

Introduction

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Only three weeks after Jack McCall murdered James Butler (“Wild Bill”) Hickok in Mann and Lewis’s Saloon No. 10 on 2 August 1876, bartender Harry (“Sam”) Young shot and killed Myer (“Bummer Dan”) Baum in the same establishment. It was a bizarre incident. Young and a local gambler named Samuel (“Laughing Sam”) Hartman had been quarreling for several weeks. During that time, Hartman repeatedly threatened to kill Young, once even asking Carl Mann, owner of the saloon, to loan him his pistol for that purpose. Mann warned Hartman that such an action would have serious consequences. Nonetheless, on the evening of 22 August, a determined Hartman entered the building where Young was working. Simultaneously, Hartman’s friend, Myer Baum, who for some reason was wearing Hartman’s coat, walked through the saloon. Assuming the man in the coat was Hartman, Young immediately fired. According to the local newspaper, when Young surrendered to the authorities he told them “that he thought he had shot the wrong man.”¹

At Young’s trial, defense lawyers insisted that the shooting was an act of self-defense. In their view, Hartman’s repeated threats against Young had forced him to react instantly when the man he assumed was Hartman approached. The jury agreed, finding Young not guilty. The local editor, in a clear reference to the fact that Jack McCall had also been found not guilty after he shot Hickok, commented cynically that the jury “after 3 1/2 hours deliberation returned the usual verdict.”²

Interestingly, Sam Young did not mention his shooting of Baum in his memoir, *Hard Knocks: A Life Story of the Vanishing West* (1915).³ Instead, Young's account of his adventures during the Black Hills gold rush ends abruptly with his departure from Deadwood on 1 October 1876 (p. 231). It is possible he omitted the incident because he feared legal repercussions. After all, Jack McCall had been retried, declared guilty, and executed in Yankton after Deadwood's 1876 court decision was determined not to be binding because the region did not have territorial status at the time.⁴ Or, Young may have left the shooting out of his memoir simply to avoid personal embarrassment. Whatever his motive, Young's failure to relate his shooting of Baum is supremely ironic in light of his intention to impress readers of *Hard Knocks* with the lawless conditions that prevailed during the frontier period.

According to his own account, Young was only fourteen in 1863 when, inspired by his childhood reading of dime novels, he ran away from his home in New York State to go west. On the frontier, he hoped to replicate the adventures of his fictional heroes and "assist in the extermination of the Noble Red Man" (p. 9). Although he never completely abandoned his youthful dreams, actual conditions in the West often challenged Young's dime-novel notions. For example, at Fort Smith, Arkansas, the young runaway met a trapper named "Kentuck Hugh" who, he thought, resembled his fictional heroes. Young was excited at Hugh's invitation to join him on his trek to Fort Gibson, 125 miles northwest of Fort Smith. Rather than experiencing romantic adventures, however, Young found himself begging and stealing to get food for his companion and himself. In addition, the first American Indian the pair met spoke English

and invited them to dinner. Hugh later deserted Young, leaving him to fend for himself (pp. 13-21).

Young's dime-novel romanticism and naiveté about conditions in the West led new acquaintances to tease him in inventive ways. For example, when Young found work with a railroad surveying crew, his companions had their Indian guide disguise himself, whoop loudly, and take Young captive (pp. 28-29). On another occasion, Young awakened to find what he thought was a snake crawling in his blankets, only to discover that the snake was a wiggling cattail held by one of his friends (pp. 26-27). Despite these disillusionments, Young sometimes experienced the West as he imagined it.

Meeting Wild Bill Hickok was one of the highlights of his travels. Because of his predisposition, Young believed the exaggerated tales then circulating about the gunfighter's legendary feats. In fact, he even added to them. It was in Hays City, Kansas, in 1868, Young says, that he first met Hickok, then serving as the town's law officer. According to Young, Hickok advised him to spend less time in saloons and dance halls and even helped him find work (pp. 41-42). Although his story cannot be substantiated, it may be true. Young's fanciful tales about Hickok's shootings in Kansas, however, are demonstrably false. For example, he repeats popular accounts that in earlier years Hickok had killed nine members of the "McCanless gang" in a bloody battle. Then, Young adds, Hickok shot seven soldiers in Hays City, two of them by firing over his shoulder, twenty-five men in Abilene, and nine more in Ellsworth in order to bring peace to these communities (pp. 44-52). In actuality, asserts Hickok biographer Joseph G. Rosa, there were only four people in the McCanles party, and one of them was a boy. Of this group,

