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THE POWER TO PARDON weighed heavily on Governor William A. Richards, as his letters and other writings attest. Wyoming had no Board of Pardons to share the burden, and at that time there was no parole to keep released convicts on a half-leash. In his January 1897 message to the legislature, Richards had this to say about pardons:

The duty thus imposed is one of the most arduous which the executive is called upon to perform. Applications for pardon are made in all cases when there is the slightest pretext upon which to found a claim for executive elemency and often where no reason exists except the suffering entailed upon others by the misdeeds of the offender against the law, or the desire of fond parents to relieve a son from the privation and ignominy attending a term of imprisonment.

...Accompanying this message is a list of those whom I have pardoned....I have learned of but one that has committed a misdemeanor since being released, and he celebrated the event by getting drunk, but left the State the next day and has not returned.*

Richards received numerous anguished appeals for pardons—and some letters against them. Jay L. Torrey, a prominent Fremont County rancher, wrote Richards about one prisoner:¹

The only reason that I see why he should be pardoned is that his mother wishes it. If the wishes of the innocent female relatives of men who commit crimes are to be gratified, I do not know how you are to keep the penitentiary doors closed.

Torrey's letter concerned Joseph Nutcher, convicted of horse theft in Fremont County. Since his story is bound up with that of Butch Cassidy, it is told in the chapter devoted to the pardon of that particular "guest of the state."

Richards replied to innumerable supplicants, not always female, begging him to pardon a certain prisoner because the man's family needed him. But most of the supplicants seem to have been women. The governor replied to one persistent sister:²

...I do not care to take up the question of a pardon for your brother again. I know of nothing that could be urged in favor of his pardon that would lead to a change of my decision. I sympathize with his family, but it can hardly be expected that a stranger should have more regard for them than he himself has shown.

In a number of cases, this stranger finally relented in order to help a prisoner's distressed family. And in at least one such instance, Richards's leniency is known to have paid off.

A letter from a convict's grandson

ONE DAY, out of the blue, a grandson of William A. Richards received a letter from a grandson of a man whose sentence the governor had commuted. In his letter to my father, Louis McCreery, Andy D. Jenson enclosed copies of letters from 100 years earlier that told a touching story:

April 23, 1997

Dear Mr. McCreery,

The Co-ordinator of the Washakie Museum in Worland, Wyoming gave me your name to contact as a grandson of Gov. William A. Richards....

To make a long story short I have a very strong positive feeling for Governor Richards, My maternal grandfather, William Kunz, was incarcerated in the Wyoming

^{*}Not on the list is George Cassidy, pardoned in 1896.³ The omission is perhaps a simple error, since several other names are also not on the list. The names on Richards's list may have been omitted in the course of converting pardons by date into a list of pardons by names, alphabetically. Further, there was no reason for the governor to remember Cassidy, since "Butch" had not yet begun to make a name for himself.

[Penitentiary] at Laramie. Gov. Richards commuted his sentence the very day the governor left office, Jan. 2, 1899. My mother was born 11 months later to be followed by 2 sisters and a brother. My grandfather died from an infected tooth 6 years after his release. When he went to prison he already had 3 natural children and 2 adopted children. Needless to say, as your grandfather wrote, "William Kunz needs to be home taking care of his family."

At a family reunion 6 years ago I was asked to find out why my grandfather went to prison. As a result I came up with a 69-page document which gave me a heartfelt appreciation and thanks to the men that were instrumental in the release of my grandfather. One was Gov. Richards and the other was the arresting Sheriff, John Ward. John Ward was sent by Gov. Richards to inspect my grandmother's condition and his recommendation to Gov. Richards was, "This woman is destitute with 5 little children at home. William Kunz needs to be home taking care of his family."

One hundred years later, William Kunz has left a huge posterity. All are good citizens and many have served sociologically for the well-being of mankind.

I would like to know more about the posterity of Gov. Richards. I proposed 4 questions to the Washakie Museum. The coordinator stated that you could probably answer all of these for me. Would you please do so.

