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Liminality and the Vanishing American:
Discussions of the Imaginary Indian in Selected Works of Zane Grey

By

Joseph C. O'Neill

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of English Language, Literature and Creative Writing
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts at the
University of Windsor

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ABSTRACT

This paper closely analyses the Native American stereotype as presented in selected novels of Zane Grey. Brief explanations of the western formula novel, the Imaginary Indian and American colonial attitudes, and the anthropological concept of liminality provide theoretical background for the paper. This leads to an exegesis of selected Zane Grey novels in order to determine how the Native American is presented. The paper argues that while Grey makes use of the Indian stereotype, he does so in a fashion appropriate to the plot of each novel, and he gradually moves from stereotyping to the creation of developed Native American characters. These characters encourage positive associations between the white readership and the red characters, through the limen of the text. However, within the texts, Native characters are never permitted to completely enter white society – a reflection of the actual failure of assimilation policies. Instead, individual white and Native characters create their own common ground: a hybrid community in the liminal space between white and Indian societies, signified by mixed marriages. This community becomes hope that some legacy of the Indian will survive even as their people die out, and hope that this legacy and values will revitalize and purify a greedy and corrupted white society. In addition, since Grey's novels offer a satisfying liminal space for a very large audience, the ideas presented in these novels could affect mass culture: creating a more positive view of Native Americans, and a positive vision of Native-white marriages as both a Darwinist improvement of the human species and a solution to the problem of the vanishing Native American.

DEDICATION

To my wife Liz, in appreciation of her patience and tolerance as weekends were sacrificed in my struggle to complete this project; and to my family and friends, who edited, encouraged and endured endless conversations about Zane Grey and his Imaginary Indians.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Due to the frequent mention of certain Zane Grey novels, I have abbreviated their titles, and provide those short forms here for the reader's clarification. In most cases, I have selected a key word or key initials. There are, however, three titles worth pointing out. Because *The Vanishing American* is used in two editions, the original text will be referred to simply as *Vanishing,* and the second as *Vanishing* rev. Similarly, *30,000 on the Hoof* has been reprinted and revised under the title *Woman of the Frontier.* To reinforce recognition that these are essentially the same text, I will refer to them as *TTH* and *TTH*rev, respectively. The third adjustment is one that I will make for fellow Zane Grey scholars particularly. *The Last Ranger* is nothing more than a recent reprint of *Betty Zane*, but the change in titles is quite confusing – since anyone who has studied Grey would recognize *Betty Zane* immediately, but not *The Last Ranger.* As a result, I will refer to the work as *Betty Zane* throughout this paper.

Title	**Abbreviation**
Black Mesa	*BM*
Captives of the Desert	*Captives*
Desert Gold	*DG*
Fighting Caravans	*FC*
Heritage of the Desert.	*Heritage*
Horse Heaven Hill	*HHH*
The Last Ranger (Betty Zane)	*BZ*
The Last Trail	*LT*
Lost Pueblo	*LP*
Raiders of Spanish Peaks	*Raiders*
The Rainbow Trail	*Rainbow*
Rogue River Feud	*RRF*
Spirit of the Border	*SB*
Stairs of Sand	*Stairs*
30,000 on the Hoof.	*TTH*
The Thundering Herd	*Thundering*
To the Last Man	*TLM*
The Trail Driver	*TD*
Twin Sombreros	*TS*
The U. P. Trail	*UPT*
Wanderer of the Wasteland	*Wanderer*
Western Union	*WU*
Wild Horse Mesa	*WHM*
Woman of the Frontier	*TTH*rev
The Vanishing American	*Vanishing*
The Vanishing American (rev. ed.)	*Vanishing* rev

INTRODUCTION

Born in 1872 in Zanesville, Ohio, Zane Grey was educated at University of Pennsylvania. An indifferent student, he was an extensive reader and sportsman. After several years of unfulfilling work as a dentist, he married Lina (Dolly) Roth and settled in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania, to pursue a writing career. Zane Grey's *Riders of the Purple Sage* is recognized as one of the greatest westerns of all time and as having a pivotal effect on the Western genre; fifteen of his novels rank in the top twenty-five best-selling westerns of all time (Wheeler 5). Countless films, reprints, foreign editions, magazine serials and even cartoons mark Grey as one of the most influential popular writers of the twentieth century. Joseph Wheeler, in *Zane Grey's Influence on American Life and Letters*, notes the breadth and depth of Grey's involvement with the audience of his day and praises the author for his ability to comment upon contemporary issues within his works: "[H]e took the whole society as his social commentary springboard.... It is rather unlikely that any popular American writer has ever spoken out on as many issues as did Grey; it is also unlikely that a facet of American society escaped his eagle eye" (Wheeler 353).[1] Discussions of spirituality and Darwinism, World War I and its impact on American progress, modern society, and the Puritan ethic so permeate his novels, diaries, letters and magazine articles that Gary Topping advocates using Grey as a "barometer to the popular thought of his time" (Topping 681/39). On most issues, his stance was certifiably middle-class conservatism. However, it is his consideration of the Native

---

1 Similarly, note Wheeler 345, 282.

American that particularly deserves attention. Inevitably, Grey was influenced by James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking tales and the dime novels popular in his youth, but Grey's Indians as they appear in his work contain differences which are both fascinating and significant to the study of popular culture. Concerning the Native American, Grey has been described as "ambiguous" and "stereotypical", while also being touted as the "defender of the Indian". Wheeler points out that Grey "was usually sympathetic to the Indian's plight" (316) and suggests that "probably he did more to make the American Indian a real person, rather than a cardboard villain, than any other writer since Cooper... Grey laboriously began to change the stereotype with his very first book, *Betty Zane*, and stuck at it through the years..." (316). Which is the most accurate picture? Does Grey merely perpetuate white colonialist attitudes towards the Native American, or does he really work to change the Indian stereotype? Do his novels attempt to generate understanding for the real Indian and their historical situation, or do they support assimilation, white paternalism and attitudes of miscegenation? Does he simply reflect white middle class thought or did he offer a new mode of literary treatment of the Native American?

I suggest that the truth of Zane Grey's stance is somewhere between these constructs. Working within the western formula novel, Grey is constrained by the requirements of the form and the expectations of the audience, but certain variant ideas and attitudes are revealed in his novels. This paper undertakes to identify Zane Grey's contribution to these subjects by providing an analysis of his work as it concerns Native

Americans and Indian-white relations. A discussion of the historical and literary construct of the Indian will provide background to Grey's work, helping quantify the use of stereotype in his novels and his positive representation of the Native American. The anthropological theory of the liminal will help demonstrate Grey's most important contribution: a view of Indian-white marriages as valuable to both societies. Finally, a combination of liminality and critical insights into the formula novel offer a theory of reception.

THE IMAGINARY INDIAN AND THE INDIAN PROBLEM

Contextualization is central to the interpretation of Zane Grey's portrayal of the Native American, both in terms of American social and political history, and as part of a long history of ideas and attitudes. Berkhofer, as the central argument to his book *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, demonstrates that the idea of the Indian is a social and cultural construct which evolved over more than four centuries and is intrinsically connected to White colonialism. As a result, it is important to recognize that the idea of the Indian is more the product of White imagination than human reality, and consider that idea accordingly.

Most scholars find little difficulty in tracing the idea of the Indian to the Age of Exploration and the first contact between Columbus and the inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere. Indeed, Berkhofer goes so far as to note connections with the medieval "wild man" of Germany (13), while Feidler connects the discovery of the Americas to Biblical, Celtic and Greek myths (*The Return of the Vanishing American* 29*ff*). For our purposes, however, Columbus shall suffice. Berkhofer begins his work by discussing the identification of Native Americans with cannibalism, lack of religion and unrestrained sexuality in early Spanish writings (10-11), and points to English usage of the terms "heathen," "infidel," "savage," and "barbarian" as indication of the religious and cultural imagery used to depict Native Americans (15). However, such identification did not prevent Europeans from seeing desirable qualities in Native American life. Primitivism, the idea of "people dwelling in nature according to nature, existing free of history's

burdens" (72), was also part of the European cultural tradition, and had its own influence upon the European perception of Native Americans. Berkhofer asserts that the Indian increasingly became a vehicle for the idea of the Noble Savage – an Enlightenment polemic used to satirize and criticize the Old World social order while pointing towards political and social reform – and in like proportion the defenders of the status quo emphasized the degeneracy of the Indian (*72ff*). As a result, Berkhofer suggests, a dual stereotype evolved:

> In general... the good Indian appears friendly, courteous, and hospitable....Along with handsomeness of physique and physiognomy went great stamina and endurance. Modest in attitude if not always in dress, the noble Indian exhibited great calm and dignity in bearing, conversation, and even under torture. Brave in combat, he was tender in love for family and children. Pride in himself and independence of other persons combined with a plain existence and wholesome enjoyment of nature's gifts. According to this version, the Indian, in short, lived a life of liberty, simplicity, and innocence.
>
> On the other side, a list of almost contradictory traits emerged of the bad Indian in White eyes. Nakedness and lechery, passion and vanity led to lives of polygamy and sexual promiscuity among themselves and constant warfare and fiendish revenge against their enemies.... Cannibalism and human sacrifice were the worst sins, but cruelty to captives and incessant warfare ranked not far behind in the estimation of Whites. Filthy surroundings, inadequate cooking, and certain items of diet repulsive to White taste tended to confirm a low opinion of Indian life. Indolence rather than industry, improvidence in the face of scarcity, thievery and treachery added to the list of traits on this side. Concluding the bad version of the Indian were the power of superstition represented by the "conjurers" and "medicine men," the hard slavery of women and the laziness of men, and even timidity or defeat in the face of White advances and weaponry. Thus this list substituted license for liberty, a harsh lot for simplicity, and dissimulation and deceit for innocence. (28-29)

These two stereotypes were reinforced in the literature and historical writings of the Americas, only to see the later addition of a third stereotype: the drunken civilized Indian (Berkhofer 30).

Roy Harvey Pearce, in *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization*, states that by the 1770s, Europeans had rejected the idea of civilizing the Indian, replacing it with a vision of the Indian "bound inextricably in a primitive past, a primitive society, and a primitive environment, to be destroyed by God, Nature, and Progress to make way for Civilized Man" (4). [2] Included in his explanation of this development is reference to Puritan colonists and imperialist and mercantilist forces.

Pearce argues that the Puritans envisaged North America and Native Americans through the filter of their God and their Bible (20-22). Through the Puritans, the idea of the heathen Indian, envoy of Satan, to be converted or eradicated but never emulated, was substantiated and perpetuated almost to the exclusion of the Noble Savage. Writings by such Puritan leaders as Edward Johnson stressed Divine Providence acting on behalf of Puritan colonists against Native Americans, while captivity narratives like that of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson emphasized the triumph of God over forces of evil (Indians!). Soon, Cotton and Increase Mather could argue that the Native American was a scourge brought by God to test his faithful, and the captivity narrative -- capture, followed by physical,

---

2 Fiedler describes their appearance in the literature of Spenser and Shakespeare, where, Fiedler notes, emphasis on savage cannibalism (a legacy from Spain) diminishes, to be replaced with the idea of sexual assault (43).

emotional and spiritual trials, and eventually by restoration -- was evidence of the power of faith in God (Berkhofer 80-85; Pearce 22-35; Churchill *Fantasies* 22-24).

Coupled with the captivity narrative was the idea of Indian degeneracy – that is, that the Indians were a corruption of some high civilization. Cotton Mather suggests the Indians were "doleful creatures who were the veriest ruins of mankind, which were found on the earth" (qtd in Berkhofer 37). Berkhofer asserts that this notion "became fused with later interpretations of the Indian ... to explain the decline of Native Americans from alcohol, disease and general deterioration in the face of White contact" (38). The acceptance of the heathen paradigm allowed European colonists to demonize the Native Americans with whom they came in contact, eliminating the need to understand them as fellow humans.

While Puritans declined in number and influence, their legacy lived on in stereotype and literature: captivity narratives maintained their popularity and basic premise of white suffering at the hands of bad Native Americans, although their polemic reflected increasingly secular authorial world-views (Berkhofer 84-85). Berkhofer writes:

> The blood-and-gore sensationalism of the commercially inspired and highly successful captivity narratives of the nineteenth century led directly to the dime novels and the later cowboy and Indian movies of popular culture. (85)

Imperialism and mercantilism contributed also to the Indian stereotype, although in a quite different manner. British policy concerned itself less with divine justification

and intervention than with the practical consideration of Indian territory and Indian trade. Again and again, colonists infringed on Native American lands or traders were dishonest, resulting in Indian-colonial conflict, treaties and a steady withdrawal of Native Americans into the western wilderness (Pearce 41). Thus, by 1800, the American solution to the Indian problem -- genocide -- was an aspect of Manifest Destiny. American civilization was clearly morally superior to savagism; and the Indian was one who could not become civilized. Westward expansionism would bring civilization and enlightenment, and the Indian would inevitably be destroyed (Pearce 48-49).

These issues continued to be reflected in literature. In 1823, James F. Cooper began his Leatherstocking Tales with *The Pioneers.* Commonly credited with beginning the frontier myth through the exploits of his character, Natty Bumpo, Cooper also salted his tales liberally with Indians. Unlike his predecessors, Cooper avoids discussion of the intrinsic goodness or evil of mankind, and of the "noble redskin" and "devilish heathen" (Pearce 196ff). Instead, he describes his characters in terms of White and Indian gifts. These gifts are essentially divided between those of civilization and those of primitivism, and of course civilized gifts are better (Pearce 205-7). Natty has more than his share of both, placing him in a unique position. With access to white gifts through birth, and to red gifts via his adopted father Chingachgook, Natty stands on a middle ground – at once the forerunner of American civilization and the last of his (adopted) tribe. As the Leatherstocking tales progress, Natty moves further and further west. Natty, however, has options. The same is not so for Cooper's Indians.

In *The Last of the Mohicans*, for example, Cooper provides another in that long string of Indian abductions, as Cora and Alice Munro are kidnapped by the dastardly Maqua and his equally inhuman Hurons, following the massacre of the surrendered garrison and families of Fort William Henry (Cooper *The Leatherstocking Saga* 370). Little of what is said about these characters comes as any surprise – remember, kidnappings and massacres are rather standard literary fare. More interesting is the love relationship that develops between Cora and Uncas.[3] Uncas becomes significant as the last of the Mohicans (296,346) – the remnant of a tribe that has refused to be driven westward (444) and as a result has disappeared. The love relationship between Uncas and Cora, despite its seeming potential for the perpetuation of the Mohican bloodline, is doomed, and both characters die at the conclusion of the novel. This serves several purposes. It permits the idealized vision of the Native American in Uncas, it allows him an acceptably heroic death in the attempt to save a white woman, and, by extension, it offers an acceptable explanation for the end of the Mohican race: self sacrifice in favour of white civilization, symbolized by Cora. Uncas has obligingly eradicated, rather than propagated, his own race.

By the time *The Pioneers* was written, the renowned Chingachgook had deteriorated into a Christianized Indian, a weaver of baskets and a drinker of whiskey:

> His hand seemed to make a fruitless effort to release his tomahawk, which was confined by its handle to his belt, while his eyes gradually became vacant. Richard at that instant thrusting a mug before him, his features

---

3 Note that this was changed in the 1992 film: Uncas and Alice fall in love and are doomed to die; Cora and Natty fall in love and are presumably to wed.

> changed with the grin of idiocy, and seizing the vessel with both hands, he sank backward on the bench, and drank until satiated, when he made an effort to lay aside the mug with the helplessness of total inebriety. (Cooper 659)

White gifts and white civilization clearly triumph when Chingachgook, now tamed and renamed Old John, gives up his will to live (Cooper 751). Even the memory of his people is lost – as Natty Bumpo proves when in vain he asks the Pawnee, "[H]ave you ever in your traditions heard of a mighty people who once lived on the shore of the salt lake, hard by the rising sun?" (Cooper 32).

