

Why Is He a Southerner? : The Imperial Body of the Hero of *The Virginian*

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An acclaimed classic Western, Owen Wister's *The Virginian* (1902) is conceived as a historical romance by the author, and the Western hero is a chivalric man from the South. To clarify the meaning of a Southern hero in the West, this paper examines the story in terms of U.S. imperialism, masculine crisis, and the gendered image of the South after the end of the Civil War. Wister's romance is a cultural text and expresses the interconnections of white men's anxieties over race, class and gender in the national imagination at the turn of the century. The setting of the colonial West, a Southern hero and his romance with an Eastern lady as well as his friendship with an Eastern man is a vehicle to dissolve those anxieties. The West is an ideological place for nation building and the spectacular masculine Southern body is incorporated into the imperialist discourse to be shown as an idealized national body. The process revolves around middle-class Anglo-Saxonism, involving a reconfiguration of gender relations based on the modern heteronormativity. The *Virginian* is an attempt to re-embody the nation by transforming the homosocial reunion of men of the East/North and the West/South into the heterosexual romance of a Northern/Eastern lady and a Southern/Western man, thereby representing the nation.

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Owen Wister's *The Virginian* (1902) is acclaimed as a classic Western, where for the first time a cowboy, formerly just a rough, shaggy and dirty figure running around in dime novels, attracted enough genteel readers to get the novel ranked as the bestseller of the year. It has the full range of elements of formula Westerns: a masculine hero, his smartness and prowess as a gunman, a shoot-out with the villain over a matter of honor and his victory over him, his love for a beautiful heroine, and friendship with his fellow cowboys. On a second look, however, we notice that the book is dedicated to Theodore Roosevelt, the strenuous cult hero, and that the cowboy hero is not a Westerner but a Southerner, who was more typically given an effeminate representation after the Civil War.

A study of this Southern chivalric hero in the context of American imperialism will show the relation between nationality and masculinity. I will further contend that Southern manhood was incorporated into the national discourse with a geopolitical complexity, and finally will show how that incorporation underpinned the idea of imperial nationhood based on the modern heterosexual family system.

I. American Masculinity in Crisis

The Virginian is a compilation of short stories and sketches of Wyoming, a place the author had frequented since 1885. Wister was from an established Eastern family. Roosevelt was one of his seniors in the fraternity at Harvard and they were both attracted to the West through Dr. Silas Weir Mitchell. After graduation Wister suffered a nervous breakdown caused by a monotonous job as

a bank clerk, and was prescribed the "West Cure" by Mitchell (Payne 93-124).

At the end of the 19th century nervous breakdown, or neurasthenia, was identified as a disease of civilization and a peculiarly American condition. It was regarded as proof of "modernity" and exceptional "brain power," which showed American cultural superiority. Men taking the cure were strongly recommended to word-sketch the things they experienced in the West, as such writing was reckoned to be strenuously uplifting (Will 296-298).

Recalling that Mitchell's famous "Rest Cure," which prohibited writing, was usually prescribed for women, the gendered nature of the West Cure is clear: it was designed to restore male virility. Another client of Mitchell, Roosevelt, also went West from the neurasthenic East, to build a successful ranching and rough-riding political career. If we consider the gendered nature of the West Cure, the fear of overcivilization is synonymous with loss of masculinity, or feminization, which implies degeneration as well.

The Virginian opens with the narrator arriving at the small town of Medicine Bow, Wyoming, away from "the far shores of civilization" (15). He is, like Wister himself, overcivilized, overstrained by the East, and in this sense, feminized. There is an implication that this narrator is on the West Cure, and his narration is the process of recovery. In front of this "tenderfoot," the cowboy hero simply called the Virginian or the cowboy appears as if "from somewhere across the vast horizon"; he was sent to meet the narrator to accompany him to the ranch of his employer Judge Henry. Through this feminized narrator the Virginian is verbally constructed as an epitome of manliness:

a “slim young giant, more beautiful than pictures...radiated splendor from his youth and strength” (13), and “in his eye, in his face, in his step, in the whole man, there dominated a something potent to be felt” (16). He moves with “the undulations of a tiger, smooth and easy, as if his muscles flowed beneath his skin” (11).

