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AN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY BASED ON FOUR SELECTED
NOVELS BY A. B. GUTHRIE, JR..

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AN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY
BASED ON FOUR SELECTED NOVELS BY A. B. GUTHRIE, JR.

Charles Eugene Ray

A dissertation presented to the
Graduate Faculty of Middle Tennessee State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Doctor of Arts Degree

August, 1974

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY
BASED ON FOUR SELECTED NOVELS BY A. B. GUTHRIE, JR.

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ABSTRACT

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY

BASED ON FOUR SELECTED NOVELS BY A. B. GUTHRIE, JR.

by Charles Eugene Ray

This dissertation examines the feasibility of an interdisciplinary course based on four selected novels by A. B. Guthrie, Jr., selected works from the history of the American West, and the archetypes of Carl Jung. The direction of the study is primarily determined by the explicit and implicit themes of the novels. The novels are analyzed and interpreted as works of literary art; their analysis and interpretation are partially based on Jung's theory of the archetypes. The historical aspect includes the fur trade, the westward movement, the Cattle Kingdom, the destruction of natural and human resources, and the theory of Manifest Destiny. This study tests the feasibility of integrating and fusing the various disciplines into a single interdisciplinary course that might be meaningful to a classroom environment.

Chapter one describes the intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of the study, the projections, the background and significance of the study, the limitations, and the procedures for collecting data. Basic sources are Guthrie's

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four novels, selected non-fiction works on the American West, and several volumes on Jungian psychology.

Chapter two is arranged in five parts. The first four parts, respectively, are plot summaries of The Big Sky, The Way West, These Thousand Hills, and Arfive. Part five describes a method of relating the literary works to the historical and psychological works of the study.

Chapter three treats the historical aspects. Part one is a catalogue of personages and places. Part two describes the buffalo economy of the Plains Indians and its collapse after the extermination of the great herds. Part three explores the principle of Manifest Destiny and its significance in the novels. The final part describes the dichotomy between the fictional Western hero and the historical Westerner, and the problems created by this dichotomy in Guthrie's fiction, particularly in These Thousand Hills.

Part one of chapter four briefly explains the portion of the personality theory of Jung that concerns the archetypes. Part two is a partial interpretation and analysis of the novels based on the archetypal Paradise, Earth Mother, Quest, and Wise Old Man.

Chapter five describes the conclusions as to the feasibility of the various aspects of the study. An interdisciplinary course that relates the novels of Guthrie, the history of the Far West, and the archetypes of Jung, is recommended. Since only a limited aspect of Jung's psychology

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is treated, the course should carry credit only in English and history. Several possibilities of actual classroom presentations of the related materials are mentioned. A general conclusion states that an interdisciplinary course seems to be the best compromise between innovation and tradition.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This interdisciplinary study is essentially an intrinsic and extrinsic critical approach to A. B. Guthrie's four novels, The Big Sky,¹ The Way West,² These Thousand Hills,³ and Arfive,⁴ combined with an evaluation of whether the novels might be feasibly taught in an interdisciplinary college course in literature and history. In the event of an affirmative conclusion, recommendations will be made for the actual presentation of the materials in a classroom environment.

The intrinsic aspect includes several criteria that are commonly and uncommonly used in the analysis and the interpretation of a work of literary art. The usual criteria include the unifying devices of the total work (the characters, the environment, the method of narration, setting,

¹ A. B. Guthrie, Jr., The Big Sky (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1947).

² A. B. Guthrie, Jr., The Way West (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949).

³ A. B. Guthrie, Jr., These Thousand Hills (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957).

⁴ A. B. Guthrie, Jr., Arfive (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970).

tone, imagery), characterization (creation of opposites, people as ideas), and various motifs (love, death, violence). A most unusual approach to the analysis and the interpretation of the novels will be the application of archetypal criticism. This critical method is partially based on the personality theory of Carl Jung. The archetypes which will be examined in some detail are Paradise, the Earth Mother, the Quest, and the Wise Old Man.

The extrinsic approach will deal with history; more specifically, this approach will study the theory of Manifest Destiny and the historical events--the fur trade, the westward migration, the Cattle Kingdom, the destruction of the environment--that the novels might reflect. Considerable overlapping occurs in the intrinsic and extrinsic chapters--a quite excusable occurrence since this paper is an interdisciplinary study.

PROJECTIONS

1. The intrinsic value of the novels will possess enough literary substance to merit further study as works of art.
2. The novels will possess enough historical significance to merit their selection as important works in an interdisciplinary course.
3. Both the intrinsic and the extrinsic properties of the novels are valuable to an interdisciplinary course.

4. The intrinsic value of the novels will not possess enough literary substance to merit further study as works of art.

5. The novels will not possess enough historical significance to merit their selections as important works in an interdisciplinary course.

6. Neither the intrinsic nor the extrinsic properties of the novels are valuable to an interdisciplinary course.

BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

A major difficulty in the education of the contemporary undergraduate is the fragmentation of the curriculum. Although many universities have installed interdisciplinary courses, the problem of the fragmented interdisciplinary course still exists. The selection of appropriate creative literature which possesses depth in its art, interest for its readers, and relevance to the other discipline or disciplines remains a problem. A study of the novels of Guthrie might possibly fill a void in interdisciplinary teaching. Guthrie's work, for instance, has been closely united with that of historian Bernard DeVoto, whose works Across the Wide Missouri and The Year of Decision: 1846, are well known studies of the American West. In the Foreword to the sixth printing of Guthrie's The Big Sky, Wallace Stegner writes:

In a region only three generations from the total wilderness of buffalo and horse Indians, everything, including history, must be rebuilt from scratch. . . . It does not exist until it is remembered and written down; and it is not truly remembered and written down until it has been vividly imagined. Guthrie's . . . novels . . . have as one of their justifications the creation of such a usable memory. . . . These are novels, works of the imagination, and yet it is not improper to think of them as related to the trilogy of great histories that constitute the major work of Guthrie's good friend Bernard DeVoto. DeVoto touched history with a novelist's imagination; Guthrie imagines his novels around a historian's sure knowledge (The Big Sky, p. viii).

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

1. Only a small amount of literary criticism on Guthrie has been written.
2. Very little resource material of a practical nature on interdisciplinary courses in literature, history, and psychology is available.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

In some quarters, A. B. Guthrie, Jr. might possibly be considered a "popular" author, that is, an author who is popular only in the sense of his appeal to a large reading public. Guthrie is popular in this sense, but, in an academic study, he might possibly be revealed as a rather unusual popular writer--for instance, he breaks the myth of the traditional Western hero, rather than perpetuates it. This paper will not necessarily pass a final judgment on the

popularity of the author's work, but the project itself might reflect the absence or presence of literary substance in the four novels.

No author should be neglected by the academic world, regardless of his great professional success. Critical work is needed on an author whose novels might possibly become important materials in the interdisciplinary classroom. Presently, little critical work exists on one of our most widely read modern novelists, one who is almost universally praised by critics and book reviewers in their relatively limited studies.

Guthrie's accomplishments have been considerable. Some items in the following list suggest a justification of a study of his work:

1. Recipient of the Pulitzer Prize for The Way West.
2. Recipient of the Academy Award for the screen play Shane.
3. Recipient of a Nieman Fellowship to Harvard University.
4. Author of six novels, three of which were best sellers and made into successful movies (The Big Way, The Way West, and These Thousand Hills).
5. Recipient of a Breadloaf Writers Conference Fellowship.
6. Creative writing teacher at Breadloaf and the University of Montana.

7. Editor of the Lexington Leader, Lexington, Kentucky.
8. Recipient of the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Montana.
9. Author of numerous magazine articles, short stories, poems, and an autobiography.
10. Hollywood screen writer of The Kentuckian, Shane, and These Thousand Hills.

PROCEDURES FOR COLLECTING DATA

1. No effort was made to gain personal access to the literary effects and the critical opinions of Guthrie. A wealth of historical materials was available, and no effort was necessary to gain personal access since the approach in this paper found Guthrie's recently published autobiography quite sufficient. (In August 1968, I had the pleasure of visiting Guthrie at his Twin Lakes Ranch near Choteau, Montana. During the visit, Guthrie impressed me not only with his cordiality and frankness, but also with his wide range of interests in many areas, including literature, Western history, and teaching.)

2. A careful review was made on all the critical materials available on the novelist. Few materials have yet been written on Guthrie. The only volume is A. B. Guthrie, Jr.,⁵ by Dr. Thomas W. Ford, of the University of Houston.

⁵ Thomas W. Ford, A. B. Guthrie, Jr. (Austin: Steck-Vaughn, 1968).

Of the approximately ten articles that exist, the more significant ones are by James Folsom in The American Western Novel,⁶ and by Dayton Kohler in "A. B. Guthrie, Jr. and the West."⁷

3. A close textual reading was made of the four novels. The novels themselves furnished the reference point for the gathering of literary and historical materials, which, consequently, influenced the feasibility of using the materials in a teaching situation.

4. A study was made of selected historical materials on the period between 1804 and 1917. Although The Big Sky--the earliest of the four novels in setting--begins in 1830, a working knowledge of previous Western history beginning with Lewis and Clark proved indispensable for an understanding of the principle of Manifest Destiny and the economic basis of the fur trade which are central to the novel. Excellent primary sources are available, including the works of Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, Washington Irving, John C. Fremont, and others. Bernard DeVoto's The Year of Decision: 1846⁸ and Across the Wide Missouri⁹ are doubly important,

⁶ James Folsom, The American Western Novel (New Haven: College and University Press, 1966).

⁷ Dayton Kohler, "A. B. Guthrie, Jr., and the West," College English, 12, No. 1 (1951), pp. 249-56.

⁸ Bernard DeVoto, The Year of Decision: 1846 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943).

⁹ Bernard DeVoto, Across the Wide Missouri (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947).

since DeVoto furnished friendship and intellectual inspiration for Guthrie.

5. The literary techniques of modern novelists were examined. Since a limited amount of critical material has been written on Guthrie, a familiarity with the modern trends in literary technique was indispensable to the creation of a more substantial body of criticism on the author.

6. An examination of other studies which juxtaposed creative literature and history was made. A knowledge of theory was gained by examining several critical works that pair literature and history. Valuable in this respect were Harold P. Simonson's The Closed Frontier: Studies in American Literary Tragedy¹⁰ and Psychoanalysis and Literature,¹¹ an anthology edited by Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek.

7. A study of the critical theories that involve creative literature with history furnished systematic ideas of the principles involved in the relationship between the two disciplines. Consequently, the ability to theorize furnished credibility and predictability to the study. Some useful resources in this area are Wellek and Warren's Theory of

¹⁰ Harold P. Simonson, The Closed Frontier: Studies in American Literary Tragedy (Atlanta: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970).

¹¹ Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek, ed., Psychoanalysis and Literature (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1964).

Literature,¹² Thorpe's Relations of Literary Study: Essays on Interdisciplinary Contributions,¹³ and Browne's New Voices in American Studies.¹⁴

8. A study of interdisciplinary courses in literature and history, as taught to college undergraduate and graduate students, was initially considered necessary to the formulation of whatever conclusions are expressed relating to the relevance of the literary and historical materials in teaching. Theories and practices were to be examined before any conclusions were thought feasible. Unfortunately, suitable materials that relate Guthrie's novels, the history of the American West, and Jungian psychology were unavailable, although the theoretical literature is abundant. This finding was substantiated by Dr. O. D. Holton, a professor and researcher in interdisciplinary topics at Appalachian State University. Unsuccessful attempts were made to secure pedagogical literature from the University of Texas and the University of North Carolina, two institutions which offer interdisciplinary courses.

¹² Rene Wellek and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1956).

¹³ James Thorpe, ed., Relations of Literary Study: Essays on Interdisciplinary Contributions (New York: Modern Language Association, 1967).

¹⁴ Ray B. Browne, Donald M. Winkelman, and Allen Hayman, eds., New Voices in American Studies (Lafayette: Purdue University Studies, 1966).

9. The application of appropriate critical criteria (historical, literary, and pedagogical) to the novels developed from the steps described above.

10. The findings were synthesized and conclusions were drawn from the generally accepted criteria in literature, history, and pedagogy.

Chapter II

THE NOVELS AND THEIR EXTRINSIC ASPECTS

THE BIG SKY

Guthrie's tetralogy of novels begins with The Big Sky, published in 1947 and describing the life of the fur trapper in the Northwest from 1830 to 1843. The chief protagonist, Boone Caudill, a seventeen-year-old Kentucky backwoodsman, runs away from home after a violent battle with his brutal father. Seeking to live the "natural" life like his Uncle Zeb as a mountain man in the West, Boone leaves Kentucky, travels across Indiana, and finally arrives at St. Louis, the embarkation center of the Western trappers. Enroute to St. Louis, Boone has met a young red-haired man named Jim Deakins, who will play a major role in his destiny. Jim, who rescues Boone from the jail of an unscrupulous, violent backwoods sheriff, decides after some vague reasoning to join Boone as a trapper. In Part Two they sign on with a small fur company headed by the French trader, Jourdonnais, and a veteran trapper, Dick Summers. The latter represents the Jungian archetype of the Wise Old Man. Equally at home with all kinds of humanity and with any situation in society or the wilderness, Summers unofficially adopts Boone and Jim

as his disciples and teaches them the ways of the rivers and mountains. Summers not only teaches Boone the secrets of nature but also counsels him on the care and prevention of venereal disease, which Boone has contracted during an encounter with a prostitute in St. Louis. Boone, in other words and in keeping with Guthrie's theme in The Big Sky, is carrying the seeds of his own destruction.

The trapping expedition sails up the Missouri River on the keelboat Mandan. The destination is the high plains and mountain country of the Blackfoot Indians, which is located in present-day Montana. Although the Blackfeet are an extremely hostile tribe, Jourdonnais and Summers have an ace in the hole, a small Blackfoot girl who is the daughter of a chief. The girl, Teal Eye, has lived in St. Louis for one year after being found abandoned on the banks of the lower Missouri River. The trappers hope that her presence aboard the Mandan will insure a safe journey into the heart of the fur country of the Blackfeet.

The second part of The Big Sky closes after Teal Eye escapes and the Mandan is attacked by the Blood Indians, a subdivision of the Blackfoot tribe. Everyone except Boone, Jim, and Summers is killed, the Mandan is destroyed, and the three chief characters of the novel are left alone in the wilderness.

Part Three of The Big Sky begins in 1837. Boone and Jim, under the tutelage of Summers, have become seasoned

mountain men. Despite the harsh weather and the hostile Indians, they enjoy their experiences. Boone, in particular, responds to the new freedom, which is symbolized by the broad landscapes under the big sky. Unlike Jim, Boone seldom seeks the company of other people, and then only for a few days during the annual fur rendezvous of the mountain men when he joins the drinking, fighting, and lovemaking with the squaws.

Unfortunately, the mountain men are destroying the life they love. Already, by 1837, they have trapped most of the prime beaver streams in the Rockies. Although the country still appears wild and new to Boone and Jim, the older trappers, including Summers who had traveled into the Rockies on the heels of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, lament the loss of beaver, buffalo, and the idyllic life in what was once an archetypal Garden of Eden. Summers, now feeling his oldness and realizing the passage of an historical period, decides to return to civilization in Missouri where he owns a small farm. In an extremely rare display of open affection, Boone gives Summers his best buffalo horse as a farewell present.

Realizing the threat to his free life under the big sky, Boone embarks on the archetypal quest; he desires to find Teal Eye, the Blackfoot girl, and marry her. Accompanied by Jim and Poor Devil, a destitute and foolish Indian, he travels north through the present-day Yellowstone National

Park and into western Montana where he finds the once ferocious Blackfeet, now terribly weakened and depleted in numbers by smallpox. He marries Teal Eye, who is now an almost unbelievably beautiful young woman, and in so doing, marries himself symbolically to the wilderness.

Part Four begins in the fall of 1842 and ends in the spring of 1843. Boone, now a "white Indian," has lived with Teal Eye and the Piegan Indians for five years. (The Piegans are another subdivision of the Blackfoot tribe.) Life has been, and still is, idyllic. Boone has taken on many Indian characteristics and has surpassed all of the Indians as a fighter and hunter. To the Indians, he has become "Strong Arm." Jim remains a true friend and a mountain man, although he often visits the ever-increasing forts and settlements on the Missouri River where he finds companionship and conversation so desirable. Unlike Jim, Boone feels content enough to stay with Teal Eye in the splendid isolation of the mountains and plains along the banks of the Teton River.

During the late fall of 1842, Jim meets Elisha Peabody, a New England businessman, at Fort McKenzie. Peabody wants to hire Jim and Boone to lead him west through a mountain pass which might be developed into a route for wagon trains. Boone consents out of restlessness since Teal Eye is now pregnant with her first child. The expedition is successful, but only after Boone saves Jim's life in a truly sincere display of friendship and compassion.

Upon his return in the spring to Teal Eye, Boone discovers that his newly born son is blind. In a fit of grief which turns to violence, Boone erroneously believes that Jim is the father of the child, since the child's hair is gradually growing red, not black like his own. Without indicating his suspicion, Boone kills Jim and leaves the mountains.

In the concluding Part Five, Boone returns to Kentucky for the first time in thirteen years. He cannot adjust to his family, although his cruel father has died. After a brief love affair with an "unnatural" white girl, he flees to Missouri where he visits the farm of Dick Summers. Boone confesses to the old man the murder of Jim Deakins. Drunk, guilt ridden, and grieving for Jim, Teal Eye, and the wilderness--all of which have been lost together through his ignorance--Boone staggers into the night and disappears.

THE WAY WEST

A Pulitzer Prize winner, The Way West was published in 1949 after six months of what Guthrie claims was the most difficult work that he has ever done. Beginning two years after the close of The Big Sky, the second volume of Guthrie's tetralogy describes the early stages of another important period of Western history--the trek of the wagon train to the Pacific Northwest.

The novel contains more major characters than The Big Sky, but Dick Summers appears again as a key transitional figure. In the conclusion of The Big Sky, he remarks to Boone Caudill that the damage the mountain man has done to himself has not yet ended. And Summers stoically accepts his role in Manifest Destiny and agrees to pilot an immigrant train across the plains and mountains to the Oregon Territory. Guthrie's most technically complex novel gradually introduces the major characters in the wagon train and describes their reasons for migration. Summers' own reasons for leaving Missouri are his love of the high country in the West and his loss of family ties after the death of his wife and child. Again, Guthrie casts Summers in the role of the teacher, but Summers' disciples are a different breed from Boone Caudill and Jim Deakins. Unlike mountain men, the new Westerners move in a more sophisticated social context, depending on rules and regulations to stabilize their lives rather than living "natural" as Boone Caudill would express it.

One of Summers' important duties is to lead Lije Evans to the realization of his potential as a leader. A dependable, capable person, Lije gradually recognizes within himself his leadership abilities as the wagons slowly roll west. His chief antagonist, Tadlock, is an egotistical, dictatorial leader with selfish political ambitions. The

friction between Lije and Tadlock furnishes the largest conflict in The Way West. Will Lije, a mild-mannered exponent of democracy, assert himself, or will Tadlock continue to rule the wagon train by dictatorial methods? These are the most important questions to be answered as the wagons make their way west.

Other conflicts occur. Brother Weatherby attempts to install a type of theocracy, rather than a democracy, as a form of government for the wagon train. The marriage of Curtis Mack and his wife, Amanda, almost collapses because she fears pregnancy. Mack seduces the beautiful girl-child, Mercy McBee, who eventually marries Brownie Evans, the son of Lije. The usual conflicts in Western literature occur--man versus the rushing rivers, the extreme weather, the stampeding buffalo, the fevers, the poisonous snakes, etc. But the main conflict in The Way West is man versus man. Much of the novel is concerned with the realistic day-by-day activities of the people, rather than the glamorous action which makes up the fare of most motion pictures about wagon trains. After all the conflicts are either solved or passed, the immigrants arrive in Oregon--much to the credit of Lije Evans who has experienced an archetypal rebirth during the journey to the Promised Land. Dick Summers, despite the urging of the immigrants, leaves in the night for the Popo Agie country in the Rocky Mountains.

THESE THOUSAND HILLS

The third novel in Guthrie's tetralogy describes in condensed fashion the conquest of the last wilderness, the rise and fall of the Cattle Kingdom, and the birth of the early modern West. All of these events occur within seven years, 1880 to 1887, mostly in Western Montana, although some significant action takes place in Oregon and Idaho. And the brief span of time expresses explicitly the rapid changes that take place in all of Guthrie's novels.

The protagonist, twenty-year-old Lat Evans, is the grandson of Lije Evans, and the son of Brownie Evans and Mercy McBee Evans of The Way West. Like The Big Sky, These Thousand Hills has five parts. Part One begins in Oregon. Lije Evans is a senile old man; Brownie and Mercy are sentimental, pious parents, who have raised Lat by strict, narrow religious rules. Lat, feeling some of the pioneering spirit that moved his parents and grandparents to Oregon, leaves for the Montana Territory where he hopes to find a richer life in one of the last unsettled areas of the United States. Lat's father, like Boone's, has been cruel to his son, although Brownie Evans is not nearly as brutal as the older Caudill.

At Boise, Idaho, Lat is employed as a trail hand by Roan Butler, a Texan, who is driving cattle to Montana. Lat makes friends with Tom Ping, a young wrangler, and Mike Carmichael, a veteran cowboy, who later play significant

roles in his life. The cattle drive ends at Fort Benton, Montana. Lat, seemingly forgetting his pious upbringing, wins a bucking bronco contest and spends his money on his new friends and a pretty blond prostitute named Callie, with whom he falls in love.

In Part Two Lat organizes a small company which hunts wolves and buffalo, although the hunters are unaware that the latter are only two or three years removed from total extinction in the Montana Territory. Lat and Tom Ping, while hunting alone on the Musselshell River, are captured by a small remnant of the Blackfoot tribe. Lat and the son of the tribal chief are seriously wounded in the fight, but the Indians flee toward the Canadian border with their captives. Lat partially recovers and saves the wounded Indian's life through his knowledge of primitive medicine. He and Tom Ping are set free and ride toward Fort Benton, where their prostitute girl friends are employed.

In Part Three Lat's middle class values, rather than those of a happy-go-lucky cowboy, begin to emerge. After allowing Callie to nurse him through his convalescence and borrowing one thousand dollars from her to gamble on a horse race, he sees material success and respectability in his future. With additional money borrowed from a local banker, Lat begins a ranch. Part Three closes after Lat argues with Tom Ping, who desires to marry Jen, his prostitute sweetheart.

Part Four traces Lat's further pursuit of middle class values. Showing his business instinct, he secures land near the mountains where the frequent chinook winds melt the winter snow and expose the grass for the cattle. Furthermore, he foresees the end of open grazing and realizes his cattle must have winter hay and irrigated water for survival. Callie, hoping for a permanent relationship with Lat, moves her business to Tansytown, near his ranch. Lat, however, breaks up their four-year-old affair, when he meets Joyce Sheridan, the very proper middle class niece of one of Tansytown's most respected and successful citizens. Callie, in turn, is broken-hearted.

Part Five, which occurs in 1887, presents a crowded arena of action. Lat's business foresight has enabled him to survive profitably the unusually harsh winter of 1886-87, when many of the ranchers went broke after their cattle starved or froze to death. Lat has married Joyce Sheridan and become a solid pillar of the community. He is a church member, a public school official, and a local government official. His chances for a senate seat appear certain, pending Montana's statehood in 1889.

The past returns, however, in three figures. Tom Ping, now a cattle rustler, is secretly allowed by Lat to escape a trap set by vigilantes. Hank McBee, a disreputable character from The Way West, threatens to broadcast to Tansytown

that he is Lat's grandfather, but he is eventually ignored by Lat. A murder is committed in Callie's brothel, and Lat consents to testify in court on her behalf. His testimony is unnecessary, however, when Callie flees Tansytown with her Negro servant, who is the actual murderer.

Risking all, Lat confesses his past to Joyce, whose conventional attitudes of morality make her reject him. Tom Ping insults him in a saloon, but Lat, although he is not cowardly, refuses to fight his former friend.

These Thousand Hills ends with Lat's respectability and political future in doubt, although his wife returns to him.

ARFIVE

Published in 1970, the last of Guthrie's tetralogy, Arfive, brings the West into the twentieth century. Drawing from his personal background in the novel, Guthrie locates most of the plot in Arfive, a small town very similar to Choteau, Montana, where he grew up. Benton Collingsworth, the high school principal, has certain similarities to Guthrie's own father--brave, bookish, powerful, but sometimes brutal. Eva Fox, the madam, was actually seen by the young Guthrie on the streets of Choteau. Fatty Adlam was an actual saloon keeper; Soo Son, the Chinese restaurant keeper, was the author's close acquaintance. But Guthrie explicitly reminds his reader that Arfive is still fiction. "It is true

that I have borrowed spare bits from remembered and actual persons, and here and there, rarely, used actual happenings-- but only as the slightest of aids in the creation of characters and the invention of other circumstances far removed from realities. Fiction always departs from the record" (Arfive, p. viii).

The major conflict occurs between the values of Victorianism and the not altogether tamed West. On the side of the former are Benton Collingsworth, his wife Mary, and a fair proportion of Arfivians. On the other side are Eva Fox, a former prostitute; Miss Carson, a lesbian schoolmarm; Sarge Kraker, a demonic lawman; and Marie Wolf, an Indian girl. Caught in the middle is Mort Ewing, now an easygoing benevolent rancher who in his hot days as a young cowboy had been one of Eva Fox's more eager customers.

Very deceptive in its simplicity and organization, the novel is difficult to paraphrase. Possibly, drawing conclusions from history and Guthrie's life, the time in Arfive encompasses the years from about 1900 to 1917. Collingsworth, the protagonist, arrives from Indiana to take the principal's chair at the local high school. He befriends Ewing, who admires Collingsworth's reckless bravery and sincere dedication to the community. In turn, Ewing becomes Collingsworth's only supporter on an unfriendly school board. Collingsworth gambles with his reputation by accepting a

young rape victim as a student on the recommendation of Eva Fox and Mort Ewing. The young student, Juliet Justice, develops into an extremely bright scholar, earns a college degree, falls in love with Mort Ewing, and marries him.

Another of Collingsworth's students, however, does not turn out as well. Marie Wolf falls victim to the perverted advances of Miss Carson, who has been Collingsworth's most dedicated teacher. Discovered, Miss Carson commits suicide, and Marie runs away to the Blackfoot Indian reservation, where she begins an unhappy marriage.

Even in the twentieth century West, Guthrie creates characters to remind us of the past. Joining East and West, past and present, Collingsworth, the educator from Indiana, shares warm friendship with Charlie Blackman, a follower of the obsolete profession of trapper, and Smoky Moreau, an Indian who possesses the lore of the wilderness and the lost knowledge of the primitive past. Arfive, in its scenes crowded with diverse characters, implies the complexity and confusion of modern society.

THE EXTRINSIC ASPECTS OF THE NOVELS

The settlement of frontiers, as implied in Jungian theory, is considered archetypal. The general patterns have similarly recurred in Russia's movement into Siberia, China's drive into Mongolia, the Anglo-Saxon's conquest of England,

the Boers' trek into South Africa, and other frontier expansions. Motivations for the mass movement of peoples have a basis in the collective unconscious; bedded deep in the psyche, the true explanation for migration generally remains vague, complex, and often contradictory. So it is with any absolute explanation of the settlement of the Western frontier in the United States. In comparison with the movements of the Russians, Chinese, Anglo-Saxons, and Boers, the westward journey of Americans shares an archetypal basis. In the history of the United States, however, the justifications for territorial expansion and the expansion's external details, that is, social, political, and economic, are unique. No claim is to be made that A. B. Guthrie, Jr. supports any single ideology in his novels; Guthrie does, however, write both explicitly and implicitly about several socio-politico-economic conditions that are pertinent to the history of the American West. Since this paper is essentially concerned with interdisciplinary topics, an attempt will be made in the following section to relate the materials of Guthrie's fiction to the external details of the history of the American West. The novels will suggest a beginning point, and frequent excursions outside the novels will hopefully furnish a more in-depth study of analogous historical materials. The simultaneous pairing of fiction and history might also reveal several common behavior patterns in frontier psychology.