Thus, the idealized Indian, as Uncas or Chingachgook, cannot exist without being tamed or transformed to serve white civilization. Lacking purpose in that civilization, they are neither accepted nor permitted to live apart. At Uncas' burial, when the Indian maidens extol the greatness of life after death, with Uncas and Cora united forever, Natty does not translate the eulogy for her father, and shakes his head as if dissatisfied or doubting. Natty knows that such an end is untenable to the whites, despite Native willingness to accept it (Cooper 410-3).

While Cooper's saga had tremendous influence upon the genre of literature to be produced following it, this influence tended to be reflected more in the choice of the "white man with red gifts" than on any inherent value in the Native American. The soldier, frontiersman, hunter, trapper, scout – all these gained fame and love and fortune at the expense of the (literary) Indian. Savages murdered and pillaged through scores of dime novels as the frontier was pushed westward, and were eliminated by dime novel heroes in the name of civilization.

By the Civil War, the US government had directed its energies to finding an alternate solution to the so-called "Indian problem" of the western frontier. Many Americans saw the Indians as no more than a roadblock to progress, but they had a number of defenders who felt guilty in the wake of a history of broken treaties, stolen lands and destroyed lives. These "Friends of the Indian", largely Protestant clergymen, saw assimilation as the appropriate solution to the Indian problem: Christianized, Americanized, the few remaining Natives could be swallowed into the greater hegemony that was the United States, much in the way new immigrants from Europe were absorbed[4] (Pearce 59-60). Pearce notes they "had always felt that the process of acculturation, of throwing off one way of life for another, would be relatively simple" (66), and had not realized the complexity of cultural change. Before such well-meaning people was held the inevitability of the Indian's destruction, if not from White expansion, then from White civilization – the "civilized" Indian was an Indian "drunken, diseased, and degraded" (Pearce 59). Assimilation assumed, first, the inevitability of a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant America (Manifest Destiny) and, second, the superiority of American culture over Native culture. With these notions held self-evident, assimilating the Indian became an act of charity and benevolence on the part of the paternalistic US government. That it necessitated the loss of Native American heritage, both temporal and spiritual, counted for little.

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4 Overlooked was the fact that most immigrants at this time were Anglo-Saxon. As Southern European and Eastern European immigrants appeared, a tendency to isolate themselves in communities of their own developed and was maintained into the 1930s.

As the policy of assimilation was being implemented at the behest of the Friends of the Indian, the Native Americans themselves were under constant bombardment from civilians and military alike. By 1890, open warfare on the frontier was over. Native resistance, in spirit and in deed, was crushed and the policies of assimilation proceeded apace. By 1920, however, the rosy horizon predicted by assimilationists had not yet appeared. Indeed, evidence was surfacing that the policies had resulted in the impoverishment and destruction of what remained of the Native Americans, as they faded before disease, alcoholism and depression. The picture was complete: assimilation had failed.

That assimilation would fail should not have been such a surprise to its proponents. The ideal of assimilation, beginning with the overwhelming of a weaker culture by a stronger, followed by its absorption and disappearance, requires both time and the tacit acquiescence of the peoples involved. However, neither of these elements was here present. Assimilation was on a tight schedule, forced along by government policy and public opinion, working to destroy Native American culture and spirit so that it could be replaced and the Native Americans properly indoctrinated. Further, assimilation is connected to anthropological ideas of marriage and alliance – that is, for it to be truly successful, intercultural marriage must occur. This was not a possibility in the 19th century, and has only become so in the latter twentieth century. Attitudes of racism, based in theories of Social Darwinism and miscegenation, not to mention more than two centuries of Indian wars and anti-Indian propaganda and literature, intervened. Few

whites would dare the social stigma of interracial marriage, and with the Native Americans tucked away on reservations, fewer still would have the opportunity to try.[5]

Thus, the literary vision of doomed love presented by Cooper played itself out on the frontier. Native American culture was sacrificed before advancing white colonialism (although it was styled "Manifest Destiny") and white culture appropriated, in literature and in fact, "red gifts". By the time Grey appears on the scene, the imaginary Indian had been firmly set into the three stereotypes -- noble savage, heathen, and drunkard -- and the so-called Indian problem had two very real potential answers: eradication or assimilation.

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5 See Appendix for comments on racism, nativism, Social Darwinism, and miscegenation in the United States in the early twentieth century.

LIMINALITY AND THE WESTERN FORMULA NOVEL

Liminality, characterized here specifically as the crossing of cultural boundaries, was the unacknowledged pivot upon which assimilation rested. That the Native American peoples would abandon their heritage and enthusiastically enter white culture seemed self-evident to such groups as "Friends of the Indian," so the failure of the policy was shocking. Worse, for those who desired to salvage something of the Native heritage, the numbers of Indians were rapidly decreasing, and the end of the Indian seemed fast approaching. An analysis of liminality in the Western formula literature of Zane Grey helps illuminate the problem of cultural boundary-crossing on at least two levels: first, on an individual level that includes the idea of marriage as a signifier of a successful liminal crossing, and second, ideologically, as fictional space given over to the working out of Indian-White inter-cultural issues, including both the literary problem of stereotyping and the cultural problem of assimilation. Through his novels, Grey offers a positive vision of cultural change, and offers an answer to the old question: "What is to be done with the Indian?"

Zane Grey's novels are set in a period and place of transition, the American frontier, and the Native Americans he presents for the reader are a people in transition, as their way of life is irrevocably altered by westward expansionism. The novels themselves offer a place of transition, where ideas and stereotypes may be altered or reasserted, or tested. Likewise, liminality (limen = threshold) has to do with transition, in particular with a movement from one structured, ordered state to another, through a

period of disorder and anti-structure. In a simple analogy, it can be compared to stepping through a door into a house, where one moves from being outside to being inside. The step is the moment of transition. During this liminal experience, the individual is neither inside or outside, but is without classification:

> [T]he attributes of liminality or of liminal *personae* (liminal people) are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. (Turner qtd in Daly 70)

In ritual, the movement through liminal periods has a predetermined outcome. However, when liminal theory is applied outside ritual, the ambiguity that exists in this transitional space becomes crucial to the creation of potentially unlimited states of being.

Since the theory of liminality opens the possibility of boundary-crossing in different ways -- cultural, social, religious – it allows, as Daly states, "an escape from the current structures of society" (71), and the creation of or entry into new or different structures. For an individual, this requires two elements: a catalyst which impels or draws the individual to change, and "the development of a community and communion of equals" (Daly 71) which the individual can join. This *communitas* must remain "open and unspecialized" (Raybin 30), accepting and recognizing the common humanity of all. Theoretically, then, if some circumstance draws an individual out of their initial state into liminal space, and an accepting community exists or develops, then the individual can leave an ordered, structured state, cross cultural or religious or other boundaries and join the *communitas* of like individuals.

Of course, because this boundary crossing is theoretically possible does not require that it will occur, in Grey's novels or elsewhere. There are at least five possible scenarios, in four of which the idea of *communitas* is crucial (See Fig 1). In the first scenario, the lack of a catalyst means the individual will have neither need nor desire to cross boundaries. In the second and third case, where *communitas* fails to develop, the individual could be forced either to remain in liminal space, forever outcast/marginalized, or to return to the antecedent state, and the boundary crossing fails. A fourth option is the movement into liminal space from both sides of a boundary and the creation of a hybrid structured order, which synthesizes elements from the earlier two states. The fifth option is simply a successful liminal crossing, with all elements in place. An investigation of Grey's individual Native American characters will reveal how successful they are in crossing cultural boundaries and suggest reasons for their success or failure.

Liminality, considered on the societal level, has a greater emphasis on the importance of the catalyst of change rather than the development of *communitas*. When a single community is involved, the liminal period becomes one of cultural reassessment and change, of "choice and multiplicity" (Daly 71). For instance, a technological advancement (the invention of bronze) could push a community from a static state to a liminal state, and from the liminal state towards redefinition and restructure. This requires the abandonment of structures and traditions that are not helpful, and the creation of new structures and traditions. The community expression of culture then becomes an ongoing synthesis of new and old ideas, until it reaches a resolution. A similar process

would occur following an encounter between two culturally diverse communities, provided one or both communities recognised and internalised their need to adapt. However, this two-community model of cultural change would parallel the boundary-crossing pattern discussed at the individual level (See Fig 2). The main problem with either type of cultural liminality is that it requires a very powerful catalyst to persuade the masses to act in a way that results in change. Without such a catalyst, cultures remain static. Thus, while the confrontation between Indian and White cultures in Grey's novels impels both cultures towards liminal space, an impetus toward change must be provided, or Grey's Indians and Whites will forever be cultures in confrontation. Whether Zane Grey offers a catalyst in his novels remains to be seen, but he becomes one himself on another level, through his novels and for his own culture.

Victor Turner argued that certain individuals – priests, prophets, social outcasts, and artists – are best suited, by virtue of their gifts or occupations, to become catalysts for cultural change. These people live on the edge of society, and consequently are able to assess and criticize and respond imaginatively to that society and to the forces acting within and around it (Raybin 28). In effect, these individuals, including an author like Zane Grey, act as liminars for their culture, devising ways of dealing with cultural or social or religious issues and moving towards resolution:

> When ... crisis has so developed that ... traditional ... strategies prove unsatisfactory as modes of redressive action, the group will seek to extricate itself from its dilemma by turning to symbolic action, by adapting models constructed in the antistructural artistic frame. (Raybin 27)

Thus, following models offered through fiction, the conventional (American) sense of order can develop through the liminal state until it forms a new structure which answers the cultural crisis. Of course, society's acceptance of the liminar's response to questions of cultural change is necessary to the development of structure:

> [He] need not dictate; [he] need not impose; [he] need not state in any direct form that 'such' is the way the world should be. Yet [he] nonetheless does offer models, for behavior and for thought, and in doing so ... allows the individual to intuit a sense of his or her position in the evolving social frame, and to act in accord with that intuition. The consequence is group consciousness, group awareness, indeed group mentality. We get a world where people know whom they are like, whom they are unlike, how they should and should not act, and how it all fits together. (Raybin 27)

Without such acceptance (which, in a complex society, would also require that the liminar's ideas be widely disseminated), the models offered would be discarded, and other options sought. This process would undoubtedly continue until a suitable solution is discovered.

The importance of the artist/author as an agent in cultural change (liminar), and the recognition of the need for both widespread dissemination of ideas and widely acceptable ideas (or ideas presented within the context of a widely acceptable framework), leads, in this case, to the formula novel. The formula novel, as defined by John Cawelti in his work, *Adventure, Myth and Romance*, is:

> a combination or synthesis of a number of specific cultural conventions with a more universal story form or archetype... useful primarily as a means of making historical and cultural inferences about the collective fantasies shared by large groups of people and of identifying differences in these fantasies from one culture or period to another. (6-7)

Thus, the formula novel is culturally specific and appeals to a mass audience, yet changes over time – therefore either offering or responding to cultural forces. Particularly useful is the connection between the formula novel and the ideas of repetitive action and escapism – secular ritual. Through repetition of form and content, reading formula novels becomes ritual activity. Implied in this is a permanence and legitimacy that deflects questioning from authorial representation. While any novel can be said to be liminal space, this becomes particularly true of the formula novel, where readers enjoy "play" in a familiar escapist form, ritually moving into a space outside the strictures of real life. In this space, anything can happen, but the structure of the formula limits what probably will happen. Thus, the danger of encountering the unexpected/unacceptable is minimized and controlled. In fact, Robert Washow argues that "originality is to be welcomed only in the degree that it intensifies the expected experience without fundamentally altering it" (qtd in Cawelti 9). This support of a fantasy existence controlled by a certainty of resolution (34) allows the reader to fully enter the individual formula novel and set aside the tension and frustration of real life.

Cawelti proposes four points with respect to the formula novel, each of which is significant here. In his words, formulas:

1) affirm [conventional] existing interests and attitudes by presenting an imaginary world that is aligned with these interests and attitudes, [thereby helping] to maintain a culture's ongoing consensus about the nature of reality and morality
2) resolve tensions and ambiguities resulting from the conflicting interests of different groups within the culture or from ambiguous attitudes toward particular values

3) enable the audience to explore in fantasy the boundary between the permitted and the forbidden and to experience in a carefully controlled way the possibility of stepping across this boundary
4) assist in the process of assimilating changes in values to traditional imaginative constructs... eas[ing] the transition between old and new ways of expressing things and thus contribut[ing] to cultural continuity (Cawelti 35-6)

Essentially, Cawelti's points reflect the duties of Turner's liminar. At once, formula novels uphold the status quo and question it; they affirm social values and question them, they create tension and resolve it.

In particular, the Western formula novel, as neither pure fiction nor pure history, but standing instead in the domain of 'uncommon sense' and permitting the revision of history, presents an opportunity for cultural change. Offering both distance and romanticism, the Western provides field for play and mythmaking. As myth, it opens itself to a variety of interpretations, including as allegory for social action. In setting, it involves a frontier and peoples in transition, thereby discussing liminal individuals and cultures. As formula, it conventionalizes a variety of concerns while presenting a fundamental attitude and maintaining the possibility of deviation/multiplicity. Here, truly, the author can act as liminar – offering models for social action. Since formula novels reflect the ideas and opinions of the audience, susceptible as this literary form is to commercial exploitation and responsible as it is to a mass readership, such models are most evident in deviation from the predicted form. By deviating, the author offers an alternative – and potentially culture-changing -- vision.

Having established the idea of the author as liminar, purveyor of cultural change, we must consider to what end. This brings us back to the purpose of this investigation: an analysis of the work of Zane Grey. As an author, Zane Grey addressed, both directly and indirectly, the Indian problem, for which assimilation was the purported answer. Grey was also operating from within the structure of the formula Western novel, and thus dealing with the developed literary stereotype Indian familiar to the audience of that formula. However, formula literature allows deviation, and even literary stereotypes must develop. Grey, as artist/author, operating in the ritualized but liminal space of the Western formula novel, can use Indian stereotypes, can alter stereotypes, even rewrite history, to suit a changing cultural reality. As liminar, he can suggest alternate or imaginative solutions to cultural problems – even offering interracial marriage as a solution to the Indian problem.

Cross-cultural love relationships form the most visible Derridean signifier of attempts to cross cultural boundaries in formula literature, and successful attempts are marked by marriage. Where one marriage partner is wholly accepted into the cultural sphere of the other, a simple liminal crossing occurs, and difficulties remain at a minimum. However, in a world where colonizer and colonized meet, transitions on both the individual and cultural levels are considerably rougher, and often socially unacceptable.[6] Robin Fox, in *Kinship and Marriage*, notes that historically exogamy has limits: "the connubium stopped at the boundaries of the language, territory or colour, or

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6 SeeYoung *Colonial Desire* for an extended discussion of this issue.

whatever marked "us" off from "them" (178), but as the circle of cultural contact expands outward, examples of exogamy cross lines of language, religion, race and place. In these circumstances, cultural forces and structures, such as exoticism, colonialism, and racism, in their various guises, function to limit inter-cultural marriage through the process of "other-ing." The social results of these various attitudes are summed up in Quale's *A History of Marriage Systems*:

> This experience [of discrimination] usually strengthened ethnic-group endogamy, both by denying access to other groups' members and by making the group wish to assert its ability to live without needing to intermingle.... For people of European ancestry, barriers to intermarriage across ethnic boundaries were largely breaking down by the 1970s.... However, interracial marriages remained relatively few.... Fewer than one in 500 [marriages] involving someone of European ancestry also involved someone of Asian, African, or American Indian ancestry. European-ancestry men entered such marriages more often, though European-ancestry women married their socioeconomic equals or superiors from other groups. (297)

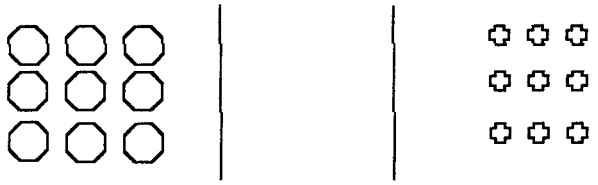
Connections between individuals of different cultures must be forged somewhere in liminal space and stable ground found upon which to build a new *communitas*. The fictional portrayal of such relationships begins to assume certain significance because, as Stewart points out, "the imaginative text functions precisely to simulate incidences of irruption and resolution in a controlled context. It permits a certain experiencing of and preparation for process, without the risk of penalty that may result otherwise" (Stewart 100). In effect, the text moves the reader through the phases of separation, limen, and re-aggregation, but only through the reader's imagination. Fiction allows the reader to imaginatively participate in socially unacceptable action – in this case, cross-cultural or

interracial relationships – in order to explore the possibilities of such actions (Mulvey 170). The question of whether or not liminal crossings are possible can be explored in fiction, without risk.

