

THE GROWTH OF REALISM IN THE TREATMENT OF THE
SOUTHWESTERN INDIAN IN FICTION SINCE 1900

by

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CHAPTER I

The title of this study may inspire several questions about the terms which have more than one meaning. One of these questions may be "What definition of the Southwest is being used?" Another may be "Who is the Southwestern Indian mentioned in the title?" Literary considerations will prompt an inquiry into the definition of realism, and question may arise concerning the word "growth" used before it. The limitations of the study to the fiction since 1900, if this may be said to be a limitation, and to the fiction about the Southwestern Indian alone may be questioned. It is hoped that these questions will be answered in the following pages, but it is also hoped that others will be inspired by the material included in the study.

When one seeks a definition of the term Southwest, he finds a number of boundary lines to the area; he is lucky indeed if he finds two which are exactly the same. Even the dictionaries are subject to disagreement. Webster's New International puts Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Southern California in the region;¹ Funk & Wagnalls' unabridged edition includes Missouri with the preceding states.²

It must be understood, however, that the criteria for judging the boundary lines are often the cause of confusion in fixing them. For instance, if one were to use geography alone as a guide, he would undoubtedly include

¹Webster's New International Dictionary, G. C. Meriam Co., Springfield, Mass., 1959.

²New "Standard" Dictionary of the English Language, Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, 1959.

the lower half of the West--that is, the lower half of the land west of the Mississippi River. It would then be logical to include part of Louisiana and Nevada as well, even if the guide line ran along the bottom of Colorado and Utah. Economic geography would dictate other boundary lines, and climatology would reveal still others, each depending upon its own standards for fixing the line.

Cultural boundaries, though harder to ascertain than the more scientific ones, are generally the ones referred to when the word Southwest is used. Erna Fergusson in her book entitled Our Southwest, writing of the cultural area, throws her net around Arizona, New Mexico, and West Texas.³ T. M. Pearce stretches the boundaries farther to the west as he includes Southern California in his view of America in the Southwest.⁴ It seems that each person decides for himself what the Southwest will be as it fits his material or subject.

For the purposes of this study, then, it seems necessary to establish certain literary boundaries. Actually, this has already been done by those who compose the bibliographies of the Southwest, yet they too exhibit some partiality. J. Frank Dobie's Guide to Life and Literature of the Southwest was written in Texas; Lawrence Clark Powell's Heart of the Southwest was written in California. What one man overlooks is included by the other.

Nevertheless, all the sources quoted agree on the two states of Arizona and New Mexico as being the center of the Southwest. Novels which

³Erna Fergusson, Our Southwest, (New York, 1952), map.

⁴T. M. Pearce, America in the Southwest (Albuquerque, 1933), p.xix.

are used in this thesis spill over into the California side of the Colorado River, into northern Sonora and Chihuahua, into southern Utah south of the San Juan River, and into the southwestern tip of Texas, circling the two states above. It is to be the land inside these boundaries, that the present study will confine itself.

Within these confines, there once roamed--free of any boundary line--the Indians which are referred to as Southwestern Indians. The map on the following page, circulated by the Department of the Interior but originally published by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, divides the various tribes into four main groups: the Pueblo farmers, the Navajo shepherds, the desert dwellers, and the seed gatherers.

The Pueblo tribes in New Mexico, a total of nineteen villages,⁵ live mainly along the Rio Grande River in old communities and continue to live in much the same way as their ancestors did. The separate villages, though united in government, exist as distinct units, with certain unique attributes. For purposes of identification, separate names have been given to the groups, the nineteen being Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Santa Ana, San Felipe, San Juan, Santo Domingo, Isleta, Laguna, Sandia, Cochiti, Pojoaque, Tesuque, Nambe, Taos, Picuris, Zia, Jemez, Acoma, and Zuni.

One Pueblo tribe is found in Arizona within the present Navajo Reservation in the northeastern corner of the state.⁶ The Hopi Indians

⁵Edward Everett Dale, Indians of the Southwest (Norman, 1949) p. 10.

⁶Ibid, p. 16.

live on three mesas in twelve towns or villages on the tops of the mesas.⁷ One of the twelve towns, Hano, is inhabited by a branch of the New Mexico Pueblos, the Tewa Indians, who speak a different language from the Hopi, and observe Tewa customs.⁸

The largest tribe in the United States is the Navajo tribe.⁹ At present it numbers close to 85,000 members,¹⁰ and its reservation covers an area larger than the state of West Virginia, with land in three states-- Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona.

Closely related to the Navajo through language are the Apache. Living on two reservations in Arizona and two in New Mexico, they were much earlier divided into six main groups which were called tribes: Jicarilla, Lipan, Kiowa-Apache, Mescalero, Chiricahua, and the Western Apache.¹¹ These in turn were divided into bands and spread out over much of New Mexico and Arizona before they were placed on reservations.

Other tribes among these classified as desert dwellers on the map are the Pima, Papago, and Maricopa. These three tribes live on seven reservations in central Arizona, alongside and south of the Gila and Salt Rivers in the vicinity of their former territory.¹²

⁷Walter O'Kane, Sun In The Sky (Norman, 1950), p. 12

⁸Ibid., p. 19.

⁹Ruth Underhill, The Navajos (Norman, 1956), p. 3.

¹⁰The Navajo Yearbook, ed. Robert W. Young (Window Rock, Arizona, 1958), p. 318.

¹¹Grenville Goodwin, Social Organization of the Western Apache (Chicago, 1942), p. 1.

¹²The Changing Role of the Indian in Arizona, Agricultural Extension Service, University of Arizona, Circular 263, (Tucson, 1958), maps.

The fourth category, though inclusive of all the California and Nevada Indians and part of the Utah and Oregon tribes, also includes at least six Arizona tribes. The seed gatherers in this area are the Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave, Yuma, Chemehuevi, and Paiute Indians. Dependent upon wild plants and animals as were the desert dwellers, they subsisted without developing the irrigated farms which the Pimans had, although they lived along the Colorado River waters. The Paiute occupy desert land in northern Arizona and southern Utah.

Four other tribes, not included on the map, which are among the Southwestern Indians, are the Yavapai, the Cocopah, and the Yavapai-Apache, and the Mohave-Apache.¹³ The first two tribes may be included in the classification of seed gatherers; the last two, obvious mixtures, may be thought of in the desert dweller category.

One group of Indians which resides within the borders of Arizona but which is not recognized as one of the Southwestern tribes is the Yaqui. Because the ancestors of the Yaqui were born in Mexico, this tribe is not recognized by the federal government as American Indian in nature. Yaqui land is not exempt from taxation, and financial aid does not come from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.¹⁴

Southwestern Indians exhibit several cultural patterns and traditions. While some have an exciting history, others display a quiet and peaceful way of life. In spite of the differences, however, all have undergone changes at the hands of the Americans who fought, subdued, and

¹³Ibid., pp. 12, 15, 16, 18.

¹⁴William H. Kelly, Indians of the Southwest, (Tucson, 1953)
p. 9.

governed them. The story of the changes are of value in interpreting the fictional treatment of these Indians.

From the preceding descriptions of the Indians of the Southwest, one distinct change is evident: their localization into reservations. Effected by a series of treaties, obtained both in peaceful situations and after fierce wars, this step was seen necessary for two reasons: to protect the peaceful American citizens from the war-like Indian, and to protect the peaceful Indians from scheming Americans.

Another change is indicated by this first one: the search for a new livelihood. Those whose reservations allowed them to stay on their own farms and in their own villages, who had already established a way of life which was stable enough to withstand confinement, were not greatly affected. The Hopi and other Pueblo tribes had developed such societies, which were, as Theodore Roosevelt said, "as precious as anything existing in the United States."¹⁵

The Apache and the Navajo, however, were especially at a loss in regard to their life-way. Apaches looked with disdain upon those who farmed the land and would not readily submit to it for themselves. In recent years, however, they have developed another form of agriculture in livestock. This has been a relatively substantial source of income and has proved to be suitable to the Apache temper. But what of the years after reservation boundaries were fixed and before this new lease on life?

Similarly, the Navajo have recently come into much wealth through the discovery of oil and uranium on the reservation, and the utilization

¹⁵ John Collier, Indians of the Americas (New York, 1947), p. 144.

of other natural resources. Yet, up to the time of the development of these enterprises, the tribe was publicized as being extremely poor. A trip through the reservation will reveal very little productive farm land which does not demand extensive irrigation to make it tillable. Again, what of the years between 1868--when their treaty was made--and the development of tribal resources? It may be logical to raise this question of all the Southwestern Indians: what has been the government policy towards Indians since they were placed on federally-owned land?

From 1869 to 1928, the Federal Indian policy was to "destroy Indian cultures: incorporate Indians into the general cultural stream of the United States."¹⁶ Without actually destroying the Indians themselves, it was thought feasible only through the education of the younger, less resistant Indians. Methods employed in the pursuit of the goal were harsh, but to the policy makers were thought necessary. Therefore, the line of attack was to "remove the child from tribal influence by placing him in a federal boarding school; during his stay at the school, teach him disrespect for tribal institutions, forbid the speaking of his native language, expose him to Christianity, instruct him in skills related to non-Indian, rather than Indian economy."¹⁷

The dates of the preceding policy, 1869 to 1928, are of significance. It was in 1868 that the Navajos had been returned to their newly created reservation under a treaty which bound them to maintain peace, and which bound the government to provide for their needs. The needs were those of

¹⁶James E. Officer, Indians in School (Tucson, 1956), p. 116.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 116.

food, clothing, seed for planting, farm implements, sheep with which to start flocks, and education. Schools were promised for each group of thirty children and trained teachers were to be forthcoming. In 1869, the first school was opened for them at Fort Defiance.¹⁸

In the succeeding years, peace had been established with all the Indian tribes and similar programs were under way, upheld by the efforts of the local agent. The Navajo treaty had specified that schools would be provided for those children who could be "induced or compelled to attend . . ."¹⁹ In 1892, a temporary compulsory attendance law among the Indians of school age was authorized by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.²⁰ Strong methods were used by some agents to enforce this, and children were apt to run and hide in the bushes rather than to be sent off to a boarding school many miles away from home.

The situation in Indian schooling developed during this latter part of the 19th century to what it was to remain for the next half century. During this time, many of the well-known Indian schools of the Southwest were begun. Albuquerque Indian School, Haskell Institute, and Chilocco Indian School (1884); Carson, Nevada School and Fort Mohave Indian School (1890); Phoenix Indian School (1891); Perris School--later replaced by Sherman Institute--(1892).²¹ All of these schools mentioned were located away from the reservations of most of the Indians who attended.

¹⁸Underhill, p. 199.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 196.

²⁰Dale, p. 182.

²¹Ibid., p. 181.

Schools built on reservation land were also established during the same period for the Colorado River, Navajo, Pima, Hopi and Yuma Indians. All of these were boarding schools, but some day schools were provided--two for the Apache and four for the Pueblo--by 1881. The reservation schools did not educate beyond the sixth grade, and it was necessary to go off the reservation for any more schooling.²²

Off-reservation schools to which students were sent were run on military lines, one example being the Carlisle (Pa.) Institute established by Colonel Pratt. Students were regimented, marched en masse to their school, to their work, and to their meals, and were punished severely for any disobedience. Half the day was committed to the classroom, the other half given over to work at the school to maintain it at minimum cost.

Commenting upon this set-up, W. Carson Ryan, Jr. in one part of a survey of Indian Administration up to 1927, says: "As administered at present in the Indian Service, however, this otherwise useful method has lost much of its effectiveness and has probably become a menace to both health and education."²³ The general situation in regard to schools was deplored as inefficient, detrimental to the personality growth of the child, and substandard in regard to the quality of the education.

In regard to the curriculum, Ryan noted that it had been set up in 1915 and by the time of the survey (1927) had become static and out of touch with the students' needs, being uniform in all schools.²⁴ He saw

²²Ibid., p. 181.

²³The Problem of Indian Administration, ed. Lewis. pp. 374, 375.

²⁴Ibid., p. 371.

distinct opportunities in the fields of geography, history, art, and literature. "There is such a chance to build up for the Indian schools reading material that shall have some relation to Indian interests, not merely Indian legends, which are good and susceptible of considerable development, but actual stories of modern Indian experiences, as, for example, the success or failure of this or that returned student; how this particular Indian handled his allotment; how So-and-So cleaned up his house, what he did in the "Five-Years" program; these are real things that Indians are experiencing and that have everyday significance for them."²⁵

This intensive study of Indian affairs led to the formation of a new policy by the government. The recommendations of the Meriam Report resulted in the following attitude: "acknowledge the values of Indian culture; permit Indians to proceed at their own pace toward incorporation into the general cultural stream of the United States."²⁶ The emphasis in the educational field was to "let the child attend school near his home, where he can be with his parents at night; teach respect for tribal institutions; encourage the retention of selected elements of Indian cultures; bring Indians into the planning of the school program so that it fits the immediate needs of reservation life; provide training in the skills useful away from the reservation for those Indians who desire to live elsewhere."²⁷

²⁵Ibid., pp. 372-373.

²⁶Officer, p. 116

²⁷Ibid., p. 116.