Chapter III

THE HISTORICAL ASPECTS

A CATALOGUE OF HISTORICAL PERSONAGES AND PLACES

Personages

1. Cabanne (The Big Sky, pp. 92, 104). An actual Indian trader at Council Bluffs. Met by Mandan crew.
2. Kenneth McKenzie (The Big Sky, pp. 135, 141, 170). Unscrupulous trader who actually headed Fort Union and later Fort McKenzie, a fur trading center belonging to John Jacob Astor. Tried to prevent Mandan from reaching the upper Missouri. Found guilty of making whiskey at Fort Union and selling it to the Indians, which violated a federal law.
3. William H. Ashley (The Big Sky, pp. 139, 193). Formed fur trading partnership with Andrew Henry (The Big Sky, p. 213). Built a fur post at the mouth of the Yellowstone River in 1822. His men discovered many historical spots. Dick Summers supposedly trapped in the mountains for Henry and Ashley.
4. Tom Fitzpatrick (The Big Sky, p. 168; The Way West, p. 213). Trapper and guide for Ashley in 1825. Formed partnership with Jim Bridger and Milton Sublette in 1834 and made a contract with the American Fur Company.

5. Jim Bridger (The Big Sky, p. 168; The Way West, pp. 123-29). Trapper and guide for Ashley in 1825. Formed partnership with Sublette and Fitzpatrick in 1834. Allegedly discovered the Great Salt Lake in 1824. Later established Fort Bridger, an important supply point for wagon trains on the way to the Pacific coast.

6. Captain Benjamin Louis Bonneville (The Big Sky, pp. 170, 275, 277). Career soldier who took two years' leave from the United States Army to enter the Rocky Mountain fur trade in 1832. Explored the Columbia River, South Pass, Pierre's Hole, Snake River, Great Salt Lake, and the interior basin. Returned to active duty after the fur trade venture collapsed. His maps of the territory west of the Rockies were helpful to later explorers. Claimed by Elisha Peabody of The Big Sky to lack business abilities (The Big Sky, p. 277).

7. Nathaniel Wyeth (The Big Sky, pp. 170, 277; The Way West, pp. 81, 253). Entered fur trade business in 1832. Described as a typical Yankee business man. A friend of the fictitious Elisha Peabody who realistically claims that Wyeth "was the victim of misfortune and bad faith. If the Rocky Mountain Fur Company had kept its contract with him, I dare say he would be in the mountains still, instead of cutting ice at Cambridge for the South American trade" (The Big Sky, p. 277).

8. Jed Smith (The Big Sky, p. 193; The Way West, p. 27). A parson from the North Carolina mountains who turned mountain man. A friend of Dick Summers. Explored the Snake River, Great Salt Lake, the California deserts, South Pass, and Oregon. Entered the Santa Fe trade with Dave Jackson and Milton Sublette. Killed on the Cimarron in 1831 by the Comanches.¹⁵

9. Etienne Provost (The Big Sky, pp. 193, 213; The Way West, pp. 219, 230). Explored the Great Salt Lake in 1824-- the same year as Bridger and Jed Smith. Accompanied Ashley's and Stewart's fur expeditions into the mountains. Is the possible discoverer of the Great Salt Lake and the South Pass.

10. Russell (The Big Sky, pp. 199-200). Perhaps Osborne Russell who, according to DeVoto, suggests Guthrie's fictitious character.¹⁶ Russell was a courteous, educated hunter, who unsuccessfully attempted to persuade Boone Caudill not to fight a brutal trapper who wanted to murder Poor Devil, Boone's Indian friend on the Green River.

11. Lucien Fontenelle (The Big Sky, p. 200). A member of the American Fur Company. Worked with Osborne Russell and attended the rendezvous of 1832.

12. Dave Jackson (The Big Sky, p. 213; The Way West, p. 27). A partner in a company with Jed Smith and Sublette,

¹⁵ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 389.

¹⁶ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 156.

who expanded the fur trade into California and along the Columbia River.¹⁷ After Smith's death on the Cimarron, Jackson and Sublette sold their business to the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Jackson left the Rockies, heading for California, but was never heard from again. A friend of Summers. Jackson Hole, Wyoming, is named for him.

13. Henry Vanderburgh (The Big Sky, p. 213). A leader of the American Fur Company. Competed with Jim Bridger for the fur trade in the Blackfoot territory. Killed in 1832 in what was to become known as Montana.¹⁸ A friend of Dick Summers.

14. Andrew Henry (The Big Sky, p. 213). Had a lake and river in Idaho named for him. One of the least publicized mountain men, but was already trapping in the hostile Blackfoot country as early as 1810.¹⁹ He is remembered by Summers as a friend who was lucky enough to die in bed.

15. Hugh Glass (The Big Sky, p. 213). An almost legendary trapper who crawled hundreds of miles to a settlement after being mauled by a grizzly. Was killed by the Rees on the Yellowstone River in 1832.

16. Francis Chardon (The Big Sky, pp. 264, 328). The bourgeois at Fort McKenzie. A notorious Indian hater who,

¹⁷ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 28.

¹⁸ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 89.

¹⁹ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 387.

ironically, had a Negro friend. According to DeVoto, "Chardon lived to see a satisfactory epidemic sweep through the Mandans."²⁰

17. Washington Irving (The Big Sky, p. 275). The famous Eastern author of "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" and "Rip Van Winkle." His two books, Astoria and The Rocky Mountains, are criticized by the fictitious Elisha Peabody for their inaccuracies about the northern passes over the Rockies.

18. Reverend Samuel Parker (The Big Sky, p. 275). Preached the gospel to the Indians in the Rockies and along the Columbia River. Peabody believes Parker's maps to be accurate, but Boone asserts that they are "wrong as hell" (The Big Sky, p. 275).

19. Robert Greenhow (The Big Sky, p. 276). Librarian of the Department of State and author of Memoir Historical and Political on the Northwest Coast of North America and the Adjacent Territories. His maps were the most recent and accurate concerning the mountain passes, but Boone shows Peabody their several errors in geography.

20. Dr. Elisha White (The Big Sky, p. 278). A missionary to Oregon, who, as reported by Guthrie, passed Fort McKenzie, heading west, in the summer of 1842. DeVoto

²⁰ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 243.

reports that White went to Oregon by sea in either 1836 or 1837.²¹ Whether a discrepancy exists in the novel is unknown.

21. Alexander Harvey (The Big Story, pp. 328-31). A roving trader and desperado, who became the assistant bourgeois to Chardon at Fort McKenzie. Infuriates Jim Deakins when he suggests that Jim and Teal Eye are having an affair.

22. Joe Meek (The Way West, p. 10). A mountain man who is considered for the job of wagon train pilot before Dick Summers is hired. Summers is obviously considered a superior guide to Meek, who DeVoto claims had an "undependable memory."²²

23. Colonel Stephen Watts Kearney (The Way West, pp. 129, 201, 213). His First Dragoons passed Summers' wagon train, guided by Tom Fitzpatrick and heading for Laramie and South Pass. Kearney's purpose was to awe the Indians into permitting wagon trains to pass unharmed. In 1846, after being promoted to general, he led the conquest of New Mexico.²³

24. Hall Kelley (The Way West, pp. 81-82). Spread the propaganda that Oregon was a Paradise and was the first

²¹ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 355.

²² DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 257.

²³ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 278.

American to have proposed the conversion of the Oregon Indians to Christianity.²⁴ In 1834, he prematurely formed the American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of Oregon Territory.²⁵ In The Way West, Patch remarked, "Kelley . . . puffed Oregon as much as anybody. We had a touch of Oregon fever before others even knew about it" (The Way West, p. 82).

25. Dr. Marcus Whitman (The Way West, pp. 314-15). Established a Christian mission among the Cayuses of the Oregon Territory in 1836. Brother Weatherby wished to emulate Whitman, who was a successful preacher among the Indians until 1847 when he was tomahawked to death.²⁶

26. Henry Harmon Spalding (The Way West, pp. 314-15). A cohort of Whitman, who escaped the Cayuse attack when the latter was killed.²⁷

27. Joe Walker (The Way West, pp. 212-13). A friend of Dick Summers, who saw in Walker's sad face a lost paradise. In actual life, Walker opened up parts of California, discovered the Yosemite, exterminated the Digger Indians, and operated a questionable horse trading business.

²⁴ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 203.

²⁵ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 82.

²⁶ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, pp. 371-72.

²⁷ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 371.

28. Old Vaskiss (The Way West, pp. 212-13). Probably Louis Vasquez, who joined partnership with Jim Bridger in the establishment of Fort Bridger in southwestern Wyoming during 1842, the year that marks the end of the era of the mountain men.²⁸

29. Chief Joseph (These Thousand Hills, p. 8). Highly intelligent chief of the Nez Perce Indians who led the last great military offensive against the whites in 1877. He out-marched, out-thought, and out-fought the United States Army who pursued him, 100 warriors, 300 women and children, and 700 horses for 1,800 miles. Exhausted, he surrendered his tribe to the army only a few miles from Canada and safety.²⁹

30. Albert Gallatin (These Thousand Hills, p. 8). Namesake of Lat Evans, the Gallatin River and the Gallatin Valley. Commissioner to England after 1812. Treasurer during the administration of Jefferson and Madison.

31. Slim George Stevens (These Thousand Hills, pp. 28, 46). The fictitious slender cowboy, whose similar name, although dissimilar physical features, might suggest Guthrie's good friend, George Stevens, the Hollywood producer-director.

²⁸ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 378.

²⁹ K. Ross Tootle, Montana: An Uncommon Land (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), pp. 129-31.

32. Sitting Bull (These Thousand Hills, pp. 106, 120). The chief of the Sioux who massacred Custer's troops at Little Big Horn in 1876. He escaped into Canada, but returned to the United States and surrendered in 1881. Traveled with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. Killed by Indian policemen in a wild fight in 1890.

33. George Armstrong Custer (These Thousand Hills, p. 106). Civil War general and Indian fighter whose company of about 260 men was completely annihilated in the nation's biggest defeat during the Indian Wars.

34. Granville Stuart (These Thousand Hills, pp. 107, 263). One of the early ranchers in Montana and one of the more successful ones in the entire Cattle Kingdom era.

35. I. G. Baker and Company and T. C. Power and Brothers (These Haunted Hills, p. 150). Two companies which led all others in freighting and selling goods in Montana and southwestern Canada during the nineteenth century.³⁰

36. James Fergus (p. 263), Con Kohrs (pp. 186, 263), Sam Hauser (p. 186), Andrew J. Davis (p. 186), and Bob Ford (pp. 202, 203, 263). Early ranchers in Montana who became highly successful. All are mentioned in These Thousand Hills.

37. Captain Richard Grant (These Thousand Hills, p. 189). A one-time agent of the Hudson's Bay Company. In

³⁰ Tootle, Montana, p. 156.

charge of Camp Loring, five miles from Fort Hall. Married a squaw and raised cattle in Montana in the 1850's. Began his herd from the numbers of worn-out stock abandoned on the Oregon Trail.³¹

38. Joaquin Miller (These Thousand Hills, pp. 232-33). Pseudonym of Cincinnatus Heine Miller (1841-1913), an American poet who is quoted by Joyce Sheridan. Other poets mentioned in These Thousand Hills are Lord Byron (p. 233) and Ralph Waldo Emerson (p. 234).

39. Governor Preston W. Leslie (These Thousand Hills, p. 273). A governor of Montana in the 1880's who urged that an agricultural and mechanical college be established under the provisions of the Morrill Act of July 2, 1862, but his proposal met without success.³²

40. William A. Clark (Arfive, p. 87). Fought in the copper wars of the 1880's. Elected to the United States Senate in 1899. After being exposed for bribery, he resigned from the Senate. Clark's opponents, Marcus Daly (p. 87) and F. Augustus Heinze (p. 87), are also mentioned in Arfive.

41. Henri Bergson (Arfive, p. 262). A French philosopher (1859-1941) whose work was read by Benton Collingsworth. Received the Nobel Prize in 1927. He maintained that there

³¹ James McClellan Hamilton, From Wilderness to Statehood: A History of Montana, 1805-1900 (Portland: Binfords and Mort, 1957), pp. 120, 213, 385.

³² Hamilton, From Wilderness to Statehood, p. 502.

is an original life force carried through all successive generations. Collingsworth also enjoyed the works of William James and Robert Frost, "that new poet" (Arfive, p. 246).

42. The Bull Moosers (Arfive, p. 245). The supporters of Theodore Roosevelt in the election of 1912. Mort Ewing's party.

Places

1. Fort Union (The Big Sky, pp. 139-54). A fur post near the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Visited by the Mandan. Operated by Kenneth McKenzie who built it in 1829 for purposes of beaver trade with the Blackfeet. Here, Boone Caudill finally finds his Uncle Zeb, who predicts the impending doom of the beaver and the buffalo. "Union" is ironic in that the fort temporarily brings together the whites and the Blackfeet, with the former eventually severing the latter's union with primitive nature. Fort Union stood just inside North Dakota a few miles northeast of present-day Sidney, Montana, a center of irrigated sugarbeet farms and large coal fields. The fort will possibly be restored as a tourist attraction.

2. Edmonton House (The Big Sky, p. 145). A British fur post operated by the Hudson's Bay Company and located in present-day Alberta. The British were bitter rivals of the American trappers in the Rockies. Uncle Zeb Calloway claims

that the British at Edmonton House would induce the Indians to destroy the trapping expedition of Jourdonnais and Summers. Unfortunately, Calloway was correct again.

3. The Pishkuns (The Big Sky, p. 384). A buffalo trap on the Teton River which Boone elatedly remembers when he returns from the Peabody expedition. Buffalo are killed by chasing them en masse over the edge of a high cliff. The pishkun, or pishkan, that Boone remembers might be the same as the one located about nine miles from Guthrie's hometown of Choteau. It is on the south side of the Teton River near U. S. Highway 89. In a vain attempt to save the buffalo from extermination, the Blackfeet ceased to use the pishkuns in about 1842 or 1843.³³

4. Independence (The Way West, pp. 1-60). Located on the Missouri River west of the Mississippi, Independence became a leading embarkation center for wagons traveling west. The town was the jumping-off point for Dick Summers' wagon train in the spring of 1845.

5. Brady's Island (The Way West, p. 62). An island located in the North Platte River in Nebraska on the Oregon Trail route of Summers' wagon train. The island is named for a trapper who was murdered by his partner. The partner claimed that Brady had accidentally shot himself. Later,

³³ James Willard Schultz, Blackfeet and Buffalo, Memories of Life Among the Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), pp. 310-19.

the partner, dying from his own accidentally inflicted gunshot wound, confessed to the murder.³⁴

6. Courthouse Rock (The Way West). A popular landmark for pioneers on the Oregon Trail, the rock stands about 400 feet above the plains near Bridgeport, Nebraska, and five miles south of the North Platte River. At a distance, the rock's shape reminded the pioneers of the courthouses in the East.³⁵

7. Chimney Rock (The Way West, p. 62). Located on the North Platte River within sight of Courthouse Rock on the route of Oregon-bound pioneers who often carved their names in its interlayers of volcanic ash and sandstone. Rising 100 feet above its conical base, Chimney Rock is now a national historical site which is administered by the National Park Service.³⁶ It is located a short distance from Nebraska State Highway #92.

8. Scotts Bluff (The Way West, p. 62). On the Oregon Trail, it was the first large bluff to break the monotony of the plains. Scotts Bluff is located in Nebraska, twenty-five miles from Wyoming, and stands 820 feet above the plains. According to legend, the bluff was named for a mountain man, Hiram Scott, who was found dead at its foot after he had

³⁴ Richard Dunlop, Great Trails of the West (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971), p. 109.

³⁵ Dunlop, Great Trails, pp. 110-11.

³⁶ Dunlop, Great Trails, pp. 112-13.

been left presumedly dead at a point sixty miles away.³⁷

It is now a National Monument and is located near the town of Scottsbluff.

9. Fort Laramie (The Way West, pp. 136-51). The most important military post on the Oregon Trail, Fort Laramie is the site of some crucial action in The Way West. Here, Summers experiences an almost overwhelming grief for the old days of the free hunter, Rebecca Evans almost decides against going on to Oregon, Brother Weatherby feels his Christianity threatened by the infidel Indians, and Mercy McBee loses her virginity. Fort Laramie was constructed in 1834 as a fur traders' stockade and was abandoned in 1890 when its sixty-five buildings were auctioned off to homesteaders.³⁸ It was named after Jacques LaRamie, a French trapper, who was killed by the Indians in 1820. Today eleven buildings have been restored and refurnished, and the fort is a national historical site.

10. Independence Rock (The Way West, pp. 188-201). Here, Brownie Evans is rescued from the Indians by Dick Summers. Now located on Wyoming Highway 220, the rock was once claimed to be named by some pioneers who thought it stood "independent" from all other rocks and mountains in

³⁷ Fodor Shell, The Rockies and Plains (New York: David McKay, 1966), pp. 394-95.

³⁸ Dunlop, Great Trails, pp. 118-19.

the area.³⁹ In reality, some mountain men named it while they celebrated the Fourth of July there in 1825. Independence Rock is now a national historic site. Guthrie refers to Independence Rock in a rather interesting manner when he explains the way he created fictional characters in The Big Sky:

They assumed their own qualities independent of me and hence became more demanding. And names. They took or had taken their own with scarcely a thought on my part. Their independence, along with their development, made me almost superstitious. Writing ahead of my research, I kept finding my guesses jibed with the facts. A final experience came close to closing the case. One of my characters called himself Deakins, a name unheard of. A couple of years after I had completed my manuscript, I wandered along the crest of Independence Rock in eastern Wyoming. There, on what was called the great register of the desert, fur-hunters and others who followed the sun had painted or chiseled their names. One leaped to my incredulous eye. DEAKINS. Standing there, staring at a name inscribed long ago, gazing at distances too far for the mind to reach, I thought: I have been here before.⁴⁰

11. Popo Agie River (The Way West). Dick Summers remembers the mountains of the Wind and Popo Agie rivers, the latter becoming a symbol of his lost love, lost freedom, and lost youth. Today, the general area contains the Wind River Wilderness Area and the Wind River Indian Reservation.

³⁹ Dunlop, Great Trails, pp. 125-26.

⁴⁰ A. B. Guthrie, Jr., The Blue Hen's Chick: A Life in Context (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), p. 186.

In the vicinity is the grave of Sacajawea, the girl-guide of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, who died in 1884.⁴¹

12. Green River (The Big Sky; The Way West, pp. 212-13). Site of several fur rendezvous in The Big Sky which are remembered by Dick Summers for many years. The mountain men variously referred to the river as the Prarie Hen, the Seeds-kee-dee, and the Spanish. Today, a festival is held in nearby Pinedale, Wyoming, in memorial to the mountain men.⁴²

13. Beer Springs (The Way West, pp. 238-43). From the earth flowed natural springs which tasted like lager beer, although disappointingly flat to the pioneers. Here, Brownie proposes marriage to Mercy. Located in Idaho on U. S. Highway 30N, a dam now covers Beer Springs.⁴³

14. Fort Hall (The Way West, pp. 251-75). An important supply point on the Oregon Trail, the fort was commanded in The Way West by the British who secretly but unsuccessfully attempted to turn the wagon train toward California. Fort Hall was founded in 1834 by Nathaniel Wyeth, who sold it to the Hudson's Bay Company four years later. No signs of the fort are visible today.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Shell, The Rockies and Plains, pp. 394-95.

⁴² Shell, The Rockies and Plains, p. 267.

⁴³ Dunlop, Great Trails, pp. 134-35.

⁴⁴ Dunlop, Great Trails, p. 137.

15. Fort Boise (The Way West, These Thousand Hills). Hardly mentioned by Guthrie, Fort Boise is located on the Oregon Trail; it was visited by Summers' wagon train and was a jumping-off point for the herd of Texas cattle that Lat Evans helped to drive to Montana. It was formerly owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, and here the Oregon Trail crossed the Snake River into Oregon, as does today's U. S. 30, "The Old Oregon Trail Highway."⁴⁵

16. The Dalles (The Way West). The western terminus of the Oregon Trail, The Dalles is a small town where a lump of basalt in a quiet park marks the end of the trail.⁴⁶

17. Fort Benton (These Thousand Hills and Arfive). The town was the economic center of the Rocky Mountains for two decades during the nineteenth century. It was the center of steamboat travel on the Missouri River and a link with St. Louis after 1860. Fort Benton became important in 1846 when Culbertson made it a post of the American Fur Company. In 1879, its peak year, the town docked forty-nine steamboats.⁴⁷ The town was the destination of the cattle herd that Lat Evans helped drive from Fort Boise, Idaho. After the arrival of the railroad in 1883, Fort Benton's importance

⁴⁵ Dunlop, Great Trails, p. 140.

⁴⁶ Dunlop, Great Trails, p. 143.

⁴⁷ Shell, The Rockies and the Plains, pp. 319-20.

as a port began to decline. The town, which now stands on U. S. 87, was named for Thomas Hart Benton, a United States Senator and strong supporter of Manifest Destiny. The Senator was the namesake of Benton Collingsworth of Arfive.

THE BUFFALO AND THE INDIANS: THEIR
ROLES IN WESTERN HISTORY

Prior to the introduction of large cattle herds to The Big Sky country in the 1880's, the buffalo loomed as the most important animal in the social, political, and economic lives of the frontiersman and the Plains Indian. The beaver furnished pelts that could be used as cash, deer and elk provided the necessary protein for a rich but unbalanced diet, and the grizzly bear contributed hides and teeth for warmth and ritual. But the buffalo, however, provided almost every need of the Plains Indian and, on a more limited and temporary basis, the necessities of the white settler.

The novels of Guthrie, from The Big Sky through Arfive, do not neglect the significance of the buffalo. For Uncle Zeb Calloway, the animals serve as a meaningful symbol of the passing of a historic era. In a scene dated as early as 1830 at Fort Union, he remarks bitterly to Boone and Jim, who have declared themselves aspiring mountain men:

Ten years too late. . . . She's gone, goddam it!
Gone! The whole shitaree. Gone by God and naught
to care savin' some of us who seen 'er new. . . .
This was man's country onc't. Every water full of
beaver and a galore of buffler. . . . You, Boone,

and you, Deakins, stay here and you'll be out on the prairie, hide huntin', chasin' buffler and skinnin' 'em, and seein' the end come to that, too. . . . Won't be even a goddam poor bull fifty years ahead. You'll see plows comin' across the plains, and people settin' out to farm. . . . They laugh at this nigger but it's truth all the same (The Big Sky, pp. 150-51).

And Uncle Zeb, though by appearance an unlikely oracle, does speak the truth. Only fifteen years later, Lije Evans, who is "settin' out to farm," meets the buffalo on the Oregon Trail near Independence Rock:

Millions, Evans thought, a meemillion of buffalo, buffalo to right and left and ahead and behind, hair-ing the country, closing the train in, hoofing up dust that hung like a fog. A man couldn't live long enough to count them even if he could count that high. And he couldn't parcel out the uproar that they made. Bulls bellowed and cows bawled and calves cried for their mas, and the voices joined in what was one big, dolesome roar. . . . Evans could almost believe that the earth was alive, broken out of a sudden like a setting of eggs, but in humps and horns and shaggy hair. . . . Buffalo and wolves, Evans thought, and grasshoppers with no grass to hop on and rib bones and skulls lying around, picked clean as a clean platter, and, here and there, when the rocks broke through, a rattlesnake looped, his tail aquiver. Evans never had thought to set his eyes on such a sight as this. It was a wild, strong sight, a rich and powerful sight that awed a man and lifted him inside--the plains climbing into ridges where, once in a long while, trees stood spare and tough, the sky curved across . . . and buffalo on all the land (The Way West, pp. 153-54).

Uncle Zeb's prediction that the buffalo would be exterminated within fifty years comes true, that is, if his prediction is allowed the addition of two or three years. In either 1882 or 1883, Lat Evans and his hired crew of hide hunters discover a last remnant of the formerly great

northern herd near the Musselshell River in Montana. With the multiple point of view, Guthrie achieves a most poignant effect of the changing times by switching the perspective to Godwin, an old frontiersman who is now seeing the close of the frontier:

Sooner than expected, they found what they wanted. . . . Buffalo in bunches and herds. Buffalo banding hillsides and swales of high rolling prairie. Buffalo churning the wind-shriveled snow and the soil underneath, leaving dirt scars and dung scars and steam from their slop. Buffalo nosing for feed while lone bulls stood guard on the ridges around; or buffalo running, the galloping heave of them dark against the white of the land. . . . There were hunters around, unseen or seen from afar. Godwin usually first spotted the signs of them--the two-day trail left by Indians, the far-off buffalo running from something or someone, the latticed skeletons and puffed carcasses of hide-hunters' kills strewn along coulee and slope. Now and then they heard beyond sight, the repeated echoes of rifles. . . .

Godwin would pull up to listen, his eyes thoughtful and sad above the mask of his beard, and, respecting his feelings, they would rein in and hear what he thought. . . .

"Hemmed in. Plumb hemmed in," he said once. "Last stand of the buffalo. . . ." A long way off a herd crested a hill and began to pour down it, and Godwin pointed that way. "Take a good look so's you can tell your children" (These Thousand Hills, pp. 104-05).

After the extermination of the buffalo, Lat Evans remembers the animals and their importance to the starving Blackfeet. Little Runner, Lat's Indian friend, asks the now successful rancher for a cow. "Little Runner was thin and peaked with hunger. He could have gone on to say game gone away, white agent to Injun damn thief, no care Injun starve, no care papoose cry, where rations? where Great White

Father? what Blackfoot do without meat? What a lot of them did was to make meat of white beef when they could" (These Thousand Hills, p. 241).

Lat's Eastern wife, though essentially a kind person, does not understand the significance of the vanished buffalo to the economy of the Indians. "I would call this an expensive evening," she remarks ironically (These Thousand Hills, p. 241). Very appropriately, on November 3, 1883, the United States Supreme Court decides that American Indians are by birth both aliens and dependents.⁴⁸

One Easterner, Benton Collingsworth, does realize the importance of the buffalo economy to the Indians. His conversation with the old hunter, Charlie Blackman, reveals the close relationship of the buffalo to the Blackfeet's self-sufficiency. Charlie remarks, "I seen any how a thousand head centered here where we're standin'. . . . In them days . . . the Injuns was smart" (Arfive, p. 101).

But the Indians are not so "smart" in the twentieth century. Collingsworth observes that ". . . he was seeing the Indian encampments that, fall and spring, sprouted on the south edge of Arfive, seeing the tattered teepees, the cayuses, carts and wagons, the dirty curs, the relict bucks and squaws and progeny, all squatted at this point between

⁴⁸ Dee Brown, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970), p. 369.

school and reservation. It was a celebration, this accompaniment of pupils, and it was noxious, and it was pitiful" (Arfive, pp. 133-34). What Collingsworth sees is the disastrous result of the breakdown of the buffalo economy and the failure of the white society to provide an adequate substitute for subsistence.

Prior to the 1880's the Plains Indian had thrived on his buffalo economy for centuries, particularly after the horse was brought to America by European explorers. Perhaps the first buffalo seen by Europeans was viewed by Cortes in 1521 at Anahuac in Montezuma's menagerie.⁴⁹ Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, in 1530, and Coronado, in 1542, observed the Indians making use of the versatile bison.⁵⁰ The oldest known picture of the American bison appeared in Thevet's Les Singularity de la France Anarctique, published in Antwerp in 1558.⁵¹

In 1712, Samuel Argall, an English settler, saw buffalo on the headwaters of the Potomac River, and in 1729 Colonel William Byrd's men saw buffalo while surveying the boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia.⁵² But it was on

⁴⁹ Walter Prescott Webb, The Great Plains (Atlanta: Ginn, 1931), p. 42.

⁵⁰ Webb, The Great Plains, pp. 42-43.

⁵¹ Douglas Branch, The Hunting of the Buffalo (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), p. 15.

⁵² Webb, The Great Plains, p. 43.

the wide, grassy plains of the West that the buffalo thrived in such numbers that they made a profound impact on the lives of the inhabitants. A natural bison range lay between the Rockies and the bend of the Missouri River, and stretched out, as Sandoz describes it, "a great awkward thumb from Canada down as far as the Pecos, in Texas."⁵³

Like the buffalo, other large animals had also found this same region compatible at one stage in history or another. Among them were the dinosaurs, big-horned Brontops, giant pigs, early rhinoceroses and camels, mastodons, woolly mammoths, long-horned bison, eohippus (the early horse), and the saber-toothed tigers.

