American Masculinity in Crisis: Cordell Walker and the Indianized White Hero

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> *The white man will never let go of the Indian image because he thinks that by some clever manipulation he can achieve an authenticity which can never be his.*
> —Vine Deloria Jr., *The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies*

Anglo-Americans have long had a love-hate relationship with American Indians, vacillating from one extreme to the other, often embracing both simultaneously. The earliest English settlers in Massachusetts, Puritans, defined themselves by comparisons with the Pequots, whom they touted as everything the Puritans were not, yet at the same time the Puritans admired the Pequots and in some ways wanted to be like them.[1] After the settlers broke from England, however, they needed a new identity. Suddenly it became important for Anglo-Americans to differentiate themselves from imperialist Europeans.[2] The answer was the so-called "New Man": neither European nor American Indian, but an amalgam of both.[3]

Philip Deloria documents this process in his classic work of scholarship, *Playing Indian*. For example, the instigators of the Boston Tea Party found it advantageous—for whatever reasons—to dress up as Mohawks.[4] The Revolutionary War–era exploits of Colonel Daniel Boone provided a template for many "Indianized" white heroes who would follow. Boone's adventures,

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including his adoption by Shawnee chief Black Fish, were outlined in a 1784 tract written by real estate speculator John Filson.[5] Subsequently, several characters with American Indian characteristics, many very much like Boone, began appearing in novels such as those comprising James Fenimore Cooper's popular series *The Leatherstocking Tales* (1828–1841), which featured Indianized character Nathaniel (Natty) Bumppo, also known as Leatherstocking or Deerslayer.[6] Many more Indianized white heroes would follow, including Tom Jeffords in a 1947 novel titled *Blood Brother* (retitled *Broken Arrow* for a 1950 film and a 1956 television show) and Cheyenne Bodie in television's *Cheyenne*, 1955–1963.[7]

On the other hand, these fictions also included Natives in various stages of becoming Europeanized, indicating their endorsement of European norms. In television, there were characters such as Tonto (*The Lone Ranger*, 1949–1957), Cheyenne leader Brave Eagle (*Brave Eagle*, 1955), Chiracahua Apache leader Cochise (*Broken Arrow*, 1956–1958), Apache federal marshal Sam Buckhart (*Law of the Plainsman*, 1959–1960), Iroquois police detective John Hawk (*Hawk*, 1966), and Navajo deputy sheriff Nakia Parker (*Nakia*, 1974).[8] What do these figures have in common? They are "good Indians" who help enforce Anglo-American norms. Like the Indianized white heroes, these figures were cultural hybrids, physically Native but intellectually and spiritually "apprentice white men."[9]

Most crucially there were the so-called "half-breeds" who literally embodied the best of both races: Mingo (*The Adventures of Daniel Boone*, 1964–1968), Hondo Lane (*Hondo*, 1967) and Cordell Walker (*Walker: Texas Ranger*, 1993–2001).[10] This study examines the current stage in the amalgamation of the white man and the Native: the white man who can become Native at will. Cordell Walker is a half-Cherokee lawman. His Indianness is usually kept in the background or rather bubbling under the surface: most of the time he is Anglo-American, but he can become a Cherokee any time it serves his purposes. Indianness becomes his secret identity that emerges whenever superhuman or spiritual qualities are needed—whenever the Euro-American intellect is not enough. Walker can shapeshift when the need arises, and, unlike Nakia Parker, rarely, if ever, agonizes over his identity. For Walker, identity is fluid in that he can switch back and forth from white to Native almost at will. All it takes is some ritualistic or emotional trigger.

This study also examines issues of masculinity, especially the construct of a specifically "American" masculinity that borrows from stereotypical ideas about Native physicality. *Walker: Texas Ranger* happened to appear at the same time American masculinity and patriarchy faced cultural and political challenges from the women's movement, and Walker responded to these challenges. This study will also examine some of the reactionary political as well as religious ramifications of the series.

Background of the Series

The star of *Walker: Texas Ranger*, Chuck Norris, was instrumental in developing the series and brought a good deal of star power and intertextual meaning(s) to it, including his background in martial arts movies. Norris had earlier planned to become a police officer, and he served a short period in the US Air Force as a military policeman. He began studying martial arts while stationed in South Korea.[11] After winning several titles, he met Bruce Lee and landed a small role as Lee's nemesis in *Return of the Dragon* (1972). Norris became a cult figure in the hypermasculine action movie genre, starring as Colonel James Braddock in a series of military films produced by Cannon Films, including *Missing in Action* (1984), in which he operates behind enemy lines in North Vietnam to rescue US prisoners of war, and in *Delta Force* as Major Scott McCoy, a military commando battling Middle Eastern terrorists (1986).[12] Norris told an interviewer that Cordell Walker was a combination of characters he had played in his movies.[13] In 1983 he portrayed a somewhat similar character in his film *Lone Wolf McQuade*, in which he plays an indefatigable Texas Ranger who counts martial arts among his law enforcement techniques.[14] Norris authored three books in which he explains his martial-arts philosophy as well as his religious and political beliefs, some of which are manifest in the program.[15]

Walker: Texas Ranger made its debut on CBS and enjoyed a remarkably long run of 196 episodes, airing from 1993 to 2001. Cannon Films, an Israeli production company with which Norris had enjoyed a long and fruitful relationship, went bankrupt during *Walker*'s first season, so CBS stepped in with funding to keep the series in production. Columbia Pictures Television, the company that produced both *Nakia* and *Hawk*—both of which featured Native police officers—was assigned the production contract. Norris, who at this point held a good deal of negotiating leverage, was made executive producer and given profit participation.[16]

Making its debut three years after the movie *Dances with Wolves* (1990) stirred a renewal of interest in Native Americana, *Walker* is the only successful, long-running network program to feature a Native (half-Cherokee) lawman in a starring role. Norris himself purports to be half-Cherokee; according to his autobiography, both his mother and father are half-Cherokee.[17] The Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma (not too far from Ryan, where Norris is from) is about 200 miles from Dallas, where *Walker: Texas Ranger* is set. The series includes a "full-blood" Cherokee character, Cordell Walker's uncle, Ray Fire Walker, played by Floyd "Red Crow" Westerman, a Lakota actor and former US Marine prominent in *Dances with Wolves*. Walker's Uncle Ray is a former US Marine who raised him and calls him Washoe, or "Lone Eagle."[18] He lives

in Walker's household as a sort of combination ranch hand/manservant. Thus Walker has his own Native companion who serves as a sort of man Friday.[19]

In fact, Walker has two ethnic sidekicks. Like the 1966 character Iroquois Detective John Hawk, Walker has a black partner, Ranger James Trivette, who escaped the Baltimore ghetto playing professional football (actor Clarence Gilyard Jr. himself played college football). In that he serves as a humorous foil for Walker, Trivette is similar to *Hawk's* African-American detective Dan Carter; however, Trivette is more assertive than Carter and is given far more screen time. George Gerbner has found that in 1993, the year *Walker* made its debut, "the world of television [was still] frozen in a time warp of obsolete and damaging representations."[20] This was particularly true of *Walker*: the social scenery in Texas seems not to have changed much since *The Lone Ranger*. There are few minority characters in the program other than Trivette, some of Trivette's African-American friends, and some Mexican criminals.