Hickok is “credited” with killing, at most, only three men. And, Rosa adds, Hickok probably killed only seven men in his entire career.⁵

Bibliographer Ramon F. Adams discovered further errors in Young’s account of Hickok. For example, Young claims that the first man Hickok killed was David Tutt in 1865 (pp. 43-44); however, Hickok’s fight with McCanles had actually occurred four years earlier. In Young’s account of Hickok killing twenty-five men in Abilene (he actually killed only two), he failed to mention that Hickok accidentally shot his own deputy. This incident occurred during a fracas in which Hickok killed Phil Coe (Young misspells his name as Cole). In addition, Young claims that Hickok met and married Mrs. Lake in Kansas City in the 1860s, whereas Hickok did not marry Agnes Lake until 1876 in Cheyenne.⁶

Because of these mistakes and Young’s “wild tales of wholesale blood-letting,” some historians have dismissed Young’s memoirs as unreliable.⁷ Calamity Jane biographer Roberta Beed Sollid went so far as to denounce Young as an “imposter.” She asserted that Young “wrote as if he were an eye-witness to every event that took place in the Black Hills” but that in the documents she examined he was unmentioned. She especially doubted that Young was an eyewitness to the shooting of Wild Bill Hickok. “It is common knowledge among Deadwood citizens,” Sollid claimed, “that Anson Tippie was the bartender at the fatal shooting of Hickok,” not Young.⁸ Sollid might have been less hostile had she been aware of Young’s shooting of Baum, which proves that he was indeed a bartender in Saloon No. 10 in August 1876. Furthermore, the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, reporting on the killing of Hickok and the trial of McCall, summarized Sam Young’s testimony at the trial. The journalist noted that Young “was engaged in the

saloon,” owned by Mann and Lewis, and testified that he “had just delivered \$15 worth of pocket checks to the deceased” when he heard McCall cry out, “Take that,” as he fired.⁹

Other evidence that Sollid missed also proves that Young was in the region at this time. For example, Young says that before he went to the Black Hills he worked for John Hunton, who ran a road ranch between Cheyenne and Fort Laramie (pp. 181-82). Hunton kept detailed records, including a daily account of events at his stopping place. Young is listed in Hunton’s 1874-1875 ledger, which indicates that at that time Hunton owed Young forty-four dollars.¹⁰ Not only that, some of Young’s most outlandish tales can be shown to be genuine. In one story, for example, Young tells about a “Mexican” who cut off an Indian’s head to claim a reward offered in Deadwood for scalps when fear of Indians was at its peak in 1876. Afterwards, Young says, he joined Calamity Jane and others who paraded with the head through the streets, finishing the celebration with their version of a “war dance” (pp. 211-12). A contemporary newspaper verifies that this disgusting event actually occurred.¹¹ Young tells another unusual story that happened in Custer. There, Tom Milligan and his partner, after imbibing heavily at the town’s saloon, decided to shoot targets in the street. Somehow, the drunken Milligan managed to shoot his partner in the head (pp. 189-91). The 24 March 1876 Yankton newspaper confirms that this event actually occurred, noting that although Milligan had shot and killed his partner, Alec Shaw, he had only been fined for shooting within the city limits.¹²

Unlike later historians, Young’s contemporaries believed his stories were authentic. Writers seeking information about the early West frequently consulted him. Among those who visited Young before his death was Joe E. Milner, son of scout Moses

(“California Joe”) Milner who had guided the 1875 Walter P. Jenney Expedition to the Black Hills. California Joe had also been a personal friend of Hickok’s. At Milner’s request, Young described the saloon in which Hickok was killed and provided details about Wild Bill’s death. Milner used these details in his book *California Joe* (1935).¹³ Another book that borrowed heavily from Young was *McGillycuddy Agent* (1941), which recounted the story of Valentine T. McGillycuddy, topographer for the Jenney Expedition. McGillycuddy’s account of Calamity Jane is largely derived from Young’s narrative.¹⁴