Before the arrival of the white hunters, the buffalo was probably the best equipped large animal ever to live on the Great Plains.⁵⁴ Annually, its habit of feeding and traveling into the face of the wind usually led him in a circle of three to four hundred miles across, providing a rotation period for the prairie grasses while carrying himself into cooler weather in the summer and warmer weather in the winter. Generally, four great herds existed before 1870; their migration routes overlapped which provided them the best habitat at appropriate seasons of the year. The

⁵³ Mari Sandoz, The Buffalo Hunters, The Story of the Hide Men (New York: Hastings House, 1954), p. ix.

⁵⁴ Sandoz, Buffalo Hunters, pp. x-xi.

"buffler" was never threatened by any known epidemic, he possessed marvelous recuperative powers, and as long as he remained healthy he was rarely challenged by other animals and extreme weather. At home with the Indian, the buffalo maintained his health, but with the white hunter he became afflicted with a swift terminal illness. For example, of the estimated total of 3,700,000 animals shot between 1872 and 1874, only 150,000 were taken by Indians.⁵⁵

The importance of the bison to the Indians has been described innumerable times by innumerable writers, but Francis Parkman most concisely writes: "The buffalo supplies them with the necessities of life; with habitations, food, clothing, beds, and fuel; strings for their bows; fine thread, cordage, trail ropes for their horses, coverings for their saddles, vessels to hold water, boats to cross streams, and the means of purchasing all that they want from the traders. When the buffalo are extinct, they too must dwindle away."⁵⁶

Bernard DeVoto, from whom Guthrie might have heavily borrowed in his descriptions of hunting and eating the bison in The Big Sky and The Way West, describes in detail the mountain man's great delight in buffalo flesh.⁵⁷ The most

⁵⁵ Brown, Wounded Knee, p. 254.

⁵⁶ Francis Parkman, The Oregon Trail (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965), p. 124.

⁵⁷ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, pp. 40-43.

desirable cuts were the boss, a small hump on the back of the neck; the hump and the hump ribs, which are the vertebrae that support the hump; the fleece and its fat which are located between the spine and the ribs; the side ribs; the liver; selected parts of the intestine; and the lower belly fat. The strong, hard thigh bone was frequently used to crack the marrow bones, whose rich contents could be eaten like butter. Francis Chardon's favorite portion of the buffalo was the testicles, which DeVoto terms "Rocky Mountain oysters."⁵⁸

Some Indian tribes preferred the high flesh of buffalo drowned while crossing rivers and hauled ashore several weeks later after it became so tender that little cooking was required. Some tribes even stored the meat until it began to rot; then they wolfed it down. Many mountain men, like Dick Summers and Boone Caudill, enjoyed portions of the vital organs raw but fresh, after seasoning them in gall or gunpowder. It was rumored that no human being ever became ill from eating bison; Dick Summers even prescribed buffalo gall for a hangover (The Big Sky, p. 202).

DeVoto and Guthrie are at one in their claim that buffalo flesh was a complete diet. Caudill, living almost exclusively on buffalo and clear mountain water and even excluding salt from his diet, develops into a mature man with

⁵⁸ DeVoto, Wide Missouri, p. 40.

super physical prowess. In support of his claim, DeVoto refers to the modern research done by Stefansson on the buffalo diet. Stefansson discovered that a combination of lean and fat buffalo flesh furnished all the food nutrients essential to health, plus additional amounts of protein. No mountain man ever took scurvy, and very few were ever afflicted with any other illness, except severe hangovers and venereal disease. Dysentery among greenhorns was the only illness ever attributed to the buffalo diet. This claim, however, rested on shaky ground; many of the streams and pools in buffalo country contained alkali, which sometimes evoked a response quite similar to a giant dose of Epsom salts.

The assault on the buffalo began with the coming of the white man whose firearms and swift horses gave him and the Plains Indian sovereignty over the former Lord of the Plains. Steadily the buffalo retreated from the vicinity of trading posts, military forts, pioneer routes, and settlements--just as Uncle Zeb Calloway remarks in The Big Sky. By 1867, the mass hunt was in full swing. In that year, for example, William F. Cody signed a contract to furnish twelve buffalo per day to the crews of the Kansas Pacific Railroad. The great Buffalo Bill collected only the hams and humps of his

kills.⁵⁹ Using his mythical Springfield rifle, "Lucretia Borgia," and his equally mythical and faithful horse Brigham, he eagerly pursued his employment--and his lucrative five hundred dollars a month. In less than eighteen months, Cody slaughtered and wasted a goodly portion of 4,280 buffalo. His exploits catapulted him into the status of a national figure. Later variations of his adventures, partially due to his own efforts, transformed him into a mythical hero.

Attracted by material gain and inspired by the "brilliant" accomplishments of Buffalo Bill, hunters flocked west. Money could be made easily, buffalo were free, and the hunt was good "sport." Though the complete story of the blood-letting is highly interesting and a beautiful corollary to the late nineteenth century American theory of laissez faire, this paper will generally restrict itself to a study of the extermination of the great northern herd and the extermination's effect on The Big Sky country.

By the late 1870's, most of the southern herd had been sent to market, but a herd estimated at over a million animals still ranged from the lower tributaries of the Yellowstone, up through Montana, and into Canada.⁶⁰ Some

⁵⁹ Bayard Still, ed., The West, Contemporary Records of America's Expansion Across the Continent: 1607-1890 (New York: Capricorn, 1961), pp. 196-99.

⁶⁰ Sandoz, Buffalo Hunters, pp. 333-34.

professional hunters, as early as 1820, had begun their work on the northern herd. With an army larger than that of Cortes', the hunters killed approximately 146,000 buffalo in the years 1820-25. Between 1835 and 1840, approximately 212,500 animals were taken; in these same years an average of 1,090 carts rolled out of Montana with buffalo hides and meat. An awareness of the current events of those years would have shocked Boone Caudill out of his moccasins; Boone, as late as 1842, believed that The Big Sky country was incompatible with the wheel.

The most significant technological development concerned with the attack on the northern herd began in 1870. The Northern Pacific railroad began to stretch its tracks toward The Big Sky in that year. By 1876, the railroad had reached Bismarck and the Missouri River in the Dakota Territory. Bismarck became a convenient railhead for the buffalo products that were sent down the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. This inroad into the Indian's ancestral hunting grounds was a major factor in Sitting Bull's massacre in 1876 of General Custer and his Seventh Cavalry troops on Little Big Horn River.

The war to win the West, or to lose it--the perspective depending upon one's attitude toward Manifest Destiny--was officially declared. General Philip Sheridan, the commander of the United States Army in the West, expressed to the Texas

Legislature one of America's strong arguments on what he considered to be the beneficial work of the professional white hunters:

These men have done in the last years and will do more in the next years, to settle the vexed Indian question, than the entire regular army has done in the last thirty years. They are destroying the Indians' commissary; and it is a well-known fact that an army losing its base of supplies is placed at a great disadvantage. Send them powder and lead, if you will; but, for the sake of a lasting peace, let them kill, skin, and sell until the buffalo are exterminated. Then your prairies can be covered with speckled cattle, and the festive cowboy, who follows the hunter as a second forerunner of an advanced civilization.⁶¹

After Custer's defeat, the embarrassed United States government encouraged the slaughter of the northern herd. By 1878, a line of white hunters, half-breeds, Indians, and soldiers stationed themselves just inside the Montana border and blocked the buffalo's entry into Canada.⁶² In 1879, the hunters who had relentlessly chased the southern herd for many years suddenly discovered that their buffalo had mysteriously disappeared. The southern hunters joined their fellow "sportsmen" in the north. In that same year, fires--whether incendiary or natural--destroyed the grasses along a wide strip of the Montana-Canada border, further hindering

⁶¹ Clark C. Spence, ed., The American West: A Source Book (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1966), pp. 351-52.

⁶² Sandoz, Buffalo Hunters, p. 340.

the bison's migration into Canada.⁶³ Over 4,000 professionals hunted the region in 1880 and 1881,⁶⁴ and during 1882 more than 5,000 hidlers, excluding Indians, joined and took part in the slaughter.⁶⁵ Although it is impossible to claim with complete accuracy, the fictional Lat Evans and his crew might have been part of the 5,000.

A true-life hunter who somewhat resembles Lat Evans is Jim McNaney.⁶⁶ In 1881, at the age of seventeen and after a year of hiring out as a buffalo killer for a large outfit, McNaney, accompanied by his brother, went independent. Their small outfit closely resembled the others that were found on the northern range. Sandoz lists their equipment: "The McNaneys got two of almost everything; wagons, four-horse teams, saddle horses and wall tents . . . one cook stove. They got three Sharps breechloaders, a .40-90, a .45-70, and a .45-120, and laid in fifty pounds of powder, five hundred fifty pounds of lead, forty-five hundred primers, six hundred brass shells, four sheets of patch paper, sixty Wilson skinning knives, three butcher's steles, and a portable grindstone. The outfit came to fourteen hundred dollars."⁶⁷

⁶³ Branch, Hunting of the Buffalo, p. 210.

⁶⁴ Sandoz, Buffalo Hunters, p. 344.

⁶⁵ Branch, Hunting of the Buffalo, pp. 210-11.

⁶⁶ Sandoz, Buffalo Hunters, pp. 341-43.

⁶⁷ Sandoz, Buffalo Hunters, pp. 341-42.

The brothers hired two men at fifty dollars a month, one to cook, and the other to hunt. After shipping their gear part of the way by the new railroad, they arrived at the hunting grounds. The three hunted alone and skinned their own kills, since the harsh cold set the skin before a skinner could find it. The hunter's Sharps rifle weighed sixteen to nineteen pounds, and his cartridges, two knives, and stele weighed an additional thirty-six pounds or more. Since portions of the northern herd had been hunted for fifty years, some of the bands of buffalo were wild and wary. Often the hunters camouflaged themselves with gunny sacks or white canvas and crawled within firing range with their telescopic rifles. With many bands, however, Sandoz claims that "the northern buffalos were stupid as any. They clustered around the fallen in the same way, sniffing the warm blood, bawling, doing everything but run. The hunter had to hold himself, shooting quietly, deliberately, dropping every buffalo that tried to start off. One shot a minute was the moderate rate but under pressure two a minute could be fired with sufficient accuracy, using the long-range sights and the dead rest."⁶⁸

Hides varied greatly in quality, bringing two to five dollars in 1881.⁶⁹ In that year, when the railroads drew up

⁶⁸ Sandoz, Buffalo Hunters, p. 343.

⁶⁹ Sandoz, Buffalo Hunters, pp. 343-44.

close to the herds, the summer hides first became a trade item. Seventy-five thousand summer hides were carried by the Northern Pacific that year, but no total was recorded. The double handling of most of the meat was not profitable on a long railroad journey. But the shooting and shipping went on. Branch records some telling statistics:

Joseph Ullman, the New York furrier, gave William T. Hornaday, investigating on behalf of the National Museum, these figures:

"In 1881 we handled about 14,000 hides, average cost about \$7.50.

"In 1882 we purchased between 35,000 and 40,000 hides, at an average cost of about \$3.50, and about 10,000, at an average cost of \$8.50.

"In 1883 we purchased from 6,000 to 7,000 hides and about 1,500 to 2,000 robes at a slight advance in price."

The Messrs. Maskowitz, furriers of New York and Chicago, purchased 35,000 robes and 4,500 hides in 1880; and 23,350 robes and 26,600 hides in 1881, at a total cost for these two years of over \$430,000. In 1882 and 1883, buying as many robes and hides as they could, and paying higher prices, the sum of their payments for robes and hides was under \$157,000.⁷⁰

In 1876 I. G. Baker and Company of Fort Benton, Montana, sent out 75,000 robes; in 1880 Baker shipped 20,000; in 1883 he sent out 5,000; and in 1884 he had none available.⁷¹ One carload of robes was gathered by J. N. Davis, a buyer from Minneapolis, and shipped in 1884. The carload was the last that was carried out of the Great West by the Northern Pacific.⁷²

⁷⁰ Branch, Hunting of the Buffalo, pp. 217-18.

⁷¹ Sandoz, Buffalo Hunters, p. 350.

⁷² Branch, Hunting of the Buffalo, p. 220.

A few calves were caught by Charles Allard and Michael Pablo who sold them to the Canadian government for \$40,000. These animals furnished the breeding stock for the herds which became numerous under strict protective laws in Alberta and the Northwest Territory in Canada.⁷³

Sandoz estimates that the number of buffalo killed in the last three years of the northern hunt was 1,500,000, bringing a value of \$4,500,000.⁷⁴ The buffalo, literally, and the Indian, figuratively, had finally been railroaded. Only the skeletons remained, and in his poem "Dry Bones," Edwin Ford Piper describes what happened to the remains of the great herds:

Springtime outran the furrowings of raw sod;
 There must be bread: in August the bonepickers
 Go harvesting the prairie, dragging out--
 Rich roof for hundred-legs and scurrying beetles--
 From the fingers of the grass and spiderweb
 Long curving rib and broad white shoulder-blade.
 They pay a dollar for a ton in town.

The square, squat houses, the low shedlike stores
 Weathering unpainted, toe the littered street
 That finds the railway station. By the track,
 A fenced lot heaped with bleaching skeletons,--
 Mountainous wreckage, shin and back confused,
 Crowned with horned skulls grotesquely menacing.

So ends the buffalo. Five years since he tossed
 In great earth-shaking herds his shaggy mane;
 Not now one calf. Once furious bulls did roar

⁷³ Schultz, Blackfeet and Buffalo, pp. 39-40.

⁷⁴ Sandoz, Buffalo Hunters, p. 351.

The Challenge moving terribly to fight.
 Dry bones--the price one dollar for a ton.⁷⁵

With no more buffalo to hunt, the Piegans (Teal Eye's old tribe) camped on or around their reservations and lived on deer, elk, and antelope. But even these large animals soon became scarce, and the Indians began to starve. The old ways of the Blackfeet began to weaken and fade. Their economy was gone, their myths and symbols began to crumble. Black Elk expresses, in language somewhat similar to the modern poet Yeats, the dissolution of a historic era. "I did not know how much was ended. . . . The nation's hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead."⁷⁶

The wretched state of the Indians in These Thousand Hills and Arfive is, unfortunately, a valid portrayal. James Willard Schultz, who lived with the Piegans in the 1870's and 1880's, records that the hard times began for the Indians in 1883.⁷⁷ That year, the Indians told Schultz that their military agent, Ahsi Tupi (Major Young), had no more food for them. One starving Indian broke the ancient code when he ate four mountain trout, which were forbidden food belonging to the terrible Underwater People. He died, claimed the Piegans, because he defied the gods. While the weakened

⁷⁵ Quoted by Spence in American West, p. 353.

⁷⁶ Brown, Wounded Knee, p. 419.

⁷⁷ Schultz, Blackfeet and Buffalo, pp. 68-81.

Blackfeet fell victim to tuberculosis and died, the big game animals retreated to the higher levels of the mountains. Ewers hastily passes over the sufferings of the Indians after the extermination of the buffalo. "In 1886 the primitive Blackfeet had not recovered from the double shock of the disappearance of their staff of life, the buffalo, and the prolonged period of starvation following the extermination of that animal. They had neither the knowledge nor the resources to make a living in the white man's world."⁷⁸

Harrold, however, does not flinch from the facts. He emphasizes the destruction of the bison as being the determining factor in the demise of the Blackfeet, but he also mentions several other disasters, most of which were caused by the white man.⁷⁹ Three great smallpox epidemics were spread by the whites among the redmen--in 1781, 1837 (described by Guthrie in The Big Sky), and 1869-70. The tribe survived the first two epidemics because their symbols and traditions were still strong. (Note Teal Eye's pride in her heritage in The Big Sky, although some 6,000 Blackfeet died of smallpox in 1837.⁸⁰) But disease and alcoholism prevented a vigorous recovery in 1870. Whiskey forts, or

⁷⁸ John C. Ewers, The Blackfeet, Raiders on the Northwestern Plains (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 314.

⁷⁹ Harold L. Harrold, Mission Among the Blackfeet (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 41.

⁸⁰ Harrold, Mission Among the Blackfeet, p. 41.

bootleg posts, with such absurd but appropriate names as Fort Whoop-up, Fort Standoff, and Fort Stride-Out, were constructed in Blackfoot country in the 1870's. The effects were telling; in 1871, eighty-eight Blackfeet were killed during drunken sprees. In 1873, the government agent for the Blackfeet estimated that twenty-five percent of his Indians had died between 1867 and 1873 as a consequence of the whiskey trade.

After 1870, the whites began in earnest a "final solution" to their Blackfoot problem. For example, in January of that year of the smallpox, the healthy and brave soldiers of Colonel E. M. Baker, using the pretext that red criminals were being sheltered, attacked a large village of Blackfeet. The Americans slaughtered 173 men, women, and children, and captured 140 women and children. Though many Indians were infected with smallpox, the village was burned to the ground and the captives turned loose to die in the sub-zero temperatures of the Montana winter. Colonel Baker was never questioned for this My Lai-type incident; Manifest Destiny was too strong in the hearts of his countrymen.

Then, with the disappearance of the buffalo, the terrible starvation occurred. From September 1883 to March 1884, almost 600 Blackfeet starved, and their spirits slipped into a Happier Hunting Ground. Young reported to Washington that his agency was strained by the appearance of increasing numbers of hungry Indians. "In January of 1881 there were 605

Indians camped near the agency; in 1882 the number had risen to almost 2,000; by 1883 there were almost 3,000 Blackfeet dependent on government rations."⁸¹ The commissioner in Washington replied to Young: "You are advised of the fact that the total appropriation made by Congress for the Indians belonging to your agency has already been exhausted. . . . Nothing further can be done."⁸²

Major Young was replaced by Allen in 1884. Each adult Indian's weekly ration of food was raised to two pounds of beef and two pounds of flour, each child's ration being raised to one-half of that amount. Finding the diet insufficient, the Indians supplemented their weekly rations with tasty strips of bark from neighboring trees.

The end of the Blackfoot tribe as an independent people came in the bitter winter of 1883-84. Some of their old values and traditions survived but there was no center any longer, and the sacred tree was dead.⁸³

Thereafter, the Blackfeet were taught "civilization," as Ewers describes it.⁸⁴ The Indian was taught the

⁸¹ Harrod, Mission Among the Blackfeet, p. 46.

⁸² Harrod, Mission Among the Blackfeet, p. 47.

⁸³ Brown, Wounded Knee, p. 419.

⁸⁴ John C. Ewers, Indian Life on the Upper Missouri (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 309.

superiority of the white man's values. Taught to the Indian were many indispensable social habits--how to comb his hair, to sit in a chair, to sleep in a bed, to wear a coat and trousers, to tie his shoes, to read from McGuffey, to pray, to use a knife and fork, and to do many other equally important things. "It," Ewers admits, "required painstaking indoctrination."⁸⁵

In their desire to make sure that the center did not hold in Blackfoot society, agents of the United States government paid bribes and threatened punishment in their efforts to destroy the symbols of the Indians' old way of life.⁸⁶ The agents failed to regard America's principle of freedom of religion and attacked the tribal ceremony, the sun dance. In 1887, certain members of the tribe were ordered not to participate in the ritual. In October of the previous year, the Statue of Liberty had been erected as an enduring symbol of freedom of opportunity in America.

A comparison of some figures from the annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the years 1886 and 1900 reveals the government's conception of the Indian's progress:⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Ewers, Indian Life, p. 309.

⁸⁶ Ewers, Indian Life, p. 130.

⁸⁷ Ewers, The Blackfeet, p. 314.

	<u>1886</u>	<u>1900</u>
"Number of Indians who can read	18	900
Number who wear citizens dress	40	2,085
Horses and mules owned by Indians	1,205	22,004
Acres cultivated by Indians	12	500
Cattle owned by Indians	0	12,000
Bushels oats, rye, barley harvested	30	700
Bushels vegetables harvested	100	3,700
Tons of hay cut	170	6,000"

The destruction of the buffalo by the conscious and unconscious followers of the principle of Manifest Destiny brought havoc on the Blackfoot nation. Left without nitapi waksin, or "real food" (buffalo flesh), they were left only with Kistapi waksin, or "nothing foods" (other eatables).⁸⁸ Without nitapi waksin, many Blackfeet led "nothing lives."⁸⁹

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MANIFEST DESTINY

As stated in "The Extrinsic Aspects of the Novels," no claim will be made as to whether Guthrie's works support or attack America's methods of expansion. Perhaps it is best to examine objectively his characters and to allow them to express their own viewpoints. Prerequisite to this approach

⁸⁸ Schultz, Blackfeet and Buffalo, p. 30.

⁸⁹ Schultz, Blackfeet and Buffalo, p. 41.

should be a brief introduction to the principle of Manifest Destiny, which will later receive fuller treatment.

The phrase "Manifest Destiny" was coined by John L. O'Sullivan in his literary journal, the Democratic Review, in 1845. The phrase meant many things to many different people, but generally, Manifest Destiny meant expansion over western America; to others, over the North American continent; and to some, over the entire hemisphere.

Manifest Destiny, DeVoto writes, suggests an archetypal pattern:

The lodestone of the West tugged deep in the blood, as deep as desire. When the body dies, the Book of the Dead relates, the soul is borne along the pathway of the setting sun. Toward that Western horizon all heroes of all peoples known to history have always traveled. Beyond the Gates of Hercules, beyond the Western Ocean, beyond the peaks where the sun sinks, the Lapps and the Irish and the Winnebago and all others have known that they would find the happy Hyperboreans--the open country, freedom, the unknown. Westward lies the goal of effort. And, if either Freud or the Navajo speak true, westward shall find the hole in the earth through which the soul may plunge to peace.⁹⁰

Perhaps the characters most obviously faithful to Manifest Destiny in Guthrie's tetralogy are the Evanses--Lije and Lat--Elisha Peabody, and Brother Weatherby. To Lije Evans, the Oregon Territory is equated with the archetypal "Promised Land."⁹¹ Like an ancient Hebrew, Lije Evans is

⁹⁰ DeVoto, Year of Decision, p. 46.

⁹¹ Ford, A. B. Guthrie, Jr., p. 20.

willing to trek through a cruel wilderness to a land that promises a vaguely defined "milk and honey." The journey is hard, but he takes a real and simple pleasure in matching his mind and muscles against the obstacles of the trail. With visions of a happy home in Oregon dancing in his head, he himself dances and sings to his wife Rebecca: "To the far-off Pacific sea,/Will you go, will you go, old girl, with me?" (The Way West, p. 141). Only vaguely does Lije Evans understand his role in Manifest Destiny. He defines his feeling in the abstract--a feeling of "greatness" (The Way West, p. 154). "It wasn't a thing of reason, this yondering, but for the heart, where secrets lay deep and mixed. Money? Land? New chances? Patriotism? All together they weren't enough. In the beginning, that is, they weren't enough, but as a man went on it came to him how wide and wealthy was his country, and the pride he had talked about at first came so real he lost the words for it" (The Way West, p. 154).

Even after Lije Evans is almost at the banks of the Columbia River, all that he truly understands about his trek westward is the feeling of "greatness." Proud of his quiet strength and leadership ability, he almost loses control of his emotions when he visualizes Oregon. "He saw it in imagination, rolling with the sun, and a shout swelled in

his throat, to be choked down to easy, easy. Easy to the promised land" (The Way West, pp. 306-07).

Lije Evans' motivation for migration, then, can not be explained in absolute terms. He feels the emotions that are evoked by the archetype in his unconscious, and he obeys his impulses. All that he truly knows is that he is part of a mass movement of people. In a brief passage resembling Carl Sandburg and Walt Whitman, Guthrie suggests that Evans' part in Manifest Destiny is abstract, rather than concrete. In the mass migration to the Pacific, there are many others like Evans: "Crossers of plains. Grinders through the dust. Climbers of mountains. Forders of rivers. Meeters of dangers. Sailors at last of the big waters. Nation makers. Builders of the country" (The Way West, p. 340).

Only once does Lije Evans even briefly waver in his determination to reach his "promised land" (The Way West, pp. 202-204). His deep concern over the disappearance of his son Brownie causes him to doubt his decision that led him and his family into the dangerous western country. To have stayed at home in Missouri would have been better, he thinks, even if Missouri meant boredom and drudgery. "He should have put aside the push, push, push to Oregon. Oregon didn't mean anything without Brownie" (The Way West, p. 203). Less than an hour later, Brownie is returned safely to his parents by

Dick Summers, and Lije's doubts about westering slip into insignificance.

Manifest Destiny, as previously mentioned, meant different things to different people. It is a vague but exciting feeling of "getting there" that causes Lije Evans to migrate into Oregon. His grandson Lat has both similar and different reasons for trading Oregon for Montana. Lat's life in Oregon is dull and fixed; Brownie, his father, has become a religious fanatic who interferes with Lat's personal life. Consequently, Lat rides away to search for the American Dream in The Big Sky country. He possesses a shrewd head for business, bides his time, and eventually prospers as a cattle rancher. In finding material success, he typifies many migrants who felt the spirit of Manifest Destiny.

Partially like Lat Evans, Elisha Peabody joins Manifest Destiny for materialistic reasons. The Oregon land, he claims, is America's regardless of the British claims. Peabody represents a more sophisticated and articulate element in Manifest Destiny. "By every reasonable standard the land is ours--by geography, natural expansion, contiguity. Why, it's destiny, that's what it is--inevitable destiny" (The Big Sky, p. 279).

Peabody justifies his desire to seize Indian land by his claim that the Indians have not made proper use of their property--a common argument of land speculators in the

nineteenth century. The West, he claims, should be settled by free men who engage in trade and commerce. Peabody visualizes rich cargoes going up and down the Columbia and Missouri rivers and over the northern pass and through his toll gates, which will bring him a fortune. Three brief quotations from Peabody almost completely sum up the general principles of Manifest Destiny. "There would be opportunity here for men of industry and foresight" (The Big Sky, p. 287). "Nothing shall stop us. British? Spanish? Mexicans? None of them" (The Big Sky, p. 279). "God willing, he would reach the Columbia" (The Big Sky, p. 287).

Equally determined to settle and "civilize" the West is Brother Weatherby, the Methodist preacher. Weatherby, however, is quite unlike Lat Evans and Elisha Peabody; Weatherby is not a materialist; he is a spiritualist. He knows that God has called him west, he feels chosen. Trusting Providence to carry him west to save the souls of the Indians, Weatherby is furnished provisions by an unlikely convert to Manifest Destiny--Dick Summers. The preacher is one of the many nineteenth century Americans who felt that God was at work in Manifest Destiny. For an example, here is one of Brother Weatherby's prayers: "I put myself in Thy hands, O God. Give me the strength and wisdom to do Thy bidding, I pray Thee. Help me with the sinners and the savages and the doubters like Brother Mack that they may see the

greatness of Thy works and fall down and worship Thee. Let me remember that all is right that the Lord doeth. And bless our little train, I pray Thee, and see us safely on to Oregon. Amen" (The Way West, pp. 150-57).

One of the more admirable men in Guthrie's tetralogy regardless of his religious excesses, Brother Weatherby has a sincere concern and love for the Indians. His attitudes are contained in this simple prayer which he spoke while kneeling on the prairie with an Indian. "We thank Thee, God, for Thy blessings. We thank Thee for life and health and all Thy loving bounty. We thank Thee for Thy love of all of us, white men and red men and the men of the earth. Help us to be worthy. Help us to do Thy Will. We pray Thee, help us not to swear or worship false gods or idols or to drink firewater or commit adultery. Let Thy mercy rest on us" (The Way West, p. 315).

