



SO FAR AND YET SO CLOSE: FRONTIER CATTLE RANCHING IN WESTERN PRAIRIE CANADA AND THE NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA
By Warren M. Elofson

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COWBOY POETRY

More evidence of the universality and durability of frontier cowboy culture is found in the continuing popularity of a great array of Western or country music and art that emanated from the early days, as young men tried to entertain themselves on roundup or muster or on the droving trail. What follows is some relatively recent poetry from both continents that, like the enduring culture of the rodeos, speak volumes. The first two compositions reflect the close relationship that often formed between man and his indispensable friend, the horse. The second two mirror the working lives of men who trailed the herds to pasture or market. Only minor peculiarities of language make it possible to discern from which continent any of these poems originated.

Horses and People – A Cowboy’s Poem

We were all gathered at the sale barn
waitin’ for the horse sale to get underway
When this old hand sat amongst us,
it was easy seein’ “Cowboy” was on his resume
He watched the horses come and go
With an easy, patient horseman’s eye.
He studied each horse as they came through,
but he never nodded or attempted to buy.

I found myself watchin' the old man
When to my surprise he turned and spoke.
"Horses are a lot like folks I've known,
some's honest and true, others can't be broke."

Then he pointed out a nice sorrel filly
as she swatted her tail and gave a squeal.
"She's like Miss Milly down at the diner,
plenty of good looks and sex appeal.

And that skinny lookin' ole horse,
actin' all touchy, nervous and rank,
he reminds me of old Mr. T. Wad
the loan officer at the bank.

Now that old mare, she's a kid's horse
She'd teach 'em and they'd never come to harm
She's sure a lot like old Mrs. Beachem
a grand lady, and my first school marm.

See that little two-year-old
boy, he'd like to break and run.
All he wants is away from here,
He reminds me of my son."

It seemed like we sat for hours,
Talkin', laughin' and comparin' notes,
About honest horses and people we knew,
Those we like and those not worth the oats.

About that time, an old bay entered the ring,
the old hands voice began to soften.
"If he was a man, I'd call him friend
and that's just somethin' I don't do often.

“A little thin and gray around the muzzle,
Like me, he’s gotten on in years
But there’s a heap of know-how restin’
between that old horse’s ears.

“That old horse is some ole cowboy’s pal,
Sellin’ him, would be like committin’ a sin.
So if you’ll excuse me boys,
think I’ll just buy him back again!”¹

“Cowboy Blues”

GRAEME KING

I dropped a quarter in the slot and pressed A-42,
the bass line started hummin’ from afar,
the guy behind the counter mixed me up another brew,
I saw my teardrops splashin’ on the bar.

The pain was like a bullwhip – just one year ago today
my little Dolly lost her gallant fight,
the angels came ‘a callin’ and they took my little girl away
and still I cry most every single night.

Her favourite song, I still recall her eyes aglow at me
each time I hummed that sentimental tune,
I’d put my arms around her neck and hold her tenderly,
but then she went and left me way too soon.

The images flashed through my mind of just a year before,
it broke my heart to lay her in the ground,
we had three happy years but there would never be no more,
I hung my head and howled like a hound.

The song upon the jukebox ended, everything was still,
that barroom was as quiet as a mouse,
the bar man looked at me and said: "Ole buddy drink your fill,
and everything tonight is on the house."

A cowboy brought a bottle over, stood there by my side.
He said: "Here's to your grief I see it's bad."
I blinked through tears. "One year ago today my Dolly died –
the best danged horse a cowboy ever had."²

"The Ballad of the Drover"

HENRY LAWSON

Across the stony ridges,
Across the rolling plain,
Young Harry Dale, the drover,
Comes riding home again.
And well his stock-horse bears him,
And light of heart is he,
And stoutly his old packhorse
Is trotting by his knee.

Up Queensland way with cattle
He's traveled regions vast,
And many months have vanished
Since home-folks saw him last.
He hums a song of someone
He hopes to marry soon;
And hobble-chains and camp-ware
Keep jingling to the tune.

Beyond the hazy dado
Against the lower skies
And yon blue line of ranges
The station homestead lies.
And thitherward the drover
Jogs through the lazy noon,
While hobble-chains and camp-ware
Are jingling to a tune.

An hour has filled the heavens
With storm-clouds inky black;
At times the lightning trickles
Around the drover's track;
But Harry pushes onward,
His horses' strength he tries,
In hope to reach the river
Before the flood shall rise.

The thunder, pealing o'er him,
Goes rumbling down the plain;
And sweet on thirsty pastures
Beats fast the splashing rain;
Then every creek and gully
Sends forth its tribute flood
The river runs a banker,
All stained with yellow mud.

Now Harry speaks to Rover,
The best dog on the plains,
And to his hardy horses,
And strokes their shaggy manes:
"We've breasted bigger rivers
When Hoods were at their height,
Nor shall this gutter stop us
From getting home tonight!"

The thunder growls a warning,
The blue, forked lightning's gleam;
The drover turns his horses
To swim the fatal stream.
But, oh! the flood runs stronger
Than e'er it ran before;
The saddle-horse is failing,
And only half-way o'er! . . .³

“Tales of the Trail”

PAUL KERN

As time rushes over a concrete bridge.
It slows to a walk on rocky ride.
Since just a boy barely five feet tall.
I have followed this backcountry call.

Imprinted young at eight years old.
To follow the tales of the trail I was told,
Those old-time trails that still ride.
Burned deep their brand into my hide.

Up ahead in the next drainage over,
The past meets up with a mounted drover.
Ghost riders of pintos untracked and unshod,
Rise up through the dust of unplowed sod.

Faint rings in the bottoms along a stream,
Come into view in the morning gleam.
Teepee rings face the rising sun –
Circles of home before the ride is done.

Vices of those, whose legends were made,
In rendezvous camps of the beaver trade,
Echo through canyons and fade in the trees,
Where a rusty old trap still holds the keys.

Of a cook fire ring that's still neatly made –
A circle of homes lies there in the shade,
Of a trapper blowing coals on his knees,
Over rocks in a clearing back in the trees.

And of time-worn tracks and dusty trails,
Where an old-time path is there – then pales.
Dust has settled followed by grass,
It comes into view and then seems to pass.

Those worn-out trails of olden date,
Spread over grassland in paths of eight.
Riders and wagons rolled side by side,
To check the dust where the trail gets wide.

Dust that rises, takes wing, then falls,
Signals the past and quietly calls,
To tell the tale of those yesterdays,
And the circle of home over bygone ways.

Trails rocky and steep then easy and wide,
Circle me back each time I ride.
They circle me back each time I roam.
The tales of the trail are of going home.⁴

NOTES

- 1 “Horses and People – A Cowboy’s Poem,” <http://www.equisearch.com/article/eqpoem647>.
- 2 “Graeme King, Cowboy Blues,” http://kingpoetry.com/cowboy_blues.htm.
- 3 “Featured at the Bar D Ranch, Classic Cowboy Poetry,” <http://www.cowboypoetry.com/henrylawson.htm#Drover>.
- 4 “Cowboy Poetry and Western Verse,” <http://www.paulkern.com/2008/03/tales-of-trail.html>.

OFFICIALLY DECLARED DROUGHTS ON THE AUSTRALIAN CONTINENT

“Drought in Australia,” National Climate Centre, Australian Bureau of Meteorology, <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/1301.0Feature+Article151988>.

- 1864–66
(and 1868)** The little data available indicate that this drought period was rather severe in Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales, Queensland, and Western Australia.
- 1880–86** Victoria (northern areas and Gippsland); New South Wales (mainly northern wheat belt, northern Tablelands, and south coast); Queensland (1881–86, in south-east with breaks; otherwise mainly in coastal areas, the central highlands, and central interior in 1883–86); and South Australia (1884–86, mainly in agricultural areas).

- 1888** Victoria (northern areas and Gippsland); Tasmania (1887–89 in the south); New South Wales; Queensland (1888–89); South Australia and Western Australia (central agricultural areas).
- 1895–1903** Practically the whole of Australia was affected, but most persistently the coast of Queensland, inland areas of New South Wales, South Australia, and central Australia. This was probably Australia's worst drought to date in terms of severity and area. Sheep numbers, which had reached more than 100 million, were reduced by approximately half and cattle numbers by more than 40 percent. Average wheat yields exceeded 8 bushels per acre in only one year of the nine, and dropped to 2.4 bushels per acre in 1902.
- 1911–16** Victoria (1913–15 in north and west); Tasmania (1913–15); New South Wales, particularly inland areas; Queensland; Northern Territory (mainly in the Tennant Creek–Alexandria Downs area); South Australia (some breaks in agricultural areas); and Western Australia (1910–14).
- 1918–20** Queensland, New South Wales, South Australia, Northern Territory (Darwin–Daly Waters area and central Australia), Western Australia (Fortescue area), Victoria, and Tasmania.

- 1939–45** New South Wales (severe on the coast), South Australia (persistent in pastoral areas), Queensland and Tasmania; also (more particularly in 1940 and 1944–45) in Western Australia, Victoria, and central Australia; Tennant Creek–Alexandria Downs area in 1943–45.
- 1958–68** This drought was the most widespread and probably second to the 1895–1903 drought in severity. For more than a decade from 1957, drought was consistently prominent and frequently made news headlines from 1964 onwards. This was treated as one major drought period, but could be subdivided into two which overlapped, both in time and area. Central Australia and vast areas of adjacent Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, New South Wales, and northern Australia were affected, with varying intensity, 1957–66; and southeastern Australia experienced a severe drought, 1964–68.
- 1982–83** This extensive drought affected nearly all of eastern Australia, and was particularly severe in southeastern Australia. The lowest-ever 11-month rainfall occurred over most of Victoria, much of inland New South Wales, and central and southern Queensland; and the lowest-ever 10-month rainfall occurred in much of South Australia and northern Queensland. Total losses were estimated in excess of \$3,000 million.

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NOTES

1 INTRODUCTION

- 1 Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (Austin, TX: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), one of many editions of the paper “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” which Turner originally presented to the American Historical Association in 1893; Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1958).
- 2 Though one may dispute some of the specific ways in which they applied it.
- 3 See, for instance, G.F.G. Stanley, “Western Canada and the Frontier Thesis,” *Canadian Historical Association Report*, 1940, 111; David H. Breen, *The Canadian Prairie West and the Ranching Frontier, 1874–1924* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 21–23; John Herd Thompson, *Forging the Prairie West: The Illustrated History of Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 43–103. A more recent work, Simon Evans’ *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), lauds the federal government’s lease legislation, which in fact changed so often that the ranchers seldom had any faith in it. Evans also plays down the role of the natural environment in controlling the destiny of the great ranches.
- 4 Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2006).
- 5 Reynolds’ main antagonist is Keith Windschuttle; see, for instance, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History, Vol. 1: Van Diemen’s Land 1803–1847*

- (Sydney: Macleay Press, 2003). For the rest of the debate see J. Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2002); Bain Attwood and S.G. Foster, eds., *Frontier Conflict* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2003); Robert Manne, ed., *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2003); John Dawson, *Washout: On the Academic Response to the Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (Sydney: Macleay Press, 2004); Robert Foster and Amanda Nettelbeck, *Out of the Silence: The History and Memory of South Australia's Frontier Wars* (Kent Town: Wadefield Press, 2007).
- 6 Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers: Origins, Diffusion and Differentiation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 217.
 - 7 Jordan-Bychkov, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers*, 208; Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 302–4.
 - 8 “Stock Raising,” *Texas Almanac for 1861* (Galveston, 1860), 148–52.
 - 9 “Stock Raising,” 150–52.
 - 10 Jordan-Bychkov, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers*, 210.
 - 11 “Stock Raising,” 150.
 - 12 Warren M. Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 25–41; “Stock Raising,” 150.
 - 13 Jordan-Bychkov, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers*, 217–36.
 - 14 Jordan-Bychkov uses the term “profound neglect” (210).
 - 15 *The Pastoral Review* was originally titled *The Australasian Pastoralists' Review* then successively *The Pastoralists' Review*, *The Pastoral Review*, and finally *The Pastoral Review and Grazier's Record*. Still in production, it is commonly known simply as *The Pastoral Review*.
 - 16 “The United States,” *The Argus*, 25 October 1873.
 - 17 See chapter 10.
 - 18 Ross Duncan, *The Northern Territory Pastoral Industry, 1863–1910* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967), 139–56.
 - 19 Max Foran, *Trails and Trials: Markets and Land Use in the Alberta Beef Cattle Industry, 1881–1948* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003), 1–56.
 - 20 Foran, *Trails and Trials*, 9.

2 THE SHORT HISTORY OF THE TEXAS SYSTEM IN WESTERN CANADA

- 1 Prior to this the industry was very small in Montana. The state saw its first cattle in the early 1860s as small traders tried to meet the demand for food from miners searching for gold and silver around the fledgling urban centres of Bannack, Virginia City, and Helena. In the beginning these cattle were mostly exhausted and lame animals that migrating settlers sold off or abandoned on their trek to regions farther west. Then traders started to trail cattle called “westerns” in from the Pacific seaboard via the Oregon Trail.
- 2 See Warren M. Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 3–24. For the earlier movement of Californian cattle to Oregon see Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers: Origins, Diffusion and Differentiation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 249–55.
- 3 Leroy V. Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1988), 47–49.
- 4 For an overview of this period see also Warren M. Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves: Ranching on the Western Frontier* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 3–22.
- 5 E.C. Abbott and H. Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher*, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 64–65.
- 6 All types of cattle in all of Montana: A. Merrill and J. Jacobson, *Montana Almanac* (Helena: Falcon Books, 1997), 309.
- 7 All types of cattle in all of Alberta and Assiniboia: Simon M. Evans, “Stocking the Canadian Range,” *Alberta History* 26, no. 3 (Summer 1978): 1; Canada, *Fourth Census*, 1901, vol. 2, 52–53.
- 8 Cresswell, Henry Whiteside (1830–1904). Hank Cresswell, range cattleman in the Texas Panhandle, the son of John Cresswell, was born at Fairfield House, Lancashire, England, in 1830 (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/search/results/Cresswell>).
- 9 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 13–24.
- 10 Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves*, 38, 49; Simon M. Evans, “Tenderfoot to Rider, Learning ‘Cowboying’ on the Canadian Ranching Frontier during the 1880s,” in *Cowboys, Ranchers and the Cattle Business:*

- Cross-Border Perspectives on Ranching History*, ed. Simon Evans, Bill Yeo, and Sarah Carter (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000), 61–80.
- 11 The best-known Canadian novel is Ralph Connor, *Sky Pilot: A Tale of the Foothills* (Chicago: R.H. Revell, 1899). For a summary of the literature generally, see Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 25–40.
 - 12 G. Stuart, *Forty Years on the Frontier, as seen in the journals and reminiscences of Granville Stuart*, vol. 2, ed. P.C. Philips (Cleveland: A.H. Clark, 1925), 188.
 - 13 The Bar U survived under George Lane’s stewardship until his death in 1925 and thus longer than any of the above (Simon Evans, *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History* [Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004]). At that time, however, the banks took possession of all its livestock and lands and sold them to pay Lane’s massive debts. Simon Evans insists that the operation did well financially until a plethora of unlucky events struck in the last several years. A postwar depression, the bankruptcy of Gordon, Ironsides and Fares, which cut into Lane’s personal wealth and then forced him to come up with some \$650,000 to buy them out, and bad weather, Evans believes, produced a near perfect storm that robbed Lane of the net worth he had built up over the course of a lifetime. Two things need to be recognized, however. First, though Evans uses the word “flourishing” and “prosperous” over and over again he produces no hard evidence – no account books, no assessments of inventory to debt ratios, no bank records. Secondly, even if he is right, we should not forget that Lane operated with special advantages that the others lacked. Throughout most of his career as a cattle baron he had the support of one of the wealthiest families in Canada. For the Walrond collapse and the others see see Warren M. Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money: The Walrond Ranch Story, 1883–1907* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 228–30.
 - 14 Evans, *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History*, xiii, 2, 18.
 - 15 Figures provided by Statistics Canada (www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/section/m/M228_238-eng.csv).
 - 16 James Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record of the Cattle Industry and the Cattlemen of Texas and Adjacent Territory* (St. Louis, MO: Woodward and Tiernan, 1895), 136.
 - 17 David L. Wheeler, “The Texas Panhandle Drift Fences,” *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 55 (1982): 25–35.

- 18 Glenbow Archives, A.E. Cross papers, M8780, 108: A.E. Cross to A.R. Springett, 10 November 1902.
- 19 Kelly, *The Range Men*, 100–101.
- 20 A.E. Cross, “The Roundup of 1887,” *Alberta Historical Review* 13, no. 2 (Spring 1965): 23.
- 21 Kelly, *The Range Men*, 100.
- 22 Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves*, 79–84. As this study demonstrates, even the relatively mild winters could be difficult for cattle. Calves born in the colder months, for instance, often died from pneumonia, or they succumbed to malnutrition, mainly because their mothers had struggled during the gestation period to find enough good feed under even a light snow cover.
- 23 See J.G. Nelson, “Some Reflections on Man’s Impact on the Landscape of the Canadian Prairies and Nearby Areas,” in *The Prairie Provinces*, ed. P.J. Smith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 43.
- 24 The severe losses the Walrond took from them in both cattle and horses inclines one to empathize with modern-day livestock owners who have vociferously resisted government efforts to reintroduce and revive the species in Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming. The ranchers’ stand against wolf recovery programs has been well covered by the media in ranching areas; see, for instance, “Ranchers Want Feds to Start Killing Wolves,” *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, 16 April 2004; “Livestock Losses Leave Ranchers Worn Down by Wolves,” *Billings Gazette*, 16 May 2004; and “Impact of Wolves Grows,” *Casper Star Tribune*, 18 January 2005. The advocates of recovery are many; see B.H. Lopez, *Of Wolves and Men* (London: J.M. Dent, 1978); T. McNamee, *The Return of the Wolf to Yellowstone* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997); R. Bass, *The Ninemile Wolves: An Essay* (Livingstone: Clark City Press, 1992); K. Jones, *Wolf Mountains: A History of Wolves along the Great Divide* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2002); M.A. Nie, *Beyond Wolves: The Politics of Wolf Recovery and Management* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).
- 25 Cross, for instance, commonly lost 10 percent of his colts to wolves (Kelly, *The Range Men*, 189). The wolves would sneak up on one of the defenceless animals and kill it with ease.
- 26 Glenbow Archives, New Walrond Rancho papers, M8688–3: Warnock to McEachran, 31 July 1894.
- 27 M8688–4: Warnock to J.G. Ross, 13 December 1897.
- 28 Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money*, 141–51.

