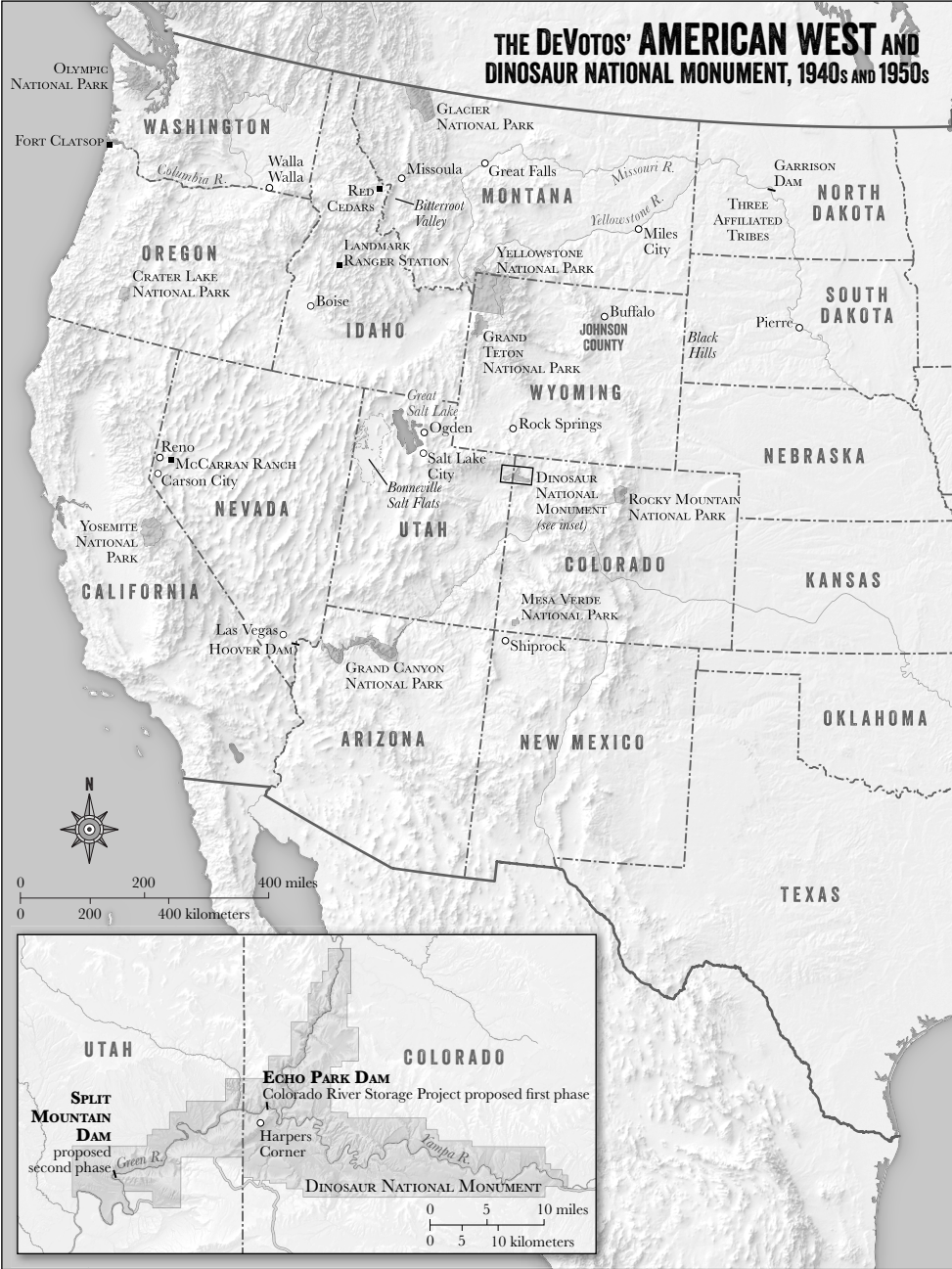


**THE DeVOTOS' AMERICAN WEST AND  
DINOSAUR NATIONAL MONUMENT, 1940s AND 1950s**



# THIS AMERICA OF OURS

Bernard and Avis DeVoto  
and the Forgotten Fight to  
Save the Wild



NATE  
SCHWEBER



MARINER BOOKS  
Boston New York

*For Kristen, emphatically*

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Bernard DeVoto, of Ogden, Utah, and Avis, of Houghton, Michigan, were a shocking, outspoken, and stylish couple in the Harvard University community in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the late 1920s and 1930s.

*All photos courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries and Mark DeVoto unless otherwise noted.*





Splayed notebooks, a Chesterfield carton, the glower of ten thousand books; an FBI agent's view of Bernard at his home office in Cambridge. (*Below left*) Elegant, cool, adventurous; Avis on Jenny Lake in Grand Teton National Park in 1953. (*Below right*) Poet Robert Frost tried — and failed — to come between Bernard and Avis.



In 1946, Bernard eavesdropped in Miles City, Montana — near this roadside history marker where Avis, Gordon, and Mark posed — and got his first real tip about a potential 230-million-acre landgrab. (*Below left*) Bernard walked across an overgrazed range in Colorado. (*Below right*) Regional Forester Chet Olsen of Ogden quietly found Bernard's landgrab details.



Bernard's 1950 *Saturday Evening Post* article "Shall We Let Them Ruin Our National Parks?" fought to keep the Echo Park Dam out of Dinosaur National Monument and launched a "whitewater navy" of rafters on Utah's Green River. *National Park Service*



Wyoming Senator Lester Hunt.  
*Courtesy of United States Congress*



Forest Service range conservationist Roald Peterson. *Courtesy of Sarah Shomion*





Presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson, center, asked Bernard for a conservation field lesson in 1954 inside Idaho and Montana's Bitterroot Mountains. (*Below*) Bernard, front row, right, served on the National Parks Advisory Board, and in 1950 he recruited his friend and compatriot, publisher Alfred Knopf, seated behind his right shoulder.





Sympatico in body language, the DeVotos listen to a forest service official in New England circa 1954. (*Below*) The DeVotos, photographed in Denver in 1953, in what was Avis's final favorite portrait of herself and her husband.





After Bernard's death, Julia and Paul Child rushed Avis a ticket to Europe in 1956. Avis honored her literary partnership with Bernard by assisting Julia. *Photo by Paul Child © Schlesinger Library, Harvard Radcliffe Institute.*  
(Below) Mark DeVoto escorted his mother to the DeVoto Memorial Cedar Grove dedication in the Bitterroot Mountains in 1962. He eventually scattered her ashes there.





## A NOTE ON SOURCES

Bernard and Avis DeVoto wrote troves of letters in addition to the millions of words they dually published. His are at Stanford University, hers are at Harvard University. The rich details in this book are predominantly from them, supplemented with twenty years' worth of asides in *Harper's* plus other publications. Because the DeVotos were both fine and frequent anecdotalists, episodes they obscured—such as how they sourced the transcript that revealed the landgrab, and their relationship with Roald Peterson—could be pieced together via references in letters strung across many years. Additional important letters from both DeVotos are kept, respectively, in the Wallace Stegner Papers at the University of Utah and the Chester Olsen Collection at Weber State University. The American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming in Laramie was invaluable for papers pertaining to Wyoming politicians, stock growers associations, and J. Elmer Brock. The Nevada Historical Society and the University of Nevada, Reno, are repositories for Pat McCarran documents. Bernard kept transcripts of the Joe McCarthy

speeches attacking him in the lead-up to the 1952 election. Other vital sources for new details were FBI files for Paul Child, William Langer, and Roald Peterson, all obtained via Freedom of Information Act requests. A copy of Bernard DeVoto's FBI file is at Stanford University with papers of journalist Tom Knudson, who acquired it by the Freedom of Information Act. Last, this text is informed by author visits to locations described, plus interviews with heirs and friends of characters.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

ADV, Avis DeVoto

ADVP, Avis DeVoto Papers

BDV, Bernard DeVoto

BDVP, Bernard DeVoto Papers

FBI, Federal Bureau of Investigation

JC, Julia Child

JCP, Julia Child Papers

PMC, Patrick McCarran Collection

WSP, Wallace Stegner Papers

## NOTES

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- xiv “*A Curry Mystery*”: *New York Times*, May 22, 1948.  
     “*courage, faith*”: BDV to Byron Hurlbut, June 1923 (likely), BDVP.
- xv “*He could surprise*”: ADV to Robert E. Lee, February 10, 1956, BDVP.  
     “*overtones of a situation*”: ADV to JC, February 9, 1953, ADVP.  
     “*this is your land*”: BDV, “The West Against Itself,” *Harper’s*, January 1947.  
     “*should have a hammer*”: Charley Meyers, *Wyoming Eagle*, January 16, 1948.  
     *no idea he was*: BDV to Merle Miller, February 25, 1948, BDVP.  
     “*unimpaired for the enjoyment*”: from An Act to Establish a National Park Service, approved August 25, 1916.
- xvi “*on very thin ice*”: Newton Drury, June 10, 1948, from Harvey, *Symbol of Wilderness*, 60.  
     “*One can raise*”: Patrick McCarran to Margaret McCarran, December 20, 1941, PMC.  
     “*pleases me*”: BDV to Arthur Carhart, June 3, 1948, BDVP.
- xvii “*far from a beauty*”: ADV to JC, February 17, 1953, ADVP.  
     *His advice*: see BDV to a Mr. Griffith, March 15, 1946, BDVP.  
     “*such vitality*”: Hugh and Dorothy MacLennan to ADV, November 1955, BDVP, Box 22.

- xviii “half sick”: BDV to Frederick Allen, July 15, 1948, BDVP.  
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- 3 *According to Avis’s*: details from BDVP, Box 22, Folder 465.
- 4 *half the size*: Egan, *Good Rain*, 167.  
*History swerved*: details from Brinkley, *Wilderness Warrior*.
- 5 “I am against the man”: Timothy Egan, *The Big Burn: Teddy Roosevelt and the Fire That Saved America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009), 56.  
 “The forest reserves should”: *ibid.*, 42.
- 6 *The 40 acres*: Samuel Dye details from BDV, “Jonathan Dyer, Frontiersman,” *Harper’s*, September 1933; and M. DeVoto, *Selected Letters*, 120, n. 29.  
*Helen Avis MacVicar*: young Avis details from student essays written for BDV, BDVP, Box 83; letters to JC; and author interviews with Mark DeVoto.  
 “Little Helen”: see BDVP, Box 22.  
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- 7 “This is what”: ADV to JC, August 20, 1954, ADVP.  
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- 8 “until the other fellow”: ADV to JC, July 25, 1959, ADVP.  
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- 9 “All I know”: ADV to JC, January 17, 1958, ADVP.  
 “How can a man”: BDV, “The Co-Ed,” *Harper’s*, September 1927.  
*the snowy spires*: young BDV details from his “Easy Chair” columns and letters, and author interviews with Mark DeVoto.  
*a beauty contest*: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 10.  
 “shoot the hell”: BDV, “Fossil Remnants of the Frontier,” *Harper’s*, April 1935.
- 10 called “genius”: BDV to Robert Forsythe, October 6, 1927, BDVP.  
 “bellowed at me”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, August 17, 1940, BDVP.  
 “continual stubbornness”: Florian DeVoto to BDV, September 6, 1923, BDVP.  
*A neighbor*: the neighbor was Stanley Tracey, who became an assistant FBI director; DeVoto FBI file.  
 “the ugliest”: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 7.  
 “The Lord says”: BDV, “Fossil Remnants of the Frontier.”
- 11 “to explain America”: BDV to “Art,” January 24, 1928, BDVP.  
 “a maverick”: BDV to Melville Smith, July 8, 1920, BDVP.

- "absolutes mean absolutism": BDV, "Position Maintained," *Harper's*, July 1940.  
 "My mind is": BDV to Byron Hurlbut, May or June 1923, BDVP.  
 "pour that arresting": BDV to Melville Smith, October 22, 1920, BDVP.  
*Mormon bishops*: *Bostonian*, November 15, 1944.  
 "These people are not": BDV to Melville Smith, July 8, 1920, BDVP.  
 12 "a shavetail": BDV to Lt. Col. John M. Kemper, October 28, 1943, BDVP.  
 "the thought of suicide": BDV to Byron Hurlbut, May or June 1923, BDVP.  
 "suppression of": Florian DeVoto to BDV, September 6, 1923, BDVP.  
 "Art is man": Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 157.  
 "His classes were": *Daily Northwestern*, circa spring 1926, BDVP, Box 154-2.  
 "He was supposed": Paul Driscoll, quoted in *Worcester Telegram*, circa 1950s, BDVP, Box 154-A.  
 "I must have been": BDV to Byron Hurlbut, June 1923 (?), BDVP.  
 13 "All this is probably": BDV to a classmate of ADV's, BDVP, Box 83.  
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 14 "It was because": BDV to Byron Hurlbut, June 1923 (?), BDVP.  
*a salary*: *Boston Post Magazine*, December 9, 1951.  
*a diamond*: WSP, Box 102, Folder 10.  
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 "He was always there": ADV to Chet Olsen, November 16, 1955, Chester J. Olsen Collection, Stewart Library Special Collections, Weber State University, Ogden, UT.  
 15 "Whatever the future": BDV to Byron Hurlbut, May or June 1923, BDVP.  
*on June 30*: WSP, Box 102, Folder 10.