The mountain men were the most unlikely agents of Manifest Destiny. Since their jobs depended on a reasonable balance of the ecology of the mountains, they literally and figuratively trapped themselves out of a profession. Some mountain men reluctantly turned to hunting buffalo and guiding wagon trains to Oregon and California. Near the conclusion of The Big Sky, Dick Summers sadly admits that the spirit of Manifest Destiny will eventually defeat the mountain man. "Next thing," he remarks, "is to hire out for

guides and take parties acrost and sp'ile the country more. You must've heerd about Old Tom Fitzpatrick pilotin' movers to Oregon last year, damn him!" (The Big Sky, p. 385). In The Way West Summers emulates Tom Fitzpatrick. He realizes that the settlement of the West is inevitable, and he stoically climbs aboard the bandwagon of Manifest Destiny. "He didn't blame the Oregoners as he had known old mountain men to do. Everybody had his life to make, and every time its way, one different from another. The fur hunter didn't have title to the mountains no matter if he did say finders' keepers. By that system the country belonged to the Indians, or maybe someone before them or someone before them. No use to stand between the stream of change and time" (The Way West, p. 217).

Boone Caudill, unlike Summers, wants no part of the mass movement of the Americans toward the Pacific, nor does Boone even become conscious of the changing times. Believing in the immutability of The Big Sky country, Boone seeks to lock himself into an illusory existence in a mythical time. "Goddam it, you talk like a man could put a plow in the land and grow corn, maybe, sweet potatoes, or sorghum, or tobacco. The season ain't long enough to make a crop. This here's Injun country and buffler country, and allus will be" (The Big Sky, p. 279). And Boone actually believes what he says. Although he does guide Elisha Peabody through the secret

northwest pass to the Pacific, he places no great significance on his cooperation with the strong supporter of Manifest Destiny. The Big Sky country, he believes, is too rugged and isolated for settlement by farmers. Boone, more an Indian than a white man, is also more a victim than a purveyor of Manifest Destiny.

Pioneer women, not to be considered victims of Manifest Destiny, were subjected to unusual mental strain and physical hardship in the West. Rebecca Evans sums up the woman's role in her man's destiny. "A woman ain't cut like a man, not so adventuresome or rangin' and likin' to stay put--but still we foller 'em around, and glad to do it, too" (The Way West, p. 171). Only once does Rebecca waver in her determination to stand by her man and go on to Oregon (The Way West, pp. 139-41). At Fort Laramie she almost breaks down under the strain of a long journey. Secretly, she thinks that it would be much more pleasant to remain at the fort and enjoy the small outpost of civilization than venture the hazards of the trail. Her husband, perhaps sensing her mood, helps her to weather the storm by singing and dancing for her.

Another particularly courageous pioneer woman is Judith Fairman in The Way West. She, like Rebecca Evans, stands by her man and accepts her subordinate role in Manifest Destiny. Even after her son Toddie dies from the bite of a poisonous snake and after she realizes the almost unbearable price that

one must pay to get to the Pacific, she nevertheless travels on to Oregon.

One woman who cannot accept the hardship of a pioneer life is Mrs. Ross of Arfive. The wife of a highly successful cattle rancher, she almost collapses under the strain of the isolation, the wind, and the distances of The Big Sky. Try as she may, she confesses, "I could never get used to the sky here. It is bottomless and without end in any direction, and I feel so--so flung out, I guess you would say, so bare and so scattered. It's like a jail without walls but with peepholes in it, or one giant peephole" (Arfive, pp. 168-69). Mrs. Ross returns to New York where she has a good name, but her husband remains in Arfive. Apparently, her affection for him has been killed by the unkind result of Manifest Destiny. "Nowhere in the letter was a word of sentiment, not even an unmeaning 'Love' above her name" (Arfive, p. 232).

Manifest Destiny, then, can be called the key to the winning, or to the losing of the West. It was the movement west by the Anglo-Saxons which exterminated the buffalo, domesticated the Indians, expanded the nation's boundaries into the Oregon Territory, crowned the brief reign of the Cattle Kingdom, and finally evolved into a sense of "mission."

The settlement of the Oregon Territory played an important part in Manifest Destiny and in the novels of Guthrie.

The Oregon country stretched from the crest of the Rockies to the Pacific Ocean and from northern California to the southern panhandle of Alaska. A joint occupation agreement was signed by the United States and Britain in 1818. In the 1820's, Americans of many different backgrounds--crusading Christians, business leaders, nationalists, and farmers--became interested in total occupation of the huge area. In 1845 (the year of Summers' wagon train), 3,000 agricultural settlers went to Oregon.⁹² Since the joint occupancy agreement was still active, the Hudson's Bay Company steered the settlers south of the Columbia River to the Willamette Valley. The presence of the Americans in the Willamette led to a compromise in 1846 that fixed the border at the 49th parallel.

Much of the energy behind Manifest Destiny depended on propaganda. One of the early Oregon propagandists was Hall Kelley, a Boston schoolteacher. He organized societies for the colonization of rich farming areas along the banks of the Columbia River. By the 1830's, Kelley was strongly encouraging Congress to take total possession of Oregon. In a rather appropriately titled long-winded article written in 1831, A General Circular to All Persons of Good Character, Who Wish to Emigrate to the Oregon Territory, Kelley writes:

⁹² Spence, American West, p. 82.

They [Kelley's society for the settlement of Oregon] are convinced, that if that country should be settled under the auspices of the Government of the United States of America, from such of her worthy sons, who have drank of the spirit of those civil and religious institutions which constitute the living fountain, and the very perennial source of her national prosperity, great benefits must result to mankind. They believe, that there, the skilful and persevering hand of industry might be employed with unparalleled advantage; that there, Science and the Arts, the invaluable privileges of a free and liberal government, and the refinements and ordinances of Christianity, diffusing each its blessing, would harmoniously unite in meliorating the moral condition of the Indians, in promoting the comfort and happiness of the settlers, and in augmenting the wealth and power of the Republic.⁹³

It is no small wonder that Patch, an Oregon-bound farmer in The Way West, had heard about the "promised land" many years earlier in Massachusetts. Patch's choice of action verbs is quite appropriate in his statement: "Kelley . . . puffed Oregon as much as anybody" (The Way West, p. 82).

Frederick Merk claims that the development of mass communications helped popularize Manifest Destiny.⁹⁴ Manifest Destiny became the most popular topic of mass propaganda, and the development of high-speed printing presses disseminated the values of western migration to every corner of the East. Other carriers of the good news of Manifest Destiny were improved. Telegraph lines were stretched

⁹³ Spence, American West, pp. 82-83.

⁹⁴ Frederick Merk, Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), pp. 55-57.

farther into the interior, and the gaps in the lines were filled by steamships, railroads, pony express, and carrier pigeons.

The penny press became the "chief purveyor of Manifest Destiny to the nation."⁹⁵ The penny press became a mass operation which was highly interested in capital profits. Led by Bennett, Beach, and Day of New York; Abell of the Baltimore Sun; and Swain of the Philadelphia Public Ledger, the penny press relied upon sensationalism to attract the attention of the masses. And it was the exciting stories of Manifest Destiny which brought a goodly portion of the public's pennies to the press.

According to DeVoto, even the United States government "puffed" propaganda to its citizens. The sole purpose of the two expeditions by John Charles Fremont, the son-in-law of Senator Thomas Hart Benton, was to advertise the Oregon Country.⁹⁶ Led by two former mountain men--Kit Carson and Tom Fitzpatrick--Fremont traveled few new trails though he made maps of previously unrecorded territory. After his return he wrote two reports which DeVoto claims were more important than his travels:

The government printed them, first separately, then together and sowed them broadcast. The westering nation read them hungrily. Fremont chasing buffalo,

⁹⁵ Merk, Manifest Destiny and Mission, p. 57.

⁹⁶ DeVoto, Year of Decision, p. 39.

Galahad Carson reclaiming the orphaned boy's horses from the Indians, Odysseus Godey riding charge against hordes of the red butchers--there was here a spectacle that fed the nation's deepest need. They were adventure books, they were characters of Manifest Destiny. . . . With Benton's advertising, they made Fremont a popular image of our Western wayfaring. Now he could come downstage center with the light on him and begin his role as a hero of romantic drama.⁹⁷

Although the acquisition of California and Texas by the United States is important to a complete study of the power of Manifest Destiny in the nineteenth century, this study will basically emphasize the country's expansion into Oregon, the area which figures so prominently in the Guthrie novels.

All movements need phrases--brief, hard-hitting, pulse-tingling, and even meaningful. John L. O'Sullivan furnished the Oregon expansion and the whole westward movement an all-encompassing label in December, 1845. He wrote of "our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us."⁹⁸ Billington reminds us

⁹⁷ DeVoto, Year of Decision, pp. 39-40.

⁹⁸ Ray Allen Billington, The Far Western Frontier, 1830-1860 (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 149.

that the above quotation appeared in the New York Morning News, December 27, 1845.⁹⁹

Manifest Destiny was the phrase needed by such diverse writers on American expansion as Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Buchanan, James K. Polk, Frederick P. Stanton, William Gilpin, John Quincy Adams, Charles Goodyear, Robert C. Winthrop, and Dee Brown.

In his essay, "America is the Country of the Future," Ralph Waldo Emerson analyzes the various aspects of strength and growth which present a strong potentiality for the country's future. Emerson explains the impact upon American expansion of improved transportation, the general American attitudes, education, business, agriculture, architecture, and engineering. But Emerson differs from many supporters of Manifest Destiny. America's expansion should not result in a gaudy display of power. "If only the men are well employed in conspiring with the designs of the spirit who led us hither, and is leading us still, we shall quickly enough advance out of all hearing of other's censures, out of all regrets of our own, into a new and more excellent

⁹⁹ Billington, Far Western Frontier, p. 149. ("O'Sullivan had used the phrase 'manifest destiny' in an unsigned article on 'annexation' in the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, XVII (July-August, 1845), 797-98, but the time was not then ripe for its general acceptance. The whole subject is thoroughly discussed in Julius W. Pratt, 'The Origin of Manifest Destiny,' American Historical Review, XXXI (1927), 795-98.")

social state than history has ever recorded."¹⁰⁰ So, to the idealistic Emerson, Manifest Destiny should be a tool, or a process which eventually results in the perfectibility of mankind. His praise of Manifest Destiny is almost as high as that of William Gilpin: "Divine Task! immortal mission!"¹⁰¹

James Buchanan, representing President Polk as the Secretary of State in 1845, again presented an offer to the British minister in Washington to settle the international boundary at the 49th parallel.¹⁰² The offer was rejected, and many Americans who had voted for Polk, a strong spokesman for Manifest Destiny during the presidential campaign of 1844, clamored for war with Britain. Albert Gallatin, an elder statesman and a former Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson and Madison and the namesake of Lat Evans of These Thousand Hills, feared that Manifest Destiny would lead to war.¹⁰³

President Polk, however, was neither a warhawk nor an emotional man. Merk claims that Polk "was himself a realist, unimaginative, adverse to soft romanticism of any sort, with sights on earth, not in the stars. What interested him was

¹⁰⁰ Norman A. Graebner, Manifest Destiny (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968), p. 15.

¹⁰¹ Spence, American West, p. 111.

¹⁰² Graebner, Manifest Destiny, pp. 83-91.

¹⁰³ Graebner, Manifest Destiny, pp. 77-80.

land won for man's purposes, not those of Providence."¹⁰⁴ Although he was elected on his campaign promise to expand America into the Oregon Territory, Polk was equally determined to prevent the hawks of Manifest Destiny from leading the nation into a stupid and expensive war with Britain.

The arguments raged. Stanton of Tennessee believed that Americans were the archetypal chosen people.¹⁰⁵ America could claim Oregon on the assumption that God always preferred to favor the side of morality rather than the side of law. On January 14, 1846, he repudiated Britain's argument for possession of any part of the Oregon Territory. The basis of Stanton's speech to Congress is a vague, emotional version of Manifest Destiny: "I believe it is our destiny to possess the whole of Oregon; but this destiny does not make it right. It is not necessary to name the principle I have attempted to state, nor does it require any course of reasoning to establish."¹⁰⁶

John Quincy Adams justified America's claim to all of Oregon by hurrying to his Bible and extracting verses which could justify expansion to Timbuktu or anywhere else.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Graebner, Manifest Destiny, p. 61.

¹⁰⁵ Graebner, Manifest Destiny, pp. 91-95.

¹⁰⁶ Graebner, Manifest Destiny, p. 94.

¹⁰⁷ Graebner, Manifest Destiny, pp. 102-09.

Here is a portion of Adams' profound evidence: "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."¹⁰⁸ Also, "Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession."¹⁰⁹ Adams seems to imply that the ancient Hebrew creative writers had had religious visions of America and Oregon, and they had written beyond their research. Adams had, as Secretary of State and President, helped establish America's historic claim at the 49th parallel, and he should have understood national behavior and international diplomacy enough not to offer an insubstantial argument based on scripture.

Representative Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts was a leading spokesman for the New England Whigs. Winthrop's main interest was to acquire good ports for New England ships on the Pacific coast.¹¹⁰ He deplored the thought of going to war to settle the territorial dispute with Britain. He believed that a peaceful settlement should be made at the 49th parallel, so that Americans could engage in an uninterrupted and peaceful sea trade.

¹⁰⁸ Graebner, Manifest Destiny, p. 103.

¹⁰⁹ Graebner, Manifest Destiny, p. 105.

¹¹⁰ Graebner, Manifest Destiny, pp. 114-120.

An extreme position was taken by Charles Goodyear, a representative from New York. Goodyear claimed that Manifest Destiny was "nothing but a robber's right."¹¹¹ Manifest Destiny threatened the country's moral position and involved it in costly policies that had no relationship to its interests. Goodyear recognized that the United States had a great future, but that it should develop the territory that it already possessed, rather than expanding any farther at the 49th parallel.

A brilliant critic of Manifest Destiny is Dee Brown, the author of Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee, An Indian History of the American West. The so-called "permanent Indian frontier" was breached by "the policy makers in Washington who invented Manifest Destiny, a term which lifted land hunger to a lofty plane."¹¹²

Quoting General Carlton of the United States Army of the West, Dee Brown illustrates the unctuous quality that Manifest Destiny could take in an indoctrinated military mind:

The exodus of this whole people [the Indians] from the land of their fathers is not only an interesting but a touching sight. They have fought us gallantly for years on years; they have defended their mountains and their stupendous canyons with a heroism which any people might be proud to emulate; but when, at length, they found it was their destiny, too, as it had been that of their brethren, tribe after tribe, away back toward the rising of the sun, to give way to the insatiable progress of our race, they threw

¹¹¹ Graebner, Manifest Destiny, pp. 110-11.

¹¹² Brown, Wounded Knee, p. 8.

down their arms, and, as brave men entitled to our admiration and respect, have come to us with confidence in our magnanimity, and feeling that we are too powerful and too just a people to repay that confidence with meanness or neglect--feeling that having sacrificed to us their beautiful country, their homes, their associations, the scenes rendered classic in their traditions, we will not dole out to them a miser's pittance in return for what they know to be and what we know to be a princely realm.¹¹³

It is no small wonder that, under the overwhelming sweep of Manifest Destiny, Black Elk's dream vanished, his nation's hoop crushed and scattered, the center of his society cracked, and his sacred tree withered and died.¹¹⁴

THE WESTERN HERO: HISTORICAL AND FICTIONAL ASPECTS

A. B. Guthrie, Jr. candidly admits that These Thousand Hills is his most difficult and least successful novel because it depicts the cowboy, who, of all the Western hero types, most vividly represents the stylized Western myth,¹¹⁵ Guthrie's failure (although only a partial one, as his novel of the Cattle Kingdom) finds sympathy once a comparison is made of the historical cowboy with the fictional cowboy, James Folkson writes, "One of the most important factors in the esthetic success of . . . his . . . novels is Guthrie's peculiar talent for evoking the emotional spirit as well as

¹¹³ Quoted by Dee Brown in Wounded Knee, p. 31.

¹¹⁴ Brown, Wounded Knee, p. 419.

¹¹⁵ Guthrie, Blue Hen's Chick, p. 51.

the factual substance of certain periods of the past,"¹¹⁶ Guthrie has faithfully exercised his talents, much more than less, but he has simultaneously placed his novels in a rather unconventional position in Western fiction. Guthrie's skill as a researcher of history is the key to the honest portrayal of Westerners in his novels. Furthermore, his commitment to history sets him apart from other popular writers like Owen Wister, Zane Grey, Clarence E. Mulford, Jack Schaefer, and the dime novelists--Ned Buntline, Joseph Badger, Jr., Frederick Whittaker, Prentiss Ingraham, and William G. Patten. Guthrie's style-breaking, however, was not easy. The less serious writers had created Western cultural heroes who were held and, in many instances, are still held in high esteem by the masses of people in both America and Europe, who have proved remarkably receptive to the creations. (For instance, during his recent visit to the United States, none other than Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Russian Communist party leader, gave a hearty embrace to Chuck Connors, the tall Western hero of the television series, The Rifleman.)

In order to arrive at some understanding of the problems of characterization that are presented in Guthrie's novels, and particularly in These Thousand Hills, one must examine the dichotomy between the historical hero and the fictional hero of the American West.

¹¹⁶ Folsom, Western Novel, p. 66.

Although the historical Kit Carson furnishes the figure for the Far Western hero, Daniel Boone is the forerunner. Unlike the historical Carson, Boone cannot be positively identified, Records of his actual life and his personality have been lost to time and legend. Henry Nash Smith describes the various depictions of Boone that have caused historians to wonder about their profession. In 1784 John Filson, in The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucky, claims that Boone finds pleasure in the thought that Kentucky will soon develop into a prosperous state, and that the respect and appreciation of his fellow Americans are the only rewards he desires for his leadership in the exploration and settlement of Kentucky.¹¹⁷ In The Adventures of Daniel Boone, published in 1813, Daniel Bryan, Boone's nephew, creates a grandiose epic about his uncle's devotion to social progress. Smith summarizes:

Complete with Miltonic councils in Heaven and Hell, the epic relates how Boone was chosen by the angelic Spirit of Enterprise to bring Civilization to the trans-Allegheny wilderness. When he is informed of his divine election for this task, Boone's kindling fancy beholds Refinement's golden file smoothing the heathen encrustations from the savage mind, while Commerce, Wealth, and all the brilliant Arts spread over the land. He informs his wife in a Homeric leave-taking that the sovereign law of Heaven requires him to tread the adventurous stage of grand emprise, scattering knowledge through the heathen wilds, and mending the state of Universal Man. Faithful to his

¹¹⁷ Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land, The American West as Symbol and Myth (New York: Random House, 1950), pp. 54-63.

mission even in captivity among the Indians, he lectures the chief Montour on the history of the human race concluding with reflections on

How Philanthropy
And social love, in sweet profusion pour
Along Refinement's pleasure-blooming Vales,
Their streams of richest, life-ennobling joy.¹¹⁸

Simultaneously, conflicting stories were told about Boone's attitudes toward the westward movement of American civilization. The Niles Register of June 15, 1816, mentions Boone as a different kind of person, one who flees the encroachment of settlements, a fugitive from society.¹¹⁹ The New York American, 1823, quoted Boone as saying, "I had not been two years at the licks [in Missouri] before a d---d Yankee came, and settled down within an hundred miles of me!!"¹²⁰ In the eighth canto of Don Juan, Lord Byron describes Boone as a simple, innocent, and happy man, who loves nature and isolation.¹²¹

The tales of Boone's life have been whatever the teller wishes to say about him. A supporter of Manifest Destiny, or its opponent, Boone could have been either, and both positions could be accepted by a public which sought an American hero. In either respect, as far as the advancement of civilization was concerned, he is the forerunner of Kit

¹¹⁸ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 57.

¹¹⁹ Smith, Virgin Land, pp. 57-58.

¹²⁰ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 58.

¹²¹ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 59.

Carson, the first Far Westerner to personify Manifest Destiny in the popular mind.

Until 1838 Kit Carson was unknown outside the Rocky Mountains; there, he was considered just another mountain man.¹²² Three years earlier, however, Reverend Samuel Parker, a missionary bound for Oregon, had visited the trappers' rendezvous at Green River and saw Carson's duel with a French trapper who was a vicious bully. Carson won the fight and painfully wounded his opponent. Parker wrote up the story which was published in 1838 in Journal of an Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains. The story was not widely read, but the incident itself did cause the other mountain men to have more respect for Carson, who stood only five feet and five inches.

Carson's more important work in Manifest Destiny began in 1842 when he accidentally met John Charles Fremont, who hired Carson to guide him along the Oregon Trail, into the Rockies, and to California. Fremont wrote up the accounts of the journeys, which praised Carson's abilities as a scout, Indian fighter, and hunter. In 1845 ten thousand copies of the accounts were printed at government expense and distributed.¹²³ Although Fremont, a glory seeker of the

¹²² Henry Lewis Carter, "Dear Old Kit," The Historical Christopher Carson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), pp. 4-5.

¹²³ Carson, "Dear Old Kit," pp. 5-6.

of the Custer-Cody vein, made himself the central character, Carson received quite favorable publicity. Fremont's accounts were reprinted many times during the next ten years. Future authors Francis Parkman, of The Oregon Trail, and Lewis Hector Garrard, of Wa-ta-yah and the Taos Trail, read the reports and, subsequently, went west. So did Brigham Young and thousands of others. Eastern farmers and merchants read the accounts and made their way west to Oregon and California.

Fremont's accounts gave very favorable impressions of mountain men other than Carson--Tom Fitzpatrick, Joe Walker, and Alexis Godey. Fitzpatrick and Walker were older men and more flexible than Carson, while Godey was a Frenchman. Consequently, the hero-worshipping Anglo-Saxon public chose Carson as their man. He was skillful and fearless, and could even guide Fremont, "The Pathfinder." The public overlooked Carson's hotheadedness and Godey's coolness. Although the two mountain men teamed up to rescue some horses from Indian thieves, Godey performed more heroically. He and Carson each killed an Indian during the episode, but Godey had to "re-kill" Carson's Indian before the scalp could be taken.

"Kit Carson," however, was a nice alliterative name which rang softly in the ear of the public,¹²⁴ "Kit Carson"

¹²⁴ Carter, "Dear Old Kit," p. 8.

was tuned to the melody of Manifest Destiny. Fremont's father-in-law, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, met Carson and took a liking to the mountain man. Benton, a powerful politician with extreme enthusiasm for westward expansion, made public and private statements about Carson's heroic exploits and his admirable personality. Senator Benton's daughter, Jessie Benton Fremont, wrote many newspaper articles and stories about Carson. In 1847, while on a mission to Washington for Fremont, Carson was interviewed by a reporter for the Washington Union and gave the highlights of his life for publication.

Several years before the fictional Carson appeared, the historical Carson became widely known and respected among the upper stratum of the reading public.¹²⁵ But it was the fictional Carson who captured the imagination of the masses. DeVoto certainly spoke truth when he mentioned the impact of Fremont's Reports on the public mind. "They were adventure books, they were characters of Manifest Destiny."¹²⁶

Carson in fiction probably first appeared in Holden's Dollar Magazine in April, 1848. Two dime novels appeared the next year--Kit Carson, Prince of the Gold Hunters, by

¹²⁵ Carter, "Dear Old Kit," p. 10.

¹²⁶ DeVoto, Year of Decision, p. 40.

Charles Averill, and The Prairie Flower, or Adventures in the Far West, by Emerson Bennett.¹²⁷ Averill's novel describes Carson as young and handsome. Like all great heroes, the mighty Carson is built like Hercules. He kills dozens of Indians and becomes rich after his discovery of gold in California. The historical Carson was of short stature, was far from rich, and never prospected for gold in the area of California or anywhere else.

Bennett's book (which he might have stolen and published) pictures Carson as an Indian hater, which undoubtedly satisfied the hawkish element in Manifest Destiny. Bennett's Carson is ambidextrous and sensationally violent. Carson quotes Bennett:

Two powerful Indians, hard abreast, weapons in hand, and well mounted, rushed upon him at once, and involuntarily I uttered a cry of horror, for I thought him lost. But no! With an intrepidity equalled only by his activity, a weapon in either hand, he rushed his horse between the two, and dodging by some unaccountable means the blows aimed at his life, buried his knife in the breast of one, and, at the same moment, his tomahawk in the brain of the other. One frightful yell of rage and despair and two riderless steeds went dashing by . . . before I could regain my feet, I saw another blow aimed at my head by a powerful Indian, who was standing over me. At this moment, when I thought my time had come and "God have mercy on my soul" was trembling on my lips, Kit Carson, like an embodied spirit of battle, thundered past me on his powerful charger, and bending forward in his saddle, with a motion as quick as lightning itself, seized the scalp lock of my antagonist in one hand and with the other completely

¹²⁷ Carter, "Dear Old Kit," pp. 10-12.

severed his head from his body, which he bore triumphantly away.¹²⁸

Bennett's rip-roaring fictional Carson foreshadowed the course that the scout would take in later popular literature. But the bloody Indian fighter's opposite had a brief popularity as a virtuous, dignified, and superior man in John S. C. Abbott's Christopher Carson. Familiarly Known as Kit Carson, published in 1873. Smith quotes Abbot:

Men of little book culture, and with but slight acquaintance with the elegancies of polished life, have often a high appreciation of the beauties and sublimities of nature. Think of such a man as Kit Carson, with his native delicacy of mind; a delicacy which never allowed him to use a profane word, to indulge in intoxicating drinks, to be guilty of an impure action; a man who enjoyed, above all things else, the communings of his own spirit, with the silence, the solitude, the grandeur, with which God has invested the illimitable wilderness; think of such a man in the midst of such scenes as we are now describing.¹²⁹

But this Carson was obviously too genteel for the action-loving Americans. And the dime novelists--Averill, Bennett, Ned Buntline, and others--had a field day. The mighty Carson artists played havoc with the historical records. In their works Carson became a towering hero, unencumbered with mysticism, gentility, or philosophy, and became noted only for prowess and courage. No longer did he emulate the Romantics and commune with God through nature. Instead he depended upon his own unsurpassed masculinity to

¹²⁸ Carter, "Dear Old Kit," p. 12.

¹²⁹ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 94.

conquer the naturalistic world of criminals, Indians, and wild animals. In short, Kit Carson became John Wayne. And the unphilosophical, ungentle, hustling, bustling, militaristic Americans finally had their M-A-N spelled out in their Manifest Destiny.

Stanley Vestal very appropriately sums up what the mythmakers did with the historical Carson:

They piled their legends about Kit until the man himself is hardly seen. They concealed or ignored the wild deeds of his youth, though he killed more men [mostly Indians and Mexicans who really did not count in the nineteenth century] than Billy the Kid; they said nothing of his adventures with women, though he is known to have married three times, and twice without the blessings of the Church. Not knowing how to present such a man, they manufactured a monster. On the one hand they failed to exhibit the winning humanity of their victim; on the other they magnified his exploits, 'laying it on a little too thick,' to use Kit's own sly comment on the 'Life.'¹³⁰

Carson's comment refers to The Life and Adventures of Kit Carson, the Nestor of the Rocky Mountains, from Facts Narrated by Himself, which was narrated by Carson to Dr. DeWitt Clinton Peters, who, along with C. Hatch Smith, padded the manuscript with excessive panegyrics and tiresome moralizing.¹³¹

Carson's fictional life was worked and reworked. Even William F. Cody wrote his own version of westward expansion,

¹³⁰ Stanley Vestal, Kit Carson, The Happy Warrior of the Old West (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1928), pp. 4-5.

¹³¹ Carter, "Dear Old Kit," pp. 16-17.

The Story of the Wild West, in which he claimed that the way west was made possible mainly through the efforts of four Western heroes--Daniel Boone, Davey Crockett, Kit Carson, and, of course, Buffalo Bill. Two eccentrics, William F. Drannan and Oliver Perry Wiggins, professed a long friendship with Carson. Their fraudulent claims caused many Carsonians to gallop blindly into the quicksands of scholarly history. Even Vestal and DeVoto fell for Wiggins' balderdash that Carson was a leader of a fur company, a Brigadier General in the United States Army, and the husband of a wealthy Mexican heiress.¹³² The historical Carson was a trapper who either worked for a company or worked alone, he was a Brevet General in the New Mexico Volunteers (his superiors would not transfer him to the Union Army during the Civil War), and he married a Mexican girl who had inherited a few acres of cheap land near Taos.

