bill – In Action," *The Westerners Brand Book* (Chicago), 19:5 (July 1962), p. 33-35, 40.
- ³ See Marcus Klein, *Easterns, Westerns, and Private Eyes: American Matters, 1870-1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), p. 67-74.
- ⁴ There are many works analyzing the emergence of western heroes of fact and fiction. See Kent Ladd Steckmesser *The Western Hero in History and Legend* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965); John Shelton Lawrence and Robert Jewett, *The Myth of the American Superhero* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2002); and Richard Slotkin's trilogy of the evolution of American Western myths and legends. For an interesting synopsis of Scott's similarities to Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper, see Stuart Kelly, *Scott-Land: The Man Who Invented a Nation* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2010).
- ⁵ Kit Carson, *Kit Carson's Autobiography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1935) ed. Milo Milton Quaife, p. 135.
- ⁶ David Crockett, *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), p. 3, Originally published in 1834.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 211
- ⁸ For a historical overview of dime novels, see J. Randolph Cox, "Dime Novels," and Christine Bold, "Westerns," in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: U S Popular Print Culture, 1860-1920*, ed. Christine Bold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 63-80. Albert Johannsen, *The House of Beadle and Adams and its Dime and Nickel Novels: The Story of a Vanished Literature*, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950) and vol. 3 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962) provides a detailed inventory and summaries of various dime novels published by Beadle and Adams, including many works about Buffalo Bill, along with biographies of various dime novelists. Don Russell also provides a list of Buffalo Bill dime novels in *Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*, p. 494-503.
- ⁹ Ned Buntline, "King of the Border Men," *The Hero of a Hundred Fights*, p. 1-158.
- ¹⁰ George Ward Nichols, "Wild Bill," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 34, (February 1867), p. 273-85.
- ¹¹ For Buffalo Bills account of how and why he became an actor, see William F. Cody, *The Life of Hon. W. F. Cody*, p. 357-364 and 373-398.
- ¹² See appendices in Sandra Sagala, *Buffalo Bill on Stage* for a list of plays and co-stars.
- ¹³ For a detailed overview of Buffalo Bill's stage career, see Sandra Sagala, *Buffalo Bill on Stage*. For an interesting study of Buffalo Bill's interpretation of the Battle of Warbonnet Creek and the "First Scalp for Custer," see Paul H. Hedren, "The Contradictory Legacies of Buffalo Bill Cody's First Scalp for Custer," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, vol. 55, no. 16, (2003), p. 35. For an overview of how Buffalo Bill's "Last Stand" reenactments contributed to his career and demonstrated his blend of authenticity and drama, see Jeremy M. Johnston, "Reenacting the Battle," *A Companion to Custer and the Little Bighorn Campaign*, ed. Brad D. Lookingbill (Sussex: John Wiley and Sons, 2015), p. 423-44.
- ¹⁴ *Wilkes-Barre Times*, May 9, 1895, p. 5. Accessed from NewsBank on May 1, 2016.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ 1891 and 1892 Buffalo Bill's Wild West Programs, McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming, MS6, available on CodyArchive.org., last accessed June 30, 2016.
- ¹⁷ For a history of the Reynolds attack on the Northern Cheyenne in March 1876, see J. W. Vaughn, *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961). For an overview

of the Dull Knife Battle, see Jerome A. Greene, *Morning Star Dawn: The Powder River Expedition and the Northern Cheyennes, 1876* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003) and Fred H. Werner, *The Dull Knife Battle* (Greeley: Werner Publications, 1981).

¹⁸ On the impact of Helen Hunt Jackson's writings, see Valerie Sherer Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy* (U of Oklahoma P, 1997, first pub.1992). For Theodore Roosevelt's view of Helen Hunt Jackson's writings, see *Winning of the West*, volume 1, appendix B, p. 334-335.

¹⁹ See Shannon D. Smith, *Give Me Eighty Men: Women and the Myth of the Fetterman Fight* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008). Smith's work demonstrates how later narratives, in this case the accounts written by Margaret Carrington and Frances Grummond Carrington, the first and second wives of Col. Henry B. Carrington, greatly influenced public perception of William J. Fetterman's role in the Fetterman Massacre. They successfully shifted the focus of blame for this military disaster away from Col. Carrington and Frances' first husband, killed in the massacre, to Fetterman.

²⁰ For Benteen's remarks on Custer's book, see *The Benteen – Goldin Letters on Custer and his Last Battle*, ed. John M. Carroll (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974), p. 280. For a biography of William Benteen, see Charles K. Mills, *Harvest of Barren Regrets: The Army Career of Frederick William Benteen, 1834-1898* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).

²¹ Numerous Buffalo Bill biographers have noted the discrepancy in General Carr's accounts of the Battle of Summit Springs, including biographers Don Russell in *Lives and Legends* and Louis Warren in *Buffalo Bill's America*. Additionally, James King's biography of Carr *War Eagle* notes these differing accounts from Carr. Historians Jeff Bloom's *Dog Soldier Justice* and Fred Werner's *The Summit Springs Battle* provide detailed histories of the Battle of Summit Springs.

²² James T. King, *War Eagle*, p. 115.

²³ Cody, *True Tales*, p. 157. A search of the Library of Congress Database *Chronicling America* for "Carr" and "Standing Bull" for the months of June and July 1869 resulted in five hits: *Evening Argus*, Rock Island, Ill. July 20, 1869, p. 1; *Evansville Journal*, Evansville, Ind., July 22, 1869, p. 3; *Tiffin Tribune*, Tiffin, Ohio, July 23, 1869, p. 3; *Wheeling Daily Intelligence*, Wheeling, W. Va., July 20, 1869, p. 1; and *National Republican*, Washington, D.C., July 20, 1869, p. 1. Last accessed March 26, 2016. There were no hits for "Tall Bull" nor "Cody." The *Evansville Journal* provided the most complete version, as follows:

The Recent Fight With Indians. Chicago, July 19 – The following dispatch from General Augur, relative to the recent fight on the Republican River, Kansas, between a party of Indians and a detachment of the United States troops under Gen. Carr, was received today: Fort Sedgewick, July 17. I find Gen. Carr's success to be greater than first reported. Standing Bull was killed and over four hundred fine animals were captured, among them over one hundred fine mules; also, a large quantity of powder, and over five tons of dried buffalo meat. Bull Bear was with the party. The prisoners report it to be the only body of Indians known on the Republican River. It is the same that fought Forsyth and other parties on the Republican last year. They say that not one joined them from the North. Quite a large amount of money was found by the soldiers in this camp, and nearly all of it, over \$900, was given to the liberated white woman, Mrs. Huggle [Maria Weichel]. I am glad to say she is likely to recover from her wounds. Her husband was killed when she was taken, and Carr will go out again in about two weeks. Most of the animals are mares and colts. I have given liberally of them to the Pawnee Scouts, who are very efficient to the troops. The prisoners I have sent back to Omaha Barracks. (Signed) C.C. Augur, Brevet Major General.

This was followed by another article:

ST. LOUIS, July 19 – Omaha dispatches say: General Augur returned from Fort Sedwick, this forenoon. General Carr's victory is more complete than was first reported. Over four hundred horses and mules captured, with a large quantity of powder, and nearly five tons of dried buffalo meat. Among the killed is the noted

chief, Standing Bull. About \$900 in money was found in the camp, which was given to Mrs. Weisel [Maria Weichel], a white woman recaptured. This was the same body of Indians who last year fought General Forsyth, and recently committed depredations in Kansas.

Lieutenant Beecher [Beecher was killed in 1868, possibly confused with Frank North], of the Pawnee Scouts, reports a meeting of a small number of Sioux Indians on the Republican River. Three of them were killed and wounded.

[Fultonhistory.com](http://fultonhistory.com) provides pdfs of many New York newspapers, including the *New York Herald*.

<http://fultonhistory.com/my%20photo%20albums/All%20Newspapers/New%20York%20NY%20Herald/New%20York%20NY%20Herald%201869/index8.html> The *New York Herald* dated July 19, July 20, and July 21, 1869, are available. July 19 is found in pdfs numbered 2352-2359; July 20 is found in pdfs numbered 2360-2372; and July 21 is found in pdfs numbered 2373-2384. The author reviewed these issues of the *New York Herald* and was unable to locate any article detailing General Carr's battle with the Cheyenne, nor any mention of Buffalo Bill killing Tall Bull. Although a small portion of the newspapers were cut-off on the bottom, it appears the *New York Herald* did not report the story as indicated in *True Tales of the Plains*. A search of fultonhistory.com did result in one hit with "Standing Bull" and "Carr," the front page of the *New York Tribune* dated July 20, 1869.

There was no mention of Buffalo Bill Cody within the article.

²⁴ Russell, *Lives and Legends*, p. 148

²⁵ Russell, *Lives and Legends*, p. 144

²⁶ Russell, *Lives and Legends*, p. 129.

²⁷ Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, p. 109. For a summary of the cultural significance of captivity narratives, see Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1996), reprint.

²⁸ James T. King, *War Eagle*, p. 255.

²⁹ William F. Cody, *True Tales*, p. 247.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 249-250.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

³² Theodore Roosevelt, *Century Magazine*, 1893.

³³ Since Turner delivered his "Significance of the American Frontier" lecture in 1893, various historians have challenged or supported his Frontier Thesis, especially during the New Western History movement beginning in the early 1980s. For an overview of American Frontier historiography, see *Old West/New West*, edited by Gene M. Gressley (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994); Gerald D. Nash, *Creating the West: Historical Interpretations 1890-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991) and *Trails Toward a New Western History*, ed. Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991). For biographies of Turner and overviews of his Frontier Thesis, see Ray Allen Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Allan G. Bogue, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Strange Roads Going Down* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); *Does the Frontier Experience Make America Exceptional?*, ed. Richard W. Etulain (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999); *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner*, ed. John Mack Faragher (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1994); *Frederick Jackson Turner: Wisconsin's Historian of the Frontier*, ed. Martin Ridge (Madison, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1993); and *History, Frontier, and Section: Three Essays by Frederick Jackson Turner*, ed. Martin Ridge (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993).

³⁴ Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier," in Etulain, ed., *Does the Frontier Experience Make America Exceptional?* p. 43. Turner's Frontier Thesis also appears in Ridge, ed., *History, Frontier, and Section*, p.59-92; Ridge, ed., *Frederick Jackson Turner: Wisconsin's Historian of the Frontier*, p. 26-47; and Faragher, ed., *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner*, p. 31-60.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

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- ³⁶ 1893 Program of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming, MS6, available on CodyArchive.org. See also, for overviews and descriptions of Buffalo Bill's Wild West performances, Sara J. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), Paul Reddin, *Wild West Shows* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).
- ³⁷ Richard White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," in *The Frontier in American Culture*, ed. James R. Grossman (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), p. 7-66. Another version of this article appeared as "When Turner and Cody both Played Chicago in 1893" in *Frontier and Region: Essays in Honor of Martin Ridge*, ed. Robert C. Ritchie and Paul Andrew Hutton (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 46-57. Richard Slotkin also examined Buffalo Bill in "The White City and the Wild West: Buffalo Bill and the Mythic Space of American History, 1880-1917," in *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993), p. 63-67.
- ³⁸ "The Rifle as an Aid to Civilization," Buffalo Bill's Wild West 1885 program (Hartford, CT: The Calhoun Printing Company, 1885), McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West. This program was also reprinted by the Buffalo Bill Center of the West.

Chapter V: Roosevelt the Professional Historian

As Buffalo Bill and Frederick Jackson Turner presented their respective histories of the American Frontier at the Columbian Exposition of 1893, Theodore Roosevelt and his fellow members of the Boone and Crockett Club also provided a western themed exhibition. They had decided at one of their meetings “that it would be a pity if at the World’s Fair there was no representation of so typical and peculiar a phase of American national development as life on the frontier.”¹ To achieve this goal, the members of the Boone and Crockett Club erected “a regular frontier hunter’s cabin... exactly as such cabins are now fitted out in the wilder portions of the great plains and among the Rockies, wherever the old-time hunters still exist, or wherever their immediate successors, the ranchmen and pioneer settlers, have taken their places.”²

It was noted that prominent frontiersmen such as Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, and Kit Carson resided in “a log house of the kind in which the first hunters and frontier settlers dwelt on the frontier.”³ Mounts of western big game harvested by various members decorated the interior and on June 15, 1893, the Boone and Crockett Club formerly opened the cabin with a club dinner. Roosevelt’s former hunting guide, Elwood Hofer, supervised the cabin as it was opened to the public. To the men of the Boone and Crockett Club, especially Roosevelt, America’s frontier experience remained relevant to contemporary society and continued to thrive in pockets of wilderness that allowed Americans the opportunities to sample the lives of Boone, Crockett, and Carson.

Richard Slotkin argued that Buffalo Bill’s Wild West supported Theodore Roosevelt’s histories of the frontier, “because their contributions to American culture were complementary and mutually reinforcing.”⁴ Slotkin identified Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt’s common message as the triumph of Social Darwinism, federalism, and imperialism, all of which reinforced the Progressive myth of the triumph of civilized races over savages. According to Slotkin, this message countered the more populist interpretation of Frederick Jackson Turner’s Frontier Thesis that celebrated the growth of democracy; the latter response was obscured by the popular nature of Roosevelt and

Buffalo Bill's versions of history. Yet the method of delivery of the nation's frontier past through Buffalo Bill's Wild West obviously alienated some of Roosevelt's fellow members of the Boone and Crockett Club.

An 1887 editorial published in *Forest and Stream*, edited by Roosevelt's companion George Bird Grinnell, panned Buffalo Bill's first reenactment of Custer's Last Stand at Madison Square Garden. After quoting a description of the performance, along with a note claiming Buffalo Bill portrayed Custer by wearing an auburn wig, the editorial vented its outrage by such a performance. "The death of the gallant Custer, ten years ago, has not yet become an incident of history so remote as legitimately to be made the subject of a circus show... the Wild West performance is an outrage on decency... There ought to be in this community sufficient respect for the memory of the men who served their country and sacrificed their lives in the field to put the brand of public condemnation upon showmen with ghoulish instincts."⁵ Only seventeen years after the Battle of the Little Big Horn, Buffalo Bill's Wild West reenacted Custer's Last Stand just outside the Columbian Exposition grounds where the Boone and Crockett cabin stood. It is unlikely the passing of seven more years softened the member's opinions of Buffalo Bill's popular reenactment of this historical event.

The nationalistic message certainly made both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill's storylines popular, and yet historians have not address the great differences between the two men's research methods and the ways in which they publicly interpreted their histories. Although Roosevelt and his fellow Boone and Crockett Club members exhibit touched upon frontier themes and characters also addressed in Buffalo Bill's various interpretations of the history of the American West, no statement from Roosevelt about Buffalo Bill's Wild West performing next to the grounds of the Columbian Exposition, be it positive or negative, can be located. No evidence is readily available indicating Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt interacted with one another during the Columbian Exposition. Roosevelt attended a dinner of frontier fare hosted by the Boone & Crockett Club on June 15, 1893, to celebrate the opening of their cabin display; however, Buffalo Bill, although recognized for his past hunting career, was not in attendance, nor did he ever become a member of this prominent hunting organization.⁶ No article noting

Roosevelt attended Buffalo Bill's Wild West can be found, even in the 1893 scrapbook held by the McCracken Research Library at the Buffalo Bill Center of the West, which contains numerous news clippings regarding Buffalo Bill's performances.

Although Buffalo Bill's sensational reenactments and questionable historical writings detailing his exploits in the American West became quite popular and instrumental in shaping a cultural perspective of the American West, it seems unlikely Roosevelt was swayed by these elaborations. It is unlikely that Roosevelt read any Buffalo Bill dime novels or viewed him on a theatrical stage. It is possible Roosevelt attended Buffalo Bill's Wild West show, yet he only recorded a few lines of commentary about the show as a phenomenon, and he left nothing in writing about any experience of witnessing it.

Although the archival record from this period of young Roosevelt's life is by no means a complete overview of his youthful activities, it is very detailed and reveals he likely did not attend any theatrical performance starring Buffalo Bill. In many cases, young Theodore Roosevelt was out of town when Buffalo Bill appeared on stage. Between March 31 and April 13, 1873, Buffalo Bill performed in New York City while Roosevelt and his family were visiting Athens and Constantinople. Theodore Roosevelt was in Dresden, Germany, under the tutelage of the Minkwitz family when Buffalo Bill returned to New York City in the summer of 1873. Beginning in 1874, the Roosevelt family spent their summers at Oyster Bay, on Long Island, and it is unlikely they attended any of Buffalo Bill's theatrical performances during the summers of 1874 and 1875. When Buffalo Bill appeared in New York City in 1876, 1877, 1878, and 1880, Roosevelt was either attending to his studies in Harvard or hunting at Oyster Bay. In January 1880, Roosevelt proposed marriage to Alice Lee and his diary for that year clearly reveals his deep focus on his bride-to-be and his upcoming nuptials when Buffalo Bill again performed on stage in New York City.⁷ Roosevelt and his new bride were in New York when Buffalo Bill performed at Windsor Theater, January 17-29, 1881; however, Roosevelt's diary entries for that period do not reveal he attended any theatrical performances. Instead, Roosevelt and Alice attended various dinners or enjoyed sleighing trips with friends and family.

The Windsor Theater where Buffalo Bill appeared was in the Bowery district. In *The Gangs of New York*, Herbert Asbury described the Bowery theater district, “For many years these houses presented first-class plays and were frequented by the aristocracy of the city, but in time, as the character of the street changed and the dives and gangsters made [the Bowery] a byword from coast to coast, they offered blood and thunder thrillers of so distinct a type that they become known as Bowery plays.”⁸ Asbury quotes a visitor who visited a Bowery theater during the Civil War. This individual noted the audience consisted of, “Newsboys, street-sweepers, rag-pickers, begging girls, collectors of cinders, all who can beg and steal a sixpence... There is not a dance hall, a free-and-easy, a concert saloon, or a vile drinking-place that presents such a view of the depravity and degradation of New York as the gallery of a Bowery theater.”⁹

Clearly, the Windsor Theater was not the type of establishment that Roosevelt would visit, especially with his attractive, upstanding bride. In fact, the night Buffalo Bill premiered his 1881 show in New York, Alice and Theodore attended the Patriarchs’ Ball at Delmonico’s. When Buffalo Bill appeared in New York City in 1882, 1883, and 1884, Roosevelt was busy in Albany, serving in the New York State Legislature. After his wife and mother both died on February 14, 1884, Roosevelt sought solace through hunting and ranching in the North Dakota Badlands. Although Buffalo Bill also appeared on stage in Kansas, Nebraska, and Wyoming in 1886, there is no known source indicating Roosevelt attended any of these stage performances.

It is also unlikely Roosevelt attended the new spectacle of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West when it debuted in New York City January 15 -28, 1884, for he was busy as a legislator in Albany. When Buffalo Bill’s Wild West performed in Staten Island the summer of 1886, Roosevelt was in the Badlands. When the Wild West returned to New York City November 22, 1886, through February 22, 1887, Theodore Roosevelt was enjoying a European honeymoon with his second wife Edith.

In his account of hunting with hounds in *The Wilderness Hunter*, Roosevelt indicated he communicated with at least one of Buffalo Bill’s cowboys. This suggests that it is possible Roosevelt viewed Buffalo Bill’s Wild West when it returned to Erastina on Staten Island in 1888 after its performances in Great Britain. Roosevelt

notes a number of cowboys competed with English riders, but indicates in a footnote that “Buffalo Bill’s company has crossed the water several times” and it is possible “that a number of the cowboys have by practice become proficient in riding to hounds, and in steeple-chasing.”¹⁰ This note indicates Roosevelt was familiar with someone in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West upon their return, yet the footnote also indicates a lack of familiarity with Buffalo Bill’s experiences after he returned to the United States from Europe in 1893. Roosevelt’s correspondence from this period mentions his participation in polo matches and fox hunts with hounds. It is likely these activities led him to speculate about the riding style of Buffalo Bill’s cowboys in comparison to British riding habits.¹¹

During the year 1888, Roosevelt returned from the Badlands and unsuccessfully campaigned to be elected Mayor of New York, and it is therefore conceivable he attended Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. Roosevelt was finishing his first two-volumes of the *Winning of the West*, and it is conceivable that he wanted to view Buffalo Bill’s interpretation of the American Frontier. Buffalo Bill’s Wild West programs from Buffalo Bill’s 1890s tour of Great Britain did briefly note Roosevelt’s writings in passing. Unfortunately, if Roosevelt attended, either the press neglected to cover his visit, or an article has yet to surface. While Roosevelt was certainly well-known in New York, Washington, and the Dakotas, he was not quite a national celebrity whose attendance would have warranted a separate news article. It is conceivable that Roosevelt may have met a familiar cowboy performing with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and secured information regarding riding styles from him, as opposed to attending any performance or conversing directly with Buffalo Bill. These remarks on riding styles are the only evidential record on which any historian seeking to assert Roosevelt’s familiarity with the content of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West prior to 1890 can draw.

In 1897, Roosevelt again mentioned Buffalo Bill in an article entitled “Books on Big Game” published in a Boone and Crockett Club book, *Trail and Camp Fire*. In this article, Roosevelt compared the hunting careers of President of the South African Republic Paul Kruger and Buffalo Bill. “[Kruger] and Buffalo Bill have had very different careers since they reached middle age; but in their youth warfare against wild beasts and wild men was the most serious part of the life work of both. They and their

fellows did the rough pioneer work of civilization, under conditions which have now vanished for ever [sic]; and their type will perish with the passing of the forces that called it into being.”¹² This reference indicates Roosevelt’s continued fascination with comparing and contrasting America’s pioneering and fighting skills to other nationalities, a subject of which Buffalo Bill and Buffalo Bill’s Wild West provided much fodder.

Matthew F. Halloran, a member of the Civil Service Commission who served under Roosevelt, described Roosevelt’s close bond with his children and their love of circus-like entertainment. “The Roosevelt children were frequent callers,” recalled, Halloran, “Whenever a circus or wild west show was in town they would come romping into his room. Alice, with flaxen braids down her back, would sit on one side of his desk and Teddy, Jr., on the other, while the younger ones cuddled in his lap. The arrival of the Roosevelt children was a gala occasion indeed.”¹³ There were numerous instances when the Roosevelt family may have visited Buffalo Bill’s Wild West during their residence in Washington, D.C., and Sagamore Hill. After a successful run at the Columbian Exposition, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West performed at Staten Island, New York, in 1894. Due to limited profits, Buffalo Bill partnered with James Bailey of Barnum and Bailey Circus in 1895, and Buffalo Bill’s Wild West began touring throughout the United States with overnight performances throughout the 1890s into the early 1900s. If Roosevelt attended Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, the press ignored his presence, unless a news article buried in some newspaper awaits discovery as digitization progresses.

Roosevelt’s brief time in the American West inspired his historical writing, including a four-volume narrative history of the American frontier; it also demonstrated the relevance of America’s frontier past in shaping the nation as it emerged as an imperial power. Roosevelt identified himself as a professional historian, one who researched and published several books on various facets of history. Roosevelt’s first historical work, published in 1882, was a two-volume set entitled *The Naval War of 1812*. A biography of early American expansionist Senator Thomas Hart Benton followed. Despite his lack of sources and his busy schedule managing the Elkhorn Ranch, Roosevelt could not have selected a better place to write Benton’s life story. For

all that he lacked resources, Roosevelt derived massive inspiration from his rugged adventures and the desolate, but scenic, landscape surrounding his ranch.

Roosevelt detailed his attempts to balance historical research and western adventure to his political colleague and friend, Henry Cabot Lodge, the future congressman and senator from Massachusetts, making it clear that writing took second place to hunting and other escapades. Writing from his Elkhorn Ranch on March 27, 1886, Roosevelt described his Benton biography to Lodge, also a historical biographer, “I have written the first chapter of the Benton; so at any rate I have made a start. ... Writing is horribly hard work to me; and I make slow progress. I have some good ideas in the first chapter, but I am not sure they are worked up rightly; my style is very rough and I do not like a certain lack of sequitur that I do not seem able to get rid of.”¹⁴ Meanwhile, Roosevelt reported to Lodge that a blizzard had stranded him in his ranch house and some horse thieves had stolen his boat.¹⁵ After a strenuous chase to capture the three thieves, Roosevelt proclaimed to Lodge later letter, “I am as brown and as tough as a hickory nut now.” In wrapping up his report to Lodge, Roosevelt inquired if President Harrison was born in Virginia. “I hope he was,” wrote Roosevelt, “it gives me a good sentence for Benton.”¹⁶

On May 20, 1886, Roosevelt again wrote Lodge to update him on his life in the Badlands of Dakota and his writing. “I have gotten the Benton about half through; if I could work at it without interruption for a fortnight I could send Morse [the publisher] the manuscript,” he wrote. However, Roosevelt also noted he was preparing for the spring roundup and planning to go hunting for bear and antelope after completing his ranch work. A few weeks later, Roosevelt asked Lodge for a favor. The manuscript was nearly complete but he needed to clarify events of Benton’s life after his senatorial career ended in 1850. “I have nothing whatever to go by; and, being by nature both a timid and, on occasions, by choice a truthful man,” wrote Roosevelt. “I would prefer to have some foundation of fact, no matter how slender, on which to build the airy and arabesque superstructure of my fancy – especially since I am writing a history. Now I hesitate to give him a wholly fictitious date of death and to invent all the work of his later years.”¹⁷

Roosevelt requested Lodge hire a researcher to find the answers to pertinent questions pertaining to Benton's last few years and send the answers to him at the Elkhorn Ranch. "I hate to trouble you," wrote Roosevelt, "but the Bad Lands have much fewer books than Boston has."¹⁸ In addition to a lack of resources, Roosevelt indicated he had little time to focus on his writing. "I have been on the round-up for a fortnight, almost steadily," he reported, "When we started, there were sixty men in the saddle who splashed across the shallow ford of the river; every one a bold rider, and every one on a good horse. It has been great fun; but hard work – fourteen to sixteen hours every day. Breakfast comes at three; and I am pretty sleepy all the time."¹⁹

Upon receiving his answers from Lodge, Roosevelt replied, "You are an old trump. The information is just what I want."²⁰ He would review the manuscript in New York or Boston before sending it to his publisher. "There is much filling into to be done everywhere... I will, after writing a few pages more, lay the thing aside till the fall."²¹ Roosevelt also corresponded with Jessie Benton Fremont to solicit information about her father, only to receive from her a newspaper clipping reporting that she was writing a biography of her father. Perhaps this information caused Roosevelt to lose sight of writing a well-researched biography of Benton, but he clearly identified with western history through the various escapades as a western rancher, even though his early historical methods were hardly rigorous and his inventive approach to biography was, by his own admission, fanciful.

In 1887, Roosevelt's biography of Thomas Hart Benton appeared in print. In his recent biography of Senator Benton, historian Ken S. Mueller comments on Roosevelt's biography of the senator, "Roosevelt's Benton is therefore a flawed effort, its scholarship so haphazard as to now be irrelevant to historians of the Early Republic. Nonetheless, the book rewards examination as much for what it tells us about the author and the historical viewpoint of his times, as about the subject."²² Roosevelt followed the Benton biography in 1888 with a biography of Gouverneur Morris, a New York politician who served as a delegate to the United States Constitutional Convention and as a US senator. Roosevelt then published a four-volume history of the early American frontier, *The Winning of the West*, which established him as a leading historian of the

American frontier and westward expansion; and a collection stores entitled *Hero Tales from American History*, co-written with Henry Cabot Lodge and published in 1895.²³

The Winning of the West is probably his best-known historical work of the American frontier and this been reprinted in numerous editions.²⁴ Many modern historians consider Roosevelt's published history of the frontier to be simple romanticized interpretation of the settling of the early American frontier and the conflicts between backwoodsmen and American Indians. Roosevelt scholars should examine these early histories not only as serious historical study of the early American frontier, but also as an opportunity to gain further insight into Roosevelt's character and perspectives as a political leader and an advocate for western settlement.

Unlike the sporadic writing and research methods that characterized his Benton biography, in between chasing boat thieves and participating on round-ups, while requesting sources from eastern archives, Roosevelt spent considerable time researching the first two volumes of *The Winning of the West*. In his foreword, Roosevelt noted, "Much of the material on which this work is based is to be found in the archives of the American Government, which date back to 1774, when the first Continental Congress assembled."²⁵ Roosevelt then listed the numerous sources he consulted, including presidential letters, committee reports, and correspondence from Secretary of War Henry Knox, George Washington, and government reports from Treasury Department, War Department, and various congressional committees. In addition, he indicated he researched various manuscripts, journals, and other collections of correspondence held at Nashville, various state historical societies, the papers of Daniel Boone and George Rogers Clark, memoirs from the Campbell family, copies of archival material from Spanish archives, Virginia State papers, and many other manuscript collections.

Although he researched primarily records from early American settlers and the United State archives, Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West* approached the settling of the American frontier from an international perspective. The first two volumes clearly reflect his European travels and readings, portraying the settling of the frontier as an ongoing process of civilizing the world accomplished through European colonization and imperialism. "During the past three centuries, the spread of the English-speaking

peoples over the world's waste spaces has been not only the most striking feature in the world's history, but also the event of all others most far-reaching its effects and its importance."²⁶ Comparing the English settlements to other Europeans' efforts, Roosevelt indicated non-English ventures did not produce such striking changes. "There have been many other races that at one time or another had their great periods of race expansion – as distinguished from mere conquest, – but there has never been another whose expansion has either been so broad or so rapid... Thus it came about that though the German tribes conquered Europe they did not extend the limits of Germany nor the sway of the German race."²⁷

In many ways, Roosevelt expressed what American historian Frederick Jackson Turner characterized as the "Germ Theory" of American expansion. In his famous 1893 address, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Turner proclaimed, "Our early history is the study of European germs developing in an American environment," but he cautioned, "Too exclusive attention has been paid by institutions students to the Germanic origin, too little to the American factors."²⁸ According to Roosevelt, only the English-speaking people were the best experienced to transfer European settlement across the globe, compared to the European neighbors. Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West* begins in Europe with the mixing of various European races, beginning with the expansion of the Germanic people. "There sprang up in conquered southern Britain, when its name had been significantly changed to England, that a branch of the Germanic stock which was in the end to grasp almost literally world-wide power, and by its overshadowing growth to dwarf into comparative significance all its kindred folk."²⁹

In comparison to England, France and Spain's mixture was too chaotic. The mix of Romans, Franks, and Goths, "Thus the modern nations who sprang from this mixture derive portions of their governmental system and general policy from one race, most of their blood from another, and their language, law, and culture from a third" noted Roosevelt. However, "The English race, on the contrary, has a perfectly continuous history;" its "insular position, moreover, permitted it to work out its own fate comparatively unhampered by the presence of outside powers, so that it developed a

type of nationality totally distinct from the types of the European mainland.”³⁰

Roosevelt’s views were unoriginal in this respect. This emphasis on the benefits and necessity of race purity was a powerful aspect of the *zeitgeist* on the east coast of the United States in the last quarter of the 19th century and one with which Roosevelt’s writings were thoroughly in tune. It emerged strongly in the pronouncements of popular social theorists, academics, journalists, and politicians.

Roosevelt argued the migrations, conflicts, and nation building in Europe all later played a role in determining which nation would “win the west.” “All this is not foreign to American history. The vast movement by which this continent was conquered and peopled cannot be rightly understood if considered solely by itself,” wrote Roosevelt. “It was the crowning and greatest achievement of a series of mighty movements, and it must be taken in connection with them. Its true significance will be lost unless we grasp, however roughly, the past race-history of the nations who took part therein.”³¹ For on the North American Continent, the struggle to civilize the West became a war between European powers and American Indians. “Each intruding European power, in winning for itself new realms beyond the seas, had to wage a twofold war, overcoming the original inhabitants with one hand, and with the other, warding off the assaults of the kindred nations that were bent on the same schemes,” argued Roosevelt.³²

Roosevelt hinted that both Spain and France were predestined to lose this conflict due to the superiority of the English: “Instead of killing or driving off the natives as the English did, the Spaniards simply sat down in the midst of a much more numerous aboriginal population.”³³ France developed a colony populated by a mix of French and American Indian blood, the Metis. This stemmed from France sending over soldiers, traders, and trappers, many of whom took American Indian spouses, all guided by Catholic priests and military post commanders. In addition, Roosevelt noted the presence of many African and American Indian slaves, all of which produced, in his words, “much mixture of blood.”³⁴

In summing up the French culture in North America, Roosevelt noted their strengths and their weaknesses in relation to building a strong empire:

Three generations of isolated life in the wilderness had greatly changed the characters of these groups of traders, trappers, bateaumen, and adventurous warriors. It was inevitable that they should borrow many traits from their savage friends and neighbors. Hospitable, but bigoted to their old customs, ignorant, indolent, and given to drunkenness, they spoke a corrupt jargon of the French tongue; the common people were even beginning to give up reckoning time by months and years, and dated events, as the Indians did, with reference to the phenomena of nature, such as the time of the floods, that maturing of the green corn, or the ripening of the strawberries... they had kept many valuable qualities, and in especial, they were brave and hardy, and after their own fashion, good soldiers.³⁵

Opposed to the French and Spanish colonizers, the English established strong colonies in New England and Virginia. The English stock mixed with others, including Roosevelt's own Dutch ancestors, yet they managed to create strong English-speaking communities. "The English-speaking peoples now hold more and better land than any other American nationality or set of nationalities. They have in their veins less aboriginal American blood than any of their neighbors. Yet it is noteworthy that the latter have tacitly allowed them to arrogate to themselves the title of 'Americans' whereby to designate their distinctive and individual nationality."³⁶ Yet Roosevelt pondered the mixing of this early stock in his biography of Benton, "In a generation of two, all, whether their forefathers were English, Scotch, Irish, or, as was often the case, German and Huguenot, were welded in to one people."³⁷ It was mix of European races that the rugged wilderness created into Americans, and "in a very short time the stern and hard surroundings of their life had hammered this people in to a peculiar and characteristically American type, which to this day remains almost unchanged."³⁸

Roosevelt's work not only demonstrated the importance of masculinity in establishing races as world powers, he also appealed to an international audience contemplating issues of race and imperialism. The racist and determinist assumptions

and language of *The Winning of the West* may have very well been applied by, say, British or German writers and audiences to their own nations' colonial acquisitions in Africa.³⁹ Nationalism and American exceptionalism in the progressive era.

Another reflection of Roosevelt's Northern European-centered history of the American West was his apparent use of Lord Kames's theory of four stages of civilization. Kames, a legal scholar whose ideas shaped the Scottish Enlightenment of the 18th century, argued there were four stages of settlement patterns. The most primitive was the societies that lived in small family groups and subsisted on fishing and hunting. The second stage was groups of clans or tribes who developed a pastoral nomadic lifestyle. The third group established an agricultural economy, living on farms and establishing new relationships between landlords and tenants, masters and slaves, to produce crops. This society also diversified professions, including plowmen, blacksmiths, carpenters, and stonemasons, the beginning of a permanent village or town. The last stage, and the most advanced, was a commercial society. This group was a larger, settled population living in a city, which required the buying and selling of goods, which in turn necessitated laws and cooperation between various groups of people across vast distances. These distinct cultures were very evident and allegedly co-existed in 18th century Scotland. The cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow reflected a civilized commercial society, whereas the Lowlands reflected agricultural society, the Highlands a pastoral society, and the Hebrides Islands reflected the fishing and hunting stage.⁴⁰

Scottish historian William Robertson applied Kames four-stage theory to history and his followers borrowed a French word to identify this process of social evolution, *civilization*.⁴¹ This theory portrayed history as a progressive force through which human societies evolved to higher stages of living. Kames's theory also stipulated that eventually individual rights must give way to collective needs to advance a society to a higher status, a force Roosevelt experienced firsthand in the Badlands as a rancher. In 1913, he wrote, "The great unfenced ranches, in the days of 'free grass,' necessarily represented a temporary stage in our history."⁴² Roosevelt's days enjoying the nomadic pastoral stage of the American West gave way to the agricultural stage advanced by the homesteader. "It was right and necessary that this life should pass, for the safety of our

country lies in its being made the country of the small home-maker," he reflected; "...the homesteaders, the permanent settlers, the men who took up each his own farm on which he lived and brought up his family, these represented from the National standpoint the most desirable of all possible users of, and dwellers on, the soil."⁴³ This national endeavor spelled the end of Roosevelt's ranching existence in the Badlands, for the homesteaders' "advent meant the breaking up of the big ranches; and the change was a National gain, although to some of us an individual loss."⁴⁴ Traces of this outlook are evident in Roosevelt's progressive mindset, his conservation policies, and his later conflict with Buffalo Bill and others over the best methodology for settling the American West. The utilitarian principle of striving for the greatest happiness of the greatest number continually drove Roosevelt's policies; no matter how great the individual loss, the collective endeavor needed to move forward to advance the nation.

Some historians credit Roosevelt with establishing a foundation for Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis; however, probably due to his European education and Harvard College experience, in many ways Roosevelt parroted Lord Kames's theory of four stages of civilization as it played out on the American frontier. If anything, Roosevelt did not portray the English-speaking frontiersmen as predecessors of "American Exceptionalism." Instead, Roosevelt focused more on the political advances of these settlers and if anything argued westerners and the western experience blended the established, political culture of the North with the adventurous, rugged individualism of the South. Thus, the American West becomes the example of how sectionalism evolves into nationalism; where emigrants from around the world, but predominantly Anglo-Saxon in Roosevelt's mind, settled a frontier region and built a strong national government that reflected the best of collective responsibility and rugged individualism.

In 1922, Frederick Jackson Turner criticized the late Roosevelt's work as follows, "Roosevelt, though with a breadth of interests, was more concerned with men than with institutions, and especially with the strenuous life, and more particularly, the fighting frontier."⁴⁵ Turner believed Roosevelt focused too much on the violence and conflict in settling the American West, similar to the reenactments staged by Buffalo Bill. Turner argued in "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" that "the

advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines. And to study this advance, the men who grew up under these conditions, and the political, economic, and social results of it, is to study the really American part of our history.”⁴⁶

Turner, nevertheless, like Roosevelt, believed the American Frontier was settled in stages, in ways that bear comparison with the process outlined by Kames. Turner’s “record of social evolution” in the American West begins with the American Indian and the hunter, followed by the “pastoral stage in ranch life,” which in turn was replaced by “settled farming communities” and ultimately replaced by the “manufacturing organization with city and factory system.”⁴⁷ Turner challenged his audience, “Stand at Cumberland Gap and watch the procession of civilization, marking single file – the buffalo following the trail to the salt springs, the Indian, the fur-trader and hunter, the cattle-raiser, the pioneer farmer – and the frontier has passed by. Stand at South Pass in the Rockies a century later and see the same procession with wider intervals between.”⁴⁸ Instead of the age-old process of one race or cultural group pushing out another, as Roosevelt indicated in his study, Turner argued, “Thus American development has exhibited not merely advance among a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier.”⁴⁹ This continued push against the frontier line, he claimed, shaped the unique American character; thus, he argued the frontier experience itself contributed to American exceptionalism, not the cultural heritage of the English-speaking people as advocated by Roosevelt.

Turner briefly touched upon the writings of past frontier historians, including Roosevelt, “Much has been written about the frontier from the point of view of border warfare and the chase, but as a field for the serious study of the economist and the historian it has been neglected.”⁵⁰ Turner referenced Roosevelt’s biography of Benton as a resource, noting Roosevelt’s book demonstrated the “nationalizing tendency of the West that transformed the democracy of Jefferson into the national republicanism of Monroe and the democracy of Andrew Jackson. The West of the War of 1812, the West

of Clay, and Benton, and Harrison, and Andrew Jackson, shut off by the Middle States and the mountains from the coast sections, had a solidarity of its own with national tendencies.”⁵¹

Opposed to Roosevelt’s lack of comment on Buffalo Bill’s Wild West performing next to the Columbian Exposition, he reached out and commented on Turner’s presentation. Shortly after Turner delivered his address at the meeting of the American Historical Association at the Columbian Exposition, Roosevelt received a copy directly from Turner. Roosevelt responded, “I shall read it with great interest.”⁵² A few months later, Roosevelt wrote Turner informing him that he would include his information in the third volume of *The Winning of the West*. “I think you have struck some first class ideas, and have put into definite shape a good deal of thought that has been floating around rather loosely,” noted Roosevelt.⁵³ In his chapter detailing the history of Kentucky statehood, Roosevelt wrote, “In all new-settled regions in the United States, so long as there was a frontier at all, the changes in the pioneer population proceeded in a certain definite order.”⁵⁴ Using Turner as a resource, Roosevelt wrote, “Throughout our history as a nation the frontiersmen have always been mainly native Americans, and those of European birth have been speedily beaten into the usual frontier type by the wild forces against which they waged unending war. As the frontiersman conquered and transformed the wilderness, so the wilderness in its turn created and preserved they type of man who overcame it.”⁵⁵

Roosevelt then expanded upon the four groups of settlers, using Kentucky as a model. Roosevelt indicated the first social group was the hunters, men like Daniel Boone. The second group was the “rude hunter settler,” of which he identified Abraham Lincoln’s ancestors as an example. The next phase were the permanent settlers “who entered to hold the land, and who handed it on as an inheritance to their children and their children’s children.” The fourth phase was composed of the “men of means, of the well-to-do planters, merchants, and lawyers, of the men whose families already stood high on the Atlantic slope.”⁵⁶ Roosevelt, unlike Turner, noted there was great interaction between the four groups; “there were of course no sharp lines of cleavage between the classes. They merged insensibly into one another, and the same individual

might, at different times, stand in two or three.”⁵⁷ Despite muddling the various phases of settlement as outlined by Turner, Roosevelt agreed, “Nowhere else on the continent has so sharply defined and distinctively American a type been produced as on the frontier, and a single generation has always been more than enough for its production”⁵⁸

After learning that Turner reviewed his third volume, Roosevelt told him, I can assure you I am not at all sensitive to intelligent criticism, and I entirely agree with you as to there being new fields for research in Western history upon which I haven’t even touched. Take the two great points to which you are devoting yourself, the reaction of the West upon the East, and the history of institutions; the former of these I scarcely touch upon at all. The latter I shall touch upon but slightly, and hardly at all in the fourth volume. My aim is especially to show who the frontiersmen were and what they did as they gradually conquered the West.... I have always been more interested in the men themselves [rather] than in the institutions...⁵⁹

Roosevelt encouraged Turner to write an expanded work on this frontier thesis, “I was very much impressed by your pamphlet. I hope you will write a serious work on the subject. I know of no one so well qualified for the task.”⁶⁰

Roosevelt then expressed a slight disagreement with Turner’s thesis in a handwritten statement at the end of the letter, “I am glad you didn’t write the ‘grandiloquent and immoral’ sentence;” however, “I don’t quite agree with you as to the unity of the west; it was a unit as against the east; and was not split by the north & south division of the east; but there was not a very great cohesion of the parts, as it seems to me.” A few weeks later, Roosevelt again wrote Turner, “I don’t think after all that our views as to the fundamental unity of the Westerners differ widely. I have been thinking over the matter a good deal since receiving your letter, and I really think it is more that we lay emphasis upon different points. I have incorporated some of your remarks... into a chapter I am writing. I think that there was so much separatist feeling in the west that

it caused... indifference in one community to another; but in type the men were the same.”⁶¹

Turner reviewed Roosevelt’s fourth, and final volume, in *The Winning of the West* series. A chagrined Roosevelt responded with a list of excuses, mainly that his political responsibilities limited him from doing an adequate job of producing a quality work. He concluded, “There! I have not written another critic of my work; but with you it is interesting to enter into a discussion,” and he requested, “Pray let me know if you come to New York.”⁶² Despite his limitations as a historian, as noted by Turner, it must be kept in mind that for Roosevelt, history was a personal journey into understanding the present, and for effective planning of future domestic and international goals. This is supported by many of Roosevelt’s companions, who later noted his research and writing of American history shaped his perspectives and allowed him to share his political views with a wider audience.

Modern historians often use sections of *The Winning of the West* to analyze and criticize Roosevelt as a jingoist expansionist, usually by providing snippets from this work characterizing American Indians as savages and the justification for dismissing any legal claims they had to western lands. The very title of the book also suggests a patriotic, triumphal interpretation of the settling of the American frontier, a suggestion furthered by later historians, authors, and moviemakers who used variations on “How the West Was Won” as titles and subtitles for their sensational depictions of settling the western frontiers.⁶³

Yet Roosevelt’s scholarship on American Indians in many ways offers a damning critique of American Indian policy. Roosevelt did not shy away from presenting the darker side of settling the American West, when his sources documented an atrocity committed by white settlers, such as the murder of Chief Logan’s family, Roosevelt printed it warts and all. Roosevelt summed up these atrocities as follows:

On the border each man was a law unto himself, and good and bad alike were left in perfect freedom to follow out to the uttermost limits of their own desires; for the spirit of individualism so characteristic of American life reached its extreme of development in the

backwoods. The whites who wished peace, the magistrates and leaders, had little more power over their evil and unruly fellows than the Indians sachems had over the turbulent young braves... Thus the men of lawless, brutal spirit who are found in every community and who flock to places where the reign of order is lax, were able to follow the bent of their inclinations unchecked. They utterly despised the red man; they held it no crime whatever to cheat him in trading, to rob him of his peltries or horses, to murder him if the fit seized them.⁶⁴

In contrast to Buffalo Bill's later depiction of Tall Bull as simply a vicious enemy to be overcome through violence, Roosevelt detailed in his narrative how frontier violence plagued American Indians, he did not ignore brutal attacks on American Indians perpetrated by frontier settlers.

Despite these criticisms of the violent nature of expansion, Roosevelt argued early frontiersmen were justified in taking land away from American Indians, by offering the tenuous land-claims held by himself and his ranching neighbors as a comparison. In *The Winning of the West* he wrote, "The truth is, the Indians never had any real title to the soil; they had not half as good a claim to it, for instance, as the cattlemen now have to all eastern Montana, yet no one would assert that the cattle men have a right to keep immigrants off their vast unfenced ranges. Settler and pioneer have at bottom had justice on their side; this great continent could not have been kept as nothing but a game preserve for squalid savages."⁶⁵

Roosevelt clearly viewed the American Indians as primitive people, and he did characterize their military actions as barbaric behavior, yet at the same time he noted many military actions and atrocities committed against these people were completely unfair and unjustified. In the first volume of *The Winning the West*, Roosevelt offered a summary of the Algonquin Nations and the Southern Confederacies. Lacking any background of cultural anthropology or archaeology, a field of study still in its infancy at

the time of his career as a historian, Roosevelt relied mainly on historical written accounts to interpret the legacy of American Indians on the frontier.

Roosevelt viewed the Southern Confederacies of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole as primitive societies between the hunting-gathering and agricultural stages of civilization. Roosevelt characterized the Creek Nation as an advanced agricultural society, noting many of the political leaders of the Creeks owned vast herds of livestock and grew a variety of crops. He noted that, like southern white plantation owners, the Creeks owned African-American slaves. But, he cautioned, “the tillage of the land was accomplished by communal labor; and indeed, the government, as well as the system of life, was in many respects a singular compound of communism and extreme individualism.”⁶⁶ Oddly in Roosevelt’s mind, the mix of collective work and extreme individualism negated Creeks as an advanced stage of civilization, yet he believed the mix of collective action and rugged individualism practiced by the frontier settlers was positive.

