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Alienation and Frontier Anxiety in the Writings of James Fenimore Cooper, William Gilmore Simms, D'Arcy McNickle and Navarre Scott Momaday

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Presented by

Ms Abida BENKHODJA

Supervised by

Dr. Sihem SAIBI

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Dedication

To my beloved parents

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the representation of "alienation" and "Frontier Anxiety" in the fiction of James Fenimore Cooper, William Gilmore Simms, D'Arcy McNickle and Navarre Scott Momaday. Particular cultural climates are delineated in their selected novels. This research work demonstrates that the nineteenth century Westward Expansion evolved into a full-fledged regime of restrictions on Indian tribal lives in the beginning of the twentieth century. The anxiety over the fading open space frontier as expressed in Cooper's and Simms's novels evolved into an anxiety over a constrained frontier represented in the novels of McNickle and Momaday. This study also highlights how the alienation and anxiety of the American Indians in the four novels result from the clash of cultures. It follows Lucien Goldmann's dialectical approach, moving from text to world vision. This method brings to light the process of comprehension which deals with the elucidation of "alienation" and "frontier anxiety" in the selected works, and the process of explanation which deals with the tracing of these concepts in the collective consciousness of both white and Native Americans. It also deals with the analysis of the texts as the expressions of the authors' worldviews. Through this analysis the studied concepts are traced into the larger structure that underpins the four novels which is the expansionist attitude of the collective part. Cooper and Simms prescribe a hegemonic register in their works and express a similar worldview; in another context, McNickle and Momaday counter the predominant supremacist worldview and bring into focus the important role that the Native Americans have as minorities and also as the original inhabitants of the land.

Keywords: Alienation , Frontier Anxiety, Native Americans, Civilization, Expansion.

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General Introduction

Background of The Study

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This dissertation examines four major American authors' representation of "alienation" and "frontier anxiety" in their representative fictional texts. James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pionners* (1823), William Gilmore Simms's *The Yemassee* (1835), D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded* (1936), and Navarre Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* (1968) are the selected texts that investigate both "alienation" and "frontier anxiety". Through the chosen texts of Cooper and Simms as ninteenth century white American writers, and D'Arcy McNickle and Navarre Scott Momaday as twentieth century Native American writers, the major concepts will be studied from different perspectives. Cooper and Simms wrote about the American Indian during the Westward Expansion Era when the fate of the Natives was still unknown, though predictable; whereas McNickle and Momaday wrote about the American Indian whose fate had already been traced and delineated.

The selected novels are indicative of particular cultural climates present at the beginning of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This research work attempts to delineate the effects of these particular social and cultural climates on the lives of American Indians as framed in the fiction of Cooper, Simms, McNickle and Momaday.

James Fenimore Cooper's five novels comprising *the Leather-Stocking Tales* were written in a chronological disjunction that constantly demands the reader's critical intervention. Craig White discerns two important ways that scholars refer to when reading the tales as a series; the dominant approach is to read the tales in the order in which they were written, and the other approach is to read them in the order of the Leather-stocking's age.

The Tales in a chronological order are presented as follows: *The Pioneers: or The Sources of the Susquehanna: A Descriptive Tale (*1823), *The Last of the Mohicans: A Narrative of 1757* (1826), *The Prairie: A Tale* (1827), *The Pathfinder: or, The Inland Sea* (1840), *The*

Deerslayer : or, The First War-Path (1841). Each novel has unique strengths, but it is generally acknowledged that *The Pioneers* started Cooper's reputation for writing the forest romances. "Set on the New York frontier in a town resembling the author's native Cooperstown in the late 1700s, *The Pioneers* traced a central Romantic conflict in the clash between America's settlement by European settlers and prior claims on the land by frontiersmen and Native Americans" (White19). It became the first of the five novels that shaped the imagination of Americans. Similarly, William Gilmore Simms's *The Yemassee:A Romance of Carolina* (1835) was published nearly a decade after *The Pioneers*.

As a southerner, Simms portrayed the social tensions that reigned in South Carolina during the Western Expansion. His work also subscribes to the conflicting relationship of the Indian with the white man on the frontier. Simms believed in American exceptionalism and uniqueness. He and Cooper are among the few writers who had distinguished themselves as truly American writers.

Simms belongs to a group of writers who constructed the American national literary culture and who found inspiration in the American landscape and life of Native Americans. Vincent King claims that "Simms, while learning much from Scott and Cooper, was not interested in becoming the American Scott or extending the mythos that Cooper created"(139). The two authors developed the American Romance, but each has served political aims and societal attitudes that were prevailing at their time.

Literature Review

Hugh C.McDougall argues that most of the basic concerns of the environmental movement were expressed in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pioneers* and *The Prairie*, published respectively in 1823 and 1827. Among these concerns, conservation of natural resources is fundamental for the sake of a high standard of living, and all the natural elements

including animals, wild birds and plants “must be preserved for future generations”. Cooper, McDougall notes, expresses these environmental concerns in the two novels, and adds that “the careless and wasty ways of man not only threaten his resources and the natural beauty around him, but puts in peril his very existence”. The latter is a third concern that was shared by his lifelong friend, the romantic poet James Cullen Bryant.(McDougall)

Barbara Rumbinas, in “Reflections of Environmental Anxiety in James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Pioneers*”, argues that reducing Cooper’s *The Pionners* to a single theme, which is nature versus society, “robs its power within cultural framework” (317). Leatherstocking’s language in the novel and his speeches about the bounty of nature reflect the anxiety about the reduction of its resources. Rumbinas discusses Cooper’s and Temple’s view of the necessity to tame the frontier for agricultural use as it could forge a stable American government. Nature is viewed by Judge Temple, a major character in *The Pioneers,* as only providing economic profit. Cooper fails to resolve “the conservation controversy” despite the fact that he dramatizes the social issues related to the conservation of nature in his novel.

Eric Cheyfitz delineates the limits of property / individualism representation and notes that critical tradition has read *The Pioneers* within the context of those limits. The opposition between property and individualism is defined in the novel as a conflict between Judge Temple who represents the “gentlemen who relied upon property titles, man-made law, and votes to build a good society”, and Leatherstocking who exemplifies “the individual who, relying upon himself and the wilderness around him, pursued without qualification the laws of Nature’s God” (118). *The Pioneers*, according to Cheyfitz, takes up an important issue: the relation of Indian land to the western institution of property.

Thomas S.Gladsky notes in “James Fenimore Cooper and American Nativism” that Cooper's writings do not treat extensively immigrants, foreigners and Catholics, but the issue was part of his thoughts as expressed in different letters and "in references buried deep in his

fictional monologues"(44). *The Pioneers* represents Cooper's vision of a culturally diverse America, "despite the fact that the Templeton community is a force for assimilation and acculturation" (44). Cooper's support of the Polish cause in Paris, in 1831, demonstrates on the one hand his defense of the oppressed peoples, but on the other, his position reveals that his "attitude toward democratic movements occurring in Europe was quite different from his stance toward democracy in the United States"(45). What Gladsky implies is that the social class of the minorities as well as their geographical distance from New York affected Cooper's view of them. Cooper's support for specific democratic movements in Europe might align with broader foreign policy objectives, whereas domestic democratic dynamics could be viewed through a different lens. For instance, in *The Pioneers* and *The Last of the Mohicans*, Gladsky notes, the Dutch and the Native Americans are "an already vanished culture"(45).

In *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization* , Roy Harvey Pearce contends that the American Indian is not defined in Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales as an Indian, but rather as a vehicle for understanding the white man, defined "in terms of the ideas and needs of civilized life"(202). The frontiersman is defined by Cooper in his tales as a person who must resist savage life because, according to Pearce, Cooper needed to justify the advance of American civilization westward. Civilization "must be super-imposed on savagism, so as to dissolve it."(208). Pearce argues that "In the Leatherstocking Tales the nineteenth century idea of the savage has been sufficiently absorbed to furnish a symbol by means of which American destiny, civilized destiny, could be located immediately, made fictive, recounted in detail, and so comprehended imaginatively"(210). For example, Cooper ennobled his Indians so as to make them appear unreal to his audience and to other writers who believed that Indians symbolized savagism.

In the same vein, Pearce also refers to Simms' portrayal of the American Indian as part of a legendary past. In *The Yemassee*, the story of the heroic Sanutee and the degradation of his

son Occonestoga is only a subplot of the novel. The main events or the main theme revolves around the defeat of the Yemassees and the victory of the "English civilizers"(220). Pearce notes that "the savage" cannot participate in Simms's refined world and that it is the Jeffersonian agrarian ideal that dominates Simms's own time.

Simms and Cooper considered the frontier and the Indians as determining themes in American literary history. John Caldwell Guilds and Caroline Collins edited a collection of critical essays entitled *William Gilmore Simms and The American Frontier* (1997) that emphasize the depiction of the frontier in Simms' work through traditional and newer perspectives. They selected prominent critical essays on Simms and his work, reviving his contribution to American literary history. Before Guilds and Collins' volume, Simms's work had been neglected by scholars, but since that date, he started to gain the attention of literary critics.

Charles Hudson states that one of the main reasons for the neglect of Simms' writings in the era that was clearly a frontier era is the fact "that the frontier in the North, and more particularly in the West, was subsequently mythologized as a conflict between whites and Indians. Blacks and particularly black slaves were left out of this mythical picture. A cast of whites and Indians more neatly filled a central theme in the myth of the frontier: the triumph of civilization over savagery"(xxxv). The major reason then for the neglect of Simms's work is related to the fact that it was not considered as part of the mythologized definition of the conflict that opposed whites and Indians and that we find in the canonized writings of Cooper. A most interesting discussion of Simms's *The Yemassee* would center on the conflict including black slaves and the relation they had with white masters and American Indians. Simms had long been neglected as a southern writer and he could not transcend the popularity of his contemporary successful novelist Cooper.

Louis D. Rubin, Jr claims that Simms was inspired by Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1825) to structure his famous novel *The Yemassee* (1835): "Like Cooper's novel, *The Yemassee* was set in the forest of the New World, involved warfare with the Indians, and reenacted the death of a once-mighty Indian nation" (103). Nonetheless, Caroline Collins considers Simms' Border Romances exceptional because Simms "broke free of the confines of romance by selecting conventions from various types of romance and by learning to use those conventions in new and different ways" (81).

Guilds explains in "William Gilmore Simms and the Portrayal of the American Indian: A Literary View" that Simms' interest in American Indians stems from the fascinating accounts that were related to him by his father at an early age. He even had personal experiences among the Creeks and Choctaws. What distinguishes Simms from other writers about Indians is that he attempted to "individualize, making distinctions-rare among white observers-between tribes and nations, and among members of tribes" (xx). A recurring theme in Simms' work is, Guilds observes, "the conflict between the Indians' reverence for nature and the relentless encroachment on and exploitation of it by the European settler" (xxiii). Simms emphasized the American Indian's spiritual view of the land and his determination to honor and protect it. The white's full use of the land resulted in the displacement of the American Indian. Guilds refers to the degradation of the American Indian in *The Yemassee* as a result of the influence of the white society on the individual Indian. He also finds in Simms's prose and fiction a faithful and detailed representation of the aborigines of a larger region in North America.

The major studies that were undertaken to discuss Simms' works focus on the theme of slavery and slave ideology in his work. Being a southerner and a slave holder, Simms included black characters in his fiction to depict the social and political mood of the period.

Joseph Kelly, for instance discusses the figure of the slave and the writer's slave ideology in *The Yemassee* and *Woodcraft*. He also contends that race constitutes one of the main themes

that Simms presents in *The Yemassee* through the creation of three racial groups, Native Americans, Europeans and Africans. “Even so”, Kelly claims that “Simms was surprisingly sympathetic to the Indians” (55), and that he wished that the Natives had not been exterminated but infused into the white race. “The history of the English invasion of North America”, he adds, “had gone along similar lines” with the Norman invasion of Anglo-Saxon England (57).

Similarly, Ehren Foley argues that Simms believed in the importance of social hierarchy, that Black people were inferior and in need of improvement, a claim that is rooted in the racial ideology of the time. Foley claims that Simms “saw slavery as an institution that would serve as a civilizing force that would improve the condition and morality of Africans” (79). Anthony Dyer Hoefer, in another view, also refers to the racial inferiority of the African slaves as portrayed in *The Yemassee*; however, he interestingly argues that Simms uses slavery as a rhetorical device which also plays a role in the discourse of Indian Removal (117). Simms, among other writers, Hoefer contends, set off the Manifest Destiny as an emergent ideology, at a time when the notion had not yet gained its full significance. He even claims that Simms was a committed Jacksonian.

Kevin Collins notes that “Simms contributed to the success of the frontier thesis by placing before American audience’s unfamiliar ideas that would become common-place during Turner’s generation and that, in the generations that followed, would be accepted throughout the world as social and cultural dogma regarding the unique character of Americans and their society” (“An Earlier Frontier Thesis” 34). What is worth-noting in Simms’ depiction of his characters in his frontier fiction is the formation of a “mixed race” that Turner discussed in his frontier thesis, that frontiersmen lack the class standing and sense of identity that their European fathers had. What is remarkable, Collins observes, is that Simms defined Americans in Turner’s terms “before anyone had heard of F. Jackson Turner, before the frontier experience was even close to being finished” (41). He defined them as always having responded to environmental

challenges and being able to adapt to them. This can be illustrated in Simms' novel *The Yemassee*, where the colonial proprietor is an English nobleman who takes the identity of a commoner in order to blend with the common people and who adapts his condition to theirs to succeed in his quest. In this regard, according to Collins, Simms can be considered as an early precursor to Frederick Jackson Turner.

D'Arcy McNickle spent nine years writing and rewriting *The Surrounded*. In this novel, McNickle, being a Native American author, translates his cultural and racial identity into narrative structure and creates a modern novel. Published in 1936, the novel's patterns reappeared in major American Indian novels of the American Indian Renaissance such as Navarre Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn,* as Robert Dale Parker observes, "in the pattern of the angst-filled, mixed-blood young man....returning to the reservation and struggling to find a place among its traditions and the pressures to acculturate" (899). One of the similarities that mark Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* and McNickle's *The Surrounded* is the fight to establish one's identity in a world powered by the forces of colonization and modernity. Goldberg, for example, considers *The Surrounded* as a seminal work, and it is not surprising to find some of the novel's premises emerging to a Native American literary movement that would shape the writings of N. Scott Momaday, Leslie Marmon Silko and Gerald Visenor among others.

In "Politics and Culture in the Fiction of D'Arcy McNickle", James Ruppert clarifies his understanding of culture as expressed in McNickle's ethnohistorical study *They Came Here First* (1949), and relates it to the study of the novelist's *Wind From an Enemy Sky* , *The Surrouded* and *Runner in The Sun*. The vision of intratribal politics and White/ Native American political relationships is clarified by elucidating the significant processes that shaped McNickle's writing of his novel *Wind from an Enemy Sky*. It is mainly McNickle's vision of culture as a process that "adds new dimensions to an appreciation of his novels", Ruppert

argues, and not as a static statement of destroyed culture (185). Ruppert notes that McNickle shows in *The Surrounded*, for example, the breakdown of the internal political structures through presenting the same breakdown in internal religious structures. He parallels cultural death to the loss of independent action, the native American must want the change and not be forced to accept it.

In her article “End in Tears: Understanding Grief and Loss in D’Arcy McNickle’s *The Surrounded*”, January Lim reconsiders the cultural and historical factors that affected the American Indian. *The Surrounded*, according to Lim, is an expression of racial sorrow, represented mainly by female grief. She analyses how the women’s sorrow and actions in the novel elucidate “the cultural, historical and land losses the Salish people endured” (146). Lim gives voice to the female characters by examining “the notions of gender and constructions of grief, loss, and resistance in the novel” (146). She explores the ways that the women’s sense of loss reveals larger thematic concerns such as land loss.

Hoefel Roseanne also reconsiders the role of the novel's female characters, who "have borne the greatest critical neglect" (45). She studies their resistance to the dominant forces of the white culture. Catharine, the Indian mother figure, regretted her status as a white man's wife. Later, “She becomes a spiritual advisor, suggesting that her tribe also rebuke the self-serving rules and patterns to which they had all been subjected” (50). The recovery of the male figures in the novel is at the hands of the female figures. Archilde's awakening is caused by his mother whose "womblike shelter actually and metaphorically grounds him in his roots, her space a refuge and her lingering presence, a solitudinous sanctuary"(52). The females function in the novel as 'culture-bearers and preservers', "they are the ones who stave off cultural murder as well as cultural suicide" (61). Archilde's re-entry into the Salish world could not be realized without these women figures in the novel, notably without his mother Catharine and his friend Elise.

Laird Christensen alludes to a particular reason for the disruption of the traditional structures of the native cultures, it is the spread of Christianity. “In *The Surrounded*,” he notes, “McNickle specifically addresses Christianity's impact on the cosmology, values, and economy of western Montana's Salish community, and he exposes its role in undermining any substantial cultural resistance to an expanding American empire” (2). In the novel, it is shown how the Salish people accepted an "alien cosmology" as the missionaries brought the Salish a new moral code that separated these people from their traditions and beliefs (3).

Navarre Scott Momaday, a teacher, writer and artist, dedicated his life to preserving the Indian culture and its oral tradition. His first novel *House Made of Dawn* (1968) brought him the Pulitzer Prize. He wrote extensively on Indian culture; in *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, he retells the Kiowa tribe legends and revives them to present them to his readers. He definitely paved the way to other emerging Native American writers as Leslie Marmon Silko, Simon J. Ortiz and James Phillip Welsh Jr.

Momaday’s first novel, Lucic notes, “represents the most important literary contribution to the Indian literature breakthrough in the development of American and world literature” (92). Lucic contends that *House Made of Dawn* revolves around the themes of loss of identity and “ethnic affiliation of young Indians in modern American society”, but it also distinguishes the Indian spiritual vision from the Euro-American one (92). The first vision is based on respect of the natural surroundings and tradition. The major elements that define *House Made of Dawn* are “the separation of man from nature, land causes diseases- spiritual diseases, alienation and uncertainty, the impossibility of integration into other communities” (93). It is also necessary to understand that multiethnic society is built on its oral tradition.

Joseph L. Coulombe observes that Momaday in *House Made of Dawn* not only makes use of traditional songs and stories to promote healing, but his novel “also operates outside tribal traditions to show how individuals of different backgrounds can confront the destabilizing

forces within contemporary society ...and heal their fractured selves" (36). In the novel Euro-Americans are defined as outsiders. In different parts of the novel, "the alienation of Euro-Americans from the land, indigenous peoples, and even themselves" is highlighted (36). Momaday does not criticize the non- natives participation in tribal cultures, but rather means "to emphasize the incapacity of non-natives to understand tribal life and belief as fully as those within it"(38). Momaday "is not merely decrying past imperialism; he is outing all non-natives, however sympathetic and liberal-minded" (38). Although the white characters attempt to enter into the Native world and think they can understand tribal life, Momaday reveals this attempt to be unattainable.

Robert Nelson takes into consideration a very important aspect of Native American literature: the setting. Land functions "not only as "setting"", he contends, "but also as character"(1). Human events occurring in that specific setting can be evaluated according to its function."One corollary of the proposition that individual human existence is, or ought to be, an event "indivisible" with the landscape in which it "takes place" is that separation from the land leads to disease, spiritual illness, alienation, and uncertainty"(1). In *House Made of Dawn,* Abel suffers from a disease that is not only due to his experience in World War II, but that dates back to an earlier period. His fear is mainly caused by "his own powerlessness to resist those underworld spirits which....control human life at this place"(6).

Judith Antell's study is most relevant to the theme of alienation in twentieth century Native American literature. She depicts the modern era as the era in which radical changes occurred in American Indian life; "these changes", she argues, "unceasingly assaulted tribal ties, reservation existence, and the identities of Indian people"(214). Antell notes that the primary themes in *House Made of Dawn* are Indian people's alienation, cultural conflicts, and sense of loss, and that these themes are majorly developed in the life of the central character Abel. She notes that the theme of the alienated man is used by notable Native American authors

as Momaday, Welsh and Silko in order to "demonstrate the negative severity of the twentieth century on the lives of Indian people" (214). What is also significant in Antell's study is her argument that this alienation also occurs as Momaday, Welsh and Silko "have separated each man from his mother through death and abandonment" (215). The importance and the power of the Indian woman is incontestably recognized by Antell as the main factor in either alienating or restoring the estranged Indian man to his place within tribal life. Antell concludes that "while on the surface the novels of Momaday, Welch, and Silko appear to be stories of alienated Indian men, they are really much more the stories of female power as acknowledged through ritual and ceremony" (219-220).

Through the review of prior research, we have denoted the important studies that pertain to the subject of this dissertation. Generally, the studies on Cooper's *The Pioneers* and Simms's *The Yemassee* portray the American Indian as part of an already vanished culture and legendary past. Both writers used the frontier and the Indians as the driving forces influencing American literary history. The conflict between the American Indian and the European settler had been the subject of extensive studies on Cooper and Simms, but the concern of the present research work is to bring into focus the alienation of the American Indian and the anxiety that the opening of the frontier engendered in his tribal life.

In McNickle's *The Surrounded* and Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*, the alienation of the American Indian has received more attention. Scholarly criticism was directed to establishing the need of the alienated American Indian to fight in a world powered by the forces of colonization and modernity. However, the frontier as a concept and the anxiety that it created had largely gone unnoticed in the modern era. Moreover, an examination of the concepts of "alienation" and "frontier anxiety" in different contexts will elucidate the different world visions of Cooper, Simms, McNickle and Momaday and the evolution of the frontier from its early definition to its modern one. Therefore, the major research questions that might be

formulated to reach the objectives of this study are as follows: On which social dynamics are "alienation" and "frontier anxiety" built in the four selected novels and how do they impact the perception of the Native American within a world dominated by colonization and modernity? How do the studies of "alienation" and "frontier anxiety" in various contexts shed light on the different worldviews of the authors and on the evolution of the frontier concept from its early definition to its modern interpretation?

This dissertation shows that the nineteenth century westward expansion evolved into imposed institutions and forced assimilation on Indian tribal lives in the beginning of the twentieth century. Before American imperialism became pronounced through the different wars that the United States waged overseas, it started within its boundaries during the nineteenth century westward expansion and continued until the United States expanded beyond the Pacific Ocean and Mexico in the twentieth century. The aim of this dissertation is to show that the anxiety over the fading frontier that is expressed in Cooper's and Simms's novels became an anxiety over the constraining frontier represented in the novels of McNickle and Momaday.

In order to study the concepts of "alienation" and "frontier anxiety" in the selected novels, extending previous knowledge about them is needed in order to define the major perspectives from which they can be studied.

Conceptual Framework

Many scholars have offered diverse perspectives on "alienation", highlighting its economic, psychological and social dimensions. Studying these perspectives collectively enriches our understanding of the concept as a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that shaped early literary writings and that continues to shape modern life and literature.

Mary Manemann Lystad discusses alienation with its different dimensions. The process of alienation according to Marx's classical definition, Lystad notes "is revealed in work and in the division of labor" (90). Marx attacks capitalism as the major cause of alienation, it is a means for cutting off the relation between man and his labor as humans become estranged from the products of their work. This sense of alienation from oneself and society was mainly promoted by the acquisition of private property and the division of labor. The researcher believes that "The positive abolition of private property is thus for Marx the positive abolition of alienation and the return of man to his human, that is social, life" (91). Lystad considers Marx's approach to the causes of alienation as narrow; he notes that "Marx repudiated the idea of alienation divorced from his specific analysis of property relations under capitalism. In so doing, Marx closed off a road which would have provided a deeper and more insightful analysis of society and personality" (92). The concept of alienation was also extensively used by G W F. Hegel, he was the first to introduce the term in philosophical usage. His concern was mainly delineating the relationship between individual existence and universal existence. The role of the spirit to Hegel is to transcend the reality of the world as an alienated world and assert its essence in the formation of the universal propulsion for emancipation.

The pervasiveness of alienation in modern society was to be taken into consideration from modern perspectives. Melvin Seeman, for example, has clarified the term "alienation" in a sociological context. He identifies five variants of alienation: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. Social scientists have started to consider alienation as a major component of modern society. It is mainly related to man's life in contemporary society. The emergence of modernism as a literary movement brought forth the alienation of modern man as a major problem of the post-world wars European society. In literature, this term appears as the psychological isolation of an individual from society. The person's withdrawal from society is expressed in his isolation from other people, thus it takes

a psychological dimension. However, Robert Tally argues that "in critical social theory, alienation has an additional sense of separating the individual from his or her self" (2).

James E. Twining analyses alienation in relation to Industry working conditions and the labor conflict they generate; nonetheless, he establishes a scheme that represents the different phases of alienation creation that is significant to this paper's discussion of the concept. It is composed of three basic phases of development. He, first, defines the components of "a situationally-specific interactional process: the historical context, the structural conditions, and the individual participants" (424). He exemplifies this process through the relationship between the development of capitalist industrialization and the alienation process. It is thanks to the reactions of the individual participants, considering objective and subjective factors, that the situation of the interactional process can be defined. It may result in a positively defined situation which can be qualified as a substantive integration, when "the participant's involvement with the situation is viewed as valuable experience" (424). But the major response that we will attempt to delineate in the first chapter of this thesis is related to the second situation which is negatively defined by the individual and which generates other forms of alienation. This part of Twinning's classification will be the starting point for analyzing alienation.

From a similar perspective, Eldon L. Wegner contends that alienation could be studied using a Context Specific Approach. The individual who is disillusioned and alienated cannot fulfill a social role and adhere to the norms of his society. This is how the individual fails to integrate and become part of social life. Wegner suggests that "greater success may be achieved by adopting a context specific approach" when studying alienation (172). He defines alienation as "a negative orientation involving feelings of discontent and cynical beliefs toward a specific social context" (177). He also defines the non-role related differences that become a basis for alienation such as "holding different political or religious views, being of different ethnic backgrounds, or having different leisure tastes" (179). According to Wegner, that which marks

a social situation should be taken into consideration and not "problems of psychological health, personal tragedy" (179). When alienation is studied by a sociologist, alienation should be a response to a specific situation. Wegner alludes to Durkheim's 'anomie' that is also of great relevance to this approach, he defines it as "a condition of society, a breakdown in social integration, which occurs during periods of rapid social change. According to Durkheim, human happiness is only possible when man is bound to his society through social relationships and a set of norms which guide his actions and appetites" (180-181). Alienation, then, is the negative response of the individual toward an established social order, it has its origins in society. Wegner notes that "general feelings of unhappiness and dissatisfaction with society have been shown to be greatest among those who are of low socioeconomic status and minority ethnic membership" (181). The second chapter of this research work will follow Wegner's view as it is more satisfactory to investigate feelings of alienation toward specific social contexts rather than toward the society as a whole.

"Frontier anxiety" has been a topic of interest across various disciplines, including history, cultural studies, and sociology. This concept explores the psychological and societal tensions associated with frontiers. Turner's essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History", presented to a special meeting of the American Historical Association at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois in 1893, introduced the concept of the frontier thesis. Turner argued that the American frontier played a crucial role in shaping the American character. His work addresses the anxieties and challenges of frontier life, although he did not use the term "frontier anxiety" directly.

The term "frontier anxiety" is used by David M. Wrobel in *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal.* He calls attention to the anxiety that swept across the American nation after the closing of the frontier and that was enunciated in the census report of 1889. He argues that the closing of the frontier created the

need for overseas expansion, a fact that was either directly or indirectly announced by some writers. Josiah Strong, Wrobel notes, linked the closing of the frontier to this need of expansion in his work entitled "Our Country" (1885), "now that the nation had mastered its own frontier, it was ready to embark on the divinely ordained conquest of new ones" (qtd. in Wrobel 56). Wrobel explains Strong's argument saying that "if such expansionism did not occur, if that Anglo-Saxon energy and aggressiveness continued to well up in a frontierless continent, disastrous consequences would result" (56). Wrobel also refers to Frederick Jackson Turner's views; he does not consider Turner as an expansionist but says that any Turnerian reader could find "historical justification for expansionism in his writings" (57). Turner inferred that the American character would be affected negatively if the frontier process ended. But Turner's arguments were rather foreshadowing the imperialist character of white Americans rather than urging imperialism, he was lamenting the end of white expansionism.

David M. Wrobel also discusses the comments of Woodrow Wilson in *Division and Reunion* (1893), who also remarked on "the benign influence of America's 'intense and expanding western life'" (59). He adds that "Like Turner, he felt that the frontier had shaped the expansionist character of the American people, but he was not confident that the loss of the internal frontier could be offset by further expansionism" (59). As expansionists argued in favor of overseas expansion, anti-expansionists also saw that American energies should be directed toward internal development. Their argument, Wrobel explains, is that there is no need to seek other domains in which to expand as the United States possessed a vast territory with unparalleled natural resources and wealth. Many factors created an impetus for expansion in the nineties, as Social Darwinism, "justifying the conquering of supposedly inferior races by a higher civilization", religious missionaries and Economic factors (67). Wrobel also presents an important component that formed frontier anxiety in the late nineteenth century, it is the

American agrarian heritage, and he defines its new label in the twentieth century as 'Postfrontier' anxiety.

Frontier anxiety characterized the late nineteenth century following the closing of the frontier and significantly impacted white American settlers, as argued by Wrobel. This thesis supports the notion of frontier anxiety being prevalent in the early part of the century, as evidenced in the fiction of James Fenimore Cooper and William Gilmore Simms, and explores its effects on the Native Americans portrayed in their work. Additionally, it illustrates that "postfrontier anxiety" became a notable aspect of cultural and social life in the twentieth century. This is particularly evident in the works of D'Arcy McNickle and N. Scott Momaday, influencing Native American literature and reflecting the anxieties experienced by Native American characters in their novels.

Michael Austin explains that most literary critics speak of anxiety from a Freudian perspective, and this anxiety is psychologically defined as the result of "either repressed fear of castration or repressed oedipal guilt" (42). He exemplifies this approach with Harold Bloom's 1973 book *The Anxiety of Influence*, in which poets are considered as the sons of great poets and are locked in an oedipal struggle with them. The sons are threatened by the fathers' influence which may hinder them from becoming great poets. There are few models that literary critics may resort to when studying anxiety and that do not pertain to Freud's explanation of repression as its major cause. Austin, in his study, uses the term involving three response systems: "the cognitive (what people think), the psychological (what people feel), and the behavioral (what people do). Anxiety can begin in any of these systems and involve the others most immediately" (43).

Kenneth Thomas Strongman categorizes anxiety into psychoanalytic, learning/ behavioral, physiological, phenomenological/existential, and cognitive. He discusses anxiety as related to uncertainty. He presents his views of Izard, C.E (1991) *The Psychology of*

Emotions and that of Lazarus R.S (1991) *Emotion and Adaptation*. Izard's anxiety is not only related to fear but also to other emotions as "interest / excitement, sadness, shame and guilt", and "it is dependent on uncertainty" (Strongman 8). Lazarus also distinguishes between anxiety and fright, Strongman explains this view claiming that "fright occurs when there is imminent physical harm, whereas he believes anxiety to be characterized by uncertain, ambiguous, existential threat" (8). In this sense, anxiety poses a problem, "once one objective threat has been coped with, another takes place since the basic problem is existential" (8-9). This endless fight against anxiety is shown in the selected novels as related to the protagonists' fight against the uncertain world they live in.

One significant claim for anxiety is Cheng's premise that "modern contemporary cultures- especially First World Cultures- are increasingly marked by an anxiety over authentic cultural anxiety" (3). Vincent J. Cheng questions issues about authenticity and identity and their significance in a globalized and hybridized world. According to him, the search for a stable and authentic identity is very complicated, being himself a Chinese boy, born in Taiwan, who grew up "living in many different countries and racially varied cultures in Asia, Latin America, North America, and Africa- especially in Mexico, Brazil, the United States, Canada, and Swaziland" (3). He notes that he was perceived as a foreigner, though, he admits, he was able to adapt to each culture, "(he) at times felt (himself) to be as "Mexican" or "American" as (he) felt "Chinese"" (4). So, Cheng's question is related to where does authenticity lie? In the context of this research work, if we claim that an authentic national identity is related to one's origins and birthplace, then one's nation and race are certainly the major unquestioned social constructs that define one's identity.

The opening and the closing of the frontier constitute the major causes of anxiety in the four selected novels, the frontier becomes a major source of anxiety; "the extreme discomfort that (it) produces becomes a powerful motivation to neutralize its cause" (Austin 44). Hence,

the reactions of the main characters are directed for minimizing, if not, quelling anxiety altogether. It would be of interest to look at anxiety from a Freudian perspective, but apart from its emergence as the result of repression. One of Freud's most influential studies on the clash between the individual and society in *Civilization and its Discontents* will be considered as a major reference to study anxiety in the third chapter. The tension between man and civilization is the main drive that Freud denotes to be at the origin of "discontent" or "anxiety".