The liminal is the space between ideologies, cultures, and ways of being where the footing is precarious and the way is shrouded in mist. Liminal space is not an end in itself, but a means or way from one communitas to another. To be in one world, part of one communitas, culture, ideology, is relatively simple, but negotiating the space between means taking chances.

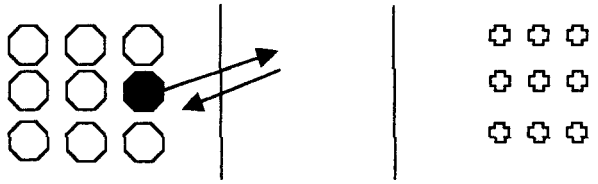
Figure 1 – Individual Liminal Crossings

A. No catalyst is present, therefore no movement occurs.

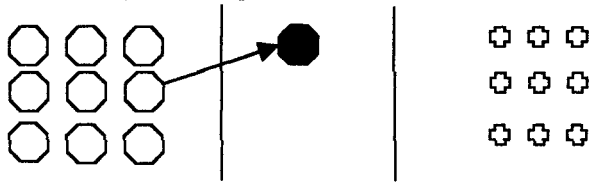


Original Community or State of Being | Liminal Space | New or Different Community or State of Being

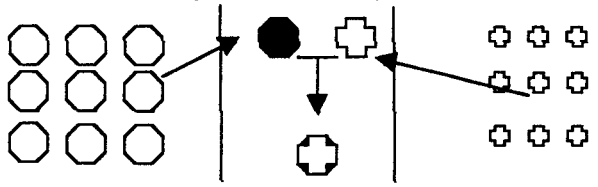
B. A catalyst is present, but no communitas has formed, therefore the individual returns to their original state.



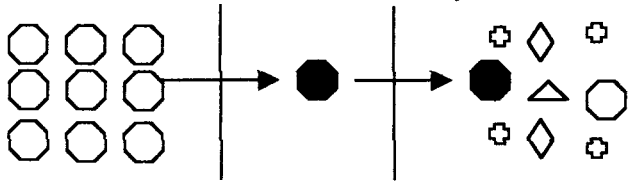
C. A catalyst is present, but no communitas has formed. In addition, the individual does not (is perhaps prevented) from returning to the original state. Therefore, the individual remains in liminal space.



D. A catalyst is present in both communities, therefore two individual move into liminal space. However, communitas is not formed for either individual. If they are accepting of each other, they remain in liminal space to create a new (hybrid) community.



E. A catalyst is present, communitas has formed. The individual leaves the original community, crosses liminal space, and is welcomed into the other community.



(Communitas is open and unspecialized)

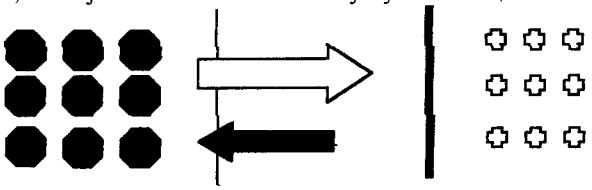
Figure 2 – Liminal Crossings on a Societal Level

Two communities, with different cultures, in confrontation

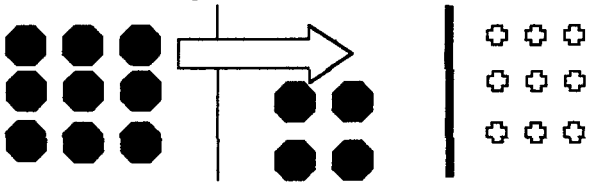
A. No catalyst/no internalization of need to change, therefore no change occurs.



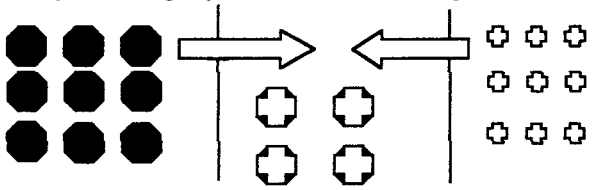
B. Catalyst present, but rejection of one community by the other, and return to status quo.



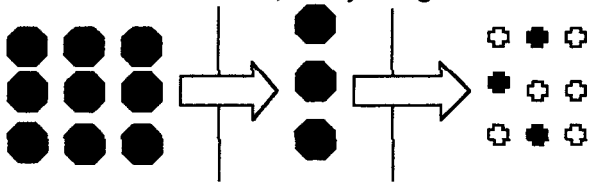
C. Catalyst present and attempted crossing is met with rejection. Community is unable to return to status quo, and so remains in liminal space.



D. Catalyst present in both communities, each community makes adjustments and they create a liminal (hybrid) community, retaining aspects of each of the originals.



E. Catalyst is present and other community is open; therefore a liminal crossing occurs, and one community is assimilated into the other, slowly losing the characteristics which made it unique.



ZANE GREY'S IMAGINARY INDIAN

This brings us to Zane Grey and his presentation of the Native American through his written work. In order to effectively consider Grey's Imaginary Indian, I have determined to limit my investigation to his novels, setting aside numerous shorter pieces, and to categorize them according to their presentation of the Native American (a listing follows in Table 1).[7] This permits me to focus on commonalities in specific groups of novels before developing overarching conclusions. The first novels written by Zane Grey form the Ohio River Trilogy, which is, not surprisingly, set along the Ohio River at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Manifest Destiny Novels portray white-Indian encounters as the frontier moves westward, while the Desert Novels describe Native Americans after the passing of the frontier and the advent of the reservation. Works that portrayed Native Americans as participants in cowboy life have been labeled Range Novels. Finally, the numerous books in which Native Americans figure only in periphery have been designated Landscape Indian Novels – simply because the Indian seems to appear in these as part of the Western landscape, and no more. In total, Grey's Imaginary Indian appears in thirty-eight of his fifty-seven formula Westerns.

By evaluating the literary presentation of Native Americans in each of his novels, placing it against the cultural and theoretical backdrop of the stereotyped Indian, and

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7 These categories may reflect those suggested by Carlton Jackson and Joseph Wheeler, although I have adjusted them to suit my purposes.

subjecting that presentation to liminal analysis, conclusions may be drawn concerning Grey's vision of the Native American and the socio-cultural issue of assimilation.

Table 1: Zane Grey's Westerns Listed by Classification

Landscape Indian Novels

The Deer Stalker
The Fugitive Trail
West of the Pecos
Wildfire
The Call of the Canyon
(13)
The Light of the Western Stars (63)
The Mysterious Rider (27)
Raiders of the Spanish Peaks (63, last pg)
Twin Sombreros (1-2)
Thunder Mountain (2-6)

Ohio River Trilogy

Betty Zane
Spirit of the Border
The Last Trail

Manifest Destiny Novels

Fighting Caravans
Western Union
The U.P. Trail
The Trail Driver
The Thundering Herd
30,000 on the Hoof

Range Novels

The Arizona Clan
Forlorn River
Knights of the Range
The Lost Wagon Train
Shadow on the Trail
To the Last Man
Rogue River Feud
Horse Heaven Hill

Desert Novels

Wanderer of the Wasteland
Stairs of Sand
Desert Gold
The Rainbow Trail
The Vanishing American
The Heritage of the Desert
Captives of the Desert
Stranger from the Tonto
Black Mesa
Wild Horse Mesa
Lost Pueblo

Landscape Indian Novels

To simplify this investigation, the works which contain Grey's weakest portrayal of the Imaginary Indian will be discussed first, followed by a gradual progression to those works in which his Native American characters seem most developed. Since the novels listed under this heading contain one-dimensional images of the Indian, it is fitting to begin here. The Native Americans presented or mentioned in these works serve primarily to add flavour and authenticity to Zane Grey's Western landscape. As part of the Western scenery, they are worth a curious glance from a train window, but little more, and contribute to a tourist vision of the West. In fact, these novels reveal little other than Grey's propensity to use stock situations or drop casual historical references. The wagon train massacres in *The Fugitive Trail* (4) and *The Mysterious Rider* (4) are plot devices used to present the reader with orphaned heroines. References to Cochise in *The Light of the Western Stars* (63) and the Indians pictured at the beginning of *Call of the Canyon* (13), *Thunder Mountain* (2-6) and *Twin Sombreros* (1-2) help set the western scene. The story of the buffalo hunters' defeat of Nigger Horse (*Raiders* 63ff) becomes a character index to Laramie Nelson in *Raiders of Spanish Peaks* -- as well as offering a short interlude of adventure. In *The Deer Stalker*, the Navajo and Hopi Indians, like extras on a movie set, help in the unsuccessful deer drive which is the climax of the novel. In *West of the Pecos*, the Comanches are useful in a pair of short but violent encounters that advance plot and enhance atmosphere, while the Navajo of *Wildfire* are simply window dressing – mentioned, but insignificant in their contribution to plot and undeveloped in

characterization. Grey's Indian, when used in this fashion, becomes a simple tourist objectification, and is offered to the reader with the same reflective tone that Grey has when describing mountains and deserts. While Grey does introduce some of the nostalgic sentiment with which he will pepper the majority of his work, the appearance of "Landscape" Indians in these novels, and indeed, many of his others, indicates Grey's use of stereotype without mitigation. This particular excerpt, from *Twin Sombreros* is instructive. The novel opens with a small group of Utes watching a train pass by. Grey's authorial insertion follows:

> Five years had passed since first the iron trail and smoke devil had crossed out of Kansas to the slopes of Colorado; and still the Indians watched and wondered, doubtful of the future, fearful of this clattering whistling monster on wheels that might spell doom to the red man. Had they not seen train after train loaded with buffalo hides steam eastward across the plains? (*TS* 1)

This scene and its didactic statement are followed immediately by the introduction of the novel's protagonist, and forthwith the Indians are abandoned to their fate – they will be mentioned no more in this novel. In addition, Grey chooses non-standard terms as "iron trail" and "smoke devil," which, while they create atmosphere, reinforce the stereotyped idea of the Indian. In terms of liminal crossings or cultural encounters, there is nothing here in these novels beyond a tourist objectification of the cultural "other" and the blatant use of stereotype.

Manifest Destiny Novels

Grey's historical novels, as selected here, are essentially a testament to Manifest Destiny. The practice begun with his earlier work, the Ohio River Trilogy, was put to especially good use here: each novel is placed within an identifiable historical context, of which each reflects a stage in the development of the West. These six novels describe the era of wagon trains, cowboys and settlers, discuss the stringing of the Western Union telegraph line and the building of the Union Pacific Railroad, and consider the elimination of the buffalo. Naturally -- and necessarily – these novels also deal with encounters with Native Americans. In these novels, Indians, while part of the land, are more than landscape. They are clearly active participants as well as obstacles to be overcome – like thunderstorms, buffalo and prairie fire. To maintain a colonial vision, Grey's portrayal of the Native Americans tends to deal with Indians *en masse* in terms of the difficulty they pose to the westward march of American civilization. Sympathetic comments occur, but largely as authorial insertions or moments of didacticism, while general terminology and tone of the novels carries negative emphasis: for example, on two consecutive pages of *Fighting Caravans*, Native Americans are referred to as "sneakin' devils" and "cussed Comanches" (*FC* 21,22).

Of the novels themselves, *Fighting Caravans* is set earliest, covering the period from 1856-1869. *Western Union* is set in 1861, *The U.P. Trail* in 1865-69, *The Trail Driver* in 1871 and *The Thundering Herd* in 1874-77. The final novel of this group,

30,000 on the Hoof, is set shortly after Crook's first campaign against the Apaches (between 1883-86) and ends around 1918 with the end of World War I.

Fighting Caravans focuses on the freighters who supplied the western forts and settlers before the building of the railroads, through the experience of Clint Belmet. The very first mention of Indians pertains to safety: the Belmet family chooses to join a large caravan that would be less vulnerable to attack (7). Nevertheless, by page 22, Clint's mother has been killed in an Indian attack. Interestingly, Grey makes tribal distinctions immediately – "Pawnees or Arapahoes, likely. Wal, we kin stand it, jest so long as they're not Comanches" (18) – building the Indian threat in layers: Comanches are the most dangerous, Kiowas are next, and the remaining tribes are relatively unimportant but still a threat.

Clint's early reaction to the Indians, following the death of his mother, is instructive: "He avoided them as much as possible, hated them, yet always had an eye for their picturesque appearance in their tight-fitting deerskins and beaded moccasins" (28). He is both "repelled and attracted" (50) by the Indians, despite Kit Carson's admonition to "learn that the only good Indian is a dead one" (29) and his own avowal "I'll never trust an Indian" (50). Later, Clint trusts the Kiowa Jim Whitefish (281*ff*), a decision that saves the lives of his entire caravan.

Despite the stereotypically derogatory comments voiced by Clint and other characters in the novel, more than 25 mentioned Indian attacks on caravans, and an appalling list of dead white characters, Grey can still offer such an opinion as Captain

Graham's: "The Indian tribes are growing bitter... you can't blame them. On the whole, the white invasion of the West is a deliberate steal" (92). Clint himself speaks in defence of the actions of the Native Americans, first stating that "...the white men were in the wrong. They had no right to usurp the hunting grounds of the Indian tribes, to take their domain from them" (34), and later asserting: "[The Indians] are growing bitter and doubtful. They have reason. I've no use for Indians. I lost my mother – my father – my friends – my uncle, all by Indians. But I don't blame them" (267). Using authorial inserts, Grey describes the broken treaty that causes the Nez Perce revolt (268) and the government misappropriation of funds that results in war against the Cheyenne, Arapahoe and Kiowa (269). Also significant is Grey's story of a caravan's treatment of the Indians and their response to that treatment:

> At Lower Springs, about five days south of Fort Larned, a small band of Comanches rode into camp and asked for sugar and coffee. There were not more than forty Indians and some of these were in poor condition. The freighters showed the hungry Indians not only sugar and coffee and other appetizing food, but also made faces at them and refused to feed them. Moreover, they drew their rifles and ordered the Comanches to get out.... From that time on they had to fight these Comanches day and night for one hundred and fifteen miles.... And their casualty list totaled eighty-three dead and seventy-six wounded. (*FC* 270-1)

When considering Jim Baker and John Smith, Clint finds them "greasy, disreputable-looking men" by contrast with Smith's Comanche wife, who was "handsome... pleasant and more interesting than her renowned trapper husband " (36). Attacking Indians are "yet so wonderful and loyal" (99), and Clint even comments on the courage with which a group of Pawnees faces execution (291). Flying Cloud is known to

be hostile, but "would never attack one of Maxwell's caravans" (140-1), whose hospitality he accepted, and Lone Wolf is described as the "salt of the earth" (162). Satock, chief of the Kiowas who raid Clint's caravan, of course gets a much different description: he has a "dark, crafty, evil visage, record of terrible deeds" with "gleaming, burning, gloomy eyes" (78*ff*). Jim Whitefish returns good for good, first rescuing Old Bill from his own people (209-11), then warning Clint of an impending attack on his caravan (282-3). However, if honourable Indians are recognized, so are dishonourable white men: Grey mentions desperadoes from the war (263), and whites who incite the Indians to attack and plunder caravans (300*ff*).

In *Western Union*, Native Americans are also a problem, although they are not nearly in such evidence. Occasional sightings and comments function to keep the workers (and readers) expectant (27, 46, 149, 160*ff*, 277), but very little actually occurs. Of five mentioned Indian attacks (51, 170*ff*, 186, 238, 267), only one is a significant encounter and described in detail (170*ff*). Another, the massacre of Scott's wagon train (51), conveniently provides the orphan girl, Ruby, who becomes part of the love plot in the novel. The Sioux and Cheyennes are the big threat here (46), but that threat does not really materialize. Instead, Grey hints at increasing problems in the future (7, 149, 160). Rather interesting is the description of Native American reactions to the telegraph (163, 192, 201) – in one instance, they cut a mile-long chunk of wire out of the telegraph line and try to steal it, only to be struck by lightning -- but they serve to reinforce the notion of Native Americans as primitive and unsophisticated. The disparity between Liligh's

words -- "sincere" (193) and "sneaking" (163) are both used to describe the Indians – provides another example of white ambiguity towards Native Americans.