Early episodes inserted ironic intertextual references to *The Lone Ranger*, which gave the program a tone of pastiche. Both *Walker* and *The Lone Ranger* feature Texas Rangers, both are set in Texas, both have a recurring American Indian character who is subservient, and both heroes are saintly and refuse to kill. Just as the Ranger rarely shot to kill but merely to injure, Walker aims to disarm his enemies, or if possible, give them a martial-arts-style beating.[21] As was true of *The Lone Ranger, Walker*'s villains are most likely to be white. The villains on *Walker* are often Establishment figures gone bad: in the first four episodes, villains included a mentally ill former CIA operative, a mentally ill former sheriff, a mentally ill parole officer, and a mentally ill Christian cult leader.[22]

In the introductory sequence, in an almost exact duplication of *The Lone Ranger*, there is a brief truck shot of Walker on horseback racing from left to right at a full gallop (see figures 1 and 2). Both characters are framed against





Figure 1 *(above left): The Lone Ranger and Silver galloping (the rider is Clayton Moore).*
Figure 2 *(above right): Walker and horse at full gallop (the rider is a stunt double).*

the sky, but Walker even more so, his black hat contrasting starkly. The Lone Ranger is associated with mountains, suggesting strength.[23] The sky is a recurring visual motif in *Walker* (above) as it was in *The Lone Ranger* as well as in *Nakia* and many other westerns. The sky of course is where the gods live, the implication being that Walker is one of them—if not a god himself, then sent by God. Establishing shots of the Texas landscape immediately situate the program in the tradition of the western.

Like *Nakia*, the earlier 1974 Native policeman series, *Walker* could be described as a contemporary—as opposed to a quasi-historical—western. However, whereas sheriff's deputy Nakia Parker wrestled with issues of identity, being caught between two worlds, Anglo-American and Navajo, Walker is comfortably ensconced in the white world but can and does call on his Cherokee identity whenever it seems propitious. Walker's identity is rarely an issue.[24] His Indianness is always lurking just under the surface and can be summoned at will, like Clark Kent's Superman, or triggered by rage, like Dr. David Banner's alter ego, the Hulk.[25]

Narrative and Visual Analyses

References to Native American concerns are relatively rare in the series but do occur. *Walker*'s first episode, "One Riot, One Ranger," a two-hour, made-for-TV movie that served as the program's pilot, offered a bit of backstory about Walker's parents. His father, a Cherokee rodeo rider (a combination cowboy and Indian), was beaten to death by racists angered at his being with a white woman. Both parents were murdered. Walker explains, "They started saying all these crude things to my mom, like how could she be with a dirty, rotten Indian and bring a half-breed into this world. My dad was a very proud man, and he confronted these guys."[26] This device seems to have originated in *Detective Comics*, in which Bruce Wayne, Batman's alter-ego, swears to avenge his parents' deaths at the hands of robbers.[27] Indeed, Walker is very much a comic-book character, as was the Lone Ranger, who also seems to have a lot in common with Batman. Walker is also remarkably similar to a 1980s animated television character named Bravestarr, a combination cowboy/Indian who served as an intergalactic federal marshal of the future.[28]

Episode 11, "The Legend of Running Bear," is devoted to Native issues and could have come from the writers of *Nakia*. The plot of this episode concerns two corrupt FBI agents who are working for a mining operator who has discovered uranium on Cherokee land and bribed a county official to have property lines redrawn. The actual issue of uranium that is located on Native land is an important one.[29] These murderous FBI agents aim to eliminate local Cherokees

who have uncovered their plot. It is highly irregular for a network television series to defame officers of the federal government (the series later features a rogue CIA agent). Walker takes pains, however, to explain to coworkers that "any organization as large as the FBI is bound to have one or two bad apples." References to Cherokee spirituality include Walker and Uncle Ray taking part in a sweat lodge and Cherokee men meeting and smoking tobacco in a tipi. However, sweat lodges are not part of Cherokee culture and Cherokees never lived in tipis.[30] Although he participates in Native rituals when it suits his need to become Native, Walker seems skeptical of Native religion to the point where Uncle Ray deems it necessary to admonish him not to "make fun of the spirits." Walker visits his Cherokee cousin David Little Eagle, who lives on a nearby Cherokee reservation and is in some sort of trouble.[31] Walker's presence on the reservation seems unremarkable; he is treated like an ordinary white man who happens to have a friend on the reservation and is largely ignored. On the other hand, several Cherokee toughs give cousin Little Eagle a hard time about being a "traitor" because he has left the reservation to become a "city boy" and study medicine (much as the character of Nakia Parker left the Navajo reservation to become a police officer). This paints these Cherokee youths as anti-intellectual and disdainful of education. Oddly, however, none direct any ill will toward Walker for doing the same thing. Perhaps this is because they see him as white, not one of their own. American Indian scholar Duane Champagne notes that "light-skinned, blue-eyed individuals [claiming to be Native] are viewed as white" by other Natives.[32]

Like *Nakia*, Walker often dresses entirely in blue denim, as does Uncle Ray. This signifies his working class roots—denim being the fabric of the hard-working cowboy, a figure who harks back to simpler times when frontier justice was swift. Like Nakia, Walker rides a horse for recreation, further embellishing his image as a cowboy. However, his horse's multicolored coat, brown with large white patches ("paint" or "pinto"), is a common film trope associated with Native Americans. Uncle Ray also rides a paint horse and dresses entirely in denim. Like Walker, he is both cowboy and Indian. The term *cowboy* also suggests a lone operator, a maverick, someone who refuses to be a team player (as in the term *lone ranger*). What is more, as noted earlier, Walker's Cherokee name Washoe means "Lone Eagle." This is crucial because, like many other vigilante figures, Walker acts unilaterally when he feels he needs to, bending the law. However, unlike the Lone Ranger, who is an illegal vigilante, Walker, as an officer of the law, must work within the system. As with the *Lone Ranger* series, many visual clichés suggest that as an avenging angel Walker is either quasi-divine or that he is a messenger of God. These include backlighting, halo effects, being shot from low angles or framed against the sky, and the like.