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

The following study is based on an analysis of *The Pioneers*, *The Yemassee*, *The Surrounded* and *House Made of Dawn*, and follows Lucien Goldmann's Genetic Structuralist approach. Lucien Goldmann (1913-1970) is a French philosopher, sociologist, and an influential Marxist theorist. In his work: *The Hidden God: A Study of Tragic Vision in the Pensées of Pascal and the Tragedies of Racine*, he adopts a dialectical method and approach to the texts. He sought to synthesize the "genetic epistemology" of Jean Piaget with the Marxism of George Lukacs who favours the conception that any dialectic and genetic sociology reflects that earthly facts are the responses of an individual or collective subject. Looked at from this point of view, the content of a given literary work and the collective consciousness should be taken into account. The literary work's world is structured so as its structures may be homologous with certain social groups, for example, Goldmann shows in *Hidden God* the structural homology between Pascal's work and Racinean tragedy and he demonstrates that Pascal's *Pensées* corresponds to the Jansenist worldview. The writer is free to create imaginary worlds that are governed by these structures. This method will bring into light two important processes, a process of comprehension which deals with the elucidation of a structure and a

process of explanation which deals with the insertion of that structure into a historical totality and uncovering its particularities. Goldmann explains that

> any valid and scientific study of Pascal's Pensées or Racine's tragedies will be based not only upon a careful analysis of their structure but also upon an attempt to fit them into the intellectual and emotional climate which is closest to them. That is to say, they should first of all be studied as part of the whole movement of Jansenism, seen both as a spiritual and as an intellectual phenomenon, and then in relation to the economic and social life of the group or class which found its expression in the Jansenist movement… Jansenism gave the social, economic and political situation of the *noblesse de robe* in seventeenth-century France. (The Hidden God 99)

His study, he notes, consists of three important stages, seeing the text as the expression of a world vision, analyzing closely the world vision as "constituting a whole made up of the intellectual and social life of the group", and considering the thoughts and feelings of the members of the group as an "expression on their economic and social life" (99). The historian, therefore, Goldmann suggests, must keep in mind that the role and activity of a part is certainly related to the activity of the whole. The task of the historian is to define the different structures of the work, ranging from the text to the world vision to the social class.

Goldmann thought about the relationship between literature and society in a new perspective. It was not an easy task to deal with "the intellectual and emotional climate of the various Jansenist groups under discussion", he notes; the study of that relationship was possible "in so far as the texts were concerned" (101). Two levels of correspondence are distinguished: the correspondence between the world vision as an experienced reality and the universe created

by the writer, and the correspondence between this universe and the specifically literary devices- style, images, syntax, etc.- used by the writer to express it (315).

Of the prefaces of literary works, Goldmann argues that they form an inseparable entity from the analysis, that they should not merely be understood but interpreted in the light of the completed work. The prefaces also express the writer's own ideas and attitude toward his work, and their analysis is indispensable and complementary to the structure and meaning of the work. The analysis of any social phenomenon is a crucial step into a genetic structuralist approach through its insertion into a structured whole of which it is a part. It is the "comportment" of social subjects, who are constantly trying to adapt to a social situation, which can define the function of a social event.

Goldmann follows Lukacs' view of the predominance of the whole over the parts, Goldmann and Lukacs shared a belief in the importance of understanding social relations and the historical context in their work. They were both influenced by dialectical materialism, they analysed literary works as products of their historical context, exploring how they express collective consciousness,

> The interpretation of the *Pensées* of Pascal or the Tragedies of Racine involves an understanding of how a "tragic vision" runs through these works and ties them together .This tragic vision according to Goldmann's analysis, had its origin in extremist Jansenism. Thus, to interpret the structure of extremist Jansenism…explain[s] the tragic vision of the *Pensées* and the Racinian Tragedies.In like manner, to interpret the Situation of the *noblesse de robe* of 17th century France is to explain the genesis and function of extremist Jansenism. (Mayrl 22)

Thus we may insert an interpreted structure into an englobing structure which may not be studied in a detailed manner, but only enough "to render intelligible the genesis of the object under study". It is also possible to take the englobing structure as an object of interpretive study. As a first step then, establishing the structures of the literary works under study is necessary; secondly, relating those structures to the world vision of the authors is complementary, it is "the conceptual extrapolation in the most coherent possible manner of the real, emotional, intellectual and even motory tendencies of the members of a group"; and at last, relating the worldview to historical facts which gave rise to it (Goldmann 314).

To sum up, Goldmann's analysis in *The Hidden God* focuses on the comprehension and description of the internal structures of a literary work and their explanation and insertion into a general structure. In *The Pensées,* the general structure is the Jansenist world which played a great political role in the second half of the seventeenth century and to which Goldmann attributes the social interests of the 'noblesse de robe'. Similarly, Racine's tragic work is presented as the literary expression of a "Jansenist" worldview, a rigid religious ideology that affected the values of "the noblesse de robe" social class under Louis the Great.[1]

In this dissertation, and in the light of Goldmann's approach, I find it expedient to restrict myself to the discussion of James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pioneers,* William Gilmore Simms's *The Yemassee*, D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded* and Navarre Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* for I consider these novels to be of pivotal relevance to the chosen themes. Following Goldmann's dialectical approach, this study is based on the clarification of the movement from text to world vision. Toward this purpose, this research paper is divided into three chapters. The first chapter of this research paper formulates an understanding of alienation as a social process in Cooper's *The Pioneers* and Simms's *The Yemassee* as developed by James E Twining's schematic overview of the concept, based on its two major phases of development. The initial phase encompasses an interactional process of the historical context, structural

conditions and the individual participants. The second phase delineates the participants' perception and control of a situation. This study explores the alienation of American Indian subjects in the white world.

Similarly, the second chapter provides a study of alienation in McNickle's *The Surrounded* and Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* within a context-specific approach. It adopts Eldon L. Wegner's perspective, examining feelings of discontent within a particular social context and capturing the dynamics of specific situations that can lead to the development of alienation as a negative orientation.

Chapter three explores the formation of frontier anxiety in the novels, situating it within the broader global context that shapes these narratives. It demonstrates that the measurement of the American Indian characters' anxiety in the four novels may not be immediately apparent unless we analyze the specific situations that trigger these reactions. The final chapter further clarifies the authors' worldviews, suggesting that it should be analyzed, according to Goldmann, in close relation to the intellectual and social milieu the authors belong to.

The objective of this study is to present, in Goldmann's terms, genetic structuralism as a dialectic between history and structure. It explores how this dialectical relationship manifests in the works of Cooper, Simms, McNickle, and Momaday within their respective social contexts. This is done through revealing how alienation in their works is related to the tragic vision of the American Indian characters. Another objective is to show how "the transindividual subject", the creator of the literary work requires the insertion of the individual into his or her social group, implying a sharing of worldviews.

Chapter I

Alienation as a Social Process in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pioneers* and William Gilmore Simms's *The Yemassee*

Introduction

James E. Twining assumes that “alienation is a potential response to social situations which disallow participants control over their immediate activities” (422), self-estrangement results from the destructive interaction that man can experience with his environment. It is destructive in terms of a loss of control or an emerging negative definition of self. Twinning provides a schematic overview of the alienation process, breaking it down into three main phases of development. The first phase includes the analysis of the individual participants’ interaction with the historical context and the structural conditions. In the second phase, he depicts the individuals' perception and control over a situation that might be either positive or negative. "A substansive integration of situationally specific relations" will exist if the situation is positively defined. In this instance, the participant's engagement with the situation is seen as "a valuable experience" (Twining 424). If it is not, there will be three alternative responses: partial alienation, fundamental alienation and conflict response. The second response leads to the individual’s failure to acknowledge a meaningful self.

In this chapter, following Twining’s approach, we will analyze the subject of alienation as a social process in James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Pioneers* (1823) and William Gilmore Simms’s *The Yemassee* (1835). We will examine the complex relationship between self and social structure and refer to man’s complex relationship to objects of his environment and his displacement into a tragic world. The point, then, is to study the emergence of alienation from situationally specific relations between the major characters in Cooper’s and Simms’s works and their society and the tragic vision they endow and that is imposed on them by their society. Before introducing the two novels and the analysis of the aforementioned relation between self and social structure, an overall overview of the Native American in nineteenth century America should be provided to clarify the attitude of the two authors toward the Indian.

1-1 Noble and Ignoble Savage: Early Conceptions about The Native American in American Literature

The notion of race superiority has been one of the most recurrent themes throughout the history of American literature. The Indian is depicted in the literature of colonial America as a satanic savage; the Puritans saw him as the "nemesis of God's chosen people" (Hamilton 4). The writers of the colonial era reported on the Pequot War (1637-38) and King Philip's War (1675-78), described atrocities committed by Indians and ascribed the savage image to them. The two conflicts, with the French and Indian War, though separated in both time and place, were also marked by the brutality of Euro-American colonists and the destruction of Native political power.

The Puritans looked upon the Indian as the incarnation of the devil, and that image was later perpetuated by the end of the seventeenth century with the appearance of the narratives of captivities. "The Puritan writers on the subject of Indians were less interested in their culture than in the fallen spiritual condition so manifest in that culture" (Barnett 7).

The prototype that could have served most of early nineteenth century novels is Cotton Mather's *Decennium Luctuosum* (1699). The words Mather used to refer to Indians range from animal to devil. Barnett notes that in the captivity narratives of that period, as in *The Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs Mary Rowlandson* (1682), "the Indians are invariably the one-dimensional, satanic beasts of Matherian depiction, whose chief characteristic is wanton cruelty" (7). Cotton Mather also preserved the story of Hannah Duston, the most famous frontierswoman of colonial America, in *Decennium Luctuosum*. It was March 1697, when Duston's farm was attacked by the fearsome Abenaki tribe, leaving a bloody scene of destruction behind. Hannah was taken prisoner by the Indians, and was forced to join them in a grueling journey north to Canada with her newborn daughter killed en route. She avenged the

murder of her baby and escaped her detention, killing and scalping ten Indians with the assistance of two other captives. This event was considered by Mather as a notable exploit, while it is considered by some twentieth century commentators as racist and glorifying violence. The writings of Captain John Smith also influenced nineteenth century thought; he presented the image of the Indian as a worthy opponent rather than a demon.

The concept of the "noble savage" is a term that dates back to John Dryden's play *The Conquest of Granada* in 1672, in which he notes "But know, that I alone am king of me. Iam as free as Nature's first made man Ere the base of laws of servitude began, When wild in woods the noble savage ran" (qtd. in Ware 100). It has also appeared in Robert Beverly's *The History and Present State of Virginia* (1705) in which he "recommends intermarriage as the best way to acquaint the Indians speedily with the benefits of civilization and minimize Indian troubles for the colonists"(Barnett 10). But the prominent example of the perpetuation of the term in eighteenth century American Literature is found in the writings of the revolutionary poet Phillip Freneau. As an example, in his poem "The Indian Burying Ground" (1787), he characterized the Native American in positive lights and reinforced the romantic notion of the noble savage. This poem tackles the opposition between the Indians and the white men's view of death and the burial traditions. He notes that the Indians' traditions show true strength and beauty rather than vulgarity and savagery as the latter features were attributed to them by the white men. Native Americans approach death in a noble way and believe that the dead become warriors to protect their land:

> His imag'd birds, and painted bowl,
> And ven'son, for a journey dress'd,
> Bespeak the nature of the soul,
> Activity, that knows no rest.

His bow, for action ready bent,

And Arrows, with a head of stone,

Can only mean that life is spent,

And not the finer essence gone. (Freneau 9-16)

Despite the positive image that is attributed to the Indian in Freneau's poems, some scholars deny this fact. For example, Hamilton notes that the Indian in Freneau's poems "is not only independent and practical to (the poet), he is also 'the murderous Indian', the 'cruel Indian', the 'hostile squadron' who is scornful of the Christian heaven" (9).

Benjamin Franklin was one of the earliest advocates for the protection of Native Americans, a fact that is not only evident in his writings but also in his acts regarding peace treaties with the Indians. His arguments related to the Indians' role and importance in American politics are stated in his essay "Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America" (1784). Johanson in *Forgotten Founders* alludes to Franklin's cultural relativism that is the purest expression of 18th century enlightenment assumptions; it stressed moral sense and racial equality. At the expanding frontier during the rapid westward movement of the nineteenth century, the use of violence against the Native Americans resulted in 'systematic racism'. Franklin saw events from an Indian perspective; in his essay "Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America", he shows an appreciation of the Indian Councils "which he had written were superior in some ways to the British Parliament" (Johanson). In this essay, he defends Native Americans saying that their culture is more polite that the British culture; "Savages we call them", he notes, "because their manners differ from ours, which we think the perfection of civility; they think the same of theirs" (Franklin).

Franklin believed in racial equality and praised Indian customs and their culture as Bruce E.Johansen explains,

> Franklin's writings on American Indians were remarkably free of ethnocentricism, although he often used words such as "savages", which may carry more prejudicial connotations in the twentieth century than in his time. Franklin's cultural relativism was perhaps one of the purest expressions of Enlightenment assumptions that stressed social equality and the universality of moral sense among peoples. (Johanson)

In American Literature, the earliest concept of the noble savage actually germinated in the minds of Deist philosophers as Benjamin Franklin, whose rationalism idealized the Indian and gave importance to his pure natural life and polite manners that represent his civility.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, as the American West opened up in the wake of the Louisiana Purchase, American writers developed a new interest in Indians. The concept of the noble savage was mainly developed by American novelists in the historical romances about the frontier and Indian life as Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1820), James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* (1823-1841), Catharine Maria Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie* (1827), and Lydia Maria Child's *Hobomok: A Tale of Early Times* (1824). A new image of the Indians in these novels cast them as noble and less hostile. However, the concept was criticized by a number of writers who regarded it as a myth. Charles Dickens developed his benevolent views in an article published in 1853, entitled "The Noble Savage" in which we can read the following lines:

> TO come to the point at once, I beg to say that I have not the least belief in the Noble Savage. I consider him a prodigious nuisance, and an enormous superstition. His calling rum fire-water, and me a pale face, wholly fail to reconcile me to him. I don't care what he calls me. I call him a savage, and I

> call a savage a something highly desirable to be civilised off the face of the earth. (Dickens)

James Fenimore Cooper's Indians are noble in their fidelity to fixed natural values. Cooper was an active writer in the description of the American landscape and he protested against the destruction of natural resources. As noted by Valtiala, Cooper "was-especially in his first Leather-Stocking Tale *The Pioneers* (1823)- an early precursor of the Green Movement" (9). The image of the Indian in his tales becomes meaningful when we look at how it exemplifies the tension between savagery and civilization. This image reinforces the notion of the Native American "in the idealized savage role" (Hamilton 15). The difference between the white and the Indian in Cooper's works, Hamilton notes, is the result of the environment rather than inner factors. "Characteristically, Cooper's Indians are endowed with all the qualities of savagery, nobility, bravery, cunning, courage and artfulness, yet their character is diminished, in the view of Cooper, by their constant pursuit of hunting and warfare" (15). Likewise, William Gilmore Simms depicts the image of the Native American as a freedom fighter against the ambitious white in his writings. In *The Yemassee* (1835), it is acknowledged that Simms gives a very romantic description of the Yemassee Indians as their combat reflects their search for freedom and lack of acquiescence before the white colonists.

This conflict that is rendered in Cooper's and Simms's works, either between nature and civilization or between man and man, has to be explored in order to make clear the process that results from this clash: alienation and anxiety on the frontier. For this purpose, firstly, the major categories in the two novels, namely: law and property in *The Pioneers* and racial conflict in *The Yemassee,* will be studied in order to delineate the alienation process.

1-2 Introduction to James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pioneers*

James Cooper was born on September 15th, 1789, in Burlington, New Jersey. He lived in Cooperstown and was the youngest of eleven children. He adopted the middle name "Fenimore" at the age of thirty, the name of his mother Elizabeth. As an infant, he was enjoying the outdoor life with his brothers. The Coopers "enjoyed lives of power, leisure, and opportunity" (Craig 4). The father, Judge William Cooper was born to a poor farming family in 1754, he rose from rags to riches after his marriage to an affluent farmer's daughter, it was his first step up the economic ladder. His business success was achieved by acquiring later a title to a frontier land in New York State near Lake Oswego. This land was the property of the Iroquois Indians, but as a result of disease and warfare caused by white settlers, these peoples were decimated. He named that land "Cooperstown", it was the target of many European Americans who tried to settle it.

After he had organized the industries of the town and built a new home to which his family moved, he rose in wealth and influence, becoming known as 'Judge Cooper'. His fortune was mainly provided by the mortgages he arranged with settlers moving westward after the revolution. He even planned several civic institutions. "He erected a series of grand houses for his family, whose everyday needs were met by servants and slaves" (4). Late in his life, he published an account of his settlement of Cooperstown: *A Guide in the Wilderness*, though he had little formal education. His personal library was an important source of knowledge and offered access to great books. James Cooper also benefited from it as his mother did.

The outlook of James Cooper was influenced by his father's outlook and alliances with the old ruling order of colonial aristocrats known as Federalists and not with common people. James Cooper worked on a merchant ship to England and joined the US Navy after he had been expelled from Yale. He resigned his Navy commission after the death of his father in 1809. In

1811, he married Susan de Lancey, the daughter of a distinguished family in Westchester County, New York. He would write thirty-two novels including *The Spy*, his first successful historical novel (1821) set in the American Revolution, and a dozen political tracts and travel writings.

Cooper's portrayal of Leatherstocking originated from the author's culture that included exploits of frontiersmen as Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett. As a frontier tale writer, he created Natty Bumppo, a wilderness hero, who ranks among the long line of frontier heroes as Daniel Boone in John Filson's history: *The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucky* (1784), and Nathan Slaughter in Robert Montgomery Bird's *Nick of the Woods* (1837).Though Cooper's fiction differs from Bird's in their portrayal of Indian characters, they share in the frontier tale a representation of the British-American frontiersman's fight to survive in the frontier. They both identify American people as "Anglo-American in origin and culture" (Crane 39).

Nineteenth century historical romances were predominated by the frontier tale, the plantation romance and the western. The frontier romance encapsulated an important and predominant concern which is the theme of national identity as related to the prominent features of the territory and the people constituting the American nation. Other elements recurring in the nineteenth century historical romances are "melodramatic battles, love stories, rescues in the wild, settlers, newcomers, and skilled Boone-like woodsmen, and beautiful women" (40). Frontier romances share plots centering on the conflict between white settlers and Indians and their interest lies in tracing positive and negative characterization of Indians. For example, James Cooper portrays Natty Bumppo, Leatherstocking, "somewhere between savagism and civilization, *the beau ideal* of the frontiersman, with all the goodness and greatness that the pioneer could have in the circumstances of pioneering" (Harvey Pearce 202).

In *The Pioneers* (1823), Cooper tells the story of Templeton, the actual "Cooperstown", governed by Judge Temple. The story centers on Judge Temple's acquisition of the land that the Effingham family had lost after the revolutionary war. The latter returned to England after the Loyalists' defeat. When the war ended, "Mr Temple turned his attention from the pursuit of commerce, which was then fluctuating and uncertain, to the settlement of those tracts of land which he had purchased" (The Pioneers 27).

The best text of *The Pioneers* is the edition published by the State University Press of New York at Albany in 1980, with an introduction and notes by James Franklin Beard. In the novel, Cooper returns to memories of his own childhood in Cooperstown. The setting is Templeton, based on Cooperstown, and the action runs from Christmas Eve 1793 to the fall of 1794. The title refers to "those who extended the line of settlement across the American continent", and Cooper was one of the first writers to use the word in this American sense. The word "pioneers" is used only twice in the novel. In the opening paragraph of the first chapter, Cooper notes: "The expedients of the pioneers who first broke ground in the settlement of this country are succeeded by the permanent improvements of the yeoman who intends to leave his remains to moulder under the sod which he tills" (8-9). And in the last chapter, he refers to Leatherstocking observing the changing environment with regret, "he had gone far toward the setting sun- the foremost in that band of pioneers who are opening the way for the march of the nation across the continent" (405).

Robert Daly explains the use of the three references in the full title of the tale: The Pioneers; or the Sources of her to the Susquehanna; A Descriptive Tale. He notes that the word "pioneers" is a reference to those men whose way of life centers on pioneering, clearing and opening new roads, and on "a process of preparation and change", the river flowing from the Otsego Lake is "a continuous flow that cannot be stopped but can be explored", and the tale is descriptive as it "attempts to portray and to change" (x).

Cooper in this book is mainly interested in the youth of the country. He introduced in the 1832 version of *The Pioneers* two paragraphs to insist on the fictional dimension of his work. The book, he remarks, would "not be read as autobiography or roman à clef", referring to the inaccuracy to identify Elizabeth Temple with his own sister Hannah Cooper who was killed by a fall from a horse (xiv). The epigraphs that Cooper calls "mottos" are used at the head of each chapter; they often cast important light on the intent of the chapter. The novel's form is pastoral, an affectionate look at rural life. It focused on the changing of the seasons around the year. Its format is inspired by James Thomson's *The Seasons* (1726-30), an English book-length poem that was still immensely popular in 1823. The changing seasons in the book demonstrate the conflicting relationships and alliances in the human world of the novel, and the transformations that take place in the novel's natural world could be identified with the human action in the work.

As Cooper labeled his tale "A Descriptive Tale", he attempted to "join the methods of prose fiction to those of descriptive poetry". The two epigraphs that Cooper drew from Thomson's *The Seasons* demonstrate the pervasive influence of the descriptive poet on his consciousness. Philbrick elaborates on this influence, noting,

> Thus many of the stock elements of the eighteenth-century descriptive poem can be found in *The Pioneers*: the landscape painting, the attention paid to weather portents, the didactic descriptions of agricultural techniques such as the manufacture of maple sugar, the vignettes of seasonal activities like sleighing in winter and bass fishing in spring. (584)

The progress of a new nation is narrated and described in one part of the book, another centers on an examination of the American nation's relationship to its past. Scheckel notes, "[

The Pioneers] is also a story about national origins, about the desire of nineteenth century Americans for an originary myth upon which to found a sense of national identity"(15). The land of Templeton was given to Major Effingham by Chingachgook's tribe, the Mohicans, as a sign of gratitude after the major saved the life of their chief. During the Revolution, the land was left by Oliver Edwards' father to Marmaduke Temple [2]. After the land was sold by Oliver's father, Judge Temple purchased it, an action considered by Graig White as "a violation of his heredity claim to the land" (21).

In the introduction to the Feedbooks version of *The Pioneers,* we find an explanatory rendering of the region's history, Otsego, as it became a county by itself after the peace of 1783. Its geographical location is also delineated, lying among "those low spurs of the Alleghanies which cover the mid-land counties of New York". The author inhabited the place when he was a child and the father had an interest in extensive tracts of land in this wilderness. In the opening passage of the first chapter he gives a masterly description of the river:

> Near the centre of the State of New York lies an extensive district of country whose surface is a succession of hills and dales, or, to speak with greater deference to geographical definitions, of mountains and valleys. It is among these hills that the Delaware takes its rise; and flowing from the limpid lakes and thousand springs of this region the numerous sources of the Susquehanna meander through the valleys until, uniting their streams, they form one of the proudest rivers of the United States. (8)

The incidents of the tale are purely fictional, and Cooper notes that "the literal facts are chiefly connected with the natural and artificial objects and the customs of the inhabitants" (Preface).

The various characters and their different cultural background in *The Pioneers* give the book its cultural richness. For the purpose of discussing the main characters' relation to nature and law in the novel, and the outcome that these two concepts engender when they come into opposition, a background to the major Indian tribes that Cooper alludes to in his narrative should be provided first. Second, an overview of the term property in American literary history will be given to spell out its influence on the author and his novel.

1-2-1 A Background to Cooper's Indians

As the 'new country' was engaged in full-scale expansion and trying to define its unique contribution to literature, art and history, it was being attributed a recognizable history by defining Indians' roles in the formation of American identity. The new lands were differentiated from the 'old world'. This is a main reason for Cooper's Leatherstocking series popularity among early nineteenth century readers. The Indians were also considered as the main obstacle to the nation's achievement of dominion over the North American continent. This is illustrated in the literature of the time that illustrated the confrontation between Indians and Europeans.

Cooper's portrayal of Indians in his series crystallized the concepts of the 'noble savage' and 'ignoble savage', a clear position of a romantic who represents natives either as totally good or totally bad. Those good and bad Indians Cooper portrays are members of two historic groups of Native Americans: The Delawares and The Iroquois Confederacy. In the seventh chapter of *The Pioneers*, Cooper introduces Leatherstocking, and opens the narrative with an epigraph taken from Philip Freneau's poem: *The Indian Student: or, Force of Nature* to introduce the Indian character:

> From Sesquehanna's utmost springs,
> Where savage tribes pursue their game,

His blanket tied with yellow strings,

The shepherd of the forest came. (69)

Cooper mentioned that the Mohicans (the Machicanni or Mohegans) as well as the Nanticokes, or Nentigoes, were the first tribes of the Delaware Nation "who were dispossessed of their lands by the Europeans". He also delineated the geographical division of the natives inhabiting the New England States and those of the Middle, and distinguished the Six Nations or Iroquois from the Lenni Lenape, or Delawares (The pioneers 70).

Chingachgook or Big Serpent is a good example of the romanticized Indian, a Mohican or Mohegan who belongs to the Algonquian tribe. He is associated with the Delawares or Lenni Lenape. In this regard, a historical survey of the mentioned Indians' nation is noteworthy to elucidate some aspects of their social organization before dealing with Cooper's representation of them in *The Pioneers*.

Probably two million Indians lived in the Northeast Woodlands in the sixteenth century; geologically, the Appalachian Mountain chain and the Great Lakes dominate the region. Its major rivers include the Hudson, Ohio, Susquehanna, and St Lawrence. All northeastern Indians, except "the Siouan Winnebagos", spoke either Algonquian or Iroquoian languages. The Algonquin is the name of a northeastern group of Indians and the name of their language. They occupied the shore of the St. Lawrence River from 1550 to 1650 and began trading with the French in the early sixteenth century and became their allies. The Algonquin were forced to leave the upper St. Lawrence after the Mohawk attacks, the chief enemy of the French, and returned there in the 1660s. By the early eighteenth century, French trading posts were established in the territories of Algonquin bands that merged with the Ottawa Indians, and after 1763 the Algonquin became British allies as their lands were overrun by British settlers.

The Lenni Lenape lived around the Delaware River and were Algonquian speakers. In the sixteenth century, they were located around the coast and inland of the Delaware River. They called themselves Lenape (Len-NAH-pay) meaning “the people”, and were named Delaware by white settlers after the name of the governor of Virginia: Lord de La Warr. They were also called “Grandfather” as a mark of respect from other tribes whose disputes were settled by the Lenape. They were even among the first to meet Europeans and deal with them peacefully.In 1638, the Lenape land was referred to by the Swedes as “Lenapehocking”. It comprised eastern Pennsylvania, southeastern New York State, New Jersey, Western Long Island and Northern Delaware. Those lands were offered by the Lenape to Europeans to help them to survive, especially to Swedish settlers with whom they held a friendly relationship.

In the 1680s, William Penn took control of those areas on New Sweden and established the city of Philadelphia at an Indian location called Coaquannock. He made treaties with Indians and his province of Pennsylvania prospered as the youngest of the American colonies. After 1737, Penn’s sons wanted to sell more Indian land, hence $1^{2}00$ square miles were taken from the Indians; the English continued their purchase of lands and Indians were pushed aside. At that time, some of the Delawares joined the Iroquois and became part of the Six Nations, others fought for land.

The Iroquois confederacy was formed between 1450 and 1600. The Five Iroquois Nations comprised the Mohawks, the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. The Tuscarora joined in the early eighteenth century to form the Six Nations. Their aim was to put an end to intertribal war. By the 1740s, two great alliances were formed to delimit strategic relations throughout Eastern North America: “the Covenant Chain” with Great Britain and the Upper Great Lakes Indians’ alliance with France. These alliances caused local crises that precipitated the Seven Years War. After New York was left in the hands of the English in 1674, at the end of the Third Anglo-Dutch War, the English inherited the Dutch relationship with the

Iroquois League. The alliance provided "a measure of security against French-allied attacks, the reconciliation of trade imbalances, and a way to negotiate mutual disputes over trade, boundaries, and isolated killings" (Dowd 59). Mohawk or "eaters of men" is one of the five original tribes of the Iroquois League. The Iroquois self-designation was 'Kanonsionni', today they refer to themselves as 'Haudenosaunee' or the 'People of the Longhouse'. They controlled land from Hudson to Illinois Rivers and from Ottawa to Tennessee Rivers. The British colonies and the league persuaded the Delawares to abandon lands in the Delaware Valley; in exchange they would receive homes on the Susquehanna where they would live under league protection.

This brief report on the history of the Delawares and the fact that they were important allies of the British sheds light on the importance Cooper gives them in the novel as he portrays the heroic acts of the Delawares and scorns the 'blood-thirsty and violent' Iroquois in the Leatherstocking Tales. [3]

Cooper's conception of the red man is generally considered of outstanding importance in the history of the Native Americans in literature, but his method caused some misconceptions. Cooper's knowledge of Indian history and character has been assumed, at first, to be taken from his own experience in the pioneer settlement of Cooperstown. But Gregory Lansing Paine contends that there were no wild Indians about Otsego Lake at the time when Cooper was a boy, and states the historical reasons for the fact. "When Judge Cooper visited Otsego Lake in 1785", Paine notes, "he found a wilderness with no settlements or dwellings, either Indian or white. The earlier white settlers had fled during the Revolutionary War. There were no Indians living in the region, although there were many Indian relics and remains" (18-19)

In 1778, a few miles west of Cooperstown, many massacres occurred under the order of Tory Colonel William Butler with the help of the Iroquois. As a consequence, terrible reprisals were planned and the Iroquois houses, orchards, cornfields and storehouses were devastated.

Paine also acknowledges that many similarities are found between Cooper's portrayal of Indians and Reverend John Heckewelder's. The particularity of Heckewelder's account on the natives in his *Indian Nations* (1819), and which is very close to Cooper's representation of them in *The Leatherstocking Tales*, centers on the glorification of the Delawares and scorn of the Iroquois. This opposition is clearly represented in *The Leatherstocking Tales.*

The Pioneers also deals with the confrontation of two or more races. What is evident in *The Leatherstocking Tales* is the dominance of the white race on the original inhabitants of the land; they limit their existence and impose on them a new lifestyle which is governed by law in the name of civilization. The Tales serve a "white" purpose, and the red man is confined to the boundaries set out for him by the white man who considered that the uncivilized "other" "must either be enslaved or exterminated" (Mills 438). James Cooper believes that one of the necessary conditions for the success of civilization is the acquisition of property. When reading *The Pioneers*, major questions arise as to the question of natural rights. Who may claim ownership according to Cooper? And who has a right to the American land? The answers to these questions are related to the examination of the role of property and the relation of man with the law in the novel.

1-2-2 Cooper and "Property"

As an American Republican author, James Fenimore Cooper had authored an essay on American republican democracy entitled *The American Democrat* (1838). This work marks Cooper's ideology as a defender of the American system of government at that time. His work emerged as he wanted to write about the role of property rights in America, especially after the major controversy over Three Mile Point that ended on July 22, 1837.[4]

Influenced by John Locke and Thomas Jefferson, Cooper adopted the view that natural law is the will of God's providence operating in nature according to observable principles, such as property rights. The major philosophy that Locke exposes in his *Two Treatises of Government* (1689) is a theory of popular sovereignty built out of two concepts: political society and property. Locke constructed his concepts in contrast to Amerindian forms of property. He defines property propelling that Amerindian land is not a legitimate and lawful property. According to Tully "these concepts serve to justify the dispossession of Amerindians of their political organizations and territories, and to vindicate the superiority of European, and specifically English, forms of political society and property established in the New World" (167). An example is that political society is defined in contrast to the Native Americans' natural mode of communal self-government. Another example is that the Native Americans are free to exercise their labour in accordance with natural law for the sake of preservation and without the consent of others. "This appropriation without consent," according to him, "is illustrated in Locke's essay with examples of Amerindians acquiring fruit and venison, hunting deer, growing corn" (170). Here follows an excerpt that illustrates this statement:

> Before the appropriation of land, he who gathered as much of the wild fruit, killed, caught, or tamed, as many of the beasts, as he could; he that so employed his pains about any of the spontaneous products of nature as any way to alter them from the state which nature put them in, by placing any of his labour on them: but if they perished, in his possession, without their due use; if the fruits rotted, or the venison putrified, before he could spend it, he offended against the common law of nature, and was liable to be punished; he invaded his neighbour's share, for he had no right, farther than his use called for any of them, and they might serve to afford him conveniencies of life. (Locke Sec 37 120-121)

Political society defines property in explicit contrast to this natural mode of labour-based property. Cooper in *The American Democrat* contends that "an absolute equality of condition, of political rights, or of civil rights, does not exist in the United States" (4). He believes that the acquisition of property is a necessary condition for the success of civilization, "We must have property", he notes, "if we have property, we must have its rights; if we have the rights of property, we must take those consequences of the rights of property which are inseparable from the rights themselves" (5). He considered private property rights as essential to liberty and as protecting individuality.