Most Sincerely,

Andy D. Jenson

Kunz and his partner, Elijah Canary—brother of Calamity Jane*—were convicted of "Obstructing Railway Tracks—(hobbled horses on railroad track for purposes of collecting damages from the Union Pacific Company on January 7, 1896)." Canary wasn't released until August 12, 1900, just 9 months before his 5-year term was to end.²

Mr. Jenson added,

My grandfather was sentenced for 7 years. Your grandfather commuted his sentence after serving 2 years & 9 months. When your grandfather commuted his sentence he took on the whole railroad. Union Pacific & Oregon Short Lines, their offices in Omaha, and Salt Lake City fought this pardon bitterly. There were 17 petitions filed to keep him in jail. He had caused the railroads to lose a lot of money.

It wasn't just the railroads who were against his release. Some letters in the Kunz pardon file claimed he was a rotten apple who had committed vicious crimes for which he was never tried. Rather than pardoning him, Richards commuted his sentence and Kunz did go straight. So did at least two others, young men for whom he thought there was hope. As Richards wrote to a judge in August 1895:³

I believe it to be good policy to deal leniently with young men who have been so unfortunate as to commit a crime if there is any prospect of their becoming good citizens. Please say to this young man that this pardon is granted him with the full expectation and belief that he will hereafter lead an honorable and upright life.

^{*}Calamity Jane. c.1852–1903, American frontier character, b. Princeton, Mo. Her real name was Martha Jane Canary, and the origin of her nickname is obscure. Little is known of her early life beyond the fact that she moved with her parents to Virginia City, Montana, in 1865 and that she grew up in mining camps and rough frontier communities. In 1876 she appeared in Deadwood, S. Dakota, dressed in men's clothes and boasting of her marksmanship and her exploits as a ponyexpress rider and as a scout with Custer's forces. In her later years she toured the West in a burlesque show and appeared at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, N.Y. She died in poverty and obscurity in Deadwood, where she is buried beside Wild Bill Hickock.⁴

Miles Standish

This Miles Standish was a direct descendant of the famous Miles of colonial times, according to Alice Richards McCreery, William's daughter and his private secretary when he was governor. Miles had belonged to a cattle rustling gang led by Harve (Harvey) Ray, who had worked on Richards's ranch for a time before getting into rustling. Another was "a very young fellow, name forgotten." (Possibly Ed Blackman, p. 5)

Governor Richards fully pardoned both these men, feeling that they should not take the rap in Ray's place, Alice explained. The parents of the second young man came to Cheyenne and met him in the Governor's office when he was brought in from the penitentiary. They all returned East. Ray was never caught.

After his pardon, Miles Standish went west, Alice wrote. Years afterward in southern California she noticed his name in a newspaper. She looked him up and found he was the same Miles: he had worked on Red Bank ranch, remembered Alice's mother very well and Alice and Ruth as small children. Alice doesn't say what he was doing, but he must have gone straight.

Since Standish isn't listed in Elnora Frye's *Atlas of Wyoming Outlaws*, he probably did not serve time. In June 1897, he wrote Richards asking him to pardon a friend. Richards, who had been criticized for granting too many pardons (and who was a stockman himself), replied:²

I do not think it advisable to pardon at this time, those who have been convicted of stealing cattle. If we can succeed in getting some of those who are now engaged in that business off the range it will then be time to take up the question of excessive sentence imposed upon those heretofore convicted. Of course you understand that the question of previous acquaintance or even friendship cuts no figure in the consideration of an application for a pardon. There must be a very good reason for a pardon before it can be granted, and I cannot see the necessity for executive interference in the sentence of the court in this case at the present time.

As the state's chief magistrate, Richards was required to uphold the criminal justice system, yet he had to hear the appeals of fond friends and relatives who wanted their boy set free. Excerpts from his letters are revealing:³

While I sympathize with your trouble I can see no reason why executive clemency should be extended in this case. Our Penitentiary is well conducted and we endeavor to make it a reformatory institution as well as a place of confinement. I am inclined to believe that the experience of your son in this matter will be of lasting benefit to him.