Thus, although Young’s account must be used cautiously because it contains exaggerations and errors, his story includes much information of value to historians. For example, Young’s stories about Calamity Jane accompanying the Jenney Expedition to the Black Hills in 1875 are accurate. Dispatches sent by newspaper correspondents with the expedition confirm that she followed the troops escorting the Jenney party into the Hills.¹⁵ Likewise, Young’s claim that Calamity Jane worked for Al Swearingen, owner of what became known as the Gem Theater, Deadwood’s most popular dance hall, is supported by other witnesses.¹⁶ Journalist Leander Richardson, who camped with Hickok in July 1876, even suggests that Calamity “bossed a dancehouse” of her own that summer,¹⁷ perhaps confirming Young’s assertion that she was in charge of the women at Swearingen’s place (p. 206). Because these early sources support Young’s stories about Calamity’s activities in 1875 and 1876, his personal anecdotes about her riding in his wagon during the Jenney Expedition (pp. 170-72) and about her recruiting girls for Swearingen’s dance hall (pp. 205-6) seem credible, as well.

Young's description of the shooting of Wild Bill, as stated earlier, is also drawn from personal observation. In *Hard Knocks*, Young records that Hickok's murderer, Jack McCall, ran from the saloon and mounted a horse to escape. However, McCall fell to the ground because the horse's cinch was loose, leading to the shooter's capture by the pursuing crowd. Young's version of McCall's bungled escape is confirmed by another witness,¹⁸ although in her autobiography, published in 1896, Calamity Jane claims that she personally cornered McCall in a butcher shop.¹⁹ Even though Young repeated some popular tales about Calamity Jane and Wild Bill, here he gives credit for the assassin's capture to Tom Mulquinn, who grabbed McCall from behind as the crowd closed in (p. 221). In this case, Young stuck to the facts as he knew them.

Despite the evidence supporting Young's veracity, the attacks on his credibility by historians are understandable. Young himself opened the door to criticism by carelessly misspelling names and misplacing events. A few inaccuracies are merely typographical or spelling errors by a person who is spelling "by ear": Bill Nuttall becomes Bill Nuttle or Al Swearingen becomes Al Swarringer, for example. More curious is Young's reference to the saloon owned by Carl Mann as Saloon No. 66 (p. 196); all other sources refer to it as No. 10. Whether this error is a result of his faulty memory or whether the saloon was once called No. 66 cannot be determined, but Young correctly documents the saloon's ownership. He notes that Bill Nuttall built the place and Carl Mann and Jerry Lewis bought the establishment from him (p. 196). The change of ownership can be traced in early newspaper accounts that refer to it first as Nuttall and Mann's and then Mann and Lewis's saloon.²⁰ Most of Young's errors result from his relying solely on memory. Abilene's first marshal was Bear River Smith, not Green River

Smith; and the first mayor of Custer was Joseph G. Bemis not E. B. Farnum (Farnum was actually Deadwood's first mayor). Cloudy recollections later in life also affected Young's chronology. In his account, for example, Abilene is founded in 1869 with Hickok as sheriff; in reality, Abilene was established in 1867, and Hickok did not become its chief law officer until 1871. Thus, Young could not have met Hickok there in 1869 as he claims.

More serious errors occur in Young's version of Calamity Jane's origins. In his account, Calamity Jane is born Jane Dalton at Fort Laramie in 1860 and nicknamed "Calamity" after her parents are killed by Indians. The soldiers at Fort Laramie adopted her, Young says, leading to her unusual dress and behavior (pp. 169-70). But contemporary documents and her own autobiography show that Calamity Jane's given name was Martha Canary, and she was born in Princeton, Missouri, in 1856. She probably only arrived in the Fort Laramie area about 1873-1874.²¹ Although Young may be excused for his errors about Calamity Jane's birth since he might have heard this version while in the West, it is not easy to forgive him for intentional distortions designed to romanticize the old West. In *Hard Knocks*, for example, he changes the date of Calamity Jane's death from 1 August 1903 to 2 August 1906 in order to claim that she died "on the same day and month, and the same hour, Wild Bill was assassinated thirty years before" (pp. 206-7).