Cooper also discusses "equality" as a term inherent in the American mind. Thomas Jefferson propelled in *The Declaration of Independence* that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" (Jefferson). Locke's influence on Jefferson is undeniable as *The Declaration of Independence* contained no original ideas; but Jefferson used the phrase "pursuit of happiness" instead of Locke's "property" to serve the political aims of the American Revolution. That men are created equal, Cooper argues, is not a reality. Inequality exists in the United States, and the equality of condition that may engender the acquisition of property and its rights is impossible. This is due, according to Cooper, to the difference in social classes: "One is reduced to serve, while another commands, and, of course, there can be no equality in their social conditions. The large portion of the inhabitants, who are of a different race from the original occupants of the soil, are entirely excluded from all political, and from many of the civil rights, that are enjoyed by those who are deemed citizens" (The American Democrat 3). Thus, a slave has no right to be a free man and hold property.

Before *The American Democrat*, *Democracy in America* by Alexis de Tocqueville had been published internationally in 1835. The latter had gained much success as it was written down to study American society and its government through the lens of a foreigner, a French

citizen. Tocqueville was sent by the French government in 1831 to study the American prison system, and his report became popular in both Europe and The United States. His major conclusions are related to democracy and its unfavorable consequences. His book, in two volumes 1835-1840, was much more influential in the sphere of American political theory than Cooper's. This is mainly due to the conditions that gave rise to *The American Democrat* which are related to the conflicts in which the author had been involved, notably the Three Mile Controversy.

The representation of "property" by Cooper in *The Pioneers* shall confirm his claim in *The American Democrat* that the inequality of condition in the United States engenders a difference in social classes, and thus it gives the right of property to the privileged white citizens and causes the disappropriation of the original inhabitants.

As civilization imposes civil law and intrudes in the natives' natural world in order to regulate property ownership, it disrupts the natives' natural rights and claim to their land. The next section will be then devoted to the exposition of this conflict in Cooper's *The Pioneers* as it arises from the intrusion of the law in the lives of the American Indians, and it will argue how this conflict results in their alienation.

1-2-3 *The Pioneers*: Natives and Civil Law

The Pioneers describes the life of a group of pioneers in the new village of Templeton on Otsego Lake which is based on Cooperstown, the settlement founded by James Cooper's father in the 1780s. The events occur between the winter of 1793 and the autumn of 1794. The central plot revolves around Judge Marmaduke Temple's transfer of the title of the largest portion of land in the area to Edward Oliver Effingham.

The Judge tries to impose civil laws on Natty Bumppo or Leatherstocking, an old woodsman who has lived in nature for his entire life, but the latter refutes the Judge's laws for their inconsistency, and he is punished for his position. As the novel progresses, Natty notes the waste of resources and the negative effect that "the civilized" people's wastefulness had on the environment.

The opposition between natural and civil law has been identified by many critics as the central theme of *The Pioneers*; Natty Bumppo is considered as the spokesman for natural law and Judge Marmaduke Temple for civil law. Judge Temple utilizes legal documents such as land contracts to substantiate his claim to the land and to justify his actions in developing it. The British settlers' agricultural practices often encroach upon traditional hunting grounds claimed by the Delaware Indians. In his narrative, Cooper focuses on inheritance as the determinant of who may own and govern the American land. The land of Templeton was given to Major Effingham as a sign of gratitude by Chingachgook's tribe because he saved the life of their chief. Susan Scheckel notes that the granting of Indian land to Major Effingham is presented as a voluntary act of love and appreciation, and once they have given the land to the white man, the Indians respect his absolute ownership of the land. During the revolution, the land was left by Oliver Edward's father to Judge Marmaduke Temple. The judge purchased the loyalist's land, "an action that Oliver sees as a breach of loyalty and a violation of his heredity claim to the land" (Scheckel 21). In the novel, we learn that "Marmaduke never seemed to lose sight of his own interests; for, when the estates of the adherents of the crown fell under the hammer, by the acts of confiscation, he appeared in New York and became the purchaser of extensive possessions at comparatively low prices" (The Pioneers 26-27).

Cheyfitz mentions the apparent conflict between Judge Temple who represents the "gentlemen who relied upon property contracts, man-made law, and votes to build a good

society", and Leatherstocking who exemplifies "the individualist who, relying upon himself and the wilderness around him, pursued without qualification the laws of nature's God" (118). In this regard, *The Pioneers* takes up an important issue: the relation of Indian land to the Western institution of property. In this context, Thomas Brook reports on Judge Temple's philosophy that is somehow similar to James Kent's comments at the 1821 Convention and in his *Commentaries on the American Law* (1826-1830).[5]

Kent considers Rule, as viewed by a specific group of people "those without property", as a threat. Government, according to him, should be controlled by landowners (Brook 91). He saw the ability of a man to govern in his ownership of property. In the social vision of Judge Temple "the poor need enlightened rulers, like himself, to guard over them" (92). He regards the law as providing protection to the poor. One of the most important differences between William Cooper and Kent concerns their view of the role of commerce in granting prosperity to the American nation. Unlike Kent, William Cooper distrusted the commercial class and believed that the ideal republic remained agrarian. In *The Pioneers* it is Oliver Edwards who represents the British agrarian tradition "which distrusted the commercialization of the land as much as Cooper did" (106). Maintaining the rights of property was more important for Cooper through the portrayal of Edwards as the man to whom authority of the land was restored at the end of the tale. The tale produces "a history that rationalizes or legitimates in the name of *property* the dispossession of Native Americans even if it admits this dispossession" (Cheyfitz 121).

Oliver Edwards is considered at the beginning of the novel as a "half-breed" because of his assossiation with Chingachgook and Natty Bumppo. At the beginning of the novel, he appears out of the woods with Leatherstocking and lives with him and Chingachgook the shared life of a hunter. The community of Templeton starts to suspect that Edwards is an Indian from the moment Chingachgook refers to him as "Young Eagle" who has the blood of a Delaware

chief in his veins. In the beginning, Edwards is discontented with the Judge because the latter is the largest landholder in the area and purchased extensive possessions in New York. Thus, his anger seems to be based on the Indian dispossession by the white settlers. When, in the middle of the novel, Edwards asks the Judge about his title and about the Indian rights, he was actually looking for an answer to how Temple purchased the estate because he believed that the Judge used the Revolution as an excuse to take on all the Effingham estate. Judge Temple, the owner of the estate, answered him, referencing the Leather-Stocking, who is in the novel an advocate for indigenous rights,

> "Said he nothing of the Indian rights, sir? The Leather-Stocking is much given to impeach the justice of the tenure by which the whites hold the country." "I remember that he spoke of them, but I did not nearly comprehend him, and may have forgotten what he said; for the Indian title was extinguished so far back as the close of the old war, and if it had not been at all, I hold under the patents of the Royal Governors, confirmed by an act of our own Sate Legislature, and no court in the country can affect my title." "Doubtless, sir, your title is both legal and equitable," returned the youth coldly, reining his horse back and remaining silent till the subject was changed. (*The Pioneers* 207)

Edwards acknowledges Temple's legal title to the land, but their tone expresses skepticism. They rein their horse back and remain silent until the conversation shifts away from the topic of land ownership. The discussion reflects the complexities of justice and equity in the context of historical land acquisitions.

It is until the end of the novel that Oliver Edwards learns that Judge Temple, who acquired Major Effingham's estates, was aware of the debt he owes to the Effingham family and held the propriety in trust of them. At the end of the novel, we also learn about the real identity of Oliver Edwards, and it is at this point that Cooper's conservative vision becomes clear. His disapproval of interracial marriage is rendered when in the beginning it was assumed that Edwards is part Indian, thus, "part savage". He was approved as Elizabeth Temple's husband only after discovering that he is white and heir to part of the Judge's estate. "This, then, is thy Indian blood?" asked Marmaduke Temple,

> I have no other", said Edwards, smiling ,"Major Effingham was adopted as the son of Mohegan, who at that time was the greatest man in his nation; and my father, who visited those people when a boy, received the name of the Eagle from them, on account of the shape of his face, as I understand.
>
> They have extended his title to me, I have no other Indian blood or breeding; though I have seen the hour, Judge Temple, when I could wish that such had been my lineage and education. (391)

Maintaining the rights of property was more important for Cooper through the portrayal of Edwards as the man to whom authority of the land should be restored. Temple's role in the tale also reinforces the conservative vision of Cooper, and his code of civil law comes into conflict with the natural conduct of Natty Bumppo.

Natty Bumppo is thrust from society and enjoys freedom only in the wilderness, in the end, he leaves for the west in a self-willed retreat and escapes the fallen world of civilization. He exemplifies "the individualist who, relying upon himself and the wilderness around him, pursued without qualification the laws of Nature's God" (Cheyfitz 118). Natty Bumppo, who

lives in his cabin with Delaware Indian Chingachgook, known as the white hunter John Mohegan, also considers the judge as his enemy. This fact is illustrated in one discussion between Chingachgook and Bumppo. As Chingachgook gets drunk and brags of his victories, Natty says: “Why do you sing of your battles, Chingachgook,… when the worst enemy of all is near you and keeps the Young Eagle from his rights ?”(*The Pioneers* 143). Obviously in the tale, the Indian rights to the land are represented by Natty Bumppo and his Indian friend.

Cooper resorts to an ethnocentric view in *The Pioneers* as he portrays Chingachgook, the good Delaware Indian, and the conflicting relationship that ties him and Natty Bumppo with the “Mingoes” or Iroquois. Cheyfitz draws our attention to an important historical inaccuracy in the tale as Cooper portrays “mingoes” synonym for “Iroquois”. Cooper fictionalized the good citizens as the English and their descendants, and the bad Indians who allied themselves with the French as the Iroquois. But historical records point out that the Iroquois were crucial in the English victory over the French in the Seven Years’ War. The Delawares “were in the French camp until 1758, when allegiance through the mediation of the Iroquois shifted to the English”, they “allied themselves exclusively with the English and against the Iroquois” (Cheyfitz 120). The instances about the opposition between Delaware and Iroquois are clearly rendered in the novel. It is mainly through the noble image of Chingachgook, a Delaware who “was generally known as John Mohegan, or, more familiarly, as Indian John”, that Cooper’s ethnocentric vision is unveiled (*The Pioneers* 71).

When Marmaduke Temple wants to compensate Mr Edwards for the injuries he has caused him, offering him employment and residence, Chingachgook comments on the valuable offer and encourages the collaboration. He remarks:

> Listen to your father, his words are old. Let the Young Eagle and the Great Land Chief eat together; let them sleep, without fear, near each other.The children of

> Minquon love not blood: they are just, and will do right. The sun must rise and set often, before men can make one family; it is not the work of a day, but of many winters. The Mingoes and the Delawares are born enemies; their blood can never mix in the wigwam; it never will run in the same steam in the battle. What makes the brother of Minquon and theYoung Eagle foes? They are of the same tribe; their fathers and mothers are one.Learn to wait, my son, you are a Delaware, and an Indian warrior knows how to be patient. (177)

As it is previously mentioned, this opposition that is delineated between the two tribes is based on John Heckewelder's *History.* In his introduction, he develops the thesis that the Iroquois or Mingoes had long been jealous of the Lenni Lenape or Delawares, their powerful neighbors.[6] In *The Pioneers,* Cooper delineates the geographical division between the Five Nations (The Iroquois) and the Lenni Lenape (The Delawares), and reports on the great rivalry between the two nations. The similarity between Heckewelder's and Cooper's Indians is obvious in noting that the Delawares "had been induced to suffer themselves to be called women by their old enemies, the Mingoes, or Iroquois" (The Pioneers 70).

Though Cooper endowed Chingachgook with noble traits as a Delaware, he also engrained in him elements of savagery as an Indian. In *The Pioneers,* the element of savagery is engrained in the red man. The first description of Chingachgook or the "Great Snake", the meaning that Cooper gives to the Indian name, is likely affected by the view of the Indian as savage. "From his long association with the white men", Cooper notes, "the habits of Mohegan were a mixture of the civilized and savage states, though there was certainly a strong preponderance in favor of the latter" (71). What is also remarkable in the tale is that though Cooper's romance speaks of the dispossession of the original owners of the soil at the beginning of the tale, it seems to reassure its readers that the Indians are alienated from their land willingly.

Cheyfitz claims that “Cooper’s romance seems to be telling its readers, through the figures of Young Eagle and Hawkeye, that the best Indians are white men anyway” (Cheyfitz 126).

Chingachgook’s suicide by fire is also a self-willed death, and this marks the narrative moment of the Anglo-Americans’ wishful thinking about all Indians. It uncovers an Imperialist worldview where the disappearance of the other is prized.[7] Chingachgook’s self-alienation or self-estrangement is a response to loss and the failure to acknowledge the existence of a meaningful self and it reflects the alienation of a whole nation.

The tale narrates and justifies “the progress of American civilization by constructing the Native American as the object of an untroubling nostalgia”, or “imperialist nostalgia” (May 168). Chingachgook’s voluntary sacrifice, sitting unmoving before the approaching forest fire, is the trope for the Natives’ sacrifice for the benefit of Euro-Americans, employed in the fiction of nineteenth century America. In the last scene, Elizabeth Temple brought Chingachgook a canister of powder; “Daughter”, Chingachgook says, “the Great Spirit gave your fathers to know to make guns and powder, that they might sweep the Indians from the land. There will soon be no red-skin in the country- When John has gone, the last will leave these hills, and his family will be dead” (The Pioneers 357). His disappearance seems inevitable, and through his death, he willingly gives up the last native claim. John Mohegan’s anger at Judge Temple, Chingachgook admits, is not on behalf of his own people, but on behalf of “the fire-eater’s son, Young Eagle”, of Major Effingham whose inheritance has been taken. “John was young when his tribe gave away the country, in council, from where the blue mountain stands above the water, to where the Susquehanna is hid by the trees. All this, and all that grew in it, and all that walked over it, and all that fed there, they gave to the Fire-eater- for they loved him” (355). As Chingachgook willingly gives the land to Effingham, he willingly dies. The future is conferred on the emerging American nation, on a civilized nation; the Natives become only belonging to the past, to the natural world.

Chingachgook's death also parallels Natty Bumppo's retreat before the expansion of civilization. He says, "now I thought was the time to get a little comfort in the close of my days", Bumppo addressed Elizabeth, "Woods! Indeed! I doesn't call these woods, Madam Effingham, where I lose myself every day of my life in the clearings" (403).

Chingachgook's tragic death and Natty Bumppo's retreat mark the inevitability of the alienation process that is produced by man's relationship to the law and to civilization as a destructive force. The structure of the tale is thus based on this opposition and is enclosed into a larger structure: the expansionist attitude of the landlords. In reflecting on the relationship of Judge Temple to Oliver Edwards and the response of Chingachgook to his dispossessing, Cooper uncovers the alienation process.

A Contemporary of Cooper, the Southern writer William Gilmore Simms also alienated the Indian in his semi-fictional work: *The Yemassee*, though it is generally recognized that Simms maintained ambivalent sentiments about the consequences of the Anglo-dominance for Indigenous people [8]. In the next section, this alienation will be studied mostly as a result of the interaction between the main characters in Simms's novel.

1-3 Introduction to William Gilmore Simms's *The Yemassee, A Romance of Carolina*

William Gilmore Simms (1806-1870) was born in Charleston, South Carolina. He is the son of a merchant and was reared by his maternal grandmother after his mother died and his father left to Mississippi and settled there. As his family's financial circumstances were modest, he left school when he was twelve. His grandmother hoped to prepare him for a career in medicine, but later he became a lawyer. He was an avid reader as a boy, and his literary ambitions emerged at an early age. Simms travelled a lot; he discovered Mississippi when he went to see his father and explored the wild region by horseback. He also explored two great

historic regions in the south "the Tidewater, and the Old Southwestern Frontier, in its pioneer and settlement stages" (American National Biography Online).

His historical romances, tales and short novels are set in the Old Southwest, and all his experiences are reflected in his literary works. His historical fiction *Guy Rivers* (1834), *The Yemassee* (1835), and *The Partisans* (1835) gained great acclaim. Early in the 1840s, he wrote four other novels, and by 1850, he published some of his best works: *Woodcraft* (1854), *The Forayers* (1855) and *The Cassique of Kiawah* (1859). Personal problems hampered Simms' ability to write, the death of his two sons in 1858 and his increasing debts at Woodlands forced him into clearing lands, making fences, building houses instead of composing literature. He also lost a son and a daughter in 1861, and in 1863 his wife died. During the Civil War, Simms's library, containing 10.000 volumes, was destroyed as his propriety 'Woodlands' was put on fire.

Simms was an ardent defender of slavery and involved himself in the Confederate cause. In the last decade of his life, he had to write in order to support his family; he took contracts to write three books at the same time. His health declined afterwards because of this work, he suffered from an undiagnosed disease and died in Charleston in 1870. Unlike Cooper, Simms was purged from the Canon of American literature despite his great achievements in literature. This is due to his position regarding the Civil War. He was a Secessionist and he wrote an account about South Carolina's destruction in which he criticized the North's victory and the means they used to achieve it.[9]

William Gilmore Simms had a direct contact with the Creeks and Cherokees in Georgeville, Mississippi, in 1824, and a long contact with the enslaved African Americans. The common notion that spread among white southerners is the existence of what Austin J. Shelton defines as 'a hierarchy of cultures' among men (72). Simms held this view, and his ethnocentricism was closely related to this belief. As a southerner, he portrayed the famous

uprising of the Yemassee Indians against the British colonists of South Carolina in 1715. The English established settlements in South Carolina, on land desired by the Spanish but which the English acquired from the Yemassee tribe both by barter and by treaty.

Simms based his work-*The Yemassee* – on portraying the "uncivilized" native. He alludes to the conflicting relationship of the Indian with the white man within civilized society and expresses notions about racial superiority of whites over Indians and "Negroes". *The Yemassee*'s plot lines focus on the verbal courtship of Bess Mathews by Lord Craven and his efforts to convince the English settlement of an imminent Indian Attack. Gabriel Harrison, a resourceful frontiersman, is the central character in Simms' fictionalized account and is revealed as the aristocratic governor of California Lord Charles Craven.[10] In the novel, Craven represents southern antebellum cultural ideals and he fights "the villains" representing "the anti-ideals" that would destroy southern civilization (Wimsatt 38). One major characteristic of the romance that Simms develops is the central conflict between heroes and villains, in a setting that is represented in "its pastoral dimension by the plantation and its wilder aspect by the forest from which southern plantations developed" (38). He believes that

> Increasing the aristocratic tenor of the province were its emigration patterns- its attraction of royalist refugees from the English civil wars and its appeal to wealthy planters from Barbados, the latter congregating in the area north of Charleston known as Goose Creek. Simms used these facts from the colony's early history in creating an aristocratic lineage for the heroines and heroes of his low-country fiction, and he also used them as a bridge to the dominant values of his readers, who were largely middle class or upper class and genteel. (42)

The story in *The Yemassee* reflects the values of the ruling class which were similar to those of the ruling class in Simms' day. In order to gain the trust of the people, the middle class pioneers he is charged with leading, Lord Craven plays the role of a common citizen named Gabriel Harrison as it is shown in this passage: "More than any of the other numerous commentators on *The Yemassee* have noted, Harrison represents the standards of the early eighteenth-century proprietors: associated with urbane Charleston, he is an aristocrat, a Cavalier, and apparently an Anglican" (49). On the other side, Bess Matthews, the daughter of a dissenting minister, lives in a modest cottage in the woods and belongs to South Carolina's middle class. At the center of the plot's conflict, Richard Corey, who represents the Spanish menace, threatens the union of two important elements in the province, aristocracy and middle class, Anglicans and dissenters, proprietors and pioneers. As the conflict between classes is prevalent in *The Yemassee*, racial conflict is inevitable. The latter is the main structure on which the novel is based that explains the major cause of the extermination of the Yemassee nation. To reach this aim, we start with an introduction into the history of the tribe and to Simms's novel, we then proceed to analyze racial conflict in the novel as the basic structure that causes alienation.

1-3-1 A Background to Simms's Indians

Looking back at an earlier period, a century before the beginning of the westward movement, among the major tribes that were annihilated and displaced because of the conflict that the frontier engendered was The Yemassee Tribe. The Yemassee war (1715-1717) is the major conflict that opposed colonial South Carolina against Southern Indian tribes such as The Yemassee, the Creek, the Catawba and the Cherokee among others.

The Yemassee tribe's homelands were originally laying in present day Northern Florida and Southern Georgia. They were forced to move northward after the Spanish arrived in the late sixteenth century and settled in South Carolina. Problems between the Indians and the English settlers emerged in the latter half of the seventeenth century as the tribe had become dependent on English firearms. This fact had made the Indians largely indebted. The latter paid in deerskins, and the large influx of white settlers affected the Indian hunting lands. The settlers, as a measure to decrease the debts, enslaved many of the Yemassee, specifically women and children. As the Yemassee made a union with other tribes, they attacked many white settlements and killed hundreds of colonists. Henceforth, the whites abandoned the settled frontiers and fled to Charles Town where they suffered starvation.

The Yemassee was an important ally of South Carolinians, especially during the Tuscarora War.[11] The Upper Creek formed closer ties with the French and Spanish during the Yemassee War because the latter represented their market sources. They provided them with Muskets, gunpowder and bullets that they would use at war against the British. The Creeks were unhappy with the abuses of the English traders, who would get for example the Creek Indians intoxicated and then cheat them in trade, and who also raped Indian women. The Creek tribes killed all the English traders, then they joined the Yemassee Indians along with the Catawba aided by the Spanish Regime and attacked the South Carolinians. The South Carolina authorities were unwilling to help the Creek beforehand and answer their request to get rid of the traders, and this constituted a major cause of the Creek's alignment with the Yemassee.

What is worth noting when we look at the background of the Yemassee War is the major reason that caused it, The Native Slave Trade. Historian John R.Swanton has stated that the immediate cause of the war was the misconduct of some traders, but in addition to this, the Yemassee Indians fought because of their fear of enslavement. Many Carolinians acquired Indian slaves before the Yemassee war and they were eager to acquire them after the war. The

commissioners for the Indian Trade were unsatisfied with the number of slaves, restricted to boys under the age of fourteen; they allowed traders to buy male slaves whatever their age, not exceeding thirty years. At the outbreak of the Yemassee war, traders were the target of the Yemassee Indians for they were "intermediaries between the Indian groups wishing to sell war captives and merchants and planters of Carolina who sought to buy them" (Ramsey 179).

The history of the Indians enslavement goes back to King's Philip's War (1675-1676) in which entire Indian villages were destroyed and some 3000 Indians died. Some Indians were captured and held as slaves, working on white landlords' farms, and others were shipped off to the West Indies.

One of the most effective means used by Europeans to eradicate the Indians was by bringing contagious diseases to the American colonies. Some deadly diseases as smallpox, plague and influenza wiped out native people massively. The first plan, the English thought judicious, was to free oppressed Natives from Spanish tyranny in order to make them work for them and help them create prosperous English colonies as in Spanish South America. But the early colonists were obliged to rely on Indian tribes for survival as the "English traders actively encouraged tribes to war against each other and enslave the captives, who were then sold, primarily to the ever-hungry Caribbean labor market," but "by the early eighteenth century, this Indian slave trade had become the colony's (Virginia's) primary economic activity, with some 30.000 to 50.000 Indians enslaved" (Walbert 1466).

Despite the end of Indian enslavement after the Yemassee War and selling many enslaved Indians to the West Indies, there were many who remained in England's mainland colonies such as New England. They blended with the larger population of African slaves and as a result emerged "a hybrid of Native and African cultures" (1466). However, from 1715 onward, "Carolinians stopped trying to bring Africans and Indians together under the unified

mantle of slavery and instead began a prolonged effort to keep the two groups apart, and equally important, opposed to each other" (Ramsey 181).

The major southern writer who dealt with the history of the Yemassee War is William Gilmore Simms. In his semi-fictional work, The *Yemassee: A Romance of Carolina* (1835), the Southern American writer deals with Indian Enslavement, black slavery, and the clash between greedy white South Carolinians and the Yemassee, an unknown Indian tribe. The novel is structured on racial conflict and the inevitability of native displacement, and it is set on the South Carolina frontier. Simms's depiction of Indians is more realistic than Cooper's; his personal travels through Indian lands made him render Indian culture in greater depth. But though the title of the tale indicates that it is a romance and a narrative about an Indian tribe, it also tackles the most important issue for Simms that was much debated at the beginning of the nineteenth century: the future of black slavery. Besides being a story about the extermination of an Indian race, *The Yemassee* is also a defense of slavery, and the relation between races in the novel also entails the master-slave relation. Accordingly, the next section will tackle Simms's view of slavery in the south to explain his position as a slaveholder in the novel.

1-3-2 Simms and Slavery

William Gilmore Simms spent much of his life on Woodlands plantation and married into a plantation-owning family. He had more than "seventy enslaved people" (Brown 31). Simms had underlined his thoughts regarding slavery and the position that African-descended people held in the South Carolina Lowcountry in his essay entitled "Slavery in America". He blames Harriet Martineau, a British social theorist, for searching in her work entitled "Society in America" (1837) after the negative sides of slavery in the Southern states and neglecting "the haunts of the negro, and the degraded classes in the free states" (Simms, *Slavery in America*

39). Joseph Kelly points out an important ideology that was reigning in the beginning of the eighteenth century in the South and that influenced much Simms later on as the paternalistic ideology. It dominated white southern attitudes after the Stono rebellion in 1739, the largest slave uprising that began on 9 September 1739, in the colony of South Carolina. It advanced a humane treatment of slaves and urged slaveholders to consider their slaves as their children. It also resulted in "the rewriting of slave codes in Charleston in the early 1740s" (54). Simms articulates a paternalistic perspective on the institution of slavery. He implores slaveholders to refrain from granting freedom to their slaves unless they are completely convinced of the slaves' mental and moral capacity to sustain and improve their newfound status. Simms states that the master should be

> perfectly assured of a mental and moral capacity in the slave, sufficiently strong and fixed, to enable him not only to maintain his elevation, but to improve it. Having done so, let him appear before God, if he dare, and account for the trust committed to his hands. The moral and mental worth of the slave, can, alone, give us the right to discharge him from his dependence. (Simms, *Slavery in America* 83)

Simms proposes that the slaves must first be mature to get their independence. In the 1830s, there were no established public policies to prepare the slaves for independence. In 1824, a controversial speech was delivered by John C. Calhoun in the United States Senate advocating the positive good theory.[11] The pro-slavery senator, political theorist and seventh vice-president of the United States said : "Never before has the black race of Central Africa from the dawn of history to the present day, attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually." "Instead of an evil", he contends, slavery "is good-a positive

good" (qtd.in Kelly 60). As men of his class and time held this view, Simms also provided a paternalist defense of slavery in the South. He presents in his fiction the history of pre-revolutionary America, signed by his proper vision of what history should be. It is supposedly, as Kevin Collins argues in "Desired Facts", a reaction of Simms to the growing longing for freedom and equality that Thomas Jefferson expressed in the Declaration of Independence, and to the clamor for the abolition of slavery, to show how African Americans actually did not desire liberty (71).

Simms embraced the claim of Henry Hughes, a proslavery theorist from Mississippi, that "individual freedom was dangerous and should be subordinated in order to maintain social order" (Foley 83). Simms held the view that a properly ordered society should be based on "inequality" or "Humane difference". Slavery, to Simms, was a "civilizing force" that would improve the moral condition of his slaves; the change was possible according to him because he regarded 'race' as referring to peoples or groups rather than to a set of biological characteristics. The scientific racial categorizations that spread during Simms' time were mainly based on those characteristics. Josiah C. Nott, the foremost supporter of ethnology and polygenism in the American south, for example, believed that whites and blacks were distinct. "White and black individuals", Foley notes on Nott's argument, "were the products of separate creations and were distinct species of humanity" (84). Simms held an opposite view and challenged the fixed categorizations popular in his day, but still believed that the master-slave relation could lead toward social stability and social progress. Therefore, Simms's reaction is a response to those political statements and the growing awareness of the importance of Abolition in his time.

The relationship between Lord Craven and his slave Hector in *The Yemassee* is representing the idealized relationship that Simms envisions for all the slaves with their masters. As Hector refuses to be parted, he sticks to his dependency, and cannot imagine another

condition for his well-being. Simms portrays Hector, representing those blacks, not desiring and incapable of independence. In this novel, He even compares the black to the Indian in order to justify slavery's importance. He explains in "Slavery in America":

> We contend for the morality of slavery among us, as we assert that the institution has brought, and still continues to bring about the improvement of the negro himself; and we confidently challenge a comparison between the slave of Carolina, and the natives of the region from which his ancestors have been brought. No other comparison, with any other people, can properly be made. We challenge comparison between the negro slave in the streets of Charleston, and the negro freeman—so called—in the streets of New York. Compare either of these with the native indian, and so far as the civilized arts, and the ideas of civilization are involved in the comparison, you will find that the negro who has been taught by the white man, is always deferred to, in matters of counsel, by his own Indian master. (80)

In Simms's mind, the Indians are essentially unsuited while the blacks are essentially suited to servility. The few criticism about Simms' works on the Indian emphasize the sympathy with which Simms treats the Indian's plight in the face of a devastating civilization and his empathy for the institution of slavery as he was himself a southern slaveholder. The sympathy that is rendered in Simms's Work also evokes other underlying themes.

The main arguments that illustrate Simms' view of the Indian are developed in many of his writings, but in *The Yemassee* racial conflict is one of the major issues that Simms tackles. This theme does not only shed light on social inequality between whites, blacks and Indians in South Carolina in the beginning of the eighteenth century, but also reveals how the alienation

process occurs in the novel. The next section will elucidate this major structure that builds up the plot lines of Simms's *The Yemassee*.

1-3-3 Racial Conflict in *The Yemassee*

William Gilmore Simms alludes to the superiority of the whites and the inferiority of the other races, notably of Indians and African Americans in different passages of the novel. He portrays "Sanutee", the Indian chief and major character, as a noble savage possessing virtues that show this nobility, but he also refers to the fact that they were not truly Indian virtues. These virtues are constantly related to white features; they are more Christian than Indian. When an Indian appears to possess some qualities, the latter are described as white rather than Indian-like. In chapter 9, Simms notes "it was with a sentiment rather more Christian than Indian that (Sanutee) recalled the ties and associations" between the Yemassees and the Whites (74).

The common notion among white southerners, as well as Simms, is the existence of "a hierarchy of cultures" among men. Simms' "ethnocentricism" is closely related to this belief (Shelton 72). In *The Yemassee*, Simms focuses on the extermination of the Indian race which may serve as a reminder to the African Americans of their fate if ever they fail to accept their status as slaves (King 140). Thus, the institution of Simms in writing the novel is two-dimensional, defending the institution of slavery and foretelling the future of the American nation.

The author regards both Indians and black people as threatening the existence of white society, he uses some references to "beasts" in order to portray them and associate the 'inferior' races with each other. Sanutee, the Yemassee Chief, calls his son Occonestoga "a dog". He observes,

> Occonestoga is a dog, Matiwan; he hunts the slaves of the English in the swamp, for strong drink. He is a slave himself_he has ears for their lies_he believes in their forked tongues, and he has two voices for his own people. Let him not look into the lodge of Sanutee. Is not Sanutee the chief of the Yemassee?" "No, Matiwan must not be the mother of a dog. Occonestoga goes with the English to bite the heels of the Yemassee." (The Yemassee 8)

Occonestoga befriends the whites and helps them. He is degraded into the position of a dog by his people as he "hunts the slaves of the English, for strong drink" (8). The degradation of the chieftain's son, because of liquor brought by the whites, represents the altered condition of Indian society. Much of the treachery attributed to the aborigine was the result of his introduction to liquor. To Native Americans, and Sanutee as a representative of the Yemassee, any act of submission or sacrifice of autonomy reduces one to slavery. The traitors against the tribe, as Occonestoga, are doomed to slavery. In some passages from the novel, we read how Occonestoga became manipulated by Harrison and Granger as they offer him drink.

Simms portrays Occonestoga as a great warrior whose feeling of nationality was silenced by the whites, "…while a strong feeling of nationality in his bosom aroused him into something like the warlike show of an eloquent chief inspiriting his tribe for the fight", Simms notes, "Granger, who had been watchful, came forward with a cup of spirits, which without a word, he now handed him. The youth seized it hurriedly, drank it off at a single effort, and, in that act, the momentary enthusiasm which had lightened up…passed away" (95). Because of his compliant, submissive and slavish character, Occonestoga would become enslaved to Opitchi-Manneyto, the Yemassee' evil spirit, but Matiwan, the traitor's mother, did not let her son suffer this fate in his afterlife. According to the Yemassee tradition, the sign of the

Yemassee, a tattoo of an arrow on the right shoulder, must be cut away from the traitor before his execution. Matiwan tomahawked her son before it could be done."He is not lost he is not lost" Matiwan said after she killed her son", "They may not take the child from his mother. They may not keep him from the valley of Manneyto. He is free he is free" (111). This act frees the soul of Occonestoga from the doom of the traitors and illustrates the belief of the Yemassee, that dying for freedom is a worthy cause when it is threatened by subjugation.

