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# A Question of Motive: The Chris Madsen Story Revisited

by Johan Windmüller

Upon first hearing the story of Chris Madsen, I recall the vivid intrigue I experienced when learning of a Danish immigrant who had become a famous lawman in the United States. As an immigrant from Denmark and a member of the American police brethren myself, I seemed to have discovered a kindred spirit in Madsen. I promptly began reading bits and pieces of information and soon had the basics down. Here was a real life hero who had served in three armies, surviving wars and Indian attacks and on top of that had enough gusto to join up with the United States Marshal Service after a long and honorable career in the armed forces. Madsen's law enforcement career was equally long and eventful, fighting crime and fierce outlaws in Okalahoma Territory during the 1890s and beyond. That the man lived to talk about it and died of old age made it all that much more fascinating.

After hanging up the pistol belt and unpinning the badge for good, I devoted some time to researching Chris Madsen so I could properly share with the rest of the world the story of this often overlooked Wild West champion, only to quickly uncover that there was much more to the story than I initially thought. Madsen may have survived Little Big Horn, been a personal friend of both Buffalo Bill Cody and Wild Bill Hickok, and served with the Rough Riders under Teddy Roosevelt. Once again I found myself filled with excitement and glee. How was it possible that this authentic superman could have gone relatively unnoticed for all this time?

The vast majority of materials regarding Madsen available to peruse all seemed to retell the same wonderful narrative of Madsen's service in the Danish Army, the French Foreign Legion and later the U.S. Army. Most focused on Madsen's Deputy U.S. Marshal days roaming the Wild West with well known crime-fighting legends such as Bill Tighlman and Heck Thomas. A wonderful example of this type of article appeared in this very

journal in 1997 (vol. 20, no. 2) written by Sybil Duus Needham and another in the book *The Dream of America* (1986) where Danish historian Stig Thornsohn also shared the fantastic tale of "US [sic] MARSHAL MADSEN."

Upon further examination of the facts available to me, I soon, to my tremendous horror, uncovered that not all aspects of Madsen's life had been as they seemed. In fact, the majority of Madsen's epic deeds were exaggerated or downright false.

Now, I ask you, the reader, to consider revisiting the myth of Chris Madsen and reflect on the new facts presented to you. You might just agree that there is much more than meets the eye once one dwells into the complex life and adventures of Chris Madsen.

Chris Madsen appeared to have been the kind of person only found in fiction, having lived a life full of adventure and dedicated to the pursuit of law and order. Most accounts of Madsen's life seem to list the same basic chain of events: Madsen was born in Denmark in 1851, served in the Danish army during the war against Prussia in 1864, and in the French Foreign Legion during the Franco-Prussian War. Madsen later immigrated to the United States and joined the army, serving for fifteen years. Upon leaving the army, Madsen enjoyed a twenty-five year career in law enforcement, briefly interrupted by re-enlistment with the army during the Spanish-American War. Madsen died of old age in 1944 after an eventful life in the service of three nations.

At first glance it seemed that Madsen indeed lived an extraordinary life, one filled with achievement and heroic deeds. However, the true Chris Madsen was another person altogether, and very little regarding his life prior to arriving in the U.S., as told by Madsen, was based in fact. It looked as if Madsen wanted, and got,



*Chris Madsen,  
United States Marshall*

a second chance when setting foot in New York in January 1876, but it was not long before he again began building up his personal accomplishments and endeavors regarding his life, both prior to and after immigrating. Madsen's deceit was far reaching; starting with basic facts such as his name and date of birth, and included stories about having been a participant in some of history's more famous events such as the Battle of Sedan. Madsen also claimed personal relationships with such personalities of Frontier and Wild West fame as Teddy Roosevelt, Buffalo Bill Cody and Wild Bill Hickok.

Chris Madsen also went by the name Christian Madsen, which was the name he used in his U.S. Army records. However, Madsen's real first name was Christen according to Danish church records. Madsen had even gone by a third name, Christen Madsen Rørmose, during his emigration. Madsen's use of Rørmose was due to the fact that he had been born in a house by that name, and it was common at the time to use this as an additional last name. It was clear that Madsen's name change was not a mistake on anyone's part, nor was it the first time he had done so.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem only natural for Madsen to be well prepared for his new life in the U.S., so in the Danish Emigration Archive it was recorded that on Tuesday December 28, 1875 he signed out as Christen Madsen Rørmose, but upon arrival in New York on January 17, 1876 he signed himself in as Christian Madsen. Only four days after arriving in the U.S., Madsen enlisted with the U.S. Army under the name Christian Madsen.<sup>2</sup>