But all recollections contain errors, and for readers, the final question is whether Young's mistakes outweigh his contributions. What remains after the mistakes, exaggerations, and tall tales are removed from Young's recollections? The answer is an interesting narrative about a young man who ran away from home to experience firsthand

the adventures he had read about in dime novels. In his quest, Young traveled through Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, Dakota, Utah, Nevada, California, Oregon, and Alaska. He actually met some of his heroes, such as Wild Bill Hickok, and experienced gold rushes, railroad booms, homesteading, and cowboy life. Even though Young did not record his youthful experiences until he was in his sixties, in *Hard Knocks* he nevertheless managed to convey his feelings as a teenager and young adult alone in the West. Young mostly relates personal anecdotes rather than describes how the West was settled. He is unabashedly honest about his saloon escapades and relationships with dance hall girls. In fact, for Young, “the dance hall girl was the true pioneer woman of the West” (p. 67).

Most importantly, Young helps fill a void in personal reminiscences about the pioneer West. Although numerous accounts have been written by travelers, journalists, town builders, homesteaders, and ranchers, only a few common laborers penned their stories. Harry (“Sam”) Young is one of those ordinary people who did. Besides bartending, he worked as cattle herder, buffalo skinner, night watchman, and general handyman in the West. Once, he even dug potatoes for a farmer to pay his expenses. But his primary occupation was that of teamster. Young usually hauled supplies for the military, but he also worked in this capacity for other government entities. In 1875, he drove “lead wagon” for the Jenney Expedition to the Black Hills. To be given the position at the front, Young claims, was prestigious; it meant he carried the equipment of Colonel Richard Dodge, commander of the military escort (pp. 154-55). It was the highest honor Young received as a teamster. More often, he found himself in trouble with the military. He complains bitterly about dictatorial post commanders, especially young

West Pointers who severely disciplined even civilian workers (pp. 161-65). Young, who admits to having a short temper, was finally “black-balled” for disobeying orders, making it nearly impossible for him to gain further employment at military posts (pp. 185-86).

Young’s recollections also include his impressions of life and work at Red Cloud Agency. For a while, Young was in charge of driving cattle to the agency, and he provides a firsthand account of the distribution of beef and annuities to the Lakotas, or western Sioux (pp. 127-30). Young’s description of conditions at Red Cloud and his comments about the Indians are written from the perspective of a nineteenth-century working man. Consequently, his account lacks sophistication and shares the prejudices of his era. According to Young, during the time he worked at the agency the government’s policy was to “civilize” the Indians through kindness.²² Nevertheless, Young’s account of agency life emphasizes conflicts between the Sioux and agency employees. The most serious incident led to the murder of Frank Appleton, the son of the agency’s “boss farmer” (pp. 149-52). In Young’s opinion, this event caused the government to move Indian affairs from the Interior Department to the War Department and precipitated the Sioux war of 1876.²³

Details about Young’s life after he left the northern plains in 1876 are sketchy. Mostly he worked around Portland, Oregon, in jobs related to transportation. In 1879, for example, he was in charge of supplying Northern Pacific construction crews with food and other necessities (pp. 235-36). Later, he became manager of the Baggage & Omnibus Transfer Company, then served as traveling passenger agent for the Union Pacific Railway Company. When he retired in 1922, he was working for the Pacific Steamship Company. Following his death in November 1925, the Portland *Oregonian* noted that

Young was survived by “his widow” and a son, who was then living in the Belgian Congo. Unfortunately, the article provided no other details about his immediate family. The newspaper did, however, mention that he had two brothers and two sisters living in Canada and a brother-in-law, Joseph W. Beveridge, residing in Oregon.²⁴

Even before Young’s death, his book *Hard Knocks* was out of print. The first edition, a second edition, and a possible third, all published in Portland in 1915, sold out quickly. Another edition, printed in Chicago, quickly followed suit. Since then, *Hard Knocks* has only been available from libraries and out-of-print book dealers. In a review of different copies of the book, four distinct bindings and at least three printings can be identified. The first edition, which was a limited press run, appears to have been bound in green-marbled, paper-covered boards with a brown cloth spine with black lettering.²⁵ The book contained an errata notice printed on the final page that corrected an error in distance on page 13 and an errata slip pasted to page 68 that corrected the spelling of Bat Masterson’s name. The second edition corrected these errors within the text and appeared in two bindings: one a deluxe edition of red cloth with gilt lettering; the other of red cloth with black lettering. The title page of the gilt edition carries an extra line in an unmatched typeface, attributing the publication to “The J. K. Gill Company” (this version could represent a new binding of previously printed sheets or a third printing as well as a third binding). Each of these Portland editions or binding states contains twenty-five plates, some of which are crude sketches while others are photographs. The Chicago edition, published by Laird and Lee, is printed on cheaper paper in brown cloth with black lettering. It contains only seventeen plates but features a dust jacket bearing Wild Bill Hickok’s portrait. All the later printings appear to reproduce the same, corrected text.