The U.P. Trail includes a variety of Sioux attempts to discourage the building of the Union Pacific Railroad, and opens with a quick glimpse from the perspective of a Sioux scout (3-5). The first Indian-White encounter is the massacre of Horn's wagon train (17), which sets the plot in motion. As a direct result of the attack, Allie, the sole survivor, knows the whereabouts of Horn's fortune in gold, discovers she has an evil stepfather and a rich father, and falls in love with the novel's protagonist.

On one hand, the description of the aftermath of the massacre reflects scenes from two hundred years of colonialist literature, justification for retaliation on the part of white civilization: "Naked, mutilated bodies, bloody and ghastly, lay in horrible positions. All were scalped... This was his first experience with the fiendish work of the savages" (44). On the other hand, the trapper Slingerland remarks, "... they hev their wrongs" (45), pointing out that white society also holds responsibility. Later, Slingerland tells Neale that he has some quality like an Indian's, and he "needn't be insulted, fer I know Injuns that beat white men holler fer all thet's noble" (70). These comments are the beginning of an ambiguous trend in this novel, offered through Slingerland's perspective. While he regrets the actions of the Native Americans, Slingerland regrets still more the actions of his own culture:

> Slingerland hated the railroad, and he could not see as Neale did, or any of the engineers or builders.... Progress was great, but nature undespoiled was greater. If a race could not breed all stronger men, through its great movements, it might better not breed any, for the bad over-multiplied the

> good, and so their needs magnified into greed. Slingerland saw many shining bands of steel across the plains and mountains, many stations and hamlets and cities, a growing and marvelous prosperity from timber, mines and farms, and in the distant end – a gutted West. (*UPT* 483)

As a dissenting voice in the program of Manifest Destiny, Slingerland is echoed by Grey's depiction of a Sioux chief in the final pages of the novel:

> This chief was old and wise, taught by sage and star and mountain and wind and the loneliness of the prairie-land. He recognized a superior race, but not a nobler one. White men would glut the treasures of water and earth.... The Sioux must fight until he died or be driven back into waste places where grief and hardship would end him... in his acceptance of the inevitable bitterness he stood in magnificent austerity, somber as death, seeing in this railroad train creeping, fading into the ruddy sunset, a symbol of the destiny of the Indian – vanishing – vanishing – vanishing – . (*UPT* 486-7)

These final statements offer a sympathetic defence of Native American actions against US expansionism, and an implicit criticism of the mercantilism which fuelled the expansion – intriguing sentiments in a novel that, by its very title, purported to celebrate the building of the Union Pacific Railroad.

The ambiguity noted in the other works also appears in *The Trail Driver*, but the Indians are considerably less sympathetic. By page five the reader has been informed that "[trail driving] had developed into a dangerous business" (5) because Indians have become a significant threat. Once again, Comanches are labelled the worst of the tribes (165), while Santana, a chief of the Kiowas, is "a merciless fiend"(189). Britt treats those Native Americans who visit the trail-driving camp respectfully, but firmly, and as a result, one group of Indians warns them of the lack of water in their path (254), and another group stampedes their cattle (248). Only two incidents are described in detail in

this text: a stand-off with Nigger Horse and a wagon train massacre. The massacre results in another of Grey's orphaned girls, and is described in typical terms: "blood-curdling yells," "the hideous war cry of the Comanche," "lean bronze devils" and "lean bloody wolves" (169-182). Nigger Horse is "stolid and unofficious" with "basilisk eyes" while his men are described as "squat, pointy-faced, long-haired Indians," "greedy-eyed and jabbering" (242-6). Neither incident shows the Native Americans in a positive light – aside from the unflattering description, the trail drivers are able to easily ambush the Indians who perpetrate the massacre, and then out-bluff Nigger Horse. The image of the noble savage is certainly not perpetuated in *The Trail Driver.*

The double conclusion commented upon in the other Manifest Destiny novels, that the destruction of the buffalo was responsible for the Indians' anger, and that destroying the buffalo would destroy the Plains Indians, is considered in *The Thundering Herd.* Opening with an idyllic vision of a Native American lifestyle before European exploration and in harmony with that of the buffalo, Grey sets a melancholic tone for the novel. By the end of the novel, the reader recognizes, Indian and buffalo will share the same fate. From this glimpse of the past, Zane Grey jumps to 1874 and introduces Tom Doan, the protagonist who the reader will follow as he becomes a buffalo hunter, partakes in a punitive expedition against the Comanches, and witnesses the destruction of Indian and buffalo. By page twelve, Doan has heard stories of a great battle between buffalo hunters and a horde of Indians, triggered by whites hunting to satisfy a growing commercial market for buffalo hides. Assurances that the Indians will be forced to fight

for their livelihood are sprinkled throughout the text, and are seen in both positive and negative lights, depending on the speaker. General Sheridan expresses the opinion that the destruction of both buffalo and Indian is a civic service: "These buffalo-hunters have done more in the last year to settle the Indian trouble than the entire regular army has done in thirty years. They are destroying the Indian's commissary. Send them powder and lead!" (*Thundering* 126). Later, Tom's fiancée expresses the opposite opinion: "You are stealing their food...their meat – out of their mouths. Not because you're hungry, but to get rich. Oh, Tom, it's wrong!" (126). As the novel proceeds, several short encounters with hostile Indians are mentioned, but little description offered until Hudnall's murderers are referred to as "naked painted devils" (159). Hudnall's death precipitates a campaign against the Comanches, during which Grey presents the Native Americans as crafty, yet courageous and noble, admired for their skills and their loyalty to the tribe, yet referred to as "snakes" and "half-naked demons" (183-196, 259-276). In order to save their women and children, the Comanches created a smoke-screen by setting fire to their tepees, then charged the white hunters in small groups "with magnificent affront and tremendous speed" to draw their fire. The war-cry of the Comanches also sounds different: "It seemed wilder, more piercing now, closer, a united sound, filling the ears, horrid yet not discordant, full of death, but for all that a magnificent blending of human voices. It was the cry of a wild tribe for life" (189). This ambivalence is preceded by the only completely positive – even flattering -- vision of a Native American: "...so motionless, so striking was he as he gazed with dark, piercing eyes across the void, that

Tom marveled at him... [Bear Claws] was over six feet tall, lithe, lean, erect, with something of the look of an eagle about him" (181). With Bear Claws' help, the hunters are able to trap and defeat the Comanches, beginning a series of campaigns that destroy the power of the Plains Indians by 1877 (277). The buffalo are also soon chased into oblivion, so that the reader is left with the image of a bull "forlorn, alone, lost" (307).

The last free Native Americans are being forced onto reservations in the opening pages of *30,000 on the Hoof*. Logan Huett, army scout, is helping capture the last Apaches in order to earn money for a wife and homestead, but his actions pit him against the Apache Matazel. Captured as the novel opens, Matazel is described as "a tall, lithe brave, straight as an arrow, whose bearing was proud," with "sombre eyes steady and inscrutable" that later become "eagle eyes burn[ing] with a superb and piercing fire" and who resembles Logan (3-4). The Apache's subsequent escape and vengeance results in the only incident of consummated rape in Grey's works (92),[8] and the description shifts tone accordingly: "Lucinda saw a handsome somber visage lighted by eyes of gray... his lithe magnificent presence, his ragged buckskin garb... his eyes held hers with the hypnotic power of a snake" (92). Logan is later shot, and must hunt Matazel in self-defence. His success in this struggle is predictable (literary history tells that whites with Indian gifts are usually superior to Indians!) and Matazel is killed (112-4).

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8 This incident was modified in the initial printing to a threat of rape, but the character of Abe still suggests its consummation. In a later version, marketed under the title *Woman of the Frontier*, the incident was restored to its original form (*TTH* rev 8).

30,000 on the Hoof is not surprising in the stereotypical working out of the White/Indian conflict, but in the introduction of the half-Indian Abe, product of Matazel's rape of Lucinda (Logan's wife). His heritage is kept a secret even from Logan, but from the beginning, he has "red gifts" – marksmanship, horsemanship, tracking and woodcraft. He sits "Indian fashion," shouts with an "Indian yell," and dresses in buckskins. Abe grows to dominate the entire Huett family – brothers, father, mother, and sister. He saves George's life in a fight, engineers a wild horse drive, brings hopeful news concerning the grasshopper plague, and restores the family's fortunes. Of the three Huett boys, he alone survives World War I. He is essential to Barbara's sanity, to his mother's happiness, and to Logan's success. When things look their worst, Abe's presence signifies hope for the future. Child of both races, Abe is the pivot on which this novel turns.

After reviewing these historical novels, several points can be noted. First, Grey is willing to use undeveloped, stereotype Indians, and does so frequently in these novels. Since these works, in overall tone and content, reinforce the Manifest Destiny ideology common in Grey's time, the use of stereotypes is not surprising – it is essentially the same colonialist vision of Native Americans that has seen expression in literature since the 16th century. In presenting his Indian, Grey is careful to maintain the generalized image which distances and 'others' [sets apart] the Indians depicted in the novels from the white characters – and the reader. Individualized Native characters are rare and insignificant to plot development. Instead, Indians are identified by tribe or in general terms, defined by their level of hostility, and often demonized through Grey's choice of

language. His occasional ambivalence of tone is intriguing, but is primarily the result of the dual stereotype described by Berkhofer: Grey makes use of both the 'naked heathen' and 'noble savage' literary concepts. Thus, idealistic images of Indian life and expressions of admiration share the page – on occasion quite literally – with depictions of massacre and savagery. Those Native Americans who do receive strong positive press from the author earn it by collaborating with colonial interests: Bear Claws, who helps track Comanches; and Jim Whitefish, who warns a caravan. Even half-breed Abe Huett, from *30,000 on the Hoof*, is valued for his active support of American ideologies – from his father's 'American dream' to involvement in World War I.

A second theme arises in these historical novels, and is maintained more or less consistently throughout the remainder of Grey's works: sympathy for the untenable position of the Native American in the face of white expansionism. Grey includes numerous instances, through either character voices or authorial insertion, of dishonest white actions that result in justifiable hostilities from the Indians. Of course, this literary indictment of white culture was nothing new: 'Friends of the Indian' had been vocalizing such comments since the Civil War, and they were only one voice of many. It is also worth noting that while the reader is encouraged to sympathize with the Indians, or to see flaws in white civilization, no character of Grey's puts down his rifle when Indians appear on the horizon. White sentiment toward the Indians, outside the authorial voice, is either pity without action, or active genocide.

In terms of liminality, the gap between Native American and white culture is too wide to bridge during the period of Manifest Destiny, as Grey presents it. The only reference to intermarriage is in *Fighting Caravans*, and the white men involved are distasteful. Abe Huett's conception through rape is hardly liminal crossing, but is rather an expression of temporary power by the disenfranchised. It does, however, contain some interesting ramifications: the rape perpetuates the Indian, in spirit and flesh, if not in culture, through the creation of a liminal, hybrid character.

In the novel, Matazel comes to represent the last of the free Indians. With his death at Logan's hands, white civilization destroys the Native American. However, Abe's existence undercuts the finality of that act of genocide. Like the cuckoo in the nest, his hidden legacy makes him a stronger character than his brothers, without their vices and flaws, and in possession of talents that they lack. He does not carry this parallel to fulfilment, becoming instead his brothers' champion. Abe becomes indispensable to his family and valuable to his society. While white civilization (Logan) defeats the Native American (Matazel), the hybrid Abe is superior to his white half-brothers, surviving when they perish. He alone is able to marry and, as his name suggests, become the father of a new people. He is a sign of hope for the future for his family, as mentioned earlier, and he is also symbolic of a future for the Native American. The merging of Native and white here suggests a new, improved race that is neither white nor red, but possessed of the best aspects of each.

It is intriguing to note here that sexuality, which is outside the control of the colonizer (note Caliban from *The Tempest*), feared in the captivity narratives, and here used for revenge, results in the continuation of the race. A liminal character is created who fits neatly into one society, while bearing the genetic material of another. This character, by his very existence, is subversive, breaking down the (genetic) barriers between "them" and "us". In marrying and propagating, he carries the subversion a step farther. In effect, this liminal character reverses the triumph of colonialist/exoticist sexual abuse of the "other" by his very existence.

The Range Novels

The Range novels, so designated because they deal essentially with aspects of cattle-raising, are remarkable for their inclusion of Native Americans and "Indian gifts". This inclusion is probably used for atmosphere, and it remains stereotypical, yet it suggests the beginning of the incorporation of these gifts or people into civilized society. Grey works the literary Indian into these novels in two basic ways: by creating a protagonist who is part Native American, and by including a Native American or half-breed assistant/guide.

Like Abe Huett in *30,000 on the Hoof*, Jean Isbel is part Native American and has "Indian gifts" in Grey's novel *To the Last Man.* Grey's description of him is typically flattering:

> Jean Isbel – son of a Texan -- unerring shot – peerless tracker – a bad and dangerous man... He had the widest shoulders of any man she had ever seen, and they made him appear rather short. But his lithe, powerful limbs proved he was not short.... He wore a cap, evidently of some thin fur. His hair was straight and short, and in color a dead raven black. His complexion was dark, clear tan, with no trace of red. He did not have the prominent cheek-bones or the high-bridged nose usual with white men who were part Indian. Still, he had the Indian look. Ellen caught that in the dark, intent, piercing eyes, in the wide, level, thoughtful brows, in the stern impassiveness of his smooth face. He had a straight, sharp-cut profile. (*TLM* 85-6)

This description reinforces a positive image of the literary Indian, while being contrary to representations of half-breeds as degenerates. Instead, Jean is physically more attractive, and morally more sound, than any of the whites he encounters, including his father and brothers. His racial heritage and his father's boasting result in the association

of Jean to knife-fighting and guerrilla warfare, and in the derogatory name Nez Perce Isbel, as he is drawn into the Tonto Valley War. In fact, it is because of that racial heritage that his father asks for his help: "Your part Indian, Jean, and that Indian I reckon I am going to need bad[sic]" (2). Jean capitalizes on his actual talent in these areas and survives, while all other men involved in the factional fighting are eradicated. Thus, the novel pivots around Jean's ability and character, while his survival and implied marriage suggest future possibilities.

Lark Burrell, from *Horse Heaven Hill*, is part Native American, as is Beryl Aard, from *Rogue River Feud.* In each of these cases, Grey has fused the Indian assistant/guide with a strong female character and incorporated elements of each into the plot function of that character, so that Lark and Beryl are important to both the main conflict and the romantic plot. In *Horse Heaven Hill*, Lark's Indian-ness is underemphasized: it is used stereotypically to make three points, first, that she is a beautiful brunette, second, that she loves wild country, and third, that she loves wild horses. From these, the novel develops. On the first issue, Lark wins the archetypal blond-brunette conflict over the cousin with whom she has come to live. On the second and third, she stops the wild horse drive that is the central conflict of the novel, then returns with her new husband to the wild ranges of Idaho from which she came. Beryl Aard's case is similar: her eighth of Indian blood contributes to her physical attractiveness and her love of wild country. The combination of her vitality and the wilderness in which she lives becomes the physical and psychological salvation of Kevin Bell, a soldier invalided home from the training camps.

With his recovery, they are married and settle in that wilderness. In both these novels, Indian blood is valued for the traits that supposedly come with it: physical beauty and strength, love for the wilderness, free spiritedness, and even superior morality. In this sense, it reflects what was presented in *To the Last Man* and *30,000 on the Hoof*, but without any direct suggestion of negativity. The women in these novels are superior women, who live on the edge of society but show no inclination to move further into the center. Comfortable in themselves, without any need of the approval of mainstream white civilization, they are capable of taking men away from the society queens – Kevin rejects the wealthy Rosamond in favour of Beryl, and Stanley chooses Lark over Marigold – and bringing them back to less settled country to live.