The Yemassee believe that Subservience to the evil spirit can be paralleled to subservience to the white man, as Sanutee explains in the following passage,

> Fear, Sanutee has no fear of the English he fears not the Manneyto. He only fears that his people may go blind with the English poison drink, that the great chiefs of the Yemassee may sell him for a slave to the English, to plant his maize and to be beaten with a stick. But let the ears of the chiefs hear the voice of Sanutee the Yemassee shall not be the slave of the pale-face. (The Yemassee 46)

Sanutee refuses dependency, he is honorable and heroic and denigrates degradation. He is depicted by Critic Joseph Kelly as a tragic hero, resembling "a heroic, ineffectual struggle against inescapabale fate"(56).

What seems to be the fatal choice Native Americans had in determining their future is assimilation or alienation and death. Sanutee fights the Europeans rather than adapts to the change they brought to their life, this led to the tragic end of the hero, and consequently to the tragic end of his race. Simms presents the noble Indian Sanutee as a tragic hero in order to legitimize the withdrawal of a race that rejects civilization. Harrison, the disguised governor of the colony of South Carolina, cannot envision cultural hybridity; he believes that only one culture should prevail. He answers the clergyman John Matthews' question on the possibility

of living with the other races forming one flock of all classes and colours claiming : “until they shall adopt our pursuits, or we theirs, we can never form the one community for which your prayer is sent up; and so long as the hunting lands are abundant, the seductions of that mode of life will always baffle the approach of civilization among the Indians”(76).

Anthony Dyer Hoefer notes that “the superiority of the European brand of civilization is simply a given, not a subject of debate”(129).Simms makes Sanutee himself acknowledge the inferiority of his race at the advance of the whites’ civilization. In an interesting passage, he notes,

> (Sanutee) was a philosopher not less than a patriot, and saw, while he deplored, the destiny which awaited his people. He well knew that the superior must necessarily be the ruin of the race which is inferior that the one must either sink its existence in with that of the other, or it must perish. He was wise enough to see, that in every case of a leading difference between classes of men, either in colour or organization, such difference must only and necessarily eventuate in the formation of castes, and the one conscious of any inferiority, whether of capacity or of attraction, so long as they remain in propinquity with the other, will tacitly become instruments and bondsmen. (10)

In the novel, Grayson also alludes to the difference between the whites and the Indians as a natural situation that civilization imposes: “it is utterly impossible that the whites and Indians should ever live together and agree”, he addresses John Matthews, “the nature of things is against it, and the very difference between the two…must always constitute them as inferior caste in our minds. Apart from this, an obvious superiority in arts and education must soon force upon them the consciousness of their inferiority” (120).

Simms not only alludes to the inferiority of the Indian but of the "Negro" as well.In *The Yemassee*, not only is the "negro" inferior to the white but also to the Indian. In order to justify the institution of slavery, the pro-slavery novelist portrays the slave as a happy individual, "virtually in love with his masters" (Shelton 76). The "Negro" is portrayed in the novel as an individual incapable to live if he is freed from bondage, while the Indians fight for their rights and their lands. The Indians can live independently, but the "Negroes" are fully dependent on their masters. This is what Simms suggests through the depiction of the relationship between Gabriel Harrison and his slave Hector. The famous and controversial scene in the novel is the passage in which Hector refuses to be granted his freedom. Harrison wanted to give his slave liberty because of his brave acts that helped him know about the enemy's plans, the Spanish menace. The slave Hector replies to the proposal in the following remarkable statement,

> "I dam to hell, mossa, if I guine to be free!" roared the adhesive black, in a tone of unrestrainable determination. "I can't loss you company, and who de debble Dugdale will let feed him like Hector?
>
> 'Tis unpossible, mossa, and dere's no use to talk 'bout it. De ting aint right; and enty I know wha' kind of ting freedom is wid black man?
>
> Ha! you make Hector free, he come wuss more nor poor buckrah—he tief out of de shop—he get drunk and lie in de ditch—den, if sick come, he roll, he toss in de wet grass of de stable. You come in de morning, Hector dead—and, who know—he no take physic, he no hab parson— who know, I say, mossa, but de debble fine em 'fore anybody else? No, mossa—you and Dugdale berry good company for Hector. I tank God he so good— I no want any better" (V2 242)

This quote sheds light on the harsh realities of slavery, where freedom does not necessarily equate to a better life for the enslaved Hector and where those in power often exploit and

mistreat others for their own benefit. Simms alludes to the racial inferiority of the black slave through the portrayal of Hector who willingly submits to bondage. Still, Sanutee, who represents the fetishized Indian figure, faces extermination and does not give up his individual freedom as well as the liberty of his people.

This portrayal may also infer to the impossibility of racial plurality as the alienation of the Indians is the inevitable outcome that Simms resorts to at the end of the story. Shelton suggests that the Indians

> have been portrayed as individuals who fight for what they believe are their rights and their lands, but the Negroes will not accept freedom even when it is handed to them .Moreover, the Indians realize that the whites are "superior", but can nevertheless live on their own if they can remain out of the path of the whites, whereas the Negro is depicted as being unable even to survive if he is freed from slavery. (77)

Hoefer argues that Simms uses slavery as a rhetorical device which also plays a role in the discourse of Indian Removal. The death of the Yemassee dynasty at the end of the novel is significant for it symbolizes the fate of the Indians. In the novel, there is no place for the Indian in civilized society; white supremacy is evident when the natives who refuse to leave an area wanted by the whites degenerate. Simms suggests in the story that the outcast should be removed in order to improve American society, and this plan is part of destiny that evidently imposes itself as a matter of fact. What the author advocates seems to be the idea that the Indian should adapt to white society and civilization if he wants to save his race. Simms, among other writers, set an emergent ideology off, the Manifest Destiny, a term coined by John L. O'Sullivan in 1845, ten years after the publication of *the Yemassee*.[13] The Yemassee war that Simms

depicted in his novel determined the future of the whites' expansion from the Atlantic to the Appalachians as it constituted the Indians' last chance to stop the flood of white settlement.

Conclusion

As authority of the Effingham land was restored to Oliver Edwards in *The Pioneers*, Cooper reflects the legitimization of the Indians' dispossession of their right to property. Property rights seem to be disputable only among whites, Oliver Edwards' real identity is revealed at the end of the novel as the son and heir of Judge Temple's former business partner Major Effingham. The two partners were separated because of the Revolutionary War, Major Effingham remained loyalist and Judge Temple supported the patriot cause. At the end of the novel, Cooper alludes to the reconciliation that he actually longed for after the revolution through uniting Oliver Effingham and Elizabeth Temple, a new alliance between the old world and the new. This alliance that results from the conservative vision of Cooper and his code of civil law brings about the ultimate end of his Indian Characters. The death of Chingachgook and the retreat of Natty Bumppo to the remote woods indicate how the alienation process occurs as a result of the rapid progress of civilization and destruction of natural resources.

In *The Yemassee*, Simms suggests that the degraded relationship of the Indian with the white man is created because of the tension within civilized society, and it is this conflictual relation that imposed alienation on the Yemassee tribe. The settlements in South Carolina were acquired from the Yemassee by the English through barter and treaty; similarly, the Spanish wanted the land through priority of discovery. The whites introduced liquor among the Yemassee and took profit from corrupted Indians. The innocence of the Indians and their honesty in dealing in trade were exploited by the English, and the Yemassee were given goods in exchange of land and were robbed while they were drunk. Occonestoga is the example of

this corruption; his degradation is denigrated by Sanutee whose heroic traits lead to his tragic end.

Simms alienates Sanutee because of his unwillingness to adapt to the white society and respond to the needs of a growing civilized nation. Sanutee also punishes his own son because of his contact with the civilized world, he is rejected and banished from his tribe and could have lived in total alienation had not his mother killed him to let him conserve his cultural identity.

In line with James E. Twining's conceptualization of alienation as a social process, the two novels depict a social process that begins with the self-estrangement of the Indian characters. Their perception and control of their situation are negatively defined due to their divergent responses. The primary response, total alienation, is precipitated by either social isolation or self-estrangement. This is how Leatherstocking and Sanutee lose their identity as meaningful contributors to the process of interaction in the “new” American society because of the limits placed on them and because of the inevitability of death.

Chapter Two

Alienation in a Context Specific Approach: D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded* and Navarre Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*

Introduction

Different sociological approaches have been undertaken to explain alienation; Eldon L. Wegner for example suggests that a greater success may be achieved when alienation is studied in a context specific approach. If the characteristics of a person including his values and goals are not compatible with the social role he is given, a negative response is triggered within this individual. This discontent could be explained in specific social contexts, according to Wegner, "such as student alienation, worker alienation, alienation from parents, and so forth, should be more fruitful than approaching alienation as an orientation toward the total society" (172). Thus, alienation is a response to a specific social context.

The social context in which alienation occurs is the larger structure that explains its emergence. When the traits of the character diverge from the social norms, alienation could be defined. In light of the aforementioned observations, it seems pertinent to examine D'Arcy McNickle's earlier novel *The Surrounded* and Navarre Scott Momaday's Pulitzer winning novel *House Made of Dawn* to illuminate their fiction through an understanding of the above definition of alienation. Towards this end, it is essential to examine these novels within the context of the broader literary tradition that shapes them. In particular, it is crucial to highlight the pervasive theme of alienation, which is a defining characteristic of the authors' works as Native American authors.

2-1 Introduction to Native American Literature

In the nineteenth century, and precisely from the beginning of the westward expansion till the closing of the frontier, white Americans have tended to consider their national distinctiveness in terms of the opposition between them and the Native Americans. At that

period, Indians were not regarded as having a literature that could be studied or included in the canon of American literature. The novels that were published were mostly built on the notion of Indian savagery and the need to extirpate Native Americans. Arnold Krupat points out an important trait that white American authors emphasized in their differentiation between the two cultures, "the man of letters, European or Euramerican, was the man of culture; Native Americans- Indians- were "children off nature" precisely because they were not men of letters" (146).

The texts that were distinctively selected as American literature were based on European models; the American writers examined European models to build their national literature. Earlier, it was impossible to conceive trading and making military alliances with powerful Indian tribes without writing. Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were the first to establish a collection of Indian wordlists. The first efforts of these statesmen were devoted to a translation of the Native language and to giving examples of the Natives' eloquent speeches and oral culture, but "this was still far from recognizing an Indian capacity for literary production" (Krupat148).

Ethnologists transcribed three major kinds of the preserved written Native American literature: myths, tales and songs. The transcription of American Indian myths and legends presented a great challenge to ethnologists as the oral tradition was of great significance in preserving American Indian culture and literature. It is difficult to study Native American literature through the same chronological division as that of Euro-American literature. To assert that certain songs and legends belong to a particular period is not conceivable because "a substantial portion of Native American thought is highly abstract" (Sundquist 199). War songs were also frequently recorded and are considered as a literary form in American Indian literature. They are related to war and treaties. "The treaty records often dramatized ritual exchanges of words and gifts between Indians and whites", this is why it is considered as the

earliest form of American drama (203). These chronicle plays include the roles of agents and interpreters, the frontier as a symbolical setting, and chants or dances that are essential to the Indians as a means of communication. The famous reprinted orations are also forms of American Indian literature, notably those of great warriors such as chiefs Sealth and Tecumseh.

The autobiography of the Pequot William Apess (1798-1839), entitled *A Son of the Forest* (1829), was written in English. Apess was the first American Indian to write extensively in English. He was raised among whites, and at the age of fifteen he converted to Methodism. In his autobiography, he recounts his transformation from an ignorant native to an educated, Christianized man. In his later writings, he became more critical of the whites' violations of treatises as in *Experience of Five Christian Indians of the Pequot Tribes* (1833). Likewise, George Copway (1818-1869) was also critical of Euro-American practices in his work entitled *Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation* (1850).

A Canadian Ojibwa, Copway recounted Ojibwa oral legends and focused on their tribal history. Cherokee Elias Boudinot (1802-1839) was also a notable Native American writer. He edited *the Cherokee Phoenix* from 1827 to 1832, which was initiated as the first Native American bilingual newspaper.

Later, for the romantics, 'nature' became the keyword of culture, and not 'oral literature'. In the 1830s, rather than preserving Native American literature, the priority of the easterners who were interested in Indians was to preserve their lands. It was an era that witnessed the relocation of Eastern Indian tribes to the west, under President Jackson's Indian Removal Policy; "the beginning of wide interest in native poetry in translation properly dates from the year 1851, when a history of the Indians was published by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft which included samples of Chippewa poetry" (Krupat 149). Despite these efforts, it was not Indian poetry that entered the American literary scene, but poetry with an Indian subject.[14]

American Indians' Literature, mainly composed of traditional Indian poetry and songs, was compiled as a source of ethnological data as it essentially formed the interest of Anthropologists. Dillingham claims that "books about Indians were almost exclusively the work of white authors, and reflected the white man's view of the Indian, his culture and history" (37).

Native American Literature became effective in the early twentieth century; by the 1930s, Native American novelists emerged and produced major literary works. This renaissance in Native American culture and literature paralleled the Harlem renaissance and the emergence of distinct black narrative voices. Ethnic awareness and development surfaced during that period, giving voice to marginalized ethnic groups such as Native Americans and African Americans. The twentieth century witnessed the birth of notable productive American Indian authors as John Joseph Mathews (Osage), James Paytiamo (Acoma), John Milton Oskison (Cherokee), and D'Arcy McNickle (Flathead). Priscilla Oaks studied the role of the Great Depression in the emergence of these voices. Because of the Depression, a growing concern with the Indian beliefs became apparent. The new conditions of life in the Depression era urged the reading public to search for new life styles. Authors gave the Indian's spirituality importance and propelled the quality of his physical endurance. Oaks says that, "Not only were the Indians seen as" the guardians of the western wilderness, "but they were admired for having been able to survive both physically and culturally" (58-59). They were heroic for their capacity to adapt to nature and face the drought or the Dust Bowl that greatly damaged the agriculture of the American prairies during the 1930s.

Native American writers face difficulties in presenting the native perspective in their writings because of their assimilated education that is closer to the white world. American Indian children were forced to attend boarding schools run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, where they were forced to cut their hair and not use their native language. This is how Native

American writers became fluent in English and familiar with American literary forms. The major concern of Native American authors then is to bridge two worlds, the white and the Indian. The theme of this struggle for identity was featured in many of their novels; it reflects their inner confusion at being educated in both worlds, the white and the Indian. The boarding school experience united these writers who used the English language against the colonizer. Kent quotes Simon Ortiz affirming that "the indigenous peoples of the Americas have taken the languages of the colonialists and used them for their own purposes" (qtd. in Kent 25).

American Indians have never been mute as they were portrayed in early film and literature. Their voice emerged in the 1960s as a protest against the injustices that Indian people had been forced to endure (King and Momaday 66). Literary voices are also heard as American Indian writers use their creative imagination and the oral traditions of their people. According to King and Momaday, "The emergence of a Native voice, should probably be dated from the publication of N. Scott Momaday's novel *House Made of Dawn*" (66). In his novel, Momaday traces the resistance of the Indian in order to describe the Indian world and defines the Indian resistance and the qualities of Indian life in its strength and continuance**.** The early novels were mainly dealing with the Indian culture as a dying culture. Susanne Evertsen Lundquist notes that

> Native writers share a common approach to : (1) the power of words and storytelling as instruments of survival-including Trickster discourse; (2) the inseparable connection between identity and a sense of place-including the natural environment; (3) the importance of bloodlines (ancestry and posterity)-mixed or pure; (4) the perpetuation of powerful, often traditional, gender identities; (5) sexual expression used either to pervert (as a metaphor for cultural

> degradation) or enhance human relatedness; and (6) the possibility of healing through reconciliation. (203)

There is much in common between the approach of D'Arcy McNickle and that of N. Scott Momaday in establishing those major precepts. Some of these precepts could be easily identified in McNickle's and Momaday's creation of authentic Native American voices and themes.

In order to clarify the importance of ancestry and tribal life in shaping the two authors' narratives, a factual history of their tribes should be provided before the study of the selected texts. One of the major Indian tribes that had a long and prolific history with the white colonialists is the Salish tribe. The history of the relation between the Flathead Indians and the whites has often been complicated and troubled. As a first step, an understanding of this conflicted relation is of great relevance to the study of D'Arcy McNickle's novel *The Surrounded*. His novel, though fictional, reflects the real conflict and leads the reader towards questioning the importance of the larger structure that builds this work in creating alienation. The next section, then, is devoted to the presentation of the Salish history to show its relevance in the novel. It clarifies the conflictual relationship that relates the whites and the Indians and that populates the two authors' fictions and creates alienation in specific contexts.

2-2 The Salish Indians and the Flathead Reservation

The Flathead Indian Reservation comprises the Bitterroot Salish, Kootenai and Pend d'Oreille tribes. It is located in Western Montana. The tribal members within the Flathead reservation make up less than 20% of the reservation population. O'Nell claims that "Despite the fact that most whites get along most of the time, racism permeates the daily lives of

contemporary Flathead reservation residents" (97). This racism is evidenced in the practices of the ACE organization as it is explained in the following passage:

> All Citizens Equal" published regularly editorials to denounce discriminatory practices that favor Indians over non-Indians. For example, in the 1980s, the members of this organization "sponsored an energetic campaign against a tribal member who was running for country office, claiming that a vote for him was a vote for a 'puppet government' under the control of the tribes. (97)

Another major issue that was disputed among them was on water rights. The tribes were interested in preserving their natural resources, whereas the local farmers and ranchers, who were majorly white, used irrigation to fit their large-scale farming. Another fact that is part of this overt racism is the division of the Indian and white habitations as detailed in the phone-book map. A social separation was created between them as they live on opposite sides. Indian children attend public schools where the teachers and administrators are predominantly white; in fact, groceries, clothing, and other goods must be purchased from stores that are overwhelmingly owned and operated by whites, with few exceptions, and the medical offices, hospitals, banks, license bureaus, state courts, and prisons are similarly controlled and their services administered almost entirely by whites (99). The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Indian Health Service (IHS) are also controlled by whites, the latter's hegemony is witnessed in every aspect of Indian life.

What sustained the livelihood of the Salish-Speaking people was hunting and the quest for food which O'Nell describes as an uninterrupted task, starting in the early spring and ending in the late fall. Food was necessary for their survival in winter, a time for visiting, storytelling, and ceremonies[15]. The researcher adds that, "Precontact life represents an idyllic past in which

the ancestors of contemporary Flathead Indians had compassion for the needy, were tolerant of those who were different, and trusted friends and strangers alike" (100).

The most important historical event that affected the relations between Flathead Indians and whites is the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries in 1840 and the creation of the Flathead Reservation in 1855. Most of the tribal members received their education from Catholic schools, and most of them were "baptized Catholic as infants, and most will be buried in one of the Catholic cemeteries" (100).

According to some historical records, the account of Shining Shirt, an Iroquois Indian, prophesized the arrival of the blackrobes to the Salish tribes to teach the Indian and help him find his way. Accordingly, the Flathead people divided four delegations and sent them to Jesuit headquarters in St. Louis over a nine-year period, from 1831 to 1839, each with a request that a mission be established among them. St Mary's Mission was then established in 1841, with the help of Big Ignace, a converted Iroquois, who shared with the Flathead the knowledge he had acquired of the ways of the Blackrobes. The Iroquois played an important role in Christianizing the Flathead. As most of them were defeated in the war of 1812, they came from Quebec to live among the Flatheads in 1820 and exerted considerable influence among their tribe.

The Flathead people's interaction with the Jesuits brought tragic results. The tragic side of their quest is revealed in the loss of their traditional sources of spiritual power. The openness of the Flathead to the Jesuits' instructions and advice was met by intolerance and betrayal. For the establishment of the Flathead reservation, three tribes, under their chief Victor, gathered with the representatives of the United States government to sign the Hellgate Treaty in July 1855. What was agreed upon was the "Cession of over 12 million acres of land in western Montana and Idaho to the United States, the Flathead tribes were guaranteed the exclusive use of an area of about 1-2 million acres in the area of the Jocko Valley, the principal valley on the

Flathead reservation" (O'Nell 102). The chiefs of the Salish, the Pend d'Oreilles, and the Kootenai tribes gathered at the council. In 1859, the Hellgate Treaty was ratified by Congress but it did not respect the Salish people's claim of the Bitterroot Valley of Western Montana. The latter preferred to live in the valley in order to avoid conflict with other tribes, notably with the Blackfeet Indians.

Chief Victor of the Salish refused to sign the treaty and lead his people to the reservation. After he was killed on a hunting trip, his son Charlo succeeded him. He had the same position as the father and did not consent to move to the reservation, he also did not succeed to procure a reservation in the Bitterroot Valley. Meanwhile, his people were ravaged by smallpox and Tuberculosis. The extinction of the buffalo in the 1870s and the growing number of fences erected by white homesteaders in traditional hunting areas caused hunger, and at last, Charlo and his people were forced to leave their lands and start for the Jocko Reservation in 1891. After Chief Charlo's death in 1910, the reservation was open to white homesteaders. This fact epitomized for many Flathead Indian people the early years' losses and devastation. Unfortunately, the Flathead Indians' respect for whites was only met by greed and betrayal.

2-3 Introduction to D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded*

D'Arcy McNickle was born on January 18, 1904 in the Flathead Reservation in western Montana. "His mother, Philomene Parenteau, was Métis, of French and Cree Indian ancestry, from Canada… It was from his mother that D'Arcy McNickle inherited some undetermined percentage of Indian blood and through her that he was adopted into the Flathead Tribe, where he was listed on the rolls as one-quarter Cree" (Dorothy R. Parker 5). McNickle wrote that he is "a native of the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana", and he believes "the records there show (him) to be a quarter-breed" (qtd. in Owens 239).

As a child, he was aware that he was somehow different from others as he asserted this fact himself; "As 'breeds'", he notes "we could not turn for reassurance to an Indian tradition, and certainly not to the white community" (qtd in Parker 5). In the Indian Boarding school, Chemewa, Oregon, he was not allowed to speak his native language. At the University of Montana, he developed his writing skills, and in 1925 he joined Oxford University. Oritiz notes that McNickle "financed the trip and his study at Oxford by selling his allotment of land on the Flathead Reservation, thus severing his traditional Indian tie to a single place" (632).

In Washington, McNickle served in the Bureau of Indian Affairs for seventeen years, until 1952. His appraised novel *The Surrounded* was published in 1936, and his interesting anthropological and historical study of North American Indians entitled *They Came Here First*, was published in 1949. After he left the BIA, he moved westward and founded AID, American Indian Development, which was designed "to assist Indian communities to develop model institutions to cope with change" (Oritiz 633-634). In Denver, while he was a listing Lecturer at Regis College, he published *Runner in The Sun,* and his ethnohistorical volume *The Indian Tribes of the United States* was first published in 1962. This book was republished in 1973 as a revised edition entitled: *Native American Tribalism*; and in 1975, he completed his third novel, *Wind From an Enemy Sky*, published posthumously.

McNickle distinguished himself in the fields of anthropology and literature in which he succeeded to meet the demand of being a Native American and remaining true to his cultural values. He attempted to present a responsible Indian viewpoint on the strange encounter between Indians and Whites. That is why he participated actively in governmental agencies to organize Indian affairs. He was a member of the Confederated Salish and Kutenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation. He was striving to construct his identity as he attempted to determine his cultural being. About his final journey Ortiz comments,

> a week before he passed away, D'Arcy returned to the Flathead Reservation to attend an education conference. He opened his Speech to the gathering with these words: "It has been fifty years since I have been on the Flathead." The man who returned home in body that day, after a long, far-flung, and productive journey, returned home in spirit one week later. (635)

John Joseph Mathews' *Sundown* and McNickle's *The Surrounded* mark the beginning of a new Indian Literature, that Louis Owens qualifies as even surpassing the famous Harlem Renaissance by the 1980s (239). McNickle's tone of pessimism is apparent in *The Surrounded* regarding the Indian who is dominated by Anglo-European values. In this novel, the Indian and the white worlds cannot communicate. As understanding fails, "individuals find themselves trapped in a kind of mute isolation" (Owens 240). According to Oaks, in novels written by Native American authors,

> the white characters are shown as morally inferior, whether they serve as positive or negative foils, often as stereotypes. It is not surprising that the most negative white character stereotypes in all the Indian novels of this period, whether written by Native Americans or Indianophile whites, are the Christian missionaries and their accomplices, the Eastern social service workers. (60)

This description is clearly shown in *The Surrounded;* the Christian missionaries are the main agents that play a great role in the Indians acculturation.

McNickle aspired to become part of the circle of modernist writers. As a young man, he travelled to Europe, met the American expatriates or "the lost generation", and began work on his first novel (Kent 22). The first title of his novel "The Hungry Generations" alludes to "the

Lost Generation", but McNickle's understanding of the modern world in which the Native American lives is different from the view of the "Lost Generation" authors. As Kent argues,

> Drawing upon but also critiquing modernist concerns, *The Surrounded* illustrates that while many Native Americans experienced the despair that modernists expressed, its cause was the federal policies to rid the modern world of Indian cultures, not the ontological uncertainty of the period, as it was for many modernists. *The Surrounded* insists that Native American experiences of forced dislocation from homelands and the attempted eradication of tribal cultures be considered in understanding the modern experience. (23)

The American expatriates chose to leave the US voluntarily, while the Native peoples were dispossessed of their lands and cultures, and were forced to this cultural exile or alienation. It was impossible for the Natives to return home because of this forced dislocation. The expatriates denied their allegiance to the United States, but even this fact was not applicable to Native Americans who "were not recognized as citizens of the United States until 1924 and thus could not be expatriates to a country that did not even see them as patriots" (28).

As McNickle reestablished contact with his mother in Montana in 1933, and after the first version of *The Surrounded* was rejected repeatedly, he went through a significant personal transformation. This may explain the shift in the novel's events and the new mature vision that McNickle acquired in his homeland, far from Europe and the influence of the modernist expatriates. "This significant plot change allows McNickle to highlight the gap between the modernists' chosen exile from home and Native Americans' forced dislocation from homelands, the discrepancy between those choosing homelessness and those forced into it"

(37). Native Americans in *The Surrounded* are homeless in their own home, they do not have to go abroad to be homeless.

The Surrounded is described by Oaks as "a history of alienation" (60). This tragic story shows how both white and Indian cultures become separated, and how the acculturation of the protagonist is almost impossible in this novel. Archilde Leon is the half-breed hero, who returns to the Reservation from white school. His parents' relationship represents the conflicting relation between whites and Indians. The father, Max Leon, a Spaniard, lives in a separate house from the Indian mother, old Catherine. Oaks notes that Max Leon stands for the white man who moves westward to find "his valley", and the Indian woman for the land that he longed for (62).

The Surrounded is largely autobiographical. Archilde, as McNickle, is of mixed race; both of them attended the local mission school and boarding school. When writing *The Surrounded*, McNickle was becoming aware of some serious questions related to the values of American society and his own culture. He questioned the alienation of the 'half-breed', his own alienation from his father in his childhood and from the community he lived in.

A comparison between *The Hungry Generations* and *The Surrounded* reveals the evolution of McNickle's self-awareness. In *The Hungry Generations*, the early unpublished version of *The Surrounded*, truth and justice are served. Archilde returns to Montana at the end of the novel, harvests a beautiful crop on the ranch his father left him, and waits for Claudia, the attractive young girl he met in Paris, to share his life. In this first version, there are different elements that clearly show the autobiographical side in the story. For example, Paris as well as the streets and cafés nearby indicate the rich content of McNickle's journals. In *The Surrounded*, Archilde does not flee Montana or Siénel-emen after the game warden's murder. He finds himself drawn to his mother's people, the Salish Indian people. As he becomes implicated in the murder his mother has committed, he does not run away; he ends "surrounded" by all the white man's institutions. Dorothy Parker claims, "In his fiction as elsewhere,

McNickle recognized how difficult it was for two people with diametrically opposing values to live together in dignity and peace with mutual respect" (17).

In the earlier version of the novel, *The Hungry Generations,* the end is different. The Indian and the White worlds come together and merge. Chanting a Salish song that links man and rain, Archilde awaits for the arrival of his love Claudia. We are led to assume that they will live happily ever after, and at last Archilde will embrace his European father's attitude of dominion over the land. Owens affirms that "The choice for the Indian in the American imagination has always been a choice between marriage with the white culture or inexorable death. It is at that point that the road divides"(247).This clash of cultures is the determining factor that alienates the mixed blood hero from both worlds, the white and the Indian. Alienation is one of the major studied themes in modern American Indian writings, and the next section examines the pervasiveness of this theme in D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded*.

2-4 Alienation in *The Surrounded*: The Clash of Cultures

In order to familiarize the reader with the Native American culture, McNickle uses the oral tradition. McNickle includes some Native American stories into his narrative, Brown calls these stories inset stories. These include "Big Paul" and "Welcoming the Blackrobes". Through these stories, McNickle offers a perspective of the Native American lives as governed by storytelling. Big Paul's story, for instance, suggests the inability of the two cultures to "hear one another's story, truly" (Brown 26), and it foreshadows the dilemma that Archilde Leon, the mixed-blood protagonist, will face in the course of the novel. Father Grepilloux explains through this story how miscommunication engenders violence.

Big Paul, the son of a killed judge, refuses to join his brothers to avenge the murder of their father. According to the Indian custom, his family has to avenge the murder, however, Big

Paul's reaction is not the same. Father Grepilloux recounts that "the old boys were far from dull, but they lacked Big Paul's clear head" who did not want to take part in the affair (*The Surrounded* 54). Big Paul offered himself as a hostage to the Irvings, the white killers of his father and oldest brother Jerome. "If his brother [Martin] were not found and brought to trial, they could try him instead", he thinks to himself, but as Martin is killed, Big Paul's friends desert him (56). Then, his youngest brother "Slem-Hak-Kah" leads a party to pursue his brother. As he and his followers reach the mining camp, they murder Big Paul without having an idea of what he did. In this inset story, Big Paul chooses a more peaceful reconciliation with the whites, but he becomes a victim of his belief in the importance of communication between cultures.

Archilde appreciates the oral stories of his old people and tests their validity and meaning throughout the novel. The first story told by an old Indian woman elicited laughter from everyone, as described in this passage: "It was a very old story, the kind grandmothers told to grand-children, and it always made people laugh. Archilde had not intended to listen, yet he had heard every word. The story had amused him in spite of himself. It left a spark of gay remembrance in his mind" (66).

According to Hellen May Dennis, the events of the oral story are told in the order they occur, whereas the events of a literary production are not necessarily presented in that order. Oral stories exist in time, whereas literary texts exist in space. May explains that "Any sense of time in narrative is imagined, created in the reader's mind through the devices of narration" (3). The narrative strategies used in Native American writings are hybrid, they combine the tribal oral traditions with the techniques of narrative discourse. The teller of the oral story may mould it to suit the expectations of the audience though the modifications might be minor and accidental. The author further observes that "Oral stories traditionally assume shared value systems and worldviews, so that the audience will understand how to interpret the story to extract its moral message. The form of the story is not 'set in stone' or typeface, but there is an assumed

underlying social stability that allows the meaning to circulate" (4). Thus, the teller has a certain control over the value system and the worldviews of the readership, while the literary text can be subject to different misreadings. May discusses the power of storytelling and the responsibilities of the storyteller in shaping readers' values and worldviews, emphasizing the influence a literary text can have despite the potential for misinterpretation :

> To read any novel presupposes preparedness on the part of the reader to enter into the 'imaginative universe' of the author's text. Thus the adoption of the novelist genre by Amerindian authors utilizes the potential of fiction to inform the reader's imagination, to evoke with a frisson of recognition people and places we cannot know. That fictive initiation into spaces unknown to us is surely preferable to ignorance and indifference. (5)

McNickle opens his novel with a note about the title which is a translation of the setting 'Sniél-emen', the Mountains of the Surrounded. He explains in the epigraph: "they called that place (Sniél-emen) because they had been set upon and destroyed". The significance of the title tells much about the destructiveness and alienation of the Salish people that are tackled by the author in this novel. *The Surrounded* recounts the story of a mixed-race family's exclusion from both the red and the white worlds. McNickle dramatizes in this novel the Indian acculturation to the white world, he "blamed cultural misunderstandings, hatred, and ignorance for the failure of Indian-white relationships" (Oaks 61).

This tragic story shows how both cultures become separated as the acculturation of the Indian is almost impossible. In his analysis, Kent illuminates the profound repercussions of the boarding school system on Native American identity, asserting that it "led to self-hatred, shame, and alienation for many. Boarding school attendees often found themselves caught between

tribal and Euroamerican cultures but at home in neither, one of the central conflicts McNickle's protagonist Archilde faces" (25). Archilde's parents' relationship represents the relationship between whites and Indians. In Indian tribes, the person becomes an alien because he belongs to another group of people and not to his own tribe. "It is when the tribal person is the stranger that internal conflict and the process of alienation occurs" (Allen 3).