The text of this 2005 edition is a facsimile of the J. K. Gill Company printing. The frontispiece of the author and the drawing of Hickok's murder, which shows Young himself near the card table, are reproduced from the original plates. The other plates have been replaced with a selection of photographs of the same or similar subjects from archival collections.

In 1915, Sam Young's adventures and his book tapped into the American longing for a romanticized past. The Portland *Oregonian* reported on the book's initial appearance that *Hard Knocks* "is a dramatic rehearsal of incidents compiled from the stirring days when the West was young." Suspecting that aspects of the book were exaggerated, the reviewer nevertheless noted that Young relied on his "personal experiences and those of his friends," calling up memories and portraying people "so that they cannot be mistaken" in identity.²⁶ In spite of his occasional legend building and inaccuracies, Young had served up a gritty portrait of the workingman's frontier in *Hard Knocks*, one that still captures the interest and imagination of modern readers.

Notes

1. *Black Hills Pioneer*, 26 Aug. 1876.

2. Ibid.

3. Harry (“Sam”) Young, *Hard Knocks: A Life Story of the Vanishing West* (Portland, Oreg.: Wells & Co., 1915). The numbers in the text refer to the reprint edition of the book that follows this Introduction.

4. Joseph G. Rosa, *They Called Him Wild Bill: The Life and Adventures of James Butler Hickok*, 2d ed., rev. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), pp. 318-37. See also Rosa’s *Jack McCall, Assassin: An Updated Account of His Yankton Trial, Plea for Clemency, and Execution* (n.p.: English Westerners Society, 1998).

5. Rosa, *They Called Him Wild Bill*, pp. 4, 45-52.

6. Adams, *Burs under the Saddle: A Second Look at Books and Histories of the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), pp. 577-79.

7. Ibid., p. 578. Likewise, historian J. Leonard Jennewein called *Hard Knocks* “a free-wheeling book, filled with action, anecdote, and error” (Jennewein, *Black Hills Booktrails* [Mitchell, S.Dak.: Dakota Territory Centennial Commission & Dakota Wesleyan University, 1962], p. 37).

8. Sollid, *Calamity Jane: A Study in Historical Criticism* (1958; reprint ed., Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1995), p. 7. Sollid’s assertion that Anson Tippie, not Sam Young, was bartender in Saloon No. 10 seems to derive from statements either by Tippie himself or by John S. McClintock, who credits his account of Hickok’s death to Tippie, “the bartender in the saloon where [Hickok] was killed, who witnessed the affair” (McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills: Accurate History and Facts*

Related by One of the Early Day Pioneers [Deadwood, S.Dak.: By the Author, 1939], p. 108). Interestingly, McClintock's introduction of Tippie does not contradict Young's account; Young himself records a second bartender at the No. 10 on the morning of 2 August. Young came on watch that morning, "relieving the night man" who told him that Hickok and the card players had been at it all night (p. 219). While the second man may still have been present later in the day, it is clear that Young was on duty at the time of the shooting because he was the bartender called to testify at McCall's Deadwood trial. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, 17 Aug. 1876.

9. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, 17 Aug. 1876. Newspaper accounts of Black Hills events frequently appear in sources far removed from the region. In the nineteenth century, before syndicated news, local residents often served as correspondents for newspapers located elsewhere. The *Inter-Ocean* article, for example, bears the dateline "Special Correspondence of the Inter-Ocean, Deadwood, D.T., Aug. 3, 1876." Black Hills news items were also frequently reprinted in other newspapers. The Yankton newspaper, for example, regularly devoted columns to the Black Hills to satisfy the curiosity of local readers. This broad dissemination of news is fortunate because many early Black Hills newspapers are no longer extant.