Madsen usually listed his birthday as February 25, 1851, which was his actual birth date. Madsen did change his birthday on at least one occasion, on August 28, 1917 in a document filed with the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Pensions. In this document, Madsen claimed to have been born in 1852. Why Madsen claimed a different birth year in 1917 is not known, and according to Homer Croy, author of *Trigger Marshal*, and Madsen's graveyard headstone, he was born in 1851.<sup>3</sup>

The location of Madsen's birth has also been an issue of disagreement. Madsen claimed to have been born in Slesvig, which was a Danish province during the time of his birth, but became German after the war in 1864. Other sources have listed Madsen's

birthplace as Copenhagen, but this may have had more to do with assumptions rather than faulty research. Madsen was actually born in the village of Ørested, on the island of Funen in Denmark.<sup>4</sup>

The fact that Madsen indicated to be from Slesvig was a large part of his story regarding military service. Slesvig was the region of Denmark in dispute during the 1864 war between Denmark and Prussia, so this would have given Madsen a strong reason for wanting to fight at age thirteen. Madsen also claimed to have served in the French Foreign Legion and to have fought in the Franco-Prussian War, again providing an opportunity to fight the Prussians who had taken his homeland from him.

The simple fact remained that Madsen served in neither the Danish army nor the French Foreign Legion, and there is no evidence of any military service prior to his enlistment on January 21, 1876 in the United States Army. A few obvious clues that Madsen made up this part of his life would be that he stated that he had been thirteen when serving in the Danish army, and that he claimed to have fought at the Battle of Sedan with the Legion; however the Legion did not fight at Sedan.<sup>5</sup>

The truth, it turns out, was much different. Madsen, among other things, was in and out prison during the time he claimed to have been in military service in Europe and Africa. Madsen claimed to have served in the Danish army and was supposed to have fought at the famous battle at Dybbøl on April 18, 1864. Madsen said that he had served in the French Foreign Legion from 1869 or 1870, for a period of three to five years, and it was during this service that he fought at the Battle of Sedan on September 1-2, 1870. According to Madsen, in *Med Sabel og Pistol* [With Sword and Pistol], he left Denmark for the last time in his entire life in what appeared to have been 1870 to join the Legion. Madsen did not provide an actual year but explained that it was six years after the end of the war of 1864. Madsen further wrote about how he actively participated at the Battle of Sedan but offered this explanations for his lack of detail: "It is not necessary to tell anyone who has ever participated in a larger battle in a foreign and unknown region, how little he, who barely could see the man at his side, knew about the battle's course."<sup>6</sup>

According to Madsen, he went to Norway sometime after leaving the Legion. Again, Madsen provided no specific year, but it most likely was in either 1873 or 1874 based on the information given. Madsen wrote that he did not know what to do with himself, and was therefore happy when he was offered an opportunity to work for the railroad as an engineer and also gained employment in a shipping office, which later led to service on whaling ships. While in Norway, Madsen said that he met a person who he identified as Major Hansen. Madsen described Hansen as the largest man he had ever seen and explained how Hansen had served in the U.S. Army during the American Civil War. Hansen told Madsen many stories about life in the U.S. and the army, all of which appealed to Madsen. Madsen felt that nothing was keeping him tied to the old country, so on "a fine day" he arrived in New York. Once again, Madsen did not give any specifics with regards to the dates or years of his meetings with Hansen or his decision to leave for America.<sup>7</sup>

According to Leif Rudi Ernst, a Danish historian and author of *Skurk i Danmark—Helt i Amerika* [Villain in Denmark—Hero in America], in other versions of his life story, Madsen provided the year of his travels to Norway as 1874, after supposedly having been deported from Slesvig, and indicated the time of his departure for America as December 1875, after being convinced by Major Hansen that U.S. Army life was worth a try.<sup>8</sup>

There was some truth in Madsen's own version of his life prior to emigrating to the U.S. but little. Madsen lived at home with his parents during his childhood and was confirmed on April 23, 1865 in the local church. Upon confirmation, Madsen served at the same church, assisting the pastor for approximately six months. At this time Madsen enrolled in an agricultural school at Middelfart, Denmark, where he remained for about two years. After leaving school, Madsen lived at home for about a year, at which time he wanted to move out on his own. Madsen made it to Copenhagen in May of 1868 where he began work for a local wine dealer. He worked for the dealer until September 1 the same year, and this was when Madsen's life changed for the worse. Upon leaving the wine dealer for unknown reasons, Madsen held some minor jobs, but soon became unemployed. In early February 1869, Madsen went to

