Dust in the Air: Narratives of Actual Versus Fictional Trail Drives

by James R. Nicholl

comparison of various accounts of Great Plains cattle drives in the 1870's and 1880's shows that some fietional accounts catch more reality, give more flavor, of this part of the American cowboy's vocation than their autobiographical counterparts, which are based on remembered experiences. This is especially true of Andy Adams' classic novel, The Log of a Cowboy (published in 1903—and still in print—describing an 1882 drive), and of its first important predecessor, Thomas Pilgrim's Live Boys; or Charley and Nasho in Texas, etc. (published in 1878, describing an 1876 drive).

Don D. Walker, in an essay on the problems confronting the historian of the American range cattle industry, offers one convincing explanation for this paradox:

[F]irsthand reports, no matter how honest they may seem to be, do not always present an image of reality. Even when written close upon the event itself, they may be shaped (distorted) by rationalization, a poverty of perception, or mythicizing of the participating self. If the account must be gathered and filtered in memory, the image may be even more unreliable.¹

Brief examination of some of those firsthand reports, confined just to trail drives, at once confirms Walker's assertion. The granddaddy of all cowboy autobiographies is Charlie Siringo's A Texas Cowboy, or Fifteen Years on the Hurricane Deck of a Spanish Pony, published first in 1885. Yet in his preface to a 1950 reprint of Siringo's story, J. Frank Dobie, the noted commentator on Western literature, provides support for Walker's point, comparing the 1885 original with a revised, "polited version," Riata and Spurs, published in 1927 with numerous changes.² Later in that same preface, Dobie goes further along the same trail:

The varied recollections assembled by George W. Saunders into two volumes called *The Trail Drivers of Texas* and the separately published recollections of Jack Potter, Frank Millard, Bob Lauderdale, Charlie Siringo aud other men of the original cow country of Texas are rawhide in nature. They are bedrock history. They tell much, but because of a lack of that perspective which gives the writer a sense of values, they often miss much [emphasis added]. (p. xxviii)

None of this is meant to deny the interesting story Siringo does tell. He had a hellish child- and boyhood, got in lots of serapes, and was in debt even more than he was in love. A cowboy during the golden days of traildriving, from 1871 to 1883, he went to work at sixteen on Shanghai Pieree's Rancho Grande. He participated in several trail drives, the first in 1874 (he got fired while the herd was still in Central Texas, pp. 58-61), the last in 1883. Unfortunately, he described those drives, mostly two-month affairs from the LX Ranch in the Texas Panhandle to Caldwell or to Dodge City, Kansas, with a frustrating economy of detail.

Here, for instance, is the full, uncut report of the 1883 drive, with some details of the spring roundup included just to fill out the hide a little:

We arrived back at the ranch about July the first, with three thousand head of "L. X." cattle which had drifted south during the past winter.

As I was anxious to get back to Kansas to see my wife aud mother, Hollicott [the LX Banch manager] immediately gathered eight hundred fat shipping steers and started me.

Gary Cooper couldn't be much more laconic than that.

But in partial defense of Siringo: By then twenty-eight years old, and just about to settle down in Caldwell for a while as a storekeeper and an author, he had gotten married in early Mareh 1883 to a fifteen-year-old hlaek-eyed beauty: they had known one another three days when they became engaged, six days when they were wed, and three days after the wedding Siringo had to leave his young bride in Caldwell, bound for the LX Banch to prepare for the spring roundup. Not only the understatement in the line "As I was anxious to get back to Kansas to see my wife . . ." but also the desire to repress memories of two frustratingly slow months on the trail watching the southwestern ends of 800 northeast-bound steers may aecount for the pithiness of Siringo's report.

Yet he is searcely more detailed in his account of a drive over the same route a year earlier:

Abont the first of July [1882], shortly after my return, Hollicott sent me to Kansas with a herd of eight hundred fat steers. My outfit consisted of a cook, chuck wagon, five riders, and six hurses to the rider.

We arrived in Caldwell, Kansas, near the northern line of the Indian Territory, about September the first. (p. 193)

A person has to read a lot of Siringo to learn a little about trail drives.

Clearly, what Dobie called "the most-read non-fiction book on cowboy life" (p. xiv) has been read for something other than its descriptions of trail drives. Elsewhere Siringo does take a little over three pages to describe a drive to near Wichita in 1876 (pp. 76-80), but devotes only a paragraph and a sentence to an 1877 drive to Dodge City (p. 92). Thus, while Siringo's autobiography is full of a variety of exciting episodes, it is of little help for a person trying to confirm typical traildriving trials and practices, or even trying to trace some of the personalities and geography involved.

