Dust in the Air: Narratives of Actual Versus Fictional Trail Drives

by
James R. Nicholl

A comparison of various accounts of Great Plains cattle drives in the 1870's and 1880's shows that some fictional accounts catch more reality, give more flavor, of this part of the American cowboy's vocation than their autobiographical counterparts, which are based on remembered experiences. This is especially true of Andy Adams' classic novel, The Log of a Cowboy (published in 1903—and still in print—describing an 1882 drive), and of its first important predecessor, Thomas Pilgrim's Live Boys; or Charley and Naho in Texas, etc. (published in 1878, describing an 1876 drive).

Don D. Walker, in an essay on the problems confronting the historian of the American range cattle industry, offers one convincing explanation for this paradox:

[F]irsthand reports, no matter how honest they may seem to be, do not always present an image of reality. Even when written close upon the event itself, they may be shaped (distorted) by rationalization, a poverty of perception, or mythmaking of the participating self. If the account must be gathered and filtered in memory, the image may be even more unreliable.1

Brief examination of some of those firsthand reports, confined just to trail drives, at once confirms Walker's assertion. The granddaddy of all cowboy autobiographies is Charlie Siringo's A Texas Cowboy, or Fifteen Years on the Hurricane Deck of a Spanish Pony, published first in 1885. Yet in his preface to a 1950 reprint of Siringo's story, J. Frank Dobie, the noted commentator on Western literature, provides support for Walker's point, comparing the 1885 original with a revised, "polited version," Riata and Spurs, published in 1927 with numerous changes.2 Later in that same preface, Dobie goes further along the same trail:

The varied recollections assembled by George W. Saunders into two volumes called The Trail Drivers of Texas and the separately published recollections of Jack Potter, Frank Millard, Bob Lauderdale, Charlie Siringo and other men of the original cow country of Texas are rawhide in nature. They are bedrock history. They tell much, but because of a lack of that perspective which gives the writer a sense of values, they often miss much [emphasis added]. (p. xxviii)
None of this is meant to deny the interesting story Siringo does tell. He had a hellish child- and boyhood, got in lots of serapes, and was in debt even more than he was in love. A cowboy during the golden days of traildriving, from 1871 to 1883, he went to work at sixteen on Shanghai Pierce’s Rancho Grande. He participated in several trail drives, the first in 1874 (he got fired while the herd was still in Central Texas, pp. 58-61), the last in 1883. Unfortunately, he described those drives, mostly two-month affairs from the LX Ranch in the Texas Panhandle to Caldwell or to Dodge City, Kansas, with a frustrating economy of detail.

Here, for instance, is the full, uncut report of the 1883 drive, with some details of the spring roundup included just to fill out the hide a little:

We arrived back at the ranch about July the first, with three thousand head of “L. X.” cattle which had drifted south during the past winter. As I was anxious to get back to Kansas to see my wife and mother, Hollicott [the LX Ranch manager] immediately gathered eight hundred fat shipping steers and started me.

I arrived in Caldwell September the first . . . . (p. 197)

Gary Cooper couldn’t be much more laconic than that.

But in partial defense of Siringo: By then twenty-eight years old, and just about to settle down in Caldwell for a while as a storekeeper and an author, he had gotten married in early March 1883 to a fifteen-year-old black-eyed beauty: they had known one another three days when they became engaged, six days when they were wed, and three days after the wedding Siringo had to leave his young bride in Caldwell, bound for the LX Ranch to prepare for the spring roundup. Not only the understatement in the line “As I was anxious to get back to Kansas to see my wife . . . .” but also the desire to repress memories of two frustratingly slow months on the trail watching the southwestern ends of 800 northeast-bound steers may account for the pithiness of Siringo’s report.

Yet he is scarcely more detailed in his account of a drive over the same route a year earlier:

About the first of July [1882], shortly after my return, Hollicott sent me to Kansas with a herd of eight hundred fat steers. My outfit consisted of a cook, chuck wagon, five riders, and six burros to the rider.

We arrived in Caldwell, Kansas, near the northern line of the Indian Territory, about September the first. (p. 103)

A person has to read a lot of Siringo to learn a little about trail drives.

Clearly, what Dobie called “the most-read non-fiction book on cowboy life” (p. xiv) has been read for something other than its
descriptions of trail drives. Elsewhere Siringo does take a little over three pages to describe a drive to near Wichita in 1876 (pp. 76-80), but devotes only a paragraph and a sentence to an 1877 drive to Dodge City (p. 92). Thus, while Siringo's autobiography is full of a variety of exciting episodes, it is of little help for a person trying to confirm typical trail driving trials and practices, or even trying to trace some of the personalities and geography involved.