Sweden to seek work but was unsuccessful there as well. After returning to Denmark he went to the police and asked for help to return home to Funen. This wish was granted, and Madsen received a free ticket home.<sup>9</sup>

Madsen did not make it home, but while en route, met a person who offered a solution to Madsen's money problems. The idea was to write a "beggar's letter" which was a note in which the holder would write that he or she had lost all his or her belongings. Upon receiving money from someone, the holder of the letter would ask the person giving the money to sign their name on the letter so other people could see who may have been kind enough to help the holder. Madsen decided to take this scheme one step further and added the names of famous people to his letter so others would be more inclined to help him. This ploy worked well for Madsen until he made a mistake and wrote the name of a person on his letter prior to asking that same person for money. This resulted in Madsen's first arrest in May 1869, and he was sentenced to five days in jail for fraud.<sup>10</sup>

Madsen continued this behavior and the end result was at least seven arrests for begging, vagrancy, fraud and forgery, between 1869 and 1875, with stops in both Sweden and Norway as part of his crime spree. Madsen spent a total of 1,346 days, or three and a half years in prison for his crimes. It was during this time Madsen began to use different names and began creating stories about his life. On a wanted poster from February 1874, Madsen was identified as Kristian Madsen Rørmosehus, but the alias he was using at the time was listed as Karl Kristian Johan Andreas Daniel Hoffmann. The same poster also listed Slesvig as the birthplace used by Madsen. An indication that this was the same man, who the world would later know as Chris Madsen, was the fact that the poster listed one identifier as a scar on the right leg. In *Med Sabel og Pistol* Madsen describes how he was shot in the leg during the Battle of Sedan, but did not specify which leg was injured. Could it be that Madsen was aware the scar was noticeable enough that a cover story was needed?<sup>11</sup>

Madsen did hold a job as an engineer in Norway sometime in late 1873 or early 1874 but shortly thereafter spotted his wanted poster in

a restaurant. As Madsen attempted to leave the area, he was arrested and sent back to Denmark. The Norwegian "Major" Ole Andreas Hansen, who was described as a giant, did exist and had served in the U.S. army during the Civil War. There was indeed a chance that Madsen may have met Hansen while in Norway, as Madsen frequented the region of the country where Hansen lived.<sup>12</sup>

Madsen was last released from prison on December 26, 1875, after serving 652 days for fraud and forgery, and two days later he appeared in the emigration records as leaving for New York, U.S.A. There was some evidence indicating that Madsen's ticket was paid for by the prison system; it was common practice for the Danish government at the time to "encourage" career criminals to leave the country.<sup>13</sup>

Several reasons for Madsen's departure have been given, some by Madsen himself. In *Med Sabel og Pistol*, Madsen wrote that Major Hansen's stories about America and the U.S. Army convinced him to go since he did not have any reason to stay in Europe. In *Trigger Marshal* Homer Croy explained that Madsen had grown up reading about the Wild West and "one way or another" had saved up enough money to come to the U.S. to fight Indians. Shane Edwards, author of *Heroes and Outlaws of the Old West*, offered the explanation that Madsen had been forced to flee Europe due to his involvement in the Franco-Prussian War. The truth was that Madsen was deported from his own country due to his criminal activities and unwillingness to reform.<sup>14</sup>

Madsen prepared well for his new life in America and, in true form, changed his name for the last time to Christian Madsen, soon to be known as Chris. Madsen was off to a fast start once he arrived in New York and enlisted in the U.S. Army only four days after setting foot in the U.S. Only ten days later he was back to asking for money when he wrote the Danish consul, requesting a loan. It should not come as a surprise that there were no records showing whether Madsen ever paid the loan back; there was, however, a second letter dated March 11, 1876 in which Madsen explained why he was unable to pay the loan at that time. According to Madsen, he had been paid the day before but all his money had been needed to



pay other bills. Madsen also explained how he was currently in the hospital after an accident involving a horse.<sup>15</sup>

While being processed in New York for enlistment, Madsen claimed to have been questioned about the scar on his leg. In *Med Sabel og Pistol* Madsen again did not specify on which leg his wound was located, but in *Trigger Marshal* the scar is mentioned, and this time the location was identified as the left ankle. It would seem strange that the location was suddenly so specific after Madsen himself did not seem prepared to provide much detail in his own book. Was this just a simple mistake or yet another bit of proof that Madsen himself, or a writer attempting to glorify him, made an attempt to conceal Madsen's true identity?<sup>16</sup>