To Wyoming Senator Clark in 1896:4

I believe he was given an excessive sentence but there are so many applications for pardon now that I cannot take this one up. I will soon have to pass upon the Stone case and one or two others equally meritorious and I am compelled to go rather slow in these matters in order to avoid making an unenviable reputation in the pardon of convicts.

The governor's experiences with certain convicts may have made him want to keep all the bums locked up. A minor example concerns an 18-year-old cowboy who had been released after serving ten months of a one-year sentence for grand larceny and burglary (breaking into a stable and stealing a saddle). In April 1896, Richards wrote the Hon. Charles H. Burritt, mayor of Buffalo and a prominent attorney there,⁵

I am afraid that our efforts to reform young James were futile. [On Sunday after his release] I went with him and found the station agent, who went with us to the depot

^{*}Alice described Ray as "the real 'bad man' of the Basin. He was a tall, handome man, a college graduate who probably had gotten into trouble in the East...He worked for W. A. Richards for a time, then got into cattle rustling. He was the leader—but he never got caught." 6

and I purchased a ticket from Cheyenne to Crawford for \$11.90. This I gave to James with the balance of the \$15.00 which you left with me, being \$3.10. He was also given \$5.00 and a suit of clothes upon being released. I...told him what train to take and its leaving time, and that he would find a ticket from Crawford to Moorcroft in the hands of the B. & M. agent at Crawford. Upon Monday the 24th I was informed that James had sold the ticket which I gave him to a scalper here and had not gone out on the Cheyenne and Northern. Have you heard anything from him? Is James his true name or an assumed one?

Burritt replied that the name was correct.¹ The young miscreant eventually found his way to Moorcroft, where the long arm of the governor reached him, at least figuratively.

You will remember that on Sunday the 22nd of March I purchased for you a ticket from Cheyenne to Crawford and agreed to mail your pardon to Hulett, which I did on the next day. On the 24th of March I learned that you had not gone to Crawford, but had sold your ticket to a ticket scalper in this town. I immediately telegraphed the postmaster at Hulett to return your pardon to me, which he did.

Before I deliver the pardon to you it will be necessary for you to explain your action in selling this ticket and in not doing what you had agreed to do. Under the circumstances I will require you to furnish me some evidence that you are leading an upright and honorable life. A letter from your employer or the foreman of the outfit that you are working for will be sufficient.

I agreed to grant you the pardon at the solicitation of your friends for the purpose of assisting you in getting started in right again in an effort to be an honorable citizen. By your failure to do so as you agreed to do you have rather shaken my faith in your good intentions. If you can explain your conduct here satisfactorily and furnish me the other evidence required I will send you the pardon.

Richards had to write to many a parent explaining why he would not pardon their boy. To one, whose crime could not be discovered:²

I have investigated the circumstances of your son's arrest, trial and conviction, as well as his conduct and character since he has been confined in the Penitentiary. My conclusion is that he is not a fit subject for executive clemency, and I must refuse to issue a pardon for him. While it is hard to say anything to a mother against her son, I think it a fact that your son will cause you less trouble where he is than he would if given his freedom. If he conducts himself properly and loses none of his good time he will be released in July, 1898.

Another mother kept after Richards about a pardon for her son, E. W. Scott, a Sheridan County clerk imprisoned for forgery, embezzlement, and destruction of county records. One newspaper reported that Scott's wife and four children were supported by his wife's father, "who has kept them from want only by the greatest effort."

To the mother's final appeal Richards replied:4

Courtesy compels me to reply to your letter requesting the pardon of your son. My answer will relieve the suspense of waiting but nothing more. I have heretofore written you that I would not issue a pardon in this case. There is no reason why this decision should be reversed. I know more about the offenses committed by your son than you have ever learned and the only idea that could be urged in palliation would be that he was insane. This I do not believe and neither you nor he would like to urge it as cause for pardon.

As he had in other letters, Richards added:

I sympathize with you in your suffering as I do with all parents whose children go astray, but pardon cannot be granted through sympathy for the relatives of the prisoner. If that were done, few men would stay in the Penitentiary a month.

