

## FROM CAVALIER TO COWBOY: THE MIGRATION OF A MYTH

by

Ritchie D. Watson  
Randolph-Macon College

J. Frank Dobie has observed in his Guide to Life and Literature of the Southwest that no one can sufficiently understand the code of the West "without knowing something about the code of the Old South, whence the Texas cowboy came."<sup>1</sup> Dobie's statement affirms the seminal relationship between South and West in the evolution of the American cowboy. Indeed, the cowboy figure of the post-Civil War period is directly descended from a predecessor with whom he would seem superficially to have little in common, the proud and courtly southern aristocrat or southern cavalier.

Before examining more closely the link between southern cavalier and cowboy, it would be helpful to describe briefly the original development of the cavalier ideal in Virginia and its subsequent dissemination throughout the South. There is general agreement among contemporary historians and literary critics that, as he is projected in American poetry and fiction and as he is defined by popular culture, the cavalier is more an embodiment of certain ideals of character and conduct than an objective representative of a specific class of men. Like most mythical figures, however, his origin is founded in history. There existed in Virginia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a class of wealthy planters who provided the broad outlines for the cavalier myth. Many of these planters were in fact gentlemen of distinction, and they aspired to follow a rigid code of conduct.

As Louis Wright has explained, the seventeenth-century Virginian's conception of gentility and refinement was essentially an English Renaissance conception. The code of the New World Virginia gentleman was thus copied from an Old World Elizabethan pattern.<sup>2</sup> This code was by no means uniformly interpreted. Yet it did prescribe an ideal set of social values which Virginians of aristocratic pretensions could emulate with greater or lesser fidelity.

The code's first commandment was that a gentleman recognize the inherent inequality of man--that he accept implicitly the idea that certain men were born to lead and that others, the vast majority, were born to follow and serve. Thus assured of his own superiority, A Virginia gentleman was expected at all times to be graceful and dignified in his deportment, as well as courteous and thoughtful toward all men, regardless of status. In designing a moral code to complement their dignified bearing, Virginia gentlemen followed the

advice of Sir Thomas Elyot's The Book Named the Governour. They sought to attain qualities of fortitude, temperance, prudence, justice, liberality, and courtesy. Not surprisingly, these Aristotelian virtues tended to supercede strict adherence to the Ten Commandments. Sins of the flesh, for example, might be forgiven if they were not blatant, excessive, or destructive of the gentleman's essential integrity.

The well-educated social leader believed that the best and most useful knowledge was broad rather than deep. Learning was a lightly and gracefully worn adornment which combined with dancing, fencing, hunting, riding, and, occasionally, the playing of a musical instrument to produce a complete and smoothly functioning social creature. The gentleman's primary concern in following this code was to possess and maintain a personal honor which commanded the respect of all.

These, then, were some of the ingredients which combined to produce an ideal gentleman. Doubtless, the planters of seventeenth and eighteenth century Virginia were at least partially aware of the difference between the ideal conduct dictated by the code and the reality of their own lives. Yet as the years passed, ideal and reality became more and more blurred. By 1834 the romantic novelist, William Caruthers, writing in his novel, The Cavaliers of Virginia, described his eighteenth century ancestors, not as they had actually lived and acted, but as the code had ideally exhorted them to live and act. His Virginians became, in short, cavaliers--a "class of gay birds of aristocratic plumage . . . a generous, foxhunting, wine-drinking, duelling and reckless race of men, which gives so distinct a character to Virginians wherever they may be found."

Caruthers' novels, along with those of fellow novelists John Pendleton Kennedy and John Esten Cooke, helped to inaugurate the first active period of southern fiction, which extended from the 1830s to the 1850s. During this period the cavalier beau ideal was first fully delineated. Moreover, strongly influenced by the historical novels of Walter Scott, important romantic additions were appended to the eighteenth century definition. The cavalier was now expected to express his noblest sentiments and his most exulted characteristics through the worshipful adoration of a spotlessly pure plantation maiden. And he was expected to defend absolutely his most precious possession, his honor, by laying his life upon the line on the dueling grounds, if circumstances demanded.