On the other hand, the Algonquin people such as the Delaware, Shawnee, Wyandot, and other nations residing in the northern frontiers were clearly a primitive hunting society. “They were ruder in life and manners than their southern kinsmen, less advanced towards civilization, but also far more warlike,” explained Roosevelt. “They depended more on the chase and fishing, and much less on agriculture; they were savages, not merely barbarians; and they were fewer in numbers and scattered over a wider expanse of territory.”⁶⁷ Nevertheless, he asserted, the Algonquians “were farther advanced than the almost purely nomadic tribes of horse Indians whom we afterwards encountered west of the Mississippi.”⁶⁸

Roosevelt’s experiences in the Dakota Badlands greatly shaped his perspectives on the early conflicts between settlers and American Indians. In his second published group of writings detailing his western adventures, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*, Roosevelt offered his opinion on the root cause of the conflict between white settlers and American Indians, “Out of my own short experience I could recite a dozen instances of white outrages which, if told alone, would seem to justify all the outcry raised on behalf of the Indian.” On the other hand, Roosevelt exclaimed, “and I could also tell of as

many Indian atrocities which make one almost feel that not a single one of the race should be left alive.”⁶⁹ Roosevelt believed the cultural contact between white frontiersmen (“brutal, reckless, and overbearing”) and American Indians (“treacherous, revengeful, and fiendishly cruel”) led to inevitable conflict. “Crime and bloodshed are the only possible result when such men are brought in contact,” wrote Roosevelt.⁷⁰

In this facile manner, Roosevelt transferred these experiences to interpreting events of the 1700s on the early American frontier. Roosevelt believed the main cause of the Indian Wars stemmed from “the tendency on each side to hold the race, and not the individual, responsible for the deeds of the latter.”⁷¹ In his view of the conflict with the Creek Nation, Roosevelt wrote in *The Winning of the West*, “The record of our dealings with them must in many places be unpleasant reading to us, for it shows grave wrong-doing on our part.”⁷² Roosevelt then opined the Creeks were just as guilty; “the Creeks themselves lacked only the power, but not the will, to treat us worse than we treated them, and the darkest pages of their history recite the wrongs that we ourselves suffered at their hands.”⁷³

As president of the American Historical Society in 1912, Theodore Roosevelt delivered an address entitled “History as Literature.” Roosevelt began by noting the debate among historians “as to whether history should not henceforth be treated as a branch of science rather than of literature.”⁷⁴ Throughout his address, Roosevelt examined the evolution of history as a field of study, noting the work of Virgil, Livy, Tacitus, and Carlyle, as well as scientific writings by Darwin. “History can never be truthfully presented if the presentation is purely emotional,” proclaimed Roosevelt. “It can never be truthfully or usefully presented unless profound research, patient, laborious, painstaking, had preceded the presentation. No amount of self-communion and of pondering on the soul of mankind, no gorgeousness of literary imagery, can take the place of cool, serious, widely extended study.”⁷⁵ He cautioned his audience against scholarly misdemeanors of which he had clearly been guilty from time to time: “The vision of the great historian must be both wide and lofty. But it must be sane, clear, and based on full knowledge of the facts and of their interrelations.”⁷⁶

Yet Roosevelt encouraged this gathering of historians to strive to interpret history in a romantic and vivid light. “They [historians] feel that complete truthfulness must never be sacrificed to color. In this they are right,” noted Roosevelt; however, “They also feel that complete truthfulness is incompatible with color. In this they are wrong.”⁷⁷ Roosevelt believed blending the dramatic nature of literature with the scientific approach to historical research would create a powerful story that both informed and inspired. This combined methodology of history allowed readers to “grasp the real meaning of, and grapple most effectively with, the phenomena of our present-day lives; for that which is can be dealt with best if we realize at least in part from what a tangled web of causation it has sprung.”⁷⁸ To fulfill this important duty, Roosevelt believed “[t]he great historian must be able to paint for us the life of the plain people, the ordinary men and women, of the time of which he writes. He can do this only if he possesses the highest kind of imagination.”⁷⁹ In an absurd rhetorical flourish, Roosevelt declared, “The true historian will bring the past before our eyes as if it were the present.”⁸⁰

It is easy and justified to criticize the imprecision of some of Roosevelt’s historical work, but it should be remembered that he wrote consciously for as wide an audience as possible. Another individual who purported to present the historical drama of the American frontier to millions of Americans and Europeans was Buffalo Bill. Like Roosevelt’s work, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West portrayed the settling of the American West in terms of pioneers conquering dangerous frontiers to build a strong nation. It would be reasonable to assume that Roosevelt would take a great interest in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and support Buffalo Bill’s efforts to popularize history. Based on his remarks to the American Historical Association, one might think that Roosevelt would have applauded Buffalo Bill for conveying the romance and adventure of the Wild West to millions; however, as a much-published historian, it is far more likely that Roosevelt would have found it hard to reconcile the histrionics of Buffalo Bill’s performances with the writer’s more studious and nuanced approach to understanding the past.

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- ¹ George Bird Grinnell and Theodore Roosevelt, eds., *American Big-Game Hunting* (New York: Forest and Stream, 1893), p. 334-36. Roosevelt also wrote a similar article outlining the membership requirements for the Boone and Crockett Club and a description of their Columbian Exposition display for *Harper's Weekly*, see Theodore Roosevelt, "The Boone and Crockett Club," *Harper's Weekly*, vol. 27, no. 1891, March 18, 1893, p. 267.
- ² *Ibid.*
- ³ *Ibid.* p. 334.
- ⁴ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, p. 86. See also Richard Slotkin, "Nostalgia and Progress: Theodore Roosevelt's Myth of the Frontier," *American Quarterly*, 33:5 (Winter, 1981), p. 608-637, for differing perspectives of the American Frontier between Roosevelt and Turner. Although there were others writing about the history of the American Frontier, including Francis Parkman, to whom Roosevelt dedicated *The Winning of the West*, and novelists, including Owen Wister, who wrote the first "western novel," this work uses Turner as a touchstone for both Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt. These three men are the focus of many studies regarding the emergence of American Western history as a field of study and the emergence of the popular culture. See G. Edward White, *The Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience*; Christine Bold, *The Frontier Club*; and Gerald D. Nash, *Creating the West: Historical Interpretations, 1880-1990*.
- ⁵ "The Little Big Horn Fight," *Forest and Stream* vol.27, no. 24 (Jan. 6, 1887), American Periodical Series Online, last accessed February 16, 2017.
- ⁶ See *Rock Island Daily Argus*, Rock Island, IL, June 16, 1893, front page report on the following attendees at the dinner, "Theodore Roosevelt, W. Hallett Phillips and Arnold Hague, of Washington: Director of Works Burnham, Chief W. I. Buchanan, Charles Deering, Captain Pitcher, Captain Edwards, and several others from New York, Washington and other cities." *Chronicling America*, Library of Congress, last accessed June 25, 2016. Buffalo Bill never became a member of the Boone and Crockett Club, see George Bird Grinnell and Charles Sheldon, editors, *Hunting and Conservation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1925) which lists the deceased members on pages 547-48. William F. Cody is not listed.
- ⁷ For dates Buffalo Bill performed in New York City, see Sandra Sagala, *Buffalo Bill on Stage* and "Routes List of Buffalo Bill's Wild West" compiled by the staff of the Buffalo Bill Museum. Another version of this list is offered by the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave in Golden, Colorado, and is broken down by geographical areas, http://www.buffalobill.org/PDFs/Buffalo_Bill_Visits.pdf last viewed on June 21, 2016. See also James W. Wojtovicz, *The W. F. Cody Buffalo Bill Collector's Guide with Values* (Paducah, KY: Collector Books, 1998), p. 80-91, for a detailed overview of where and when Buffalo Bill's Wild West performed. Theodore Roosevelt's detailed chronology is offered in Elting Morison's *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* and the various published diaries of Roosevelt; see *Theodore Roosevelt's Diaries of Boyhood and Youth* and *A Most Glorious Ride: The Diaries of Theodore Roosevelt, 1877-1886*, ed. Edward P. Kohn.
- ⁸ Herbert Asbury, *The Gangs of New York* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), reprint, p. 24. See also Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), for a historical perspective on class and theater.
- ⁹ Asbury, *Gangs of New York*, p.24.
- ¹⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Wilderness Hunter*, volume 2 of *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 301.
- ¹¹ See Elting Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, volume I, p. 140-145.
- ¹² Theodore Roosevelt and George Bird Grinnell, eds., *Trail and Camp Fire*, p. 322.
- ¹³ Matthew F. Halloran, "Theodore Roosevelt – Civil Service Commissioner," in William Chapin Deming, ed., *Roosevelt in the Bunkhouse* (Laramie, WY: The Laramie Printing Company, 1927) p. 63 and Matthew F. Halloran, *The Romance of the Merit System: Forty-Five Years' Reminiscences of the Civil Service* (Washington, D.C.: Judd and Detweiler, 1929), p. 167. Both sources regarding Roosevelt and his children are verbatim.
- ¹⁴ TR to Henry Cabot Lodge, March 27, 1886, in *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 38. Henry Cabot

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- Lodge wrote the following biographies: *Alexander Hamilton* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1882); *Daniel Webster* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1887); and, *George Washington* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1889). Roosevelt and Lodge collaborated on *Hero tales from American History* (New York: Century, 1895) a collection of brief biographies of prominent, heroic Americans.
- ¹⁵ TR to Lodge, March 27, 1886.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40 Sort out dates of letters and citations, either from Lodge or Morison
- ¹⁷ TR to Lodge, May 20, 1886, in *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge*, p. 41.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 42.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² Ken S. Mueller, *Senator Benton and the People: Master Race Democracy on the Early American Frontiers* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois Press, 2014), p. 3-4.
- ²³ Theodore Roosevelt's histories and biographies are as follows: *The Naval War of 1812* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1882); *Thomas Hart Benton* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1886); *Gouverneur Morris* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1888); *New York* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1891); *The Winning of the West*, 4 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889, 1894, and 1896); with Henry Cabot Lodge, *Hero Tales from American History* (New York: Century, 1895); *Oliver Cromwell* (New York; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900); and *History as Literature and Other Essays* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913).
- ²⁴ The most recent editions are those produced by the University of Nebraska Press, with forewords to each volume by key Roosevelt and American Western scholars.
- ²⁵ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), vol. 1, p. xxiii.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 2-3.
- ²⁸ Frederick Jackson Turner, "Significance of the Frontier," edited by Richard Etulain, p. 20.
- ²⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, volume 1, p. 4.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 5-7.
- ³¹ *Ibid.* p 7.
- ³² *Ibid.*, page. 8.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, page 41.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- ³⁷ Roosevelt's Biography of Benton, *TR Works National Edition*, vol. 7, p. 4.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ For discussions of Roosevelt's views of masculinity, race, and imperialism, see David H. Burton, "Theodore Roosevelt's Social Darwinism and Views on Imperialism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 26:1 (Jan.-March, 1965), p. 101-118; Thomas G. Dyer, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980); Gail Bederman, "Theodore Roosevelt: Manhood, Nation, and Civilization," in Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 170-216; Laura L. Lovett, "Men as Trees Walking: Theodore Roosevelt and the Conservation of Race," in Lovett, *Conceiving the Future: Pronatalism, Reproduction, and the Family in the United States, 1890-1938* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Monica Rico, "A White Man's Country: Elite Masculinity, Racial Decline, and the Frontier Stories of Theodore Roosevelt," in Rico, *Nature's Noblemen: Transatlantic Masculinities and the Nineteenth Century American West* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013); Karen R. Jones, "Masculinity, the 'Strenuous Life,' and the Genealogy of the Hunter Hero," in Jones, *Epiphany in the Wilderness: Hunting , Nature, and Performance in the*

Nineteenth Century American West (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015); and Christine Bold, *The Frontier Club*.

- ⁴⁰ For overviews of the Scottish Enlightenment, see David Allen, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993); T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* (London: Penguin, 2006), 2nd ed.; Arthur Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001); and *The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology*, ed. Alexander Broadie (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997). See Henry Homes, Lord Kames, *Historical Law Tracts*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: 1774) and *Sketches on the History of Man*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: 1774). Various editions of Lord Kames work are available through GoogleBooks. For interesting works on Scottish myths and legends inviting comparison to American Western myths and legends, see Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Stuart Kelly, *Scott-Land: The Man Who Invented a Nation* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2011); and Margaret Connell-Szasz, *Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans: Indigenous Education in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007). On Scots on the American frontier and in the American West, see Jenni Calder, *Frontier Scots: The Scots who Won the West* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2010); Collin G. Calloway, *White People, Indians, and Highlanders: Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815* (London: Penguin, 2003); Rob Gibson, *Highland Cowboys: From the Hills of Scotland to the American Wild West* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2003); James Hunter, *Glencoe and the Indians* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1996); James Hunter, *A Dance Called America* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1995); Ferenc Morton Szasz, *Scots in the North American West, 1790-1917* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000); and Jim Webb, *Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America* (New York: Broadway Books, 2004).
- ⁴¹ William Robertson (1721-1793) wrote *History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI*, 2 vols. (London: 1759); *History of the Reign of Charles the Fifth*, 2 vols. (Dublin: 1769); and *History of America*, 2 vols. (London: 1777). Robertson used the term “civilization” as applied to Lord Kames four-stage theory in his history of Charles V. Various editions of Robertson work are available through GoogleBooks.
- ⁴² Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, p. 95.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁵ Richard W. Etulain, *Re-Imagining the Modern American West: A Century of Fiction, History, and Art* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), p. 34. For published reviews of *The Winning of the West* by Turner, see *American Historical Review*, 2:1 (Oct. 1896), p. 171-76, and *Nation*, 60:1552 (March 28, 1895), p. 240-41. For another review, see Stephen B. Weeks, review of *The Winning of the West* in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 6 (Nov. 1895), p. 144-47, and George B. Utey, “Theodore Roosevelt’s *The Winning of the West*: Some Unpublished Letters,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 30:4 (March 1944), p. 495-506.
- ⁴⁶ Turner, “Significance of the Frontier,” Etulain edition, p. 20
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35 – footnote #45 within Turner’s address states, “Compare Roosevelt, Thomas Benton, ch. I.”
- ⁵² Theodore Roosevelt to Frederick Jackson Turner, Oct. 12, 1893, Theodore Roosevelt Center (TRC), Dickinson State University, last accessed Feb. 21, 2014.
- ⁵³ Theodore Roosevelt to Frederick Jackson Turner, Feb. 10, 1894, TRC, last accessed Feb. 21, 2014.
- ⁵⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, vol. 3, p. 207-208.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Roosevelt cited this section at the bottom of p. 208, “Frederick Jackson Turner: “The Significance of the Frontier in American History. A suggestive pamphlet, published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.”

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- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ Theodore Roosevelt to Frederick Jackson Turner, April 10, 1895, TRC, last accessed on February 21, 2014.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ⁶¹ Theodore Roosevelt to Frederick Jackson Turner, April 26, 1895, TRC, last accessed February 21, 2014.
- ⁶² Theodore Roosevelt to Frederick Jackson Turner, Nov. 4, 1896, TRC, last accessed February 21, 2014.
- ⁶³ For examples, see Robert A. Fulton, *Moroland, 1899-1906: America's First Attempt to Transform an Islamic Society* (Bend, OR: Tumalo Creek Press, 2007). Fulton begins his chapter examining the Battle of Bud Dajo with a quote from Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, "The most ultimately righteous of all wars is a war with savages, though it is apt to be also the most terrible and inhuman," p. 269. Warren Zimmerman, *First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made Their Country a World Power* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002) refers to *The Winning of the West* in relation to Roosevelt's views of national and imperial expansion, p. 23-24. Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001) refers to *The Winning of the West* to explain Roosevelt's view of race on page 17. John Upton Terrell, *Land Grab: The Truth About "The Winning of the West"* (New York: Doubleday, 1972) details the history of the exploitations of Americans Indians in contradiction to the imagery associated with Roosevelt's triumphal dichotomy. See also, Page Stegner, *The Winning of the Wild West: The Epic Saga of the American Frontier, 1800-1899*, with foreword by Larry McMurtry (Detroit, MI: Free Press, 2002). Another similar popular American phrase is "How the West Was Won." In 1962, MGM-produced film, *How the West Was Won*, cast many stars, including John Wayne, settling the American West from the early trappers to the building of cities. Dramatic scenes such as a bison stampede, a shootout on a moving train, and depictions of dangerous enemies such as river pirates and Indians, made this into a "thrilling" depiction of the winning of the Trans-Mississippi West. The poster advertising this film proclaimed, "24 GREAT STARS IN THE MIGHTIEST ADVENTURE EVER FILMED!" *How the West Was Won* was directed by John Ford, Henry Hathaway, George Marshal, and Richard Thorpe. Louis L'Amour wrote a novelization of the movie under the same title for Bantam Books in 1963. See also, Bruce Wexler also published *How the Wild West Was Won: A Celebration of Cowboys, Gunfighters, Buffalo Soldiers, Sodbusters, Moonshiners, and the American Frontier* (New York: Skyhorse Publications, 2013).
- ⁶⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. 1, p. 92
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 90.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 59.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 70.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*, p. 105.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid.
- ⁷¹ Ibid.
- ⁷² Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, vol. 1, p. 69
- ⁷³ Ibid., p. 69.
- ⁷⁴ "History as Literature," *TR Works National Edition*, vol. 12, p. 3.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 5.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 16.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 19.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 19 and 22.

Chapter VI: Two Rough Riders (1898-1901)

On July 1, 1898, Theodore Roosevelt wrote the following in his pocket diary:

Rose at 4.

Big battle.

Commanded regiment.

Held extreme front of firing line.”¹

These four brief lines are Roosevelt’s first account of his famed charges up Kettle Hill and then San Juan Hill, a brief, yet dangerous, facet of the United States Army’s campaign to secure the San Juan Heights overlooking Santiago, Cuba. The following year, *Scribner’s* magazine published a more detailed series of articles by Roosevelt describing his “crowded hour” in more detail, which appeared in 1899 in book form entitled *The Rough Riders*. In addition to this work, popular depictions engrained the Rough Riders’ charge up San Juan Hill led by Col. “Teddy” Roosevelt well into American memory, and elevated Roosevelt from a New York politician and historian into a popular military hero.²

Despite its wide appeal, Roosevelt’s published account generated some angst from another Rough Rider, one who did not fight in the Spanish-American War, William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody. The same day Roosevelt led his famous charge up San Juan Heights, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West appeared in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, one of the 133 communities to host the Wild West during the 1898 season. That year’s program documented Buffalo Bill and his performers continued their reenacted of the dramatic and violent settling of the American Frontier: Pony Express riders, the attack on the Deadwood Stagecoach, a buffalo hunt, an attack on a settler’s cabin, and the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Additionally, a color guard of Cuban veterans, “on leave of absence in order to give their various wounds time to heal,” reminded the audience of the American military presence in Cuba.³ Besides the Cuban veterans, who “have fought

for the flag of Cuba and will soon return to that country to act as scouts and guides,” the content of the Wild West show mostly reflected Buffalo Bill’s past career as a frontier scout.⁴ Yet, despite offers to participate in the Spanish American War, Buffalo Bill remained at home, performing with his Wild West. His only direct contribution was to provide General Nelson A. Miles two horses that the general used during the Puerto Rico campaign.

The first day of July 1898, marked an important watershed for both Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt’s actions that day transformed him into a national celebrity, which in turn led to greater political advancement. His fame as the Rough Rider leading his men up San Juan Hill, forever cemented in the American public’s mind, greatly contributed to his rise to the vice presidency and thence to the presidency of the United States. Buffalo Bill’s performance that day reflected his fame as a frontier scout, yet the reference to the conflict in Cuba with the appearance of Cuban revolutionaries signified the archaic nature of Buffalo Bill’s military career. New heroes emerged on July 1, 1898. The term “Rough Riders,” once clearly linked to the International Congress of Rough Riders of the World in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, now took on a new meaning and adhered itself to a new leader. Both men continued to use their military accomplishments after 1898 to enhance their careers, but Roosevelt’s meteor shot far into the sky, while Buffalo Bill’s seemed to flicker and grow dim. This transition caused Buffalo Bill to publicly advocate his role in popularizing the term “Rough Riders” before Roosevelt’s military action, beginning an ongoing debate as to which man deserves the most credit for the Rough Rider idea.

Roosevelt’s concept of the Rough Riders first occurred to him during the summer of 1886, when he and his men learned of the Cutting Incident, which threatened to escalate into a war between the United States and Great Britain. Roosevelt and his Dakota neighbors organized a volunteer cavalry of cowboys and ranchmen and notified the secretary of war they were ready to fight. On August 10, 1886, Roosevelt told Henry Cabot Lodge, “I think there is some good fighting stuff among these harum-scarum *roughriders* [emphasis added] out here; whether I can bring it out is another matter.”⁵

Ready to assume the role of “foreman” of these fighting cowboys, Roosevelt regaled his them with a quick history lesson on their potential English enemy. Roosevelt recalled to his men “the great deeds of the British cavalry from Waterloo to Balaklava, and finishing up by describing from memory the fine appearance, the magnificent equipment, and the superb horses of the Household cavalry and of a regiment of hussars I had once seen.”⁶ Roosevelt noted one of his cowboys, “who had been looking into the fire and rubbing his hands together, said with regretful emphasis, ‘Oh, how I *would* like to kill one of them!’”⁷ In a few years, Roosevelt found himself leading a similar group of men, killing a number of Spaniards on San Juan Heights, referring to his regiment as the Rough Riders.

When events led America into a developing foreign conflict with Spain regarding the future of Cuba, both Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt found themselves drawn closer together by their public statements. Both men advocated military intervention to free Cuba from Spain during the Cuban Revolution, a turmoil the American “Yellow Press” greatly sensationalized and exaggerated. As assistant secretary of the Navy, Roosevelt called for military intervention and his opponents labeled him a “jingo” who wanted to fight at the drop of a hat. Buffalo Bill reported to the *New York World* on April 3, 1898, that he planned to organize a regiment of 30,000 Plains Indians to fight the Spanish in Cuba, an inflated number when one considers the United States invaded Cuba a few months later with 18,000 men. “If these 30,000 shouting Indian braves on horseback, resplendent in brilliant war paint, the eagle feathers on their war bonnets fluttering in the wind, should sweep down on Havana in a grand charge,” wrote Buffalo Bill, “what a picture it would make!”⁸



Figure 10: New York World, April 3, 1898 – Cody Scrapbook McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the American West, Cody, Wyo., MS06.

Roosevelt’s past writings clearly indicated an eagerness to fight the enemies of the United States with American cowboys. In his autobiography, Roosevelt claimed his idea for a cowboy cavalry to fight the Spanish resulted from a conversation with Baron Speck von Sternberg, later the German Ambassador in Washington, D.C.: “It was he who first talked over with me the raising of a regiment of horse riflemen from among the ranchmen and cowboys of the plains.”⁹

On April 25, 1898, the United States Congress declared war on Spain. Tensions had emerged due to Spain’s handling, perceived as too brutal by many Americans, of a revolutionary movement on the island of Cuba. American resentment towards Spain expanded with the mysterious explosion on February 15 that destroyed the USS *Maine*, sent to Havana as a demonstration of America’s interest in the plight of the Cuban people. The death of 258 American sailors stirred America’s anger against Spain, especially when many notable newspapers blamed the explosion on Spanish saboteurs

despite a lack of evidence indicating Spain was to blame.¹⁰ When Congress declared war, a common slogan was “Remember *The Maine*, to Hell with Spain!”

Both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill had good reason to avoid the conflict. In May, Theodore Roosevelt attracted attention by resigning as assistant secretary of the Navy to fulfill his promise to fight in Cuba, despite his wife’s illness after the birth of her fifth child, bringing the total number of children Roosevelt left behind to six, including a child from his first marriage. Roosevelt also left a demanding government position in the middle of an international conflict.¹¹ Buffalo Bill backed out of his promise to fight. Clearly, the conflict in Cuba did not entail the type of fighting, enemy, or terrain to which he was accustomed. He also managed a very large enterprise, the Wild West, and pulling himself away from such a position proved impossible. He stayed behind, so that, in the words of biographer Don Russell, Buffalo Bill became the “hero less heroic.” Instead of participating, Buffalo Bill sent Gen. Nelson Miles two horses named Knickerbocker and Lancer for the Puerto Rico Campaign.¹²

Roosevelt’s regiment was not the sole “Rough Rider” regiment during the Spanish American War. Three days after the United States declared war, Secretary of War R. A. Alger authorized the creation of three cavalry regiments “to be composed exclusively of frontiersmen possessing special qualifications as horsemen and marksmen, and to be designated the First, Second, and Third regiments of the United States Volunteer Cavalry.”¹³ The First Volunteer Cavalry Regiment was commanded by army officer Col. Leonard Wood, who would soon be overshadowed by the publicity gained by his lieutenant colonel, Theodore Roosevelt. Wyoming rancher Jay L. Torrey commanded the Second Volunteer Cavalry Regiment and the Third Volunteer Cavalry Regiment was led by Melvin Grigsby, the attorney general of South Dakota. Wood and Roosevelt’s regiment consisted mainly of volunteers from the southwest and southern plains. Torrey’s regiment recruited in the Cheyenne and Denver regions, while Grigsby recruited men from Montana and the Dakotas and included many men who Roosevelt worked with during his days ranching in the Dakota Badlands.

In anticipation of the secretary of war’s order, newspapers characterized them as “REGIMENTS OF WESTERN SHARPSHOOTERS AND COWBOY ROUGH

RIDERS.”¹⁴ The press, the public, and the soldiers, themselves, referred to all three regiments as Rough Riders, a term already popularized by William F. Cody, Buffalo Bill, in his Wild West exhibition. Other names used to identify all three regiments included “Terrors,” “Holy Terrors,” “Cowboy Cavalry,” “Cowboy Volunteers,” and “Tigers.” These titles often denoted praise for the unique character of the men serving in each regiment; however, they could also denote a negative tone. After a group of Roosevelt’s Rough Riders shot out lights at a concert, Royal A. Prentice, a Rough Rider, recalled, “The next day the *San Antonio Light* carried a blistering editorial regarding the occurrence, and I believe they were the first to call us “Rough Riders,” nor did they mean it as an honorable designation.”¹⁵ By the end of the conflict, the three regiments were known separately as “Roosevelt’s Rough Riders,” “Torrey’s Rough Riders,” and “Grigsby’s Cowboys.” Clearly all three of these unique regiments inspired a slew of creative and colorful names, but only one, “Roosevelt’s Rough Riders,” fought in the Cuban Campaign. The other regiments suffered through oppressive heat and humidity in southern military camps, waiting to be shipped overseas to fight.

At first, Roosevelt disliked the term “Rough Riders,” believing it misled the public into regarding his regiment as a publicity stunt instead of a real military unit. During an interview for the *New York Times*, Roosevelt noted the term Rough Riders would give the “the impression that the regiment is to be a hippodrome affair. Those who get that idea will discover it is a mistake. The regiment may be one of rough riders, but they will be as orderly, obedient, and generally well disciplined a body as any equal number of men in any branch of the service.”¹⁶ Roosevelt also indicated his resentment of having his men compared to an amusement, such as Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. He told reporters that his men “will not make a show. They go out for business, and when they do business *no one will entertain for a moment the notion that they are part of a show* [emphasis added].”¹⁷

Despite his initial remarks regarding the use of the Rough Riders moniker for his unit, a few days later the newspapers still referred to the regiment as the Rough Riders. Despite his early trepidations, the papers also hinted that Roosevelt wanted the unit called the Rough Riders. The *New York Times*, only a few days after printing

Roosevelt's objections to the use of the term, called the 1st Volunteer Cavalry, "The Cowboy Regiment, or, as it is understood [Roosevelt] prefers to have it called, 'The Rough Riders' Regiment."¹⁸ Whether or not Roosevelt initially favored, or disliked, the term Rough Riders, by entitling his account of the war *The Rough Riders*, Roosevelt ensured the American people identified his regiment by the very name popularized through Buffalo Bill's Wild West beginning with the debut of the Congress of Rough Riders of the World in 1893.

Upon the conclusion of the brief campaign in Cuba, Roosevelt's Rough Riders enjoyed the glory of returning to the states as conquering heroes. Beginning in January 1899, monthly installments of *The Rough Riders* appeared in *Scribner's Magazine* until June 1899.¹⁹ In his account, Roosevelt again downplayed the usurpation of the name "Rough Riders," despite using it as a title of his book. Roosevelt described the formation of the First Volunteer Cavalry and explained how it acquired the name Rough Riders. Roosevelt wrote, "Wood and I were speedily commissioned as Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel of the First United States Volunteer Cavalry. This was the official title of the regiment but for some reason or other the public promptly christened us the 'Rough Riders.' At first we fought against the use of the term, but to no purpose; and when finally the Generals of Division and Brigade began to write in formal communications about our regiment as the 'Rough Riders' we adopted the term ourselves."²⁰

Roosevelt's failure to attribute the origin of the name Rough Riders to Buffalo Bill soon provoked a direct response from the showman and his publicity agent, John Burke. Within the 1899 Wild West seasonal program readers learned,

the 'some reason or other' for calling his [Roosevelt's] regiment 'Rough Riders,' regarding which Colonel Roosevelt seems to be in doubt, is so readily found and explained that his failure to discover it is really surprising. [emphasis added] The name is one with which the public has become familiar, and in a way fascinated, through its adoption some years ago by Col. W. F. Cody – "Buffalo Bill" – to designate precisely the class of

frontiersman associated with his Wild West Exhibition, which, as Colonel Roosevelt himself remarks, “made up the bulk of the regiment and gave it its peculiar character.”²¹

The program went on to note that the First Volunteer Cavalry designation as the Rough Riders, “was not only a deserved compliment, but an honorable designation, whose admirable fitness was at once and universally recognized.”²² Despite the implied frustration of not being credited for creating the term “Rough Riders,” Buffalo Bill’s Wild West program again emphasized, “Colonel Cody first introduced the name “Rough Riders” to the American public.” In addition, in praise of Roosevelt and his men, the program did concede that “the manner in which Colonel Roosevelt subsequently introduced it to the Spaniards has made [the name Rough Riders] historically immortal.”²³ Later Wild West programs dropped the first sentence that referenced Roosevelt’s ignorance regarding the origin of the term through Buffalo Bill’s Wild West.

When Roosevelt’s account of the Rough Rider regiment appeared in book form, Buffalo Bill again challenged Roosevelt’s statement about the use of the term “Rough Riders.” In a news article published by the *Omaha Herald* on June 18, 1899, Buffalo Bill asserted, “the genesis of the rough rider [sic] is easily determined. The origin of the name is apparent to any one [sic] who has roughed it in the west.”²⁴ He again noted, “It was I who coined the term rough rider, and I am pleased to know that it is an expression destined to live in American history, made everlasting by the gallant regiment that assumed the name and fought so bravely in the Spanish-American war.”²⁵

Clearly, Buffalo Bill publicized his “coined” name to the extent that when the Spanish-American War broke out, any military regiment that included cowboys and other frontier types would be called “Rough Riders,” regardless of who commanded it. The First Volunteer Cavalry’s success in Cuba and their colorful leader forever earned themselves the title “Roosevelt’s Rough Riders.” Roosevelt did not respond publicly or privately to Buffalo Bill’s comments. The popular military success of Roosevelt’s regiment, the publicity of his book *The Rough Riders*, and the political fame that

resulted from his actions in the Spanish-American War cemented Roosevelt's name to the term "Rough Riders," even though he neglected to pay homage to the man who popularized the term, Buffalo Bill. Although Buffalo Bill did not directly attack Roosevelt as a publicity monger, his writings and show materials clearly indicate a tone of frustration directed against Roosevelt for failing to publicly acknowledge his unintended contribution of a clever and popular name to Roosevelt's regiment.

On April 10, 1899, Theodore Roosevelt delivered a speech to the Hamilton Club in Chicago entitled "The Strenuous Life," which closely affiliated his political perspectives with both his military career and his adventurous life in the American West.²⁶ This speech came to identify not only Roosevelt's quest for physical strength, but also his aggressive and high moral stance to politics and diplomacy. Roosevelt began his speech:

In speaking to you, men of the greatest City of the West, men of the State which gave to the country Lincoln and Grant, men who preeminently and distinctly embody all that is most American in the American character, I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life, the life of toil and effort, of labor and strife; to preach that highest form of success which comes, not to the man who desires mere easy peace, but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph.²⁷

Roosevelt noted, "a health state can exist only when the men and women whom make it up lead clean, vigorous healthy lives; when the children are so trained that they shall endeavor, not to shirk difficulties, but to overcome them; not to seek ease, but to know how to wrest triumph from toil and risk."²⁸

Roosevelt also noted, "As it is with the individual, so it is with the nation... Thrice happy is the nation that has a glorious history. Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray

twilight that knows not victory nor defeat.”²⁹ To illustrate his point, Roosevelt highlighted the lives of Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant and how their victories, and defeats, saved the Union and abolished slavery, making the United States a strong nation. Roosevelt also touched upon the recent history of the Spanish-American War and the acquisition of new lands in the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean.

These national accomplishments were not achieved by, “The timid man, the lazy man, the man who distrusts his country, the over-civilized man, who has lost the great fighting, masterful virtues, the ignorant man, and the man of dull mind... These are the men who fear the strenuous life, who fear the only national life which is really worth leading. They believe in that cloistered life which saps the hardy virtues in a nation, as it saps them in the individual.”³⁰ Regarding the future of governing the lands secured from the crumbling Spanish empire, Roosevelt noted those who recommended leaving these lands to their own nationalistic whims was a mistake. To illustrate his point, he referred to the Indian Wars as a historical precedent, “Their doctrines, if carried out, would make it incumbent upon us to leave the Apaches of Arizona to work out their own salvation, and to decline to interfere in a single Indian reservation. Their doctrines condemn your forefathers and mine for ever having settled in these United States.”³¹

The great victories of the Civil War, the Indian Wars, and the war against Spain were won by citizens like himself and Buffalo Bill, those men who lived a “Strenuous Life.” The audience in the Hamilton Club that day realized the individual delivering the speech ranched in the Dakota Badlands, he made a stand against potential hostile Indians, he rode on the roundups with cowboys, he braved the heat of the desert and the biting cold of the western winters, and he killed charging grizzly bears – the perfect embodiment of a “Strenuous Life” – like the lives of western legends like Buffalo Bill Cody. The same day Roosevelt delivered his speech, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West performed in Madison Square Gardens, the highlight being several former Rough Riders who rode in Cuba with Roosevelt reenacting the Battle of San Juan Hill. Once again, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West demonstrated its knack for delivering dramatic entertainment covered with a veneer of authenticity.

When Roosevelt became a national celebrity after his charge up San Juan Hill, Buffalo Bill's Wild West hoped to profit from the popularity of Roosevelt's Rough Riders, even despite Roosevelt's unwillingness to give any credit to Buffalo Bill for his regiment's famed moniker. Beginning in 1899, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West* offered its audiences an explicit assertion of the connection, in the form of a reenactment of the Rough Riders storming San Juan Hill, a performance that included a handful of men who served under Roosevelt. The programs praised Roosevelt's use of "cowboys" to fight the Spanish foe and honored their significant military accomplishment.³²

Buffalo Bill undoubtedly hoped Roosevelt would attend the performance and stamp it with his approval, as former generals of the Plains Indian Wars had done on Buffalo Bill's behalf in the past with his reenactments of battles from the Indian Wars. On March 22, 1899, Roosevelt declined the invitation, writing to Buffalo Bill, "I wish I could accept your very kind invitation for Wednesday, but that is an impossible day for me. I may be down the following Friday or Saturday, although of this I cannot be sure. If I am down I shall surely see the show. I am delighted that [Billy] McGinty and [Tom] Isbell [two former Rough Riders] are in it. They are thoroughly good men."³³

The performance Roosevelt missed was described in detail by former Roosevelt Rough Rider Billy McGinty, in a memoir that merits extensive quotation for its description of Buffalo Bill's methods of theatrical reenactment:

We rehearsed at Ambrose Park until late March. I had a part in several acts like all the other boys. I rode in the grand parade as the color bearer for the Rough Riders. I also rode in the act of the battle of San Juan Hill and was given the part of General Joe Wheeler in that act.

Buffalo Bill added the re-enactment of the Battle of San Juan Hill for the 1899 season and it drew the greatest applause of all every time we played. It featured two scenes, and for rehearsal we had a small replica of San Juan Hill built at Ambrose Park. The hill was not as complete as the one we had when we opened at Madison Square Garden in New York City a little later.

This act included a detachment of Roosevelt's Rough Riders, the Twenty-fourth Infantry, the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry, Grimes Battery, Garcia's Cuban Scouts, and several pack trains. The scene opened during the halt along the road to San Juan Hill and was called 'the 'Bivouac.' The second scene, which was supposed to come after an elapse of a few hours, was called 'Storming the Hill.'"

A Spanish blockhouse was placed on top of the replica hill and we were below the hill with artillery stationed behind us. As the scene opened everything was darkened except for the lights that gleamed from the soldiers' campfires. The soldiers were fully equipped and there were ambulance wagons, stretcher-bearers, and all.

The lights lowly came on as day broke on the morning of the charge up San Juan Hill. As the dawn burst into full glory, the band played the song 'America.' The Spaniards appeared at the top of the hill and started firing. We went up the hill and over the top, deployed in military fighting positions, taking cover and firing at the enemy as we went. Artillery shells burst over our heads and leading the field were those of us who played the parts of General Joe Wheeler, Colonel Wood, and Colonel Roosevelt.

As we neared the top of the hill and stormed the blockhouse, the Spaniards retreated. The Rough Riders pulled down the Spanish flag and hoisted 'Old Glory' to the top as the band broke into the 'Star Spangled Banner.' Then, as the artillery moved off the field, the band played the tune that had become the theme song of the Rough Riders: 'There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight.'³⁴

Billy McGinty mistakenly believed Roosevelt attended the Wild West at Madison Square Garden, recalling in his memoirs, "the choice seats, of course, were the lower seats, and it was in one of those that Governor Theodore Roosevelt sat when he visited the show that year... he seemed to like the cowboy acts the best and got a big

kick out of the rifle shooting... he intently followed the riding of the bucking broncs, and after I had finished one that was a bit frisky he rose up in his seat and shouted 'Bully.' I heard the shout above the noise and recognized his voice and those familiar words."³⁵ McGinty's claim he heard Roosevelt at the opening performance on March 29, 1899, could not have occurred, for Roosevelt's schedule notes he was in Albany, not New York City. The *New York Times* review of the Wild West opening reports that Gen. Nelson Miles attended, but there is no mention whatsoever of Governor Theodore Roosevelt attending, an appearance that would not have gone unnoticed. Someone who sounded like Roosevelt may have shouted "Bully" at McGinty, but it was not Theodore Roosevelt.³⁶

It is likely Roosevelt never viewed Buffalo Bill's presentation of the Battle of San Juan Hill, due to his busy schedule as governor and possibly concerns regarding the Buffalo Bill reenacting a battle he personally experienced. It is also evident that Roosevelt held ambivalent views, at best, regarding Buffalo Bill's exhibitions. In a letter dated April 5, 1901, to the part-Cherokee journalist, John Milton Oskison, Roosevelt stated, "I am rather sorry your brother continues with the Wild West Show, though I have a genuine regard for Buffalo Bill. It seems to me time for him to settle down. He is too fine a fellow to continue permanently drifting around the world, as one must with such an enterprise, though I am glad he was with it for a short time."³⁷ Roosevelt rode with Oskison's brother, Richard Lee, who was wounded in the leg at San Juan Heights.³⁸ Albert "Bert" James Oskison was a companion of Will Rogers and participate in a wild west show organized by Zack Mulhall. Unfortunately, no record documenting either Richard or Bert's participation in Buffalo Bill's Wild West is readily available.³⁹

Buffalo Bill's Wild West again appeared in New York City on April 23 through May 5, 1900; Roosevelt's gubernatorial schedule notes he was in Albany and Chicago during this period. When Buffalo Bill's Wild West appeared again in Albany on May 29, 1900, Roosevelt's schedule indicated he was in New York City. On April 14, 1901, a few days after Roosevelt delivered his famed "Strenuous Life" speech in Chicago, Buffalo Bill sent a telegram requesting his attendance of a performance of the Wild

West. "Can you honor us with your presence at Wild West exhibition one night this week we leave town Saturday night please advise me."⁴⁰ Roosevelt replied, "I have your telegram of the 14th. It is always a very real regret to me when I am unable to attend the Wild West Show, for I never miss a chance unless I have to, but this time it will be simply impossible for me to get in."⁴¹ Roosevelt's schedule proves he was not in New York City at the time of Buffalo Bill's Wild West; instead, he was in Oyster Bay and Boston for the duration of the performance.

When Buffalo Bill and his entourage appeared in Washington, D.C., on April 24 and 25, 1901, Roosevelt was in Oyster Bay receiving his Third Degree in Freemasonry. When Buffalo Bill returned to Washington in 1907, President Roosevelt was on a speaking tour in Lansing, Michigan, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Once again, both men's schedules did not align with one another to allow Roosevelt the opportunity to view Buffalo Bill's performances. When Buffalo Bill appeared in Washington, D.C., in 1908, Roosevelt's youngest son Quentin did attend and rode in the Deadwood Stagecoach, but Roosevelt's schedule indicates he held a cabinet meeting and several conferences. Roosevelt's indifference to Buffalo Bill and Buffalo Bill's Wild West is best reflected in Roosevelt's selection of the "Wild West" entertainment for the Jamestown Exposition of 1907. Roosevelt reached out to Joe Miller and his 101 Ranch Show to provide a demonstration of cowboy roping and riding. Later, the Miller brothers built upon the momentum of their success at the Jamestown Exposition to create a full-fledged wild west show in the model of Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

One photograph [reproduced in the introduction of this dissertation] purports to show Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill riding down the streets of Cheyenne during the time of Cheyenne Frontier Days, giving the impression that Roosevelt may have viewed Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Wyoming. Upon scrutiny, it is impossible to place Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill in Cheyenne at the same time. When Roosevelt attended Cheyenne Frontier Days, Buffalo Bill's Wild West was appearing in England.

Buffalo Bill performed in Cheyenne in 1898, 1902, and 1915. During the first of these appearances, Roosevelt was at Montauk, Long Island, under quarantine upon his return from Cuba. When Buffalo Bill performed in 1902 and 1915, Roosevelt was at

home in Oyster Bay. Another photograph [see introduction] often touted as Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill attending an event is an image of Buffalo Bill with General Hugh Scott, not Theodore Roosevelt. Despite the lack of evidence indicating Roosevelt attended any performance of Buffalo Bill's Wild West while he was President of the United States, many individuals, based upon the assumption that Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill were close friends, often jump to conclusions that any image of Buffalo Bill accompanied by any man with a mustached man wearing rounded glasses must be an image of the two western legends.

After leaving the White House, Roosevelt again missed many of Buffalo Bill's exhibitions held in New York City. In 1909, Roosevelt was in Africa while Buffalo Bill performed and when he appeared again in 1910, Roosevelt was in Paris. It is possible Roosevelt visited Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Pawnee Bill's Far East when it appeared in New York in 1913; however, the New York newspapers did not report such an event although they did advertise the release of Roosevelt's autobiography and the appearance of Buffalo Bill on the same page. Despite the secondary sources, Roosevelt's claim to "never miss a chance [to attend] unless I have to," and a few memoirs such as McGinty's, no explicit source can be found to validate Roosevelt's attendance at Buffalo Bill's Wild West after 1898. Additionally, there is no primary documentation in Roosevelt's own hand validating his attendance, nor any description of the Wild West in any of his diaries, his books, or his extensive letters. Despite lack of proof that, as president, Roosevelt attended a performance of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, public memory continually places him in the stands. Probably stemming from McGinty's account and the 1944 film, *Buffalo Bill*, starring Joel McCrea, which places President Roosevelt in the stands yelling, "Bully! That was Bully!" while grinning from ear-to-ear.

In addition to pressuring Roosevelt to attend and authenticate a performance of the San Juan reenactment, Buffalo Bill and his affiliates attempted to garner his support for a military college in Cody, Wyoming. On May 11, 1901, Col. E. V. Sumner sent Roosevelt a request on stationary with a letterhead advertising "Cody Military College and International Academy of Rough Riders." The letter began "I am quite well aware of the fact that in response to an application made to you some days since[,] you

declined to take any part in our plans to establish a 'Rough Rider' College in Wyoming, and it may be that you have good and sufficient reasons for doing so."⁴² Hoping to change Roosevelt's mind, Sumner noted such a school "will be a benefit to every young man of our Country who has the means and the wish to so improve his physical condition, knowledge of horsemanship and use of fire arms, that he may be at all times depended upon as a soldier fully able to cope with his like in any other Nation and always to be depended upon in defence [sic] of his own land."⁴³

Roosevelt responded, "I am very sorry but it is absolutely out of the question for me to go into any such plan now. I believe if properly handled such a scheme can do real good, but I could not be associated with it in anyway unless I were willing to do active work, and this is simply an impossibility in my present position and with the calls made upon me."⁴⁴ Despite enthusiasm for the Rough Rider College in Wyoming, the institution never came to fruition. As late as the year 1909, Buffalo Bill was still promoting a similar school named "Buffalo Bill's" Cavalry School but it, too, failed, leading one to speculate whether Buffalo Bill blamed Roosevelt's unwillingness to promote this venture for its eventual failure.

Theodore Roosevelt had quickly risen in the ranks of American politics, running for the governorship of New York on his return from Cuba and for the vice presidency of the United States on President McKinley's ticket in 1900, after Vice President Garret Hobart died in office in November 1899. There were suggestions that the Democrats should consider running Buffalo Bill as a vice presidential candidate and Republican Roosevelt probably eyed the Democrat Buffalo Bill with suspicion, although William F. Cody later stated, "I knew nothing about politics."⁴⁵ In his 1879 autobiography, Buffalo Bill described his election to the Twenty-Sixth District of the Nebraska Legislature. He noted, "but as I had always been a Democrat and the State was largely Republican, I had no idea of being elected. In fact[,] I cared very little about it, and therefore made no effort whatever to secure an election. However, I was elected and that is the way in which I acquired my title of Honorable."⁴⁶ It was later determined that Buffalo Bill did not win the election, due to a mistake in the submission of election returns, so he did not

serve in the Nebraska Legislature but nevertheless retained the title of “Honorable” for the remainder of his life.

Buffalo Bill also was quite close to the leading Democrat of the age, William Jennings Bryan, one of Roosevelt’s perennial political opponents. As the congressman from Nebraska, Bryan assisted fellow Nebraska resident Buffalo Bill in his struggles with the Department of the Interior for permission to continue recruiting Lakota performers from Pine Ridge Reservation to star in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. After Bryan secured the Democratic Party’s nomination in 1896, Buffalo Bill sent a telegraph offering congratulations from “Every member of Nebraska’s wild west exhibition, including Indians.”⁴⁷ Bryan biographer Louis W. Koenig noted, “In the East, Bryan was referred to as ‘the Boy Orator of the Platte’ and identified with William F. Cody, then in his heyday as ‘Buffalo Bill.’ Cody’s shows of legendary Wild West, complete with broncobusters, scenarios of Indians attacking stagecoaches, and crack shooting exhibitions by cowboys and cowgirls, roused visions of gracious Washington society adopting the uncouth ways of frontier life should Bryan be elected.”⁴⁸ In the election of 1900, the Republican Party adopted similar frontier imagery by selecting Theodore Roosevelt as the vice-presidential candidate.

Those close to Buffalo Bill thought he had the potential for national politics. Helen Cody Wetmore’s 1899 biography of her brother frequently refers to a gypsy fortuneteller’s prophecy that her brother would eventually become president of the United States. This information may have spooked Roosevelt to a certain extent, if he was aware of it, or at least made him wonder about Buffalo Bill’s political intentions. During the 1900 campaign, one Democrat indicated that William Jennings Bryan should recruit Buffalo Bill to run as his running mate, pitting one Rough Rider against another.⁴⁹ For most of his political career, Roosevelt contended in one form or another with the Democrat/Populist William Jennings Bryan and may have viewed Buffalo Bill’s potential political aspirations as a threat. The prospect of a combination of the popular Rough Rider Buffalo Bill and “The Boy Orator from the Platte” Bryan on one ticket might have caused Roosevelt some brief anxiety.

During the 1900 presidential campaign, in fact, Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill did meet face-to-face, likely for the first time, on September 28, 1900, in Junction City, Kansas. Roosevelt came to town on a whistle-stop campaign while Buffalo Bill performed with his Wild West nearby. When Roosevelt's train arrived, Buffalo Bill and a few of Roosevelt's Rough Riders performing in the show welcomed him. Buffalo Bill began his speech, "Ladies and gentlemen: Gov. Roosevelt is the American cyclone, and I don't wonder that some have taken to their cellars. The Wild West is not here to make political speeches. The ticket Gov. Roosevelt represents is already elected, and all they have got to do is to show down and take the pot."⁵⁰ The remainder of the speech recounted Buffalo Bill's life in Kansas and promoted the Wild West. Buffalo Bill upstaged Roosevelt, who was unable to deliver his campaign speech because of the interruption. None of the Junction City newspaper articles covering this event hinted that Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill were old friends, or gave any indication that the two men had met before.