A Sheridan attorney, John P. Arnott, also wrote to Richards about Scott. The governor replied:¹

Unless you have something special to offer it will not be necessary to apply personally. I am not much inclined to pardon an official who so conducts the business of his office as to make it necessary to send him to the Penitentiary.

However, as he did in a number of cases, Richards eventually relented. In his final days in office he commuted the man's sentence, only 2 weeks before his term was up.²

To the parent of a son serving one year for burglary:³

...the amount which was taken does not make so very much difference. Punishment for burglary is very severe in order to protect our houses from being entered when we are not present or are asleep and cannot prevent it. I think the sentence imposed upon your son was not extreme, and must decline, therefore, to issue a pardon in his behalf. If he has conducted himself while in the Penitentiary in such a manner as to earn all his good time, he will be released [early].

A harsh letter to one inmate from teetotaler Richards:4

I see no reason for interfering with the sentence of the court. I cannot understand how a man can think that trouble with his wife does not amount to anything when the court thought it sufficient to warrant a sixty day sentence. If that was not the real cause and you were locked up to make you stop drinking I am not disposed to interfere with the experiment.

A sympathetic one to another:5

It affords me pleasure to forward you the enclosed papers which restore your citizenship. I have no doubt that you will make good use of it. I really hope that you are mistaken about having been sentenced for an offence committed by another person. It is bad enough to be punished for mistakes of our own.

With best wishes for your future welfare, I am,

Very truly yours, William A. Richards, Governor.

Richards also showed concern for Wyoming boys in the Industrial School in Colorado (a reform school) and for inmates of the insane asylum. Before granting their release, he looked into their cases carefully to be sure their families would be able to care for them.

WITH LIVESTOCK THEFT such a sore subject, the governor had to be careful about turning convicted rustlers loose again. In one case his decision may have been made easier when a prisoner's wife, whose entreaties for a pardon had been rejected several times, was herself caught rustling. Dressed as a man, Esther Donnelly and a male partner were caught in the act of stealing a calf. Her gentleman friend ran off, but her astonished captors tipped their hats and let her go, according to Frye's *Atlas*.⁶ Her arrival in Cheyenne to plead yet again for the pardon was reported several weeks later.⁷ "The belle of the plains has three children and is accompanied by two men, one of whom is supposed to be her assistant in the attempt to steal the calf." Richards turned her down again but the prisoner got out anyway a year later when it was ruled he had been convicted through an unconstitutional law.⁸

The governor's position was explained in an earlier letter to her, July 5, 1896:

...it will be necessary for you to advertise the fact that you propose to apply for a pardon, in order that those who are opposed may also have a chance to be heard. A pardon can be legally granted without advertising, but...I prefer to have it done. I pardoned a young man from Johnson County last year, convicted of killing a calf, without advertisement having been made, and received so much abuse from the newspapers on that account that I do not care to lay myself liable to the same treatment again.

The case in question was probably that of Ed Blackman, age 26. Richards wrote Burritt about this case as well:¹

The father of Blackman came here from New York, having accidentally learned of the imprisonment of his son. He impressed me as an honest man, greatly affected by the fall of his son.

I issued a pardon for him...upon his promising to return to New York with his father.

I prefer that there be as little publicity as possible given to the case, as I do not want his former associates to think that a pardon can be easily obtained.

Burritt had sided with the cattlemen during the Johnson County invasion. Richards didn't add that he didn't want the stockmen to hear about the pardon either, but that must have crossed his mind. Pardons were usually reported in the papers, but not this one. From the *Boomerang*, the state's only Democratic daily, June 5, 1895, quoting another Democratic organ:

WHY WAS HE PARDONED?

The Buffalo Voice says: At the term of the district court held in Johnson County last November, A. C. [Ed.] Blackman was sent to the penitentiary at Laramie for a term of three years for killing a steer belonging to the Bay State Outfit. The case against Blackman was so plain that he pled guilty. Blackman is now in New York State enjoying more liberty than some unconvicted men in this county. When was he pardoned, how was he pardoned and why was he pardoned? There was no notice published of any application for his pardon; neither was there any notice of it at the time in any state paper. He was pardoned some time after the first of January by Governor Richards.