A literary find occurred in 1905; it was the old "missing manuscript" motif again. A manuscript entitled Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life as Dictated to Col. and Mrs. D. C. Peters about 1856-57, and never before published was found in the personal effects of William Theodore Peters, the son of Dr. Peters, upon the son's death in Paris. The identity of the writer (Carson could write only his name) is still unknown, but the autobiography appears to be authentic,

¹³² Carter, "Dear Old Kit," pp. 23-25.

except that the last of the two editions presents Carson as more gifted in language than he probably was.¹³³

A new approach to Carson began in 1943 with the publication of an essay, "Kit Carson in Books," by Henry Nash Smith, in the Southwest Review, winter issue. Smith began a study of Carson as a symbolic figure of the Western hero; he and his followers were not basically interested in Carson as a figure in history or fiction, but chiefly in the American people's image of him. The public's image, Smith concluded, was produced mostly by fiction. (See Smith's Virgin Land, pp. 88-98, for a summary of Carson as a literary type.)

To the mountain men, Kit was just "one of the good ol' boys"; to the public he became the Western hero, the kind of hero that appears in, what Guthrie terms, "gun and gallop" westerns.¹³⁴

It is no wonder that William F. Cody had to lie so hard. He had to work himself into the symbolic pattern that had been created by the fictional Carson. Although Cody killed 4,280 buffalo in eighteen months (he did his own counting), what were 4,280 buffalo out of a total slaughter of 50,000,000 to 150,000,000? Cody was, without doubt, adequate in a variety of frontier professions--freighter, Pony Express rider, Indian scout, guide, fighter, soldier, hunter, and

¹³³ Carter, "Dear Old Kit," p. 28.

¹³⁴ Guthrie, Blue Hen's Chick, p. 130.

cowboy. But so were quite a few other Westerners. Consequently, in his attempt to fit into the fictional Carson's symbolism, Cody became as "vain as women at Easter, as unprincipled as a race track tout, and as congenital a liar as the man who wrote those all-inclusive patent medicine ads of the nineteenth century. Cody--or Buffalo Bill--has also come to be a symbol of the Wild West, proving again that there is considerable value and significance to any liar-promoter provided he can perform his dubious services in a grandiloquent manner. Buffalo Bill could do just that."¹³⁵

Cody began his ride into the symbolic West in 1869 when he met Ned Buntline, a successful and highly prolific writer of dime novels. Buntline traveled to Fort McPherson, Nebraska, to interview Major Frank North, the commander of three companies of Pawnee scouts in the Sioux Wars. North, perhaps unwilling to lose his soul in a fictional Hell, referred Buntline to a William F. Cody, who, at that particular moment, was soundly and unglamorously asleep under a wagon. Cody awoke to the possibilities of immortality and enlarged the story of his life, which, in turn, Buntline enlarged and modified to fit the reading habits of the public. The first work of fiction about Cody was Buntline's

¹³⁵ Joe B. Frantz and Julian Ernest Choate, Jr., The American Cowboy, The Myth and the Reality (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), p. 21. See Smith's Virgin Land, pp. 112-25, for details of the transition of the historical Cody to the fictional Buffalo Bill.

Buffalo Bill, the King of the Border Men, which appeared in serial form in the New York Weekly.¹³⁶ The story was advertised as "The Greatest Romance of the Age" and was frequently reprinted, even as recently as 1928.

During the next three years, Cody, along with Texas Jack, performed on stage as a hero in melodrama for Buntline. In 1872 Cody severed relations with his discoverer and organized his own show with John M. Burke employed as his press agent and business manager. Burke recognized a great opportunity; here was a young and handsome Buffalo Bill, a living celebrity straight from the pages of dime novel heroism who was ambitious for more publicity and glamour. Consequently, Burke embarked on a massive advertising campaign designed to modify the character of the fictional Cody.¹³⁷ Whereas Buntline had exploited only the basic themes of Indian fighting and conventional romance, Burke intended a much larger picture. "Buffalo Bill was to become an epic hero laden with the enormous weight of universal history. He was to be placed beside Boone and Fremont and Carson in the roster of American heroes, and like them was to be interpreted as a pioneer of civilization and a standard bearer of progress, although of course no showman

¹³⁶ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 115.

¹³⁷ Smith, Virgin Land, pp. 118-19.

would forget the box-office appeal of black powder and trick riding."¹³⁸

Burke employed Prentiss Ingraham, a dime novelist, as a staff writer for Cody in 1878.¹³⁹ Before his death in 1904, Ingraham wrote many dime novels above Cody's signature; he wrote 200 stories about the great man, and he ghost-wrote an "autobiography" entitled The Life of Hon. William F. Cody, Known as Buffalo Bill, the Famous Hunter, Scout, and Guide. An Autobiography.

The result was that the American public clasped the fictional Buffalo Bill to their hearts. And the psychological impact on the historical Cody himself was even more effective. In his own mind he became the fictional Buffalo Bill.¹⁴⁰ Even as early as 1876, he had identified himself with the Buffalo Bill of the dime novels. In 1876, when he killed Yellow Hand (an apparently anemic Indian) in an individual hand-to-hand duel, he dressed up for the newspaper reporters who had accompanied the military expedition. Smith's description of Cody that day derives from Walsh's Making of Buffalo Bill. "He wore a costume that must have been taken from the wardrobe of his theatrical company. It consisted of a Mexican suit of black velvet, slashed with

¹³⁸ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 119.

¹³⁹ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 119.

¹⁴⁰ Smith, Virgin Land, pp. 119-20.

scarlet and trimmed with silver buttons and lace. These costumes, fictional and actual, illustrate the blending of Cody with his theatrical role to the point where no one--least of all the great man himself--could say where the actual left off and where dime novel fiction began."¹⁴¹

A close similarity can be seen in a Beadle dime novel of Buffalo Bill as a Pony Express rider. In Cold Plume, the Boy Bandit Cody's costume is: "a red velvet jacket, white corduroy pants, stuck in handsome top boots, which were armed with heavy gold spurs, and . . . upon his head a gray sombrero, encircled by a gold cord and looped up on the left side with a pen representing a spur. . . . He also wore an embroidered silk shirt, a black cravat, gauntlet gloves, and a sash of red silk, in which were stuck a pair of revolvers and a dirk-knife."¹⁴²

Burke's plan for the mythification of William F. Cody fully materialized with the opening of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in Omaha, Nebraska, on May 17, 1883.¹⁴³ For three decades the fictional Western hero and the fictional West were fed to the public. A wide assortment of entertainment was offered--Sitting Bull, Annie Oakley, genuine buffalo, horse races, Indian war dances, battles between cowboys and

¹⁴¹ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 120.

¹⁴² Smith, Virgin Land, p. 129.

¹⁴³ Ewers, Indian Life, p. 199.

Indians, shoot-outs, and, of course, the great epic hero. Buffalo Bill, who performed his dime novel exploits before the very eyes of his admiring fans. (Many in his audience did not realize that instead of solid bullets in his rifle, he used shot-shells in his trick shooting act.) The show performed with great success at Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887, at the Paris Exposition of 1889, and over much of the world. Cody's fictional image was accepted by monarchs and commoners almost everywhere, although the publicity-seeking showman and a squadron of his reporters were expelled from the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation during the sundance ceremony controversies which preceded Wounded Knee I.¹⁴⁴

Burke was successful in his creation of Buffalo Bill as a popular epic hero, but William F. Cody, the man, who often suffered from the "nerves," all too frequently tied up at the hitching rail of the world's water holes and died broke in 1917. E. E. Cummings, one of the twentieth century's myth-breakers, took a shot at the commercially produced image of William F. Cody in his famous poem "Buffalo Bill":

¹⁴⁴ Sandoz, Buffalo Hunters, p. 363.

Buffalo Bill's

defunct

who used to

ride a watersmooth-silver

stallion

and break onetwothreefourfive pigeonsjustlikethat

Jesus

he was a handsome man

and what i want to know is

how do you like your blueeyed boy

Mister Death¹⁴⁵

Kit Carson and Buffalo Bill, then, were living representations of the Western hero as scout and hunter. As their fictional adventures and the years rolled by, however, Carson and Cody, although not altogether displaced in the mind of the public, were upstaged by a new kind of Western hero--the cowboy. In many respects the cowboy was an unlikely candidate for a hero. Actually, only a hired laborer on horseback, he worked man-killing hours at low wages, he sweated, he swore, he smelled of horses and of himself, and he was often ill-educated and prejudiced, and infrequently, glamorous. According to Edward King in "Glimpses of Texas," published in Scribner's in January, 1874, the historical cowboy was often called a "herder"--a word that often

¹⁴⁵ Quoted by Spence in American West, p, 419.

conjured up an image of a semibarbarous laborer whose life was monotonous, boring, hard, and poor.¹⁴⁶ Neither does Laura Winthrop Johnson describe any glamour in a roundup in Wyoming in her article, "Eight Hundred Miles in an Ambulance," published in Lippincott's in June, 1875. The cowboys, or herders, are only "rough men with shaggy hair and wild, staring eyes, in butternut trousers stuffed into great rough boots."¹⁴⁷ Henry King, however, in his November, 1879 article in Scribner's, "Picturesque Features of Kansas Farming," discovered a few picturesque touches on the range. King found something appealing in the "Old Castilian sombreros, and open-legged trowsers [sic] like rows of buttons, and jackets gaudy with many-colored braid and Indian beads, and now and then a blood-red scarf like a matador's."¹⁴⁸ The cowboy, King writes, lived by "a strange paradoxical code of personal honor, in vindication of which he will obtrude his life as though it were a toy."¹⁴⁹

Most of the reports about the cowboys of the 1870's, however, described them as depraved creatures. As an example, Branch quotes an article from the January 1, 1878 issue of the Washington Star: "Here (in the cow-towns)

¹⁴⁶ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 122.

¹⁴⁷ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 122.

¹⁴⁸ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 122.

¹⁴⁹ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 123.

those nomads in regions remote from the restraints of moral, civic, social, and law enforcing life, the Texas cattle drovers, from the very tendencies of their situation, the embodiment of waywardness and wantonness, and the journey with their herds, and here they loiter and dissipate, and sometimes for months, and share the boughten dalliances of fallen women."¹⁵⁰ In his First Annual Message to Congress in 1881, President Chester Arthur drew attention to a "band of desperadoes, known as 'Cowboys,' probably numbering fifty to one hundred men, [who] have been engaged for months in committing acts of lawlessness and brutality which the local authorities have been unable to repress."¹⁵¹

But the cowboy was not to remain a despicable figure, at least, not after Buffalo Bill and his staff of mythmakers corralled him. On July 4, 1882, the American cowboy declared his independence from reality. The place was North Platte, Nebraska. There, a huge Independence Day celebration was held, with Buffalo Bill as Grand Marshal. Part of the festivities included a kind of rodeo--contests of roping, riding, and shooting. The dominant figure in the contests was a handsome, young cowboy named Buck Taylor. The

¹⁵⁰ Douglas Branch, The Cowboy and His Interpreters (New York: Cooper Square, 1961), pp. 188-89.

¹⁵¹ Branch, The Cowboy, p. 190.

historical Taylor was truly an outstanding athlete, according to Walsh in Making of Buffalo Bill. Taylor "could ride the worst bucking horse, throw a steer by the horns or tail, and pick up a neckerchief from the ground at full speed."¹⁵²

When the Wild West Show was organized in 1883, Cody had Taylor under contract, and the making of the cowboy as a Western hero began. The first depiction of a cowboy as a fictional hero probably occurred in a Beadle "biography" of Buck Taylor in 1887.¹⁵³ The author was none other than Buffalo Bill's loyal staff member, Prentiss Ingraham. In Buck Taylor, King of the Cowboys: or, The Raiders and the Rangers, A Story of the Wild and Thrilling Life of William L. Taylor, Taylor is a member of the Texas Rangers, who resembles James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking in dress (leggings and hunting coat) and in action (after being captured by Indians, he is freed by a friendly Commanche and later rescues a pretty white girl from the savages).¹⁵⁴

In Taylor's next fictional appearance in 1891, also by Ingraham, and entitled Buck Taylor, The Saddle King; or, The Lasso Rangers' League. A Romance of the Border Heroes of To-day, Taylor is dressed in a costume equal to the splendor of his mentor, Buffalo Bill. "He was dressed in somewhat

¹⁵² Smith, Virgin Land, p. 123.

¹⁵³ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 123.

¹⁵⁴ Smith, Virgin Land, pp. 123-24.

gaudy attire, wore a watch and chain, diamond pin in his black scarf, representing a miniature spur, and upon the small finger of his right hand there was a ring, the design being a horseshoe of rubies. . . . About his broad-brimmed dove-colored sombrero was coiled a miniature lariat [sic], so that the spur, horseshoe and lasso designated his calling."¹⁵⁵

For the sake of Cody's Wild West Show, Ingraham's next literary endeavor, The Cowboy Clan; or, The Tigress of Texas. A Romance of Buck Taylor and His Boys in Buckskin, attempted to change the historical cowboy's reputation from bad to good. Almost as if he had read President Arthur's message to Congress, Taylor remarks: "I know well that a great many wicked men have crept into the ranks of our cowboy bands; but there are plenty of them who are true as steel and honest as they can be. . . . We lead a wild life, get hard knocks, rough usage and our own lives are in constant peril, and the settling of a difficulty is an appeal to revolver or knife; but after all we are not as black as we are painted."¹⁵⁶

Ingraham and his fellow dime novelists, however, did little to change the course of Western fiction. They did introduce the cowboy and give glamour and some degree of respectability to his character. But the dime novel cowboys

¹⁵⁵ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 124.

¹⁵⁶ Smith, Virgin Land, p. 124.

of the late nineteenth century generally performed the same duties of the early Buffalo Bill and the other dime novel heroes, that is, fighting Indians, Mexicans, and outlaws, and rescuing young girls. Some critics agree with Branch who writes: "It remained with Owen Wister to raise this cowboy-superman from sub rosa literature to respectability and recognition."¹⁵⁷

Wister, born in Philadelphia and educated at Harvard (summa cum laude in music, class of 1882; Harvard Law School, class of 1888), visited Wyoming in 1882 and 1891 to improve his health and hunt big game.¹⁵⁸ Wister's first fictional cowboy was Lin McLean, who is described as a distinct class of frontiersman in a story in the December, 1892 issue of Harper's New Monthly Magazine entitled "How Lin McLean Went East." Frantz quotes: "He was a complete specimen of his lively and peculiar class. Cowpunchers are not a race. . . . They gallop over the face of the empty earth for a little while, and . . . are blotted out by the course of the empire, leaving no traces behind."¹⁵⁹

Like most of his followers, Wister becomes sentimental about the cowboy. McLean ". . . lived in the old days, the

¹⁵⁷ Branch, The Cowboy, p. 191.

¹⁵⁸ Frantz, The American Cowboy, p. 148.

¹⁵⁹ Frantz, The American Cowboy, p. 148.

happy days, when Wyoming was a Territory with a future instead of a state with a past. . . . Someday we punchers won't be here. The living will be scattered, and the dead --well, they'll be all right. Have yu' studied the wire fence? It's spreading to catch us like nets do the salmon in the Columbia River."¹⁶⁰ It was The Virginian, however, that set the enduring life style of the cowboy and eventually made him the greatest Western hero. Completed in Charleston, South Carolina, and published in April, 1902, the novel was reprinted fifteen times that year alone.¹⁶¹

Fiedler and Branch believe that The Virginian's success was determined by the nostalgia that the public held for the vanishing West.¹⁶² Also, the book's popularity might have resulted from the public's response to the archetype of the vanishing hero, one such as King Arthur or Roland or Amadis.¹⁶³ Even the contemporary intellectual climate coincided with Wister's theme of the vanishing cowboy; already the famous and controversial essay on the closing

¹⁶⁰ Frantz, The American Cowboy, p. 149.

¹⁶¹ Branch, The Cowboy, p. 195.

¹⁶² Leslie A. Fiedler, The Return of the Vanishing American (New York: Stein and Day, 1968), p. 170. See also Branch, The Cowboy, pp. 197-98.

¹⁶³ Frantz, The American Cowboy, p. 149.

of the frontier of Western history at the turn of the century. Lewis Atherton offers an interesting explanation for the rise of the cowboy during the early 1900s:

Average citizens recognized that the old days of great open spaces were passing away and thus felt hemmed in for all time to come by cities and factories. Railroad connections with the West still made it easy for travelers crossing the plain to observe cowboys at work. Such a startling contrast to their own existence increased their inclination to believe that worries never existed in the simple and uncomplicated life on the range. The fears thus engendered by a rapidly burgeoning industrial and urban age encouraged people to idealize the life of the American cowboy.¹⁶⁴

Although the fictional cowboy at the turn of the twentieth century was gradually becoming more pure and more noble, Wister was the one writer who finally achieved the "Sir Walter Scottification of the West."¹⁶⁵ The Virginian is gallant, daring, honest, reserved, virile, strong, skillful, gentle, affectionate, clever, naturally intelligent, resourceful, pleasant, clean-cut--in short, he is the mature Boy Scout. Wister popularized the stock characters and the situations that have been depicted in thousands upon thousands of novels, movies, and television shows: the duel with six-shooters between the hero and the villain, the love between the cowboy and the educated Eastern girl (usually a virtuous schoolmarm, as in The Virginian), the clear-cut

¹⁶⁴ Lewis Atherton, The Cattle Kings (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962), p. 249.

¹⁶⁵ Fiedler, Vanishing American, p. 140.

differences in good and evil, the love of the cowboy for his horse, the implications of sinfulness in the cowboy, a sentimental and simple plot, melodrama, practical jokes, vigilantes, rustlers, optimism, descriptions of natural scenery, rugged individualism. But the characteristic that sets Wister's cowboy apart from the earlier cowboy heroes is the Virginian's ability to understand his world. "That insight into the world which seems as the most significant quality possessed by the Western hero is basic to the character of most other fictional Westerns [that is, those who descended from the Virginian], who are conceived ultimately as men of insight, and whose success depends upon their ability to see more deeply into the meaning of circumstances than their opponents."¹⁶⁶ For example, the Virginian possesses great powers of observation which enable him to defeat his opponents in poker games, and he manages to survive the harsh Western environment through his ability to read the signs of nature. The Virginian is even a literary critic; he points out flaws in the poetry of the schoolmarm's favorite poet, Robert Browning.

However, Wister's novel itself abounds in faults.

Frantz remarks:

You may question the advisability of letting Molly Wood [the school marm] ride unescorted on the range, or of Wister's injecting philosophical justifications of his work when no justifications are

¹⁶⁶ Folsom, Western Novel, p. 113.

necessary, or of comparing western and southern lynching. Furthermore, it takes no great perception to see that Wister borrows readily from Bret Harte and Mark Twain in spirit, if not in actual plot. The story of Shorty, the dupe of Trampas, and his lamentable end echoes the sentimental picaresque treatment of Harte. The story of Emily the hen is out of place with the spirit of The Virginian, and sounds more like the kind of tale Twain would tell with much gusto.¹⁶⁷

Wister, however, claims that he is faithful to history in The Virginian: "Any novel which presents faithfully a day and a generation is of necessity historical; and this one presents Wyoming between 1874 and 1890."¹⁶⁸ One might ask, then, what happened to the Johnson County War? And where are the cattle in this novel of the cattle country?

Guthrie's attempt, then to write serious Western fiction is challenged by the standards set by Wister and his followers. And the problem is seriously compounded by the popularity of Zane Grey, who emulated Wister and is now the most famous author of the "gun and gallop" story.

Any discussion of influential Western writers must include Zane Grey, the most successful Western writer of them all, that is, in the popular sense. Two years after the appearance of The Virginian, Grey, a successful dentist in New York City and a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, class of 1896, embarked on his long literary career,¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Frantz, The American Cowboy, p. 159.

¹⁶⁸ Branch, The Cowboy, p. 196.

¹⁶⁹ Branch, The Cowboy, p. 250.

Grey's books can, without a doubt, be best described as escape fiction. For instance, note the following advertisement which appears in many magazines and paperbacks, even in 1974: "LET ZANE GREY TAKE YOU OUT OF THE WORLD YOU'RE IN! Pick up a Zane Grey book and step into another world. It's a world where the Plains Indians, the world's greatest horsemen, once more don their war paint to hunt scalps. And thin-lipped, soft-spoken men, squinting against the sun, carve out their destinies . . . on their own terms. If this world is one you'd like to explore, we'll send you--for only \$1--three of the greatest books Zane Grey ever wrote."

Romantic from cover to cover and from first word to last, the titles of the books even suggest the faraway in time and place. Riders of the Purple Sage, The Heritage of the Desert, The Lone Star Ranger, and The Light of Western Stars are, in themselves, titles appealing enough to sell books--regardless of the material between the covers.

Only one critic, T. K. Whipple, in Study Out the Land, has written a thoughtful and productive analysis of Zane Grey's work. Frantz quotes Whipple:

There is no reason for comparing him with anyone, unless perhaps with competitors from his own genre. If he must be classified, however, let it be with the authors of Beowulf and of the Icelandic sagas. Mr. Grey's work is a primitive epic, and has the characteristics of other primitive epics. His art is archaic, with the traits of all archaic arts. His style, for example, has the stiffness which comes from imperfect mastery of the medium. It

lacks fluency and facility; behind it always we feel a pressure toward expression, a striving for a freer and easier utterance. Herein lies much of the charm of all early art--in that technique lies somewhat behind the pulse.¹⁷⁰

Like Wister, Grey only pretends historical honesty: "My long labors have been devoted to making stories resemble the time they depict. I have loved the West for its vastness, its contrasts, its beauty and color and life, for its wildness and violence, and for the fact that I have seen how it developed great men and women who died unknown and unsung."¹⁷¹

Grey did not write quality literature, but he is the most popular writer of cowboy fiction. Leonid I. Brezhnev likes The Rifleman, but Dwight D. Eisenhower "escaped" the pressures of leadership by riding the range with Grey's fictional cowboys. Grey, the one-time dentist, extracted fifty-four books from the cavities of his mind; over 50,000,000 copies have been sold, and some have been translated into Russian, French, and Spanish.¹⁷² Grey was interested mostly in selling books and romanticizing.¹⁷³ He actually possessed little interest in society or history. "His illusion of profundity . . . celebrates nothing more

¹⁷⁰ Frantz, The American Cowboy, p. 173.

¹⁷¹ Branch, The Cowboy, p. 250.

¹⁷² Atherton, Cattle Kings, p. 242. Also Frantz, The American Cowboy, p. 172.

¹⁷³ Folsom, Western Novel, pp. 156-57.

profound than a total retreat from life. The stereotyped characters--evil missionaries and nefarious agents on the one side and noble Indians and sympathetic traders on the other--serve only to reveal the utter conventionality of Grey's mind. In his hands a great and tragic theme is reduced to the most insipid bathos that literature can express."¹⁷⁴

Zane Grey is often placed in the same category with the dime novelists and the drugstore-rack-paperback authors.¹⁷⁵ He surpassed all other popular writers of cowboy fiction because, more than any of the others, he embraced the common misconceptions that the masses had gathered from the West and Western heroes.¹⁷⁶ Taking his cues from the fictional Boone, Carson, Cody, and Taylor, he portrayed cowboys who thought little and acted much. Grey's characters usually fall into one of the two easily discernible shades--all black or all white. Living by a simple, primitive, and fictional Code of the West, Grey's men are men, his women women. And satisfying the demands of an escapist, the typical Zane Grey novel is crowded from cover to cover with action from America's vanished home on the range. The

¹⁷⁴ Folsom, Western Novel, p. 157

¹⁷⁵ Fiedler, Vanishing American, pp. 121-22.

¹⁷⁶ Frantz, American Cowboy, pp. 172-73.

novel almost invariably ends without a discouraging word, where The Big Sky is not cloudy at all.

In the one-page Preface to These Thousand Hills, Guthrie claims that "No man of our day can write about the West of the 1880's without reading about it." He, of course, goes on to qualify his statement; he mentions authors Teddy Blue Abbott, Charlie Russell, James Willard Schultz, and others from whom he has borrowed. He does not mention Zane Grey and the other perpetuators of the myth of the West and the Western hero.

Early in his career Guthrie almost traveled the way of Grey. In 1936 he began Murders at Moon Dance and published it in 1943. Written partly for money and partly for self-discipline, the book is almost straight "gun and gallop" and richly colored by Grey--with a "contrived and implausible plot, the knights and knaves, and love too pure for motor impulses to pants and panties."¹⁷⁷ Ford states that the book is "divorced from the high level of Guthrie's later writing."¹⁷⁸ Guthrie himself confesses, "In the absence of entire evidence I can't say it is the worst book ever written, but I've long considered it a contender,"¹⁷⁹ Ashamed of the low quality of his virginal piece of creative

¹⁷⁷ Guthrie, Blue Hen's Chick, p. 131.

¹⁷⁸ Ford, A. B. Guthrie, Jr., p. 6.

¹⁷⁹ Guthrie, Blue Hen's Chick, p. 128.

literature, Guthrie bought up all the copies in Lexington, Kentucky, the town where he lived when Murders was published.

Unlike Grey and Wister, Guthrie put in a long and varied apprenticeship in writing prose and experiencing life. He grew up in The Big Sky country, conversed with old hunters, cow men, settlers--people with whom Grey and Wister had only a relatively superficial relationship. Guthrie comments on this aspect of his experience: "If he [the Western writer] is very lucky, as I have been, he may remember vestiges of that vanished period and he may have friends among the few aged old-timers who will help fill him in" (The Preface, These Thousand Hills). Besides Montana, Guthrie also learned Kentucky, the jumping-off place for many historical and fictional Westerners. (For example, Kentucky was the birthplace for both Kit Carson and Boone Caudill.) In typical humorous fashion Guthrie traces some of his inspiration for The Big Sky to a Senator Claghorn-type speech made by a Kentucky politician:

Leading in that march of civilization started by Boone and his companions when they threw themselves beyond the walls of the Appalachians and through the gaps of the Cumberlands, and which was to lead on beyond the Missouri across the Western prairies, 'beyond the frowning barriers of the Rockies, down to the lapping waves of the Pacific, where now teeming cities light their lamps by the setting sun ere it sinks to rest in ocean's outstretched arms!' Ah, pioneers of Kentucky! Ah, wilderness road! crimsoned with blood, golden with romance and legend, your story will be told as long as history

finds a pen, or truth a tongue! Boone! Kenton!
 Harrod! Whitley! Logan! Your moccasined feet
 have left forever their imprint on the shores of
 time!¹⁸⁰

The politician's sense, though not his rhetoric, strongly suggests portions of Frederick Jackson Turner's famous essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History": "Stand at Cumberland Gap and watch the procession of civilization, marching single file--the buffalo following the trail to the salt springs, the Indian, the fur-trader and hunter, the cattle-raiser, the pioneer farmer--and the frontier has passed on. Stand at South Pass in the Rockies a century later and see the same procession with wider intervals between."¹⁸¹

Guthrie also learned about Kentucky from his friends, Thomas D. Clark, who became the chairman of the history department at the University of Kentucky, and William H. Townsend, an attorney, writer, and authority on Lincoln. But the Kentuckian who probably proved most influential on Guthrie's thought was his landlady, Mary Lizzie Keating. Her saltiness and independence made a permanent impression on Guthrie's own attitude. Kind and generous almost to the point of being prejudiced in favor of Guthrie, she gave the young reporter confidence, psychological security, and a

¹⁸⁰ Guthrie, Blue Hen's Chick, p. 120.

¹⁸¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York: Henry Holt, 1958), p. 12.

home away from home. The title of Guthrie's autobiography derives from a toast proposed by Mary Lizzie. After Guthrie had enjoyed a phenomenal lucky day of betting on the horses, Mary Lizzie raised her glass and remarked, "Here's to you Buddy--the blue hen's chick."¹⁸² The allusion also crops up in the same context but in a much different situation in These Thousand Hills:

Lat looked at the lamp, the pictures on the wall, the fire that Happy had just fed. He slid over Tom and Jan and caught the blue eyes [of Callie, the beautiful prostitute] on him. "You're lucky," Miss Fran [the madam] told him.

"I guess I was."

"Hmm." Fran bit her thread in two and began needling in another place. "It ain't that. Callie here's my niece and takes advantage of it. Likes to pick and choose. And in this business!"

The girl just smiled. Her teeth, half showing, were white as alkali.

"Then, mister, here you come . . ." [Miss Fran continues] "and right away, so help me, if you ain't the blue hen's chick."