- 29 Kelly, *The Range Men*, 160.
- 30 “What Causes Mange in Cattle,” http://www.ehow.com/list_6143115_causes-mange-cattle_.html.
- 31 Sometimes an ointment made of sulphur, tar, and linseed oil was applied (“‘Mange,’ at Gleichen,” *Calgary Herald*, 16 February 1904).
- 32 “Mange,” *Rocky Mountain Husbandman*, 24 April 1902. The paper went on to suggest that government officials should make sure that all infected animals on the range are “close-herded” by their owners to keep them separated from healthy herds and “compel all cattle to be dipped twice” every year.
- 33 “Dipping of Cattle Recommended for Mange,” *Calgary Herald*, 12 April 1904.
- 34 “Dominion of Canada, Order of the Minister of Agriculture,” *Calgary Herald*, 19 August 1904.
- 35 Harold “Dude” Lavington, *Nine Lives of a Cowboy* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1982), 18–19.
- 36 “Canada’s Cattle: An Interview with her Chief Inspector of Livestock,” *Morning Bulletin*, 31 March 1887.
- 37 Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money*, 85–89.
- 38 Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money*, 216–19.
- 39 “Mange in cattle: causes and treatments,” <http://www.helium.com/items/1495957-mange-in-cattle>.
- 40 Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, 136. See also Paul E. Patterson and Joy Poole, *Great Plains Cattle Empire: Thatcher Brothers and Associates, 1875–1945* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2000), 91–93.
- 41 Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, 137.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Cox’s estimate of \$30 to \$35 per head for the start-up cattle seems right on. In Canada, for instance, the Walrond ranch paid broker T.C. Power in Montana \$32 a head across the board for cows with calves at foot, young heifers, and yearling to three-year-old steers (Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money*, 40–43). Years later the Walrond would sell slaughter steers, heifers, and cows for an average price of just over \$35 per head (Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money*, 156).
- 44 Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves*, 8.
- 45 Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money*, 35–37, 159.
- 46 Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves*, 11.
- 47 Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, 137. “Beef,” he said, they confidently predicted would sell “at as high as thirty cents and thirty-five cents a pound in London,” providing a margin of thirty to thirty-five dollars.

- 48 Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, 137.
- 49 The *Daily Courier* in Liverpool, for instance, claimed that the live cattle trade between Britain and America was so valuable that “anything calculated to curtail its limits could not be regarded as other than a national calamity” (“Treatment of Cattle,” 15 July 1880); and the Scottish agricultural writer James Macdonald told his readers to expect profits in the Trans-Mississippi West to run around 25 percent annually (*Food from the Far West* [New York: Orange Judd, 1878], vii, xiv, 47).
- 50 James S. Brisbin, *The Beef Bonanza or How to get Rich on the Plains; being a description of cattle-growing, sheep-farming, horse-raising, and dairying in the West* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1881).
- 51 Walter, Baron von Richthofen, *Cattle Raising on the Plains of North America* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1885).
- 52 Hiram Latham, *Trans-Missouri Stock Raising: The Pasture Lands of North America, Winter Grazing* (Omaha: Daily Herald Steam Printing House, 1871).
- 53 Joseph McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest* (Kansas City: Ramsay, Millett and Hudson, 1874).
- 54 Brisbin, *The Beef Bonanza*, 79.
- 55 In 1880 a Royal Commission laid a report before the British Parliament on the conditions of both Canadian and American agriculture. Unlike many other reports, it made an attempt to sound realistic by speaking of some of the major flaws of farming in America. Severe winters, dangerous droughts, harmful insects, and an inadequate supply of good drinking water for livestock can and do cause problems, it said. However, in assessing the potential of the plains for grazing, it simply repeated the supposed wisdom of earlier writers. “These vast plains appear to the stranger in the autumn fearfully scorched and sterile. . . the short stunted herbage is quite brown and looks burnt to a cinder.” However, “this apparently worthless grass is in reality *self-made hay*. It grows rapidly in the spring, and is *cured* by the sun before it ripens.” The report also parroted the theories about year-round grazing. “Lovely open weather may prevail until Christmas,” it stated. “Great falls of snow are rare. When they happen cattle suffer severely, but more generally the snow quickly drifts into the hollows and the stock can get at the grass without much trouble”: “Agricultural Interests Commission, Reports of the Assistant Commissioners

- presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty,” *British Parliamentary Papers, Area Studies: United States of America*, 1 (Agriculture, 1878–99), 67.
- 56 McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade*, 238–39.
- 57 Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money*, 113–17.
- 58 von Richthofen, *Cattle Raising on the Plains of North America*, 80.
- 59 Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, 140.
- 60 Ibid., 145. The witness was “Mr. Dudley H. Snyder, the well-known cattle drover, residing at Georgetown, Texas.” Another witness stated: “a few years ago large fortunes were realized in the herding of cattle in all sections west of the Missouri River, and capital from New England, the Middle States, England, Scotland, and the Continent was recklessly invested in this new enterprise. Men without experience bought whole herds by brands and book account, supposing they were receiving what they actually paid for, and it is generally conceded that in few instances would the actual count of the animals exceed seventy-five per cent of the number shown by the book account. Because of the great demand for ranches, and consequently inflation of cattle values, investors often paid for such cattle greatly above their actual value.”
- 61 Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, 140. “All these features were not without effect on our supply of native cattle . . . And what was the result of this? Simply that the business was overdone, and the end was what invariably follows over production.”
- 62 Montana Historical Society Library and Archives, Helena, Power papers, MC55–448–2: McEachran to Power, 4 September 1884.
- 63 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 81–85.
- 64 M8688–4: Bell to McEachran, 9 October 1887. In the same letter he also implied that there were a lot more substandard cattle still left. “We have cut out every old cow with a barren udder or frozen teats, and have put them on good pasture . . . and will wean their calves as soon as they can live. And let them fatten for . . . contracts before winter sets in and will feed the calves during part of winter if need be.”
- 65 Herbert William Riley, “Herbert William (Herb) Millar,” *Canadian Cattlemen* 4, no. 4 (March 1942): 168.
- 66 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 47.

3 THE SHORTER HISTORY OF THE TEXAS SYSTEM IN NORTHERN AUSTRALIA

- 1 State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, Alfred Giles papers, PRG 1389/2: Giles, "The First Pastoral Settlement in the Northern Territory compiled principally for his own experiences as an overlander and pioneer pastoralist with special references to the founding of the Springvale, Delamere, Elsey and Newcastle Waters runs, 1870–1895 with extracts from his diary 1879–1895," 54–55.
- 2 The commission was the Royal Pastoral Lands Commission (1897–1898) appointed by the Australian government: Elmar Zalums, *A Bibliography of South Australian Royal Commissions, Select Committees of Parliament, and Boards of Inquiry, 1857–1970* (Bedford Park: The Flinders University of South Australia, 1975).
- 3 Bagot and Gilbert were out by 1876 after starting up in 1872; Nat Buchanan at Wave Hill sold out to his brother William F. Buchanan in 1884 after setting up with Gordon Brothers in 1883; Browne by 1887; Fisher and Lyons at Glencoe, Victoria River Downs, and other stations by 1887; Tennant and Love at Undoolya by 1891. Thomas Elder at Mount Burrell and Owen Springs was out by 1894. John Costello lost or gave up Valley of Springs, Lake Nash, Wickham Park, and Wangalara between the late 1880s and late 1890s (see below, pp. 55–57).
- 4 "Cattle Distributions 1912," in Griffith Taylor, *Railways and stock routes, with later additions, also shown* (Commonwealth Bulletin II), quoted in A. Grenfell Price, *The History and Problems of the Northern Territory, Australia* (Adelaide: A.M. Acott, 1931), 36.
- 5 See below, p. 41–42.
- 6 John Henniker Heaton, *Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Time: containing the history of Australasia from 1542 to May 1879*, 31, <http://archive.org/details/australiandicti00heatgoog>.
- 7 F.H. Bauer, *Historical Geography of White Settlement in Part of Northern Australia 2, The Katherine Darwin Region* (Melbourne: Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, Division of Land Research and Regional Survey Division, 1964).
- 8 See R.A. Perry, *Pasture Lands of the Northern Territory, Australia* (Melbourne: Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, 1960); Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry: An Economic Survey, 1962–63 to 1964–65* (Melbourne: Commonwealth

- Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, 1968).
- 9 National Archives, Canberra, Goldsbrough, Mort and Company papers, GMRBV/4, 1: "This Transcript is probably part of the evidence given to the 1895 Royal Commission into N.T. affairs conducted by SA govt."
 - 10 Referring principally to dam construction, someone asked the VDR representative, "would it not be an encouragement to you if at the end of your lease the Government or incoming lessee had to pay you for the improvements?" He replied, "decidedly, it would be to any lease" (GMRBV/4, 9). In modern times virtually all stations have secured their water supply with bores; see, for instance, "AA co. A world-leading provider of cattle, beef and agricultural products since 1824," <https://www.aaco.com.au/operations/properties/nt/delamere-station/>.
 - 11 For all the major costs see Chapter 4.
 - 12 Perry, *Pasture Lands of the Northern Territory*, 30.
 - 13 Ibid.
 - 14 H.C. Perry, *Pioneering: The Life of the Hon. R. M. Collins, M.L.C.* (Brisbane: Watson-Ferguson, 1923); A. Groom, *One Mountain After Another* (Sydney: Environbook, 1992); "The North Australian Pastoral Company," <http://www.napco.com.au>.
 - 15 Over 12,000 square miles; the infamous outlaw Harry Redford drove the first 3,000 cattle to Brunette Downs in 1883. Redford stayed on as manager. John Macansh, Captain Charles Smith, and John McDonald took up the leases of Brunette Downs ("A Man Who Blazed the Trail," *Northern Standard*, 1 June 1904). James White took over the leases from McDonald, Smith and Company and brought in his brothers, Frank and George, as partners. The Whites went into partnership with Alfred J. Cotton, who became the managing director ("Brunette Downs; Subdivision Scheme," *The Register*, 11 December 1926).
 - 16 Perry, *Pasture Lands of the Northern Territory*, 18, "the south is largely desert wasteland with spiny-leaved tussock forming grasses loosely referred to as inland spinifex."
 - 17 "Drys": an Australian term referring to the entire dry season.
 - 18 Ross Duncan, *The Northern Territory Pastoral Industry, 1863–1910* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1967), 49. During the 1891–92 drought, "possibly every herd on the tableland was shifted to various coastal streams, some of them remaining away from their

- home stations for up to sixteen or eighteen months.” (p. 51). Mustering and droving took their toll, and heavy losses on the rank, mineral-deficient coastal grasses must also have been a problem.
- 19 Margaret Kowald and William Johnston, *You Can't Make it Rain: The Story of the North Australian Pastoral Company 1877–1991* (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1992), 34. In 1877, Englishmen John Warner and Sir William Ingram joined Queenslanders William Collins, William Forrest, and Sir Thomas McIlwraith to form a partnership, the North Australian Pastoral Company (NAPCO). Descendants of the original partners are among the current shareholders. In 1877, the NAPCO partners were the original lessees of Alexandria Downs station in the Northern Territory (Kowald and Johnston, *You Can't Make it Rain*, 32–47).
- 20 This also occurs in parts of the Victoria River area where tree vegetation is sparse, though ostensibly less frequently.
- 21 Alice Springs is completely reliant on groundwater, and such water is costly to supply because the bores source water from around 150 metres underground. Unfortunately, much more water is taken from these aquifers than they receive from rainfall or river recharges. As a result, water levels in the Mereenie Aquifer at the Roe Creek borefield are dropping about a metre every year. There's still a lot of water in the basin, but as the level drops, bores have to be deepened and new bores drilled, which is very expensive and uses considerable energy (“Power Water, Mereenie Aquifer Alice Springs,” https://www.powerwater.com.au/community_and_education/mereenie_aquifer).
- 22 “In this non-eucalypt region, vast areas are characterized by various perennial drought resisting species of *Triodia* or *Plectrachne*, which are sclerophyllous grasses forming large tussocks and collectively often called Spinifex” (Perry, *Pasture Lands of the Northern Territory*, 17–18).
- 23 Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 8. “Cattle stations in the Alice Springs district are generally owner-operated and smaller than those in the other districts. The average area of the station is 1,359 square miles, compared with 2,064 square miles for the Barkly Tableland and 2,239 for Victoria River District. At the time of the survey most stations in the Alice Springs district were carrying under 2,500 cattle. In contrast, about one-half of stations in the Barkly and Victoria carried more than 15,000. Alice Springs district is the only one where there were

- stations with fewer than 1,000 cattle – mostly 500 to 2500 with a concentration at around 1200.”
- 24 See below, p. 187-88.
- 25 The MacDonnell Ranges are the headwaters of the Todd, Finke, and Sandover Rivers.
- 26 A 1935 report by the Northern Territory Pastoral Leases Investigation Committee gave the area of the Undoolya leases owned by Hayes and Sons as 1,299 square miles (Northern Territory Archives Service, Darwin, NTRS 636 BUC: Graeme Bucknall, “A Documented Short History of Undoolya: The First Legal Cattle Station in the Northern Territory,” National Trust of Australia, Northern Territory, 1983, 11). “With the exception of the dwelling, the buildings though of sound construction are very old. The main buildings are being very well maintained and the whole place looks what it is, a very long established homestead. Estimated value 1020 pds.”
- 27 “Flinders Ranges Research, Victoria River Downs (VRD) The Big Run,” <http://www.southaustralianhistory.com>. The station was eventually taken over by the multinational Bovril liquid meat company; Nathaniel (Nat) Buchanan and the Gordon brothers took up Wave Hill on the Victoria River in 1883, one of the first stations established west of the Telegraph Line. Nat later partnered on the run with his brother William F. Buchanan, who then bought him out (Gordon Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, 2nd ed., Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1934). Delamere station was founded by one of the pastoral industry’s earliest participants (and best known failures), Dr. William J. Browne of Melbourne (below, p. 42).
- 28 After the railway reached Kapunda in 1860 Bagot became a station agent there; thousands of horses and cattle, many driven from Queensland, and sheep passed through his sale yards. In 1888 the firm of E. M. Bagot & Co. merged with that of James Shakes (1807–1900) and John Lewis (1844–1923) (*Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lewis-john-599>).
- 29 Giles, “The First Pastoral Settlement in the Northern Territory,” 58. Browne lived in South Australia from 1836 to 1866. Then he moved back to England. When he took the leases in the Northern Territory he was actually living at his family estate at Buckland Filleigh, Devon.
- 30 See Advertisement, *Northern Territory Times*, 28 April 1893.
- 31 “Mr. Alexander Forrest’s Expedition,” *South Australian Register*, 23 September 1879.

- 32 Albert William Sergison, *The Northern Territory and Its Pastoral Capabilities* (Melbourne: Sands and McDougall, 1878).
- 33 Northern Territory Archives Service, Darwin, South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, "Government Resident's Report on Northern Territory for the Year 1893."
- 34 "Notice," *Northern Territory Times*, 10 July 1886.
- 35 National Archives, Canberra, Goldsbrough, Mort and Company papers, GMC 2/876: "Sundry Papers Re. C.B. Fisher and Northern Territory Properties, 1886–1892."
- 36 GMC 2/176/12/62: 14 November 1889.
- 37 "The McArthur River Tableland," 30 January 1886.
- 38 "From our Correspondent," *Brisbane Courier*, 13 August 1879.
- 39 "Through Texas," *Northern Star*, 27 March 1880.
The Australian press also acknowledged the devastating effects of both overgrazing and bad weather in the northwestern states. In an article on 14 October 1887 the *Morning Bulletin* stated that the life of the American cowboy had been great "while employment was assured and wages were good." However, "now, alas, it is different. Cattlemen have lost heavily and the cowboy is as pronounced a sufferer as his employer . . . The cattle industry in consequence of overstocked ranges, three dry summers, and a winter of unexampled severity has practically collapsed" ("Cattle and Cowboys, Horses and Horsemen in Western America").
- 40 David H. Breen, *The Canadian Prairie West and the Ranching Frontier, 1874–1924* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 58.
- 41 Warren M. Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves: Ranching on the Western Frontier* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 19.
- 42 Northern Territory Archives Service, South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, "Half Yearly Report on Northern Territory to December 31st 1886." Browne, originally from England and living in Melbourne, was a speculator, farmer, and pastoralist who owned a chain of stations in South Australia by 1884.
- 43 South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, "Half Yearly Report on Northern Territory to December 31st 1886."
- 44 Under the names T. McIlwraith, W. Collins, and W. Forrest (South Australian Government and

- Administrators Reports, "Half Yearly Report on Northern Territory to December 31st 1886").
- 45 Giles, "The First Pastoral Settlement in the Northern Territory," 60.
- 46 In 1904, J.C. White (who had also held separate Brunette Downs leases since 1878) and F.C. White became the owners of Brunette Downs. The Whites went into partnership with A.J. Cotton in 1912 ("Sale of Station Properties. No Offer for Brunette Downs. Walhallow and Eva Downs Realise 15,000 pounds," *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 11 May 1918).
- 47 The average farm size in Alberta was around 360 acres (Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves*, 157).
- 48 Bucknall, "A Documented Short History of Undoolya," 11.
- 49 Under the names of F.A. Grant and F.W. Stokes (Northern Territory Archives Service, South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, "Half Yearly Report on Northern Territory to December 31st 1886").
- 50 F.A.C. Bishop, *Report on an Inspection of the Pastoral Holdings, Stock Routes, Bores and Dips on the Barkly Tableland, Northern Territory* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1923), 3.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 8.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 7.
- 54 30,000 cattle and 500 horses on 8,264 square miles (GMC 2/876/4/6, 4).
- 55 "The Northern Territory Quarterly Report," *South Australian Register*, 15 August 1883. It had 4,000 cattle and 200 horses. Land held equalled 1,100 square miles ("Northern Territory Pastoral Blocks," *Northern Territory Times*, 28 September 1889). In 1935 the Northern Territory Pastoral Leases Investigation Committee reported that the operation near Alice Springs was running less than two animals per square mile (Bucknall, "A Documented Short History of Undoolya," 11).
- 56 For South Australia see Strangways Springs Station, <http://www.poltalloch.com.au/history.htm>; Wilpena Station, <http://www.southernaustralianhistory.com.au/wilpena.htm>; Kanyaka Station, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dNLCKWWEYQ>; Poltalloch Station, <http://www.poltalloch.com.au/history.htm>; Anna Creek Station, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anna_Creek_station. For Southeast Queensland see Tinnenburra Station, <http://www.qhatlas.com.au/category/keywords/pastoral-industry>; Darling Downs, <http://www>.

heritageaustralia.com.au/
magazine.php?article=381.