While one policy advocated removing the Indian from home or from the reservation to civilize him, the new policy urged that he be kept on the reservation. "Charles J. Rhoads, who became commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1929, earnestly sought to carry out the major recommendations of the Meriam Report."²⁸ Changes of course were not as easy to effect as they had been to suggest, but by 1930 "it was clear that the traditional system of Indian education which had existed for half a century or more almost without change was gone forever."²⁹

However extreme the above statement may appear, the fresh breezes from Washington were blowing on the adult Indians on the reservation as well. Under John Collier, who was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933,³⁰ the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 led to the setting up of tribal governments, aided by federal advisors.³¹

Further evidences of a change in thought were seen as Indian land, previously considered only a temporary grant from the government which could be terminated by the Indians and sold to interested Americans, was placed in trust for an indefinite period of time. The Allotment Act of 1887 was repealed, and the Pueblo land problem was settled.

Money was made available to the tribes through a revolving credit fund; cattle were loaned out through a revolving cattle pool and led to the development of a lucrative business for many Indians; native arts and crafts were encouraged by the development of an Arts and Crafts Board which

²⁸Dale, p. 194.

²⁹Ibid., p. 195.

³⁰Ibid., p. 195.

³¹Ibid., p. 217.

secured copyrights for Indian work; additional land was acquired for the tribes; roads and bridges were built; dams were projected.

The above improvements were initiated by the Indian Service for the good of the Indians, but in many tribes there were conservatives who opposed any change. Another detriment to fulfilling all these plans was the outbreak of the Second World War. Work on school buildings, roads, and bridges was slowed considerably, bus service was curtailed, medical service was reduced, and educational services were interrupted completely for those who went to fight for their country.

Since the end of the war, more improvements have been made and a new policy has evolved. In general, it is to "get the federal government out of the Indian business as rapidly as possible." The methods by which this policy is being carried out actually began some years back, for the Meriam Report comments upon the development of public schools on the reservation, and the word termination has appeared in legislation in the past decade. There has been increased effort, through the passage of Public Law 815 and 874 to secure federal funds for state (public) schools to be built on reservation land where the tax base is too low to merit state funds. Legislation regarding the final dissolution of federal wardship has led to the setting up of situations which will make the Indians economically self-sufficient.

In The Changing Role of the Indian of Arizona, Dr. William Kelly comments on the current policy by enumerating the steps which the government

³³Dale, pp. 222-223.

³⁴Dale, p. 229.

³⁵Officer, p. 116.

has taken to bring about termination of government control of the reservations. A relocation program "encourages Indians to leave the reservations and take employment in industrial centers"; an industrial development program "attempts to bring new industries onto the reservations or into neighboring communities"; and a resource development program uses federal funds "to develop stock water, prevent erosion, and bring new lands under cultivation."³⁶

The resulting changes he sees to be the following: "Many Indians are moving off the reservations, on a permanent or temporary basis. . . All Indians now depend upon non-Indian institutions: economic, educational, health, religious, entertainment, and others. Indian family and social life is strongly influenced by non-Indian culture. The self-contained, internally structured, Indian community is gone." Finally the economic change is reviewed: "The Indian today no longer depends upon hunting or gathering. Some income is from small farms and small livestock holdings. Essentially, however, the Indian in Arizona has become a WAGE EARNER, and most of the income is from temporary or permanent off reservation jobs."³⁷

While this is a picture of only one part of the Indian population of the Southwest, the policy which operates in Arizona is that prescribed for every Indian tribe in the country, and in this respect at least, the "near explains the far."

Having briefly defined two of the terms in the title, the Southwest and the Southwestern Indian, there remains to be explained

³⁶The Changing Role. . . , p. 5.

³⁷Kelly, op. cit., p. 5.

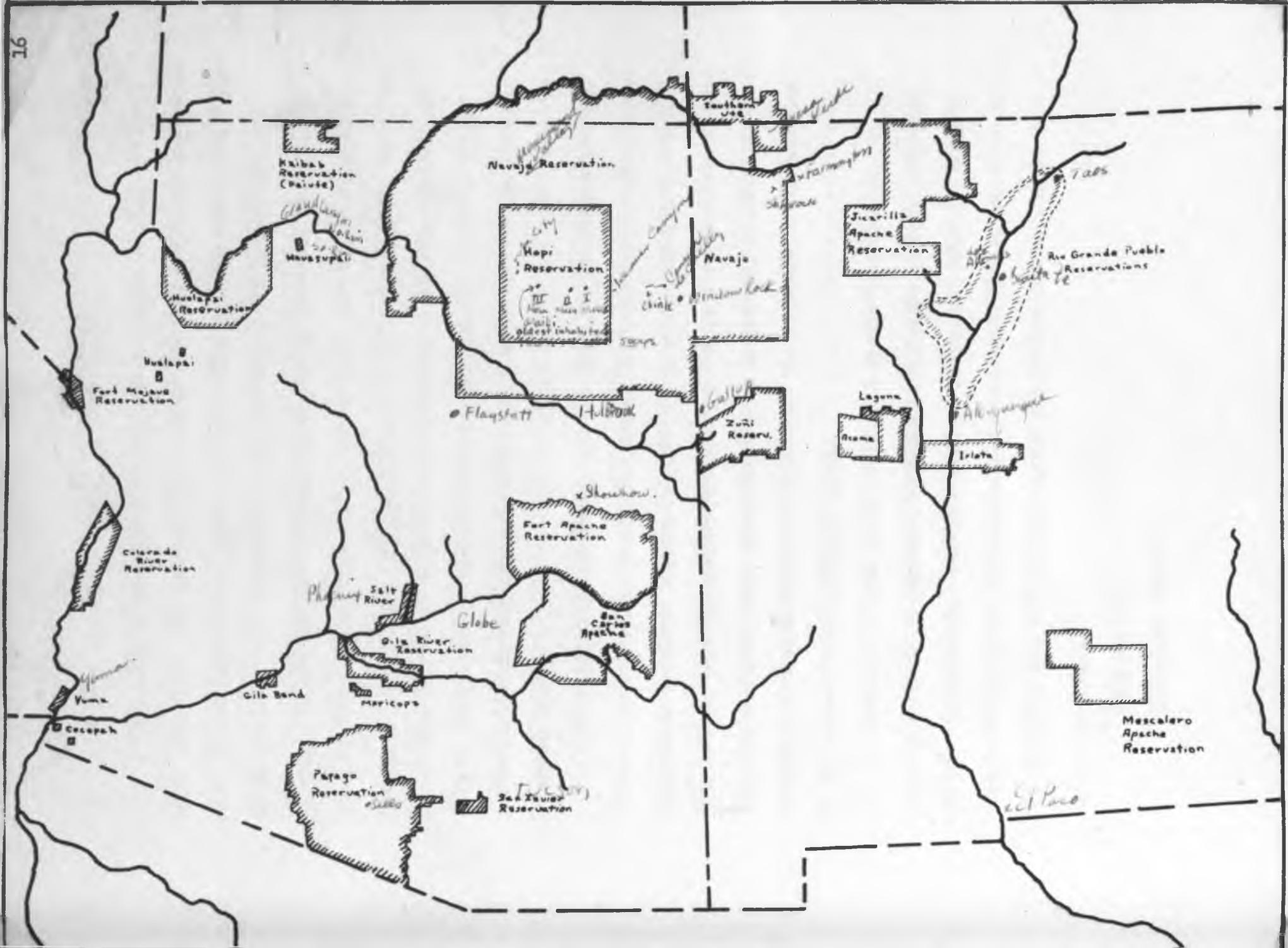
another word of many connotations--realism. It is the literary brand of realism which is being used in this study, although the word may be applied to other branches of the arts. It should not be confused with another word, reality, which is similar in appearance, for that is a quality of existence. Realism as it is being used in the following pages is a literary approach.

Its development among writers shows clearly how one movement may grow out of another which is quite different in character. Romanticism, the popular approach of the nineteenth century, held that the individual was master of his soul and captain of his fate, and that the actions of men were indicative of their true character.³⁸ The love stories of the time, written by anyone who could set his pen to paper, emphasized the triumph of the good person, no matter what obstacles he had to overcome. "A century ago novels were chiefly justified by their moral value and sustained by their entertainment value."³⁹

The last years of the nineteenth century saw a change in emphasis on the literary scene in a new approach. This new approach or concept of men admitted forces outside of man which were beyond his control. Whereas the romantic view of mankind in society gave the individual a certain control over evil by affording him an active yet kindly spirit, the newer outlook saw man as a pawn in the hands of forces which no power could master. The romanticist would urge: "Courage, brother, in the fight. . ."; the sigh of the new day was "What's the use?"

³⁸Contemporary Literary Scholarship, ed. Lewis Leary, p., 279.

³⁹Ibid., p. 259.



This early manifestation of what was to become realism was labeled naturalism. It had been initiated or encouraged first by the French novel,⁴⁰ and held that no matter what man tried to do to control the forces of environment, civilization, destiny, or nature, his efforts were all in vain. In America this approach was picked up by Harold Frederic, and Theodore Dreiser, and Frank Norris, in the early part of the 20th Century. The Damnation of Theron Ware, An American Tragedy, The Octopus, and others reveal this impression of man's ineffectiveness in stemming the tide of evil in the gargantuan man-made institutions. In its rejection of the romanticist's too-easy victory, naturalism rejected his faculty of hope as well.

This philosophy of despair was not expressed by every writer who rejected romanticism as it was then known. Such extreme pessimism as the naturalists displayed produces in some the opposite reaction of symbolism. This outlook turned from a contemplation of the forces in society to concentrate upon man's inner consciousness.⁴¹ It overcame the futility of the naturalist by emphasizing the individual. This approach is characterized by the stream-of-consciousness novel.

Somewhere between these world philosophies lies realism. As a literary movement or approach, it began in the years preceding the year 1900 and following it. American realism, as separate from its counterpart in Europe, seeks to acknowledge the forces outside of man which shape his character and lead to his actions, yet it does not de-humanize the

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 269

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 260-264.

individual, crediting him instead with personality, initiative, latent ability, "common sense", and a certain amount of control over his own actions. Committed to interpreting the character of a person, the modern novelist paints reactions--both social and psychological.⁴²

Individuality, afforded to those he creates, is also a quality of a realist himself; realistically, a mass of conditioned responses coupled with a personality, the writer displays his uniqueness in his choice of both subject and topic, and realism as a movement is a mirror of this diversity in its adherents. It would be possible to find a realist with an inclination toward symbolism or existential philosophy, and it would be equally possible to find one who wrote with a naturalistic bent. A realistic book may end happily or it may end unhappily. Elements of romanticism may be found in the realistic book, as well as those of the classics. Essential to every realistic book, however, is submission to probability, the clear picture of nature--whether human or inanimate, the sacrifice of plot to character, the diminution of setting to situation, and the objectivity which will "let the chips fall where they may."

To acknowledge this disparate quality of realism is to allow a number of points of view within the approach. Of more importance in this type of novel than plot or even character is this relationship of the novelist to his material; whether he tells the story as he himself sees it, as one of the characters in the story sees it, or as an eye witness in every action; whether he tells it in the third person, or in the first person

⁴²Ibid., p. 279.

person singular; whether he allows himself to talk to the reader directly or delegates the job to one of the characters.

The social responsibilities of the novelist find in the realistic novel more importance. The novelist, concerned with man's inner consciousness, places much emphasis also on the psychological processes of his characters. In addition to these emphases is the most significant aspect of the modern novel: ". . .its concern with problems long considered the province of the philosopher."⁴³ In Contemporary Literary Scholarship, in the section entitled "The Novel" by Bradford A. Booth, further comments are made upon this tendency. "Much of the most impressive fiction in the past three or four decades has been written out of a special and as it were extra-literary urgency. . . It has sought not to describe but to penetrate or challenge the present age, to resist it or transcend it."⁴⁴

Comparison of this description to the novels about the Southwestern Indian is designed to reveal the extent of the realistic approach in the novels during the century of its current popularity. No attempt will be made to prove that there was such a growth in this body of literature, but the purpose is rather to show in what novels and by what true writers the approach is used.

⁴³Leary, p. 260.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 260.

CHAPTER II

It has been stated that realism depends upon probable fact for its true expression. This may be found in the observable fact of the near-at-hand or the recorded fact found in history books. It may be in the facts in the life of a particular person, or it may be the facts of an entire society secured through scientific study. Whatever the subject, a certain amount of non-fiction is necessary to the realistic, though fictional, interpretation of experience.

Southwestern Indian fiction is no exception. Although our television Indian stories seem to have been written without the slightest bit of factual knowledge about Indians, there is a large amount of fiction which shows serious concern with recorded facts about the history, the true ethnology, and the individual problems of the Indian. A study of this fiction requires as well a certain acquaintance with the non-fiction if a proper assessment of its realism is to be made.

The following pages will contain only an introduction to the non-fiction of the Southwestern Indian, as a complete listing is unnecessary to the scope of this paper. The areas of investigation are mainly those of history and anthropology. Historical accounts may be divided further into reports by government employees--military and civilian, employed in the service of the Indian; later accounts of historians; and personal narratives of work and/or travel among the Indians. The anthropological non-fiction includes reports of investigations in a number of areas; archaeology, sociology, economics, religion, linguistics, folklore, homelife, music, handicrafts, and other related fields.

The dates appended to the titles will reveal that many of these books were written at about the time of the experience related, while others did not appear until some years after the events described in them. It will also be noticed that most of them were written in the span of years between 1870 and 1930, although some occur which carry dates either earlier or later than this era.