## 2. THE SAGEBRUSH CAESAR

- 16 *Death came*: details in this section from BDV, *Western Paradox*; Andrew M. Honker, "Been Grazed Almost to Extinction," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Winter 1999; and *Afton Star Valley Independent*, August 1923.  
 "Dear Children": Florian DeVoto to BDV and ADV, 1920s, BDVP.  
 Bernard's "moods": Florian DeVoto to ADV, September 4, 1923, BDVP.  
 17 3.8 million: BDV, "The Western Land Grab," *Harper's*, June 1947.  
 "If Noah's flood": BDV, "The West," *Harper's*, January 1947.  
 19 "It is for God's sake": BDV, *Western Paradox*, 181.  
*the Dust Bowl*: details from Egan, *Worst Hard Time*; Kevin Baker, "Where Our New World Begins," *Harper's*, May 2019; Stegner, *Hundredth Meridian*, including Senator Gore quote, 356.  
*freshman from Nevada*: biographical details from Edwards, *Pat McCarran*, 73.  
 "so long as I have": *Congressional Record*, June 12, 1934, p. 11155.  
 20 "the Rotten Borough": details from Christopher J. Walker, "The History of School Trust Lands in Nevada," *Nevada Law Journal*, vol. 7, issue 1, 2006.  
 "The gang on the corner": Edwards, *Pat McCarran*, 48.  
*Norman Biltz ran*: details in this section from Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*; Lincoln Freeman,

- "Norman Biltz, Duke of Nevada," *Fortune*, September 1954; Sally Denton, *The Money and the Power: The Making of Las Vegas and Its Hold on America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2002).
- 21 "I fooled you": Edwards, *Pat McCarran*, 48.  
 "I wonder if": Norman Henry Biltz Papers, Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno.  
 "I don't know why": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 338.
- 22 *In the 1930s*: Denton, *The Money*, 44. Citing McCarran's bigotry, in 2021 the seven-member Clark County Commission in Nevada voted unanimously to rename McCarran Airport for one of his successors, Harry Reid.  
 "Greatest senator": Freeman, "Norman Biltz."  
 "patronage pigsty": Denton, *The Money*, 44.  
 "son of a bitch": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 379.  
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*The conservation measure*: history of Taylor Grazing Act from Matthew Allen Pearce,  
 "Discontent on the Range" (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 2014); Stegner, *Hundredth Meridian*; BDV, *Western Paradox*.
- 23 *small ranchers*: see Pearce, "Discontent," ch. 6.  
 "real investigation": Pearce, "Discontent," 281.  
*curated a series*: details from PMC, Boxes 37–41, "Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands Hearings."  
 "trafficking in public lands": Mary Whitehall to George Storck, September 1945, *ibid.*
- 24 "the sale of land": A. Phillip Foremaster to George Storck, August 1945, *ibid.*  
 "almost an impossibility": Mrs. Charles Ellis to George Storck, September 1941, *ibid.*  
 "an earth-shaking force": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 7.

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- 25 *Evanston News-Index*: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 60.  
 "We have arrived": BDV, quoted by John A. Gudmundsen, BDVP, Box 5.
- 26 *Alone, Avis peeled*: see BDV to "Art," June 20, 1928, BDVP.  
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*Bernard's face*: *Northwestern Purple Parrot*, BDVP, Box 154-2.  
*waste good alcohol*: see Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 49.  
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*wrote "tripe"*: BDV to Katharine Sterne, May 13, 1936, BDVP.  
 "I'll have my": H. L. Mencken to BDV, March 20, 1926, BDVP.  
*hurled in anger*: Stegner, *Mountain Water*, 250.
- 27 "smugness" and "self-righteousness": see, e.g., "Ogden: The Underwriters of Salvation" in Duncan Aikman, ed., *The Taming of the Frontier* (New York: Minton, Balch & Co., 1925).  
 "injure the delicate": *Ogden Standard*, no date (circa 1926), BDVP.  
 "picked up from DeVoto": ADV to JC, April 28, 1953, ADVP.  
*checks peeking*: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 80.  
*artistic nudes*: BDV to Katharine Sterne, February 11, 1935, BDVP.  
*running liquor*: BDV, "My Career as a Lawbreaker," *Harper's*, January 1954.  
 "the family bootlegger": Schlesinger, *A Life*, 38.



- cynical and “adolescent”: *New York Times Book Review*, October 5, 1924.  
 was called “overlong”: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 57.  
 “self-conscious manner”: *New York Herald Tribune*, July 29, 1928.  
 “disappointment of the year”: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 160; DeVoto’s last printed novel, *Mountain Time* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1946), would earn fair reviews and sell moderately.  
 he might not have: the teacher was LeBaron Russell Briggs; see Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 71, 398.  
 “young ass”: BDV, “Kent Potter Story,” in M. DeVoto, *Selected Letters*, Appendix B 4.  
 28 “You have put into words”: Helen O. G. to BDV, August 12, 1948, BDVP, Box 12.  
 “love for the country”: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 75.  
 “goose bumps of delight”: Susan P. Bowling to BDV, August 12, 1948, BDVP, Box 7.  
 “He was roaring now”: L. H. Butterfield, “Discover Our Continental Experience,” *New York Times*, February 24, 1974.  
 29 threw out 30,000: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 88.  
 “Of course I belong”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, May 13, 1936, BDVP.  
 traditional American writers: see, e.g., BDV, “Under Which King, Bezonian,” *Harper’s*, September 1941, and George C. Homans, *Coming to My Senses* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1984), ch. 6.  
 Avis gave birth: details of the DeVotos’ Lincoln residence from Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, esp. 135, 213.  
 Avis miscarried: see BDV to Katharine Sterne, January 22, 1940.  
 “Goodness we had fun!”: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 136.  
 30 “toothsome young virgins”: ADV to JC, July 31, 1954, ADVP.  
 “in the mood”: ADV to JC, March 20, 1953, ADVP.  
 “What do you do”: Homans, *Senses*, ch. 6.  
 Bernard discovered Twain’s first: details of BDV and of Twain executorship from Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 89.  
 “Those 20 pages”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, April 30, 1938, BDVP.  
 31 Harper’s was so impressed: details from BDV “#121,” *Harper’s*, November 1945, and “Number 241,” *Harper’s*, November 1955; also Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 161–162.  
 “bellowing from a platform”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, July 1935, BDVP.  
 “subsidizing fascists”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, April 25, 1944, BDVP.  
 “a snake’s ass hole”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, July 16, 1937, BDVP.  
 a place he detested: see BDV, “On Moving to New York,” *Harper’s*, November 1936, and “On Moving from New York,” *Harper’s*, August 1938.  
 32 “Genius Is Not Enough”: BDV, “The Story of a Novel, by Thomas Wolfe,” *Saturday Review of Literature*, April 25, 1936.  
 “They turned their backs”: BDV, “Writers of the Twenties Missed the Real Meaning of the Times,” *Saturday Review of Literature*, April 8, 1944.  
 “imbecile delusion”: BDV, “Notes on the American Way,” *Harper’s*, May 1938.  
 “monumental credulity”: BDV, “The Ex-Communists,” BDVP, Box 49.  
 “settled in advance”: BDV, “Notes on the Red Parnassus,” *Harper’s*, July 1936.  
 “a prose style so vehement”: “Angry Editor,” *Time*, March 14, 1938.  
 a “fascist”: see, e.g., BDV to *Nation* editor Carey McWilliams, March 27, 1950; BDV to a Mrs. Field, November 7, 1949.

- "spokesman for the literary": Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 189.  
*threats of violence*: see BDV to Katharine Sterne, January 25, 1937, BDVP.  
*being a "snob"*: *New Masses*, June 1, 1937.  
*"the bestial ideology"*: Russia State House of Foreign Literature retort, January 9, 1948, to BDV's praise of Wilfred E. Binkley's *American Political Parties* (New York: Knopf, 1943), BDVP, Box 154a.
- 33 *Lewis and Clark expedition*: BDV, "Passage to India," *Saturday Review of Literature*, December 5, 1936.  
*weasel tails*: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 421.
4. A WORLD ON FIRE
- 34 *Pulitzer Prizes*: Frost won the award in 1924, 1931, 1937, and 1943.  
*He loved a Harper's*: BDV, "New England There She Stands," *Harper's*, March 1932.
- 35 *"I can't get over"*: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 166.  
*"They would not find"*: Robert Frost, "Into My Own," in *A Boy's Will* (New York: Henry Holt, 1915).  
*"You don't know"*: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 166.  
*"I go tearful"*: BDV to Katharine Sterne, January 29, 1936, BDVP.  
*Avis's term*: see ADV to JC, November 19, 1958, ADVP.
- 36 *physically attractive*: ADV to Stegner, September 27, 1987, WSP, Box 14, Folder 14.  
*The DeVotos proudly*: details from Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 167; Kathleen Morrison details from Cambridge Women's Heritage Project ([https://www2.cambridgema.gov/Historic/CWHP/bios\\_m.html#MorrisonK](https://www2.cambridgema.gov/Historic/CWHP/bios_m.html#MorrisonK)).  
*"a family of sorts"*: Jay Parini, *Robert Frost: A Life* (New York: Henry Holt, 1999), 315.  
*"the monkeys"*: BDV, "The Critics and Robert Frost," *Saturday Review of Literature*, January 1, 1938.  
*write his biography*: see BDV to Katharine Sterne, September 2 (?), 1938, BDVP, and Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 192.
- 37 *"Avis and I"*: Frost to BDV, October 30, 1938, BDVP.  
*Frost began an affair*: Jeffrey Meyers, in *Robert Frost* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), claims that Bernard DeVoto had an affair with Kathleen Morrison and other women. He cited unpublished personal notes from Frost biographer Lawrance Thompson quoting the poet as saying Bernard kept a "harem" of women and that Morrison said her relationship with Bernard had an "innocence" because of his "impotence." Meyers interpreted each word sexually rather than figuratively and platonically. No evidence exists in the DeVotos' correspondence that Bernard ever strayed. Behavior speaks louder. Though the Morrisons and the DeVotos were never as close after Frost's affair, there was no breach to suggest that Avis and Theodore had been betrayed by their respective spouses coupling. Avis stayed friends with Kathleen all her life, and Theodore served as an usher at Bernard's funeral.  
*"I am too strong"*: quoted by Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 248.  
*"You're a good poet"*: *ibid.*, 249.  
*"He was a devil"*: ADV to JC, September 2, 1960, ADVP.
- 38 *"Avis is too tough"*: BDV to Katharine Sterne, September 8, 1941, BDVP, Box 3.

- “such a bastard”: ADV to JC, November 5, 1953, ADVP.  
*Her name was*: details from M. DeVoto, *Selected Letters*.  
 “female zombie”: Katharine Sterne to BDV, February (likely) 1942, BDVP.  
 “den of horrors”: Katharine Sterne to BDV, July 14, 1940, BDVP.  
 “a hell of a lot”: Katharine Sterne to BDV, January 1941, BDVP.
- 39 “Instead of writing”: ADV to JC, February 21, 1956, ADVP.  
*complimented her book reviews*: Katharine Sterne to BDV, after February 21, 1943, BDVP.  
*Avis agreed*: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 222.  
 “witty, restrained”: ADV to JC, February 21, 1956, ADVP.  
 “She kept her distance”: ADV to JC, February 21, 1956, ADVP.  
 “Sure you’re romantic”: BDV to Catherine Bowen, in Stegner, *Letters*, 277.  
 “You shouldn’t have”: Katharine Sterne to BDV, spring 1942, BDVP.
- 40 “wasn’t always the most”: ADV to Chet Olsen, “Wednesday” after BDV died, Chester J. Olsen Collection, Stewart Library Special Collections, Weber State University, Ogden, UT.  
*be too tolerant*: When Avis became executive of the Sterne letters after DeVoto’s death, she put them under seal until after her own death. Near the end of her life she assisted her son Mark in preparing an edited collection that was published in 2012. Avis said her delay in making the letters public was because others were alive whom DeVoto wrote about with extra vitriol, not because of any complicated questions it would raise about the workings of her marriage.  
*when Bernard reached*: details in this section from BDV, *Western Paradox*, ch. 1; “Easy Chair” columns; Katharine Sterne letters from summer 1940; and Schlesinger, *A Life*.
- 41 “That part of Kansas”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, July 14, 1940, BDVP.  
 “practically pathological”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, July 14, 1940, BDVP.  
*Her tough love response*: BDV, *Western Paradox*, 182.  
 “bring the land back”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, July 14, 1940, BDVP.  
*Schlesinger would remember*: Schlesinger, *A Life*, 232.  
 “Storm coming up”: BDV, *Western Paradox*, 183.
- 42 *The environmental triage*: FDR and CCC details from Brinkley, *Rightful Heritage*.  
 “A nation that destroys”: Brinkley, *Rightful Heritage*, 289.  
 “We must all dedicate”: *ibid.*, 344.  
 “a better country”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, June 15, 1940, BDVP.  
*Though overwhelmingly male*: Sexual integration was not a CCC achievement; auxiliary camps opened for fewer than 10,000 young women, despite Eleanor Roosevelt’s agitation. Brinkley, *Rightful Heritage*, 255–256.  
 “I’m afraid you get”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, July 14, 1940, BDVP.
- 43 “world is on fire”: BDV, “All Quiet Along the Huron,” *Harper’s*, November 1940.  
 “prophets of disaster”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, July 14, 1940, BDVP.  
*upstaged by Pat*: McCarran closed the event; see “Lindbergh Urges We ‘Cooperate’ with Germany if Reich Wins War,” *New York Times*, August 5, 1940, and Charles A. Lindbergh, *The Wartime Journals of Charles A. Lindbergh* (San Diego: Harcourt, 1970), 375.  
 “ready to get into”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, June 15, 1940, BDVP.  
 “those who would not”: FDR fireside chat, May 26, 1940.  
 “I guess maybe”: BDV to Katharine Sterne, June 15, 1940, BDVP.

- "*Avis dissuaded him*": Schlesinger, *A Life*, 234.
- 44 "*Always the loveliest*": BDV to Katharine Sterne, June 15, 1940, BDVP.  
*Avis could sleep*: see January 2, 1941, ADV to Mrs. Eugene Manlove Rhodes, BDVP.  
*and never leaving*: "I could hardly get her out," BDV to a Dr. Waldrop, April 29, 1946, BDVP.  
*"Buffalo country"*: BDV to Katharine Sterne, July 14, 1940, BDVP.  
*This "fine trip"*: BDV to Katharine Sterne, June 15, 1940; for more on DeVoto's sense of geographic, ecologic, geomorphic, and climatologic determinism, see his *Course of Empire* and Kaplan, *Earning the Rockies*.
- 45 "*We cannot separate*": Abraham Lincoln, first inaugural address, March 4, 1861.  
*"the great arsenal"*: Franklin Roosevelt, radio broadcast, December 29, 1940.