Of about equal value in this regard is another famous cowboy autobiography, "Teddy Blue" Abbott's We Pointed Them North (first published in 1939). Abbott spends only two pages telling of a trail experience in 1871 at age ten with his father's herd (pp. 8-9), another two for a drive he made in 1879 at age eighteen (pp. 32-33); he barely mentions a drive in 1881 (p. 49), but suddenly turns loquacious when describing his last drive—like Siringo's, it occurred in 1883. Abbott left from near San Antonio on April 10, arriving in Forsyth, Montana, in October, and he lavishes fourteen pages on the story, counting some asides on related matters (pp. 60-73). He does briefly describe trailing procedures (pp. 62-63), and even a cowboy superstition about cursing during a thunderstorm (pp. 66-67), but there is still not very much meat on these bones. (In contrast, Andy Adams takes over three hundred pages to describe a drive only slightly longer than Abbott's last one.) Again, it's good to have even part of the story, and certainly, like Siringo's book, Abbott's has plenty of other virtues.

Yet much more useful to the student of the cattle drive are two different firsthand accounts of trail drives in 1879; however, both, like Abbott's, were written down long after the incidents described, so Walker's warnings about firsthand accounts certainly must be considered.

The first of these, generally little known, is James Clay Shaw's North From Texas (first published in 1931). Shaw, in his later years a prominent and moderately-successful Wyoming rancher, went up the trail at an advanced age for a beginner, twenty-seven, after some store clerking and some school teaching experiences.

Shaw joins his herd in May 1879, in Throckmorton County, west of Fort Worth, though the cattle are from coastal Texas (p. 31). The larger than average mixed herd of 1500 big steers, 1500 cows, and 1850 yearlings is bound for Ogallala, Nebraska, an important terminus and shipping point on the Union Pacific Railroad. For $40 a month, Shaw joined nine other cowboys, a trail boss, and a cook, all of whose names he recalled over forty years later (p. 34). As an inexperienced drover he was assigned to ride drag, in the dust at the
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1 to ride drag, in the dust at the
back of the herd, with the black cowboy Albert for his partner. The
drove north on the trail from Fort Worth to Fort Dodge, Kansas (p.
34), with some peaceful contact with Indians in the Nation (pp.
39-42).

However, the white settlers in southwestern Kansas were
hostile, except when time came to bed the herd. Then they en­
couraged use of their land, wanting the cowships to use for fuel in
that tree scarce region. Shaw says, “They would guard [the chips on
the bed ground] like a Texas man does a watermelon patch, until
they were ripe enough to haul in” (p. 46).

When the herd passed by Dodge City, Shaw and Albert were
left with it while the other men visited town, so we get no de­
cription (p. 47). Ogallala being reached without incident, the big steers
and the cows were sold (p. 52). Soon after, on September 15, the
crew delivered the yearling steers and the drive ended (p. 61).

Shaw’s narrative is without major episode; there are only minor
stampedes, one fight in camp with a cowboy shot but not badly
hurt, uneventful river crossings. Not much of the stuff of romance is
here; probably a good deal of the monotonous reality is, though.

Shaw’s account is about as straightforward as an unsigned jour­
nalistic account from the previous year, printed under the title ‘The
Texas Cattle Drive’ in American Agriculturist, a leading farm
journal. The article, which concentrates on the activity at
Ogallala and features an engraving of the town with a herd fording
the South Platte River, goes on to name as the most prominent Texas
drover a Mr. Ellison (p. 45), who was likely the same man as James
Ellison, co-owner of the herd Shaw helped drive (p. 31).

More lively, more detailed, and better known is another 1879
trail drive narrative, written about 1910 or 1911 by Baylis John
Fletcher and published in 1968 as Up the Trail in ’79. Fletcher, a
19-year-old Central Texas native, hired on with Thomas Snyder,
one of several prominent Texas cattle-drover brothers, to take a herd
up the Chisholm Trail from Victoria, Texas, to Dodge City, and on
to Cheyenne. Eight cowboys, a trail boss, and a cook, apparently all
white, left on March 10 to pick up the herd (p. 7). Mr. Snyder soon
replaced the cook, hiring two Mexicans, one as cook, the other as
horse herder (p. 9). Using trail dogs to help get the cattle out of the
Coastal Texas brush, the crew gathered a herd of 2000 steers and
road-branded them (pp. 14-15). The cowboys had a stag dance the
night of April 10. (Such entertainment was not uncommon.) The
next morning they headed north for Cheyenne (pp. 15-16). The sec­
d second night out there was a fullblown midnight stampede, which the
cowboys managed to control, and a repeat performance the next night, this time perhaps due to the carelessness of Fletcher and his nightherd partner—though they didn’t admit it publicly (pp. 17-19).