"With the American Occupation began the long series of official reports. Far from being dry, they are the finest books yet written on the Southwest. Few such volumes are made now. In printing, binding, and illustrating--with fine lithographs, some in color--they are exceptional. These books were the result of fully equipped expeditions, headed by the military, but including geographers and cartographers, astronomers, geologists, botanists, and artists. Their task was to render as exact and as full a report as possible, that the big wigs in Washington might decide what to do with the newly acquired realm. If only Washington had heeded their suggestions! Intelligent and trained men, they were also keen, eager, young, brave, and full of fun. And how the best of them could write! With clarity, precision, and a humor which still bring alive the Mexican guide, and the Indian chief dickering for calico, the muleteer, even the mule."⁴⁵

Among these early reports are two which are known to students of the history of the Southwest, and which may be found in the bibliographies of most non-fiction which is about early days in Arizona and New Mexico. John R. Bartlett's Personal Narrative of Explorations, 1850-3, was published in 1854; J. Ross Browne made known his Adventures in the Apache

⁴⁵Fergusson, pp. 363-4.

Country in 1871.

"Most of our generals who have distinguished themselves in Cuba, in the Philippines, even as late as the World War I, started in chasing Apaches."⁴⁶ By the nature of their positions, these men were obligated to make reports to the government. Of those reports which have been made public, two are Personal Recollections of General Nelson A. Miles which appeared in 1897 and which records his command in Apache Country in 1886 among other tours of duty; and the Account of General Howard's Mission to the Apaches and Navajos which appeared just after his return from effecting a peace treaty with Chief Cochise (1872). General George C. Crook's public accounts of his eight years as an Apache fighter preceding General Miles' transfer to the same post are contained in His Autobiography which appeared in 1946.

Other military reports, though more in the nature of public reports than official ones, are Captain John C. Cremony's Life Among the Apaches (1868), a very readable, highly entertaining non-fiction account of the early days in Apache Land; Captain John G. Bourke's record of his experiences under General Crook: On the Border with Crook (1891). Anton Mazzonovich wrote of Trailing Geronimo (1926), and Lieutenant Britton Davis in 1929 made known the Truth About Geronimo.

War Department records of the Indian Affairs in the nineteenth century are available to those interested, along with subsequent reports by the Department of the Interior which took over the Bureau of Indian

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 365.

of Indian Affairs in 1849. The Problem of Indian Administration, a report requested by the Department of the Interior, was published in 1928 and opened the eyes of many people to the deplorable conditions which existed then. Yearly reports by the commissioners of Indian Affairs are also available upon request, and Present Relations of the Federal Government to the American Indian, a publication of the Government to the then Government Printing Office in 1959, reviewed federal expenditures since 1789 for Indians in the United States. The grand total spent between 1789 and 1959 was \$2,808,221,852, more than half this amount having been used in the last twenty years. Between 1789 and 1909, the total amount spent by the government was \$368,358,217. This is less than three times the amount spent in the single year, 1959.⁴⁷

The historians whose works have been helpful in uncovering the past are several. Hubert H. Bancroft's History of Arizona and New Mexico 1530-1888 (1889), covers most of the time referred to in the novels; Thomas Farish's eight volume History of Arizona (1918) treats Indians extensively; Frank C. Lockwood's Arizona Characters (1928) had defined the personality of various Indians more fully; his Pioneer Days in Arizona (1932) and Apache Indians (1938) have been sources of information in themselves and sources of passages found in some of the fiction; Edward H. Peplow's History of Arizona (1958) furnished much-needed perspective.

Other books which treat separate portions of history are Flora Warren Seymour's Indian Agents of the Old Frontier (1941), Frances Gillmor and Louisa Wetherill's Traders to the Navajo (1934), and Paul I Wellman's

⁴⁷U. S. Congress. House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Present Relations of the Federal Government to the American Indian, House Committee, Print No. 38 (Washington, 1959), p. 20.

Death in the Desert (1935), Earle K. Forrest and Edwin B. Hill's Lone War Trail of the Apache Kid (1947), Edward Everett Dale's The Indians of the Southwest (1949), and James E. Officer's Indians in School (1956).

Certain books of an historical nature cannot be included in either of the above categories: they are the personal accounts or commentaries on the Indian problem, non-governmental in nature. John Collier's Indians of the Americas (1947) is such a personal commentary and does not bear the objectivity of an official report; R. Francis Leupp--another past commissioner of Indian Affairs as well as was Collier--in his book In Red Man's Land (1914) surveyed Indian affairs in general under the sponsorship of the Women for Home Missions; Ross Santee's Apache Land (1947) is strictly personal and appreciative of the Indian as an individual; Indians I Have Known by Byron Cummings, published in 1952, also exhibits this description of Indian personality as a unique aspect of each individual.

Most helpful in the line of anthropology has been a course entitled "Indians of the Southwest" taught by Professor Edward Dozier, in which the Navajo, Hopi, Rio Grande Pueblo, Papago, Havasupai, Yuma, and other tribes were surveyed in great detail. Also very informative have been Ruth Underhill's Here Come the Navajo and The Navajos; Walter O'Kane's Sun in the Sky; studies on the Navajo, Apache, and Papago done in Flagstaff; Kluckhohn and Leighton's The Navajo and Children of the People; and Oliver LaFarge's A Pictorial History of the American Indian.

Translations of Indians' stories and chants have been compiled by Frank Cushing, Washington Matthews, Natalie Curtis, Alice Fletcher, Mary Austin, Dr. Berard Haile, Harold Bell Wright, Laura Adams Armer, and others

of note. Gladys Reichard has interpreted the Navajo religion in a two volume work, and Dr. Haile has interpretations of this, too. A study of linguistics by Robert Young is included in the Navajo Yearbook (1958).

Most of the preceding books are concerned with the traditional culture of the tribe under study, but they are not oblivious to the various changes which are taking place in every tribe in the country. Some books dedicated to this aspect of Indian life and to explaining the present situations are Indians in Transition (1951) by G. E. E. Lindquist; As Long As the Grass Shall Grow (1940) and The Changing Indian by Oliver LaFarge; Within Two Worlds by David Cory; and The Changing Role of the Indian in Arizona by Dr. William H. Kelly.

It is obvious that a wealth of material about the Southwestern Indian exists, even though the list included has been a small one compared to what exists. Some of these books had been made available by 1900 and others by 1925, but the dates of the books consulted show that the bulk of this writing appeared in the 1930's, through the 1940's and into the last decade. Clearly the fiction writer of the second quarter of the century had more material upon which to base his interpretations than did his counterpart in 1900.

The fact that such non-fiction exists is not disputed, but the question arises: "To what extent did the writers consult the recorded facts?" There is a saying which may express this uncertainty: "You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink." Similarly, it is possible to provide factual material which the writer may consult, but the choice of approach in regard to his subject is his own.

Without becoming involved in a discussion of the relationship of the writer to his public, it may be of value to highlight some of the considerations facing the writer of Southwestern Indian fiction at the present time.

Most fiction writers indulge in the craft in order to sell their stories, even though the returns may not be so great after publisher's costs, etc., are subtracted. Few write just to prove to themselves that they can do so. Consequently, public opinion affects their choice of subject and approach.

In regard to the subject of the Indian, and particularly the Southwestern Indian, public opinion is not uniform. He is thought of variously, as a hostile renegade, a reconstructed savage, an unspoiled museum piece, a lazy drunk, a member of a vanishing race, a puppet on a string, and occasionally as an individual. Certain tribes have become known for particular types: Apache fighters, Navajo shepherds, Pueblo conservatives, and so forth.

Certain approaches have become stock in trade also. The romantic approach overlooks barriers of language, culture, etc., in a sentimental account of the unspoiled child of nature whose innate intelligence leads to victory over all obstacles to the new culture; the naturalistic approach describes the confusion, the corruption, and the inevitable destruction of the Indian way of life when it meets the non-Indian culture; the thriller generally concerns the Indian peripherally as progressively a savage menace, an imminent danger, and finally as an exciting opponent to the victorious main character.

None of these approaches demands extensive knowledge of the subject, least of all the thriller in which the warriors succeed only in frightening the travellers before the white man overcome or chase them away. Realistic detail may be employed to add an air of authenticity to the story, sufficient exciting episodes interposed, and an "Indian story" finds its way to the television screen. Public opinion demands this.

More challenging to the writer and more rewarding to the reader than the above approaches is the realistic one. The individual Indian is of importance, his personality and character are real, and his culture is revealed as organized life with a foundation in reason and tradition instead of in savagery. Committed to interpreting the truth as he sees it, the writer of this type of Indian fiction is obliged to display more technical knowledge of his subject.

CHAPTER III

Of the three approaches which are commonly found in literature about Indians of the Southwest, the romantic is perhaps the least true to life. Written from a sentimental concern for the Indian, this type of novel takes its characters from the air, and invests them with bodies so that they will seem to have actually lived out their lives on the earth.

That this approach appeared on the literary scene at a time when public opinion concerning the Indian was far from sentimental emphasizes still more its lack of realism. Attempting to fit in with the then current literary vogue, the authors who tailored the "noble savage" of the Southwest were not met with the applause that had greeted Cooper or Chateaubriand in earlier days when the subject was the Eastern Indians. The reasons for this change in reaction may be apparent from a comparison of the conduct of these tribes--the Southwestern Indians maintained their hostility for a longer time--or it may be seen as a result of the changing opinions and literary tastes of the American people.

Characteristic of the romantic Indian novel is Chunda, written by Horatio Ladd and published in 1906. The story concerns Chunda, a Navajo girl from deep in the reservation near Chinle, Arizona. Despite the precautions and objections of her aunt, Chunda went off to a school with the visiting missionary. A young lady when she left, she was accelerated in her schooling, and finished secondary school requirements in three years from the time she left home. Having decided to go on to become a doctor, she took top honors in medical school and performed very skillful operations in New York City. Having completely forgotten her Navajo ways,

she had changed her name and way of thinking so much that when she was introduced to her former Navajo sweetheart (who had also left the reservation at the same time and had quickly worked his way to becoming the headmaster of Hampton Institute) it was as if she was meeting a stranger. He too, had changed his way of living and thinking and formally courted her at a resort in the Adirondacks, conveniently arranged for by the missionary friend. Their engagement was announced in proper fashion, but Eulalia (Chunda) insisted that she must return to her people and set up a hospital in Chinle before they could be married. He also planned to establish a school in Chinle.

Both Chunda and her fiance returned to Chinle and began to work on their projects. Where the money was to come from was not the concern of the novelist, of course, but it was assumed to have come from friends of the missionary. Chunda's people did not appreciate her benevolence, however, and a rebel faction captured her one day as she was ministering to the sick. They bound her to a stake, set fire to some brush piled around her and killed the missionary friend who had been accompanying her. Her fiance saved the day as he rode into the group around her, cut her ropes, and carried her away from her captors in a state of shock and suffocation. Back in the Chinle Hospital, which Chunda had succeeded in erecting, the poor girl recovered quickly and received the pleasure of looking out her window and seeing the newly completed school which her fiance had built. Finally they were married and resolved to help their people from then on.

Authentic touches are not hard to find in the novel, although

the overall tone is one of fantasy. Names of real Navajo leaders-- Ganado Mucho, Narbona, and Mamuelito--are used; actual place names form the setting. The description of the countryside with the simple reservation is realistic; and the picture of the group gathered in front of the trading post, of the Navajo costume, of the hogans, is true to life.

Such romanticized ideas about the Indians which were published during the early 1900's were not alone an attempt to approximate a style which had been widely read not many years previously. This attitude of benevolent concern, of a near "noblesse oblige" on the part of many Americans toward the Indian, of strong missionary effort, was prevalent during the early years of the twentieth century among certain groups.

The plight of the Navajo who went away to school and returned home to find himself ill at ease with the superstition of his people on the reservation prompted Zane Grey to write The Vanishing American which appeared in 1925. The hopelessness shown in the title is found throughout the book as the main character is tossed to and fro in his soul between the new ways he had learned in the East and the old ways he had known as a child. He found no avenues of reconciliation between the two, and his death at the end is only a necessary part of the plot.

The semblance of truth which pervades this novel is misleading, but it is characteristic of Grey's manipulation of the facts. In regard to the superficial aspects of the story, one finds a modification of what actually is. For instance, the names of his towns, his characters, his tribes, are not those in use, yet they have been formed from the original. Flagstaff has been changed to Flagerstown; the Wetherills have become the Weatherfords; the Navajos have assumed the name Nopah Indians.

These alterations are indicative of the degree of realism which Grey displays in uncovering his main ideas. On the surface, his story is about a young boy who has been away to school--even through college--in an Eastern setting. In the course of his education and social life there, he met and fell in love with a woman from Philadelphia. When he returned to the reservation as he felt that he should, she secured a job teaching in a nearby community. The remainder of the story described the war between the girl and the man over the way he should live. One is most impressed with his anguish and self-inflicted torture of mind and body as he wrestles with the problem of trying to appear as a Navajo when in his beliefs he is not like the others, and the problem of trying to live like a white man when he is in appearance a Navajo.

The larger story or the theme of the book echoed a prophesy: The true American--the Indian--cannot hold onto his culture in the face of the culture of the white man, for it will swallow him up whether he wills it or not. The rapidity with which this is supposed to occur is astonishing, and the outcome in terms of individual happiness is discouraging.

The tone of this approach is hardly representative of the bulk of Indian fiction in the early part of the 1900's. Such extreme sentimentalism was not the desire of the reading public as a steady diet. This statement may be found to be valid upon observing the number of unrealistic, action-packed dime novels and westerns or thrillers which flooded the book stands at that time.