Walker as "Indian-at-Will"

As Edward Said points out, the colonialist trope of a white man passing as native was a prominent theme in T. E. Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1922) and Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901).[33] In colonialist fantasies it is easy for a talented white man to pass or even be accepted by natives, yet it is difficult if not impossible for a native to be accepted as white. Indeed, as Cedric Clark argued in 1969, this theme of the assimilated native having to constantly prove his loyalty by becoming an enforcer of the dominant group's norms is nearly universal in the mass media of colonialist countries, including the United States.[34]

Episode 58, "Evil in the Night," illustrates how Walker can become an Indian—a very powerful one—whenever it suits him.[35] An urban construction project unearths a Comanche gravesite containing the remains of women and children from the battle at Bandera Pass in 1841. Two white teenagers sneak into the excavation and disturb the remains. A shape-shifting Comanche named Running Wolf appears and summons the dead, and the boys are literally scared to death. Running Wolf has also played a role in the killing of some officials involved in the construction project, including a city councilman. The project is put on hold indefinitely. This is a common theme related to manifest destiny: Natives are obstacles who impede progress by their very presence, even though these Natives are already dead. Walker seeks counsel from White Eagle, a medicine man at the Cherokee reservation, who explains that Running Wolf is a skinwalker who must avenge the death of his ancestors. White Eagle cautions Walker not to tangle with Running Wolf because Walker has been living too long among whites: "You would have no chance against him; you have forgotten the tribal ways." Walker overconfidently responds that his father's Cherokee blood still runs through his veins. White Eagle agrees to tutor Walker. Walker takes on Running Wolf and eventually kills him (this is notable, for Walker rarely if ever kills an adversary). This is redolent of Delmer Daves's film *Broken Arrow* (1950), in which Tom Jeffords takes a crash course on Apache culture, quickly learning how to fight Apache style. As Ward Churchill notes in a television documentary, the white hero is "better at being an Indian than they are."[36] Walker's atypical killing of Running Wolf in this episode is similar to an episode of *Law of the Plainsman* in which Apache deputy marshal Sam Buckhart must kill a "renegade" Apache named Gray Wolf, who happened to be a childhood friend of Buckhart's.[37] Sometimes it becomes necessary for these characters to kill one of their own in order to demonstrate their depth of their dedication to the dominant order.

Walker as "White Shaman"

"Cop shows" have long been standard on US television, but by the late 1960s, typical cop shows such as *Dragnet* had begun to seem stiff and perhaps even ridiculous to modern tastes. If cop shows were to survive, they needed more interesting, "relevant" characters. Thus police dramas began incorporating outsiders: women and minorities, even "hipster" white youths, as in *The Mod Squad*.[38] Besides making him an outsider, Cordell Walker's Native identity may have been a way of deepening the psychology of the character, just as it did for Nakia Parker.[39] Inner turmoil added psychological complexity to the often-formulaic police/crime genre. At the same time, these characters' double identities distinguished these programs from stock crime series: Walker is no ordinary cop. His Indianness helped make him unique.

Walker incorporated ostensibly Native religious rituals in order to deepen the psychology of the character, as well as to make him appear more committed as a Native and to supply him with supernatural powers. The incorporation of these quasi-religious rituals into the series would create difficulties for Norris, however. On one hand, they offended Cherokees because they were entirely fake; on the other, they also offended some of Norris' born-again constituents who harbored deep hostility to New Age religion.[40] *Walker*'s writers freely invented "religious rituals" that have no analogue in Native culture; some Cherokee scholars have found this insulting, especially in view of the fact that Norris himself claims to be half Cherokee.[41] For example, in the second episode, titled "Borderline," Walker performs a spurious Cherokee ritual at his fallen partner's grave.

Walker dons a red serape that looks very much like Superman's cape (see fig. 3). The camera angle could scarcely get any lower; he is framed against the





Figure 3 *(above left): Walker tranforms himself into shaman by donning a red serape that is the equivalent of Superman's cape.*
Figure 4 *(above right): Walker addresses the animal spirits.*

sky in a godlike pose, with flute music in background. Suddenly, the camera shifts to a very high angle, a "God's-eye-view." The viewer is now positioned as God, looking down on his messenger. God hears his prayer:

> WALKER: (Holding up a feather, looking like a priest holding a crucifix) My friend, go with the spirit of the owl. He will see all things for you (above right).



Figure 5: *Close-up of Walker's earnest facial expression.*

> WALKER: (Holding up a second feather): Go with the spirit of the hawk. He will protect you on your final journey. (Holding up a third feather) Go with the spirit of the eagle. He will soar you [*sic*] to your father. Your father awaits you.

The coloring of the feather suggests Walker's hybrid character: he too is mostly white with a bit of brown; his Indianness emerges only when hypermasculinity is required. Walker gazes up at the feather intently. Crouching down, Walker silently places all three feathers on the grave. His black hat is in a direct line with the other gravestones, almost as if it were one too (see fig. 5).

> WALKER: Payback time.

Now it is time for some old-fashioned "frontier justice," meaning no arrests, no reading of rights, no courts—the vigilante becomes judge, jury, and executioner. Of course, being a legitimate lawman, Walker can do no such thing, but he may go berserk and beat the perpetrator within an inch of his life.[42] Thus vengeance, a popular theme in westerns, is dignified through ritual. What transpires in this ritual is more or less what occurs when Clark Kent steps into a phone booth, when stripping off his shirt and tie—symbols of his Anglo-American identity—the mild-mannered Kent transforms himself into a hypermasculine avenger. Walker's red serape serves the same function as Superman's red cape: like Cochise or Sam Buckhart, Walker becomes a superhuman Indian enforcer of Anglo-American norms. Calling on his half-Native

side, he allows himself to go berserk, like the Hulk or Rambo. His half-white side is no longer responsible for his actions; all culpability for his overzealous (and extralegal) behavior is displaced onto his Indian alter ego.