Callie didn't protest. She kept smiling quietly, her blue eyes unembarrassed" (These Thousand Hills, pp. 71-72).

In 1944 Guthrie continued his long literary apprenticeship at Harvard University and, in the next year, at the Bread Loaf Writers' Conference. At these two places Guthrie met such important writers and scholars as Bernard DeVoto, Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., Kenneth Murdock, Frederick Merk, Louis Untermeyer, Wallace Stegner, John Ciardi, Robert Frost, and the most influential of them all, Theodore Morrison, the

¹⁸² Guthrie, Blue Hen's Chick, p. 86.

chairman of the English department at Harvard, (Chapters 17 and 18 of Guthrie's autobiography describe the relationship between Guthrie and Morrison; these two chapters might be considered a condensed textbook on the art of creative writing.) Morrison was the "story doctor" for The Big Sky.¹⁸³ Morrison understood that Guthrie was trying to write an unusual type of Western story--fiction based on actual historical fact, fiction that broke the myths that had originated in the dime novels and had been accepted as factual by the general public. In some respects, then, Guthrie's serious literature might be considered anti-Zane Grey. Unlike the Grey-men, Guthrie received training and encouragement from some of the most knowledgeable literary minds of his time. On the other hand, Grey had studied dentistry, Wister had studied music and law, and both had been conditioned by dime novel mythology and the East. Rather similar credentials are found in the training and backgrounds of many popular Western writers.

During the early stages in the composition of The Big Sky, Guthrie wrestled with the problem of breaking through the stereotypes and the conventions of the fictional West. Taking a break from his frustrations, he and Mrs. Guthrie attended a class-B motion picture. "The . . . movie . . . was bad beyond any imaginable efforts to worsen it, but we

¹⁸³ Guthrie, Blue Hen's Chick, p. 174.

saw it through, munching popcorn with no injury to illusion. While the plot unfolded to no one's astonishment and the dreary dialogue sounded and actors acted as if their emotions could be communicated only through seizures, a curtain lifted for me. I had been hamming. Plain, by-God hamming. That was part of what Ted Morrison had been trying to tell me."¹⁸⁴ Now with a new insight into the problem of Zane Greyism, Guthrie turned his attention to characterization. He needed "to show and not tell," a technique usually not employed by writers of newspaper articles and editorials. "In my characters I had to forget myself. They were my characters to be sure, but they had to have a vitality of their own, an independence of me except that, as the invisible manager, I kept their waywardness in check. Even that management was demanding, for characters, once conceived, have a willful habit of jumping the reservation and must be herded back into the boundaries of story."¹⁸⁵

Unbelievable characters have been traditional in the fiction of the Grey-men; their characters, furthermore, have usually been subordinated to action and scenery. In The Big Sky, however, Guthrie has created three fictitious mountain men who are as different in personality as three living people. First, there is Boone Caudill, a primitive, violent,

¹⁸⁴ Guthrie, Blue Hen's Chick, pp. 170-71.

¹⁸⁵ Guthrie, Blue Hen's Chick, p. 171.

quick-tempered, unsociable, moody, and unphilosophical man. Second, there is Jim Deakins, a sensitive, easy-going, gregarious, contemplative person. And, third, there is Dick Summers, a stoic who is at home in almost any situation. Regardless of the differences in psychological make-up, the three mountain men are still highly proficient Westerners. Wallace Stegner particularly praises Guthrie's conception of Boone Caudill:

[Boone Caudill] is both mountain man and myth, both individual and archetype, which means that the record of his violent life is both credible and exhilarating. And he has one tender and attractive thing about him: an inarticulate but powerful love for the sweep of plain and peak and sky, the intimacy of cutbank and wildrose island, the free distance shaped by butte and hogback and aspen-blotched mountainside. It is the thing he most closely shares with his creator Guthrie, the thing that can make a taciturn, blood-thirsty, unwashed, gut-eating white savage a character whom we follow with excitement and often with acute sympathy (The Big Sky, pp. xi-xii).

Character identification, then, is one of the important differences between Guthrie and most of the other popular Western writers. Leslie Fiedler, in his essay, "Archetype and Signature," makes some interesting observations about the creative writer and his identity with his characters, which might be appropriate for a description of Guthrie.¹⁸⁶ Fiedler defines "archetype" in the conventional manner, that

¹⁸⁶ Leslie A. Fiedler, No! in Thunder, Essays in Myth and Literature (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960), pp. 309-28.

is, as the permanent pattern which resides in the Jungian collective unconscious,¹⁸⁷ (He appropriately remarks that Jung is "a Romantic poet in a white jacket,")¹⁸⁸ The "signature" is the total of the individuating factors in a work of art; it is the mark of the artist's personality through which the archetype is expressed; and it sometimes becomes a subject as well as a means of expression, of the art.¹⁸⁹ When a signature is imposed upon an archetype, unconventional literature is produced, theoretically speaking. When a signature is not present with the archetype, myths or conventions result. The stories of the Grey-men lack signature; the stories lack historical validity; they can be rewritten in any style and in any diction, and they will remain conventional--as long as the basic plot is faithfully followed. Guthrie's novels, particularly the characters in The Big Sky, lack neither signature nor archetype. In his autobiography Guthrie suggests an imposition of signature on his archetypal characters:

Finally I managed to achieve identity with my characters--which meant I lost my own for the time. I was at Harvard but wasn't. I was in the young mountains trapping prime beaver. I was frolicking at rendezvous on the Green. I was peering at distance, watching the dust that might mean buffalo and might mean Indians. I sat on the ground, for who wanted a chair? I lived on straight meat, for

¹⁸⁷ Fiedler, No! in Thunder, p. 317.

¹⁸⁸ Fiedler, No! in Thunder, p. 306.

¹⁸⁹ Fiedler, No! in Thunder, p. 317.

who hankered for the fixin's of Eastern tables?
I was alive in unpeopled space and at home with it,
counting buttes and streams and mountain peaks as
friends. I wasn't Bud Guthrie, . . . I was one
of my characters and I was all of them.¹⁹⁰

Fiedler criticizes Guthrie, however, for his reliance upon sexual candor, rather than the "veracity and power of the [Western] form."¹⁹¹ Fiedler's evidence for his criticism is regrettably insufficient:

Even a writer as completely Western in origin and aspiration, like A. B. Guthrie, can come to grief. His The Big Sky attempts to break through the stereotypes of the popular Western by revealing the . . . secret that even Mountain Men in pioneering times occasionally got gonorrhea: a fact which the children's version of his book (it is a sign of the place to which the Western has fallen, that one followed almost immediately) quite properly conceals. Disconcertingly, however, the expurgated version moves us just as much and as little as the original--which seems in consequence something of a hoax: a juvenile disguised as adult fare by a certain amount of frankness about sex.¹⁹²

Guthrie's cowboy novel, These Thousand Hills, did not fail because the author was ignorant of the conventions of the West and the Western hero. His knowledge of the conventions is expressed in his comments on Murders at Moon Dance and Shane.¹⁹³ Shane, in particular, is a fine example of the perpetuation of the Western literary conventions. In

¹⁹⁰ Guthrie, Blue Hen's Chick, p. 171.

¹⁹¹ Fiedler, Vanishing American, p. 137.

¹⁹² Fiedler, Vanishing American, p. 137.

¹⁹³ Guthrie, Blue Hen's Chick, pp. 216-17.

1951 Guthrie was hired by Hollywood producer-director George Stevens to write the screenplay for Shane, originally a novel by Jack Schaefer. "We accepted the myth," Guthrie remarks, "as we had to if we were to stay with the book."¹⁹⁴ And the conventional cowboy myth, or myths, abounded in Shane. Wallace Stegner, in his essay, "History, Myth, and the Western Writer," relates his introduction to Schaefer's novel: "When Shane came in as a manuscript to Houghton Mifflin, I happened to be in the office, and Dorothy de Santillana asked me to read it. She said she couldn't make up her mind whether it was the best Western ever written, or a parody of a Western. I couldn't tell either, but I certainly advocated its publication."¹⁹⁵

Several of the Western conventions in Shane include the following:

1. The characters impart bits of didactic wisdom which are out of context with the theme and action.
2. The "good" gunfighter (Shane) is "the fastest gun in the West."
3. A gunfight with six-shooters ultimately decides the conflict between good and evil forces.

¹⁹⁴ Guthrie, Blue Hen's Chick, p. 217.

¹⁹⁵ Wallace Stegner, "History, Myth, and the Western Writer," The Sound of Mountain Water (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969), p. 191.

4. The "good guys" (the homesteaders) win; the "bad" guys" (the cattle baron and his men) lose.
5. The life of the hero remains mysterious throughout.
6. The hero disappears in the end.
7. The hero is solitary; he does not relate to society.

Except for the unconventional point of view (the story is told through a small boy's observations), the plot of Shane is thoroughly Zane Greyish. But with Guthrie's dialogue and Stevens' direction, the film earned five Academy Award nominations and ranks with High Noon (another myth-perpetuator) as a Western film classic. However, the accomplishment in Shane proves that Guthrie can recognize and successfully work with the tradition of the fictional cowboy.

To explain why These Thousand Hills is usually considered Guthrie's weakest novel will always be an inexact process, as is all literary criticism. But a partially credible explanation must concern a conception of the cowboy and the West, fictionally and historically. Already much space has been allotted to the dichotomy between the historical cowboy and the fictional cowboy. Therefore, much of the explanation for the failure of Guthrie's cowboy has been suggested. One problem is that some of the conventions are perhaps impossible to avoid. By the very nature of the materials of the historical West, some

elements of melodrama cannot be prevented from surfacing in fiction. Ford, the author of the only volume on Guthrie, notices that "the melodramatic elements [in These Thousand Hills] are there--the prostitute with the heart of gold, the aspiring hero, the villain, the gentle wife, the vigilantes, and the rustlers. The plot . . . seems conventional and worn, especially when compared with The Big Sky. . . . The story is . . . predictable and commonplace."¹⁹⁶

However, Guthrie does successfully break with some conventions. No mysterious "good guy," like Schaefer's Shane or Sir Walter Scott's bold Lochinvar, comes riding out of the West to save the day. Guthrie avoids the stock gunfight with six-shooters; instead of drawing against Tom Ping, Lat Evans walks away--which probably demands more courage and more humanity than stooping to the convention of "slapping leather." Unlike most fictional Westerners, Lat Evans is not surrounded by mystery. The reader is quite frequently reminded of Lat's orthodox Christian upbringing and his desires for material success and respectability. And at the end of the novel, Lat does not disappear into the sunset. He is home with his wife, facing the problems of reconciliation with her and the shame of losing his highly valued respectability. So, the novel does not end on a note of

¹⁹⁶ Ford, A. B. Guthrie, Jr., pp. 29-30.

optimism like most Westerns, as James Folsom claims.¹⁹⁷ Instead the story is a very pessimistic one; Lat Evans is far from having his problems resolved in the end; he is a Victorian cowboy who is caught in a dilemma between appearance and reality. The opinion of Walter Van Tilburg Clark is acceptable. "It is not that Guthrie's purpose is faulty, but rather that the age with which he is dealing is more complex and not as single-minded as the earlier ages."¹⁹⁸ Whatever Guthrie's failures might be in These Thousand Hills, the novel is redeemed by the author's humor, his poetic descriptions, and his knowledge of Montana and its people. And, more importantly, Guthrie created his cowboy for high artistic purposes, not for purely commercial ones which capitalized on the American public's psychological needs.

¹⁹⁷ Folsom, Western Novel, p. 74.

¹⁹⁸ Ford, A. B. Guthrie, Jr., p. 30.

Chapter IV

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS

THE ARCHETYPES OF CARL JUNG

In an interdisciplinary course designed for college undergraduates, the primary decision related to the actual classroom presentation of the various materials of this paper must relate to priorities. For instance, the student of the materials in this paper should first become familiar with the archetypes of Dr. Carl Jung, which is essential to a better understanding of the intrinsic aspects of Guthrie's novels. Consequently, in order to place the archetypes in proper context, it is advisable to begin with an introduction to several appropriate aspects of Jung's personality theory. It is equally advisable to conclude the chapter with a justification of the use of archetypal criticism in the interdisciplinary classroom.

An early associate of Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung was an enthusiastic follower of the founder of modern psychoanalysis for several years. By 1912, however, Jung and Freud had experienced personal differences and professional controversies which culminated in a permanent separation. Jung set

up his own separate school of psychology which he termed "analytical psychology."¹⁹⁹

The school of Jung has probably exerted more influence outside the realm of psychology than within the discipline. Jung is instrumental in the contemporary studies of mythology, cultural history, and the archetypal critical approach in literary criticism. In Europe, more than in America, artists and psychologists are interested in his principles. His terms, introvert and extravert²⁰⁰ are as well known as Freud's concepts of the id, ego, and superego. Also, Jung introduced the term complex²⁰¹ to describe the cluster of emotionally toned ideas that Freud had earlier explained. Another contribution is the word-association test, which is still used in various forms of psychoanalysis.

Since Jung's theory of personality was influenced somewhat by both Freud and Alfred Adler, a very brief examination of the most important ideas of these two men is in order. According to Freud, neurosis originated in the repression or exclusion from consciousness of the emotions or impulses

¹⁹⁹ Jolande Jacobi, The Psychology of C. G. Jung: An Introduction with Illustrations (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 2.

²⁰⁰ Carl Jung, The Basic Writings of C. G. Jung (New York: Random House, 1959), p. xiv.

²⁰¹ Jolande Jacobi, Complex/Archetype/Symbol in the Psychology of C. G. Jung (New York: Pantheon, 1959), p. 6.

that the conscious mind considered to be undesirable to the impression that the self desired to maintain. These impulses or emotions conceal an individual's true nature and, consequently, they produce both mental and physical manifestations in behavior. Although Freud at first treated neurosis by hypnotism, he eventually arrived at a theory that claimed the neuroses have their origin in a sexual or erotic conflict which is repressed in the unconscious because these impulses and emotions are unacceptable to the person's image of himself. Jung could not accept Freud's sole claim that neurosis was caused by sexual repression and the unconscious was a "garbage dump" of repression.

Adler, another early disciple of Freud, claimed that neurosis was based on what he termed a "will to power."²⁰² Instead of being formed by a sexual conflict, a neurosis developed from the threat to the ego, a threat resulting from an individual's not being in control of his situation. Neurosis is expressed in an individual when he exploits, worries, and controls others.

Jung could not accept these two theories, not only because of their obvious contradictions, but also because he believed that the theories were only partially true. His own theory is generally a combination of the two, with

²⁰² Ira Progoff, Jung's Psychology and Its Social Meaning (New York: Grove Press, 1953), p. 130.

a de-emphasis of the importance of sexual repression and the will to power.

Jung reached the general conclusion that two types of personality existed, the extraverted and the introverted. Characteristic of the extravert is his attraction to people and social events. Self-confident and sociable, he welcomes new experiences and strange surroundings, and he is motivated and highly influenced by his environment. In contrast, the introvert is shy of people and large events; he is prone to withdrawing into himself and lacks self-confidence and sociability. He prefers familiar situations, reflection, and solitary pursuits. According to Jung, Freudian psychology is extraverted, because of the emphasis upon externals, whereas the Adlerian school is introverted with its focus upon the inner person's drive for power. Going beyond Freud and Adler, Jung claims that neuroses are caused by both sexual repression and the will for power,²⁰³ and in addition, by the individual's failure to achieve self-actualization.²⁰⁴

In Jung's system of psychoanalysis, the patient talks about his problems, describes his experiences, and confesses

²⁰³ Progoff, Jung's Psychology, pp. 130-31.

²⁰⁴ Avis M. Dry, The Psychology of Jung: A Critical Interpretation (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1961), pp. 223-24.

his guilty feelings.²⁰⁵ Jung attempts to establish a free relationship between himself and the patient, neither reproving nor judging the patient's past behavior which aids the patient in exposing to himself the painful secrets of his own personality. Often a patient needs only to take this step to cure his neurosis. Sometimes, however, a patient will harbor an extremely painful thought and will be reluctant to bring it into his awareness. If this occurs, it is the responsibility of the clinician to help the patient to delve more deeply into his unconscious, delving deeper and deeper until the problem is recognized by the conscious. If this method fails, however, Jung analyzes the symbols and patterns of the patient's dreams.

While analyzing the dreams of patients, Jung reached three conclusions.²⁰⁶ First, the dream did not only express instinctive repressions, but also something of a different nature. Second, the unconscious contained more than an individual's repressions. Finally, the unconscious somehow produces images and symbols which reach beyond the personal experience of the patient.

These three conclusions as to the properties of the unconscious are clearly different from the theories of Freud and Adler. According to them, if a successful solution to

²⁰⁵ Jacobi, Psychology of C. G. Jung, p. 68.

²⁰⁶ Jacobi, Psychology of C. G. Jung, pp. 72-74.

neurosis is found, then the contents of the unconscious are brought to consciousness, and the unconscious would henceforth cease to influence the patient. On the other hand, Jung discovered that the patient would continue to dream, and his unconscious would persist to produce images and symbols which seemed to have no relationship to the patient's personal experiences. Jung postulated that each individual possessed an unconscious which contained two components: the personal unconscious and the collective unconscious.²⁰⁷ The personal unconscious corresponded with the Freudian unconscious; it contained the repressed and forgotten events of the individual's life. The collective unconscious, however, contained something very different; it contained the experiences of the race of men, which are expressed in images, or what Jung terms "archetypes."²⁰⁸ (For the sake of continuity in this description of Jung's clinical method, the archetypes will be discussed at length at a later time.)

Self-realization is the goal in analytical psychology.²⁰⁹ A process called "individuation" must be accomplished if the person achieves self-realization. To reach this goal, a person's unique and universal qualities must cooperate. In other words, the personal unconscious and

²⁰⁷ Jung, Basic Writings, pp. 55-60.

²⁰⁸ Carl Jung, The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious (New York: Pantheon, 1959).

²⁰⁹ Jung, Basic Writings, pp. 143-45.

collective unconscious must unify with all of the person's characteristics.

Several of the more interesting aspects in Jung's theory of personality have to do with his concepts of ego-consciousness, the persona, the shadow, and the various other archetypes, and their relative roles in the psyche.

The ego-consciousness of Jung is concerned exclusively with conscious thinking. Unlike Freud's ego, the ego-consciousness does not handle the controls of the emotions and impulses. (Jung delegates this function to the archetypes.) Although the ego-consciousness is described as the "I" that an individual feels in himself, no clear description of it is possible; it is the vague feeling that "I" cannot be consciously expressed. "I" should be differentiated from "self," which is used to describe the harmonious achievement of the conscious and the unconscious. Jung emphasizes the development of the unconscious, but he seems to place his hope for the human race in the development of the ego-consciousness. He desires that the forces of the unconscious, whether "good" or "evil," will be brought to conscious thinking so that they can be understood in order that they may not destroy human existence.

²¹⁰ Jung, Archetypes, pp. 145-46.

Jung claims that the picture that a person shows of himself is the persona.²¹¹ The persona, a term which Jung has borrowed from the mask worn by ancient Greek actors, is consciously created, to a certain extent, by one's identification with important people and his lack of awareness in accepting the values of his society. The persona is necessary for a person to function in society; if one bared his inner self to society, he would not be able to find acceptance. An opposite effect is created when the individual attempts to smother his inner life and, consequently, fails to create his persona. For instance, the ego-consciousness becomes confused with the persona; a person might become a fine teacher of his subject matter, but a failure as a human being. Extreme identification with a limited persona is usually disastrous in an individual's personal life.

Introverts, who have been described earlier, are particularly affected by the persona. They tend to present a single picture of their personality to the public and desire that the picture be accepted as a genuine self. An introvert's difficulty occurs when he is unable to adjust his behavior to fit a variety of circumstances. An introvert might be highly intelligent but unable to communicate

²¹¹ Jung, Archetypes, pp. 122-23.

his intelligence before a group. Some introverts live painfully, tortured by their masks of their failure to create any mask at all.

Extraverts, however, are usually more successful in their controntation in social role-playing, although eventually they arrive at the same end as the introverts.²¹²

These people are able to adjust to the occasion and more easily from one class of people to another. They are often the gross "hypocrites" of our society, but they are often not conscious of their behavior. Sometimes, however, the extravert will notice that his behavior is rather inconsistent, and like the introvert he will wonder about the true identity behind this mask.

Deeper in the unconscious than the persona are the archetypes--the anima, the animus, the Wise Old Man, the Earth Mother, and the several distinct behavior patterns and motifs. These archetypes are present in each individual in his collective unconscious. This aspect of Jung's theory is based on his analysis of dreams and his studies of the cultures of both primitive and modern man. The archetypes are found in the myths and cultures of all peoples, and though they cannot be scientifically established, they can be observed in art, literature, religion and certain

²¹² Progoff, Jung's Psychology, pp. 109-15.

attitudes of behavior. These archetypes are outside the control of the individual and possess a power of their own.

In the collective unconscious of each male resides an anima, that is, a latent feminine element. In each woman is an animus, a latent masculine element.²¹³ Therefore, each sex possesses a component of the other in its personality, which explains why a rugged he-man can be tender and poetic, and a tender female can be an expert trapshooter, a soldier, or a track star. A man who is unaware of his anima component may be moody and emotional, a victim of uncontrolled passions, like Boone Caudill in The Big Sky. If over-identification with his anima occurs, he may become either impotent or homosexual. If he is unable to recognize the anima, he will fail to differentiate his image of a woman from an actual living woman. Consequently, he might be led to many unhappy love affairs and marriages. If a man is to function and become self-realized, he must overcome his anima, admit its existence, and recognize woman as she actually is.

The animus, the masculine component in woman, is part of her collective unconscious, but in part, it is formed by her experiences with men. Her animus might be a composite of her father, brother, teacher, preacher, favorite actor, and husband. While a man's anima produces emotions, a

²¹³ Progoff, Jung's Psychology, pp. 90-93.

woman's animus produces opinions. Jung claims that women have opinions that are not based on conscious thinking; therefore, he did not trust their judgment in reasoning. He did, however, remark that it is the animus which rises to the occasion when a woman needs to protect herself. On the other hand, it is the animus which is being exercised in the woman's drive for power in a masculine profession.

Another important aspect of the unconscious, and one which actually represents one-half of the unconscious, is the shadow.²¹⁴ All aspects of the unconscious--the archetypes, basic attitudes (introversion-extraversion), and the basic functions (sensation, feeling, thinking, and intuition)--have their antithesis represented in the shadow. If too powerful and monstrous, the shadow can overwhelm the ego-consciousness and will result in behavioral disorders. In some respects, the shadow functions in the same manner as Freud's unconscious. The shadow does reflect one's personal experiences and, at the same time, one's universal experiences.

Theoretically, when all the different aspects of one's archetypes are functioning smoothly together, the individual achieves self-actualization. The drive toward self, Jung claims, is the great adventure of life, and the achievement

²¹⁴ Progoff, Jung's Psychology, p. 108.

of self is a heroic accomplishment, which is reserved for only a few courageous individuals.²¹⁵ This hero needs many of the same things that are essential in the life of a common man, but the hero possesses greater courage; he is not afraid to isolate himself and be faithful to himself. He integrates the archetypes with the contemporary world and recognizes the dark forces of the shadow in order to achieve his potential as a complete human being.

In Jung's essay, "The Phenomenology of the Spirit in Fairy Tales,"²¹⁶ the Wise Old Man symbolizes the spiritual factor in the human personality. The figure of the Wise Old Man is plastic; that is, he can be positive, as when he signifies the "higher" personality; or he can be negative, as when he represents the shadow of the positive aspect. In dreams, religion, and literature, this archetype appears in the guise of the doctor, priest, professor, teacher, magician, grandfather, or any other figure of authority. Often the archetype appears when a person needs insight, advice, and understanding, when he cannot accomplish these things himself. In its positive role, the archetype of the Wise Old Man compensates for a state of spiritual deficiency. In its negative state, the archetype is responsible for unpleasant dreams and anti-social conduct, and he often

²¹⁵ Jung, Basic Writings, pp. 143-57.

²¹⁶ Jung, Archetypes, pp. 207-54.

appears in dreams, religion, and literature as a grotesque or gnomelike figure, a talking animal, or a Luciferian creature.

Like the Wise Old Man, the mother archetype appears in a variety of aspects.²¹⁷ In a figurative sense, the goddess, including the Mother of God and the Virgin, belongs to this category. Often the Earth Mother is associated with the hero's Quest, especially when the hero is in search of Paradise, the Heavenly Jerusalem, or the Kingdom of God. The mother-symbols relate to many things which arouse feelings of awe--the sea, the moon, the earth, the woods, the Catholic Church, the underworld, and the university. Furthermore, the Earth Mother associates with places and things which represent fertility and fruitfulness, including a plowed field, a garden, and the cornucopia. Also, the archetype relates to a cave, a spring, a deep well, and other vessel-shaped places and things. Many animals, particularly the cow and the hare, suggest the mother archetype.

The symbols mentioned above can possess either a negative, evil meaning or a positive, favorable meaning. Several negative symbols are the witch, serpent, grave, death, deep water, bogies, and nightmares. Some symbols are even ambivalent, as are the goddesses of fate--Norn, Moira, and Graeae. Jung writes in "Psychological Aspects of the Mother Archetype":

²¹⁷ Jung, Archetypes, pp. 81-112.

The qualities associated with it [the Great Mother] are maternal solicitude and sympathy; the magic authority of the female; the wisdom and spiritual exaltation that transcend reason; any helpful instinct, or impulse; all that is benign, all that cherishes and sustains, that fosters growth and fertility. The place of magic transformation and rebirth, together with the underworld and its inhabitants, are presided over by the mother. On the negative side the mother archetype may connote anything secret, hidden, dark; the abyss, the world of the dead, anything that devours, seduces, and poisons, that is terrifying and inescapable like fate.²¹⁸

Jung attributes to the personal mother only limited significance; it is the archetype projected upon the personal mother which gives her a mythological background authority and numinosity.²¹⁹

Several archetypes which will be placed in proper context with the literary and historical aspects of this paper are the Earth Mother, the Wise Old Man, the Paradise, and the Quest.

Jung claims that "archetypal images are among the highest values of the human psyche; they have peopled the heavens of all races from time immemorial. To discard them as valueless would be a distinct loss."²²⁰

²¹⁸ Jung, Archetypes, p. 82.

²¹⁹ Jung, Archetypes, p. 83.

²²⁰ Jung, Archetypes, p. 84.

THE INTRINSIC ASPECTS OF THE NOVELS

The Archetypal Paradise

In The Big Sky, The Way West, These Thousand Hills, and Arfive, Guthrie gives a free rein to the dual role of the archetypes. For instance, the archetypal Paradise is depicted in both its positive and negative aspects. On the positive side is the Great West--a kind of Garden of Eden where millions of wild buffalo and beaver make life golden and joyous, even for a moody Boone Caudill, or where herds of cattle on a thousand hills give security to the Victorian cowboy, Lat Evans.

The positive Great West casts a negative shadow, which might be termed the "Great American Desert." The shadow represents the archetypal Wasteland that the Great West eventually became for the trappers and hunters who killed so many beaver and buffalo that they rendered their professions and sometimes their lives obsolete. For example, Uncle Zeb Calloway remarks to Boone, Jim Deakins, and Dick Summers:

"God, she was purty onc't. Purty and new, and not a man track, savin' Injuns, on the whole scoop of her."

Summers said, "'Pears you swallowed a prickly pear, hoss."

"Look," he said, straightening a little, "another fine year and there'll be naught but coarse fur, and it goin' fast. You, Boone, and you Deakins, stay here and you'll be out on the prairie, hide huntin', chasin' buffler and skinnin' 'em, and seein' the end come to that, too (The Big Sky, pp. 150-51).

Uncle Zeb, who forecasts the end of the Great West, has indeed swallowed a "prickly pear," as Dick Summers remarks; it is a prickly pear from the Great American Desert.