The McKinley-Roosevelt campaign defeated William Jennings Bryan and Adlai Stevenson, giving McKinley a second term in office. As vice president, many of Roosevelt's political opponents in the Republican Party believed he no longer posed a threat to their system of patronage with his progressive reform agenda. On September 6, 1901, President McKinley visited the Temple of Music in the grounds of the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, where he was shot by Leon Czolgoz, a deranged anarchist. McKinley died from his wounds on September 13. Roosevelt, having been previously assured McKinley would recover, received the news as he climbed Mount Marcy in the Adirondacks. On September 14, 1901, he took the oath of office, becoming the 26th President of the United States. Republican Party boss Mark Hanna uttered after Roosevelt assumed the presidency after McKinley's death, "now look, that cowboy is President of the United States."⁵¹ Upon Roosevelt's ascendancy to the presidency, the two Rough Riders began a professional relationship through which both hoped to advance their own political and economic goals.

While advancing various business enterprises in the Big Horn Basin, Buffalo Bill hoped a professional connection to fellow Rough Rider Roosevelt would circumvent

some of the problems he previously encountered in 1867 with the founding of his first town Rome, Kansas. During his service as a scout, Buffalo Bill met William Rose, who convinced him to leave the military to establish a potential town site and make a fortune selling town lots. Knowing the general route of the developing Kansas Pacific Railroad, the two men surveyed a town site and named it Rome. To entice settlers, the two offered free town-lots but reserved the corner lots and other prime town-sites for themselves, hoping to lure in businesses for free while at the same time increasing the value of the lots they held in reserve. Buffalo Bill recalled, “Our modern Rome, like all mushroom towns along the line of a new railroad, sprang up as if by magic, and in less than one month we had two hundred frame and log houses, three or four stores, several saloons, and one good hotel... Rose and I already considered ourselves millionaires...”⁵² In this case, Buffalo Bill clearly believed his pioneering effort, being first in time thus first in right, would result in great riches, yet more powerful interests stripped him of any financial gains.

Buffalo Bill and Rose’s emerging town soon ended with the arrival of an agent from the Kansas Pacific Railroad, Dr. W. E. Webb. Webb told Buffalo Bill and Rose that his mission was to locate new towns along the proposed railroad route, he liked Rome, and he wanted to form a partnership. Reluctant to share their profits with the railroad or its representatives, the two town founders confidently turned down Webb’s offer. When Webb threatened to organize another community to compete with Rome, Buffalo Bill and Rose, “somewhat provoked at his threat,” turned him down again, believing Rome would survive the threat of any competition. “But we acted too independently and to indiscreetly for our own good,” Buffalo Bill recalled.⁵³

Webb later established Hays City and circulated the rumor the railroad would locate its machine shops, roundhouses, and other railroad services in the new community. “A ruinous stampede from our place was the result,” Buffalo Bill later wrote, “and in less than three days our once flourishing city had dwindled down to the little store which Rose and I had built.”⁵⁴ Buffalo Bill learned from the failure of Rome, Kansas, that to successfully establish a town, one needed more than to establish first in right. One needed solid business and political connections to overcome the predatory

practices of 19th century capitalism. His interest in Cody, Wyoming, offered him a second chance to succeed as a town founder.

In addition to town building in Kansas, Buffalo Bill also invested in a Nebraska reclamation project hoping to profit from diverting water from rivers to irrigate potential farmland in the arid west. In January 1894, Buffalo Bill joined Isaac Dillon, a neighboring Nebraskan rancher, to finance a 12-mile ditch that they hoped would irrigate up to 12,000 acres along the North Platte River which could be sold in 40 to 80-acre plots to potential settlers. Buffalo Bill also approached a few Philadelphia Quakers as potential settlers. After both men invested \$10,000 in the ditch, it only irrigated 4,000 acres. Due to the financial crises stemming from the 1893 economic crash, the Quaker settlers failed to materialize and Buffalo Bill failed to see much profit from his investments.⁵⁵

Shortly before the Spanish American War labeled Roosevelt as a Rough Rider, Buffalo Bill hoped to profit in the Big Horn Basin from a new reclamation act. In 1894, Wyoming Senators Francis E. Warren and Joseph M. Carey facilitated the Carey Act through Congress. Passage of the federal Carey Act regenerated many investors interest and hope in reclaiming arid by superseding the Desert Land Act of 1877, which granted reclamation investors up to 640 acres of public domain if they ensured it was irrigated. The Carey Act granted arid western states up to one million acres of public domain to if their state government ensured the irrigation of the land through either state funding or private funding. Once irrigated, the state assumed ownership of the land and the proceeds of land sales would go into the state coffers. The companies building the dams and ditches could sell the water rights to the settlers, with the goal of the settlers eventually taking over the irrigation system and managing it as a cooperative. Under the Carey Act, the federal government would dispose of its arid public domain, the state would promote settlement and acquire funding through land sales, private construction companies would benefit from the sale of water rights, and settlers would acquire 40 to 80-acre tracts of irrigated land watered by a distribution system they would control. Many considered the Carey Act a halfway step towards federal reclamation, costing the land-rich nation only arid lands deemed worthless without irrigation.⁵⁶

Sheridan, Wyoming, rancher, George W. T. Beck, and banker Horace C. Alger sought to profit from the Carey Act, a decision that eventually interested Buffalo Bill to northwest Wyoming. While prospecting in the Big Horn Mountains, Beck learned of a potential Carey Act site from Laben Hillberry, a local miner and rancher who explored the region. Hillberry explored the Shoshone Canyon where the north and south Forks of the Stinkingwater River merged to flow through the canyon dividing Rattlesnake and Cedar Mountains. At the base of these mountains, along the river, were pungent hot springs emitting sulfurous odors that gave the river its name.⁵⁷ At the mouth of this canyon, Hillberry told Beck, was a location “where the river could be brought around to irrigate a great tract of land.”⁵⁸ Upon learning Hillberry walked to the location and investigated it for himself, Beck then sent his friend Jerry Ryan to accompany Hillberry back to the location to verify the irrigation potential of the site. The two men returned with favorable reports.

Beck invited Wyoming State Engineer Elwood Mead, whose duties included enforcing state water laws and oversight of the Carey Act projects, along with potential investors including Buffalo Bill’s son-in-law Horton Boal, married to his daughter Arta. The group travelled over the Big Horn Mountains to the Big Horn Basin, nearly losing their lives floating and crossing various rivers. Beck was quite pleased with the potential of the land and the prospects of an irrigation project, along with hunting and fishing opportunities in the surrounding mountains. Mead believed land between the Greybull and Stinkingwater Rivers would become an agricultural cornucopia after the diversion of water to the arid, sagebrush flats.⁵⁹

Upon Beck’s return to Sheridan, he calculated the entire trip cost him \$3,000, his first of many investments in the Big Horn Basin. “But it had been more than worth it,” he later wrote, “I returned full of enthusiasm and with Horace Alger, who was cashier of the bank in Sheridan, I began to figure on building the canal I visualized.”⁶⁰ Shortly after investing in the North Platte reclamation project, Buffalo Bill arrived in Sheridan to visit his daughter and his son-in-law Horace touted the economic potential of a reclamation project on the Stinkingwater River. Buffalo Bill approached George Beck and requested to be an investor in the project. Beck recalled, “Horace was quick to

agree that by taking Cody in we would probably acquire the best advertised name in the world. That alone, we reasoned, would be advantageous and thereupon made Cody president of the company we organized.”⁶¹ The Sheridan men hoped Buffalo Bill’s status as an international celebrity would generate tremendous publicity regarding their investments in northwest Wyoming.

Alger agreed to serve as treasurer and Beck served as secretary-manager. In addition to promoting the project, Buffalo Bill’s financial commitment to the project lured more investors, including the vice-president of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, Nathan “Nate” Salsbury, and George Bleistein who owned the Courier Printing Company in Buffalo, New York, which printed numerous posters for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. Bleistein recruited two of his friends from Buffalo: Bronson Rumsey, a real-estate developer, and H. M. Gerrans who owned the Iroquois Hotel in Buffalo. Not only were Rumsey and Bleistein associates of Buffalo Bill, their families were also closely connected to Theodore Roosevelt. Bleistein presented Roosevelt with a horse and the Rumsey’s father ranched near Roosevelt in the Badlands and was a Boone and Crockett Club member. After the death of President McKinley, Roosevelt was sworn into the presidency at the Wilcox Mansion, which was purchased by Dexter Rumsey for his daughter Mrs. Ansley Wilcox. In addition to his own limited connections to Roosevelt, this group of investors with their own ties to the president likely bolstered Buffalo Bill’s belief Roosevelt would support their planned economic developments in northwest Wyoming.

Beck, Buffalo Bill, and fellow investors named their company the Shoshone Land Company and Irrigation Company. Despite their initial optimism, the investors quickly realized the problem of luring settlers into lands irrigated by the Stinkingwater River and preferred to use the term Shoshone, as had earlier settlers. During the summer months of the year 1887, the Carter Cattle Company advertised their brand in the *Northwestern Live Stock Journal* identifying their cattle in the Big Horn Basin as the “‘Shoshone River Herd,’ range on Shoshone or Stinkingwater River and tributaries east of Yellowstone Park.”⁶² In 1901, after the town of Cody emerged and settlers homesteaded the region, State Senator of Big Horn County Atwood C. Thomas

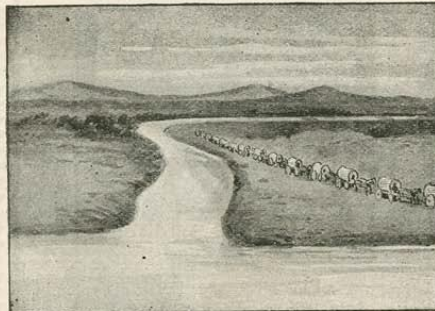
introduced a successful bill in the Wyoming State Legislature to rename the river
 "Shoshone."⁶³

Shoshone Irrigation Company,

OWNERS OF THE CODY CANAL.

Has Water Ready for Thousands of Acres of Good State Lands.

UNLIMITED WATER WAITS THE CULTIVATOR,
 FINE LAND WAITS THE FLOW.



LETTER FROM STATE ENGINEER.

STATE OF WYOMING,
 ELWOOD MEAD, STATE ENGINEER,
 CHEYENNE, WYO., DEC. 22, 1896.

SHOSHONE IRRIGATION CO., CODY, WYOMING:
 GENTLEMEN.—I regard the Cody Canal as one of the most important and valuable projects ever inaugurated in this State, and believe it is destined to exercise great influence on our growth in wealth and population.

It will open to settlers a region having vast and varied resources. I know of no place in this country which offers to prudent and industrious farmers greater assurances of material prosperity and physical comfort than the Big Horn Basin.

This valley has a local climate, with less snow-fall in the winter than any part of the surrounding country, and with a mean temperature in summer which permits of a wider diversity of crops than is possible in much of the country five hundred miles south of it. It is, therefore, equally well adapted to the purposes of the stock raiser, grain grower, fruit raiser, or market gardener.

The Cody Canal takes its water supply from one of the largest rivers in the West, and reclaims some of the best land in this State. The completed portion is well and substantially built with an ample capacity to water all the land below it.

The price of shares therein is as low as the cost of the work will permit; the conditions of purchase absolutely fair to water users. The ultimate ownership of both Canal and land by settlers, with the abundant water supply, gives the cultivators of these lands a security and independence not always enjoyed by irrigators.

I can, therefore, unreservedly and heartily commend your project to Investors and the lands it waters to homeseekers.
 Respectfully,
 ELWOOD MEAD, State Engineer.

TITLES TO HOMES PERFECT.

TITLES TO THE LAND FROM THE UNITED STATES TO
 THE STATE OF WYOMING.
 FROM THE STATE OF WYOMING FOR BOTH LAND AND
 WATER TO THE PURCHASER.

Comparative Cost of Land.—The price of irrigated land varies in the different localities. Taking the arid region as a whole, the average price varies from \$50 to \$100 per acre. In California it ranges from \$50 to \$400; in Arizona from \$25 to \$100; in Washington from \$55 to \$100, and in Western Colorado from \$50 to \$100. In all States there are lands suited only to the cultivation of grasses and cereals which may be had from \$25 upwards. But for lands under the Cody Canal which can produce such a variety of crops the price asked is remarkably low, for it must be remembered that you secure not only the land but a perpetual water right. The State charges only 50 cents per acre for the land (and \$2 fee for completing title), but requires of the settler that he shall show evidence of contract with the Irrigation Company for the water right requisite to make his land of any use, and the Company's price is \$10 per acre. This need not all be paid at once, however. It can be paid in five annual installments, with simply the addition of 6 per cent. interest.



PRICES REASONABLE AND IN SMALL PAYMENTS.

COL. W. F. CODY, President.

Full information can be obtained concerning procurements of this land by prospective settlers from

GEO. T. BECK, Manager and Secretary,

BIG HORN COUNTY.

CODY, WYOMING.

FROM:

THE MERCALDO ARCHIVE
 104 - 42 104th STREET
 OZONE PARK 16, N. Y.

Figure 11: Advertisement selling homesteads near Cody, Wyoming, from 1900 Buffalo Bill's Wild West program. MRL MS6.1936

With the pooled capital of the Shoshone Land and Irrigation Company, Beck established a work camp for laborers on the Cody Canal. The camp lured in keepers of various saloons, which Beck attempted to suppress, but relented when he discovered his men were willing to travel nearly a hundred miles to Red Lodge and Billings, Montana, to slake their thirst. Additionally, a bathhouse frequented by the workers emerged next to the hot springs. Buffalo Bill acquired horses for the excavation works from South Dakota and workers began construction of a headgate, the Cody Canal, and an aqueduct over Sulphur Creek to bring water from the south fork of the Stinkingwater to the lands surrounding the future town of Cody, Wyoming.

In 1894, Buffalo Bill visited the location; Beck later noted this was the showman's first known trip into the Big Horn Basin. Beck and other investors met Buffalo Bill in Red Lodge and traveled to the work camp with three loaded wagons and Buffalo Bill's Concord buggy. In addition to investigating the work site, they toured the Big Horn Basin meeting several ranchers and settlers. Beck's manuscript makes it clear the two men had a thoroughly good time visiting distant neighbors in the Big Horn Basin. In addition to enjoying drinks and meals with various ranchers in the Greybull River Valley outside of the community of Meeteetse. Beck and Buffalo Bill also attended a dance in the Mormon community of Burlington, where someone absconded with all their whisky.⁶⁴

Although the Cody Canal project was a collaboration between Beck, Buffalo Bill, and others, Buffalo Bill later received most of the credit for settling the region, mainly through his efforts to publicize the Big Horn Basin. Buffalo Bill identified himself as the pioneer who discovered the potential economic worth of the Big Horn Basin. In a story told the *Big Horn River Pilot*, a Thermopolis, Wyoming, newspaper, Buffalo Bill claimed he first looked upon the Big Horn Basin after suffering from blindness caused by an infection. Per this fanciful account, when his guide removed his bandages to see the Big Horn Basin, Buffalo Bill proclaimed, "No one ever looked upon

a happier, a more delightful valley... I chanced to be viewing one of nature's master-pieces."⁶⁵

A few years later, Helen Cody Wetmore repeated the story in her biography of her brother *Last of the Great Scouts*. She described his efforts to develop the Big Horn Basin in a biblical sense by comparing him to Moses:

An irrigating ditch costing nearly a million dollars now waters this fertile region, and various other improvements are under way, to prepare a land flowing with milk and honey for the reception of thousands of homeless wanderers. Like the children of Israel, these would never reach the promised land but for the untiring efforts of a Moses to go on before; but unlike the ancient guide and scout of sacred history, my brother has been privileged to penetrate the remotest corner of his primitive land of Canaan.⁶⁶

Missing from Helen's flowery depiction of her brother's efforts to settle the Big Horn Basin were the numerous internal and external struggles of the irrigation company to complete the project and its failure to lure droves of potential settlers into the region.⁶⁷

After constructing only a few miles of ditch, the company encountered numerous obstacles; the investors did not realize the great profits they hoped to receive from their investments. Historian Donald J. Pisani summed up the project as follows, "The Shoshone Land and Irrigation Company's experience was fairly typical. The Carey Act companies quickly ran out of money; the expected wave of new farmers never materialized; and those who came had too little capital to carry them through the lean months and years before their farms began to pay. Moreover, the projects were far removed from rail lines and major markets."⁶⁸ At one time, the company even considered recruiting members of the Socialist Party to create a socialist utopia on the lands irrigated by their reclamation project.⁶⁹

Despite these initial setbacks, Buffalo Bill continued to use his traveling exhibition Buffalo Bill's Wild West to advertise potential homestead sites to likely settlers. When funds were limited, Beck used his family connections to solicit more funding. Beck's father, James Burnie Beck, served as senator from Kentucky and one of

his friends was the mining magnate George Hearst, a fellow senator from California. When the Cody Canal required \$30,000 to complete the project, the company issued bonds but potential investors were still suffering from the ill effects of the Panic of 1893. Beck approached George Hearst's widow Phoebe Hearst, the mother of the newspaper mogul William Randolph Hearst. She agreed to buy the bonds for \$27,000 to allow completion of the final stages of the canal, although it took a few years to repay her. "Hundreds of thousands of acres have been redeemed," Beck later recalled, "and today far more farming and agriculture goes on than even I dared to hope for when I began the work."⁷⁰

Buffalo Bill did not make a large profit selling water rights to homesteaders utilizing the Cody Canal. Yet, Buffalo Bill did realize one goal for himself through the Shoshone Land and Irrigation Company, the founding of a town bearing his name. Beck and Buffalo Bill argued over locations and names for the new community until Buffalo Bill acted independently and wrote to the postmaster general requesting the developing town be named Cody, Wyoming. "It was not long after that, I received formal notification from Washington we had a post office and that its name was Cody," Beck recorded in his memoirs, "That's how one town got to be named after one man. As it pleased Buffalo Bill tremendously and did the rest of us no harm, I let it go at that."⁷¹

Success in establishing a post office and securing a name for the community did not necessarily ensure survival, for many former post offices and "ghost towns" abound in Wyoming. Beck worked with various individuals to construct a commissary, a school, a hotel, and an office building. "We made further strides when we gallantly laid a few hundred feet of wood side walk to help the ladies keep their skirts out of the mud of our main street," wrote Beck.⁷² Beck also established an experimental garden and a stone house that later became his home. Cody became the county seat of Park County in 1909, creating a new economic resource by securing a county courthouse and various county positions.⁷³

Despite Beck's hard groundwork and Buffalo Bill's national and international efforts to promote the new community through Buffalo Bill's Wild West, the small town's population failed to grow at a level envisioned by its investors and few

homesteaders applied for homesteads and water rights in the lands reclaimed by the Cody Canal. The Burlington Railroad company eyed Buffalo Bill's new town as a potential railroad station providing a gateway to Yellowstone National Park. Although a railroad connection ensured the arrival of more settlers, most likely Buffalo Bill's mind flashed back to the galling experience with the Kansas Pacific Division of the Union Pacific Railroad, which ended his town of Rome.⁷⁴

Both Beck and Buffalo Bill realized they needed to cooperate with the Burlington Railroad, who in 1891 surveyed a potential route following the Shoshone River up through the South-Fork of the Shoshone, to the Buffalo Fork of the Snake River and onto the Pacific Coast.⁷⁵ Charles Morrill, the president of the Lincoln Land Company, approached Beck to work out an arrangement regarding the future of Cody. The Lincoln Land Company served as a sister corporation to the Burlington Railroad, its purpose was to develop lands and encourage settlement along the railroad lines. Morrill made it clear if Beck, Buffalo Bill, and their fellow investors did not cooperate, the Lincoln Land Company would establish a town near Corbett, located a few miles downstream from the town of Cody.

Beck negotiated a final agreement between the Cody Town Site Company and the Lincoln Land Company. The Lincoln Land Company purchased half of the town lots for \$10 an acre, in addition to acquiring eighty acres of land north of the river to build a train depot. Both companies agreed not to build another town near the depot; instead, Cody would be the primary community. The Burlington Railroad laid its tracks and Cody became the final stop on the line. Although the transcontinental line never materialized ending the dream of travelers and freight destined for the Pacific Coast passing through town, the Burlington line established Cody as a gateway community to Yellowstone National Park, drawing numerous tourists to the region. Additionally, the railroad connection connected ranchers and farmers to national markets, securing a stable economic future for the small community.

Wyoming historian T. A. Larson noted the Cody Canal project was one of the few projects to be completed under the Carey Act of 1894 in the State of Wyoming. "Eight years after the passage of the Carey Act, Wyoming, which lead the states in

taking advantage of that law, had filled application for 457,500 acres of land but had been able to carry through to final patent only 11,321 acres,” wrote Larson, “The Carey act had fallen short of expectations.”⁷⁶ Larson notes that by 1897, eight projects were approved, “of which only two in the Big Horn Basin were pushed with any vigor,” this included the Big Horn Basin Development Company under Solon Wiley, which irrigated land along the Greybull River, and the Shoshone Land and Irrigation Company.⁷⁷

Through Beck’s social and political connections, joined with Buffalo Bill’s marketing, the Cody Canal was completed but failed to produce great financial returns. Buffalo Bill, hoping to secure greater returns partnered with Nate Salsbury, Vice President of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, to irrigate the lands north of Cody, Wyoming, on the other side of the Shoshone River. When Roosevelt became President of the United States, Buffalo Bill believed his developing relationship would advance this irrigation scheme and produce greater financial returns. The stage was set for a professional conflict between the pioneer mindset advocated by Buffalo Bill and progressive reform as promulgated by Theodore Roosevelt.

¹ Theodore Roosevelt, *Pocket Diary 1898* (Cambridge: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, 1998), work not paginated.

² Theodore Roosevelt, “The Rough Riders,” *Scribner’s*, vol. 25, n. 1, (January 1889), p. 1-21, this is the first installment of the series. Accessed from the online Almanac of Theodore Roosevelt, <http://www.theodore-roosevelt.com/treditorials.html> on August 31, 2016; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders* (New York: P. F. Collier, 1899). See also, Finley Peter Dunne, “A Book Review,” [Nov. 19, 1899] in *Mr. Dooley’s Philosophy* (New York: R. H. Russell, 1900), p. 13-18. For overviews of the causes, campaigns, and significance of the Spanish-American War, see H. W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Frank Freidel, *The Splendid Little War* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1958); Donald M. Goldstein and Katherine V. Dillon, *The Spanish-American War* (Washington: Brassey’s, 1998); Ivan Musicant, *Empire by Default: The Spanish-American War and the Dawn of the American Century* (New York: Henry Holt, 1998); G. J. A. O’Toole, *The Spanish War: An American Epic* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984); Louis A. Perez, *The War of 1898: The United States & Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Ron Ziel, *Birth of the American Century* (Mattituck, N.Y.: Amereon House, 1997); and, Warren Zimmerman, *The First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made their Country a World Power* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002). For studies of Roosevelt’s Rough Riders and other volunteer cavalry units, see Edward Marshall, *The Story of the Rough Riders* (New York: G. W. Dillingham, 1899); Charles Herner, *The Arizona Rough Riders* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970); Peggy Samuels and Harold Samuels, *Teddy Roosevelt at San Juan: The Making of a President* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1997); Otto Louis Sues, *Grigsby’s Cowboys* (Salem, S.D.: Otto Louis Sues, 1900); Dale Walker, *The Boys of ’98: Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders* (New York: Forge, 1998); Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother* (New

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- York: History Book Club, 2006); and, Clifford P. Westermeier, *Who Rush to Glory* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1958).
- ³ 1898 Buffalo Bill's Wild West Program, McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West (Center), Cody, Wyo., MS06.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵ Theodore Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, Aug. 10, 1886, in *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge*, p. 45.
- ⁶ Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*, p. 109.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ *New York World*, April 3, 1898 – Cody Scrapbook McCracken Research Library, Center, MS06. Roosevelt later recruited many American Indians into the Rough Rider Regiment; he noted in 1888, "Indians are excellent fighters, though they do not shoot well." See Roosevelt, *Ranch Life*, p. 108. Buffalo Bill also recorded himself reading an editorial advocating for Americas intervention in the Cuban Revolution, this recording is available on Cody Archive: <http://codyarchive.org/multimedia/wfc.aud00001.html> Last accessed on July 17, 2017.
- ⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, p. 33.
- ¹⁰ Various versions of Maine explosion.
- ¹¹ Kathleen Dalton, *The Strenuous Life*, p. 147-177, offers an insightful section on the familial and career demands Roosevelt faced before and after he fought in Cuba.
- ¹² See Russell, *The Lives and Legends*, p. 416-438.
- ¹³ Otto Louis Sues, *Grigsby's Cowboys: Third United States Volunteer Cavalry, Spanish-American War* (Salem, S.D.: Otto Louis Sues, 1900), p. 5.
- ¹⁴ Clifford P. Westermeier, *Who Rush to Glory*, p. 31.
- ¹⁵ Royal A. Prentice, "The Rough Riders," *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 26, no. 4, (Oct. 1951), p. 261-276.
- ¹⁶ *New York Times*, May 1, 1898.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, May 7, 1898.
- ¹⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, "The Rough Riders," *Scribner's*, vol. 25, n. 1, (January 1889), p. 1-21, this is the first installment of the series. Accessed from the online Almanac of Theodore Roosevelt, <http://www.theodore-roosevelt.com/treditorials.html> on August 31, 2016
- ²⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), p. 10-11. For bibliographical information regarding the *Scribner's* articles and various early editions, see Herman Hagedorn, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, v. XI, p. xxii.
- ²¹ 1899 Historical Sketches and Programme, Buffalo Bill's Wild West, McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West (Center), Cody, Wyo., MS06.
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ "Buffalo Bill Writes a New True Tale of Frontier Heroism and Explains the Origin of the Term 'Rough Riders,'" *Omaha Herald*, June 18, 1899.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ In his book *The Wilderness Warrior*, Douglas Brinkley mistakenly notes Roosevelt was introduced to the audience by Hamilton Club president William F. Cody. The president of the Hamilton Club between 1898-1899 was Hope Reed Cody, not William F. Cody. See *New York Times*, "Gov. Roosevelt in Chicago," April 11, 1899, *New York Times* online archive, accessed September 17, 2016 and the history of the club, *Hamilton Club of Chicago*, 1913, Internet Archive, accessed September 17, 2016. This is a good example of how many prominent historians connect Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill together based on their personal connections to the American West and their embodiment of frontier masculinity. In this case, Brinkley surmised President Cody must be Buffalo Bill, probably due to the masculine connotation of Roosevelt's famous "Strenuous Life" speech.
- ²⁷ Hagedorn, ed., *Works of TR*, vol. XII, p. 319.

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- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² *Buffalo Bill's Wild West* programs may be found at the McCracken Research Library, BBCW, MS06. Many of these programs are also available through the *Papers of William F. Cody* digital archive at www.codyarchive.org
- ³³ Theodore Roosevelt to William F. Cody, March 22, 1899, Papers of Theodore Roosevelt (TR Papers), Library of Congress (LC), Washington, D.C.
- ³⁴ Billy McGinty, *Oklahoma Rough Rider: Billy McGinty's Own Story*, ed. Jim Fullbright and Albert Stehno (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), p. 95-96.
- ³⁵ Ibid., p. 100.
- ³⁶ "Wild West Show Opens," *New York Times*, March 30, 1899. Despite the dearth of news articles reporting that Theodore Roosevelt attended Buffalo Bill's Wild West, a few questionable reports continue to emerge and are cited as proof. The most recent example is Mark Lee Gardner, *Rough Riders: Theodore Roosevelt, His Cowboy Regiment, and the Immortal Charge Up San Juan Hill* (New York: William Morrow, 2016), p. 261. Gardner, in his well-written and well-researched book, cites an article entitled "Colonel Cody's Rough Riders" from *The Times*, Washington, D. C., dated April 16, 1899, available on the Chronicling America Website. This article quotes an article from an unknown New York newspaper, reporting Roosevelt attended and was pleased with the performance and met his former Rough Riders after the presentation and shook their hands. This event that is not detailed in Bill McGinty's *Oklahoma Rough Rider* claims Roosevelt sat in a box seat and shouted "Bully," p. 100. If the Rough Riders met with Roosevelt after the performance, McGinty would have likely documented the event. An online search of the quotation within this article did not produce any corresponding news report. See chapter three of this dissertation for an overview of the unlikely possibility Roosevelt viewed Buffalo Bill's Wild West at Madison Square Garden. The author of this dissertation finds it unusual that if Roosevelt did indeed visit Buffalo Bill's Wild West to witness his former Rough Riders reenact the "Charge Up San Juan Hill" he did not detail it in his writings, nor was the event splashed on the frontpage of hundreds of newspapers.
- ³⁷ Elting Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 41.
- ³⁸ Roosevelt, *Rough Riders*, p. 216.
- ³⁹ The names list at the Buffalo Bill Museum does not list any Oskison being affiliated with William F. Cody nor Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Bill McGinty's *Oklahoma Rough Rider* also does not mention Oskison in McGinty's account of performing in the San Juan Hill reenactment for Buffalo Bill's Wild West. It is possible he may have used an alias while performing, or his tenure with Buffalo Bill's Wild West was short-lived and therefore not documented. It is also possible Roosevelt referred to Bert Oskison's connections to performing with Will Rogers in Zack Mulhall's cowboy roping demonstrations with Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Mulhall later toured his show under the title "The Congress of Rough Riders and Ropers" during the St. Louis 1904 World's Fair. While attending a Rough Riders Convention held in Oklahoma in 1900, Roosevelt watched Zack's daughter Lucille ride and concluded she was one of the best horse riders he ever seen. Roosevelt recommended to her father that she be allowed to tour and demonstrate her equestrian skills. Yet Lucille Mulhall biographer Kathryn Stansbury concluded it was unlikely Roosevelt attended Mulhall's show at the World's Fair in St. Louis. For information on John Milton Oskison and selections of his writings, see John Milton Oskison, *Tales of the Old Indian Territory and Essays on the Indian Condition*, edited with introduction by Lionel Larré (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012). For information about the Mulhall family and their wild west shows, see Beth Day, *America's First Cowgirl: Lucille Mulhall* (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1955); Cynthia Kay Rhodes, *Lucille Mulhall: An Athlete of Her Time* (Durham, CT: Strategic Book Group, 2011); Kathryn Stansbury, *Lucille Mulhall, Her Family, Her Life, Her Times* (Self-published, 1985) and *Lucille Mulhall Wild West Cowgirl* (Mulhall, OK: Homestead

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- Heirlooms Publishing Company, 1992); Michael Wallis, *The Real Wild West: The 101 Ranch and the Creation of the American West* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999) and Arthur Frank Wertheim and Barbara Bair, *The Papers of Will Rogers: The Early Years, Volume I, November 1879-April 1904* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996) and *The Papers of Will Rogers, Wild West and Vaudeville, Volume II, April 1904-September 1908* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000). Don Russel briefly notes the history of Zack Mulhall's shows in *The Wild West*, p. 79-80, and Lucille Mulhall, p. 73, 79-80, 91, 105, and 129-130.
- ⁴⁰ William F. Cody to Theodore Roosevelt, April 14, 1901, TR Papers, LOC.
- ⁴¹ Theodore Roosevelt to William F. Cody, April 18, 1901, TR Papers, LOC.
- ⁴² General E. V. Sumner to Theodore Roosevelt, May 11, 1901, TR Papers, LOC.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁴ Theodore Roosevelt to General E. V. Sumner, May 13, 1901, TR Papers, LOC.
- ⁴⁵ William F. Cody, *Buffalo Bill's Life Story: An Autobiography* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1920), page 148.
- ⁴⁶ William F. Cody, *The Life of Hon. William F. Cody*, 1879, p. 372.
- ⁴⁷ Quoted in Louis W. Koenig, *Bryan: A Political Biography of William Jennings Bryan* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971), p. 205.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 243.
- ⁴⁹ "Col. Cody for Vice President," *New York Times*, July 1, 1900, and "W. F. Cody for Vice-President," (editorial) *Cody Enterprise*, Oct. 31, 1900, Wyoming Newspaper Project. Koenig notes the possibility of Buffalo Bill's nomination in *Bryan*, p. 324.
- ⁵⁰ For coverage of the meeting between Theodore Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill Cody in Junction City, Kansas, see, "A Great Day Despite the Rain," [Junction City] *Daily Union*, Sept. 29, 1900; "Roosevelt in Kansas City," *Junction City Tribune*, Oct. 5, 1900; and "Colonel Roosevelt Here," *Junction City Republican*, Oct. 5, 1900.
- ⁵¹ Mark Hanna's comment was noted by H. H. Kohlsaas in an article entitled "From McKinley to Harding: Personal Recollections of our Presidents," *The Saturday Evening Post*, v.195, n. 4, July 22, 1922, Philadelphia, PA., p. 44. According to Kohlsaas, during the train ride from Buffalo, Mark Hanna said, "I told William McKinley it was a mistake to nominate that wild man at Philadelphia. I asked him if he realized what would happen if he should die. Now look, that cowboy is president of the United States!" Roosevelt noted to Kohlsaas, "Hanna treats me like a boy. He calls me Teddy." Upon hearing Roosevelt's remark, Kohlsaas suggested to avoid a political feud and work with Hanna, who had just lost a close friend with McKinley's death. When a waiter asked Hanna to join Roosevelt for dinner, he retorted to Kohlsaas, "That damned cowboy wants me to take supper with him alone."
- ⁵² William F. Cody, *Life of Hon. William F. Cody*, 1879, p. 173.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.* Ironically, Webb also provided the first mention of Buffalo Bill in a published book. Webb's book, *Buffalo Land*, details Buffalo Bill Cody's hunting attributes, see W. E. Webb, *Buffalo Land* (Cincinnati: E. Hannaford, 1872).
- ⁵⁵ Yost, *Buffalo Bill*, p. 258-263.
- ⁵⁶ Donald J. Pisani, *To Reclaim a Divided West: Water, Law, and Public Policy 1848-1902* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992) offers a detailed history of events leading to the passing of the Carey Act and the Newlands Act of 1902. Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) offers a good overview of irrigation in the American West from the 1840s to the modern day. Worster also does an excellent job of juxtaposing water issues in the west with other world cultures that pioneered reclamation. T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978) covers the impact of the Carey Act in Wyoming and the political careers of Francis E. Warren and Joseph Carey.
- ⁵⁷ John Colter explored this geothermal region in the winter of 1807-08 and later informed Capt. William Clark, who added the site to the Lewis and Clark Map. Early fur traders referred to the region around

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- present-day Cody as Colter's Hell. Some historians and geographers mistakenly refer to the geyser basins in Yellowstone National Park as Colter's Hell.
- ⁵⁸ Unpublished Beck MS provided by George and Betty Jane Gerber, p. 204. This manuscript is soon to be part of *The Papers of William F. Cody* series. For a detailed overview of Buffalo Bill's involvement in the Cody Canal, see Robert Bonner, *Buffalo Bill's Wyoming Empire*. Although this author disagrees with his characterization of the relationship between Buffalo Bill and George Beck, Bonner provides a thorough history of Buffalo Bill's efforts to develop Cody, Wyoming, and the Big Horn Basin.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 204-205. See, also, James R. Kluger, *Turning on Water with a Shovel: The Career of Elwood Mead* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992).
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 205.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 209.
- ⁶² *Northwestern Live Stock Journal*, #27 (June 10, 1887), p. 15. This ad appeared throughout the months of June, July, and August 1887. Accessed from Wyoming Newspaper Project database on April 16, 2015. Chief Washakie of the Shoshone recommended Judge Carter establish a ranch along the south fork of the Stinkingwater River and it is very likely the herd was named in honor of Washakie's people.
- ⁶³ Senate Journal of the Sixth State Legislature of Wyoming (Laramie, WY: Chaplin, Spafford & Mathison, Printers, 1901), p. 127 and 133.
- ⁶⁴ Beck Manuscript.
- ⁶⁵ William F. Cody, "The Big Horn Basin," *Big Horn River Pilot*, Thermopolis, Wyoming, Oct. 12, 1898, Wyoming Newspaper Project, last accessed April 24, 2016.
- ⁶⁶ Wetmore, *Last of the Great Scouts*, p. 296.
- ⁶⁷ Buffalo Bill's version of how he discovered the Big Horn Basin continued to evolve. In his later autobiography, he claimed he "discovered" the Basin in 1879 while serving as a guide for famed Yale paleontologist O. C. Marsh; however, Buffalo Bill served as a guide for Marsh in Nebraska, not Wyoming. More than likely, Buffalo Bill first viewed the southern end of the Big Horn Basin while serving with Gen. Anson Mills during an expedition from Fort Steele, Wyo., across the southern Big Horn Mountains into the Powder River Country in 1874. George Beck notes in his memoirs that Buffalo Bill first entered the Big Horn Basin in 1894.
- ⁶⁸ Pisani, *To Reclaim a Divided West*, p. 259-60 and Lawrence M. Woods, *Wyoming's Big Horn Basin to 1901: A Late Frontier* (Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1997), p. 197-208. Both Pisani and Woods offer readers a concise overview of the Shoshone Land and Irrigation Company's efforts to complete the Cody Canal under the Carey Act.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 258.
- ⁷⁰ Beck Manuscript, p. 230.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 218.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 219.
- ⁷³ Robert E. Bonner, *William F. Cody's Wyoming Empire* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007) provides extensive details regarding the building of the town of Cody and the Cody Canal. Lucille Nicholls Patrick, *The Best Little Town by A Dam Site, or Cody's First 20 Years* (Cheyenne: Flintlock Publishing Co., 1968) provides a detailed history of the founding of Cody, based on local newspapers. See also Jeanne Cook, et. al. *Buffalo Bill's Town in the Rockies* (Virginia Beach: Donning, 1996) and Lynn J. Houze, *Images of America: Cody* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2008) for a photographic history of Cody. For an early history of Cody along with a detailed history of the Buffalo Bill Center of the West (formerly the Buffalo Bill Historical Center), see Richard A. Bartlett, *From Cody to the World* (Cody: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1992).
- ⁷⁴ Rex Myers, "The Cody Route to Yellowstone," *Annals of Wyoming: The Wyoming History Journal* 81:4 (Autumn 2009): 11-19, provides an overview of the Burlington Railroad's line to Cody, Wyoming. The Burlington railroad continued to promote its connections to Buffalo Bill through the years. See El Comancho, *The Old Timer's Tale* (Chicago: The Canterbury Press, 1929). For histories of the Burlington Railroad and its efforts to build communities in the American West, see Richard C. Overton, *Burlington Route: A History of the Burlington Lines* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965) and

Burlington West: A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad (New York: Russell & Russell, 1941).

⁷⁵ Edward Gillette, *Locating the Iron Trail* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1925), p. 117-123. Gillette and his party happened to run into Theodore Roosevelt in Yellowstone National Park after his elk hunt near Two-Ocean Pass.

⁷⁶ T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. 348.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.305. Larson provides a concise overview of the failure of the Care Act in Wyoming, see pages 301-306, 348, and 349-353.

Chapter VII:

The President and the Showman (1901-1910)

Most of the professional relationship between Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill centered on the future of the Shoshone River Valley within the Big Horn Basin of northwest Wyoming. Buffalo Bill believed Theodore Roosevelt, the Cowboy President whose military career he considered he had advanced by sharing the moniker Rough Rider, might enhance his political connections and provide potential support towards his efforts to settle and develop the lands within the Shoshone Valley of northwest Wyoming. Buffalo Bill believed assistance from President Roosevelt would greatly facilitate western settlement and tourism in northwest Wyoming, where Buffalo Bill was heavily invested in various projects in northwest Wyoming.

In January 1902, a one-page article about Theodore Roosevelt's life in the American West appeared in the magazine *Success*, authored by the famous western scout turned showman, Buffalo Bill. *Success* was published by the self-help and positive thought advocate, Orison Swett Marden, who regarded Roosevelt as the embodiment of the magazine's philosophy of the power of tenacity and iron will.¹ Buffalo Bill, for his part, proclaimed that Roosevelt's "inherent manliness, his independence of thought and action, his firm determination to do his duty as he sees it, found early expression in the character of Theodore Roosevelt when, as a youth, in search of health and strength, he went to the great West."² Throughout the article, he praised Roosevelt as a pioneer of the American West and not an eastern dude who occasionally visited the Badlands. The sensational subtitles of the one-page article declared "He Dashed in to the Vortex of the Chase," "He Showed Pioneers how to Winter Cattle," "He Civilized 'Bad Men' by his Influence," "'Gameness was Needed: Roosevelt Had Plenty,'" and "His Frontier Life was Amply Worth the While."

In the article, Buffalo Bill also celebrated Roosevelt's hunting accomplishments: "He caught and killed game for his own use, saddled his mounts, did his own cooking,

was his own scout, and performed his half of the night-work.”³ Buffalo Bill’s narrative also told the story of Roosevelt standing up to the Marquis De Mores by challenging him to a duel and challenging other bad men “who found him to be an absolutely just man, possessing nerve, and handy with gun and fists.”⁴ Buffalo Bill also claimed he witnessed Roosevelt working in the Badlands. “I remember this intrepid son of fortune, participating in the stampedes, doing his share of the night-herding, breaking his own horses, sleeping at night with his saddle for a pillow, and, perhaps, the snow for a blanket,” Buffalo Bill wrote, “eating the same rough, substantial fare as his employees, and evidencing the indomitable will, courage, and endurance which brought him the affection and respect of his men.”⁵ Readers would assume, especially if they were familiar with Roosevelt’s own writings detailing his involvement in cattle roundups, that Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt must have encountered one another on the range.

Despite claiming familiarity with Roosevelt’s life in the West, Buffalo Bill exaggerated many details about his subject’s ranching career. He stated Roosevelt was the first rancher in the Badlands to winter cattle, yet Roosevelt established his ranch among many other ranchers, including the Marquis De Mores, Lincoln Lang, and Joe Ferris. Far from proving to the old-timers how to winter cattle, Roosevelt saw his cattle herds suffer through the winter of 1886-1887. Roosevelt left ranching, not because he found his strength and then decided to leave, as Buffalo Bill described, but because his ranching investments failed to produce any profits, costing the young easterner a considerable amount of money.

Buffalo Bill concluded his article on the new president of the United States by declaring Roosevelt’s western background prepared him to face the great challenges of the presidency. “His fellow citizens, regardless of geographical distribution, believe that he will not be found wanting in the discharge of the exacting duties of his present exalted station,” concluded Buffalo Bill.⁶ And despite his eastern upbringing and his connections to the New York elite class, the author believed, “The capacity to do for himself and meet men upon an equal basis – self-reliance and personal courage, – came to him as the fruition of [his] experiences in the Far West. I know that this democracy still influences him.”⁷ This glowing proclamation certainly enhanced Roosevelt’s image

as the Cowboy President. This laudatory article also clearly indicated to readers that Theodore Roosevelt would be an effective leader of the nation and that his effectiveness stemmed directly from his experiences in the American West. Roosevelt would have undoubtedly been pleased with Buffalo Bill's positive depiction of his life in the American West, despite its glaring inaccuracies, coming, as it did, from another globally recognized spokesperson of the frontier experience.

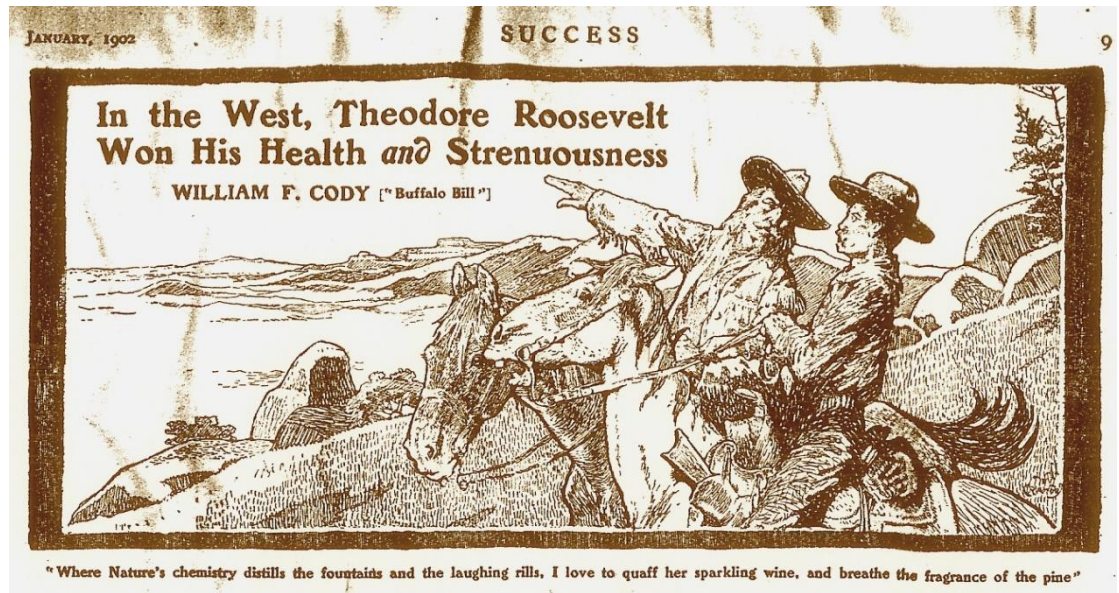


Figure 12: The heading of the article written for *Success* by Buffalo Bill. Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Harvard University.

The article appeared verbatim in the *Cody Enterprise*, a newspaper Buffalo Bill founded in 1899 to serve the emerging community of Cody, Wyoming.⁸ From the few surviving issues of the early *Cody Enterprise* papers, it is evident the residents of Cody and Buffalo Bill viewed Roosevelt as a potential supporter of reclamation efforts in their region, as well as a kindred spirit who enjoyed life in the American West. In one issue, the *Cody Enterprise* highlighted Roosevelt's western characteristics by commenting on his inauguration as vice president in the editorial column:

Some strenuously partisan Democratic papers evince keen disappointment because Vice-President Roosevelt did not signalize his entry into office by firing off his gun and emitting some ear splitting war whoops. But then the Colonel [Roosevelt] is not the kind of a man to

gratify his enemies and the calm and dignified manner with which he entered upon the discharge of his duties, while astonishing to some, was in keeping with the great office he was called upon to fill. And besides the Colonel long since announced that all future cowboy antics were duly cut out.⁹

Shortly after he assumed the presidency, the *Cody Enterprise* identified the unique traits of Roosevelt compared to other presidents, noting he came from the city, was a man of letters, a military hero, and originated from Dutch stock.¹⁰ In an article reporting his advancement to the presidency upon the death of President McKinley, the *Cody Enterprise* praised his leadership skills. “Fortunately for the American people it will be no untried or uncertain hand that will take up the reins of government for President Roosevelt has had large and responsible experience in the direction of public affairs, and in each and every instance has acquitted (sic) himself with the greatest honor.”¹¹

In comparison, the *Wyoming Dispatch*, a short-lived Democratic newspaper also published in the town of Cody, mocked and railed against Roosevelt and his policies. The *Dispatch* frequently printed snippy comments mocking the Republican administration under Roosevelt. In reporting that the Wyoming Republican Party presented its platform to Roosevelt, the article concluded, “In order to be in conformity with the national Republican administration it should have been written with the blood o[f] a Filipino and had the head of a Sulu slave for an emblem.”¹² Clearly, this newspaper coverage focused on Roosevelt’s imperialist ambitions which were opposed by the Democratic Party and the Anti-imperialist League. This violent depiction of Roosevelt and the Republican Party reflected his opponents’ portrayal of him as a wild “Cowboy” in the hope that the connotation would tarnish his image.

Theodore Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill both shared a penchant for the “Strenuous Life,” as defined by Roosevelt in a speech before the Hamilton Club in Chicago in 1899. Through Roosevelt’s political career and Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, both men highlighted the benefits of living a “Strenuous Life” to their respective audiences and

touted how America's pioneers collectively shaped the United States into a unique and powerful national nation through their rugged live this lifestyle, which contributed to past military victories domestically and overseas. This common interest held by both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill led them to overlook their differences and collaborate with one another to preserve remnants of the American western wilderness in northwest Wyoming. These regions provided a place where Americans could reconnect with their pioneering ancestors by briefly experiencing the "Strenuous Life." Their common goal and shared methods to preserve the "Strenuous Life" resulted in mutual professional advancement in striking contrast to their later strife stemming from the disagreements between the two men of how to reclaim irrigable lands in the Big Horn Basin.