Far more incongruous than the rise of the romanticized cavalier figure in Virginia in the nineteenth century was the rapid migration of this stereotype throughout the ante-bellum South. In the narrowly circumscribed region of Tidewater and Piedmont Virginia, with its large manorial estates owned by prominent and wealthy families and cultivated by large numbers of slaves, there was at

least a partial correspondence between the social structure and the aristocratic code of the English gentleman that was superimposed upon it. With the possible exceptions of coastal South Carolina and Georgia, no other sections of the South developed a social organization in which either an English gentleman or a Virginia cavalier would have felt remotely at home. Yet Wilbur J. Cash has astutely observed that the South--that vast territory that extends below the Mason-Dixon line from the Atlantic seaboard to the Texas plains--arbitrarily appropriated the Virginia cavalier and renamed him southern cavalier.<sup>3</sup>

During the early nineteenth century the aristocratic ideal was transplanted and nurtured in the most remote sections of Dixie. Thus Henry Stanley, the famous African explorer, was surprised to discover in ante-bellum rural Arkansas plain farmers and even store clerks strictly upholding the aristocratic code of personal honor. He noted, for example, that a Jew of German extraction who was the proprietor of a country store in the village of Cypress Bend owned a fine pair of duelling pistols.<sup>4</sup> As a consequence of its strong appeal all areas of the South from Virginia to Texas, even the most backward and rustic, embraced the aristocratic ideal and used it as a defense against increasingly bitter abolitionist attacks from the North after 1800.

The early settlers of Texas were predominantly southern; and, not surprisingly, they brought with them their peculiar institution, slavery, as well as the aristocratic code and the cavalier ideal which were the foundations for that institution. Neither is it surprising that after the Civil War many of the most characteristic aspects of the southern cavalier were grafted onto the cowboy. After the war, Marshall Fishwick notes, "there was no more place for Cavaliers in the North versus South struggle, so they went West."<sup>5</sup> This westward migration of the cavalier ideal had much to do with the rehabilitation of the cowboy into one of this nation's most imaginatively powerful and appealing mythical figures.

The term "cowboy" had originally carried negative connotations. It was a name given during the Revolution "to lawless marauders who pillaged neutral territory"<sup>6</sup> and subsequently had been applied without particular approbation to cattle herders in Texas. But after the Civil War the rather unsavory longhorn herder, with the help of the cavalier myth, was transformed into the heroic cowboy--a courageous individualist possessed of an innate sense of honor, a just if stern foe of evil, and a chivalrous defender of virtuous women. As Joe Frantz and Julian Choate have observed, ". . .when a later generation [of cowboys] who were not border ruffians at all but usually semi-Southern cavaliers with a cattle stamp came working northward, then the cowboy as we know him emerged from the woods of opprobrium and came to stay in the hearts of his fellow Americans, both contemporary and future."<sup>7</sup>

The influence of the South and of its aristocratic myth in the creation of the idealized cowboy that Frantz and Choate describe is pervasively reflected in western fiction from its inception. As we shall see, the more extreme romanticizers of the cowboy make vivid and detailed use of the cavalier. But even the more realistic and hard-bitten chroniclers of cowboy life often stress the chivalrous aspects of their heroes or their southern backgrounds. For example, Ross McEwen, the hero of Eugene Manlove Rhodes' Paso Por Aqui, is described by J. Frank Dobie as a "cowboy-outlaw-cavalier."<sup>8</sup> Certainly the decision of a man to halt his successful flight from a sheriff's posse to save a houseful of impoverished Mexican-Americans from diphtheria is, in its selflessness and nobility, in the best romantic cavalier tradition. In Andy Adams' cowboy classic, The Log of a Cowboy, the central character, Tommy Moore, is a Georgian who migrates to Texas after the Civil War and whose earliest boyhood memories include hiding the family cows and oxen in a canebrake to conceal them from Sherman's foraging parties.

Tommy Moore is the son of a poor rural Georgia family; but in a subsequent novel, Reed Anthony, Cowman, Adams draws more directly from the cavalier tradition in developing his protagonist. Reed Anthony is a Confederate with a solid Virginia pedigree. Son of a planter of the Shenandoah Valley, his mother's family, he tells us proudly, ". . . were able to trace their forbears beyond the colonial days, even to the gentry of England." He fondly remembers the "refinement" of his mother's manners, "her courtesy to guest, her kindness to child and slave."