Jung contends that "an archetypal content expresses itself, first and foremost, in metaphors."²²¹ Guthrie's metaphor for the archetypal Paradise is The Big Sky. In the tetralogy of novels, The Big Sky encompasses all that is positive and negative in the Great West and the Great American Desert. It unifies good and evil, past and present, primitivism and modernism, love and hate--and, in short, if the cliché and pun are forgiven--everything underneath the sun. Even in Kentucky, while Boone is being unfairly prosecuted in court, the sky has special significance for him. "Beyond him, through the window, was the tavern and, farther on, the woods against the sky and the sky itself clear and blue as water. Boone made out a bird against it, probably just a buzzard, but sailing free and easy" (The Big Sky, pp. 49-50).

The metaphor grows more significant as the Mandan works its way up the Missouri River. "The sky was blue, bluer than in Kentucky" (The Big Sky, p. 83). Midway up the Missouri, Boone becomes conscious of the positive nature of the archetypal Paradise in the following paragraph which somewhat echoes the Romanticism of his contemporary, William

²²¹ Jung, Archetypes, p. 157.

Wordsworth. "From the top [of the hill] Boone could see forever and ever, nearly any way he looked. It was open country, bald and open, without any end. It spread away, flat now and then rolling, going on clear to the sky. A man couldn't think the whole world was so much. It made the heart come up. It occurred to Boone that this was the way a bird must feel, free and loose, with the world to choose from. Nothing moved from sky line to sky line" (The Big Sky, p. 108).

Boone becomes more and more under the influence of Guthrie's metaphor as he travels farther into the Great West. "There was the sky above, blue as paint, and the brown earth rolling underneath, and himself between them with a free, wild feeling in his chest, as if they were the ceiling and floor of a home that was all his own" (The Big Sky, p. 123).

A prophecy of the doom of the Great West is suggested by The Big Sky metaphor while Dick Summers reminisces about his many years as a mountain man and considers his increasing age and the rapidly changing times. "The campfires sent up a thin blue smoke, so many campfires that a man wouldn't want to count them. The smoke rose straight, growing thinner while it climbed, until you couldn't see it at all, but only the clear empty sky it had lost itself in" (The Big Sky, p. 215). Summers is in the process of making

his decision to leave the archetypal Paradise. With the fur trade ruined, he sees the coming of the Great American Desert.

On his journey back to Kentucky after his expulsion from Paradise, Boone, like Summers, becomes conscious of the mutability of the metaphor. Now instead of feeling "free and loose" (The Big Sky, p. 108), he notices the "hills set small and close and the sky pale and low overhead and the trees thick enough to smother him" (The Big Sky, p. 349). Shortly afterwards, Boone has a fist fight with a farmer, who, of course, represents a force which threatens to destroy the positive aspects of the Paradise of the mountain men.

Near the conclusion of The Big Sky, when Boone broods over the loss of his archetypal Paradise, he sees only "a piece of sky now and then, and it faded and closed down like a roof" (The Big Sky, p. 357).

In the more complex novel, The Way West, Guthrie correspondingly presents a variety of meanings through his metaphor. To Dick Summers, The Big Sky is still changing; the increase in the number of settlers will eventually destroy the positive aspects of Paradise and hurry in the negative aspects. Summers, however, is still awed by the remaining beauty and wildness of the Great West. Even Lije Evans, the immigrant farmer, is emotionally overwhelmed by

the positive side of Paradise when he and Summers ride to the summit of a hill and gaze across the distance:

He couldn't believe . . . that distance ran so far or that the sky lifted so dizzy-deep or that the world stood so empty. . . . It was something he couldn't put a name to that held him. . . . Feeling rose in him, a shudder of feeling that left the skin cold and grained. . . . He was humbled and set up at the same time and proud now with a fierce, unworded pride. . . . Great was the name for it, the only name he could find in his mind. He felt greatness coming into himself, greatness coming from greatness, and he renounced it . . . but he still felt greatness (The Way West, p. 87).

The something that Evans "couldn't put a name to" is the favorable element in the archetypal Paradise that Lije carries deep in the recesses of his collective unconscious. Although the natural scene that Lije observes is external, it is the archetype in his psyche that causes his emotional response.

But Lije, on the other hand, also experiences the shadow of the Great West. During the funeral of Tod Fairman, the small boy who dies from the bite of a rattlesnake, Lije is amazed by the littleness of grief on the open prairie. Grief, he feels, should "be walled in, it had to be kept close in a tent, else it would blow like dust and be gone and never a sign of it remain in the high sky" (The Way West, p. 183).

Mercy McBee's rather ambivalent attitude toward the loss of her virginity is brilliantly suggested by The Big Sky metaphor. When Mr. Mack leads her to sexual climax,

"the stars wheeled back and burst and lit the sky with trailing fire" (The Way West, p. 145). Like Lije, Mercy is influenced by the physical situation. It is the archetype in her psyche which causes her ambivalent emotional response, which is implied in the beauty and the terror of the metaphor of The Big Sky.

Brother Weatherby, like Mercy, also experiences the dual role of the archetypal Paradise. Weatherby feels ineffective in holding religious services for the Sioux on the open prairie, "out under the vast sky, with no pulpit or Bible stand or walls around him" (The Way West, p. 146). Shortly afterwards, he gazes at the beautiful night sky, reads in the stars the proof of his God's omnipresence, and feels assured of his divine mission.

More than any of Guthrie's other characters, Lat Evans, of These Thousand Hills, experiences the dual aspects of the archetypal Paradise. Expecting to find the good life of the Great West in Montana, Lat finds the disappointment of the Great American Desert. Before finally fading into the light of common day, Lat travels back and forth beneath the favorable and unfavorable aspects of the all-encompassing metaphor of The Big Sky. For instance, he loves Callie, the beautiful prostitute, but his desire for respectability prohibits him from an enduring relationship with her. "Somewhere else her eyes might be remindful of a clear noon sky" (These Thousand Hills, p. 70).

After his marriage to Joyce Sheridan, which promises security and respectability, Lat experiences the favor of the archetypal Paradise. He feels fortunate in having a good family, a highly profitable cattle ranch, prestige, and the respect of Tansytown. Metaphorically, for Lat, "the sky sailed high" (These Thousand Hills, pp. 212-13). And later there is "a just God overhead--Who had to have His ear chewed on, the deaf Old Gent" (These Thousand Hills, p. 236).

While walking with Joyce one moonlight night, Lat expresses his faith in the good life that the Great West offers:

"It's good enough as it is in Montana."

"But here it's like standing on top of the world," she said, her eyes fixed on the far shadows of land. "There's just distance, so much there's no place to go. Don't you ever feel crowded by distance?"

"Crowded? I feel free."

"Free?" she said and fell silent as if she had to let the word find its place. Suddenly she went on, "In spite of the stars even God seems lost here."

"To a Methodist?" He didn't know why he had wanted to say that.

If she noticed his tone, she dismissed it. "The sky is so high, and the mountains so cruel, for all the land is so bare."

"If you ask me," he answered, "it's the best thing God ever did."

"You don't pass judgment on God. But why do you feel that way? Because of freedom?"

"What's better?" He sounded harsh to himself.

"Trees," she said quietly. "The sense of protection. The feeling that God is right overhead."

"God on a quarter section!"

"A mountain might tumble, or the sky disappear, or the earth fall from under your feet."

"None of them so far" (These Thousand Hills, p. 240).

But in his nightmarish dream about the loss of the lovely Callie, Lat does experience the disappearance of the sky and the earth falling from under his feet (These Thousand Hills, pp. 273-75). In the dream Callie rides Sugar (Lat's horse, a symbol of his happy-go-lucky days as a young cowboy) over the top of a hill and is lost in "the blinding blue of the sky" (These Thousand Hills, p. 274). In mad pursuit of her through a patch of cactus, which lift their ears to hear his screams (the Great American Desert?), Lat races over the lip of an awful abyss and falls into a troubled awakefulness. "Outside the sky was growing gray" (These Thousand Hills, p. 275). In reality, Lat lost Callie, the love of his younger years.

In contrast to this negative image of the archetypal Paradise, Lat experiences the sweet dreams of the Great West, with The Big Sky again being the vehicle of meaning. In a deep pleasant sleep, he feels himself swimming easily through the sky. In complete control of his flight, he can lift or raise himself like a graceful hawk. From the sky, he surveys "the lovely land and the birds of the field and the beasts of the forest that were His, and the earth and the fullness thereof and the cattle on a thousand hills" (These Thousand Hills, p. 312). Therefore, in keeping with Jung's theory of personality, it is through dreams that Lat experiences both the negative and the positive aspects of the archetype.

Only in the conclusion of These Thousand Hills does Lat become fully aware of the metaphysical truth hidden in the ambivalence of The Big Sky metaphor. Damaging his marriage, his social position, and respectability for the benefit of Callie, who might be unfairly prosecuted for a murder in her brothel, Lat reaches the conclusion that it is a naturalistic universe, looked over by either an indifferent deity or no deity at all. In other words "the sky didn't give a damn" (These Thousand Hills, p. 322).

In the last novel of the tetralogy, Arfive, Guthrie finally presents a second character (the first was Dick Summers) who finds acceptance in the duality of the archetypal Paradise. Benton Collingsworth, like Summers, achieves self-actualization. He integrates the different aspects of his archetypes, he possesses more courage than the common man, he is not afraid to isolate himself, and he is faithful to his own convictions--and according to Carl Jung, one must accomplish these goals in order to achieve Self. On the trail to self-actualization, however, Benton Collingsworth does not always find his journey easy. A religious man from the East, Collingsworth initially experiences an unfavorable impression from his exposure to The Big Sky metaphor. Somewhat similar to Brother Weatherby, he feels that his vision of God is almost lost in the wide distances of the prairie. The skyline stretches so far,

and the sky is so deep that he feels his identity threatened. His new home in Montana seems "a nameless desert, inhabited by minute illusion" (Arfive, p. 4). Then he realizes the double meanings possessed by the Great West and its shadow; the archetypal Paradise might even imprison or free him (Arfive, p. 9). It can potentially trap him or give him wings, as it did Lat Evans in These Thousand Hills.

On a trout fishing trip a few weeks after his arrival from the East, Collingsworth strolls across the warm sun-splashed prairie and notices that the deep sky can also possess beauty and glory (Arfive, p. 48). He realizes the positive aspects of The Big Sky and experiences a deep sense of joy. Overwhelmed, he yells "Excelsior" to the valley, the mountains, and the sky.

Collingsworth's affirmation of the diverse aspects of the archetypal Paradise occurs on another bright sunny day during a conversation with Charlie Blackman (Arfive, pp. 99-102). Collingsworth realizes the great historical changes that have occurred in the space of only two lifetimes--from the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the present. He senses the coming and going of the mountain man, then the buffalo hunters and the wolfers. And he sees that in due course, the cowboy will follow his forerunners into history. His thoughts on these matters are directed by the sight of Charlie Blackman, with whom he stops to talk.

Blackman tells Collingsworth that "ain't anything like it used to be" (Arfive, p. 101), that once on that very spot he had seen a herd of a thousand head of buffalo, and that he had known the Indians when they possessed dignity and self-sufficiency. Collingsworth contends that Montana is still a young land, but Blackman suggests that it is not new to him, not to anyone old enough to realize the rapid change of history. Collingsworth then realizes that Blackman has lost the Great West and now lives in the Great American Desert, since Blackman's profession, fur trading, is now rendered obsolete by historical changes. Immediately, Collingsworth understands that the archetypal Paradise is reflected almost totally in "the eye of the beholder" (Arfive, p. 101), and that historical changes sometimes overtake an individual's archetypal images, causing the person (like Blackman) to become obsolete or an anachronism. He feels sympathy for Blackman and for others in Arfive who have been nurtured on pioneering but who must now live out their years on a closed frontier.

Benton Collingsworth recognizes that he himself, as churchman and educator, is not only a part but also an agent of change. "To his inner ear came the words of old Mr. McLaine (a Wise Old Man figure), said after dinner one night -- words emptied of pomposity by reason of person and content. 'Change is the order of nature,' he had said. His beard

swung to the shake of his head. 'It is in our nature somehow to resist while forwarding it. What comes comes, to our dismay or delight, or more likely both'" (Arfive, p. 102).

In contrast to Benton Collingsworth, Mrs. Jay Ross, a minor character in Arfive, cannot adjust to The Big Sky. The wife of a cattleman on an isolated ranch, Mrs. Ross claims "things aren't going to bother me anymore, not the sky and not even the wind" (Arfive, p. 168). She confesses, however, that she "could never get used to the sky here. It is bottomless and without end in any direction, and I feel so--so flung out, I guess you could say, so bare and so scattered. It's like a jail without walls but with peepholes in it, or with one giant peephole" (Arfive, pp. 168-69). Eventually, Mrs. Ross, overwhelmed by The Big Sky and fearing its threat to her identity, returns to New York where she has a "name" (Arfive, p. 169).

The Earth Mother Archetype

The appearance of the Earth Mother archetype in the Guthrie tetralogy is, of course, symbolic. The feminine element, like the other archetypes, appears in a variety of aspects. Jung, as mentioned earlier, differs from most psychologists in attributing only limited significance to the personal mother.²²² Instead the archetype is projected

²²² Jung, Archetypes, p. 83.

upon the personal mother, sometimes giving her a mythical background. Boone Caudill, for instance, responds and remembers the kindness of his personal mother, and projects her kindness into the myth that he creates about Teal Eye. Fortunately, for Boone, his projection becomes truth; in reality, Teal Eye is a kind and considerate woman. In the escape from his cruel father, Boone symbolically encounters two other favorable aspects of the archetypal Earth Mother--the gentle cow and the warm cave which furnish comfort and shelter from the cold, dark nights. These two friendly subjects foreshadow Boone's desire to marry Teal Eye, who binds him eternally with the wilderness. Metaphorically, to Boone, Teal Eye might be termed Mother Nature or Earth Mother. Like Helen of Troy, she appears as the maiden version of the Earth Mother archetype and inspires the archetypal Quest.

In contrast to the positive mother, Boone also encounters, what Jung terms, the "negative mother."²²³ The prostitute in St. Louis was "a smelly woman in a crib who demanded a dollar first and answered to it like a man setting out to do a job of work. It was a tired and whiny voice, and his ears told him, better than his eyes could, that she was old. Her perfume made a sick fog around him. Beneath it he smelled the animal of her. . . . Her voice

²²³ Jung, Archetypes, p. 98.

followed him into the street. 'Don't forget me, honey.' Forget? He'd remember a sight too well to come back" (The Big Sky, p. 68).

Days later, on the Mandan, Boone surely does remember the negative mother. "Boone . . . opened his jeans and let them drop. Goddam that woman in St. Louis! He saw her again . . . an old woman with a whiny voice. . . . If he could get hold of her" (The Big Sky, p. 86). And it is she, the negative mother, who infects Boone with gonorrhoea which, unknown to him, causes his son to be born blind and, ultimately, results in Boone's expulsion from the mountains. As Jung claims, "An archetype is in no sense just an annoying prejudice; it becomes so only when it is in the wrong place."²²⁴

Caution should be exercised in the employment of archetypal criticism in the interdisciplinary classroom. The archetypes should not be pursued relentlessly; they should be examined in the context suggested by their metaphors. For instance, Mercy McBee and Mrs. Mack, the frigid wife, in The Way West; Callie, the lovely prostitute of These Thousand Hills; and Miss Carson, the lesbian high school teacher, and Eva Fox, the old retired madam of Arfive, do possess some similarities to mother archetypes, but these similarities are not fully developed. Furthermore, the

²²⁴ Jung, Archetypes, p. 84.

behavior of these characters frequently develops from one pattern to another, and a meticulous analysis of the changes would become too academic for the good academician.

The Archetypal Quest

Several archetypal Quest stories appear in Guthrie's tetralogy, but the most striking and suggestive is Boone's journey in search of Teal Eye. W. H. Auden, in his essay "The Quest Hero," lists six essential elements for the typical Quest story.²²⁵

1. A precious Object and/or Person to be found and possessed or married.
2. A long journey to find it, for its whereabouts are not originally known to the seekers.
3. A hero. The precious Object cannot be found by anybody, but only by the one person who possesses the right qualifications of breeding or character.
4. A Test or series of Tests by which the unworthy are weeded out, and the hero revealed.
5. The Guardians of the Object who must be overcome before it can be won. They may be simply a further test of the hero's arete, or they may be malignant in themselves.
6. The Helpers who with their knowledge and magical powers assist the hero and but for whom he would never succeed. They may appear in human or in animal form.²²⁶

Appropriately enough, Boone's Quest, which ultimately leads him to a hellish end, carries him through a striking

²²⁵ Sheldon Norman Grebstein, ed., Perspectives in Contemporary Criticism: A Collection of Recent Essays by American, English, and European Literary Critics (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 72.

²²⁶ Grebstein, Contemporary Criticism, p. 372.

negative version of Paradise: Colter's Hell, a part of today's Yellowstone National Park. The jets of steam and the boiling water, the white soil, and the echoing earth frighten Jim Deakins and Poordevil, the Blackfoot Indian who is one of the few "believers" in Guthrie's tetralogy. Jim believes that the Quest is "a crazy idea. . . . It was little Teal Eye, held secret in Boone's head all this time, and all the time growing and taking hold of him, until finally his mind was made up and God Himself couldn't change him" (The Big Sky, p. 217). In Jungian thought, Jim is correct; Boone has indeed been taken hold of by the archetypal Earth Mother, whose characteristics are manifested in the person of Teal Eye. While riding through Colter's Hell, Jim talks to his horse about God, Poordevil lapses into a silent fear, but Boone, ironically displaying a rare jocular mood, replies to Poordevil's "Heap bad" opinion of Colter's Hell with "Heap good, you goddam Injun . . . love hell, me. Love hell heap" (The Big Sky, p. 219). The irony, of course, is that Boone's Quest eventually ends five years later in a spiritual hell.

Riding north, past Yellowstone Lake, toward northwestern Montana, and toward the nation of the Blackfeet, Boone, Jim and Poordevil encounter a family of Sheepeater Indians. The Sheepeaters are the most primitive Indians that they have ever met, suggesting archetypal man. Open-faced and

simple, they are relics from the Stone Age; the Indian man carries a three-foot sheep's horn bow ornamented with quills, his arrows have stone tips, and they transport their few belongings by dogs, rather than horses. They are "Poor-devils," Indians who own little property, but they appeal to Jim's imagination and his feeling for the archetypal. "It was like the beginning of the world here, high and lonesome and far off from man's doings and the Sheepeaters might have been the first people, shy and simple and full of trust when their fright was gone. The beginning of the world, with a fine singing filling the sky and the boiling water sounding low, and a man wondering how things got started, and was God sitting on one of the stars, looking down and maybe grinning or frowning" (The Big Sky, p. 223).

Beyond the great Yellowstone plain, Boone feels strongly the pull of the Earth Mother who has inspired the Quest. "He could see Teal Eye. . . . It was strange how a hankering got into a man and stayed with him and finally pointed him in a certain direction" (The Big Sky, p. 226). And it is Boone's "hankering" for the Earth Mother archetype, with "her face in the sky and . . . her voice in the breeze" (The Big Sky, p. 254) that causes him to ride hundreds of miles through the plains and mountains, from western Wyoming to northwestern Montana, the heart of the

Blackfoot territory. And this journey reflects Auden's requirements for the character of the hero and the test he must pass.

Boone must also pass several other tests before reaching the end of the Quest. First, he experiences a feeling of unreality; the journey is quite bearable, especially for one with Boone's physical endurance, but Teal Eye seems to grow more and more like someone he has imagined (The Big Sky, p. 235). Second, there is the Indian village which has been decimated by smallpox. Foreshadowing the death that ends Boone's career as a mountain man, the stinking, infected village has to be searched by Boone, who forces himself to look into every lodge and into every woman's face. Finally, approaching the end of the Quest for Teal Eye, an aura of unreality and death surrounds Boone:

A man would think the world about had never seen the like of him. . . . Maybe Jim was right, half-hinting he was crazy. . . . One peak looked like an ear turned on its side. . . . The world seemed dying and a man's hankering was cold and foolish in him. . . . The world was empty and seeming to be dying to men. Maybe that was the way of it, that Indians and white men should die and the country go back to what it was before, with only the dumb brutes grazing and the birds flying under the sky (The Big Sky, pp. 246-48).

Finally arriving at Teal Eye's village on the Teton River, Boone mistakenly believes that Teal Eye has taken a husband and that the Quest was all for nothing. This incident, like the others with their emphasis on unreality and

death, foreshadows Boone's misconceptions that culminate in Jim's murder and sever Boone's bonds with the favorable aspects of the Earth Mother and the Paradise archetypes forever.

The Wise Old Man Archetype

As stated earlier, Dick Summers is Guthrie's most striking example of the positive aspect of the Wise Old Man archetype. In the beginning of Part Three of The Big Sky, after teaching Boone Caudill and Jim Deakins the ways of the wilderness, Summers even assumes the physical position of the Wise Old Man. "Summers squirmed his tail farther down on the sheep's skull he sat on and rested his elbows on the horns that arched up at his sides like the arms of a chair" (The Big Sky, p. 168). In conference with Boone and Jim about a new trapping season, Summers suggests an omniscient monarch seated on a throne.

Even after Boone and Jim have proven themselves highly proficient mountain men, Dick Summers still feels that he needs to protect them. He feels "like an uncle or a pappy or something" (The Big Sky, p. 194). Or better, he feels like a Wise Old Man. And then, saying goodbye to Boone and Jim and leaving for Missouri, he is actually referred to as "Old Man Summers" (The Big Sky, p. 211), with the capital letters suggesting the divine reverence that his disciples, Jim and Boone, possess for him.

Summers himself feels the power of the archetypal image. "His eyes went to Jim and Boone. More than ever, the feeling of being father to them rose in him now that he had to leave. It was as if he was casting young 'uns loose to shift for themselves and feeling uneasy for them" (The Big Sky, p. 215).

Though he leaves the mountains, Summers comes to Boone's mind when Jim is wounded and they are snowed-in in the high mountains:

For a flash he saw him . . . the keen face with the tracks of fun it it and the gray eyes glinting and the half-sad understanding. For a flash he saw him standing on the Mandan's passe avant above the Little Missouri, saw him pointing to a bighorn, saw him trying to come across the years with his voice. His words were a whisper lost in time, a murmuring lapped out by the water sliding along the keel. Speak up, Dick. A man can't hear you, so much has come between. How's that? How's that? It's comin' now. Go on! 'They ain't a buffalo proper, nor a white antelope. . . . They keep to the high peaks, they do, the tiptop of the mountains, in the clouds and snow. . . . Come a fix in the mountains, I do believe I'd set out for one' (The Big Sky, p. 309).

Boone climbs into the clouds of the mountain peak and, under terrific odds, kills two sheep which save the life of the wounded and starving Jim Deakins. It is the Wise Old Man whose words of advice are remembered and whose wisdom works through Boone Caudill's mind to protect the young disciples.

Summers' own attitude toward those who function in the figure of the Wise Old Man in the white and Indian societies is usually one of amusement. He believes (and correctly,

according to Carl Jung) that "preachers and medicine men-- they were cut from the same cloth. They made out to know what nobody could. Companyeros of the Great Spirit" (The Way West, p. 34). But, in time, Summers develops admiration for Brother Weatherby, whose devotion, faith, and sacrifice are sincere. It is ironic that Weatherby, whose stocks of supplies and equipment are unacceptable to the wagon train's requirements, claims that God will provide for him on the Oregon Trail, while it is Dick Summers, an unbeliever, who promises the wagon train committee that he will furnish Weatherby plenty of buffalo and venison. Later Summers wonders at himself: "Vouching for a preacher! A preacher who thought God was an old man with whiskers and rode the closest cloud, a thunderbolt in one hand and sugar-tit in the other" (The Way West, p. 60).

Some of Guthrie's characters seem unconsciously to recognize Summers' archetypal behavior. Young Brownie Evans admires Dick so intensely that Mr. Mack remarks resentfully, "You'd think from the talk that no one had any sense but Summers" (The Way West, p. 69). Together, in the daydreams, he and Summers single-handed (with some help from the beautiful girl-child, Mercy McBee) save the wagon train from a huge band of hostile Indians. Together, he and Summers hunt buffalo with bows and arrows, and furnish meat to the admiring people of the wagon train. Brownie's daydreams

become so wild that he even surpasses Summers as a hunter and saves the old mountain man's life in a heroic act.

In These Thousand Hills and Arfive, little is to be found admirable in the Wise Old Man archetype. The Christian version of the archetype describes "the Father and His sheep. The wind and the shorn land. Oregon and boyhood and a just God overhead--Who had to have His ear chewed on, the deaf Old Gent" (These Thousand Hills, p. 236). In a more positive context, but in a conventional, time-worn language, He is called "the Almighty. The secret place. Trust. Refuge. Fortress. Deliverance" (These Thousand Hills, p. 237).

A living representative of the negative aspect of Jung's Wise Old Man is Hank McBee. Mysteriously returning from nowhere after a forty-year absence, he threatens to spread gossip (some of it the truth) about Lat and his parents. Guthrie's description of McBee gives him an inhuman appearance. "He had come walking to the ranch at noon, a living fossil with moss whiskers, and had drawn Evans aside. Apparently the exercise had warmed him, for the mangy fur coat that he wore was opened. His body through the unbuttoned gap looked spiderish. "'Y God, I been lookin' all over hell for you,' he said. He put out his hand. It felt like a claw" (These Thousand Hills, p. 276). Unlike Summers, who delighted in teaching others

his wisdom, McBee has nothing to teach. "He raised a leg and broke wind heartily and said, 'Nothing but gas in me'" (These Thousand Hills, p. 278).

Archetypal Criticism in the Interdisciplinary Classroom

Archetypal criticism (often termed mythopoeic criticism), the most ambitious and the most recent of the contemporary critical approaches, is not only a critical method but also a humanistic theory that connects creative literature with science and social science, and offers an overview of the human personality and the human condition. Archetypal criticism brings to the novels of A. B. Guthrie, Jr. such diverse bodies of knowledge as psychology and history, not to mention religion and philosophy. And according to S. H. Grebstein, "He (the archetypal critic) would use these materials not with any fear of subordinating literature to 'intrinsic' concerns but rather with the confidence of enhancing it, by demonstrating that in literature these very materials achieve their culmination in the form of myth."²²⁷

Northrop Frye, the best known archetypal critic (he refers to himself as an archetypal critic, rather than a mythopoeic one) suggests support for his critical approach in the interdisciplinary classroom in claiming that the

²²⁷ Grebstein, Contemporary Criticism, p. 311.

archetypal critic (or teacher) can fully consider whatever materials that seem appropriate to his inquiry.²²⁸

The archetypal approach, like the historical approach, makes use of intellectual history, literary convention, and biographical information. Grebstein claims that literature exists simultaneously in two temporal dimensions: "(1) It exists as a historical fact in particular moments of recorded time. (2) It exists as a continuum over and beyond historic time as the eternal and recurrent expression of archetypal characters, images, symbols, scenes, and plots. Like the historical critic the mythopoeist finds the facts garnered from his historic and quantitative research into myth to be the proper points of departure for his critical journey into literature."²²⁹

Like the sociocultural critic, the archetypal critic believes that society and literature depend on and affect each other, and that literature possesses an intrinsic, ethical function. The archetypal critic, similar to the formalist critic, often examines literature with a close textual analysis, with emphasis on the interpretation of imagery and symbolism. And like the psychological critic, the archetypal critic sees literature as an expression of

²²⁸ Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 17-20.

²²⁹ Grebstein, Contemporary Criticism, p. 132.

human experience and emotion and as a vehicle for creating experience and emotion in its readers. Both the psychological and the archetypal critic presume that a close relationship exists in literature, myth, and dream, and that the work of art is at least partly derived from the irrational element (the unconscious) in the writer. Lastly, the two kinds of critics possess in common an interest in depth psychology, Jungian and Freudian, and sometimes employ the techniques of psychoanalysis in the interpretation of character motivation.

Although the archetypal critic's adaptation from other critical approaches and extra-literary sources might seem distracting at first glance, he usually arrives at his final objective, that is, to expose the archetypal motifs in literature, and to demonstrate, at least to some degree, how these patterns relate to the literature's form, substance, and effect. The teacher in the interdisciplinary classroom should remind his students (and himself) of the objective at appropriate intervals during the semester.

The teacher who employs the archetypal approach in an interdisciplinary course in literature, psychology, and history will find great freedom to examine historical periods and national literatures, and versatility and range in his search for the intrinsic and extrinsic aspects in a literary creation.