Fletcher is no Siringo or Shaw; he’s definitely had a memorable experience, and he recounts plenty of interesting episodes, such as the time he lost his hat in another stampede a couple of nights further up the trail, and then had to go hatless an extra day in the Central Texas sun and heat because a pious country storekeeper refused to sell anything on Sunday (p. 21). He names plenty of creeks and towns and other landmarks along the way, his sense of names and places so good that his only noticeable slip is a trivial one, when he has the herd cross the Kansas Pacific Railroad at Buffalo Parks Station (p. 49). An 1876 Kansas map shows a Parks Fort station, and next west of it several miles a Buffalo station, the article in American Agriculturist also names “Buffalo Station on the Kansas and Pacific Road,” 145 miles south of Ogallala (p. 45).

In other incidents, Fletcher loses his tolerant attitude toward Indians when the trail boss lets a begging group in Indian Territory have a beef and then they savagely devour it, raw, almost as soon as the slaughtered beast hits the ground (p. 38). Among their trials, the Snyder herd and its crew endure a 100-mile dry drive from the Kansas line to the Arkansas River at Dodge City (p. 45), survive a couple of bad hail storms (pp. 25, 56), and recover from a terrific stampede caused by a coyote running into the bedded-down herd (p. 25). Fletcher describes a buffalo bone gatherer (p. 38), the monotony of a bacon, bread, beef, and beans (or “prairie strawherrles”) diet relieved by a barrel of pickles (pp. 31, 46), one of the cowboys’ superstitions about lightning (pp. 55-56), and so on.

Yet their river crossings are uneventful, and little is described of the cattle towns until the drive ends, when the Snyder herd is delivered to a Swan Brothers ranch in eastern Wyoming (pp. 57-59), and the cowboys go into Cheyenne (pp. 62-63). The main episode there is the discovery that the Metropolitan Hotel is integrated, causing these Southern cowboys to move to a private boarding house. That move followed an incident in the hotel dining room: a black cowboy walked in and sat down beside the crusty old trail boss, George Arnett—and got his skull cracked with a pistol for displaying such temerity (p. 63).

Clearly Up the Trail in ’79 lives and breathes; there’s probably not a better firsthand, historical trail drive narrative.

But it’s not the best or most useful story of a trail drive. That is,
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of course, The Log of a Cowboy, the 1903 novel by Andy Adams. Many know this popular book, so little more is needed than to mention that it traces in detail one of the longest of cattle drives: Texas cowboys pick up 3000 Mexican cattle at the mouth of the Rio Grande and move them up the Western Trail, on through Wyoming to a Blackfoot agency in Northeastern Montana; the trip covers 3000 miles, starting April 1, 1882, and ending with the delivery of a million pounds of beef on the hoof on September 8.

The Log of a Cowboy is, in J. Frank Dobie's words, "The classic of the occupation," a point that nobody disputes. Adams does invent a few places, such as the town of Frenchman's Ford on the Yellowstone River in Montana (pp. 283-288). Yet even these he invests with such reality through his powers of descriptive invention that one begins to doubt the accuracy of Rand-McNally's cartographers. In fact, his descriptions of traildriving practices, of historical personalities, and of geographical features and natural obstacles are so realistic and so often factual that the novel is fre­­quently quoted and cited by historians as if it described an actual trail drive rather than a fictional one. The Log of a Cowboy is also believeable in characterization (though the total absence of Mexican cowboys, except for those with the herd being delivered from Mexico at the Rio Grande, and of black cowboys, is a factual fault). The novel is full of lifelike action and, finally, it has a good stock of what cowboys liked to call "coffee-coolers," couched in the appropriate vernacular, told around the campfires at night.

Yet Andy Adams, an Indiana farm boy, grown when he came to Texas in 1882, didn't go up the trail that year, and never went even half the distance on the trail he described so well. But we might just as well fault Shakespeare for not having been a Danish prince or a Moorish general. Like him, Adams must have observed carefully, read useful publications, and listened well to the right people; then he retained and converted into literature what he saw and read and heard.