Reed Anthony exhibits at least two characteristics which are essential elements of the cavalier stereotype. First, he shares with his mythical ancestors a disdain for the pursuit of money. His autobiography is addressed loftily, not to "the present generation, absorbed in its greed of gain, but a more distant and a saner one. . . ." Second, he displays the cavalier's preeminent concern for his personal honor. When Anthony discovers that an Abilene liveryman has accused him of misappropriating his employer's money, he confronts him and calls him a liar. Then he asks the bartender for two glasses of whiskey and two six-shooters. "Now take your choice," he commands the liveryman. "I believe a little whiskey will do me good," the vanquished slanderer replies.

Yet, because of his protagonist's explicitly aristocratic Virginia heritage there are underlying and probably unintended paradoxes in Andy Adams' characterization. In spite of certain recognizably aristocratic features, in many other ways Reed Anthony does not act at all like a stereotypic cavalier. He is, for example, frankly apolitical. In spite of having served in the Confederate Army and having been wounded at Shiloh, he eventually joins with hardly a twinge of conscience into a profitable business partnership with a former Union officer. Though he formally rejects greed and

materialism in the book's introduction, he displays in his narrative exemplary thrift, diligence, and ambition. He builds a fortune driving herds from Texas to the new cattle markets of Kansas and buying and selling huge numbers of cattle on commission. In short, he reveals the good management sense, the entrepreneurial skills, and the instinct for empire building that his flesh-and-blood Virginia predecessors, men like William Byrd and "King" Carter, would have admired. These traits, however, are hardly compatible with the fictional cavalier, who conventionally scorns acquisitiveness and materialism. Equally incompatible is Anthony's pronounced absence of nostalgia for the Old Dominion of his birth. Although he makes infrequent and briefly detailed visits to his boyhood home, he remains firmly rooted and firmly loyal to his new western home.

Adams' contradictory treatment of his protagonist perhaps results from his inability to decide whether to create a romantic or a realistic character. On one hand he seems to have wanted to draw on romantic cavalier antecedents, and on the other he seems to have wanted to create a realistic cowboy like those characters who appear in his detailed and precise Log of a Cowboy. Adams' urge to write realistically largely overcame his romantic inclinations in Reed Anthony; but the unintended paradoxes in the characterization of his protagonist testify to the pronounced appeal of the cavalier-cowboy, even to Western writers with a consciously realistic approach to their subject.

Though the impress of the cavalier figure on the works of Rhodes and Adams is significant, it is relatively slight in comparison to its influence on more romantic western novels. Indeed, as one moves further away from realistic cowboy fiction he finds that the impact of the cavalier myth becomes stronger and stronger. This heavy influence is apparent in the works of Zane Grey.

One of the most melodramatic and wooden of cowboy writers, Zane Grey is the twentieth century heir to the dime novel whose prolifically produced fictions have possibly been read by more people than the works of all other western authors combined. His novels are practically indistinguishable from one another; but a casual perusal of one of them, entitled Knights of the Range, demonstrates how fully Grey utilizes both the myth of southern aristocracy and the cavalier stereotype.

Knights of the Range is set in New Mexico in the tumultuous days of the post-Civil War Southwest, with its relentlessly expanding railroads, its lucrative new cattle markets, and the accompanying explosion of cattle rustling and lawlessness. The Ripple family owns one of the largest ranches in northeastern New Mexico. Colonel Lee Ripple, a native of Texas and a veteran of the Civil War, has gained possession of the huge ranch by marrying the daughter

of an aristocratic Spanish cattle baron. Their dark haired, ebony-eyed daughter, Holly Ripple, combines the strength and pragmatism of her well-bred Texas father with the "aristocratic Spanish lineage" of the mother. Thus in his heroine Grey manages to suggest two kinds of aristocratic backgrounds, southern aristocracy and ancient Spanish nobility. With these two elements represented in her blood, Holly Ripple is fully equipped to play the role, upon her father's death, of western ranch princess.

Playing the cavalier suitor opposite Holly is a young man named Renn Frayne. Frayne is not actually a southerner; he is an easterner whose social origins remain obscure and who is haunted by a tarnished past of gunfighting and rustling. But inspired by the idea of service to Holly--protecting the herds of her vast ranch from the depredations of predatory bands of rustlers--he experiences a miraculous conversion of character and becomes a cavalier in spirit, if not in fact.