Alienation is connected to the lives of the writers and their communities, not only to the characters they created. According to Gunn Allen "Alienation is more than the experience of the single individual; it is a primary experience of all bicultural American Indians in the United States- and, to one extent or another, this includes virtually every American Indian here" (4). As most American Indian writers are mixed-blood, they articulate their personal experience and show their preoccupation with this theme in "its classic dimensions of isolation, powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, lowered self-esteem, and self-estrangement, accompanied by a pervasive anxiety, a kind of hopelessness, and a sense of victimization" (4). This view is the very essence of McNickle's *The Surrounded*. The author's own feeling of estrangement from his double society creates this sense of alienation. The mixed-blood is lost in the two worlds, he tries to identify himself with both cultures, and in his search to explain his "double-consciousness", he is viewed as an alien.

As a Native American writer, McNickle recognizes the reality of his alienated existence, and this realization produces the tragic vision in *The Surrounded*. The inability to speak is one dimension of alienation. In *The Surrounded*, the Indian and the white worlds cannot communicate. Archilde Leon is not able to assume control over his destiny and determine his own life; he has to choose whether to follow the white man's road or the Indian's road. Father Grepilloux's choice for Archilde is to Europeanize him and acculturate him into the white world. "He belongs to a new time", Grepilloux argues, "He may not stay in the valley, and it makes no difference whether he does or not; it is what he makes of himself that will count. It

will be felt by all" (*The Surrounded* 108). If the characters choose the Indian road, they fall into failure and death. Owens describes the force that affects this hope for a "variable Indian world" as "mysterious and inexorable" (241). The character is then left without any chance to survive.

Archilde's assimilation into the white world begins after he moved to Oregon and earned a living by playing his fiddle. As he comes back home, Archilde begins to appreciate his mother's people. "There had been times in recent years when he had felt ashamed of her (his mother) when he could not bear to be near her...more recently he had not taken it so seriously; he tolerated her and laughed at some of the cruder of her ideas about the world" (*The Surrounded* 113). And at last, Archilde realizes that his mother "had a kind of importance which a stranger might never understand but which he, after missing it at first, had finally glimpsed" (182).

Archilde believes, in Owens' words, that the two roads "might join together in a single path toward rich self-understanding" (241), but this view proved him wrong. The lack of communication in this novel weaves the theme of fatal understanding. As Louis, Archilde's brother, is accused for stealing horses, he is considered as an outlaw by the whites. According to his people's beliefs and values, Louis did not commit a crime. His act is considered by his fellow Indians as heroic; it is a honorable way for a young rebel to gain fame.

The failure of the Indian-white relationships in *The Surrounded* is mainly caused by cultural misunderstandings and hatred. As the two cultures become isolated from one another, tragedy occurs. Max Leon and Catharine's relationship also exemplifies cultural misunderstanding, and how tragedy could be the ultimate result of the separation of both white and Indian cultures. Max spoke Salish with his wife, "when he talked to her he had to use her tongue, since if he tried to use English, which she knew perfectly, she would pretend not to understand" (*The Surrounded* 9-10).

Archilde is 'the scapegoat' in this story. He accompanies his mother on a hunting trip and meets Louis in the snowy mountains. The Game warden sees them, he accuses Louis of violating state game laws and kills him, thinking mistakenly that he was about to shoot him. As his brother is killed by the game warden, who is, in turn, murdered by old Catharine, Archilde attempts to protect his mother by burying the warden's body. He is aware that the white society will misunderstand his innocence. The female character Catharine acts forcefully in the story and is the one who attempts to control events. However, the results are disastrous; she commits murder in defense of her son Louis. As Louis was killed by the warden, "there was no accounting for what happened next. Archilde saw only the final action…. The old lady had hit him in the head with a hatchet" (*The Surrounded* 127). Archilde "could not explain how his mother had been able to move without being seen or heard. That was inexplicable" (128).

Catharine le Loup and Elise La Rose are the two female characters who demonstrate resistance without violence; they face the law that represents the disciplinary power over the American Indian community and challenge it. The confrontation between the two women and the law is also represented in the novel as an example of cultural misunderstanding. Dan Smith, the game warden, questions Archilde and his mother about the killing of a female deer; Archilde responds saying that Indians are free from all game laws by special treaty. "The law was a threatening symbol", McNickle notes, Archilde "would have to speak for them", "we just shot a small deer", Archilde explained to the warden (*The Surrounded* 124).

The game warden fails to communicate with Archilde, Louis and Catharine; he underscores "the institutionalized racism, the legacy of law, and the disenfranchisement of American Indians in the US furthermore" (Lim 149). When Catharine and Louis speak Salish, the game warden loses his temper; he informs them that they are under arrest and fires at Louis. The mother hits the warden with a hatchet as a response. In the second scene with Emile la Rose, when Archilde decides to obey the police order, as he is wanted for the murder of the

game warden, Elise kills the Sheriff; “she had a rifle in her hands and was shooting-from the hip-one-two-three explosions. The Sheriff never got his gun from the holster. He was down with three shots in his chest, each one jarring him as it hit” (The Surrounded 294-295). Catharine’s action, Lim notes, “signifies the terrifying sense of loss and long-term suffering of dislocation” (151).

Through the two acts of murder, McNickle criticizes the violence that is enacted on the Indian community in the name of human civilization and maintenance of social order. Catharine’s act stems from the Indians’ encounter with violence and the law which legitimizes the oppression of the Indians. The social functions of the chiefs have been replaced by those of the government agent. “The coherent functions of law enforcement, once a common tribal responsibility, have been taken over by the vindictive and hateful Sheriff Quigley” (Ruppert 186).

Native Americans, being independent people, could not be forced to accept change. The loss of free acts and life equals cultural death and alienation. Lim, for example, challenges the perception of the United States as a symbol of freedom and democracy by suggesting that viewing mountains as under constant surveillance contradicts this ideal : “The vision of the mountains as an open space under surveillance hardly fulfills the notion of the U.S. as a land of freedom and democracy” (Lim155). A reference to the title is relevant in this regard; it suggests this control and regulation of the space and the Indian community by the state instituted game laws. Elise’s act is also symbolical, “it serves as a response to the law and cultural alienation that she and the community encounter daily in the reservation and boarding school” (159). Elise refuses to perform the submissive role that is expected of her by the law. The freedom and land of the Salish people have been disciplined by the state through the law and the dispossession of the natives, and this fact clarifies Catharine and Elise’s reactions to the law enforcement.

The Indian, to white Christians, was considered as the innocent child who is not only fathered by the entire Anglo-European power structure, but also by the church. The metaphor of the father-child relationship is clearly rendered in *The Surrounded.* It is repeatedly referred to by Father Grepilloux, the Jesuit priest. Paternalism is used in the novel to portray the Indian as a powerless child who cannot control his destiny and who is dependent on the paternal power. In chapter four, the text that Father Grepilloux reads to Max Leon, and that dates from the fall of 1854, tells the story of the Jesuits' mission in Montana to instruct or "civilize" the Indians. He reports Chief Running Wolf's words to Father Lamberti, acknowledging that the Indians "have been worshiping False Gods, and (they want the Christians) to teach (them) the True God" (*The Surrounded* 47).

On the character of the Salish people, Grepilloux also adds: "They have the hearts of children" (47). McNickle doubts the Jesuit's claim, and this skepticism is shown through Max's reaction to these stories. Max plays the role of a good listener because he doubts these stories. According to Father Grepilloux, the Indians wanted to know the right faith. The stories told by Grepilloux report "that the Salish people had a reputation for having met the white men with open friendliness; but now to say that they had stood ready to be Christianized, and even sought priests-that was bewildering (to Max)" (48). Max questions the story about the Jesuits' arrival as it becomes clear that its several components are missing.

The father's image is also represented in the figure of the stern father, Max leon. He is unable to understand his half-Indian sons, and "when they fail to become fully acculturated, Max becomes bitter" (Owens 244). Leon is paralleled to the church: "Like the church, Max Leon expects unquestioning obedience from his children; and like the church, Max doesn't comprehend the need to recognize another map of the mind than his own (244).

In *The Surrounded*, McNickle questions the impact of Christianity on the values of Montana's Salish community, "he exposes its role in undermining any substantial cultural

resistance to an expanding American empire" (Christensen 2). Christensen alludes to a theological imperialism that affected the indigenous North American communities and explores how the Native community in *The Surrounded* accepted an "alien cosmology" as the Salish urged the Jesuits to establish a mission in "Sniél-emen". The Iroquois advised the Salish to adopt a new form of power that could make them become strong again, that is "embodied in the crucifix of the Jesuit priests" (3). But the results of this interaction were not the ones they expected.

The mother Catharine is Christianized in the novel; she was the first Salish convert to the Christian religion. "Her loyalty had never been shaken. She urged her children to remember their duties and when they strayed from grace she was full of sorrow and dread" (The Surrounded 175). Catharine, however, thinks and believes in Salish, and the Christian life that she adopts is not so deep. In her death, she returns to her Salish identity and abandons the Christian faith. "She has not gone to Mass on Christmas Eve, for the first time since the Fathers came, and she had not been to Mass since. She stayed away from church completely. She spoke to no one about it, but it was a fact that she was as good as a pagan now" (176).

In Catharine's death, the reader sees a resurrection of her Native American spirit that was once annihilated by the power of the Euro-American spirit. Social breakdown and chaos occurs in the novel when the characters are robbed of their identity. The displacement of the indigenous people was attributed to governmental policies, but the expansion of Christianity also weakened the native cultures.

Alienation is manifested in *The Surrounded* as an expression of isolation, powerlessness, meaninglessness and a kind of hopelessness. Max Leon, the white father, is so displeased with his son Louis's behavior that he lives apart from the other members of his family, notably his wife. He refuses all contact with Louis, who is himself estranged from his people and who is pursued by the local authorities for stealing horses. Archilde is also alienated

from his mother's traditional Salish practices as he lived estranged for a long time from the Flathead Reservation, following his education in the local Catholic mission school and in a federal Indian boarding school. But as he comes back to the reservation, he grows fond of his mother's culture and traditions.

The major forces that are acting on the alienation of these characters are mainly related to the acculturation of the Indians and to the conflictual relationship that opposed whites to Indians in the reservation. The confrontation between Archilde, his mother Catharine, Elise la Rose and the law demonstrates McNickle's criticism of the Indian country criminal justice system that affected badly the Flathead reservation and created a sense of victimization among them. McNickle also criticizes the paternalistic stance that the church enacts on the Salish Indians. These different structures create the alienation of not only one character, but of a whole Indian tribe that represents a whole Indian nation.

The major expressions that shape McNickle's narrative are the power of words and storytelling, the close relationship between identity and setting, and the importance of tradition and bloodlines. These expressions are also present in other Native American writings, notably in Navarre Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* published in 1968.

Goldberg considers *The Surrounded* to be a seminal work, and it is not surprising to find that some of the novel's premises have influenced the writings of other authors, including those of Leslie Marmon Silko, Gerald Vizenor and others who have contributed to the development of the Native American literary movement.

One of the similarities that mark Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* and McNickle's *The Surrounded* is the struggle of the alienated character to rebuild his lost identity in a world powered by the forces of modernity and civilization. The next section will shed light on how Momaday represents these forces and how they affect the major character in *House Made of Dawn.*

2-5 Introduction to Navarre Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*

Navarre Scott Momaday, a Kiowa painter, poet and scholar, won a Pulitzer Prize for his first novel *House Made of Dawn* (1968). As a landmark of Native American literature, the novel gives an insight into Native American literary conceptions and brings forth an understanding of indigenous identities. N. Scott Momaday's writing created a revolution in the mainstream of contemporary Native American Literature. It created a Renaissance, "a Native American Renaissance and opened the way for other Native American writers to publish works which deal with Native life in the United States. This Renaissance has continued to this day" (Rao 279). Momaday emphasizes the importance of the Kiowa landscape and his father's tribal heritage in his writings. It is prominent in his autobiographical book: *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969). Rao notes, "Repeatedly and emphatically in essays, interviews, and addresses, Momaday had held that what distinguishes American Indian from Euroamerican moral and spiritual vision is a deep-rooted identity with, a sense of responsibility to, the natural environment" (279).

The value of the land constitutes one of the major concerns of Momaday. He manages to connect the Native American reader to his ancestral traditions and to make him respect his homeland. Momaday's position and concern with the necessity to be environmentally responsible, with the power of language and need for identity, were mainly nurtured by the political atmosphere of the 1960s, the destruction of native lands and the multi-cultural environment he lived in as a child. Momaday, in his writings, aimed at demolishing the longstanding stereotypes bestowed upon the red race by the whites through advocating Native American values.

One of the major great contributions of Momaday in promoting the development of Native American literature is establishing a course solely dedicated to the study of American

Indian oral tradition at several universities. He also established the Buffalo Trust, an organization that is dedicated to preserve the link between young Native Americans and the elders of the tribes. In order to build his narratives, Momaday uses modernist literary strategies; he constructs his works on them and keeps readers disconnected or distanced from the storyline. Momaday acknowledges the influence of modernist writers as William Faulkner, James Joyce and D.H. Lawrence, thus the major outline is traced in his novels. The thought processes of the protagonist Abel in *House Made of Dawn*, his first novel published in 1968, are not clear to the reader; and though it constitutes a principle theme in the novel, violence as part of cultural confrontation is not explained or commented on by the narrator. Thus, this complexity gives rise to another confrontation when reading *House Made of Dawn*, that Coulombe defines as "an initial confrontation of the so-called Native American Renaissance to non-Native readers". *House Made of Dawn* "resists simple solutions to social fragmentation and proposes a method of healing and wholeness available to all people" (37).

In his novel, Momaday also enhances the idea that Euro-Americans are outsiders to the land and its richness. He highlights the alienation of the whites from the indigenous people and their culture that is intrinsic to the land as Coulombe argues, "They are the colonizers who can never understand; much less acclimate, to the sacred truths of the mountains, valleys, or plains, as described within *House*" (37). Thus, Momaday's major assertion in his writings is that non-Natives are incapable to understand tribal life and beliefs as the natives themselves. He argues that by maintaining a connection to ancestral knowledge and customs, Natives will defeat the newcomers who are strangers to the Natives' traditions. One of the ways to subdue the colonizer is not to lose sight of the Indian's connection to the past, it is by preserving his Oral tradition. As Kumar argues, "by creating a circular, nonlinear narrative, replete with disjuncture and multiple storytelling voices, Momaday is trying to tell a complicated story-from several points

of view and several tribal perspectives-in a way that is consistent with his understanding of the structures of oral tradition and the cyclic nature of time" (163).

Momaday exposes the impact of Euro-American culture on Native life and represents the cultural clash that results from this interaction. He shows "a folk historical sense" in his work; he is aware of the relationship between his work and tribal oral literatures (Clements 68). Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* is an impressive hybrid narrative; the author modeled his characters from his childhood multicultural experience. He went to school with children of different tribal affiliation: Navajo, San Carlos Apache, Hispanic, and Anglo. Momaday's Kiowa heritage also shaped his novel. Hence, a background to the Jemez Pueblo and the Kiowa culture and tribal life will be provided in the next section for a thorough understanding of the novel's text and structure.

2-6 The Kiowa: A Historical background to *House Made of Dawn*

Navarre Scott Momaday is of Kiowa descent; he won the Pulitzer Prize for *House Made of Dawn* in 1969. In this novel, he makes abundant use of his multicultural background. The Jemez perspective is presented at the beginning of the novel as the setting is the Indian country of the Southwest, the canyon landscape of northwestern New Mexico. Momaday describes it as "a unique and beautiful landscape, vibrant with wind and rain, blessed always by the sun, and full of color. The Pueblo people say of this special world that it is the center of creation" (qtd.in Hager 9). "It is also the setting of my boyhood", he notes, "From the ages of twelve to seventeen, I lived on the back of a horse, exploring every corner of that beloved world. I came to know well the seasons, the wild life, the heartbeat of the land- and, most of all, the people. They belonged to the land". (Ibid)

The Jemez Pueblo tribe is a federally recognized American Indian tribe, most of its members reside in Walatowa, a Puebloan village. For many years, the Jemez rebelled against Christian missionaries. During the Great Pueblo Revolt in 1680, the Puebloan nations expelled the Spanish from New Mexico. This revolt resulted in years of cultural revival as the Jemez preserved many aspects of their cultural heritage and languages. But by 1692, Santa Fe was reconquested by the Spanish under Governor Diego de Vargas and the Jemez Nation was subdued and placed under military rule. Afterwards, the Pueblo of Jemez' ancestors moved to the village of Walatowa, resided there and built a new church: San Diego de los Jemez.

In the eighteenth century, many died because of smallpox epidemics and the raiding of Apache, Comanche and Ute. New Mexican culture was created because of the blend of the Spanish and Indian cultures, intermarriage and exchange of goods. An old ceremonial activity that is of great importance to the Jemez people is running. The purpose of race was to assist the movement of the sun and moon or to hasten the growth of crops. It became a popular sport. The way of life and religion of the traditional Puebloans should be in harmony with nature, and their religious ceremonies revolve around the weather.

Among the New Mexico Indian tribes, we find nineteen Pueblos, three Apache, and the Navajo Nation. The Navajo tribal life is particularly rich in ceremony and ritual. Every act in their life is represented by chants and prayers. The Navajo reservation extends from northwestern New Mexico into northeastern Arizona and southeastern Utah. The Navajo endured suffering in the past; in 1860, eight thousand Navajos were forced to march to Bosque Redondo, near Fort Sumner, where they were incarcerated for four years before being allowed to return to their homeland. This 1864 deportation of the Navajos was called the Long Walk of the Navajo or the Long Walk to Bosque Redondo.

About his formal education, Momaday notes: "I lived on the Navajo reservation when I was little,... and I lived on two of the Apache reservations, and lived at the Pueblo of Jemez (in

New Mexico) for the longest period of time.... I had a Pan-Indian experience as a child, even before I knew what that term meant" (qtd.in Hager 3). All the elements that build Momaday's narrative are drawn from this display of cultures and different tribal spirits. The author reiterates that specific events in the novel had their origins in his experiences while living on those reservations, and in his father's repeated stories of the Kiowa traditional life and oral literature. He fashioned *House Made of Dawn* from these stories and presented its inherent conflict that opposed the whites to Indians.

In the second part of *House Made of Dawn*, entitled "The Priest of the Sun", the "January 27" chapter which is composed of Reverend John Big Bluff Tosamah's second sermon, Momaday meditates on his Kiowa grandmother's life and on the history of the Kiowa culture. Many of the Kiowa legends are told by the Priest of the Sun. Momaday transmits them in the form of sermons, respecting the oral form of these stories, they mainly reflect the Kiowa's bond with their homeland. One of these legends is reported in this chapter, it forms a basic belief of the Kiowa people in spirit forces that protected them from the Bear, a symbol of evil and destruction in Kiowa mythology, and in the sanctity of their homeland and all that relates to its natural landscape. "Two centuries ago", the priest of the sun says, "because they could not do otherwise, the Kiowa made a legend at the base of the rock", Devils Tower. "My grandmother said,

> Eight children were there at play, seven sisters and their brother. Suddenly the boy was struck dumb; he trembled and began to run upon his hands and feet. His fingers became claws, and his body was covered with fur. There was a bear where the boy had been. The sisters were terrified; they ran, and the bear after them.They came to the stump of a great tree, and the tree spoke to them. It bade them climb upon it, and as they did so, it began to rise into the air. The bear came

> to kill them, but they were just beyond its reach. It reared against the tree and scored the bark all around with its claws. The seven sisters were borne into the sky, and they became the stars of the Big Dipper. (House Made of Dawn 115-116)

The sense of belonging to the Kiowa homeland is significantly related to preserving the Kiowa traditional beliefs and oral literature, and Momaday made it clear in his novel.

The Kiowa people of Oklahoma, residing in a portion of southwestern Oklahoma, had an emotional tie to their land. “Rather than being simply an individual's response to place”, Shnell argues, “homelands involve attachments that reinforce a person's identity as a member of a group” (156). The attachment of the Kiowa people to their homeland is deep. The term ‘homeland’ does not necessarily mean a place where the cultural group resides, but it is rather defined by the strength of the emotional ties that this group has with the land. Through conversations with members of the tribe, Shnell exposes the Kiowa Indians’ feelings, stories and identity that constitute the main traits of their Oklahoma homeland. In his study, he addressed the elderly Kiowa, who are according to him, the most knowledgeable about Kiowa culture and oral tradition. “The earliest place where the Kiowa are known to have lived is the northern Rocky Mountains, near the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers... Sometime prior to 1700 the tribe moved eastward out of the mountains into the Black Hills” (158). They were not agricultural people, but they were known for buffalo hunting. They began a southward migration after they were forced from the Black Hills by the Cheyenne and the Lakota. Shnell relates,

> By 1833 the Kiowa had centered their lives near the Wichita Mountains in southwestern Oklahoma, and, along with their allies the Comanche, they soon

> held firm control over the southern Plains from the Arkansas River all the way into central Texas, and from the Cross Timbers of central Oklahoma westward into the Llano Estacado of the Texas Panhandle. (158)

In 1867, they settled with the Comanche and Plains Apache on a reservation in southwestern Oklahoma. Later, many Kiowa groups were forced to move from rural areas to cities, and today half of the tribe's members live outside the former reservation lands.

One of the specificities of the Kiowa culture is the building of Arbors. It is part of their culture to construct arbors that are permanent outbuildings situated behind houses, they provide shade and relief from the hot Oklahoma summer sun. There were also other circular arbors that provided shade for spectators at tribal dances as at the old sun dance.

The Quakers were the first missionaries among the Kiowa Indians, who arrived in Oklahoma in the late 1860s.Besides Christianizing the Indians, the missionaries were attempting to civilize the Indians of the Plains' tribes. The "Mother Church of Kiowa Methodism" was established by J.J Methvin at Anadarko in 1887, and later the Methodist mission church was created at Mount Scott in the 1890s. The Baptists were provided eighty acres near Rainy Mountain and another eighty acres near Elk Creek, it permitted them to found churches in 1893 at those sites and at Redstone and Saddle Mountain (162). Thus, the Kiowa have two principle Christian church groups, the Baptists, whose mission churches are still at Rainy Mountain, and Methodists, who settled at Mount Scott and Cedar Creek.

The members of Rainy Mountain church chose to let its location unchanged; they travel to attend the church because the location is the most important place where they could regain their sense of self and identity. The natural beauty of the setting, the Wichita Mountains and the natural landscape provide the Kiowa a peaceful refuge. The Kiowa ancestors are buried at Rainy Mountain, and it remains a symbolic landscape for the Kiowa.

The Canyon of Palo Duro is connected to a sad history of the Kiowa. As the Kiowa Indians resisted the reservation life imposed on them by the US military, they fled and took shelter in Palo Duro Canyon along with bands of Comanche and some Cheyenne who were also opposed to the instigation of reservation life. Colonel Ranald Mackenzie attacked the encampment, killed 3 Indians and slaughtered 1400 ponies. This was a significant setback for the tribe, as the loss of these animals would have severely compromised their ability to survive the harsh winter. The place became not only symbolic of sadness but also of pride and resistance. Many Kiowa people were held prisoners in Fort Sill after their final military defeat; they surrendered there after the battle in Palo Duro Canyon and were imprisoned in the corral, the high stone wall. At Fort Sill cemetery, the first Indian cemetery established before Indian mission cemeteries were open in the 1880s, famous Indian chiefs were buried. Shnell reports,

> Fort Sill contains the graves of many a revered Kiowa leader of the treaty period: Sitting Bear, Satanta, Stumbling Bear, Kicking Bird, Big Bow, and Hunting Horse of the Kiowa, as well as Quanah Parker,the "Last Chief of the Comanche."Inscriptions on the headstones make clear what qualified an Indian for interment: beyond the personal names, most stones list only tribal associations and that the person was a signer of either the Little Arkansas Treaty or the Medicine Lodge Treaty, which gave up vast tracts of land in ex-change for peace and annuities. A few stones identify Indian scouts for the U.S. Army. (168)

What makes southwestern Oklahoma a homeland for the Kiowa is not their physical presence, it is rather their spiritual presence. The sense of belonging to a specific place, a place where

they can find strength and restore their identity, is what makes this particular area their homeland.

Every2 -4 July, the Kiowa Gourd Clan Ceremonial is the unique important event for the Kiowa people that is held in Carnegie, the modern equivalent of “the Sun Dance”. They travel from different states to attend the ceremony all across Oklahoma. Shnell refers to a kind of pilgrimage that is sacred according to his Kiowa interviewees. It is the event that brings the members of the tribe together,

> It is also a time of renewal, a time to reaffirm one's Kiowaness. As one man put it, it is a chance for the tribe to gather and say, "Here we are again, we are still alive, we survive.... Goingback to southwest Oklahoma is important; there's a lot of memories tied to that place. I know all the sounds and the smells and the singing and the dancing from the July Fourth celebration. It's all a part of who you are; it restores your feeling,your spirit,your place. (172)

Standing alone, beyond the edge of the Wichita Mountains, a small round topped knoll attracts the attention of the region’s visitors. This place is called Rainy Mountain and it is of great importance to the Kiowa people. Momaday’s *The way to Rainy Mountain* defines the place’s significance to his people and to his own personal search for identity. It traces his ancestors’ journey from Montana to Rainy Mountain. What inspired Momaday to write this novel is the need of exploration of the Kiowa tradition, “his encounter in 1963 with the Tai-me bundle, the sacred Sun Dance fetish of the Kiowa tribe, and the day Momaday went to Rainy Mountain cemetery to mourn Aho, his grand-mother, who had died shortly after introducing him to Tai-me” (Poz 612).

Momaday in *The Way to Rainy Mountain* describes the long journey of his ancestors, he attests the Kiowa greatness and identifies the process of their self-determination, as he himself notes,

> They began a long migration from the headwaters of the Yellowstone River eastward to the Black Hills and south to the Wichita Mountains. Along the way they acquired horses, the religion of the Plains, a love of possession of the open land. Their nomadic soul was set free. In alliance with the Comanches they held dominion in the southern Plains for a hundred years. In the course of that long migration they had come of age as a people. They had conceived a good idea of themselves; they had dared to imagine and determine who they were. (3-4)

This quote evokes the transformative journey of the Kiowa people as they migrated and adapted to new circumstances. Momaday highlights the significance of acquiring horses, which facilitated their mobility and transformed their way of life, as well as the adoption of Plains religion, which likely provided them with a sense of identity and belonging. The alliance with the Comanches and their subsequent dominance in the southern Plains symbolizes their strength and resilience as a people. The Kiowa journey is seen as one of self-discovery and empowerment, during which they forged their identity and asserted their presence in the region.

2-7 Alienation in *House Made of Dawn*

Momaday's first novel *House Made of Dawn* represents the most important literary contribution to Native American Literature. It is divided into five parts including the introduction, each of which has its own title. Momaday intended his novel to be a collection of poems, but he decided to create stories based on Indian tradition and wisdom instead.

Dillingham considers *House Made of Dawn* as the finest piece of writing by an Indian author to date (39). Abel, the protagonist, is portrayed as the Indian who is a stranger in his own land, he is depicted as an alienated figure. As he returns psychologically wounded from the Second World War, he finds himself alienated from the world of the Indian and unable to adapt to the devastating effects of the white man's urban world.

In *House Made of Dawn*, Momaday creates a universal framework that includes the use of Christian and Indian motifs and images. The novel depicts different aspects of alienation, like the feeling of powerlessness, the sense of meaninglessness, cultural estrangement, social isolation and self-alienation (Kumar 161). Abel's sense of cultural estrangement and social isolation give rise to his feeling of self-estrangement but also motivates him to look for his self-identity. He confronted war overseas during WWII, and after his return home in the mid-1940s, to Jemez Pueblo, New Mexico, he had to confront another evil, the Albino, represented as a witch snake figure.

The title of the novel is taken from a prayer song entitled "The House Made of Dawn". It symbolizes an Indian identity that is in symbiosis with nature and represents a prayer for spirit regeneration. Being in harmony with the natural world is of great importance in the novel. The majesty and grandiosity of the natural landscape as described several times by Momaday require certain rites to be performed by the Indian; these rites and ceremonies have no sense in the whites' world and are stripped of their power in it.

The decay of Indian society and culture are represented by the ambiguity of the Sun priest's attitude, and the excessive drinking of Indians. Abel, for instance, is filled with self-loathing; his self-hatred is manifested in his drinking and in his violence. His attempt to escape the tragedy of his wartime memories through drinking demonstrates his inability to deal with his weaknesses. Coulombe explains that "Abel provides a case study of the alienated modern man, and racist stereotypes complicate the general social malaise in which he (and Angela)

exist" (41). It is because of war that Abel loses his self-identification, it traumatized him and destroyed his relationship to his people and land. It rendered him inarticulate. As Abel is inarticulate, different events are commented on by other characters, this fact creates the communication gap between the two worlds in the novel, the white and the Indian. An example is the trial of Abel after he murdered the Albino.

According to Paula Gunn Allen, a Native American poet and literary critic, the dimension of alienation that comes up frequently in the work of American Indian poets and novelists is "tonguelessness" (11). Powerlessness in *House Made of Dawn* is mainly caused by the inability of the characters to speak. It is the same dimension that we already depicted in D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded*. Abel lives not only estranged from his own people but also from himself. Abel, for instance, isolates himself and does not participate in the ceremonies held by his tribe to organize the seasons and human relationships. He is unable to accept the captivity of the eagle. When he participates with the Bakyush, the people of Pecos Pueblo, described by Momaday as "medicine men; .... rainmakers and eagle hunters" (*House Made of Dawn* 15), in their eagle hunt, Abel violates the ceremony by strangling the eagle. "Bound and helpless, his eagle seemed drab and shapeless in the moonlight, too large and ungainly for flight. Its sight filled him with shame and disgust. He took hold of its throat in the darkness and cut off its breath" (20).

Abel is introduced in the Prologue in the midst of a landscape where "the valley was gray with rain, and snow lay out upon the dunes. It was dawn." In a powerful image that encapsulates his solitary journey, Abel was running, "He was running, running... Against the winter sky and the long, light landscape of the valley at dawn, he seemed almost to be standing still, very little and alone" (House Made of Dawn 2). This first depiction of Abel reveals his isolated character and foreshadows his alienation and estrangement from his native land. When Momaday describes the natural landscape of Walatowa, he gives it a majestic outlook and an

importance that Abel is unaware of at the beginning. After Abel endures the experiences of war and comes back to Walatowa, he gradually becomes infatuated with his mysterious land. Another allusion to alienation is also related to Abel's tribal affiliation, he "did not know who his father was. His father was a Navajo, they said, or a Sia, or an Isleta, an outsider anyway, which made him and his mother and Vidal somehow foreign and strange" (11).

In the novel, Abel kills the Albino, the representative of evil and white supremacists; this act is described by Coulombe as the strongest rejection of white society and people in the novel (48). The Albino represents danger and the intruder in the Native world. The act of killing him is similar to an earlier description of an eagle killing a snake; the description of the Albino's expressions is very suggestive of a snake's as it is described in this passage: "In the instant before he fell, his great white body grew erect and seemed to cast off its age and weight; it grew supple and sank slowly to the ground, as if the bones were dissolving within it" (House Made of Dawn 73). Abel tries to destroy everything that destroys him; he kills the albino, believing him to be a witch, the responsible for all the pain and grief which he has suffered. And because of alcohol, he becomes violent and is beaten to death by the culebra policeman. The murder of the albino represents Abel's attempt to overcome the cultural identity crisis that has tormented him for so long.

Antel suggests that the feminine principle in the novels of Momaday, Silko and Welsh, which supports the ancient power of Indian women in tribal life, is closely connected to the theme of male alienation in these novels. She explains,

> Each is ostensibly the story of a young, alienated Indian man living in the middle of the twentieth century, each male protagonist has served in the military and that experience has contributed to his despair; each man is poor, unemployed, and without plans for a job in the future; each man is very much alone in the world with few, if any, ties to friends or community; and perhaps most

> significant, each man has estranged relationships with Indian women. As each author describes the protagonist's alienation and reveals the reasons for its existence, he or she also presents another, more significant, literary theme, that of the power and importance of the feminine principle" (213).

Momaday creates his alienated character as being lost in the world without a mother figure. He separates the protagonist from his mother to make sense of his despair and sense of isolation. Abel's mother died when he was very young, and all the female figures in this novel appear in the Indian men's memories from the past. Abel "remembered that she had been beautiful in a way that he as well as others could see and her voice had been as soft as water" (House Made of Dawn 11). Though Abel has an intimate relation with a white woman, it cannot "ameliorate the ravages of estrangement from the feminine principle" of which the main power is attributed to Indian women (Antel 218).

Momaday also presents the image of a fatherless hero who represents the contemporary Indian situation: "Being without roots, Abel,Ben and Tosamah, who stand for today's Indian generation, can neither find a new father in the modern world nor rely on any fathers in a destroyed old world; they have to return to their grandfathers. It is the Indian culture of their forefathers which offers them support, protection and the possibility of regaining a lost identity" (Kumar167). Abel's search for peace is related to his search for identity, he gains peace when he realizes that there should be a balance between one's inner self and the powers of the universe, be it nature or spiritual guidance. He realizes that the Great Spirit is in the center of all events.