The narrator directs an apparently female gaze toward the cowboy when unabashedly expressing his attraction to him: “Had I been the bride, I should have taken the giant, dust and all” (13). Certainly the Virginian is, as Jane Thompkins points out admiringly, “the sexiest” hero (139), but we should note that this sexy hero is constructed through the homoerotic eye of the feminized narrator, to which theme we will return later. At the same time, the hero's manliness is balanced by civility. Within the “flesh and blood” of this “handsome, ungrammatical son of the soil” the narrator claims to discern “a gentleman” (17).

How is it that the narrator can judge this cowboy to be a gentleman merely by observing his civil behavior and Southern drawl, together with that radiant, potent, virile male body? On what is such a judgment based? Here, in fact, we encounter the notion that this splendid body must itself be the locus of a splendid spirit, a notion that served as a solution to the crisis of masculinity at the turn of the century.

In the history of U.S. manhood, the last 20 years of the 19th century were marked by anxiety among the American ruling class (white, middle class Anglo-Saxon men) about the “overstraining” of modern life, or overcivilization, which was described as feminization. The flood of non-European immigrants, vigorous labor movements, and the emergent New Women seemed to endanger the superiority of the race, class, and gender of these white males. While this anxiety led middle-class men to spiritual cures, like the simple life, the mind cure, or mysticism, at the same time it directed them to new virtues and obsessions about their manliness. Femininity was regarded as a symptom of degeneration, and to counter this an urgent need was felt for the recreation of a virile culture. The nature of the West Cure is best understood in this context.

In particular, as T.J. Jackson Lears points out, the martial ideal emerged as a popular antidote to overcivilization (100). White middle-class men's fear of their own enervation and lower-class unrest directed them to the worship of force, laying the groundwork for a love of war and enthusiasm for sports such as boxing and football and for outdoor life. The notion of manhood as high strife contributed to rescuing manliness from overcivilization, degeneration and feminization. The reconstruction of manliness meant the restoration of physical vigor through gymnastics, sports or outdoor activities. The culture of cultivating the masculine body — physical culture — culminated in the cult of the strenuous life, with Roosevelt as its epitome, and also in muscular Christianity. At the same time, men joined fraternal organizations which allowed them to “reinvent themselves as men...without feeling feminized” (Kimmel 172). Middle-class men increasingly “saw action as manly” (Rotundo 224).

These martial virtues and competitiveness were transformed

into manliness, and the male body into the locus of manliness: its robust, vigorous, virile nature came to define masculinity, and a man's physical strength, as the source of character, to explain the man himself. That is why the narrator of *The Virginian* could judge the cowboy to be a gentleman. In the real world Roosevelt embodied this notion in his physique, action and words. For Roosevelt, suffering from physical weakness and sickness, to reject the nickname of “our own Oscar Wilde” (Kimmel 181), to masculinize his own body through exercise, meant directly to set the stage for his political career. It was that aspiration which directed him West.

Adding to this supposed connection between body and character, it is important to note here that this particular masculinity of white, middle-class men was associated with “Americans” as a nation, and even with imperial America itself. Roosevelt's famous “Strenuous Life” speech (1899) succinctly connects white middle-class men's masculinity with Americans as a nation, and thereby justifies the imperial expansion of the United States. First he presents martial ideals for American men:

We admire the man who embodies *victorious effort*; the man...who has those *virile* qualities necessary to win in the *stern strife* of actual life...a healthy state can exist only when the men and women who make it up lead clean, *vigorous, healthy* lives. (35, emphasis added)

Though he here includes both men and women among the vigorous healthy people who make up a healthy state, in the later part of the speech he identifies colonized China as a nation which has “lost the manly and adventurous qualities” (37). At the end of the speech he treats his martial ideals for men and for the nation almost as one inseparable idea, or at least treats the latter as an extension of the former:

Let us therefore *boldly* face the life of *strife*, resolute to do our duty well and *manfully*; resolute to uphold righteousness by *deed* and by word; resolute to be both honest and *brave*.... Above all, let us shrink from no strife, moral or physical, within and without the nation...for it is only through *strife*, through hard and *dangerous endeavor*, that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness. (46, emphasis added)

Just as the individual man could prove his manliness through strenuousness, so a nation could prove its national greatness through strenuous strife, and thence would follow the domination of the world. What is supposed here is the connection of the individual man to the nation as a collective people, and then of the nation to the nation as a country. The overcivilization inflicting China means feminization, which would block the way to national greatness. National greatness is thus grounded in what manliness was supposed to mean at that time: aggressiveness as expressed by such words as strife, or strenuousness.