The turning point for Frayne comes early in the novel when he thwarts the leader of the band of rustlers of which he is a member after the villain sexually threatens the high-spirited Holly. As Frayne points out, the violation of a lady is a crime "Westerners never forgive." He proudly but courteously refuses Holly's attempt to repay him for his bravery. "You could not reward such service," he tells her, "any more than you could buy it. Not from me." This chivalrous response reduces Holly to a state of wonder: "How was I to know that a desperado could be a--a gentleman? You are a knight of the range, sir."

After this incident Frayne joins Holly's outfit, worshipping her from afar, in true cavalier spirit, while fighting to protect her ranch. His aloofness, Grey makes clear, is caused by a feeling of unworthiness; yet his deep love for her is suggested by the use of a common convention of southern plantation romances, the lover's token. This token is a scarf which Holly notices one day trailing behind his neck "like a streamer of red" when she spies him at a distance through her field glasses. Holly is both elated and astonished, for Frayne has taken the scarf "without her being in the least aware of it."

When Holly, exasperated by her lover's reticence, finally seizes the initiative and kisses him, he is appropriately thunderstruck and humbled. "My God," he exclaims, "who could have foreseen that sweet, beautiful, innocent girl would fall in love with me? . . . I've got to go out and get myself shot." Substituting plantation for ranch, this relationship between an alluring but pure heroine and her worshipful cavalier lover could easily pass for one of a number of nearly identical love affairs in a host of southern plantation romances.

Holly's cowboy-cavalier becomes the leader of a band of men who successfully defend the Don Carlos Ranch from wicked rustlers. This band is explicitly paralleled with the knights of Arthurian romance. Holly--who has been dubbed "Our Lady" by one of her employees--expresses most perfectly this chivalric analogy. "Once upon a time there was a good King. He gathered an outfit of great fighters and put them to noble tasks--to redressing human wrongs in his dominion. . . . I am bold to hope, to pray that my outfit of fighters will deserve my name for them--Knights of the Range."

Not surprisingly, Renn Frayne is rewarded in the end for exemplary devotion by marriage to Holly Ripple and possession of the magnificent Don Carlos Ranch. In fact Grey's narrative is so patent, so excessively melodramatic, and so absurdly idealized that one's initial inclination is to be mystified by the abiding popularity of such novels. One of the reasons for their success, however, is that Grey knows how to use myths in a way that will appeal to the mass reading public. In Knights of the Range he superficially but expertly amalgamates the myths of southern aristocracy and of the southern cavalier with the idealized figure of the cowboy. To anyone with a penchant for romantic stereotypes this is undoubtedly an appealing combination.

Zane Grey, in his equation of cowboy with knightly cavalier, is almost certainly indebted to an earlier western writer, probably the most influential creator of cowboy fiction--Owen Wister. Wister, like Grey, traced the code of the cowboy back to the traditions of Middle-English chivalry. And though critics have subsequently taken exception to his excessive interest in the course of true love and to the almost total absence of range or cattle scenes, there is little doubt that his wildly popular novel, The Virginian (1902), established more firmly than any other the romantic image of cowboy as cavalier.

Wister seems to have been an anomalous candidate for the position of most influential western writer. He was a well-bred and cultivated Pennsylvanian; and his grandmother, Fanny Kemble, once described him as being "deficient . . . in animal spirits."<sup>9</sup> Drawn to the West because of his ill health, he was at one time repelled by the people he met there. "I begin to conclude from five seasons of observation," he once wrote, "that life in this negligent irresponsible wilderness tends to turn people shiftless, cruel, and incompetent."<sup>10</sup> By the time he sat down to write The Virginian, however, his attitude had totally shifted. Perhaps the asthenic tenderfoot eventually succumbed to the virile manliness of the West. At any rate, in his fiction he projected a powerfully idealistic image of the cowboy. "Something about them," he reflected in The Virginian, "smote my American heart, and I have never forgotten it. nor ever shall, as long as I live. In their flesh our natural passions

ran tumultuous; but often in their spirit sat hidden a true nobility, and often beneath its unexpected shining their figures took a heroic stature."