In *Shadow on the Trail* and *The Arizona Clan*, Hicks and Coplace are part Apache. Secondary characters, they are loyal to the protagonists and their Indian gifts are crucial for success in tracking and killing evil men. Modoc, named for his tribe, is a similar figure in *Forlorn River*, first helping the protagonist catch wild horses, then aiding in the tracking and trapping of outlaws. Each character has also experienced ill treatment at the hands of whites: the moonshiners he hunts down have impoverished Coplace's family, Hicks has run away from the reservation, and Modoc has been unfairly jailed. In *Knights of the Range*, Cherokee is invaluable as a member of a hard-riding outfit of cowboys, and Hawkeye, a Kiowa, leads the protagonist to the answers he seeks in *The Lost Wagon Train.* Although Hawkeye is a cardboard character predictably coaxed into aiding the protagonist by frequent gifts of tobacco and whiskey, the

remainder – Cherokee, Modoc, Coplace and Hicks – fit a slightly different category as Indian cowboys. Tribal identification serves to keep the first two characters distanced, and none of them are very well developed, but their (at least partial) acceptance into white society, and their function, using red gifts for the cause of white society, suggest possible liminal crossing. Of course, there remain two barriers to this. First, these characters are not well treated by mainstream white society, but require the umbrella of the protagonist's sponsorship in order to function effectively. For example, if Coplace kills the moonshiner who ruined his family, he would be tried as an Indian murdering a white man. By joining the protagonist, he will have the opportunity to settle his own score without the threat of biased punishment. Secondly, their use of red gifts makes them valuable to white society, but only so long as they use them to support the protagonist. If they were to have joined the antagonist of any of these novels, the Indian characters would quickly have been vilified and eliminated. Thus, they ride just inside the boundary line of the white community – easily pushed into liminal space should the protection of their sponsor be withdrawn, or their usefulness diminish.

In conclusion, if the Landscape Novels provided a tourist vision of the Indian, and the Historical Novels provided the noble savage/brutal heathen stereotypes, the Range Novels provide a third vision: the Indian cowboy. The literary Indian here may be full or half-blood, designated by a given name or the name of their tribe. They have become valuable to white culture in terms of their support of a white protagonist who works to restore order, and are accepted at least partly on the basis of that relationship. Their

position is that of a liminal character in a liminal time; that is, they are in a culture in which they do not quite belong, in a time of disorder and change. As guide/assistant to the protagonist (representative of white culture), the Native American characters are also agents of change. Interestingly, with the return of order, the need for "red gifts" lessens, and so too does the need for Indian guides or assistants. The liminal crossing or assimilation of these characters remains temporary and limited, and therefore in truth unsuccessful.

Lark, Beryl, and Jean, like Abe Huett in the last section, fit a different category. Their Indian blood, though sometimes mentioned disparagingly (not overtly for the girls), provides better specimens of man and womanhood, in direct contradiction of those sciences (Darwinist, Eugenics) which held that miscegenation is a sexual aberration. As liminal figures, they appear significantly more successful than the characters mentioned above because they are completely accepted in white culture, which is signified when each character marries a white person. This success is only perceived, however, because none of these three characters has actually been outside white culture – on the fringes geographically and socially, but never entirely outside. Their existence, however, suggests that a more successful crossing preceded them: by their respective maternal ancestors. These women, because their offspring have been immersed in white culture, must have made liminal crossings with reasonable success, as signified by their marriages and their children. What challenges or prejudice they may have faced in making such a transition can only be surmised.

The Ohio River Trilogy

Beginning with *Betty Zane*, followed by *Spirit of the Border* and concluding with *The Last Trail*, the Ohio River Trilogy was based upon the exploits of Zane Grey's maternal ancestors in settling the Ohio Valley between 1769 and 1785. As the Ohio frontier passes through the stages of conquest – from wilderness to civilization – Grey presents his image of the Native American, using historical figures to populate his novel while further developing their characters. Similar in theme and subject to the Manifest Destiny novels, these works also contain an expression of concern for the situation of the native peoples subject to white colonialism. Throughout these novels, Zane Grey attempts a very human portrayal of both white and Indian and directly links reprehensible white activity with Indian hostility.

The idea that white actions result in Indian hostility is mentioned almost immediately in *Betty Zane*. Jonathan Zane, when speaking of the enmity of Red Fox, notes that he and Wetzel are partially responsible, as "several years ago ... we fell in with the tracks of five Shawnees ... We trailed the Indians and, coming up on them after dark, we tomahawked them.... They were Red Fox's braves and were on their way to his camp with the prisoner" (33). Red Fox's attack on Isaac, much later in the novel, is blamed on his love for Myeerah. While the restlessness of the natives is remarked upon (13), Isaac Zane makes it clear that it is Hamilton, the British governor referred to as "the hair buyer, the scalp buyer," who is behind a plan to attack the Ohio frontier (32). Held captive among the Wyandots for ten years, Isaac seems the least probable spokesman on their

behalf, but is quickest to come to their defence, noting, "The Indians have their wrongs. I sympathize with them in many ways. We have robbed them, broken faith with them, and have not lived up to the treaties." (32-3). Grey enlarges on this theme, denouncing the destruction of the Native Americans by recounting a large portion of its history (100-5) and ends *Betty Zane* with an epitaph:

> Sad, too, is the thought that the poor Indian is unmourned. He is almost forgotten; he is in the shadow; his songs are sung; no more will he sing to his dusky bride: his deeds are done; no more will he boast of his all-conquering arm or of his speed like the Northwind; no more will his heart bound at the whistle of the stag, for he sleeps in the shade of the oaks, under the moss and ferns. (*BZ* 263)

In the second novel of the series, *Spirit of the Border*, Ebenezer Zane discusses the Native Americans from his viewpoint: "I believe ... that the savage has a beautiful side to his character. I know of many noble deeds done by them, and I believe, if they are honestly dealt with, they will return good for good. There are bad ones, of course; but the French traders, and men like the Girtys, have caused most of this long war" (63), later adding:

> When I came out here alone twelve years ago the Indians were peaceable. If the pioneers had paid for land, as I paid Cornplanter, there would never have been a border war. But no; the settlers must grasp every acre they could. Then the Indians rebelled; then the Girtys and their allies spread discontent, and now the border is a bloody warpath. (*SB* 76)

The veracity of this perspective – placing the blame for Indian savagery squarely on the shoulders of white men – is reinforced by the descriptions of the various Native characters in these works. Crow, the first named Native character in the novel *Betty Zane*, is "a warrior renowned for his daring"(*BZ* 88); Son-of-Wingenund is "a

magnificent specimen of Indian manhood, almost a giant in stature, with broad shoulders in proportion to his height... Isaac had hunted with him, slept under the same blanket with him, and had grown to like him" (*BZ* 90); Tarhe, the chief of all the Wyandots, although "over seventy, [] walked erect; his calm face, dark as a bronze mask, showed no trace of his advanced age" (*BZ* 95); Cornplanter, or Gyantwaia, "was a wise counsellor, a great leader, and he died when he was one hundred years old, having had more conceded to him by the white men than any other chieftain" (*BZ* 159). Myeerah is described as being "proud and willful, and the loveliest girl I ever laid eyes on" (*BZ* 82), despite her position as the daughter of the Huron Tarhe. Her love for Isaac Zane saves his life twice, once from Tarhe (in the manner of Pocahontas!) and once from Cornplanter, but it also results in his long captivity (which ends as the novel begins) and his recapture by the Hurons she has sent after him. When Wetzel tells the story of his own escape from the Delawares, with the help of a Delaware whose life he has spared (*BZ* 138-9), Col. Zane responds, "I have never known an Indian to forget a promise, or a kind action, or an injury" (*BZ* 139).

In *Spirit of the Border*, the Shawnee Silvertip becomes Joe Downs' enemy, but only after he is deeply insulted by a joke (25). Wingenund, chief of the Delawares, responds to Jim Downs' moving sermon with wisdom and foresight:

> Wingenund does not flaunt his wisdom. He has grown old among his warriors; he loves them; he fears for them... The dream of the paleface is too beautiful to come true. In the days of long ago, when Wingenund's forefathers heard not the paleface's axe, they lived in love and happiness such as the young White Father dreams may come again. They wage no wars. A white dove sat in every wigwam. The lands were theirs and they

> were rich. The paleface came with his leaden death, his burning firewater, his ringing axe, and the glory of the redmen faded forever.
>
> Wingenund seeks not to inflame his braves to anger. He is sick of blood-spilling – not from fear; for Wingenund cannot feel fear. But he asks his people to wait. Remember, the gifts of the paleface ever contained a poisoned arrow. Wingenund's heart is sore. The day of the redman is gone. His sun is setting. Wingenund feels already the gray shades of evening. (*SB* 99)

Despite the urgings of his associates, he sets the missionary free on one occasion (144), and saves his life on another (226*ff*). Of his fellow chiefs, Shingiss and others suggest the adoption of the captured Downs brothers, while only Kotoxen and Pipe demand death. Wingenund's decision (to release one and kill the other) is an effective compromise. Pipe and Half King are the only natives imbued with a wholly merciless and savage nature (188-89), but their lust for killing is matched by the courage of Glickhican and the Christian Indians in their adherence to their adopted faith (210-26).

Ashbow and Old Horse are also given positive traits as characters in *The Last Trail*, although Indians are relatively scarce. Ashbow risks his life to give his confederates a chance to escape (122), while Old Horse is well respected for his judgement (213).

By comparison, with the possible exception of the central (heroic?) characters of each novel, the whites appear to a significant disadvantage. Of Jonathan Zane, it is noted that he "hated the sight of an Indian and ... was of little use in a council" (*BZ* 13), and while in the Village of Peace he acted in a way which brought this to mind (*SB* 81). Wetzel, the reader is told, "swore sleepless and eternal vengeance on the whole Indian race" (*BZ* 60) following the murder of his family, and he "lived solely to kill Indians"

(*BZ* 60). Both Jonathan and Wetzel, however, are portrayed sympathetically, and their characters soften over the trilogy: Jonathan to marry and quit the frontier trails (*LT*), and Wetzel to forgive Wingenund, his greatest enemy (*SB* 249).

The Girtys are the great threat. Simon Girty is supported by the British in his dealings in *Betty Zane*: it is he who gathers and leads the Indians and British in the attack on Fort Henry. However, Grey makes it clear that Jim Girty and his followers are the true embodiment of evil on the frontier. In *Betty Zane*, the threat to the fort and frontier comes via Simon Girty and the British, but the threat of abduction and rape comes from Miller and Jim Girty. In *Spirit of the Border*, Jim Girty and Deering are described as cowardly, brutal abductors of women and slayers of children. Deering abducts and murders Christie's fiancée; Jim Girty does likewise to Kate Wells, then murders the injured Joe Downs and his wife Whispering Winds. Both men vote in favour of the annihilation of the Village of Peace. Chapter 26 of *Spirit of the Border* ends with the image of Jim Girty, swinging a sledgehammer, leading the attack upon the unarmed and unresisting Christian Indians (227). Finally, in *The Last Trail*, white renegades are again the source of the threat of death and abduction, while their few Indian allies remain in the background.

The missionaries and militia scarcely come off better. While the Moravian missionaries discussed in *Spirit of the Border* are described as good men, their weakness in the face of frontier life renders them inadequate. They are without the strength to protect their Indian converts, and without the courage to die beside them, but instead flee

the village. The militia, under Captain Williamson, who could have acted to save the Christian Indians and the Village of Peace, deliberately stands aside and permits the slaughter (*SB* 223).[9]

Among the whites, greed, lust and envy provide motivation for unadulterated brutality, while the stirring up of righteous Indian anger is condoned as an acceptable act of war. The excuses of distrust, poverty, rebellion and desperation in the face of genocide, not available to whites, are presented as the motivating factors for hostile Native American actions and are rooted in white activity.

A significant aspect of this trilogy is the occurrence of what Fiedler calls the Pocahontas myth – or rather, its reoccurrence. Within the first two novels, *Betty Zane* and *Spirit of the Border*, a white man is saved by an Indian "princess" on no less than five occasions. Two intercultural marriages result (two others – the marriage of Tarhe to the daughter of La Durante, and Cornplanter's parents – are mentioned). As *Betty Zane* opens, Isaac Zane, held captive in the Wyandot towns because of Myeerah's love for him, escapes and returns home. He is kidnapped from Fort Henry at Myeerah's orders (the only case of Indian actually abducting white in the novels – other cases occur as the result of generalized attacks and subsequent (coincidental) prisoners – and this is a case of woman kidnapping man!) and given the opportunity to marry her. Tarhe acknowledges the possibilities of such a union: "Tarhe is old and has no son. He will make you a great chief and give you lands and braves and honors. He shall not ask you to

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9 Of course, historically, Native Americans had nothing to do this massacre – Williamson and his militia

raise your hand against your people, but to help bring peace. Tarhe does not love this war. He wants only justice. He wants only to keep his lands, his horses, and his people" (*BZ* 96). He also acknowledges the problems of cultural hybridity: "She has the blood of her mother and not that of the last of the Tarhes. Thus the mistakes of Tarhe's youth come to disappoint his old age" (*BZ* 96). Isaac and Myeerah struggle with the difficulty of interracial and intercultural marriage: Isaac wants Myeerah to come with him to his people but she fears scorn and pity (*BZ* 99). Following his second escape and rescue – Myeerah saves him from the stake at the hands of Cornplanter – Isaac is able to convince her to go with him to Fort Henry. Following their marriage and some time at the fort, he and Myeerah return to her people and make peace with Tarhe. The success of this union is hinted at in the Afterward, as Isaac lives with the Wyandots until his death (*BZ* 261).

In *Spirit of the Border*, Whispering Winds first saves Wetzel by cutting him free, then Jim Downs by identifying him as a missionary, then Joe Downs by asking to marry him. The marriage between Joe and Whispering Winds permits him to join the Delawares, but his attempt to rescue a white woman from Jim Girty results in disaster. Her father, Wingenund, disowns Whispering Winds, and despite their care, Girty discovers and murders her and her husband. Oddly, or perhaps significantly, their deaths bring together Wetzel and Wingenund, previously implacable enemies, as both spend time visiting their graves.

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were solely responsible (Churchill *Genocide* 207). Grey cleaned some of the mud off our faces here.

Thus, in the early vision of Grey's Indian, several points emerge. First, Grey's Native American characters are displayed sympathetically. Rather than bloodthirsty killers, in *Betty Zane* they are participants in a struggle forced upon them by circumstance, yet that is for their very survival. Wise, courageous and honourable, they command respect. With the failure of the attack on Fort Henry, Tarhe places the last hope of his tribe in the hands of Isaac and Myeerah. For Tarhe, they are the future. By *Spirit of the Border*, Native Americans are struggling to resolve the awkwardness of their situation. For some, Christianity provides an answer, while others struggle to maintain their old way of life. Still others see the Christian Indians as traitors, and desire their destruction. These three forces face off, and the irony of each of these stances becomes evident. The Christian Indians are martyred by their opposites, who detest anything white, yet are led by Girty and Deering. Wingenund's faction remains aloof but he himself gets involved to lead the whites to safety. His son has been slain, and now his daughter is lost. His attempt to mediate and retain the old ways is not successful. He, in fact, has also left the old ways to follow Christianity. The hopeful potential, suggested by the marriage of Joe and Whispering Winds and their attempt to find peace outside this struggle, is dashed by their murder. Little Benny is all that remains of the Christian Indians, destined to be raised as an orphan by whites. He will not fit in with either race. Wingenund is left – Christian but still Delaware, visiting a lonely grave where rests his last hope for the future. Perhaps most significant is Wetzel's forgiveness, for now they truly have something in common – loved ones lost to a common foe.

The strength of the Indian characters is more significant when compared to the depravity of the whites in these novels. The captivity narrative, so often played out between white woman and Indian savage, is altered in these three novels. Passionate white men now offer the greatest of all threats – that of rape. Rapists and murderers in these works are not Indians, but white men – in the case of Miller and Brandt, seemingly respectable white men at that. White culture, in the person of Jim Girty, refuses to allow the creation of a hybrid society: first murdering the Indian-White couple, Joe and Whispering Winds, then slaughtering the inhabitants of the Village of Peace.