There has been a cry here that there could be no convictions had of men for cattle stealing and after a man was sent to the pen from here for the plainest case of the kind, he is in a mysterious and secret manner pardoned after serving a couple of months.

The Cheyenne Daily Leader replied that the governor may pardon all offenses except treason and those involving impeachment.² The Wyoming supreme court had decided that no publication was necessary and that the governor might grant a pardon of his own motion.³ Nevertheless, the article shows how worked up people were over rustlers.

The author found very few criticisms of his pardons on wyomingnewspapers.org. Only one resulted in much attention from the press. In January 1897 the *Rawlins Republican* claimed the pardon was issued without the promised consultation with the county attorney. Local feeling about the case ran high because the prisoner had been convicted of fatally shooting a normally peaceable Black man when both were on a carouse. The *Republican* asserted that he escaped the gallows because the victim wasn't white.⁴ Parts of the charges were reprinted in the *Boomerang*, the *Wind River Mountaineer*, *Rawlins Journal*, and possibly other papers. Republican papers published evidence of Richards's proper handling of the pardon with no objection to it made by the county.⁵ The charges undoubtedly stung, however, and the following May Richards himself wrote in response to another pardon request:⁶

I shall go very slow in this matter, and be very sure that I am right before doing anything. An executive can escape all criticism in pardon matters by doing nothing, but the decision of applications of such nature is part of the duties pertaining to the office and ought not to be shirked.

The list of Richards's pardons compiled by Territorial Prison historian Elnora Frye⁷ shows five in 1897, three of them in March and April after the *Republican*'s charges. This was the fewest of any year of his term: There had been 29 in 1895, 15 in 1896, and would be five later in 1897 and eight in 1898.

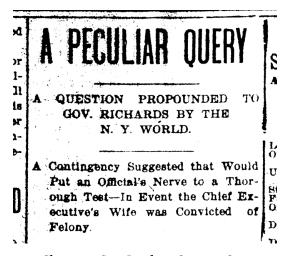
Would Richards pardon his wife?

As THE next to last word about Richards and pardons, here is an item that was featured prominently in the October 11, 1897, *Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*:

This morning Gov. Richards received a telegram from the New York World which places before the chief executives, as will be seen, a delicate proposition, and suggests a contingency which would place an official in a very distressing position. The telegram was as follows:

Will you please telegraph the World at our expense whether, in your opinion, the governor of a state would be justified in pardoning his wife if convicted of felony?

- THE WORLD



Cheyenne Sun-Leader, Oct. 11, 1897

It will be seen, by the governor's reply, that he would take the course that would be adopted by almost every official confronted with such an unpleasant circumstance as the telegram suggests. The governor's reply was as follows:

Pardons should not be issued except for good reasons. If such existed, a governor should pardon his wife convicted of a felony at least as readily as he would pardon anyone else. If no good legal reason existed, then he should pardon her and resign.

The query was prompted by the trial of the wife of the governor of New York. Myra Atkinson was charged with forging her former husband's signature on numerous checks. The *World*, a popular illustrated ancestor of today's tabloids, made much of the scandal. An excerpt:¹

Mrs. Atkinson was indicted before the Governor married her last June. The indictment was found, and on the same day Gov. Atkinson's engagement to Mrs. Myra H. Camden was announced. A sensible man, even if he be in love, does not take a wife from whom he must lock up his check book.

The jury voted 7-5 for acquittal. Her husband thought it should have been unanimous.

Other governors weigh in²

Missouri: "No true man with the pardoning power would allow his wife to remain in prison unless he was anxious to get rid of her."

Washington: "I do not know whether a Governor of a State would be justified in pardoning his wife if convicted of a felony or not, but if the woman was true to him and he loved her he would be very apt to do it anyhow—that is if he was a man."

Colorado: "I commend to Gov. Atkinson the sentiment of Agestians, the Spartan King, when appealing for his friend Nicias: 'If Nicias be innocent absolve him; if he be guilty acquit him; upon my account, however, be sure to acquit him.'"