Of about equal value in this regard is another famous cuwboy autobiography, "Teddy Blue" Abbott's We Pointed Them North (first published in 1939).³ Abbott spends only two pages telling of a trail experience in 1871 at age ten with his father's herd (pp. 8-9). another two for a drive he made in 1879 at age eighteen (pp. 32-33); he barely mentions a drive in 1881 (p. 49), but suddenly turns loquacious when describing his last drive-like Siringo's, it occurred in 1883. Abbott left from near San Antonio on April 10. arriving in Forsyth, Montana, in Oetober, and be lavishes fourteen pages on the story, counting some asides on related matters (pp. 60-73). He does briefly describe trailing procedures (pp. 62-63), and even a cowboy superstition about cursing during a thunderstorm (pp. 66-67), but there is still not very much meat on these bones. (In contrast, Andy Adams takes over three hundred pages to describe a drive only slightly longer than Abbott's last one.) Again, it's good to have even part of the story, and certainly, like Siringo's book, Abbott's has plenty of other virtues.

Yet much more useful to the student of the cattle drive are two different firsthand accounts of trail drives in 1879; however, both, like Abbott's, were written down long after the incidents described, so Walker's warnings about firsthand accounts certainly must be considered.

The first of these, generally little known, is James Clay Shaw's North From Texas (first published in 1931).⁴ Shaw, in his later years a prominent and moderately-successful Wyoming rancher, went up the trail at an advanced age for a beginner, twenty-seven, after some storeclerking and some schoolteaching experiences.

Shaw joins his herd in May 1879, in Throckmorton County, west of Fort Worth, though the cattle are from coastal Texas (p. 31). The larger than average mixed herd of 1500 big steers, 1500 cows, and 1850 yearlings is bound for Ogallala, Nebraska, an important terminus and shipping point on the Union Paeific Railroad. For \$40 a month, Shaw joined nine other cowboys, a trail boss, and a cook, all of whose names he recalled over forty years later (p. 34). As an inexperienced drover he was assigned to ride drag, in the dust at the back of the herd, with the black cowboy Albert for his partner. The drove north on the trail from Fort Worth to Fort Dodge, Kansas (p. 34), with some peaceful contact with Indians in the Nation (pp. 39-42).

However, the white settlers in southwestern Kansas were hostile, except when time came to bed the herd. Then they encouraged use of their land, wanting the cowehips to use for fuel in that tree scarce region. Shaw says, "They would guard [the chips on the bed ground] like a Texas man does a watermelon patch, until they were ripe enough to haul in" (p. 46).

When the herd passed by Dodge City, Shaw and Albert were left with it while the other men visited town, so we get no description (p. 47). Ogallala being reached without incident, the big steers and the cows were sold (p. 52). Soon after, on September 15, the crew delivered the yearling steers and the drive ended (p. 61).

Shaw's narrative is without major episode; there are only minor stampedes, one fight in camp with a cowboy shot but not badly hurt, uneventful river crossings. Not much of the stuff of romance is here: probably a good deal of the monotonous reality is, though.

Shaw's account is about as straightforward as an unsigned journalistic account from the previous year, printed under the title' The Texas Cattle Drive" in American Agriculturalist, a leading E stevn farm journal.⁵ The article, which concentrates on the activity at Ogallala and features an engraving of the town with a herd fording the South Platte River, goes on to name as the most prominent Texas drover a Mr. Ellison (p. 451), who was likely the same man as James Ellison, co-owner of the herd Shaw helped drive (p. 31).

More lively, more detailed, and better known is another 1879 trail drive narrative, written about 1910 or 1911 by Baylis John Fletcher and published in 1968 as *Up the Trail in '79.6* Fletcher, a 19-year-old Central Texas native, hired on with Thomas Snyder, one of several prominent Texas cattle-drover brothers, to take a herd up the Chisholm Trail from Victoria, Texas, to Dodge City, and on to Cheyenne. Eight cowboys, a trail boss, and a cook, apparently all white, left on March 10 to pick up the herd (p. 7). Mr. Snyder soon replaced the cook, hiring two Mexicans, one as cook, the other as horse herder (p. 9). Using trail dogs to help get the cattle out of the Coastal Texas brush, the crew gathered a herd of 2000 steers and road-branded them (pp. 14-15). The cowboys had a stag dance the night of April 10. (Such entertainment was not uncommon.⁷) The next morning they headed north for Cheynne (pp. 15-16). The second night out there was a fullblown midnight stampede, which the cowboys managed to control, and a repeat performance the next night, this time perhaps due to the carelessness of Fletcher and his nightherding partner—though they didn't admit it publicly (pp. 17-19).