To epitomize the heroic stature of the cowboy the Pennsylvania novelist chose as his hero a courtly Virginian. This choice was not so incongruous as it at first might seem. Wister's heritage was, in part, southern. His maternal grandfather, Pierce Butler, was of a distinguished southern family; and he had owned extensive plantations in coastal Georgia. Wister was a well-bred Northerner who, like many Northerners before and after, responded irresistibly to the appeal of aristocracy embodied in southern flesh. His Virginia cow-puncher thus becomes a wandering cavalier of the high plains, expelled from his original habitat, but maintaining the essential virtues of his code. And, like the traditional cavalier, Wister's cowboy is opposed to the materialism and the decay of values inherent in northern commercialism. "The cow-puncher's ungoverned hours did not unman him. If he gave his word, he kept it; Wall Street would have found him behind the times. Nor did he talk lewdly to women; Newport would have thought him old-fashioned."

The courtly southern characteristics of Wister's protagonist are emphasized almost immediately in the novel. When the narrator, who has just arrived from the East, meets the man who is to guide him to the ranch of his host he notices that his guide speaks with a "civil Southern voice" which he immediately identifies as coming from "Old Virginia." It is made abundantly clear that the Virginian, though a common ranch hand, is nevertheless a true gentleman. He repels, for example, the narrator's clumsy attempts to establish himself immediately on condescendingly familiar terms. "This handsome, ungrammatical son of the soil had set between us the bar of his cold and perfect civility. No polished person could have done it better." The narrator concludes that the Virginian has proved himself the better gentleman of the two and that "the creature we call a gentleman lies deep in the hearts of thousands that are born without chance to master the outward graces of the type."

As the narrator's observations indicate, the Virginian is not descended from one of the aristocratic first families of the Tidewater. He is unpretentious, earthy, and indifferently educated; and, as he writes his prospective mother-in-law later in the novel, his origins are humble: "I am of old stock in Virginia English and one Scotch-Irish grandmother my father's father brought from Kentucky. We have always stayed at the same place farmers and hunters not bettering our lot and very plain." Thus the Virginia cavalier that Wister creates is one of a new breed which is more naturally equipped to make the transition from South to West. He is one of Jefferson's natural aristocrats, a melding of common man with cavalier. In the frontier West where every man was presumably judged on his merits, Wister seems to have correctly discerned that a rustic cavalier



would function as a much more natural part of the scene than his aristocratic prototype.

Humble though his origins may be, the Virginian nonetheless acts very much like his aristocratic and romantic predecessors. Like every true cavalier, he must have a lady to love. This lady is Mary Stark Wood, a beautiful girl from Vermont. It is obvious that Wister had to tread delicately in creating Mary Wood. Jeffersonian meritocracy aside, Mary cannot be elevated too high above her cowboy lover; yet she must be indisputably a lady worthy of his love. This problem is deftly solved by making Mary the product of a socially solid, small-town Vermont family that has fallen upon moderately hard times. Lacking the means to travel and hemmed in at home by social convention, Wister's bourgeois heroine flees west to become a schoolteacher and to meet her romantic destiny.

Like Zane Grey's Knights of the Range, the ritual of courtship in the The Virginian is indistinguishable, except in its setting, from the romances of southern plantation fiction. The Virginian performs the obligatory rescue of the lady from a stagecoach foundering in a raging Wyoming river, and he is immediately smitten by the damsel he has saved from distress. True to the cavalier tradition, he carries away from this encounter a lover's token, a handkerchief embroidered with flowers. Later at a barbecue-dance he defends his lady's honor from the lewd insinuations of the novel's villain, Trampas. Mary also plays her role properly, outwardly spurning her suitor's romantic initiatives, while inwardly and half-consciously giving him her heart. Yet, in spite of remaining Mary's "unrewarded knight," the Virginian does not give vent to his misery or falter in his devotion. His attitude is the traditional one of stoic worship; and his stoicism reminds one of the other long-suffering cavalier lovers, such as Thomas Nelson Page's Marse Chan.

Slowly, in spite of Mary's initial disdain, the Virginian's courtship takes hold. She assumes the responsibility for educating and uplifting her lover, introducing him to Russian realism and Shakespeare. The Virginian gratefully accepts her cultural tutelage. Yet Mary is unable to come to terms with her suitor's humble background and his rough-hewn life, and she resolves to leave Wyoming. On her farewell ride through the countryside, however, she discovers her cowboy gravely wounded by a bullet from a renegade Indian party. At this point she demonstrates her mettle and justifies herself in readers' eyes as being a worthy object of love by bringing the wounded man to her cabin and nursing him slowly back to health.