Had Norris bothered to research his purported Cherokee heritage, or hired a Cherokee consultant, he might have discovered that an observant Cherokee would not perform a Native ritual on a non-Cherokee's grave. Cherokee scholar Richard Allen explains, "traditional Cherokees believe the owl to be a harbinger of death or ill-omen and would find the owl's feather repulsive."[43] Robert Conley, professor of Cherokee studies at Western Carolina University, adds, "The owl is usually thought to be a *sgili* (a witch) in disguise."[44]

White Shamanism: Background and History

White shamanism, a term coined by Geary Hobson, is the practice of whites adopting and synthesizing Native and Eastern spiritual principles. According to Hobson, white shamanism began in 1970s US literature with a group of poets who felt they had achieved a sort of Native spirituality through the use of peyote. These practices were later agglomerated into a hodgepodge of Eastern and American Indian philosophies that came to be called New Age spiritualism.[45] This sounds innocent enough at first and may even seem to pay homage to American Indians; however, it has more insidious implications for Native peoples.



Figure 6: *Walker, focusing on the fire, goes into a trance.*

Walker can become a Native anytime he likes by performing a quasi-Native ritual or simply by putting himself in a trance. In episode 20 ("On Sacred Ground"), he becomes a shaman.[46] Walker, deep in the forest, dons an Apache-style bandanna like the one worn by Sam Buckhart in *Law of the Plainsman* (see fig. 6). His face is lit mostly on one side by the fire he contemplates. His

head is backlit by moonlight, creating a halo effect. A montage takes shape as three images fade into one another: first Walker's face, then the fire, and then flashbacks of some unspecified American Indians (probably Plains Indians) doing a sacred dance to traditional music. Colors become increasingly hotter as the camera (the viewer) draws closer to the fire. The viewer now sees inside Walker's head, witnessing visions of his Native ancestors. This transformative ritual again is analogous to Clark Kent stepping into a telephone booth. Walker continues to meditate by the fire, putting himself in a trancelike state, like a yogi. His eyeline does not match the previous shots: when the camera violates the 180-degree rule, it suggests a godlike point of view, since a human being cannot be in two places at once. Faux Native music in the background becomes progressively louder, building to a booming crescendo.





Figure 7 *(above left): Rays of moonlight illuminate Walker from behind. The backlighting indicates his godlike stature; his horse too is backlit by moonlight.*
Figure 8 *(above right): Walker prepares to "firewalk."*

The backlighting simulates rays of moonlight and indicates Walker's now-supernatural state (see fig. 7). The display of Walker's torso correlates with his Native phase; he is rarely if ever seen bare-chested otherwise. The issue of male bodily display is too extensive to address here, but suffice it to say that semi-naked nonwhite males in film and television are relatively common while it is irregular for white males to indulge in bodily display, generally considered a feminine attribute.[47] The unsaddled horse in the background on the right confirms Walker's Native state—Hollywood Indians generally ride bareback.

After achieving the proper mental state, Walker proceeds to walk on hot coals. This is not and never has been a Native practice.[48] The program's producers here have conflated Native culture with Hindu culture in a sort of New Age stew—one could say they literally got their Indians mixed up. The issue here is not lack of verisimilitude or that television writers do not conduct proper research but that they simply make Native Americans into anything

they want them to be. In the 1990s, firewalking, promoted by Robert Bly in his book *Iron John*, was a ritual used to bolster men's sense of masculine prowess.[49] *New York Times* reporter Richard Shweder asserts that this movement was a backlash, a reaction to a crisis of masculinity triggered by the threat of feminism.[50] A contemporaneous article in *Newsweek* also noted that white males felt their formerly secure identities threatened by "feminists, multiculturalists, affirmative-action employers, rap artists, Native Americans."[51]

As stated earlier, white shamanism might at first seem like a tribute to American Indians, but the implications go much deeper than what Cherokee scholar Richard Allen calls Hollywood's "made-up mumbo-jumbo" and cultural ignorance regarding Native spiritual practices.[52] This is a serious issue among Native scholars, many of whom view it as cultural theft and worse. Jimmy Durham writes,

> There is in the United States . . . a curious phenomenon that is seldom given intellectual consideration: whites claiming to be part Indian and, even more, whites who claim to be Indian. Surely there is not another part of the world wherein members of the racist oppressor society claim to be members of the oppressed group.[53]

Evidently it is not enough for Euro-Americans to colonize Native land and resources—they must also appropriate their culture, thereby naturalizing their claim to the land and its bounties. In the words of Margo Thunderbird,

> They came for our land, for what grew or could be grown on it, for the resources in it, and for our clean air and pure water. They stole these things from us. . . . Now they want our pride, our history, our spiritual traditions. They want to rewrite and remake these things, to claim them for themselves.[54]

John Lavelle, director of the Center for Support and Protection of Indian Religious and Indigenous Traditions, adds:

> This is the final phase of genocide. . . . First whites took the land and all that was physical. Now they're going after what is intangible. . . It's the conqueror fantasizing about who he has conquered.[55]

Apparently Anglo-American men subconsciously (or even perhaps consciously) realize they lack authenticity as rulers of the land. By pretending to be Native, the colonizers might be able to convince themselves they are the rightful and true possessors of the land and its heritage. What is more, they may feel insecure in their masculinity, so they appropriate the masculine prowess and superhuman powers they have traditionally attributed to American Indians. Thus they (mis)appropriate attributes of Natives in forging their *own* myth; then they reiterate this myth to each other in films and television, where it takes on an aura of quasi-authenticity, or what Jacques Aumont called "plausibility."[56]

Walker's America, like Disneyland, is a simulacrum in which white males not only reign supreme but also are better at being Indians than Indians themselves.[57] "These are non-Indians who think they can be better Indians than we are," said Carol Standing Elk of the American Indian Movement.[58] If white men can become Natives easily enough, and it is extremely difficult if not impossible for Natives such as Sam Buckhart or Nakia Parker to become white, Walker overrides this difficulty by being both white *and* Native.

The Walker/Norris Interface and Issues of Indianness

There is a good deal of spillage between character Cordell Walker and the public persona of Chuck Norris; in fact, it is sometimes unclear where one ends and the other begins. As mentioned earlier, Norris brought his own experiences and views to the series. In the first instance, both Norris and Walker take pains to assert they are half-Cherokee. In both his 1998 and 2006 autobiographies Norris makes an issue of being biracial as does the character he plays in *Walker*.[59] In season three, episode 6 ("Rainbow Warrior") Walker calls himself "a member of this tribe," the Oklahoma Cherokees.[60] In the made-for-TV movie that served as the pilot for the series, Walker, in flashback, is seen as a towheaded child being bullied by a gang of Native children. This is taken from Norris's childhood experience of attending school with Native children in Arizona who bullied him.[61]

Reading Norris's autobiographies, one can't help noticing his ambivalence toward American Indians. Despite his own and his character's repeated claims to Indianness, Norris works hard to distance himself from his Cherokee roots—and from his father. Norris was appalled by his father's erratic behavior and tended to disassociate himself not only from his father, but even from his father's side of the family. According to Norris, his father had dark skin, "coal-black" eyes, and black hair.[62] In other words, he looked Native. Norris writes that his "most difficult and confusing relationship" was with his father and refers to his father as "a negative role model."[63] Complicating matters, Norris's father was an abusive alcoholic who apparently fit the drunken-Indian stereotype.[64] It is evident that the role of Uncle Ray is partly based on Norris's father, whose name was Ray (Norris's middle name is Ray as well). Uncle Ray, a "full-blood" Cherokee, is often made to appear silly and ineffectual in *Walker*. Like Tonto in *The Lone Ranger*, he is emasculated, feminized. What is more, he is trivialized. Ray sometimes hangs out in the neighborhood bar acting tipsy and telling inane jokes.