Fletcher is no Siringo or Shaw; he's definitely had a memorable experience, and he recounts plenty of interesting episodes, such as the time he lost his hat in another stampede a couple of nights further up the trail, and then had to go hatless an extra day in the Central Texas sun and heat because a pious country storekeeper refused to sell anything on Sunday (p. 21). He names plenty of creeks and towns and other landmarks along the way, his sense of names and places so good that his only noticeable slip is a trivial one, when he has the herd cross the Kansas Pacific Railroad at Buffalo Parks Station (p. 49). An 1876 Kansas map shows a Parks Fort station, and next west of it several miles a Buffalo station; the article in American Agriculturalist also names "Buffalo Station on the Kansas and Pacific Road," 145 miles south of Ogallala (p. 451).

In other ineidents, Fletcher loses his tolerant attitude toward Indians when the trail boss lets a begging group in Indian Territory have a beef and then they savagely devour it, raw, almost as soon as the slaughtered beast hits the ground (p. 38). Among their trials, the Snyder herd and its crew endure a 100-mile dry drive from the Kansas line to the Arkansas River at Dodge City (p. 45), survive a couple of bad hail storms (pp. 25, 56), and recover from a terrific stampede caused by a coyote running into the bedded-down herd (p. 25). Fletcher describes a buffalo bone gatherer (p. 38), the monotony of a bacon, bread, beef, and beans (or "prairie strawherries") diet relieved by a barrel of pickles (pp. 31, 46), one of the eowboys' superstitions about lightning (pp. 55-56),^a and so on.

Yet their river erossings are uneventful, and little is described of the eattle towns until the drive ends, when the Snyder herd is delivered to a Swan Brothers ranch in eastern Wyoming (pp. 57-59),^e and the eowboys go into Cheyenne (pp. 62-63). The main episode there is the diseovery that the Metropolitan Hotel is in tegrated, eausing these Southern eowboys to move to a private boarding house. That move followed an ineident in the hotel diniug room: a black cowboy walked in and sat down besideu the erusty old trail boss, George Arnett- and got his skull cracked with a pistol for displaying such temerity (p. 63).

Clearly Up the Trail in '79 lives and breathes; there's probably not a better firsthand, historical trail drive uarrative.

But it's not the best or most useful story of a trail drive. That is,

of course, *The Log of a Cowboy*, the 1903 novel by Andy Adams.¹⁰ Many know this popular book, so little more is needed than to mention that it traces in detail one of the longest of cattle drives: Texas cowboys pick up 3000 Mexician cattle at the mouth of the Rio Grande and move them up the Western Trail, on through Wyoming to a Blackfoot agency in Northeastern Montana; the trip covers 3000 miles, starting April 1, 1882, and ending with the delivery of a million pounds of beef on the hoof on September 8.

The Log of a Cowboy is, in]. Frank Dobie's words, "The classic of the occupation."11 a point that nobody disputes. Adams does invent a few places, such as the town of Frenchman's Ford on the Yellowstone River in Montana (pp. 283-288). Yet even these he invests with such reality through his powers of descriptive invention that one begins to doubt the accuracy of Rand-McNally's cartographers. In fact, his descriptions of traildriving practices, of historical personalities, and of geographical features and natural obstacles are so realistic and so often factual that the novel is frequently quoted and cited by historians as if it did describe an actual trail drive rather than a fictional one.12 The Log of a Cowboy is also believeable in characterization (though the total absence of Mexican cowboys, except for those with the herd being delivered from Mexico at the Rio Crande, and of black cowboys, is a factual fault). The novel is full of lifelike action and, finally, it has a good stock of what cowboys liked to call "coffee-coolers," couched in the appropriate vernacular, told around the campfires at night.

Yet Andy Adams, an Indiana farm boy, grown when he came to Texas in 1882, didn't go up the trail that year, and never went even half the distance on the trail he described so well. But we might just as well fault Shakespeare for not having been a Danish prince or a Moorish general. Like him, Adams must have observed carefully, read useful publications, and listened well to the right people; then he retained and converted into literature what he saw and read and heard.