For southern Queensland,
see Noela Corfield, “The
Development of the Cattle
Industry in Queensland, 1840–
1890,” unpublished honours
thesis, Class Library, University
of Queensland, Brisbane, 5.

- 57 Historical records are
incomplete, but we do know
that during the period 1864–66
and again in 1868, major
districts of Victoria, South
Australia, New South Wales,
Queensland, and Western
Australia were severely
affected; and as occupation
of the Territory was taking
place between 1880 and 1886,
various parts of Victoria, New
South Wales, Queensland, and
South Australia were struck
(Appendix B).
- 58 Jeannie Gunn, *We of the Never-
Never*, 10th ed. (2003), 89,
[http://www.gutenberg.org/
ebooks/4699](http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/4699).
- 59 Northern Territory Archives
Service, Darwin, South
Australian Government and
Administrators Reports,
“Government Resident’s
Report on Northern Territory
for the Year 1890.”
- 60 “Country Mining and General
News,” *North Australian*, 19
October 1883.
- 61 “Northern Territory Pastoral
Areas,” *The Advertiser*, 18
November 1903.

4 THE OUTBACK FRONTIER

- 1 State Library of South
Australia, Adelaide, Alfred
Giles papers, PRG 1389/2:
Giles, “The First Pastoral
Settlement in the Northern
Territory compiled principally
for his own experiences as
an overlander and pioneer
pastoralist with special
references to the founding
of the Springvale, Delamere,
Elsey and Newcastle Waters
runs, 1870–1895 with extracts
from his diary 1879–1895,” 55.
- 2 “Report of the Northern
Territory Commission;
together with the Minutes of
Proceedings, Evidence and
Appendices,” *South Australia
Parliamentary Papers* (1895),
2, no. 19. “On 15 January
1895 the South Australian
Government appointed a
Royal Commission to inquire
into all matters relating to
the Northern Territory with
a view to further developing
its resources and establishing
better government. The
Commission held 35 meetings
and heard from 69 witnesses
before reporting later that
year” (National Archives,
Canberra, Commonwealth
Government Records about
the Northern Territory,
[http://guides.naa.gov.au/
records-about-northern-
territory/part1/
chapter1/1.6.aspx#chap1
note14](http://guides.naa.gov.au/records-about-northern-territory/part1/chapter1/1.6.aspx#chap1note14)).

- 3 National Archives, Canberra, Goldsbrough Mort and Company papers, GMRBV/ 4, 4–5. The disease was redwater or Texas tick disease.
- 4 Such grasses might be referred to as “rank,” a term used a lot at the time, meaning foul or nutritionally worthless.
- 5 “The Northern Territory,” *South Australian Register*, 28 August 1877.
- 6 “Palmerston, June 20,” *Northern Territory Times*, 23 June 1877; No title, *Northern Territory Times*, 11 August 1877; “Money and Wool Markets,” *Rockhampton Bulletin*, 22 November 1877; “The Northern Territory,” *South Australian Register*, 6 September 1877; “Palmerston,” *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 10 February 1877. “The Northern Territory,” *South Australian Register*, 6 November 1877, reported that the two men had taken a lease of 10,000 square miles.
- 7 See, for instance, “Money and Wool Markets,” *Rockhampton Bulletin*, 22 November 1877. “The party have returned to the Katherine, and report some magnificent country between the Victoria and the Junction of the Daly and Katherine.” The next year Sergison published *The Northern Territory and Its Pastoral Capabilities* (Melbourne: Sands and McDougall, 1878).
- 8 Giles, “The First Pastoral Settlement in the Northern Territory,” 148.
- 9 “News and Notes,” *Northern Territory Times*, 10 December 1881.
- 10 Gordon Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, 2nd ed. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1934), 69.
- 11 In 1890 Glencoe was acquired by two cattlemen named Lawrie and Armstrong. In about 1910 the Byrne family acquired the station. Vestey brothers of the world-renowned Bovril canned meat company bought the station in 1920 and used it as a depot for cattle being railed to Darwin via nearby Fountainhead Trucking Yards. Later, the station was absorbed into Ban Ban Springs, a nearby grazing property.
- 12 Goldsbrough, Mort and Company papers, GM 2/876/7: B. Blair to Goldsbrough, Mort and Company, 24 October 1889.
- 13 Alfred Giles papers, PRG 1389/3: W. Brown to Giles, 24 March 1886; Browne to Giles, 15 May 1887.
- 14 Peter Forrest, *Springvale’s Story and Early Years at Katherine* (Darwin: Murrarji Press, 1985), 55–56. Delamere was absorbed into the nearby Willeroo station and later regained its status as a single operation, and John Lewis

- purchased Newcastle Waters (State Library of South Australia, Lewis family papers, PRG 247/2). The Browne years can also be documented in correspondence between Browne and Giles (Alfred Giles papers, PRG 1389/3).
- 15 Pastoral leases in the Kakadu area to the east of Glencoe were given up successively from 1889. The site of Oenpelli was originally established in 1906 when Paddy Cahill set up a station on which to raise cattle and hunt buffalo. The government took over the lease in 1916 and handed the land over to the Church Missionary Society in 1925 (“Kakadu National Park,” New World Encyclopedia, http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Kakadu_National_Park).
- 16 R.A. Perry, *Pasture Lands of the Northern Territory, Australia* (Melbourne: Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, 1960), 17–30.
- 17 Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry: An Economic Survey, 1962–63 to 1964–65* (Melbourne: Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, 1968).
- 18 Goldsbrough, Mort and Company papers, GMRBV/4, 6–7.
- 19 Northern Territory Archives Service, South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, “Government Resident’s Report on Northern Territory for the Year 1893.”
- 20 By 1894 the reduction in amount of land leased in fact bottomed out as pastoralists began to pick their new leases more wisely. “At the close of the year 1892 the area held under lease was 141,999 square miles, while at the close of last year it was 145,000 square miles. The area declared stocked at the end of 1892 was 80,048 square miles, while last year shows 74,305 square miles as stocked. The area applied for in 1892 was 13,040 square miles as against 16,340 square miles applied for in 1893. Leases comprising 20,656 square miles were forfeited during 1892, while the area forfeited last year was 15,300 square miles. The sum of 11,622 pounds 11 shillings, 2 pence was received from rents of pastoral lands for the year 1892, and during the year 1893 the rents received . . . amounted to about 9,000 pounds” (“Government Resident’s Report on Northern Territory for the Year 1893”).
- 21 See Duncan MacEachran, *A Journey Over the Plains: From Fort Benton to Bow River and Back* (Montreal: n.p., 1881).
- 22 The manager of the Walrond ranch, Duncan McNab McEachran, wrote about the route he, Matthew Cochrane,

- and other easterners took in order to choose their locations before the arrival of the railway. He also described the natural advantages in foothills country (*A Journey Over the Plains: From Fort Benton to Bow River and Back* [Montreal: n.p., 1881]).
- 23 Goldsbrough, Mort and Company papers, GMRBV/4, 6–7.
- 24 “Cattle and Sheep in the Territory,” *Northern Territory Times*, 2 April 1881.
- 25 “The Territory’s Pastoral Wealth?” *Northern Territory Times*, 11 October 1901.
- 26 Northern Territory Archives Service, South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, “Government Resident’s Quarterly Report on Northern Territory,” 12 August 1884.
- 27 “Government Resident’s Report on Northern Territory for the Year 1885.”
- 28 “Government Resident’s Report on Northern Territory for the Year 1893.”
- 29 Perry, *Pasture Lands of the Northern Territory*, 21.
- 30 Goldsbrough, Mort and Company papers, GMRBV/4, 31.
- 31 Northern Territory Archives Service, South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, “Government Resident’s Report on Northern Territory for the Year 1890.”
- 32 Peter C. Thomson, “The behavioural ecology of dingoes in north-western Australia,” III, “Hunting and Feeding behaviour, and diet,” *Wildlife Research* 19, no. 5 (1992): 531–34 (<http://www.publish.csiro.au/paper/WR9920531.htm>). See also Peter C. Thomson, IV, “Social and spatial organization, and movements,” *Wildlife Research* 19, no. 5 (1992): 543–63.
- 33 Michael J. Costello, *Life of John Costello, Being the Adventures of a Pioneer, Pastoralist and Explorer in Queensland and the Northern Territory* (Sydney: Dymock’s Book Arcade, 1930), 188. The stock in this case were cattle. When sheep were caught the destruction was even worse as the smaller animals were even more easily caught.
- 34 “At present, however, the Tableland has the drawback of a scarcity of permanent waters, and until this is overcome by artesian boring, sinking, or construction of dams, pastoralists in this district must always labour under a disadvantage” (“The Territory’s Pastoral Wealth,” *Northern Territory Times*, 11 October 1901).
- 35 Giles, “The First Pastoral Settlement in the Northern Territory,” 151–53.

- 36 Ross Duncan, *The Northern Territory Pastoral Industry, 1863–1910* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1967), 158–60.
- 37 Leroy V. Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1988), 82; Warren M. Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 189.
- 38 Giles, “The First Pastoral Settlement in the Northern Territory,” 1.
- 39 The station was about 125 miles north of Adelaide.
- 40 Giles, “The First Pastoral Settlement in the Northern Territory,” 70–71.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 138.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 65–66. Giles estimated that the total cost of all the “stations formed” by these two men, including “yards, paddocks, homesteads and station expeditions,” was about 245,000 pounds sterling.
- 43 Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, 61.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 68.
- 45 In 1887 W.J. Brown’s son Leonard wrote to Giles to inform him that wages were going to have to be reduced to cut costs. “You must see,” he wrote, “that supposing you were willing to remain at reduced salary, it would be out of the question to bring your wife and child to live in such miserable quarters” (Alfred Giles papers, PRG 1389/3/9: L.G. Browne to Giles, 15 May 1887).
- 46 Northern Territory Archives Service, South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, “Government Resident’s Report on Northern Territory for the Year 1891,” statement by J.S. Little at Austral Downs. On 19 October 1912 a government representative forwarded to the administration in Adelaide an evaluation of the “improvements” at a home place near Alice Springs: “Lease. No. 1 Managers house of 2 rooms each about 16 X 15 stone walls, veranda on front and one side, iron roof. Est. value 140 pounds. Kitchen and dining room stone walls thatched roof fair condition est. value 70 pounds. Harness room and Blacksmiths shop rough stone walls thatched roof, well 30 ft., 20 pounds. . . yard 30 pounds and well with whip, bucket and troughing 15 pounds. Lease No 2. Simpson’s Gap, tailing yard 20 pounds. Lease No. 17. Nil” (Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 636 BUC: Graeme Bucknall, “A Documented Short History of Undoolya: The First Legal

- Cattle Station in the Northern Territory,” National Trust of Australia, Northern Territory, 1983, 6).
- 47 Alfred Giles papers, PRG 1389/3: 24 March 1886.
- 48 Warren M. Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money: The Walrond Ranch Story, 1883–1907* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 43. For the most notable exception see the Cochrane cattle drives in the early 1880s: Warren M. Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves: Ranching on the Western Frontier* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 9–15.
- 49 Indeed, eventually, the Canadian government subsidized the rates. The Crow’s Nest Pass Agreement, dated 6 September 1897, was an agreement between the CPR and the Canadian government. The CPR was given a cash subsidy of \$3.3 million and title to pass into the province of British Columbia in exchange for reducing, in perpetuity, eastbound rates on grain and flour and westbound rates on a specified list of “settlers’ effects” (“Crows Nest Pass Agreement,” <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca>).
- 50 See chapter 9.
- 51 National Archives, Canberra, Goldsbrough, Mort and Company, GMC 87/2/1: account books. Labour at Victoria River Downs for February 1909 – top stockman 41 pounds, 2 others 15 pounds, 1 at 13 pounds, 4 at 10 pounds, 12 at 6–8 pounds. If the bottom 12 averaged 7 pounds or \$35 that would be about average in western Canada too (Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money*, 39, 309–10). However, the rest on VRD ran from over \$200 for the top man and \$75 for others – well above the Walrond average. The entire “Blacks acct.” on VRD tended to run from 16–20 pounds in the average month.
- 52 Northern Territory Archives Service, South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, “Government Resident’s Report on Northern Territory for the Year 1910,” 15; Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves*, xviii, 149.
- 53 See chapter 5.
- 54 See chapter 5 .
- 55 William Beahen and Stan Horrall, *Red Coats on the Prairies: The North-West Mounted Police, 1886–1900* (Regina: Centax Books, 1998), 14.
- 56 Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 27.
- 57 Margaret Kowald and William Johnston, *You Can’t Make it Rain: The Story of the North Australian Pastoral Company 1877–1991* (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1992), 41. More

- sophisticated methods followed. For the definitive history see L.G. Newton and R. Norris, *Clearing the Continent: The Eradication of Bovine Pleuropneumonia from Australia* (Melbourne: Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, Primary Industries Report Series, 2000).
- 58 Beverly M. Angus, *Tick Fever and the Cattle Tick in Australia, 1829–1996* (Brisbane: Queensland Department of Primary Industries, 1998), 5–7.
- 59 Australia, “Report of Preliminary Scientific Expedition to the Northern Territory,” *Bulletin of the Northern Territory* 1 (March 1912), 15–22.
- 60 “Report of Preliminary Scientific Expedition to the Northern Territory,” 19.
- 61 Buchanan, *Packhorse to Waterhole*, 113.
- 62 “Report of Preliminary Scientific Expedition to the Northern Territory,” 19.
- 63 Goldsbrough, Mort and Company papers, GMRBV/4, 31.
- 64 Government Resident’s Report quoted in “Report of Preliminary Scientific Expedition to the Northern Territory,” 20. “During the past few years,” the disease “has attacked overlanding mobs of cattle, and in some cases has swept off a very large number.”
- 65 “Report of Preliminary Scientific Expedition to the Northern Territory,” 23.
- 66 Glen McLaren and William Cooper, *Distance, Drought and Dispossession: A History of the Northern Territory Pastoral Industry* (Darwin: Northern Territory University Press, 2001), 33.
- 67 Below, p. 179.
- 68 “Diseases,” *Yellowstone Journal*, 14 September 1887. Among the cattle the most frightening plagues were pleuropneumonia – for which both Canadian and American cattle were eventually embargoed in Britain – blackleg, and foot and mouth disease.
- 69 “The Grange,” *Rocky Mountain Husbandman*, 12 February 1880; “Black Leg,” *Rocky Mountain Husbandman*, 15 April 1880; “Local Notes,” *Yellowstone Journal*, 6 August 1885; Kelly, *The Range Men*, 160; “Disease,” *Yellowstone Journal*, 4 April 1886; “Vaccination of Calves,” *Rocky Mountain Husbandman*, 12 September 1901.
- 70 See Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 144–47. In 1892 the British placed import restrictions on Canadian cattle with the rationalization that they were protecting home-grown stock (Max Foran, *Trails and Trials: Markets and Land*

- Use in the Alberta Beef Cattle Industry, 1881–1948* [Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003], 21–22, 24–25).
- 71 Costello, *Life of John Costello*, 95.
- 72 *Ibid.*, 96.
- 73 *Ibid.*, 97.
- 74 *Ibid.*, 97.
- 75 *Ibid.*, 121–22.
- 76 *Ibid.*, 118.
- 77 *Ibid.*, 119.
- 78 *Ibid.*, 123–89.
- 79 *Ibid.*, 190–95.
- 80 *Ibid.*, 191.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 217–18.
- 82 *Ibid.*, 219.
- 83 *Ibid.*, 220.
- 84 Butlin, *Investment in Australian Economic Development* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1964); W.A. Sinclair, *The Process of Economic Development in Australia* (Melbourne: Cheshire Publishing, 1976); Richard H. Timberlake Jr., “Panic of 1893,” in *Business Cycles and Depressions: An Encyclopedia*, ed. David Glasner and Thomas Cooley (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 516–18.
- 85 Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, 133.
- 86 *Ibid.*, 176.
- 87 Northern Territory Archives Service, South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, “Government Resident’s Report on Northern Territory for the Year 1890.”
- 88 See David H. Breen, *The Canadian Prairie West and the Ranching Frontier, 1874–1924* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 11–19.
- 89 Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves*, 9–10; “Town Topics,” *Calgary Herald*, 19 September 1888; “The Week’s Local News,” *Calgary Herald*, 26 September 1888; H.F. Lawrence, “Early Days in the Chinook Belt,” *Alberta Historical Review* 13, no. 1 (Winter 1965): 12.
- 90 J.J. Young, “A Visit to the Cochrane Ranch,” *Alberta Historical Review* 22, no. 3 (Summer 1974): 28.
- 91 That is, the Creswell outfit managed by A.G. “Tony” Day. See Kelly, *The Range Men*, 172, 192; Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 157; Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves*, 86.