## 5. YEARS OF DECISION

- 47 *In the stormy spring*: details of the DeVotos' house from letters, recollections of Mark DeVoto, and Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 229–230; for financing details and interior descriptions, see BDV to Katharine Sterne, May 28, June 12, and September 8, 1941, BDVP.  
*half of all Americans*: Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 42.  
*\$20,000*: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 427, n. 9.  
*Buick Special*: BDV, "Western Trip, Impressions and Experiences," *Harper's*, August 1946.  
*oak parquet*: BDV, "Les Amis des Deux Fishboulettes," *Harper's*, May 1952.  
*"For the first time"*: BDV to Katharine Sterne, June 12, 1940, BDVP.  
*framed photos*: see ADV to JC, February 9, 1953, ADVP.
- 48 "*Villa DeVoto*": ADV to JC, February 13, 1955, ADVP.  
*"a happy woman"*: recollection of "Betty" to ADV, November 17, 1955, BDVP, Box 22.  
*registered for the draft*: BDV, "Commencement Address," *Harper's*, July 1942.  
*The army put Bernard*: see BDV, "Easy Chair," *Harper's*, March 1945.  
*studied Nazi propaganda*: see BDV, *The Literary Fallacy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1944), 115–116.  
*"The swagger"*: BDV, World War II speech, circa 1942, BDVP, Box 52.1.  
*marine brigadier general*: see ADV to JC, May 10, 1957, ADVP.
- 49 *feel "giddy"*: BDV to Lt. Col. John M. Kemper, October 28, 1943, BDVP.  
*Public lands contributed*: details from Brinkley, *Rightful Heritage*; Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*; and National Park Service, "World War II & The American Home Front" (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, 2007).
- 50 *rancher from Goleta*: see BDV to Katharine Sterne, May 18, 1943, BDVP.  
*"feel proud"*: Stephen Ambrose, introduction to the year 2000 edition of BDV's *The Year of Decision* (New York: St. Martin's Press).  
*"gone blind"*: ADV to JC, February 9, 1953, ADVP.
- 51 "*raise merry havoc*": Patrick McCarran to daughter Margaret, December 20, 1941, PMC.  
*"Hah-ha!"*: handwritten in margin of October 25, 1940, letter from George Storck to R. F. Camalier, PMC, Box 37.  
*"go to town"*: Earl Haskell to H. H. Hening, March 15, 1945, PMC, Box 37 (reference to New Mexico senator Carl Hatch, committee leader).  
*made house calls*: see Earl Haskell to W. A. Berryhill, April 9, 1942, and to Roderick Beach, August 27, 1943, PMC, Box 9.

- interrupt and take over*: see A. S. Gillespie to Patrick McCarran, September 29, 1941, PMC, Box 37.
- for being “unbiased”*: Russell Thorpe, secretary, Wyoming Stock Growers Association, to George Storck, October 10, 1941, PMC, Box 37.
- “the fairest”*: J. B. Wilson, secretary, Wyoming Wool Growers Association, to Patrick McCarran, October 11, 1941, PMC, Box 37.
- translated only by white men*: see Earl Haskell correspondence re: potential Navajo translator at Albuquerque meeting, PMC, Box 9.
- highest per capita*: “By the Numbers: A Look at Native Enlistment During the Major Wars,” Vincent Schilling, *Indian Country Today*, February 6, 2014, <https://denix.osd.mil/na/military/>.
- the only group*: according to letters sent during the McCarran Hearings by the Congress of American Indians, Wyoming Stock Growers Association Records, Box 84, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.
- Haskell tipped*: see Earl Haskell to Kelsey Presley, August 17, 1942, PMC, Box 9.
- “every consideration”*: Arizona Cattle Growers Association Newsletter, December 9, 1941, PMC, Box 37.
- Haskell encouraged*: see Earl Haskell to Jim Butler, September 15, 1945, PMC, Box 41.
- 52 *government targets*: see Earl Haskell to Benjamin F. Casey, March 31, 1943, PMC, Box 37.
- protect them against “reprisals”*: Earl Haskell to Roderick Beach, August 27, 1943, PMC, Box 9; see also Haskell to Walter Sarracino, November 13, 1943, PMC, Box 37.
- fury and distrust*: see Earl Haskell to Jim Butler, September 15, 1945, PMC, Box 41.
- affect the conservation workers*: Earl Haskell, letter, January 19, 1945, PMC, Box 41.
- Haskell privately called*: see Earl Haskell re: Virginia Graham, PMC, Box 9.
- more than fifteen million*: see BDV, “Easy Chair #134,” *Harper’s*, December 1946, and “The West,” *Harper’s*, January 1947; also J. Elmer Brock, “Truth vs. Fiction,” *American Cattle Producer*, May 1947.
- “The whole business”*: Paul F. Frieder to BDV, January 4, 1946 (probably 1947), BDVP.
- “stockmen were hoarding”*: J. B. Wilson to *Harper’s*, February 20, 1948, BDVP.
- “a large percentage”*: J. Elmer Brock, *American Cattle Producer*, May 1947.
- “Nevada stockmen”*: Walter Gilmer to Patrick McCarran, January 14, 1943, PMC, Box 37.
- 53 *“We do not want”*: H. Stanley Coffin to Patrick McCarran, January 28, 1943, PMC, Box 37.
- “We have no chance”*: “Norman H. Biltz: Memoirs of ‘Duke of Nevada,’” interview by Mary Ellen Glass, University of Nevada Oral History Program, Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno.
- Roosevelt received a report*: Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 362–363.
- “Norm, I can’t”*: “Norman H. Biltz: Memoirs of ‘Duke of Nevada,’” interview by Glass.
- “Patsy told me”*: *ibid.*
- 54 *“The way to get”*: BDV to Elmer Davis, March 28, 1944, BDVP.
- “intellectual revolutionary”*: DeVoto FBI file.
- barred from reading*: see Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 233–234.
- don’t go unless*: DeVoto’s friend was Sam Morison, an admiral in the US Navy Reserve and a World War II historian; author interview with Mark DeVoto.

- 55 "I don't think I'd better": BDV to Katharine Sterne, April 25, 1944, BDVP.  
"Well, will you wait": *Boston Daily Globe*, April 12, 1944.  
both arrested: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 261.  
"If they were to": *Boston Traveler*, January 3, 1945.
- 56 "The place to fight": BDV to Mina Curtiss, October 14, 1946, BDVP.  
They met: see Wendell Willkie to BDV, March 6, 1944, BDVP.  
"DeVoto points out": Wendell Willkie, March 10, 1944, BDVP.  
"To those who believe": *Boston Herald*, March 24, 1944.  
the charges: see BDV, "Literary Censorship," *Harper's*, May 1947, and "For the Record," *Harper's*, June 1955; also Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 299, 349–350.  
"It was perfect": BDV to Katharine Sterne, April 25, 1944, BDVP.
- 57 "courageous defense": Lillian Smith to BDV, May 24, 1944, BDVP.  
"Dear Avis": undated letter, BDVP, Box 21.  
"I'm tougher": ADV to JC, December 19, 1955, ADVP.

## 6. THE LANDGRAB

- 61 *The original Corps*: travelogue in this chapter drawn heavily from BDV's "Easy Chair" columns, August 1946–January 1947; BDV to Garrett Mattingly, June 4, 1946, BDVP; BDV, *Western Paradox*; reminiscences from ADV to JC, ADVP; Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*; and author interview with Mark DeVoto, August 2017.  
"I think he's got": ADV to JC, June 11, 1953, ADVP.  
Mark fell carsick: BDV to Garrett Mattingly, June 4, 1946, BDVP.
- 62 *An estimated one-third*: Stegner, "The Rediscovery of America: 1946," in *Mountain Water*, 44.  
"my old groove": BDV to Walt Dutton, September 23, 1945, BDVP.
- 63 *The Garrison Dam*: details from Reisner, *Cadillac Desert*; Peter Matthiessen, *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* (New York: Penguin, 1983).  
"a genuine blown": BDV to Garrett Mattingly, June 4, 1946, BDVP.  
"pick up hints": BDV, *Easy Chair*, 352.
- 64 *not be allowed to fish*: Reisner, *Cadillac Desert*, 200.  
"pan-fried to *parfleche*": BDV, "Western Trip, Impressions and Experiences," *Harper's*, August 1946.  
*As the DeVotos saw*: details from BDV, *Western Paradox*, ch. 6.
- 65 *J. Elmer Brock*: details from J. Elmer Brock Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.  
*Horace Curzon Plunkett*: Matthew Allen Pearce, "Discontent on the Range" (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 2014), 43.  
"The outlaws": Brock Collection, Folder 6.
- 66 "a miserable population": BDV, *Western Paradox*, 375.  
"get us what is ours": Pearce, "Discontent," 347.  
nearly verbatim: Pearce, "Discontent," 280, n. 1.  
60 percent: BDV, "Sacred Cows and Public Lands," *Harper's*, July 1948, and Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 380.



- a half-million acres: *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 3, 1941.
- 67 “a classic demonstration”: BDV, *Easy Chair*, 355.  
*In a move*: Pearce, “Discontent,” 311; Truman created the Bureau of Land Management on July 16, 1946.  
*“Beautiful. Ripe wheat”*: ADV to JC, December 16, 1967, ADVP.  
*“the romance of my life”*: Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Random House, 1979), 771.  
*Above the DeVotos*: details about wildlife resurgence during FDR’s presidency from Brinkley, *Rightful Heritage*, esp. 594 (map).
- 68 “the greatest good”: Gifford Pinchot, *The Fight for Conservation* (New York: Doubleday, 1910), 48.  
*“to help the small man”*: *ibid.*  
*shook the hand*: see BDV, “Gifford Pinchot’s *Breaking New Ground*,” *Harper’s*, May 1948.  
*“something important”*: BDV, *Easy Chair*, 352.  
*“require you to commit”*: BDV, “Number 241,” *Harper’s*, November 1955.  
*“most articulate spokesman”*: ADV to JC, February 7, 1953, ADVP.  
*“The high Montana”*: BDV to Katharine Sterne, July 14, 1940, BDVP.  
*“Western roots”*: BDV, “Western Trip.”
- 69 *“Even the crossroad”*: *ibid.*  
*“you begin to encounter”*: BDV, “The Anxious West,” *Harper’s*, December 1946.  
*“raw, thriving”*: from Herman Hagedorn, *Roosevelt in the Badlands* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), ch. 23.  
*Custer County acres*: James Allen Muhn, “The Mitzpah-Pumpkin Creek Grazing District” (MA thesis, Montana State University, 1987).  
*wooden bar*: description from November 28, 2018, author interview with Miles City resident John L. Moore.
- 70 *“I could have avoided”*: BDV, *Easy Chair*, 352.  
*“born fighter”*: BDV’s introduction to Joseph Kinsey Howard’s *Strange Empire* (New York: William Morrow, 1952), 3.
- 71 *“tenderloins and T-bones”*: BDV, “Western Trip.”  
*“smile, stranger”*: BDV, “Wayfarer’s Daybook,” *Harper’s*, December 1951.  
*“Avis was really”*: Joseph Kinsey Howard to BDV, July 11, 1946, BDVP.  
*“bitterly resented”*: BDV, *Easy Chair*, 352.  
*western “neurotic”*: Joseph Kinsey Howard to BDV, March 31, 1949, BDVP.  
*“You people”*: Joseph Kinsey Howard to BDV, July 11, 1946, BDVP.
- 72 *“Gosh, I wish”*: BDV, “Marco Polo’s Ford,” *Woman’s Day*, May 1947.  
*“Echoes of your passage”*: Joseph Kinsey Howard to BDV, July 11, 1946, BDVP.  
*“Let it blow”*: BDV, *Western Paradox*, 245.
- 73 *“The shabbiest chapter”*: BDV, “The Sturdy Corporate Homesteader,” *Harper’s*, May 1953.
- 74 *“There has never been”*: BDV to Ansel Adams, December 24, 1948, BDVP.  
*“an emotional presentation”*: Ansel Adams to Elbert K. Burlew, first assistant secretary, Department of the Interior, December 28, 1941, as quoted by Lauren Johnson in “Reading and Re-Reading Ansel Adams’s *My Camera in the National Parks*,” *Panorama*, Fall 2020.

- Yosemite Firefall*: author interview with Mark DeVoto, August 2017. (The firefall was discontinued in 1968.)
- "Drive it at night": BDV, "Night Crossing," *Woman's Day*, August 1947.
- 75 "stopped above eternity": BDV, "Roadside Meeting," *Woman's Day*, July 1947.  
 "most hair-raising drive": BDV, "Western Trip."  
 "those subterranean notions": BDV, "Night Crossing."
- 76 "It's moonlight": *ibid.*  
 "We were as exhausted": BDV, *Western Paradox*, 201.  
 "I am an absolutely": ADV to JC, June 11, 1953, BDVP.  
 "I pay due tribute": BDV, "Night Crossing."
- 77 Chester J. "Chet" Olsen: biography courtesy of Richa Wilson, Regional Heritage Program Leader, US Forest Service, Intermountain Region.  
*Utah had*: details from Kenneth W. Baldrige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps in Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2019), and Twila Van Leer, "CCC Camps Changed Utah — and Lives of Workers," *Deseret News*, August 8, 1995.  
 "the most spectacular": BDV, "Restoration of the Wasatch," *Harper's*, October 1949.
- 78 "A darling": ADV to JC, March 20, 1953, ADVP.  
*After World War II*: Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 664–669.
- 79 *twelve million veterans*: *ibid.*, 397. (An estimated 5 million families needed homes; 100,000 vets were homeless in Chicago alone, according to Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense*, 66–67).  
 "said that Senator": from Bugsy Siegel FBI file (<https://vault.fbi.gov/Bugsy%20Siegel%20>), Part 18, p. 50.  
 "funds made available": *ibid.*, 99.  
 "They were in the middle": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 667.  
 "in case he was": Siegel FBI file, Part 18, p. 54.  
 "pound the table": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 668.
- 80 *McCarran chauffeur*: see William B. Rice telegram of May 14, 1945, PMC, Box 37.
- 81 "best thing I ever did": BDV to Garrett Mattingly, August 1, 1946, BDVP.  
 "Thirty-nine miles": BDV, "Western Trip."  
 "I know what": ADV to JC, February 17, 1953, ADVP.  
 "Some of the big": BDV to Mrs. Hanson, October 5, 1948, BDVP. Added Bernard to Mrs. Hanson: "It was their bragging at Salt Lake City in the summer of 1946, in fact, that gave me the clue I needed to take me to a transcript of the Joint Committee meetings."  
 "loud talk": BDV, "Two-Gun Desmond Is Back," *Harper's*, March 1951.  
 "heart of the matter": BDV, *Easy Chair*, 352.  
*Rice entrusted it*: see BDV to Walt Dutton, October 21, 1946, BDVP: "the transcript which Chet Olsen and Mr. Rice showed me."  
 "Every newspaperman": BDV, *Easy Chair*, 352.
- 82 "swivel-chair oligarchy": quoted in BDV, "The West Against Itself," *Harper's*, January 1947.  
*nearly 146 million*: 145,777,974 million acres of BLM lands in the contiguous US per Arthur Carhardt, "Don't Fence Us In," *Pacific Spectator*, vol. 1, no. 3, Summer 1947.  
*resurvey the forests*: see J. Elmer Brock, *American Cattle Producer*, May 1947.  
 "The plan is": BDV, "The West Against Itself."
- 83 "The West committing": *ibid.*

- 85 “*psychic split*”: *ibid.*  
 86 “*Senator McCarran has*”: *ibid.*  
 “*where my dope*”: BDV to Joseph Kinsey Howard, May 25, 1948, BDVP.  
 “*magnificent job*”: Frederick Allen to BDV, September 24, 1946, BDVP.  
 “*My article fused*”: DeVoto, *Easy Chair*, 354.