The attitude of the dime novel writers is apparent from the titles

given to their stories: "Young Wild West and Geronimo, or Arietta and the Apache Attack"; "Ker Whoop, Ker Whoo, or, the Tarantula of Taos on the Warpath"; "Buffalo Bill's Arizona Alliance, or, Pawnee Bill's Bravest Deed"; "The Prince of Pan-out, or, The Beautiful Navajo's Mission"; and on and on. The dime novel series was not limited to one firm, the most popular ones being Munro's Ten Cent Novels, Beadle's Dime Library, the Wild West Weekly, and the New Buffalo Bill Weekly.

A glance at the names of the authors of these dime novels will reveal a number of military titles: generals, lieutenants, colonels, captains, majors. Some of those who wrote are mentioned in the histories of the Apache wars and the Western campaigns: Major St. Vrain, Captain Wayne Reid, and others. This abundance of officers may be thought of as an indication of the validity of the accounts of Indians, of life in the West, and the Indian wars. Such could not be farther from the truth, as the Indians were often given excellent command of English, names which are more in keeping with the Plains Indians, or painted as civilized enough to ask for the scalp before taking it. In one story, a young girl extracts from Geronimo a promise not to harm her friend, Young Wild West, and the crafty Apache keeps his promise to her!

These stories' popularity was not continuous, although it was intense between 1874 and 1915, the dates of the first and last series. Equally popular with the general reading public have been the recent westerns or thrillers. Fired by their popularity in motion pictures and their current run on television, these unrealistic stories can hardly be on the decline in popularity.

Representative of this approach to Indian stories is Charles Seltzer's West of Apache Pass. The author is known for his writing of western stories, having begun in the 1890's. His early books were made into silent films starring Buck Jones and Tom Mix, and some were sent to England. A popular writer, his total sales were at least a million and a half copies.⁴⁸

His stories of the west, where he had been a cowpuncher at one time, have been reviewed interestingly: the New York Times found that Seltzer wrote of "a West that never was and never will be."⁴⁹ The Saturday Review of Literature wrote "If more tales of the wild and woolly attained the all-around excellence of Mr. Seltzer's, the lowly position which the "Western" occupies in the realm of adventure fiction should be conspicuously improved."⁵⁰

West of Apache Pass takes place in the Santa Cruz Valley around Tucson in the 1850's and 60's. Its main characters are modeled after actual people but are given fictitious names. Pritchard, who owned the ranch between Tucson and Nogales and whose house many travelers came to hide from Apaches, is obviously Pete Kitchen. Tennessee Bob, apparently fashioned after Tom Jeffords and Wallace (the agent at Apache Pass) is the knight errant of Anne Pritchard. Charlie Brown's hotel in Tucson is mentioned, and Cabot, the man who arrested Cochise in a tent, is in reality the West Point Lieutenant Bascom. Aside from these allusions to reality, the story is pure fiction and makes no pretense at being anything else.

⁴⁸Twentieth Century Authors, ed. Stanley Kunitz (New York, 1933), p. 1262.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid.

Briefly, it concerns the Pritchard family--Anne and her father--and life in the Santa Cruz Valley in the days of Apache raiding. Unsavory white men shown to promote this raiding, sometimes join in it themselves. Tennessee Bob brings law and order to the area, putting minor lawbreakers on his Sanitation Squad and deciding his own kind of justice. Various adventures--Anne's trip to El Paso, Tennessee Bob's ride to meet and guard her returning stage, his rescue of her when she is carried out of her hotel room by a criminal--and numerous street scenes with fighting give the reader the excitement he wishes without stooping to the level of burlesque seen in the dime novels.

Though somewhat more substantial in both characterization and action than the novels of romance and fatalism, or those of naive exaggeration, the western of the type presented above does not satisfy the serious reader, or the group of people called "friends of the Indians." Nor does it reflect the growing tendency on the part of fiction writers to concern themselves with problems of a social nature. Only a realistic approach to the subject, a sober and objective account of historical events or a factual description of social customs and traditions, could reveal the truth of the problem under consideration. It is with this characteristic of twentieth century fiction in mind that the realistic Indian fiction appearing since 1900 is being presented.

CHAPTER IV

One of the most popular types of fiction which treat the Indian is the historical novel. Not only does this treatment offer authenticity to the fiction; it offers excitement to the reader as well. Moreover, it assures the writer of endless material which needs only accurate portrayal to produce a thrilling, out-of-the-ordinary story.

In considering this historical treatment, it must be remembered that a fiction writer is not re quoting a page in a history book or even rewriting it by using this avenue. He is interpreting events in the light of human involvement rather than in their historical significance or their importance as events in our country's past. An imaginative interpretation, his story takes on meaning when the people who lived at a particular moment in history are described according to their natural reactions--mental, physical, sociological--to the life of the time.

To accomplish such a goal requires the specific knowledge of the culture, the geography, the historical setting, the significance of a certain action in the lives of the existing population, and a great understanding of human nature--in particular, the psychology of the people in the story. A familiarity with the typical characteristics of the people must precede the painting of valid portraits--either the filling in and rounding out of historical figures, or the creation of additional, ancillary characters.

Relating this description to the fiction in question, the Southwestern Indian, having suffered at the hands of TV script writers, gains

some stature in this treatment. Reference to historical data reveals his hostility to the white men's intrusion, but it unearths as well his willingness to accept reconciliation offered in sincerity and his willingness to adapt.

Before any study in fiction is made, therefore, a wide knowledge of Indian life is necessary. The stranger who stays a few days on a reservation and writes a story about Indian life is bound to use Indians only peripherally and valuelessly or to credit them with white man's thoughts in creating main characters from them.

Historical events in the life of a tribe, difficult to obtain in many instances, will not of themselves assure the writer of a believable story, yet they will prove to be a substantial basis for his fiction. The actual facts may be more exciting than any events he could imagine.

Many events in Indian history have been capitalized upon in this fashion. The ones which will be used in the present study are the coming of Coronado in 1540 to the region now called the Southwest; the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and the resistance offered to the Mexican and American settlers by the Apaches and their chiefs, Mangus Colorado and Cochise.

It may be seen from the previous list that no story laid in the present day or even after the establishment of reservations is being used. The fiction which makes use of the years after peace and better relations had been established with the Indians is plentiful, but it is more often a problem fiction than an historical one and will be included in a later discussion of problem fiction.

When Coronado rode north from Mexico in 1540, he had with him

an historian or reporter, Castañeda,⁵¹ who later had his reports of the expedition made public. These reports are valuable as eye witness accounts of what was explored. The trip took the army through Pimeria Alta and the Zuni villages, and Captains Tovar and Cardenas were sent to the north and went into what is now Arizona.

Another trip, made in 1598 by Onate, included the region of Tusayan, now known as Hopi Land.⁵² Succeeding colonization trips were made into these explored areas, some by Jesuit priests and others by Spanish settlers. Such infiltration of Indian territory by means of Spanish encomiendas and Spanish religion continued throughout the next century, Santa Fe being founded in the early 1600's.

Two stories about this period of Spanish exploration and conquest are Pueblo Girl and Pueblo Boy by Cornelia J. Cannon. Written expressly for children, they do not have a complicated plot or many characters. The main characters are children of the pueblos of Acoma, Sia (Zia), and Tiguex (Tiwa). The seven cities of Cibola are mentioned, the men who actually took part in the exploration and conquest of the pueblos are described carefully, and one is left with a fairly accurate though superficial picture of the first meeting between some pueblo dwellers and the strangers who were to take over their country.

Shortly after the founding of Santa Fe, there began a series of troubles between the Indians and the Spanish who had become the rulers

⁵¹Hubert H. Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888, (San Francisco, 1889), p. 137.

⁵²Ibid., p. 139.

of the territory and owners and protectors of what it contained. Indian resentment at being ever denied their lands and religion was expressed in defiant action. A rising in the 1640's was the result of "the flogging, imprisonment, and hanging of forty natives who refused to give up their faith. . ." ⁵³ Other attempts at revolt either failed or were too small to accomplish any great goals.

However, in 1680, under the leadership of one Popé, a San Juan Indian, the pueblos--whose religion had been most notably attacked by the Spanish friars since the 16th Century--succeeded in overcoming their Spanish overlords. "The number of victims and wounded was slightly over 400, including 21 missionaries and 73 men capable of bearing arms; those who escaped were about 1950, including 11 missionaries, and 155 capable of bearing arms." ⁵⁴ Those who succeeded in escaping fled to El Paso del Norte, now known as Juarez, Mexico, where they remained until a new leader, de Vargas, reoccupied Santa Fe in 1692.

A recent novel which looks into this page of history in an attempt to recreate the life of the people living then is Taos by Irwin Blacker. Primarily an imaginative account of the Pueblo Revolt, it includes historical references to the date, the places, the people involved in the actual revolt, the methods used to effect the revolt, the knotted cord by means of which the various pueblos were notified of the day to strike. An historical basis for the novel is evident throughout the book.

In spite of the factual foundation, the story does not read like

⁵³Bancroft, p. 167.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 179.

a history book. By means of sub-plots, character portraits, and arrangement of the facts at hand, the author has given considerable life to a past event. As he himself says in a note: "In the telling of this story I have taken certain liberties with history. They have been fewer than those not familiar with the details might imagine."⁵⁵

One of these liberties is the story of Juan and Manuela, an Indian boy and Spanish girl. Although a short story, it is divulged in episodes throughout the novel and aids in holding the interest of a wider variety of readers. The love of Juan and Manuela for one another at the end of the book, a touch of romanticism, offsets the defeat of the Spaniards and the sordidness of battle.

Another liberty is the invention of the characters who inhabit the pueblos. This has been done with care for the individuality of those who are involved in the story, and one finds ability for fear, for self-control, for strong feeling, as well as instinct and tradition in their makeup.

The Spanish are painted with equal imagination and fidelity to human nature: soldiers whose living and loving were hard, friars whose disillusioning task overcame them, mayors whose jobs were a punishment, and men whose personal lives were rarely above reproach. Women were of two types: the dona whose position as wife of an official was often that of a figurehead; and the slave of mixed blood who enjoyed her lord's attentions.

⁵⁵Irwin Blacker, Taos (New York, 1959) p. 477.

A foundation of history, then, overlaid with a thick cover of imagined situations, forms the realism in this novel. A recent book, published in 1959, it compares to the stories of Pueblo Indians written earlier only in its basic subject matter. In its treatment of this subject, in the appropriateness of its characterization, it is not an attempt to create a sentimental regard for the Indians or to vindicate or justify their actions against the Spanish. Rather than answering "why?" it seeks to answer "what?" about the period in history.

According to a report in 1630 by Padre Benavides, the tribes around the pueblo--all known as Apaches--had as yet caused no serious trouble.⁵⁶ But from "about 1672 the various Apache tribes became troublesome, destroying in their raids one of the Zuni towns and six of the pueblos farther east."⁵⁷ The Pimas and the Spanish missions in Arizona suffered at their hands as well.

In an attempt to control the Apache depredations, the Spanish in 1786 introduced a new policy under General Ugate. This policy encouraged treaties of peace, accompanied by solicitous treatment, provisions of food and supplies, encouragement to settle near the presidios, and donation of intoxicating liquors with which to chain the Indians to dependence upon the Spaniards' good will. The policy resulted in relative peace, but only until the war for Mexican Independence halted the supply of food and rations.⁵⁸ After 1821, the Apaches continued their raids. A report in 1835 by Don Ignacio Zuniga, surveying the Apache murders since

⁵⁷Bancroft, p. 162.

⁵⁸Bancroft, p. 170.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 378-379.

1820, gives the number of 5,000 killed in Pimeria.⁵⁹ A number of ranchos, haciendas, mining camps, and other settlements were also destroyed.

This situation between Apaches and Spaniards continued to exist throughout the next century, as reports of the territorial governors show. These reports reveal that "all the tribes were behaving tolerably well, except the Apaches, against whom constant warfare was waged. . ." ⁶⁰ Into the 1800's, "one band or another of the Apaches was generally on the warpath."⁶¹

Even after the change in control between the Spanish and the United States in 1848, the Apaches were a constant terror. They "came to regard their raids as a legitimate occupation, their only means of gaining a livelihood; and they were generally on friendly terms with a disreputable gang of Mexican and American traders, through whom they carried on a profitable trade in stolen articles. . ." ⁶²

"Down to about 1836, the Apaches are said to have been friendly to the Americans; says Bancroft. This was seen in their treatment or lack of treatment of certain trappers, James O. Pattie and Pauline Weaver among the most well-known. Kit Carson was allowed to travel at all times unmolested in Apache country. This was not to last long, for one year later in 1837, "the famous chief Juan Jose was treacherously killed with many of his people by one Johnson, and the Apaches immediately attacked and killed Charles Kemp's party of 22 trappers on the Gila, as well as

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 403.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 268

⁶¹Ibid., p. 315.

⁶²Bancroft, p. 459.

other parties farther east in New Mexico"⁶³

Following this event, Mangus Colorado is recorded as the leader of the Apache raids, which were extensive until 1857, when a comparative peace prevailed. Not long afterwards, in 1860, general hostilities were again incited by an injustice on the part of American officers. It was Cochise of the Chiricahuas who was wronged in an incident, and his brother and other tribe members were captured and killed on a false charge.