Since no single critical approach, however, is without faults, several precautions should be taken by the teacher, who should also remind his students of the possibility of misconceptions.²³⁰ (1) Archetypal criticism is still too young to have totally accomplished its possibilities as a critical approach, (2) the archetypal approach is inherently ambiguous, (3) the search for archetypes might fall into a monotonous, predictable pattern, (4) the approach is more analytical and descriptive than evaluative, and (5) archetypal criticism sometimes depicts the author as a child and a savage, especially if art is considered an expression of the primitive or irrational mind. Although these faults do exist in archetypal criticism, it is still a serious, dynamic, and ambitious approach which possesses the depth and the broadness that are essential in the materials of the interdisciplinary classroom.

²³⁰ Grebstein, Contemporary Criticism, pp, 319-20,

Chapter V

PEDAGOGY AND CONCLUSIONS

The numerous relationships between the creative literature of A. B. Guthrie, Jr. and the materials from the history of the American West which have been expressed in preceding chapters indicate the worthiness of this study in interdisciplinary possibilities. Although the archetypes of Carl Jung are significant in the psychological aspects of the novels, only a limited aspect from the total area of psychology is expressed in this paper. Therefore, the study must be considered basically one that combines literature and history. In other words, psychology is correlated with literature and history, whereas literature and history are fused.²³¹ A correlated subject is defined as one which casually relates to materials in other subjects and often helps to interpret the problems and topics of another subject. Two subjects are fused when they are approximately equal in treatment, although one dominates and uses the other. Although a large amount of this study is devoted to history, the dominant role is played by literature. The

²³¹ "Correlation and Integration in English," The Leaflet, 68, No. 1 (1969), 28-47.

two disciplines share common principles, common themes, and other common elements.

Although no documented studies exist to show that the novels of Guthrie, the history of the American West, and the archetypes of Jung possess interdisciplinary possibilities, a course organized around such topics (with the emphasis on literature and history) is quite feasible.²³² Paul Dressel's quotation, though lifted out of context, substantiates this conclusion:

The various disciplines do have a distinctiveness in concept, structure, and method, and are thus relatively independent. Yet by conscious attention to common or pervasive ideas and concepts which underlie and relate the various fields and by actively seeking for similarities and differences between them, one may identify many unifying concepts and thus clarify what may seem to be inconsistent or contradictory views, methods, and definitions. Furthermore, this relational point of view accepts the possibility that unifying concepts may lead to new course and curricular organizations, and especially to the development of interdisciplinary courses. In this . . . conception, the instructor has the dual obligation of providing a model of integrative behavior and of motivating the student to engage in such behavior.²³³

The differences between Guthrie and the historians are narrower than what the single-minded, single-disciplinarians

²³² The Way West is used as a major resource in an interdisciplinary course in literature, history, art, and music in East Baton Rouge Parish. See "American Studies: Humanities, Curriculum Study and Improvement Project," Office of Education, 1971.

²³³ Paul Dressel, The Undergraduate Curriculum in Higher Education (Washington: Center for Applied Research in Education, 1963), p. 51.

might have been accustomed to think. John Lukacs, speaking of novelists in general, claims that the misconceptions have occurred ". . . because of the growth of historical consciousness in the West, because historical thinking affected the novelists more profoundly than the novel affected historians and their attitudes toward literature."²³⁴

Lukacs, on the other hand, flips over the critic's coin and admits to four ways in which the novelist has helped the historian--ways which suggest how Guthrie's work might contribute to the historical aspect in the interdisciplinary classroom:

In the first place, the novelist frequently furnishes actual historical "materials": vivid details about the past, many of which details are historically verifiable, since the seriousness of the novelist's re-search of the past is at times comparable to the historian's. Moreover, the novelist, through his art of selecting, ordering, and describing such details, may draw the historian's attention to "overlooked" aspects, problems, periods [viz, the fictional cowboy versus the historical cowboy]. . . . In the second place, the novelist's description of certain contemporary scenes which he himself witnessed is often first rate historical evidence.²³⁵

In other words, Lukacs could be suggesting Guthrie's depiction of the actual people and the actual scenes of the mountains and plains around Choteau, Montana.

²³⁴ John Lukacs, Historical Consciousness, or the Remembered Past (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 115.

²³⁵ Lukacs, Historical Consciousness, p. 115.

Thus, in the third place, not only the novelists' description of contemporary scenes but their description of certain fictitious characters and events may serve the historian under certain circumstances--when, for example, there are prototypical representatives of certain contemporary realities. Fictional characters may represent prototypical tendencies and potentialities that exist in the past, tendencies about the existence of which actual historical evidence is available elsewhere. . . . If certain statistics are historical documents, so are certain characters composed by the novelist out of imagination as well as reality--of historical imagination and historical reality.²³⁶

For instance, Boone Caudill, Dick Summers, Lat Evans, Benton Collingsworth, and several other of Guthrie's characters are potential historical characters.

Finally, in the fourth place, literary history belongs within history; it is not merely its cultural appendix. "History begins in novel and ends in essay," Macaulay said. Consider what Maupassant wrote in his only essay. The only aim of the realistic novelist "is not to tell a story, to amuse us or to appeal to our feelings, but to compel us to reflect, and to understand the darker and deeper meaning of events. . . ." A historian could have written that. The functions of historians and novelists overlap; this dependence is mutual; their approach is much the same--description, in prose, always the description of some thing past. . . . In the broad sense every novel is a historical novel. . . . Their minds [the novelists'] are soaked with history.²³⁷

Since definite kinships have been established between literature and the archetypes of Carl Jung and between literature and history, some general conclusions as to the

²³⁶ Lukacs, Historical Consciousness, pp. 116-17.

²³⁷ Lukacs, Historical Consciousness, pp. 117-20.

relations between history and psychology should be drawn. Few historians have claimed, as H. Stuart Hughes claims, that "Psychoanalysis is history. . . ."238 For the purposes of proof, the range in history and psychology must be restricted to certain similarities in methodology and to the archetypes. In regard to methodology, Hughes makes this statement:

Historians, like analysts, have sustained unending reproaches from their colleagues in neighboring fields on the grounds that their explanations are impossible to verify by the usual empirical criteria. And historians and analysts alike have all too often allowed themselves to be thrown on the defensive. They have apologized for their "pre-scientific" conclusions, stressing the uncertain and conflicting character of their evidence rather than the imaginative boldness of their interpretations. Isolated from one another, they have separately faced the attacks of the literal-minded devotees of science. If they were to pool their intellectual resources, each would find precious reinforcement: together they could assert the validity of a method whose very lack of conventional scientific grounding constitutes its particular strength.

For the historian as for the psychoanalyst, an interpretation ranks as satisfactory not by passing some formal scientific test but by conveying an inner conviction. For both, plural explanations are second nature. Both deal in complex configurations, searching for a thread of inner logic that will tie together an apparent chaos of random words and actions. The analyst knows that this is what he is doing; his theoretical works proclaim it. The historian is less conscious of his own theory--indeed, he sometimes behaves as though he had no theory at all. . . . His [the psychoanalyst's]

²³⁸ H. Stuart Hughes, History as Art and as Science, Twin Vistas on the Past (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 4.

professional and moral goal is the same as that of the historian: to liberate man from the burden of the past by helping him to understand that past. Similarly the historian's classic problem--the explanation of human motives--is one for which psychoanalysis provides a fund of understanding richer than that afforded by any other discipline. And it offers it in a form particularly congenial to the mind of the historian; its rules of evidence and of relevance are permissive in the extreme, and it is alert to the symptomatic importance of the apparently trivial; what a less imaginative method might dismiss out of hand, the analyst [or the historian] may well put at the center of his interpretation. In this sense, history in its turn is psychoanalysis: in their study of motives the two share the conviction that everything is relevant and random, incoherent and ordered, in the all-inclusive context of a human existence.²³⁹

As to the relationship between Jungian theory and history, the archetypes appear in various and changing forms according to factors in the time and the culture.²⁴⁰ For example, the Earth Mother archetype appears in Teal Eye in the 1830's and in Callie Kash in the 1880's, just as it does in Marilyn Monroe in the 1950's and 1960's. The three figures express themselves in similar ways during different historical periods. To their lovers, they are living representatives of the same archetype. The psyches of their admirers are activated by a common archetype already present, though latent. The archetypal motif is always present in the psyche, but not the particular historical form of the symbol. Jung writes that ". . . when a new symbol is brought

²³⁹ Hughes, History as Art, pp. 46-48.

²⁴⁰ Progoff, Jung's Psychology, pp. 195-97.

into the life history of a people, it may be adopted as a result of momentary contingencies, but the question of whether it will last depends on whether there exists in the unconscious of that people some historical experiences which dispose it to accept such symbols and to find them meaningful within the preconscious areas of the psyche. In other words, the acceptance or rejection . . . depends on whether there is a 'psychic readiness' for them."²⁴¹

An interesting explanation by Jung for the disharmonies which permeate the psyche of our age is that the symbols that we have brought to consciousness are inadequate and meaningless.²⁴² Unless the human race exterminates itself, Jung believes, new symbols will rise to consciousness and mankind will again find a meaning that he can experience from within himself. Jung's theory, then, combines history and psychology, and furnishes an explanation for behavior in fiction and in real life.

The broad range of the interdisciplinary topics transcends specific courses or individual departments, which consequently implies broad educational objectives and aims. For instance, the material that has been developed in this paper might compose, at least in part, a course in either literature, history, American studies, or humanities.

²⁴¹ Progoff, Jung's Psychology, p. 199.

²⁴² Progoff, Jung's Psychology, p. 219.

Titles for these courses might be: Literature of the American West; American History: The West; American Studies: The West; Issues and Problems of the Westward Movement in America; or even An Interdisciplinary Study Based on Four Selected Novels by A. B. Guthrie, Jr.

Although the titles suggest advanced course status, there is no reason for the restriction of these proposed courses to any undergraduate or graduate student; a multitude of potential study projects exists in the interdisciplinary classroom. Since the subject matter should not present any special difficulties for the undergraduate student, the course should be an elective and open to all majors.

In a study at the University of Washington, the self-concept of learners in interdisciplinary courses was higher than those in the interdisciplinary courses.²⁴³ The students who were exposed to the interdisciplinary approaches were more independent, more enthusiastic, more self-motivated, more assertive, more interested, and more involved than the others. Also, they achieved more and used more varied approaches in problem solving.

²⁴³ Robert McDowell, "Hiram College: New Curricular Program. Final Report," Hiram College, Ohio: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1972, p. 9. ERIC Document ED 078 799.

At Hiram College many of the faculty and students found that the interdisciplinary courses offered the most excitement.²⁴⁴ Hiram, which offers between twenty-five and thirty interdisciplinary courses each year, claims that this part of the curriculum has been very successful. "Research with students and faculty have indicated that both constituencies have increased their awareness of how diverse disciplines can be focused on a common problem. The vitality of dissecting an issue from different perspectives has been beneficial to the instructors and instructed alike. The success of the program is partly illustrated by the number and scope of courses offered and the number of students who seem to be taking more than the required number of interdisciplinary courses."²⁴⁵

The introduction of the interdisciplinary courses might break down over-departmentalization and consequently develop a broader general education program. Since the departmentalization of the various subjects does exist and the courses which might materialize from this paper draw on a wide range of material, it might be difficult to reach agreement on their content and to find teachers who are both competent and willing to teach them, as Dressel suggests:

²⁴⁴ McDowell, "Hiram College," p. 9.

²⁴⁵ McDowell, "Hiram College," pp. 9-10,

Broad courses do not fit into the departmental structure, and this may place instructors involved in them in a much less secure position than their departmental colleagues. Subjected to the doubts and criticisms of the departmentalized component of the staff, these individuals are more dependent on the whims of administration for promotion and recognition. Moreover, they reasonably fear that they may jeopardize their possibility of moving to other institutions because their affiliation with a particular discipline has been clouded by their interdisciplinary efforts.²⁴⁶

Hopefully, an innovative professor from either the English or the history department can be found to teach the material developed in this paper. Ideally, a person with a degree such as the Doctor of Arts in English, provided he has minors in history and psychology, would be quite qualified. "In a series of workshop discussions concerning possibilities for development of a Doctor of Arts degree and the relationship of such a degree to interdisciplinary study, participants agreed on the necessity for new patterns of training in English on the graduate level. In part, this agreement springs from recognition of the great diversity in emphases and goals at all levels in English instruction."²⁴⁷ Furthermore, Dr. George M. Harper, who has evaluated many programs of graduate study, including the Doctor of Arts program at Middle Tennessee State University, supports the

²⁴⁶ Dressel, Undergraduate Curriculum, p. 43.

²⁴⁷ Harry Finestone and Michael F. Shugrue, Prospects for the 70's: English Departments and Multidisciplinary Study (New York: Modern Language Association, 1973), p. 207.

interdisciplinary teacher who is trained in English.

"Whether on the undergraduate or graduate level, we recognize that the English teacher is particularly well suited for interdisciplinary work because of the multidisciplinary nature of its subject matter."²⁴⁸

Since evidence does not support the superiority of team teaching over the single teaching technique, it is recommended that a single teacher teach the interdisciplinary course. Consequently, problems of coordination, interpretation of subject approach, and, in general, red tape, can be held to a minimum. The single teacher concept does not imply narrowness. "The time has come when serious scholars in these various disciplines . . . should realize the nature of one another's work and the potential value and need each field has for the others. . . . Revised logic . . . urges that the isolated regional chapters grow into larger more productive loose federations."²⁴⁹

The effective teacher of an interdisciplinary course should possess three characteristics in his training and background.²⁵⁰ First, he should be extremely well read in the best American literature. Second, he should know both

²⁴⁸ Finestone, Prospects for the 70's, p. 204.

²⁴⁹ Finestone, Prospects for the 70's, p. 7.

²⁵⁰ Arthur L. Kermoude, "The Interdisciplinary Approach and Its Comparative Effectiveness," Washington University, Seattle (1972), p. 31. ERIC Document ED 064 238.

literature and history equally well, and should have a good background in psychology. Unfortunately, not many teachers with such a background are available, which sometimes results in one subject being neglected. Third, if English is going to be one of the disciplines, the teacher should be an English teacher. The non-English teacher is not trained to teach literature as appreciation. Therefore, the student might possibly respond well to factual prose, but he might be deficient in the appreciation of literature as art, inspiration, and pleasure.

An interdisciplinary course, with the advantage of a qualified instructor, should offer "a complete or near-complete statement on a subject, arrived at as a result of successive shifts of position, changes in vantage points, and inspection from a number of different angles; it is the objective of such a course to make an object fully apprehensible by revealing all of its facets."²⁵¹ The interdisciplinary course should point out that there are many ways to examine a single topic. The course aims at recognizing the many-faceted complexity of a single topic and at apprehending a topic in all of its aspects. The interdisciplinary course should also point out the differences between the various disciplines, clarify their nature, and show how the disciplines can be in conflict with one another as well

²⁵¹ Kermoude, "The Interdisciplinary Approach," p. 19.

as in harmony. Ideally, the interdisciplinary course integrates knowledge on a plane which transcends that of the separate disciplines and their limited point of view.

Cecil F. Tate, however, issues a warning about the inadequacy of the interdisciplinary approach in American Studies:

American Studies has gone beyond a methodological problem to an ontological holism--from the demand that the scholar be interdisciplinary and view his subject as a whole to a demand that the subject itself [the culture] be in reality a whole. . . . Gulfs, gaps, and breaks pervade our world. We do not perceive the organic interconnection of things. My desk, the newspaper, the floor mat, the coffee cup, the pretty girl walking down the hall, the band practicing on the field are all separate entities. If things are continuous, if the world is organic, this fact can only be conveyed poetically. But surely not at the level at which we formulate principles of investigation.²⁵²

Furthermore, Henry Nash Smith claims the problem of method in the interdisciplinary course arises only because a study of American culture "as a whole does not coincide with the customary field of operations of any established academic discipline."²⁵³

An actual course organized from the materials of this study should carry credit in English or history, whichever is to the advantage of the individual student. Since only

²⁵² Cecil F. Tate, The Search for a Method in American Studies (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1974), p. 131.

²⁵³ Quoted by Tate, The Search for a Method, p. 48.

a limited aspect of the personality theory of Carl Jung is employed in this study, no credit should be granted in the psychology area.

The major purposes of the interdisciplinary course is to develop within the student: (1) an ability to identify important problems and to effectively apply his skills, knowledge, and understanding to their solution, (2) the ability to accept responsibility and to become self-starting, and (3) the integration of his skills, knowledge, and understanding.²⁵⁴

In an interdisciplinary course the desired materials are taught and the necessary relationships are established through the solution of a series of problems.²⁵⁵ Each problem should be designed so that the student must: (1) become knowledgeable and skillful in literature and history, (2) relate his knowledge and skills to the problem, and (3) apply his knowledge and skills to a successful solution to the problem. In unifying the fragments of knowledge, the student ideally recognizes the common aspects of the disciplines. Hopefully, in applying his knowledge and skills to a meaningful problem in literature and history, the student will recognize the relationships between the disciplines (not

²⁵⁴ "Correlation and Integration," p. 9.

²⁵⁵ "The Integration of Learning Through the Solution of Correlated Problems," Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant (1967), p. 6. ERIC Document ED 011 968.

to exclude psychology) and will accept responsibility, build self-confidence, and gain experience. The following list itemizes several behavioral objectives desired of the student in the interdisciplinary course that is described in this paper. The student:

1. Can define selected historical terms and literary devices;
2. Can recall selected names, facts, and ideas in literature and history;
3. Can present the point of view of selected persons in literature and history;
4. Can recognize and state one's own beliefs, opinions, and values;
5. Can identify bias in literature and history;
6. Can prepare solutions or explanations to problems;
7. Can use a variety of kinds of evidence to reject or support issues, policies, or events;
8. Can identify the purpose, statement, or argument of a historical document or novel;
9. Can reconstruct goals, attitudes, or policies which were associated with a given action;
10. Can identify the main idea of a statement, argument, document, or literary work;
11. Can translate a principle into a concrete example;

12. Can explain the differences and the similarities among policies, events, issues, and persons within the context of selected motifs in literature and history;

13. Can support or refute solutions, explanations, and arguments with the use of facts, records, and historical personages.

The materials in the preceding chapters might be effectively taught during several different time frames--the mini-term or intersession, the module, and the semester. The intersession would present an excellent occasion for an experiment with the course.²⁵⁶ With its brief time frame of from three to four weeks, the intersession presents a fine opportunity to refine, evaluate, and experiment with a course with the small expenditure of time and finances. Consequently, the teaching of the materials in a longer session could be made more predictable. If the intersession is a successful one, the course might be expanded to encompass a full semester. Other works of Western fiction and other topics in history might be introduced after a careful evaluation of the intersession is conducted. For similar reasons, the interdisciplinary course would fit into the

²⁵⁶ Ann Heiss, An Inventory of Academic Innovation and Reform: A Technical Report Sponsored by The Carnegie Commission of Higher Education (Berkeley: The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education), p. 47. The intersession was introduced by Florida Presbyterian College in the early 1960's. The intersession eliminates the "lame duck period" between regular sessions and during holidays.

short module of the modular course plan equally as well as it would fit into the intersession.²⁵⁷ The modular plan consists of three modules: one course that lasts three and one-half weeks, another that lasts either seven or ten and one-half weeks, and adjunct courses that meet in the late afternoon or evening and extend throughout the semester. Like the intersession, the module of three and one-half weeks would present an excellent opportunity to experiment with the interdisciplinary materials.

An experimental lesson plan, based on an intersession of twenty-two meetings, might read as follows:

Course Title: An Interdisciplinary Study Based on Four
Selected Novels by A. B. Guthrie, Jr.

1. Introduction to course. Reading assignment for third meeting: The Big Sky. Announce parallel readings. (The bibliography of this paper could be used for most of the reading list.) Announce a schedule and the topics for students' oral presentations. Assign or select a student for a presentation on "The Mountain Men" for the fourth meeting. (Presentations should be 15-30 minutes in length.)

2. Lecture on "Philosophy of the Interdisciplinary Approach" in creative literature, history, and psychology.

²⁵⁷ Heiss, An Inventory of Academic Innovations, p. 48. The modular plan was introduced in the late 1960's by Colorado College. The plan provides variations in teaching styles and flexibility in the requirements of the subject matter of the course.

The course objectives (as mentioned earlier in this paper) should be made clear to the students.

3. Lecture on "Guthrie, the Man and His Work."²⁵⁸

4. Student presentation on "The Mountain Men." Discussion of The Big Sky and its historical aspects. Assign or select a student for a presentation of Carl Jung's theory of personality, and a second student to present a talk on the Jungian archetypes, for the sixth meeting. Assign readings in Carl Jung and The Way West.

5. Discussion of historical persons and places in The Big Sky. Assign topics to three students: (1) "Manifest Destiny," (2) "Manifest Destiny in The Big Sky," and (3) "Manifest Destiny in The Way West," all scheduled for the tenth meeting.

6. Two student presentations: "Jung's Theory of Personality" and "Jungian Archetypes." Discussion. Brief lecture on "Archetypal Criticism in the Interdisciplinary Classroom."

7. Discussion on archetypes in The Big Sky.

8. Discussion on archetypes in The Way West. Assign reading of These Thousand Hills for the twelfth meeting.

9. Historical persons and places in The Way West.

²⁵⁸ Movies have been made of The Big Sky, The Way West, and These Thousand Hills. Whether the movies could be used in the course would depend upon the particular structure of the course, the accessibility of the films, and availability of funds.

10. Student presentations on "Manifest Destiny" and how it is suggested in The Big Sky and The Way West. General discussion. Assign topic of Manifest Destiny in These Thousand Hills (for the thirteenth meeting) and Arfive (for the sixteenth meeting).

11. Lecture on "The Cattle Kingdom."

12. Discussion of the archetypes in These Thousand Hills. Assign Arfive for the sixteenth meeting.

13. A student presentation on "Manifest Destiny in These Thousand Hills." Discussion on the Cattle Kingdom in These Thousand Hills.

14. Lecture and discussion on "The Western Hero." Select a student panel to discuss "Western History, Contemporary Problems, and Guthrie's Novels" at the eighteenth and nineteenth meetings. (The objective of the panel is to place the three topics in relationship.)

15. Lecture and discussion on "The Western Hero."

16. Student presentation on "Manifest Destiny in Arfive." Lecture and discussion on archetypes in Arfive.

17. Lecture on "The Buffalo and the Indians: Their Roles in Western History and in Guthrie's Fiction." Discussion.

18. Panel discussion, followed by general discussion, on "Western History, Contemporary Problems, and Guthrie's Novels."

19. Continuation of panel and general discussions on "Western History, Contemporary Problems, and Guthrie's Novels."

20. Lecture on "Corralling a Herd of Undisciplined Disciplines." A review of interdisciplinary relationships and a synthesis of the disciplines.

21. An evaluation of the students by a written examination.

22. Students' anonymous evaluation of the course. This evaluation is indispensable in the improvement of the course.

The most obvious method for the evaluation of the students in an interdisciplinary course should be based on how logically they determine relationships between the various disciplines. Some sample questions designed specifically to test this desired reaction are as follows:

1. Discuss the differences between the historical cowboy and the fictional cowboy.

2. Interpret the functions of the archetypes in America's westward movement.

3. Describe the function of the archetypes (according to Fiedler) in Guthrie's work. Discuss "signature."

4. Discuss Manifest Destiny in its relationship to Guthrie's tetralogy.

5. What character traits and attitudes do you observe in today's society that could have been inspired by either the historical or the fictional Western hero?

6. Discuss the literary and historical barriers which must be overcome by a serious writer of Western fiction.

7. Leslie Fiedler has remarked that ". . . the West was and remains essentially funny." Do you agree? Present evidence for your answer.

8. Describe the exploitation of natural and human resources in the settlement of the West. Use some examples from historical accounts and from Guthrie's tetralogy.

9. Discuss *The Big Sky* as a metaphor of change in Guthrie's work. How are the changes a reflection of actual Western history?

10. Do you believe that the novels of Guthrie are faithful to history? Support your opinion with evidence from his fiction and from history.

11. Discuss the differences in the characterization of Boone Caudill, Jim Deakins, Dick Summers, Elisha Peabody, Brother Weatherby, Mr. Tadlock, the Evans men, and Benton Collingsworth. Do the attitudes and behavior of these fictional characters seem to fit into the context of their time in history? Supply evidence.

12. What is the major difference between the cowboys of dime novels and the Virginian of Owen Wister? What are the differences between the cowboys of Wister and Guthrie?

In many instances, the content, as it is arranged in this paper, could be introduced in the classroom. This arrangement has relevance to the material, hence the explanation for the placement of the section entitled "Archetypal Criticism in the Interdisciplinary Classroom," which could have easily fitted into this chapter on pedagogy. Furthermore, the early introduction of Jungian psychology is essential to an understanding of the archetypes in Guthrie's novels. The plot summaries and many of the historical persons and places in the novels, however, are not entirely necessary to a successful classroom presentation, although this does not mean to say that an explanation of the plots, persons, and places has been unnecessary in the investigation of Guthrie's use of history. Also, timely allusions to the actual presentation of particular portions of the material in this paper are frequently made within the text itself.

No practical research appears to have been published on the relationship of the novels of Guthrie, the history of the American West, and the archetypes of Jung. Much of the interdisciplinary research is highly theoretical, and, unfortunately, for the purposes of this paper, concerned

with the relationships of the social sciences and the physical sciences. The plan to examine the interdisciplinary programs of the University of Texas and the University of North Carolina did not materialize; the institutions failed to respond to several inquiries. A graduate course taken at Appalachian State University in symbolism and the contemporary European novel, conducted by Dr. O. D. Holton, Jr. of the English Department, proved particularly helpful in the interpretation of the Jungian archetypes in the four novels by Guthrie. But, of course, the interpretation of the Jungian archetypes in Guthrie's novels is pioneer work; no critical work in this area had ever been attempted before the completion of this paper.

The existence of interdisciplinary courses in several institutions of higher learning substantiates the worthiness of the materials in this paper and their place in an interdisciplinary classroom.²⁵⁹ Johns Hopkins Center offers work in interdisciplinary approaches, across departmental lines, at both undergraduate and graduate levels. In 1969 Southampton College of Long Island University began seminars which were led by professors from several disciplines. The discussions were basically concerned with problems in

²⁵⁹ Edna Jean Purcell, "Interdisciplinary Arts and Humanities Programs and Culture Centers for Elementary Schools," Ball State University: Muncie (1969), pp. 37-40. ERIC Document ED 033 124.

concepts and values common to all the arts. The Northwest Missouri State College offers a curriculum in the related arts and awards a diploma in the allied arts program. The Humanities Center at Baldwin Wallace, in Berea, Ohio, functions as a clearing house in interdisciplinary programs for the entire nation. The functions of the national clearing house are as follows: (1) to provide consultants who are specialists in multi-areas, (2) to develop bibliographies and materials for persons needing such services, (3) to serve as a resource center for interdisciplinary materials, (4) to hold workshops, (5) to conduct an annual conference in the humanities, (6) to serve as a clearing house for interdisciplinary areas, and (7) to provide resources for widely diverse groups of people. Several colleges with interdisciplinary courses of study in teacher education are: the University of South Florida in Tampa; Drake University in Des Moines, Iowa; and Wayne State University in Detroit.

An interdisciplinary course seems to be the best available compromise between the opportunities and the demands for innovation, on one hand, and the need to preserve tradition, on the other. In the future it is reasonable to predict a proportional commitment to an interdisciplinary arrangement in most of the nation's institutions of higher

education.²⁶⁰ Since the arrangement of disciplines by certain departments is not sacred, there are many prospects for the emergence of new interdisciplinary combinations. In the recent past, for instance, psychology developed from philosophy, physics, and biology; operations research from statistics, mathematics, and behavior science; and biophysics and biochemistry from biology, physics, and chemistry. New syntheses are inevitable as long as a variety of contemporary disciplines are brought together in a study of problems of common interest.

²⁶⁰ Theodore R. Wallace, "Structural Innovations in Higher Education to Meet Social Needs," ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education, pp. 1-34. ERIC Document ED 044 539.

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