In “Romancing the Empire,” Amy Kaplan analyzes the 1890s boom of historical romances full of heroic exploits in

the context of U.S. imperialism. Kaplan presents the idea of “disembodiment,” which refers to the state of being divorced from contiguous territorial expansion, the closing of the frontier and the start of the annexations of Hawaii and the Philippine “islands,” without definite borders to delineate. She then connects the discourse of the disembodiment of the American border with the “re-embodiment” of American men. The representation of American nationhood underwent a “reincarnation” in the American man, in parallel with the cultural process of redefining white middle-class masculinity. Imperialist discourse “drew on and reinforced this process” (662). Thus the anxiety of white middle-class men and the reconstruction of their masculinity through the body was synonymous with the re-embodiment of the U.S. as a great nation comparable to other imperial powers.

II. Developing a “Usable Past”

The re-embodiment of manhood as re-embodiment of the nation was physically and discursively constructed on atavism. For one thing, pre-modern savage energy was invoked as a means to revitalize middle-class men. Contradictory as it sounds, in this context concepts of “animal instincts,” “savageness” and “animal energy” were used positively to control overcivilization and feminization (Rotundo 229-31).

The worship of force, or militarism, which provided the means of class revitalization, was also atavistic, especially in its revival of chivalry. One of the consequences was the boom in historical romances in the 1890s, which presented virile, chivalric heroes in the setting of the European past or the colonial American past. Walter Scott was read enthusiastically, as were tales of King Arthur and his Knights. Sports were called “modern chivalry,” and fraternity orders employed medieval mysticism and symbolic frontier naturalism (Lears 113-16).

The militaristic discourse of this hero worship and admiration of the past, which were presented as alternatives to modern feminized manliness, were often permeated with Anglo-Saxon racism, asserting WASP superiority to control a restive working class and justify expansionism. In a society saturated with a fear of degeneration and effeminacy, the idea of racial supremacy as a racial trait secured a foothold for American men's dominance in race, class and gender.

In the bible of U.S. expansionism, *Our Country* (1885), Josiah Strong contended that the Anglo-Saxon race had “unequaled energy,” “the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization” with “aggressive traits calculated to impress its institutions upon mankind,” and was well justified in “spread[ing] itself over the earth” (175). The same idea can be seen in the “Strenuous Life” speech, where Roosevelt preached that America, which was “manly and adventurous” (37) and at the highest level of human evolution, had to take on the responsibility of “uplifting mankind” in the Philippines and Cuba, which were both “unfit for self-government” (44-45).

The West Cure also atavistically assumed that the West, as a mythical and pristine, yet-to-be-civilized landscape, was a source

of strenuousness, providing the “capital of vitality...wastefully spent by those upstart modern businessmen” damaged by the “overstraining” of modern life (Will 296-301). Indeed, Mitchell placed “neurasthenic ‘civilization’ on a continuum of national masculine vitality with the restorative spaces of the West” (Will 301). As Barbara Will points out, his contemporary Frederick Jackson Turner also imagined that the contact of the Eastern civilization with the West would realize “the idea of nation” (Will 301). For Turner, the West was the place of “effective Americanization,” the place of “perennial rebirth” (Turner 42). The West was a highly ideological place, producing Americans; and here we can see that Americans means American men.

The hero of *The Virginian* was the embodiment of animal energy together with chivalry, making him a natural aristocrat, and the West and the colonial age were a suitable setting for replaying the atavistic chivalric past, and also for the revitalization of masculinity through the West Cure. The re-embodiment of manhood is made complete by placing the spectacular male body in a scene of the atavistic past.

III. *The Virginian* as Atavistic Historical Romance

The Virginian declares itself “historical” in the preface: “a colonial romance.” Wyoming between 1874 and 1890, the setting of the story, was “a colony as wild as was Virginia one hundred years earlier” (6). Wyoming is imagined, as it were, to be atavistic, and geographical movement from the East to Wyoming is a kind of backwards time travel.

The cowboy hero, the Virginian, who left Virginia at the age of 14, is also atavistic since he is in Wyoming after traveling back, so to speak, into the colonial age of his home Virginia. Moreover, he is from an old Virginian family of Scotch-Irish, WASP descent. His ancestors were, in a sense, Jeffersonian agrarians, and were always committed to patriotic causes when driving away Indians, annexing Texas, and fighting for the cause of the South.