What unit of the U.S. Army Madsen joined is another dispute. There has been no doubt that Madsen enlisted in the cavalry but was it the 5<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup>? According to Madsen, he originally joined the 7<sup>th</sup>, which was Custer's cavalry but was transferred to the 5<sup>th</sup> before he could reach Custer and his men. Homer Croy reported the same basic events; Madsen joined the 7<sup>th</sup> but was among a group of men transferred to the 5<sup>th</sup> while en route to Custer's location. Again, it would seem that Madsen had chosen to alter history because it was very clear from his original enlistment contract that he joined the 5<sup>th</sup> cavalry from the start. This all became part of the giant myth that surrounded Madsen at the end of his life and for many years to come. Claims have been made that Madsen was a participant at Little Big Horn with Custer on June 25, 1876, and one account has boasted that Madsen was not only there, but that he was also the sole survivor. The fact remained that Madsen could not have been at Little Big Horn during the battle, and Madsen himself did not claim to have been there at that time. There was, in fact, another soldier by the same name who fought and died at Little Big Horn. Several stories are told about Madsen and his role during the time of Little Big Horn. Some accounts put him there during the battle, some shortly after the events. The truth is that Madsen was not at Little Big Horn during the time of the battle, and if he did set foot there, it would have been several months later.<sup>17</sup>

Less than a month after Little Big Horn, Madsen did witness what became a significant event in Western history. On July 17, 1876, the

famous Duel at War Bonnet Creek took place between Buffalo Bill Cody and the Indian Yellow Hand. Again, some of the accounts vary slightly, but enough common information was found to determine that Madsen mostly likely did witness the fight. Madsen was assigned as a signalman in company A and was on a small hill when Buffalo Bill and Yellow Hand engaged each other. Whether Madsen was close enough to have heard Cody utter the infamous words: "The first scalp for Custer" upon killing and scalping Yellow Hand, is unclear. Another unresolved matter was that of Madsen's relationship with Cody. Madsen and Cody did serve in same army unit and probably knew one another. However, if they spent a great deal of time together, as Homer Croy writes, or if they were close friends as one Danish newspaper article claimed, is not certain.<sup>18</sup>

The rest of Madsen's army career was filled with tales of heroic travels and lots of action. Much of Madsen's version of his service could be dismissed, but one very familiar aspect of Madsen's personality did surface on at least one occasion. In 1881 Madsen managed to get himself into some trouble with the army, and this cost him five months in prison. What Madsen was accused and convicted of was not exactly specified, but some records indicated that he had been absent without leave and had sold army property. Beyond that event, Madsen seemed to have served the U.S. well for fifteen years.<sup>19</sup>

After leaving the army in 1891, Madsen soon became a Deputy U.S. Marshal in the Oklahoma territory. This would result in a career lasting nearly twenty-five years, and lead to lots of material for future tall tales and liberties with facts. Several trends showed up with regards to Madsen's personality and motivations during his law enforcement service. One common issue of importance, or one could argue the root of Madsen's problems in Denmark, was money. Madsen describes the entire pay scale of the different positions with the Marshal's office in *Med Sabel og Pistol*, and Homer Croy provided the pay as Madsen's deciding factor for taking the job. Madsen also had at least one legal action against him during his time as a law enforcement officer, when he was accused of assaulting a man by pistol-whipping him in the face. The events leading up to the assault have often been told, but Madsen himself was one of the few

to admit that he indeed was charged and convicted as a result. Madsen was also briefly investigated in 1911 when he was serving as acting U.S. Marshal.<sup>20</sup>

One other trend appeared later, but it was a new area for Madsen. Madsen might have had an interest in politics. In 1898 Madsen volunteered and joined Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders but did not take part in any of the action in Cuba. According to Madsen he had been asked to join and to take the job of quartermaster, a position he had held in his earlier army career. This seemed an odd choice, considering that when Madsen left the army in 1891, his discharge papers indicated that he was ill-suited for that particular job. Madsen soon left the army again and returned to his law enforcement career. Madsen's decision to join would seem to be the beginning of his newest plan for success: politics. Madsen had learned in his youth that begging for money by using the names of prominent people of the day could provide rewards; he would later attempt to use this formula to further his political career.