5 THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

- 1 Jeannie Gunn, *We of the Never-Never*, 10th ed. (2003), 59, <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/4699>.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 88.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 92–93.
- 4 Michael J. Costello, *Life of John Costello, Being the Adventures of a Pioneer, Pastoralist and Explorer in Queensland and the Northern Territory* (Sydney: Dymock’s Book Arcade, 1930), 196–97.

- 5 Theodore Roosevelt, "The Round-Up," in *The Complete Cowboy Reader: Remembering the Open Range*, ed. Ted Stone (Red Deer: Red Deer College Press, 2002), 206.
- 6 One Australian stockman was intrigued when he viewed the roping on a North American roundup. He later described it with considerable admiration to an Australian Newspaper:

Soon we got amongst the cattle – tidy looking shorthorns, mostly young, and looking like between 600 lbs. to 1000 lbs. each. They were genuine bush cattle that got but a little alfalfa and barley straw during the very coldest of winter.

The stockmen used the riata as Australians do the stockwhip, letting it fly out towards the cattle that lagged behind . . .

By mid-day the round-up, or muster, was complete, and after a hearty dinner we saw the manner in which the cattle are lassoed, either for quieting, branding, or killing. In cutting out beasts from the mob, the process was similar to that usual in Australia.

Soon as the beast to be cut out was seen, a stockman dashed in between it and the crowd, and seldom failed to drive the animal where he desired it to go. When an extra cute or refractory customer was met, the riata came into play. This riata is of green-hide plaited

precisely as a stockman's whip. It is from 40 to 60 feet in length, and about the thickness of the little finger of a man, or say five-eighths of an inch. From its suppleness and great strength, it is evident that the Mexicans use the very best hides that they can get in order to make riata. One end is fastened to the fore part or horn of the saddle. The other end is a noose, made to slip upon a polished metal ring. When about to use the riata, a noose fully six feet in diameter is opened out, and with this in his right hand the horseman darts after the [animal] . . . Gradually he brings himself nearer and nearer the beast . . . Then the rider makes a spurt – his horse is splendidly trained and knows all about his duty – and when about the length of a horse behind his prey, away shoots the riata, the noose circling in the air. I never saw it fail to fall clean upon the horns of the beast. The rider then tightens his line, and the movement is understood by the horse, who "props" instantly, and turns himself slightly, so that he stands with his two off legs as struts to brace back his body. The rider also braces back. But in one-tenth of the time it takes to read this, the climax has come. The whole maneuver is quick as a flash. The rope runs out, and as the shock comes with a snap upon

- the saddle, the bullock or cow upon the other end, running head down, is brought up with a jerk on the head that throws the hindquarters round with centrifugal force, and the beast rolls over. He seldom rises just then . . . He lies still. He may be thinking that something more sudden is to happen. Should he rise, a second horseman drops a second riata over a hind foot – then they have him. Animals to be branded are served in this way, and they certainly make good work of their branding. By the way, the brands – mostly initial letters of the owners – are registered in the County Clerk’s office (“Mining and Stock Farming in America,” *The Queenslander*, 3 November 1877).
- 7 When a corral was unavailable on the Costello roundup, presumably because of a scarcity of trees for building one, the boss himself “roped the calves, in Texas style and then, with the assistance of his men and boys, successfully completed the branding of all his unmarked young stock” (Costello, *Life of John Costello*, 200).
- 8 After starting up Elsey station, the men began building “draughting lane[s] and branding pens,” out in the open pastures (Gunn, *We of the Never-Never*, 89).
- 9 Sometimes called “cabbage palm hat” – a straw hat made from the leaves of the Australian cabbage tree first produced around 1800 (“Cabbage Tree Hat,” *The Queenslander*, 5 January 1938).
- 10 For a discussion of the importance of environment and tradition in moulding ranching practices on the northern Great Plains see Terry Jordan-Bychkov, “Does the Border Matter? Cattle Ranching and the 49th Parallel,” in *Cowboys, Ranchers and the Cattle Business: Cross-Border Perspectives on Ranching History*, ed. Simon Evans, Sarah Carter, and Bill Yeo (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000), 1–10; Terry Jordan-Bychkov, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers: Origins, Diffusion, and Differentiation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 267–307.
- 11 Present-day historians have stressed the impact of climate, landscape, and region in encouraging cultural developments and a sense of self in the borderlands of the northwestern United States and western Canada. This chapter is meant to supplement their work by emphasizing that social forces also played a crucial role in moulding the way people thought and behaved; see Benjamin Johnson and Andrew Graybill, eds., *Bridging National Borders in*

- North America: Transnational and Comparative Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Sterling Evans, ed., *The Borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests: Essays on Regional History of the Forty-ninth Parallel* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Carol Higham and Robert Thacker, eds., *One Myth, Two Wests*, 2 vols. (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004, 2006); John Finlay and Ken S. Coates, eds., *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002); Beth Ladow, *The Medicine Line: Life and Death on a North American Borderland* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Paul Hirt, ed., *Terra Pacifica: People and Place in the Northwest States and Western Canada* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1998).
- 12 Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2006).
- 13 See James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- 14 The figures for each year are posted in the *Southern Australia Government Gazette*.
- 15 Ross Duncan, *The Northern Territory Pastoral Industry, 1863–1910* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1967), 158–60.
- 16 “Indigenous Australians were excluded from the Constitution in 1901 and in federal censuses were counted with flora and fauna. This was not reversed until the referendum of 1968 when the constitution was changed to include Indigenous Australians. Put simply their numbers in the Northern Territory were not known with accuracy until 1968” (Dr. Glenn Mitchell, Faculty of Law, Humanities and the Arts, Wollongong University, 2014).
- 17 Besides the following note, Northern Territory Archives Service, Darwin, Borroloola Police Station Letter Book, 1886–1924, NTRS 2210/P1: C. Power to P. Foelsche, 24 February 1889 and 28 February 1889; and M. Donegan to Foelsche, 22 May 1888.
- 18 NTRS 2210/P1: C. Power to P. Foelsche, 21 November 1888.
- 19 For which see Northern Territory Archives Service, NTC 363.2099429 WLS: William R. Wilson, “A Force Apart: A History of the Northern Territory Police, 1870–1920” (PhD thesis, Northern Territory University, 2000), 175–83.

- 20 Rabbits were a major pest in Australia. The 1890 Rabbit Act required all farmers to surround all lands declared by government proclamation to be rabbit infested with rabbit-proof netting (“The Rabbit Act,” *Evening News*, 30 May 1891; “Regulations Under the Rabbit Act,” *The Riverine Grazier*, 13 February 1891).
- 21 Wilson, “A Force Apart,” 175–83.
- 22 “Letter to the Editor,” *Northern Territory Times*, 12 February 1881. See also “Letter to the Editor,” *Northern Territory Times*, 5 March 1881; “Letter to the Editor,” *Northern Territory Times*, 12 March 1881.
- 23 For Montana, Alberta, and Assiniboia see Warren M. Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 67–68.
- 24 Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, 324.
- 25 Montana Historical Society Library and Archives, Helena, SC 1692: *Memoirs of Lady Kathleen Lindsay*.
- 26 Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, 324.
- 27 Samuel Steele, *Forty Years in Canada: Reminiscences of the Great North-West, with some account of his service in South Africa*, ed. M.G. Niblett, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Prospero Books, 2000), 177.
- 28 Glenbow Archives, M229: Simon John Clarke papers.
- 29 Government of South Australia State Record Office, Adelaide, GRS-1: In-letters (1870–1910) of the Minister Controlling the Northern Territory (Minister of Education), Quarterly Report of G.R. McMinn, Acting Government Resident, 7 July 1883.
- 30 Northern Territory Archives Service, South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, “Government Resident’s Report on Northern Territory for the Year 1910,” 15.
- 31 “Conclusion of Murder Trial,” *Northern Territory Times*, 30 April 1909.
- 32 State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, D7478: “George Byng Scott’s Reminiscences of life in the Northern Territory during his term of office as Government Resident, 1873–1876,” 2.
- 33 Frederick Ings, *Before the Fences (Tales from the Midway Ranch): Autobiography*, ed. J. Davis (Calgary: McAra Printing, 1980), 48.
- 34 Borrooloola Police Station Letter Book: J. J. Roberts to W.G. Stretton, 25 July 1889.
- 35 See Andrew Gillett, “Opium and Race Relations in Queensland,” 5, www.siq.qld.gov.au; *Harvest of Endurance*:

- A History of the Chinese in Australia, 1788–1988* (Sydney: Australia-China Friendship Society, 1988), 5–6, http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/yimei_1.pdf.
- 36 “To the Editor,” *Northern Territory Times*, 1 May 1880; “Opium Trade in the Northern Territory,” *Burra (South Aus.) Record*, 5 August 1887; “Opium Traffic in the Northern Territory,” *Kalgoorlie (Western Aus.) Miner*, 5 October 1895. See also Baldwin Spencer, “Preliminary Report on the Aborigines of the Northern Territory,” *Bulletin of the Northern Territory* 7 (Melbourne: Department of External Affairs, July 1913), 16.
- 37 *The Queenslander*, 28 August 1886, quoted in Dawn May, *Aboriginal Labour and the Cattle Industry: Queensland from White Settlement to the Present* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1994), 47.
- 38 Wilson, “A Force Apart,” 254.
- 39 Charles M. Russell, *Trails Plowed Under: Stories of the Old West*, introduction by William Rogers and Brian W. Dippie (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 159.
- 40 For Alberta, see Steele, *Forty Years in Canada*, 167–68; “Is Gambling Prevalent Throughout the City,” *Calgary Herald*, 17 October 1906.
- 41 “Looking Round in the NT,” *Northern Territory Times*, 28 May 1887.
- 42 “Chinese Gambling,” *Northern Territory Times*, 26 July 1884. See also “Keeping a Gambling Home” and “To the Editor,” 1 May 1880; “To the Editor,” 11 March 1882; “Law Courts,” 19 June 1882.
- 43 “Chinese Gambling.”
- 44 James Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies* (Scarborough: The New American Library of Canada, 1973); E.C. Abbott and H. Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher*, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 103, 105, 106.
- 45 Char Smith, “Crossing the Line, American Prostitutes in Western Canada,” in *One Step Over the Line: Toward a History of Women in the North American Wests*, eds. Elizabeth Jameson and Sheila McManus (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008), 241–60.
- 46 The same was true on the mining frontier. For Butte, Montana, see Mary Murphy, “Private Lives of Public Women,” in *The Women’s West*, eds. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 191–205.
- 47 Frank W. Anderson, *Sheriffs and Outlaws of Western Canada*

- (Calgary: Frontier Publishing, n.d.), 48.
- 48 Hugh A. Dempsey, *Golden Age of the Canadian Cowboy* (Saskatoon and Calgary: Fifth House, 1995), 56.
- 49 The seminal work for Australia is Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police*, 2nd ed. (Melbourne: Penguin Books, 1991).
- 50 Barbara James, *No Man's Land: Women of the Northern Territories* (Sydney: Collins Publishers, 1989), chap. 4; Wilson, "A Force Apart," 255.
- 51 Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies*, 183; Abbott and Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North*, 108.
- 52 Government of South Australia State Record Office, Adelaide, GRS-1: In-letters (1870–1910) of the Minister Controlling the Northern Territory: P. Foelsche to E.W. Price, 3 August 1882.
- 53 Abbott and Huntington Smith, *We Pointed them North*, 145–46.
- 54 "Our Annual Visitation," *Northern Territory Times*, 25 June 1881.
- 55 Borrooloola Police Station Letter Book: P. Foelsche to G.R. McMinn, 7 July 1883.
- 56 Ann McGrath, "Born in the Cattle": *Aborigines in Cattle Country* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1987), 91.
- 57 Tony Roberts, *Frontier Justice: A History of the Gulf Country to 1900* (Adelaide: University of Queensland Press, 2005), 137.
- 58 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 124–26.
- 59 Northern Territory Archives Service, Government Resident Inward Correspondence, NTRS 1467: W.L. Hutton letter, 15 August 1889.
- 60 "To the Editor," *Northern Territory Times*, 16 July 1881.
- 61 Quarterly Report of G.R. McMinn, 7 July 1883.
- 62 McGrath, "Born in the Cattle," 91.
- 63 McGrath also points out that very few white men were prepared to take responsibility for the children (p. 91).
- 64 Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670–1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980).
- 65 Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980).
- 66 Abbott and Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North*, 135–36.
- 67 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 124–26.
- 68 Jane Carey and Claire McLisky, eds., *Creating White Australia* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2009). Marguerita Stephens believes that the practice was "exceptional and incidental" but helped to depict Aborigines as "people whose common rights could be morally suspended" ("A word

- of evidence: shared tales about infanticide and others-not-us in colonial Victoria,” 194).
- 69 McGrath, “*Born in the Cattle*,” 91.
- 70 Paul M.C. Hasluck, *Shades of Darkness: Aboriginal Affairs, 1925–1965* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988), 50. Hasluck examines the lives of half-castes in the northern part of Western Australia. For Aboriginal circumstances in Western Australia and Queensland, see Gordon Briscoe, *Counting, Health and Identity: A History of Aboriginal Health and Demography in Western Australia and Queensland, 1900–1940* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2003).
- 71 McGrath, “*Born in the Cattle*,” 92–93. Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).
- 72 Reynolds, in *The Other Side of the Frontier*, emphasizes the importance to Aborigines on the Australian continent as a whole of the loss of their hunting lands and traditional food sources as well as their cultural practices. For the modern debate on Native land claims in New Zealand as well as in Canada and Australia, see Louis A. Knafla and Haijo Westra, eds., *Aboriginal Title and Indigenous Peoples: Canada, Australia, and New Zealand* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010).
- 73 State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, 1079: Arthur C. Ashwin, “Recollections of Ralph Milner’s Expedition from Koperamanna to the Northern Territory with Sheep and Horses in 1870/71, with an account of his subsequent experiences in the Northern Territory” (1927), 11–12.
- 74 “Another Murder in the Victoria River District,” *Northern Territory Times*, 21 October 1892.
- 75 “A Triple Murder,” *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, Friday, 10 February 1905.
- 76 “Another Murder in the Victoria River District,” *Northern Territory Times*, 21 October 1892; “A Triple Murder,” *Northern Territory Times*, 19 February 1905.
- 77 Borroloola Police Station Letter Book: P. Foelsche to G.R. McMinn, 7 July 1883.
- 78 Baldwin Spencer, “Preliminary Report on the Aborigines of the Northern Territory,” *Bulletin of the Northern Territory* (Melbourne: Department of External Affairs, 7 July 1913),

- 16; "Police Items," *Northern Territory Times*, 18 October 1907.
- 79 Aboriginal tomahawk.
- 80 "Horrible Murder of Chinese by the Blacks," *Northern Territory Times*, 10 June 1882.
- 81 State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, Alfred Giles papers, PRG 1389/2: Giles, "The First Pastoral Settlement in the Northern Territory compiled principally for his own experiences as an overlander and pioneer pastoralist with special references to the founding of the Springvale, Delamere, Elsey and Newcastle Waters runs, 1870–1895 with extracts from his diary 1879–1895," 106–7.
- 82 For a discussion of the historiography and the various conflicting views on Native–white conflict, see Bain Attwood and S.G. Foster, *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2003). Roberts' views support the evidence originally provided by Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier*.
- 83 Quarterly Report of G.R. McMinn, Acting Government Resident, 7 July 1883.
- 84 For one of the few recorded prosecutions of white violence see Borroloola Police Station Letter Book: R. Stott to N. Water, 5 January 1909.
- 85 Borroloola Police Station Letter Book: C. Power to P. Foelsche, 24 October 1886; "Police Court," *Northern Territory Times*, 31 July 1880; "Police Court," 18 December 1886; "Execution at Fanny Bay," 18 August 1899; "Blacks Again," 3 March 1905; "The Victoria River Tragedy," 10 March 1905.
- 86 Northern Territory Archives Service, NTC 363.2094 MACL: W.J. McLaren, "The Northern Territory and its Police Forces," 4 vols., 1:226.
- 87 Peter Forrest, "They of the Never Never" (Darwin: Northern Territory Library Services Occasional Papers 18, 1990), 5.
- 88 Archer Russell, *A Tramp-Royal in Wild Australia, 1928–1929* (London: Cape, 1934), 254–55, quoted in Richard Kimber, *The End of the Bad Old Days: European Settlement in Central Australia, 1871–1894* (Darwin: Northern Territory Library Services Occasional Papers 25, the fifth Eric Johnston lecture, 1991), 14.
- 89 Gordon Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, 2nd ed. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1934), 117.
- 90 *Adelaide Register*, 10 January 1890, quoted in Kimber, *The End of the Bad Old Days*, 16.
- 91 Amanda Nettelbeck and Robert Foster, *In the Name of the Law: William Willshire*