Grey's Indians are noble, heroic, if doomed to extinction. They are tamed, civilized – married and Christianized and struggling to accommodate themselves.

The Desert Novels

While the three Ohio River books were the first of Zane Grey's novels, they were less than popular. It wasn't until the writing of the desert novels, particularly *Heritage of the Desert*, *Desert Gold* and *The Rainbow Trail*, that Grey became a resounding commercial success. With the help of those novels, Grey climbed to the top of the best seller lists and remained there for ten years. For the time being, we will set the Navaho novels aside, and deal with those remaining: *Desert Gold*, *Wanderer of the Wasteland* and its sequel, *Stairs of Sand*. These three novels are set in Southern Arizona, along the Arizona-California-Mexico borders near Yuma.

Wanderer of the Wasteland and its sequel, *Stairs of Sand*, have few Native American characters, yet these few are significantly drawn. Charley Jim, who rescues Adam Larey from death on the desert, is "tall ... dressed in the ragged clothes of a white man (*Wanderer* 120) yet he is "not a poor Indian" (122). Oella, his daughter, is "shy and reserved, seldom spoke, and always maintained before [Adam] a simplicity, almost a humility, as of servant to master" (123). As Adam stays with Charley Jim and his family, he is taught how to survive on the desert and develops respect for the Indian's way of life. They live off the desert in traditional fashion, moving from oasis to oasis as the season dictates, and generally avoiding whites. By contrast, in *Stairs of Sand*, the Indians "had squandered their fortune and now eked out a beggarly existence" (70) and hate the man who succours them (84). Bound to one oasis and dependent upon alcohol and white charity, they lack the independence and pride of Charley Jim and Oella, and this is

reflected in their comportment. An excellent example is Hindfoot, who does menial service for Merryvale in return for spending money (130ff). In each case, the Native characters are functioning in liminal space, accommodating themselves to white civilization. Charley Jim has taken what is useful to him from white civilization, dismissing the remainder, and has no interest in a liminal crossing. The other Indians, unfortunately, have sold their heritage and become servants. They can not return to their original state, and are not accepted by whites, and so remain trapped in liminal space.

Interestingly, in these two novels, as in the Ohio trilogy, the threat of abduction and rape comes from evil white men, and Charley Jim is indirectly the element of salvation. He has rescued and taught Adam, giving him the abilities (Indian Gifts!) which allow him to defeat first Genie Linwood's abductors, and then the malevolent sheriff Collishaw and Adam's own brother, Guerd. As either Eagle, the name given to him by the Indians, or Taquitch, the Indian god Genie associates him with, Adam appears as the bridging figure between cultures. He is, however, unable to take the final culture-crossing step by marrying Oella – ostensibly because he is an outlaw (*Wanderer* 134). Upon his next meeting with Charley Jim, he hears of Oella's death: "A broken heart! That superb Indian maiden, so lithe and tall and strong, so tranquil, so sure – serene of soul as the steady light in her midnight eyes – dead of a broken heart! She had loved him – a man alien to her race – a wanderer and a stranger within her gates, and when he had gone away life became unendurable" (*Wanderer* 374). As much as his "Indian gifts" serve the white people Adam meets, his refusal to marry Oella strikes at the family that

saved his life and gave him those gifts. Of course, his refusal also upholds the literary and cultural taboo against white-native marriages, and erases the possibility of a liminal crossing.

Desert Gold takes the racial conflict between Yaqui and Mexican and develops it into a subplot. Dick Gale, the novel's protagonist, makes an enemy of the Mexican bandit leader Rojas by foiling his attempt to abduct Mercedes Castenada. Shortly thereafter, he saves the life of a Yaqui Indian. With the enmity of one and the friendship of the other focused on Gale, the plot naturally works toward a confrontation between Mexican and Yaqui.

Gale first encounters the Yaqui when a mounted Mexican is trampling the Indian, while two other Mexicans shout encouragement. Driving the Mexicans off with his rifle, he loads the injured Indian onto his own horse and brings him to Belding's ranch at Forlorn River. There, Belding discusses the Yaqui with Dick:

> The other day that Indian came here by rail and foot and Lord only knows how else, all the way from New Orleans! ... A year ago his tribe was taken in chains to a Mexican port on the Gulf. The fathers, mothers, children, were separated and put in ships bound for Yucatan. There they were made slaves on the great henequen plantations. They were driven, beaten, starved. Each slave had for a day's rations a hunk of sour dough, no more... They dropped dead in the henequen fields, and their places were taken by more... Well, this Yaqui you brought in escaped from his captors, got aboard ship, and eventually reached New Orleans. Somehow he traveled way out here... Personally, I think that they are noble and intelligent, and if left alone would be peaceable and industrious. I like the few I have known. But they are a doomed race. (*DG* 133-35)

Later, Gale discovers the Yaqui has attached himself to him: "You saved his life. That sort of thing counts big with any Indian, even an Apache. With a Yaqui maybe it's of

deep significance. I've heard a Yaqui say that with his tribe no debt ever went unpaid" (145).

The Indian's knowledge of the country saves Belding the loss of his horses shortly thereafter, when Yaqui helps Gale and the border rangers trap the horse thieves (153). This episode leads into the next: Rojas discovers where Mercedes is hidden, and arrives with this gang to take her away. In order to escape, Yaqui guides Mercedes and a small party of men into the Sonora Desert. As the party sets out, Gale thinks:

> The Yaqui dominated the horses and the rangers... The Indian's strange silence, the feeling of mystery and power he seemed to create, all that was incomprehensible about him were emphasized in the light of his slow, sure, and ruthless action... If Rojas embodied all the hatred and passion of the peon ... then Yaqui embodied all the darkness, the cruelty, the white, sun-heated blood, the ferocity, the tragedy of the desert. (*DG* 209)

Later, after considerable time on the trail and, with the prospect of a fight looming, Gale has another opportunity to consider Yaqui:

> The Indian was impenetrable, silent, strange. But suddenly, inexplicably, Gale felt the Yaqui's human quality. It was aloof, as was everything about this Indian; but it was there. This savage walked silently beside him, without glance or touch or word. His thought was as inscrutable as if mind had never awakened in his race. Yet Gale was conscious of greatness, and, somehow, he was reminded of the Indian's story. His home had been desolated, his people carried off to slavery, his wife and children separated from him to die. What had life meant to the Yaqui? What had been in his heart? What was now in his mind? Gale could not answer these questions. But the difference between himself and Yaqui, which he had vaguely felt as that between savage and civilized men, faded out of his mind forever. Yaqui might have considered he owed Gale a debt, and, with a Yaqui's austere and noble fidelity to honor, he meant to pay it. Nevertheless, this was not the thing Gale found in the Indian's silent presence. Accepting the desert with its subtle and inconceivable influence, Gale felt that the savage and the white man had been bound in a

> tie which was no less brotherly because it could not be comprehended. (*DG* 233)

Gale's realization of his and Yaqui's common humanity becomes the only step the white characters in the novel ever take towards understanding the Indian, as opposed to their recognition of how he could serve them.

Yaqui has ample opportunity to serve as he guides them through the desert, chooses the terrain for a stand against Rojas, kills of Rojas' Papago guide, and Rojas himself, and finally keeps his party alive through the desert summer. His white allies are effusive in their appreciation:

> [Ladd] "If I'd had that one shot never in the world could I have picked the Papago guide. I'd have had to kill Rojas... But the Yaqui was right... When you come to think of the Yaqui's hate for Greasers, when you just seen him pass up a shot at one – well, ... damn me, my som-brer-ro is off to the Indian." (*DG* 242)
> [Ladd] "I was pretty near a dead man. The Indian saved me. Queer notions have come into my head about Yaqui. I don't understand them. He seems when you look at him only a squalid, sullen, vengeful savage. But Lord! that's far from the truth... Yaqui's our godsend." (*DG* 304-5)
> [Gale] His teacher was the Yaqui, and always before him was an example that made him despair of a white man's equality. (*DG* 313)
> [Belding] "The Indian! the Indian! ... Didn't I say he'd be a godsend? ... But living though this long hot summer and coming out – that's a miracle. Only the Yaqui could have done it. The Yaqui! the Yaqui!" (*DG* 346)

Perhaps the greatest compliment of all occurs when the reader notes on page 342 that "as true as a Yaqui" has become idiomatic to the speech of the rangers.

However, the Yaqui did not feel his debt paid. Upon their safe return to Belding's ranch, he asks Gale to accompany him into the mountains. There, Yaqui shows him an outcropping of gold (366-8). Having made Gale's fortune, Yaqui departs:

> This parting was nothing to him. He had stayed to pay a debt, and now he was going home... The last the watchers saw of Yaqui was when he rode across a ridge and stood silhouetted against the gold of the desert sky – a wild, lonely, beautiful picture. Then he was gone... Gale realized that in the Yaqui he had known the spirit of the desert, that this spirit had claimed all which was wild and primitive in him. (*DG* 371-372)

Thus Grey creates a memorable character. Here, the Yaqui is the Native equivalent of the mysterious saviour figure that Grey made famous with the creation of Lassiter[10] – with shrouded origins, extraordinarily gifted yet somehow injured, he remains to help those who have succoured him, then rides away. Stereotypically Indian in external portrayal, the reader is only introduced to the spirit that makes him exquisitely human and yet something more through Gale's inner dialogue. Even with Gale's insight, the Yaqui remains wholly "other," never truly comprehended by anyone, including the reader. Addressed only as Yaqui, he becomes the embodiment of his tribe – the last of a lost people coming home to die. Symbolically, the novel ends with Yaqui riding into the sunset.

In the three novels, *Desert Gold, Stairs of Sand* and *Wanderer of the Wasteland*, the Native American is handled in a way similar to the range novels. Generally, white protagonists value Indian services because they can accomplish tasks the whites cannot. Their "red gifts" make them important to the plot. However, Charlie Jim, Oella and Yaqui also are important as liminars: they guide the white characters safely through a period of liminality, teaching and training them in the wilderness in certain skills that will

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10 *Riders of the Purple Sage* introduced Lassiter, and is considered a landmark in Western fiction, both in terms of plot and characterization.

be required upon their return to white society. Charley Jim and Oella give Adam the knowledge that changes him from a fugitive murderer into a legendary redresser of wrongs – Wansfell the Wanderer. Yaqui imparts aspects of his knowledge to Dick Gale, giving him the strength and confidence to restore order to the area of Forlorn River. In both cases, the Native American characters' actions are crucial to the outcome of the novel.

The Navajo novels are, for the most part, set in the Four Corners area of the Southwest, where Colorado, Arizona, Utah and New Mexico join, or along the Arizona/Utah border. Since their geographical location also happens to be the site of the Navajo Reservation and Grey made several trips here, it is hardly surprising that these novels offer a more detailed image of Grey's Indian, particularly the Navajo, than any others. They are also similar in general plot and theme, often dealing with white-Native interaction and questioning the value of white education and cultural influence upon the Native Americans of the reservations.

An important issue to be considered here is a common theme in Grey's Navajo novels, and a distinctive variation upon the captivity narrative of which he makes so much use. Although the formula is altered slightly from novel to novel, it works something like this: a secondary female character is introduced who is an educated Native American and friendly interest ensues on the part of the protagonist. By virtue of this acquaintance, the protagonist (and the reader) gets a glimpse of the life situation of a Native American girl who has been educated outside of her culture. Isolated by her

education and ethnicity, the girl has become prey to dishonourable white men. The hero acts to mitigate this catastrophe, and the girl is married off to a convenient suitor. Sosie (*Wild Horse Mesa*), Glen Naspa (*The Rainbow Trail*), Magdaline (*Captives of the Desert*), Natasha (*Black Mesa*), Mescal (*Heritage of the Desert*), Gekin Yashi (*The Vanishing American*), and Geysha (*Stranger from the Tonto*) are all attractive Native American girls who suffer at the hands of white men.

This pattern is probably least developed in *Heritage of the Desert*, which contains only an incident where Mescal, the Navajo/Spanish heroine, is captured by Holderness' gang and is under threat of rape from Snap Naab, from whence she is quickly rescued (*Heritage*). Mescal, although a crucial character, is presented differently than the girls in the remainder of the novels. Indeed, her ethnic background appears more token Native American, created in order to capture the flavour the West and to suggest the feasibility of certain spectacular events in the novel. One of Grey's earliest works, *Heritage of the Desert* represents a stage in his reworking of the captivity narrative, but Grey has not reached the point where he is willing to incorporate much social commentary, nor create rounded Native American characters. These ideas must wait for later novels, like *Wild Horse Mesa, The Rainbow Trail* and *The Vanishing American.*

Wild Horse Mesa, set in the Four Corners area aforementioned, opens with Toddy Nokin "a chief and a man of dignity and intelligence" (242) revealing to Chane Weyner the whereabouts of the great stallion, Panquitch, and with reference to the friendship between the Indian and the white horse hunter. However, the end of this conversation

introduces the more important issue. Toddy Nokin is concerned for his daughter's virtue (4). Chane, upon his return to camp, is accused first of being more than a friend to Toddy's daughter Sosie, then of being a squaw man. While Chane denies both claims (8-9), the fact that they have been made with the attempt to discredit him reveal the social barrier to intercultural marriage. Manerube's comment, "She's only a squaw, and one white man's the same as another to her" (9) provokes Chane's reaction, "Sosie likes white men. So do all these Indian girls... They're simple, primitive children of the desert. That's why so many of them are degraded by such men as you, Manerube... I'd sooner marry a girl like Sosie and be decent to her, than treat her as you would" (9). Later reflecting upon the rumor that he was a squaw man, Chane considers the reaction of his family and his own position:

> Suppose that rumor got to the ears of his mother and father, still living at the old home in Colorado! What would his little brother Chess think? Chane still cherished his family pride... But he had befriended more than one little Indian girl like Sosie, and ridden with them, and talked with them, interested, amused, and sometimes in his lonely moods grateful even for their feminine company. Chane could not see how that had been wrong. Yet these Indian girls were only too quick to care for a white man -- good or bad. They were little savages of the desert. Chane realized where he had given a wrong impression of himself, perhaps to them, certainly to the white men who had run across him among the Indians. (*WHM* 12-13)

Utah, in an unrelated conversation, notes "Squaw men ain't liked in this country" (*WHM* 51). However simply stated, the situation is much more complex than merely the desire of Native American girls for white men – or of white men for girls who are easily

degraded. Sosie provides insight when she talks with Chane, and later with Sue: she is "what white men have made [her]" (39):

> Sosie told about her childhood, tending goats and sheep on the desert, how she had been forced to go to the government school, and later to a school in California, how she had learned the language and habits of white people. The religion of the Indians had been schooled and missionaried out of her. Then when she had advanced as far as possible, she was given a choice of becoming a servant or returning to her own people. She chose the latter, hoping her education would enable her to teach her family better ways of living. But her efforts resulted in failure and misunderstanding. Her people believed the white education had made her think she was above them. She could no longer accept the religion of the Indian tribe and she would not believe in the white man's. She had to abandon her habits of cleanliness, of comfort, of eating, and return to the crude ways of her people. Lastly, she had been importuned to marry. Her father, her mother, every relative nagged her to marry one of her own color. Finally she had yielded and had married one of the braves of her tribe, a young chief who had also received an education at the government schools. He and she had this much in common, that they understood each other and the fatality of the situation. The future held nothing for them, except life in the open, which, somehow, seemed best for the Indian. (*WHM* 245)[11]

Grey's presentation of Sosie, and of Native American girls in general, is less than flattering. Naïve and elemental, they are apparently at the feet of any white man who chooses to take them.[12] However, through Sosie's story, Grey offers a sense of the contradiction of her situation. She is trapped between two cultures, one where she no longer belongs, and one where she is not welcome. Marriage to a white man is a potential escape route, and certainly an appealing one in terms of increased social status and affiliation with white culture, but carries with it the danger of abuse. Through Chane's recognition of the stigma of marriage with an Indian girl and Manerube's

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11 See also *WHM* 27-30

attempt to take advantage of Sosie, Grey makes it clear that such an option is likely wishful thinking. The marriage she eventually accepts is probably her most realistic choice. Both Sosie and her husband have been invited to the fringes of white culture, but never asked to cross, so they understand each other's situation. Ironically, it is Sosie's educated husband who hunts down and kills Manerube for his assault upon her virtue (332).