"Soon all were on the warpath, murders and robberies were of daily occurrence, and even the soldiers were hard pressed. Then in 1861, when for other reasons the stage line was abandoned, the troops recalled from Arizona, the Indians naturally regarded this as their triumph, redoubled their efforts, and, for over a year were masters of the territory, having killed or driven out all the white inhabitants except a few hundred who took refuge within the walls of Tucson."⁶⁴

Such activity on the part of the Apaches impressed itself strongly upon the citizens of Arizona. They appealed for protection, of course, but when it did not come, they "became an excited and desperate people as the years passed by, doing and countenancing many unwise and even criminal acts."⁶⁵

Public feeling against the Apaches was extreme in Arizona, where these Indians concentrated their efforts. In 1859, Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry stated a corporate opinion: "A man might as well have sympathy for

⁶³Ibid., p. 407

⁶⁴Bancroft, p. 502.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 553.

a rattlesnake or a tiger."⁶⁶ An early historian, Thomas Farish, gives some insight into these feelings. "From the date of the entry of the California Column into Arizona, and for many years thereafter, there was an element that was opposed to any peace with the Apaches. . . The civilians who gave out this cry of extermination were those who were fattening on government contracts, holding lucrative positions in many ways." "The latent wealth of the future commonwealth did not appeal to this class, whose only desire was to gather quickly the crumbs which leaked from the Federal feed-basket."⁶⁷

Many who sought revenge were personally concerned, however, because of the loss of loved ones, and they had developed toward the Apache and all his works "an intense hatred which caused them to inflict upon even friendly Indians shocking cruelties as barbarous as any that the red man had ever devised."⁶⁸

Tales of these conditions and Apache hostilities are many in a survey of historical fiction. The subject of many dime novels and later television movies, the accounts given are often highly exaggerated and filled with references to the barbarian quality of the Indian, through descriptive adjectives and appearance. It would be inconceivable, however, in view of the public opinion, to find accounts written in the early days of the twentieth century which would contain any justification for these hostilities.

Such treatment is not found until the 1930's in Apache by Will Levington Comfort, and Broncho Apache by Paul I. Wellman, both of which

⁶⁶Edward Peplow, History of Arizona (New York, 1958), p. 438.

⁶⁷Thomas J. Farish, History of Arizona, Vol. VIII, (Phoenix, 1918) p. 20.

⁶⁸Dale, p. 95.

are based on historical fact. In 1947 another inroad into the real prejudice was made by Elliott Arnold in Blood Brother.

Each of the books is a novel. Each one employs an Indian as its main character, exposing both his strengths and weaknesses in a diligent if not impartial manner. And in each, the Apache is shown to be a human being of some stature in comparison to his civilizers.

Apache is the story of Mangus Colorado, one time chief of the Mimbrenos and Ojo Caliente bands whose stronghold was the Mimbres and the Pinos Altos Mountains in southwestern New Mexico. His name, meaning "red sleeve" in English, was given to him after he fought with two brothers-in-law to the death for the right to have a Mexican wife, at which time he put on a red shirt. Earlier in his life, a priest had said that he would lift his arm, red with white man's blood, over his people, and the name Mangus Colorado may have originated in this prophesy.

From his early childhood, he had been different from the other boys. He did not ride into battle with strong intent as they did, although he was well able to defend himself or kill animals. He visited a Mexican woman and married her in addition to his two Apache wives. He went to see the priest in Santa Rita del Cobre and was friendly with him. He discounted the Apache disdain for farming and attempted to raise corn. Obviously, he was not a follower but a leader.

Under the Mimbrenos chief Juan José, the Mexicans had been allowed to enter the area in search of gold and copper. Anxious to maintain peace, Juan José accepted gifts from the white men, and on one occasion he took his people to a big feast in the courtyard of the town. This was in 1837, for the incident is recorded in history. One man named Johnson had hidden

some guns behind sacks of corn and at a signal fired them at the Apaches gathered for the feast. Juan José was killed along with many of his people. Such treachery led to an answer from the Apaches, organized under their new leader, Mangus Colorado. No traveler into the area was safe from their ambush. Having united both bands, the Mimbrenos and Ojo Caliente, the newly determined chief was able to control a wide area.

War was not Mangus' wish, however, and when a chance came to cooperate with the white men, he eagerly took it. He found to his dismay, and to his pain, that not all white men are alike. On one occasion, when attempting an agreement, he was severely insulted, bound and whipped. And again there was war against the "white eyes" who ventured there.

Cochise of the Chiricahuas was his friend, and Cochise had also tried to cooperate with the white men. This was not displeasing to Mangus Colorado, but he was not surprised when Cochise appeared asking for his help in a war of revenge against these people. He too had been tricked and wronged.

Both leaders were on hand at Apache Pass when the California Column entered, and both were defeated by the large guns of the white men. Mangus Colorado was shot by a lone soldier, and his men immediately took him many miles to a doctor in Janos.

Although he recovered from his wound, the Apache chief was not eager for revenge. When word came that Captain Shirland wanted to see him, he went readily against the warnings of the younger men in the tribe. Again he found himself at the mercy of the heartless white men, but he did not resist. His death at their hands was witness to his desire for peace between the two peoples.

One of the first realistic novels about the Apache Indians, this book was written by a seasoned writer. Will Comfort worked for years as a journalist on the staffs of the Detroit Journal. Apache is his last book, published in 1931 just one year before he died. Its historical accuracy and its detailed descriptions of Apache customs brought to life with the novel writer's skill produce a strong realism in both character and story.⁶⁹

That it sold well is seen in the printing history of the book. E. P. Dutton, the original publishers, made five printings of Apache-- four in 1931 and the last in 1936. The popularity led to the reprinting of a paperback edition by Bantam Books, Inc. in 1952.⁷⁰

Cochise, the son-in-law of Mangus Colorado, is the subject of many fiction books which reveal his outstanding quality of honesty as well as his skill in battle. Two which are chiefly biographical sketches of the man are Cochise of Arizona by Oliver LaFarge and Cochise, Great Apache Chief by Enid Johnson, the latter of the two provided with a bibliography. Very obviously, the facts are being presented about this man.

A book which fits the facts of Cochise's life into a moving story of Arizona in the days of Apache violence is Blood Brother by Elliott Arnold. The story covers the years between 1856 and 1872 and its scope is wide enough to include many of the historical events in the life of Arizona in that period.

First and foremost a story of the friendship which existed between the Apache chief Cochise and Tom Jeffords, a white man, the theme is that

⁶⁹Twentieth Century Authors, p. 304.

⁷⁰Will Levington Comfort, Apache (New York, 1952) p. iv.

Indian and white men can coexist on a basis of truth and sincerity.

That the author of this book is familiar with the facts behind his story is evident from the first page of the introduction. In acknowledging those who helped him in documentation of his facts, Arnold expresses gratitude to Dr. Frank C. Lockwood who read and suggested changes in the manuscript and whose books on early Arizona and the Apache Indians were reliable sources. He gained first hand information about Tom Jeffords from those who knew him and his regard for Cochise--John Rockfellow and Dr. Robert Forbes. Others from whom he drew needed and valuable information were Dr. Morris Opler (An Apache Life-Way), and the staffs of the University of Arizona library and the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.⁷¹

In his fidelity to fact, Arnold invented no male characters in his book. It may be considered the province of the novel writer to supply the needed dialogue to provide immediacy to his plot, but in the theme and introduction Arnold states that even much of the dialogue is gleaned from Jeffords' own reports--of his conversations with Cochise as related to friends.⁷²

It has long been a diplomatic policy for countries to cultivate a mutual regard for one another to insure peace. It has long been so between individuals, as well. When Tom Jeffords was placed in charge of the mail route through the Chiricahua Mountains and was informed that he would have to expect Apache interference, he deemed it to the advantage of the stage line to reach some kind of agreement with Cochise, the chief of the Chiricahuas.

⁷¹Elliott Arnold, Blood Brother (New York, 1947), introd. p.

⁷²Ibid., p.

Having lived in the Indian territory long enough to have become acquainted with Indian ways, Jeffords knew that the only way to approach the chief was alone and without haste. In this fashion, he went then towards the stronghold of Chief Cochise, announcing his peaceful intentions to all the Chiricahuas who saw him, and he succeeded in reaching the camp of Cochise unharmed. Handing over his guns and his horse to be taken care of, he proceeded to stay at Cochise's mercy in the camp.

Cochise admired Jeffords' audacity and treated him hospitably, listening to his proposals that the Apaches allow the stage line to pass through the mountain passes unharmed. Agreement was reached, after the issues had been clearly explained, and Jeffords' mail was allowed to proceed safely.

In 1860, Cochise's tendency to trust the trader Wallace and to accept offers for parleys under a flag of truce--in other words, his trust for the white man--was exploited to his harm, and to the eventual harm of the white man. A lieutenant fresh from West Point, Bascom, lured Cochise into his tent under a flag of truce, took advantage of his presence and arrested him and his party on what appeared to be false charges. Cochise escaped from the tent, but he did not forget that his word had been doubted, and the next twelve years were marked with signs of Apache vengeance in the killing of many who had not shared in the episode in the tent.

Throughout this reign of terror, however, the friendship which Cochise and Jeffords established had not been marred, and the stage line was allowed to pass safely on its route. The relationship between the two men had become a strong tie in a short time, and Jeffords was allowed

to visit the Apache camp as often as he liked. He and Cochise became blood brothers in the ceremony of the Apaches, and close friends through the sharing of their ideas.

Not until 1872 did Jeffords take any white man with him to the camp of Cochise. At that time, General O. O. Howard, sent by President Grant to effect a treaty of peace with Cochise, secured the services of Jeffords to take him to the camp of the chief. A treaty was drawn up and agreed to by Cochise on the condition that Jeffords would be appointed agent for the Chiricahuas. This was done and the intense raiding of the Chiricahuas was interrupted until after the death of Cochise.

Arnold has embroidered the facts with a fictional account of Jefford's involvement with two women, one a white girl and the other an Apache girl. This of course made the novel more palatable to its readers, but it is a fabrication. It is fair to reveal that it is not out of character, but it does detract from an otherwise effective and sound arrangement of facts.

The definite preference for fact as a basis for fiction seen in the approach of Arnold is not an isolated instance of this trend in stories about Indians. What is found in Blood Brother is seen in the historical novels already mentioned, in those which follow, and in the anthropological problem fiction as well. This may be seen as an equal indication of the fiction writers' growing interest in philosophical and social themes in the present century. This direction was noted by J. W. Beach in The Twentieth Century Novel in 1932 when he wrote that "it is inevitable that future writers will be affected by the philosophical (the sociological) bias of which these experimental forms (Joyce, Huxley,) were the expression."⁷³

⁷³ Beach, p. 553.

More than being an indication of a growing interest in a realistic approach to fiction. (for it is hardly the primary purpose of a writer to be either realistic or romantic or to add his effort to a larger stream), this use of fact is characteristic of a new type of response to the problems of the human heart, which response is the spring board of the novelist.

That history furnishes only the foundation for a lively and imaginative fiction is shown in a novel by Paul I. Wellman. Broncho Apache, according to the author, "makes no pretense of being anything but fiction." It is not a rewritten page of history, but is rather "a tale of the last fighting Apache, who rather than surrender, carried on a solitary war against two great civilized nations--and won it too, until he disappeared."⁷⁴

Although strictly a fictional account, it is based on a non-fiction account of the Chiricahua band's train ride to Florida in 1886 which is included in General Nelson A. Miles' Personal Recollections, parts of which precede each chapter of the novel: "Just after they passed St. Louis, one Indian contrived to make his escape from the train despite all precautions which had been taken. True to his wolfish nature, he succeeded in avoiding settlements and people who would be likely to arrest him, and though it took him a year to work his way back to the San Carlos reservation, he finally succeeded in doing it. Like a hyena he occasionally, at long intervals, stole down upon the Indian camp at San Carlos, captured an Indian woman, carried her back up into the mountains, kept her for several months, then cruelly murdered her and returned to repeat the same crime.

⁷⁴ Paul I. Wellman, Broncho Apache (New York, 1936), p. 6.

This he did several times, and his movements were as secret and stealthy as those of a reptile. One Indian girl whom he had captured made her escape and told of his habits and cruelty. This man was afterwards reported killed."⁷⁵

In his non-fiction account of Apache Wars, Death in the Desert, Wellman noted after the above quotation: "Surely nobody but an Apache could have equalled the feat or the cunning of this unnamed Indian warrior. He escaped from the prison train in a thickly settled part of the country. He had to find food and a hiding place each day. He crossed Illinois, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico. It took him more than a year to make the trip. Yet in that entire period not a single human eye was ever laid on him. Without weapons, without a map, with only human unerring homing instinct guiding him, he journeyed straight to the desert and reached there some time in the fall of 1887. If history records the fellow to this exploit it has so far escaped the writer's attention."⁷⁶

The attempt to tie this story to fact leads to an interesting discovery. Earle K. Forrest and Edwin Hill in The Lone War Trail of Apache Kid give the name Mase to the escapee, tracing him as one of the Apache Kid's band. Wellman names his main character Massai after the entries in agents' reports at San Carlos, but says that Miles did not record the name of the outlaw. Massai's adventures and exploits described by Miles are recorded in Forrest and Hill as those of the Apache Kid; only the train

⁷⁵Paul I. Wellman, Death in the Desert (New York, 1935), pp. 273-4.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 274.

escape is accorded to the man named Massai. Confusion in historical data is not unknown to researchers, but these conflicting records are effectively resolved in imaginative blending of the two stories by Wellman.