If we recall the identification of body and character noted earlier, the significance of his origin is obvious. A “slim young giant” with blue eyes and black hair assures his chivalric character, and his chivalry, guaranteed by his WASP ancestry, shows itself at its full strength in the colonial West. His potency like a “tiger” is proof of the virility that overcivilized modern men in the East have lost. And his agrarian past emphasizes his being a natural aristocrat.

WASP ancestry is the source of chivalric character, the masculine body incarnates the latter, and the body itself is a product of WASP ancestry. This almost circular, closed combination of white-chivalry-masculine body is what justifies this Southerner in his dominant power over other cowboys and his lover.

His dominance is proved in the “The Game and the Nation” chapters. The Virginian, facing a crisis, diverts the cowboys from revolt by his tall tales. The narrator considers the true meaning of the Declaration of Independence to be “eternal inequality of

man": "Let the best man win...that is true democracy. And true democracy and true aristocracy are one and the same thing" (101). The best man who wins here is the Virginian, who proves equal to the critical occasion, and for the narrator the Virginian is the true aristocrat and true conveyer of American democracy. Wyoming, compared to Virginia on the eve of independence, is now the arena of nation building based on the democracy of "the best man wins."

The heroine, Molly, is also atavistic in her geographical trajectory and her genealogy. She is depicted as a descendant of a famous hero of the American Revolution, General John Stark, a real historical hero, and is thus assured of her racial superiority. She has been courted by a genteel Easterner, Sam, but leaves him for colonial Wyoming as a school teacher. Above all, Molly is figured as a picture of Old Molly Stark, the wife of the General.

The Wyoming of 1874-90 is also carefully manipulated so as to be suitable for the setting of Wister's romance. His Wyoming is a "vanished" (6) WASP world, contrary to the actual racial diversity of the time. The reason is clear in his essay "The Evolution of the Cow-Puncher" (1895). He depicts cowboys as English noblemen in whom the "untamed Saxon awoke": a cowboy was a "perfect athlete," "mindful of the tournament" and "the hunting field." He then imagines the genealogy of the Anglo-Saxon race from Viking times, through tournaments at Camelot to his time, deploring the lack of poets like Sir Thomas Mallory. The Anglo-Saxon race was the one that could survive in the cattle country, which required the "spirit of adventure, courage, and self-sufficiency." Wister's admiration of the Anglo-Saxon-cowboy contrasts sharply with his depiction of the America of his age: "debased and mongrel with its hordes of encroaching alien vermin, that turn our [American] cities to Babels and our citizenship to a hybrid farce, who degrade our commonwealth from a nation into something half pawnshop..." (331). His nativism and Anglo-Saxonism resembling that of Strong are very clearly revealed here.

For Wister, who thus fears racial diversity and an energetic working class and deplores the overcivilization of the Eastern man including himself, the West had to be imagined as a white man's republic together with white heroines. Wyoming, "a space across which Noah and Adam might come straight from Genesis" (18), was the place for re-telling the nation building. His cowboy hero, the Virginian, is thus an embodiment of the American as a white man, the Adam of the republic, and in this sense represents the nation of expansionism.

Before moving on to analyze why he is a Southerner, we must note that this kind of militarism and hero worship implied neither unconditional atavism, in the form of unlimited regression down the racial or historical hierarchy, nor unconditional admiration of war. As in Roosevelt's speech, military power should not be separated from "commercial supremacy" (39). A balanced pursuit of physical power and business was what Mitchell expected from his West Cure, as he conceived of recovery as recovery of sufficient energy to be successful in business in the East (Will 297-300). Paradoxically, anti-modernistic atavism was the vehicle of modernization.

So Wister's cowboy is not allowed simply to ride off into the sunset. Unlike formula Westerns, at the end of the story the Virginian is established as a successful proprietor of a railroad business, and Molly as a good mother of their children. This atavistic romance of a knight and a lady is in fact a modern romance, where the heroes lead a "strenuous life" and conduct business, nurturing future American citizens.