In *The Rainbow Trail*, Shefford, the novel's protagonist, first encounters Glen Naspa when he interferes with love-making by Willetts, the missionary (4). Despite his doubtful reputation and the attempts of her family to keep her home, Glen Naspa does fall in love with Willetts and goes to live at the missionary school. Later in the novel, Shefford sees her again, cast off by Willetts:

> She was dead... At her side, half hidden under a fold of blanket, lay a tiny bundle. Its human shape startled Shefford. Then he did not need to be told the tragedy. When he looked again at Glen Naspa's face he seemed to understand all that had made her older, to feel the pain that had lined and set her lips. (*Rainbow* 202)

Grey develops the girl's death as an indication of things to come: "The shadow of ruin, of doom, of death hovered over the girl and her family and her tribe and her race" (202).

Gekin Yashi re-enacts the tragedy of Glen Naspa in *The Vanishing American.* Fourteen years old, she lives at the mission school at Mesa, where Morgan, the missionary, pursues her (112). Nophaie, this novel's protagonist, takes it upon himself to

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12 *Wild Horse Mesa* 28-30; *Captives of the Desert* 85-86; *Black Mesa* 26-7, 64.

defy the missionary and remove her from the school, but Morgan has her father murdered and reasserts his control over Gekin Yashi:

> "He would not obey....You are all sin. Only the Word can wash you clean....I will save you from the ice-pits and the fire-caves of hell....Love me – the white man of God!...Promise to do what I tell you!"
>
> The Indian girl lifted her face, and then her little brown hand that fluttered like leaves in a storm.
>
> "Gekin Yashi – promises," she breathed almost inaudibly. "Gekin Yashi...will...love...Jesus Christ -- and you!" (*Vanishing* 184)

Within two years of her return to the missionary school, the girl and her half-white baby die of influenza in the hogan of a man of her tribe who had married her in her shame:

> At once Marian recognized Gekin Yashi and yet did not know her. Could this be the face of a sixteen-year-old girl? Disease and death had distorted and blackened it, but this change was not alone what Marian imagined she saw. Gekin Yashi's songs and dreams and ideals had died before her flesh. (*Vanishing* 295)

Neither Marion nor the Indians have any recourse against Morgan for what he has done.

Magdaline, in *Captives of the Desert*, has a happier fate. She is introduced as the "pepper pot of the Navaho Reservation" (81) upon her return after three years of school in California. Isolated from her family, she is wooed by the married Wilbur Newton, a bootlegger. Hearing this, John Curry notes, "I'm afraid for her. She is too pretty for an Indian and too well versed in the ways of a white girl, and to add to the pathos of her situation, she has a mighty keen intellect. Her education is bound to make her suffer" (81). His prediction is verified during an extended conversation with the girl, in which she explains the difficulties of coming home to a way of life that no longer suits her, and a family which no longer understands her (106-113). When John Curry meets Magdaline

again, she is pregnant and fleeing the reservation. She leaves him a letter, and he considers her situation: "Who'll take care of her? God! The men who will lay in wait! Nothing but an Indian, that's what they'll think" (233). He determines to marry her, although he does not love her. At the same time, Magdaline is confessing to Wilbur's wife:

> "I have lived with him.... I thought maybe some day he would marry me. I was all alone. My people did not want me. White people did not understand me. I was unhappy. I could not live like an Indian. He came to me with soft comforting words. He whispered love to me. He seemed so big and strong. He said Indians were better than white people....Even my family did not care that I lived with him. Then I found why, and why he would be friends to the Indians. He sold them cheap whiskey for which they paid him gladly too much....I found I had to get married. He refused, sent me away, gave me fifty dollars for a doctor. Said no decent white man married an Indian girl." (*Captives* 240-1)

Magdaline's tragedy is mitigated when High-Lo, Curry's cowboy partner, forestalls him and marries Magdaline himself. When questioned about his choice of wife, High-Lo points out that he got the best of the bargain:

> "Look here! I'm a pretty lucky fellow far as the wife goes.... No educated white woman with brains like Magdaline would look at me twice. Think of the good to my kids with an educated mother. What if she gives them a dark complexion?... What I come from for stock don't offer 'em much in other ways. The best'll come from her." (*Captives* 249-50)

Grey's final comment on Magdaline's story is a rather ironic poke at an ignorant white community: he notes that the "prominent women of Flaggerston, amazed to discover that the estate of an educated Indian girl was commonly less fortunate than that of her mother, flung high the banners of reform" (259). To what avail, the reader is left to surmise.

While the abuse suffered by Natasha is implied, it is no less problematic. Natasha, of *Black Mesa*, hates Belmont, the trader, for reasons suggested by his coarse familiarity towards her (14, 27, 32). Louise's accusation that Paul intended to make love to her [Natasha] is followed by the comment, "Belmont does" (70), and again carries the implication that Native girls were available to white men. Some time after striking an acquaintance with her, Paul Manning discovers she has TB: "Natasha's plight struck Paul as more pitiable and hopeless than if she had been a white girl. She had been robbed of the heritage of the Indian; to have fostered in her the language, wants and habits of the white man, all to the bitter end of being victim of his disease" (142). By the end of the novel, Natasha has renounced her education and her association with any whites, rejecting their language and retreating deep into the canyons to live with her new husband.

In *Stranger from the Tonto*, the threat to Geysha is considerably milder, but no less offensive: she is subject to abuse while serving table (*52ff*). Geysha is defended in gunsmoke by the protagonist, who uses the opportunity to make himself known. When thanking him, Logan notes: "My lass, Geysha, is a half-breed, yes, but she's good. An' that outfit hound her as if she was a slut..." (62). While this incident contains similar elements to the others, particularly the idea of the availability of Native American girls, it serves primarily as a vehicle for plot development. Logan's daughter is a very minor character who does not reappear in the work, and as a result, this novel hugs the fringes of the Native American captivity formula.

Grey's reversal and updating of the captivity narrative (note that most of these novels are set around the period of WWI) has Indian girls being stripped of their heritage by white education, then seduced by civilized white men. The attack upon soul and body, which was common fare in the captivity narrative, is here perpetrated through the isolation of girls from their culture and people by education and religion, and the seduction of these girls in their loneliness. The offer of acceptance into white culture seems to be made by their white seducers, and the girls grasp at this opportunity for its own sake, even when there is no coercion. Unfortunately, the offer, like the love of white men, is a lie, and the girls are dropped in liminal space, to return to their own culture or die.

In Grey's novels, there appear only two fully drawn male Native American characters. It is significant that they appear in the Navajo novels and face similar problems to those presented by the Native American girls. Nas Ta Bega (*The Rainbow Trail*) and Nophaie (*The Vanishing American*) have lost their heritage. Kidnapped at a young age, raised and educated by whites, (again – the captivity story) they return to their people only to discover they no longer belong. Nas Ta Bega, after accepting John Shefford as his friend, tells him his story:

> "I was stolen from my mother's hogan and taken to California. They kept me ten years in a mission at San Bernardino and four years in a school. They said my color and my hair were all that was left of the Indian in me. But they could not see my heart. They took fourteen years of my life. They wanted to make me a missionary among my own people. But the white man's ways and his life and his God are not the Indian's. They never can be.... Bi Nai, the Indian is dying!... The white man robbed the

> Indian of lands and homes, drove him into the deserts, made him a gaunt and sleepless spiller of blood.... The blood is all spilled now, for the Indian is broken. But the white man sells him rum and seduces his daughters.... He will not leave the Indian in peace with his own God!... Bi Nai, the Indian is dying!" (*Rainbow* 50)

Nophaie's story is similar. At seven years of age, he is kidnapped by a party of tourists and educated (*Vanishing* 11), but returns to the reservation. His letter to Marion, dated 1916, refers to some of the difficulties he encounters:

> I burned my white man's clothes and books – even the records of my football games – all except your picture. I put on buckskin and corduroy and silver. I never speak English and I am again an Indian.... [W]hatever wild dreams I may have had were forgotten. I see the life of my tribe as a tragedy. The injustice to them is the blackest of the white man's baseness. The compulsory school system for the Indian boys and girls has more bad points than good. The missionaries are the apostles of hate and corruption. I am an educated Indian. I see their misery. I see them vanishing.... I will live my life here and mingle my bones with theirs. I will do all I can for them. But, alas, the eighteen years' education forced upon me by the whites enables me only to see the pitiable state and the doom of the Indians. (*Vanishing* 15-16)

The great agony of their return has to do not only with their own lost heritage, but also with their recognition of the impending end of their people and their race, and their own inability to counter it, despite their stubborn refusal to collaborate with white society. Speaking to Do etin, Nophaie voices his vision of the future:

> The white race will never wholly absorb the red. If that were possible, it might be well for both. But the Indian will merely be pushed back upon the barren lands and eventually swept off the earth. These things we strive against, as the Nokis fight being cheated out of their water and land, or as our efforts to save Gekin Yashi – these things are nothing but incidental to the whole doom of our people. We must resist, but the end will come, just the same. (*Vanishing* 137)

The expression of stubborn but impotent resistance by both Nas Ta Bega and Nophaie is echoed by the old men of the novels: Hosteen Doetin can only tell Shefford "Me hungry. Me no eat Jesus Christ!" when at Glen Naspa's death he faces starvation (*Rainbow* 203); Do etin knows his attempt to save his daughter is futile, but he acts just the same and is murdered as a result (*Vanishing* 137, 182).

Despite the overarching feeling of hopelessness, however, there remains the sense that individual battles can be won. Nophaie and Nas Ta Bega's decision to return to their people is a small victory; Nophaie's defiance of the missionaries and Indian agents in order to help his people, his military service during WWI, and his regaining of his faith become other victories. Perhaps a most significant victory is the passing of an understanding of their culture and situation to the white characters and readers of these novels. Shefford's response to Nas Ta Bega is instructive:

> How strangely productive of thought for Shefford to hear the Indian talk! What fatality in this meeting and friendship! Upon Nas Ta Bega had been forced education, training, religion, that had made him something less than an Indian. It was something assimilated from the white man which made the Indian unhappy and alien in his own home – something meant to be good for him and his kind that had ruined him. For Shefford felt the passion and the tragedy of this Navajo. (*Rainbow* 50)

The educated Native Americans of these novels alone are given the ability to articulate an understanding of their culture, faith, and situation to the various white characters in the novels, and through them, to the reader. Grey makes extensive use of the third person limited as the point of view of his main characters, and it is through their conversations

with the Native Americans that the reader is granted insight into the Indian question. As earlier noted, the educated girls of *Wild Horse Mesa*, *Captives of the Desert*, and *Black Mesa* offer commentary on their particular situation. Nophaie and Nas Ta Bega take that commentary further, acting as guides and interpreters for their respective white companions while the reader hovers omnisciently.

In a similar fashion to Yaqui in *Desert Gold,* Nas Ta Bega becomes John Shefford's protector while he learns about the desert and the Navajo in *The Rainbow Trail.* Further, he becomes liminar for Shefford while he struggles through the liminal space of lost faith. Nas Ta Bega remains primarily, however, like Yaqui, an inscrutable stereotype Indian sidekick – expressing himself through gestures and monosyllables, affecting a dignified stance of folded arms and silence, and appearing at precisely the right time to rescue or aid Shefford (*Rainbow* 24, 122, 124, 149, 272). Page: 74

Other than what he has chosen to share, the reader knows little about him. Even Nas Ta Bega's motivation for helping Shefford is mysterious – a suggestion that they are similarly outcast and gratitude for Shefford's action on behalf of Nas Ta Bega's sister. Little conversation actually passes between the two characters – in this novel, Grey relies upon Shefford's point of view to interpret and explain what, presumably, has been interpreted and explained to him. Shefford's vision of a day in the Navajo's life is one example of this technique (109-113). Nas Ta Bega's departure from the novel is a simple good-bye, which even Shefford fails to understand as farewell; an interesting contrast to the ride into the sunset of the Yaqui in *Desert Gold.*

Nophaie, in *The Vanishing American*, struggles to regain his faith while simultaneously striving to help his people. He discusses his difficulties with Marion as he introduces her to the reservation that is his home, but the reader is also permitted to share more directly in his experience, as Grey follows his point of view as well as Marion's. This dual white/red point of view – *The Vanishing American* is the only novel of Grey's in which he attempts an Indian's point of view – lends to this novel in particular a sense of immediacy and realism in terms of Native American issues.

If Nophaie's self-condemnation as an infidel and his vision of the extinction of the Native American were not enough, he also must deal with his love for Marion and the social stigma of miscegenation which blocks that love's fulfillment: "I cannot marry an Indian girl because I love you. I cannot have a child because I love you.... It is infinitely easier for an Indian to love a white woman than for her to love him. I don't know why" (*Vanishing* 15-16). This issue becomes central to the novel as Marion and Nophaie struggle to resolve their situation, and it leads to publication problems for Zane Grey. The original holographic manuscript concludes most satisfactorily with the marriage of Nophaie and Marian, but this only appears in the 1982 edition (Aleiss 472). The *Ladies Home Journal* 1922 serial concludes with Nophaie's death from influenza (Aleiss 472), and the *Harper's* 1925 publication winds up with Nophaie's death from exhaustion and a broken heart (Jackson 64). In each of the early publications, the original ending is replaced by one more socially acceptable and Grey's vision of a happily married couple is denied.

Along with Nas Ta Bega acting as liminar for Shefford, and both characters presenting their cultures to the reader through the limen of the text, both Nas Ta Bega & Nophaie are possible liminars for their society. Having lived outside of their society, they return to live on its fringes, and are thereby able to see and understand what is happening to their people – and presumably to suggest ways of coping. While the girls presented in the Navajo novels are in a similar situation, the times (and Grey) doesn't give them the clout to act as liminars. Nas Ta Bega and Nophaie, however, are chiefs and sons of chiefs, and as a result have some influence. Nas Ta Bega rejects white ways, and although he teaches Shefford, he associates with no one else. For him, adjusting to white society means ignoring it while waiting patiently to join his ancestors. However, while Nophaie also attempts this rejection of white society, his love for the white girl Marion and for his people cause him to act on their behalf. As a result of his understanding of both cultures, and his defiance of the corrupt missionaries and Indian agents, he becomes considered a shaman, and a leader among his people. He acts to save Gekin Yashi, and beats Morgan for defiling her. He gathers his tribe to enlist in the army during WWI, then disperses them when they attempt to murder a corrupt missionary. At the end of the novel, Nophaie's determination to teach his people how to survive under the reservation system signals his position as liminar. Married to Marion, he demonstrates to his people (and she to hers) that white and Indian can exist together.

With few exceptions, the remainder of the Native Americans described in the Navajo novels are unremarkable in their poverty. Attired in velveteens, riding skinny, ragged mustangs, desperate for liquor, they present the tourist vision, without romanticism. This is particularly true of *Captives of the Desert*, which is told from the prospective of a young American tourist, and therefore also contains descriptions of the Hopi snake dance and Navajo foot races. The Indians not identified with the trading posts or reservations are either servants or school children. In *Lost Pueblo*, for example, the Indians presented are servants, with the exception of Hamface. Grey takes the opportunity to have fun at the expense of shallow white tourists, allows his character to display a well-developed sense of humour, and attacks the Native American stereotype when he describes how the well-educated and well-travelled Hamface tricks the tourists by pretending to be unable to speak English (141). The only other occasion where Grey allows such humour in his Native Americans is in *Heritage of the Desert*, when he describes the Navajo poking fun at each other around the campfire (47). However, a character like Hamface is not typical of Grey's Indian.

CONCLUSION – ZANE GREY'S LIMINAL VISION

Grey's formula novels serve as both secular ritual and liminal playground. As secular ritual, they draw the reader into liminal space where they meet a variety of expected characters and scenarios, are permitted to indulge their fantasies through identification with the protagonists, and leave satisfied. The novels also serve as vehicles for cultural change by offering alternate visions of cultural reality. This is where Zane Grey, through his presentation of the Native American, offers commentary on the Indian problem and assimilation.