Francisco, Abel's grandfather embodies the traditional way of life of the Jemez culture. He tries to teach Abel the traditional way of life in order to be in harmony with nature, but Abel's disease hampers this fusion. Abel cannot remember his own life in Jemez before the Second World War, this fact indicates the traumatic effect that the war had on his spiritual and

physical being. His spiritual disease manifests itself as the inability to accomplish harmony or a symbiosis with his ancestral land, Jemez.

Abel's life divides into stages, the figures of the eagle and the snake are symbolizing them, they are also the major forces that affect his spiritual disease and that cause his alienation. "Abel identifies himself with the figure of the eagle, that, when on earth, cannot succeed...in the beginning he admires eagles just because of their heavenly freedom and their ostensible lack of connection with the land, while the snake is an anchor, establishing contact with one place, and that is Walatova" (Lučić 94). In fact, Abel's admiration for eagles is related to their freedom and majesty. Momaday describes them as "they rose and swung across the skyline, veering close at last,... and (Abel) knelt down behind the rock, dumb with pleasure and excitement, holding on to them with his eyes" (House Made of Dawn 16).

In the second and the third parts of the novel, Abel loses sight of his land; the setting changes as the events take place in Los Angeles. Abel is unable to achieve any success because he is a foreigner to the place. Ben Benally and Tosamah also suffer from this separation as they are separated from the land they originate from. All of them try to adapt to the new environment and to the foreign culture surrounding them. Abel becomes completely alienated from himself and his friends when he gave up working and looking for a job, after he had been savagely beaten in Los Angeles by a policeman. He returns to the reservation after his disillusionment with the new life he hoped to live. In the reservation he would take care of his dying grandfather and acknowledge the importance of tribal tradition. At the end, when his grandfather dies, Abel performs a ritual ceremony, putting on traditional clothes and covering the dead body with ashes to express his deep sorrow. He also takes part in "the race of the dead", the ritual that his grandfather used to tell him about.

Through his participation in ritual, Abel learns the requirements of his own life by joining the Dawn Runners. When Francisco dies, Abel finally understands what he must do.

After preparing his grandfather for burial and notifying the priest, he goes out at dawn to run the ceremonial race. In this symbolic act, running, Abel reconnects himself to his life in Walatowa and accepts the responsibility and heritage passed down to him. Momaday notes,

> He was alone and running on. All of his being was concentrated in the sheer motion of running on, and he was past caring about the pain. Pure Exhaustion laid hold of his mind, and he could think at last without having to think. He could see the canyon and the mountains and the sky. He could see the rain and the river and the fields beyond. He could see the dark hills at dawn. He was running, and under his breath he began to sing. There was no sound, and he had no voice; he had only the words of a song. And he went running on the rise of the song. House made of pollen, house made of dawn. Qtsedaba. (House Made of Dawn 185)

Momaday is proposing at the end of his novel a hope for cultural continuity. The running is considered here as a rite that is sacred and a courageous act that represents the sacrament of creation. The dawn runners show a great strength and endurance, they perform the run against evil and death. After his grandfather's death, Abel returns to the reservation and is able to accept his place in the world and defeat the fear that dominated his life in the beginning. Abel also, through the tough experiences he had undergone, acquires a new sense of self and a holy vision of his tribal past, and his self-estrangement becomes oriented towards self-construction.

Abel's alienation is a response to specific situations. It is expressed as a problem of relationship between Abel and social structure. Abel's values are incompatible with the social roles he is given in the novel. In the first part of the novel, Abel is unable to fuse with the traditional rituals of his people; and in the second part, he is also incapable to adapt to the

white's world in Los Angeles. Thus, a negative response is produced by Abel. He responds to the hegemony of the albino, who represents the white race's spirit of domination, by killing him.

The separation from his mother and father figures causes Abel's despair and sense of isolation. The feminine principle plays an important role in Indian culture; likewise, the father figure offers the Indian support and protection. Both make possible the regaining of a lost identity. Momaday sums it up, claiming that Abel "shows all the symptoms of identity confusion : estrangement from both the tribal and the Anglo-American cultures" (qtd in Bartelt 471). His sense of self is profoundly altered by alienating encounters, leaving him in a state of disorientation, estrangement, and solitude.

Conclusion

Abel's alienation, as is the case with the alienation of the Pueblo and Kiowa Indians in the beginning of the twentieth century, is a response to the inability to restore harmony with the ancestral land. Abel's healing process is accomplished at last as he reinserts himself into the traditional way of life of his tribe and rejects his urban career in Los Angeles. He reconnects with his culture and homeland and responds to his initial powerless and meaningless state by constructing his tribal heritage. Momaday unravels the healing process through the reconstruction of Abel's lost identity and sense of belonging.

Abel's and Archilde's return to their conservative, traditional reservation life at last, is a response to the loss of identity that is a form of alienation. Abel and Archilde's characters respond to the collective consciousness shared by their respective social groups. This collective consciousness encompasses the expansionist attitude of the white American and his politics of Relocation, which are the primary sources of frontier anxiety in the two novels. *House Made of Dawn* shows how the post-war years' strong American economy led thousands of people from

reservations to move to urban regions in pursuit of employment opportunities. The federal government actively promoted Native Americans' assimilation into the American mainstream through a voluntary relocation program, officially inaugurated in 1952.The second half of the 20th century saw then a considerable urbanization of American Indians.

In *The Surrounded* and *House Made of Dawn*, the frontier is no more considered as the nineteenth century endless frontier presented in Cooper's and Simms's novels, but it becomes synonymous with a constrained reservation life. As alienation is elucidated through a process of comprehension, it becomes clear that it should be related to frontier anxiety and inserted into a larger structure, following Goldman's approach, through a process of explanation.

Chapter Three

Frontier Anxiety: An Expression of Open and Constrained Boundaries

Introduction

The conflicts that arise in the selected novels of Cooper, Simms, McNickle and Momaday are mainly due to the intrusion of civilization in the American Indians' natural world and traditional life. This intrusion causes "anxiety" as a response to the tension occurring on the frontier with its two-fold dimensions: on the margins of the settlements in *The Pioneers* and *The Yemassee*, and on Reservations in *The Surrounded* and *House Made of Dawn.*

Anxiety is a major part of American life. In this context, it shall not be considered as a symptom of clinical disorders but as "a mass cultural phenomenon". Collective anxieties are products of cultural dynamics, and my concern is on the dynamics that are at work in American society in the novels. Bast et al contend that widespread anxiety is specific to the present and "that the contemporary moment in the United States is particularly prone to producing anxiety" (viii). However, it was also present in the early centuries of the United States formation. The anxiety that is evoked in *The Pioneers* and *The Yemassee* is constructed on a conflict between a yearning for the pastoral ideal and the actual violent intrusion of an external culture in the Indians' world. Likewise, in *The Surrounded* and *House Made of Dawn*, anxiety is produced through the conflict between the strife for self-determination and the imposed institutions by white Americans on Indian tribal life in reservations.

This contention could be supported by Sigmund Freud's well thought assumptions about the discontents of civilization. Freud in *Civilization and its Discontents* discusses the role of civilization and makes it responsible for the misery of humankind, he explains, "This contention holds that what we call our civilization is largely responsible for our misery, and that we should be much happier if we gave it up and return to primitive conditions" (33). At the origin of human suffering lie three historical factors which created disillusionment with human civilization: 1 / the victory of Christendom over pagan religions; 2 / the discovery and conquest

of primitive tribes and peoples, who, to Europeans seemed to be living more happily in a state of nature; 3 / the scientific identification of the mechanisms of neuroses, which are caused by the frustrating demands put on the individual by modern society. A reduction of those demands or people's withdrawal from the society that imposed them would lead to greater happiness. In regard to the third factor, Freud contends "that a person becomes neurotic because he cannot tolerate the amount of frustration which society imposes on him…..that the abolition or reduction of those demands would result in a return to possibilities of happiness" (34). For the regulation of social relationships, a "decisive step" toward civilization lies in the replacement of the individual by the power of a community. Civilized societies place the rule of law over individual instincts, and this is one way by which civilization imposes restrictions on the liberty of the individual. The law has tried to refine itself to the point of regulating forms of aggression, but it still fails to prevent it. Freud gives the example of communism, which resorted to the abolition of private property as a means to prevent individuals to get disproportionate wealth and abuse his fellow men. Aggression predates the ownership of property, it cannot alter human nature, it can only alter a motivation by which human nature operates: greed. Freud observes that "Civilized man has exchanged a portion of his possibilities of happiness for a portion of security" (62).

The most dangerous society is one in which the leader is "exalted" and individuals do not acquire a sense of identity; Feud exemplifies this kind of society, drawing our attention to American society. "The present cultural state of America", Freud notes, "would give a good opportunity for studying the damage to civilization which is thus to be feared. But I shall avoid the temptation of entering upon a critique of American civilization; I do not wish to give an impression of wanting myself to employ American methods." (63)

The individual's possibilities to experience happiness are limited, experiencing unhappiness stems from "our own body which is doomed to decay and dissolution and which

cannot even do without pain and anxiety as warning signals; from the external world, which may rage against us with overwhelming and merciless forces of destruction; and finally from our relations to other men" (24). In order to avoid anxiety, man employs various strategies for this purpose, among these, man voluntarily isolates himself as a reaction to the third source of unpleasure. But, according to Freud, another important way to steer clear of it is becoming a member of the human community. Thus, the behavior that should be adopted to achieve happiness and avoid anxiety depends on the interaction of the individual with his environment.

From this perspective, in the analysis of the selected novels of Cooper, Simms, McNickle and Momaday, several critical lines of inquiry arise. These inquiries focus on understanding the concept of the frontier and its significance in 19th and 20th-century American thought. They explore how the frontier, with its various dimensions, shaped the attitudes of white American settlers and American Indians, and how it contributed to anxiety as a widespread cultural phenomenon. This chapter also examines how civilization is responsible for the misery experienced by American Indian characters in these novels.

Part of the explanation process involves inserting "Alienation" and "Anxiety" as the major concepts that build the framework of the selected novels into a larger structure; this process also clarifies the world visions of the authors. In *Hidden God*, Lucien Goldmann sees the text as the expression of a world vision, analyzing closely the world vision as "constituting a whole made up of the intellectual and social life of the group", and considering the thoughts and feelings of the members of the group as an "expression on their economic and social life" (99). Goldmann suggests that a researcher must keep in mind that the role and activity of a part is certainly related to the activity of the whole. And this view will be exposed at the end of this chapter to trace the selected authors' expressions of specific world visions.

3-1 The Frontier and the Frontiersman in Nineteenth Century America

Looking for a new west, and thinking that they could free themselves from the constrictions of civilization, many Americans migrated across the Mississippi River and onto the plains, mountains, and deserts of the west. Archetypal characters of frontier literature had been created by many chroniclers of the westward migration, and many descriptions of the natural beauty of the western landscape had been featured. In the introduction to "American Frontier Literature", the dichotomy between civilization and the frontier is a central theme. The text explores how European thinking and traditional societal norms perceived these contrasting elements:

> Represented by European thinking and the rules and customs of traditional society, civilization was thought to symbolize the past while the frontier - with its promises of adventure, opportunity and individual freedom - was regarded as the future. However, the frontier also represented danger, alienation, and even violence. (1)

The positive images portrayed in Frontier Literature are associated with the pastoral frontier as agrarianism forms the major force characterizing life in the wilderness. Civilization has been associated with Europe, with society and its restrictions, as well as with industrialism and class distinctions. The frontier is not a specific place, rather, it is "a cluster of images and values that grew out of the confrontation between the uncivilized and the civilized world" (Busby 10). Thus, the major definition given to the frontier was associated with the clash between wilderness and civilization.

In *The Significance of the American Frontier in American History* (1893), Frederick Jackson Turner defines the frontier as "the outer edge of the wave—the meeting point between savagery and civilization"; it is important for it "lies at the hither edge of free land". Turner acknowledges that American development was processed thanks to "the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward", he enhances the importance of the westward expansion in the building of the American character. He contends that "Americanization" was achieved only when Americans moved away from the influence of Europe (2). According to Turner, Historians must look to the distinctive environment of the United States.

With the advance westward, different "frontier" types emerged. The Fur traders were restless nomads who led the way westward. They were rather fond of solitary life in the forests and did not like the company of other people. Those traders accustomed Indians to the whites' guns and knives and weakened them by spreading vices among them as well as diseases. The cattle-men were also advancing westward into the trans-Mississippi West, "to build their cattle kingdom on the gargantuan grassland of the Great Plains before succumbing once more to pressure from farmers and retiring to the fenced pastures of today" (Billington 4). Miners also played an important role in the frontier advance. Gold discoveries led the miners to Western Georgia and Alabama in the beginning of the 19th century. Later, it moved to California, Nevada and Colorado. The farmers also wanted to conquer the western lands, they were not willing to adapt with nature but to conquer it. Billington indicates that "Millions of acres of virgin timber were stripped away by their axes, millions of acres of prairie sod were turned under their plows" (5). The farmers wanted to exterminate the Indians and cursed traders for providing them with firewater and firearms.

The attractiveness of the westward region is the main cause that led to the move. As each settled area became worn out and diminished, its inhabitants were more inclined to look

to the frontier for better conditions. Both rich and poor could be found among the early pioneers. White Americans who settled on the frontier were living under an expanding capitalist system of private property and a freer political and economic system, as explained in this passage: "They insisted on living under political arrangements that provided them government by consent, extraordinary local autonomy, and guarantees of the rule of law, which included civil and legal rights as well as land in fee simple and many forms of possessory rights" (Billington and Martin Ridge 379).

Frontier settlers believed they were the forerunners of civilization. Their religious views reinforced this idea as the Indian was majorly regarded as an outlaw and an outcast. On the frontier, the relation between whites and Indians was characterized by fear, hatred and violence. Christian humanitarians believed that Indians would gradually lose their cultural and racial identity, but this conversion proved difficult to attain for the unwillingness of the natives to melt into white society and culture. For this reason, they became exiled by the end of the 19th century, both geographically and socially.

Turner's thesis' relevance was a subject to vigorous criticism, especially in the 1930s. Ray Allen Billington, for instance, explains the reason for the inconsistence of Turner's theory at that period; he argues that Turner's most important contribution is a theory that emphasized geographic rather than class forces. The 1930s was an era mostly characterized by the Great Depression and workers' despondency; intellectuals were Marxist oriented critics who advanced that Turner neglected class forces as a factor determining the westward expansion. These critics were rebelling against Turner's emphasis on one single aspect to explain the American nation's development. Other critics, however, criticized Turner's stress on the western rather than the eastern origins of civilization. Billington notes,

> On the one hand Turner was charged with denying a basic principle in modern historiography…in ascribing America's development to the frontier and ignoring such vital forces as the class struggle, industrialization, urbanization, and the rise of transportation systems- On the other he was blamed for encouraging provincialism and isolationism through his failure to recognize the continuing influence of the East and Europe on the American West. (2)

Turner's thesis was criticized because of its claim that the frontier is not looking to the east but is unique, thus, the claim ignores the influence of the east on the west. Reality is, Cronon claims, that the frontier was a place where eastern institutions dominated its life, such as the federal government and the city. There is also the question of minorities being marginalized in Turner's thesis. The historical experiences of these ethnical groups are neglected though they played an important role in the frontier, they remained isolated from other communities. These groups include "Blacks, Chicanos, Chinese, and Indians". Cronon argues that Turner's thesis had propagated an ideology but cannot be considered as a major contribution to historical knowledge (159).

After the closing of the frontier, and as it caused Turner "increasing anxiety as he grew older", he noted the necessity to revise history "from the new points of view afforded by the present". This anxiety has also emerged in American society as the process of "Americanization" came to an end (167). Turner wanted to recreate his theory but in terms of the present needs. He wanted to replace his frontier theory and advanced "The Significance of Sections in American History". Instead of the frontier, another factor was to be taken into consideration "the Section". Sectional differences in the US would arise from the difference in geographical regions; and section, as the frontier, could explain American history in the same way. Cronon also refers to the failure and incoherence of this second theory. "Unlike the

frontier", he notes, "the sectional hypothesis had no overarching structure, no narrative that could be used to link monographic themes into an organic unity" (168). He adds,

> The central weakness of the famous 1893 essay was its tendency to portray the frontier as *isolate*,a place whose importance derived from the very fact that it was so removed from the rest of civilization. In reality, even the most remote frontier was always connected to economic activities and demographic changes in the rest of the world, especially in the rising urban centers whose growth was central to frontier expansion itself. (173)

In order to consolidate the western border, American government had to treat with the Six Nations, according to Turner, because the Indian represented a common danger to them. Thus, every treaty with the Indians was granting security against them and determined peace and war with them. Turner acknowledges the role of Native Americans in the great westward movement, they were incontestably helpful in American governmental expeditions, "all the more important expeditions were greatly indebted to the earliest pathmakers, the Indian guides, the traders and trappers, and the French voyageurs" (7).

The frontiersman image was associated with the Indian's image in the collective consciousness of early American writers, such as Cotton Mather and Charles Woodmason, whose religious beliefs affected their view of the frontiersman as a "lout". Woodmason, for instance, in one passage of his journal devoted to the description of the South Carolina backwoodsmen, notes:

> Most of these people had never before seen a Minister, or heard the Lord's Prayer, Service or Sermon in their Days. I was a Great Curiosity to them-and

> most of the Company were drunk before I quitted the Spot- They were as rude in their manners as the Common Savages, and hardly a degree removed from them. Their Dresses almost as loose and Naked as the Indians, and differing in Nothing save Complexion. (qtd. in Lemay 111)

White Americans' view of the Indian in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was ethnocentric; their comparison of the frontiersman with the Indian is the result of the white American's fear of the frontiersman's acculturation to Indian customs and manners. Many white captives, after experiencing and becoming familiar with Native American ways of life, chose not to return to their previous lives within white society. This preference for Indigenous lifestyles challenged the prevailing belief in the superiority of white civilization. It suggested that white civilization might not be as desirable or "adequate" as it was commonly thought. In response, some writers, likely feeling threatened by this implication, portrayed Indigenous civilizations as barbaric and inferior in an effort to reaffirm the perceived superiority of white civilization. This portrayal was a defensive reaction to the unsettling idea that Native American ways of life could be preferable to some white individuals.

In the nineteenth century, the frontiersman image changed, he was frequently portrayed as a hero, as in the writings of Fenimore Cooper, Henry David Thoreau and William Gilmore Simms. The Native American, as associated with the frontiersman in *The Leatherstocking Tales,* undergoes oppression and is alienated because of civilization. Thus, instead of being that noble savage with the mythical traits Cooper gives him, he becomes a tragic hero doomed to disappear with the displacement of the frontier westward.

The rise of the American frontier hero was the most significant subject in the literature of the frontier. The inspiration for many frontier heros, including Leatherstocking, was the central myth of Daniel Boone (1734-1820), portrayed in John Filson's *The Discovery,*

Settlement, and Present State of Kentucky (1784). This famous pioneer and patriarch of Kentucky "is celebrated as a founder of a new republic, a hero destined by Providence and by the laws of nature to journey through a dark wilderness and lead his people into a promised land of rich, pristine territory" (Sundquist 226). His character appeared in a number of histories as in Timothy Flint's *Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone* (1833). Boone is the example or the product of frontier life, he is considered as the independent American "westerner". Boone and Leatherstocking became heroes and symbols of the American cultural thought at that time, when frontier life and the displacement of Indians became an integral part of American life. What is common in frontier tales is the establishment of a social order in the lawless frontier environment through warfare and vanquishing the Indians. Both the white renegade and the Indian would disappear from this environment as civilization triumphs.

American Indians resisted civilization; their tribes were distanced from their ancestral lands because of a long process of displacement that started in the eighteenth century, took shape in the early nineteenth century westward movement, and ended with the closing of the frontier in 1891. As the Indians' displacement started much earlier than the official beginning of the chase of lands in the western hemisphere, it is important to trace when and how it took place. The next section is devoted to this clarification.

3-2 The Frontier and Indian Removal

The end of the seven years' war marked profound developments in the life of Native Americans. The shift of power that was caused by the American Revolution gave the United States a dominating power over the Old British Empire in North America, as well as France's Louisiana territory. At the end of the American Revolution, Americans destroyed Pro-British Indians' homes and villages through launching a series of retaliatory expeditions in 1779. The

Iroquois, Shawnees, Delawares, Cherokees, many of whom has reentered the war in 1778, The Fox (Meskwaki), and others had homes and villages burned. More than 5000 Iroquois fled to Canada as a result of raids that destroyed over forty of their villages, and many Ohio Indians moved farther west.

Authority on the frontier was asserted by the new confederation government, as a series of treatises of cession with Indian groups were dictated between 1784 and 1786. Not all the treatises were effectual because of resentful natives and "expansion-minded settlers".The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 was also a major impetus on the United States' control over Indian Territory west of the Mississippi. The policy of Removal became official "with the passages of the Removal Bill in 1830 and with Jackson's refusal to abide by two Supreme Court decisions, Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831) and Worcester v. Georgia (1832), which held that the laws of the state of Georgia were subordinate to federal jurisdiction over the Cherokees"(Sundquist 176-177) .

The expansion of white civilization was foreordained, according to Andrew Jackson and other expansionists, but Removal caused the degradation and extermination of the Indians. The Indian was considered as a major obstacle to the advancement of civilization; his ability to learn the arts of civilization was very limited or inexistent. Lewis Cass, secretary of war under Andrew Jackson and Governor of the Michigan Territory from 1813 to 1831, advocated Removal and expressed his view regarding the policy in different essays written in the North American Review. He described the Indian as being different from the Euro-American."He never saw him with a spirit of emulation, to compare his situation with that of others, and to resolve upon improving it" (qtd. in Sundquist 178). According to him, the Indian is unable to change and evolve in a new world that demanded progress. Thus, describing the Indian as the innocent "child" of nature, "given to uncontrolled violence- reinforced the policy of Jackson

and others who developed a paternalistic structure of care and discipline to promote Removal" (179).

The policy of Indian Removal was a pivotal decision that dramatically altered the fate of an entire nation. "Between 1828 and 1838", Banner notes, "more than eighty thousand Indians were removed from the east to the west" (191). President Andrew Jackson forced those remaining eastern Indians to move westward. One of the most terrible forced relocation was that of the Cherokees; their migration from Georgia to Oklahoma caused the death of 4000 Indians among 60.000 Cherokees, in the fall and winter of 1838-1839 (191).

Banner explains that before this forced removal occurred, the word itself had another meaning. "The word lacked the overtones of force it would later acquire", Banner notes, "*Removal* simply meant *emigration*" (193). He gives the example of the Delawares who had been removing before "Removal" became an issue debated as a national subject. "Over the course of the eighteenth century, they moved across the Allegheny Mountains into western Pennsylvania. After the American Revolution, they moved into Ohio, and then Indiana" (193). The need was to remove the Indians in the northern states rather than in the South. That is what happened in Georgia for example. A reason for the Cherokees' refusal to sell their land to the federal government is that they adopted Anglo-American farming methods. Banner explains,

> They were producing cotton and other crops for market. They owned nearly eighty thousand head of livestock. They had built permanent houses and outbuildings. Hunting was not as important as it had once been. The Cherokees had, in large measure, Americanized. Their land had become more productive. As a result, it was worth more, and the Cherokees were accordingly less willing than other tribes to exchange it for undeveloped land in the west. (199)

The Cherokees refused to leave their land despite the federal government's consistent offers and threats. A Cherokee delegation addressed Secretary of War John Calhoun, who threatened them to leave the Cherokees exposed to the threat of the government and the white residents of Georgia, saying: "and to remind you, that the Cherokees are not foreigners, but original inhabitants of America; and that they now inhabit and stand on the soil of their own territory; and that the limits of their territory are defined by the treatises which they have made with the Government of the United States" (qtd. in Banner 199).

In 1817, Andrew Jackson, as a lawyer, questioned the claim of the federal government that the Indian tribes are considered as sovereign states. He wrote to President James Monroe: "The Indians are subjects of the United States, inhabiting its territory and acknowledging its sovereignty...Then is it not absurd for the sovereign to negotiate by treaty with the subject (?)" (qtd. in Banner 203). This suggestion was not workable at that right time, but later it would become applied by Congress. Holding treaties with Indian tribes would end and Congress would begin regulating tribes directly.

During his presidency, Monroe emphasized the importance of civilizing the Indians and obtaining the land that they retained east of the Mississippi. However, the Georgia legislature insisted that Georgia had the right and power to expel the Indians from their land. By the 1840s, the land east of the Mississippi was almost entirely possessed by non-Indians: "The federal government completed purchasing Alabama and Mississippi in 1832; Florida and Illinois in 1833; Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee in 1835 (in the Treaty of New Echota); and the final parts of Indiana in 1840 and Ohio in 1842" (Banner 226).

American Indians resisted civilization; in this respect, Native American Tribes were distanced from their ancestral lands and occupied smaller and remote areas. It is because of this forced Indian removal that frontier anxiety started. This term was used by David M. Wrobel to refer to the anxiety that the closing of the frontier generated among white expansionists. In this

study, I use the term to refer to the anxiety that results from the opening and the closing of the frontier, but that majorly affected Native Americans. The Westward Expansion and its inherent policy of Removal caused anxiety of an uncertain future for the Indians. The movement created conflicts between the colonists and the Indians, and as a matter of fact resulted in the extermination of the Indian tribes. The following section will be devoted to showing this anxiety that is engendered by the expansionist attitude of the larger part. This anxiety stems from the external force that, according to Freud, may range against the individual with merciless forces of destruction (20). It can also emanate from the individual's relations to other men. In *The Pioneers* and *The Yemassee*, the impossibility of Leatherstocking and Sanutee to adapt to the external environment generates a growing anxiety that majorly results from the clash between nature and civilization.

3-3 Defending Nature: Anxiety in *The Pioneers*

In regard to William Cooper (1754-1809) and his pivotal work on the frontier *A Guide in the Wilderness* (published posthumously in 1810), James Fenimore Cooper's views on the frontier could be highlighted in *The Pioneers*. William Cooper's enterprise to take possession, survey and sell the lands around Otsego Lake was successful; his 'entrepreneurial' skills gave him a great advantage. He set himself up as a patriarch. He managed to establish himself as a chief judge and political leader in Cooperstown and utilized government and the courts to bring order into "a chaotic pioneering process" (Bielinski 51). William Cooper obtained title to the best lands at the head of the Susquehanna; the village of Cooperstown and Otsego valley became model pioneering enterprises and subsequent generations of James Cooper's readers studied that emerging settlement area.

Bielinski discusses Alan Taylor's *William Cooper's Town : Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic*, and describes him as one critic who dramatizes "Cooper's thoughts and desires as chronicled in his letters, in *A Guide in the Wilderness*, and in James Fenimore Cooper's, *The Pioneers*, thus providing a satisfying explanation of the motivation and actions of a pioneer patriarch" (51). Bielinski explains that "James Fenimore Cooper appears throughout the book [Taylor's book] as commentator, interpreter, and defender of his father's vision. But the novelist is a major figure in this work as well" (52; emphasis added). Judge Marmaduke Temple has much in common with James Cooper's own father. Nash Smith argues that "both William Cooper and Judge Temple buy land on the New York frontier and oversee the planting of a town on the shores of Lake Otsego; they resemble one another even in the minor detail of springing from Quaker forebears but having given up formal membership in the sect" (62).

Monopolizing the wilderness by white settlers was part of a "providential and proto-evolutionary design, written in the book of Nature and bodied forth in the organic structure of North America's racial groups" (146). This monopolization of the wilderness in Cooper's *The pioneers* occurs on the margin of the settlement founded by Judge Marmaduke Temple. The rapid destruction of natural resources in the novel is causing a growing anxiety in Leatherstocking, the defender of America's natural resources. The latter expresses his worries about the loss of hunting grounds and the deforestation of the land as civilization spreads out. Barbara Rumbinas argues that "The European agrarian model of settlement made the clearing of the forest necessary in order for the settlers to survive. As more and more settlers arrived seeking land, the allure of felling and burning trees for ready cash was a great enticement for poor settlers to move to the frontier areas" (319). Temple saw the necessity of taming the frontier for agricultural use. As a land speculator, Temple profited from the clearing of forests and their transformation into agricultural lands.

James Cooper's view was already expressed by St John de Crevecoeur. The pastoral ideal that Crevecoeur portrayed in his letters and the image of the growing agricultural society became one of the dominant symbols of nineteenth century American culture. Henry Nash Smith notes that the pioneers "plowed the virgin land and put in crops, and the great Interior Valley was transformed into a garden: for the imagination, the Garden of the World" (Book 3). In *The Pioneers*, this garden is disrupted by civilization. As the frontier is pushed back, Leatherstocking is always moving west. He can only survive at the margin of society. Natty urges the other settlers, as the sheriff and Billy Kirby, to use the wilderness only to sustain themselves and not to kill animals just for sport. He clarified this view to Judge Temple at the beginning of the novel,

> There's them living who say that Nathaniel Bumppo's right to shoot on these hills is of older date than Marmaduke Temple's right to forbid him", he said. "But if there is a law about it at all, though who ever heard of a law that a man shouldn't kill deer where he pleased!-but if there is a law at all, it should be to be to keep people from the use of smooth-bores. A body never knows where his head will fly, when he pulls the trigger of one of them uncertain firearms." (The Pioneers17)

Cooper shows man's predatory attitudes towards nature, he outlines "the pattern of protest" against the slaughter of birds and animals through "Judge Temple's advocacy of conservation and Natty's denouncements of the settlers' "wasty ways"" (Philbrick 584). In the beginning of the tale, Temple's notes on the past represent an image of undisturbed wilderness, the later scenes, however, are different. The pioneers slaughter countless pigeons, and nature is abused by the settlers' extravagance. Natty's urge for the conservation of nature for practical

use is exemplified in his reaction at the onslaught of pigeons. Natty kills a bird for the annual Christmas-day turkey shoot and presents it to Elizabeth Temple. Later, in April, the citizens of Templeton directed by Richard Jones, the Sheriff and cousin of Judge Temple, shot flocks of pigeons migrating northward. Accordingly, thousands of birds are slain wastefully. Natty Bumppo condemns the carnage for it represents an aggression against nature,

> This comes of settling a country! he said. Here have I known the pigeon to fly for forty long years, and, till you made your clearings, there was nobody to skeart or to hurt them, I loved to see them come into the woods, for they were company to the body, hurting nothing-being as it was, as harmless as a garter- snake. But now it gives me sore thoughts when I hear the frighty things whizzing through the air, for I know it's only a motion to bring out all the brats of the village. Well, the lord won't see the waste of his creatures for nothing, and Right will be done to the pigeons, as well as others, by and by. (216)

When Temple acknowledges all the extravagance of his townsmen in dealing with natural resources, he blames Billy Kirby, the woodchopper, for deforesting the country "where (also) the settlers trifle with the blessings they might enjoy, with the prodigality of successful adventurers" (199). "You are not exempt from the censure yourself, Kirby, he said, for you make dreadful wounds in these trees where a small incision would affect the same object. I earnestly beg you will remember that they are the growth of centuries, and when once gone none living will see their loss remedied" (199). As Temple's character demonstrates a susceptibility to the settlers' use of the land, he is also unable to establish laws to constrain this use. The landscape is established by a civilization that imposes its traits of wastefulness and arrogance.

In accordance with Natty Bumppo's attitude, the clash between civilization and Nature results in Anxiety. The anxiety he faces is related to the destruction of nature, and because Natty cannot overcome and avoid it, he voluntarily isolates himself. Therefore, alienation is the basic thematic structure that results from frontier anxiety. This anxiety is caused by civilization that Freud defines as majorly responsible for the misery of mankind. Natty Bumppo escapes this misery through his withdrawal from the society that imposes the demands of civilization. Natty's experience of unhappiness stems, henceforth, from the external world with its definitely destructive forces, the second contention that Freud makes to explain the causes of unhappiness. Natty could not adapt to the external environment, to civilized life, and is drawn into the outer edge of the extending forests ahead.

3-4 A Struggle for Self-Determination: Anxiety in *The Yemassee*

As Simms visited his father, he undertook long journeys in which he experienced the lives of frontiersmen. He met different people from those he left in Charleston, people who adapted to the changing conditions and hard times on the frontier. Kevin Collins notes that Simms "witnessed the immediate aftermath of a significant event in frontier history related to the Trail of Tears- the relocation of Southeastern Indians to Oklahoma- when he arrived on the scene just after the Muskogees had risen up and murdered the collaborationist chief, General William Mackintoch, who had been secretly selling their lands to the whites" ("An Earlier Frontier Thesis" 53).

Collins claims that before Frederick Jackson Turner "Simms contributed to the success of the Frontier Thesis by placing before American audiences' unfamiliar ideas that would become common place during Turner's generation and that, in the generation that followed, would be accepted throughout the world as social and cultural dogma regarding the unique character of

Americans and their society" (34). As the unique experience of Americans with their frontier in the nineteenth century resulted in the enunciation of the frontier thesis by Turner in 1893, it also took shape in the writings of Cooper and Simms earlier.