Ray is frequently the butt of ridicule. For example, while Walker is viewing a videotape of a bank robbery from a closed-circuit camera, Ray asks, "What's



Figure 9 *(above left): Uncle Ray, wearing denim, is marginalized in the background. Note Navajo patterns on Walker's shirt.*

on? I missed *People's Court* last night" (see fig. 9). This comment makes Ray sound silly and uneducated, having extremely pedestrian tastes in television. Ray is in the background, out of focus. He is nearly invisible, both literally and figuratively. Like Norris himself, Walker tries to distance himself from his Cherokee heritage, but Ray will not let him.





Figure 10 *(above left): Ray is associated with nature.*
Figure 11 *(above right): Walker is associated with the comforts of "home."*

Ray (see fig. 10) is framed against a tree and the sky, symbolizing his connection to nature, while Walker (see fig. 11) stands in front of his house, symbolizing civilization and the comforts of modernity.

> UNCLE RAY: Washoe, you forgot to say good morning to the sun.
> WALKER: (looking up, reluctantly) Morning. . . .

Walker egregiously misrepresents Cherokee culture. Cherokee scholars have expressed displeasure with *Walker* and hold Norris responsible. Richard Allen asserts, "Norris distorts not only Cherokee but the broad sweep of

Indian culture," while Robert Conley calls *Walker*'s portrayals of Cherokee culture "absurd and insulting," adding, "Norris seems to know nothing about Cherokee culture. Furthermore, he does not seem to give a damn enough to try to find out."[65]

Ultimately, Cordell Walker deploys his Indianness when it helps him solve crimes but otherwise tries to distance himself from it. This could be said of Norris himself, who employed his (ostensible) Indianness to advance his career but generally distances himself from it. In fact, Norris's professed hero is John Wayne, who portrayed Hollywood's most vehement (and violent) Indian-hater in John Ford's *The Searchers*.[66] In what could be deemed a Freudian slip, Norris, who now styles himself a political commentator, explains what the US founders had in mind when "*we* came over from England."[67] His use of the pronoun "we" with reference to the English settlers clearly negates his claims of Indianness, indicating that he sees himself as thoroughly Anglo-American.

Fundamentalist Religious Overtones and Gender Roles

As noted previously, Norris is one of the program's executive producers and brings his experiences and views to the series. Norris is a born-again Southern Baptist and self-described "conservative Christian."[68] This statement is worth examination because of the conflicts that arose between *Walker*'s New-Age "mumbo-jumbo" and conservative Christianity. Although many Cherokees have been raised as Southern Baptists and have managed to reconcile their traditional beliefs with Christianity, this transfer does not work both ways.[69] Some conservative Christians took offense to *Walker*'s depiction of New Age spiritual practices.[70] By season four these were abandoned in favor of references to Christianity because Norris himself was uncomfortable with them.[71] At this point Norris had recommitted himself to evangelical Christianity.[72]

Religion is also germane to this discussion because fundamentalist Protestants tend to embrace strict gender roles and espouse rigid ideas about masculinity and what it means. For example, many conservative Christians subscribe to the biblical view that women should accept subservient roles.[73] Some of these strictures are embedded in *Walker*: for one, there are no women police officers until season seven. Conservative Christians also tend to oppose civil rights for gays.[74] This attitude is connected to recurrent images about American masculinity and reflect an ongoing cultural struggle over what such images mean with regard to gender roles and how men should—or should not—behave, ideas that have been recurrently played out in western tales, whether in literature, film, or television.[75] What is more, some conservative Christians label themselves "pro-life" while celebrating militarism and war and

fail to see any contradiction in the use of this term. This is true of Norris himself, as demonstrated by his earlier career choices to play the militaristic roles of Colonel Braddock and Major McCoy. Both Braddock and McCoy prefer violence, sometimes on a mass scale, to negotiation.[76]

The observation that fundamentalist Protestant longings are at the heart of the western has been made by such scholars as J. Fred MacDonald, Peter Homans, and Michael T. Marsden.[77] Marsden writes that the western—in all its formats, whether in novels, film or television—is at base a variation of a Puritan morality play. However, the western tale's religious overtones are no longer overt, although these may be apparent to fundamentalists who recognize them. As Marsden explains:

> For the Puritans, the wilderness of their "Chosen Land" was inhabited by devils [Pequots], and these devils could be driven out only by the strongest and worthiest of men. . . . It is of this challenge that the American hero, beginning with Daniel Boone, was born. And Boone's cultural descendant, the western hero, became America's permanent heroic creation, serving as Redeemer for generations of Americans.[78]

Finally, conservative Christians take a biblical view of the land and how it should be used, which is antithetical to the way most Natives feel about the land. Anne Coulter, a conservative author and a fundamentalist Protestant, explained this *dominionist* view on Sean Hannity's Fox News program in 2001:

> COULTER: I take the biblical idea. . . . God gave us the earth. . . . God says, "Earth is yours. Take it. Rape it."
> PETER FENN: Terrific. We're Americans, so we should consume as much of the earth's resources—as fast as we possibly can.
> COULTER: As opposed to living like the Indians.[79]

Norris clearly identifies with conservative Christian views, and by season four he began actively incorporating them into *Walker: Texas Ranger*. Norris himself wrote in his 2006 autobiography that the series indeed contained an evangelical tone and went on to boast that it was voted "Best Christian Program" at the 1998 Epiphany awards.[80]