- and the Policing of the Australian Frontier* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2007).
- 92 The Coniston Massacre of 1928 illustrates that the same philosophy pertained many years later. "Over a period of months and at a number of sites, more than 60 Aboriginal men, women and children were shot and killed" in reprisal for the murder of one Fred Brooks. "No charges were laid against the reprisal party. A Board of Enquiry set up to investigate the killings ruled the party had 'acted in self-defence.' In evidence to the Board of Enquiry, Jack Saxby stated 'I always carry a revolver on my tours and consider it necessary. I have had occasion to shoot at blacks before this trouble. I have had to shoot to kill,'" (*First Australia*, National Museum of Australia, http://www.nma.gov.au/exhibitions/first_australians/resistance/coniston_massacre).
- 93 State Library of South Australia, PRG 247/2, Lewis family papers, letters from Paul Foelsche, 1875–1913: Foelsche to John Lewis, 5 June 1880. Such an episode was reported in the Australian newspapers but several years later ("Tuesday January 19 1886," *Brisbane Courier*, 19 January 1886).
- 94 Hugh A. Dempsey, "Cypress Hills Massacre," *Montana Magazine* 3, no. 4 (Autumn 1953): 1–9.
- 95 Paul Sharp somewhat overstates this point in "Three Frontiers: Some Comparative Studies of Canadian, American, and Australian Settlement," *Pacific Historical Review* 24, no. 4 (November 1955): 373–74. For a recent comparison of mounted police approaches to Native subjugation in Australia and Western Canada, see Amanda Nettelbeck and Russell Smandych, "Policing Indigenous Peoples on Two Colonial Frontiers: Australia's Mounted Police and Canada's North-West Mounted Police," *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 43 (2010): 356–75.
- 96 Andrew Graybill, "Rangers, Mounties, and the Subjugation of Indigenous Peoples, 1870–1885," *Great Plains Quarterly* 24 (Spring 2004): 96. The police role in supporting government, big business, and the cattlemen against Natives and immigrant workers is explored in Andrew Graybill, *Policing the Great Plains: Rangers, Mounties, and the North American Frontier, 1875–1910* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). In the Mounties' defence I would mention that they were known at times to side with the Indians against corporations such as the Canadian Pacific Railway; see "In Town and

- Out,” *Macleod Gazette*, 1 July 1882.
- 97 James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013).
- 98 “Indian Murderers at Bay,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 20 May 1897; “A Desperate Outlaw,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 1 June 1897; “Siege Incidents,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 7 June 1897.
- 99 Steele, *Forty Years in Canada*, 277–87; “Charcoal,” *Macleod Gazette*, 30 October 1896; “Charcoal Adds Another Victim to his List,” 13 November 1896; “Charcoal on Trial for Murder,” 15 January 1897; “Charcoal on the Gallows,” 19 March 1897.
- 100 Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 70.431/77: J. Martin, “Prairie Reminiscences,” n.d., 6. For another episode of racial violence in the Canadian West, see Steele, *Forty Years in Canada*, 218–27.
- 101 Thomas R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population, as it affects the future Improvement of Society, with remarks on the speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and other writers* (Adelaide: eBooks@Adelaide, 2010), <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/malthus/thomas/m26p/index.html>; Herbert Spencer coined the term “survival of the fittest” in *Principles of Biology* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1864), 1:444.
- 102 Walter Bagehot, *Physics and Politics* (part 2, 1872), <http://www.fullbooks.com/Physics-and-Politics2.html>.
- 103 “The speech of Joseph Chamberlain, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, at the annual dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute on March 31, 1897.”
- 104 Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, vii. Buchanan was the son of Nathaniel and Katherine Buchanan who pioneered the Wave Hill cattle station in the Victoria River region of the Northern Territory.
- 105 Glenbow Archives, Mrs. Charles Inderwick, Diary and Personal Letters from the North Fork Ranch, M376: letter of 13 May 1884.
- 106 “Outrages by the Blacks,” *Northern Territory Times*, 4 October 1884.
- 107 Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, vii; “Outrages by the Blacks”; Inderwick letter of 13 May 1884, Diary and Personal Letters from the North Fork Ranch.
- 108 Much of this sort of conflict is found in papers such as the *Macleod Gazette* and *Great Falls Tribune* prior to World War I, but one searches virtually

- in vain for it in the *Northern Territory Times*.
- 109 Robert Dykstra demonstrates that there has been a tendency to overstate violence in the early cattle towns of Kansas (*The Cattle Towns: A Social History of the Kansas Cattle Trading Centers—Abilene, Ellsworth, Wichita, Dodge City, and Caldwell, 1867–1885* [New York: Atheneum, 1973], 146–48). As in towns farther north, one does, though, detect... a distinct frontier quality about it. Firstly, guns were the main instrument used and most of the men involved in homicides were law enforcement agents, cowboys, or gamblers. Also, single young men often fought over young women, whom they greatly outnumbered.
- 110 W.R. (Bob) Newbolt, “Memories of Bowchase Ranch,” *Alberta History* 32, no. 4 (Autumn 1984): 4.
- 111 “A Big Drunk,” *Macleod Gazette*, 16 February 1886.
- 112 Glenbow Archives, New Walrond Ranche papers, M8688-5: David Warnock to Duncan McEachran, 23 July 1900.
- 113 M8688-5: Warnock to McEachran, 29 January 1901.
- 114 There was the occasional shooting in the cattle camps (E. Hill, *The Territory: The Classic Saga of Australia’s Far North*, [Sydney: Angus and Robertson], 1995), 241.
- 115 Harriet W. Daly, *Digging, Squatting and Pioneering Life in the Northern Territory of South Australia* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle and Riverington, 1887), 308.
- 116 An excellent first-hand account is Abbott and Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North*, 131–34.
- 117 Leroy V. Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1988), 174.
- 118 Henry Ieuch, Charles (Red) Nelson, Frank (Slim, or Left Handed) Jones (Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 90).
- 119 “Stock News,” *Macleod Gazette*, 23 June 1900.
- 120 “Sale of Unbranded and Wild Cattle,” *Northern Territory Times*, 7 December 1900.
- 121 “Country Notes,” *Northern Territory Times*, 11 December 1886.
- 122 Borroloola Police Station Letter Book: C. Power to P. Foelsche, 22 May 1888.
- 123 Warren M. Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves: Ranching on the Western Frontier* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill–Queen’s University Press, 2000), 3, 113–14.
- 124 Borroloola Police Station Letter Book: C. Power to P. Foelsche, 28 February 1889.
- 125 “The Squatter’s Troubles,” *Northern Territory Times*, 25 December 1896; see also “Expert Opinion of the Wandj

- Goldfield and Other Parts,”
Northern Territory Times, 29
 May 1896.
- 126 Ibid.
- 127 Northern Territory Archives
 Service, NTRS 298: Writings
 of H.E. Giles – Springvale
 Station, 43.
- 128 Borrooloola Police Station
 Letter Book: C. Power to
 Lieutenant Constable McGrath,
 15 October 1896.
- 129 Kelly, *The Range Men*, 168. For
 other such incidents in Canada,
 see Canada, *Sessional Papers*
 41, no. 11 (1906/07), n. 28
 (North-West Mounted Police
 Annual Reports), 63: Report
 for K division, 1 October 1906.
- 130 Borrooloola Police Station
 Letter Book: C. Power to
 Lieutenant Constable McGrath,
 15 October 1896, 44.
- 131 Goldsbrough, Mort and
 Company papers, National
 Archives, Canberra,
 GMRBV/4, 5.
- 132 Costello, *Life of John Costello*,
 130–31.
- 133 New Walrond Ranche papers,
 M8688–3: Warnock to
 McEachran, 8 August 1894.
- 134 M8688–5: McEachran to
 Watson, 21 June 1898.
- 135 Kelly, *The Range Men*, 60–62.
- 136 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle
 Ranching*, 61, 88–89, 148.
- 137 Wilson, “A Force Apart,”
 uses the court records and
 comes to the conclusion that
 the Northern Territory was
 relatively law-abiding (174).

6 PRODUCING “FATS”: THE CANADIAN WEST

- 1 Cox continued: “all these
 features were not without
 effect on our supply of native
 cattle . . . And what was the
 result of this? Simply that the
 business was overdone, and the
 end was what invariably follows
 over production”: *Historical and
 Biographical Record of the Cattle
 Industry and the Cattlemen of
 Texas and Adjacent Territory* (St.
 Louis, MO: Woodward and
 Tiernan Printing Co., 1895),
 140.
- 2 See L. Fitch, B. Adams, P. Ag,
 and K. O’Shaughnessy, *Caring
 for the Green Zone: Riparian
 Areas and Grazing Management*,
 new 3rd ed., [http://www.
 cowsandfish.org/riparian/
 caring.html](http://www.cowsandfish.org/riparian/caring.html), 22; see also Geoff
 Cunfer, *On the Great Plains:
 Agriculture and the Environment*
 (College Station: Texas A&M
 University Press, 2005), 67.
- 3 See C. White, *Revolution on
 the Range: The Rise of a New
 Ranch in the American West*
 (Washington: Island Press,
 2008), 10.
- 4 Fitch et al., *Caring for the Green
 Zone*, 33.
- 5 “Litter” refers to the organic
 matter in the form of dead
 leaves and stems that coat the
 earth, in this case acting like
 a sponge both absorbing and
 holding moisture.
- 6 See, for instance, “Industrial
 Activity in Foothills Fescue

- Grasslands – Guidelines for Minimizing Surface Disturbance” (Alberta Sustainable Resource Development, Lands Division, March 2010), <http://esrd.alberta.ca/lands-forests/grazing-range-management/documents/Grassland-MinimizingSurfaceDisturbance-2010A.pdf>.
- 7 Warren M. Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money: The Walrond Ranch Story, 1883–1907* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 113 – 39.
 - 8 See, for instance, “Holistic Cow! Why ranchers are going green,” www.albertaviews.ab.ca/issues/2003/julaug03/julaug03cow.pdf; “Holistic Management International,” <http://www.holisticmanagement.org/>.
 - 9 Cunfer, *On the Great Plains*, 66–67.
 - 10 See Warren M. Elofson, *Somebody Else’s Money: The Walrond Ranch Story, 1883–1907* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 116–38. Except where otherwise noted, the information for the Walrond ranch comes from this source.
 - 11 Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers: Origins, Diffusion, and Differentiation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 239; R.H. Fletcher, *Free Grass to Fences: The Montana Cattle Range Story* (New York: University Publishing Corporation, 1960), 87; Leroy V. Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1988), 191; Warren M. Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 135–41.
 - 12 James Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record of the Cattle Industry and the Cattlemen of Texas and Adjacent Territory* (St. Louis, MO: Woodward and Tiernan Printing Co., 1895), 153.
 - 13 Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record of the Cattle Industry*, 140.
 - 14 Kelly, *The Range Men*, 191.
 - 15 Duncan McEachran, *A Journey Over the Plains: From Fort Benton to Bow River and Back* (Montreal: n.p., 1881), 23.
 - 16 They appear monthly in New Walrond Ranche papers in the Glenbow Archives, M8688-3.
 - 17 M8688-4: David Warnock to Duncan McEachran, 9 November 1896.
 - 18 M8688-4: Warnock to McEachran, 20 April 1897.
 - 19 Each year the pattern was about the same at each reserve.
 - 20 Prior to the 1897 sale to Burns, the ranch sold about a thousand each year to the Peigan and Blood bands. In 1898 the company stopped supplying the Indians and sold principally to

- Burns or other cattle buyers or else shipped directly to Britain in the fall of each year.
- 21 The major operational expenses, then, for labour, hay accumulated on the ranch, and custom feeding was \$17,550. That is not including the annual dividend or the managerial wages paid to Duncan McEachran himself (Elofson, *Somebody Else's Money*, 105–12).
- 22 Berry W. Adams, Richard Ehlert, Darlene Moisey, and Ron L. McNeil, *Range Plant Communities and Range Health Assessment Guidelines for the Foothills Fescue Natural Subregion of Alberta, Foothills Fescue Range Plant Community Guide, Alberta* (Lethbridge: Alberta Sustainable Resource Development, 2005), vi, <http://esrd.alberta.ca/lands-forests/grazing-range-management/documents/FoothillsFescueSubregionAssessmentGuidelines.pdf>.
- 23 Kelly, *The Range Men*, 151. For the Walrond sales, see M8688–4: “Memo: of sale and agreement between the Walrond Ranche Ltd. and P. Burns and Coy, done in duplicate this the 26th day of June, 1897.”
- 24 In 1898 Duncan McEachran announced that to that point the ranch had paid at least a 5 percent dividend every year since 1883 (M8688–1: prospectus of the New Walrond Ranche Company, 26 February 1898). We know as well that this convention continued in later years (M8688–2: report of The New Walrond Ranche Company, for the year ending 31 December, 1903; M8688–9: C.W. Buchanan to [Walrond Shareholders], 6 April 1923).
- 25 M8688–3: Duncan McEachran to Boyle, Campbell, Burton and Coy, 10 July 1887.
- 26 M8688–3: Duncan McEachran to Boyle, Campbell, Burton and Coy, 10 July 1887.
- 27 Walrond count books (M8688–37).
- 28 It was almost certainly the overall drop in value of the Walrond cattle inventory that persuaded the directors to dissolve the Walrond Cattle Ranche Limited and put its assets into the Walrond Ranche Limited, with much lower shareholder value. Shares in the original company had been worth 2,500 pounds sterling, or \$12,500. Each of these was now redeemable for 155 shares in the new company worth 50 dollars apiece, or \$7,750 (London, National Archives, Walrond Ranche Company papers, BT 31/3925: Memorandum of Agreement, 14 December 1887).
- 29 The count books are in M8688–37. The numbers in actual counts were invariably

- lower than those in the “book count,” which was based on numbers bought, those sold, those born, and *estimates* of numbers that had died.
- 30 Warren M. Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves: Ranching on the Western Frontier* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 81–82.
- 31 Throughout the early to mid-1890s the horse manager David Warnock reported on the devastation wolves were causing to both cattle and horses; on 12 November 1894 he told McEachran that “we have finished rounding-up counting and marking the horses and I am sorry to inform you that we have only gathered forty nine yearlings out of one hundred and one turned out in May last. Myself and Rennie have thoroughly ridden all the surrounding country within a radius of 20 miles from the ranche and are satisfied that we have found all that are alive . . . The number of wolves in this part of the range at present is I think unprecedented, and they are following the foals and yearlings right into the pastures” (M8688-3).
- 32 M8688-1: prospectus for the New Walrond Ranche Company, 26 February 1898.
- 33 M8688-3: David Warnock memo, 5 October 1895.
- 34 M8688-1. In his prospectus he wrote, “the cattle are estimated to number 12,311, but there has not been any actual count since 1890, and although 5 per cent has been written off annually for casualties, this has been a mere estimate, and may or may not be correct.”
- 35 M8688-4: Warnock to McEachran, 20 September 1897.
- 36 M8688-4: Warnock to McEachran, 2 December 1897. The figure of 9,000 was used to calculate “book numbers” from that point on. In 1898 Warnock told McEachran that “after deducting numbers sold and adding purchases and Fall branding the books show a total of 7,842” (M8688-5: 26 November 1898).
- 37 M8688-5: Warnock to McEachran, 31 August 1901. The second of the two letters differs from the first largely only in the more detailed explanation of steer numbers. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that Warnock only sent that letter.
- 38 M8688-29.
- 39 The people still holding shares in the company at that time were paid back \$7.29 for each of their 5041 shares (M8688-9: J.G. Ross to Sir, Madam, 29 April 1908). The contract is in M8688-29. The original price per share had been ten pounds or about fifty dollars.

- 40 Indeed, there were probably fewer than 2,000 cattle. $2,000 \times \$26.00 = \$52,000.00$. $\$52,000.00 - \$36,748.89 = \$15,251.11$. It seems very unlikely that the ranch would have owed over \$15,000.00 for operational expenses. Its two major operating costs – labour and feed – were less than \$20,000.00 annually (Elofson, *Somebody Else's Money*, 110).
- 41 M8688-9: J.G. Ross to Sir, Madam, 29 April 1908; M8688-8: McEachran to Walrond, 21 October 1905; M8688-2: report of the New Walrond Ranche Company, for the year ending 31 December, 1903.
- 42 "Local Notes," *Macleod Gazette*, 7 June 1895.
- 43 American Heritage Center Archives, Laramie, Frewen papers, MC9529, 3–6: Moreton Frewen to Clare Frewen, 12 September 1884; Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 151–53.
- 44 "Not in the Air Yet," *Lethbridge Herald*, 22 February 1949; "Author's Book on Famous Ranch Earns Great Community Support," *Medicine Hat News*, 7 November 2008.
- 45 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 157.
- 46 Simon M. Evans, *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), 197.
- 47 Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record of the Cattle Industry*, 152–53.
- 48 J.G. Rutherford, *The Cattle Trade in Western Canada*, quoted in Kelly, *The Range Men*, 200.
- 49 Leland Turner, "Grassland Frontiers: Beef Cattle Agriculture in Queensland and Texas" (PhD diss., Texas Tech University, 2008), 81.
- 50 Either directly or through middlemen, the most substantial of whom were Patrick Burns of Calgary and Gordon, Ironsides and Fares of Winnipeg (Elofson, *Somebody Else's Money*, 167–88).
- 51 "A Trip on a Cattle Boat," *Great Falls Tribune*, 4 February 1890.
- 52 By this time the American railways had special cattle cars with hay and water on board to get the animals from western ranges to Chicago as efficiently and painlessly as possible. Still they figured on a weight loss of 7 percent. On the Canadian railways the loss must have been at least that and for any stock continuing on across the North Atlantic the deficit was greater still.
- 53 Frewen papers, MC 9529-3-7: Moreton Frewen to Sir, 16 September 1884.
- 54 J.G. Rutherford, *The Cattle Trade in Western Canada*, quoted in Kelly, *The Range Men*, 200, 201.