## 7. A NEW WORD FOR “RUSTLER”

- 87 “*Let no man*”: as quoted by Ketcham, *This Land*, 396.  
 88 “*Faithful Old Cowboy*”: Harry Sever to BDV, July 16, 1953, BDVP.  
 “*You are just as*”: Horace Albright to BDV, January 17, 1947, BDVP.  
 “*thinking exactly*”: Leslie Miller to Alys Ritterbrown, cc’ed to BDV, January 28, 1947, BDVP.  
 “*how the West can*”: Stephen Kaufman to BDV, February 25, 1947, BDVP.  
 “*discussing and cussing*”: C. F. Latham to BDV, January 9, 1947, BDVP.  
 “*Do fight for us*”: Virginia Graham to BDV, February 23, 1947, BDVP.  
 “*On behalf of*”: Albert Van S. Pulling to BDV, January 31, 1947, BDVP.  
 “*punctuated ‘Amen!’*”: F. R. Farnsworth to BDV, December 27, 1946, BDVP.  
 “*I believe no*”: Richard Neuberger to Frederick Allen, January 20, 1947, BDVP.  
 “*pull the teeth*”: Jack Holmes to BDV, April 24, 1947, BDVP.  
 “*Keep your wrath!*”: Bennett Weaver to BDV, January 19, 1947, BDVP.  
 “*you deserve*”: Paul Frieder to BDV, January 4, 1946, BDVP.  
 89 “*Your last article*”: C. E. Dougherty to BDV, January 24, 1948, BDVP.  
 “*If I have ever*”: William Vogt to BDV, January 21, 1947, BDVP.  
 “*blew a gratifying*”: Henry Seidel to BDV, January 13, 1947, BDVP.  
 “*private ownership*”: quoted in BDV, “The Western Land Grab,” *Harper’s*, June 1947.  
 “*I have found*”: L. H. Linford to BDV, January 23, 1947, BDVP.  
 “*You will agree*”: *Colorado Granger*, January 1947.  
 “*Well, you sure*”: Joseph Kinsey Howard, December 15, 1946, BDVP.  
 “*I am so proud*”: ADV to JC, February 17, 1953, ADVP.  
 “*I truly believe*”: ADV to Chet Olsen, November 16, 1955, Chester J. Olsen Collection, Stewart Library Special Collections, Weber State University, Ogden, UT.  
 “*talked to ‘reds’*”: Rhoda Hanson to BDV, 1948, BDVP.  
 “*Having met you*”: *ibid.*  
 90 “*suffered a heart attack*”: see December 3, 1946, telegram from McCarran’s office (“Urgent you call Betty McCarran immediately”), Eva Adams Papers, Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno. “In December 1946 McCarran had a heart attack,” Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 413.  
 “*campaign of vituperation*”: see McCarran speech to Izaak Walton League, March 28, 1947, PMC, Box 47. McCarran took advantage of the league’s invitation to respond: he was reimbursed \$110 for expenses and entered his speech in the *Congressional Record*; see McCarran to Kenneth Reid, March 31, 1947, PMC.  
 “*Agents were stunned*”: Cartha DeLoach, quoted in Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 667.  
 91 “*Topics up for discussion*”: details from transcript of 1948 Wyoming Stock Growers Association

- meeting, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie. (Border fence, p. 333; Brock re: disease prevention, p. 269.)
- "Attacker of": *ibid.*, 102.
- "Slapped you fellows": *ibid.*, 109.
- "We have been lambasted": *ibid.*, 31.
- 92 "I want to file": Barrett Hearings transcripts, BDVP, Box 76.3.
- "firing squad hearings": BDV, "Sacred Cows and Public Lands," *Harper's*, July 1948.
- "If it wasn't for": Struthers Burt to BDV, October 15, 1947, BDVP.
- he was "boiling": BDV to Struthers Burt, March 2, 1948, BDVP.
- 93 "You started your": from Double J Ranch to BDV, July 4, 1950, BDVP.
- "Honors for": Katharine Graham, *Washington Post*, July 4, 1948.
- "weighted in favor": BDV, "Sacred Cows and Public Lands."
- "Stockman Barrett's": *ibid.*
- "acquiring ownership": J. Elmer Brock, *Denver Post*, February 2, 1947.
- 94 went to prison: Representative Thomas was sent to the same prison as two members of the Hollywood Ten.
- "prescriptive publicity": see Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 93, 339.
- "Extend every assistance": Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover*, 353.
- "dude ranch historian": see J. Elmer Brock to Frederick Allen, July 10, 1948, Wyoming Wool Growers Collection, American Heritage Center, Laramie, WY.
- "pink pen pusher": J. Elmer Brock to Frederick Allen, February 7, 1948, BDVP.
- De Voto's "ilk": Dan Hanson, *Cow Country*, December 18, 1948.
- Bernard mused: BDV, "Correct English and Communists in College," *Harper's*, June 1949.
- 95 "one of the stock": ADV to JC, February 27, 1953, ADVP.
- "bedeviling" Bernard: transcript, 1948 Wyoming Stock Growers Association meeting, p. 283.
- "should have a hammer": Charley Meyers, *Wyoming Eagle*, January 16, 1948.
- Brock demanded: see J. Elmer Brock to Frederick Allen, February 7, 1948, BDVP.
- "oily" Bernard De Voto: see J. Elmer Brock, *American Cattle Producer*, May 1947; the article was similar to the "Stockman's Brief" that Brock sent to Frederick Allen and J. Edgar Hoover.
- 96 Brock would claim: J. Elmer Brock, *Land Letter*, June 1948.
- "involve costs": J. Elmer Brock, "Whose Home on the Range?," October 1950, BDVP, Box 68, Folder 1045.
- "We are tired": J. Elmer Brock, *American Cattle Producer*, May 1947.
- "J. Elmer Brock is": BDV to Alfred Knopf, February 3, 1949, BDVP.
- "Ye blind guides": J. Elmer Brock to Russell Lynes, March 13, 1948, BDVP.
- "you are in the dilemma": BDV to Jonathan Forman, July 27, 1948, BDVP.
- 97 contacted Ben Hibbs: see BDV to Ben Hibbs, June 24, 1949, BDVP.
- "Brock is the prize": BDV to Russell Lynes, March 10, 1948, BDVP.
- "I have been enjoying": J. Elmer Brock to J. Byron Wilson, July 20, 1948, Wyoming Wool Growers Collection, American Heritage Center, Laramie, WY.
- "Like you I take": J. Byron Wilson to J. Elmer Brock, July 9, 1948, Wyoming Wool Growers Collection.
- "a little madder": J. Byron Wilson to J. Elmer Brock, July 29, 1948, Wyoming Wool Growers Collection.

*a fabulist and a plagiarist*: see BDV to Frederick Allen, March 21, 1948, BDVP, re: Brock's March 13 letter claiming "this malicious propaganda used by Mr. DeVoto originates from some of the most vicious of the 59 land management agencies. It has been pumped out to the public through your Mr. DeVoto."

*"I hope he may"*: BDV to Alfred Knopf, February 3, 1949, BDVP.

*"Brace yourself"*: J. Elmer Brock to J. Byron Wilson, April 3, 1948, Wyoming Wool Growers Collection.

- 98 *stroke of genius*: see transcript of 1948 Wyoming Stock Growers Association meeting; Colorado Stockgrowers 1948 Resolution #20 RAISING OF PUBLICITY FUNDS, BDVP, Box 68.

*by 1947*: transcript of 1947 Wyoming Stock Growers Association meeting.

*"Eat More Beef"*: see transcript of 1951 Wyoming Stock Growers Association meeting.

Through decades of evolutions of the livestock associations, and advertising mediums, Two-Gun Desmond is still fighting the bull in the twenty-first century using the updated slogan "Beef: It's What's for Dinner."

*"every time a factual statement"*: BDV, "#121," *Harper's*, November 1945.

*apologized for the "injustice"*: BDV to Merle Miller at *Harper's*, February 25, 1948, BDVP.

*"If you proof it"*: ADV to JC, January 9, 1953, ADVP.

- 99 *"just no books"*: ADV to JC, April 30, 1961, ADVP.

*suing for libel*: see Frank Barrett to attorney Louis Necho, January 7, 1948, BDVP, Box 7.

*"Barrett Rips"*: *State Tribune Leader*, January 22, 1948.

*"Bernard DeVoto, Rancher's Critic"*: *Denver Post*, April 29, 1948.

*"merely incidental"*: Russell Thorpe, quoted in *State Tribune Leader*, April 28, 1948.

*Bernard invited Scott*: see letter to BDV from W. L. Scott, May 17, 1948, BDVP, Box 19.

*"I'M AFRAID"*: telegram, Walter Scott to BDV, BDVP, Box 19.

- 100 *suggested Bernard "compromise"*: see BDV to Walt Dutton, May 21, 1948, BDVP.

*"Such intemperate language"*: Walter Scott to BDV, May 17, 1948, BDVP.

*tip from his western network*: see BDV to Frederick Allen, May 21, 1948, BDVP.

*"There are now"*: BDV to William Sloane, May 8, 1948, BDVP.

*"defeat the bastards"*: BDV to Walt Dutton, May 21, 1948, BDVP.

*"When the Grazing Service"*: BDV, "Sacred Cows," reprinted in *Western Paradox*, 79.

## 8. "DUE NOTICE TO THE FBI"

- 101 *printing "avowed extremists"*: BDV to Jonathan Forman, July 27, 1948, BDVP.

*"Brock is making"*: BDV to Morris Llewellyn Cooke, June 28, 1948, BDVP.

- 102 *"so visibly transformed"*: Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "A Man with a Mission," *New York Times*, December 19, 1954.

*11 percent*: see BDV, "Conservation Down and on the Way Out," *Harper's*, August 1954.

- 103 *"unimpaired for the enjoyment"*: from An Act to Establish a National Park Service, approved August 25, 1916.

- 104 *"I do recall"*: Morris Llewellyn Cooke to BDV, July 19, 1948, BDVP.

- 105 *\$12 billion*: BDV, "One Hundred Year Plan," *Harper's*, August 1950.

- McCarran threatened*: see letter to Patrick McCarran from Northcutt Ely, February 18, 1949, PMC, Box 1.
- a job reference*: see Paul Child to Morris Llewellyn Cooke, September 10, 1947, JCP.
- 106 “*What finally sparked*”: BDV to a Mr. Harding, October 19, 1949, BDVP.
- “*He checked*”: ADV to W. H. Hutchison, January 11, 1956, BDVP.
- 107 “*Of course the evaluators*”: BDV, “Due Notice to the FBI,” *Harper’s*, October 1949.
- “*witch hunt*”: see <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/education/presidential-inquiries/trumans-loyalty-program>.
- historians would estimate*: Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 91.
- 108 “*an avalanching danger*”: BDV, “Due Notice.”
- “*We are dividing*”: *ibid.*
- “*I like a country*”: *ibid.*
- Denver Post headlines: “*Rancher’s Target Moved*,” *Denver Post*, November 29, 1951, re: Earl D. Sandvig, chief of Forest Service Division of Range and Wildlife Management; “U.S. Shifts Second,” *Denver Post*, December 16, 1951, re: Roy L. Williams, supervisor, Bighorn National Forest.
- 109 “*Accusers did not*”: Leon Hurtt to BDV, June 5, 1949, BDVP. Peterson’s FBI file reveals that neither of his accusers would sign an affidavit or testify to a grand jury.
- a “*good job*”: see “1953, J. Edgar Hoover” at <https://news.gallup.com/poll/9964/timeline-polling-history-people-shaped-united-states-world.aspx>.
- 110 *anything “sassy”*: ADV to JC, October 26, 1955, ADVP.
- “*our sheep-like acceptance*”: Ralph Jacobs to BDV, October 3, 1949, BDVP.
- “*I want to thank you*”: W. F. Henze to BDV, October 7, 1949, BDVP.
- “*There are so few*”: Florence Eldridge to BDV, March 1949, BDVP.
- “*You are so right*”: Claire Cochran to BDV, October 18, 1949, BDVP.
- “*If, in the future*”: Jack O’Brien to BDV, October 21, 1955, BDVP.
- “*Best wishes*”: Chas Sauers to BDV, April 20, 1949, BDVP.
- “*I am glad*”: BDV, quoted by Tom Knudson, “FBI Was Out to Get Freethinking DeVoto,” *High Country News*, August 8, 1994.
- 111 *superlatives like “incredible”*: Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 78.
- “*Joe Frump*”: *ibid.*, 81.
- “*That’s the way*”: Tye, *Demagogue*, 107–108.
- “*This plan and this program*”: Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 8.
- “*A conspiracy on a scale*”: Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 197.
- “*McCarthy had made*”: *ibid.*, 208.
- 112 “*If I throw*”: “Norman H. Biltz: Memoirs of ‘Duke of Nevada,’” interview by Mary Ellen Glass, University of Nevada Oral History Program, Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno.
- “*If a fowl*”: Tye, *Demagogue*, 138.
- “*From now on*”: BDV, “Due Notice.”
- “*A surprising number*”: BDV to a Mr. Wilson, November 7, 1949, BDVP.
- “*rather obscene*”: special agent in charge, Butte, MT, to J. Edgar Hoover, September 7, 1949, DeVoto FBI file.
- 113 “*This article reflects*”: memo to all FBI headquarters, October 13, 1949, DeVoto FBI file.