Political Implications

Along with subtle (and sometimes not-so-subtle) religious themes, Norris brought his conservative political stance to the series. *Walker* had clear political implications: like the Lone Ranger, this "fabulous individual" set the tone for how US leaders should behave, with cowboy justice as the ideal.[81] *Walker* may have been part of a swing to the right that transpired in the late 1990s and

early 2000s. *Washington Post* columnist Paula Span writes that *Walker: Texas Ranger* "helped land George W. Bush in the White House" in 2000 (Bush ran for governor of Texas one year after *Walker*'s debut). "Is it so far-fetched that last November a significant proportion of [voters] looked at George W. and thought, 'Hey, we know this guy?'"[82] Walker and Bush have several characteristics in common: both are from Texas, both affect a cowboy image, both style themselves as "compassionate conservatives" and conspicuous Christians, and both portray themselves as tough but fair.[83] This image of a tough, no-nonsense, western hero, exemplified by Cordell Walker, is so embedded in US culture that many voters think of this character as a prototype and how their country's president should behave: a hero "who cites Scripture about forgiveness while unremorsefully thwacking away at enemies foreign and domestic."[84]

The Indianized White Man and Anglo-American Masculinity

Tropes of Anglo-American masculinity thrive not only in westerns but in police dramas. Like its protagonist, *Walker: Texas Ranger* is a hybrid, both a crime series and a western. As in most westerns, issues of masculinity, and challenges to it, abound. As Will Wright has argued, the New Man's strength is visually derived from his connection with the wilderness.[85] This is apparent not only in television programs but also in advertisements.

Walker's resemblance to the Marlboro Man can hardly be coincidence (see fig. 12). Note the denim jacket symbolizing the workingman. The Marlboro Man's head is carefully framed against the mountains, lending the strength of the wilderness to the character, and his hat is connected to the sky. In the metropolitan variation, the cityscape substitutes for mountains in the urban frontier (see fig. 13). However, Walker is standing *outside* the city: though he works to clean up crime in the city, he is not *of* the city. His shirt, with its Navajo designs, connotes his Indianness *beneath* his cowboy garb. Again, Walker is shot from an extremely low angle, framed against the sky, making him appear godlike.

Conclusion

Cordell Walker embodies a highly evolved fusion of European and American Indian masculinities, refining a process that began in US literature in the 1820s, if not earlier. His Indianness is unobtrusive, covert: he can don his Native secret identity, like a superhero's cape, any time he needs superhuman powers (that is, hypermasculinity). Like Cherokee chief Mingo on *Daniel Boone*, Walker is *both* white and Native; he is the best of either world at any given

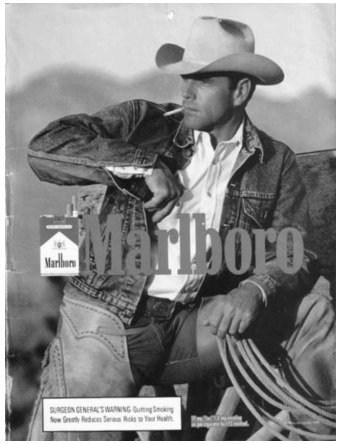




Figure 12 *(above left): The Marlboro Man, from a 1974 advertisement. Cigarettes were coded as masculine.*
Figure 13 *(above right): Cordell Walker stands guard outside Dallas.*

moment, as it suits him. His white side makes him serious, patient, linear-thinking, analytical. However, the New Man is not locked into Enlightenment rationality or logic.[86] Like John Rambo, who was later revealed to be half-Native, Walker's Native side makes him stronger, more spiritual, more natural, as well as impetuous, apt to go berserk when and if the need arises.[87] Walker, then, is the perfect Good Indian: a temporary one. He does not overstay his welcome, or make demands, or remind Anglo-Americans that he is the Native and they are not. When Walker's inner Native is no longer useful, it goes back into hibernation until, like a genie, it is summoned again. Thus "the only good Indian" is one who appears on command—to help enforce Anglo-American law and order—and recedes when not needed.

Notes

1. Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 46–57.

2. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 106.

3. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), xxv.

4. Philip S. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 2.

5. John Filson, *Life and Adventures of Colonel Daniel Boon* [sic]: *The First White Settler of The State of Kentucky* (1784; Reprint, Lexington, KY: Filiquarian Publishing Company, 2011).

6. James Fenimore Cooper, *The Leatherstocking Tales* (New York: Library of America, 1984).

7. Elliott Arnold, *Blood Brother* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1947); *Broken Arrow* (film), directed by Delmer Daves (original release 1950; Los Angeles: 20th Century Fox Films), DVD; *Broken Arrow* (TV series), producers Mel Epstein and Alan A. Armer (Los Angeles: 20th Century

Fox Television; aired on ABC-Television 1956–1958), DVD; *Cheyenne: The Complete First Season*, produced by Roy Huggins (Los Angeles: Warner Bros. Television; aired on ABC-TV 1955), Warner Home Video, 2006, DVD.

8. *The Lone Ranger*, producer George W. Trendle (Los Angeles: Apex Films; aired on ABC Television, 1949–1957; *Brave Eagle*, producer Arthur Rush (Los Angeles: Frontier Productions; aired on CBS Television, 1955–1956); *Broken Arrow*, producers Mel Epstein and Alan A. Armer (Los Angeles: 20th Century Fox Television; aired on ABC Television, 1956–1958); *Law of the Plainsman*, producers Jules V. Levy, Arthur Gardner, and Arnold Laven (Los Angeles: Cardiff Productions/Four Star Television; aired on NBC Television, 1959–1960); *Hawk*, producer Allan E. Sloane (Los Angeles: Columbia Pictures Television; aired on ABC Television 1966–1967); *Nakia*, producer David Gerber (Los Angeles: David Gerber Productions/Columbia Pictures Television; aired on ABC Television, 1974).

9. The terms "apprentice white man" and "ethnic sidekick" come from Frederick Zackel, describing the Carib character Friday in Daniel Defoe's 1719 novel *Robinson Crusoe* and many more like him. Frederick Zackel, "Robinson Crusoe and the Ethnic Sidekick," *Bright Lights Film Journal* 58, November 2007; http://brightlightsfilm.com/58/index.php.

10. *Daniel Boone: The Best of Mingo* (Los Angeles: Arcola Pictures/Fespar Productions/20th Century Fox Pictures; aired on NBC-TV, 1964–1970 (Los Angeles: Liberation Entertainment, 2009), DVD; *Hondo* (Los Angeles: Andrew J. Fenady Productions/Batjac Productions/MGM Television; aired on ABC-TV, 1967); *Walker: Texas Ranger* (Los Angeles: Cannon Television/Amadea Film Productions/Norris Brothers Entertainment/Rudy Greif Company/CBS Entertainment/Columbia TriStar Television; aired on CBS Television 1993–2001).

11. Chuck Norris with Ken Abraham, *Against All Odds: My Story* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2006), 35–36.