As for using facts, Adams gets plenty of historical folks into his tale. In Dodge City his narrator, Tom Moore, lists a virtual Who's Who of western peace officers (p. 179), while a few pages later he names prominent drovers waiting for their herds to arrive (p. 187). These cattlemen are all historical figures, named in such familiar sources of range history information as Joseph McCoy's Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest (1874), James Cox's The Cattle Industry of Texas and Adjacent Territory (1895), Prose and Poetry of the Livestock Industry of the United
States (1905), and The Trail Drivers of Texas (1925). Adams is so true to fact that in the course of his narrative he names all but one of the ten major cattlemen mentioned in the 1878 American Agriculturalist article on Ogallala; the only omission is Ellison’s partner, John O. Dewees.

Yet is it possible, perhaps even probable, that through reading a work—or works—using the same grounded-in-fact technique, Andy Adams learned to bolster his own fiction by incorporating true persons, places, and things? If so, might he have learned such a technique by reading not just novels on any subject, but ones about trail driving? Beyond that, is it possible those novels might have been intended, not for adults, but for juveniles, for boys?

Naturally the answer is yes, thrice. The two books I have in mind were published rather early in the traildriving period, when Adams was little more than a boy, and before he came to Texas. They are somewhat rare now, given what most boys will do with books. J. Frank Dobie says of the first, published in 1878: “The chronicle, little fictionized [my emphasis], of a trail drive to Kansas. So far as I know, this is the first narrative printed on cattle trailing or cowboy life that is to be accounted authentic.” Following Dobie’s lead, I found the other, published in 1880, and by the same author, Thomas Pilgrim, who used the pseudonym of Arthur Morecamp.

Pilgrim’s books, known only to some bookcollectors and a few specialists in Western American literature, seem invaluable as cultural artifacts. The first novel has at its heart a thorough, convincing description of a cattle drive from South Texas to Ellis, Kansas, in the Centennial Year. Pilgrim himself was apparently an Austin, Texas, attorney and certainly an obscure “writer of books for boys,” who died in 1882 (ironically, the year of Log of a Cowboy’s trail drive and that Adams came to Texas). His novel follows in the successful tradition of Tom Sawyer (1876) and anticipates Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (1884); here, too, the story is told in first person by a self-reliant orphan, in this case the fourteen-year-old Charles Zanco, whose companion is another orphan the same age, the Mexican boy Ygnacio de Carapita, or Nasho, for short.

Live Boys: or Charley and Nasho in Texas, etc. begins with a fictional preface dated January 31, 1877, from Kerrville, Texas, in which Arthur Morecamp says he met the two protagonists at the Centennial; that is, at the 1876 exposition in Philadelphia, where he heard some of the story from Charley. Later, laid up with a broken leg for six weeks in the winter at the home of Charley’s uncle, near
Adams is so sure of his narrative he names all but one of the novels he read in the 1878 American Author, with the only omission being Ellison's Log of a Cowboy. The two books I have in mind are those by Adams himself, published in 1878: "The Ark," a trail drive to Kansas, and "The Last Days" of a trail drive to Kansas. The stories are based on cattle trailing technique, "authentic." Adams followed "Gone with the Wind" in 1880, and by the same date, "The cattle trail driving period, when most boys will do with their hobbies. Adams was apparently an Austin boy, writer of books for boys. His novel follows in the same vein of "writer of books for boys." The geographic and chronological movement of the herd is authentic, when checked carefully against an historical atlas, and Charley fully explains such cowboy terms as "maverick" and "milking" (pp. 194-203). This trail drive experience includes stampedes, thunderstorms, dangerous river crossings, and, finally, an attempt by several of the crew to steal the herd as it nears Kansas. After some shooting and hanging and burying, the herd moves on to the delivery point, Ellis, Kansas (p. 260). From there Charley and Nasho leave on a train for more adventures in Philadelphia, and still
more as they return in early winter via Fort Dodge, Kansas, on their way back to Kerrville for Christmas (pp. 268-308).