In *Med Sabel og Pistol*, Madsen explained how the actual office of U.S. Marshal was a political one and how a presidential appointment was needed in order to hold that job. Madsen also explained that when things went well, the Marshal would get the credit, but when things went wrong, the Chief Deputy would get the blame. At the time Madsen wrote this, he had held the job of Chief Deputy several times, but the position of Marshal only once and only temporarily. When Teddy Roosevelt became president in September 1901 and an appointment was upcoming, Madsen was soon in Washington on behalf of someone else, but it was clear that Madsen himself might be appointed to Marshal due to his Rough Rider ties with the President. Madsen did not receive the appointment, but it did go to another Rough Rider, under whom Madsen served as office deputy.<sup>21</sup>

In 1905 there again was a possible appointment for Madsen, and this time he was endorsed by the Chickasha Republican Club for the office of U.S. Marshal. Again, Madsen did not get the job. In 1906 Madsen again went to Washington but would not disclose the object of his trip. Madsen did become acting U.S. Marshal on January 1, 1911, but only remained in the job for four months. In 1916 Madsen

was again in the position of Chief Deputy but resigned on April 30, shortly before election-day because, in his own words, he was the only Republican left in the office, and according to Homer Croy, the Democrats found someone for the job. In 1917 Madsen worked with the Tulsa Oklahoma Police Department, but resigned after a Democratic administration replaced the Republicans in 1918. In 1920 Madsen became a delegate to the Republican National Convention, and in 1921 he once again applied for the position of U.S. Marshal, oddly enough the same year *Med Sabel og Pistol* was published. Madsen did not get the job this time either.<sup>22</sup>

So what were Madsen's reasons for lying and stretching the truth his entire life? What did he gain from it? Some clear answers have appeared repeatedly, starting with a need for money. Why Madsen did not stay at his job with the wine dealer in Copenhagen is not known, but it is very clear that Madsen soon found an easy way to make money by passing himself off as someone other than who he really was. Madsen also nearly perfected the art of using the names of famous people in order to get what he wanted. When Madsen was forced to leave his home country, he was offered the chance to start a new life but soon drifted towards his old ways, although not resorting to crime to the extent he had before. Money did continue to be a common and very important factor in Madsen's life and upon his death in 1944 Madsen left an estate of ten thousand dollars and his farm, which indicated some success with regards to wealth.<sup>23</sup>

Later in life Madsen, became motivated by the possibility of holding the highest office in his chosen career with the U.S. Marshal Service, probably dominated by the desire for wealth and prestige. Madsen again relied on his winning approach of making himself out to be someone he was not and to associate with famous people. In later years Madsen's approach included associating and comparing himself to famous lawmen of the Old West such as Wild Bill Hickok, whom Madsen claimed to have personally known, and Pat Garrett, who he did not know but knew many men who did.<sup>24</sup>

So what did Madsen really gain from his life as a criminal and conman? It would seem that it only resulted in moderate financial success, even though it appeared to have been the main motive. Madsen was successful in creating a legend and myth, which stood

as historical truth for over fifty years after his death. Everything written and told about Madsen until the late 1990s, reported the story, as Madsen himself would have wanted it. Madsen was inducted into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame and has been named as one of the "Oklahoma Guardsmen" along with Bill Tilghman and Heck Thomas; a trio that has been credited with bringing better law and order in the West. In 1915, Madsen also played himself in the film *The Passing of the Oklahoma Outlaws*, which was directed by none other than Bill Tilghman.<sup>25</sup>

Although Madsen did accomplish a lot in his life, some of which could be described as heroic and adventurous, the truth remains that most of Madsen's exploits were nothing but wishful thinking and creative story telling. Madsen certainly was to blame for most of the embellished tales, but others continued to retell his stories without checking any of the facts, thereby enabling the legend to grow. Madsen wrote on the last page of *Med Sabel og Pistol*: "Men like me...do not get their names in history's yearbooks; we are remembered and talked about for a while by the ones with whom we lived, but another generation comes along and soon our names will only be a saga."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nancy Samuelson, *Shoot from the Lip: The Lives, Legends, and Lies of the Three Guardsmen of Oklahoma and U.S. Marshal Nix* (Eastford, CT: Shooting Star Press, 1998), 19; Leif Rudi Ernst, *Skurk i Danmark – Helt i Amerika: Marshal Chris Madsens skjulte fortid* (Villain in Denmark – Hero in America: Marshal Chris Madsen's Hidden Past) (Hadsund, Denmark: privately printed, 2003), 19-20, 36; Leif Rudi Ernst, "Lovbryderen Christen Madsen Rørmose – alias lovens håndhæver Chris Madsen," (The Criminal Christen Madsen Rørmose – AKA The Law's Enforcer Chris Madsen) *Journalen* 8, no. 3 (1998):17.