12. *Delta Force*, directed by Menahem Golan (Los Angeles: Golan-Globus Productions/MGM Pictures, original release 1986); MGM/UA 2000, DVD. Rescuing missing prisoners of war in North Vietnam had been the premise of the film *Rambo: First Blood, Part II*. *Rambo: First Blood, Part II*, directed by George Cosmatos (Los Angeles, Anabasis NV/Orion Pictures, original release 1985); Lionsgate, 2004, DVD.

13. Ira Berkow, "At Dinner with Chuck Norris," *New York Times*, May 12, 1993, C1.

14. Cordell Walker appeared in two other series: *Martial Law* (CBS, 1998–2000), a short-lived police drama in which the protagonist practices martial arts; and *Sons of Thunder* (1999), a spinoff of *Walker*, produced by Norris and his brother Aaron. Walker returned in a 2005 made-for-television movie, *Walker, Texas Ranger: Trial by Fire*. The original *Walker: Texas Ranger* series still appears in reruns on the USA Network. Norris is also featured in a video game called *Chuck Norris Superkicks*.

15. Norris, *Against All Odds*, 181, 226; Chuck Norris with Joe Hyams, *The Secret of Inner Strength: My Story* (New York: Little, Brown & Co., 1988); *The Secret Power Within: Zen Solutions to Everyday Problems* (New York: Broadway Books, 1996).

16. Ann Hodges, "Money Woes May Sideline Norris Series," *Houston Chronicle* April 14, 1993, 1.

17. Norris, *Against All Odds*, 8, 15. Norris claims his maternal grandfather was "full-blood" Cherokee (15). However, according to the website *Carlos Ray Norris a.k.a. "Chuck" Norris' Family History*, his maternal grandfather, John Porter Scarberry, had blue eyes. The chances of a "full blood" Cherokee having blue eyes are miniscule. The most likely explanation is that Norris is not well informed about his Cherokee heritage and tends to exaggerate, wittingly or unwittingly. Richard Allen, policy analyst for the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, reports that Norris is not a registered member of the Cherokee Nation (or the United Keetoowah Band), although Norris, if he is indeed half-Cherokee as he claims, would be fully eligible for membership. Richard Allen, email to author, May 6, 2010.

18. The motif of American Indian characters with military backgrounds is fairly common in films and television and includes "Chief" in *Garrison's Gorillas* (ABC, 1967), *Billy Jack*, and *Rambo*, as well as Walker himself, who is depicted in flashbacks as a former special-forces operative ("green beret") in Vietnam. *Garrison's Gorillas*, produced by Richard Caffey, Georg Fenady, Selig J. Seligman and Leon Mirell (Los Angeles: Selmur Productions; aired on ABC-TV, 1967–1968), DVD. In real life, American Indians have served in inordinately high proportions in the US military, especially in commando units. Tom Holm, "Patriots and Pawns: State Use of American Indians in the Military and the Process of Nativization of the United States," in *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, ed. M. Annette Jaimes (Boston: South End Press, 1992), 345–70.

19. Even as a token character, Uncle Ray doesn't last long: he dies after fourteen episodes.

20. George Gerbner, *Women and Minorities on Television Drama: A Study in Casting and Fate*, Screen Actors Guild report, 1993; http://www.asc.upenn.edu/gerbner/Asset.aspx?assetID=333, 11.

21. Other American Indian characters associated with martial arts are Billy Jack and Rambo.

22. This is yet another stereotype. According to Gerbner, "Characters with mental disabilities were 4-1/2 times more likely to be criminals or villains and three times more likely to commit violence." George Gerbner, *Casting the American Scene: A Look at the Characters on Prime-time and Daytime Television from 1994–1997*, Screen Actors Guild, December 1998, Appendix 2, np, fn. 2.

23. Will Wright, *Six Guns and Society: A Structural Study of the Western* (University of California Press, 1975), 52, 80.

24. Ward Churchill remarks "the only thing observably 'Indian' about Walker is that he stops in every episode to visit with his Uncle Ray." Ward Churchill, *Fantasies of the Master Race* (San Francisco, City Lights Books, 1998), 221, n. 179. This, however, is not entirely the case, as will be demonstrated.

25. *The Adventures of Superman*, produced by Whitney Ellsworth, Robert Maxwell, and Bernard Luber (Los Angeles: Motion Pictures for Television; aired on ABC Television, 1952–1958); *The Incredible Hulk*, producers Kenneth Johnson and Robert Bennett Steinhauer (Los Angeles: Universal Television; aired on CBS Television, 1978–1982). Banner's given name in the original Marvel comic book was Bruce Banner; television producers changed it to David.

26. *Walker: Texas Ranger, The Complete First Season*, producers Chuck Norris, Aaron Norris, Leslie Greif, Albert S. Ruddy, et al. (Los Angeles: Paramount Pictures/CBS Home Video, 2006, DVD.

27. Bob Kane, "Origins of the Bat Man," *Detective Comics* 27 (New York: National Periodical Publications, May 1939), np.

28. Matthew A. Stern, "Review: the Best of *Bravestarr*," *PopMatters*, July 18, 2007, http://www.popmatters.com/pm/review/the-best-of-bravestar.

29. Ward Churchill, *Struggle for the Land: Native North American Resistance to Genocide, Ecocide, and Colonization* (San Francisco: City Lights Publishers), 274–79.

30. Museum of the Cherokee Indian website, "Museum Archives: FAQ's," nd, http://www.cherokeemuseum.org/html/archives_FAQb.html.

31. The Cherokee reservation near Dallas comprises land granted by Spain to the Cherokee Nation in 1807. See "About Sovereign Cherokee Nation Tejas," http://www.texascherokeenation.org/about.php.

32. Duane Champagne, *Contemporary Native American Cultural Issues* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), 27.

33. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 161.

34. Cedric C. Clark (Syed M. Khatib), "Television and Social Control: Some Observations on the Portrayals of Ethnic Minorities," *Television Quarterly*, Spring 1969, 18–22.

35. *Walker: Texas Ranger*, "Evil in the Night" (Episode 58), writer-producer Tom Blomquist, air date November 4, 1995.

36. Ward Churchill interview, *Images of Indians: How Hollywood Stereotyped the Native American*, directed by Chris O'Brien and Jason Witmer (Englewood, CO: Starz Encore Entertainment, aired July 15, 2003), DVD.

37. *Law of the Plainsman*, "Blood Trails," Episode 6 (Los Angeles: Cardiff Productions/Four Star Television, aired on NBC-TV, Nov. 5, 1959), DVD.

38. *Mod Squad*, producers Aaron Spelling and Danny Thomas (Los Angeles: Thomas/Spelling Productions/Paramount Pictures Television); aired on ABC-TV, 1968–1973.