The image of the literary Indian as landscape, helping set the Western scene, or as a stereotyped, flat character, helping advance plot and reinforcing white cultural values and attitudes, is most often presented in the novels in order to create predictable literary situations and generate standard audience response. This use of stereotype makes Grey's work effective as a romantic, western novel by relying on images audiences recognize to create a binary opposition. At this level, the novels function merely as secular ritual. As Grey's literary Indian moves a step beyond stereotype – becoming more rounded and assuming a more active role in the novels, while not yet a protagonist – reader response is required to shift beyond simpler notions of white-Indian dichotomy (colonialistic ideas of NA otherness or as territory) to recognition of the Native American as important (or at least useful) to white civilization. While these Indian characters retain certain stereotypes and may function archetypally, they are sympathetic figures to whom the reader can relate and they exhibit at least temporary liminal/cultural crossings by serving white

civilization, despite their "otherness". When these characters are male, they often are Indian cowboys, and function as companion-guides who use their "red gifts" to help the protagonist, and by extension in the western novel, white civilization. As a result, their cultural acceptance is conditional upon that service, and they remain in liminal space – not fully part of either culture. When the characters are female, their collaboration is more direct – they act to satisfy the colonial desire of white men. As long as they are available and willing, these girls also have a place in white society – though hardly a distinguished one. In Grey's novels, the Native American girls collaborate with the hope of finding a white husband and assimilating into white culture. Upon the realization that they are being used, the girls reject their white lovers and return to their own people, either to marry or to die. Of the five examples of this situation created by Grey, two conclude with the girl and her half-white baby dying of a "white" disease (*The Vanishing American, The Rainbow Trail*), and two conclude with the girl marrying within her tribe and withdrawing from contact with white civilization (*Black Mesa, Wild Horse Mesa*). Only Magdaline ends up with the hoped-for white husband, and only after she leaves her first lover and suffers a miscarriage (*Captives of the Desert*).

This survey suggests that the assimilation of the Native American into white culture is tenuous at best – based on Native American collaboration and acceptance of the subservient role placed upon them by white society – and certainly not a viable solution to the Indian problem. In Grey's vision of this system, the Native American girls are eventually rejected by white society and their half-breed children die, and the Native

American men remain just hired hands. There exists no open, accepting communitas, so while these characters may function on the margins of white society, a true liminal crossing cannot occur.

This leaves a motley assortment of developed characters, often protagonists, that are exceptions to the rules here discussed. These characters -- Magdalene and Mescal (*Captives of the Desert, Heritage of the Desert*), Beryl Aard and Lark Burrell (*Rogue River Feud, Horse Heaven Hill*), Abe Huett (*30,000 on the Hoof*), Jean Isbel (*To the Last Man*), and Nophaie (*The Vanishing American*) -- offer a different solution to the Indian problem. Each of these characters represents a composite of (stereotypical) Native American and white attributes – red gifts and white gifts. Each character is either part or full blood Native American. All of them have received white education, and demonstrate physical and moral superiority over the white characters that populate their respective novels. Finally, while each character represents an example of liminal crossing, they also offer something better: they are strong enough to create for themselves a niche in the liminal space between cultures, and thereby can choose what aspects of each they which to retain, and how much they wish to participate. This new communitas is very select – usually consisting of an independent and newly married couple, but it is an accepting communion of equals. The novels themselves, as a place of experimentation, present a variety of ways in which this new communitas may be developed.

The four successful female characters, Beryl Ard, Lark Burrell, Mescal, and Magdalene, have been raised in white society, but their Indian heritage marginalizes

them. Mescal is the child of a Spanish adventurer and a Navajo woman, is raised by Mormons, marries the easterner John Hare and settles in the canyon where she grew up. Beryl lives in a small homestead cabin with her father, marries the man who discovers her, and determines to raise her family there, where the corruption of modern society will not touch them for many years. Lark leaves her run-down and isolated ranch to visit a more civilized area, only to witness a potentially lucrative attempt to sell wild horses for chicken meal. She marries a man she meets during her visit, and returns with him to her isolated ranch, which is still a haven for wild horses. Magdalene's hope in the future is slowly destroyed: first, when she realizes she no longer fits in with her people as an educated Indian girl; second, when she realizes her white lover is married and was only using her; and third, when she realizes she is pregnant. To support herself and her child, she demeans herself to accept work as a servant in white society. Marriage to Hi-lo, a white man employed on the reservation, saves her from that fate, and they return to the reservation, where she can help her people yet live apart from them. All four women refuse to participate in aspects of white society, yet none of the three are fully accepted in Native society. With their husbands, they withdraw to a communitas of their own making.

The situation of the Indian males is quite similar, with the addition that they triumph over their own half-brothers. Abe Huett's Indian heritage is a secret that even he doesn't know, but "red gifts" contribute to his success in a variety of incidents and to his return from the war, while neither of his brothers survive. His family, headed by his

mother, forms a communitas: Abe was accepted despite the rape that created him, and Barbara was an abandoned child. In and because of white society, both Logan and Barbara experience temporary insanity. Their return to the wilderness re-establishes the family communitas and helps restore their sanity. Jean Isbel uses his "red gifts" in service of his family during a feud, but remains an outsider and an object of awe. In the feud, Jean's father and two brothers perish. Jean alone survives, to marry and establish a new home for himself and his wife. Nophaie has been raised in white society, but returns to his tribe in an attempt to help his people. However, he does not fit with his people either. His love for Marion, a white girl who comes to work on the reservation, leads to a re-evaluation of his situation. His marriage to her is accepted by the small group of people who are dedicated to helping the Indians, and it is with this group that Nophaie and Marion find communitas – open acceptance of them and their marriage. Of course, both he and his wife are able to continue working on behalf of the Indians, and partake in elements of white culture, but they are not dependent on either cultural group. Additionally, Nophaie's composite of Native American and white spirituality proves superior to both Indian superstition and white religious hypocrisy – as he confronts and defeats both the shaman and the missionary, becoming himself the liminar of his people.

Thus, communitas is created, but independent of both white and Native American society; and liminal crossing occurs, but on an individual level, as opposed to a cultural level, and quite in keeping with American emphasis on the self-determining power of the individual. The cultural signifier, marriage, conspicuously absent at the lower levels of

representation, indicates an alliance of equals, and therefore communitas. Grey's works, however, suggest one thing more – the improvement of the species.

In each case, Grey offers, as throughout his works, a primitivist idealization of the Indian. His literary Indian is morally and spiritually strong but a victim of circumstance, and sits in contrast to a long line of evil, corrupt, and morally weak and spiritually indecisive white characters. Spiritually and physically, the literary Indian, particularly as Grey portrays them here, are superior to most white men. As a result, Darwinist race theory in Grey, while accepting Manifest Destiny, asserts that the white race stands in need of a cultural and genetic infusion to improve itself morally, spiritually and physically. Each of the seven characters mentioned above, in addition to their creation of an accepting communitas, signified by marriage, is portrayed as improving humanity through passing on their heritage. This point is made directly when Hi-lo asserts that his children's best traits will come from Magdalene, and again with Mescal, since by marrying she mixes the 'Heritage of the Desert' – Navajo, Spanish, Mormon – with American Anglosaxon, but it is made most clearly in *The Vanishing American.* As that novel ends, Marion hopes that the Native American heritage in her children outweighs the "sordid materialism" that is their heritage from her own culture (*Vanishing* rev 341). Thus, these novels stand in direct opposition to popular racist ideas about miscegenation and racial purity, asserting instead the benefit of mingling Indian and white.

In the final analysis, Grey's liminal vision is not about assimilation at all, but about cultural hybridization. While stereotyped Indians satisfy the Western formula, they

reinforce negative attitudes that demean and marginalize real Native Americans. The idea of assimilation is, in part, the outgrowth of these attitudes, coupled with paternalism, and assumes the superiority of white culture. Under such circumstances, communitas cannot exist, and thus Native Americans cannot fully enter white society, only serve it or reject it, and remain other-ed. In order to avoid other-ing, the characters must be portrayed and accepted as more than stereotype on an individual and cultural level. Within the novels, Grey's developed Native American characters accomplish this on an individual level, but are unable to alter perception on a cultural scale, although, in the case of Nophaie, such an alteration may be forthcoming in terms of his own people. As a result, they create communitas, but in a very limited fashion, and based within specific interpersonal relationships. Marriage becomes the signifier of this communitas, and the creation of a community that includes aspects of both white and Native but is not part of either. This hybrid community seems to be Grey's answer to failing assimilation policies and the Indian problem, and offers, essentially, a liminar for both white and Native communities to follow.

The creation of communitas functions on another level, as well. Once the Native American character becomes rounded, sympathetic, human, and the reader is invited to identify with them, a communitas begins to form. Through the text, the reader begins to recognize the positive qualities of the Native American character, and develop an empathic relationship. If this works – and the formula novel encourages it to work – communitas develops between character and reader. At the very least, this relationship

could alter one reader's perception of Native Americans. At the most, it could affect the attitudes of Grey's entire readership.

Finally, neither communitas nor assimilation can be culturally mandated – instead, they must begin at the individual level. Once accepted by enough individuals, liminal crossing becomes viable on a cultural scale, but is easily sabotaged. Grey's depiction of the Village of Peace massacre provides a good example. The Christian Indians and white missionaries have created a transitional community where Native Americans can be taught white farming and religious practices. This hybrid communitas is destroyed by non-Christian Indians, led by a renegade white man, while the symbol of law and civilization, the white militia, stand by and watch. Neither group was willing to allow the Village of Peace to exist. Similarly, after Joe Downs marries Whispering Winds, they are murdered by a renegade white man. These examples should serve as reminders of the fragility of inter-cultural relationships, but not as deterrents from crossing liminal space.

APPENDIX – RACISM AND MARRIAGE

The 1920s and 1930s in the United States appear to have been rather unhealthy ground for a couple to attempt such a cross-cultural connection. Traditional morality was still a powerful force among Americans and a significant part of this traditional morality was an emphasis on marriage within specific religious, social, economic and ethnic parameters. Quale, in *A History of Marriage Systems*, notes that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, parents still strongly influenced courtship and marriage as long as their offspring remained in the parental home. Only with the appearance of apartments in the 1920's did the youth gain control of their own courtship (288). As well, she notes that a similar ethnic, religious and socio-economic background is the second most important factor in American patterns of marriage (291). Outhwaite, in *Marriage and Society*, reinforces the idea that marriage trends reflect social attitudes:

> At almost every point marriage practices are revealing of society and its attitudes. This is because marriage is a social act: it involves more than two people; it is hedged by law and custom; it is subject to often intense feelings of approval and disapproval; it profoundly alters the status of the parties, especially women and any children they might bear; and it is nearly always accompanied by transfers of legal rights and, frequently, of property. (11)

G. Robina Quale adds:

> The functioning of a marriage system also needs to be fully related to the overall economic and political situation within which families and individuals must make their way. That overall situation ought in turn to be looked at historically, for it is constantly changing from the situation for which the currently used rules were made.... It is always forcing people to rethink what they should do, how they should do it, and with whom they should do it. (1)

Generally speaking, endogamy was based on the practical desire to avert undue strain in a marital relationship, but it reflected other attitudes as well: those of racism, nativism and social Darwinism.

Social Darwinism had developed late in the nineteenth century, and by the 1920's was slowly giving way to the doctrine of progressive evolution. However, it still had hold of the popular imagination, and was intrinsically connected to a variety of notions that contributed to the ideology of the era. Hofstadter, in *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, links Darwinian "survival of the fittest" to American nationalist ideas of Manifest Destiny, with its corresponding emphasis on imperialist expansion and racial superiority (180). The resulting ideology is perhaps best expressed in a voice of the times:

> God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns.... He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savages and senile peoples. (qtd in Hofstadter 180)

Thus, Darwinism was applied on the national scale to justify the competition of nation against nation, while socially, Darwinian biology opposed races in a struggle for supremacy.

The racism implicit within the preceding statement is the natural outgrowth of attitudes of racial and ethnic prejudice common in the United States: Americans were "a people long familiar with Indian warfare on the frontier and the pro-slavery arguments of

Southern politicians and publicists had been thoroughly grounded in notions of racial superiority" (Hofstadter 171). These attitudes continue to reappear, in racism in general, and in resurgences of nativism in particular, both of which found biological justification in Darwin.

Racism made an early appearance in the practice of matrimony. Quale points out that Massachusetts forbid the intermarriage of whites and blacks in 1705, and followed that law with one like it in 1786, forbidding the marriage of whites to Native Americans. While the Massachusetts laws were repealed in 1843, laws against miscegenation in the United States persisted until they were ruled unconstitutional in 1967. Such laws, and the values they reflected, were perpetuated in such Darwinist tracts as Edward Westermarck's *The History of Human Marriage* (1903), in which he cites "supporters of the hypothesis that the several races of man are distinct species of the genus homo" who "assert that an instinctive aversion similar to that which keeps different animal species from intermingling, exists also between the various human races" and who have been "especially solicitous to prove that crosses are almost inevitably followed by bad results ... the "hybrid" being rejected by nature as a degradation of humanity" (281-3). While Westermarck does not acquiesce to such ideas himself and, indeed, presents counter views (284), his recognition of these theories surely points to their prominence.[13]

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[13]A more detailed discussion is available in Robert Young's work, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race.*

Racial discrimination was expanded into ethnic and religious discrimination by the Nativist movement, which lasted from the end of the Civil War to post-World War II. American perception of their history allowed them to represent themselves as a homogeneous society held together by shared values and assumptions, and dominated by middle-class Protestant whites. The massive wave of immigration following the Civil War and continuing into the 1920's upset this fiction, and caused a reaction through which "Americans sought to reassert their political and cultural hegemony and to re-institute community" (Dumenil 202-3). Milton Gorden pointed out that immigrants had been welcomed into the United States in the expectation that they would conform to English Protestant culture. However, during national crises in the same era, immigrants were viewed as a threat, and nationalism joined with xenophobia to create nativist reactions (Dumenil 203-4). This movement can most easily be illustrated by legislation. In 1882, Congress barred most Chinese immigration. The Immigration Restriction League lobbied steadily for literacy testing of immigrants until a law to that effect was passed in 1917. Quota acts, beginning in 1921 and culminating in the National Origins Act of 1924, excluded Asians from immigrating, and severely restricted the entry of Southern and Eastern Europeans (Dumenil 205-7). Dumenil concludes that "the drive to restrict immigration reflected an unrelenting campaign of hostility toward immigrants that characterized the early 1920s .... Nativism was pervasive, respectable and comprehensive" (207).

Social Darwinism propped up nativism and fed ideas of racial superiority. Dumenil mentions the development of scientific racism, as expounded by Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard in the popular magazines of the 1920's, which incorporated Darwinian ideas into its framework (208), and she also points out the Darwinist nature of arguments which identified ethic immigrants as "threats to Anglo-Saxon purity," who as "inferior stock" would "damage the virility and institutions of American Society" (210). The vitality of these views are reiterated by Hofstadter, who notes:

> [T]he psychology of the American people between 1898 and 1917 was surprisingly nervous and defensive for a nation that was rapidly rising in stature as a world power. Encouraged by the eugenics movement, men talked of racial degeneracy, of race suicide, of the decline of western civilization, of the effeteness of western peoples, of the Yellow Peril. Warnings of decay were most commonly coupled with exhortations to revivify the national spirit. (185)

Westermarck, in his 1926 publication, *A Short History of Marriage* discusses endogamy in terms of racial superiority: "We may say that probably every race considers it a disgrace, if not a crime, to marry within a race very different from its own, at least if it be an inferior one. This feeling is particularly strong with regard to its women" (54). He identifies race-pride, class-pride, or religious intolerance as the origin of endogamous rules (65).[14]

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[14] Note the connection here and in other issues of racism and endogamy to Quale's definition of marriage as an alliance: an alliance with a higher social strata raises one, while the reverse is degrading. Americans immediately prior to and during this period display a fixation on titles, ancestry and social position: "A great many of the wealthiest families saw to it that their daughters married authentic foreign titles, for which, ... proud fathers paid out doweries amounting to some $200,000,000" (Hart 181).

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