- 55 Max Foran, *Trails and Trials: Markets and Land Use in Alberta Beef Cattle Industry, 1881–1948* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003), 43; Glenbow Archives, A.E. Cross papers, M1543–470: Clay, Robinson and Company to A.E. Cross, 29 July 1907; Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 93–94.
- 56 “Yesterday’s Markets,” *Edinburgh Courant*, 12 September 1885.
- 57 “Yesterday’s Markets,” *Edinburgh Courant*, 18 September 1885.
- 58 “Yesterday’s Markets,” *Edinburgh Courant*, 30 October 1885.
- 59 Foran, *Trails and Trials*, 24–25.

7 PRODUCING “FATS”: THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

- 1 “The S.A. Premier and the Territory,” *Northern Territory Times*, 21 October 1904.
- 2 Gordon Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, 2nd ed. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1934), 112.
- 3 South Australia State Library, Adelaide, Alfred Giles papers, 1389/1: Diary, 26 January 1882, “Cattle at Delamere doing very well but not fattening so quickly as I thought they would – neither did the horses fatten.” Giles attributed this to the myriad of flies, which “give them no rest night or day.” 2 July 1882, “Rode up to the telegraph station to send telegram to Pickford,” the butcher in Palmerston, he wrote in his diary. The next day he “cut out and sent 30 heavies and 20 lights.”
- 4 Giles Diary: 4 November 1882.
- 5 Giles Diary: 13 November 1882.
- 6 Giles Diary: 26 January 1882.
- 7 National Archives, Canberra, Goldsbrough Mort and Company papers, 2/872: “Letters Received from H.W.H Stevens, Port Darwin 1877–91.”
- 8 He proceeded to award the contract to MacIlwraith, McEachern and Company.
- 9 F.H. Bauer, *Historical Geography of White Settlement in Part of Northern Australia* 2, “The Katherine Darwin Region” (Canberra: Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, 1964), 136–42; National Archives, Canberra, Goldsbrough, Mort and Company papers, GMC 2/872: Memorandum titled “*Singapore shipment of bullocks*” states that “during months December 1892 and February, March, April, May, June 1893, the returns from Singapore sent by Mr. K.A. Stevens show that during these months 857 bullocks were killed or disposed of. 97 died, mostly from red water. 954 realized 36,189.06 dollars . . .

- almost 37.93 dollars per head. Allowing 38 [Singaporean] dollars per head at 2 [shillings] 9 [pence] per dollar equals about 5 [pounds] 4 [shillings] and 6 [pence] per head. Those cattle were mostly purchased at 3 [pounds] 10 [shillings] each and with steam freight of not less than 2 [pounds] 10 [shillings] the cost landed at Singapore will be 6 [pounds] or a loss of 15 [shillings] 6 [pence] per head independent of charges of all sorts in Singapore.”
- 10 GMC 2/874-876: January stock returns 1893, signed in Singapore by K.A. Stevens.
 - 11 January stock returns 1893.
 - 12 From 1 to 15 January 1893 the average weight of another fifty-one bullocks was a mere “367 lbs.,” and from 15 to 31 January 1893 fifty-one bullocks weighed “479 lbs” (GMC 2/874-876).
 - 13 GMC 2/878B: “Stock Returns for the Month of May 1893 at the North Australian Butcher Company, Singapore.”
 - 14 GMC 2/872: Thomas Maldrum to R.M. Watson, 27 October 1897.
 - 15 GMC 2/872: Maldrum to Watson, 27 October 1897.
 - 16 GMC 2/872: Maldrum to J. Davis, 27 November 1897.
 - 17 GMC 2/872: memorandum titled “Goldsbrough, Mort and Company Ltd. Letters Received from H.W.H. Stevens, Port Darwin, 1877–1897,” 2.
 - 18 GMC, GMRBV/4, 6: “This transcript is probably part of the evidence given to the 1895 Royal Commission into N.T. affairs conducted by SA gov’t.”
 - 19 GMC, GMRBV/4, 6.
 - 20 In his letter of 27 October, Maldrum told Watson that those were the numbers they needed.
 - 21 Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry: An Economic Survey, 1962–63 to 1964–65* (Melbourne: Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, 1968), 28. However, “generally speaking,” the report reads, “the amount of supplementary feeding undertaken was negligible.”
 - 22 “Northern Territory Meat Trade,” *Western Mail*, 10 July 1909. This article estimated the distance from Victoria River Downs to Pine Creek at “about 320 miles.”
 - 23 GMRBV/4, 6.
 - 24 GMRBV/4, 6.
 - 25 F.A.C. Bishop, *Report on an Inspection of the Pastoral Holdings, Stock Routes, Bores and Dips on the Barkly Tableland, Northern Territory* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1923), 19.
 - 26 For the extensive nature of the industry and lack of control over breeding, see Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 19–31.

- 27 Chapter 10.
- 28 “Rural Industries,” *The Register*, 13 May 1905; “Pastoral Intelligence,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 October 1895; “Stock Items,” *The Northern Miner*, 25 April 1908; “Stock Movements,” *The Register*, 21 July 1908; “Stock Movements,” *Chronicle*, 5 September 1908. The south was the highly urbanized portion of Australia, the states of South Australia (of which Adelaide was and is the capital), New South Wales (Sydney), and Victoria (Melbourne).
- 29 “Stock Movements and State of the Country,” *The Queenslander*, 20 November 1886.
- 30 Between 1891 and 1902 overall, Australian pastoralists reduced their herds by 50 percent. Queenslanders lost 4.5 million of their seven million cattle (Sheena Coupe, ed., *Frontier Country: Australia’s Outback Heritage*, vol. 1 [Willoughby, NSW: Weldon Russell, 1989], 168; Stuart McIntyre, *A Concise History of Australia* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999], 23–27).
- 31 “Stock Items,” *Northern Territory Times*, 24 August 1906. In the same year, some 700 were trailed from the Lake Nash area to Adelaide. By the mid-1890s virtually all the animals were taking that route to market.
- 32 “Rural Industries,” *The Register*, 15 May 1905; “Rural Industries,” *The Register*, 13 April 1908; “Stock Movements,” *Chronicle*, 11 June 1910; “Stock Movements,” *The Advertiser*, 14 June 1910; “Cattle for Adelaide,” *The Advertiser*, 29 October 1910.
- 33 “Pastoral Intelligencer,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 October 1895; “Stock Movements,” *The Register*, 21 July 1906; “Stock Items,” *The Northern Miner*, 25 April 1908; “Stock Movements,” *Chronicle*, 11 June 1910; “Stock Movements,” *The Advertiser*, 14 June 1910; “Stock Movements,” *The Advertiser*, 29 October 1910.
- 34 “A Long Droving Trip,” *Northern Territory Times*, 25 January 1907.
- 35 *Ibid.*

8 THE HORSE TRADE

- 1 Northern Territory Archives Service, South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, “Government Resident’s Half-Yearly Report on Northern Territory to June 30th, 1886.”
- 2 Keith R. Binney, *Horsemen of the First Frontier (1788–1900) and the Serpent’s Legacy* (Neutral Bay: Volcanic Publications, 2005), xv: “In 1788, the First Fleet, of eleven ships brought

out nine horses from the Cape of Good Hope, English horses having perished on the perilous sea journey. Subsequent ships also brought out Cape horses, such as the *Britannia*, which landed in 1795 with thirty-three horses. English horses also began arriving safely, the influential thoroughbred stallion, Rockingham, was brought out in 1799. About this time, the Governor of New South Wales asked for more heavy horses, specifying Scottish Clydesdales. Timor ponies were shipped over from northern Islands. Increasing demand for saddle and workhorses led to the migration of the best of old English breeds, which combined with the Cape horses and the Timor pony, went into the melting pot that produced a unique Australian horse, the Waler. The notable English breeds were Thoroughbred, Clydesdale, Suffolk Punch, Cleveland Bay, Lincolnshire Trotter, Norfolk Roadster, Yorkshire Coacher, Hackney, Arab and Percheron, which although a French breed, had its own English studbook, including Shire, and native British ponies." An important progenitor of the Waler was the Timor Pony, which was brought to Australia early and recognized for its hardiness, stamina, and agility. Wild herds of these ponies continue

to survive on the Coburg Peninsula.

- 3 Fiona Carruthers, *The Horse in Australia* (Sydney: Random House, 2008), 59–79, 259–85.
- 4 "Horse," <http://www.feral.org.au/pest-species/horse/>.
- 5 Binney, *Horsemen of the First Frontier*, xv–xxviii; Carruthers, *The Horse in Australia*, 59–79.
- 6 "Whoas, Wild Horses of Alberta Society," <http://northernhorse.com/wildhorses/>.
- 7 "Alberta has too many wild horses, forester says," <http://www.cbc.ca/news/technology/story/2011/08/04/calgary-wild-horses-forestry.html>.
- 8 Glenbow Archives, New Walrond Ranche papers, M8688-3: McEachran to Boyle, Campbell, Burton and Co., 10 July 1887.
- 9 M8688-3: Warnock memo, [November 1893]; [2 July] 1894.
- 10 M8688-3: Warnock to McEachran, 19 September 1894.
- 11 The ranch kept Native "wolfers" at work poisoning and trapping but in 1896, when McEachran made the decision to quit the horse business, significant eradication had still not been achieved (M8688-4: Warnock to McEachran, 18 April 1896).
- 12 M8688-3: 12 November 1894.
- 13 M8688-3: Warnock to McEachran, 12 November 1894.

- 14 M8688-3: Warnock to McEachran, 12 November 1894.
- 15 M8688-3: Warnock to J.G. Ross, 16 May 1894.
- 16 M8688-3: J.F. Scott to McEachran, 3 August 1892.
- 17 M8688-3: J.W. Mathison memo, 7 November 1888.
- 18 M8688-3: Warnock to McEachran, 23 January 1894.
- 19 M8688-4: Warnock to McEachran, 25 March 1895.
- 20 M8688-4: Warnock to McEachran, 25 March 1895.
- 21 M8688-3: Warnock to Major Bell, 6 April 1894.
- 22 M8688-3: Warnock to J.G. Ross, 16 May 1894.
- 23 M8688-3: Warnock to McEachran, 2 February 1894.
- 24 M8688-3: Warnock to McEachran, 14 November 1894.
- 25 M8688-4: Warnock to McEachran, 22 April 1895.
- 26 M8688-4: Warnock to McEachran, 2 April 1895.
- 27 M8688-4 Warnock to J.G. Ross, 11 November 1895.
- 28 M8688-4: Warnock to McEachran, 15 April 1895.
- 29 M8688-3: David Warnock to McEachran, 13 November 1893. "We have all WR. Horses on the North side of the river and I have instructed Murray to" use "the greatest vigilance in preventing Coy. Horses from going south and strange horses from coming north of the river."
- 30 M8688-3: Mathison memo, 27 April 1889; M8688-4: Warnock to McEachran, 15 April 1895.
- 31 In early 1898 McEachran decided to liquidate the Walrond Ranche Company and put its assets into the New Walrond Ranche Company Limited. To further the latter objective, he composed a prospectus that he hoped would attract investors (M8688-1: "The New Walrond Ranche Company, Limited," 26 February 1898). In that document he announced that the horse business had not paid financially, and he promised that the new company would have nothing further to do with it. He indicated that its downfall had principally been "competition from electric motors." Evidence from the ranch correspondence strongly suggests that this was only one of the problems.
- 32 M8688-1: Warnock memo, 2 May 1896; Warnock memo, 25 July [1896]; Warnock memo, 1 August 1896. In all three cases the vast majority of the fifty-two head are listed as "aged." For the rest, see M8688-1: Warnock memo, August 1896; Warnock memo, 17 October 1896; Warnock memo, 28 November 1896.
- 33 M8688-1: "Memo of sale and agreement between the Walrond Ranche (Ltd) and Messrs W.H. Fares and P.

- Burns re the draught horses the property of the Ranch Company,” 26 June 1897.
- 34 M8688-1: Warnock reported to McEachran on 18 April 1896 that he had bought 15 saddle horses “well broken and sound at \$40.”
- 35 Frederick Ings, *Before the Fences (tales from the Midway Ranch): Autobiography*, ed. J. Davis (Calgary: McAra Printing, 1980), 78.
- 36 Simon M. Evans, *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), 149–70.
- 37 Glenbow Archives, A.E. Cross papers, M8780-112: Cross to A.R. Springett, 10 November 1902.
- 38 He once told a neighbour that horses “do well in almost every part of this district, but require careful management and plenty of experience with a natural gift of looking after them, in order to make them a success” (M8780: Cross to A.R. Springett, 10 November 1902).
- 39 M8780-112: Cross to Mr. Hodson, November 1900. The emphasis of the word “local” is the author’s alteration.
- 40 Warren M. Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves: Ranching on the Western Frontier* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 27–29, 48–49, 147. Some western breeders, who closely monitored the local market, also mated their Cayuse mares with Percheron or even Clyde or Shire stallions to give them still greater size and strength.
- 41 “Horses for South Africa,” *Macleod Gazette*, 21 February 1902.
- 42 Ings, *Before the Fences*, 78; Leroy V. Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1988), 94, 109.
- 43 The positive assessments kept coming throughout the frontier period. As late as 1908, for instance, a newspaper editor offered the opinion that “the tablelands in the Northern Territory, where horses thrive ‘on nothing a year,’ are the natural breeding ground for Indian remounts. Not only are animals reared in that part of the country as ‘tough as nails,’ but the similarity of the climate to that of north west India gives to Australian-bred horses a decided advantage over those imported from Europe or North America” (“Horse Breeding,” *The Register*, 6 August 1908).
- 44 State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, Alfred Giles papers, 1389/1: Diary, 26 January 1882.
- 45 State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, Alfred Giles papers, 1389/2: Giles, “The First Pastoral Settlement

- in the Northern Territory compiled principally for his own experiences as an overlander and pioneer pastoralist with special references to the founding of the Springvale, Delamere, Elsey and Newcastle Waters runs, 1870–1895 with extracts from his diary 1879–1895,” 149.
- 46 “The Northern Territory. Half-Yearly Report by Government Resident,” *South Australian Register*, 4 October 1886.
- 47 The outfit brought in as many horses as cattle (“The Northern Territory. Half-Yearly Report by Government Resident”).
- 48 “The Condition of our Cattle Industry,” *South Australian Register*, 15 September 1893.
- 49 Jill Bowen, *Kidman: The Forgotten King* (Sydney: Harper Collins, 2007), 77–78.
- 50 National Archives, Canberra, NT 13/9606–13/11631: Commonwealth of Australia, “Department of External Affairs, File of Papers, Subject: Batchelor Demonstration Farm Report on results of operations conducted at Darwin, 19 July 1913,” 28–29.
- 51 Ross Duncan, *The Northern Territory Pastoral Industry, 1863–1910* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967), 160.
- 52 “Horsing the Guns,” *The Register*, 11 March 1911.
- 53 National Archives, Canberra, NT, 011631: Commonwealth of Australia, “Report of the Department of Agriculture for year ending December 31” (1912), 60.
- 54 “Northern Territory,” *The Argus*, 19 September 1913.
- 55 State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, Lewis family papers, PRG 247/10/1: John Lewis to H. Grainger, 23 September 1908; “Rockhampton, Tuesday, February 6, 1900, The Horse Supply,” *Morning Chronicle*, 6 February 1900; “Snaring Brumbies, Wild Horses of the Northern Territory,” *The Register*, 19 December 1906.
- 56 “Department of External Affairs, File of Papers, Subject: Batchelor Demonstration Farm,” 28–29.
- 57 Duncan, *The Northern Territory Pastoral Industry*, 160.
- 58 All types of cattle in all of Alberta and Assiniboia, Simon M. Evans, “Stocking the Canadian Range,” *Alberta History* 26, no. 3 (Summer 1978): 1; Canada, *Fourth Census*, 1901, vol. 2, 52–53.
- 59 “Are Horses Deteriorating in Australia?” *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 October 1877; “Raising Horses in Australia,” *The Daily News*, 13 July 1889; “Draught Horses in Australia,” *Western Star and Roma Advertiser*, 5 November 1910.
- 60 “Horses Required in Australia,” *Rockhampton Bulletin*, 5 September 1873.

- 61 "Horse-breeding in Australia," *Northern Territory Times*, 22 November 1884. "From the returns for the last ten years I find that the numbers of horses have increased or otherwise in the various colonies as follows: In South Australia, in 1873–4, the number of horses was 87,451; in 1882–3, 162,400. During the same time in Victoria the number increased from 180,342 to 280,874; in Queensland from 99,243 to 229,124; in New Zealand from 99,859 to 161,736; whilst in New South Wales the number decreased from 328,014 to 326,964."
- 62 A recent PhD dissertation explores the development of the cattle industry in Queensland and Texas (Leland Turner, "Grassland Frontiers: Beef Cattle Agriculture in Queensland and Texas," Texas Tech University, 2008).
- 63 "The Horse Supply," *Morning Bulletin*, 6 February 1900; see also "Draught Horses in Australia," *Western Star and Roma Advertiser*, 5 November 1910.
- 64 Jeannie Gunn, *We of the Never-Never*, 10th ed. (2003), 75, <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/4699>.
- 65 Gunn, *We of the Never-Never*, 200.
- 66 "A New Disease in Horses," *The Queenslander*, 25 February 1882; "The Resources of Northern Territory of South Australia," *South Australian Register*, 3 May 1882; "The Northern Territory," *Warwick Examiner and Times*, 22 May 1912; "Red Gulf Grass," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August 1912; "Buffel Grass Shows Much Promise," *The Central Queensland Herald*, 27 November 1952.
- 67 Michael J. Costello, *Life of John Costello, Being the Adventures of a Pioneer, Pastoralist and Explorer in Queensland and the Northern Territory* (Sydney: Dymock's Book Arcade, 1930), 196–98.