As for using facts, Adams gets plenty of historical folks into his tale. In Dodge City his narrator, Tom Moore, lists a virtual Who's Who of western peace officers (p. 179), while a few pages later he names prominent drovers waiting for their herds to arrive (p. 187). These cattlemen are all historical figures, named in such familiar sources of range history information as Joseph McCoy's Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest (1874), James Cox's The Cattle Industry of Texas and Adjacent Territory (1895), Prose and Poetry of the Livestock Industry of the United States (1905), and The Trail Drivers of Texas (1925). Adams is so true to fact that in the course of his narrative he names all but one of the ten major cattlemen mentioned in the 1878 American Agriculturalist article on Ogallala; the only omission is Ellison's partner, John O. Dewees.

Yet is it possible, perhaps even probable, that through reading a work—or works—using the same grounded-in-fact technique, Andy Adams learned to bolster his own fiction by incorporating true persons, places, and things? If so, might he have learned such a technique by reading not just novels on any subject, but ones about trail driving? Beyond that, is it possible those novels might have been intended, not for adults, but for juveniles, for boys?

Naturally the answer is yes, thrice. The two books I have in mind were published rather early in the traildriving period, when Adams was little more than a boy, and before he came to Texas. They are somewhat rare now, given what most boys will do with books. J. Frank Dobie says of the first, published in 1878: "The chronicle, *little fictionized* [my emphasis], of a trail drive to Kansas. So far as I know, this is the first narrative printed on eattle trailing or cowboy life that is to be accounted authentic."¹³ Following Dobie's lead, I found the other, published in 1880, and by the same author, Thomas Pilgrim, who used the pseudonym of Arthur Morecamp.

Pilgrim's books, known only to some bookcollectors and a few specialists in Western American literature, seem invaluable as cultural artifacts. The first novel has at its heart a thorough, convineing description of a cattle drive from South Texas to Ellis, Kansas, in the Centennial Year. Pilgrim himself was apparently an Austin, Texas, attorney and certainly an obscure "writer of books for boys," who died in 1882 (ironically, the year of Log of a Cowboy's trail drive and that Adams came to Texas).¹⁴ His novel follows in the successful tradition of Tom Sawyer (1876) and anticipates Adventures of Huckelberry Finn (1884): here, too, the story is told in first person by a self-reliant orphan, in this case the fourteen-year-old Charles Zanco, whose companion is another orphan the same age, the Mexican boy Ygnacio de Garapita, or Nasho, for short.

Live Boys: or Charley and Nasho in Texas, etc.¹⁵ begins with a fictional preface dated January 31, 1877, from Kerrville, Texas, in which Arthur Morecamp says he met the two protagonists at the Centennial; that is, at the 1876 exposition in Philadelphia, where he heard some of the story from Charley. Later, laid np with a broken leg for six weeks in the winter at the home of Charley's uncle, near

Kerrville, he got the rest of the story, which actually begins in 1875 and ends with the boys' return at Christmas in 1876.

The first 100 pages or so of the novel deal with the boys' adventure-filled efforts to raise money to buy cowboy gear and horses; they want to use a trail-driving job to help get them part of the way to the Centennial exposition. They trap wild turkeys, kill deer, bear, wolves, and panthers for their pelts. gather pecans and wild honey, then take their produce to San Antonio. where they sell it—and almost get cheated out of their hard-earned money.

After buying suitable equipment, the two boys then head for a huge ranch near the Texas Gulf Coast. There they are befriended by the trail boss, Captain Dick, who seems to be one of Pilgrims's rare departures from realistic, faet-based description. Perhaps Captain Dick's historical counterpart *did* look the way Charley describes him here: "pretty tall and slender, with blue eyes and light hair and beard. He had a fancy worked over-shirt and a buekskin jacket with flowers embroidered on the back" (p. 162). Captain Dick is wearing lcopard skin *calzoneros* (leggings or ehaps) "open at the bottom to show . . , big red . . . boot tops turned down, and rows of buttons down the outside seam, and silver plates a good deal bigger than a dollar over the outside buttons of his spurs" (p. 161). But Captain Dick seemed to look (and later to act) more like Buck Taylor, the Wild West Show's King of the Cowboys and the hero of later dime novels, than like a traditional trail boss.

However, the other faets are in good order. After gathering and roadbranding the cattle, in the late March 1876 the crew starts the herd of 2011 head moving north (pp. 187-195); the narrative is interrupted by a section in which Charley explains to Morecamp, accurately and in detail, the life of a eattle drover or trail driver (pp. 196-202). There are twelve cowboys, the boss, and a cook making up this crew and it's a representative South Texas group of seven Anglos, four Mexicians, and two blacks, plus a Mexican cook (pp. 202-203).