In the account of Forrest and Hill, it is the Apache Kid who is imprisoned for shooting Al Seiber in the foot, is placed on the stage for the Yuma prison, manages to escape on the way and kills a guard. He purposely allows the driver of the stagecoach to live and disappears from the scene, coming out on occasion to kill whomever he wished, either Apache or white, and to carry on a reign of terror.

In the fictional account by Wellman, Massai escapes from the train, works his way back to the Apache territory, visits an old man who turns him in to the scouts at San Carlos, is shackled and sent on a stagecoach bound for the Yuma prison. On the way he escapes, kills a guard, saves the driver's life, and disappears into the wilds, evading all trackers and carrying on a one-man war against all in the territory.

Only the basic information is derived from Miles, so that Wellman was free to exercise his imagination for other characters and for Massai's personality. Throughout the story, Massai is treated as an individual acting in good faith on principles which were different from those of the people who judged him. The author explains his point of view in the foreward: "He was an Apache; a rimrock Apache. And he was never false to his Apache tradition, save at times when he spared, where the forthright Apache code might not have spared. Viewed thus he is a personality not unsympathetic."⁷⁷

⁷⁷Wellman, Broncho Apache, p. 7.

Possessed of a complex personality overlaid with hatred, anger, fear, passion, brutality, and some tenderness, he is endowed by the author with a humanity not afforded a hunted animal--and not often afforded an Apache.

Other elements which contribute to the realistic treatment of the story are not hard to find. Details of description include the extremely bad--the dirty food scraps mingled with the rag-packs of the Apache women on the Florida-bound train, the bloody, the filthy, the gloomy, as well as the simple, the tender and the ecstatic. Circumstances are for the most part probable. Dialogue attributed to each person is natural to him--Apache words are used throughout the book to refer to the basic elements of life on the reservation; and the main character is deeply involved in the events around him.

A journalist, as were Comfort and Arnold, Wellman wrote seven books while he worked for the Kansas City Star. His attitude towards writing is this: "My theory is that style should be clear, simple, yet varied enough to be interesting. . . In every book I seek to add something of interest, perhaps even of value to my reader's knowledge of his country, his people and his world."⁷⁸

History furnishes even less of a foundation for the novel by W. R. Burnett entitled Adobe Walls, which was published in 1953. Supposedly the story of Al Seiber's chase of Victorio, it overlooks historical accounts which testify to the fact that Victorio was chased by other detachments of the American Army and by the Mexican Army. It is not farfetched to imagine that Seiber chased the Apache chief, for he is noted for his skill in

⁷⁸ Twentieth Century Authors, ed. Stanley Kunitz and Vinetta Colly, (New York, 1955), p. 1062.

tracking renegade Apaches while he served under General Crook, but from the point of view of fact, the story is contrived. The historical note at the end of the story which indicates the characters in the book as men who actually played a part in history, contributes to the seeming authenticity of the story, yet it does not take extensive research to see that, although the names may fit the personalities of the people designated, the people do not fit the situation in truth.

Burnett is better known to the reading public as the author of Little Caesar. The story was made into a film and its success encouraged Burnett to write film scripts. A style developed which has been described as "simple" and "neo-realistic" by J. W. Beach in Twentieth Century Novel.⁷⁹ Elements of the style are the tendency to keep the author out of the story except as he may be identical with the main character; the use of a simple plot which moves straight through without flashbacks, long narrative or sub-plots; the omission of abstract nouns and adjectives or idealistic terms; the use of understatement rather than overstatement; and the creation of plain, simple, ordinary people in ordinary situations.⁸⁰

This element of simplicity is seen as well in Adobe Walls as in those books of Burnett's which were written before Beach published his observations. Seen in contrast to the complex personality portrait in Wellman's Broncho Apache, Burnett's approach allows Seiber to be painted as the hard-living man that he was instead of as a legend that he has

⁷⁹ Beach, p. 531.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 530-532.

become; his thoughts are not dwelt upon as are his actions and his conversations. Any plot is easily distinguishable, as are character types, and enough authentic detail is included to set the story, yet plot, characters, and description are not blown up to the extent of revealing any subtleties or fine details.

Adobe Walls furnishes a direct contrast to Blood Brother and Taos in its manipulation of facts. Most certainly Victorio did exist, Seiber did chase Apaches, and his loyal Apache scout Dutchy was a constant companion as Burnett keeps him, but the connection in the story is purely invention. Neither of the other two books may be said to be manipulations but are instead imaginative accounts of events which actually happened. Burnett's obvious disdain of subjective descriptions of characters and situations gives his book a "cut and dried" effect and cuts him off from any real contact with his reader, whereas the other two writers have allowed a certain amount of emotion to color their facts.

In keeping with the stereotyping of characters in Adobe Walls, Burnett creates his Indians as generally lazy, uncooperative, eager for a hand-out and quick to catch wind of a source for easy money, and just as quick to gamble it or get drunk on it. One exception is Dutchy, the wily yet loyal scout employed by Seiber. Another is Victorio, who had not submitted to the protection of the government reservation except for a short period. However, like these other men, Seiber and the other main characters are not invested with particular personalities except as revealed in their actions.

Certain elements of realism have been observed in Adobe Walls, but

the book has little artistic value. That it manipulates the facts of history is only a small detraction from its overall effect; that it overlooks the subtler, less obvious aspects of characters and situations keeps it from being either good art or true realism.

CHAPTER V

Many students of Southwestern Indians find the study of the cultural patterns of the various tribes appealing. Anthropologists, both professional and part-time, find much to occupy their research, the fields of most research being archaeology, religion, particular social customs, songs and chants, folklore, and linguistics.

References have already been made to the non-fiction in this field, including such names as Bandelier, Underhill, Reichard, Coolidge, and others. These writers are responsible for serious research in one or more areas of interest within a particular tribe or tribes. Their work is used without hesitation by many who seriously desire authoritative information.

Such work requires much specialized training and extensive research and considerable time and effort. In order to ascertain the facts of a particular area, the anthropologist may spend several years investigating his field before he makes public his observations. And even though much of the research is made public, the bulk of it is written in the language of anthropologists and requires no little effort on the part of the layman to understand it.

It is gratifying, then, to find that some of these same anthropologists have translated their technical findings into a readable fiction about their particular tribe.

The anthropologists who write these imagined stories may rightly be expected to create probable situations and interpret them validly, in terms of the actual experiences of the people in question.

Several books of the type described have been included in this study, as an illustration of the following quotation from Kenneth Kurtz: "Left to himself on the desert lands the white man did not want, the desert Indian kept his tribal life intact, something that no other American Indian succeeded in doing. Anthropologists discovered him in the 1890's and he emerged in a sophisticated fiction that owes more to ethnology than to Cooper."⁸¹

Those whose books are to be used as examples are Adolph Bandelier--one of the first anthropologists to confine himself to a true study of a Southwestern Indian tribe; Laura Adams Armer--who began her writing after she had become a grandmother; Gladys Reichard--whose volumes on the Navajo relation reveal intensive knowledge of the subject; and Ruth Underhill--an anthropologist who has much non-fiction to her credit.

Others exist who have done research into particular aspects of Indian life and who have used this study as a means of creating a believable fiction, but are included only in the bibliography at the end of this paper. To mention a few, Mary Austin, Alida Sims Malkus, Dane Coolidge, Frances Gillmor, Marah Ellis Ryan, and Oliver La Farge. Oliver La Farge's works will be included in the category of social or problem novels.

It is fitting to begin this description with Adolph Bandelier, for his contribution to the knowledge of Southwestern Indians and to the interest in them is great. His work in archaeology in New Mexico, uncovering the

⁸¹Kenneth Kurtz, Literature of the American Southwest, (Los Angeles, 1956), p. 52.

facts of previously unexplored cultures, is both extensive and intensive. A perusal of past journals of anthropology will reveal many articles by Bandelier. In tribute to his work in bringing to light the early life of various New Mexico pueblos, the Bandelier National Monument was so named. And with his knowledge of the cultural patterns of the Queres (Keres) Indians of New Mexico in the days before Coronado invaded the territory, he has produced a fiction book, The Delight Makers.

This book was first published in 1890 as an explanation of the Rio Grande Pueblo tribes' early life. Sober facts have been disguised by means of fictitious characters and a plot through which their cultural history is portrayed. The statements in the book are the result of first-hand investigation and intensive research; Bandelier knew the geography of the land, the ceremonial customs, and the characteristics of the people he created.

At the time of publication of The Delight Makers, few people were either acquainted with the Pueblo Indians or inquisitive about them. Anthropology itself was new as a science. These reasons, among those relating to the structure of the book itself, may explain why the book was not well received in its first publication.

In appearance alone, the book is an indication of the great amount of material contained in it. There are few pictures, and those which are included are actual photographs of the story's setting. The dialogue follows considerable narrative which is of course very necessary to an understanding of the truth of pueblo life, but it is noticeably factual material and interrupts the action within the story.

A story of life among the Queres Indians of New Mexico, The Delight Makers treats the characters within the main action as individuals. The ordinary family patterns are observed and fully explained, yet within this framework the characters are allowed distinct personalities. A plot which revolves around reason and internal life among tribal factions demands such individuality.

From the point of view of fiction, the book sacrifices certain characteristics of the well-written novel in achieving authenticity. Beginning with a long description of the area treated in the story, it reads more like a geography book than a fiction book. When the tribal customs are introduced and carefully explained, the book takes on the quality of an anthropological treatise. The immediacy of one action after another is interrupted in this way and the continued use of such explanation--though necessary to the better understanding of the story--frustrates the reader.

The choice of subject matter which is unfamiliar to the general public was undoubtedly responsible for its early lack of popularity as a fiction book. Furthermore, the plot deals with experiences totally foreign to most of the readers. A different religion and attitudes contingent upon a unique social system prohibit the less serious public from becoming involved in the story.

The Delight Makers is a striking example of the objectivity which characterizes realism. Not only is it striking in its fidelity to fact, but it is surprising to find an example of this approach as early as 1890, in view of the then current popular opinion.

Fictionalized fact is seen in the stories of Laura Adams Armer as well. Written for children, as are many books of the anthropological form of fiction, Waterless Mountain and Dark Circle of Branches exhibit clearly Mrs. Armer's experiences among the people she describes. An artist by interest and training, the author began to visit the Navajo reservation in 1924 when she spent a year there studying the art and customs of the Navajos. Each year afterwards she spent some time-- a few weeks or months-- on the reservation. As an artist, she was interested in the sand-paintings and was allowed to copy them. She also recorded the Mountain Chant and preserved a Yei-bi-chai dance on film.⁸²

Waterless Mountain, published in 1931, received the John Newberry Award in American Literature for children in 1932 and the Longman's Prize. It is the story of a little boy who wanted to become a medicine man, or a singer. In this description, Mrs. Armer was able to use much first-hand information, and the book possesses at the same time a charm of innocence and a foundation in fact. The illustrations in the book were made by the author.

Another interpreter of the Navajo life is Gladys Reichard. Particularly a student of the Navajo religion, she has published many books on this subject, and the most recent is Navajo Religion, a two-volume work which came out in 1950. In the dedication of her own book, The Navajos, Ruth Underhill calls her a "long time friend and interpreter of the Navajos." On the basis of her work with this tribe, she has written a fictional portrait of Dezba, Woman of the Desert. Although the book is

⁸² Authors Today and Yesterday, pp. 23-4.

classified as non-fiction in the library, the author prefaces it with the note that Dezba is a combination of several Navajo women, and that she knew no one who exactly fitted the description of the woman in the book.

In this respect it is fiction, then, although the situations described in it are common to the Navajo families. Life at home is the subject of the sketch, and no plot is superimposed upon the book except within the separate chapters and the following through of separate events. More a cross-section of Navajo family life than a purely made up story, its fact is presented under a very fine gauze of fiction.

The Papago Indians, seldom mentioned so far, have been the subject of considerable research by Ruth Underhill, whose reputation as an anthropologist is based on her work in many aspects of Indian life. A form of fictional interpretation of her knowledge of the Papagos is Hawk Over Whirlpools which was published in 1940.

More than any of the preceding fiction by anthropologists, this book contains the characteristics of imaginative fiction. A plot, invented characters in everyday dress, situations understandable by a wide reading public, exist along with the problems faced most commonly by Indians, the descriptions of the remnants of Papago culture, and characters peculiar to this particular group.

It is the story of a young Papago boy who is encouraged to enter into the old ways of his people in seeking a vision and learning the chants of the shaman, but who is torn away from this by the white man's school and taught to be a cook. It is a story of his life in the city and his

life back among his own people, of the eventual downfall of the old way and the rapid creation of a path into the new. It is an explanation of the traditional culture and a commentary on the process of learning a new one.

The action in this story is not interrupted by an over-abundance of anthropological data, although enough information is included to keep the reader aware of what is happening. It is often the very action which is used to explain unfamiliar cultural patterns, in fact. The description of a shaman's ceremony is itself the explanation of this belief, and a shaman's commentaries upon his actions and their significance take the place of an interpretation in the author's own words. This technique brings the story to life, even though it deals with a somewhat unfamiliar subject. Realistic in that it treats the subject with objectivity and is concerned with a situation common to many tribes, this story is a far cry from television productions of Indian stories.