IV. Why is the Cowboy a Southerner?

The discovery of the South as another "usable past" was part of the larger movement of the redefinition of white middle-class American men as well as redeployment of gender. The definition of masculinity is inseparable from its counterpart, femininity. The heroine Molly, educated in the East, is at first dominant over the Virginian, as being the more civilized. The love between them is described as a war by the narrator, curious about who the winner will be. Finally, when the Virginian leaves her, choosing the dual with Trampas, the villain, Molly realizes she must surrender to him. Her better birth and education are no longer a weapon, giving way "before the onset of the natural man himself." The "untamed man" of "the untamed desert of Wyoming" is finally her "master" (292).

This may appear to represent the containment of New Women, especially when we recall that Wyoming was the first state in the U.S. to grant suffrage to women, in 1890. However, this is better understood as an updating of gender deployment, particularly as the masculinity of the Virginian represents the redefinition of white middle-class masculinity in terms of national and economic domination. That redefinition is based on the expansionist and competitive capitalist national quality characterized by self-control and social responsibility, together with a corporeal quality associated with the vigor and prowess of the individual male body.



figure 1 : Harper's Weekly, May 27, 1865

Molly's surrender to the Virginian signifies her subordination to the updated gender deployment, to this republican masculinity, so as to be a "fearless mother of many healthy children" (Roosevelt 35), as the last scene shows.

While the marriage between an Eastern lady and a Western hero signifies the revitalization of Eastern industrialization by injecting the atavistic energy of the Anglo-Saxon ancestors of the West, we can perceive another marriage which represents the united polity of the U.S.: that between the North, Molly, and the South, the Virginian.

The discursive process of constructing the South through negotiation between the North and the South over its meaning was inevitably accompanied by a rhetorical mechanism which transformed the social and political differences into gendered figures to legitimate the political relationships between the two. Above all, as Nina Silber's study shows, the focus of that discursive negotiation was over the appropriation of white Southern masculinity.

In the wake of the Civil War the famous image of the Confederate chieftain Jefferson Davis in a crinoline skirt [figure 1] was repeatedly employed to signify Southern weakness and impotence, together with the image of hostile women of the South (Silber 13-38). When sympathy emerged for the plight of the South after Reconstruction, especially for that of former planters in the 1870s, however, Northerners gradually began to fashion a sentimental image of reconciliation or sectional harmony based on an explicit vision of gender and power, which assigned the weaker, feminine role to the South and the manliness to the North. Tourism was one of the main vehicles to facilitate this imagined reconciliation. Northern middle-class anxiety over declining Victorian social standards and gender distinctions was projected onto the South, idealizing the South as a feminine sphere, a region of refined domestic comfort. As such, the feminine South



figure 2 : Courtesy of the Library of Congress

was a tourist paradise of anti-modern refuge from Northern industrialization (Silber 39-92). It was at this time that plantation stories became popular in magazines (Mackethan 209-19).

On the eve of expansionism, however, along with the social transformation experienced as a crisis in masculinity as described above, American aspirations to exert an influence in remote regions in South America and the Pacific required new forms of nationalism and patriotism. In this process, the demand for reintegrating the South into the patriotic polity became stronger, which produced the romance between the Southern belle and the Northern man. As long as the North was personified as a man, the superiority of Northern men was secured as the winner of the love of the woman.

At the same time, to the generation of men that came of age in the 1890s who had not experienced the Civil War and who were in the midst of a masculine crisis, the legacy of the Civil War and the chivalric image of its heroes were attractive, in addition to medieval chivalry and knightly heroes. The admiration of strenuousness and aggressiveness by this generation was directed at a re-evaluation of the heroic and militaristic aspects of Southern manhood, and its potency to confront a foreign enemy. Even the lynching of black people was approved of as a heroic deed of white men, "the race tiger" (Silber 174).

The Spanish-American War was instrumental in promoting and distributing the images of reunion of the North and the South as "the cohesion of the Anglo-Saxon race" (Silber 180). Representative symbolism is seen in the tableau of the reunion of Union and Confederate veterans in defense of a white-faced "Little Cuba" [figure 2]. Anxiety over the subversion of race and gender is incorporated into this reunion symbolism between a Northern man and Southern man; the racial bond, which immediately reminds us of the reunion depicted in Thomas Dixon Jr.'s *The Clansman* (1907), covers up the South's racial problems, justifies the racial superiority of the U.S. over Cuba, and therefore justifies the "white man's burden" and, at the same time, the superiority of men over women. For the first time since losing the Civil War, Southerners were integrated into the national polity as suppliers of masculinity. This context supplies the reason why a Virginian man could be a Western hero.