- "I do not care": J. Edgar Hoover, *Harper's*, December 1949.  
 "both slightly tight": Fowler Harper to BDV, October 13, 1949, BDVP.  
 "Like a dog": Diamond, *Compromised Campus*, 42.  
 114 "between true Liberalism": Bureau Bulletin #71, 1947, DeVoto FBI file.  
 "Have you ever": BDV to Daniel Mebane, October 19, 1949, BDVP.  
 "don't try to pass": and additional details, from DeVoto FBI file.  
*Moles inside*: *ibid.* Freelance writer David Jacobson gave the FBI details about *Harper's*, as Harvard history professor William Elliott likewise did about BDV.  
 115 "As far as the sentiments": *ibid.*  
*references to the New Republic*: *ibid.*  
 "Hats Off": Diamond, *Compromised Campus*, ch. 7.  
 Hoover "blackballed" him: See Fowler Harper to BDV, October 13, 1949, BDVP.  
 116 "I learned long ago": Diamond, *Compromised Campus*, 164.  
*The agent's mind*: proceeding details from William Langer FBI file.  
 117 "extreme cordiality": *ibid.* William Langer's stepson, Evan Nelson, recounted in 2021 that according to family lore DeVoto dressed down the FBI agent by asking "how low can you sink?" This is not reflected in the agent's report.  
 "could surprise me": ADV to Robert E. Lee, February 10, 1956, BDVP.

## 9. "SHALL WE LET THEM RUIN OUR NATIONAL PARKS?"

- 118 "Nobody asked": BDV, "Shall We Let Them Ruin Our National Parks?" *Saturday Evening Post*, July 22, 1950.  
 "Shall We Let": the headline was flashed in episode six of the 2009 Ken Burns series *The National Parks: America's Best Idea*.  
 119 "The parks do not": BDV, "Shall We Let."  
*one of "the finest"*: Horace Albright to BDV, July 21, 1950, BDVP.  
*"crisis situation"*: Arthur Carhart to BDV, July 20, 1950, BDVP.  
*"those who vote"*: Leslie Miller to BDV, August 8, 1950, BDVP.  
*"noble"*: David Brower to BDV, August 7, 1950, BDVP.  
*said no*: see BDV to Mrs. Owen V. Young, August 15, 1950, BDVP.  
 120 *approved the Echo Park Dam*: Harvey, *Symbol of Wilderness*, 90–91.  
*"It looks like"*: Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 501.  
 121 *shocking testimony*: *ibid.*, 489.  
*"I have here"*: Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 109.  
*"card-carrying" Communists*: *ibid.*, 110.  
*"How do you say"*: *ibid.*, 186.  
 122 *"inference, allusion"*: quoted in Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 491.  
*"Hell, there ain't"*: Tye, *Demagogue*, 120.  
*"My forum is"*: quoted in Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 167.  
*"a good thing for the country"*: Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 158.  
*fourth most admired*: Tye, *Demagogue*, 371.  
*"pals" with Hiss*: BDV to Garrett Mattingly, September 27, 1951, BDVP.  
*a "prig"*: ADV to JC, March 1, 1967, ADVP.

- "the top Russian": Tye, *Demagogue*, 155.
- 123 "Pure moonshine": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 496.  
*camel dung*: *ibid.*, 574, and BDV to Katharine Sterne, September 6, 1934, BDVP.  
 "Positive as": ADV to JC, March 20, 1953, ADVP.  
 "I doubt if": BDV to Dr. Weimer, March 20, 1950, BDVP.  
*conflating communism*: Something Whittaker Chambers dodged by claiming that quitting communism cured him of being gay. See Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover*, 363.  
 "communists and queers": Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 529.  
 "either a Communist": Tye, *Demagogue*, 206.  
*letter to the editor*: see BDV letter to *Boston Herald*, April 4, 1950, BDVP.
- 124 "depressed over world": "F. O. Matthiessen Plunges to Death from Hotel Window," *Harvard Crimson*, April 1, 1950.  
 "If I hadn't pulled": Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 180-181.  
 "publicly discuss": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 591.  
 "I have been": *ibid.*
- 125 "he fathered": *Deseret News*, February 17, 1951.  
 "We are hoping": Day Edgar to BDV, August 8, 1950, BDVP.  
*temporarily barring*: see ADV to JC, April 28, 1953, ADVP.  
 "For the first": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 532.
- 126 "almost the perfect": *ibid.*, 487.  
 "totalitarian": *ibid.*, 527.  
*liberalized deportations*: *ibid.*, 465. McCarran's nativism was predictably unequal: in July 1949, as J. Elmer Brock agitated for more livestock-industry loopholes in Wyoming, McCarran said there was "no more important bill on the calendar" than one welcoming 250 Basque sheepherders from Spain.  
 "an evil man": *ibid.*, 7.  
 "symptoms of paranoia": BDV, "But Sometimes They Vote Right Too," *Harper's*, November 1950.
- 127 "a pissant in": Patrick McCarran to wife Martha, October 20, 1952, PMC.  
 "Pat is one of": *New York Herald Tribune*, January 2, 1954.  
 "of one blood": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 477.  
 "who writes for": *ibid.*, 626.  
 "Under the Taylor": Patrick McCarran to daughter Mary, January 29, 1954, PMC.
- 128 "I insist": ADV to JC, March 20, 1953, ADVP.  
 "strange dives": ADV to JC, February 9, 1953, ADVP.  
 "little hole in the wall": ADV to JC, May 30, 1952, ADVP.  
 "I am perfectly positive": ADV to JC, February 27, 1953, ADVP.
- 129 "like a homing pigeon": ADV to JC, May 30, 1952, ADVP.  
 "just like my boys": BDV to Chas Sauers, May 22, 1950, BDVP.  
 "Say, son": BDV in A. B. Guthrie, *Nieman Reports*, January 1958.  
 "the Government issue": Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 139.  
*quarries inspected*: *ibid.*, 172.  
*The beef bubble*: details in this section from Davis, *River*.

- 130 “To those of you”: quoted by Cody Newill in “How Kansas City’s West Bottoms Went from Vacant to Vibrant,” *KCRU*, August 13, 2014.
- 131 “It’s the worst”: Louisville *Courier-Journal*, July 18, 1951.
- 132 “The Bureau knows”: Joseph Kinsey Howard to BDV, circa January 3, 1948, BDVP.  
 “absolutely uncorruptable”: BDV to Henry Allen Moe of Guggenheim Foundation, January 12, 1948, BDVP.  
 “delighted and proud”: Joseph Kinsey Howard to BDV, April 10, 1947, BDVP.  
 “summit of human”: BDV to Garrett Mattingly, October 16, 1951, BDVP; DeVoto “spent ten days in the mts with Joe Howard.”
- 133 tears of joy: see Senator Richard Neuberger, *Congressional Record*, January 20, 1956, p. 1005.  
 “who also appreciated”: Ellers Koch to BDV, December 17, 1952, BDVP.  
 “I temporarily recovered”: BDV to Garrett Mattingly, October 16, 1951, BDVP.  
 Howard’s impoverished mother: see Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 411.  
 “God-damndest fool”: BDV to Garrett Mattingly, October 28, 1950, BDVP.
- 134 “It’s a hell”: ADV to JC, April 28, 1953, ADVP.  
 “All of us know”: Elizabeth Pike to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.

## 10. NEW FRIENDS

- 135 *Though Hunt was*: details from McDaniel, *Dying*.  
 “pimping for”: BDV to a Mr. Basso, August 31, 1951, BDVP.
- 136 “for the glory”: *ibid*.  
 “hitting below the belt”: McDaniel, *Dying*, 183. Ironically, McCarthy’s story that the Nazi confessions were coerced was Soviet propaganda.  
 “a dam which”: Patrick McCarran to Edith L. St. Cyr, February 20, 1952, PMC.
- 137 “One couldn’t have prayed”: Harvey, *Symbol of Wilderness*, 7.
- 138 “considerable correspondence”: Lester Hunt to BDV, March 24, 1953, BDVP.  
 “For your information”: Arthur Watkins to Lester Hunt, April 16, 1952, Lester Calloway Hunt Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.  
 “The great majority”: Lester Hunt to Arthur Watkins, April 19, 1952, Hunt Papers.  
*DeVoto and Lester Hunt*: Lester “Buddy” Hunt Jr. details from McDaniel, *Dying*.
- 139 *April issue of Fortune*: BDV, “Why Professors Are Suspicious of Business,” *Fortune*, April 1951.  
 “as being associated”: BDV, “Crusade Resumed,” *Harper’s*, November 1951.  
 “talking out”: ADV to JC, July 20, 1956, ADVP.  
 “a magazine that helps”: ADV to JC, February 17, 1953, ADVP.
- 140 “the only mission”: BDV, “Crusade Resumed.”  
 “a Communist or fellow”: *ibid*.  
 “I do all”: ADV to JC, May 30, 1952, ADVP.  
 “Your able diatribe”: JC to ADV, March 8, 1952, JCP.  
 “Dear Mrs. Child”: ADV to JC, April 3, 1952, ADVP.

## II. POTENT MIXTURES

- 141 “the charming *DeVoto*”: Jan Donnelly to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.  
“Dear Mrs. *DeVoto*”: Ethan W. Vars to ADV, December 9, 1951, BDVP.  
“it is very relaxing”: ADV to JC, May 30, 1952, ADVP.  
“sent back recipes”: JC to ADV, May 5, 1952, JCP.
- 142 “6 ft. plus”: JC to ADV, February 23, 1953, JCP.  
“well, dear”: ADV to JC, March 20, 1953, ADVP.  
“He really can”: JC to ADV, January 28, 1953, JCP.  
“a rough-hewn”: ADV to JC, February 17, 1953, ADVP.  
“think McCarthy is ”: JC to ADV, May 5, 1952, JCP.  
*Julia McWilliams*: details from Spitz, *Dearie*; Conant, *Covert Affair*; Reardon, *As Always, Julia*; Child, *My Life*.
- 143 “pleasantly crazy”: Conant, *Covert Affair*, 80–81.  
“Over the 18 months”: *ibid.*, 197.  
only “exhausted”: *ibid.*, 199.
- 144 “I do love”: Spitz, *Dearie*, 154.  
“operational proof”: Conant, *Covert Affair*, 227.  
“We may have passed”: ADV to JC, December 16, 1967, ADVP.  
“rapacious lumber”: Paul Child, diary, July 20, 1946, p. 404, JCP.  
“that high silent”: JC to ADV, August 20, 1953, JCP.  
“deep-seated charm”: Paul Child, diary, July 28, 1946, p. 421, JCP.  
it was working well: Spitz, *Dearie*, 148; “and they made love, often and splendidly.”
- 145 “I love her”: Paul Child, diary, July 28, 1946, p. 422, JCP.  
“I feel it”: Spitz, *Dearie*, 195.  
“If you could see”: *ibid.*, 194.  
“I inmodestly think”: JC to ADV, December 15, 1952, JCP.  
“no such thing”: ADV to JC, December 25, 1952, ADVP.
- 146 “art’s sunburst”: BDV, *The Hour* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951), 67. BDV recommended Gordon’s gin and Old Forester bourbon.
- 147 “Heresiarch!”: Paul Child to BDV, May 23, 1953, JCP.  
“Be not so”: BDV to Paul Child, June 7, 1953, JCP.  
*Patrick Hurley*: details from Fenby, *Chiang Kai-shek*; David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (New York: Random House, 1972); Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*; Conant, *Covert Affair*.  
*built picture props*: OSS leader “Wild” Bill Donovan wrote “to the boys back home” (likely the Office of the Commanding General, United States Forces, China Theatre), quoted in Paul Child, diary, February 11, 1945, pp. 249–250, JCP: “Child has most effectively aided Gen. Wedermeyer and Hurley in getting across to Chiang Kai-shek the kind of points which can be made in no other way.”  
*He blamed “disloyal”*: Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 567.  
“weakness in”: Conant, *Covert Affair*, 242.
- 148 “engineered”: Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 456.  
“The floodgates”: *ibid.*, 479.  
“Trojan Horse”: *ibid.*, 364.

- "We are having": Martha McCarran to daughter Mary, (undated) 1949, PMC.  
 "It was grand": Patrick McCarran to daughter Mary, October 27, 1949, PMC.  
 "Ambassador from Nevada": *Reporter*, September 13, 1949.  
 "A very tolerant": Patrick McCarran to daughter Margaret, November 9, 1949, PMC.
- 149 "My investigation": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 469.  
 "a one-man monkey-wrench": *Washington Post*, August 30, 1949.  
 "We had not realized": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 478.  
 "I couldn't get over": Spitz, *Dearie*, 172.  
 "I wouldn't give": Patrick McCarran to daughter Mary, September 25, 1949, PMC.
- 150 "Our aim": BDV, "Stevenson and the Independent Voter," *Harper's*, April 1952.
- 151 "hadn't been a neurotic": BDV to Garrett Mattingly, September 30, 1952, BDVP.  
 The platform the Democrats: see: [www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/1952-democratic-party-platform](http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/1952-democratic-party-platform).  
 "opportunity for ownership": [www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/republican-party-platform-1952](http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/republican-party-platform-1952).  
 152 government "partnerships": Harvey, *Symbol of Wilderness*, 150.
- 153 "my hero": JC to ADV, November 18, 1954, JCP.  
 "I want to know": JC to ADV, November 10, 1954, JCP.  
 "What does Benny": JC to ADV, June 8, 1955, JCP.  
 "the public lands business": JC to ADV, February 23, 1953, JCP.  
 "Good God no": ADV to JC, February 27, 1953, ADVP.  
 "less harried": ADV to JC, June 11, 1953, ADVP.  
 "damn near all": ADV to JC, February 12, 1954, ADVP.  
 "B. said": ADV to JC, December 15, 1954, ADVP.  
 "We are going to have": ADV to JC, March 20, 1953, ADVP.  
 "B says the best": ADV to JC, September 30, 1954, ADVP.  
 "We've just gotten": JC to ADV, May 20, 1953, JCP.  
 "What's the country": JC to ADV, November 10, 1953, JCP.  
 "Maybe the Republicans": JC to ADV, November 23, 1953, JCP.

## 12. RICHARD DEVOTO'S ORDEAL

- 154 "My family thanks": ADV to JC, October 3, 1952, ADVP.  
 "This is a completely": *ibid*.  
 "Drive a bulldozer": BDV to Garrett Mattingly, September 30, 1952, BDVP.
- 155 "perfectly hysterical": ADV to JC, October 3, 1952, ADVP.  
 "I was elated": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 621.  
*Greenspun was the only*: quotes that follow from *ibid.*, 684–685.  
 "Greenspun apparently": ADV to JC, February 22, 1954, ADVP.  
 "a man I love": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 684.
- 156 Hoover had fed: Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover*, 402; "Hoover was the source of the whispers."  
*fired for misconduct*: Donald Arthur Surine FBI removal document, February 8, 1950, plus additional details from <http://archive.org/details/DonaldA.Surine>.  
 "If it walks": Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 398.