39. *Nakia*, 1974, DVD.

40. Sheila Overturf, "Program Reviews: Walker, Texas Ranger," *ChristianAnswers.net*, nd, http://www.christiananswers.net/spotlight/tv/2002/walkertexasranger.html.

41. Allen, e-mail to author, May 6, 2010; Robert Conley, professor of Cherokee studies at Western Carolina University, e-mail correspondence with author, May 6, 2010; also see Terence Towles Canote [Mercurie] blog entry "The Invisible Minority: Native Americans on American Television," July 6, 2009, *A Shroud of Thoughts*, http://mercurie.blogspot.com/2009/07/invisible-minority-native-americans-on.html.

42. Kirby Farrell, "The Berserk Style in American Culture," *Cultural Critique* 46 (Autumn 2000): 179–209.

43. Richard Allen, e-mail correspondence with author, May 6, 2010.

44. Robert Conley, e-mail correspondence with author, May 6, 2010.

45. Geary Hobson, *The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Native American Literature* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 104.

46. *Walker: Texas Ranger, The Complete Third Season* (CBS Paramount Home Video, 2006), DVD.

47. Richard Dyer, *White* (London: Routledge, 1997), 146.

48. Richard Allen, e-mail correspondence with author, May 6, 2010; Robert Conley, e-mail correspondence with author, May 6, 2010.

49. Robert Bly, *Iron John: A Book about Men* (Boston: Addison-Wesley, 1990).

50. Richard A. Shweder, "What Do Men Want? A Reading List for the Male Identity Crisis," *New York Times* January 9, 1994, http://www.nytimes.com/1994/01/09/books/what-do-men-want-a-reading-list-for-the-male-identity-crisis.html. *Firewalker* was also the title of a 1996 Norris action film released by Cannon. *Fire Walk with Me* was the subtitle of David Lynch's 1992 film sequel to ABC-TV's *Twin Peaks* (1990–1991).

51. David Gates, "White Male Paranoia," *Newsweek*, March 29, 1993: 48–53.

52. Conley, e-mail correspondence with author, May 6, 2010.

53. Jimmy Durham, "Cowboys and. . . Notes on Art, Literature, and American Indians in the Modern American Mind," in *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, ed. M. Annette Jaimes (Boston: South End Press, 1992), 424.

54. Quoted in Wendy Rose, "The Great Pretenders: Further Reflections on White Shamanism," in *The State of Native America*, 403.

55. Dirk Johnson, "Spiritual Seekers Borrow Indians' Ways," *New York Times*, December 27, 1993: A1. However, this article notes that there are some Indian religious practitioners who feel that the Native ways should be shared with and by anyone who appreciates them.

56. Jacques Aumont, Alain Bergala, Michel Marie, and Marc Vernet, *Aesthetics of Film*, ed. Richard Neupert (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 117–18.

57. Jean Beaudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulations* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1983), 24–26.

58. Quoted in Johnson, A1.

59. Norris, *Against All Odds*, 19-21; Norris, *Secret of Inner Strength*, 1996, 4, 11–12, 42.

60. "Rainbow Warrior" (Episode 32), *Walker: Texas Ranger: The Third Season*. Originally aired on CBS Television, November 5, 1994.

61. Norris, *Against All Odds*, 15–16.

62. Norris, *Against All Odds*, 9.

63. Ibid., 13, 20.

64. Ibid., 12, 14, 18, 23, 25.

65. Allen, e-mail to author, May 6, 2010; Conley, e-mail to author, May 6, 2010.

66. Norris, *Secret of Inner Strength*, 206; *The Searchers*, director John Ford (Los Angeles: C.V. Whitney Pictures/Warner Bros. Pictures, 1956). Norris's idol, John Wayne, told interviewer Richard Warren Lewis, "I believe in white supremacy." Asked specifically how he felt about Indians and their loss of the land, he responded, "I don't feel we [Euro-Americans] did wrong in taking this great country away from them. . . . There were great numbers of people who needed new land, and the Indians were selfishly trying to keep it for themselves." Richard Warren Lewis, "The Playboy Interview: John Wayne," *Playboy*, May 1971, 78.

67. "Black Belt Patriotism: Chuck Norris," BH Publishing Group. nd, http://www.youtube .com/ watch?v=kMhLgC8WGz8. Emphasis mine.

68. Norris, *Against All Odds*, 22.

69. Allen, e-mail correspondence with author, May 6, 2010.

70. Overturf, "Program Reviews."

71. Norris, *Against All Odds*, 181–82.

72. Chuck Norris, "Saving a Roundhouse for Romney," *World Net Daily*, January 7, 2008, http:// www.wnd.com/2008/01/45413/.

73. As delineated in Ephesians 5:22 and 6:5–6; Colossians 3:18; Titus 2:3–5; and 1 Peter 3:1, *New American Standard Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1999).

74. See Leviticus 18:22, *NASD*.

75. Lee Clark Mitchell, *Westerns: Making the Man in Fiction and Film* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 37, 139, 173.

76. James Kendrick, *Fighting Outward, Looking Inward* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009), 112–13.

77. J. Fred MacDonald, *Television and the Red Menace: The Video Road to Vietnam* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1985), 139–40; Peter Homans, "Puritanism Revisited: An Analysis of the Contemporary Screen-Image Western," in *Focus on the Western*, ed. Jack Nachbar (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentiss-Hall, 1974), 84–92; Michael T. Marsden, "Savior in the Saddle: The Sagebrush Testament," in *Focus on the Western*, 93–100.

78. Marsden, 1974, 93.

79. *Hannity & Colmes*, Fox News Network, June 20, 2001. Like Coulter, Norris has become a political and cultural commentator. He has his own column in the conservative *World Net Daily*.

80. The awards are sponsored by the John Templeton Foundation. Norris, *Against All Odds*, 2006, 226.

81. The voiceover introduction that begins each episode in the *Lone Ranger* television series uses the epithet "fabulous individual."

82. Paula Span, "That Lone Star Good Guy: George Bush? Nope. Walker, Texas Ranger," *Washington Post*, May 19, 2001, C1.

83. Coincidentally, George W. Bush's middle name is Walker.

84. Span, "That Lone Star," C1.

85. Wright, *Six Guns and Society*, 52, 80.

86. Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 3.

87. See Farrell, 179–209. Rambo's Indianness was not revealed until the sequel *Rambo: First Blood, Part II* and was not part of author David Morrell's original conception of the character. David Morrell, e-mail correspondence with author, January 19, 2009.