V. The Nationalistic Romance of a Knightly Southern Man and a Northern Lady

This Anglo-Saxon reunion and its implications are what the Virginian and his marriage embody in the mythic Wyoming, and this is made possible through the remasculinization of the narrator and the suppression of the potential homosexuality of the hero. Here we can discern a discursive connection of nation building with the hegemonic fashioning of the modern normativity of the gender/sexuality configuration.

At the beginning, the gaze of the neurasthenic narrator is feminized, and he is assigned to a feminine role in his relation to the cowboy, as he is accompanied and saved by the Virginian.

Attracted to the cowboy's "tiger limberness and his beauty," the narrator's "liking for him" grows (53). The strong attachment of the narrator to the Virginian makes him even jealous of Molly.

The crucial moment when the narrator becomes friends with the Virginian is the episode of the "manly-lookin'" hen Em'ly, which hates roosters. The narrator and the Virginian, who share the notion of Em'ly as "unnatural...overturning of a natural law" (61), become friends through their recognition of normative femininity based upon heterosexuality, which leads to reproduction.

Finally, the narrator acquires virility through "eating with him, sleeping with him, and riding beside him (140)", and word-sketching. This process of masculinization culminates in his judgment of Molly's love as "surrender" (292) and identification of himself with the cowboy; this is made possible by internalizing misogyny and by identification with the Virginian, who embodies hegemonic gender. If we remember Kaplan's formulation of historical romances, in which heroic deed is "framed by the theatrical display of the hero in conspicuously staged scenes, where the heroine serves as the chief spectator" (675), the fact that the spectator of the Virginian is a feminized man, and his rejection of his own feminized gaze by depicting Molly's "surrender," highlight his masculinization all the more. In this sense the whole story is a metaphor of a successful West Cure.

It is not only the narrator, however, who becomes a "man." The Virginian enters his adult manhood through two critical incidents. One is the death of his closest friend, Steve. When the Virginian was in his sick bed he cried "'Steve!' ...in poignant appeal," as if the "deep inward tide of feeling" sprang up from his unconscious, and the name was "unknown" to Molly, who attended him (221). Steve is executed for cattle theft by, among others, the Virginian. At his death the Virginian says to the narrator, "I knew Steve awful well" (260), and explained how they "suit [ed] each other" (259). Considering that the execution was ordered by Judge Henry, this episode signifies the acceptance of the Law-of-the-Father, creating heteronormativity by killing his love of Steve as something nameless. The other crucial moment is when he chooses the shoot-out rather than Molly. At this point he establishes his dominance over Molly and defines her femininity as subordinate.

The marriage of the Southern man and the Northern lady is thus made possible via this homosocial reunion of men of the North and the South which involves subordination of women. The West, where "North and South met and mingled into a nation" (Turner 29), embodies the nation by transforming the homosocial bonds between men into the heterosexual romance of a Northern lady and a Southern man, thereby representing the nation. Formation of national identity and justification of colonial domination is constructed through formulating male masculinity. This homosocial reunion settles the race problem and establishes the modern gender/sexuality configuration that subordinates femininity and aberrant sexuality.

The white male body was what provided visibility to the geographically disembodied nation and to the masculinity of white middle-class men who were supposed to be the nation, as

Kaplan points out (663-65). The spectacular male body and its wholeness were the ideological vehicle to "naturalize" the global power of the U.S. (Brown 135).

The South, which was paradoxically reintegrated into the nation by acquiring the otherness of an atavistic knight, was embodied as the masculine body of the Virginian. This body, which emerged at the point where the discourse of expansionism with gender and race as its subtext and the discourse of the South came together, was also the white republican male body which represented the expanding nation. As such, his virile body had to be persistently spectacted and described as the locus of masculinity/nationhood.

The body of the Virginian was instrumental in the formulation of a masculinity by which to offset the anxiety over masculinity domestically and internationally. The ideological validity of the Southern male body successfully induced the marriage between a Northern woman and a Southern man in *The Clansman*, and inevitably introduced to the nation's imaginary expansion into outer space, in E.R.Burroughs' *Princess of Mars* (1912), another virile Virginian, John Carter, who prevails on Mars and prospers back on earth.

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