Richards had a similar escape in the acquittal of his friend Edwin S. Crocker, accused of murdering a business partner. In a final wrinkle to that story, Crocker wrote Richards in support of an early release for Kunz, whom he had come to know when they were both in the Evanston jail. (More about the Crocker story will be in a future PDF file.)

Coincidentally, the governor of Georgia also was named Atkinson (W. Y.). Petitions for

pardons were seriously interfering with the conduct of his office, he thought. Would a Board of Pardons help, and should it be only advisory? Atkinson asked a Savannah judge to query other governors about this and other issues concerning pardons. Richards wrote a long and thoughtful reply. Among his observations:

It is my opinion that a Board of Pardons is desirable. The pardoning power should remain with the Governor, the Board being advisory. Investigations can be made by committees; the consensus of opinion will generally be right; the executive will be relieved of much trying labor and the public will be generally satisfied with the conclusion reached.

Richards, as requested, then listed the considerations for pardons:

In cases of excessive sentence; errors of court; sickness or breaking down physically to the extent that further confinement would endanger life; reformation warranting the presumption that the prisoner would lead an honorable life and be a good citizen, especially in cases of the young. Occasionally in cases of homicide when the provocation was so great that the killing is generally approved. There may be other good reason [sic] which do not now occur to me. ...Reformation being one of the objects of imprisonment, when it has been accomplished it is certainly a proper use of the power vested in the executive to add a useful member to the community when otherwise many good years of his life would be wasted, while the State would be compelled to support him. Occasionally an innocent man is convicted and only executive interference can save him from undeserved punishment. The hope of a pardon is an incentive to good conduct or complete reformation, especially in the cases of those sentenced for life.

The abuse of this power might stem more from sympathy than corruption, thought Richards and many other governors, and would defeat the purpose of imprisonment.

In my judgment the pardoning power is not often abused. With a corrupt executive of course it could be used with disastrous effect, but I do not recall any state which has had a governor of such character. If such a man should be elected governor, the pardoning power would not be the only one to be abused....An executive of a sympathetic and charitable nature may abuse the pardoning power by using it too freely. Attempts to impose upon and deceive the executive are frequently made, and generally by appeals to his sympathy. A plea is made on behalf of aged parents, a wife and children all suffering on account of the imprisonment of the son and husband and father. Sometimes the appeals are successful, but a little investigation is generally sufficient to expose the attempted imposition. In a great majority of cases it will be found that the convict for whom a pardon is sought on such grounds is a professional criminal, who is entitled to no consideration, whose family, if he has one[,] would be benefitted by his being confined for life.

It would constitute an abuse of the pardoning power if it should be used so freely as to impair the moral effect of court sentences. Punishment for crime is usually intended to serve the double purpose of reforming the prisoner and deterring others from committing similar offenses. To insure respect for laws by those criminally inclined, there must be a belief in the certainty of punishment to follow their violation. If this certainty is diminished by the apparent ease with which pardons are obtained, the moral effect of a sentence to the penitentiary is weakened to the same extent.

If pardons should be issued for personal, political or mercenary reasons it would be an abuse of the power, but I think that there is little danger of the American people electing governors who would make such use of the greatest discretinary power confided to their care. The letter gave Richards another opportunity to sound off about pardons, which as we have seen he had taken in his message to the legislature (given before the Murray flap):

No duty is imposed upon an executive that is so onerous, unsatisfactory and exhausting as that of the pardoning power. It is entirely discretionary. The law does not direct him to pardon, it simply allows him to do it. No grounds are stated upon which pardons shall be granted. There is no unpardonable offense except in cases of treason or impeachment. It is a matter in which the executive must be governed by the principles of justice, equity and charity, administered for the best interests of the individual and the community, for which he can be held accountable by no power except that of public opinion and for which he will receive no reward but the approval of his own conscience.

In a post script he says "I would be pleased to be informed of the conclusions ...respecting pardons." It's unknown if one was received, but his was not among the excerpts from the opinions of thirty governors given in *The Morning News*, Savannah, October 3, 1897. All but two favored a board of pardons, and most of them expressed similar views to Richards's about sympathy and other matters.