10. L. G. ["Pat"] Flannery, ed., *John Hunton's Diary, Volume 1, 1873-'75* (Fort Laramie, Wyo.: By the Editor, 1956), pp. 10, 33. See also William Francis Hooker, *The Bullwhacker: Adventures of a Frontier Freighter*, ed. Howard R. Driggs (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1924), p. 163.

11. *Laramie Sentinel*, 2 Sept. 1876. The newspaper indicates that two similar incidents occurred only a few days apart; Young's account seems to blend the two events.
12. *Daily Press and Dakotaian* (Yankton, D.T.), 24 Mar. 1876.
13. Milner and Earle R. Forrest, *California Joe: Noted Scout and Indian Fighter* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1935), pp. 243, 253-56.
14. Julia B. McGillicuddy, *McGillicuddy Agent: A Biography of Dr. Valentine T. McGillicuddy* (Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1941), pp. 25-27, 33-34. McGillicuddy's wife put this book together from her husband's notes. For a textual comparison showing that McGillicuddy's story was derived from Young, see Sollid, *Calamity Jane*, pp. 5-9.
15. *Chicago Tribune*, 19 June 1875; *Daily Press and Dakotaian*, 6 July 1875. For more on the Jenney Expedition, see James D. McLaird and Lesta V. Turchen, "The Scientists' Search for Gold, 1875: Walter P. Jenney and Henry Newton," *South Dakota History* 4 (Fall 1974): 404-38.
16. When the Gem Theater burned down in 1899, the *Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times*, 20 Dec. 1899, reminisced that when E. A. ("Al") Swearingen started the business in 1876, "There were but three women available—Calamity Jane, Kitty Arnold and Mr. Swearingen's wife." The three women and a boy dressed as a woman sold wine to the patrons, according to this *Times* story that may have been based on an interview with Swearingen himself. Young's descriptions of Calamity Jane suggest that she mainly dressed and acted like a man, but other sources indicate that she made her living in the dance halls in female attire. Like Young, Joseph ("White Eye") Anderson, *I Buried*

Hickok: The Memoirs of White Eye Anderson, ed. William B. Secrest (College Station, Tex.: Creative Publishing Co., 1980), p. 102, recorded that when she arrived in Deadwood in the summer of 1876 Calamity was clad only in buckskins. But Anderson goes on to say that members of Hickok's party contributed funds so that she could buy a dress in order to "do business." Several days later, she showed up in "female clothes" and repaid the loan. In subsequent years, Calamity Jane did not confine her activities to the Gem. Clement Lounsberry, editor of the *Bismarck Tribune*, reported that she was making her living in Deadwood dance halls, noting in his 17 August 1877 edition (possibly from personal experience with her as partner) that she "waltzes on one leg and polkas on the other."

17. Richardson, quoted in James D. McLaird, "'I Know . . . because I Was There': Leander P. Richardson Reports the Black Hills Gold Rush," in *Gold Rush: The Black Hills Story*, comp. John D. McDermott (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2001), p. 66.

18. McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*, p. 108. See also *Black Hills Pioneer*, 5 Aug. 1876.

19. [Martha Canary], *Life and Adventures of Calamity Jane by Herself* (n.p., [1896]), pp. 4-5.

20. *Black Hills Pioneer*, 5, 26 Aug. 1876; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, 17 Aug. 1876. The transfer of ownership occurred close to the time of Hickok's death. The correspondent for the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, writing on 3 August, refers to "the saloon kept by Messrs. Lewis & Mann," while the local *Pioneer* still has it as "the hall of Nuttall

& Mann” on the fifth. By 26 August, the *Pioneer* also refers to the No. 10 as being owned by “Messrs. Mann & Lewis.”

21. Canary, *Life and Adventures of Calamity Jane*, p. 1; Richard W. Etulain, “Calamity Jane: The Making of a Frontier Legend,” in *Wild Women of the Old West*, ed. Glenda Riley and Etulain (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 2003), pp. 177-80.

22. For more information about the people of Red Cloud Agency in this era, see George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Indians* (1937; reprint ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987).

23. Young is in error about the impact of the Appleton murder; the change in the government's policy toward the Sioux occurred for other reasons. For more information, see John S. Gray, *Centennial Campaign: The Sioux War of 1876* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), pp. 23-34.

24. *Portland Oregonian*, 14 Nov. 1925.

25. *Ibid.*, 17 Aug. 1915.

26. *Ibid.*