Influenced by his father's life, and despite his grandmother's unsympathetic portrayals of his father, Simms would portray admirable frontiersmen in his works. These antagonistic parental figures reflect Simms' ambivalence; he was seen from two different views: "Simms on the frontier was a bookish citified tenderfoot in the eyes of his father's associates, yet when he returned to Charleston, he was often seen as a rough, experienced denizen of the forest" (53). The ambivalence of Simms lies in his need to explain himself to both audiences.

The frontier is important to Simms; it is the setting of much of his work. It represents, Grantham notes, "the center of cultural confrontation" (106). The existence of the American garden was in peril as landlordism was imposing itself on the American colonies, and this belief was much more engrained in the Indian's mind than the white's even before the westward movement began. The anxiety that the chief Indian character in Simms's novel experiences, is an expression of the Indian's concern over the future of his race in the light of an imposed civilization.

The Yemassee raided their neighbours, caught captives and sold them to the English. But as the slave trade declined, they turned to hunting deer for the sake of trading with the English. However, they could not continue the hunt as new white farmers moved in with their cattle and destroyed the deer's habitat. Besides that, West notes, "new rice plantations were flooding tens of thousands of acres the animals had previously browsed " (33). This is how the Yemassee became dependent on goods provided by the whites.

Grantham also contends that "the frontier is a defining element of cultural confrontation" (108), it is this confrontation that engenders anxiety. The Indian in *The Yemassee*, represented in the character of Sanutee, is the one who must face and combat his inner fears, the fear of

losing one's identity, dignity, culture and land. Becoming part of the white man's civilization is the ultimate choice that could save the Yemassee, but this alternative is inconceivable to Sanutee as well as his tribe. Sanutee is determined to confront the expansion of the white settlers and could not accept the way his people were led to destitution as was his son Occonestoga. According to the chief, his people are bought "with painted glass, and red cloth, and strong water"(The Yemassee 42). Sanutee claims: "Manneyto be with my people, for the chiefs are slaves to the English; and they will give the big forests of my fathers to be cut down by the accursed axes of the pale-face. But they blind me not they buy not Sanutee! The knife must have blood the Yemassee must have his home with the old grave of his father" (42).

The anxiety of Sanutee starts growing at the intrusion of trade with the whites and ends at the novel's major resolution : the tragic war between his tribe and the English. Sanutee did not trust the English traders and unveils their treachery. When the chief of an English deputation, Sir Edmund Bellinger, wanted to offer a coat to Sanutee, the latter replies skeptically:"Our English brother is good, But Sanutee asks not for the cloak. Does Sanutee complain of the cold?". "Does the white chief come to the great council of The Yemassee as a fur trader? Would he have skin for his coat?" (45). And as Bellinger admits at last that "the English do want to buy some of the land of (sanutee's) people", the Indian chief shows his strong determination not to sell the land of his people, and addresses his tribesmen urging them to consider their situation, stating ,

> It is good Chiefs of the Yemassee, now hear. Why comes the English to the lodge of our people? Why comes he with a red coat to the chief why brings he beads and paints for the eye of a little boy? Why brings he the strong water for the young man? Why makes he long speeches,full of smooth words why does he call us brother? He wants our lands.But we have no lands to sell. The lands came

> from our fathers they must go to our children. They do not belong to us to sell they belong to our children to keep. We have sold too much land, and the old turkey, before the sun sinks behind the trees, can fly over all the land that is ours. (47)

The conflict between the Yemassee and the Californians is extended in the second part of the novel as Simms moves to the description of the bloody war that opposed them. In this part, Simms describes the Indian warfare as merciless and savage in its ways. The struggle that Simms uses as the backdrop for *The Yemassee* dates back to the fifteenth century, to the struggle between Spain and England to take over the Californian coast. Different wars took place before the Yemassee war between the two rivals for the appropriation of the coast. Ann Mary Wimsatt notes for example that "there were recurrent battles between pioneers and Indians- the Westo War of 1673, the Stono War of 1674, and of course the Yemassee War in 1715" (41). Simms emphasizes the pirate menace to the young colony of South Carolina in the character of Richard Chorley, who is in league with Spain and Ishiagaska. Chorley, who represents the Spanish threat, tries to separate Bess Matthews from Harrison, "and hence to shatter the union of the important elements in the province that (their) marriage represents" (The Yemassee V2 50).

Simms devotes the second part of the story to the description of the war; a frightful atmosphere is created as the Indians approached the frontier settlements to start the massacre : "(Bess Matthews) slept not soundly, but unconsciously ,and heard not the distant but approaching cry—"Sangarrah-me —Sangarrah-me!" The war had begun; and in the spirit and with the words of Yemassee battle, the thirst for blood was universal among their warriors" (V2 147). Simms seems to justify the English fight back as a defense of South Carolina against the 'bloodthirsty and violent' Indians. He describes the atrocities of the massacres inflicted upon the white settlers through the eyes of Harrison. The latter's discoveries, after fleeing his

captivity, demonstrate the intensity of the battle's violence, justify the English attacks and praise their victory,

> Dreading to make new and more painful discoveries, but with a spirit nerved for any event, Harrison kept on his course with unrelaxing effort, till he came to the dwelling of an old German, an honest but poor settler, named Van Holten.The old man lay on his threshold insensible. His face was prone to the ground, and he was partially stripped of his clothing. Harrison turned him over, and discovered a deep wound upon his breast, made seemingly with a knife—a hatchet stroke appeared upon his forehead, and the scalp was gone—a red and dreadfully lacerated scull presented itself to his sight, and marked another of those features of war so terribly peculiar to the American border struggles. The man was quite dead; but the brand thrown into his cabin had failed, and the dwelling was unhurt by the fire. On he went, roused into new exertion by this sight, yet doubly apprehensive of his discoveries in future. (V2 178)

Simms' description of the war's end is reported through Matiwan's and Harrison's eyes. They are both the representatives of their peoples; and through their perspective, Simms stresses the hopelessness of the Indians in defeating the whites.

As Simms' narrative is also a romance, it centers on the courtship of Harrison and Bess Matthews, and on Harrison's mission to save Bess and her family from Chorley and the Indians. Sanutee's and the Yemasse's bravery is nevertheless shown at the end of the novel when Simms alludes to the inevitable end of the Indian race. He notes that "European warfare has never shown a more determined spirit of bravery than was then manifested by the wild warriors of

Yemassee, striking the last blow for the glory and the existence of their once mighty nation" (V2 256).

Sanutee's anxiety is heightened at the approach of his death as he tells Matiwan about the inescapable fate of his nation. Death seems to Sanutee the best resort because of the inevitable expansion of the whites' civilization. "It is good, Matiwan", Sanutee tells his wife,

> The well-beloved has no people. The Yemassee has bones in the thick woods, and there are no young braves to sing the song of his glory. The *Coosah-moray-te* is on the bosom of the Yemassee, with the foot of the great bear of Apalatchie.He makes his bed in the old home of Pocota-ligo, like a fox that burrows in the hill-side. We may not drive him away. It is good for Sanutee to die with his people. Let the song of his dying be sung. (V2 258)

The description of Sanutee's death is brief and centers on the sad end of the Yemassee race. Sanutee's anxiety ends as he utters his last words, the song of death. His ultimate goal was to preserve his nation from extinction and stop the white flux westward, but as he dies, everything he represents also dies. "Life went with the last effort, when, thinking only of the strife for his country, his lips parted feebly with the cry of battle- 'Sangarrah-me, Yemassee- Sangarrah -me- Sangarrah- me'!" (V2 259).

Sanutee's anxiety at the loss of his culture and identity results in his death and total alienation. The white renegades and the Indians are the characters that are killed in this story; Simms' plan seems to be part of destiny that evidently imposes itself as a matter of fact. This war, to Sanutee, determined the future of the whites' expansion from the Atlantic to the Appalachians as it constituted his tribe's last chance to stop the flood of white settlement. According to Kelly "the Yemassee contributed to the ideological attitudes undergirding

Jacksonian democracy, the racialist views that justified the Indian removals that were already underway and would accelerate shortly after the novel's publication" (55).

The destruction of the Yemassee in the novel seems to be a part of the order of things that it becomes acceptable. Sanutee's experience stems mainly from the external world, as well as from his relations to the white man. The most dangerous society as Freud contends is the one in which the leader is "exalted" and individuals do not acquire a sense of identity. Lord Craven is the 'exalted' leader while the other characters as Sanutee are subjects. Sanutee's combat to surpass his anxiety is rather related to the fear of losing one's identity, dignity and culture, and his death and alienation also result from this struggle.

In the next selected novels, D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded* and Navarre Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*, civilization also generates anxiety; it places the rule of federal law over the American Indian life. Law and religion are the major structures that affect the American Indian in the two novels and they are part of the assimilation policy that is the external force at the origin of anxiety in the selected texts. The inability of Archilde and Abel to adapt to the imposed judicial and educational systems in their reservations counters the natural process that Freud considers important to avoid anxiety; this argument will be developed in the following section.

3- 5 Refuting Assimilation: Anxiety in *The Surrounded* and *House Made of Dawn*

McNickle and Momaday had biological and cultural ties to Indian and non-Indian communities. D'Arcy McNickle's parents were neither Salish nor Kootenai. "His father was of Irish descent, and his mother was Metis, a descendent of intermarried French and Cree" (Goldberg 838). The Salish and Kootenai tribes provided shelter and "a sanctuary" for McNickle's family after they fled Canada whose government dispossessed them of their land.

As Archilde returns to the Reservation for a final visit, he is ensnared by the federal criminal justice system. During the period leading up to the composition of *The Surrounded*, the instrument of forced assimilation was the allotment policy. It is one of the major causes of anxiety in the Salish and Kootenai Reservation. At the origin of granting allotments for individual Indians is the Dawes Act of 1887, known as the General Allotment Act. The act authorized the division of American Indian tribal land into allotments for individual Indians. It is a policy of dispossession and forced assimilation. The assimilation of Indians was to be effective through changing them from hunters and fishers into farmers. This is how tribal lands were transferred to non-Indians. The non-Indian farmers were considered as models for their Indian neighbors, they would foster their integration into the new established system.

Half the reservation of the Salish and Kootenai was lost. In 1904, congress consented to the federal government's proposal of allotment despite the Salish and Kootenai's protest against it. At the 1855 Hellgate Treaty, they were granted their reservation in exchange of "twenty-two million acres of aboriginal lands....1.25 million acres of valleys, mountains, and the Southern part of Flathead Lake- as well as off reservation hunting, fishing, and gathering rights" (Goldberg 842). Thus, they already ceded the largest part of their homeland and were not ready to lose the remaining areas.

The anxiety of the Flathead Indian is also caused by the establishment of boarding schools in order to inculcate non-Indian languages and culture, and by the introduction of the federal criminal justice system in the Flathead reservation. "Policymakers used that system to outlaw and replace tribal authority structures, normative systems, and cultural practices" (842). For example, in the late 1880s, the Major Crimes Act was passed by Congress "allowing federal criminal jurisdiction for the first time over serious offenses that Indians committed on reservations" (843).

Anxiety in *The Surrounded* is hence caused by the loss of tribal land and resources and the loss of cultural ties to the native tribal life and social system. As a response to this loss, instead of discarding their tribal way of life, tribal members maintained their practices, cultural life and kinship bonds. McNickle was aware of the negative effects of the policies imposed on Indians as he studied American frontier history while writing *The Surrounded*. The conditions of tribal communities were reported in 1928, in the Meriam Report, by a team of investigators charged by the secretary of Interior. The report underlines the poor state of Indian life and their resistance to forced assimilation. "An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social system of the dominant white civilization" (qtd. in Goldberg 843).

In *The Surrounded*, Catharine's tribe believed that Christianity would deliver them from social disintegration but her devotion resulted in more anxiety about her people's fate. Catharine's anxiety is expressed in her dreams as she believed that she would be excluded from the Indian afterlife, and that the Christian heaven was not for Indians. The Mission school also causes anxiety as its attendants are psychologically damaged. Archilde's nephew Mike, for instance, becomes fearful after attending the school. Archilde also cannot detach himself from his family and tribe; it is a way of condemning the forced assimilation policy that failed to improve the Indians' tribal life and to civilize them.

Imposing the non-Indian vision of justice or judicial system in the Flathead reservation caused major misunderstandings between the two different cultures, violence and injustices. The cultural difference between the Flathead Indians and the Whites is the cause of individual misunderstandings. Anxiety is posed by the non-Indian police system. The major victims of this system of justice are majorly victims of this difference in culture. Archilde and Louis are the main examples to be cited. Archilde becomes the victim of Sheriff Quigley who "embodies

the unfairness, unaccountability, and cultural incompatibility of the imposed, non-Indian justice system" (Goldberg 852).

In *The Surrounded*, McNickle thoughtfully considers tribal self-determination and its importance in sustaining the Flathead tribal lifeways and culture. This view is undeniable because a person's life ought to be "indivisible" from the landscape in which it occurs. Whenever a person separates from his land, it leads him to "spiritual illness, alienation, and uncertainty", or more precisely to anxiety (Nelson 41). This separation either occurs because of outside forces, or because of a person's unwillingness to connect with his land and its spirit.

In *House Made of Dawn*, Abel's conflict is shown through his ambivalent character. On the one hand, he is willing "to hold the land"; on the other hand, he resists being "held by "it (42). When Abel observes the aerial dancing of the eagles, he is marvelled at them. The eagles show their superiority over the snake as when an eagle grabs it and soon lets go of it in the air. Abel identifies himself with the eagle because recovering Native American identity is closely tied with the eagle's symbol. "The eagle is a conventional metaphor for Native American vision in general, and certainly Momaday's eagle functions that way in the novel"(49). The Jemez also venerate the eagle, and they use it as a symbol of their cultural tradition. Abel tries to destroy all what represents the snake for it is at the origin of his anxiety. His violence stems from his contact with the snake spirit which is associated with the albino Juan Reyes and Martinez. At Abel's trial, Tosamah, the Kiowa preacher, relates that Abel identifies the albino as a snake, and Martinez is known among the Native American community as "culebra". According to Clemens, the two culebras are the enemies of Abel as well as the Jemez; they represent the invading and intrusive white Euro-American spirit (52).

Momaday has created the character of the albino to reminisce the reader of the white people's distortion of the Indian culture. "Like Euro-American culture, he is both accomplished and destructive" (Coulombe 48). He demonstrates his power in the feast of Santiago honor

which is held in of the legend of Santiago the saint, who sacrificed his horse and rooster for the good of the Pueblo People. The men who were riding black horses tried to catch the large white rooster which was placed in a hole and buried to the neck in the dirt. One of the horsemen was the albino, who is described by Momaday as “large, lithe, and white-skinned; he wore little round colored glasses and rode a fine black horse of good blood” (House Made of Dawn 37). The white man leaned down from his horse and got hold of the rooster. When he faced Angela, she perceived “that under his hat the pale yellow hair was thin and cut close to the scalp; the tight skin of the head was visible and pale and pink. The face was huge and mottled white and pink, and the thick, open lips were blue and violet.....The albino was directly above her for one instant, huge and hideous at the extremity of the terrified bird.” (39) As the albino emerges victorious in this contest, he ironically becomes more immersed in tribal ritual, a fact that infuriates Abel. As the ritual ends, the albino has to beat one of the losers with the rooster and he does with Abel. Abel’s dissociation from tribal customs and his inability to succeed in perpetuating the traditional ritual lead to his violence. As a response to the anxiety caused by his dissociation from tribal culture, Abel kills the white albino.

Abel, lacking the power of language and words, is regarded as inarticulate, a view that is in line with Momaday's statements on the generative power of language. Language is used in *House Made of* Dawn to express its great importance in the tribal oral tradition. Tosamah relates the wise words of his Kiowa grandmother, reflecting Momaday’s own personal background. He notes “the stories were old and dear; they meant a great deal to my grandmother. It was not until she died that I knew how much they meant to her” (House Made of Dawn 84). “You see, for her words were medicine; they were magic and invisible. They came from nothing into sound and meaning, they were beyond price; they could neither be bought nor sold” (85). In this sense, the power of language was to heal Abel and rid him of his anxiety, had he embraced

its healing power. “The implication”, Coulombe notes “is that words and language have the creative power to counter-balance the evil that persists in the world” (53).

Later, in the last part of the novel, Ben Benally helped Abel to recover and overcome his anxiety through his use of traditional Navajo songs and words. Clements also notes that "Abel's inarticulacy is symptomatic of his disease: his sickness lies in his fear of being possessed by the land and his consequent desire to escape or resist the hold the land has on his own existence; for Abel to enter fully into the life of this place would be to accede to such possession"(55). Abel’s inarticulacy is symptomatic of his anxiety, and it is the power and magic of words that can heal him.

The separation between Abel and the spirit of the land reflects the separation between a whole tribe and its cultural identity. In order to establish a relationship between this separation and anxiety in *The Surrounded* and *House Made of Dawn*, we should reflect on the external forces that affect the Native Americans’ tribal life. It is the history of the relocation of Indians and its process that exemplifies the larger structure which encloses the alienation and anxiety of Native Americans in general and the Flathead, Jemez and Kiowa in particular.

The white humanitarians who were interested in helping Indians believed that they could civilize them by offering them a proper training in European mode of life or lifestyle, as in literacy.According to Banner, “the history of the acquisition of the Indians’ property is very different from the history of the acquisition of sovereignty over the areas where the Indians lived » (7). Thus, the relationship between whites and Indians should be made clear when discussing the terms sovereignty and property. These two notions are distinguishable. Sovereignty was asserted by Anglo-Americans over Native Americans without their consent.

This continual assertion of sovereignty was based on an assumption of white superiority that was uncontroversial among whites at the time (7). Despite the fact that Indians were sovereign within their own tribes, they were distinguished on the basis of which nation claimed

sovereignty over the territory where they lived. “American” Indians, “British”Indians and “French” Indians were majorly distinguished by White Americans. Not all English colonists respected laws regarding Indian landownership, they often violated them. Some colonial governments took the Indian land without paying for it. “Sovereignty, the English agreed, belonged to the English Crown, by virtue of the English “discovery” and settlement of North America” (14).

Locke enhanced the importance of agriculture in giving value to land. Locke claimed in his two treatises: "Thus in the beginning, all the world was America" ; he compared the American uncultivated lands to the past of England when land had not yet been "appropriated as property"(46). He argued that Indians failed to practice agriculture and improve the American land, for this reason, his arguments denied that the Indians had a system of property, a claim that is evidently untrue. There is a common misconception that John Locke's writings significantly influenced colonial attitudes toward Indigenous property rights and land policies. However, as clarified by Banner in this passage,

> Whatever the reason for Locke’s error, there is no evidence that the *Two Treatises* caused anyone in colonial North America to cease respecting Indian property rights or to stop purchasing land from the Indians. It would be a further error to take Locke’s writings as being representative of English thought about land and Indians in the late seventeenth century, or as having influenced colonial land policy in the eighteenth century. (73)

In the 1750s, the problem of dishonest private land purchasing was among the major causes of the Indians’ hostility towards the British colonists and alliance with the French in the French and Indian War. One of the suggested solutions to the fraudulent purchase of Indian lands was proposed by New York surveyor Alexander Colden, he proposed that "prohibiting

the purchase of at least part of the territory the Indians still owned would be the only way to prevent settlers from continuing to defraud the Indians. The result would be, in effect, an Indian reservation"(qtd.in Banner 89).

The relocation of Indians was the major solution to prevent conflicts between settlers and Indians. It would open up land for white settlement as well as emigration. The growing number of white emigrants to the west would create conflicts with the Indians on the frontier, thus white settlers thought of confining the Indians to specific locations, reservations. The Federal Government also offered some humanitarian reasons for this removal. They wanted to civilize the Indians, christianize them and teach them agriculture, literacy, and work discipline. "The purpose of the reservation" Banner notes, "would be to confine the *settlers*, in order to increase the *Indians'* freedom of movement. A reservation could be a prison, if the lock was on the outside, or it could be a haven, if the lock was on the inside. Everything depended on what the reservation was supposed to accomplish" (236).

The Indians who refused to move to reservations were exterminated in most cases. An example is the Cheyenne resistance to move to the reservation that their chiefs had agreed to have on the Arkansas River in the southern part of the Territory of Colorado, after they gave up much of their tribe's land. By 1864, the tension between the remaining Cheyennes and white settlers was increasing; Colonel John Chivington led a military expedition into a Cheyenne settlement near Sand Creek and slaughtered them barbarically. Another example is the conflict over the Black Hills owned by the Sioux. In 1874, gold was discovered in the Black Hills, and trespassers were lured to the Sioux reservation by the winter of 1875-76. The army attacked them in the spring and summer of 1876, at the battle of the Little Bighorn or the Great Sioux War, in which George Custer and his men were killed and the United States forces were defeated[16].

The famous escapes of Indians from their reservations occurred in the late 1870s. “In 1877 a Nez Percé band led by Chief Joseph was herded back onto the Nez Percé Reservation in Idaho after attempting to flee to Canada” (240). A group of 300 Cheyennes also escaped the Oklahoma reservation in 1878. Some were caught by the Army in Nebraska, others had reached Montana before they were captured. Another tribe in the Oklahoma reservation, the Poncas, attempted to flee northward under the command of their chief Standing Bear, but were caught in Nebraska.

One of the major problems that the Indians faced in reservations is the difference in their tribal affiliation. Because of the government’s inattention to placing the tribes that have much in common together, some reservations housed different tribes with a long animosity toward each other. There were major differences between these tribes: some were agriculturalists, others were hunters; their culture, laws and languages were different.

In *House Made of Dawn*, we find actual allusions to the effects of Relocation, as the story reaches back to the late nineteenth century. The Palo Duro Canyon incident was the major turning point in Kiowa history[17]. As a large number of the Kiowas rebelled against being confined to live in a restricted area near Fort Bill, they migrated to Palo Duro Canyon and settled there, hoping to find a good and peaceful refuge. However, they were attacked by US troops.

The Dawes Act of 1887 and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 were crucial in determining the fate of the Kiowa as it were for the Flathead. Granting allotments to individual Indian families was a measure taken by the government to break up reservations.

Later, in 1952, the government offered incentives to impel them to quit reservations and live in cities. It was part of the assimilation process that is made clear in *House Made of Dawn* through Abel’s move to Los Angeles and failure to deal with his new life. The aim of this policy was to suppress the independent status of the Indian. Abel’s moving back to his reservation reflects

the failure of the Federal government's attempt to assimilate the American Indian into the white world.

3-6 The Authors' Worldviews

Goldmann's explanation process clarifies the movement from text to world vision; in our analysis frontier anxiety and alienation could be inserted into the larger structure of the selected novels: the expansionist attitude of the larger part of American society. To uncover the particularities of the collective consciousness that shape the narratives, the authors' world views are of great relevance. The writers are free to create imaginary worlds that are governed by particular structures and by societal attitudes that are primarily their own.

Goldmann studied seventeenth century French Literature and underlined the world vision belonging to two authors, and that is explained in reference to the social class of the authors. His contention is that the literary works he studied are the expressions of worldvisions. The vision of Racine (a playwright) and Pascal (a philosopher) is referred to by Goldmann as a tragic vision, which is found in the ideological structure of Jansenism ,a religious movement. This ideology is also related to the social class of the Jansenists, the "noblesse de robe", a declining social class. In sum, Goldmann's analysis contends that a work of literature reflects the historical, social and cultural needs of the society it belongs to. The author is considered in this regard as the spokesman of his society and expresses a worldview that is related to or formed by the social conditions in which he lives. This contention shall be considered in reference to the selected writings of Cooper, Simms, McNickle and Momaday.

3-6-1 James Fenimore Cooper and William Gilmore Simms

In the early nineteenth century, writers and artists had new subjects to explore about the future of the American nation, especially as the Lewis and Clark expedition suggested how immense the American landscape was. The literary and artistic development of the new American nation also paralleled the election of Andrew Jackson as president, the west became the setting for most fiction of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. American Romantic writers were inspired by histories of the west as stated in the fiction of John Filson and the adventures of his famous frontiersman Daniel Boone.

In *The Pioneers*, the Templeton family and community exert a great power on the other races by trying to assimilate them into the new frontier life. Nevertheless, Cooper shows a cultural tolerance that is often expressed in the views of Judge Temple. In *The Pioneers*, he offers a limited vision of the traditions and cultures of the different Native American tribes that inhabit his region. Their cultural and physical presence is dismissed from his novel. Instead, he inserts one major Indian character into the narrative who participates in the events and presents a subjective vision of a vanishing Indian as a single solitary natural man. Gladsky remarks, “Even the Dutch (whom Cooper admired) are, like his Native Americans, an already vanished culture in the novels” (45). He notes that Cooper did not extensively treat immigrants, foreigners and Catholics in his writings as the latter represent a threat to the American nation. “Cooper's attitudes about America's changing demographics are difficult to assess. For one thing, his novels abound with Native and African Americans, Dutch, and occasionally, characters of other national origins” (44). Cooper had manifested an interest in cultural difference because of his cosmopolitan way of life. He lived and travelled extensively in Europe after he established himself as a writer, he even was influenced by his work as a sailor in his early years. Cooper's nationalism is reflected in his belief that the best political form is

embodied in the United States Constitution as well as in his devotion to "Cooperstown and the upstate New York region where he grew up" (Gustafson 104).

The aesthetic side of Cooper's writings predominates over the frontier material; his intention as is the intention of the Frontier romancers, is "to recapture the frontier vigour for the responsible class" (Green 164). Cooper mastered the sea life and adventures more than life in the forest and the frontier, the reason is biographical. Green explains that Cooper became a midshipman as a teenager, while his experience of the frontier and the forest came from his father (164). The Leatherstocking Tales are more appealing to the American readers than Cooper's sea novels because the themes that are evoked in the tales as "life in the wilderness" and “the portrayal of the Indian as a noble savage” are of universal interest. The culture of the time was also enticing the response of the readers.

Cooper’s *Leatherstocking Tales* had certainly drawn on prevailing racial theories by which the natural priority was given to Anglo-Europeans, the right of “use” as labeled by annexationists. Sandra Tomc is one critic who discussed such theories as the polygenist theory of racial origins and the older monogenesis theory of race[18]. She suggests that Cooper looked at a different way for defining racial identity and its relationship to place, and argues that Cooper, in the mid-1830s, found himself confronting a situation that made both theories untenable. Cooper even criticized and blamed the migratory habits of the American people, which he considers as keeping “society more unsettled than might otherwise prove to be the case” (qtd. in Tomc 159). When Thomas S. Gladsky reread Cooper, in the context of the Nativist movement[19] that swept the American nation in the 1830s and 1840s, he remarked that “Cooper’s writings reveal a distinguished author increasingly worried about Cultural intrusions, the effects of immigration, the influence of Catholicism, and the forging of new masses with values antithetical to the landed gentry and to American character as Cooper understood it”(45).His views were explained in a socio-political context, after his return from Europe and

disillusion with a changing America; but could it be devoid of ethnocentricism? It might not be the case as the novels he produced in the same period dismiss the image of the Native American and his physical and cultural presence as part of an emerging nation.

Wynette L. Hamilton argues that the antithetical views that are presented in Cooper's works about the traits of the Indian[20] demonstrate that "Cooper was capable of painting a balanced picture of the Indian, but the predominance of the inferior-Indian syndrome throughout his works indicates that he was fully under the spell of ethnocentricism"(16). The appealing approach that most critics, as Hamilton, undertook in explaining Cooper's ideology regarding the Native Americans is one that reads his novels as revealing an American Indian who is unable to accept acculturation into the new American nation, and as belonging to "a passing phase of human development". "Readings like this" Gustafson argues, "treat Cooper's Indian novels as an ideological justification for Jacksonian America's most pernicious tendencies: racial plurality and Indian Removal"(105). Spiller notes: "Born in 1789, Cooper published nothing until 1820. In the early years, his character and his dominant ideas were molded by his inheritance, by the influence of his father, William Cooper, his home, and his father's friends, and by the post-pioneer conditions in central New York State, as well as by the more highly cultivated society of New York City and the settlements along the lower Hudson and the Sound" (9). The father, a Federalist in politics, had an aristocratic lifestyle and his ideological stance had certainly affected the son.

The emerging concept of manifest destiny was connected with William Gilmore Simms's ideological stance and class affiliation. Simms was a Jacksonian Democrat; as a Southern writer, he held the vision of many antebellum southern political leaders. The existence of a black and white vision of the American nation was the main value "at the core of the nationalist ideologies that emerged from the American Revolution" (Hoefer 116). What was more difficult to assume was the existence of Native groups in this social composition. Simms

hoped to propel the new literary movement that swept the American nation in the beginning of the nineteenth century. His ambition was to create a distinctive American literary voice that would rival the European models. According to Simms, "Europe must cease to taunt [them] because of [their] prolonged servility to the imperious genius of the old world." (qtd. in Hoefer 115; emphasis added). Part of the envisaged American distinctiveness in literature was the introduction of new themes to the realm of that literary revival, themes about the Native Americans.

What the frontier thesis claims is the uniqueness of the American mind and character, that the Americans resisted the influence of the European parent cultures, a claim that argued against the "then-prevalent Germ Theory" (K.Collins, "An Earlier Frontier Thesis" 33). Kevin Collins notes that before Turner, Alexis de Tocqueville as well as William Gilmore Simms prescribed in their works the unique traits of the American, and anticipated some of Frederick Turner's ideas on American exceptionalism. He observes that "William Gilmore Simms-a contemporary of Tocqueville-specifically both described and prescribed in his nonfiction works the unique American character traits that would radically alter academic and popular thought starting a quarter-century after his death" (34). But Simms also showed these traits in his fictional works. One of Simms's descriptions of these traits is found in *The Yemassee* as he depicts the English nobleman, Gabriel Harrison.

Simms presents in his novel the social class structure of the colony of South Carolina. Hamilton explains that Simms "describes the colony's social structure as having a leader, a middle class, and lower class. The white renegade or outcast, is representative of the third, or lowest, class, whereas the Indian is so low he is not even included in the class structure." (20-21) The colonial proprietor's disguise as a commoner reflects a "symbolic adaptation of the self and transcendence of class" that is essential for his success in his quest (49). While Simms alludes to this transformation, class distinction is overtly revealed in the novel. As John

Matthews, the middle-class reverend, rejects Harrison's demand for the hand of his daughter, he is unaware of Harrison's actual social status. This rejection may represent the white American's unwillingness to adapt himself to the new class realities. What Simms's fiction seems to reveal is that the developments on the frontier were the results of the American's evolution in and adaptation to this new environment; nevertheless, what also constitutes the rapid progress of the American frontiersman's life in the west is his greed and aggression against the Native Americans.

Simms's representation of the American Indians in *The Yemassee* is closely connected to his representation of African slaves as it was already demonstrated. The notion of bondage that Simms offers in his novel is mainly serving the discourse of slavery that was "engaged by southern writers and political figures-particularly Simms's fellow South Carolinians" (Hoefer 119). Simms seems to suggest that the war between the Yemassees and the white Americans or settlers is a logical result of their opposition to each other. He suggests that this conflict is "an aspect of the historical progression of civilizations" (130). He, thus, celebrates the figure of the Native American by honoring his status as "warrior" and fighter for liberty, and gives him heroic traits that would lead to his fatal death and tragic end. He is reflecting Jacksonian ideology that did not ignore the tragic outcome of Indian Removal as the United States expanded its territory and as civilization progressed westward. Hoefer claims that "through the martyring of the Yemassees, the author can celebrate his historical imagining of the Native American without questioning the policies of his political hero" (130-131). His position is even similar to that of Charles Craven, his protagonist.

Simms's works exist at the margins of the American Canon, "Following the turbulence of the Civil War and Reconstruction", Collins explains, "Americans found the history of the South to be an embarrassment for many reasons, including some valid ones. True to form, they remade their history and their culture to exclude what parts of the antebellum South that they

could" (55). In my view, it is also the main reason why Cooper's fiction was canonized while Simms's was marginalized. The idea of the Indian leading a savage life in Simms's and Cooper's works nourished the growth of the "civilized white American". In this regard, Roy Harvey Pearce argues that "it was this Indian who gave writers of fiction a way imaginatively to understand American progress, which was American progress westward. It was this Indian whom James Fenimore Cooper, concerned from the first with the nature and fate of American civilization, cast into the major image of savagism" (200).

The Indians in Simms's story are killed at the end as a necessity to the advance of civilized society. As Cooper, he called attention to the Indian in order to serve the societal beliefs in the necessity of the Native Americans' relocation. These writers, among others, wished to find specific traits in the Native Americans, this is why they attributed the noblest traits to them. It is a way to render his image as part of a "mythic" past.