Both men shared a long interest in the future development and preservation of the Yellowstone Ecosystem, a region that promised to provide public wilderness experiences, tourist facilities, and a testing ground for forestry conservation. On March 1, 1872, President Ulysses S. Grant signed the bill creating Yellowstone National Park, an event hailed by future generations as a critical step towards the preservation of the American wilderness. The bill creating Yellowstone clearly stated the region was to serve as a "public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people."¹³ The legislation further stipulated, "regulations shall provide for the preservation from injury or spoliation of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonders within the park, and their retention in their natural condition."¹⁴ To list and enforce these specific regulations, the Secretary of the Department of the Interior appointed a park superintendent. Unfortunately, Congress did not appropriate any funds for the new superintendent or provide for any additional staff to enforce said regulations. Due to this significant limitation, the 1872 legislation did little to protect the natural features of the newly created Yellowstone National Park.¹⁵

Without an effective administration overseeing the new park, the initial onslaught of tourists and concessionaires seeking sport and food devastated Yellowstone's wildlife populations. Market hunters soon discovered Yellowstone provided them one remaining pocket of western wildlife resources to exploit. Yellowstone's bison and elk herds not only provided a source of food for the mining

districts of Montana, it also offered opportunities to provide bison heads to taxidermists who then sold the trophy mounts to various businesses and individuals who wanted to honor this vanishing species of wildlife. Members of the Benevolent Protectorate Order of Elks demanded elk ivories to garnish their jewelry, thus displaying their loyalty to the order. To meet these demands, various market hunters slaughtered Yellowstone wildlife, especially in the winter months when tourists and the few government employees patrolling the park were scarce.

The number of animals killed within the boundaries of Yellowstone, and the cruel methods used by market hunters, is a dark period of the park's first few years. For example, the Bottler Brothers, a family residing north of Yellowstone, reportedly killed over 2,000 animals within the Yellowstone region in just one season alone. Market hunters also devised cruel methods to save on expenses, such as driving elk into snowdrifts to entrap their prey and cut the ivories out the live elk's mouth with a knife. While this saved ammunition, and led to greater profits for the hunter, it led to a grueling and painful death for many elk. The presence of bison carcasses provided an additional economic opportunity for poisoning scavengers and predators to secure various pelts. Even the fish within the park suffered. Miners from the developing mining community of Cooke City found it easier to secure fish by dynamiting Yellowstone's lakes. The Yellowstone National Park Bill clearly stated the park superintendent's regulations should prevent "wanton destruction" of fish and wildlife; however, only a handful of concerned citizens decried the actions of these market hunters and the early park superintendents and their employees either did not care or did not have the resources to end the slaughter.¹⁶

A handful of individuals did protest the destruction of Yellowstone's natural features and wildlife. In 1875 Captain William Ludlow of the Corps of Engineers led a scientific expedition through Yellowstone National Park. With Ludlow's group was Roosevelt's future colleague George Bird Grinnell, a naturalist who composed the zoological report of the expedition. Grinnell grew up in Audubon Park, New York, where he was inspired to become a naturalist by John James Audubon's widow, Lucy. Ignoring his father's wishes to become a Wall Street broker, Grinnell instead went west

to explore its vast wildlife and become a naturalist. In 1874 Grinnell explored the Black Hills with the famed army officer, George Armstrong Custer. Fortunately, Grinnell declined to join Custer on his military expedition in 1876 that ended with the Battle of the Little Big Horn River. During the Ludlow expedition through Yellowstone, Grinnell learned that due to heavy snows of the previous winter, market hunters slaughtered 1,500 to 2,000 elk just within a fifteen-mile radius from Mammoth Hot Springs.¹⁷

Based on Grinnell's observations of Yellowstone's wildlife and its destruction, Ludlow wrote the following statement in his report, "this wholesale and wasteful butchery can have but one effect... the extermination of the animal... from the very region where he has a right to expect protection, and where his frequent inoffensive presence would give the greatest pleasure to the greatest number."¹⁸ To ensure the proper protection of Yellowstone and its wildlife, Ludlow's report urged Congress to transfer the management of the park over to the War Department so cavalry troops could police the park, protecting it from devastation and preserve it for future generations. Ludlow concluded his report with the following prophecy, "the day will come... when this most interesting region, crowded with marvels and adorned with the most superb scenery, will be rendered accessible to all; and then, thronged with visitors from all over the world, it will be what nature and Congress, for once working together in unison, have declared what it should be, a National Park."¹⁹

Yellowstone's wildlife populations were somewhat protected after P. W. Norris became superintendent in 1877. Norris posted a regulation to end market hunting within Yellowstone's boundaries and secured Yellowstone's first federal funds to hire a staff to enforce regulations within the park; however, patrolling 2.2 million acres proved an overwhelming challenge and the slaughter continued despite Norris's efforts. Norris continued his attempt to protect Yellowstone until February 1882 when Patrick Conger replaced him. In his history of Yellowstone National Park, Hiram Chittenden noted Conger's "administration was throughout characterized by a weakness and inefficiency which brought the Park to the lowest ebb of its fortunes, and drew forth the sever condemnation of visitors and public officials alike."²⁰

Conger, known to have strong ties to the railroads, assumed his leadership at the same time the Northern Pacific Railroad (NPRR) sought to expand its operations within Yellowstone National Park. C. T. Hobart, the superintendent overseeing NPRR construction of a rail line from Livingston to Yellowstone, formed the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company (YPIC) to construct hotels and provide services to tourists who would soon be arriving via the completed rail link to Yellowstone. Assistant Secretary of the Interior Merritt Joslyn promised YPIC a handful of 640-acre leases within Yellowstone, giving YPIC control of over 4,000 acres of federal land thus granting the concessionaire a complete monopoly of Yellowstone's most scenic wonders to a subsidiary company of the NPRR. Additionally, the leases provided YPIC the freedom to secure timber resources within the park to construct facilities and permission for professional hunters to kill park wildlife for feeding construction crews.

Shortly after an 1882 trip through Yellowstone, Buffalo Bill's former commander General Philip H. Sheridan voiced his concern for the future of Yellowstone after learning of the YPIC's efforts to monopolize the tourist trade and exploit Yellowstone's timber and wildlife resources. Sheridan decried the leasing of the park and echoed Ludlow and Grinnell's calls for the War Department to take over the administration of Yellowstone. Additionally, Sheridan recommended Congress expand the park's eastern boundary to the mouth of the Shoshone Canyon, near present-day Cody, Wyoming, to provide additional protected habitat for the park's dwindling wildlife populations. George Bird Grinnell, now editor of the sporting journal *Forest and Stream*, supported Sheridan's recommendations. Grinnell argued in *Forest and Stream* magazine that Yellowstone was a single rock standing to break the negative impacts of western immigration, a place "where the large game of the West may be preserved from extermination; here... it may be seen by generations yet unborn."²¹ Influenced by Grinnell's writings, on January 3, 1883, Senator George Graham Vest introduced a bill within the Senate to incorporate Sheridan's recommendations. The public debate over Yellowstone's future now intensified.

Shortly after Vest introduced his bill, public support came from an individual many would consider an unlikely proponent of wildlife protection in the American West

- William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody. During the debate over Yellowstone's future, the former military scout turned actor wrote a letter to the *New York Sun* voicing his support for the increased protection of Yellowstone National Park, decrying the slaughter of bison and elk by hotel concessionaires. The flamboyant language used in the letter suggest Cody's publicist John M. Burke either wrote or assisted Cody in writing the letter. Despite the question of authorship, the letter to the New York newspaper *The Sun* brought Buffalo Bill, the best known past market hunter, into the debate over Yellowstone's future.

Buffalo Bill called for the protection of the remaining bison herds in Yellowstone National Park:

Today the buffalo and elk have almost entirely disappeared. The buffalo is actually a thing of the past in great regions of the West where, only a few years since, gigantic herds were met from day to day. Their slaughter has been criminally large and useless, and no hand is raised to stop the utter extinction which threatens them. Even their bones have been raked up and shipped East as a new source of profit. In ten years the new generation will point to solitary specimens in traveling menageries or zoological gardens as the rare survivors of the noblest of American wild beasts... A hunting expedition organized for the special purpose of stretching game on the plains for the coyotes to pick after nightfall does not find favor in the West as it did a decade or so ago."²²

Regarding future uses of the bison, Buffalo Bill recommended "it should be the duty of some one to check their wholesale destruction, not on sentimental grounds simply, but for more practical reasons. For example, a large class of settlers supply their tables with venison the year round. They kill when their needs demand it and are too conscious of the growing scarcity in numbers to shoot oftener than is necessary. Buffalo meat is the main dependence of many."²³

Yellowstone National Park offered an opportunity to save remnants of the great herds of bison that once roamed the Great Plains. "For many years past the different animals have instinctively sought places of refuge, and one of their safest retreats has

been Yellowstone Park,” wrote Buffalo Bill, “Here, at least, they have been safe from Indian hunters, and, up to the present time, the whites have allowed them to continue in comparative peace. Let a rifle report awaken the echoes on the hills and in the cañons, and the creatures will soon vanish from sight. Once out of the stronghold, and upon the open plains, their chances of escape are few.”²⁴ Buffalo Bill, who earned his moniker killing over 4,000 bison, recommended the following course of action, “the consideration of measures for the indiscriminate hunting in this spot should be deplored. I say encourage the beasts to stay so that in after years, when none are to be found elsewhere, they may serve the interests of natural history as well as gratify and instruct the curiosity of the young... By all means let the march of improvement go on in the region of the Yellowstone, but let the gunshot be prohibited at the outset.”²⁵

Buffalo Bill presented an interesting paradox in this letter, basically arguing Americans needed to adopt the early mindset of the American Indians, who, Buffalo Bill argued, “always looked upon the hissing springs and the strange recesses of the park with awe, and never harmed best or fowl that sought refuge within its precincts.”²⁶ This sentiment reflects Buffalo Bill’s unfamiliarity with Yellowstone’s wildlife conditions, for American Indian people long hunted in the Yellowstone region.²⁷ The same year he collaborated with Doc Carver to begin reenacting his exploits of bringing “civilization” to the American West in an outdoor arena, Buffalo Bill pleaded with his readers to honor and respect the past ideology of American Indians, although he greatly romanticized their perspectives of the Yellowstone region and bison. “Why not continue to give the beasts they protection they have always known here [in Yellowstone], and which has been denied to them elsewhere?” Buffalo Bill inquired, “Why should such a perfect work of nature be deprived of such a prime element of naturalness? And why should we now cease to respect the superstitions of great tribes before us, sanctified by the faithful observance of centuries, and which insured for the splendid beasts of forest and plain the safest home they ever knew?”²⁸

No historical evidence indicates Buffalo Bill visited Yellowstone National Park until the late 1890s, during the time he was overseeing development of the town of Cody, Wyoming, viewing tourism to Yellowstone as an invaluable economic resource

for the developing town named in his honor. The information stated in Cody's letter to *The Sun* clearly indicated his familiarity with the plight of Yellowstone, but the misinformation on American Indians and hunting in the park reveals a lack of direct knowledge on the subject. So why did Buffalo Bill publicly support these efforts to protect Yellowstone in 1883? Clearly, he was unfamiliar with the specific details regarding the issues facing the park, and, at the time, he would not have had a strong economic interest in protecting Yellowstone until later in his life.

More than likely either Sheridan or Grinnell urged Buffalo Bill to write the letter when touring onstage in New York City, hoping the Wild West showman's celebrity status would garner public support for their efforts to protect Yellowstone National Park. Buffalo Bill effectively served Sheridan and his military contemporaries as a scout during the Indian Wars before becoming a national icon through his appearance in numerous dime novels and his stage productions in the 1870s. Buffalo Bill greatly respected Sheridan and dedicated his 1879 autobiography to the general. Additionally, the autobiography contained a facsimile of a letter written by Sheridan praising Buffalo Bill's scouting legacy and proclaiming his life story "will eventually be of real service to the future historians of the country." If General Sheridan approached Cody requesting his support for protecting Yellowstone, Cody would have readily agreed to do so, in turn supporting his former commander and friend who assisted in his rise as a national hero.

It is also possible Buffalo Bill wrote on behalf of George Bird Grinnell, whom he first met in 1874 during O.C. Marsh's fossil hunting expedition through Nebraska. During the Marsh expedition, Grinnell also met Frank North who later invested in a Nebraska ranch with Buffalo Bill and recruited Pawnee Indians to perform in Cody's first Wild West production. Grinnell returned to Nebraska to hunt with Frank and his brother Luther North, where he renewed his acquaintance with Buffalo Bill. It is likely Grinnell related his experiences on the Ludlow expedition through Yellowstone to Buffalo Bill and the North brothers. Although Grinnell later disputed Buffalo Bill's claim of killing the Cheyenne Chief Tall Bull to credit Frank North with the deed, in the early 1880s Buffalo Bill and Grinnell's acquaintance was friendly, and Grinnell may have influenced the famed showman to voice his support for Yellowstone's protection.

Buffalo Bill and Burke may have also been motivated to write the *New York Sun* letter to promote their new business venture with Dr. W. F. Carver, an outdoor extravaganza that would eventually become Buffalo Bill's Wild West. The Wild West honored the passing of the American West and perhaps Cody and Burke wished to highlight the great ecological changes that occurred in the region by focusing the public's attention on the plight of one of the last wilderness reserves in the United States – Yellowstone National Park. The program from Carver and Cody's production included tales of bison hunting and a section detailing the importance of the bison and elk herds for providing necessary caloric substance for early explorers and settlers. Perhaps Cody and Burke believed demonstrating the threat to wildlife in Yellowstone enhanced the spectacle of seeing live bison and elk in the forthcoming Wild West production.²⁹

Despite Cody's support, Vest's Senate bill to extend more protection to Yellowstone failed; however, Vest managed to pass a stipulation to the Sundry Civil Bill that limited the acreage of leases to ten acres and forbade concessionaires from receiving leases that held any scenic attractions. Additionally, the bill stipulated that the Secretary of the Interior could request assistance from the Secretary of War for the military protection of the park – which occurred in 1886 after Congress failed to appropriate funds for the superintendent of Yellowstone. The outcry resulting from the public debate over killing game to feed workers did pressure the Secretary of the Interior to ban the sport hunting of key species within the boundaries of Yellowstone in 1883. Upon the War Department assuming the administration of Yellowstone National Park in 1886, the military superintendent Moses Harris banned all sport hunting and did his best to curtail any poaching of park wildlife.

Grinnell later joined forces with Theodore Roosevelt and the two men formed the Boone and Crockett Club in 1887, an organization that continued Grinnell's efforts to protect Yellowstone from railroad developers and publicized the military's efforts to catch and punish poachers who ignored the ban on hunting within Yellowstone. Their endeavors kept railroads from entering the boundaries of Yellowstone and their focus on poaching led to the passage of the Lacey Act, which provided Yellowstone with a court

system that could efficiently sentence and punish guilty poachers. Surprisingly, William F. Cody never became a member of the Boone and Crockett Club; perhaps his legacy as a market hunter curtailed this growing sportsman organization from bringing him into its fold – despite his early support for Yellowstone National Park and its wildlife resources.³⁰

Roosevelt’s interest in protecting big game herds and his involvement in the Boone and Crockett Club’s efforts to protect Yellowstone National Park led him to visit the region. In 1890, Roosevelt escorted his second wife Edith, his sisters Corrine and Bamie, and Lodge’s son on an extended camping trip to Yellowstone. More pleasure than a “strenuous life” excursion. Roosevelt returned to the region in 1891 for an elk hunt near Two-Ocean Pass, south of Yellowstone, elk hunt in Hoodoos, yet no evidence indicates he hunted along the Shoshone River. Despite Buffalo Bill’s best efforts, Roosevelt did not join any famed Buffalo Bill hunts in the Cody, Wyoming, region. If he had, it would have been a noteworthy event covered by many Wyoming newspapers.

As president, Roosevelt visited Yellowstone National Park in 1903 and found himself amazed at the relative tameness of the protected wildlife populations under the protection of the United States Cavalry. Roosevelt also spent considerable time with Harry Child, president of the Yellowstone Park Association, then overseeing the transportation and lodging facilities throughout the park, indicating the president’s interest in the expanding tourist facilities by providing federal supervised monopolies within the park through collaborations with concessions like Child’s Yellowstone Park Association, he would eventually support the expulsion of the despicable concessionaire who ran the steamboat concession, E. C. Waters. Roosevelt’s former hunting guide Elwood Hofer received the boating concession after Water’s expulsion.³¹

During this visit, Roosevelt dedicated the northern gateway arch, now identified as the Roosevelt Arch. In his speech to the assembled crowd, Roosevelt reminded his audience, “This Park was created, and is now administered for the benefit and enjoyment of the people... The only way that the people as a whole can secure to themselves and their children enjoyment in perpetuity of what the Yellowstone Park has to give is by assuming the ownership in the name of the nation and by jealously safeguarding and

preserving the scenery, the forests, and the wild creatures.”³² Roosevelt noted the federal government ensured a good system of roads to provide the public greater access to the park and he thanked the residents of Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho “for the way in which you heartily co-operate with the [park] superintendent to prevent acts of vandalism and destruction.”³³ Harkening back to his ranching days, Roosevelt suggested the possibility of crossbreeding the park’s bison with cattle and using the offspring to establish ranches in the wilds of Alaska. All in all, Roosevelt’s speech recognized the collaboration between western developers, men like Buffalo Bill, and the federal government, promising more opportunities were indeed possible through this partnership.

Buffalo Bill used his celebrity status to promote the town of Cody’s connections to Yellowstone National Park. Touting his pioneering skills in his last autobiography published as a series by Hearst’s *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, Buffalo Bill claimed that in 1896 he blazed the route between Cody and Yellowstone National Park. This route became known as the North-Fork route and Buffalo Bill claimed the federal government constructed a road as a result of his lobbying President McKinley and the explicit support of President Roosevelt.³⁴ Louis E. Cooke, a former circus man and manager of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, further promulgated the idea that Roosevelt promoted the construction of the Cody to Yellowstone road after hearing of its scenic potential directly from William F. Cody. In a 1915 brochure promoting Buffalo Bill’s tourist resorts near Cody, Cooke claimed some disparaged the possibility of constructing the road through the rugged mountainous terrain, “such a route was impossible... a bird could not fly into the Park over that route.” Defending Buffalo Bill’s proposed route, Roosevelt supposedly remarked, “My old friend Buffalo Bill has hit the trail up there, and if he was good enough to guide such men as Sherman, Sheridan, Carr, Custer, and Miles, with their armies through uncivilized regions, I would take chances on building a road into the middle of eternity on his statement...”³⁵ Cooke’s quote attributed to Roosevelt about Buffalo Bill pioneering a route to Yellowstone later appeared in numerous biographies of Buffalo Bill, and is often used to tout the national recognition of Buffalo Bill’s scouting abilities.

The story of Roosevelt approving Buffalo Bill's route to Yellowstone is most likely an apocryphal tale. The Cody route along the North Fork of the Shoshone was a well-used route by the time Buffalo Bill "hit the trail," although the route veered north of Sylvan Pass and crossed Jones Pass, mapped by an 1873 military expedition lead by Captain William A. Jones. In 1879, famed scout Yellowstone Kelly traveled the route and, along the way, met a few miners prospecting near present-day Cody, in addition to a group of soldiers out looking for deserters.³⁶ In his last autobiography, Buffalo Bill claimed he scouted the route in 1896, "during Mr. McKinley's first administration."³⁷ He then stated he went to visit the President "and explained to him the possibilities of a road of eighty miles, the only one entering the National Park from the East. It would be... the most wonderful scenic road in the West."³⁸ Buffalo Bill then stated, "Mr. Roosevelt ordered the building of this road, which has now become the favorite automobile route into the Park today."³⁹

No correspondence between Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill regarding the route to Yellowstone exists in the vast Library of Congress collection of Roosevelt's papers. Additionally, construction of an eastern route into to Yellowstone National Park using Sylvan Pass was planned before long before Roosevelt assumed the presidency. Major Hiram Chittenden of the United States Corps of Engineers recommended to Elwood Mead in 1897 that the river's name be named Colter, in honor of John Colter. Chittenden supervised the construction of roads in Yellowstone National Park and would soon begin working on the East Entrance road in Yellowstone eventually leading into the Big Horn Basin and believed Colter was a better name than Stinkingwater would appeal to more tourists.⁴⁰ By 1900, the United States Army Corps of Engineers budgeted \$100,000 to construct a road from Fishing Bridge to the eastern boundary of the Yellowstone Timberland Reserve, a fifty-mile stretch.

Improvements to the road continued through the early 1900s, but there is no indication Roosevelt's relationship to Buffalo Bill played any official role in advancing the construction of this route. For at the turn of the century, federal goals of opening visitor access to Yellowstone closely meshed with local efforts to promote local concessions along routes to these scenic destinations. This collaboration also resulted in

the allowance of automobiles in Yellowstone beginning August 1, 1915, which brought in even more tourists to the region until the outbreak of World War I. Under the management of National Park Service, established in 1916 by Woodrow Wilson, a successful campaign to “see America first” was launched. This endeavor to increase tourism not only benefited the new National Park Service through increased political pressure to fund National Parks from happy visitors, it also benefited local tourist concessions.⁴¹

At the turn of the century and for decades to come, the federal government’s plans to develop the Yellowstone region as tourist destination paralleled the goals of Buffalo Bill and his fellow Wyoming residents. By 1902, Buffalo Bill opened three hostelries, the fancy Irma Hotel in Cody, Wyoming, the primitive Wapiti Inn half-way to Yellowstone, and the rustic Pahaska Teepee near the park’s east entrance. Additionally, he established a transportation company to bring tourists to Yellowstone National Park. Later, Buffalo Bill promoted the Shoshone Caverns located within Cedar Mountain, discovered by local hunting guide Ned Frost in January 1909. It is likely his lobbying encouraged President William H. Taft to create the Shoshone Cavern National Monument in September 1909.⁴²

Using his time proven success of promoting the American West, Buffalo Bill must have realized limited economic success as Americans ventured to the Yellowstone region to enjoy the scenery and partake in a western experience. Buffalo Bill also noted additional funds expended by the federal government and the Burlington Railroad’s connection would greatly benefit the town of Cody as well. In a letter to his sister on March 9, 1903, Buffalo Bill reported, “The Burlington will be running daily Pullman trains to Cody this summer, with Tourists for the Park. The Government wagon road in to the park is to be finished July 1st. Millions of dollars will be spent by the government during the next two years...”⁴³ Shortly after Buffalo Bill’s death, western tourism boomed in the 1920s, due largely to the steady increase of American automobile ownership and the continued popularization of recreation in the American West through literature and film. The route from Cody, Wyoming, to Yellowstone National Park

became a popular scenic thoroughfare to Yellowstone and continues to draw numerous tourist through Cody, Wyoming.⁴⁴

Arising from all this attention, President Roosevelt also recognized a rare opportunity to generate positive public relations in promoting his conservation policies that many in the American West found controversial, by touting Buffalo Bill as a spokesperson for conservation issues. In March 1903, Buffalo Bill wrote the president the following letter in support of the forest reserves:

For the benefit of future generations, the timber, and especially the underbrush, must be protected now, before it is too late, from the sheep devastating the mountain water-sheds, as they have already done the valleys and table-land. If sheep are allowed to browse on the underbrush of our mountains, in less than five years from now, the home-seeker, the man behind the plough, the actual taxpayer, will have to leave the Big Horn Basin for want of water to irrigate his land. No one knows this better than yourself, for you are familiar with all of the West.⁴⁵

Roosevelt replied, “What you say about the forest reserves is absolutely true, and coming from a man of your standing, I deem it so important that I have asked some of the papers to publish part of your letter.”⁴⁶

By publishing Buffalo Bill’s letter, Roosevelt demonstrated that Buffalo Bill, the prominent western developer and famed scout, publicly backed his program of conservation and the protection of the Forest Reserves, later identified as National Forests when Roosevelt created the National Forest Service under Gifford Pinchot’s direction in 1905. On June 10, 1907, Roosevelt summed up his administration’s conservation accomplishments before the National Editorial Association at Jamestown, New York. Regarding the status of the National Forests, Roosevelt proclaimed an end to the abuse of America’s forests. “Finally the situation was ended in 1905 by the creation of the United States Forest Service, which has stopped the waste, conserved the resources of the national forests, and made them useful; so that our forests are now being managed on a coherent plan, and in a way that augurs well for the future,” proclaimed Roosevelt.⁴⁷

After receiving Roosevelt's letter and public affirmation praising his foresight in protecting America's forests, Buffalo Bill wrote A. A. Anderson, superintendent of the Yellowstone Forest Reserve, "I have just received a letter from our beloved President Roosevelt. As the entire management of the Reserve is now placed in your hands, it will cause me no worry, and whenever I can assist you in any manner do not hesitate to call on me. In a few days I expect to own the Cody *Enterprise* ...entirely. Then that publication will be an out and out Republican paper, and it won't be published for the benefit of 'Mr. Shepherd.' I am going to devote some space in the paper to patting the man behind the plough on the back a little."⁴⁸ Buffalo Bill also bragged to his Julia that he received "a nice letter from President Roosevelt."⁴⁹ At this time, Buffalo Bill almost certainly believed he would reap some economic benefit from Roosevelt's political position, rewarding him for his public support of the administration's initiatives.

In addition to garnering Roosevelt's support, Buffalo Bill had an ulterior motive for decrying the grazing sheep on the Forest Reserves. In 1903, from his tour of England, Buffalo Bill wrote Land Commissioner and former Wyoming Governor William A. Richards to complain about sheep overgrazing the forestlands outside of Cody. He expressed his frustration with this issue, for it forced him to move his own livestock to Montana, where he had to pay an additional tax. While Roosevelt believed that Buffalo Bill could be a prominent spokesperson for conservation issues, it is more than likely that Buffalo Bill saw an opportunity not only to win favor with the new president, but also to enhance his own economic stability within the Big Horn Basin. Clearly, a professional working relationship with the president would have its advantages for Buffalo Bill and his efforts to make money from his Wyoming investments.⁵⁰

Overstocking public grazing lands was a growing issue that Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill managed to avoid during their lifetimes. It is likely Buffalo Bill would not have appreciated Roosevelt's efforts to remove control of the ranges from the livestock associations and place them under federal supervision. "This vast area is now open to the free grazing of cattle, sheep, horses, and goats, without restrictions," Roosevelt

informed the National Editors Association in 1907, “When population has increased, as is now the case, such utter lack of management means that the public domain is turned over to be skinned by men whose only concern is to get what they can out of it at the moment, without any regard to whether or not it is ruined so far as the next generation is concerned.”⁵¹ Roosevelt declared, “the range is not so much used as wasted by abuse; and as an incident conflict and bloodshed frequently arise between opposing users.”⁵² Many in Wyoming witnessed these violent conflicts over the range, the lynching of Ella Watson and James Averill and many other killings that culminated in the Johnson County War of 1892, where wealthy, established ranchers attempted to drive out smaller homesteaders they labeled as “rustlers.” More conflicts were to come, in 1909 a group of ranchers attacked and killed three shepherders near Ten Sleep, Wyoming, on the eastern edge of the Big Horn Basin.⁵³

Roosevelt suggested, “The only practical remedy is to give control of the range to the Federal Government. Such control would not only stop all conflict but would conserve the forage without stopping its use, as our experience with the national forests has fully proved.”⁵⁴ Roosevelt noted that legislative efforts to secure government control of grazing lands had failed. It was not until his distant cousin Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 that the federal government ended the homesteading process and secured federal supervision of the nation’s vast grazing lands, eventually the Bureau of Land Management assumed control over these lands.⁵⁵

In addition to grazing, the National Forest lands afforded hunting opportunities that Buffalo Bill and the Cody community hoped to promote as a potential economic resource. Buffalo Bill purchased the Carter Ranch and TE Ranch on the Southfork of the Shoshone River not just for ranching, but also for its access to potential sport hunting areas. In 1901, Buffalo Bill marked the site for Pahaska Tepee at the junction of the Middle Fork and North Fork of the Shoshone River to accommodate Yellowstone tourists and various hunting parties. Buffalo Bills touted his image as a great American hunter to promote these sites and lure in more hunters. Buffalo Bill’s guest George Beecher, an Episcopal bishop, claimed he wrote an article about the founding of Pahaska Tepee for *Outdoor Life* and sent a copy to Buffalo Bill. Upon inquiring Johnny Baker

about Buffalo Bill's opinion of the article, Baker quoted Buffalo Bill saying, "Mr. Beecher told all the facts all right, but didn't use his imagination."⁵⁶ Beecher obviously lacked Buffalo Bill's flare for dramatically depicting a hunting trip and the hunting grounds of northwest Wyoming.

Much to Buffalo Bill's chagrin, much of the wildlife in the region had been decimated. International sport-hunter Frederick Courteney Selous, had hunted the region upon Roosevelt's suggestion and was unimpressed with the lack of game, as noted in his 1900 hunting account *Sport and Travel: East and West*.⁵⁷ Buffalo Bill advocated for protection of the region's wildlife and the establishment of state game preserves to protect the local wildlife, which was critical to the financial success of his investments in tourism and the promotion of hunting. In 1897, Buffalo Bill wired Wyoming Governor to request information regarding the establishment of a game preserve for \$100,000, most likely to establish a hunting club that would be "a missionary society, and will help to impress the idea that quantity of game is not the main point for the true sportsman to consider. The spread of this idea will aid in making champions for the preservation of game.... There is plenty of room and plenty of feed for the game among the mountains, and if matters continue as they are at present we may expect to enjoy good hunting for many a long year to come."⁵⁸

Many realized that by inviting Theodore Roosevelt, a prominent sportsman and the leading proponent of the "Strenuous Life," to hunt in northwest Wyoming it would generate tremendous publicity as it had for other regions that hosted the president. As he developed his tourist facilities along the North Fork route to Yellowstone National Park, Buffalo Bill and others continually invited Roosevelt for hunting trips, but Roosevelt never came. The *Cody Enterprise* reported on January 10, 1901, that Buffalo Bill invited both Roosevelt and Gen. Nelson A. Miles to participate in a hunt contest in the Cody region. The article noted that many "big men" would be included in the sport and leading sportsmen would judge the individual trophies of the hunt to determine a winner. Buffalo Bill clearly did not understand the deep tension between Gen. Miles and Roosevelt.⁵⁹

The invitation clearly generated some enthusiasm in the Cody region over the possibility of Roosevelt hunting in northwest Wyoming. The *Cody Enterprise* continued to feed anticipation of a possible hunting expedition by reporting and commenting on Roosevelt's hunting trip through Colorado in January and February 1901 with hunting guide John B. Goff. The following tongue-in-cheek comment appeared in the editorial column on January 31:

AFTER Governor Roosevelt has exterminated all of the Colorado mountain lions, which the dispatches say he has nearly accomplished, it would be an excellent move to have him come over in Big Horn county, Wyoming, and perform a like service with the wolves and coyotes. These pesky critters are an everlasting nuisance on whose head a price has been placed, and while the Governor would be adding additional laurels to his reputation as a mighty hunter his services would be met with financial reward. We leave the matter for the consideration of our county commissioners.⁶⁰

On October 10, 1901, the *Cody Enterprise* published remarks from Buffalo Bill's Wild West publicist John M. Burke praising the scenic wonders of the Big Horn Basin, including a statement referring to Roosevelt's past hunting expeditions in the nearby Big Horn Mountains.⁶¹

Rumors of a proposed hunt near Cody continued to surface. On June 9, 1902, George Bleistein wrote a letter to Roosevelt thanking him for a photograph of the horse Bleistein gave to Roosevelt. Within the letter, Bleistein reported the residents of Cody were excited about a possible presidential visit to their town. Roosevelt's hunting guide John Goff did hunt in Wyoming the winter of 1902, and it is possible his presence generated a rumor that the president planned a future hunt in northwest Wyoming.⁶² John Kean Roosevelt, a distant cousin of Theodore, did visit the South Fork of the Shoshone River region in 1903. The papers misidentified John as Roosevelt's nephew, further overstating Roosevelt's ties to the region.

Roosevelt traveled to Glenwood Springs in Colorado to hunt bear with John B. Goff, with no suggestion of a hunt near Cody or with Buffalo Bill. Shortly afterwards,

Roosevelt sent Goff to Yellowstone where he worked for a year killing mountain lions. Goff then relocated to the Cody region where he worked for Buffalo Bill. Due to Goff's later presence in the region, many local-residents assumed Roosevelt did indeed hunt there and referred to the Cody to Yellowstone highway as the most scenic route in America, but to date no hard evidence supports this assertion.⁶³

Although Roosevelt never hunted in the Cody region, Buffalo Bill and others successful advocated the potential for hunting within the Absaroka Range west of Cody, Wyoming. In 1904, Buffalo Bill hosted several potential British investors at Pahaska Tepee. Although the party nearly missed by a few days joining a posse to track down two thwarted bank robbers who shot a teller on the streets of town, it appeared they enjoyed a successful hunting trip near Pahaska.⁶⁴ Buffalo Bill's connection to American artist and Wyoming rancher A. A. Anderson resulted in the famed Prince of Monaco Hunt in 1913. That same year, "Spend a Million" Gates arrived for a hunting trip. Other celebrities also came to the area to hunt further promulgating its sporting potential. The combination of advocating for wildlife conservation and the luring of celebrity hunters successfully marketed the regions hunting potential. Hudson Kensel noted in his study of Pahaska Tepee, "the ultimate advertisement for Pahaska Tepee was that it was Buffalo Bill's old hunting lodge. Down to the present it is this fact and the legends it has inspired that have given Pahaska its special distinction."⁶⁵ Additionally, the scenic wonders and wildlife habitat conserved by the National Forest Service contributed to Pahaska Tepee's appeal.

Buffalo Bill clearly had other reasons to promote Roosevelt's western persona, for political connections were traditionally a necessity in conducting business. An enhanced connection to the new president would allow him to request political favors to advance both his personal and professional interests at the highest level of the federal government. In the summer of 1903 Buffalo Bill requested a postponement of his new son-in-law's transfer to the Philippines.⁶⁶ Buffalo Bill's youngest daughter, Irma, had married Lt. Clarence Armstrong Stott of the 12th United States Cavalry in February 1903. After the wedding ceremony and celebration at North Platte, Nebraska, the newlyweds traveled to Fort Clark, Texas, to awaited transfer to the Philippines for a

two-year station. Buffalo Bill's eldest daughter, Arta, had recently lost her husband, Horton Boal, who committed suicide in Sheridan, Wyoming, leaving behind two children. Perhaps Buffalo Bill did not want Irma to leave her family during Arta's period of grief. Then there was the issue of Irma's safety and the safety of her husband. Although the Filipino Insurrection was officially at an end, the Moros continued their fight against American soldiers, a conflict in which Stott would possibly need to fight. Additionally, there were the humid climate and tropical diseases with which to contend.⁶⁷

Buffalo Bill personally asked Roosevelt to station Stott for a year at cavalry school in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Roosevelt referred the matter to Secretary of War Elihu Root and cautioned Buffalo Bill, "I do not know whether it will be possible to grant it. I refused similar requests... from numerous political friends, because we found it simply ruinous to let those details be interfered with for any personal or political reasons."⁶⁸ Roosevelt asked Root to consider "If this can properly be done, have it done. If it cannot be done, write me a thorough reply letter in explanation which I can send to Colonel Cody."⁶⁹ In this first request, Roosevelt demonstrated an effective method for handling Buffalo Bill's personal requests by referring them to various departments where they were "lost in the shuffle," or denied by a bureaucrat. Shuffling Buffalo Bill's requests through the federal bureaucracy allowed the president to deny political favors to Buffalo Bill, which could then be followed with Roosevelt expressing his regrets such a request could be granted.

A few days later Buffalo Bill dropped his request for unknown reasons, and Roosevelt wrote Buffalo Bill back, "I like the spirit of your son-in-law and of your daughter. I am glad they are going to the Philippines."⁷⁰ This letter captures a rare expression of Theodore Roosevelt's interest in Buffalo Bill's family life. Theodore Roosevelt did not express his condolences regarding the passing of Buffalo Bill's daughter Arta Cody on January 30, 1904, shortly after she married Charles Thorpe. Nor did he write Buffalo Bill about the passing of Stott in 1907 or congratulate Buffalo Bill on Irma's second marriage to Fred Garlow in 1908.

Alternatively, in 1906 Buffalo Bill sent a saddle to Roosevelt's oldest child, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, as a wedding gift. Roosevelt wrote Buffalo Bill, "That was an awfully nice thing of you to send my daughter such a beautiful saddle for her wedding present. I appreciate it, I think, as much as she does, for I was particularly glad to have her wedding date remembered by you."⁷¹ Due to the highly publicized nature of Alice Roosevelt's wedding, it could be assumed that Buffalo Bill sent her an elaborate saddle to publicly reaffirm his connections to the president. One news article described the gift as "one of the finest side saddles ever made in America," additionally, "the President admired the saddle so much that he joined his daughter in writing a letter of thanks."⁷²

It appears Roosevelt never acknowledged or expressed sympathy towards any life-changing familial events in Buffalo Bill's life, indicating a lack of any personal interest in Buffalo Bill. Yet Roosevelt realized the significance of Buffalo Bill's popularity as a celebrity and he respected his contributions to the settling of the American West. Roosevelt continued to praise Buffalo Bill, even among his own family members, even as he denied his various personal requests from the old scout. After meeting with Buffalo Bill and former hunting guide John Willis on February 15, 1904, to discuss reclamation issues, Roosevelt later wrote his two sons to describe the meeting. "Buffalo Bill was at lunch the other day, together with John Willis, my old hunter. Buffalo Bill has always been a great friend of mine.," Roosevelt wrote Theodore, Jr., "I remember when I was running for Vice-President I struck a Kansas town just when the Wild West show was there. He got upon the rear platform of my car and made a brief speech on my behalf, ending with the statement that 'a cyclone from the West had come; no wonder the rats hunted their cellars!'"⁷³

To his son Kermit describing the same meeting, Roosevelt noted, "Buffalo Bill is really a fine fellow, a medal-of-honor man, who fought gallantly in the Civil War and the Indian Wars; was one of the most remarkable scouts we ever had on the plains; and who is now a good citizen, much interested in irrigation besides his Wild West show."⁷⁴ Clearly, Roosevelt recognized Buffalo Bill's past military service during the Indian Wars and respected his military exploits, recognizing him as more than just an actor with

a traveling show. Additionally, Roosevelt's letters to Kermit and Theodore harkened back to those days when he served as Civil Service Commissioner and the two young boys with the siblings arrived begging to see a wild west show.

On March 11, 1905, Roosevelt again wrote Buffalo Bill in Paris, declining a request for presidential intervention in a foreign matter, possibly related to Buffalo Bill's upcoming tour of France. "My Dear Colonel Cody," wrote Roosevelt, "Unfortunately I am obliged to make it an invariable rule to never give any letter to a foreign potentate. Will you, however, show this letter to our ambassador in Paris?" Roosevelt tempered his refusal by proclaiming, "I have had close relations with you. I believe in you and like you, and anything the ambassador can properly do for you I shall be very glad to have done."⁷⁵ A few weeks after Roosevelt wrote this letter, Buffalo Bill stunned the nation by filing for divorce from Louisa.

Years before, Buffalo Bill considered a divorcing Louisa. On March 21, 1902, he wrote his sister Julia from New York informing her of his decision to pursue a divorce from Louisa. "Julia, I have tried & tried to think that is right from me to gone through all my life, living a false lie – just because I was too much of a Morral (sic) coward to do otherwise, But I have deiced that if the Law of man can legally join together the same law can legally unjoin, " wrote Buffalo Bill, And that it's more honorable to be honest than to live a life of deceit (sic)... my Married life... grows more unbareable (sic) each year."⁷⁶ Buffalo Bull reasoned, "Divorces are not looked down upon now as they used to be – people are getting more enlightened. Some of the very best people in the world are getting divorced every day."⁷⁷ Despite his believe of the enlightened public perspective of divorces, newspapers focused on the testimony of the divorce proceedings and published accounts of the darkest moments of Buffalo Bill's marriage to Louisa.

Articles detailed Buffalo Bill accusations that Louisa poisoned both his hunting dogs and attempted to poison himself, nearly killing him. Louisa countered with stories her husband's infidelities, his careless spending habits, and his drinking problem, claiming the poison was a love potion she hoped would rekindle Buffalo Bill's romantic interest in her. News coverage portrayed Louisa as the long-suffering wife who Buffalo

Bill neglected at home. Many newspapers also noted Arta's dying wish was to save her parent's marriage. "[Arta] felt that, should she live, she could dissuade the father from his purpose, and thus save her mother from misery and the family name from disgrace."⁷⁸ Sensational headlines and bylines proclaimed a variety of accusations. The *Inter Ocean* stated, "'Buffalo Bill' Said to Desire a Male Heir."⁷⁹ The front-page headline of the *Denver Post* proclaimed, "Kisses and Kimona [sic]," interspersed with "Bessie Isbell's [one of Buffalo Bill's mistresses] Appearance and the Erotic Conduct of Buffalo Bill at the Cody Ranch in Wyoming" and "Mrs. Cody Denies the Story of Using Dragon's Blood [an aphrodisiac] to Reclaim the Love of her Wayward Husband," followed by the byline, "Veil of Secrecy Torn from Cody's Life and Hideous Spectre [sic] Disclosed."⁸⁰

Also on the front-page, the *Denver Post* juxtaposed two quotes from Louisa and Buffalo Bill that highlighted their tensions. Under the title "Love Gone with Children," the paper quoted from Buffalo Bill's testimony, "We have nothing in common any more, so why should we go on, living the mockery of married life, now that our children are all gone to the grave or away from home? Why should I be criticized for divorcing the wife of my youth?"⁸¹ Louisa's quote read, "I still love my husband, just as I always did. We were always happy until he went into the show business, and met other people – other women. I always hoped he would settle down with me some day at our home in North Platte."⁸² Although the court refused to grant a divorce to Buffalo Bill, his image was certainly tarnished in the press throughout the proceedings.

Many newspapers portrayed Buffalo Bill as a philanderer who turned his back on his doting wife. Although Roosevelt did not express his thoughts in any correspondence to Buffalo Bill, nor did he make any public statements regarding the divorce controversy, the president clearly opposed divorce and the publicity probably caused Roosevelt to question Buffalo Bill's character. On constituent from Milwaukee, E. Kissler Sweet, wrote Roosevelt to express her concerns regarding Buffalo Bill's divorce and how it demonstrated the need for stronger divorce laws, "the Buffalo Bill divorce proceedings... clearly shows that the American home is farce... there are hundreds of thousands of mothers suffering in silence just as Mrs. Cody did & it was Cody who

brought it out what had been going on. Shame Shame every mother's son in Congress that allows such a thing.”⁸³

Roosevelt expressed his dislike of divorce in his 1906 Annual Message to Congress and requested the passage of a constitutional amendment granting Congress the power to regulate marriage and divorce laws. Roosevelt stated his reason: “When home ties are loosened; when men and women cease to regard a worthy family life, with all its duties fully performed, and all its responsibilities lived up to, as the life best worth living; then the evil days for the commonwealth are at hand.”⁸⁴ In addition to contributing to “race suicide” through lower birth rates and damaging the wellbeing of American children, Roosevelt believed divorce degraded the moral character of both male and female spouses, similar to Ms. Sweet’s concerns. “No man, no woman, can shirk the primary duties of life, whether for love of ease and pleasure, or for any other cause, and retain his or her self-respect.”⁸⁵ Although Roosevelt expressed other reasons for proposed divorce reforms and did not publicly comment on Buffalo Bill’s attempt to divorce his wife, one must wonder how the great publicity regarding the infamous divorce proceedings influenced his personal views of Buffalo Bill.⁸⁶

Buffalo Bill, although a self-proclaimed Democrat, campaigned for Roosevelt during the 1904 presidential election. An image from the Wyoming State Archives shows Buffalo Bill standing in front of his Irma Hotel; banners supporting Roosevelt hang from the hotel’s second story porch. Rumors surfaced in 1904 of a possible hunting expedition with the president in northwest Wyoming, but this failed to occur. Possibly Roosevelt’s presidential schedule did not allow the time, or perhaps Roosevelt did not want to be seen with Buffalo Bill in the middle of the latter’s divorce proceedings. Despite his campaign efforts, Buffalo Bill failed to attend Roosevelt’s inauguration, later apologizing, “It was my intention to have been there with a hundred Indians but important business matters prevented. I will, however, without fail, be at your next inaugural.”⁸⁷



Figure 13: Buffalo Bill and a group of friends pose on the porch of the Irma Hotel, Cody, Wyoming, under a banner advocating Theodore Roosevelt for President, along with other Republican candidates, during the 1904 elections. Wyoming State Archives Photo Collection, NEG # 13366.

After winning the presidential election of 1904 in a landslide, Roosevelt wrote the iron and steel magnate-turned-historian, James Ford Rhodes: “Again, it would have been an absurdity for my supporters to say anything about my having been a military man, or having been a ranchman... But the opposing papers, and especially the opposing caricaturists, invariably represented me in the rough rider uniform, or else riding a bucking broncho and roping a steer... and thereby made to the younger among their own readers the very kind of *ad captandum* appeal on my behalf which it would have been undignified for my supporters to have made.”⁸⁸ Of course, this satisfied comment by Roosevelt begs the question, what did he think of Buffalo Bill’s inflated past depictions of his ranch life in the *Success* article and the positive coverage provided through Cody’s newspaper?

As Roosevelt's political career skyrocketed, an undeterred Buffalo Bill hoped to benefit from Roosevelt granting him political favors. Roosevelt's quest to create a professional, objective bureaucratic government conflicted with Buffalo Bill's use of his celebrity to secure political favor from whomever was in power. Yet both men found themselves working with one another, although with varying motives, to advance Roosevelt's conservation policies in northwest Wyoming. In addition to Roosevelt's advocacy for an end to political favors that abounded under machine politics, the publicity generated by Buffalo Bill's divorce scandal likely caused Roosevelt to distance himself from the showman. The tension between Buffalo Bill, the pioneer, and Roosevelt, the progressive, continued to escalate through Roosevelt's administration, especially regarding the issue of advancing federal reclamation in the Big Horn Basin of Wyoming.

¹ See, for example, Orison Swett Marden, "A Puny Boy, by Physical Culture, Becomes the Most Vigorous of American Presidents," in Marden, *Little Visits with Great Americans, or Success Ideals and How to Attain Them, Part 1* (New York: Success Co., 1905), p.173-87, which includes unattributed extracts from Buffalo Bill's article about Roosevelt. It is likely Marden no longer viewed Buffalo Bill as a role model due to the negative publicity that emerged from Buffalo Bill's divorce proceedings.

² William F. Cody, "In the West, Theodore Roosevelt Won his Health and Strenuousness," *Success*, (Jan. 1902), extract, Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Widener Library, Harvard University, 332.c64i. Available on CodyArchive.org.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Cody, "In the West, Theodore Roosevelt Won His Health and Strenuousness," p. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ "In the West Theodore Roosevelt Won His Health and Strenuousness," *Cody Enterprise*, Jan. 23, 1904, p. 4. This is verbatim to the *Success* article.

⁹ *Cody Enterprise*, March 21, 1901, p. 1.

¹⁰ *Cody Enterprise*, Sept. 25, 1901, p. 1.

¹¹ *Cody Enterprise*, Sept. 19, 1901, p. 2.

¹² "Sent to Roosevelt," *Wyoming Dispatch*, Aug. 8, 1902, p. 3.

¹³ Aubrey L Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, two-volumes (Niwt, CO: The Yellowstone Association for Natural Science, History and Education, Inc., 1996), revised edition. The organic act creating Yellowstone National Park is in volume 2, p. 471-72. Volume I of Haines work examines the early exploration and creation of Yellowstone National Park. Volume II examines the administration of Yellowstone under the War Department and the Department of the Interior under the National Park Service. Haines also provides key reference material related to Yellowstone. An excellent environmental history of Yellowstone National Park is Paul Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 2004).

¹⁴ Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, p. 471.

¹⁵ Both Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 1, p. 156-328; vol. 2, p. 3-255; and Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, p. 68-88.