Even in the tense and dramatic scene in which Mary discovers and saves the Virginian, Wister plays subtly on the idea of his protagonist's innate nobility of character. He is weak from loss of blood and nearly unconscious when she finds him. In keeping him on his horse and thereby saving his life Mary alertly grasps at a chivalric

notion, presumably the only notion capable of impressing itself on the Virginian's fever-ravaged mind. When he cries out to her that he cannot go further, she replies: "You must take me home. . . . a gentleman does not invite a lady to go out riding and leave her." Her lover responds viscerally to this gentlemanly obligation and hangs on in his saddle.

After restoring her cowboy to health Mary understands that she loves him and that she must throw convention to the wind and marry him. But there is one final obstacle--the villain Trampas, who materializes on the wedding day. Determined for revenge, Trampas vilifies the Virginian in a face-to-face confrontation and forces a gunfight. Naturally Mary is horrified by the notion of this sort of killing, and she begs her fiancée to avoid the gunfight if he values her love. But a cavalier's honor is his most sacred trust. Without this quality, he believes, he would be unworthy of Mary's love. The Virginian explains his position simply but eloquently to the bishop who has come to marry him: "I'd give her twice my life--fifty--a thousand of 'em. But I can't give her--her nor anybody in heaven or earth--I can't give my--my--we'll never get at it, seh!"

Of course the Virginian has gotten at it. The bishop understands the necessity for the gunfight as well as Wister's readers, and he blesses the cowboy as he goes to face and kill Trampas. And though Mary, who is a Yankee, cannot truly understand the code of her cowboy-cavalier, she wrestles and finally subdues her New England scruples and is waiting for her lover with open arms when he returns in victory. To paraphrase Wister, she has capitulated to love. The Virginian concludes the romance by sweeping his bride away into his mountain retreat for the idyllic consummation of their love, a scene handled with the properly chaste reverence befitting cavalier and lady.

Edmund Wilson has pointed out that the subject matter, style, and tone of The Virginian was dictated by the taste of the largely feminine reading public in America in the late nineteenth century. The manly cowboy, he notes, "is projected almost entirely in terms of adoring women with whom the author identifies himself."<sup>11</sup> Wilson's observations suggest how neatly the cavalier stereotype could be employed to create an idealized cowboy suitable for genteel readers. Many of the most manly characteristics of the cavalier--his strength, his dashing vitality, his identification with horses, his unbending sense of personal honor--were just those characteristics which distinguished the cowboy at his best. And other qualities of this mythic southerner--his well-bred gentility, his courteousness, his sensitivity--could be grafted on the western hero to produce a cavalier-cowboy, the kind of sanitary western hero appropriate for well-bred romantic fantasies. The success of Owen Wister's The Virginian lies fundamentally in this successful joining of character types.

From Eugene Manlove Rhodes and Andy Adams to Zane Grey and Owen Wister, the influence of the cavalier stereotype on the characterization of the cowboy in fiction is pervasive and marked. It is in the more romantic western novels, however, that the full influence of this aristocratic figure can be seen. Novels like Knights of the Range and The Virginian amply demonstrate that the cowboy in his most idealized form is directly descended from the southern cavalier, and they lend weight to J. Frank Dobie's assertion that understanding the code of the West is contingent upon understanding the code of the ante-bellum South.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>J. Frank Doble, Guide to Life and Literature of the Southwest (Dallas, Texas, 1952), p. 93.

<sup>2</sup>Louis B. Wright, The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class (San Marino California, 1940), pp. 1-37.

<sup>3</sup>Wilbur Joseph Cash, The Mind of the South (New York, 1941), p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Clement Eaton, The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860 (New York, 1961), p. 2.

<sup>5</sup>Marshall Fishwick, The Hero, American Style (New York, 1969), pp. 60-61.

<sup>6</sup>The Oxford Companion to American Literature, ed. James D. Hart, 4th ed. (New York, 1965), p. 189.

<sup>7</sup>Joe B. Frantz and Julian E. Choate, Jr., The American Cowboy: The Myth and the Reality (Norman, Oklahoma, 1955), p. 75.

<sup>8</sup>Quoted in Eugene Manlove Rhodes, Pasó Por Aquí (Norman, Oklahoma, 1973), ix-x.

<sup>9</sup>Larzer Ziff, The American 1890's: Life and Times of a Lost Generation (New York, 1966), p. 224.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>11</sup>Edmund Wilson, Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War (New York, 1962), p. 596.