9 DIVERSIFICATION IN WESTERN CANADA: THE TRIUMPH OF THE FAMILY RANCH/FARM

- 1 Geoff Cunfer makes this point regarding the American Great Plains (*On the Great Plains: Agriculture and the Environment* [College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2005], 69–112).
- 2 Warren M. Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves: Ranching on the Western Frontier* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 18–19.
- 3 This is assuming that the cow would have had to be fed during the worst 100 days of weather and the steer the worst 150 days to keep it at least maintaining – but, hopefully, gaining – weight. The cows

- would have needed about 20 pounds of dry hay a day and the steers, depending on age and size, would average about 20 pounds.
- 4 This included the yearling heifers from previous calf crops that were bred to replace older or poorer cows as they were sold off.
 - 5 $1.5 \times 8,500$.
 - 6 It can be assumed that had the Walrond put up all its own hay without contract the costs would have been very close to the same. The management would have had to hire many more men, purchase a great array of haying, hauling, and stacking equipment, and provide housing and a food supply for the men.
 - 7 With horse-drawn equipment one man could put up about 60 tons of hay.
 - 8 There were two waves of settlement: the first started in the 1890s and brought farmer/ranchers to the area, many of whom took 160-acre homesteads supplemented by free range or small grazing leases. It was the second wave, beginning in the early years of the twentieth century, that brought homesteaders, most of whom initially settled on 160-acre parcels, which they later doubled through pre-emption. This wave eventually produced modern density levels in the countryside but, of course, not in the urban centres (Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves*, xviii, 149).
 - 9 See Wallace Stegner, *Wolf Willow: A History, a Story, and a Memory of the Last Plains Frontier* (New York: Penguin Books, 1955), 137. "The net effect . . . was to make stock farmers out of ranchers. Almost as suddenly as the disappearance of the buffalo, it changed the way of life of the region."
 - 10 A section is 640 acres, a quarter section is 160 acres.
 - 11 H.F. Lawrence, "Early Days in the Chinook Belt," *Alberta Historical Review* 13, no. 1 (Winter 1965): 11.
 - 12 Pincher Creek Historical Society, *Prairie Grass to Mountain Pass* (Pincher Creek, AB: Pincher Creek Historical Society, 1974), 128.
 - 13 Canada, *Sessional Papers* 22, no. 13 (1889), nn. 17, 20: Annual Report of the Commissioner, 13 December 1888.
 - 14 Glenbow Archives, Mrs. Charles Inderwick, Diary and Personal Letters from the North Fork Ranch, M376: letter of 13 May 1884, 24.
 - 15 "All Over the Range," *Macleod Gazette*, 4 August 1885.
 - 16 Canada, *Sessional Papers* 42, no. 14 (1907-8), n. 28, 56: Annual Report for D Division, 1 November 1907.
 - 17 Clay Chattaway and his family operate the Bar S ranch, which Rod Macleay bought in

- 1919; see Clay Chattaway and Warren Elofson, *The Rocking P Gazette in Canadian Ranching History*, <https://ucalgary.ca/rocking-p-gazette/>.
- 18 Bar S Ranch, Chattaway Notes, 30 October 2013, "Chattaway Section 2 cleaning."
- 19 Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves*, 133–49.
- 20 "Local and General," *Pincher Creek Echo*, 10 May 1904.
- 21 "Mange," *Pincher Creek Echo*, 24 May 1904.
- 22 See Warren M. Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 159–74.
- 23 Canada, *Sessional Papers* 28, no. 9 (1895), nn. 13, 26.
- 24 Canada, *Sessional Papers* 33, no. 12 (1899), nn. 15, 19: Report of the Commissioner, 20 December 1898.
- 25 Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching*, 159–74.
- 26 Fred Ings of Trails End Ranch on the east side of the Porcupine Hills was one such operator. Monica and Bill Hopkins near Millarville and Claude Gardiner homesteaded in the hills northwest of Macleod where they pastured their stock. They then acquired further holdings on lower elevations on which to plant and harvest crops.
- 27 Bar S Ranch, Nanton, AB, Macleay family papers: "John Ware Ranch."
- 28 Macleay family papers: "remarks by Clay Chattaway," 30 October 2013.
- 29 Glenbow Archives, Burns papers, M160–202: Riddell, Stead, Graham & Hutchison to P. Burns, April 13, 1925. At this time Macleay had 7,889 cattle, 346 horses and 51 hogs. Macleay's operation was family owned and operated, but it was one of the very biggest of that type in Alberta and Saskatchewan at the time.
- 30 Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves*, 27–29, 48–49, 147; Alberta, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1913, 136. Prior to the war, the peak marketings in the Pincher Creek area were in 1906 when 683 sales were recorded (Alberta, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1906, 77).
- 31 For the death rate on the big ranches in the earlier period, see Warren M. Elofson, *Somebody Else's Money: The Walrond Ranch Story, 1883–1907* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 17.
- 32 This is about what cattlemen expect to get today. It is also what I normally achieved when running my own cow/calf operation in the 1970s and 1980s.

- 33 A live steer weighing 1,400 lbs. at three cents per pound, which was about average in the early twentieth century.
- 34 Mary Neth, *Preserving the Family Farm: Women, Community, and the Foundations of Agribusiness in the Midwest, 1900-1940* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1955), 17-70.
- 35 Teachers in 1911 were paid between \$641 and \$973 per annum and farm labourers got on average \$421 per annum (“Canada Farm Labour Higher than Here,” *New York Times*, 2 April 1911).
- 36 Macleay family papers: Clay Chattaway’s notes, 30 October 2013.
- 37 Elliott West, “Families in the West,” reprinted from the *Organization of American Historians Magazine of History* 9 (Fall 1994).
- 38 Porter family, in Pincher Creek Historical Society, *Prairie Grass to Mountain Pass*, 338.
- 39 Clay Chattaway’s notes, 30 October 2013. A democrat was, and is, a light farm or ranch wagon with at least two seats, usually pulled by two horses. A stone boat was a flat wooden platform on skids that could be pulled by one or two horses.
- 40 May family, in Foothills Historical Society, *Chaps and Chinooks: A History West of Calgary* (Calgary: Foothills Historical Society, 1976), 273.
- 41 Clay Chattaway’s notes.
- 42 I am indebted to Rachel Herbert for this reference and for notes 43–48 below. (“Ranching Women in Southern Alberta, 1880–1930,” MA thesis, University of Calgary, 2011).
- 43 Pedersen family, in Pincher Creek Historical Society, *Prairie Grass to Mountain Pass*, 797.
- 44 Bateman family, in Foothills Historical Society, *Chaps and Chinooks*, 257.
- 45 Halton family, in Pincher Creek Historical Society, *Prairie Grass to Mountain Pass*, 52.
- 46 Halton family, in Pincher Creek Historical Society, *Prairie Grass to Mountain Pass*, 67.
- 47 Monica Hopkins, *Letters from a Lady Rancher* (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 1983), 37.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 The progression is visible in the population figures. Calgary and vicinity had 43,204 males and 37,214 females in 1916. In 1911 it had 39,657 males and 25,529 females. Macleod and vicinity had 19,379 males and 14,504 females in 1916. In 1911 it had 18,213 males and 12,548 females. Maple Creek and vicinity had 28,126 males and 19,424 females in 1916. In 1911 it had 12,322 males and 7,408 females (Canada, *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1916: Population and Agriculture*, 44–127).
- 50 West, “Families in the West.”

- 51 "Women Ranchers," *Calgary Herald*, 21 October 1902.
- 52 William H. McIntyre, *A Brief History of the McIntyre Ranch* (Lethbridge: *Lethbridge Herald*, 1948).
- 53 Macleay family papers.
- 54 Macleay family papers: "Rocking P Gazette," January 1924.
- 55 "Rocking P Gazette," September 1924.
- 56 "Rocking P Gazette," January 1924.
- 57 Macleay family papers; Burns papers, M160-215: "Agreement made this 27th day of July, A.D. 1928 between Roderick R. Macleay and Mrs. Laura Sturtevant Macleay and Burns Ranches Ltd.;" R.R. Macleay, "Statement of Amount Re '76' Ranch," 18 October 1926; "Bill of Sale Roderick R. Macleay and Laura Sturtevant Macleay to Western Ranches Limited," 2 February 1929.
- 58 Macleay family papers.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Henry C. Klassen, "A Century of Ranching at the Rocking P and Bar S," in *Cowboys, Ranchers and the Cattle Business: Cross-Border Perspectives on Ranching History*, eds. Sarah Carter, Simon Evans, and Bill Yeo (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000), 112, 113.
- 61 Quoted in Leroy V. Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1988), 197-98.
- 62 *The Pincher Creek Echo*, 19 January 1911. The editor wrote: "In this district we should not complain of full harvests and the cowboy having to turn his lariat into a hay fork that is what we want and what makes for genuine prosperity."
- 63 In 1922 the United Grain Growers Ltd. set up a co-operative cattle export pool to Great Britain. This was designed to provide a new market for Canadian cattle, to share risk, and to ensure a steady stream of cows to mitigate fluctuations in British prices, which were notoriously unstable (Macleay family papers: Letter to Roderick Macleay from the United Grain Growers Ltd., 1922). In 1931 Roderick Macleay took a chance on the British market since the Canadian market was very poor, and in 1933, 53,000 Canadian cattle were marketed in England; however, as the Depression dwindled this market dwindled (Macleay family papers: "John Ware Ranch," handwritten notes [compiled history, date unknown]).
- 64 Ended with the 1995 Western Grain Transition Payment Program. For marketing generally, see Max Foran, *Trails and Trials: Markets and Land Use in the Alberta Beef Cattle Industry, 1881-1918* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003).

**10 THE TEXAS SYSTEM
AT HOME IN NORTHERN
AUSTRALIA**

- 1 As against less than 10,000 years for most soils in Europe, Asia, North America, and New Zealand, which have been formed from recent mountain building or glacial scouring of the land.
- 2 "A Northern Territory Policy; Pastoral and Agricultural," *Northern Territory Times*, 10 August 1989.
- 3 "Christmas," *Northern Territory Times*, 24 December 1881.
- 4 State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, Lewis family papers, PRG 247/10/1: [John Lewis] to H. Grainger, 23 September 1908.
- 5 "Current Topics," *Chronicle*, 5 October 1907.
- 6 "Kapunda Horse Sale, a Capital Start, Indian Buyers Busy," *The Register*, 29 September 1909; "Pastoral Items," *The Northern Miner*, 19 October 1908.
- 7 "Horsing the Guns," *The Register*, 11 March 1911.
- 8 "To The Editor," *Northern Territory Times*, 7 July 1883.
- 9 Northern Territory Archives Service, South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, "Government Resident's Report on Northern Territory for the Year 1891," statement by J.S. Little at Austral Downs.
- 10 R.A. Perry, *Pasture Lands of the Northern Territory, Australia* (Melbourne: Commonwealth and Industrial Research Organization, 1960), 21.
- 11 Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry: An Economic Survey, 1962-63 to 1964-65* (Melbourne: Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, 1968), 20-50.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid., 26.
- 14 Ibid., 27
- 15 Ibid., 26.
- 16 Ibid., 25.
- 17 Ibid., 27.
- 18 Ibid., 27-28.
- 19 Ibid., 27. The Government Resident's Report for 1890 quoted in Australia, "Report of Preliminary Scientific Expedition to the Northern Territory," *Bulletin of the Northern Territory* 1 (Melbourne: Department of External Affairs, March 1912): 32, stated: "it is generally stated redwater (so-called) does not attack acclimatized or Territory-bred cattle. The chief complaint throughout is that overlanded cattle (travelling from Queensland especially) alone exhibit the symptoms of the disease, and die therefrom."
- 20 Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 27-28.
- 21 Present-day cattle graziers in both Queensland and the Northern Territory have interbred their British cattle with the Brahman or

- Zebu species originally from Southeast Asia – particularly the Indian subcontinent – mainly because of their tolerance to extreme heat but also because they are resistant to ticks due to the thickness of their hide.
- 22 Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 29–31, 32–39.
- 23 F.A.C. Bishop, *Report on an Inspection of the Pastoral Holdings, Stock Routes, Bores and Dips on the Barkly Tableland, Northern Territory* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1923), 9.
- 24 Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 636 BUC: Graeme Bucknall, “A Documented Short History of Undoolya: The First Legal Cattle Station in the Northern Territory” (National Trust of Australia, Northern Territory, 1983), 11.
- 25 Perry, *Pasture Lands of the Northern Territory*, 21.
- 26 “In contrast to the other . . . districts, the Alice Springs district is served by direct rail link to a stable market at Adelaide and this is reflected in the general efficiency and prosperity of the industry in that district. All the properties are relatively close to the rail trucking centres, which means that cattle of any age can be turned off and weight losses en route to market are relatively low. In recent years road transport from property to railhead has proved economical compared with walking and is rapidly gaining in popularity” (Perry, *Pasture Lands of the Northern Territory*, 23). Today the rail trains have been replaced by so-called “road trains”— huge trucks with up to three trailers that can haul as many as 120 bullocks at a time from station to destination.
- 27 “In all districts, breeders comprised at least 50% of the herd, the highest proportion being in the Alice Springs and Barkly Tableland districts where they were 57% and 60% respectively” (Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 23). Branding rates: at Alice Springs – 44 percent, Barkly – 40 percent, Victoria River – 40 percent (Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 25). “About three quarters of the turnoff from stations was steers and bullocks (older steers) the remaining one-quarter being a mixture of breeders, calves, and bulls. Purchases by the majority of the stations were usually confined to bulls for replacement purposes in the breeding herd.” Average number sold in the districts in the three years: Alice Springs – 463, Barkly – 2,049, Victoria River – 2,029 (Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 29). “In both the Barkly Tableland and Alice

- Springs Districts there is little surface water; most of the water on stations comes from bores, dams, earth tanks or wells. Bores were important on most stations but the difficulty of finding adequate underground water was marked by the large number of unsuccessful bores on some stations” (Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 30). Note: cattle numbers in the Alice Springs district declined from about 350,000 to 139,000 due to a long and prolonged drought (Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 50).
- 28 Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 24–25.
- 29 “While it was not possible to estimate the mortality rate for individual classes of stock, including newborn calves, estimates were obtained of mortalities in all branded cattle. The reported average mortality of the survey period ranged from 8 to 13 %” (Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 24).
- 30 National Archives, Canberra, Goldsbrough, Mort and Company papers, GMRBV/4, 6: “This Transcript is probably part of the evidence given to the 1895 Royal Commission into N.T. affairs conducted by SA govt.”
- 31 A. Grenfell Price, *The History and Problems of the Northern Territory, Australia* (John Murtagh Macrossan Lecture, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1930), 30.
- 32 Amanda Nettelbeck and Robert Foster, *In the Name of the Law; William Willshire and the Policing of the Australian Frontier* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2007), 15–112.
- 33 Baldwin Spencer, “Preliminary Report on the Aborigines of the Northern Territory,” *Bulletin of the Northern Territory* 7 (Melbourne: Department of External Affairs, July 1913), 21. “The native morality is such that the disease, once contracted, is bound to be widely disseminated amongst both aborigines and white men of low morality.”
- 34 Spencer, “Preliminary Report,” 16.
- 35 Spencer, “Preliminary Report,” 9. “Pastoral areas, such as the Victoria River Downs, Willeroo, Messrs. Bradshaw’s station, and Newcastle waters on the west of the telegraph line, and others such as Brunette, Corella, Eva Downs, the McArthur river Station, Nutwood Downs, Tanumbirini, Hodgson Downs, etc. on the east, occupy great stretches of country over which the natives roam more or less freely. A limited number of them are employed on the stations, where they are well treated, and do most useful

- work, for which they receive food, clothes, tobacco etc.”
- 36 Nettelbeck and Foster, *In the Name of the Law*, 112.
- 37 Australia, “Report of Preliminary Scientific Expedition to the Northern Territory,” 8. “It is not too much to say, that, under existing conditions the cattle stations” in all three of the pastoral districts “could not be worked without their aid.” See also Gordon Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, 2nd ed. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1934), 118.
- 38 Australia, “Report of Preliminary Scientific Expedition to the Northern Territory,” 8.
- 39 Goldsbrough, Mort and Company papers, GMC 87/2/1: company account books.
- 40 For the numbers for the 1960s see Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 53.
- 41 Spencer, “Preliminary Report,” 22.
- 42 “Six Years in the Territory,” *Northern Argus*, 3 February 1899; “Our Black Brothers, Roper River Mission, Northern Territory, Stagnant. A ‘White’ Nigger,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 October 1909; “The Aboriginal Past and Present,” *Northern Standard*, 5 June 1934.
- 43 “Sketcher, Northern Territory, II,” *The Queenslander*, 10 February 1917. For other accounts of the work of Aboriginal women, see also “On the Track of the Roper,” *Northern Argus*, 3 February 1899; “In Dark Australia,” *Northern Territory Times*, 10 June 1904.
- 44 Mary Durack, *Kings in Grass Castles* (London: Constable, 1959), 355–56. A “wurlie” is an Aboriginal shelter of branches and leaves.
- 45 Glenbow Archives, New Walrond Rancho papers, M8688–3: Bell to McEachran, 9 April 1887.
- 46 Thus the wages for Indian cowboys were about half those for white cowboys. The wage figures for the ranch are in M688–28.
- 47 Goldsbrough, Mort and Company papers, GMC 2/876/7: B. Blair to Goldsbrough, Mort and Company, 24 October 1889.
- 48 “The Northern Territory,” *South Australian Chronicle*, 25 August 1894; “Cattle Raising on the McArthur River,” *Cairns Post*, 22 February 1910; “Cattle Distributions 1912,” in Griffith Taylor, *Railways and stock routes, with later additions, also shown* (Commonwealth Bulletin II), quoted in A. Grenfell Price, *The History and Problems of the Northern Territory, Australia* (Adelaide: A.M. Acott, 1931), 36.