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- ¹⁶ The slaughter of Yellowstone wildlife is well-documented in Aubrey Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* and Paul Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*.
- ¹⁷ George Bird Grinnell's zoological report is on pages 59-92 in Captain William Ludlow, *Report of a Reconnaissance from Carroll, Montana Territory, on the Upper Missouri to the Yellowstone National Park, and Return, Made in the Summer of 1875* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1876). For an overview of George Bird Grinnell's early explorations of the American West, see John F. Reiger, Editor, *The Passing of the Great West: Selected Papers of George Bird Grinnell* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994). For an overview of Grinnell's role in saving Yellowstone wildlife, see Michael Punke, *Last Stand: George Bird Grinnell, the Battle to Save the Buffalo, and the Birth of the New West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). See also, Cynthia Parsons, *George Bird Grinnell: A Biographical Sketch* (Millbrook, NY: Grinnell and Lawton Publishing, 1993).
- ¹⁸ Ludlow, *Report*, 876, p. 36.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- ²⁰ Hiram M. Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), p. 112. Both Aubrey Haines and Paul Schuller provide excellent overviews of the early mismanagement of Yellowstone National Park.
- ²¹ Grinnell, *Forest and Stream*, December 11, 1882. See Paul Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, p. 111.
- ²² William F. Cody, "Game in the Yellowstone Park, *The Sun*, New York, February 25, 1883.
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ Buffalo Bill restated a common misconception that American Indians avoided the geothermal areas of Yellowstone. See Joel C. Janetski, *Indians in Yellowstone National Park* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2002), revised edition, and Peter Nabakov and Lawrence Loendorf, *Restoring a Presence: American Indians and Yellowstone National Park* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004) for detailed overviews of American Indian nations that resided in Yellowstone and the debate regarding their supposed avoidance of geothermal features.
- ²⁸ Cody, "Game in the Yellowstone Park."
- ²⁹ See program on CodyArchive.org, <http://codyarchive.org/memorabilia/wfc.mem00018.html> Last accessed on March 2, 2017.
- ³⁰ For overviews on the role of sport-hunters in preserving wildlife resources and habitat, see John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001), third edition; James B. Trefethen, *An American Crusade for Wildlife* (Alexandria, VA: The Boone and Crockett Club, 1975); and, Daniel Justin Herman, *Hunting and the American Imagination* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001). Examining this movement in relation to America's social hierarchy, see Louis S. Warren, *the Hunters Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) and Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
- ³¹ For an overview of E. C. Waters and his boat concession in Yellowstone, see Mike Stark, *Wrecked in Yellowstone: Greed, Obsession, and the Untold Story of Yellowstone's Most Infamous Shipwreck* (Helena, MT: Riverbend Publishing, 2016).
- ³² Theodore Roosevelt, "At Laying of Cornerstone of Gateway to Yellowstone National Park, Gardiner, Montana, April 24, 1903, *Homeward Bound Edition*, vol. 2, p. 325.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 326.
- ³⁴ William F. Cody, *Life of Buffalo Bill*, p. 122-123.
- ³⁵ Louis E. Cooke, *An Ideal Outing at Buffalo Bill's Hotels in the Rockies*, (Salt Lake: R.H.B.N. Co., circa 1915), McCracken Research Library at the Buffalo Bill Center of the West.

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- ³⁶ Luther S. Kelly, “Yellowstone Kelly” *The Memoirs of Luther S. Kelly*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926), p. 216-18.
- ³⁷ William F. Cody, *Buffalo Bill’s Life Story*, p. 122-23. George Beck noted in his memoirs that he, not Buffalo Bill, pioneered the route. For a detailed history of the north fork of the Shoshone, see Ester Johansson Murray, *A History of the North Fork of the Shoshone River* (Cody, WY: Lone Eagle Multi Media, 2010), revised edition; Buffalo Bill’s Pahaska Tepee and the history of the Cody to Yellowstone Road is well documented in W. Hudson Kensel, *Pahaska Tepee: Buffalo Bill’s Old Hunting Lodge and hotel, A History, 1901-1946* (Cody, WY: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1987).
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ Bruce H. Blevins, *Park County, Wyoming: Facts and Maps Through Time* (Cody, WY: Yellowstone Printing & Design, 1999), p. 18. For more information on Hiram Martin Chittenden, see Gordon B. Dodds, *Hiram Martin Chittenden: His Public Career* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1973) and Bruce Le Roy, editor, *H. M. Chittenden: A Western Epic: Being a Selection from His Unpublished Journals, Diaries and Reports* (Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 1961).
- ⁴¹ Mary Shivers Culpin, *The History of the Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872-1966*, Selections from the Division of Cultural Resources, Rocky Mountain Region, National Park Service, no. 5, 1994, “Chapter III: The Chittenden Year, 1881-1905” https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/yell_roads/hrs1-3.htm; “Chapter IV: Dissension Between Corps and Infantry, 1906-1911” https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/yell_roads/hrs1-4.htm; “Chapter V: From Wagons to Autos, 1912-1918” https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/yell_roads/hrs1-5.htm; and, “Chapter XV: History of the East Entrance Road” https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/yell_roads/hrs1-15.htm. See also Hudson Kensel, *Pahaska Tepee*, p. 7-16.
- ⁴² For information on Shoshone Caverns National Monument, see Phil Roberts, *Cody’s Cave: National Monuments and the Politics of Public Lands in the 20th Century West* (Laramie: Skyline West Press, 2012). Eventually the National Park Service removed the National Monument status and the Shoshone Caverns, or Frost’s Cave, became the property of the City of Cody. Various efforts to promote the caverns and provide access failed and eventually the caverns fell under the control of the Bureau of Land Management.
- ⁴³ Ibid. p. 96
- ⁴⁴ Aubrey Haines provides visitation rates to Yellowstone National Park in *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park*, p. 478-480. Before the allowance of automobiles in Yellowstone, visitation between 1900-1914 ranged from 10,769 to 32,545. Between 1915 and 1920, visitation ranged from a low of 21,275 in 1918 and a high of 79,777 in 1920. When autos were allowed in Yellowstone in 1915, visitation rose to 51,895 from the previous year’s rate of 20,250. Unfortunately, Haines does not stipulate how many of these visitors entered and exited Yellowstone using the Cody-Yellowstone route; however, the figures indicate Buffalo Bill invested in his hotels at an opportune time to benefit from the expansion of tourism in the Yellowstone region. In the year 2009, the east entrance to Yellowstone received 427,462 visitors, see W. Andrew Marcus, James E. Meachem, Ann W. Rodman, and Alethea Y. Steingisser, *Atlas of Yellowstone* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 46.
- ⁴⁵ William F. Cody to Theodore Roosevelt, March 3, 1903, TR Papers, LOC.
- ⁴⁶ Theodore Roosevelt to William F. Cody, March 14, 1903, TR Papers, LOC.
- ⁴⁷ Theodore Roosevelt, “Before the National Editorial Association at Jamestown, VA., June 10, 1907,” *Homeward Bound Edition Presidential Addresses and State Papers*, vol. 6, (New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 1910), p. 1314. For Grinnell and Roosevelt’s contributions to creation and management of the National Forest Reserves, see John F. Reiger, “Wildlife, Conservation, and the First Forest Reserve,” *The Origins of the National Forests*, edited by Harold K. Steen (Durham, NC: Forest History Society, 1992).

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- ⁴⁸ A. A. Anderson, *Experiences and Impressions: The Autobiography of Colonel A. A. Anderson* (New York: Macmillan, 1933), p. 98.
- ⁴⁹ Stella Foote, *Letters from Buffalo Bill*, p. 101.
- ⁵⁰ William F. Cody to William A. Richards, McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West.
- ⁵¹ Theodore Roosevelt, "Before the National Editorial Association," *Homeward Bound Edition*, vol. 6, p. 1316.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*
- ⁵³ For an overview of western and Wyoming cattle range conflicts, see D. F. Baber, *The Longest Rope: The Truth About the Johnson County Cattle War* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1953); Herbert O. Brayer, *Range Murder: How the Red Sash Gang Dry-Gulched Deputy United States Marshal George Wellman* (Evanston, IL: The Branding Iron Press, 1955); John Rolfe Burroughs, *Guardian of the Grasslands: The First Hundred Years of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association* (Cheyenne, WY: Pioneer Printing, 1971); Chip Carlson, *Joe LeFors "I Slickered Tom Horn"* (Cheyenne, WY: Beartooth Corral LLC., 1995), *Tom Horn: Blood on the Moon: Dark History of the Murderous Cattle Detective* (Glendo, WY: High Plains Publishing, 2001, and *Tom Horn: Killing Men is My Specialty* (Cheyenne, WY: Beartooth Corral LLC., 1991); Maurice Frink, *Cow Country Cavalcade* (Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1954); Paul Frison, *Grass was Gold* (Worland, WY: Worland Press, 1970) and *Under the Ten Sleep Rim: Big Horn Basin of Wyoming* (Worland, WY: Worland Press, 1972); Jack R. Gage, *The Johnson County Wars is a Pack of Lies* (Cheyenne, WY: Flintlock Publishing Company, 1967) and *Ten Sleep and No Rest* (Casper, WY: Prairie Publishing Company, 1958); John W. Davis, *Goodbye Judge Lynch: The End of a Lawless Era in Wyoming's Big Horn Basin* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), *The Trial of Tom Horn* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), *A Vast Amount of Trouble: A History of the Spring Creek Raid* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1993), *Wyoming Range War: The Infamous Invasion of Johnson County* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010); Daniel Justin Herman, *Hell on the Range* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); George W. Hufsmith, *The Wyoming Lynching of Cattle Kate, 1889* (Glendo, WY: High Plains Press, 1993); Joe LeFors, *Wyoming Peace Officer, An Autobiography* (Laramie, WY: Laramie Printing Company, 1953); Marilynn S. Johnson, *Violence in the West: The Johnson County Range War and the Ludlow Massacre, A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2009); A. S. Mercer, *The Banditti of the Plains, Or the Cattlemen's Invasion of Wyoming, 1892* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1894 (1954)); Bill O'Neal, *Cattlemen vs. Shepherders: Five Decades of Violence in the West, 1880-1920* (Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 1989) and *Johnson County War* (Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 2004); Helena Huntington Smith, *The War on Powder River: The History of an Insurrection* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966)
- ⁵⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, "Before the National Editorial Association," *Homeward Bound Edition*, vol. 6, p. 1316.
- ⁵⁵ For an overview of the various phases of federal management over the public domain, see Roy M. Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain 1776-1970* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976) and R. Gregg Cawley, *Federal Land, Western Anger: The Sagebrush Rebellion & Environmental Politics* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993).
- ⁵⁶ Hudson Kensel, *Pahaska Tepee*. For an account of the naming of Pahaska Tepee, see George Allen Beecher, *A Bishop of the Great Plains* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1950), p. 116-126. Beecher claimed he wrote an article for *Outdoor Life*; however, a search of the *Outdoor Life* archive did not return any results of an article by Beecher. It was noted that the issue for July 1902 was not available in this archive. Due to the timing of the hunt, Beecher's article may have appeared in this missing issue. See Beecher, *A Bishop of the Great Plains*, pg. 126.
- ⁵⁷ Frederick Courteney Selous, *Sport and Travel: East and West* (Birmingham: Palladium Press, 2010), reprint. Roosevelt letters to Selous are reprinted in the Library of American edition of Roosevelt's correspondence edited by Louis Auchincloss, p. 99, 125.
- ⁵⁸ William F. Cody, "Preserving the Game."

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- ⁵⁹ Many Roosevelt biographies touch upon Roosevelt's views of General Nelson A. Miles. For Mile's perspective of Roosevelt, see Robert Wooster, *Nelson A. Miles and the Twilight of the Frontier Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).
- ⁶⁰ *Cody Enterprise*, Jan. 31, 1901. p. 2.
- ⁶¹ *Cody Enterprise*, Oct. 10, 1901.
- ⁶² The correspondence between Roosevelt and George Bleistein is located on the Theodore Roosevelt Center Digital Library, www.TheodoreRooseveltCenter.org
- ⁶³ Jeremy M. Johnston, "Theodore Roosevelt's Hunting Guide: John B. Goff," *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 79, no. 2, (Spring 2007), p. 12-28.
- ⁶⁴ Jeremy M. Johnston, "We Want them Dead Rather than Alive," *Journal of the Wild West History Association*, December 2011. Available online: <http://codyarchive.org/scholarship/wfc.papers.00007.html> Last accessed March 2, 2017.
- ⁶⁵ W. Hudson Kensel, *Pahaska Teepee: Buffalo Bill's old hunting lodge and hotel, a history, 1901-1946* (Cody, WY: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1987), p. 11.
- ⁶⁶ Buffalo Bill's letter to Roosevelt is not within the LOC collection. See Theodore Roosevelt to Secretary of War Elihu Root, June 15, 1903. Notation on this letter states, "This refers to a letter from Col. W. F. Cody asking that Lt. Clarence A. Stott, 12th Cavalry, under orders for Philippines, be detailed for a year to Cavalry School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas."
- ⁶⁷ Nellie Snyder Yost's book provide good information on Lt. Stott. Also, see Find a Grave website for information on Stott's death and gravesite at Arlington Cemetery. Stott later died of pneumonia in 1907 while stationed in White Horse, S.D. Arta Cody died of probable appendicitis on January 30, 1904. *San Francisco Call*, Feb. 1, 1904.
- ⁶⁸ Theodore Roosevelt to William F. Cody, June 15, 1903, TR Papers, LOC.
- ⁶⁹ Theodore Roosevelt to Elihu Root, June 15, 1903, TR Papers, LOC.
- ⁷⁰ Theodore Roosevelt to William F. Cody, June 22, 1903, TR Papers, LOC. Roosevelt refers to a letter sent by Buffalo Bill dated June 11th, but this letter is also missing from the LC collection.
- ⁷¹ Theodore Roosevelt to William F. Cody, Feb. 16, 1906, TR Papers, LOC. LOC.
- ⁷² "Buffalo Bill Sends Fine Saddle," *The Evening News*, v. 46, March 26, 1906, p. 6. Newsbank and/or the American Antiquarian Society, 2004.
- ⁷³ Theodore Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Feb. 19, 1904, in Morison, *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 4, p. 732.
- ⁷⁴ Will Irwin, ed. *Letters to Kermit from Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), p. 58.
- ⁷⁵ Theodore Roosevelt to William F. Cody, March 11, 1905, TR Papers, LOC. Buffalo Bill's previous letter is not in the LC collection.
- ⁷⁶ Stella Foote, *Letter from Buffalo Bill*, p. 89-90.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 90.
- ⁷⁸ "Mrs. Cody the Josephine in a Suit for Divorce," *Inter Ocean*, March 20, 1904, p. 7. From Buffalo Bill Museum Curatorial Files, (Center).
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁰ "Kisses and Kimona," *Denver Post*, Feb. 28, 1905, Buffalo Bill Museum Curatorial Files, (Center).
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸² *Ibid.*
- ⁸³ E. Kissler (sp?) Sweet to Theodore Roosevelt, March 15, 1904. LOC collection. Accessed from Theodore Roosevelt Center, www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org on August 28, 2016.
- ⁸⁴ *Works of TR National Edition*, vol. 15, p. 377.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁶ Roosevelt, along with many other Americans, was dismayed over the rising divorce rates in the United States. See Elaine Tyler May, *Great Expectations: Marriage and Divorce in Post-Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 2-6, and Patrick L. Crayton, *The Divorce Problem in the United States* (Boston: Thomas J. Flynn, 1904) [available at Internet Archive] for a contemporary

view of the issue. See, also, Laura L. Lovett, *Conceiving the Future: Pronatalism, Reproduction, and the Family in the United States, 1890-1938* for an overview of Progressive Era reforms in relation to family values.

⁸⁷ WFC to TR, March 10, 1905, National Archives, Denver Branch. Roosevelt forwarded the letter to Frederick Newell of the U.S. Geological Survey, who was considering Buffalo Bill's issues with the Reclamation Service.

⁸⁸ Theodore Roosevelt to James Ford Rhodes, Nov. 29, 1904, in *Library of America Volume of Roosevelt's Writings*, p. 376-77.

Chapter VIII:

Reclamation – The Pioneer vs. The Progressive (1901-1909)

When Theodore Roosevelt assumed the presidency, Buffalo Bill and residents of Cody, Wyoming, believed a fellow “westerner” now headed the United States Government, a situation that presented a tremendous political advantage in advancing federal reclamation and other economic developments within the Big Horn Basin. After struggling throughout the 1890s to lure homesteaders to Wyoming and establish the town of Cody, Buffalo Bill hoped his purported friendship with Roosevelt would result in increased federal funding on various projects, enhancing the region’s economic growth; thus, allowing him to reap more profits from his original investments. The issue of reclamation in the Big Horn Basin proved to be the most contentious issue between the two Rough Riders, revealing striking differences between the progressive mindset advocated by Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill’s western pioneer outlook.

In his work *The Republican Roosevelt*, John Blum provided insight to Roosevelt’s perspective on how a government should function as a bureaucracy staffed with experts, a perspective that would place Roosevelt’s ideology in direct contrast with many westerners, especially William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody. Blum argued civil service reform, an effort supported by Roosevelt, “improved immeasurably the distribution of federal offices.”¹ During Roosevelt’s administration, “he would divide the executive’s assignable functions among its several agencies,” wrote Blum, “More important, just as he disciplined his power by consultation, so would the personnel in any agency, uninhibited in its area of authority, be restrained by the logic of their accumulated information and experience.”² This approach greatly influenced Roosevelt’s management of the Forest Service and the Reclamation Service, regardless of how it may, or may not, have benefitted the economic gains of western residents and developers, including anyone who might have any personal or professional connection with the president, including an international celebrity like Buffalo Bill.

As with many western settlers, Buffalo Bill and fellow investors viewed federal funding as a critical resource to expand their community and business ventures. More than likely, Buffalo Bill had this idea in mind when he wrote his article praising Roosevelt for *Success* magazine. Buffalo Bill, investors, and residents of Cody, Wyoming, believed a strong connection to the president of the United States, someone with credentials as a self-made westerner, would ensure expanded federal assistance in developing the region's natural resources. This proved beneficial when the goals of the federal government matched those of local settlers, yet when the goals of both sides differed, this led to tension and animosity. In the case of federal reclamation, the Roosevelt administration advocated for the "greatest good for the greatest number," not for the pioneer who advocated "first in time, first in right." This approach often pitted Buffalo Bill against the United States Reclamation Service (renamed the Bureau of Reclamation in 1923). The engineers and government officials working under the Reclamation Service often dismissed Buffalo Bill's concerns, viewing him as an individual who focused more on making money than promoting general welfare in the Big Horn Basin.

In 1899, while struggling to settle lands irrigated by the Cody Canal and promote the town of Cody, Wyoming, Buffalo Bill and Nate Salsbury, vice-president of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, acquired an additional 60,000 acres of arid land previously claimed under the Carey Act, and then abandoned, by Wyoming congressman Frank Mondell. Buffalo Bill and Salsbury intended to construct the Cody-Salsbury Canal, later called the High Line Canal by the Reclamation Service, to irrigate the lands north of the Cody Canal project, hoping to lure even more settlers to the Cody region. Due to Salsbury's death and the inability to lure other key investors, Buffalo Bill was unable to finish the project and earn a profit. He turned some of his claim over to the Mormon Church and these lands were successfully irrigated by the Mormon colonists through the construction of the Sidon Canal and the Elk-Lovell Canal, which irrigated northern lands of the lower Shoshone River, near its juncture with the Big Horn River, and led to the establishment of the Mormon communities of Byron, Cowley, and Lovell.³

The eventual completion of the Cody Canal and the Mormon settlements in the Big Horn Basin demonstrated the effectiveness of completing a challenging irrigation project through a communal work effort, a strategy recommended by John Wesley Powell in *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States*. Comparing private water companies to the Mormon efforts to irrigate the Salt Lake Valley led Powell to conclude, “Small streams can be taken out and distributed by individual enterprise, but cooperative labor or aggregated capital must be employed in taking out the larger streams.”⁴ Even in Buffalo Bill’s case, finding aggregated capital proved a challenge. Powell advocated the classification of western lands into mineral lands, coal lands, irrigable lands, timber lands and pasturage lands. These lands would be distributed and managed by the federal government to ensure they were used to the fullest potential based on scientific reasoning, not the whims of private enterprise or boosterism.

In his later writings, John Wesley Powell continued to advocate the ideas in his *Report on the Lands of the Arid Regions*. In an article entitled “Institutions for the Arid Lands” written for *Century Magazine* in May 1890, Powell again noted the traditional homesteading process could not be applied in the American West. He again advocated for the classification of lands, including irrigable lands. Regarding the expensive development and management of these irrigated lands, Powell wrote:

A thousand millions of money must be used; who should furnish it?
Great and many industries are to be established; who shall control them?
Millions of men are to labor; who shall employ them? This is a great nation, the Government is powerful; shall it engage in this work? So dreamers my dream, and so ambition my dictate, but in the name of the men who labor I demand that the laborers shall employ themselves; that the enterprise shall be controlled by the men who have the genius to organize, and whose homes are in the lands developed, and that the money shall be furnished by the people; and I say to the Government: Hands off! Furnish the people with institutions of justice, and let them do the work for themselves. The solution to be propounded, then, is one of

institutions to be organized for the establishment of justice, not of appropriations to made and offices created by the Government.⁵

If Powell is considered the prophet of future land-use issues in the American West, then, as is with many prophets, his message offered various interpretations for differing groups. For Roosevelt, the government should be powerful and lead the way to benefit the people. Yet for Buffalo Bill there was more of a pioneer message in Powell's words, the government should only ensure justice and then step away, leaving the laborers to develop these lands. Their differing interpretations led to conflict between Roosevelt the Progressive and Buffalo Bill the Pioneer.

Beginning in September 1901, Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill represented the paradox of Powell's message regarding the reclamation of the Shoshone River Valley. While they differed in their approach, both men believed in the goal of irrigating the American West and promoting its great potential. Powell, written in a flamboyant style worthy of Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt, wrote in another 1890 article for *Century Magazine*, "The arid land is a vast region. Its mountains gleam in crystal rime, its forests are stately, and its valleys are beautiful; its canons are made glad with the music of falling waters, its skies are clear, its air is salubrious, and it is already the home of millions of the most energetic men the world has ever known."⁶ Using similar grandiose language, both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill hoped to contribute to Powell's goal of redeeming the arid lands through reclamation and both promulgated this idea to the broader American public.

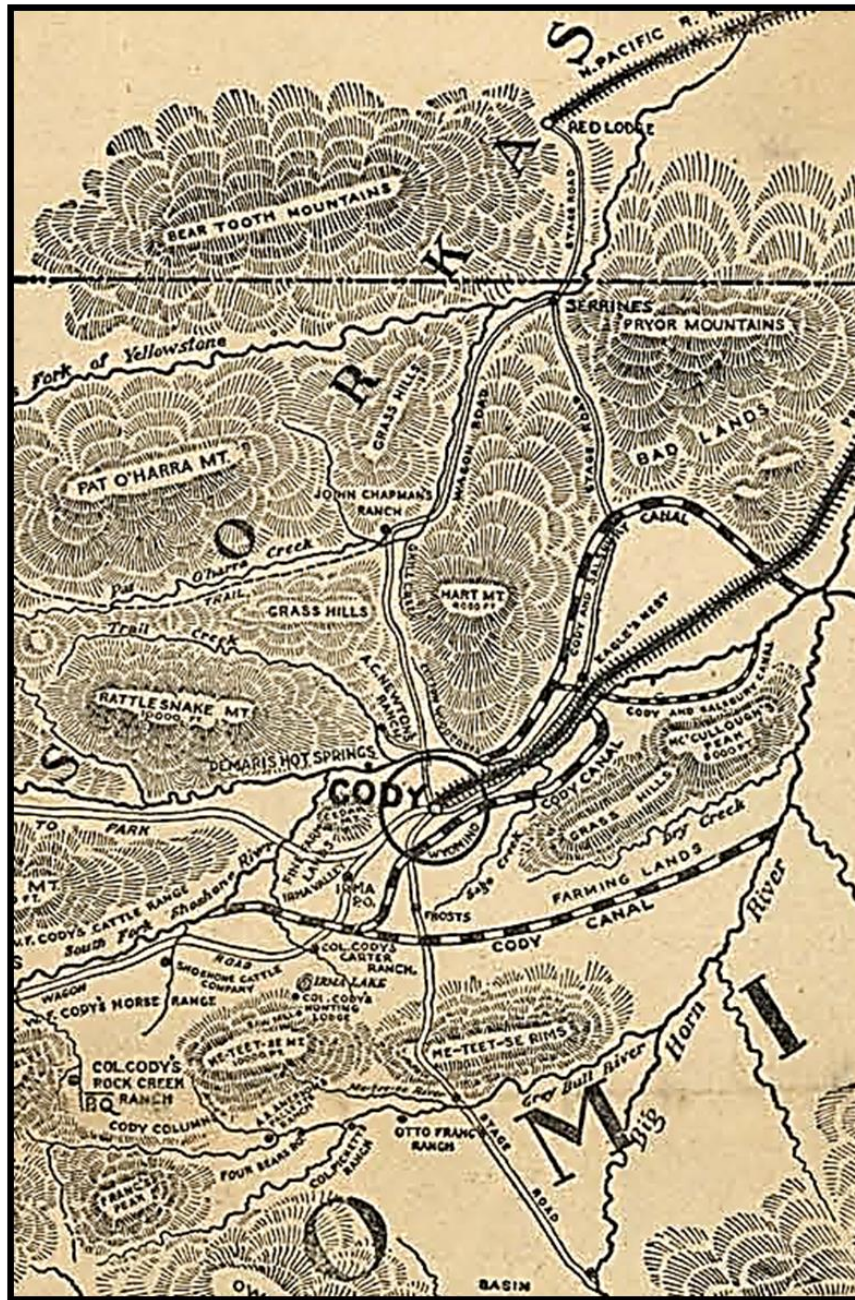


Figure 14: From the 1905 Rough Riders MS6.6.0S4.18 Cody's vision for the Big Horn Basin. Note the expansions of the Cody Canal to the Big Horn River and the Cody-Salsbury Canals east of Cody, Wyoming. Also, note cattle ranges in Cody's name west of Cody. The Cody-Salsbury Canal, or High Line Canal, would eventually be completed through efforts of Mormon colonists and the United States Reclamation Service. The Shoshone Dam was completed by the Reclamation Service in 1910 between Rattlesnake and Cedar Mountains, flooding a portion of the lands marked "Fine Farm Lands" and "W.F. Cody's Cattle Range."

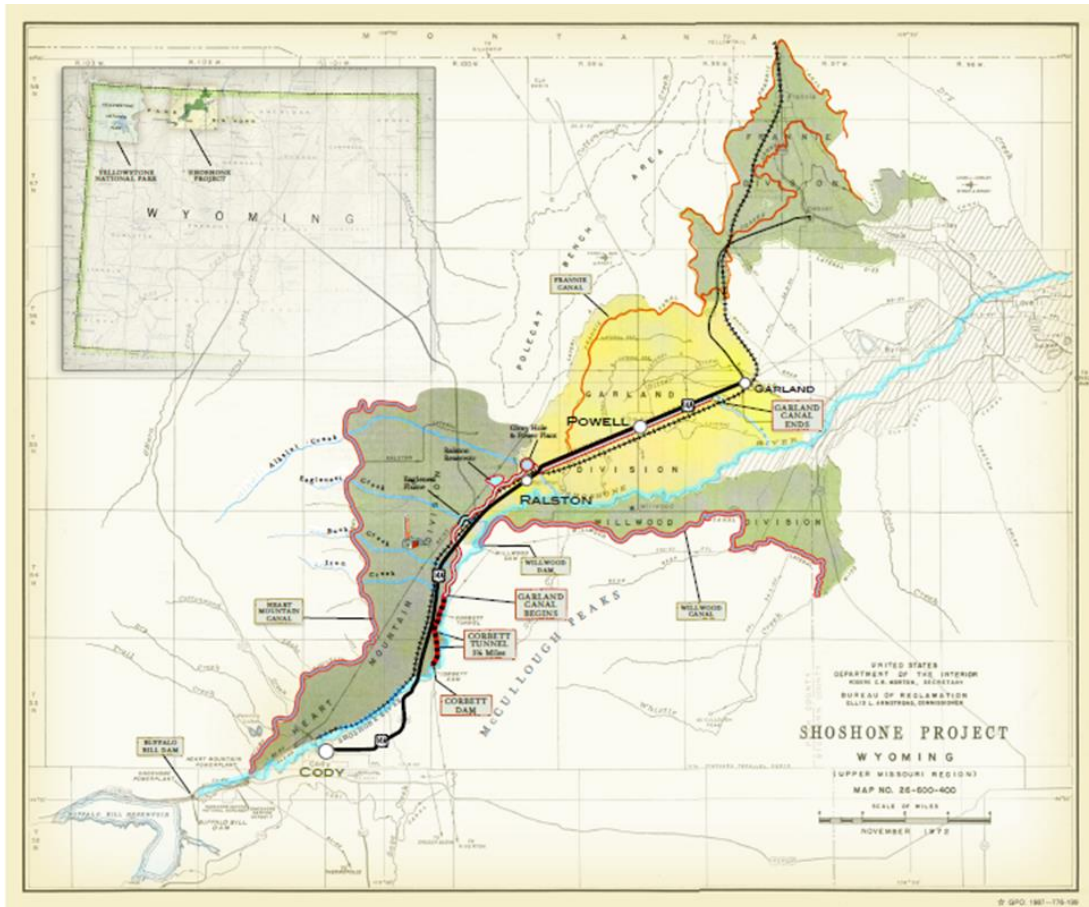


Figure 15: This map shows the various phases of the Shoshone Project. The Mormon reclamation projects are indicated with hash marks and the Cody Canal is indicated with line south of Cody. The Garland Division, shown in yellow, was irrigated with the completion of the Corbett Dam, Corbett Tunnel, and Garland Canal in 1908. The Frannie Division opened in 1919 with the completion of the first phase of the Frannie Canal. After construction of the Willwood Dam and canal, the Willwood Division opened in 1925. The Heart Mountain Division was completed in 1947 and opened for settlement, nearly forty years after Buffalo Bill hoped Cody and Ralston would benefit from its opening. Note the placement of Powell, Wyoming, in the center of the Garland Division and the towns of Garland, five miles east of Powell, and Ralston, five miles west of Powell. Buffalo Bill hoped the town of Ralston would boom with reclamation until the Reclamation Service sold town lots in Powell on May 25, 1909, the unofficial “birth” to this community. The Shoshone Dam, west of Cody, was completed in 1910. In 1946, the centennial of Buffalo Bill’s birth, the dam and reservoir were renamed the Buffalo Bill Dam and Buffalo Bill Reservoir. The Reclamation Service promised to irrigate 150,000 acres, by 1953, the Shoshone Project irrigated 77,560 aces. Graphic by Scott Larsen.

Theodore Roosevelt signed into law the Newlands Act in 1902, which granted the secretary of the interior power to use funds from public land sales to construct reclamation projects throughout the West. Roosevelt proclaimed the passage of this act “was one of the great steps not only in the forward progress of the United States but of all mankind.”⁷ The new Reclamation Service now took on the task of completing large irrigation projects, dams, and reservoirs, following John Wesley Powell’s suggestion from his *Report on the Arid Lands*. With the passage of the Newlands Act, officials of the Burlington Missouri Railroad (later the Burlington Northern Railroad) and Buffalo Bill saw an opportunity to quickly advance irrigation in the Big Horn Basin through federal support.

On September 22, 1902, George Holdredge, General Manager of the Burlington Railroad wrote to the Director of the United States Geological Survey Charles Walcott, who oversaw the emerging Reclamation Service, expressing interest in transferring Buffalo Bill’s water rights from the proposed Cody-Salsbury Canal to the federal government. Holdredge referred to a past conversation in Sheridan with the director regarding the future of the Big Horn Basin and noted he believed Buffalo Bill would not succeed with his newest irrigation venture. Enclosed with the letter was a copy of a letter Buffalo Bill sent Holdredge, reporting on potential investors, with the caveat, “I will relinquish my claim to the Government if they will take hold of this land and put water on it from Cody to Garland. I have been opposed to letting the Mormons have the lower end of it.”⁸ Holdredge informed Walcott, “I have no doubt it will be entirely satisfactory for the State of Wyoming to cede back the necessary lands to the United States Government, and that Col. Cody will relinquish his claim upon the ~~order~~ water permit.”⁹

Wolcott replied on September 27, “I agree with you that it is highly improbable that he will succeed in interesting capital in his enterprise. We do not wish in any way to discourage private capital from building these large irrigations works... It does not seem to me to be wise, however, to take the initiative in the matter, but let the Wyoming officials or others interested, present the project. The recent inspection made by myself

in company with our chief engineer, Mr. [Frederick H.] Newell [Chief Engineer of the Reclamation Service], with [engineer] Mr. [Arthur P.] Davis and others, leads me to consider the project very highly as one of the character which must ultimately be constructed by the government.”¹⁰

President Roosevelt approved the Shoshone Project on February 10, 1904. Buffalo Bill relinquished his water claim to the Cody-Salsbury Canal and segregated land on February 15, the same day he met with Roosevelt and John Willis in the White House to discuss reclamation issues. According to the quitclaim, Buffalo Bill received \$1 and “other good and valuable considerations” for relinquishing his claims.¹¹ Buffalo Bill hoped this project, under the Reclamation Service and with Roosevelt’s support, would produce greater financial gains compared to the Cody Canal. The Shoshone Project would eventually irrigate lands between Cody, Wyoming, and the Mormon communities on both sides of the river; unfortunately, for Buffalo Bill, the overall project stalled and generated great consternation between Buffalo Bill and the emerging Reclamation Service, in addition to greatly stressing his professional relationship with Roosevelt.¹²

Roosevelt previously wrote to the Irrigation Congress on September 15, 1903, the reclamation projects under the Newlands Act “are always large and costly because private enterprise had already seized upon the smaller and less expensive ones, leaving to the government the great works which are to bear so essential a part in bringing the nation to its full development.”¹³ This remark suggests that Roosevelt probably viewed Buffalo Bill and Beck’s hard-earned success in reclaiming the lands near Cody, along with other Carey Act projects, as minor accomplishments. Now the federal government would levy its tremendous power and resources to build a massive irrigation project, fulfilling Buffalo Bill’s grand vision of irrigating the remainder of the Shoshone River valley through federal intervention. Buffalo Bill believed this massive sponsored irrigation project in the Big Horn Basin would benefit himself and his family economically.

Buffalo Bill wrote his sister Julia encouraging her to purchase land located within the region to be reclaimed by the High Line Canal. “I have turned the Cody &

Salsbury Segregation over to the Government – and the great canal on the North side of the Shoshone River will soon be built,” he informed Julia on March 9, 1903, “ And you and Josie & the boys had better take up a section of land just below the old Corbet[t] bridge on the North side of the river under McCollough (sic) Peake (sic), If you want 640 acres of the best land in Wyoming.”¹⁴ Buffalo Bill’s letter to his sister reflected not only the boosterism of the early settlers of Cody, it also demonstrated their confidence in the abilities of the newly formed Reclamation Service under the Roosevelt Administration to bring Buffalo Bill’s dream of irrigating the lower Shoshone River to fruition.

While Buffalo Bill envisioned greater wealth for himself, his community, and his family, Roosevelt’s message to the 11th National Irrigation Congress in 1903 held a stern warning, “Vast though the benefits of the reclamation law, many disappointments necessarily await both the advocate of special projects and the men who[se] desire for accomplished results outruns the slow and steady development of these great undertakings.”¹⁵ To oversee these great projects, Roosevelt noted, required “a body of engineers of the highest character... for only men impartially selected for capacity alone are capable of creating these great structures.”¹⁶ This collection of engineers under the second Director of the Reclamation Service, Frederick H. Newell, thwarted Buffalo Bill’s hopes of achieving the great wealth that eluded him in the first project. While they shared Buffalo Bill’s vision of a valley of prosperous farms and communities, they controlled the oversight of the project and their decisions were driven by the need to provide for the future greatest good for the greatest number – not just to benefit the few who settled and promoted the projects before they arrived.¹⁷

Buffalo Bill clearly focused on Roosevelt’s vision of a successful irrigation project and assumed this success would ensure his own legacy and provide him the wealth that seemed to elude him in his past investments. Roosevelt proclaimed, “Yet if we proceed both cautiously and persistently under this beneficent law we may confidently expect the largest possible development of our arid lands and their settlement by industrious, prosperous, self-respecting men and women who will exchange the products of irrigated agriculture for the products of mills and factories

throughout the United States. Such communities flourishing in what is now the desert will finally take their places among the strongest pillars of our commonwealth.”¹⁸

Despite his cautionary remarks, Reclamation historian Donald Pisani later faulted Theodore Roosevelt and Congress for supporting too many reclamation projects out of a desire to ensure most western states benefited from the Newlands Act, regardless of the soundness of some of these water projects. In addition to taking on too many projects, Pisani noted the bureaucratic system of the federal government hampered efforts, especially turf wars between the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture. Towards the end of Roosevelt’s presidency, Pisani noted the Reclamation Service entered an administrative morass. Many projects stalled and remained uncompleted and “tension developed between advocates of centralized and local control and affected all facets of reclamation.”¹⁹ This tension was especially evident in the professional relationship between Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill as it related to developing the Big Horn Basin.

Shortly after he relinquished his Carey Act Claim, Buffalo Bill fretted about his decision that surrendered the project over to the Reclamation Service and hoped his connection to Roosevelt would ensure he profited from the lands he retained. On March 10, 1905, Buffalo Bill wrote a detailed letter to Roosevelt requesting his direct intervention in the Shoshone Project. Beginning with an apology for not attending Roosevelt’s inauguration, Buffalo Bill then noted, “Mr. President: I have been the pioneer in the irrigation and reclamation of that arid country known as the Big Horn Basin, in northwestern (sic) Wyoming, and no one knows better than yourself what the pioneer has to contend with. I have spent nearly all that I possessed in opening up that country, making it possible for white men to live there.”²⁰ Buffalo Bill outlined his contribution to federal reclamation, “Fourteen months ago, I relinquished to the Government a valuable concession on a large tract of land that had been segregated under the Carey act and the right for water sufficient to irrigate this tract had been granted to me by the state of Wyoming. I had spent more than \$10,000 in surveying a ditch to cover this land and considerable money on the construction of the same.”²¹

Hoping to still profit from this irrigation project, Buffalo Bill explained, “When the Government undertook the construction of irrigation ditches, through the requests of friends in Wyoming and Nebraska, and realizing myself that it would perhaps be better for the settlers to have the Government do this work,” he explained, “I relinquished my entire right to the Government without any recompense except that it was agreed that I should have the right to purchase from the Government, land at a point about thirty miles east of Cody known as Ralston. On this land I expect to build a town.”²²

Now his future town was threatened due to decisions made by the Reclamation Service. “I now understand that Mr. Newell [Chief Engineer], of the Reclamation Service, proposes to lay out a Government town at or near this tract of land. If this is done the old pioneer again meets with hardship.”²³ He concluded the letter asking for Roosevelt’s intervention, “May I ask if you will kindly see Mr. Newell and ascertain if he cannot lay out his Government town in some other place so that it may not interfere with the interest that I have there? By so doing, you will confer a lasting obligation on your great admirer and friend.”²⁴ Roosevelt’s secretary William Loeb, Jr., forwarded Buffalo Bill’s letter to Newell requesting a report on Buffalo Bill’s concerns to share with the president. Newell expressed surprised that Buffalo Bill surmised a town was being developed and replied to Loeb, “I am at a loss to understand how the Colonel could have gained the impression that a government town is proposed near his tract of land.”²⁵ Buffalo Bill must have been appeased. In the 1905 edition of William E. Smythe’s *The Conquest of Arid America*, Smythe a strong advocate for federal reclamation, wrote, “After years of effort to bring about reclamation of his beautiful domain by means of private enterprise, Col. William F. Cody has had the happiness of seeing Uncle Sam take hold of the work.”²⁶

On December 6, 1905, Acting Supervisor Hiram N. Savage reported to Newell regarding Buffalo Bill’s continuing concerns regarding a competing town. Savage noted Buffalo Bill and the Lincoln Land Company controlled 960 acres of land near Ralston, 640 acres of which being held under the Aztec Cattle Company. Buffalo Bill noted to Savage he intended to talk to Roosevelt to prohibit the federal construction of any towns in the region. Again, Buffalo Bill stressed his pioneering role, “Mr. Cody putting the

matter on the ground that he has served the Government first in the Civil War and in subsequent wars, and that his only remuneration from the Government will be his shares of the receipts from the sales of these town lots.”²⁷ Despite Buffalo Bill’s protestations, Savage informed Newell, “The Reclamation Service caused to be withdrawn, in the fall of 1904, a strip of land either side of the Burlington Railway as now located throughout the Shoshone tract, in anticipation of the requirements of a railway station and possible townsite midway between Ralston and Garland stations, these stations as now located being 11 miles apart.”²⁸ Yet Savage also noted, “There has been no disposition on the part of the Reclamation Service to unduly hasten this townsite matter, but it has been felt that the best interests of the settlers would be served by having a railway station and post office, with other natural developments, at about five-mile intervals throughout the irrigation tracts, and it has not been thought to be a proper thing for the Reclamation Service to turn over the development of this proposed intermediate town to the Lincoln Land Co., notwithstanding a specific request has been received from the to do so.”²⁹

In an effort to appease the community of Ralston and Buffalo Bill, Savage noted their irrigation project ensured the completion of a reservoir near Ralston to provide a municipal water source holding 1,000 acre feet of water.³⁰ Newell replied to Savage to acknowledge his letter “regarding Colonel Cody and his intent to persuade the President to permit the development of no other towns in the vicinity of Ralston.”³¹ Newell continued, “I assume that [Buffalo Bill] will probably see me, and I will be glad to talk over the matter with him. I hope that it can be amicably arranged, as we are trying to avoid friction as much as possible with these people.”³² Despite Newell’s wish to negate conflict, the question of future towns near Ralston would continue to surface for the remainder of Roosevelt’s term of office.

Although the Reclamation Service appeared to be the personification of John Wesley Powell’s theory for opening the arid west, irrigation projects efficiently completed through federal sponsorship in lieu of local boosterism, the new agency also fell into the exaggerated frontier mindset of overcoming the ruggedness and arid qualities of the western landscape through tenacity and intelligence. The Reclamation Service now succumbed to overconfidence in reclaiming the lands of the Big Horn Basin

through the Shoshone Project, believing science, federal funding, and engineering would succeed where the pioneering water company led by Buffalo Bill failed, leading to an additional conflict regarding the future completion of the High Line Canal.

The Reclamation Service's optimism was reflected in local newspapers. On May 5, 1905, *The Garland Guard* reported construction of the Corbett Dam and diversion tunnel would be finished by 1907 to provide water to the Garland Division. The Frannie division would be open by 1908, the same year the Shoshone Dam was to be completed. Slated for completion in 1907, the Willwood Dam and canal would irrigate the lands south of the Shoshone River.³³ A few months later, *The Garland Guard* reported the Reclamation Services, originally planning to irrigate 93,000 acres, now indicated they now planned to develop 125,000 acres at a cost of \$25 per acre. The article also noted the High Line Canal, the former Cody-Salsbury Canal, would be completed from the outlet of the diversion tunnel for the Shoshone Dam to Eaglenest Creek, near the small community of Ralston. The article stipulated the proposed canal would be twenty-two miles long and twenty-six feet wide, capable of watering 20,000 acres.³⁴

Buffalo Bill, now appeased by the news the Newell had no plans to build a town near Ralston, remained positive and supported the Reclamation Service's plans. "Col. Cody said he had assurances from Engineer [Hiram N.] Savage that, although circumstances had compelled the Reclamation service (sic) to construct the Corbett portion of the Shoshone project (sic) first, still there was no doubt about the high line canal being constructed, and the water would be on the bench north of Cody in 1908 or '9," reported the *Wyoming Stockgrower and Farmer* December 15, 1905.³⁵ The next issue reported "Great Irrigation Works. Re-Capitulation of the Oft-Told Story of What the Reclamation Service is Doing at the Town of Cody. FREE HOMES FOR THOUSANDS OF SETTLERS.," and further promised completion of the canal by 1909.³⁶ To bolster the potential of the project, the article noted, "Our climate is unequalled, and with range and timber in the mountains near by (sic), coal in abundance, free homestead lands and government irrigation, this section certainly presents more attractions than any other portion of America to the home seeker... We have no

blizzards, destructive hail storms, sunstrokes or cyclones, and a crop is absolutely assured under irrigation in every season.”³⁷

With municipal waters guaranteed for the town of Ralston and a supposed end to any government towns in the locality, Buffalo Bill hoped to secure water to irrigate the land he controlled through the Aztec Cattle Company. On May 4, 1906, Buffalo Bill wrote Frederick Newell from Milan, Italy, requesting clarification on water access for 940 acres he claimed near Ralston. “You will remember that this was allowed to me by the Government in lieu of my relinquishing the filings that I had from the state of Wyoming under the Carey Act for the construction of the ditch North of the Shoshone River to water what is known as the Garland Flats.... You will readily see that the land would not be of any benefit to me whatever without water.”³⁸

Newell forwarded Buffalo Bill’s letter to Savage for review and commentary. Savage then sent the letter to project director Jeremiah Ahern, who noted “I have no knowledge as to whether or not an agreement was made with Col. Cody to the effect that he should have water for the lands of the Aztec Land and Cattle Co.”³⁹ Based on Ahern’s reply, Savage noted in his reply to Newell, “This transaction was before my connection with the Reclamation Service and I have no personal knowledge considering the matter... It is presumed that the Washington office records will show any obligation, had one been given.”⁴⁰ Based on the replies from project director Ahern and Savage, Newell wrote Buffalo Bill in Vienna, “So far as this office is informed there was no understanding or agreement by which the government was to furnish waters for the lands selected by you... It would be impossible to provide any of such lands with water except under the terms of the Reclamation Act, which limits the amount of land for which water can be sold to one person to 160 acres, and the land owner must be a resident on the land or in the neighborhood.”⁴¹

Buffalo Bill decided to bypass Newell and take his issue directly to President Roosevelt. On August 16, 1906, Buffalo Bill wrote Roosevelt from Bautzen, Germany. “I dislike very much to write you upon any personal matter as I know you are overwhelmed with business and that your attention is and should be devoted to matters of great importance that concern the whole country,” wrote Buffalo Bill, “but as I have

appealed in vain to Mr. F. H. Newell ... I must either drop this personal matter or appeal to you.”⁴²

Again, Buffalo Bill noted his investment, now inflated to \$25,000, in the Cody Salsbury Canal, yet this time noted “I had also interested English capitalists in the proposition and at the time the government desired to take this work I had so shaped matters that without a doubt we would have constructed the canal.”⁴³ Despite having the resources for the canal, Buffalo Bill claimed, “As I felt more deeply interested in the development of that section of the country than I did in personal gain, I concluded to surrender my rights, but asked the Government to allow me to purchase a tract of land of which I proposed to build a town known as Ralston and after we had several conferences the officials concluded to allow me to purchase this tract, which I did and therefore surrendered my rights without any consideration as far as the Government was concerned.”⁴⁴

Noting the land was worthless without water, Buffalo Bill appealed to Roosevelt to intervene on his behalf. “As you know Mr. President, I have a great love for that country and I am very anxious to see it develop. For twenty years I have been pouring in every cent I can make and up to the present time there has never been a cent in it for [Buffalo Bill] Cody. However I guess I ought to be satisfied as that country is developing rapidly and more especially as God has seen fit to preserve my health. Neither you nor I would give the good health which we possess, in exchange for all the money in the world.”⁴⁵ Buffalo Bill concluded his request, “It seems to me it would not be a square deal for the Government to make my land worthless for all time by refusing to let me have water. What do you say?”⁴⁶ Instead of replying to Buffalo Bill, Roosevelt directed his secretary William Loeb to forward the letter to Newell’s supervisor, Director of the United States Geological Survey Charles Walcott.⁴⁷

Walcott requested all the records regarding the Reclamation Service’s dealings with Buffalo Bill. Based on the documents, Walcott noted in his report to Roosevelt dated October 1, 1906, that Buffalo Bill first indicated he intended to build a town on the site versus farming the acreage. If the land was to be used for irrigated farming, then the law clearly stipulated one individual could only receive water for 160 acres. Regarding

the water supply for the town of Ralston, Walcott noted Savage's letter describing the completion of a reservoir for municipal use and concluded his report, "It is, therefore, not only feasible but convenient to furnish Mr. Cody's townsite with an adequate supply of water."⁴⁸

On December 15, 1906, Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt again met at the White House to discuss reclamation issues in the Big Horn Basin.⁴⁹ *The Washington Post* reported Buffalo Bill's visit with the president under the heading "Cody Lauds President." The article reported, "the old Indian fighter came here to see officials on irrigation and forestry matters and to visit his old friend, Gen. Eugene A. Carr." The reporter quoted Buffalo Bill as follows, "I am interested naturally in this reclamation work, for I was the first to start it under the [Carey Act]... I finished my canal and turned it over to the [Reclamation Service], with a concession I had from the State [of Wyoming] of 160,000 acres."⁵⁰ Regarding the Roosevelt, Buffalo Bill noted, "It was long thought that the Western arid lands were of no account, and some of the early Presidents even asserted that it was useless to create new States in the West. But the reclamation, started under the Roosevelt administration, will make these arid lands blossom like spring roses."⁵¹

Despite his concerns regarding the future of Ralston and the water for the Aztec Land and Cattle Company, Buffalo Bill praised the government's efforts, "Many persons think the government is spending millions without any chance of getting it back. This is wrong. The government is selling the wild lands and using the money to build canals and reservoirs for desert lands. The valuable desert lands are sold to actual settlers with water rights. They should pay for the land and the water cost, and have ten years in which to do it. The government gets back the money with interest, and at the same time provides productive lands for hundreds of thousands of settlers."⁵² As he had done in the past for Roosevelt's forestry programs, Buffalo Bill publicly praised the Roosevelt's reclamation policy, perhaps hoping Roosevelt would eventually return the favor through his direct intervention in the Shoshone Project, cutting through the bureaucracy to ensure a financial return on Buffalo Bill's investments.