- 157 “trying to dig”: BDV to Professor Pedrick, December 11, 1952, BDVP.  
*Details from the top*: DeVoto FBI file.  
*“physically beaten”*: Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 243.  
*a “jig-saw puzzle”*: McCarthy’s prepared remarks, “Text of Address by McCarthy,” *New York Times*, October 28, 1952.  
*“Richard Dee Voto”*: transcript and audio of speech McCarthy actually gave at <http://americanrhetoric.com/speeches/joemccarthyagainststevenson.htm>.
  - 158 “I do not know”: *Denver Post*, October 29, 1952. The spokesman was Farrington Carpenter.
  - 159 *through Surine to McCarthy*: details from DeVoto FBI file; BDV to Professor Pedrick, December 11, 1952, BDVP; *Boston Post*, February 12, 1947. In the Pedrick letter, BDV speculates that McCarthy’s investigator (surely Surine) was tipped to the *Post* story by a grudgeful worker in a newspaper morgue; if so, DeVoto’s FBI file suggests the FBI could have tipped him to go there.  
*“DeVoto denounces”*: <http://americanrhetoric.com/speeches/joemccarthyagainststevenson.htm>.  
*“bourgeoise” and “imperialist”*: *Daily Worker*, December 26, 1952.  
*“I have no desire”*: *Utica Press*, November 8, 1952.
  - 160 “He quoted me”: BDV to Professor Pedrick, December 11, 1952.  
*“Anyone who knows”*: *United Press*, November 4, 1952.  
*“I do believe in”*: Associated Press, October 28, 1952.  
*“he reviewed much of”*: *Houston Chronicle*, October 30, 1952.  
*“failed to answer”*: *United Press*, October 31, 1952.  
*“The giving gets”*: *The News* [Dayton, OH], June 20, 1953.
  - 161 “I suggest before you vote”: Joseph McCarthy, transcript, BDVP, Box 72. McCarthy was wrong when he said it was the “following issue” of *Harper’s* that printed Hoover’s response to “Due Notice to the FBI.” That came two issues later, in December 1949.  
*“radio lightning”*: *New York Times*, November 30, 1952.
  - 162 “McCarthy is a liar”: Associated Press, November 4, 1952.  
*“McCarthy concentrated”*: *ibid*.
13. “TO AVIS AND BERNARD”
- 164 “with that little worm”: ADV to JC, April 28, 1955, ADVP.  
*“hit-and-run” attacks*: *ibid*.  
*“didn’t care a bit”*: ADV to JC, April 25, 1955, ADVP.  
*“I can imagine”*: William Sloan to BDV, November 12, 1952, BDVP.  
*“Please be frank”*: JC to ADV, December 15, 1952, JCP.  
*some keen editing*: see Calvin Tompkins, “Cooking with Julia Child,” *The New Yorker*, December 23, 1974.  
*“Absolutely convinced”*: ADV to JC, December 25, 1952, ADVP.  
*“preparing the way”*: *ibid*.
  - 165 “itch to get into”: ADV to JC, January 13, 1953, ADVP.  
*“all this time”*: JC to ADV, January 28, 1953, JCP.  
*“We are all set”*: ADV to JC, January 22, 1953, ADVP.

- "I can't tell you": JC to ADV, January 5, 1953, JCP.  
 "I am as pleased": ADV to JC, January 22, 1953, ADVP.  
 "the activities of Bernard": BDV to Carroll Kearns (no date, circa April 1953), BDVP; also *Congressional Record*, April 23, 1953, p. 3742.  
 "Bernard De Voto and his fellow": Richard Neuberger to BDV, forwarding note about Mathew Ellsworth from industrial consultant Ivan Bloch, September 23, 1953, BDVP.  
 "I did not": Mathew Ellsworth to BDV, November 9, 1953, BDVP.  
 he did not associate: see August 31, 1955, DAR president Gertrude S. Carraway to John Fischer at Harper's; also Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 353.  
 166 lose money if: BDV to Professor Pedrick, December 11, 1952, BDVP.  
 the new "poison": the 3 x 5 notecards are in BDVP, Box 52.2.  
 "Too few people know": ADV to JC, February 27, 1954, ADVP.  
 "greatest comfort": ADV to JC, March 20, 1953, ADVP.  
 "We miss": ADV to JC, July 31, 1954, ADVP.  
 a "widow": ADV to JC, February 3, 1954, ADVP.  
 "I cry with you": JC to ADV, August 4, 1954, JCP.  
 167 storm out fighting: see BDV, "Hazards of the Road," *Harper's*, March 1955, and Betty Zoss to BDV, January 23, 1955, BDVP.  
 Paul crafted: the valentines are in ADVP.  
 "Sorry, fellows": ADV to JC, February 3, 1954, ADVP.  
 168 "Definition of a wife": JC to ADV, April 11, 1954, JCP.  
 "when at last": JC to ADV, February 18, 1953, JCP.

#### 14. BLACK MACS AND BANNED BOOKS

- 169 "the two Black Macs": see letter from Huntington Woods, MI, resident to BDV, January 7, 1953, BDVP, Box 13.  
 "I simply couldn't": Ray Bradbury to BDV, November 15, 1952, BDVP, Box 52.1.  
 "consistent opposition": Arthur Hays Sulzberger to BDV, December 15, 1953, BDVP.  
 170 "McCarthy and McCarran may have": Elmer Davis to BDV, January 10, 1953, BDVP.  
 One unintentionally prescient: Zuma Baldwin to Patrick McCarran, July 16, 1950, PMC, Box 51.  
 Another fan wrote: PMC, Box 16.  
 One envelope had: *ibid.*  
 "McCarthy, McCarran, et al": Robert H. Ellis to BDV, March 4, 1953, BDVP.  
 "I cannot distinguish": BDV to Robert H. Ellis, March 4, 1953, BDVP.  
 171 perjury charges: Cohn scrutinized testimony by Owen Lattimore, the American advisor in China during World War II who was a constant McCarran and McCarthy scapegoat. Cohn's reading of Lattimore's twelve days of testimony—the longest of anyone's to date before a Senate investigative committee—resulted in seven perjury counts. All were dismissed after Lattimore's reputation was ruined. The DeVotos donated to Lattimore's defense fund.  
 Cohn and McCarran alleged: details from Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, ch. 23.  
 "If Feller's conscience": *ibid.*, 656.  
 172 "If I don't I am afraid": Tye, *Demagogue*, 301.

- "Mr. Kaplan had no fear": Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 271.
- "I must warn you": ADV to JC, March 11, 1953, ADVP.
- 173 "This is just": JC to ADV, circa early 1953, JCP, A-167, DeVoto folder 65.
- "Paul and I": JC to ADV, January 28, 1953, JCP.
- "People either adore": ADV to JC, February 9, 1953, ADVP.
- Books were burned*: details from Richard H. Rovere, "The Adventures of Cohn and Schine," *Reporter*, July 21, 1953; Conant, *Covert Affair*; Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*; Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*; Tye, *Demagogue*.
- 31,000 "subversive" books: Rovere, "Adventures."
- 174 "I understand that": DeVoto FBI file.
- "Glad to say": from BDV speech "Some American Symbols" (given in numerous locations, circa 1953), BDVP, Box 52.2.
- "I have never been": JC to ADV, July 16, 1953, JCP.
- "get rid of": JC to ADV, undated, circa spring 1953, JCP.
- "What does DeVoto": JC to ADV, April 8, 1953, JCP.
- "Never has a": *Rocky Mountain News*, June 25, 1953.
- "a Hitler": JC to ADV, handwritten, undated, circa April 1953, JCP.
- 175 "If I went home now": JC to ADV, July 16, 1953, JCP.
- "chief consultant": Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 255.
- Julia reported*: details from JC to ADV, undated, circa April 1953, JCP.
- "Everyone waited": *ibid.*
- 176 *Ronald Peterson, the Forest Service*: Peterson details from divorce records in the Missoula County Courthouse, from Sen. Lee Metcalf files at the Montana Historical Society in Helena, from Peterson's FBI file, and from author interviews with Peterson's granddaughter, Sarah Shomion.
- the false rumor*: At the time Hoover shared the gay rumor with the loyalty board, he knew that its possible originator, Peterson's first wife, was institutionalized. He ordered agents not to speak to her or assess her mental condition. See FBI Director to New Orleans SAC, June 23, 1952, and New Orleans SAC to FBI Director, July 8, 1952, Peterson FBI file.
- 177 *approximately 12,000*: [www.trumanlibrary.gov/education/presidential-inquiries/trumans-loyalty-program](http://www.trumanlibrary.gov/education/presidential-inquiries/trumans-loyalty-program).

## 15. GREEN RIVER CANYONS NATIONAL PARK

- 178 *McCarran's monopolistic policies*: details from Egan, *Lasso the Wind*; Stegner, *Hundredth Meridian*; BDV, "Conservation: Down and on the Way Out," *Harper's*, August 1954.
- "conflicts between": BDV, "Conservation."
- 179 *The National Park Service*: details from BDV's "National Park Service," *Harper's*, March 1949, and "Let's Close the National Parks," *Harper's*, October 1953.
- "In the twentieth century": BDV, "Billion Dollar Jackpot," *Harper's*, February 1953.
- "Keep up the fight": John Chohlis to BDV, April 16, 1953, BDVP.
- "He's had a good response": ADV to JC, February 27, 1953, ADVP.
- "Is there anything": JC to ADV, February 23, 1953, JCP.
- 180 "expert baby-kisser": BDV to Garrett Mattingly, September 30, 1952, BDVP.



- "I can find no part": BDV to JFK, September 15, 1953, BDVP.  
 "That was an excellent": JFK to BDV, March 6, 1953, BDVP.  
 Kennedy had asked: see Rep. Leroy Johnson to BDV, March 25, 1953, BDVP.
- 181 "guinea pig": ADV to Judith Jones, November 26, 1969, ADVP; Avis was explaining her donation of letters to the Schlesinger Library.  
 "The cattle-raisers": ADV to JC, February 27, 1953, ADVP.
- 182 "Things are as bad": Alfred Meyers, quoted in "New Dust Bowl? Drought and Wind Rake 11 Million Acres in West; Crop Losses Top 1930s," *Wall Street Journal*, 1954, BDVP, Box 52.1.  
 a quarter-billion pounds: "Texts of Three Eisenhower Statements," *New York Times*, December 19, 1953.  
 the government began subsidizing: see transcript of 1954 Wyoming Stock Growers Association meeting, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.  
 only from wheat farmers: see J. Elmer Brock to Frank Barrett, May 4, 1953, Frank A. Barrett Papers, Box 53, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.  
 "to the hilt": see O. E. Bertagnolli to Frank Barrett, March 15, 1954, Barrett Papers, Box 53.
- 183 "Talking politics": ADV to JC, February 27, 1954, ADVP.  
 "the kind of man": ADV to JC, November 5, 1953, ADVP.  
 Snow revealed: details from Snow, *From Missouri*.  
 "plow up every third": *ibid.*, 143.  
 "Our sharecroppers": *ibid.*, 131.
- 184 "purely indigenous": *ibid.*, 215.  
 "All the people": *ibid.*, 209.  
 "I can't tell you": ADV to JC, October 23, 1953, ADVP.  
 "I ought to be": ADV to JC, February 27, 1954, ADVP.  
 "I just adore": ADV to JC, April 15, 1954, ADVP.  
 "stubborn as": ADV to JC, undated, circa spring 1954, ADVP.  
 "had one of B's martinis": ADV to JC, April 15, 1954, ADVP.
- 185 "Wish I had": ADV to JC, February 17, 1953, ADVP.  
 "Do you know any": *New York Post*, May 8, 1953.
- 186 "B tried to teach": ADV to JC, June 11, 1953, ADVP.  
 The family: details from BDV, "Motel Town," *Harper's*, September 1953, and "Parks and Pictures," *Harper's*, February 1954.  
 "B. quite sure": ADV to JC, September 12, 1953, ADVP.
- 187 "Suddenly I thought": BDV to Garrett Mattingly, October 28, 1953, BDVP.  
 "deposited my lunch": *ibid.*  
 "fine old ruffian": ADV to JC, September 12, 1953, ADVP.
- 188 "Saw a helluva": *ibid.*  
 "B continues to love": *ibid.*  
 "lousy" Ogden: BDV to Garrett Mattingly, October 28, 1953, BDVP.  
 "a trim looker": *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, July 10, 1953.  
 "The wildest amusement": ADV to JC, February 9, 1953, ADVP.
- 189 "a hell of a lot more": BDV to Garrett Mattingly, February 21, 1954, BDVP.  
 "that the Communists": Boy Scouts, Westbury, Long Island, to BDV, February 3, 1953, BDVP.

- Avis shielded*: see ADV to JC, February 9, 1953, ADVP.
- "In many years"*: BDV, "Notes on Western Travel," *Harper's*, November 1953.
- "our conversation about"*: Roald Peterson to BDV, February 6, 1954, BDVP.
- buying spices*: see ADV to JC, June 11, 1953, ADVP.
- "whenever I go back"*: BDV, "Notes on Western Travel."
- "wonderful country"*: ADV to JC, September 12, 1953, ADVP.
- 190 *"scenic carpetbagger"*: William Dawson to BDV, July 3, 1953, BDVP.
- Hatch was evicted*: Harvey, *Symbol of Wilderness*, 253.
- 191 *"I wasn't disabled"*: BDV to Garrett Mattingly, October 28, 1953, BDVP.
- "most beautiful"*: *ibid.*
- The erosion exposed*: <https://www.nps.gov/dino/learn/nature/geology.htm>.
- 192 *"DeVoto Comes Out Fighting"*: *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 25, 1954.
- 193 *The history gripped Bernard*: Ancestral Puebloan details from Diamond, *Collapse*, ch. 4.
- 194 *"I've never seen Mesa Verde"*: JC to ADV, July 16, 1953, JCP.
16. HIS TRUE NAME IS LEGION
- 196 a *"swaggering" man*: McDaniel, *Dying*, 253.
- "soliciting for a lewd"*: *ibid.*, 280.
- McCarran, as a senior member*: Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 591.
- "unnatural act"*: McDaniel, *Dying*, 289.
- "looked as if"*: Drew Pearson, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," June 23, 1954.
- 197 *"Pork appears"*: BDV, "Intramural Giveaway," *Harper's*, March 1954.
- "participating projects"*: Raymond Moley, *What Price Federal Reclamation?* (New York: American Enterprise Association, 1955), 51–54.
- 198 a *"perversion"*: Raymond Moley, "Case Against Colorado River Storage Project and Participating Projects," printed in 1956 Economic Report of the President (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1956).
- "To attempt a serious"*: *ibid.*
- private utility rates*: see J. Elmer Brock to Frank Barrett, March 30, 1954, Frank A. Barrett Papers, Box 53, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.
- for embracing "socialism"*: *Wyoming Eagle*, March 28, 1954.
- 199 *he had "raped"*: John Geoffrey Will of Upper Colorado River Commission to Lester Hunt, Lester Calloway Hunt Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.
- "We think that a majority"*: Mrs. B. F. Miller to Lester Hunt, January 19, 1954, Hunt Papers.
- "Feel certain that congress"*: Lester Hunt to constituent, January 30, 1954, Hunt Papers.
- powerless to do anything*: see PMC, Box 60.
- "you and I have been"*: J. Elmer Brock to J. Byron Wilson, October 6, 1954, Wyoming Wool Growers Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.
- "We'll wreck the Army"*: Tye, *Demagogue*, 411.
- 200 *"the greatest victory"*: Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 401.