Very obviously, the fiction in this category is rich in information for the reader. Simple plots facilitate the communication of facts, and characters are created only as they fit into the environment being painted. In fact, the writer in each case is more interested in her data than with the manner of presenting it. That is, she (for the women dominate this field) is more interested in interpreting the anthropological data which she has amassed than in constructing a work of art.

Many books of anthropological foundation are written for children and for this reason are limited in their discussion of the culture to those aspects of life commonly encountered by children. Some, as those of

Bandelier, Reichard, and Underhill, appeal more to an adult audience in the subject, but even in these it will be seen that the story is not intricate in plot or consistent with a universal theme.

Such immature art may be attributed to the superficiality of the anthropologists' knowledge of the people they are presenting. Descriptions of clothing, food habits, shelters, religious practices, games, etc., are certainly necessary to any realistic story of a tribe of Indians-- by virtue of their distinct culture, but a knowledge of the emotional atmosphere is equally necessary to serious art. In this field, an anthropologist is at a loss without a thorough knowledge of the language of the people and long acquaintance with them.

With these considerations in mind, it is not hard to understand the thought that prompted Erna Fergusson to write that "The real book about Indians will not be written until an Indian writes it."⁸³

⁸³Fergusson, p. 373.

CHAPTER VI

Perhaps the most disturbing, yet the most representative fiction about the modern southwestern Indian is the problem novel. Born out of the conflict between the various Indian cultures and the dominant or Anglo culture, it describes with fictitious characters and circumstances the predicament of Indians caught in the middle, or using Lindquist's phrase, Indians in transition.

Much non-fiction has attempted to present the problem and define it as it is reflected economically, socially, and even religiously. Yet, it is the realm of the fiction writer to look into the life of the individual and paint the psychological manifestations of this incompatibility of cultures--to capture, so to speak, the atmosphere of the mind.

Such a picture can hardly be obtained by a series of questionnaires, surveys, or statistical records, and the writer must use his imagination if he is to present anything more than a case history. A purely objective approach is not possible. Such fidelity to fact which is seen in some historical novels, if applied to contemporary Indian life, would make good reading only for the sociologist. For the sake of his story, then, the fiction writer must create imaginative situations and imaginary characters.

An understanding of the problem being presented is dependent upon how carefully and clearly this problem is stated. In order to make plain his problem, the writer must choose his situations and characters within a certain framework of observable fact. An understanding of how the people in question actually live--their economy, their religions, their family life--is imperative; a knowledge of how the tribe used to live before the

addition to the new, unfamiliar, or confusing cultural patterns-- in other words of the anthropologists-- is indispensable; familiarity with the governmental policy which shapes the present and future direction of these tribes is necessary.

Added to the factual information, or preceding it, the writer of problem fiction must have skill in writing fiction, in arranging the great amount of materials collected in an effective pattern, in breathing life into the symbolic characters, in providing a unified plot to an otherwise confused mass of material.

Anyone can see that the writing of problem fiction about a people whose everyday experiences, whose culture, and whose history is so uncommon to the greater part of the population-- even of the Southwest-- is an enormous task and a responsibility. It is true that knowledge of the customs of a particular tribe is necessary-- even in fiction; and that some familiarity with tribal history is of help in revealing the lifeway of the tribe-- even in fiction. It has been shown that in each of the above categories of Indian fiction, the realistic approach in fact demands this concrete knowledge. Perhaps even more so in the problem fiction than in the other types is such information necessary.

Along with this obligation to the subject on the part of the writer of problem fiction, however, goes a greater opportunity for plot development than in the historical or the anthropological fiction. Although history may provide the writer with characters and situations, it also limits him in his development of their personalities and the atmosphere around them. Anthropological fiction carries with it an aspect of remoteness and strangeness to the general public. But the problem novel writer

is provided only with a problem which he may modify to suit himself. He may create his characters and his situations and is bound only by his conscience in using his imagination.

Some of the problems of southwestern Indians which have been interpreted in fiction are common to all tribes, although individual tribes have their own variations or flavors of the problem. An overall problem is the avowed necessity that the Indians learn to live in a non-Indian world which does not respect the Indian sense of values. As a result of their accommodation, there is seen a breakdown of the old, established Indian cultures in the face of the less uniform and more complex new ones. This breakdown is effected by various means: instructing young people in the ways of their non-Indian neighbors through schools run by the federal government, the state, and private concerns; changing the economy of the home so that the family is no longer an autonomous unit; introducing religions whose teachings are incompatible with Indian culture; enforcing laws not made by the Indians themselves; and exacting from them an allegiance to an alien power in Washington which is vaguely supposed to have their interests at heart.

The problem is not the breakdown, however, but merely results in and from it. This is seen in the Indian who succeeds in learning to live off the reservation in accord with the accepted patterns of behaviour and yet wishes to return "home" to live. Unfamiliar with the ways of his own people and unwilling to adopt them entirely, he is rejected in turn by those he has rejected. Fit to live in a non-Indian society, he finds slow acceptance there, for although he is culturally acceptable, he is racially different.

Obviously, it is a problem which concerns no single individual, but which involves many people. Furthermore, it is not an abstract problem which can be solved by a process of reasoning but reveals itself in concrete actions and situations. It will be understood that in such a widespread condition there develop certain behaviour patterns which may be regarded as typical. But it cannot be forgotten that within this conformity, there exists the human variable.

That the novel writer is provided with a wealth of material is clear to see. Family life, school training, job relations, off-reservation life, missionary influence, etc., offer many possibilities to the problem fiction writer in developing plot, characters, and setting. The choice of any one of these aspects of life necessitates still another decision.

Before any word is written or any story formed, the writer must decide upon his point of view or his approach to the problem he has chosen. His decisions will dictate his choice of situation, of character type, and of plot or direction of action. Will he paint the Indian as a pawn in the forces of acculturation? Will he paint the characters and allow them to succeed in spite of everything? Will he trace only one of the forces in his breakdown? Will he adopt a moral tone? Will he consciously give his own interpretation to the problem and suggest changes, and as D. H. Lawrence terms it, put "his thumb in the scale"? Will he tell his story as he would see it or as one of the characters in the story would see it? Will he tell it in shoes or moccasins?

Problem fiction, as distinct from historical or anthropological fiction, concerns itself less with the actual than with the possible.

Historical fiction, by its very name, suggests circumstantial evidence as basis for a plot and characters; anthropological fiction suggests a similar interest in fact. Problem fiction, on the other hand, can be found true to life only in its possibility. Fictitious names are given to personalities which may very well have existed but which are not recorded as participating in any such action as is in the story; invented situations molded the lives of the real people although so written down they are not recorded as such. Nevertheless, it is within the realm of possibility that the problem novel is created.

Because of the nature of problem fiction, the writer is free to invent, create, and imagine the people, places, and situations within his story. This may be considered at the same time an opportunity and a task, for although he may have the world to choose from, he is bound by his story to a certain degree of unity in the choice. If one is to write a story about graft within a big city, he will most likely choose for his characters those people commonly associated with crime, crooked politics, and mismanaged power.

When a novelist decides to write about Southwestern Indians, he is at a loss when he tries to choose character types unless he is himself an Indian. Consequently, he must investigate the fiction which has already been written, the facts of the Indians' life, and their outstanding characteristics. It is inconceivable that anyone could write a problem novel in a realistic vein without spending considerable time among the people he is portraying.

Upon investigation, the writer will inevitably find that the Indian

as a type has been treated variously. As Ella B. Kennedy in her interesting thesis on "The Indian in Southwestern Fiction" shows, the pre-historic types are only general family members or vague enemies, but the contemporary types are numerous. One finds the soldier, the guide, the gambler, the dandy, the shrew, the half-breed, the chief, the craftsman (silversmith, pottery maker, rug weaver). Others which may be added to this list are the councilman, the school boy or girl and the medicine man.

If a writer is to portray a problem, however, he is more interested in personalities than in types. And in this research, he must proceed more or less alone.

When the general public thinks of an Indian, it is with little thought that one tribe may be different from another. Dr. William Kelly states that it is difficult to impress upon the population that one tribe of Indians may be as different from another tribe as the Egyptians are from the Turks. Yet, such a diversity exists among the numerous tribes of Indians, and this difference can be seen readily in the Southwest where many tribes live side by side.

Choice of tribe, then, will be one big step in the narrowing down process of the writer of Indian fiction. For to choose a tribe is to choose as well the location, the atmosphere of everyday life, the character types, and to some extent the personality traits. It may mean the choice of a problem or a certain situation, and it may mean the choice of a point of view--all achieved with the choice of a tribe.

The problems with which the writers of fiction under survey have dealt have been described above in some detail, and the books which treat

the Indians' predicament now stand to be surveyed with respect to their approach.

For the purposes of this study, six writers are being used. Zane Grey, Gwendolyn Overton, Oliver LaFarge, Edwin Corle, Ruth Underhill, and Frank Waters cover the greater part of this century with their books, whose publication range from 1901 to 1942, and whose attitudes reflect the growing interest in a realistic approach to the subject.

Heritage of Unrest by Gwendolyn Overton, published in 1901, contrasts sharply with the popular opinion of the Indian among Arizonans at that time. The use of an Indian as a main character, and the sympathetic treatment of him is not a common approach in the early days of this century. The book deals with the life at the Army post at San Carlos on the Apache reservation during the 1870's when Indians were compared to dogs.

Felipa, whose father had been a soldier and whose mother was an Apache woman, was sent as a very young girl to school in St. Louis by a man who had assumed the responsibilities of her father when he died. Upon her return to San Carlos many years later, she greeted Mr. Langor, her foster father, as a mature young woman. She is to all appearances thoroughly "civilized" but she is in reality still very conscious of her Indian blood. Her guardian marries her, and she proves to be a capable wife, exhibiting only occasional lapses into uncivilized behaviour. Her deep feelings are painted by the author through her relationship with Mr. Cairness who inspired in her a love which she had not felt for Mr. Langor. She manages to conceal her change of heart from her husband for sometime, and refuses to leave him when he becomes aware of it. In a battle with Apaches,

Langor is killed trying to defend Cairness, and Felipa shocks the people at the fort by her haste to marry Cairness. She moves to Tombstone where she eventually dies trying to save her husband's life.

Such a treatment of an Indian girl is not seen in later fiction. Felipa is shown to have successfully bridged the gap between Indian and white man, and the questioning in her mind about her role in the white man's world is not so disrupting as to keep her from fitting in on an equal basis. Schooling definitely helped her, and it did not pose any problems in her life, for she did not wish to visit or live among the Indians on the reservation.

Miss Overton's knowledge of her subject is not questioned. Having lived among the Apaches--on an Army post--she knew them as the soldiers knew them. Full-blooded Apaches are not as sympathetically treated as is Felipa. Rather, they are described as wicked. No descriptions are included of life among the Indians, except as they are fighting. This lack is probably due only to the plot of the story, but the fact remains that little research had been done on Apache customs by 1901. Time was spent in one sense or another on the more immediate task of subduing them to reservations.

School Indians are the subjects of all the books in this category of problem fiction, but the approaches have been diverse. In Miss Overton's book, Felipa is shown to have profited from the experience at school, but in the years which followed the publication of Heritage of Unrest, many Indians who returned to the reservation from schools showed an opposite reaction. Wishing to pick up where they had left off in their Indian life, they found recurrent impediments to doing so. And many were discouraged.

Zane Grey. in The Vanishing American displays a similar depressed attitude by describing the harm which schooling did to Navajo Indians. The main character returns to his home to find that his way of life away at school had so completely changed his ways of thinking that he could not fit into Navajo ways naturally. Endowed with greater knowledge of medicine, he could not believe so securely in the cures of the singer. Schooled in psychology, he could not fear the witch spells. Having learned of disease, he did not believe in leaving a dead man unburied as custom dictated. Many differences made him realize how culturally different he had become. His attitude was not alone one of using what he had learned to the betterment of his people, moreover, for he was desperately trying to find acceptance for himself and to find the essence of himself as a Navajo. In his concern for himself and his own status, he was making himself thoroughly unhappy.

Grey's attitude toward the effect of schooling upon the Navajo is evidently opposite for many reasons from Miss Overton's, even though in both books the main character dies at the end of the story. The Vanishing American strikes a note of sure doom and gives the impression that each school-Indian will be as the one portrayed.

Two other critiques of the school's demoralizing influence upon Navajo Indians are Enemy Gods by Oliver LaFarge and People on the Earth by Edwin Corle. Strikingly similar in point of view, they appeared the same year, 1937. Both show that the Indian boy is capable of learning the subjects taught in school and of succeeding in the "white's man's world" of individual achievement, but that he does not wish to pursue it at the expense of his Indian heritage.

In neither case does the main character return to his reservation life because he is not accepted in the outside society or because he cannot "catch on" to the ways of the dominant culture. In neither case is he told that he belongs on a reservation or made to feel inferior in a direct way. It is rather the preference on the part of the boy himself to live in the old way.

Adverse effects which the schooling produces in these two stories are mental turmoil and a clouded perspective. LaFarge traces a boy through mission schools which tear down his tribal religion and shows his growing discontent with some of the more superficial aspects of his relatives' beliefs, and the resulting estrangement of himself from them. However, he is treated solicitously by those whose belief he shares and he feels insignificant. When he returns to the reservation, he finds that he has lost stature among his own people as well, and the attempt to prove himself to them is a painful process, mentally. When he does find "himself" the self that emerges is a Navajo in appearance and in way of living, but his thinking is not couched in the fear and superstition of his ancestors. He finds that he is happiest if he lives in the old and thinks toward the new.