Despite a clear directive to Buffalo Bill regarding the issuance of further water rights, Charles H. Morrill of the Lincoln Land Company wrote Hiram Savage requesting more water. "It certainly would be very objectionable if the town was surrounded by arid land growing nothing, when with water we could make it very attractive," wrote Morrill, "Suppose we should incorporate the whole tract into a townsite? Could you then furnish water under the law? ...[Frederick Newell] told Colonel Cody they were willing to do anything they could under the law."⁵³ The Assistant Director of the Reclamation Service instructed Savage to inform the Lincoln Land Company and Buffalo Bill "that application for water right for the town of Ralston should be made thereunder by authorities of the municipality."⁵⁴ The Lincoln Land Company and Buffalo Bill finally let their request for more water fall by the wayside, probably due to the resurfacing of their concerns regarding a competing town being developed by the Reclamation Service.

Despite ongoing issues with Buffalo Bill, Roosevelt proclaimed the collective projects of the Reclamation Service to be a success. Their success "conducted with the clear and definite purpose of using the valuable water resources of the public land for the greatest good for the greatest number in the long run; in other words, for the purpose of putting upon the land permanent home-makers who will use and develop it for themselves and their children, and their children's children."⁵⁵ Roosevelt noted this was accomplished despite the efforts of some to halt their progress. "There has been opposition, of course... for we have been obliged to antagonize certain men whose interest it was to exhaust for their own temporary personal profit [the] natural resources which ought to which ought to be developed through use, so as to be conserved for the permanent common advantage of the people as a whole."⁵⁶ Although he did not identify any of these opponents, his words seemingly described Buffalo Bill's efforts to profit from the Shoshone Reclamation Project.

On August 2, 1907, Buffalo Bill again wrote Roosevelt protesting the creation of a community five miles east of Ralston, one that could potentially stymie the economic expansion of the emerging community. Once again, Buffalo Bill detailed his contributions to the Shoshone Project. "If you will kindly remember I spoke to you

about the National Government laying out a town between Ralston and Garland on the line of the Burlington Railroad, in Big Horn County, Wyoming,” Buffalo Bill wrote, “and if the government done so, it would ruin my prospects of ever getting a dollar back, of the hundreds of thousands of dollars I spent in opening up the Big Horn Basin Country, and turning over to the Reclamation Service a valuable Concession (sic) that had cost me Eighteen Thousand Dollars.”⁵⁷ Buffalo Bill’s estimate of what he spent to develop the Cody Salsbury Canal varied from over \$10,000 to \$25,000 and now he estimated his investment to be \$18,000.

Buffalo Bill continued his complaint to Roosevelt, again noting his sacrifice on behalf the country, “At the time I turned this Land Concession over to the Reclamation Service, I had formed a company to reclaim the land, whereby I would have realized One Hundred Thousand Dollars, but for the betterment of the Country, I relinquished my rights, with a verbal understanding that I could go on with laying out a Town on the land. This I have done, and have got the little town of Ralston started. And it looked like I was going to get back a little, very little of the money I gave up. But that hope is to be destroyed, as I am told that the National Government is going to start a Town, five miles east of Ralston.”⁵⁸ Again drawing upon the mistreatment of a leading pioneer by concluding, “This seems hardly fair to me, a man who has done his part as a pioneer.” Buffalo Bill signed the letter with the salutation “I am, Your obedient servant,” a noticeably humbler closure than in previous letters he sent to Roosevelt.⁵⁹

Buffalo Bill’s letter began another round of bureaucratic investigation of his allegations within the Department of the Interior. This time, Secretary Loeb sent Buffalo Bill’s complaint to the Secretary of the Interior James Garfield, and once again, Hiram Savage received a request for more information.⁶⁰ Savage replied by telegram, “Contemplate only construction and operating headquarters midway between Ralston and Garland on railway for Shoshone Project. Neither Director [Newell] nor self propose townsite until demanded by settlers.”⁶¹ In an official reply to Loeb, the Acting Secretary of the Interior reported the establishment of the headquarters “and the presence of these buildings may have led Mr. Cody’s advisers to believe that a townsite was being established.”⁶² The report also noted, “Before a townsite can be established

on any of the reclamation projects the land must be withdrawn for that purpose by this Department. If at a later date the settlers under the project petition for the establishment of a townsite in the neighborhood suggested by Mr. Cody he will be given an opportunity to present his protest.”⁶³

The reply to Loeb missed many details that appeared in Newell’s summary of the emerging town near Ralston. Newell noted in his report to the Secretary of the Interior the new headquarters was called Camp Colter, named in honor of John Colter, and was located between Garland and Ralston “as this is the most central and convenient point from which to transact the necessary business.”⁶⁴ In addition to housing Reclamation Service employees, Newell noted the Burlington Railroad provided a siding to unload freight. Although Camp Colter lacked a post office, train station, and telegraph office, Newell reported two merchants submitted to Savage a request to lease land to erect two mercantile stores. “Camp Colter is more accessible and convenient for about half of the settlers than either [Ralston or Garland]. Apparently there must ultimately be a townsite at Camp Colter, but it has been the policy in the past to lend no encouragement to such a townsite and no recommendation for its establishment has been made... It is not proposed to survey and open a townsite at Camp Colter at present or until actually required by the demands of the settlers. In the meantime, every legitimate encouragement to the growth of Ralston and Garland has been given.”⁶⁵

Newell concluded his letter by requesting leases be offered to A. P. Libby and McGuffey and C. J. Williams to establish two stores. With this decision to establish stores, Camp Colter began its transformation from a construction camp to becoming an established town.⁶⁶ On October 9, 1907, Savage wrote Newell to inform him the settlers requested the establishment of a post office. Due to the name Colter being used by a station on the Burlington Railroad, “the name ‘Powell’ is suggested for the name of the town, with the name ‘Newlands’ as second choice,” wrote Savage.⁶⁷ The name Powell honored John Wesley Powell, while the name Newlands recognized Francis Newlands whose name identified the 1902 federal act that created the Reclamation Service.

On February 25, 1908, Buffalo Bill again wrote President Roosevelt from Buffalo, New York, regarding the reclamation of lands east of Cody, especially the

stalled nature of the High Line Canal that promised to irrigate the lands north of Cody, Wyoming, and bring in more homesteaders to the community. Buffalo Bill expressed his concern that the Reclamation Service was not soliciting the necessary bids to complete the arrangements to irrigate the lands directly east of the lands watered by the Cody Canal, “which would probably result in the proposed high line never being constructed in my lifetime.”⁶⁸ He complained, “I gave up my segregated land to the Government in order that they might do a greater benefit to the country by building a higher line than I could at the time, and covering more land near the town of Cody. ...I feel that if this line is not built in the very near future then I have been tricked out of my rights and deceived in the confidence I placed in the Government to carry out that which was all but a written agreement.”⁶⁹ Buffalo Bill expressed his frustration regarding the Reclamation Services efforts to reclaim land lower than his original proposed High Line Canal. “I have spent a great deal of time looking after this project and asking the Engineers and officials when they intended, or expected, to carry out the understanding with me, and have always been put off with some plausible explanation or excuse.”⁷⁰

Again, drawing upon his status as a pioneer, Buffalo Bill tried to solicit special action on his behalf by Theodore Roosevelt:

The officials I address on the subject all assure me that the high line canal will be built, but when they cannot say. There is a reasonable period for all things; the span of a man’s life is short at best – I have spent many years and engaged in many business ventures, but always with one final object in view – the building up of the West. In my own way I had accomplished something; I had built the largest and best canal in northern Wyoming, and the town which grew up under it was named in my honor – ‘Cody.’

The lands which I gave up to the Government, if reclaimed, would have been a great help to this place, whose success and prosperity I hope for as my monument...

I address this letter to you, Mr. President, in order that I may get justice. I know how long and hopeless a task it would be for me to get it any other way by writing thus freely and fully.⁷¹

Roosevelt's secretary William Loeb again forwarded Buffalo Bill's request to Newell for comment, beginning another chain of bureaucratic correspondence. Newell replied to Loeb, "The point I should like to emphasize with the President is that we have a high regard for Colonel Cody as an entertaining companion and should be glad to do everything we can for him personally. He has, however, an apparently erroneous idea that something was promised him, or that there existed some understanding which has not been carried out... Our people are very certain that no promises were made to Colonel Cody. As a matter of fact, none could be made nor carried out, under existing law, unless embodied in a written contract."⁷² In addition to losing any chance of making a profit off the town of Ralston due to the emergence of a competing community, Buffalo Bill also clearly felt inactivity regarding the High Line Canal also threatened his economic opportunities in Cody, Wyoming.

On February 12, 1908, Buffalo Bill called upon Director Newell at his office in Washington D. C. Buffalo Bill again expressed his concerns regarding water for his 940 acres of land, municipal water costs for Ralston, and the emerging community at Camp Colter, now identified as Powell. Newell, yet again, reached out to Hiram Savage for further information.⁷³ On June 11, 1908, Savage replied to Newell, "In subdividing the public land, provision was made by the Reclamation Service for a townsite located ... midway between Ralston and Garland. In order not to interfere with the priority claims of the interests behind the towns of Ralston and Garland, no attempt has been made on the part of the Government to dispose of its lands at the townsite... Frequent demands have been made for opportunity to purchase townsite lands. These demands have now shaped themselves into to petitions which are herewith transmitted... for your consideration and appropriate action... In considering these petitions, your attention is called to the correspondence regarding Government townsites on the Shoshone Project

which has been transmitted at frequent intervals from and through the President's office."⁷⁴

Newell directed Savage to postpone any action on the developing town of Powell until the Secretary of the Interior James Garfield visited the site.⁷⁵ Meanwhile, Buffalo Bill and the Lincoln Land Company continued their protests through Senator Francis E. Warren of Wyoming, who forwarded a letter from President C. H. Morrill of the Lincoln Land Company requesting the government headquarters be moved to Ralston, which was forwarded to him as he visited the Shoshone Project in July.⁷⁶ After Garfield's visit, Buffalo Bill wrote the Secretary of the Interior on July 27, 1908 to protest the emerging town of Powell. Once again Buffalo Bill detailed his concerns regarding the future of his Wyoming investments and requested Garfield end the town of Powell by moving the headquarters to Ralston.⁷⁷ Despite Buffalo Bill's pleas, Newell wrote the Acting Director of the Reclamation Service A. E. Chandler noting he had discussed the issue with Senator Warren and recommended the headquarters stay in Powell. A few days later, he again wrote Chandler recommending the sale of town lots in Powell.⁷⁸

The Acting Director of the Department of the Interior C. H. Fitch corresponded with Newell on August 25, 1908 regarding the issue. "Upon Secretary Garfield's return I had two long conferences with him and among the many letters discussed and disposed of was that of Col. Cody.... As the Secretary has taken a personal interest in this matter and has promised Col. Cody to personally investigate the situation, your suggestions that action be taken permitting the sale of town lots at Powell will not be taken [followed] at the present time."⁷⁹ Buffalo Bill's political connections managed to stall Newell's recommended action; meanwhile, Savage replied to Newell that the local settlers were getting impatient and included a copy from local homesteader H. D. Edmunds arguing for the selling of town lots.⁸⁰ Edmunds noted he handed a petition to Jeremiah Ahern, project director of the Shoshone Project to establish a townsite. These petitioners argued, "While the farm unit subdivision indicates that it is the intention of the Department to create a townsite here, businessmen cannot in justice to themselves start creditable businesses under the lease proposition."⁸¹ Edmunds noted the establishment of two stores and two lumber mills and stated if lots were offered for sale, a bank, a

drugstore, and a blacksmith shop would soon follow providing much needed services to local residents who resented traveling more than five miles to another community. “Settlers must unload at either Garland and Ralston and haul their household and farming equipment eight miles,” Edmunds further complained.⁸² Savage received a reply from Acting Director Fitch, instructing him that due to the “protest of Colonel Cody against a townsite... Secretary [Garfield] had taken a personal interest in this matter and promised Colonel Cody to personal investigate the situation, the suggestion that action be taken permitting the sale of lots at Powell will not be followed at the present time.”⁸³

On January 18, 1909, homesteader William A. Deming wrote the Secretary of the Interior with some interesting information regarding the conflict between Powell and the towns of Ralston and Garland. Deming conducted an informal survey indicating over 90% of the settlers on the Shoshone Project were “strongly opposed to saloons and deeply interested in having this townsite... impossible ever to use the property for traffic in intoxicating liquor... most of the settlers are from prohibition states... and would deem it a very great misfortune to themselves and the community and to the Project to have to suffer saloons to be opened here...”⁸⁴ This raised an interesting perspective, both Ralston and Garland housed saloons and a community without saloons certainly would appeal to Progressive Era reformers advocating the temperance movement. It also clearly depicted Buffalo Bill in the wrong, especially after all the negative publicity regarding his drunken escapades that emerged from the divorce proceedings. While Roosevelt did occasionally imbibe, he held negative views regarding the abuse of alcohol. Personally, he witnessed his younger brother Elliot suffer from the ravages of alcohol which led to his premature death. Historian Richard Zacks notes in his book *Island of Vice*, when Buffalo Bill as touring Germany, he offered a shot of whisky to Elliot, during a time the Roosevelt family was trying to dry him out by sending him to various European spas.⁸⁵

Garfield later wrote Buffalo Bill on January 22, 1909, informing him “I do not have personal knowledge of the early history of the Shoshone Project, but I find the records are fairly complete, so that an examination of these gives me some rather

definite ideas, which I regret to state do not apparently agree with yours.”⁸⁶ Despite this warning, Garfield did not act on the town of Powell. Due to this postponement, Buffalo Bill again explained his case. In a seven-page, typed letter, Buffalo Bill again outlined his case and provided a new history of his involvement in the development of the Big Horn Basin. According to Buffalo Bill, her encouraged C. E. Perkins, president of the Burlington Railroad, to build a railroad line into the Big Horn Basin. “I asked him if I would go into the Big Horn Basin and open up the country and show him there was business for a railroad if he would build into the Basin,” wrote Cody, “He promised me he that he would. On this assurance I organized a small company composed of my friends and we built what is known as the Cody Canal.”⁸⁷ Buffalo Bill claimed he encountered hostility from the local ranchers, whom he identified as “the left wing of General Price’s army,” referring to his former nemesis General Stirling Price who led the Confederate invasion of the border state of Missouri.⁸⁸ Despite this opposition, Buffalo Bill noted he overcame various obstacles to complete the first successful canal system under the Carey Act, which enticed the railroad line to Cody. “You can readily see, Mr. Secretary, that if it had not been for me there would not be a mile of railroad in the Big Horn Basin today,” concluded Buffalo Bill.⁸⁹

Buffalo Bill again touted his pioneering qualities and the potential loss of invested capital, “This project has cost me a fortune, besides years of labor and anxiety saying nothing of hard work, but that is what the pioneer generally gets. It is the second or third man who comes along who reaps the financial benefit of what the pioneer has started.”⁹⁰ Buffalo Bill explained how he raised \$75,000 in cash from English investors to develop the North Side Canal and open Ralston; however, the railroad and the citizens of Cody and Garland requested he turn his claim over to the Reclamation Service. Which he did, despite having the funds and being advised by Wyoming Governor Fennimore Chatterton to continue with the project, “saying that private individuals would build and complete the canal and settle up the country much quicker than the Reclamation Service would do, which was a fact, for had this private company taken ahold of it at that time [the canal] would have been completed some two years ago.”⁹¹

Now Buffalo Bill identified his new nemeses, the bureaucrats of the Reclamation Service, especially Hiram Savage, who thwarted all his plans. Buffalo Bill blamed Savage for destroying his proposed town of Ralston by advocating for the creation of the town of Powell at the site of Camp Colter. According to Cody, Savage refused to plat lands near Ralston or Garland, forcing homesteaders to settle near Powell. Additionally, he accused Savage of driving up prices for water rights due to the unnecessary expenses of canal construction under the Reclamation Service. “Even the land which I own at Ralston I cannot get water for to irrigate it let alone water for any people who would care to locate in the town of Ralston,” complained Buffalo Bill, “simply because Mr. Savage will not let us have any water even for domestic purposes without exorbitant charges.”⁹²

Buffalo Bill presented a vignette worthy of any act presented in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. Instead of the “savages” attacking the homesteader’s cabin, threatening to kill and scalp its occupants and burn their home to the ground, now Mr. Savage the bureaucrat threatened the innocent homesteaders and town-builders by choking off the water supply. “Any private company had they had a hold of that proposition would have tried to make it pleasant for the home builder who would settle under their canals which Mr. Savage is not doing and he is retarding the settlement of this beautiful country which can and shall be proven,” wrote Buffalo Bill, “and the people of this country will in the near future demand an investigation of this branch of the Reclamation Service with a view of ascertaining why water rights under this project should cost double what it does under private enterprises.”⁹³

Buffalo Bill again wrote to the Secretary of the Interior James R. Garfield regarding the future of his lands in Ralston, Wyoming, on February 13, 1909. “Being a pioneer of this country, having spent a fortune here in its developement (sic), besides being an old soldier of the Civil War and of the Indian Campaigns, standing between civilization and savagery for many years on this frontier[,] I was in hopes of receiving a little benefit from the sale of town lots in Ralston, Wyo.,” wrote Buffalo Bill, again drawing upon his image as a pioneer and veteran failed to produce any results within the Reclamation Service.⁹⁴ Only a few days before the inauguration of William Howard

Taft, Secretary Garfield wrote Buffalo Bill indicating his assumptions regarding Savage and the Reclamation Service were completely wrong. Garfield noted, “a reservoir was built above the town of Ralston at large expense to furnish water, and should greatly facilitate the development of that town. Farm unites have been established wherever possible adjacent to Ralston, and also and the vicinity around the town of Garland.”⁹⁵ Garfield made it clear to Buffalo Bill, “You are mistaken in your statement that the pioneers of Garland are deprived of having settlers. On the contrary, every reasonable effort has been made to facilitate application for water rights by these people who have entered land near Garland.”⁹⁶

As Theodore Roosevelt left the presidency on March 4, 1909, any personal and professional relationship with Buffalo Bill was now greatly strained, and was certainly far from the cordial friendship memorialized by later generations. Despite his best efforts to support Roosevelt through his political support and publications, Buffalo Bill must have felt alienated from, or at best, distanced from Roosevelt. After President William H. Taft’s inauguration, Buffalo Bill called upon the new Secretary of Interior Richard A. Ballinger to reconsider establishing the town of Powell. Ballinger later wrote Buffalo Bill, “Acting Director Davis of the Reclamation Service informs me that the service has never promised that there would not be a townsite at Powell, but has always stated that when the needs of the project required it, the service would feel at liberty to establish the same. The service now has petitions from practically all the settlers on the project requesting the establishment of a townsite at Powell... and the preliminary steps for the establishment of this townsite were approved by this department on the 15th day of February of this year. Without very strong reasons being shown why the Government should not proceed with this townsite, I shall be disposed to confirm the action of my predecessor.”⁹⁷ Ironically, although Ballinger stood against Buffalo Bill to uphold the Reclamation Service’s plans, he would later become the symbolic enemy of Roosevelt’s conservation movement in his well-publicized conflict with Gifford Pinchot, which led to Pinchot’s dismissal by President Taft. On May 8, 1909, the General Land Office announced the auction of town lots for the town site of

Powell, Wyoming, would commence on May 25, 1909 – the date the community of Powell continues to celebrate as its founding.⁹⁸

Not to be deterred, Buffalo Bill replied to Secretary Ballinger’s letter to protest his case. “I still say that Mr. Savage has insisted on selling water rights only near the proposed town of Powell, and would not locate settlers near Ralston or Garland until he had all the land occupied around Powell, and now of course the people naturally ask for a town at that point,” reported Buffalo Bill, “It was originally understood by the enginerrrs (sic) of the reclamation service that Ralston and Garland would be the towns for that district, however, Mr. Savage has willed it otherwise.”⁹⁹ Buffalo Bill again argued he was not the only victim of the Reclamation Service’s planning; now the settlers, “the greatest number,” were victims of one stubborn bureaucrat within the Reclamation Service.

Buffalo Bill also claimed Savage was cheating earlier settlers on Irma Flats out of a fair compensation for their acreage soon to be flooded by a reservoir created by the Shoshone Dam. Buffalo Bill claimed the land and accompanying water rights were worth \$75 per acre, yet Savage appraised the land at only \$30 per acre. “Now, Mr. Secretary I would like to ask you if there is any right or justice in this?”¹⁰⁰ Ballinger did not personally reply to Buffalo Bill, instead, the acting secretary wrote Buffalo Bill informing him of Ballinger’s decision to back Savage’s valuation of the land to be flooded by the new reservoir. In regard to the victimized settlers, the Acting Director noted, “The results of the appraisal were gladly accepted by the majority of the land owners, and it is believed that the efforts made are equitable and such that the Department [of the Interior] can sustain them to the fullest extent.”¹⁰¹

To Buffalo Bill, the Reclamation Service was an agency of outsiders, Washington bureaucrats, who knew nothing of the arid American West and the challenges of establishing a town site. Additionally, these government officials ignored his suggestions for developing the area, although he had been the one to begin the project. Towards the end of his life, Buffalo Bill watched the town of Powell surpass Ralston and continued to wait for water to reclaim the lands he wanted irrigated through the Cody Salsbury Canal. Buffalo Bill persisted with his “first in time, first in right”

approach, of in direct conflict with Roosevelt's progressive stance, "the greatest good for the greatest number."

Although Buffalo Bill made a career of dramatically depicting history in black and white, the story of his fight with the Reclamation Service did not offer any heroes or villains, or a stirring victory and a stunning defeat. The Reclamation Service, later named the Bureau of Reclamation, fell short of its goals. Of the 150,000 acres they promised to irrigate, only 77,650 were irrigated by 1953. Upon completion of the Corbett Dam in 1908, which irrigated the lands of the Garland Division, the Reclamation Service turned its efforts towards the completion of the Shoshone Dam, finished in 1910, and the opening of the Frannie Division in 1917. H. M. Savage continued to promise Buffalo Bill the High Line Canal would be completed soon, but World War I thwarted the grand schemes of the Reclamation Service. George Wharton James wrote a synopsis of the Shoshone Project in his book *Reclaiming the Arid West*, published in 1917, and never once mentioned Buffalo Bill's role in promoting irrigation in the Big Horn Basin.¹⁰²

In many ways, the dire outcomes Buffalo Bill wailed against came true, yet he was helpless to save the day. After Buffalo Bill's passing in 1917, The Frannie Division opened yet never met the expectations of the engineers, Buffalo Bill predicted this in 1905 in a letter to his sister Julia, "Frannie won't be anything hardly."¹⁰³ The Willwood Dam was completed in 1927 and allowed for the reclamation of the lands south of the Shoshone river. That same year, construction began on the Heart Mountain Canal, which would irrigate the lands Buffalo Bill demanded the Reclamation Service should expedite. Due to the Great Depression and World War II, the Heart Mountain Division was not distributed to settlers until 1947.

Agnes Chamberlin, hotel proprietor and a historian of the Cody Club, a booster organization for Cody, Wyoming, described one meeting regarding the postponed High Line Canal in her history published in 1940:

The main subject under discussion at this meeting was Colonel Cody's patriotic action in relinquishing his and Nate Salsbury's segregation on the north side of the Shoshone River, so that it might be included in the

big government irrigation development that was begun by building the Shoshone dam. The Colonel and everybody else expected that this land would at once be irrigated and opened for settlement. Therefore, when the work was begun on the dam (and immediately the Corbett dam and tunnel were also begun) it was a certainty that the Colonel's land would not be reclaimed for an indefinite time, and everybody was disappointed, especially the Colonel. Had he suspected that forty years would elapse before his sacrifice would bear fruit, he probably would not have made it, and no one could blame him for having withheld it.¹⁰⁴

Ironically, despite the Reclamation Service's past arguments with Buffalo Bill, the Shoshone Dam and reservoir was named in honor of Buffalo Bill in 1946 to honor the centennial of his birth – giving the impression the pioneer supported and collaborated with federal reclamation efforts in the Big Horn Basin.

¹ Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt*, p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, p. 20-21.

³ Regarding histories of reclamation in the Big Horn Basin, see Charles Lindsay, *The Big Horn Basin* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1932), p. 160-235; David J. Wasden, *From Beaver to Oil: A Century in the Development of Wyoming's Big Horn Basin* (Cheyenne: Pioneer Printing & Stationary Co., 1973), p. 147-208; and Lawrence Woods, *Wyoming's Big Horn Basin to 1901: A Late Frontier*, p. 155-224. For an overview of the Mormon reclamation projects along the Shoshone River, see Rosa Vida Bischoff Black, *Lovell: Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, UT: Olympus Publishing Company, 1984); Byron Centennial Committee, *Byron Wyoming, 1900-2000: A Small Town with a Big Heart* (Byron, WY: Byron Centennial Committee, 2000); Melvin M. Fillerup, *Sidon: The Canal that Faith Built* (Cody, Wyoming: Ptarmigan, 1988); Carla Neves Loveland, *Sagebrush and Roses: A History of Otto and Burlington, Wyoming* (Lindon, UT: Alexander's Digital Printing, 2003); Mark N Partridge, *With Book and Plow* (Lovell, WY: Mountain States Printing, 1967), revised edition 1976; and Charles A. Welch, *History of the Big Horn Basin* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Press, 1940), reprinted in 1998;

⁴ John Wesley Powell, *The Arid Lands*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1878 (2004)), reprint, p. 21.

⁵ John Wesley Powell, *Seeing Things Whole: The Essential John Wesley Powell*, edited by William deBuys (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2001), p. 306. This collection reprints three *Century Magazine* articles written by Powell in defense of his *Report on the Arid Lands*, along with other pertinent writings, that demonstrate Powell's vision of the American West.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁷ Theodore Roosevelt to the Irrigation Congress, September 15, 1903, in Morison, *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 3, p. 599.

⁸ George Holdrege to Charles Walcott, September 22, 1902, (A48071), National Archives Records Administration, Denver Branch, (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, Shoshone 958, box 912. Many

of the early histories of the Mormon settlements of the Big Horn Basin proclaim Buffalo Bill was a great supporter of the church's endeavors.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Charles Walcott to George Holdrege, September 27, 1902, (A480709-A480710), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, Shoshone 958, box 912.

¹¹ Quitclaim for Cody-Salsbury Canal Water Rights, February 15, 1904, (A480799), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, Shoshone 958, box 912. Note, this document was signed by Charles F. Manderson on behalf of William F. Cody and was witnessed by Dr. Franklin Powell and Lewis H. Baker.

¹² For histories of the Newlands Act and the Bureau of Reclamation, see Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999); Donald J. Pisani, *Water, Land, & Law in the West: The Limits of Public Policy, 1850-1920*; Donald J. Pisani, *Water and American Government: The Reclamation Bureau, National Water Policy, and the West, 1902-1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Mark Reiner, *Cadillac Desert: The American West and its Disappearing Water* (New York: Penguin, 1986); and Worster's *Rivers of Empire*. For specific histories of the Shoshone Project, see Beryl Gail Churchill, *Dams, Ditches, and Water: A History of the Shoshone Reclamation Project* (Cody: Rustler, 1979) and Beryl Churchill, *The Dam Book: The Construction History of Corbett, Buffalo Bill, and Willwood Dams* (Cody: Rustler, 1986).

¹³ Morrison, vol. 3, p. 599-600.

¹⁴ Stella Foote, *Letters from Buffalo Bill*, p. 96

¹⁵ Morrison, *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 3, p. 599-600

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ See Donald J. Pisani, "Reclamation and Social Engineering in the Progressive Era," in Pisani, *Water, Land, & Law in the West*, pp.180-94, on the Reclamation Service's efforts to build communities.

¹⁸ Morrison, *Letter of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 3, p. 600.

¹⁹ Donald Pisani, *Water and American Government: The Reclamation Bureau, National Water Policy, and the West, 1902-1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 96. For examples of the positive perspectives of early reclamation projects, see U. S. Reclamation Service, *Irrigation Projects of the U.S. Reclamation Service* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1920) and William E. Smyth, *The Conquest of Arid America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905). Smyth praises Buffalo Bill for working with the Reclamation Service to reclaim arid lands in the Big Horn Basin.

²⁰ William F. Cody to Theodore Roosevelt, March 10, 1905, (A468273-A468274), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899. The letter is typed and the signature is typed. More than likely, this typed version was sent to Newell with the request for the letter to a foreign potentate deleted. Copies of these letter continually reappear, accompanying replies to Buffalo Bill's other requests.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Frederick H. Newell to William Loeb, Jr., March 18, 1905, (A468275), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.

²⁶ William E. Smyth, *The Conquest of Arid America*, p. 321.

²⁷ Hiram N. Savage to Frederick H. Newell, December 6, 1905, (A468276-A468277), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Frederick H. Newell to Hiram N. Savage, December 13, 1905, (A468279), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, Shoshone 958, box 912.

³² Ibid.

³³ "Complete Dam in 1908," *The Garland Guard*, v. 4, #31, Garland, Wyoming, p. 1. Wyoming Newspaper Project, last accessed July 27, 2016.

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- ³⁴ “The Great Shoshone Project – Sketch Showing Magnitude of Immense Undertaking,” *The Garland Guard*, v. 4, #44, August 4, 1905, Garland, Wyoming, p. 1. Wyoming Newspaper Project last accessed July 27, 2016.
- ³⁵ “Great Industrial Dinner,” *The Wyoming Stockgrowers and Farmer*, v. 4, #12, December 15, 1905, Cody, Wyoming, p. 1. Wyoming Newspaper Project last accessed July 27, 2016.
- ³⁶ “Great Irrigation Works,” *The Wyoming Stockgrowers and Farmer*, v. 4, #13, December 20, 1905, Cody, Wyoming, p. 1. Wyoming Newspaper Project last accessed, July 27, 2016.
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ William F. Cody to Franklin H. Newell, May 4, 1906, (A480857), (NARA-Denver), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, Shoshone 958, box 912.
- ³⁹ Jeremiah Ahern to Hiram N. Savage, May 31, 1906, (A480863), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, Shoshone 958, box 912.
- ⁴⁰ Hiram N. Savage to Franklin H. Newell, June 1, 1906, (A480862), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, Shoshone 958, box 912.
- ⁴¹ Frederick H. Newell to William F. Cody, June 19, 1906, (A480858-A480859), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, Shoshone 958, box 912.
- ⁴² William F. Cody to Theodore Roosevelt, August 16, 1906, (A480872-A480874), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, Shoshone 958, box 912.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ William Loeb, Jr. to Charles D. Walcott, August 27, 1906, (A480884), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, Shoshone 958, box 912.
- ⁴⁸ Charles D. Walcott to Theodore Roosevelt, October 1, 1906, (A480885-480888). (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, Shoshone 958, box 912.
- ⁴⁹ Elting Morison’s collection of letters provides a day-to-day schedule of Roosevelt in the appendices, see Morison, *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 6, p. 1605.
- ⁵⁰ “Cody Lauds President: Buffalo Bill Says Roosevelt Understands the West,” *The Washington Post*, December 17, 1906, p. 9. Accessed from ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Charles H. Morrill to Hiram N. Savage, February 2, 1907, (A480901), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, Shoshone 958, box 912.
- ⁵⁴ Acting Chief Engineer to Hiram N. Savage, February 26, 1907, (A480902-A480903), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, Shoshone 958, box 912.
- ⁵⁵ Theodore Roosevelt, “Before the National Editorial Association,” *Homeward Bound Edition*, vol. 6, p. 1312.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ William F. Cody to Theodore Roosevelt, August 2, 1907, (A468291), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ William Loeb, Jr. to James R. Garfield, August 6, 1907, (A468290) and telegram to Hiram N. Savage from Garfield’s office, August 7, 1907, (A468295), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁶¹ Telegram from Hiram N. Savage to Department of Interior, August 8, 1907, (A468296),
- ⁶² Acting Secretary of the Interior to William Loeb, Jr., August 9, 1907, (A468297), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁶³ Ibid.
- ⁶⁴ Frederick H. Newell to James R. Garfield, September 13, 1907, (A468299-A468302), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.

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- ⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ A. P. Libby eventually became the first mayor of Powell, Wyoming; he also owned a store in Ralston. No information could be found regarding the two other entrepreneurs.
- ⁶⁷ Hiram N. Savage to Frederick Newell, October 9, 1907, (A460563-A460584), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, FY 13, Folder 48.
- ⁶⁸ William F. Cody to Theodore Roosevelt, February 25, 1908, (A460572-A460574), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, FY 13, Folder 48. (Note: this is only a two-page letter, page one is stamped A460572 and page two is stamped A460574).
- ⁶⁹ William F. Cody to Theodore Roosevelt, Feb. 25, 1908, (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, FY 13, folder 48.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid.
- ⁷¹ Ibid.
- ⁷² Frederick H. Newell to William Loeb, Jr., March 5, 1908, (NARA-Denver Branch), Record Group 115, FY 13, folder 48.
- ⁷³ Frederick H. Newell to Hiram N. Savage, February 13, 1908, (A468308), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899. Morison, *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 6, does not indicate Roosevelt met with Buffalo Bill at this time.
- ⁷⁴ Hiram N. Savage to Frederick H. Newell, June 11, 1908, (A468309-A468310), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁷⁵ Frederick H. Newell to Hiram N. Savage, June 16, 1908, (A468311), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁷⁶ Francis E. Warren to Frederick H. Newell, July 13, 1908, (A468316-A468317), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁷⁷ William F. Cody to James R. Garfield, July 27, 1908, (A468319-A468321), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁷⁸ Frederick H. Newell to A. E. Chandler Acting Director of U. S. Reclamation Service, August 16, 1908, (A468326), and August 19, 1908 (A468329), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁷⁹ C. H. Fitch to Frederick H. Newell, August 25, 1908, (A468330), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁸⁰ Hiram N. Savage to Frederick H. Newell, August 29, 1908, (A468331-A468332), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁸¹ H. D. Edmunds to Hiram N. Savage, August 13, 1908, (A468333-A468334), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁸² Ibid.
- ⁸³ C. H. Fitch to Hiram N. Savage, September 11, 1908, (A468335-A4683356), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁸⁴ W. A. Deming to James R. Garfield, January 18, 1909, (A468406-A468407), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁸⁵ Richard Zacks, *Island of Vice*, p. 126.
- ⁸⁶ James R. Garfield to William F. Cody, January 22, 1909, (A468383-A468386), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁸⁷ William F. Cody to James R. Garfield, January 29, 1909, (A468337-A468343), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid.
- ⁹¹ Ibid.
- ⁹² Ibid.
- ⁹³ Ibid.
- ⁹⁴ William F. Cody to James R. Garfield, February 13, 1909, (A468345), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.

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- ⁹⁵ James R. Garfield to William F. Cody, March 2, 1909, (A68344) (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899. This is a poor copy. A legible copy of this letter can be found in Record Group 115, FY 13, folder 48.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid.
- ⁹⁷ Richard A. Ballinger to William F. Cody, April 7, 1909, (A468464), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ⁹⁸ A copy of this announcement signed by Fred Dennett, commissioner, approved by Frank Pierce, acting secretary is found in (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899. Powell's history is detailed in Robert Bonner and Beryl Churchill, *Powell's First Century – Home in the Valley* (Cody: Words Worth, 2009); Robert Bonner, *Farm Town: Stories of the Early History of Powell* (Powell: Powell Tribune, 1999); and Jeremy M. Johnston, *Images of America: Powell* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2009). Robert Bonner's *William F. Cody's Wyoming Empire* also examines the conflict between Cody and the Reclamation Service regarding the founding of Powell. Bonner concluded this conflict led to a break between the two men; however, Bonner assumed that Roosevelt and Cody were personal friends before this issue emerged.
- ⁹⁹ William F. Cody to Richard A. Ballinger, April 20, 1909, (A468475), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁰¹ Acting Secretary of the Department of the Interior, April 29, 1909, (A468478), (NARA-Denver), Record Group 115, box 899.
- ¹⁰² George Wharton James, *Reclaiming the Arid West: The Story of the United States Reclamation Service* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1917), p. 351-365.
- ¹⁰³ Stella Foote, *Letters from Buffalo Bill*, p. 118.
- ¹⁰⁴ Agnes Chamberlin, *The Cody Club*. For an overview of the Shoshone Project, which remained under construction until the late 1940s, see Beryl Churchill, *Dams, Ditches, and Water: A History of the Shoshone Project* and *The Dam Book: The Construction History of Corbett, Buffalo Bill, and Willwood Dams*.

Chapter IX:

Two Rough Riders Ride into the Sunset (1910-1919)

Although Buffalo Bill initially reaped great financial gains depicting the “conquest” of the American West through Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, most of his own western investments, especially the Campo Bonito Mine in Arizona, severely drained the capital he earned in as an international performer. Buffalo Bill staked thousands of dollars in these western business ventures, desperately hoping profits from his investments would sustain him so he could retire from show business, a dream that continued to elude him as other financial investments failed. Unfortunately, mismanagement of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, shortly after a merger with Pawnee Bill’s Far East and a series of farewell tours, led to the Wild West’s bankruptcy in 1913 and Buffalo Bill found himself touring as an attraction with Sells Floto Circus. As his show career declined, Buffalo Bill hoped his investments in film or the Cody, Wyoming, region would soon payoff, allowing him to finally retire. Much of this hope hinged on the successful completion of the Reclamation Service’s Shoshone Project.¹

Despite his frustration with the Roosevelt Administration and his ongoing struggles with the Reclamation Service, Buffalo Bill did not publicly criticize Theodore Roosevelt, except for one slight, obscure jab. At a dinner, Buffalo Bill offered a veiled commentary on Roosevelt by telling a fictitious story about the former President’s hunting trip in Colorado with John B. Goff. Buffalo Bill claimed Goff sent Roosevelt to acquire more hunting dogs from a local rancher. Upon reaching the ranch house, Roosevelt asked for dogs but the rancher refused his request. Roosevelt asked, “Do you know who I am?” When the disgruntled Roosevelt informed the rancher that he was the vice-president elect, the rancher allegedly replied that he did not care if Roosevelt was Booker T. Washington -- he was not going to lend him his dogs.² Buffalo Bill’s story appeared in various newspapers and it may have caused Roosevelt some discomfort due to the political controversy stemming, less than a month after he became president in 1901, from hosting Booker T. Washington to dinner at the White House, the first

African-American to be an official guest in Executive Mansion. This event drew considerable criticism from his Southern constituents and Roosevelt did not extend another such invitation to an African-American, despite declaring defiantly that he would do so.³

In 1910, as the former president of the United States, Roosevelt traveled throughout Europe on a goodwill tour after completing his African safari. During his trip, he received three honorary doctoral degrees, delivered several significant speeches on topics ranging from the evolution of Western Civilization to the conduct of British imperialists and their influence overseas. Crowds greeted Roosevelt as a celebrity in most of the European countries he visited and he also met many scholars, writers, political leaders, and monarchs. Recalling his 1910 trip in a letter to George Otto Trevelyan, Roosevelt noted that the kings and queens of Europe “were always sure to wish to hear from me about some of the things that I had done while I was President.”⁴ Additionally Roosevelt noted, “They were at least as anxious to hear about my [Rough Rider] regiment, and especially about my life in the West, evidently regarding it as an opportunity to acquire knowledge at firsthand and at close range concerning the *Buffalo-Bill and Wild-West side of American existence* (emphasis added).”⁵ Roosevelt now realized his shared Rough Rider persona with Buffalo Bill greatly enhanced his international reputation.

In many respects, therefore, Buffalo Bill set the stage for Theodore Roosevelt’s 1910 trip with his three Wild West European tours. Buffalo Bill’s Wild West filled Europeans’ heads with glamorous and violent images of the American Frontier. Roosevelt the politician found his own diplomatic mission and his efforts to establish the United States as a leading world power greatly advanced by Buffalo Bill’s portrayal of the American West and was eager to further Buffalo Bill’s popular depiction of the Wild West to his European audiences. Roosevelt now appreciated the international popularity of Buffalo Bill and his Wild West tours throughout Europe and how that shaped his own public image and that of the United States. Roosevelt discovered Europeans not only viewed him as a past president of the United States, but as the “Cowboy President,” a political personification of the mythical Wild West showcased by Buffalo Bill.

In addition to receiving a diplomatic representative from the United States, many royal figures wanted to know more about life in the American West, and they viewed Roosevelt as an expert. “Accordingly, after the usual formal and perfunctory conversation with the new king or crown prince, or whoever it was, he would, with a little preliminary maneuvering, ask me if I would mind repeating the story I had told some preceding king about this, that, or the other frontier hero who had afterwards become a public servant holding my commission,” Roosevelt noted. Roosevelt added, “[Various royalty] wishing to know just how and why it was that Benjamin Franklin Daniels, afterwards Marshall of Arizona, had his ear ‘bit off’ in the course of... his duties as peace officer, or why Hon. Seth Bullock, who was Marshal in South Dakota... had regarded homicide as a regrettable but inevitable incident of a political career in territorial days; or he might (and in two cases actually did) say ‘I beg your pardon, but I do not quite understand what is a two-gun man,’ which would necessitate a brief review of the exercise of the right of private war in the Far West, and the advantages accruing to the cause of virtue if its special champion was able to use a revolver in either hand.”⁶

This interest in the Wild West inspired Roosevelt to stage his own version of the Wild West by inviting Seth Bullock, the former sheriff of Deadwood, South Dakota, to join him in Europe. Roosevelt explained his intentions of inviting Bullock, “I wanted those Britishers to see my ideal typical American.”⁷ Estelline Bennett, a Deadwood resident, described Roosevelt’s living personification of an ideal American as follows, “Seth Bullock, tall, lean, with drooping mustache, keen gray eyes, a whimsical humor, a soft voice that spoke English like the educated gentlemen he was, and always, even when he went to Washington as the guest of the President, wearing a soft white Stetson. His friendships could run the gamut from Roosevelt to Calamity Jane and back again without stumbling.”⁸ These relations with the rougher elements of the American West not only allowed Roosevelt to stand out as a leading political leader; they also demonstrated his authentic connections to the American frontier experience.

Roosevelt clearly promoted his self-image as a rugged western rancher; however, there was a downside to Roosevelt’s popular image as a frontiersman, for many focused on the Buffalo Bill side of American existence and ignored his scholarly and political

attributes. In the same letter in which he detailed Europeans' fascination with the American West, he also complained, "as naturally my life has been chiefly led among politicians and men of affairs, when it was not led among frontiersmen, there are a great many things I have studied about which I have rarely or never had a chance to speak."⁹ The veneer of frontier ruggedness personified by Roosevelt did cover his genius and his diplomatic skills, conveying to key political figures and royalty that image of rough bumpkin Americans, invited the British to hark back to Frances Trollope's early writings on America.¹⁰

The morning of King Edward's funeral, Roosevelt again found himself caught in between the diplomatic decorum of Europe and the selfish nature of the ruling class. Stephen Pichon, the French minister of foreign affairs, complained to Roosevelt regarding the improper order that the various state representatives, both royalty and elected officials of various countries, should assume within the funeral procession. The Prince of Persia and the Chinese representative were placed in front of Roosevelt and the greatly chagrined Pichon. Rather than take his side, the former Cowboy President stressed Pichon even further with his apparent complete disregard for pomp. According to Keith Eubank, author of *Paul Cambon – Master Diplomatist*, "Teddy Roosevelt aided the confusion by announcing [to Pichon] that he would ride on horseback dressed in "khaki, in boots, with a Buffalo Bill hat, a saber, and pistols."¹¹ Again, the image of the American West as personified by Roosevelt countered the European pageantry and the internal dissensions within the ruling class of Europe, demonstrating America's egalitarian character, which was strongly identified with the frontier experience.

Roosevelt sailed home aboard the *S.S. Kaiserin Aguste Victoria* and arrived at a tremendous public welcoming in New York City on April 18, 1910, concluding an overseas trip that began on March 23, 1909. The "Cowboy President" was now home. In 1912, he ran against the Democratic Woodrow Wilson and the Republican William Howard Taft under the Progressive Party banner, and like most third-party campaigns in the United States, Roosevelt lost. In the years 1913 - 1914, Roosevelt sought another dangerous adventure in the Brazilian rainforest to explore an uncharted river, in which he nearly lost his life. As before, Roosevelt remained an international

representative of an adventurous life, one that began in the Dakota Badlands and took him to the wilds of Africa and South America. Roosevelt appeared to be another Buffalo Bill, a cosmopolitan frontiersman exploring an unknown territory with countless natural and human dangers.¹²

On June 28, 1914, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria and his wife led Europe into the Great War. Both Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt would argue for American military preparedness to deter any European country from violating American neutrality, harkening back to their respective “Rough Rider” days and suggesting their status as potential volunteers to fight in the Great War. As the world plunged into war, Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill used their frontier rhetoric to argue for a stronger military role for the United States. At first, both Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt accepted the official stance of neutrality, yet argued America must build up its military forces in preparedness, just in case military intervention in Europe became a reality.

In Roosevelt’s mind, the world must form an international *Posse Comitatus* to take the law into its own hands and restore world order through collective action of concerned citizens, like the vigilante movements in the American West. This organization was not to be another Hague, but an organized collection of military might that could enforce the peace. If it did not have military backing, it would be like western communities that attempted to disarm themselves and “passed self-denying ordinances, saying nobody was to carry arms; but they failed to provide methods for carrying such ordinances into effect... the result was the same. Good citizens for the moment abandoned their weapons. The bad men continued to carry them.”¹³ Many of Roosevelt’s readers likely recalled the lawlessness of the cattle towns like Abilene and Dodge City, or the lawless mining communities of Virginia City, Montana, or Deadwood, South Dakota. In these towns, community members turned to strong lawmen like Wild Bill Hickok and Seth Bullock, or they took the law into their own hands, through groups like the Montana Vigilantes, Granville Stuart’s stranglers, or the Johnson County Invaders. Hinting at these past events, Roosevelt argued when “Things grew worse instead of better; and then the good men came to their senses and clothed

some representative of the police with power to employ force, potential or existing, against the wrong-doers.”¹⁴

In 1915, Roosevelt published a collection of articles under the title, *America and the World War*, in which he was ambivalent about taking sides among the European warring nations, in pieces originally written before the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915. Roosevelt’s next collection of essays, published in 1916 under the title *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, clearly expressed his frustration with Woodrow Wilson’s administration.”¹⁵ Roosevelt’s writings reached an international audience. His first collection of essays was published in English and Spanish in 1915, and then in Italian in 1916. His second collection, *Fear God and Take Your Own Part* appeared in English in 1916 and then French and Spanish in 1917. Roosevelt’s essay entitled “Utopia or Hell?” first appeared in the *Independent*, later reprinted not only in *America and the World War*, but also in Great Britain under the title “Why America Should Join the Allies.” Clearly, European readers could have received the impression from Roosevelt’s writings that the Americans would likely side with them against Germany and her allies. Some may have envisioned some form of “Rough Riders” from America arriving in Europe to save the day and drive the Germans from France and Belgium.