In this very dangerous: Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "The Politics of Julia Child '34," *Smith Alumnae Quarterly*, Spring 2013.

"Taking her cue": Conant, *Covert Affair*, 250.

"It's a hard dirty": Child, *My Life*, 182–183.

"noble effort": ADV to JC, dated "Sunday," circa summer 1954, ADVP.

201 "mad in love": ADV to JC, April 30, 1954, ADVP.

"very salty character": ADV to JC, June 7, 1955, ADVP.

"Have you no decency": Tye, *Demagogue*, 436.

mailed him some: see ADV to JC, June 7, 1955, ADVP.

McCarran told veterans: "McCarran Praises McCarthy Success," *New Hampshire Sunday News*, May 2, 1954, PMC.

"just plain wrong": "Hunt Takes Life in Senate Office," *New York Times*, June 20, 1954.

202 "pale and depressed": *ibid.*

*The next morning*: details from McDaniel, *Dying*.

*final political acts*: see Lester Hunt, March 17, 1954, Hunt Papers.

*Crippa gave a speech*: see Crippa to Senate Interior Committee, June 28, 1954, Barrett Papers, Box 53.

"the conspiratorial mind": BDV to Garrett Mattingly, June 28, 1954, BDVP.

203 "This is a helluva": ADV to JC, April 28, 1955, ADVP.

told the graduates: all quotes from BDV's speech "The Recurring Platitude," BDVP and <http://mdevotomusic.org/?p=154>.

## 17. THE WESTERN PARADOX

205 "eight-fathoms deep": ADV to JC, April 28, 1955, ADVP.

"got a royalty check": ADV to JC, December 16, 1953, ADVP.

"share of this loot": ADV to JC, February 9, 1953, ADVP.

206 "if here the McCarthy's": JC to ADV, October 1, 1954, JCP.

invaded by "strangers": ADV: Memoir About Julia Child, dictated to Mark DeVoto, October 16, 1988, ADVP.

"is a man of": ADV to JC, July 31, 1954, ADVP.

"utterly graceful": ADV to JC, October 7, 1955, ADVP.

207 "love at first sight": ADV to JC, July 31, 1954, ADVP.

"What will you have": ADV, Memoir About Julia Child.

"DeVoto himself is": JC to ADV, July 1954, JCP.

"There is no mistaking": ADV to JC, July 31, 1954, ADVP.

"atomic intensity": Spitz, *Dearie*, 261.

"Benny of course": ADV, Memoir About Julia Child.

"I can't imagine": BDV to Adlai Stevenson, June 11, 1954, BDVP.

"alleged that Adlai": *ibid.*

"There's a gallant": ADV to JC, April 28, 1953, ADVP.

209 "the most beat-up": ADV to JC, December 15, 1954, ADVP.

"as agreeable and educational": Adlai Stevenson to BDV, August 19, 1954, BDVP.

- "We need bold": BDV to Adlai Stevenson, August 29, 1954, BDVP.
- 210 "mid-twentieth century Pinchot": *ibid.*
- "I have discussed": BDV to JFK, September 15, 1954, BDVP.
- 211 "Every move in regard": BDV, "Conservation: Down and on the Way Out," *Harper's*, August 1954.
- "too apathetic": ADV to JC, August 20, 1954, BDVP.
- 212 "I am completely sold": Alfred Knopf to BDV, August 2, 1948, BDVP.
- "made their eyes bulge": Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 369.
- William Koshland: see Alfred Knopf to ADV, March 21, 1974, ADVP.
- steer public opinion: see Harvey, *Symbol of Wilderness*, 257.
- 213 "born again": Stegner, *Hundredth Meridian*, 366.
- "If you feel like": Thomas, *A Country in Mind*, 93.
- "It's a better world": Stegner, *This Is Dinosaur*, 17. In 1983 Stegner would famously write that the national parks are America's best idea.
- buffalo steaks: see ADV to JC, September 27, 1954, ADVP.
- the "barbarian" style: ADV to JC, January 9, 1953, ADVP.
- 214 "You will adore": ADV to William Raney, February 28, 1958, ADVP.
- "Please do not arrange": BDV to Colston Leigh, October 6, 1954, BDVP.
- connected the board: see WSP, Box 102, Folder 6.
- "chaw some steak": BDV to Eric [Larrabee], September 20 [1954], BDVP.
- 215 his job was "too small": ADV to JC, April 28, 1955, ADVP.
- "Sen. McCarran—Joe": Eva Bertrand Adams Papers, Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno.
- "You are the 'Daddy'": J. Edgar Hoover to Patrick McCarran, January 29, 1954, Adams Papers.
- "captive in the hands": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 750.
- "Communist hoodlums": Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 493.
- 216 "At no day in history": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 750.
- as though in harmony: "Pioneer Cattleman J. Elmer Brock Dies," *Casper Morning Star*, December 7, 1954.
- "He was a brilliant": BDV, *Western Paradox*, 476.

## 18. "ON ANY GROUNDS WHATEVER"

- 217 senator Francis Newlands: details from Rowley, *Reclaiming*; Morris, *Theodore Rex*; Brinkley, *Wilderness Warrior*.
- 218 below 50 percent: DuBois, *Souls of Black Folk*, 60.
- "He believed African-Americans": Rowley, *Reclaiming* forward.
- "furnish a model": *ibid.*, 140.
- "write the word white": *ibid.*, 143.
- large, out-of-state: *ibid.*, 145, 159.
- 219 "The nation has lost": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 753.
- "defending the right": Harvey, *Symbol of Wilderness*, 266.

- 220 A Project for People: see Tom Bolack to Frank Barrett, November 10, 1955, Frank A. Barrett Papers, Box 53, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.  
*Saylor issued a statement*: John Saylor, January 31, 1955, BDVP.  
*"bronzed horsemen"*: BDV, "Current Comic Strips," *Harper's*, May 1955.  
*"He has been away"*: ADV to JC, April 15, 1954, ADVP.  
*"He fails in school"*: ADV to JC, November 1, 1954, ADVP.
- 221 *"God-damn tiresome"*: BDV to William Sloan, June 24, 1952, BDVP.  
*"had me rolling around"*: BDV to Garrett Mattingly, July 30, 1952, BDVP.  
*spot on his prostate*: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 380.  
*"Much love to Benny"*: JC to ADV, August 23, 1954, JCP.  
*Bernard had alluded to*: for BDV's citing of the errors, see article section with U. S. Grant III. Brower's House testimony came after the Bureau of Reclamation claimed it could not build the Glen Canyon Dam 35 feet higher and thus compensate for the storage of the Echo Park Dam. The bureau explained that a higher dam would make a wider surface area for the Glen Canyon Reservoir and would expose to evaporation 165,000 additional acre-feet of water. It said it arrived at that figure by subtracting the planned reservoir surface area, 621,000 acre-feet, from the suggested larger reservoir surface area, 691,000 acre-feet. Brower testified that 691,000 minus 621,000 is actually 70,000. It was one of multiple errors he found. See Harvey, *Symbol of Wilderness*, ch. 7.  
*"Brower presented himself"*: Thomas, *Country in Mind*, 173.  
*"Dinosaur Monument will"*: BDV, "And Fractions Drive Me Mad," *Harper's*, September 1954.
- 222 *governor of Wyoming*: Harvey, *Symbol of Wilderness*, 350.  
*"Nature Boys"*: Echo Park Dam opponents were derided in the *Denver Post* as "Nature Boys"; Harvey, *Symbol of Wilderness*, 147.  
*"short-haired women"*: Nash, *Wilderness*, 169.  
*the conservation coalition*: description from Harvey, *Symbol of Wilderness*.  
*"do everything possible"*: *ibid.*, 271.
- 223 *"I will oppose"*: BDV to a Mr. Davoren, March 9, 1955, BDVP.  
*"It is an account"*: Raymond Moley to BDV, February 4, 1955, BDVP.  
*"brilliant articles"*: BDV, "Fractions."  
*"They want to throw"*: Legislative History, Public Law 485—84th Congress, Chapter 203, 2nd Session, S. 500.  
*about \$2,000*: see *Congressional Record*, April 19, 1955, p. 4637; Harvey, *Symbol of Wilderness*, 288, notes that an early accounting of the Colorado River Storage Plan showed a cost per acre in Utah of \$124,000.  
*"something I had hoped"*: *Congressional Record*, April 19, 1955, p. 3916.
- 224 *"You will find"*: Paul Douglas to BDV, April 20, 1955, BDVP.  
*"We are pretty well"*: ADV to JC, May 6, 1955, ADVP.
- 225 *"Paul . . . was flown back"*: JC to ADV, April 19, 1955, JCP.  
*"Why the Hell"*: Conant, *Covert Affair*, 11–12.  
*"McLeod is his buddy"*: ADV to JC, January 13, 1954, ADVP.  
*"Show that a man"*: McDaniel, *Dying*, 327.  
*Paul was summoned*: details from Conant, *Covert Affair*, ch. 1; JCP; Child, *My Life*; Spitz, *Dearie*; and Paul Child FBI file.

- "homosexual tendencies": Conant, *Covert Affair*, 17.
- 226 spoke Paul's name: Paul Child FBI file.  
 "So, how about": Conant, *Covert Affair*, 13.  
 "so who was": Paul Child to JC, April 13, 1955, JCP.  
 "for God's sake": *ibid.*  
 at that moment: see BDV to Arthur Schlesinger, January 18, 1955, BDVP.  
 "an intimate friend": Conant, *Covert Affair*, 13.
- 227 "goldfish": *ibid.*, 21.  
 "I have slept": Paul Child to JC, April 17, 1955, JCP.  
 Cooke was a "socialist": JC to ADV, dated "Tuesday" [April 19, 1955], JCP.  
 "If you want": Paul Child to JC, April 13, 1955, JCP.  
 "He is forever": JC to ADV, "Tuesday" [April 19, 1955], JCP.  
 "those libidinous hearts": Paul Child to JC, April 23, 1955, JCP.  
 "M.L. Cooke, and homosexuality": ADV to JC, April 28, 1955, ADVP.  
 "being so pally": ADV to JC, April 25, 1955, ADVP.
- 228 "move heaven": ADV to JC, April 28, 1955, ADVP.  
 his "hexed" health: BDV, "For the Record," *Harper's*, June 1955.  
 being "spellbound": ADV to JC, April 25, 1955, ADVP.  
 "nearly choked": ADV to JC, April 28, 1955, ADVP.  
 "power boys": JC to ADV, dated "Tuesday" [April 19, 1955], JCP.  
 "isn't it infuriating?": ADV to JC, May 6, 1955, ADVP.  
 "he would fight": ADV to JC, April 28, 1955, ADVP.  
 "Nobody has too small": *ibid.*  
 authentic Frankfurters: see ADV to JC, April 13, 1955, ADVP.
19. "THE WEST HAS DONE IT ONCE"
- 229 "Good God": Agnes Gray to BDV, November 7, 1955, BDVP.  
 "No one has got": BDV, "Number 241," *Harper's*, November 1955.  
 "Long live Benny!": H. S. Wagner, November 7, 1955, BDVP.
- 230 "This is a good": John Oakes, May 13, 1955, BDVP.  
 "what I like most": Alice Northrup, September 8, 1949, BDVP.  
 "You have on your staff": Charles Eggert to *Harper's*, August 25, 1955, BDVP.  
 "I do not see": Richard Neuberger, October 29, 1955, BDVP.  
 "Very dashing": ADV to JC, October 26, 1955, ADVP.  
 "His attacks on": BDV, *Easy Chair*, jacket copy.  
 "I suppose": John Fischer, "A Portrait of the Artist as an Old Bear," *Harper's*, November 1955.
- 231 "She studies": BDV to Byron Hurlbut, December 29, 1926, BDVP.  
 "B. was an absolute": ADV to JC, October 26, 1955, ADVP.  
 "plenty of reading matter": ADV to JC, July 17, 1955, ADVP.  
 "We were in opposite": Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy*, 607.
- 232 "showered Watkins": *Time*, July 13, 1953.  
 "unwitting handmaiden": Tye, *Demagogue*, 452.