The geographic and ehronological movement of the herd is authentie, when eheeked earefully against an historieal atlas, and Charley fully explains such eowboy terms as "maverick" and "milling" (pp. 194, 208-209). This trail drive experience includes stampedes, thunderstorms, dangerous river crossings, and finally an attempt by several of the erew to steal the herd as it nears Kansas. After some shooting and hanging and burying, the herd moves on to the delivery point, Ellis, Kansas (p. 260). From there Charley and Nasho leave on a train for more adventures in Philadelphia, and still more as they return in early winter via Fort Dodge, Kansas, on their way back to Kerrville for Christmas (pp. 268-308).

Some of their later adventures are too contrived to be believeable, but the traildriving activity, except for the boys' roles in putting down the herd theft attempt, squares well with firsthand and factual accounts. For instance, the chute arrangement used for roadbranding (pp. 167-169) is identical to the one Baylis John Fletcher said his crew used in Coastal Texas in 1879 (p. 15). The provisions are right, too, although rice is named in place of beans among the staples (p. 201). The driving routine and the trail boss's duties are described accurately, while Charley's observation after a week or so on the trail that "driving cattle don't give a man much time for anything else if he sticks to them" (p. 211) certainly sounds right, chapter and verse. And when the drive nears Kansas, the herds of several prominent cattlemen are mentioned as being in the area (pp. 241-242); these men arc among those who appear in McCoy's 1874 book and the other standard works mentioned earlier. as well as in the American Agriculturalist article and, later, in Adams' novel. One of the cattlemen is Captain Richard King, here called Colonel (p. 242), who in 1876 did send several herds to Ellis, the Kansas Pacific Railroad's unsuccessful principle competition for the Santa Fe Railroad's Dodge City and Wichita cowtowns in 1876-77.16 (It is probable that Captain King was the model for this novel's fietional Colonel Hunt, owner of the herd driven to Ellis by Charley and Nasho, and of the huge Texas ranch where the drive began; at one point Hunt is called "one of the biggest stock-owner's [sic] in Texas" (p. 139), a description certainly fitting Captain King,¹⁷)

The sequel to Live Boys in Texas, entitled Live Boys in the Black Hills or the Young Texan Gold Hunters. A Narrative in Charley's Own Language, Describing Their Adventures During a Second Trip over the Great Texas Cattle Trail, etc. (Boston: Lec and Shephard, 1880), is more of the same, except in epistolary style, as letters written from Charley to Morecamp soon after each major adventure. The action begins early in the 1877 traildriving season, with the routine and the drive generally described in less detail than in the earlier novel. Again, some prominent real (and different) cattlemen are named (pp. 60, 70). This time the herd is to be driven on to Ogallala, sold to J. W. 1liff of Julesburg, Colorado, the most important northern Plains cattleman of the time (p. 124). But Captain Dick and the two boys leave the herd at Ellis, striking out for the gold fields of Dakota Territory and adventures there (pp. 133 +). Again, as in the 1878 novel, there is a core of fact that seems to give this second book true value as a guide to traildriving practices and history.

Futhermore, the affinities between the novels of Pilgrim and Adams. in time, in the use of authentic-sceming description, and in reliance on references to historical persons and places, all point to the saying, "The child is father to the man." The Log of a Cowboy may well have part of its genesis in the Live Boys novels of twentyfive years earlier.

Now, to complete this brief survey and comparison of some of the trail drive narratives, and to support the approach used, consider these words: "if we are to understand the cowboy without knowing him at first hand, it is necessary to forget what we think we know about him [as learned from pnlp magazines and Hollywood movies] and learn from such men as Adams, Hough, Santee, Rhodes, McCoy, Barnes, Clark, and Will James."18 The premier historian of America's Great Plains region, Walter Prescott Webb, made this assertion almost fifty years ago. He does not name Thomas Pilgrim, but Andv Adams heads the list, accompanied hy several other writers of fiction. As Richard West Scllars has pointed out in an essay in Western Historical Quarterly, Webb was "one of the first professional historians to show a serious interest in using western literature for historical analysis," demonstrating that literature's value in his landmark book, The Great Plains (1931).18 Such an approach was further confirmed in 1950 with the appearance of Henry Nash Smith's Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Muth, another landmark book on the American West, one that also uses literature (and sub-literature) as a means of historical and cultural analysis. Since its appearance western literature has become an important tool in the effort to understand both western history and the national character.20

Thus, to understand the West, and its place in the development of American culture, we must continue to read and to study the firsthand accounts, but always critically. We must also continue to turn to the writers of accurate, historically-based fiction, but not just to the major authors, such as Adams and Gene Rhodes; we must be willing to stray off the main trail, to seek out and to read and to study the works of such overlooked writers as Thomas Pilgrim.