At the outbreak of World War I, Buffalo Bill also argued for military preparedness and sources indicate he offered his military service to Great Britain. *Under the Big Top* by Courtney Ryley Cooper, relates an interesting event, “the King of England may remember the fact that he received a cablegram in the early days of the war with Germany. I know it was an enthusiastic thing, because I wrote it myself. It offered the services of Buffalo Bill and his Congress of Rough Riders of the World to go through the German lines like rain water through a gutter. If I am not mistaken, His Majesty replied. I guess my apologies are due the King. Buffalo Bill didn’t O.K. that cablegram until after it was sent. But let it this be known: the ‘Old Man’ ... was just enough of a fighter, just enough of a youth in spite of his white hairs and three-score-and-more years, to have gone!”¹⁶

As Europe descended into a global struggle, Buffalo Bill’s acting career continued to falter. After the loss of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West in 1913, Buffalo Bill

found himself under the control of Harry Tammen through his financial obligations, appearing in Tammen's Sells Floto Circus for the seasons of 1914 and 1915. After breaking with Tammen, Buffalo Bill attempted to revive his acting career through a new Wild West and motion pictures. Tammen threatened to sue if William F. Cody used his own moniker "Buffalo Bill" in promoting his new Wild West production, so Cody let it drop. Buffalo Bill did produce a full-length film detailing the Indian Wars as he experienced them; however, the film did not prove a success, probably due to aged Buffalo Bill recreating scenes from his youth, giving the movie a pitiful quality of an elderly showman attempting to regain his long past former days of glory.

After breaking with Tammen, Buffalo Bill collaborated with the Miller Brothers and Arlington 101 Ranch Show in 1916. The Miller Brothers show was struggling after a disastrous European tour in 1914. Upon the outbreak of the Great War, the British government seized the Miller Brother's horses and some of their equipment. Returning to the states, the Miller Brothers hoped a partnership with Buffalo Bill would rejuvenate their enterprise, as he hoped it would improve his financial situation as well. The combined enterprise toured the United States in 1916 and billed itself as the Miller and Arlington Wild West Show Co., present the Military Pageant Preparedness, Buffalo Bill (himself) Combined with the 101 Ranch Show." The new presentation included a few "Wild West" acts such as a Pony Express demonstration, along with a modern cavalry charge and field battery demonstration, and several equestrian events.

Buffalo Bill and his partners, despite the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the prominence of the preparedness theme, were very cautious not to offend their American audiences. Due to large German-American populations in Chicago, Buffalo Bill and his partners changed the name of the show to the Chicago "Shan-Kive" and Round-up, hoping to avoid alienating potential German audience members. The program for the Chicago venue explained "Shan-Kive" was an American Indian phrase for "good time." Dropping the military preparedness theme, the Chicago performance became a rodeo, which the program explained was another term for Round-Up. Buffalo Bill, along with various Chicago dignitaries, served as judges. After the Chicago "Shan-Kive" and Round-up performances, Buffalo Bill and the Miller Brothers continued the Wild West

portion of the show. Upon the end of the tour in November, Buffalo Bill returned to the TE Ranch and contracted a serious cold, so he traveled to Glenwood Springs hoping its therapeutic waters would restore his health. After collapsing from exhaustion, he traveled to his sister May's home in Denver where he passed away on January 10, 1917. President Woodrow Wilson sent a telegram expressing his condolences, as did US Army Chief of Staff Gen. Hugh L. Scott and retired Gen. Nelson A. Miles; however, in the archived list of dignitaries expressing their sympathy, Theodore Roosevelt's name is absent. Also, letters and telegrams from Roosevelt to Buffalo Bill's family are nonexistent in the extensive Library of Congress collection of Roosevelt correspondence. If Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill were indeed friends, no poignant letter to Buffalo Bill's family from the former president seems to exist.¹⁷

A common misconception regarding the death of Buffalo Bill, especially among residents of Wyoming and Colorado, is that his passing in Denver started an immediate debate over his final resting place. In this case, the historical record contradicts public memory, for the residents of Cody and Denver did not immediately fight over the location of Buffalo Bill's gravesite. On the day of his death, *The Park County Enterprise* reported, "A telegram from F. H. Garlow [Buffalo Bill's son-in-law and Cody resident] states that the funeral will be held at Denver... Interment will be on beautiful Lookout Mountain which overlooks the city."¹⁸ *The Park County Enterprise* announcing his death did not report of any angst or anger among the citizens of Cody regarding the selected burial site in the issue announcing his death or any immediate subsequent issues.

The only discontent expressed in the Cody newspapers regarding the chosen was found was a reprint of a Nebraska editorial in the January 26th issue from the *Lincoln State Journal*, expressing, "It is hardly to be expected that Nebraska will take kindly to the idea of erecting a monument to Col. Cody on Lookout Mountain, in Colorado, even if the accident of his death in Denver does cause his ashes to lie there."¹⁹ Other communities also claimed to be chosen resting places for Buffalo Bill. Buffalo Bill indicated in one of his wills his desire to be buried on Cedar Mountain outside of Cody, Wyoming. Others noted the family wished his interment should be at Rochester, New

York, near his deceased children Kit, Ora, and Arta. Louisa noted in her memoirs that Buffalo Bill originally wanted to be buried on Cedar Mountain, but changed his mind on his death bed and selected Lookout Mountain. According to Louisa, Buffalo Bill stated, “I want to be buried on top of Mount Lookout. It’s right over Denver. You can look down into four states there. It’s pretty up there. I want to be buried up there – instead of in Wyoming.”²⁰

Later historians claimed Harry Tammen of the *Denver Post* payed Louisa a good sum of money to keep her deceased husband’s remains in Colorado. These unsubstantiated stories originated from a former reporter²¹. More than likely Louisa’s selected location for Buffalo Bill’s grave was supported by Buffalo Bill’s foster son Johnny Baker and daughter Irma. On January 16, 1917, only three days after the funeral in Denver, Louisa, Irma, and Johnny Baker signed a certificate of incorporation establishing Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Exhibition Company, “To conduct, manage, furnish and produce either on its own account, or in combination with others, exhibitions of every kind and nature for the amusement and education of the public and particularly Wild West and frontier Exhibitions, so called, portraying and depicting scenes, habits and customs in the lives of pioneers, Indians, cow-boys, farms, plans-men, mountaineers, miners, hunters, trappers, and others.”²² Additionally, the agreement noted the company would “manufacture and produce motion pictures.” Clearly this was an attempt to rejuvenate Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, yet it also reflects the business minded approach of promulgating the memory of Buffalo Bill Cody through Louisa, Irma, and Johnny Baker.

Regardless of any real or perceived angst regarding the decision to bury Buffalo Bill on Lookout Mountain, a collaborative effort to erect a mausoleum on the site brought Wyoming and Colorado together. The negative editorial from Lincoln, Nebraska, stemmed from a collaborative state legislature effort to appropriate \$100,000 for a memorial to be erected in Buffalo Bill’s honor at Lookout Mountain, \$25,000 from the states of Colorado, Wyoming, Nebraska, and the city of Denver. Three commissioners from each state would be appointed to spend the funds and solicit additional private collections. The Nebraska editorial stated the proper place for a

monument was in North Platte, where a museum would eventually be erected.²³

Additionally plans were made to erect a memorial in Cody, Wyoming, as well.

On January 14, 1917, “Buffalo Bill’s” funeral occurred in Denver with Col. John W. Springer delivering the eulogy. Springer spoke of the Lookout Mountain site: “it is fitting that his tomb should be hewn out of the eternal granite of the Rockies, and it is to be hoped that a magnificent equestrian statue shall be erected by the people of the great West, while the U. S. government should erect the highest steel flagstaff on the continent and keep Old Glory floating thereon for all time, as a magnet to draw millions of pilgrims, where they could pay their devoirs at the last resting place of the first – the last – the chiefest (sic) of American pioneers.”²⁴ By delivering the eulogy, Springer a man of significant wealth and once considered for the vice-presidency under Roosevelt, reentered the public stage after a long silence. At one time, Colorado political leaders regarded Springer as one of the Republican leaders of the state. Springer also considered himself a close friend of Theodore Roosevelt; he organized the Roosevelt Club in Denver to support his 1904 presidential campaign. After failing to gain the vice-presidency, Springer focused on local politics and ran unsuccessfully for mayor of Denver.

Despite his political losses, Springer remained a political and social leader of the Denver community until 1911, when an infamous scandal interrupted his successful career. Springer’s second wife, Isabel, secretly engaged in an affair with her former lover, Tony von Phul, who threatened to blackmail her with their love letters. One of Springer’s business associates, hoping to save both Springers’ reputations, accosted von Phul at the Brown Palace Hotel on May 24, 1911, killing him and an innocent bystander, and wounding another. The Springers found their names splayed throughout the press. Springer divorced his wife and withdrew from public service, only occasionally delivering speeches, including the eulogy at William F. Cody’s funeral. The killing of von Phul became Denver’s murder of the century, inviting comparisons with the 1906 love-triangle murder, the killing of famed architect Stanford White by Harry K. Thaw in a jealous rage over White’s illicit relationship with Evelyn Nesbit in 1906. The press unfairly characterized Springer as an oblivious husband who could not control his wife.

Some papers even reported that von Phul's killer had a romantic relationship with Isabel behind Springer's back.²⁵

Assisting Springer at the funeral was A. U. Mayfield, identified as the Supreme Boss of the World National Order of Cowboy Rangers. In 1914, Mayfield attempted to recruit Theodore Roosevelt into this organization founded in Cheyenne, Wyoming. It was "purely fraternal, but has a weekly sick benefit and a funeral fund – just a banding together of the boys who ride and have ridden the Range, and have made the Great West what it is today...we take in all men who are white – inside."²⁶ Although it was unclear if non-white races could join, Mayfield noted, "There are some mighty good professional and business men who are coming in...the ritual is full of sentiment of the West – good morals and splendid teachings – just enough of the rough-and-ready spirit to make it interesting."²⁷ Mayfield and Springer, using their connections through various community organizations, such as the Cowboy Rangers, formed the Colonel W. F. Cody Memorial Association with the goal of erecting a suitable monument near Buffalo Bill's grave on Lookout Mountain, an effort they hoped would be supported by Theodore Roosevelt.

Similar efforts to memorialize Buffalo Bill in the town of Cody with a memorial likely began at a memorial service hosted by the Society of Big Horn Pioneer and Historical Association, which occurred the same day the official funeral in Denver. The organization's secretary and historian, attorney William Simpson, sent out invitations to the members for a funeral service. The letters, all addressed to Old Timer, noted the group would gather in the Irma Hotel and then march to the Temple Theater for the service. Members of the association, along with other community members, most likely discussed ways to honor Buffalo Bill's memory in Cody in the days leading up to the memorial service.²⁸

On the morning of the memorial service in Cody, a telegram was sent to former President Theodore Roosevelt and other notable personages on behalf of the newly formed Buffalo Bill Memorial Society. The new organization was incorporated on February 12, 1917, Dwight Hollister was listed as president, Harry Thurston was secretary, and other members were William T. Hogg, Jacob Schwoob, Sam C. Parks, Jr.,

Margaret Simpson, Minnie Williams, Charles Hayden, Dave J. Jones, and L. L. Newton. The Buffalo Bill Memorial Association asked Roosevelt to support an equestrian statue of Buffalo Bill for an estimated cost of \$50,000, “as a friend of Cody will appreciate.”²⁹ Anticipating a positive response from the former president, the *Park County Enterprise* proclaimed, “BIG STATUE WILL BE ERECTED: Final Arrangements Perfected for Organization which will Erect Fitting Memorial for W. F. Cody.” In the article, the *Enterprise* reported, “It is proposed to erect a monster memorial of the colonel which will cost anywhere from \$25,000 to \$50,000, and negotiations are already under way toward the selection of some noted sculptor in order to get a model. It is also proposed to follow the lines of the famous Rosa Bonheur picture [of Buffalo Bill] as closely as possible.”³⁰

Unfortunately for the Buffalo Bill Memorial Association in Cody, Wyoming, Theodore Roosevelt declined to participate in any activities to erect a statue in Cody. In a letter to Newton, dated January 18, 1917, Roosevelt wrote, “I sincerely regret that it is not in my power to take part in the movement you propose. If I could join any new societies for any purpose whatsoever at the present time, I would join this one, but it simply is not possible.” He diplomatically indicated his general support for the project: “Buffalo Bill was one of the great scouts in the Indian wars that opened the west. He typified as emphatically as Kit Carson himself, one of the peculiarly American phases of our western development, and most certainly should have a monument.”³¹

The Col. William F. Cody Association also approached Roosevelt and received a favorable replay. On February 5, 1917, Roosevelt received a telegram from John W. Springer requesting an audience for Buffalo Bill’s adopted son Johnny Baker, and former Wild West Show manager and publicist, Louis E. Cooke, on a matter that “pertains [to] proposed memorial to Colonel Cody.”³² A letter written by Cooke to Roosevelt went into further detail, “an active movement is now on foot to erect a suitable monument to [Cody’s] memory, on Lookout Mountain.... I have been appointed as Treasurer of a fund to be raised by the U. S. Boy Scouts... I am to meet a Committee of gentlemen from Denver, whom have this matter in hand and with whom we are to cooperate.”³³ Cooke enclosed a clipping of a newspaper story he had written on Buffalo

Bill's life, which concluded with the dubious quote attributed to Roosevelt indicating his support of the construction of the Cody-Yellowstone road.

A few days after receiving Cooke's letter, Roosevelt received a telegram from John W. Springer, on behalf of the Col. William F. Cody Memorial Association. Springer requested Roosevelt meet with Cooke, Sam Dutton, and Johnny Baker, Buffalo Bill's adopted son. Roosevelt sent a telegram to Springer agreeing to meet with Dutton, Baker, and Cooke but noted, "it is impossible to make any speeches at present. Will gladly write letter for Colonel Cody Memorial."³⁴ Roosevelt soon found himself appointed as the honorary vice-president of the Col. W. F. Cody Memorial Association, formed to raise funds for a memorial honoring Buffalo Bill on Lookout Mountain. In addition to working closely with the Cody family on with his exhibition company, Johnny Baker also found himself working with Theodore Roosevelt to erect a memorial on Lookout Mountain.

In an unpublished document recalling his efforts to memorialize Buffalo Bill, Cooke, quoted the following letter from Roosevelt praising Buffalo Bill's legacy:

I am glad to serve as one of the honorary vice-presidents of the Colonel W. F. Cody Memorial Associations and only regret that my work at this time is such that I am wholly unable to take any active part in forwarding the purpose of the Association.

'Buffalo Bill' was one of the most renowned of those men, steel-thewed and iron- nerved, whose daring progress opened the great West to settlement and civilization. His name, like that of Kit Carson, will always be associated with the old adventurous pioneer days of hazard and hardship when the Great Plains of [and] the Rocky Mountains were won for our race. It is eminently fit to commemorate his gallant, picturesque and most useful career by such a monument as you propose and it seems to me peculiarly appropriate to erect this monument on a lofty peak like Lookout Mountain, the neighborhood of which to the city of Denver renders it easy of access to all our people – for Buffalo Bill was an American of Americans and his memory will be dear to all Americans,

for he embodied those traits of courage, strength, and self-reliant hardihood which are vital to the well-being of our nation. I trust the best sculptors in America will be consulted as to the monument.³⁵

Heavily edited versions of this letter appeared in the *New York Times* and the *Sun* on February 11, 1917, yet the original letter written by Roosevelt is not indexed in the Theodore Roosevelt Papers. Perhaps it remains buried in the immense collection of Roosevelt's correspondence, yet Louis Cooke's memoirs at the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave contain a full version of Roosevelt's remarks, raising some question as to who truly authored this tribute. Despite questions of its authorship, Roosevelt's remarks remain as a lasting tribute to Buffalo Bill and were frequently quoted in biographies about William F. Cody.

A *New York Times* article described the proposed memorial: "Denver has donated a plot for the monument on Lookout Mountain, and has offered to become the custodian of the memorial. The peak chosen for the memorial is to be renamed 'Mount Cody' and on it will be erected a mausoleum, the interior of which will contain the tomb, as well as the trappings, relics, paintings, personal souvenirs, gifts, and collections of 'Buffalo Bill.' Sculptured groups illustrating episodes in the life of the frontier will flank each corner of the monument. There will also be a heroic equestrian statue of the scout as he looked in youth."³⁶ Shortly after this report, J. W. Springer formally advised Roosevelt on February 22, "At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the COL. W. F. CODY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION, held February 20th, you were unanimously elected to membership and also made an Honorary Vice-President of this Association [because of your] loyalty and patriotism in recognizing deeds of valor and principles of sterling worth in men who achieve great things."³⁷

Clearly, the newspapers were telling a version that did not correspond to the actual dealings of the Cody Memorial Association. Springer's letter notifying Roosevelt of his membership and honorary status calls into question Roosevelt's real role in the Cody Memorial Association. If Roosevelt officially became a member on February 22, why did the *New York Times* report his acceptance of the vice-presidency on February 11? Was the *New York Times* in error, or did Johnny Baker and Louis Cooke promise

such a position before the association officially voted on the position and then the story leaked to the press? Regardless of the actual reason for the discrepancy, Roosevelt himself must have questioned his official status within the Cody Memorial Association.

Despite the uncertainty of Roosevelt's role within the Cody Memorial Association, Roosevelt continued to assist the organization with its plans to erect an equestrian statue by recommending an artist and collecting funds. In a letter to Springer on March 8, 1917, Roosevelt recommended Alexander Phimister Proctor as the artist for the "Buffalo Bill" equestrian statue. The association agreed and sent an offer to Proctor.³⁸ Proctor later recalled bizarre visions of such a statue after passing out due to complications from a previous surgery. "While I was delirious," he wrote, "I had hallucinations about an equestrian statue of Buffalo Bill that I had finished. It was in a park in Russia, and I was lying on the base exposed to a terrific blizzard and in the firing line of two factions of battling Russians."³⁹

Roosevelt continued to collect funds from his various contacts to support the financial burden of the project after the declaration of war. On April 16, Roosevelt received a check for \$100 from Scottish author and adventurer, Robert B. Cunninghame Graham. On June 3, 1916, Roosevelt wrote Graham to thank him for send him a copy of one of his books and noted, "I shall read it with the utmost interest. You know, I think, how much Mrs. Roosevelt and I like your writings."⁴⁰ Graham replied to Roosevelt, "I saw by chance to-day in *Harper's Magazine* that a national monument is to be raised to my old friend Colonel Cody; that it is to take the form of a statue of himself on horseback (I hope the horse will be old Buckskin Joe), that he is to be looking over the North Platte, and that you have kindly consented to receive subscriptions for it.... If in another world there is any riding – and God forbid that I should go to any heaven in which there are no horses – I cannot think that there will be a soft swishing as of the footsteps of some invisible horse heard occasionally on the familiar trails over which the equestrian statue is to look."⁴¹

By the end of April, the Colorado newspapers reported the Buffalo Bill Cody Memorial fund had raised \$6,630.72; however, the article noted that the cost of such a project would be around \$225,000.⁴² The death of Springer's ex-wife Isabel prompted

reporters to dredge up Springer's name in connection to the infamous murder at the Brown Hotel. For example, the *Park County Enterprise* reported her death, possibly wanting to discredit the leader of the Cody Memorial Association. Yet Springer remained optimistic about the memorial, writing to Roosevelt to thank him for the checks and noting he had not forgotten Roosevelt's recommendation of Proctor; however, Springer now seemed more consumed with the building of the mausoleum. "Within a few days we will have a pen sketch of the proposed memorial temple...and it will be a magnificent structure.... the equestrian monument which Mr. Proctor has in mind will form part of the temple. We have not attempted to design a model for this statue, but will leave that to the more artistic minds of the sculptors," proclaimed Springer.⁴³ Enclosed in the letter was a brochure describing the massive project with the proclamation, "In times of war the Nation's people should remember those who gave their services in the past."⁴⁴ The brochure described plans for a "great mausoleum" containing Buffalo Bill's relics, adorned with an equestrian statue and surrounded by a park complete with live buffalo. "This is going to be the greatest thing of its kind ever erected in the world and if the proper call can be made through the influential channels, I am sure that the response would be spontaneous and overwhelming," Springer reported to Roosevelt.⁴⁵

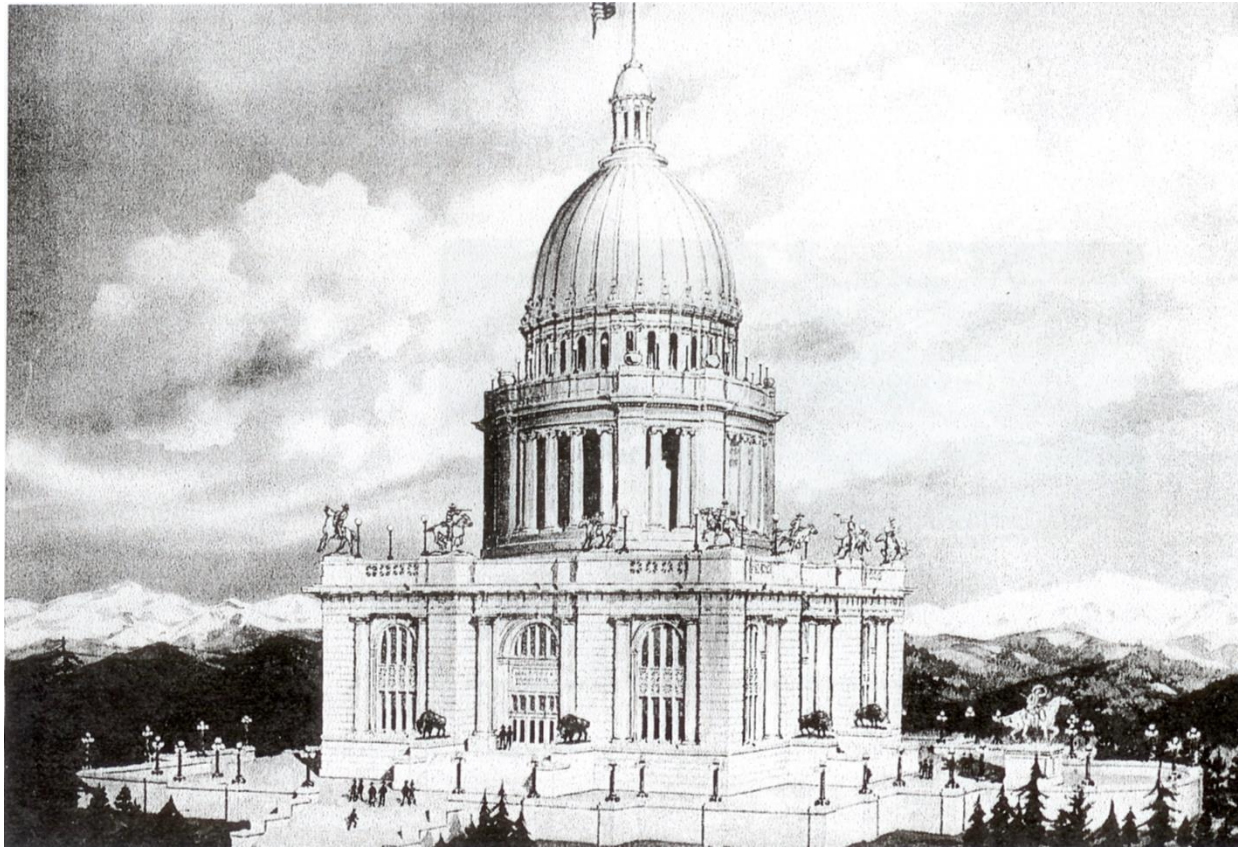


Figure 16 This image is from the brochure shared with Roosevelt illustrating the proposed mausoleum honoring Buffalo Bill. Note the Proctor statue on ground, right of the building. Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave Archives

On April 2, 1917, Woodrow Wilson called for a declaration of war against Germany. The demands of the Great War quickly overshadowed the course of planning for the proposed “Buffalo Bill” statue and memorial, eventually causing Cody and Denver to unite their fundraising efforts. Both communities hoped to help each other complete some type of memorial honoring “Buffalo Bill.” With the United States now directly involved in World War I, the completion of the Cody memorial on Lookout Mountain seemed doubtful and the hopes for an equestrian statue in Cody, Wyoming, faded away; however, Springer and his associates voiced their optimism that the project would continue. “Contributions are coming in very satisfactory, considering the ‘war times,’” World National Order of Cowboy Rangers boss A. U. Mayfield wrote to

Roosevelt, “and with the concerted aid of Col. Cody’s admirers, we will be able to raise a large and sufficient fund with which to erect a magnificent PIONEER monument to his memory, and to the memory of other frontiersmen who helped blaze the trail.”⁴⁶

In the summer of 1917, William F. Cody’s body was finally laid to rest on top of Lookout Mountain. Although invited, Roosevelt did not attend the service. In attendance was Proctor, who noted the following: “For some years there had been talk of a statue of Buffalo Bill, and Theodore Roosevelt, who had been president of the Buffalo Bill Association, had strongly recommended me as the sculptor. Bill died just before we arrived in Denver, and we attended his funeral services. The movement for a memorial took on new life, and the association decided to place a monument at Buffalo Bill’s grave on Lookout Mountain.”⁴⁷

Despite America’s call to war, as Proctor noted, the Lookout Mountain project now became more expansive while war continued in Europe. In September 1917, Springer again contacted Roosevelt reporting the group was now going to raise \$1,000,000 for the project instead of the \$200,000 as originally planned. The letter also introduced Mr. A. S. Hill who “will show you some beautiful work we are now getting out; we expect to send it to the confines of this country and we expect to raise the money within a year and to start at once the first unit.”⁴⁸ Roosevelt did not record his feelings regarding the increased project amount; however, Springer later attempted to arrange a face-to-face meeting with Roosevelt in Kansas City to discuss “personal business.” Roosevelt declined the meeting with Springer. Apparently, something was amiss; probably Roosevelt indicated his disapproval of Hill’s recommendations for fundraising \$1,000,000 to accommodate the expanded plans for the Buffalo Bill memorial.⁴⁹

Springer and the Cody Memorial Association worried about the future of the project and in October 1917 they began raising funds in Cody, Wyoming, from an office located in the Irma Hotel. The association intended to distribute a school play called “Civilization’s Course in America,” which local schools would produce for the community and proceeds would go to the fund for the completion of Proctor’s statue and a mausoleum in Lookout Mountain. When Cody residents complained that the money would be used only in Denver, the association quickly announced that the funds raised

would also assist in the completion of an equestrian statue in Cody, Wyoming. Now citizens of Cody and Denver joined hands to complete not one, but two equestrian statues honoring “Buffalo Bill,” in addition to completing the mausoleum at Lookout Mountain.

Despite the joint efforts of Cody and Denver, public support for all “Buffalo Bill” memorials quickly vanished as America’s involvement in the Great War increased. In December 1917, the *Denver Post* announced its opposition to any future fund raising for Buffalo Bill memorials until after the war. Roosevelt also lost interest in the project and on December 7, 1917, he wrote to the secretary of the Cody Memorial Association to relinquish his status of membership. “I do not feel that while we are at war I wish to be engaged in soliciting funds for any memorial, or for any purpose not connected with the war,” explained Roosevelt.⁵⁰ Roosevelt did offer a glimmer of hope for future work on the memorial, “When the war is over, if you should desire me again to become a Vice President of the Association, I will be very glad to take the matter up. I believe in a monument along the general lines proposed to me a year ago in connection with Cody and the pioneers of the west but I would wish to know exactly how the proposal is to be carried into effect.”⁵¹ Mrs. Cody also requested the solicitation of any funds for a memorial cease until the successful completion of the war. Mrs. Cody noted, “Buffalo Bill was first, last and always an American, and he would not wish a cent diverted which could be used for the defense of the country he loved so well.”⁵² Cody residents now attempted to shift their efforts away from raising funds to erect an equestrian statue.

As World War I obliterated plans for any statues honoring Buffalo Bill, the Cody Memorial Association abandoned its plans for a memorial to the great scout and advocated the creation of a military school in Cody, Wyoming, the town named in his honor. An article in the *Northern Wyoming Herald*, entitled “Military Academy: Cody’s Unfulfilled Legacy,” outlined the proposal:

[A] cavalry academy, in this unique spot, where both the men and horses needed, are of a very high quality; not to mention the climate and topography of the country, which is exceptionally advantageous and conducive to success... which had it been consummated, would no doubt

now, at this critical time, form a most powerful unit in the American army on the battle-fields of Europe.... how fitting then it would be to open a military academy, the chief feature of which would be the training of cavalry in a country where equestrianism has reached the highest pinnacle of perfection. Without doubt, all cowboys throughout the western states, who have a desire to serve their country will have the additional incentive of becoming members of this institution. [sic] where they will meet those of their own ilk, instead of being scattered, as they are, throughout the numerous regiments of the United States army, losing much of that unique efficiency. [sic] their life's training has inculcated in them.

It is easily conceivable, that to launch a cavalry regiment, made up of true western cowboys, into a battle at a critical time, when the contending forces were locked in a deadly struggle for supremacy, all official supervisions temporarily broken down and every man his own initiative, would be such an inspiration to disorganized troops as would lead them on to victory, in fact it takes no great power of vision to realize that the "Buffalo Bills" as they would be called, could become the terror of the enemy, as well as the chief support of the American forces, and possibly the deciding factor in many a pitched battle, in fact it is not inconceivable, that in the event of a deadlock all along the line, a few such regiments might be credited by the future historian, as the deciding factor of the great world war.⁵³

The Great War came to an end before the community of Cody could establish a military school, fulfilling a mission that Buffalo Bill began years before and attempted to solicit Roosevelt's support.

Upon America's entry into the Great War, Roosevelt strove create another Rough Rider regiment to defeat the German Army and restore law and order in Europe. Before America declared war, Roosevelt wrote French President Jean Jules Jusserand on

February 16, 1917, that he would “raise a division of 20,000 men, even if the [American] government declined to hold out the promise of an expeditionary force... to go at the earliest moment.”⁵⁴ After America entered the war, Roosevelt requested from the Secretary of War Newton D. Baker and President Wilson permission to form such a “Roosevelt Division” to fight overseas. Both houses of Congress agreed and voted a clause to allow for the raising of volunteer regiments within the conscription bill and Roosevelt claimed he received over 2,000 requests a day from men wanting to join his division, implying an army of 250,000 men could be raised in a short time.

President Wilson refused to support Roosevelt’s volunteer regiment, “It would be agreeable to me to pay Mr. Roosevelt this compliment and the Allies the compliment of sending to their aid one of our most distinguished public men... but this is not the time or the occasion for compliment or for any action not calculated to contribute to the immediate success of the war. The business now in hand is undramatic, practical, and of scientific definiteness and precision.”⁵⁵ Combat in the early 20th century was now viewed more as a science and a form of active diplomacy, not the romantic call to arms and dashing heroic charges that Roosevelt advocated and conducted in the Spanish-American War. Ironically, the scientific approach to combat led by military experts minimized the role of the volunteer regiments, just as Roosevelt’s progressive policies minimized the role of the pioneer, as reflected through his professional relationship with Buffalo Bill.

After learning that Roosevelt’s request to form a regiment was turned down by Wilson, French Premier Georges Clemenceau wrote a public letter to Wilson noting, “in all candor, that at the present moment there is in France one name which sums up the beauty of American intervention. It is the name of Roosevelt, your predecessor, even your rival.” Clemenceau continued, “I claim for Roosevelt only what he claims for himself - the right to appear on the battlefield surrounded by his comrades. We have just heard of the arrival of the first American unit on the front. All our hearts beat. With what joy our soldiers greeted the starry banner! Yet you must know, Mr. President, more than one of our *poilus* asked his comrade: ‘But where is Roosevelt? I don’t see him.’ ...the cause of humanity, which is also your cause will owe [to the soldiers of

France] something approaching a miracle. Since it is in your power to give them before the supreme decision the promise of reward, believe me – send them Roosevelt. I tell you because I know it will gladden their hearts.”⁵⁶

German General Erich Ludendorff noted, “The World War did not serve to furnish any proof as to what performance may be expected of the American soldier in mobile warfare as distinguished from trench warfare.”⁵⁷ The image of an American mobile fighting force on horseback, the image embodied and promulgated by both Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt, did not come to fruition during the Great War. Instead new technology began to elevate new fighting types, men such as tank commanders George Patton and aviators like Eddie Rickenbacker. In a way, Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill’s “Rough Riders” were gradually transforming into American “Rough Drivers” and “Rough Pilots.” Although the cowboy myth would continue to shape American ideology and culture through the remainder of the twentieth century, the practicality of the American cavalier on horseback died long before the trench warfare in France during the Great War.⁵⁸ World War I killed millions of soldiers, including Theodore Roosevelt’s son Quentin whose plane was shot down over France. The young boy who attended Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and enjoyed a thrilling ride in the famed Deadwood Stage did not survive the all-too-real Great War. Upon the death of his youngest son, Roosevelt noted to his daughter-in-law, Belle Roosevelt, that his wife Edith’s “heart will ache for Quentin until she dies.”⁵⁹

Roosevelt passed away on January 6, 1919, some say grieving over tragic loss of his son Quentin exacerbated his failing health. Ironically, although Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill were not personal friends and their professional collaboration was strained by the time he left the White House, Roosevelt’s quote describing Buffalo Bill as “an American of Americans” continued to shape the public perception both men were indeed close colleagues – the public memory of two friendly Rough Riders whose professional collaboration developed the American West, and who both personified “the Buffalo Bill and Wild-West side of American existence” continued to expand into the 21st century.

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- ¹ For overviews of Buffalo Bill's financial struggles in his later years, see Russell, *Lives and Legends*, p. 434-462; Yost, *Buffalo Bill*, p. 337-350 and 370-408; and Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, p. 463-549.
- ² "No Respect for President: Tale of a Colorado Dog Owner Who Rebuffed Mr. Roosevelt," *New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1907.
- ³ Dewey W. Grantham, "Dinner at the White House: Theodore Roosevelt, Booker T. Washington, and the South," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 2 (June 1958), p.112-30; Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *Theodore Roosevelt and the Art of Controversy: Episodes of the White House Years* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana States University Press, 1970), pp. 32-61.
- ⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, *Cowboys and Kings: Three Great Letters by Theodore Roosevelt*, Elting E. Morison, ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 51-52. Elting Morison also included these letters in his eight-volume edited collection of Theodore Roosevelt's correspondence.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ Theodore Roosevelt, *Cowboys and Kings*, p. 52. For interesting studies of some of the Old West characters Roosevelt befriended, see Jack DeMattos, *Garret and Roosevelt* (Texas Station: Creative Publishing, 1988), regarding Pat Garrett, who shot and killed Billy the Kid; Jack DeMattos, *Masterson and Roosevelt* (Texas Station: Creative Publishing, 1984) on Bat Masterson; Jerry Keenan, *The Life of Yellowstone Kelly* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006) on Luther S. Kelly's connections to Roosevelt and the Tennis Cabinet; and Robert K. DeArment and Jack DeMattos, *A Rough Ride to Redemption* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010) details the story of Ben Daniels, a former Rough Rider who had part of his ear bitten off in a fight.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ Estelline Bennet, *Old Deadwood Days* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), reprint from 1928 edition, p. 54.
- ⁹ Morison, *Cowboys and Kings*, p. 57-58.
- ¹⁰ Francis Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (London: Whittaker, Treacher & Company, 1832). See also Isabella L. Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (London: John Murray, 1879).
- ¹¹ Keith Eubank, *Paul Cambon: Master Diplomat* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 133.
- ¹² For detailed biographies of Roosevelt's later years, see Joseph L. Gardner, *Departing Glory: Theodore Roosevelt as Ex-President* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973); Edmund Morris, *Colonel Roosevelt* (New York: Random House, 2010); and Patricia O'Toole, *When Trumpets Call: Theodore Roosevelt After the White House* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005). For histories of his famed trip through South America, see Candace Millard, *The River of Doubt: Theodore Roosevelt's Darkest Journey* (New York: Doubleday, 2005) and Joseph R. Ornig, *My Last Chance to Be a Boy: Theodore Roosevelt's South American Expedition of 1913-1914* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1994).
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 71-72.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 216.
- ¹⁶ Courtney Ryley Cooper, *Under the Big Top* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1929), p. 47
- ¹⁷ Many of the Buffalo Bill biographies detail the loss of his show in 1913 and his last years with Sells Floto Circus and his partnership with the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch Show. For detailed histories of the 101 Ranch, see Edward Collings and Alma Miller England, *The 101 Ranch* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971) and Michael Wallis, *The Real Wild West: The 101 Ranch and the Creation of the American West* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999). Buffalo Bill also invested in movies, see Sandra Sagala, *Buffalo Bill on the Silver Screen: The Films of William F. Cody* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013). The telegrams to the Cody family after Buffalo Bill's passing are located in the McCracken Research Library, MS6 Buffalo Bill collection.
- ¹⁸ *Park County Enterprise*, Jan. 10, 1917, p. 4.
- ¹⁹ *Park County Enterprise*, Jan. 24, 1917.
- ²⁰ Louisa Cody, *Memories of Buffalo Bill*. It is hard to determine how much of Louisa's autobiography was written by, or embellished, by Courtney Ryley Cooper.

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- ²¹ For an overview of Buffalo Bill stories told by Fowler, see H. Allen Smith, *The Life and Legend of Gene Fowler* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1977), p. 60-61, 78-82, 137, and 257. Gene Fowler wrote of Buffalo Bill in his book, *Timber Line: A story of Bonfills and Tammen* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Books, 1933 (1951)), p.371-381 and *A Solo in Tom-Toms* (New York: The Viking Press, 1946), p. 367-371. In addition to publicizing the story of F. G. Bonfills and Harry H. Tammen (owners of the *Denver Post*) paying Louisa off to keep Buffalo Bill's corpse in Colorado, claimed several mistresses of Buffalo Bill attended the funeral, including the famed Colorado prostitute and madam Mattie Silks. The author concluded Fowler was a good storyteller, but did not provide much evidence to back his stories.
- ²² Certificate of Incorporation of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Exhibition Company, January 16, 1917, Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave Archives.
- ²³ For an overview of the efforts of Denver and Cody to erect a memorial with Roosevelt's assistance, see Jeremy M. Johnston, "The Great Equestrian Statue Race," *Points West* Spring 2007, p. 8-12. The information regarding the collaborative effort between the states of Colorado, Wyoming, and Nebraska was printed next to the Nebraska editorial. *Park County Enterprise*, Jan. 24, 1917.
- ²⁴ Buffalo Bill Eulogy, McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming, MS06.
- ²⁵ John Springer's troubled marriage and the murder of his wife are detailed in Dick Kreck, *Murder at the Brown Palace: A True Story of Seduction and Betrayal* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2003).
- ²⁶ A. U. Mayfield to Theodore Roosevelt, August 17, 1914, TR Papers, LOC.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Richard Bartlett's book on the Buffalo Bill Memorial Association provides an excellent overview of this organization and its efforts to perpetuate the memory of Buffalo Bill.
- ²⁹ Buffalo Bill Memorial Society to Theodore Roosevelt, Jan 14, 1917. TR Papers
- ³⁰ *Park County Enterprise*, Jan. 17, 1917, p. 1.
- ³¹ Theodore Roosevelt to L. L. Newton, Jan. 18, 1917, TR Papers, LOC.
- ³² John W. Springer to Theodore Roosevelt, Feb. 5, 1917, TR Papers, LOC.
- ³³ Louis E. Cooke to Theodore Roosevelt, Feb 2, 1917, TR Papers, LOC.
- ³⁴ Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress, telegram from John W. Springer to Theodore Roosevelt, February 5, 1917 and Telegram from Theodore Roosevelt to John W. Springer, February 6, 1917.
- ³⁵ Louis E. Cooke's original manuscript is held by the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave Archives. No letter from Roosevelt to the William F. Cody Memorial Association is indexed in the Theodore Roosevelt Papers held by the Library of Congress. Henry Blackman Sell and Victor Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, p. 257. "Roosevelt Honors Cody," *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1917, *New York Times* Digital Archive, contains the first few lines of the quotes. "Buffalo Bill Will Have Tomb on Peak," *Sun* (New York), Feb. 11, 1917. Numerous newspapers reported Roosevelt's appointment as honorary vice-president of the Col. William F. Cody Memorial Association, but did not print the quote as presented in Sell and Weybright's book.
- ³⁶ *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1917.
- ³⁷ John W. Springer to Theodore Roosevelt, Feb. 22, 1917, TR Papers, LOC.
- ³⁸ Theodore Roosevelt to John W. Springer March 8, 1917. Springer to TR March 14, 1917. TR to Springer April 6, 1917. TR Papers, LOC.
- ³⁹ Alexander Phimister Proctor, *Sculptor in Buckskin: An Autobiography* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 174.
- ⁴⁰ Theodore Roosevelt to Robert B. Cunninghame Graham, June 3, 1916. TR Papers
- ⁴¹ Letter quoted in introduction by Kermit Roosevelt in *Rodeo: A Collection of the Tales and Sketches of R. B. Cunninghame Graham*, ed. A. F. Tschiffely., (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, Doran, 1936).
- ⁴² *Plateau Voice* (Mesa County, Col.), April 27, 1917.
- ⁴³ John W. Springer to Theodore Roosevelt, April 30, 1917, TR Papers

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- ⁴⁴ Brochure from Cody Memorial Association, enclosed in Springer to TR April 30, 1917, TR Papers, LOC.
- ⁴⁵ John W. Springer to Theodore Roosevelt, April 30, 1917, TR Papers, LOC.
- ⁴⁶ A. U. Mayfield to Theodore Roosevelt, April 16, 1917, TR Papers, LOC.
- ⁴⁷ Proctor page 174.
- ⁴⁸ John W. Springer to Theodore Roosevelt, September 17, 1917. TR Papers, LOC.
- ⁴⁹ Citations.
- ⁵⁰ Theodore Roosevelt to A. U. Mayfield, December 7, 1917, TR Papers, LOC.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² *Fort Collins Weekly*, Jan 25, 1918.
- ⁵³ *Northern Wyoming Herald*, December 19, 1917, www.newspapers.wyo.org last accessed on February 10, 2016.
- ⁵⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 7, p. 711.
- ⁵⁵ Joseph Bucklin Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and his Time: Shown in his Own Letters*, vol. 2, p. 425.
- ⁵⁶ Morison, *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 8, p. 1201.
- ⁵⁷ George Sylvester Viereck, ed., *As They Saw Us: Foch, Ludendorff and Other Leaders Write Our War History* (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, Doran., 1929), p. 51.
- ⁵⁸ For general overviews of World War I, see Lisa M. Budreau, Lisa M., *Bodies of War: World War I and the Politics of Commemoration in America, 1919-1933*, (New York: New York University Press, 2010); James H. Hallas, editor, *Doughboy War: The American Expeditionary Force in World War I* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publisher, Inc., 2000); Harvey DeWeerd, *President Wilson Fights His War: World War I and the American Intervention*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968); John D Eisenhower, *Yanks The Epic Story of the American Army in World War I* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001); Thomas Fleming, *The Illusion of Victory: America in World War I* (New York: Basic Books, 2003); Charles Bracelen Flood, *First to Fly: The Story of the Lafayette Escadrille, the American Heroes Who Flew for France in World War I* (New York: Grove Press. 2015); Stephen L. Harris, *Rock of the Marne: The American Soldiers Who Turned the Tide Against the Kaiser in World War I* (New York: Berkley Caliber, 2015); James H. Hallas, editor, *Doughboy War: The American Expeditionary Force in World War I*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publisher, Inc., 2000); Peter Hart, *The Great War: A Combat History of the First World War*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); John Hughes-Wilson, *The First World War In 100 Objects*, (Buffalo, NY: Firefly Books, 2014); Edward Jablonski, *A Pictorial History of the World War I Years* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company. 1979); John Keegan, *The First World War*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999); Jennifer D. Keene, *World War I: The American Soldier Experience*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011) and *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Nick Lloyd, *Hundred Days: The Campaign that Ended World War I*, (New York: Basic Books, 2014); John Mosier, *The Myth of the Great War: How the Germans Won the Battles and How the Americans Saved the Allies*, (New York: Perennial, 2001); Richard Rubin, *The Last of the Doughboys: The Forgotten Generation and their Forgotten World War*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013); Laurence Stallings, *The Doughboys: The Story of the AEF, 1917-1918* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); and, John Toland, *No Man's Land: 1918 - The Last Year of the Great War*, (New York: Konecky & Konecky, 1980). For Roosevelt's role in World War I, see J. Lee Thompson, J. Lee. *Never Call Retreat: Theodore Roosevelt and the Great War*. New York: Palgrave and McMillan, 2013 and Herman Hagedorn, *The Bugle that Woke America: The Saga of Theodore Roosevelt's Last Battle for his Country*, (New York: The John Day Company, 1940).
- ⁵⁹ Roosevelt, *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 8, p. 1360.

Chapter X:

Memorializing Two Rough Riders (1919-2017)

The Cody Memorial Association in Denver never completed their proposed statue on the top of Lookout Mountain after the Great War. Buffalo Bill's sole surviving child Irma and her husband passed away in 1918, two of 780 fatal cases reported in Wyoming from the outbreak of Spanish Influenza.¹ In March 1920, the city of Denver announced plans to erect a stone observation pavilion and a museum on Lookout Mountain. Johnny Baker, who originated the proposal, was to manage the new museum. An article appearing in noted the museum "will contain many of the cherished relics and trophies of the famous scout."² Despite their past collaboration to erect memorials in both communities, the citizens of Cody feared they were losing their connections to their deceased namesake. Baker leased key relics from Buffalo Bill's career from Louisa, including his famed bison hunting rifle *Lucretia Borgia*, Yellow Hair's scalp, the Rosa Bonheur painting of Buffalo Bill, and many other objects. When Baker opened his museum in 1921, residents of Cody now realized not only had they lost the gravesite, and the memorial, they were also losing key historical objects related to their town's namesake.

Additionally, this loss of these key relics occurred at a critical juncture in economic development of the American West. Due to the end of World War I, agricultural prices plummeted, yet the advance of automobiles combined with growing popularity of the western mystique lured in more and more tourists. Wyoming's cattle were estimated at 1,172,000 head valued at \$73.8 million in 1919. By 1925, only 795,000 head of cattle ranged in Wyoming, valued at \$23 million. Final homestead entries for 1920 totaled 966,048 acres and continued to grow through 1923 to a total of 1,468,000 acres thanks to a boom in dryland farming, but then steadily dropped to 287,161 acres by 1930. Between 1920 and 1929, 71 state banks and 30 national banks

closed in Wyoming.³ Homesteaders went from boom to bust and banks began to foreclose on their loans. When western banks were unable to pay off their financial obligations, many failed and plunged the region into an economic depression. For the East, the 1920s were a roaring time, but for the West (and much of the South), it was the beginning of an economic depression long before the 1929 stock-market crash.

The only Wyoming economic resource that expanded during this period was tourism. With wartime inflation, shortages of goods, and volunteer rationing ending upon the conclusion of the Great War, along with the widespread use of the Model T Ford, tourists flocked to the West. Wyoming reported 24,000 autos owned within the state in 1920, which rose to 62,000 by 1930.⁴ The number of visitors to Yellowstone dropped from 51,895 in 1915 to 21,275 in 1918, but upon the conclusion of the Great War, rose to 62,261 in 1919 and steadily increased to 260,697 by 1929.⁵ Dude ranches flourished, travelers poured into Yellowstone National Park in their Model T's, highway tourism could carry them through the agricultural depression of the 1920s if they had an attraction to lure visitors.

Both Denver and Cody quickly realized Buffalo Bill memorials would draw tourists. Johnny Baker opened his museum at Lookout Mountain on Memorial Day in 1921, naming it Pahaska Tepee.⁶ Soon thousands of tourists flocked to see not only "Buffalo Bill's" grave but also the museum and its collection of Buffalo Bill-related artifacts. Regarding historical objects on public display, the town of Cody could claim a few paintings that hung in the Irma Hotel to attract tourists, but little else. Residents of Cody, Wyoming, felt slighted by the loss of the items on display at Baker's museum and feared all of Buffalo Bill's relics would eventually be housed in Colorado.