- Bernard and the Sierra Club*: details from Harvey, *Symbol of Wilderness*, 198–199.  
ought to be scrapped: see BDV to Paul Douglas, April 26, 1955, BDVP.
- 233 “I will not get”: Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy*, 352.  
“This is a lulu”: Alfred Knopf, handwritten note, March 31, 1955, on letter from Fred Smith, director of Council of Conservationists, BDVP.
- 234 “I frequently feel”: ADV to JC, February 9, 1953, ADVP.
- 235 “He can cast”: ADV to JC, March 20, 1953, ADVP.  
“She is courage”: BDV to Byron Hurlbut, June 1923 (likely), BDVP.  
“The wives of all”: BDV (Cady Hewes), “The Life and Wife of a Writer,” *Woman’s Day*, April 1949.  
“take the first plane”: a Mr. Henry to Frederick Allen, May 31, 1955, BDVP.  
“If you were as familiar”: Frederick Allen to a Mr. Henry, June 22, 1955, BDVP.  
“I should imagine”: JC to ADV, October 27, 1955, ADVP.  
“You are my candidate”: Richard Neuberger to BDV, October 29, 1955, BDVP.
- 236 “What do you think”: Alfred Knopf to BDV, November 7, 1955, BDVP.  
“publicly renounced”: Arthur Carhart to BDV, November 11, 1955, BDVP.  
“He did admit”: ADV to Chet Olsen, Chester J. Olsen Collection, Stewart Library Special Collections, Weber State University, Ogden, UT.  
“I would sooner try”: ADV to JC, February 9, 1953, ADVP.
- 237 “Several thousand Indians”: details from transcript of “Adventure,” November 13, 1955, BDVP.  
“What would we do”: *ibid.*  
“There were many calls”: Phyllis Gordon to ADV, November 1955, BDVP, Box 22.
- 238 a “controversial” new: BDV to Carl Brandt, November 4, 1955, BDVP. The article was slated for *Holiday*.  
“moral victory”: Gordon DeVoto to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.  
“I think we’d better”: details from Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 380.  
“It’s bad”: *ibid.*  
“Why don’t you damn”: ADV to Chet Olsen, “Wednesday” [Nov. 16, 1955], Olsen Collection.
- 239 “Far from being”: *ibid.*  
“Their guy was”: Paul W. Ferris to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.  
“I reached over”: Anne Ford to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.  
“THIS IS”: Adlai Stevenson to ADV, November 15, 1955, BDVP, Box 22.  
“I just can’t believe”: JC to ADV, November 14, 1955, JCP.  
“HOWL DOGS!”: W. H. Hutchison, (late) 1955, BDVP, Box 13.  
“you really have”: Henry Reck to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.
- 240 “A Victory for”: see, e.g., *Louisville Times*, December 1, 1955.  
“Interior Secretary McKay”: *United Press*, December 1, 1955.  
“I, like countless”: this and next three quotes from Jane Waldo, William Dokken, Francis McVeigh, and Garth Cate, respectively, BDVP, Box 22.  
“What a pity”: Alfred Knopf to ADV, December 2, 1955, BDVP.
- 241 “Your husband would”: E. B. White to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.  
“I wish he could”: ADV to Chet Olsen, “Wednesday” [Nov. 16, 1955], Olsen Collection.
- 242 “no dam or reservoir”: Nash, *Wilderness*, 219.  
“Your personal sorrow”: Charlie and Freddie Child to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.

20. DESCENT TO EARTH

- 245 “*This trip is a present*”: ADV to W. H. Hutchinson, April 4, 1956, BDVP.  
 “*I have to face*”: ADV to Chet Olsen, “Wednesday” [Nov. 16, 1955], Chester J. Olsen Collection, Stewart Library Special Collections, Weber State University, Ogden, UT.  
 “*especially tired*”: JC to ADV, December 6, 1955, JCP.
- 246 “*quelle chic*”: see ADV to JC, February 7, 1957, ADVP.  
 “*It was a poem*”: details from ADV letter to “Folks” (likely her parents), June 12, 1956, ADVP.  
 “*guiding spirit*”: Spitz, *Dearie*, 192.
- 247 “*one thing certain*”: ADV to JC, November 27, 1955, ADVP.  
 “*No person*”: Richard Neuberger to ADV, BDVP, Box 22; also see *Congressional Record*, January 20, 1956, p. 1005.
- 248 “*want to upchuck*”: ADV to JC, February 11, 1956, ADVP.  
 “*no part of*”: ADV to JC, December 1, 1955, ADVP.  
 “*I am no more*”: ADV to Chet Olsen, December 5, 1955, Olsen Collection.  
*blocked the appointment*: re: Wesley D’Ewart, see *Congressional Record*, January 20, 1956, p. 1005.  
 “*Chet I hope*”: ADV to Chet Olsen, “Wednesday” [Nov. 16, 1955], Olsen Collection.  
 “*Not a creature*”: Olsen to ADV, April 13, 1956, Olsen Collection.  
 “*Before God*”: see letter from Forest Service official in Englewood, CO, BDVP, Box 22.
- 249 “*Just say Mission*”: ADV to Chet Olsen, “Wednesday” [Nov. 16, 1955], Olsen Collection.  
 “*If they are such great*”: *Ogden Standard*, February 15, 1956.  
 “*Though DeVoto is*”: ADV to JC, February 21, 1956, ADVP.  
 “*places himself in*”: details from DeVoto FBI file.  
 “*Your suggested change*”: *ibid*.
- 250 “*one single person*”: Avis to “Folks,” June 12, 1956, ADVP.  
 “*What a wonderful*”: *ibid*.  
 “*it doesn’t make*”: ADV to JC, June 8, 1956, ADVP.  
 “*Benny was more of*”: Robert Lee to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.  
 “*as if I have lost*”: Edgar Cone to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.
- 251 “*The West and what*”: Arthur Carhart to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.  
 “*I felt as if*”: O. D. Duncan to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.  
 “*a great many letters*”: Russell Lynes to ADV, December 6, 1955, BDVP, Box 22.  
 “*You were always so*”: Catherine Bowen to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.  
 “*You always seemed to*”: BDVP, Box 22.  
 “*I wish I could*”: Helen Everitt to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.  
 “*Be solaced*”: Katie Seeber to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.  
 “*I have never known*”: Garrett Mattingly to ADV, BDVP, Box 22.  
 “*All loved Benny*”: ADV to JC, December 7, 1955, ADVP.  
 “*about eight thousand things*”: ADV to Chet Olsen, “Wednesday” [Nov. 16, 1955], Olsen Collection.
- 252 “*warming to our spirits*”: ADV to JC, October 7, 1957, ADVP.  
 “*Great blank spaces*”: ADV to JC, February 11, 1956, ADVP.  
 “*I feel he just*”: ADV to JC, December 1, 1955, ADVP.



- "We were so terribly": ADV to JC, December 7, 1955, ADVP.  
 "I am sick": ADV to JC, April 16, 1956, ADVP.  
 "damn depressed": ADV to JC, January 15, 1958, ADVP.  
 "Old Mrs. Gloom": ADV to JC, January 1, 1958, ADVP.  
 "the whiskey": ADV to JC, December 7, 1955, ADVP.
- 253 "My old man": ADV to JC, June 16, 1956, ADVP.  
 "Of course it would": ADV to JC, October 30, 1957, ADVP.  
 "You are so familiar": JC to ADV, February 20, 1956, JCP.  
 "I regard": ADV to JC, February 11, 1956, ADVP.  
 "It's a nice little": ADV to JC, February 11, 1956, ADVP.
- 254 "easy with him": see ADV to JC, November 19, 1958, ADVP.  
 "hooray for the first of May": ADV to JC, January 17, 1957, ADVP.  
 "Toots, I never": *ibid.*  
 "Avis, you've done": quoted by ADV to JC, January 21, 1957, ADVP.  
 "honest meat": ADV to JC, June 15, 1957, ADVP.  
 "booby traps": ADV to JC, January 29, 1958, ADVP.
- 255 "My dears": ADV to JC, September 26, 1957, ADVP.  
 "hooray for the third of May": ADV to JC, May 10, 1957, ADVP.  
 "You are learning": ADV to JC, October 6, 1958, ADVP.  
 "turning adjectives": ADV to JC, June 14, 1958, ADVP.  
 "dashes always look": ADV to JC, Friday the 17th (presumably Nov. or Dec.), 1967, ADVP.  
 the word "persnickety": ADV to JC, November 13, 1957, ADVP.  
 "My God, I do": ADV to JC, November 13, 1957, ADVP.
- 256 "It sticks out": ADV to JC, November 30, 1958, ADVP.  
 "For coq au vin": ADV to JC, April 3, 1958, ADVP.  
 "I don't think you": ADV to JC, April 3, 1958, ADVP.  
 "fussy friend": ADV to JC, November 30, 1958, ADVP.  
 "Sloppy proofreading": ADV to JC, July 31, 1954, ADVP.  
 "My, as you said": JC to ADV, February 18, 1953, JCP.  
 "our book": ADV to JC, October 26, 1955, ADVP.  
 "It is the kind": ADV to JC, December 7, 1955, ADVP.  
 "Alfred is absolutely": ADV to JC, February 21, 1957, ADVP.  
 "The only real": ADV to JC, January 29, 1958, ADVP.  
 "destroy my peace": ADV to Robert E. Lee, December 2, 1962, ADVP.
- 257 "the terrible tempered": ADV to JC, November 26, 1960, ADVP.  
 "No more for you": ADV to JC, February 21, 1957, ADVP.  
 "Well, so no Farrell": *ibid.*  
 "I was excited": ADV to JC, October 15, 1960, ADVP.  
 "We were both": Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, author's note.
- 258 Stegner was a Communist: see Edith Mirrielees to BDV, November 24, 1952, BDVP.  
 "I owed him": Stegner to ADV, November 28, 1955, BDVP.  
 "Plain, but very": ADV to JC, September 12, 1960, ADVP.  
 "as a monument": ADV to JC, October 15, 1960, ADVP.  
 "sort of beau": ADV to JC, November 28, 1959, ADVP.

- 259 “good friendship”: ADV to JC, March 13, 1960, ADVP.  
*she missed sex*: see ADV to JC, March 13, 1960, ADVP.  
*“I have not read”*: ADV to JC, November 29, 1957, ADVP.  
*“why on earth”*: ADV to JC, March 25, 1958, ADVP.  
*“in vino veritas”*: ADV to JC, February 10, 1958, ADVP.  
*“I am deeply”*: JC to ADV, January 12, 1958, JCP.  
260 *“older, more worldly”*: ADV to JC, September 27, 1958, ADVP.  
*“I keep reminding”*: ADV to JC, December 29, 1958, ADVP.  
*regretted leaving college*: see ADV to JC, February 9, 1959, ADVP.  
*“It is just unthinkable”*: ADV to JC, January 17, 1958, ADVP.

## 21. MASTER AVIS

- 261 *“Almost immediately”*: Child, *My Life*, 217.  
262 *“A drastic improvement”*: ADV to JC, January 17, 1958, ADVP.  
*“Magnificent”*: ADV to JC, June 9, 1959, ADVP.  
*“Impressed to death”*: ADV to JC, December 27, 1959, ADVP.  
*Houghton Mifflin loved it*: see ADV to JC, October 3, 1959, ADVP.  
*“all in the bag”*: see ADV to JC, October 3, 1959, ADVP.  
*“Someday a gamble”*: ADV to JC, July 2, 1958, ADVP.  
*directly to Koshland*: see ADV to JC, November 11, 1959, ADVP.  
*“live with” it*: ADV to JC, November 19, 1959, ADVP.  
*“It will, of course”*: see Koshland to ADV, November 18, 1959, ADVP.  
*“Has she never”*: ADV to JC, November 18, 1959, ADVP.  
263 *“become a classic”*: ADV to JC, April 9, 1960, ADVP.  
*“that book Avis”*: ADV to JC, November 26, 1960, ADVP.  
*“I don’t think we”*: ADV to JC, February 18, 1960, ADVP.  
*it was “astonishing”*: ADV to JC, April 9, 1960, ADVP.  
*“tank right over”*: Wednesday (no date, probably January), 1967, ADVP.  
*“At my age”*: ADV to JC, April 15, 1959, ADVP.  
*“Ocyan in view”*: see ADV to JC (no date, probably January), 1961, ADVP.  
*2.7 million*: according to Knopf, as of April 15, 2021.  
*“I do owe you”*: Alfred Knopf to ADV, October 30, 1961, ADVP.  
*“Finally there is”*: JC and Bertholle Beck, *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* (New York: Knopf, 1961), acknowledgments.  
264 *“Mrs. DeVoto holding”*: *Lewistown Morning Tribune*, September 10, 1962.  
*message from President Kennedy*: quotes in this and the next two paragraphs from JFK, September 5, 1962, BDVP.  
265 *“The ‘New Frontier’ is”*: John Carver, BDVP, Box 83.  
*“Dear Mr. President”*: ADV to JFK, September 15, 1962, BDVP, Box 83.  
266 *“Is anybody working”*: Jackson J. Benson, *Wallace Stegner: His Life and Work* (New York: Viking, 1996), 365.  
*“I cherish”*: ADV to Robert E. Lee, December 2, 1962, BDVP.  
*“all Benny’s doing”*: Benson, *Wallace Stegner*, 160.

- "I salute her": Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, author's note.  
 "I have tried": *ibid*.  
 267 "When he created": Benson, *Wallace Stegner*, 368.  
 "I very carefully": *Courier-Journal & Times*, July 28, 1974.  
 "You wrote the definitive": ADV to Stegner, September 11, 1987, WSP.  
 "the bravest damn man": Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 52.  
*grand sycamore trees*: details from [www.jfklibrary.org/about-us/about-the-jfk-library/history](http://www.jfklibrary.org/about-us/about-the-jfk-library/history);  
 Robert Reinhold, "Kennedy Library Plans Are Unveiled," *New York Times*, May 30, 1973;  
 John Kifner, "Cambridge Loses Kennedy Museum," *New York Times*, February 7, 1975.  
 268 *it was "shocking"*: author interview with Ann Oliver, age ninety, February 2020.  
*"Axis was very"*: author interview with Pebble Gifford, age eighty-two, February 2020.  
 269 "*Harvard Square Defense*": ADV to Stegner, December 29, 1984, WSP.  
*"an ardent advocate"*: civic citation, ADVP.  
 270 "*He was generous*": Mark DeVoto, interview with author, December 18, 2019.  
*"Benny would have been"*: ADV to Stegner, June 6, 1987, WSP.  
*"doing Julia's office"*: ADV to Stegner, December 14, 1980, WSP.  
*"part of the furniture"*: author interview with Russell Morash, age eighty-four, February 2020.  
 271 "*your fellow criminal*": M. F. K. Fisher to ADV, November 1, 1974, ADVP.  
*"Axis De Voto, still acting"*: JC and Simone Beck, *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*, vol. 2 (New York: Knopf, 1970), acknowledgments.  
*"valuable to future generations"*: ADV to Judith Jones, November 26, 1969, ADVP.  
*"I really feel"*: ADV to William Koshland, September 10, 1987, ADVP.  
*"you display"*: JC to ADV, January 5, 1953, ADVP.

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- 272 "*The Western outdoors*": Richard Neuberger, *Congressional Record*, January 20, 1956, p. 1005.  
*"nation's environmental conscience"*: Stegner, *Uneasy Chair*, 381.  
 274 *people like Roald Peterson*: In late 1957, Montana representative Lee Metcalf succeeded in clearing Peterson's name and he was offered back his Forest Service job. Peterson, who had moved to Uruguay, remarried, and continued working with small farmers and ranchers, thanked Metcalf but declined, based on the way he had been treated during his loyalty investigation.  
 276 "*We're not having*": Spitz, *Dearie*, 518.  
*"lo and behold"*: ADV to JC, April 30, 1954, ADVP.  
*"odds are you've never"*: Mitch Shaw, "Group Forms to Promote Memory of Accomplished but Little-Known Ogdenite," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, April 2, 2021.

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