During his four-year term Gov. Richards had to consider approximately 110 petitions for pardon (records are incomplete), and uncounted letters appealing for pardons. Of those, according to the list compiled by Elnora Frye, he pardoned 66 and commuted the sentences of three, many of them at the end of sentences for the restoration of citizenship. Well familiar with Frye's thorough and careful scholarship, the author trusts the list.

Richards had plenty of reasons not to run for governor again. One of them was surely the millstone of the power to pardon.

Sources and Notes

Page 1

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- 2. RG 0001.14, Governor William A. Richards Records, Gov. Richards to Miss Ruth Montgomery, Sims, Ill., Dec. 3, 1898, letterpress vol. 3, box 1.
- 3. List of pardons dated Jan. 12, 1897, WAR to Fourth Legislative Assembly, (actually the House) granted by me from Jan. 7, 1895 to Jan. 12, 1897. *House Journal of the Fourth State Legislature...1897* (Cheyenne: Sun-Leader Printing House, 1897), 90-94.

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- 2. Elnora L. Frye, *Atlas of Wyoming Outlaws at the Territorial Penitentiary*. (Laramie: Wyoming Territorial Prison Corporation, 1997), 167.
- 3. Gov. Richards to Hon. M. C. Brown, Laramie, Wyo. Aug. 17, 1895, letterpress vol. 1, box 1, WSA.
- 4. Wikipedia and other online sources.

Page 3

1. "Memories Regarding Men of That Day, 1887–99," Alice Richards McCreery collection, WSA.

Harve Ray was on a list of ranch hands in a letter sent by W.A. Richards to Crawford, Booth, Crocker, Evanston, Wyo. dated July 8, 1889. Among his letters from 1887–90 on microfilm, H-215, WSA.

- 2. Gov. W. A. Richards to Miles Standish, Ten Sleep, Wyo., June 14, 1897, letterpress vol. 2, box 1, WSA.
- 3. Gov. W. A. Richards to Thos. Tracy, Sr., (unclear) Chicago, Ill., Dec. 31, 1896, letterpress vol. 2, box 1, WSA.
 - 4. Gov. W. A. Richards to Sen. Clarence Clark,

Washington, D.C., Feb. 21, 1896, letterpress vol. 2, box 1, WSA.

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6. McCreery, "Memories Regarding Men of That Day, 1887–99."

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- 3. Gov. W. A. Richards to Mrs. M. A. Cochran, Gering, Neb., Aug. 25, 1897, letterpress vol. 2, box 1, WSA. Her son Ora was convicted of burglary and grand larceny.
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- 5. Gov. W. A. Richards to P.H. Cavanaugh, Globe Hotel, Laramie, Wyo., Dec. 3, 1898, letterpress vol. 3, box 1, WSA.
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Page 6

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 - 2. June 19, 1895.
 - Ibid.
- 4. Rawlins Republican, Jan. 29, 1897. Refers to previous week's original story; that issue not available on wyonewspapers.com.
- 5. Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader, Jan. 21 and Jan. 23; Wind River Mountaineer, Jan 27; Weekly Boomerang, Jan 28; Sun-Leader, Feb. 1; Boomerang, Feb. 2; Weekly Boomerang, Feb 4 Feb. 3 Budget, Feb. 4 Saratoga Sun (reprinting Rawlins Journal criticism with note that its editor was among signers of petition for pardon), Feb. 5 Rawlins Republican
- 6. Gov. W. A. Richards to M. Williams, Marquette, Wyo., May 5, 1897, letterpress vol. 2, box 1, WSA.
- 7. "List Of Pardons: Records Of Pardons By Governors 1891–1935". The Pardon Book by Elnora L. Frye. List of Richards's pardons. Emailed to author Oct. 24, 2014.

Page 7

- 1. New York World, Oct. 11, 1897.
- 2. State notes ibid., subhead added

Page 8

- 1. The Morning News, Savannah, Georgia, Oct. 3, 1897.
- 2. Gov. W. A. Richards to A. H. MacDonell, Savannah, Georgia, May 29, 1897, letterpress vol. 2, box 1, WSA.