Edwin Corle's main character shows similar development since he is cut off from the traditional Navajo life when he is very young. Sent to boarding schools, he adopts a new name, new clothes, and a new way of thinking. He exhibits little discontent with this life as he becomes more firmly settled in it, but when he goes back to the reservation he is impressed with the gap which has developed between him and his own people.

Attempts to bridge this gap by succumbing to the tactics of a former

friend who had become a bootlegger, and by living among the Navajo and trying to recapture his old culture are largely unsuccessful, for he is apprehended for being drunk and rejected by true Navajos who had no wish to adopt a school-Indian into their society. However, he joins forces with a girl who had experienced similar difficulty at reconciling school training with traditional Indian ways, takes her from her life as a prostitute, and builds a home with her on the reservation. Their hogan is blessed by his brother who is a medicine man and it is assumed that they would live happily ever after.

Without sacrificing too much fact in order to tell the story well, or too much in the way of plot in order to present the problem clearly, both Corle and LaFarge have achieved their purpose--to call attention to the predicament which exists when the process of acculturation is operating. It is evident from reading case histories of the school-Indians that such discontent and confusion is prevalent. Reasons differ, of course, and individual cases reveal certain unique aspects, yet the factual basis for the various novels written is undoubtedly there.

A comparable account of the conflict in cultures brought about by schooling at the hands of non-Indians is Hawk Over Whirlpools by Ruth Underhill. Mentioned earlier in the category of anthropological novels, in view of the fact that it was written by an anthropologist, the story concerns a Papago boy who was trained in school to be a baker and sent home to live. Women did the baking at home, of course, and having been away from home for so long, he had missed out on the training in the role of the male--the learning of chants, of dances of sorcery. His brother had stayed at home and had taken over these jobs and was also providing

for his family, so no other job was open to the one-time baker. For some time he merely loafed, but the prospect of a new school in the area brought him out of his despondent attitude. A catastrophe which took away the leadership of the village left him with this responsibility and his progressive ways, formerly checked by the traditions of his elders, found favor with the officials of the school and with the members of the village.

This story has a happy ending in the harmonious fusion of two cultures. School is not seen as a detriment in the long run. Acculturation is seen as less soul-rending than in the former books by Grey and LaFarge and Corle. According to Underhill, there is a way out of the conflict and it involves not alone the triumph of one culture over the other but the synthesizing of the two.

The past three books, Enemy Gods, People of the Earth, and Hawk Over Whirlpools may be regarded more as social critiques than as creative novels in view of their subject and their approach. None of them attempts to produce a sustained emotional tone or characters who feel anything but school-boy emotions; nor do the authors resist the temptation to philosophize or voice their own opinions about their subject. The fact that they have solved their problem as well as stating it places their works outside the classification of true art in the opinion of Chekhov.⁸³

The opinion in regard to the place of morality in the novel is expanded by D. H. Lawrence. "Morality in the novel is the trembling instability of the balance. When the novelist puts his thumb in the scale, to pull down the balance to his own predilection, that is immorality."⁸⁴

⁸³Novelists on the Novel, ed. Miriam Allott (New York, 1959), p.

⁸⁴Ibid., p.

When the preceding ideas are considered in relation to the books on the predicament of the school-Indian, it is not hard to see that none of them would deserve the title of a work of art. In each of them the author is not only setting forth the problem; he is solving it as well. In each of them, the author is guilty of putting a "thumb on the scale" and thereby tilting the balance in the direction of his own opinion on the matter.

A book which deals with the same problems as the three mentioned above, but which is not so opinionated as they are is Laughing Boy by Oliver LaFarge. This book appeared in 1929, eight years before Enemy Gods. Its popularity may be seen in the fact that it was chosen to receive the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1930. The author is a serious student of the Navajos and has worked in the language as well as the social problems of this tribe. He has been the president of the American Association on Indian Affairs for many years and has written disturbing accounts in both fiction and non-fiction of the treatment of the Indian by the federal government.

Laughing Boy is a love story. It is about a traditional Navajo, Laughing Boy, who could sing and dance, make silver jewelry, judge a rug, rope horses, gamble shrewdly, appreciate a squaw dance, enjoy a good joke, and feel comfortable with the old beliefs. It is also about Slim Girl, a Navajo who had been off to the boarding school where she was prohibited from speaking her own language and where the traditions of the Navajo were not only forbidden but were greatly regarded as uncivilized. She developed a hatred for white people when one man deceived her, and she used them only to her own ends--to procure money. Although the methods she used were not respectable, she felt this to be a type of revenge.

When Laughing Boy met Slim Girl at a squaw dance, he was not aware of her past or of her reputation. He seemed to consider her pretty, though a strangely different Navajo maiden. Despite the warnings of his uncle, he went off with her to her home in Los Palos, a railroad town on the southern edge of the reservation. After four days, a medicine man performed the ceremony which made them husband and wife. Laughing Boy urged his wife to set up a loom, to plant corn, to do the traditional things a Navajo woman did. She complied in most, for she was anxious to prove herself a real Navajo to his people and to herself. After some time, when the two went back to visit her relatives, she took a rug which she had woven, she wore the traditional dress, and she attempted to observe the Navajo customs throughout their stay. Her sincerity was appreciated by her in-laws.

However, when she was at home with Laughing Boy, Slim Girl exhibited two traits which she had not learned from the Navajo. She was so afraid of losing Laughing Boy that she accustomed him to having a drink of whiskey each evening--just enough to make him want more; and she went off periodically to "work" for a white rancher on the excuse that she was earning money by working for a missionary. This deception was not understood by Laughing Boy until by chance he saw his wife and the "missionary" together. He felt honor-bound to shoot the man, and he shot his wife in the arm with the fourth arrow, thinking to kill the evil within her. At home he removed the arrow at her request, and listened to her tell the story of her schooling, first by missionaries and then by prostitutes, and of the rancher he had seen. Because she told him the truth this time, he stayed with her and decided that they should live back among the Navajos away from the Americans, for even though it was not intentional, bad things

often resulted from their influence.

On the way north into the reservation, the two were sighted by a rival of Laughing Boy's who had formerly known Slim Girl, and he shot the woman. At her death, Laughing Boy kept a four night vigil, after which he continued north. Hardly aware of his path, or of the things around him, he was alive to one thought: that his memory of her was the most precious thing he had, or ever would have.

The range of emotion portrayed in this novel is in part a key to its popularity. And the point of view which LaFarge has adopted is representative of the policy of the government in the early 1930's. It was shortly before this novel was written that the serious and exhaustive study of Indian administration problems had been made for the Department of the Interior, and its publication had touched off the subsequent formation of a new policy by the government. In LaFarge's book, this new policy--to recognize the Indian cultures as valid in their own rights and to encourage the retention of certain aspects of them was set forth in a powerful story. It clearly used reality, but only as a springboard.

The preponderance of novels which deal with the Navajo Indians is typical of this type of problem novel. Whereas the Apache will be found more often in historical or adventure fiction, it is the Navajo who have become the subjects of so much social study, and consequently social novels.

The most recent study of the problems of the Indian in transition in the form of fiction is The Man Who Killed The Deer by Frank Waters, which appeared in 1942. Rather than the Navajo, its subject is the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and their relations with the encroaching white culture.

In a review of the novel in the Saturday Review of Literature, Burton Rascoe writes: "This is by far the finest novel of American Indian life I have ever read, not excepting the notable Laughing Boy by Oliver LaFarge. . ."85

The man who killed the deer was Martiniano. He had returned to the pueblo from school and found himself out of step with the ways of those who lived there and maintained the traditional beliefs. He had refused to dress like the others and wore store-bought shoes instead of moccasins. He refused to join in with the dances when his name was called. He entered the kiva only to be reprimanded.

Since the government had taken over much of the land which had formerly been tribal land, there had been hunting restrictions placed upon it and the tribe had agreed to uphold these laws, even though they were not made by the Indians themselves. One of these restrictions involved the hunting of deer, and it had been kept until Martiniano killed a deer out of season.

Apprehended by the forest ranger, Martiniano had evaded him but was tried in court, found guilty and assessed a fine of a hundred and fifty dollars. The friendly trader paid his fine and added it to his account at the store. Worse than this trial, however, was the punishment meted out by the tribal rulers.

In the eyes of these law makers, Martiniano had not only broken the law of the government but he had offended the honor of the tribe's promise to the government to uphold the restrictions. This was judged a more serious offense even than the one for which he had been tried, and the consequences had to be appropriate to the crime. Since what he had done had injured the whole tribe, he had to suffer publicly his sentence of

⁸⁵Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. xxv (June 13, 1942), p. 9.

five lashes on the back.

Had Martiniano been a different man, or of different temperament, this might not have influenced him so much. But because he had cut himself off from the traditions of his tribe, he found no relief from his humiliation and from the censure of the members of the pueblo. Wishing to rid himself of the guilt, he took the deer hide to the trader and left it with him, since he felt that the deer had brought this upon him. His nightmares of the deer and of its power over him seemed to him further proof of the fact that the deer had done this to him.

When Martiniano married, it was to a Ute girl, and this obvious spurning of the pueblo girls was not quickly forgotten. His wife was ignored and insulted, and he was refused the farming conveniences of the rest of the tribe. His oats and wheat he had to thresh the old fashioned way instead of with the thresher. He was forbidden to live inside the pueblo walls during the winter time. He was fined for not complying with the rules of dress. And all this he blamed on the deer. In effect, he was worshiping the deer in his fear of its vengeance upon him.

He tried to find peace of mind by mounting the deer skin and placing it inside his house. He tried to chase away the uneasiness by taking up peyote. Neither of the two had any real effect upon him. But when his wife became pregnant, he began to follow the traditional customs. He made her wear a certain stone around her neck, and he warned her not to look strangely at any deformed person, for if she did their child would be similarly deformed. He began to share in the ceremonies of the pueblo. And he found that he was happy.

His reversal was not complete, and as he looked around him, he saw evidences of change in others at the pueblo. He saw others who were beginning to wear store shoes, and who had refused to wear blankets or wear their hair long. But by the time he saw these things, he had begun to wear moccasins once again, and he had decided to wear a blanket, his hair was long, and he had decided to have his son dedicated in the kiva.

One aspect of the novel which earns for it the praise mentioned earlier is its use of symbolism. In Waters' opinion, each man has killed his deer, so to speak. Each man, that is, has violated a tabu set up by society and has experienced retribution, a feeling of aloneness or separation, and mental and spiritual growth--each man, of course, who has come to terms with himself and society.

Another valuable ingredient is undoubtedly the characterization. Dealing with a subject which might well have become completely mystical and superficial, the author had not ignored the real character types which might be found on the edge of Indian land: the rough but kindly trader, the drunk or alcoholic Indian, the variety of tourists, and the hard-shelled conservative leaders of the pueblo. The resulting color and immediacy of action form a clear frame of reference within which to enact the story of Martiniano.

As in Laughing Boy, the problem presented in The Man Who Killed the Deer is not clearly stated or easily answered. It amounts to a predicament--the fate of the Indian who finds that his material wants and his spiritual needs dictate different behaviour patterns, that he is unhappy following either way of life completely, and that he must make his own path between them. Waters answers the problem for the man in the book,

and yet he hints at the continuation of the problem in the lives of many others. LaFarge, solving his main character's conflict in a similar way by returning him to his traditional behaviour, also indicates that the problem cannot be resolved by ignoring it.

Whereas the problem of the two preceding books--Enemy Gods and People on the Earth--was seen to have resulted mainly from going to school and was solved by returning to traditional ways, the problem in the last two books cannot be traced to one cause but seems to have built up through a process of causes. Schooling in the disrupting ways of the "white" culture is seen as contributing to the breakdown of the tribal unity, yet the characters are painted as individuals whose actions are controlled by their own choices.

The theme in The Man Who Killed the Deer is a universal one. The attempts of a man to reconcile himself to the demands of his particular society are fashioned into a story which is valid to all people and understandable to many who know nothing about Indians. Although the distinct way of life described in the story is foreign to the lives of many readers, the struggle which Martiniano experienced in finding himself in the face of shifting standards is familiar to most of them.

Clearly, Waters has achieved a degree of realism in his novel which has not been approximated by other writers of Indian stories. This can be seen strikingly by comparing the last book with one written earlier in the century--Chunda, by Horatio Ladd. In the earlier book the individual is changed by mere hocus-pocus, dominocus; in Waters' book the individual's contact with the outside culture makes life more difficult for him instead of more romantic. Ladd dwells on the rosy aspects of life and ignores

completely the possibility of failure or unhappiness; Waters brings both peace and turmoil into the lives of his characters. Ladd is superficial; Waters is comprehensive.

Indian stories which give such a realistic interpretation as Waters' are few in comparison to those which are romantic in approach. One of the reasons is that ". . . novels, or books of any kind, about Indians do not sell well."⁸⁶ However, even though the public conception of what constitutes an Indian story may work against a realistic portrayal of the subject, it is evident that the growing interest on the part of the twentieth century novelist in social themes has spread to the Indian subject as well. Far from showing an increase in numbers, the growth referred to in the title of this paper is seen to be the development of an awareness of the existence of Indians as individuals.

As has been pointed out, this awareness in fiction has echoed the changing government policies. It advanced from the negative approach of the early part of the century to the acceptance of the Indian cultures after 1928. Finally, it has explored the implications of the present policy which is encouraging the Indian "to stand on his own two feet."

⁸⁶Ibid.

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