NOTES

[&]quot;Biders in Reality: A Philosophical Problem in the Historiography of the Cattle Trade," Western Historical Quarterly, 9 (April 1978), 171

*"Charlie Sinngo, Writer and Man," in Charles A Siringo. A Texas Coulog etc. (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebtaska Press, 1966; from an edition published New York, Sloan, 1950), pp. xiv:xiv. All citations are to the (466 edition

⁷E. C. "Teddy Blue" Abbott and Helena Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North. Recollections of a Computer* (Norman Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1955: originally published New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1939). All citations are to the 1955 edition

North From Texas Incidents in the Early Life of a Range Courmon in Texas. Dakota, and Wyoming, 1855-1883, ed. Herbert O. Rrayer (Evaneton, III). Branding fron Press, 1952, privately printed at Orin, Wyo., in 1931). All citations are to the 1952 edition.

¹American Agriculturalist, 37 (Dec. 1878), 451-452.

Wp the Trail in '79, ed. Wayne Gard (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1968)

"Teddy Blue" Abbott refers to such a dance in We Pointed Them North, p. 111 Erwin E. Smith in 1901 photographed Texas cowboys at a stag dance: the picture, now in the Library of Congress photograph collection, is reprinted on p. 315 of Martin Ridge and Ray A. Billington, America's Frontier Story (New York, Holt, Buehart, and Winston, 1969).

*Abbett mentions the same custom, pp. 66-67. Lightning was a major thread to men on horseback on the open, treeless range, and Flatcher recalled that all swearing stopped when lightning appeared to dance on the long horns of the cattle, a cowbox who continued swearing was considered a Jonah by his mates, and to be invihing death.

"The Snyder Brothers and the Swan Brothers are both mentioned in the American Agriculturalist article, p 452.

¹⁹All citations are to: The Log of a Coubby (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955). The novel was subtilied A Narrance of the Old Trail Days in the first edition, New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1905.

¹¹Guide to Life and Liferature of the Southwest. Revued and Enlarged in Both Knowledge and Wisdom (Dallas, Southern Methodist Univ, Press, 1952), P. 94

"For instance, Walter Prescott Webb used Adam's description of a dry drive and a moonlight drive in The Great Plann (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1931), pp. 266-268. Joe B. Frantz and Julian E. Choate. Jr. alto quote excerpts in their The American Courboy: The Myth and the Boality (Norman Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1955), pp. 43-46, as does Laurence Ivan Seidman in Once in the Saddle: The Courboy's Frontier, 1866-1896 (New York: New American Library, 1977), p. 65-66, 75, 76-61.

¹²Guide, p. 113.

19W Stewart Wallace, A Dichonary of North American Authors Deceased Before 1050 (Toronto: Ryerson, 1951), pp. 315, 358; National Union Catalogue, Pre-1956 Imprints, vol. 458, p. 381, entry for The Team Legal Directory by 11. L. Bentley and Thomas Pilgrum, attorneys at law. Austin, Texas.

¹⁹(Boston: Lee and Shepherd, 1878). All citation are to this edition.

¹⁹Wayne Gard, The Chicholm Trail (Norman, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1954), pp.)228, 232, 236; Robert R. Dykstra, The Cattle Towns (New York: Knopf, 1969), pp. 93, 157.

¹¹Cf. James Cox. Historical and Biographical Record of the Castle Industry. etc. (St. Louis: Woodward and Theraan. 1895: reprinted New York: Antiquarian. 1959), vol. 2, p. 590 of the reprinted edition. By 1870 Captain King controlled a Texas Gulf Coast ranch of 136 leagues (1200) square miles, or about 800,000 acres) and owned as many as 100,000 cattle. In 1576 he sen(twelve herds totalling 30,000 cattle north, either to Ellis or to Dgallala (Gard, p. 226).

18Webb, pp. 244-245

¹⁴"The Interrelationship of Literature, History, and Geography in Western Wotting," Western Historical Quarterly, 4 (April 1973), 175.

^{so}Sellars, p. 174