3-6-2 D'Arcy McNickle and Navarre Scott Momaday

McNickle and Momaday explored in their writings what it was like being an Indian in contemporary America. McNickle's consciousness of himself as an Indian is the primary agent in the making of his novel. The major process that McNickle and Momaday had gone through in their personal life is reflected in the phases that their protagonists experience in their novels. These phases are determined by Prampolini in his study of John Joseph Mathews' and McNickle's novels, *Sundown* and *The Surrounded*: "(1) the protagonist's growing up in an Indian milieu that has already felt the pressures and interferences of Euro-American culture (2); his (spontaneous or enforced) immersion into the strange and unsavory (even when one is successful) world made by Euro-Americans; (3) his physical and/or spiritual journey back into or at least toward Indianness" (76). This process occurs in *The Surrounded* and *House Made of*

Dawn to show how the cultural severance of the American Indian that is imposed by the Euro-American spirit could be a major agent in reintegrating him to his original culture. The disintegration, alienation and anxiety of the American Indian in his own land is mainly caused by his having to live in two different worlds, but his reintegration to his lost world also occurs because of his inability to cope with two different cultures. It can result in either a futile or meaningful spiritual journey toward his indianness.

According to Prampolini, McNickle does not rely primarily on loud denunciation, his novel is not classified as "a novel of protest" that deals with the Euro-Americans' treatment of the Indians and the land or that denounces the Euro-American version of history (72). One major ideological stance of Mcnickle in his novel is his advocation of self-determination for the Salish Indians; the stories of Archilde and Catharine represent the "Indians' right and capability to decide by themselves what is good as well as what is good for them" (75). McNickle's spokesman in the novel is Archilde. His status as a half- or mixed-blood protagonist is a condition that "may engender depression, confusion, a sense of inadequacy and ineptitude, verbal inarticulateness, and from which he seeks a way out through the definition of *who he is*. His story centers therefore on the possibility of achieving a more secure sense of his own identity (77). As Archilde is immersed into the Euro-American world, he disregards the habits and views of his old people. But later, when he pays attention to the stories the Salish told, for the first time he could grasp their significance. It "makes him begin to understand and be moved by what the old people have gone through" (82). At the end of the novel, when Archilde has to decide whether his nephews should return to school, he concludes that imposing one's views on someone who does not understand them might engender incomprehension and confusion.

At the end, Archilde finds himself entrapped by the police for a murder he has not committed, an entrapment that is not only physical and geographical but also cultural. McNickle's message is clear in *The Surrounded,* he shows the destructive forces of the wardship

policies in the US government, he blames them for the social breakdown and chaos the Salish people experienced. Ruppert explains that “Wardship took one set of social beliefs and forced them onto a people while allowing no value or function for Native American tradition. No social process to allow the people to come to understand and believe the new ideas was set into motion” (187).

The role of the elders in the novels of McNickle and Momaday is very important in acquainting the protagonists with their traditions and culture. The parental and grandparental figures in the two novels, notably the mother Catharine in *The Surrounded,* and the grandfather Francisco in *House Made of Dawn,* are the agents that bring about a great change in the lives of the young protagonists Archilde and Abel, and foster their reintegration in the Indian world. Prampolini notes in this regard that typical events may “help the protagonist’s progress in the (re-)discovery and (re-)articulation of his Indian identity, such as listening to the stories of “long ago,” performing in or just assisting at dances or other ceremonial functions, feeling in communion with the land and all forms of life it contains, feeling the impulse to sing one’s wonder and delight at being alive in a world of beauty (85).

Momaday considers Euro-Americans as outsiders in *House Made of Dawn,* they are the ones who can never fully understand the sanctity and importance of the natural landscape to the natives as described in the novel. In the same vein, Coulombe notes that "One of Momaday’s criticisms of – and challenges to – non-Native readers is that they are poor readers of tribal cultures, and they can never fully understand or appreciate Native American experiences or even the land they have usurped” (37). Coulombe further observes that “He (Momaday) is not merely decrying past imperialism; he is outing all non-Natives, however sympathetic and liberal-minded” (38).

His book defines the Indian resistance and the qualities of Indian life in its strength and continuance. It is also a response to an imposed civilization. Momaday's main argument seems

to be that the Indian should maintain a strong connection to his ancestral history and customs in order to defeat the colonizer, who in this context is a mere observer of the Indian's life and not a participant in it.

Stevens notes that Momaday does not consider himself as an Indian writer, he rather prefers to be seen as a mainstream writer with a distinguishing ethnic heritage (599). As he was asked to define Native literature as such more than simply literature by Native writers, he answers:

> I have never been able to think of literature in such precise and exclusive terms. I don't know what "Native literature" is and "literature by Indians" is, I suppose, like literature by Germans of Jews or, if you will, cowboys. Literature, in the best sense, is to my way of thinking writing that deserves to be preserved for its own sake. All other distinctions are by the way. (King and N. Scott Momaday 71)

Besides Momaday's inspiration from the Kiowa history and traditions in writing his novels, Stevens also alludes to the influence of American Western archetypes on Momaday's personal mythmaking, among these are the myths of the American Frontier. Momaday draws on different sources when he shapes the Kiowa Background in his writings. His personal contact with Kiowa living on reservations, his memories of his grandmother's and his father's stories, and also the myths of the American frontier of which the two prominent examples are: “the White adventurer and the Indian savage” (600). Momaday has resisted the view of the Indian as “savage” in the white American mind.

Clements refers to the importance of the "traditional" writer to know the literary heritage of his culture and participate in it. “The writer using the folk viewpoint”, he notes, “perceives his or her work as part of a continuing artistic heritage which begins with his culture's oral literature, owes its primary survival to oral tradition, and continues to, or through, his or her

own fiction, poems, plays, or essays" (66). The folk historical sense that Clements refers to is the fact that the writer must be in contact with oral literature on a concrete level. Momaday exhibits this sense when he shows his awareness of the relationship between his work and tribal oral literatures. Clements notes,

> As the storytellers who remember the old ways and their listeners died, so would the memory culture. But Momaday's literary work has helped to prevent this disaster in two ways: by establishing a relatively permanent record of the oral literature (for example, myths and legends in *The Way to Rainy Mountain* and reminiscences in *The Names*), and by extending the audience for the oral literature potentially to all readers of English". (71)

Momaday describes himself as an ethnic person, the remembrance of his father's and grandmother's oral stories and his fascination with them made him choose the Kiowa line and identify himself as a Kiowa voice. The collected material in *House Made of Dawn* is present in the ancient tribal traditions of the author. The sacred narratives that belong to the Kiowa and Navajo-Pueblo are not "some kind of ornamental addition to the tribe(s). Rather, they are its inmost nerve" (Meredith 405). Momaday gives a great importance to the language he uses in his fiction, he emphasizes this fact in his traditional narratives, as in *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, by showing how traditions construct their objects. 'It seems to me", he declares, "that in a certain sense we are all made of words; that our most essential being consists in language" (qtd. In Meredith 406)

Momaday acknowledges the authorial voice of his characters; he admits that any character is autobiographical in a sense,

> "It is the writer's own experience that he must draw from", he says, "There is no other source. So all writing is autobiographical to that extent. But that's not a term that I would use to describe the character. Abel, for example, in House Made of Dawn is based upon, is a composite of several people that I knew when I was living in Jemez, New Mexico. I had models for him. So I took this aspect from one person and this from another and so on. And finally, I came up with my character, Abel." (Bettye Givens and N. Scott Momaday 81-82)

So, Abel's story represents the author's own personal experiences as well as his perception of the Jemez people; and though McNickle did not acknowledge his identification with his protagonist Archilde, his story has strong autobiographical overtones. McNickle, as Archilde, had been ambivalent about his Native American Origins, but later, after 1935, he declared himself "native of the Flathead Reservation in Montana".

McNickle's and Momaday's worldviews emanate from the clash of antagonistic ideologies, Native and Anglo-American. The spiritual fragmentation that their protagonists undergo reflects a cultural fragmentation that the authors themselves experienced.

Conclusion

Simms and Cooper prescribed in their works the unique American character traits; however, the colonial settlements of the eastern seaboard had as their leaders the wealthy and educated hereditary aristocracy of old England, as it is portrayed in Cooper's and Simms' novels. Despite the absence of a rigid class system, "a hierarchy of cultures" existed on the frontier, this is what caused a clash between races. Both Simms and Cooper depict the formation of "a mixed race" on the frontier, a breakdown in national and class identity, and a widespread

cultural anxiety. Characters in their fiction know their place, which is determined by their class and their race, as Natty Bumpoo, Chingachgook, judge Temple and Oliver Effingham in *The Pioneers*; Sanutee, Occonestoga, Gabriel Harrison and Hector in *The Yemassee*.

The Pioneers and *The Yemassee* can be considered as socially important documents as far as they reinforce the stereotyped myths of the socially dominant classes who desire to maintain their social position. The two stories simply serve their authors' interest. Cooper's hero occupies a low position in society despite his qualities. Cooper considers Leatherstocking lacking the civilized mind that is required for establishing society, and Judge Temple and Oliver Effingham are the characters who can build the future of America. Simms also associates the virtues of the frontiersman to the values of aristocratic society through the portrayal of the disguised governor of California Charles Craven, who took the identity of a honest and resourceful frontiersman named Gabriel Harrison.

Cooper and Simms endowed the frontiersman with mythic qualities and his idealized figure became the model that all Americans would identify themselves with, the American who relies on his own powers in order to shape his own fate. "The myth that everyman is like the frontiersman, that every man is directly responsible for his own destiny, is potentially quite useful to political conservatives as a justification of the existing social order" (Bjornson 36). As Cooper's views regarding Indian removal are not overtly shown in his novel, Simms was explicitly defending slavery as well as Indian removal. Weidman argues that "Simms's book is racist, anti-democratic, and indispensable, for it dramatizes the fantasies of the white supremacist, a figure who bulks large in American history, past and present" (22).

The anxiety that is shown in the novels is related to violence and Removal; Cooper and Simms rendered the Native American fatalistically lost and part of a mythic past. We read in Cooper and Simms a justification for purging the American continent of the "alien", violent and deadly Indians. It was an attempt to romanticize Native American life in compensation for

its destruction. The frontier then, in these novels, is a doorway through which expansion could become effective at the expense of the growing anxiety of the American Indian on the loss of his territory.

In the second context, the hellgate treaty of 1855 granted the Salish and Kootenai tribes their reservation, but they exchanged a large part of their homeland against it. Later, the Dawes Act (1887) and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 authorized the division of their tribal land into allotments. It propelled a growing anxiety over the loss of tribal land and heritage among the Flathead and the Kiowa. Forced assimilation included this measure along with imposing education, the non-Indian vision of justice, Christianity, and impelling the American Indian to quit reservations and be assimilated into city life. As a response to the loss of homeland and culture, the Flathead Indians fought to maintain their traditions and kinship bonds.

The invasive Euro-American spirit is represented in *The Surrounded* through the imposed non-Indian vision of justice and educational system. The boarding and mission schools were majorly part of the whole educational scheme within the assimilation policy. The conflictual relationship between the Indian and the white cultures is accentuated because of the cultural differences that emerge in the novel. The latter are represented by the hegemony of the white sheriff Quigley and the victimization of Archilde by the widespread Christian religion and Catharine's muted Indian faith.

In *House Made of Dawn*, the Euro-American spirit is delineated through the character of Juan Reyes, the Albino, represented as a snake spirit. Abel's act of killing the Albino is the violent response to the albino's dominance. It is a response to the anxiety that is generated by the whites' hegemony and interference with the Jemez tribal way of life. At the origin of the anxiety that is evidenced in the two novels, *The Surrounded* and *House Made of Dawn*, lie external factors, the relocation of American Indians and the creation of reservations. The

creation of these confined locations had a specific purpose, it is mainly to constrict the allotted space of the American Indians and strip them of their homeland. The frontier, then, takes another dimension in these novels, it stands for the constrained rather than open lines, it generates the American Indian's anxiety about the loss of his land and tribal life.

Goldmann thought about the relationship between literature and society in a new perspective. It was not an easy task to deal with "the intellectual and emotional climate of the various Jansenist groups under discussion", he notes; the study of that relationship was possible "in so far as the texts were concerned" (101). Two levels of correspondence are distinguished: the correspondence between the world vision as an experienced reality and the universe created by the writer, and the correspondence between this universe and the specifically literary devices- style, images, syntax, etc.- used by the writer to express it (315). And this is exactly what we delineated in the selected texts, as their authors reflected their own world vision in the fictional texts they created. Simms reflected Jacksonian ideology as he was aware of the tragic outcome that Indian Removal would cause when the United States expanded its territories. In the same stance, Cooper's ideological justification for Jacksonian ideology and his dominant ideas in his work are molded by his father and the highly cultivated society of New York City. In the second section, McNickle and Momaday's worldviews emanate from the clash of antagonistic ideologies, Native and Anglo-American.

General Conclusion

Alienation as a social process is shown in *The Pioneers* and *The Yemassee* in the American Indians' inability to contribute meaningfully to the interaction process, between self and social structure or between man and man. It is manifested in the conflictual relationships that law and property engender in *The Pioneers* and that racial conflict creates in *The Yemassee*. *The Pioneers* legitimates the dispossession of Native Americans in the name of property. Maintaining the rights of property is important in the novel through Cooper's portrayal of Oliver Edwards as the man to whom the land should be restored. Temple's role is also important as his code of civil law comes into conflict with Natty Bumpoo's "natural law". Bumppo escapes the fallen world of civilization. Along with Chingachgook, his Indian friend, he represents the Indian rights to the land. Cooper gave Chingachgook some noble traits as a Delaware and elements of savagery as an "Indian" man. The character's suicide is a self-willed death, his self-alienation is a response to acknowledge his existence in the white world, that is affected by the progress of civilization. He willingly confers the land to Effingham and dies. Leatherstocking's retreat before the expansion of civilization also marks the inevitability of the alienation process that results from the American Indian's clash with civilization as a destructive force. This alienation in *The Pioneers* is enclosed within the expansionist attitude of the collective part represented by the figures of Judge Temple and Oliver Edwards.

In *The Yemassee*, it is through race conflict that alienation becomes intelligible. Simms alludes to the clash of races as a major cause of the alienation of the Indian character in his novel. He defends the institution of slavery and foretells the future of the American Indian nation. The altered condition of the American Indian tribal life is represented by the degradation of the chief Sanutee's son Occonestoga as the latter is manipulated by the whites. The Indian chief Sanutee rejects the whites' civilization. According to Simms, Sanutee faces extermination and does not give up his individual freedom and the liberty of his people. The alienation of Sanutee and his race is the inevitable outcome that Simms suggests in his novel because, unlike

the African Americans, American Indians fought for their lands and their rights. The alienation of the Yemassee Indians occurs as they refuse to leave their land. The American Indian, as Austin Shelton confirms, is an outcast in a society that believes in "a hierarchy of cultures" (70). The extermination of the Yemassee is part of the order of things, Simms seems to suggest, as the Yemassee represent a threat to the existence of the white civilized America.

Defining alienation in a context specific approach requires the analysis of the characters' feelings of discontent toward a specific social context. Wegner's alienation "is a problem of the relationship between social structure and personality" (178). Specific situations affect the reaction of the characters in *The Surrounded* and *House Made of Dawn*, they generate the characters' discontent and lead to their alienation. The first situation that is analysed in *The Surrounded* is the conflict between two cultures, the white and the Indian. The acculturation of the Indian in the novel is almost impossible, and this situation leads to the denigration of Indian Identity and the alienation of the Salish Indians. The clash between the Salish tribe and the Euro-American culture is one of the central conflicts in *The Surrounded*. As a result of this conflict the Indian becomes an outcast.

McNickle's bicultural identity created his own feelings of estrangement from the American society and the alienation of the main character in *The Surrounded*. The breed is viewed as an alien in both the white and the Indian worlds. The alienation of Archilde is represented through his inability to speak and to assume control over his destiny. Cultural misunderstanding and hatred lead to tragedy. It is inherent in the conflict between Archilde and the Game Warden, in the battle of Catharine and Elise against the law and in Father Grepilloux and Max Leon's paternalistic stance. The latter represent the power of the church and its effects on the lives of the Salish Indian community.

The second situation that is studied in *House Made of Dawn* is also related to the acculturation of the Indian into the white world. Abel, the main character, is depicted as a

stranger in his own land. His cultural estrangement and social isolation give rise to his feeling of self-estrangement. Powerlessness is one dimension of alienation that disables Abel and hinders him from speaking. Abel's self-estrangement is brought about by his strong rejection of white society represented in the figure of the Albino. It is not only the fact that Abel served in the Second World War that alienated him from his tribe's culture, but he is also lost without a mother and a father figure. Abel's alienation is represented in his spiritual disease that manifests itself as the inability to accomplish harmony with his ancestral land. At the end, he acquires a new sense of self through recovering his tribal past.

Alienation in *The Pioneers*, *The Yemassee*, *The Surrounded*, and *House Made of Dawn* can also be considered as an expression of frontier anxiety in the novels. The relation between alienation and anxiety is explained by Freud in *Civilization and Its Discontents*. Man isolates himself as a reaction to the frustrating demands put on the individual by modern society. Alienation and frontier anxiety could be inserted into the larger structure that defines the works: the expansionist attitude of the collective part. The Westward Expansion and its inherent policy of Removal caused anxiety of an uncertain future for the Indians in the nineteenth century. The clash between nature and civilization is represented in *The Pioneers* and *The Yemassee* by the impossibility of Leatherstocking and Sanutee to adapt to the external environment that ranges against them and their tribe with merciless forces of destruction. In *The Surrounded* and *House Made of Dawn,* law and religion, as part of the twentieth century assimilation policy, are the main external forces that affect the American Indian and generate anxiety.

The anxiety in Cooper's and Simms's novels is related to violence and Removal, and the frontier is the doorway through which expansion could become effective. In *The Surrounded*, anxiety over the loss of tribal land is mainly due to the division of the Indians' tribal lands into allotments. Forced assimilation urged the division of these lands, imposing education and Christianity in the Flathead Reservation. In *House Made of Dawn,* the

interference of the whites with the Jemez Pueblo tribal life created anxiety. Anxiety in this novel is related to the confined locations that the Pueblo were granted. In both novels, the frontier stands for the constrained boundaries that were imposed by the whites; it creates an anxiety over the American Indian's loss of identity and ancestral land.

In Cooper's and Simms's Texts the developments on the frontier did not occur as a response to the new environment and its determinism, as Turner formulated it in his frontier statement years later; but, in Collins terms, they rather took place because of "the greed and aggression against native peoples who were technologically and militarily unprepared for the onslaught" ("An Earlier Frontier Thesis" 54). Frontier settlers believed they were the forerunners of civilization. Their religious views reinforced this idea as the Indian is majorly regarded as an outlaw and an outcast. The White Americans who settled on the frontier were living under an expanding capitalist system of private property and a freer political and economic system. On the frontier, the relation between whites and Indians was characterized by fear, hatred and violence. Christian humanitarians believed that Indians would gradually lose their cultural and racial identity, but this conversion proved difficult to attain for the unwillingness of the natives to melt into white society and culture. For this reason, they became exiled by the end of the 19th century, both geographically and socially.

Though the expansionist attitude of the white American is rendered implicitly in Cooper's and Simms' novels at the opening of the westward frontier, in McNickle's and Momaday's novels, it takes other dimensions. The larger vision that dominates the selected novels is the expansionist attitude of the collective part. The fact that the United States became 'frontierless' was not easily accepted by expansionists. Thus, the policy of assimilating Native Americans became part of the Imperialist or expansionist plan to seize the remaining Indian properties. The major problems that the closed frontier produced are related to the greed for taking up more land. Turner's thesis was interpreted in this sense; Theodore Roosevelt for example argued that

a logical expansion should occur after the closing of the US frontiers in 1890. He saw another kind of expansion beyond the American continent, starting with the American colonies in the Caribbean and the Pacific. The widespread frontier anxiety emerged even before Turner's statement about the closing of the frontier. In this research work, anxiety is not only an anxiety over a disappearing frontier and over territorial acquisitions and immigration control that engendered conflict between the white settlers and the natives or between civilization and nature; It is also an anxiety over the fate of the American Indian in a twentieth century frontierless territory. The reservations became the frontier lines that demark the geographical division of the American territory between the whites and the Natives. As white civilization becomes more advanced, it becomes more corrupt.

Goldmann considers the literary work as an expression of the consciousness of a specific social group or social class. This consciousness, which is not empirically real, is a structure that results from the position of the subject in the historical whole and his relationship to it. Cooper's concern was to avoid and denounce cultural intrusions and to portray the Native Americans as an already vanished culture; his ethnocentric views reflect the values of the cultivated society of New York City and Cooperstown. Simms, as a Jacksonian Democrat and a Southern writer, emphasized the importance of the American character and anticipated Frederick Jackson Turner's ideas on American Exceptionalism. He even presents "a hierarchy of cultures" that existed on the frontier. Reflecting Jacksonian ideology, he also did not ignore the effect of the Westward Expansion.

As civilization progressed westward, Indian Removal became the ultimate result of this movement. Both Cooper and Simms called attention to the Indian character in order to serve the expansionist attitude of the collective part. They rendered the image of the Indian as part of a "mythic" and a vanishing past.

McNickle and Momaday, on the other hand, expressed their ethnicity and the need to regain the American indian's identity and his lost cultural world. McNickle advocated self-determination for the Salish Indians; his own status as a mixed-blood writer is also reflected in his protagonist's "depression", "confusion", and "ineptitude".

In the two novels, *The Surrounded* and *House Made of Dawn*, the call for regaining the lost cultures is voiced by the elders. It is a way to denounce the assimilation policies and the whites' hegemony. Momaday decries past imperialism through his belief in the non-native readers' inability to fully understand and appreciate the Natives' culture and traditions; he describes himself as an ethnic person. The experiences of McNickle and Momaday are reflected in the spiritual and cultural fragmentation of their protagonists. The collision between a dominant society and a rigid tribal culture desperate to resist any outside encroachment is the relevant psycho-social pressure responsible for the unusual severity of the generational conflict between the protagonists and the traditionalist elders.

Following the different analyses that are introduced in this research work, two important processes are brought to light: a process of comprehension that elucidates the structures on which the novels are built, and a process of explanation that inserts those structures into a larger vision. Thus, the selected texts, namely *The Pioneers*, *The Yemassee*, *The Surrounded* and *House Made of Dawn* reveal that major themes as Alienation and the frontier are constructed on the opposition between man and civil law as well as between man and man, and also on racial conflict. The latter structures are inserted then to a larger vision of American history, the expansionist attitude of the larger part of American society. Cooper and Simms prescribe this hegemonic register in their works and express a world vision that is similar; in another context, though McNickle and Momaday counter the predominant white supremacists and attempt to bring into focus the important role that American Indians have as minorities and marginalized tribes, the whites' hegemony is also prevalent. Goldmann defines the literary work as an

expression of the consciousness of a specific social group or social class. This consciousness, that is not empirically real, is a structure that results from the position of the subject in the historical whole and of his relationship to it.

Notes

1. Jansenism is an austere religious ideology that affected the values and disarray of a social class: the noblesse de robe, under Louis XIV. This nobility was created by the king, it provided him with the members of his councils, such as the "conseillers d'Etat". It was competent, educated and very wealthy. Its members actively participated in the intellectual and religious life of the era. The class was divided between the devout Catholics, who were favorable to the Counter-Reformation, and the Jansenists who favored a more rigorous and austere catholic religion.

2. Oliver Edwards is the grandson of a retired British Officer, Major Effingham. He is also the adopted son of Chingachgook, occasionally called John Mohegan or young eagle, the Mohican chief and companion of Natty Bumppo .

3. The dispute is the foundation for Cooper's mythic presentation of the hatred between the Iroquois and the Delawares famously elaborated in *The Last of the Mohicans*. That Oliver Effingham in *The Pioneers* has a Delaware rather than an Iroquois identity is crucial, his claim to the land is evident in the story. Jerome McGann contends that Oliver's claim to the land is rightful to Cooper because the Delaware never relinquished their land rights to the british.

4. The Three-Mile Point controversy is discussed in Hugh Cooke MacDougall's *Cooper's Otsego County*. Three Mile Point, also known as Wild Rose Point, was retained by Judge William Cooper, Cooperstown founder, as a family recreation spot. It is a geographic cape extending into Otsego Lake in the Town of Otsego in Otsego County in New York. When James Fenimore Cooper returned from Europe to live in Cooperstown in 1836, he found that Three Mile Point was being used as public property, and that there had been extensive vandalism. Cooper noted that Brother Jonathan "cut down a tree that had a particular association with (his) father, and which (he) would not have permitted to be cut down for any ordinary reason." He placed in curt announcement: "the public is warned against trespassing on the three mile point…(and) has not, nor has ever had, any right to the same, beyond what has been conceded by the liberality of the owners." A public meeting denounced JFC for closing the

point, asserting that Judge Cooper had left it to the community. The whig-dominated New York press used the story to denounce Cooper, a life-long Democrat, as an aristocratic snob.

5. James Kent was one of the powerful individuals who strived to save the principles of "the old school", and the former Chief Justice of New York Supreme Court. Being a friend of William Cooper, the son James Cooper met him when he moved to New York in 1822.

6. Paul A.W.Wallace discusses in "John Heckewelder's Indians and the Fenimore Cooper Tradition" the clear indictment of Heckewelder in his first chapter, whence Cooper derived his travesty of the people of the Iroquois Confederacy. He notes how the Iroquois "being unable to conquer (the Delawares) in open fight, concerted with the Dutch a piece of treachery by which to bring down this great people who occupied lands coveted by Iroquois and Dutch alike. The Iroquois accordingly entertained the Delawares with discussion of a matter that appealed to the best minds among them: the danger to the race of continuing warfare, and the means available to an honorable people of bringing wars to an end. It was cunningly hinted that if one nation would take upon itself the role of *woman*, i.e., of mediator, it would bring honor to itself and all mankind in thus "saving the Indian race from utter extirpation""(498)

7. Eric Cheyfitz in his article discusses the notion of Imperialism in those writings, that "Indians do not matter, except as they are used to organize desired effect in the European reader. Thus, it is implied, they are essentially superfluous in a history that would have been the same without them." That *The Pioneers* produces "a history that rationalizes or legitimates in the name of *property* the dispossession of Native Americans even if it admits this dispossession."(121)

8. Ras Michael Brown, for instance, refers to the insistence of Simms in one of his letters, on "(the Indians') original claims and upon what is still due them by (the white) race."(Emphasis Added 31)

9. This is exposed in his work: *Sack and Destruction of the City of Columbia*, S.C./ Power Press of Daily Phoenix / 1865.

10. Charles Craven actually held the office of Governor of Carolina between 1711 and 1716. During his government, the province was involved in two conflicts with the Indians. One in North Carolina with Tuscaroras and another with the Yemassees, which were successfully conducted by him.

11. The Tuscarora War opposed the Tuscarora, an Iroquoian speaking tribe, and North Carolina in between 1711-1715.The Yemassee warriors were helpful to both Carolina armies, and were joined by other Indians from diverse tribes as Catawba, Cherokee, and proto-Creek groups. This alliance made the Yemassee stronger, and helped them in their war later for they knew all the weaknesses of the British colonies.

12. The wealthy Southern plantation owner James Henry Hammond described this theory to argue that the expansion of civilization is mainly due to the labor of slaves which enabled the higher classes to move it forward. Any efforts toward racial equality may be destructive of this end.

13. John Louis O'Sullivan (1813-1895) used the term to promote the annexation of Texas and the Oregon Country to the US. He believed that God had given the United States a mission to spread "republican democracy" throughout North America.

14.William Cullen Bryant's popular poem "the prairie" celebrates the triumph of civilization and the fading Indian. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in "The Song of Hiawatha" also sanctifies the rise of the western empire in the United States. The death of Hiawatha is absorbed by the west, the home of removed Indians.

15. O'Nell reports the version of Pete Beaverhead, an elder of the tribes, who told his version of the story to the members of the Flathead Culture Committee. (p102)

16. By the time of Custer's Black Hills Expedition in 1874, the level of conflict and tension between the U.S and many of the Plains Indians tribes (including the Lakota Sioux and the Cheyenne) had become high. European Americans continually broke treaty agreements and advanced further westward.

17.The Battle of Palo Duro Canyon was a military confrontation and a significant US victory during the Red River War ,a military campaign in 1874 aimed at displacing the Comanche and Kiowa from the Southern Plains and relocating them to reservations . The battle occurred in 1874 when Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie attacked a large encampment of Plains Indians in Palo Duro Canyon, Texas.

18. The newer polygenist theory of racial origins contends that races had been created by God as distinct and are already "hierarchized entities". The second, the monogenesis theory of race, holds that "all races were descended from Adam and Eve but had been shaped by their various ways by their

different environments", individuals are viewed as plants which once "having taken root in a soil became one with the land". Henceforth, white settlers became naturalized once the Indians had departed.

19. In this context, 'native' does not mean Indigenous Americans or American Indians but rather the European descendants of the settlers of the original thirteen colonies. Nativists primarily objected to Irish Roman Catholics because of their rejection of Republicanism as an American ideal.

20. Hamilton describes these traits as Cooper stated them in his preface to *The Last of the Mohicans* "In war, he is daring, boastful, cunning, ruthless, self-denying, and self-devoted; in peace, just, generous, hospitable, revengeful, superstitious, modest, and commonly chaste" (qtd. in Hamilton 16).

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Résumé

La présente thèse analyse la représentation de « l'aliénation » et « l'anxiété des frontières » dans les œuvres de James Fenimore Cooper, William Gilmore Simms, D'Arcy McNickle et Navarre Scott Momaday. Des climats culturels spécifiques à chacun de leurs romans sont identifiés. Cette étude démontre que l'expansion vers l'Ouest Américain au dix-neuvième siècle s'est développée à l'imposition de lois et institutions sur la vie tribale indienne au début du vingtième siècle. L'anxiété sur la disparition de la frontière comme un espace ouvert dans les œuvres de Cooper et Simms s'est transformée en anxiété sur sa clôture dans les œuvres de McNickle et Momaday. Ce travail met en évidence la façon dont l'aliénation et l'anxiété des amérindiens dans les quatre romans résultent du choc des cultures. Il suit l'approche dialectique de Lucien Goldmann, qui analyse les textes en reflétant une vision du monde. Cette méthode dévoile, en premier lieu, la compréhension des thèmes : « aliénation » et « anxiété des frontières » dans les romans, et en deuxième lieu « l'interprétation » de ces thèmes, leur insertion dans une entité globale qui régit les textes, ainsi que la définition des textes comme des produits émanant de différentes sociétés et différentes idéologies. Grâce à cette analyse, les concepts étudiés sont intégrés dans la structure plus large qui sous-tend les quatre romans, à savoir l'attitude expansionniste de la partie collective. Cooper et Simms prescrivent un registre hégémonique dans leurs œuvres et expriment une vision du monde similaire ; dans un autre contexte, McNickle et Momaday s'opposent à la vision du monde suprémaciste dominante et mettent en lumière le rôle important qu'ont les Amérindiens en tant que minorités et aussi en tant qu'habitants originels de l'Amérique.

Mots- Clés : Aliénation, Frontière, Anxiété, Amérindiens, Civilisation, Expansion.

ملخص

هذه الأطروحة تتطرّق إلى دراسة موضوع التهميش و الإضطراب على حدود الغرب الأمريكي في روايات مختارة للكتّاب جيمس فينيمور كوبر، ويليام غيلمور سيمز، دارسي ماكنيكل و نفاري سكوت مومداي واللتي تتميّز بإختلاف مناخاتها الثّقافية.

هذه الدّراسة تسعى إلى توثيق تطوّر فتح حدود الغرب الأمريكي في القرن التاسع عشر إلى فرض مؤسسات قانونية على الهنود الحمر في بداية القرن العشرين. هذا البحث يُبيّن أيضا الاضطراب النّاجم عن فتح و غلق حدود الغرب الأمريكي في أدب كوبر وسيمز و الّذي أصبح إضطرابًا ناتجًا عن تحديد المستوطنات في أدب مكنيكل و مومداي. يتّضح لنا كذلك أنّ تهميش و قلق الهُنود الحُمر الأَمريكيين في الرّوايات المُخْتارة يَصدر عن الصِّراع بين الثّقافات و الحضارات. تَتَّبِع هذه الدِّراسة منهجية سوسيولوجية الّتي تدرس النّصوص و تصلهم "برؤية محدّدة للعالم". هذه الطريقة تُساعد في تجسيد عملية إدراك بُنية النّصوص في خُطوةٍ أُولى، ثمّ تعنى بفهم المصطلحات المُختارة و ربطها بالوعي العام للمجتمعات.بهذه المنهجيّة، دراسة النّصوص المُختارة تعكس رؤية الكتّاب للعالم و مجتمعهم الخاص بهم.

من خلال هذه الدراسة ، يتم إدراج المفاهيم المدروسة إلى الوعي الجماعي الذي ترتكز عليه الروايات الأربع وهو الموقف التوسعي للمجتمع الأمريكي . يقترح كوبر وسيمز تسجيلًا هيمونيًا في أعمالهما ويعبران عن رؤية عالمية مماثلة؛ بينما في سياق آخر، يقاوم ماكنيكل ومومداي العالمية العنصرية السائدة ويسلطان الضوء على الدور المهم الذي يلعبه السكان الأصليون الأمريكيون كأقليات وكذلك كسكان أصليين للأرض

الكلمات المفتاحية : التهميش، الحدود، الاضطراب، الهنود الحمر، الحضارة، التوسع.