<sup>2</sup> Ernst, *Skurk i Danmark*, 201-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 20; Samuelson, 19; Homer Croy, *Trigger Marshal: The Story of Chris Madsen* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1958), 243. This book was based on unpublished manuscripts written by Christian Madsen and also interviews with Madsen's son, Reno; "Chris Madsen" *Old West Gravesites* <[http://www.fpcc.net/~sgrimm/chris\\_madsen.htm](http://www.fpcc.net/~sgrimm/chris_madsen.htm)> (last visited February 17, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> Christian Madsen, "Under Three Flags," in Samuelson, 10; "Christian Madsen," *Teaching History Online*

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<<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/WWmadsenC.htm>> (last visited February 17, 2004); Shane Edwards, *Heroes and Outlaws of the Old West* (Santa Monica, CA: Santa Monica Press, 1993), 73; Ernst, "Rørmose", 16.

<sup>5</sup> Samuelson, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 10; Ernst, "Rørmose", 16; Christian Madsen, *Med Sabel og Pistol: Christian Madsen's Leven og Oplevelser, En Sønderjydes ærefulde Virksomhed I Onkel Sams Tjeneste* (With Sword and Pistol: Christian Madsen's Life and Experiences, A Southern Jutlander's Honorable Work in the Service of Uncle Sam) (Omaha, NE: Axel H. Andersen, 1921), 5-6.

<sup>7</sup> Madsen, 12-13.

<sup>8</sup> Ernst "Rørmose", 16.

<sup>9</sup> Ernst *Skruk i Danmark*, 37, 45-6.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 49-55.

<sup>11</sup> Ernst *Skruk i Danmark*, 199; Ernst "Rørmose", 17; Madsen, 6.

<sup>12</sup> Ernst "Rørmose", 18; Ernst *Skruk i Danmark*, 214.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 199-200; Birgit Flemming Larsen, interviewed by author, 8 March 2004, Blair, Nebraska.

<sup>14</sup> Madsen, 13; Croy, 3; Edwards, 73; Samuelson, 12.

<sup>15</sup> Ernst *Skruk i Danmark*, 201-7.

<sup>16</sup> Madsen, 14; Croy, 5.

<sup>17</sup> Madsen, 14; Croy, 6; Ernst *Skruk i Danmark*, 203; John A. Minion *The Death of a Survivor* (Rosedale, NY: privately printed, 1964), 4; Samuelson, 12.

<sup>18</sup> Don Russell "The Duel on the War Bonnet" *Journal of the American Military History Foundation* 1, no.2 (1937), 60; Samuelson, 13; Croy, 10-13; Edwards, 74; Madsen, 25-6; Jim Wilson "Chris Madsen - The Fighting Dane" *Shooting Times* <[http://www.shootingtimes.com/gunsmoke/madsen\\_0731/](http://www.shootingtimes.com/gunsmoke/madsen_0731/)> (last visited February 17, 2004); Alfred G. Anderson "Præriens bedste mand var dansk-amerikaner" (The Prairie's best man was Danish-American) *Aalborg Stiftstidende* 7 July 1958.

<sup>19</sup> Samuelson, 15; Ernst *Skruk i Danmark*, 221.

<sup>20</sup> Madsen, 75-6; Croy, 37-8; Madsen, 78; Samuelson, 130, 91. It was unclear why Madsen was investigated but he was cleared of any misconduct or wrongdoing.

<sup>21</sup> Samuelson, 83; Madsen, 75; Samuelson, 86-7.

<sup>22</sup> Samuelson, 87, 91; Madsen, 148; Croy, 244, Samuelson, 128; "Oklahoma Delegation to the 1920 Republican National Convention" *The Political Graveyard* <<http://politicalgraveyard.com/parties/R/1920/OK.html>> (last visited February 28, 2004).

<sup>23</sup> Croy, 242.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 106-7.

<sup>25</sup> Paul Trachtman *The Gunfighters* (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1974), 160; "Passing of the Oklahoma Outlaws" *IMDb Earth's Biggest Movie Database* <<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0005871/>> (last visited June 11, 2007)

<sup>26</sup> Madsen, 166.