Some of their later adventures are too contrived to be believable, but the traildriving activity, except for the boys' roles in putting down the herd theft attempt, squares well with firsthand and factual accounts. For instance, the chute arrangement used for roadbranding (pp. 167-169) is identical to the one Baylis John Fletcher said his crew used in Coastal Texas in 1873 (p. 15). The provisions are right, too, although rice is named in place of beans among the staples (p. 201). The driving routine and the trail boss's duties are described accurately, while Charley's observation after a week or so on the trail that "driving cattle don't give a man much time for anything else if he sticks to them" (p. 211) certainly sounds right, chapter and verse. And when the drive nears Kansas, the herds of several prominent cattlemen are mentioned as being in the area (pp. 241-242); these men are among those who appear in McCoy's 1874 book and the other standard works mentioned earlier, as well as in the American Agriculturist article and, later, in Adams' novel. One of the cattlemen is Captain Richard King, here called Colonel (p. 242), who in 1876 did send several herds to Ellis, the Kansas Pacific Railroad's unsuccessful principle competition for the Santa Fe Railroad's Dodge City and Wichita cowtowns in 1876-77. (It is probable that Captain King was the model for this novel's fictional Colonel Hunt, owner of the herd driven to Ellis by Charley and Nasho, and of the huge Texas ranch where the drive began; at one point Hunt is called "one of the biggest stock-owner's [sic] in Texas" (p. 139), a description certainly fitting Captain King.)

The sequel to Live Boys in Texas, entitled Live Boys in the Black Hills or the Young Texan Gold Hunters. A Narrative in Charley's Own Language, Describing Their Adventures During a Second Trip over the Great Texas Cattle Trail, etc. (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1880), is more of the same, except in epistolary style, as letters written from Charley to Morecamp soon after each major adventure. The action begins early in the 1877 traildriving season, with the routine and the drive generally described in less detail than in the earlier novel. Again, some prominent real (and different) cattlemen are named (pp. 60, 70). This time the herd is to be driven on to Ogallala, sold to J. W. Illiff of Julesburg, Colorado, the most important northern Plains cattlemen of the time (p. 124). But Captain Dick and the two boys leave the herd at Ellis, striking out for the gold fields of Dakota Territory and adventures there (pp. 133+). Again, as in the 1878 novel, there is a core of fact that seems to give
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may well have part of its genesis in the Live Boys novels of twenty-
five years earlier.

Now, to complete this brief survey and comparison of some of
the trail drive narratives, and to support the approach used, con-
sider these words: "if we are to understand the cowboy without
knowing him at first hand, it is necessary to forget what we think we
know about him [as learned from pulp magazines and Hollywood
movies] and learn from such men as Adams, Hough, Santee,
Rhodes, McCoy, Barnes, Clark, and Will James."18 The premier
historian of America's Great Plains region, Walter Prescott Webb,
made this assertion almost fifty years ago. He does not name Thomas
Pilgrim, but Andy Adams heads the list, accompanied by several
other writers of fiction. As Richard West Sellars has pointed out in
an essay in Western Historical Quarterly, Webb was "one of the first
professional historians to show a serious interest in using western
literature for historical analysis," demonstrating that literature's
value in his landmark book, The Great Plains (1931).19 Such an
approach was further confirmed in 1950 with the appearance of Henry
Nash Smith's Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and
Myth, another landmark book on the American West, one that also
uses literature (and sub-literature) as a means of historical and
cultural analysis. Since its appearance western literature has become
an important tool in the effort to understand both western history
and the national character.20

Thus, to understand the West, and its place in the development
of American culture, we must continue to read and to study the
firsthand accounts, but always critically. We must also continue to
turn to the writers of accurate, historically-based fiction, but not
just to the major authors, such as Adams and Gene Rhodes; we must
be willing to stray off the main trail, to seek out and to read and to
study the works of such overlooked writers as Thomas Pilgrim.

NOTES


Toddy Abbott and the same custom, p. 66-67. Lightning was a major threat to men on horseback on the open, thinly-ranged range, and Fincher recalled that all cowboys stopped when lightning appeared to dance on the long horns of the cattle, a cowboy who continued swaying was considered a dunce by the mates, and to be coming death.

The Johnson Brothers and the Swan Brothers are both mentioned in the American Agriculturist article, p. 452.

All citations are to The Image of a Cowboy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955). The novel was subtitled A Narrative of the Old West Days in the first edition, New York: Grolier and Dunlap, 1903.


Guide p. 113.


[In reference, Lea and Shepard, 1878]. All citations are to this edition.


H. C. Jackson, Historical and Biographical Record of the Cattle Industry, etc (St. Louis: Woodward and Tarrant, 1885; repeated New York, Apogee, 1895), vol. 3, p. 500 of the repeated edition. By 1870 Captain King controlled a Texas Cattle ranched of 36 leagues (1,960 square miles, or about 600,000 acres), and was said to range an 1,000,000 cattle. In 1870 he sent twelve hundred railroad 50,000 cattle north, either to Ellis or to Capitala (Geddes, p. 228).

Webb, pp. 241-245.

The Interrelationship of Literature, History, and Geography in Western Writing," Western Historical Quarterly, 4 (April 1973), 171.

Miller, p. 174.