- 49 Lewis family papers, PRG 247/10/1: V.V. Brown to Messers Drew and Greaves, 6 July 1906.
- 50 Glen McLaren and William Cooper, *Distance, Drought and Dispossession: A History of the Northern Territory Pastoral Industry* (Darwin: Northern Territory University Press, 2001), 55–56. After the Commonwealth of Australia took over the administration of the Northern Territory on 1 January 1911, new bores would be drilled and old ones repaired along all the major cattle trails.
- 51 Lewis family papers, PRG 247/10/1: H.J. Rose to Hon. John Lewis, 12 June 1909.
- 52 PRG 247/10/1: H.J. Rose to Hon. John Lewis, 12 June, 1909.
- 53 PRG 247/10/1: H.J. Rose to John Lewis, 21 July 1909.
- 54 “The Explorer,” *The Queenslander*, 16 August 1924.
- 55 PRG 247/10/1: “Memo,” 2 January 1908.
- 56 James Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record of the Cattle Industry and the Cattlemen of Texas and Adjacent Territory* (St. Louis, MO: Woodward and Tiernan, 1895), 85.
- 57 This was the cost in 1887 for rail transportation from Montana to Chicago (Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, 143).
- 58 I have not been able to find dependable cost analyses for the Canadians at that time. However, in 1930 Rod Macleay sent 58 head to Manchester. His costs per head were about \$40.00 – the main difference being the CPR freight charge from Cayley in Alberta to Montreal at \$15.53/head (Bar S Ranch, Nanton, AB, Macleay family papers: account of cattle sales to Great Britain).
- 59 The owners sometimes eschewed railway transportation because of its known failure to keep to schedules and because of the hardships it placed on the animals (Richard Maurovic, *The Meat Game: A History of the Gepps Cross Abattoir* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2007, 222). Thus they were unlikely to pay much more for the service than droving charges.
- 60 Lewis family papers, PRG 247/10/1: Hy Grainger to John Lewis, 6 January 1906; see also PRG 247/10/1: W.T. Bache to John Lewis, 19 October 1909. Lewis would probably have put the cattle on the train at Hergott Springs, 280 miles north of Adelaide. But one can assume he was not prepared to pay much more than a shilling a mile for that.
- 61 Lewis family papers, PRG 247/10/1: Charles N. Turner to John Lewis, 3 July 1906 and 6 July 1906. See also Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 27–28; Margaret

- Kowald and William Johnston, *You Can't Make it Rain: The Story of the North Australian Pastoral Company 1877–1991* (Brisbane: Boolarong Publications with North Australian Pastoral Company, 1992), 43.
- 62 State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, PRG 1079: “Arthur C. Aswhin’s Recollections of Ralph Milner’s Expedition from Kopperamanna to the Northern Territory with sheep and Horses in 1870/71 with an account of his subsequent experiences in the Northern Territory” (1927), 29.
- 63 Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, 139.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 65.
- 65 The common Asian dingo (*canis lupus dingo*) only gets to about 60 centimetres high and 15 kilograms. The grey wolf varies in height from 60 to 95 centimetres, and varies in weight between 25 to 38.5 kilograms, depending on the species. However, the Australian dingo is traditionally larger than the Asian dingo and the larger dingoes are of very similar size to smaller wolves.
- 66 Lewis family papers, PRG 247/10/1: Hy Grainger to John Lewis, 6 January 1906.
- 67 P.C. Thomson, “The behavioural ecology of dingoes in north-western Australia, III, Hunting and Feeding behaviour, and diet,” *Wildlife Research* 19, no. 5 (1992): 531–41, doi:10.1071/WR9920531; P.C. Thomson, “The behavioural ecology of dingoes in north-western Australia, IV, Social and spatial organization, and movements,” *Wildlife Research* 19, no. 5 (1992): 543–63, doi:10.1071/WR9920543; L.R. Allen and P.J.S. Fleming, “(American Sheep Industry Association, 3 May 2009), <http://www.sheepusa.org/>; Lee Allen, Peter Thomson, and Alan Lisle, “Pack size and prey behaviour affects prey selection and the predation of livestock by dingoes” (Australian Government, Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry, 3 May 2009).
- 68 Leroy V. Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1988), 132.
- 69 Canada, *Sessional Papers* 26, no. 9 (1893), n. 15, 83: Annual Report for K Division, 1 December 1892.
- 70 Kelly, *The Range Men*, 132.
- 71 *Ibid.*, 137.
- 72 Glenbow Archives, Canadian Agricultural, Coal and Colonization Company papers, Stair Ranch Letterbook, M-2384, 416–17: D.H. Andrews to C. Akers, 15 March 1893.
- 73 Canada, *Sessional Papers* 33, no. 12 (1899), nn. 15, 19: Report

- of the Commissioner, 20 December 1898.
- 74 Canadian Agricultural, Coal and Colonization Company papers, Stair Ranch Letterbook, M-2384, 461–65: Andrews to C. Akers, 5 June 1893.
- 75 Kelly, *The Range Men*, 42–43.
- 76 Glenbow Archives, A.E. Cross papers, M8780–450: Selkirk Cross to A.E. Cross, 5 June 1903.
- 77 Canada, *Sessional Papers* 28, no. 11 (1904), n. 28, 14: Annual Report for A Division, 30 November 1903.
- 78 “Losses at Crane Lake,” *Macleod Gazette*, 13 April 1904.
- 79 Kelly, *The Range Men*, 191. The McIntyre ranch, for instance, had only 300 tons of hay for some 9,000 cattle (William H. McIntyre, *A Brief History of the McIntyre Ranch* [Lethbridge: *Lethbridge Herald*, 1948] 25).
- 80 *Fort Macleod – Our Colourful Past: A History of the Town of Fort Macleod from 1874 to 1924* (Fort Macleod History Book Committee, 1977), quoted in Hugh A. Dempsey, *The Golden Age of the Canadian Cowboy* (Calgary: Fifth House, 1995), 145.
- 81 E.C. Abbott and H. Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher*, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 176.
- 82 Warren M. Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves: Ranching on the Western Frontier* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill–Queen’s University Press, 2000), 85.
- 83 Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 72,27/SE: Violet LaGranduer, “Memoirs of a Cowboy’s Wife,” 5.
- 84 Michael J. Costello, *Life of John Costello, Being the Adventures of a Pioneer, Pastoralist and Explorer in Queensland and the Northern Territory* (Sydney: Dymock’s Book Arcade, 1930), 209
- 85 Northern Territory Archives Service, South Australian Government and Administrators Reports, “Government Resident’s Report on Northern Territory for the Year 1890.”
- 86 “Central Australian cattle stations struggle to survive,” 7 July 2006, reporter Sara Everingham, <http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/nt/content/2006/s1686232.htm>.
- 87 See also “Pastoral Industry of the Northern Territory,” *South Australian Register*, 5 April 1894.
- 88 “Drought relief in the red centre,” 30 March 2007, reporter Adrienne Francis, <http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/nt/content/2006/s1886279.htm>.
- 89 Leland Turner, “Grassland Frontiers: Beef Cattle Agriculture in Queensland and

- Texas” (PhD diss., Texas Tech University, 2008), 92–95.
- 90 Perry, *Pasture Lands of the Northern Territory*, 24.
- 91 *Texas Stockman*, 17 November 1886, 3.
- 92 Perry generally urged more diversification (*Pasture Lands of the Northern Territory*); See also Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry*, 23.

11 CONCLUSION: THE FRONTIER LEGACY

- 1 Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 636 BUC: Graeme Bucknall, “A Documented Short History of Undoolya: The First Legal Cattle Station in the Northern Territory” (National Trust of Australia, Northern Territory, 1983), 10.
- 2 “A Remarkable Man. The Late Mr. W.P Hayes, Sen.,” *The Register*, 19 November 1913.
- 3 “A Life of Toil,” *The Register*, 19 November 1913.
- 4 “Old Stock and Other Notes,” *The Northern Miner*, 2 December 1905, quoted from the *Rockhampton Bulletin*.
- 5 Max Cartwright, *The Never Never Country: A History of the Roper River and Urapunga* (Alice Springs: M. Cartwright, 1999).
- 6 *Brisbane Daily Mail*, 31 October 1920, quoted in Barbara James, *No Man’s Land: Women of the Northern Territory* (Sydney: Collins Australia, 1989), 238.

- 7 “Sketcher, Northern Territory, II,” *The Queenslander*, 10 February 1917. The reporter continued: “Mrs. Rogers, as the intrepid horsewoman that she is, is very particular in her horse flesh, and is always mounted on stylish, upstanding animals with plenty of fire in them. It is told of Mrs. Rogers that there is not one stockrider on the Roper and few in the Territory that can do cutting out with such neatness and coolness as she can, and that is certainly a feather in any stockrider’s cap. During the year, mostly spent in camping out, this lady, with her staff, gets over thousands of miles of country mustering.”
- 8 Average *net* income over the three years: Alice Springs (–1,214), Barkly (21,137) Victoria (19,378) (Australia, *The Northern Territory Beef Cattle Industry: An Economic Survey, 1962–63 to 1964–65* [Melbourne: Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, 1968], 51). *Net* farm income is the amount available to provide a return to the operator’s labour, management, and capital. This amount is obtained by adding to net cash income the interest paid and cattle inventory gain, and subtracting depreciation. The figures were: Alice Springs –4,109, Barkly 38,344, Victoria 34,193 (52).

- 9 The return on investment in the Alice Springs area was estimated at -3.5 percent, the Barkly 6.6 percent, and the Victoria River 4.5 percent. Few company businesses today would be satisfied with such returns.
- 10 Statistics Canada: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/agri119j-eng.htm>.
- 11 <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/agri119i-eng.htm>.
- 12 For the Turner debate, see George F.G. Stanley, "Western Canada and the Frontier Thesis," *Canadian Historical Association* 19, no. 1 (1940): 105-17; Kerwin Lee Klein, "Reclaiming the 'F' Word, or Being and Becoming Postwestern," *The Pacific Historical Review* 65, no. 2 (May 1996): 179-215; Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Turnerians All: The Dream of a Helpful History in an Intelligible World," *American Historical Review* 100, no. 3 (June 1995): 697-716; Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Going West and Ending Up Global," *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 4-23; Slatta, Richard, "Taking Our Myths Seriously," *Journal of the West* 40, no. 3 (2001): 3-5.
- 13 For the best book illustrating the impact of the frontier environment on all aspects of life in a grain farming community in western Canada see Paul L. Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).
- 14 "Kind of Men Canada Needs," *Calgary Herald*, 1 February 1904.
- 15 Glenbow Archives, A.E. Cross papers, M8780-458: May 1895.
- 16 "The Remittance Men," *Calgary Herald*, 26 November 1904.
- 17 "Came out to be a Cowboy," *Calgary Herald*, 12 April 1904.
- 18 Leroy V. Kelly, *The Range Men*, 75th anniversary ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1988), 129.
- 19 Monica Hopkins, *Letters from a Lady Rancher* (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 1983), 23-24, letter of October 1909.
- 20 Glenbow Archives, New Walrond Rancho papers, M8688-5: David Warnock to Duncan McEachran, 23 January 1899.
- 21 Glenbow Archives, Canadian Agricultural, Coal and Colonization Company papers, Stair Ranch Letterbook, 196: D.H. Andrews to John Clay Jr., 11 May 1891.
- 22 "The Barr Colony," *Calgary Herald*, 25 April, 1903.
- 23 Cross papers, M8780-498: A.E. Cross to W.M. Bell, 16 November 1906.
- 24 Glenbow Archives, Herbert M. Hatfield papers, M 480:

- Hatfield to provincial librarian in Edmonton, 10 December 1908.
- 25 Kelly, *The Range Men*, 78.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Ibid., 88.
- 29 Ibid., 54, 91, 95, 107.
- 30 Grant MacEwan, *John Ware's Cow Country* (Nanoose Bay, BC: Greystone Books, 1995), 80–81.
- 31 “The Sundance Kid in Alberta,” *Alberta History* 42, no. 4 (Autumn 1995): 10–15.
- 32 It should be said that not all Englishmen failed horribly in the West. Simon Evans’s work in particular shows that many British people settled on the frontier and actively pursued the profession of ranching for a considerable period of time. The Hopkinses were two of them. They became proficient at all aspects of ranching and stuck with it until they retired. Numerous others learned the trade of the cowboy and successfully worked the ranges for the big ranching outfits. What does seem evident, however, is that for people from more developed societies the adjustment to frontier life was anything but easy. There was a tendency for some to come out ill prepared and with very unrealistic expectations about what was going to be required. A significant proportion gave up rather quickly and went home.
- 33 “Ranching at a Profit,” *Regina Leader*, 11 June 1896.
- 34 Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1888), 7, 9–10.
- 35 H.S. Canfield (New York: Century, 1902).
- 36 M. Howe, afterwards Elliott (Boston, Cambridge: Roberts Brothers, 1884).
- 37 H.L. Williams (London: General Publishing, 1890).
- 38 H.L. Williams (New York: R. Midewitt, 1870).
- 39 St. George Rathborne (London: Shumen Sibthorp, 1902).
- 40 *The Virginian: A Horseman of the Plains* (New York: Macmillan, 1902).
- 41 R. Connor, *Sky Pilot: A tale of the Foothills* (Chicago: R.H. Revell, 1899), 27, 31–32.
- 42 S.S. Hall, *Stampede Steve; or, the Doom of the Double Face* (New York: Beadle and Adam, 1884), 2–3.
- 43 “Gum Leaves,” *The Brisbane Courier*, 27 February 1904.
- 44 “Original Poetry,” *Western Star and Roma Advertiser*, 3 October 1885.
- 45 “Gum Leaves.”
- 46 “The Stockman,” *Clarence and Richmond Examiner*, 7 July 1910.
- 47 “The Stockman,” *The Wallaroo Times and Mining Journal*, 13 October 1875. See also “Ned the Stockman,” *Australian Town*

- and Country Journal*, 18 June 1887; “Penrith Rowing Club,” *Napean Times*, 17 August 1889; “Colonial Art Criticism,” *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 19 July 1894.
- 48 Even in Australia the extraction of natural resources (whether maritime or gold and other minerals), wool production, local manufacturing, and construction expanded throughout most of the nineteenth century. Growing populations concentrated increasingly in the main urban centres – Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide.
- 49 See, for instance, “The Prayer of Nature” and “There Is Pleasure In The Pathless Woods.”
- 50 See, for instance, “The Mask of Anarchy Written on the Occasion of the Massacre at Manchester,” and “Ode to the West Wind.”
- 51 See, for instance, “Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood.”
- 52 Belford, Clarke and Co., 1883.
- 53 London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Low and Searle, 1874.
- 54 Hartford: American Publishing Co., 1869.
- 55 Vardon and Pritchard, 1905.
- 56 Sydney: Angus and Patterson, 1895; Sydney: Angus and Anderson, 1906. A.B. (Banjo) Patterson became a national celebrity in the 1890s.
- 57 For a few of the many articles that circulated through Australian newspapers, see “The Bushman,” *Napean Times*, 22 December 1888; “Jimmie the Bushman,” *Clarence and Richmond Examiner*, 26 March 1901; “A Peerless Bushman’s Skill,” *The Cumberland Angus and Fruitgrowers Advocate*, 12 December 1907; “The Australian Bushman,” *The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers’ Advocate*, 12 May 1915; “The Wily Bushman,” *The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers’ Advocate*, 20 October 1917.
- 58 “There is a broad range of styles, from *bluegrass*, to *yodelling* to *folk* to the more popular. The genre has been influenced by Celtic and English folk music, by the traditions of *Australian bush* balladeers, as well as by popular *American country music*. Themes include: *outback* life, the lives of *stockmen*, *truckers* and *outlaws*, songs of romance and of political protest; and songs about the “beauty and the terror” of the *Australian bush*. Pioneers of a more Americanized popular country music in Australia included *Tex Morton* (known as *The Father of Australian Country Music*) in the 1930s and other early stars like *Buddy Williams*, *Shirley Thoms* and *Smoky Dawson*. In 1932, Tex Morton arrived from New Zealand, aged 16,

and humped his swag around outback stations, where he began to earn a name as a performer. In 1936 he cut his first commercial records in Australia. He went on to establish a distinctly Australian *bush ballad* style, shifting from American songs to songs about Australia. He attained national popularity in the 1930s and formed a traveling “Rodeo and Wildwest Show” in the 1940s. In 1949 he travelled to North America and Europe enjoying great success as a stage hypnotist, working in film and with artists such as *Hank Williams*. He returned to Australia in the early 1960s, by which time a generation of performers had carved a place for the Australian themed country music he pioneered” (“History of Country Music,” <http://www.historyofcountrymusic.com.au/tributetotex.html>).

- 59 Warren M. Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 96–118.
- 60 Samuel Steele, *Forty Years in Canada: Reminiscences of the Great North-West, with some account of his service in South Africa*, ed. M.G. Niblett, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Prospero Books, 2000), 270–71.
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There are many points on which the western Canadian and northern Australian cattle frontiers evoke comparisons. Most obviously, they came to life at about the same time: the late 1870s–early 1880s. In both cases corporations were heavy investors and utilized an open range system in which tens of thousands of cattle roamed over thousands of square acres. Ranchers shared similar problems related to predators, disease, and weather, as well as markets. Ultimately, a nearly indistinguishable “country” culture developed in both of these geographically disparate and distant lands, which is still apparent today. Many similarities were in one way or another a reflection of frontier environmental conditions, that is, conditions associated with the very “newness” of society. However, the two ranching societies had their differences too. In the end, the natural environment pushed agricultural development in these two regions along very different paths.

WARREN M. ELOFSON is a professor, and former head, of the history department at the University of Calgary and has had many years of personal experience ranching and farming in Alberta.

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