On April 13, 1921, Johnny Baker wrote an open letter to the residents of Cody indicating he would not deplete the town of all its Buffalo Bill items. "The relics and works of art that Mrs. Cody loaned to the Memorial Museum, adjacent to the grave of Col. Cody, atop Lookout Mountain, Colo., are held in trust for the estate by myself, and will be carefully preserved for her benefit," Baker noted, "This collection does not include all the works of art that adorn the beautiful Hotel Irma, only four of the paintings having been removed from the Hotel. The relics and paintings that were taken from the

Annex (Mrs. Cody's home) were seldom viewed by the public, and then, only by a few."⁷ Baker's letter seemed to assuage Cody citizens' concerns and the *Northern Wyoming Herald* noted the museum on Lookout Mountain would funnel tourists to the town of Cody and proclaimed Baker "be given the proper credit as one of the best Wyoming boosters living in Colorado."⁸

Despite Baker's reassurances, community concerns regarding the continued display of Buffalo Bill's paintings in the Irma Hotel likely resurfaced after the passing of Louisa Cody in October 1921. Residents of Cody again panicked, fearing if they lost the remaining collection of Buffalo Bill objects in town it would negatively impact tourism. Residents of Cody reorganized and continued working for an equestrian statue to honor Buffalo Bill under the auspices of what remained of the Buffalo Bill Memorial Association. Buffalo Bill's niece, Mary Jester Allen, who arrived in the Cody area in 1921, used her experience with the Roosevelt Woman's Memorial Association to rejuvenate the Buffalo Bill Memorial Association and their plans to erect a memorial honoring her uncle.⁹

Mary Jester Allen was born in 1875 in Pennsylvania, attended college in Missouri and became a journalist, like her mother Helen Cody Wetmore. She became the first known "female press agent" while working with the Wild West until her marriage to in 1901. After a divorce, Mary Jester Allen moved to New York City, where she was friendly with members of Roosevelt family. She was a founding member of the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association and assisted raising funds to construct Theodore Roosevelt's Birthplace and childhood home in Manhattan. In a 1942 article for *Annals of Wyoming*, Allen stated she was motivated to erect a lasting memorial after a conversation with her uncle on Decoration Day 1915. At this meeting, Allen noted Buffalo Bill expressed his desire to build "a great western American Pioneer Center built about the heart and hearth of a ranch homestead. He wanted the coming generations to see just how the pioneer lived and worked... He wished to teach people by having them relive and see that which had gone with the past."¹⁰

She recruited Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney to sculpt *Buffalo Bill – The Scout*, dedicated on July 4, 1924. Despite Mary Jester Allen's best efforts to raise the

necessary funds, Whitney was not paid for the work or the land on which the statue stands. Allen's fundraising efforts established other connections between the Buffalo Bill Memorial Association and members of the eastern elite, including William Robertson Coe, a wealthy philanthropist; A. A. Anderson, a famous artist with a ranch near Meeteetse; Col. Arthur W. Little, a New York publisher; and Larry Larom, who ran a dude ranch with his partner Winthrop Brooks, later manager of his family's clothing store, Brooks Brothers.¹¹ After the dedication of the statue, Mary Jester Allen focused on building a museum in Cody. She originally selecting the "plinth" of the Scout statue for her museum, which proved to be an impracticable location, and she looked for other locations.



Figure 17 Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney stands beside her statue, Buffalo Bill – The Scout. The statue was dedicated on July 4, 1924 and remains a prominent monument in Cody, Wyoming.

In 1925, Allen established the Cody Family Association to raise funds for a museum and acquire relics; however, a few family members questioned locating the museum in Cody, for the population of the town in 1920 was only 1,242 residents, compared to 256,491 residents of Denver. Family members believed larger

communities, including Omaha, Denver, or even North Platte, Nebraska, would be better suited to build a museum. Allen recalled that Nebraska “with its brisk vision and offers of land, care, funds, fine committees – all-out aid – had about won the day.”¹² With the support of her cousins Hiram Cody, Harry B. Cody, and Francis Cody, Allen noted the International Cody Family Association “recognized what the Colonel envisioned in his ‘last frontier’” and selected Cody, Wyoming, for the site of the Buffalo Bill Museum. Mary Jester Allen had sought to discredit Baker’s museum at Lookout Mountain by criticizing it as a shoddy tourist trap and recommended the Cody family remove Buffalo Bill’s body from Lookout Mountain and intern it on the top of Cedar Mountain, much to the angst of Johnny Baker and the community of Denver. One newspaper noted, “The agitation started by some of his forty-second cousins and other distant relatives to take the body to Cody is in poor taste.”¹³

As the Buffalo Bill Museum emerged in Cody and the debate heightened regarding a reinternment of Buffalo Bill’s body to Wyoming, that residents of Colorado seriously feared Cody residents would steal the body from its grave. When a caretaker at Lookout Mountain proclaimed groups of riders from Wyoming, were on their way to steal Buffalo Bill’s body, Baker stood guard over the grave, armed with a .38 Smith and Wesson pistol. The guard’s story proved to be a rumor; however, various tales regarding a posse from Cody riding to Denver to liberate the body became engrained in the local lore. Baker took final action in 1927 to secure Buffalo Bill’s body forever by reburying Bill and Louisa under twelve feet of concrete reinforced with steel bars. *The Cody Enterprise* quoted Baker, “the work forever settles the idle talk about the possible removal of Colonel and Mrs. Cody from the resting place they chose... The work will last forever and is an answer to all persons who might agitate for the removal of the bodies.”¹⁴

Local lore would later abound about the “posse” who tried to steal “Buffalo Bill’s” body back from Colorado shortly after his death, yet the local Cody newspapers do not mention any such posse. A photo of a tank next to Buffalo Bill’s grave is often touted as Colorado’s response to rumors a posse from Wyoming sought to reclaim the scout’s body; however, research current research demonstrated the tank guarding

Buffalo Bill's grave was simply a war bond drive and the tank fired a salute over the grave in 1919. In 1948, the Colorado National Guard did stand guard over the body when the American Legion Post of Cody, Wyoming, offered \$10,000 to the person that secured Buffalo Bill's body for the town. An apocryphal tale that a group of Wyoming cowboys replaced Buffalo Bill's body with the corpse of a look-a-like continues to circulate through Cody.¹⁵ Despite her best efforts to discredit Baker's efforts, Johnny Baker's Pahaska Tepee Museum continues to flourish as the Buffalo Bill Memorial Museum and Grave, just outside Denver, one of the American West's largest cities.

In 1926, Mary Jester Allen moved to Cody so she could oversee the museum. She also convinced many family members to pull their loans of Buffalo Bill objects from Baker's museum and donate them to the new Buffalo Bill Museum in Cody. Mary Jester Allen recruited two well-known baseball players, Tris Speaker and Ty Cobb, to "break-the-ground" for constructing the Buffalo Bill museum. The new museum was officially opened on July 4, 1927, with Mary Jester Allen serving as not only the curator, but also as a guard, guide, registrar, secretary, accountant, and custodian. She managed the museum until her death in 1960. Her most famous visitor was President Calvin Coolidge, who visited on August 27, 1927, while traveling through to Yellowstone National Park after visiting the future site of Mount Rushmore in the Black Hills where eventually a large bust of Theodore Roosevelt would emerge from the granite.

century, attended the dedication. The Plains Indian Museum opened in 1979, with James Michener as the keynote speaker. In 1980, the McCracken Research Library opened and today this archival repository houses over 30,000 books, 500,000 historic photographs, and 4,281 linear feet of historic archival collections. In 1992, the Cody Firearms Museum opened and today it holds nearly 7,000 firearms, 3,600 on display. In 2002 the Draper Museum of Natural History opened to the public, interpreting the natural history of the Yellowstone ecosystem. In 2013, the Buffalo Bill Historical Center was renamed the Buffalo Bill Center of the West, fulfilling Mary Jester Allen's idea of a pioneer center.

The most surprising honor dedicated to the memory of Buffalo Bill came from the Reclamation Service, renamed the Bureau of Reclamation. In 1946 the Shoshone Dam was renamed the Buffalo Bill Dam for the centennial year of Buffalo Bill's birth. Ironically, the construction project that slowed the development of Buffalo Bill's lands near Ralston, Wyoming, and over which Theodore Roosevelt refused to intervene on his supposed close friend's behalf, now honors Buffalo Bill's legacy. That "friendship" lives on in the popular memory, and many continue to believe that Buffalo Bill worked closely with the Reclamation Service during Roosevelt's Administration and beyond. Within the Shoshone National Forest is Mount Cody, an indication of his support for the Forest Service and his hunting trips in the region.

Theodore Roosevelt's western contacts established the first Roosevelt memorials. Seth Bullock, who accompanied Roosevelt to Great Britain during his 1910 visit, organized the Black Hills Society of Pioneers to build a castle-like tower near Deadwood to commemorate the legacy of Theodore Roosevelt.¹⁶ This tower was the first monument erected to Roosevelt within the United States, and appropriately placed. The *Outlook* magazine commented that the Roosevelt monument "towered high above the surrounding peaks and canyons for miles on every side. As far as the eye could see the Black Hills of South Dakota, with wondrous contrasting colors of wooded slopes, rock-bared mountain-tops, and valleys softened with purple haze, shone resplendent in the golden sunlight of the West."¹⁷ The dedication drew a large crowd of veterans from the Civil War and the Spanish-American War along with many dignitaries such as Peter

Norbeck, then governor of South Dakota; Hermann Hagedorn representing the Roosevelt Memorial Association; former commander of the Rough Riders, Gen. Leonard Wood; Roosevelt's former ranch partner Sylvane Ferris; and Seth Bullock, Roosevelt's travel companion in England.

Leonard Wood, soon to be one of the main contenders for the Republican presidential nomination, delivered the keynote address. Concerning Roosevelt's tenure in the American West, Wood stated:

While he loved all our people, he had an especial appreciation of the people of the West. It was the part of the country in which he had found health and strength. He was fond of their simple life, their patriotism, and their directness. He loved a hard, fast run in a rough country, a bout with the broadswords, a hard gallop across country. He was an omnivorous reader. He was equally at home at a roundup, in the legislative halls, an assembly of scientists, or as a speaker at a university commencement.

Travel, reading, study, and contact with men had given him a familiarity with men and affairs which is seldom found. He was a many-sided man; a human dynamo, driven by the forces of truth, humanity, and patriotism.¹⁸

Travers D. Carman, from the *Outlook*, concluded his report with the following: "As I beheld the rugged grandeur of the country Colonel Roosevelt had fought for so many years to reclaim I realized to the utmost that it had become indeed a land of promise trebly fulfilled. It even seemed as though in defiance of the grave at Sagamore Hill, the Black Hills called, and that Mount Theodore Roosevelt had possessed itself, as its unquestioned heritage, of the spirit of that great soul."¹⁹

Surprisingly, the Roosevelt Tower on Mount Roosevelt in the Black Hills, probably the most appropriate site to honor Roosevelt's connections and contributions to the American West outside of the Badlands, is somewhat obscure. Despite the fanfare and the presence of many dignitaries at the dedication, Mount Roosevelt and the Roosevelt Tower remain relatively unknown among the various monuments honoring the legacy of Theodore Roosevelt. The monument received some attention when the United States Forest Service rededicated the site in 1968 with Ethel Roosevelt Derby and her family, and Alice Roosevelt's daughters, in the audience. Due to increased

revenue from opening gambling in Deadwood, the Roosevelt Tower was recently restored, yet it remains somewhat eclipsed by another Black Hills monument, Mount Rushmore.



Figure 19 The author's daughter Alexa and son Sam stand in front of Roosevelt Tower in the summer of July 17, 2016. The steps and cover on the top of the tower are recent additions. The Johnston family and a group of four hikers were the only visitors to the site on this particular Sunday morning. Photo by author.



Figure 20 Mount Rushmore, July 2017. Photography by Amanda Johnston. Although not evident in this photograph, the crowds of visitors were considerably larger at Mount Rushmore compared to Roosevelt Tower.

Additional efforts to honor Roosevelt emerged in New York. Many of Roosevelt's companions and his family formed two separate organizations that would later join and form the Theodore Roosevelt Association to honor the former President. These early versions of the Theodore Roosevelt Association provided a model for Buffalo Bill's niece, Mary Jester Allen, who led a rejuvenated Buffalo Bill Memorial Association in Cody, Wyoming, again linking the memory of Buffalo Bill to the memory of Theodore Roosevelt. The morning after Roosevelt's death, Mrs. Henry A. Wise Wood and Mrs. William Curtis Demorest discussed potential project to memorialize Roosevelt. Wood and Demorest recruited other prominent women including Mrs. Andrew Carnegie, Mrs. Jacob Riis, Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt to form the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association.

Shortly after the creation of this association, a group of Roosevelt's male companions; including the naturalist John Burroughs; former Rough Rider Leonard

Wood; former Roosevelt cabinet member James R. Garfield; and many others; joined to form the Roosevelt Memorial Association, officially incorporated by Congress in 1920. This group focused on creating a park in Oyster Bay and erecting a monument in Washington, D.C., to memorialize Roosevelt. Additionally, the Roosevelt Memorial Association dedicated itself to collecting archival material and memorabilia related to Roosevelt's life and legacy, in addition to publishing Roosevelt's writings. Due to the similar goals of both organizations, along with the similar organizational names, a rivalry developed between the men's organization and the women's organization. Especially when it came to fundraising, many donors were confused by the seemingly identical associations.²⁰

In collaboration with Theodore's widow Edith, the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association determined they would rebuild Theodore Roosevelt's birthplace, making it a Center of Americanism. A past organization known as the Roosevelt Home Club attempted to restore the home where Roosevelt entered the world in 1904 but it failed, partly due to lack of support from Roosevelt himself, and the home was demolished. At the time, the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association formed, a commercial building stood on the lot, next to Roosevelt's Uncle Robert's house, then housing a cafe and other commercial enterprises.

Undeterred by the great challenge that lay before them, the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association purchased both buildings by the summer of 1919, after fundraising over \$86,000 to cover the purchase. To reconstruct Roosevelt's birthplace and create their Center of Americanism, the association continued to raise funds throughout the early 1920s as well as sponsoring public speaking and essay contests. To interest local youth, the association recruited junior members, who paid 25 cents to join, forming Roosevelt Clubs within in various New York public schools. Additionally, the Roosevelt Women's Association organized state and foreign committees to solicit funding for their building project. The men's Roosevelt Memorial Association joined with the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association for weeklong celebration of Roosevelt's birthday celebration in 1919; however, the men raised \$1.7 million for their efforts compared to the women only raising \$33,000 for the birthplace project.

The Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association used their funds to demolish the commercial structure occupying the space of Roosevelt's boyhood home along with Robert Roosevelt's former home. The association also coordinated with Roosevelt's sisters to design the replica brownstone home and collect original furniture for display. Despite this progress, the building project stalled due to lack of funds until the men and women's associations reached a compromise. The men's organization promised to donate \$150,000 towards the construction of Roosevelt's birthplace, in exchange for a 99-year lease on the half of the Roosevelt house standing on the lot that housed Robert Roosevelt's home. This space would serve as a museum and library housing the collections acquired by the Roosevelt Memorial Association. The men's organization also promised to donate funds for cases and maintenance of the site. This compromise allowed the site to be completed and Theodore Roosevelt's Birthplace opened to the public on October 27, 1923, Roosevelt's sixty-fifth birthday.

Despite the assistance of the men's organization, the women's association continued struggling to raise funds to support the birthplace site. The men's association established a memorial park in Oyster Bay in 1928 and purchased Theodore Roosevelt Island in Washington, D.C., in 1931, which is now under the management of the National Park Service and home to a memorial with a 17-foot tall statue of Roosevelt. In 1946, the group changed its name to the Women's Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association, to avoid any confusion with efforts to memorialize Franklin Roosevelt. After Edith Roosevelt's death in 1948, the men's Roosevelt Memorial Association restored Sagamore Hill, which opened to the public in 1953. That same year, the men's organization renamed itself the Theodore Roosevelt Association. Two years later, the women's association merged with the men, establishing the current "coed" Theodore Roosevelt Association. In 1962, both Sagamore Hill and the Roosevelt Birthplace were designated national historic sites under the National Park Service. Today this combination of memorials, museums, and archives continues to promulgate the life and legacy of Theodore Roosevelt as a national figure.

In 1924, then Senator Peter Norbeck of South Dakota, who attended the dedication of Mount Roosevelt, listened to a proposal from Doane Robinson, secretary

of the South Dakota State Historical Society, to create a monumental sculpture in the Black Hills commemorating famous pioneers of the American West, including Buffalo Bill. Robinson invited sculpture Gutzon Borglum to visit the Black Hills to select an appropriate granite outcrop. Borglum selected a mountain named after Charles Rushmore, a New York lawyer who inspected many mining claims in the Black Hills. On October 1, 1925, Borglum began his sixteen-year project to carve out three United States presidents' faces: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln. After closer inspection of the carving surface, Borglum decided he could add an additional face. Senator Norbeck suggested Theodore Roosevelt, an idea that Borglum at first disliked but then decided was appropriate. The addition began a public debate as to whether Roosevelt's legacy was so great as to merit a monumental honor. Borglum, a supporter of the Bull Moose campaign and a friend of Roosevelt, ignored the critics and solicited President Calvin Coolidge's support. Borglum dedicated the Roosevelt sculpture on July 2, 1939, before a crowd of 12,000 spectators that included a group of Lakota Indians, famed western movie actor William S. Hart. Borglum passed away in 1941, but his son finished the monument that year. The ever-popular Mount Rushmore, about which President Franklin Roosevelt concurred with Borglum in 1936 that it "can be a monument and an inspiration for the continuance of the Democratic-Republican form of government," forever links Roosevelt with Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln.

Perhaps the most prominent memorial to these two Rough Riders is the most obscure to today's visitors and residents of the Big Horn Basin. Buffalo Bill's efforts to advance reclamation is quite noticeable from the air, where one can see various shades of green squares in the early summer reflecting crops grown from water diverted from the Shoshone River. Powell, Wyoming, with a population 6, 314 in 2010, the town named in honor of John Wesley Powell remains in the middle of the Shoshone Project despite Buffalo Bill's efforts to stop its development and is now home to Northwest College. Five miles to the east and five miles to the west of Powell are the less populated towns of Garland (population 115) and Ralston (population 280) despite Buffalo Bill's hopes they would be the ones to boom with the absence Powell. The town of Cody, Wyoming, with a 2010 population of 9,520, highlights imagery of the

Wild West in rodeos, parades, and a nightly gunfight in front of Buffalo Bill's famed Irma Hotel, which is one of two Wyoming hotels that claim their fancy back bar was a gift to Buffalo Bill by Queen Victoria, despite the lack of any historical documentation.²¹

Just a few miles west of Cody, one enters the Shoshone Canyon where the Buffalo Bill Dam stands and where visitors learn about the massive construction endeavor funded through the Newlands Act. This legislation led to the creation of the Reclamation Service that would irrigate even more lands along the Shoshone River through the Shoshone Project. After passing the Buffalo Bill Reservoir, one enters the Shoshone National Forest under the management of the National Forest Service, an agency arising from Roosevelt's conservation policies. One drives past Elk Fork Creek, the site of Buffalo Bill's Wapiti Stage Stop, the half-way mark for tired tourists to stay the night while riding the stage to Yellowstone. Nearing Buffalo Bill's Pahaska Tepee near the boundary of the park, one sees Cody Peak, named in honor of Buffalo Bill and dedicated in 1932 by the Cody Club. Ironically, Cody Peak was originally named in honor of Stephen Mather, the first director of the National Park Service. Park historian Aubrey Haines noted the name change was accepted by the Park Service to salve any angst among local-residents caused by the extension of the eastern boundaries of Yellowstone in the late 1920s.²²

East Entrance, promoted by Cody to Yellowstone National Park, created in 1872, is now protected by another federal government agency created in 1916, the National Park Service, a governing agency that began to emerge during Roosevelt's presidency. If you continue through Yellowstone, north towards Gardiner, one drives through the stone Roosevelt Arch, which he dedicated during his 1903 Yellowstone visit. Although Roosevelt never traveled the route from Cody to Yellowstone National Park, it is easy to see why so many people believe he must have assisted Buffalo Bill in opening this route – a route that indeed some insist Roosevelt proclaimed to be “the most scenic fifty miles in America,” words which, of course, he likely never uttered or wrote.

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- ¹ T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 404. Larson notes that 169 cases were attributed to the flu alone and 611 fatalities were the flu and pneumonia combined.
- ² Northern Wyoming Herald, March 31, 1920, p. 1.
- ³ T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 411-422.
- ⁴ T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 423.
- ⁵ Annual Yellowstone National Park visitation rates from 1872 to 1971 are printed in Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, p. 478-480.
- ⁶ "City to Erect Museum at Buffalo Bill's Grave," *Northern Wyoming Herald*, March 21, 1920, the log building that served as a museum still stands and serves as a gift shop and grill. It is advertised as the largest gift shop in Colorado. Baker information from newspapers.
- ⁷ Baker's letter was published in *The Park County Enterprise*, April 13, 1921, p. 1.
- ⁸ "Cody Trophies to Remain in Cody --- Johnny Baker Loyal," *Northern Wyoming Herald*, April 13, 1921.
- ⁹ For a historical overview of the Buffalo Bill Memorial Association and Mary Jester Allen's role, see Richard A. Bartlett, *From Cody to the World: The First Seventy-Five Years of the Buffalo Bill Memorial Association* (Cody, WY: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1992). See also Chamberlin, Cody Club and ICFA books.
- ¹⁰ Mary Jester Allen, "Cody's Dream of a Pioneer Center a Reality," *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 14, no. 1, (January 1942), p. 21.
- ¹¹ See W. Hudson Kinsel, *Dude Ranching in Yellowstone Country: Larry Larom and Valley Ranch, 1915-1969* (Norman: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2010).
- ¹² Allen, "Cody's Dream," p. 21
- ¹³ Buffalo Bill Museum and Graves Archive, undated news clipping. *Cody Enterprise*, November 18, 1925, noted the town of Cody received the news to relocate Buffalo Bill, "was received with enthusiasm and the movement with receive enthusiastic support from Cody residents."
- ¹⁴ *Cody Enterprise*, December 28, 1927.
- ¹⁵ Steve Friesen, *Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2010), p. 147-156.
- ¹⁶ "The Dedication of Mount Theodore Roosevelt," *Outlook*, vol. 122 (July 16, 1919), p. 430. The plaque on the dedication tablet reads:
- "WHEREAS, IN THE DEATH OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT THE SOCIETY OF BLACK HILLS PIONEERS HAS LOST AN HONORED AND LOVED MEMBER, AND WHEREAS, HE WAS THE FRIEND OF HUMANITY, THE CHAMPION OF THE OPPRESSED, A THOROUGH AMERICAN, LOVING HIS COUNTY WITH WHOLE HEARTED DEVOTION, AND WHEREAS, HIS AMERICANISM, HIS LOVE OF COUNTRY, HIS CLEAN LIFE, HIS ADVOCACY OF THE SQUARE DEAL TO RICH AND POOR, ARE WORTHY OF EMULATION, AND WILL PROVE AN INSPIRATION TO HIS COUNTRYMEN, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SOCIETY OF BLACK HILLS PIONEERS, THAT IN PERPETUATION OF HIS MEMORY, AND TO KEEP IT EVER BEFORE OUR PEOPLE, THE NAME OF SHEEP MOUNTAIN BE CHANGED TO MOUNT THEODORE ROOSEVELT WITH THE HOPE AND PRAYER THAT IT MAY BECOME A SHRINE WHERE THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE BLACK HILLS MAY BE LED TO FOLLOW THE TEACHINGS OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP AND LOVE OF COUNTRY SO EXEMPLIFIED IN THE LIFE OF THIS GREAT AMERICAN."**
- ¹⁷ Ibid. p. 428.
- ¹⁸ Ibid. p. 430.
- ¹⁹ Ibid. p. 432.
- ²⁰ An overview of the history of the Theodore Roosevelt association can be found online at http://www.theodoreroosevelt.org/site/c.eIKSIdOWIiJ8H/b.8090957/k.B353/History_of_the_TRA.htm

Last accessed on March, 2, 2017. A history is also provided in *Theodore Roosevelt: Many-Sided American*, edited by Naylor, Brinkley, and Gable, p. 657-658.

²¹ The other hotel is the Sheridan Inn in Sheridan, Wyoming, which also has a strong connection to Buffalo Bill, yet no early documentation such as newspaper coverage of the openings reveal the bars came from Queen Victoria.

²² Haines, Aubrey L., *Yellowstone Place Names: Mirrors of History* (Boulder: University of Press of Colorado, 1996), p. 145-146. See also Lee Whittlesey, *Yellowstone Place Names* (N.P.: Wonderland Publishing Company, 2006), second edition revised, p. 70. Cody, Wyoming, residents also named Arthur Peak for President Chester A. Arthur, the first president to visit Yellowstone, and Plenty Coups Peak for Chief Plenty Coups of the Crow Nation.

Conclusion:

The Enigmatic Relationship of Two Rough Riders

As America rushed from the Progressive Era into the 1920s, hoping to “return to normalcy” as promised by President Warren G. Harding, the heroic depictions of Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt as Rough Riders remained strong. Amid isolationist and conservative tendencies now pressing for limits on America’s role in international diplomacy, higher barriers to immigrants, and minimized federal regulation of the economy, many continued to view Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt with nostalgia – as representatives of the unique rugged individualists who tamed the Wild West. This initial memorialization of both men as rugged Rough Riders masked or distorted the complexities of their relationship and the intricacies of their differing politics, and their engagement with America’s international role, domestic social issues, economic development in the American West, and the preservation of wilderness regions. The heroic and dramatic veneer of the two Rough Riders now outshone the historical complexities related to the evolution of the American frontier myth during the transition from Manifest Destiny to American imperialism.

Through the remainder of the 20th century, these two Rough Riders remained as the key symbols of the nation’s frontier past, representing the best and worst of American expansion and exceptionalism. Both eastern and western communities erected monuments and museums to interpret and promulgate the lives and legacies of Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt. Despite their common, heroic characterization as Rough Riders, one from the period of the Indian Wars and one who served in the Spanish American War, historians and biographers found fault with, or uttered praise for, each one at differing times. As America entered an unpopular military excursion into Vietnam and the American Indian Civil Rights Movement emerged in the 1970s, parallel negative characterizations concerning the displacement of so-called primitive peoples through America’s military might were projected onto both men’s Rough Rider personas. Although the symbolic nature of these two Rough Riders shaped the tones of their

biographies, historians differed on the nature of their relationship, which was exaggerated by many Buffalo Bill biographers and ignored, until recently, by the Roosevelt scholars.

The Rough Rider imagery for both men has nearly obliterated the nuances of their relationship. A study of Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt's early lives and their respective experiences in the American West reveal striking differences and hindrances that negate the possibilities of an early friendship between the two men. Both recognized the other as a spokesperson of the American frontier and the American West, yet class and regional differences posed great boundaries between these two Rough Riders. Buffalo Bill served as a westerner interpreting his experiences and histories of the American frontier to eastern audiences through dramatic recreations on stage and in the arena. Theodore Roosevelt represented an eastern "dude" who discovered himself in the wilds of the Badlands, and who then shared his experiences through his published accounts. Although they represented differing approaches, differing class status, and differing methodologies of interpreting their western experiences, together they managed to convey similar stories of American exceptionalism and frontier mythology to international audiences representing various socioeconomic classes. As Roosevelt emerged from the Spanish American War as the popular commander of the famed Rough Riders, the connections to the fighting spirit of America as shaped through the frontier experience further united the two men publicly.

It is clear both men were not personal friends, and yet intriguing degrees of strife and collaboration were generated through their presentations of American history through their collected writings and public appearances, and interesting tensions were to emerge regarding the political struggles between the rugged individualism and progressive reform. The willingness of both men to allow the promulgation of a personal and professional relationship, and in some cases, an active effort to publicize their shared connections, offers an interesting perspective on how the Rough Rider imagery shaped both their personal and professional lives. This public relationship of two Rough Riders riding side-by-side also demonstrates how the complexities of both men's lives, beliefs, and careers were shaped by the transition of the frontier myth into

the 20th century. Both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill's differing perspectives of race, masculinity, federalism, class, and other social issues are obscured by this common frontier image, demonstrating the capacity of the frontier myth and American exceptionalism to obliterate the actual complexities of past historical characters and their times. Both Rough Riders strove to balance their interpretation of the American frontier and the story of their lives with elements of authenticity and entertainment, yet in the end, the power of popular culture overshadowed both men's lives and legacies.

Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill's professional relationship reveals some interesting perspectives regarding their shared goals and differences in developing the 20th century American West. Where their goals aligned, although not necessarily their motives, both men collaborated and promoted each other's plans. Roosevelt's administration benefited from Buffalo Bill's public support of reclamation and conservation, due to their similar wishes to open the West to further settlement, yet Buffalo Bill's financial motivations clearly differed from Roosevelt's hopes to advance the greatest good for the greatest number. Buffalo Bill's continued requests for political favors also conflicted with Roosevelt's advocacy for a more professional and ethical system of government. Additionally, the progressive focus on moral issues as advocated by Roosevelt conflicted with Buffalo Bill's personal struggles with alcohol and his marriage that became very public aspects of his celebrity status. Although their professional relationship is often depicted in public memory as a golden age of collaboration between the federal government and western settlers, the conflict between the two over reclamation in the Big Horn Basin reflects contemporary land-use debates. Many western residents today can identify with Buffalo Bill's bureaucratic struggles to develop Ralston, Wyoming. Those individuals pejoratively labeled easterners or environmentalists continue to appreciate the progressive approach to securing the greatest good for the greatest number through professional, federal agencies.

Regardless of their personal and professional differences, both Rough Riders realized their public personas publicly linked them together. Observing the popularity of Roosevelt's Rough Riders, Buffalo Bill strove to connect his name to its origins, while at the same time organizing a reenactment of the Battle of San Juan Hill using veterans

from the military campaign. Although the historical evidence indicates Roosevelt did not attend nor publicly authenticate this display of his military accomplishment, he certainly discovered the popularity of Buffalo Bill's Wild West among the royal and political leaders of Europe during his 1910 visit. Despite not expressing his sympathy, either publicly or to Buffalo Bill's family, after the latter's passing, Roosevelt did lend his name to fundraising efforts to create a monument at Lookout Mountain honoring the former scout's frontier legacy. After Roosevelt passed away, the public relationship with Buffalo Bill lent continued national credibility to his frontier adventures. Although Buffalo Bill is rarely noted in Roosevelt biographies, his legacy is noted as popularizing the American West, which in turn lured Roosevelt to the Dakota Territory.

Theodore Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill were born over a decade apart, the two Rough Riders represented differing socioeconomic classes and encountered varied experiences in the American West and the East, their shared message of how the frontier shaped American exceptionalism publicly connected both men, as noted in chapters two and three of this dissertation. Both men served as cultural and societal bridges in the United States, sharing their perspectives of the American frontier and the Wild West to largely disparate audiences separated by regional and class divisions. While both men excelled in sharing powerful, iconic images of the American Western experience and how it shaped the industrial and military might of the United States, there were major differences between the methods through which they interpreted their material to their audiences, as noted in chapters four and five.

Buffalo Bill perfected a dramatic method of presenting a sensational performance backed by an element of authenticity. This method appealed strongly to working class and middle-class Americans, whereas Roosevelt's writings targeted middle and upper-class Americans, and it is likely that many in the latter group viewed Buffalo Bill's Wild West as essentially lowbrow entertainment. Among the political and royal figures of Europe, less distinction was drawn and both men's messages found an interested (although ill-informed) audience and both were welcomed throughout the European courts and governing institutions. Their shared histories as Rough Riders and their differing presentations styles proved very effective in ensuring the frontier myth

became popular among many classes, especially within the United States and Europe. Their common message of American exceptionalism brought both men great publicity during the Spanish American War, as noted in chapter seven and chapter nine. Future historians and biographers of both Rough Riders would use their public relationship to not only interpret their lives and legacies, but the significance of the American frontier myth in shaping the history of the Wild West.

Both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill's storylines seemed to balance the importance of "Rugged Individualism" as opposed to "Collective Action" in settling the American West, as discussed in detail in chapters seven and eight. Yet subtle differences were noticeable between the two men when applying these forces in advocating future settlement in the American West: Buffalo Bill's thumbs pushed down the scales upon the "rugged individual" side, while Roosevelt's rested upon the "collective action" side. This difference was very evident in their professional relationship as they fought at times and collaborated at others in the great endeavor to govern the American West. Despite this difference, the common message that the frontier had played a part in shaping American national identity tended to blur the policy differences that existed between the two men when it came to preserving and advancing settlement in the American West in the early 20th century.

Despite their shared interest in America's frontier past and their common goals for developing the American West in the 20th century, closer scrutiny reveals striking differences in their political views, their moral and social outlooks, and the codes of behavior dictated by their social class. One must remember Buffalo Bill grew up in the American West, born to a family of modest means, and a member of the Democratic Party. Roosevelt, on the other hand, was born in New York City to a wealthy, aristocratic family, and became an active member of a Republican Party which by then was used to ruling. Eventually Buffalo Bill traveled throughout the United States and Europe, becoming a very cosmopolitan individual, while Roosevelt traveled to a remote region of the American West for his ranching enterprise and hunting adventures, escaping the cosmopolitanism offered by New York City to encounter a more democratic society. Yet during their day and age, many in the East would have

considered Buffalo Bill was always a rube, a country mouse visiting the city, while many westerners would have viewed Roosevelt's frontier credentials as though of an eastern dude who loved playing cowboy. These regional differences, as both men demonstrated in their respected Rough Rider groups, faded in their interpretation of American expansionism.

Many historians tout Buffalo Bill's and Theodore Roosevelt's strenuous lives and adventures as a leading force in reshaping American masculinity, yet both Rough Riders demonstrated significant differences when it came to concepts of proper masculine behavior. Roosevelt did not drink a great deal and abhorred the excessive use of alcohol; additionally, alcoholism contributed to the early death of his younger brother, Elliott. During his college years, Roosevelt became inebriated only a handful of occasions, decided he did not like the feeling, and from then on limited his alcohol intake. On the other hand, many regarded Buffalo Bill as a strong drinker, although he, too, later he curtailed the habit. When Buffalo Bill petitioned the court for a divorce, his drinking habits became fodder for the front pages of many newspapers. The strong-willed Roosevelt would have disapproved of these events and the apparent glorification of the use of alcohol. Concerning the institution of marriage, Roosevelt strongly disapproved of divorce and probably found the scandalous divorce proceedings of Mr. and Mrs. William F. Cody a national disgrace. Unfortunately, for Buffalo Bill, numerous newspapers reported his extramarital affairs and his abandonment of Louisa Cody was front-page news. Many biographers detail Roosevelt's strong moral character, especially regarding his two marriages. Roosevelt's annual message to Congress called for a federal law regulating both marriage and divorce procedures, in the hope that the sharp increase in divorce would cease.

Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt had friends in common, but many of their associates would have been averse to each other, mainly due to the differing regional and class divides represented by both Rough Riders. When Buffalo Bill visited New York, his chums represented the *nouveau riche*, individuals who possessed great wealth but lacked social connections to the established aristocracy. Buffalo Bill owed much of his fame to newspaper publisher James Gordon Bennett and dime novelist Ned Buntline. Bennett

fled New York society after he urinated in a fireplace during a party in an inebriated state. Buntline, who made Buffalo Bill a hero in literature for the working class, was known as a liar, polygamist, and organizer of various riots. Both Bennett and Buntline represented *personae non gratae* to Roosevelt's socio-economic class. George Bird Grinnell, a close friend of Roosevelt and co-founder of the Boone and Crockett Club, challenged Buffalo Bill's claims that killed the Cheyenne leader Tall Bull in various published writings. Moreover, Buffalo Bill's close relationship with Gen. Nelson A. Miles would have been an obstacle in any affiliation with Roosevelt. Beginning with the Spanish-American War, Roosevelt considered Miles a "proud peacock" and they found themselves constantly at odds during his presidency.

Many admired and respected both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill for their masculine hunting skills and wildlife conservation efforts. Yet, Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill's hunting careers differed considerably. Many characterized Buffalo Bill as a market hunter and Theodore Roosevelt as an elite sport hunter. Roosevelt and the sportsmen of the Boone and Crockett Club despised any form of market hunting and, despite his past military record, celebrity status, and later conservation work on Roosevelt's behalf, Buffalo Bill never became a member of the club. The historical record as now known offers little information indicating the two men knew each other while Roosevelt managed his ranches in the Dakota Badlands. While Roosevelt struggled to find adventure and financial security in the American West, Buffalo Bill used his past exploits to earn a fortune in the urban areas of American and Europe. Roosevelt's distant location or his busy schedule, and perhaps his class-based indifference to popular entertainment, kept him from attending any of Buffalo Bill's staged productions. There is little to indicate these men were close friends or interested in each other's lives.

Despite the absence of any real personal connection between the Buffalo Bill and Theodore Roosevelt, the fact remained that, for many Americans, whether they lived in the American West or in an urban seaport, these two men symbolized the heroic story of the settling of the American Frontier through their Rough Rider personas. In this respect, they became personifications of the American Dream. Europeans also viewed both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill as western American heroes, whose actions and beliefs

offered a more romantic stereotype of American manhood than that of the fat capitalist whose greed was transforming America from a rural nation to an industrial nation leading the world in manufacturing. And it is also true that, if anything did connect Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill, it was that they subscribed to the widespread perception by the 1880s that the Euro-American conquest of the American Frontier, the “Winning of the West,” was the key experience that had made the United States a powerful and united nation. Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill brilliantly interpreted the history of this frontier process through their actions, their rhetorical and theatrical performances and their writings, installing both men as authorities and spokesmen on both the history and future of the American West before American and European audiences, from the working-class to kings and queens.

Regarding their characterization as historians of the American West, there were, of course, great stylistic differences between how Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill interpreted the past. Roosevelt expressed his thoughts and ideas regarding the American West and its frontier history through his personal and scholarly writings. These works appealed to middle class and upper-class Americans and reflected his training as a professional historian and writer. Although later historians would dismiss his writings as sensational narratives, resting on slender evidence, Roosevelt often blended the heroic triumphs of the white people with accounts of noble American Indian opponents forced to defend their basic rights. By doing so, he offered a romanticized but nevertheless (and perhaps inevitably) more nuanced history of the American West, compared to Buffalo Bill’s theatrical presentations. Roosevelt also detailed brutal massacres, perpetrated by both white and red races, making it hard for his readers to simplify history into a simple frontier narrative of the “good” civilized pioneers defeating the “evil” savages.

Although Buffalo Bill presented his frontier experiences in the American West through his stage career and nightly performances of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, he considered it to be a historical exhibition and interpretation, and more than just a show or a circus. In many ways, Buffalo Bill pioneered the sensational stories later enacted on film that begin with the words “based on actual events.” Autobiographical writings attributed to Buffalo Bill, as well as many dime novel writings about him, tended to be

even more sensational and wide of the truth than the Wild West, appealing more to working class Americans of the late 19th and early 20th century. These combined depictions presented a dramatic interpretation, where good consistently overcame evil and the noble men wearing the white hats always defeated the “bad guys” in the black hats and war bonnets. No one characterized Roosevelt’s writings as being fictional, whereas audiences generally recognized that the factual qualities of Buffalo Bill’s performances and writing remained questionable, despite his claims of authenticity. Theodore Roosevelt’s comments about Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and terse thanks to Buffalo Bill for a copy of *True Tales of the Plains* suggest that he harbored little respect for the famed scout’s version of American frontier history.

Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill may have shared a common vision for the future settlement of the arid regions of the American West, but they greatly differed on how to fulfill this vision. Buffalo Bill believed private enterprise, led by pioneers such as himself, should shape and control the future economic development of the American West. Roosevelt believed in a progressive approach, in which government experts and scientists working within various governing agencies, and in partnership with communities, should shape the future of the American West. These differing approaches would lead to tension between Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill towards the end of Roosevelt’s presidency, reflecting the ongoing struggle between the pioneer mentality of “first in time, first in right” and the utilitarian principle of seeking “the greatest good of the greatest number,” which the Progressive movement embraced. This differing approach led to the greatest strife between the two Rough Riders; clearly both were riding in opposite directions when it came to the practical resolution of settlement issues.

This distance also grew out of the fact that Buffalo Bill was increasingly focused on the development of a relatively small portion of the American West, in which his own interests were at stake, while Roosevelt’s concerns were increasingly global and immensely complex. Roosevelt loomed large in Buffalo Bill’s mind as a crucial actor in what he was trying to achieve, whereas Buffalo Bill rarely registered on Roosevelt’s list of daily concerns and strategic objectives. Additionally, both men held very different perspectives regarding the future of hunting in the West. Buffalo Bill promoted the

establishment of private game reserves which provided protection for wildlife, but only allowed wealthy sportsmen the opportunity to hunt, with Buffalo Bill serving as a guide. Roosevelt advocated a more democratic approach and worked to provide untrammled access to hunting for all Americans through careful federal management of public lands and wildlife refuges. Despite these basic differences in the uses of the public lands of the American West, Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill found common ground in preserving wild areas of the Yellowstone ecosystem through National Parks and National Forests. Early in Roosevelt's administration, the market hunter Buffalo Bill joined the sport hunter Theodore Roosevelt to advance greater federal protection of the forest reserves outside of Cody, Wyoming – Buffalo Bill's own back yard. This collaboration between the two Rough Riders remains strong in the public memory and has shaped many past historical interpretations of their professional relationship.

Researchers looking for a documented relationship will be struck by the fact that the archival record holds little that would support the notion that Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt were close friends or professional colleagues. For example, historians' efforts to place the two men together at some public functions dissolve when one compares both Rough Riders' detailed travel schedules. The documentation of their professional relationship reveals both men intending to use each other to advance their own political agendas or financial aims. So why, then, do so many people, especially westerners, strongly believe Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill worked together during Roosevelt's administration? This can be partially explained by the calculations of both men in avoiding any public criticism of each other. For Buffalo Bill, criticizing a "fellow westerner" who had become a popular war hero and president of the United States could hurt ticket sales. For Roosevelt, damning Buffalo Bill's efforts to advance and profit from land development in northwest Wyoming through the Reclamation Service could cost him support from Buffalo Bill's adoring fans. Roosevelt's efforts to secure a proper memorial for Buffalo Bill on Lookout Mountain appear to be motivated more by regional politics than a concern for the passing of a famed frontiersman whose family received no telegram or letter from the former president offering his condolences.

A tougher question to answer is “why does the friendship of Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt live on in the popular memory?” Why, despite so much archival material that fails to demonstrate or, indeed, questions the existence of any meaningful rapport between Buffalo Bill and Roosevelt, do so many historians and public institutions accept the notion the two men were close friends? Many Buffalo Bill biographers consider that Roosevelt offered national appreciation and respect for the life and legacy of Buffalo Bill. Despite the suggestion of many fellow western writers, such as Luther North and Mari Sandoz, that Buffalo Bill was a fraud, Roosevelt’s quote about Buffalo Bill that he was the “American of Americans” elevated him above regional squabbles over his character; it assured Buffalo Bill’s national prominence. For some Roosevelt biographers, establishing a connection between Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill does not require proof of an actual firm friendship – this is secondary to the idea that Buffalo Bill’s Wild West set a standard of western masculinity that helped to define Roosevelt’s experiences in the American West, his reckless military actions, and aggressive political stances and maneuvers as president of the United States. Thus, for such scholars, Buffalo Bill may not have been a close confidant of Roosevelt, but they still see the scout as a key enabler of the Cowboy President’s determination to attach himself to the frontier myth. In examining the intersections between the lives of Theodore Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill, this dissertation has gone beyond the biographical approach, and has sought to raise questions about the growing prominence in American life of significant emerging issues concerning race, class, gender, ecology, performance and place, particularly in relation to the frontier experience. The relevance of this study to the wider history of the Progressive Era and the subsequent history of American life and culture can thus be seen in the multiple connections that this topic raises and which this dissertation has attempted to identify, draw out and evidence.

As the American West witnesses the end of a violent takeover of an Oregon Wildlife Refuge and conversations return to the subject of the Sagebrush Rebellion, a purported friendly working relationship between Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill seems very appealing. As the overview of the history of the Big Horn Basin found in the front pages of the local phonebook indicates, the idea of westerners working together with the

federal government to advance the American West is an appealing concept for both sides of the public lands debate. However, this is an apocryphal view of the lives and legacies of Theodore Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill. They shared common interests and some goals, but they greatly differed in their methods for achieving them. As people across the world don cowboy hats and discuss trivia regarding western films and television series, the spirit of Roosevelt's professional histories and of Buffalo Bill's Wild West serve as two of the building blocks of a transnational phenomenon. Today's western landscape, its private and public lands, reflect a combination of the pioneering spirit and the "greatest good" approach. As one gazes upon the modern American West and contemplates the global impact of the myths and legends of the Frontier – in which the solitary individual or the remote community, far from civilization, are tested by countless natural hazards and human foes – one still sees the enduring legacies of the two Rough Riders.

To be accused of displaying cowboy characteristics in politics is generally a harsh criticism (although Ronald Reagan cleverly affected the folksy simplicity of certain western heroes to promote American exceptionalism). When President George W. Bush's administration supported military intervention in the Middle East and protesters in London carried signs proclaiming, "End Mad Cowboy Disease," it partly reflected a legacy of the negative perspective of Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill as Rough Riders. During the public debate over the Vietnam War and the Iraq War, presidents Lyndon B. Johnson and George W. Bush were targeted by protestors as negative examples of cowboy presidents, an image created by and promulgated during Roosevelt's administration through the collective efforts of both Roosevelt and Buffalo Bill. American Rough Riders are no longer viewed as the heroes who rush into save the innocents from the brutality of savages, yet the international legacy of William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody and Theodore "Teddy" Roosevelt remains very strong. While both men continue to bounce between negative and positive interpretations of their individual contributions to American society and culture, the shell of their Rough Rider personas should be stripped away, to reveal a more nuanced and interesting perspective of their

shared lives and legacies and the relevance of their relationship to current issues in the American West, the United States, and abroad.

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Films and Documentaries

1912. *Custer's Last Fight*. Directed by Thomas Ince. Produced by New York Motion Picture Company. Rereleased in 1925. Available through Old Army Press DVD, 2004.
1912. *The Life of Buffalo Bill*. Produced by Pawnee Bill Film Company.
1914. *The Indian Wars*. Directed by Vernon Day and Theodore Wharton. Produced by Col. Wm. F. Cody Historical Picture Co. and Essanay Film Manufacturing. Full movie is not available.
1937. *The Plainsman*. Directed by Cecil B. DeMille. Produced by Paramount Pictures, Inc.
1940. *Young Buffalo Bill*. Directed by Joseph Kane. Produced by Republic Pictures.
1944. *Arsenic and Old Lace*. Directed by Frank Capra. Produced by Warner Brothers.
1944. *Buffalo Bill*. Directed by William A. Wellman. Produced by 20th Century Fox.
1946. *Annie Oakley*. Directed by George Stevens. Produced by RKO Radio Pictures.
1950. *Annie Get Your Gun*. Directed by George Sidney. Produced by Metro Goldwyn Mayer.
1952. *Buffalo Bill in Tomahawk Territory*. Directed by Bernard B. Ray. Produced by Jack Schwarz Productions.
1953. *Pony Express*. Directed by Jerry Hopper. Produced by Nat Holt Productions.
1954. *Riding with Buffalo Bill*. Directed by Spencer G. Bennet. Produced by Columbian Studios.
1975. *The Wind and the Lion*. Directed by John Milius. Produced by Columbia Pictures.
1976. *Buffalo Bill and the Indians, Or Sitting Bull's History Lesson*. Directed by Robert Altman. Produced by Metro Golden Mayer.
1983. *The Indomitable Teddy Roosevelt*. Directed by Harrison Engle. Produced by Signal Hill Entertainment.
1995. *Biography: Buffalo Bill: Showman of the West*. Produced by A&E Television Networks.
1996. *TR: The Story of Theodore Roosevelt*. Directed by David Grubin. Produced by David Grubin Productions, Inc.
1998. *Buffalo Bill Cody*. Produced by Rocky Mountain Public Broadcasting Network, Inc.

2000. *John Brown's Holy War*. Directed by Robert Kenner. Produced by WGBH Boston.
2001. *Boone and Crockett: The Hunter Heroes*. Produced by A&E Television Networks.
2003. *Carson & Cody: The Hunter Heroes*. Produced by A&E Television Networks.
2003. *Teddy Roosevelt: An American Lion*. Produced by History Channel, A&E Networks.
2006. *The American Experience: Annie Oakley*. Directed by Riva Freifeld. Produced by WGBH Boston.
2007. *Bad Blood: The Border War that Triggered the Civil War*. Produced by Wide Awake Films.
2008. *American Experience: Buffalo Bill*. Directed by Rob Rapley. Produced by WGHB Educational Foundation.
2009. *The American Future: A History*. Directed by Sam Hobkinson & Ricardo Pollack. Produced by BBC.
2010. *Theodore Roosevelt: A Cowboys Ride to the White House*. Produced by Dorgan Films.
- No Date. *By His Own Request: Buffalo Bill and Lookout Mountain*. Produced by Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave.